

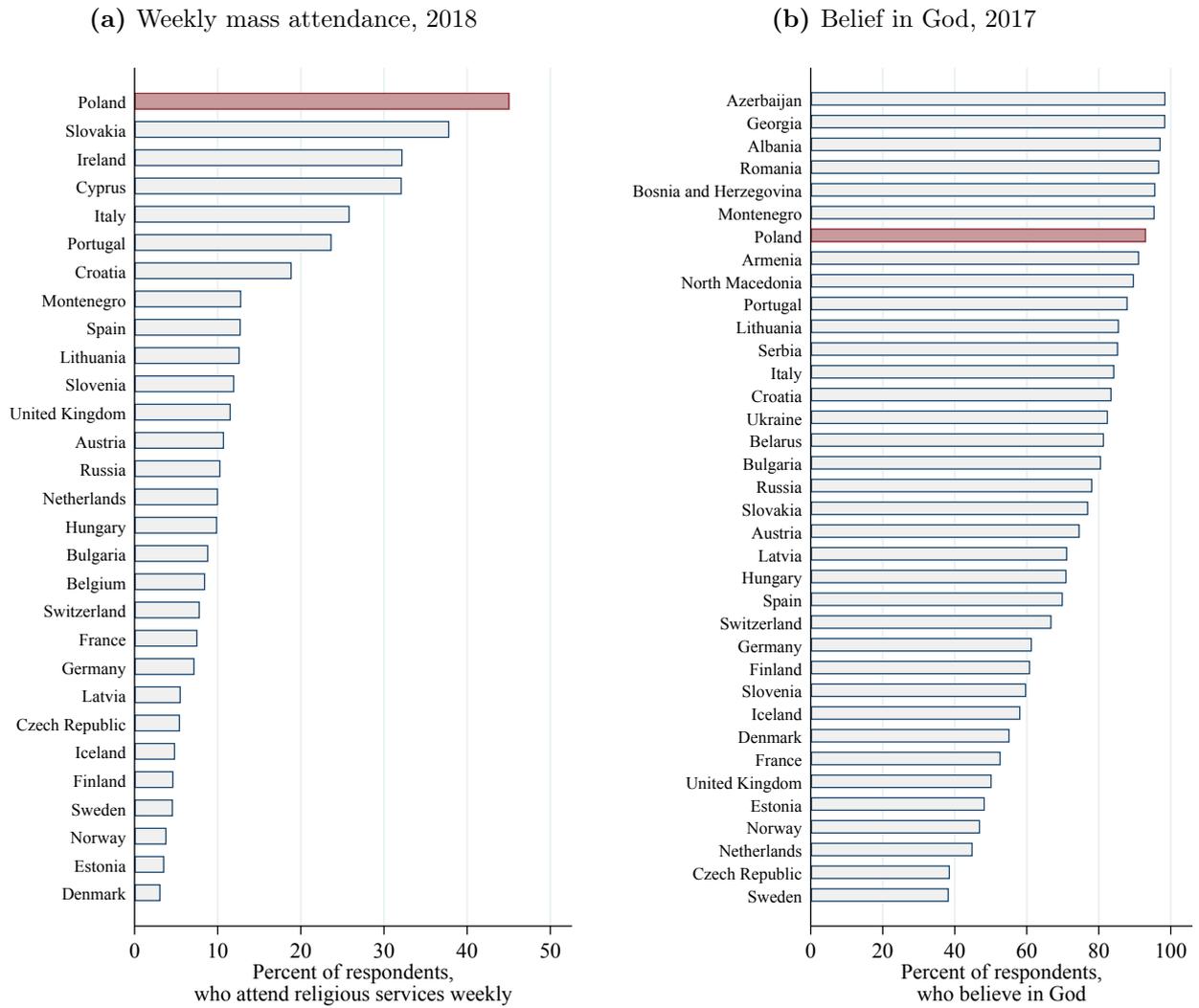
# Online Appendix

## Independent Media, Propaganda, and Religiosity: Evidence from Poland

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# 1 Additional Results

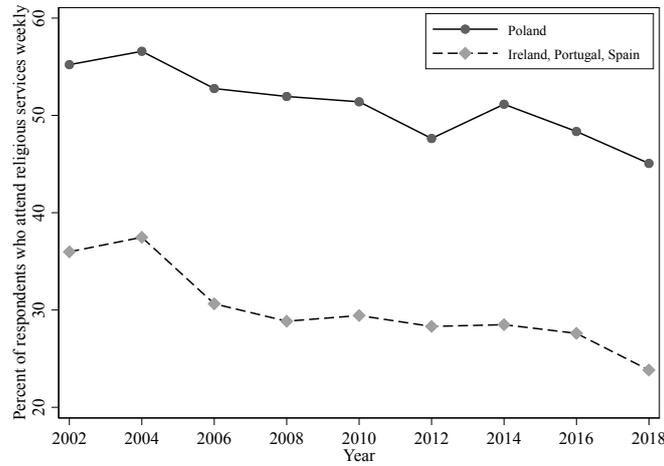
**Figure A1:** Self-reported religiosity in Poland compared to other European countries



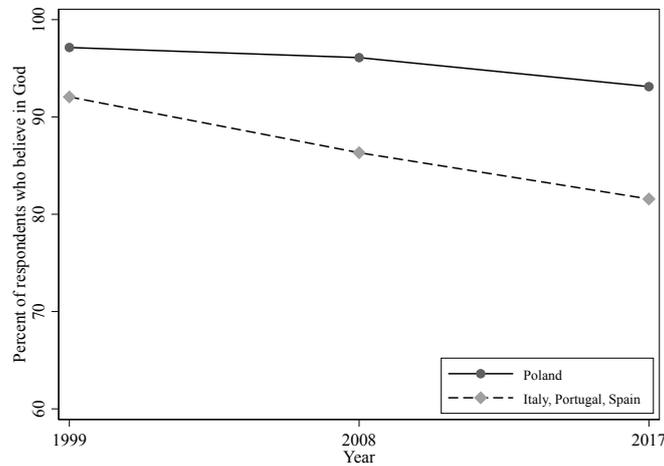
**Source.** Weekly mass attendance: The European Social Survey (ESS, 2018); Belief in God: The European Values Study (EVS, 2017).

**Figure A2:** Religiosity trends in Poland compared to other Catholic European countries

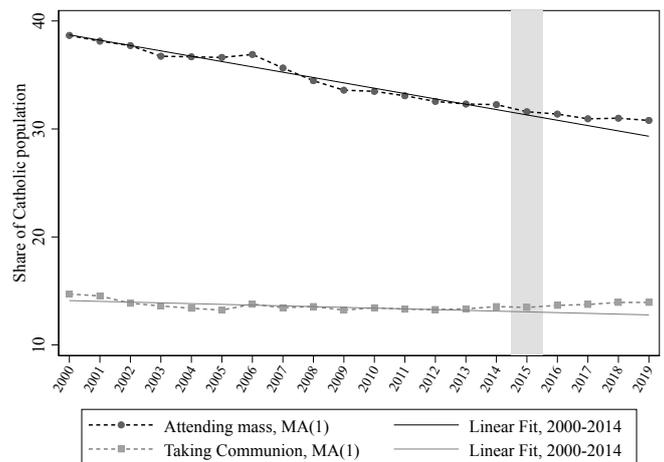
(a) Self-reported weekly mass attendance (ESS)



(b) Self-reported belief in God (EVS)

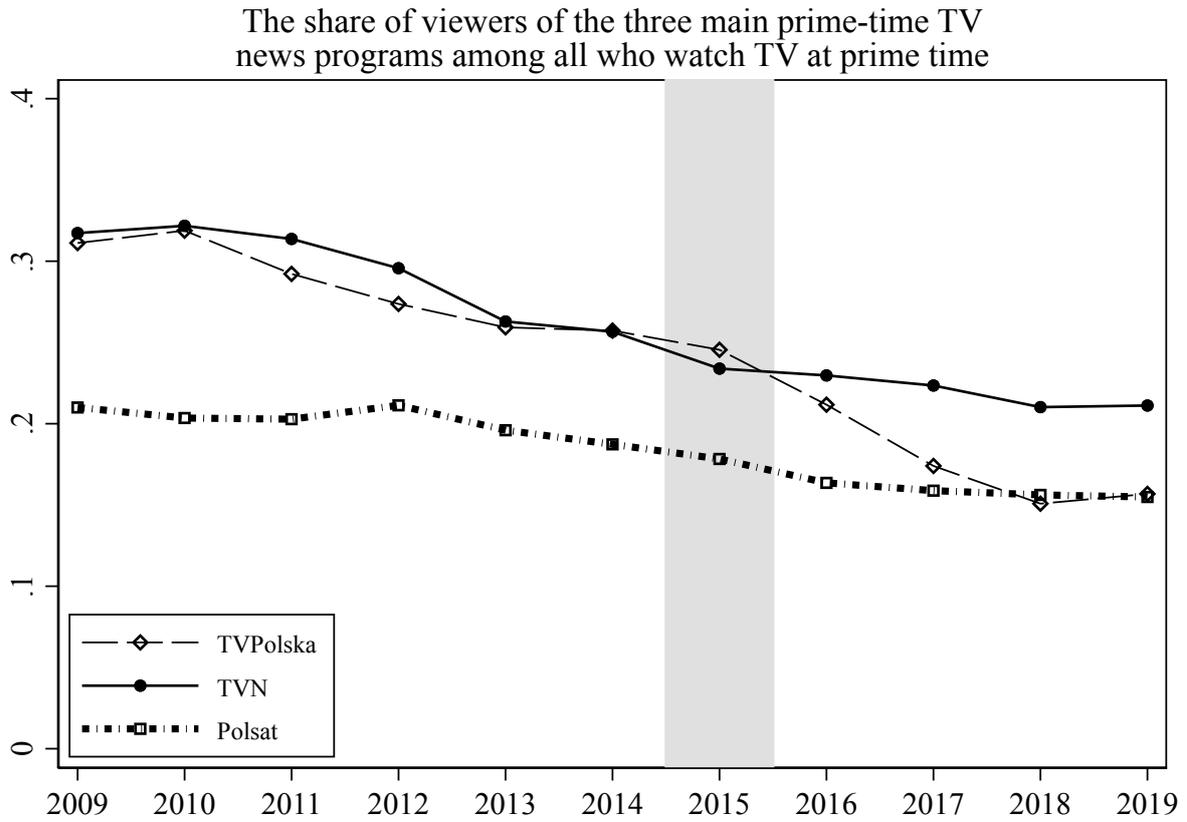


(c) Actual religious participation: rates of mass attendance and taking Communion (ISKK)



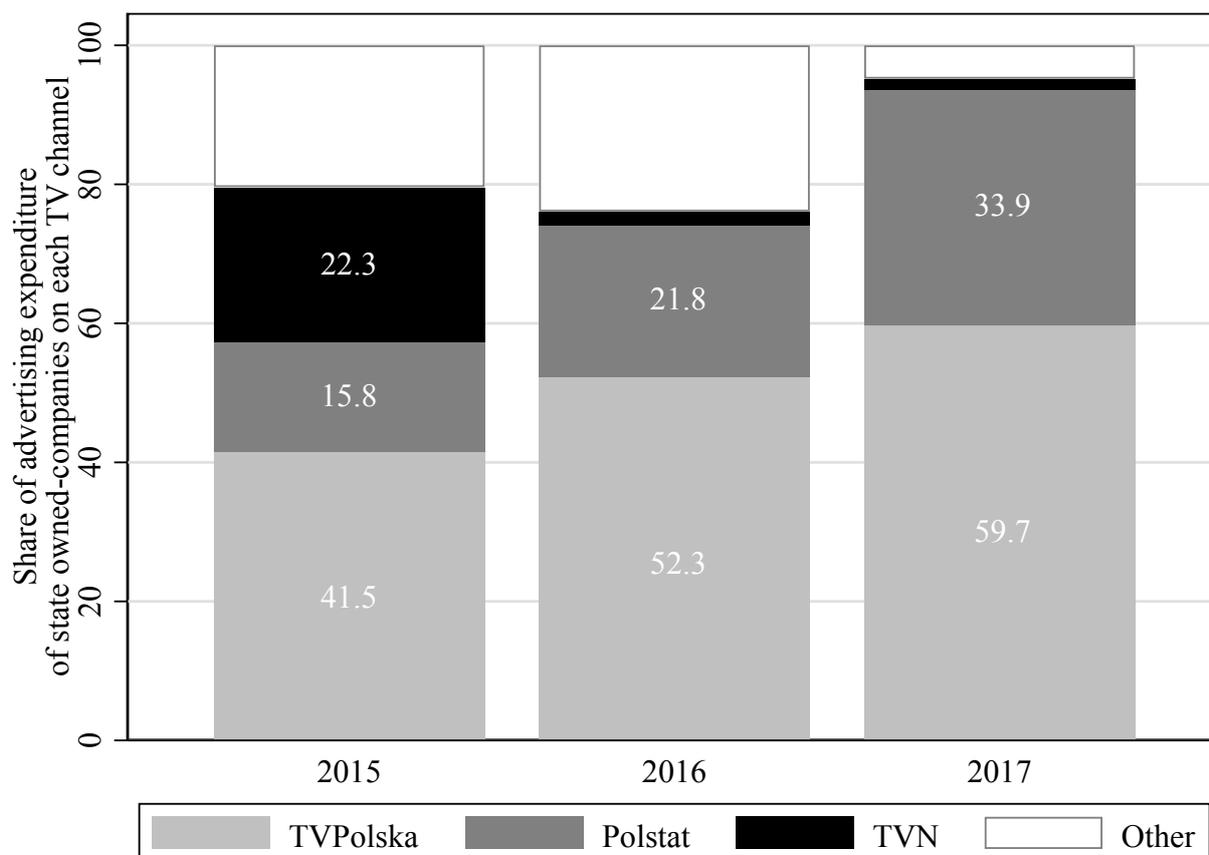
**Source.** Panel A: Self-reported weekly mass attendance from nine waves of the European Social Survey (ESS, 2018). Panel B: Self-reported belief in God from three waves of the European Values Study (EVS, 2017). The trends for Poland from ESS and EVS are benchmarked with trends from other European Catholic countries present in the same waves of the two surveys. Panel C: Rates of actual religious participation from the Institute of Statistics of the Catholic Church (ISKK, 2020): smoothed MA(1) time series of the rates of attending mass and taking Communion in Poland. Solid lines represent best linear fit for years before 2015. For detailed description of ISKK data, see Data Section 3.1.

**Figure A3:** Viewership of the main news programs by TVN, TVPolska, and Polsat over time



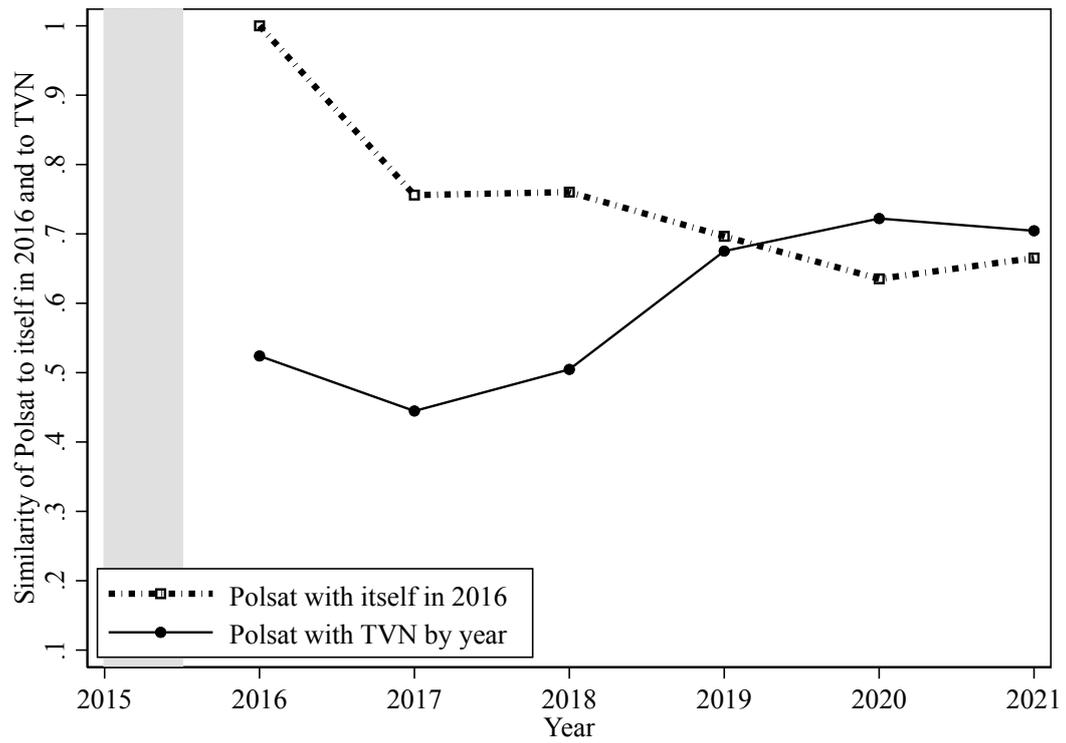
**Notes.** The figure presents the dynamics of the shares of viewers of *Wiadomości* (the evening news program by TVPolska), *Fakty* (the evening news program by TVN), and *Wydarzenia* (the evening news program by Polsat) among all viewers of TV at prime time. Source: Nielsen.

**Figure A4:** Advertising of state-controlled companies placed on TV, by TV network



**Notes.** Source: Report of the [Supreme Audit Office \(2018\)](#). The figure presents the shares of the total advertising expenditure of state-controlled companies placed on TV across different TV networks by year.

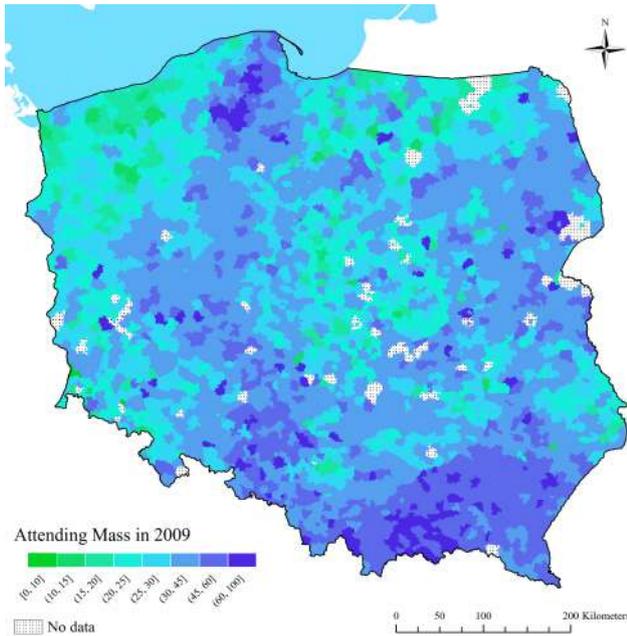
**Figure A5:** The similarity of Polsat's Twitter accounts to itself in 2016 and to TVN



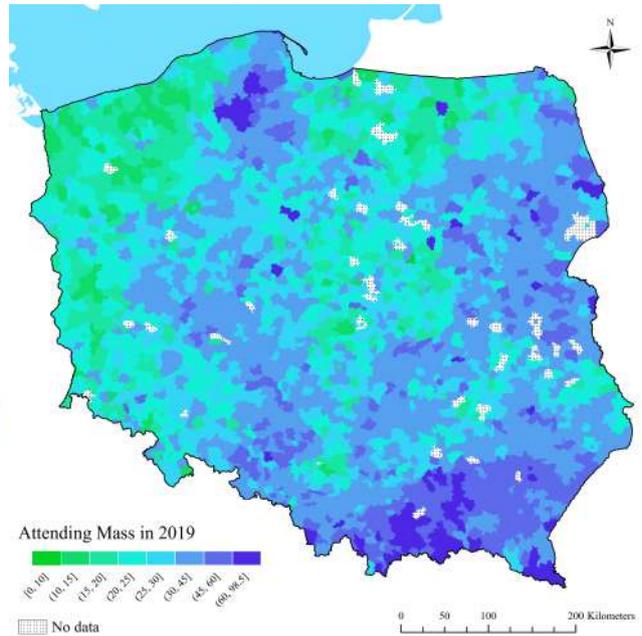
**Notes.** Data come from the official Twitter accounts of the TV networks (Grosfeld et al., 2022). Polsat's account was registered in March 2014, but it became regularly active only in 2016.

**Figure A6:** Mass Attendance and Taking Communion (2009 and 2019)

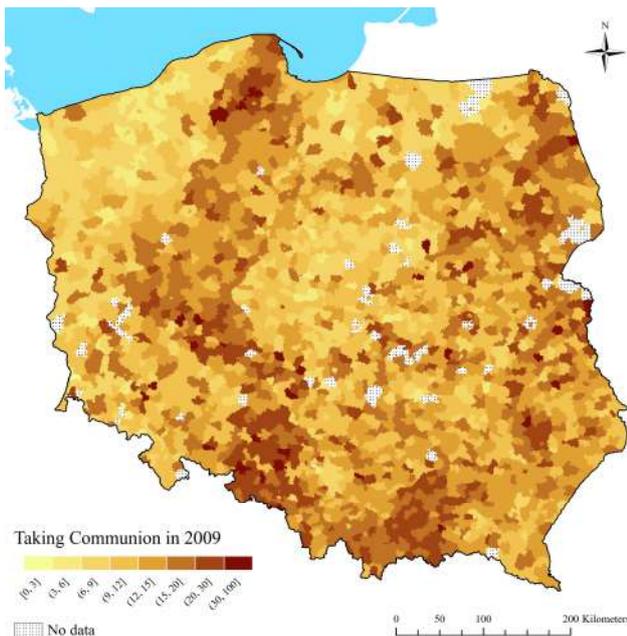
(a) Mass attendance, 2009



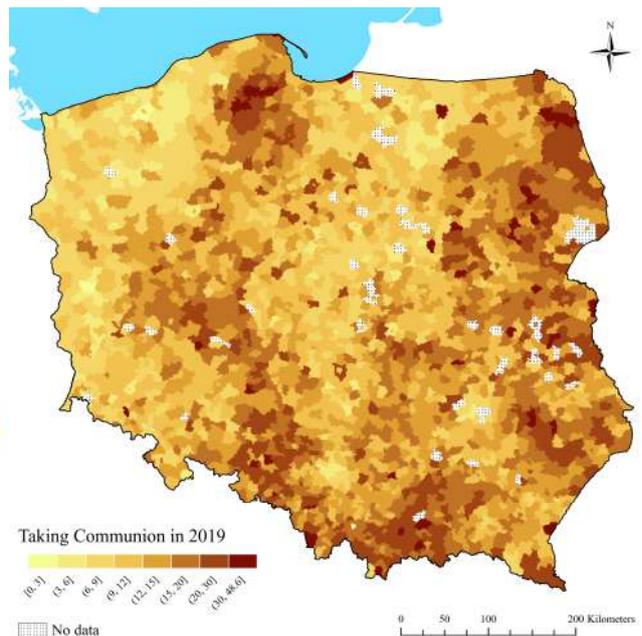
(b) Mass attendance, 2019



(c) Taking Communion, 2009

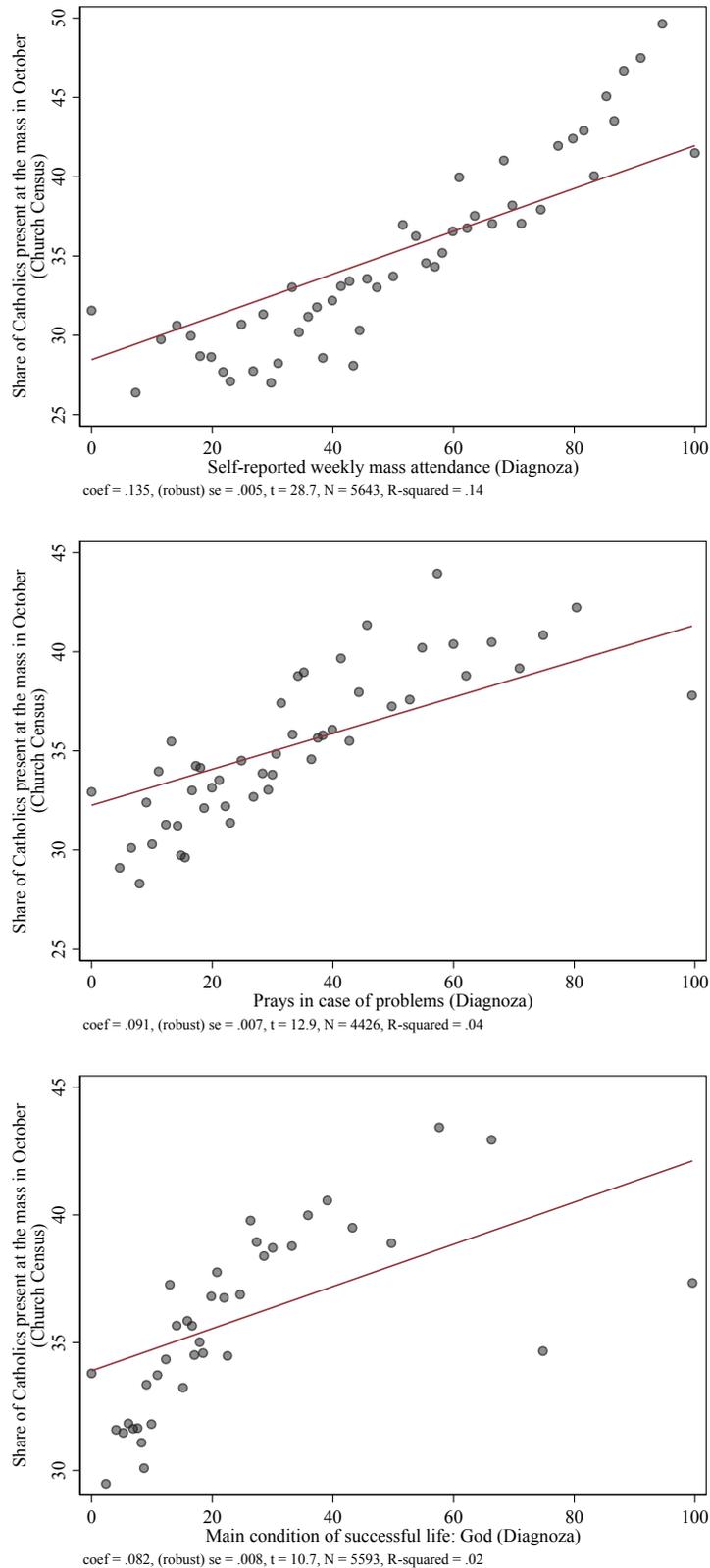


(d) Taking Communion, 2019



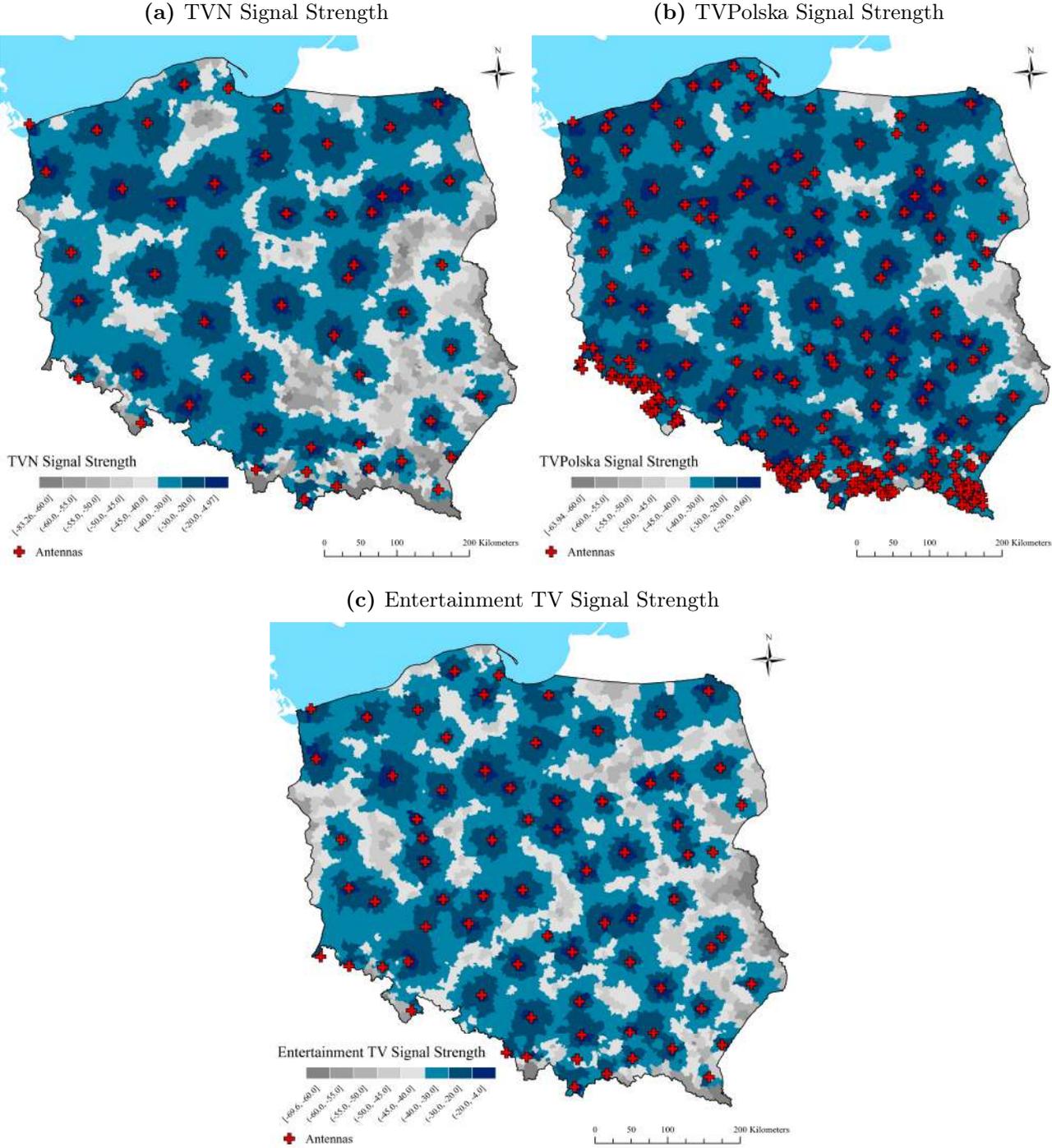
**Notes.** The map visualizes the distribution of religious participation at the municipality level at the beginning and the end of the analysis period, namely, in 2009 and in 2019. Panels A and B present the distribution of mass attendance in 2009 and in 2019, respectively. Panels C and D present the distribution of taking Communion in 2009 and in 2019, respectively. Source: the Institute of Statistics of the Catholic Church (ISKK).

**Figure A7:** Church census vs. survey data on religiosity



**Notes:** The figures present binned scatter plots of the relationship between the rate of mass attendance from the Church Census (on the vertical axes) and the average by year and municipality self-reported religiosity measures from the Diagnosa survey in 2009, 2011, 2013, and 2015 (Diagnoza, 2015). The three measures are the shares of respondents who: (1) claim that they attend mass every week, (2) say that they pray in times of crisis, and (3) chose “God” in the list of several possible alternative answers to the question: “What is the condition of a successful life.”

**Figure A8:** Transmitter location and signal strength of the multiplexes used by TVN, TVPolska, and entertainment TV channels

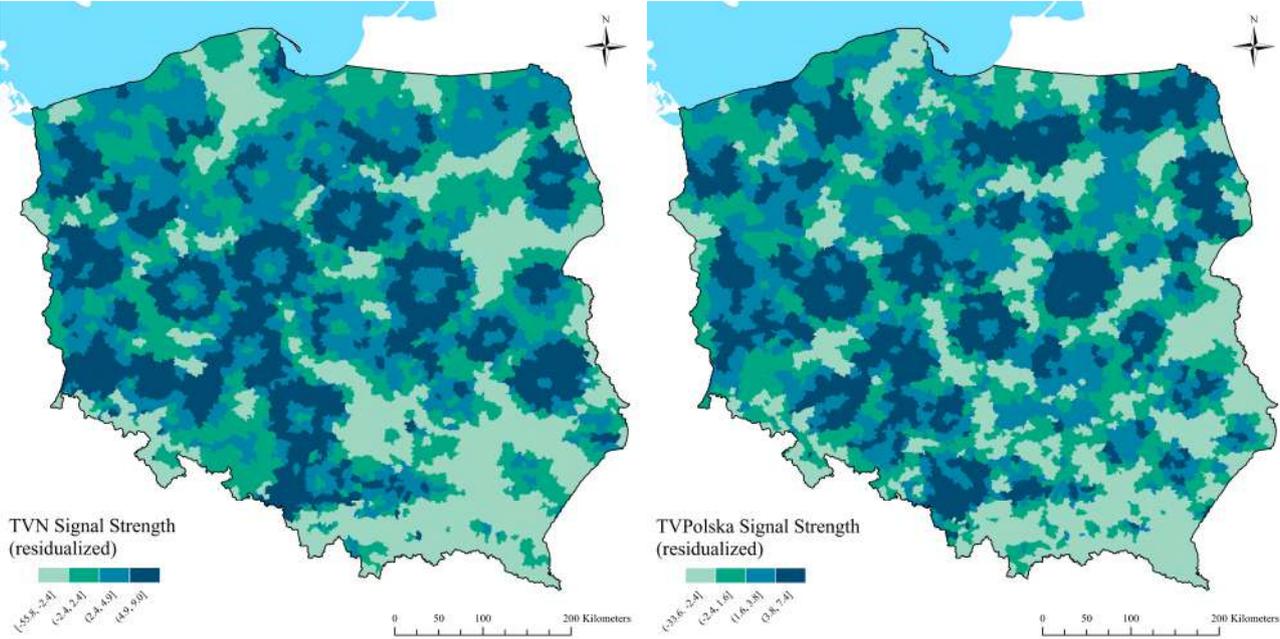


**Notes.** The maps visualize the signal strength (in dB) of TVN, TVPolska, and the Entertainment TV at the municipality level. Different blue shades indicate municipalities with good reception, with darker blue indicating stronger signal. Gray color indicates bad reception, with darker gray indicating weaker signal. Polsat uses the same transmitters and has the same signal strength as TVN. Authors' own calculation.

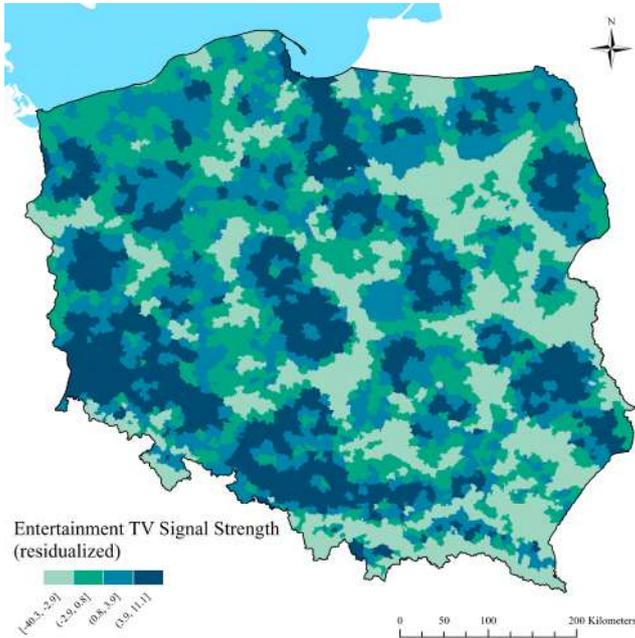
**Figure A9:** Quartiles of signal strength of the multiplexes used by TVN, TVPolska, and entertainment TV after controlling for their signal strength in free space

(a) TVN signal strength net of free-space signal

(b) TVPolska signal strength net of free-space signal



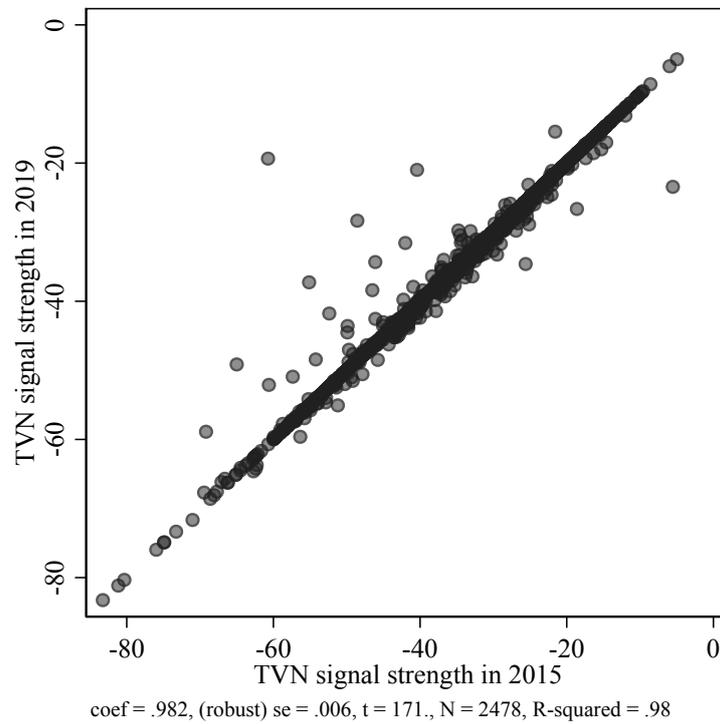
(c) Entertainment TV signal strength net of free-space signal



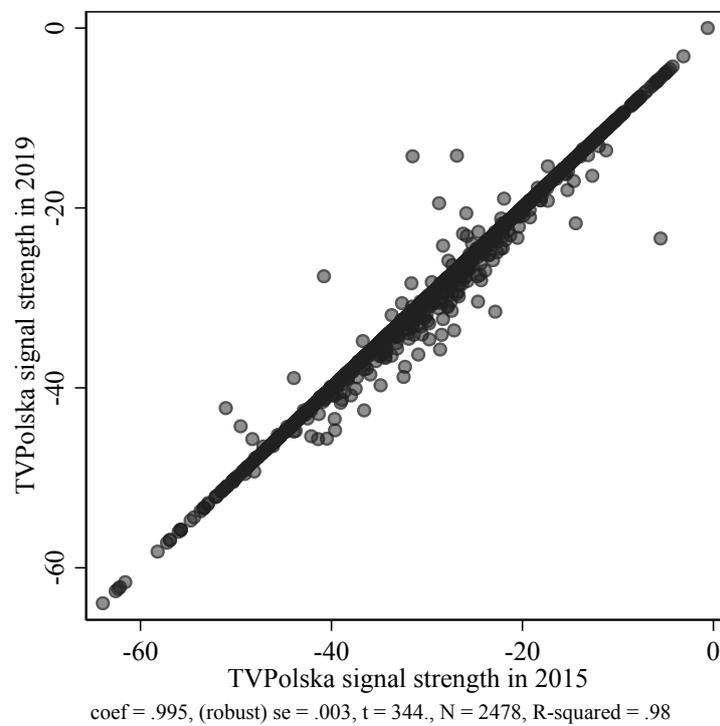
**Notes.** The maps visualize the residual signal strength of different TV networks at the municipality level after controlling for their signal in free space. Authors' own calculation.

**Figure A10:** Correlation between signal strength in 2015 and 2019

(a) TVN



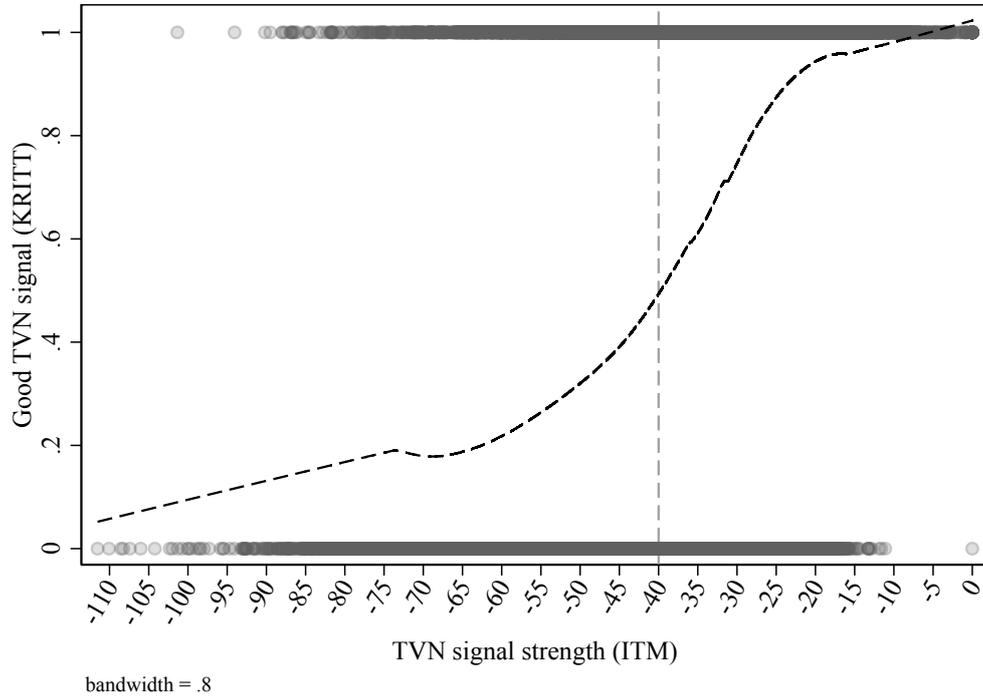
(b) TVPolska



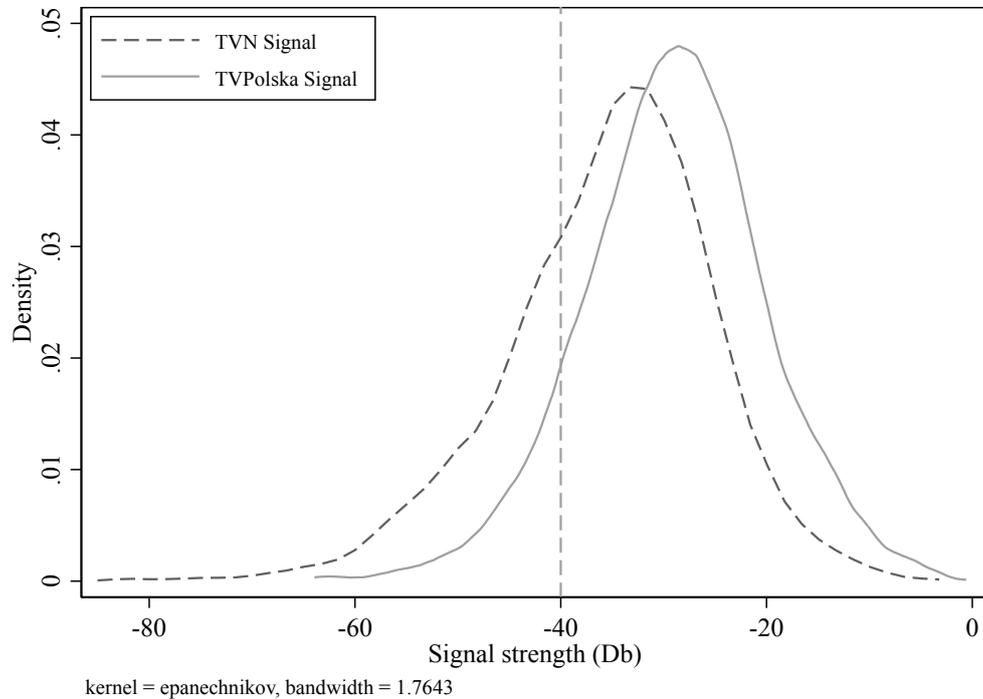
**Notes:** The figure shows that signal strength in both MUX-2 (TVN) and MUX-3 (TVPolska) has not changed substantially between 2015 and 2019.

**Figure A11:** Choice of the threshold for a good TVN signal

(a) TVN's signal strength and TVN's good reception across grid cells

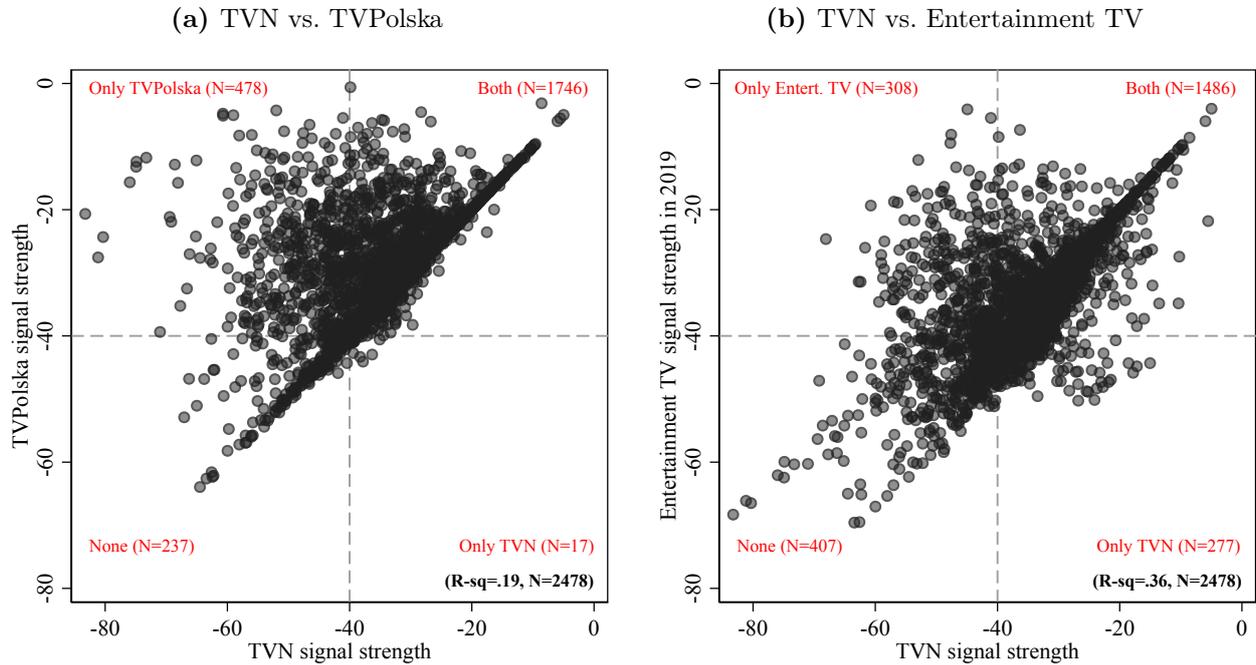


(b) Kernel density of TVN's and TVPolska's signal strength across municipalities



**Notes:** The figure in Panel A presents the non parametric fit obtained from a local polynomial regression, where we regress dummy for having a good reception coming from the Polish broadcasting regulator, the National Broadcasting Council, KRRiT (for *Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji*) on the signal strength we compute using the ITM model across grid cells. The figure in Panel B presents the density density of TVN and TVPolska signal strengths across municipalities. The vertical dashed gray line represents the cutoff point of -40 dB we used to dichotomize the signal strength from ITM to have a measure of “Good TVN signal strength.”

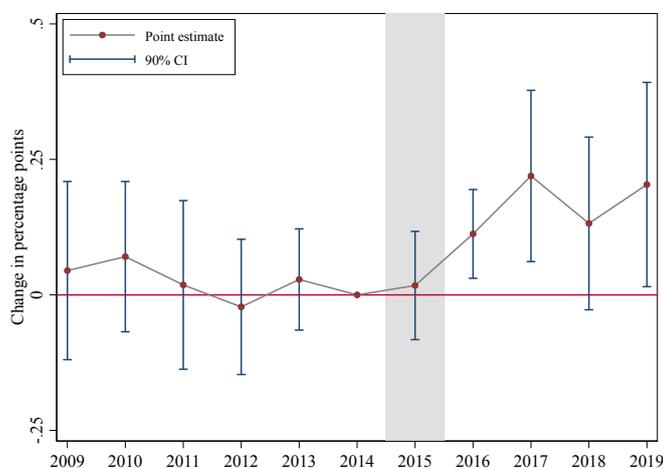
**Figure A12:** Scatter plots of the signal strength of different TV networks across municipalities



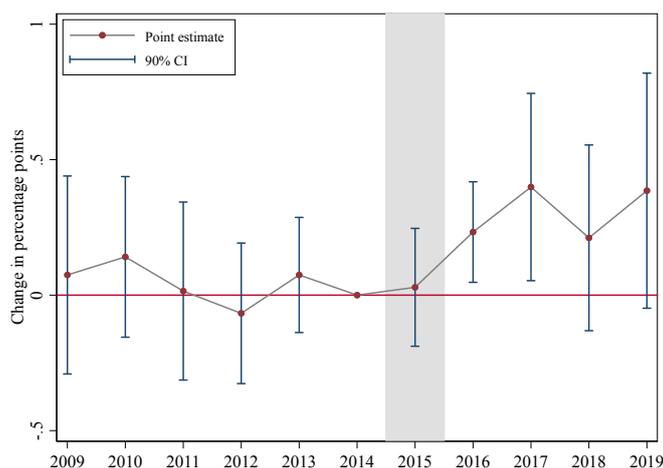
**Notes:** Panel A presents the scatter plot of signal strength of TVPolska in 2015 against that of TVN in 2015, while the figure in Panel B – the scatter plot of signal strength of entertainment TV in 2019 against that of TVN in 2015. The vertical and horizontal dashed gray lines represent the cutoff point of -40 dB we use to dichotomize signal strength from ITM to construct dummy variables indicating good TV signal for each TV channel. These dashed gray lines split each figure into four quadrants. The top left and bottom right quadrants show the municipalities where only one of the two TV channels has good signal strength. The bottom left quadrant indicates municipalities where both TV channels do not have good signal strength. The top right quadrant indicates municipalities where both TV channels have good signal strength. We report the number of municipalities in each quadrant.

**Figure A13:** Event-study specification: viewership

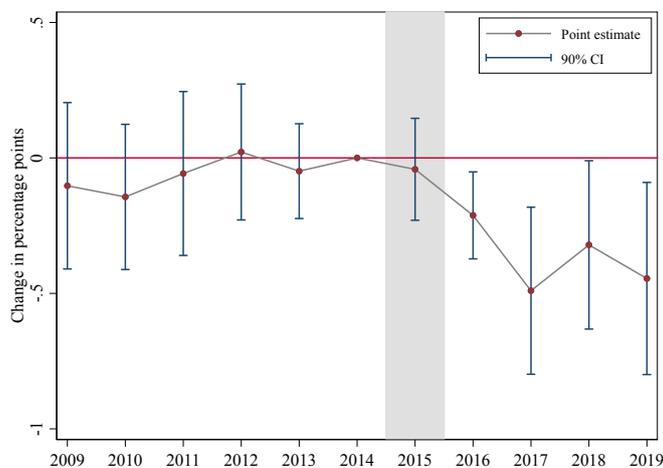
(a) Share of TVN viewers among prime-time viewers of TVN and TVPolska



(b) Log prime-time viewership of TVN

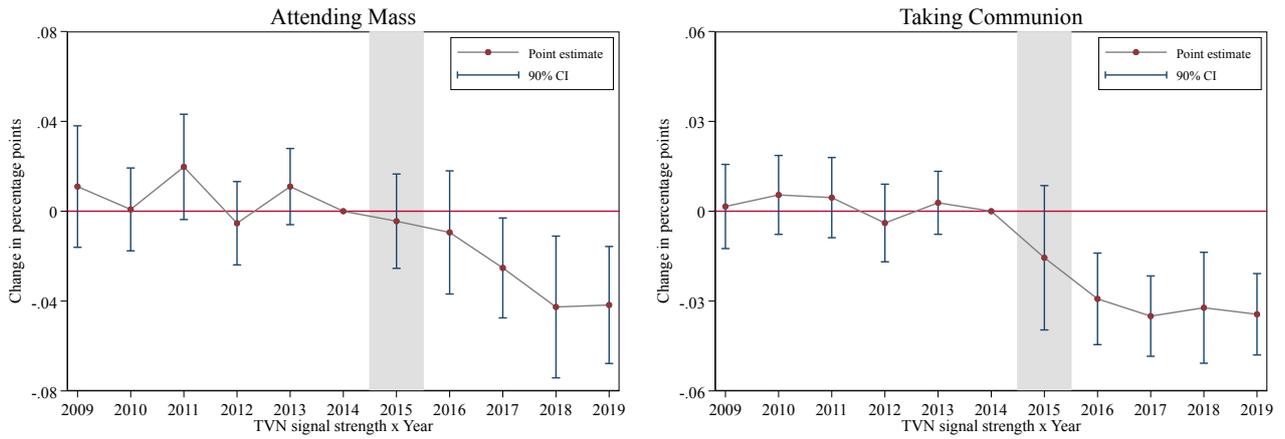


(c) Log prime-time viewership of TVPolska



**Notes:** The figure presents the results of the event study for the effect of the TVN's signal availability on the share of viewers of TVN among TVN and TVPolska prime-time viewers (Panel A), the log number of TVN viewers (Panel B), and log number of TVPolska viewers (Panel C). The unit of analysis is region  $\times$  year. Point estimates and 90% confidence intervals are presented. Year 2014 is the excluded time period. Standard errors are corrected for correlation at region level.

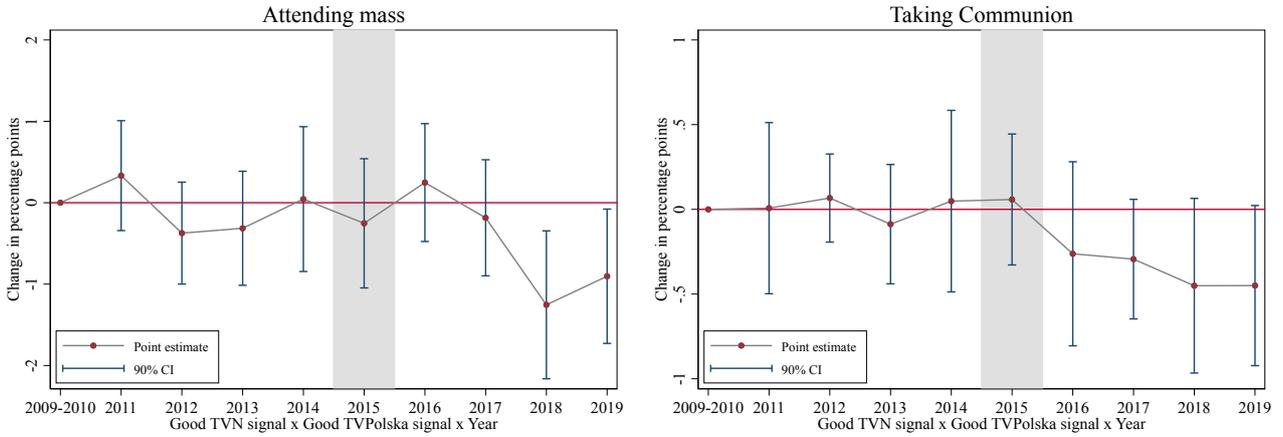
**Figure A14:** Event-study specification: religious participation, full sample, continuous TV signal strength



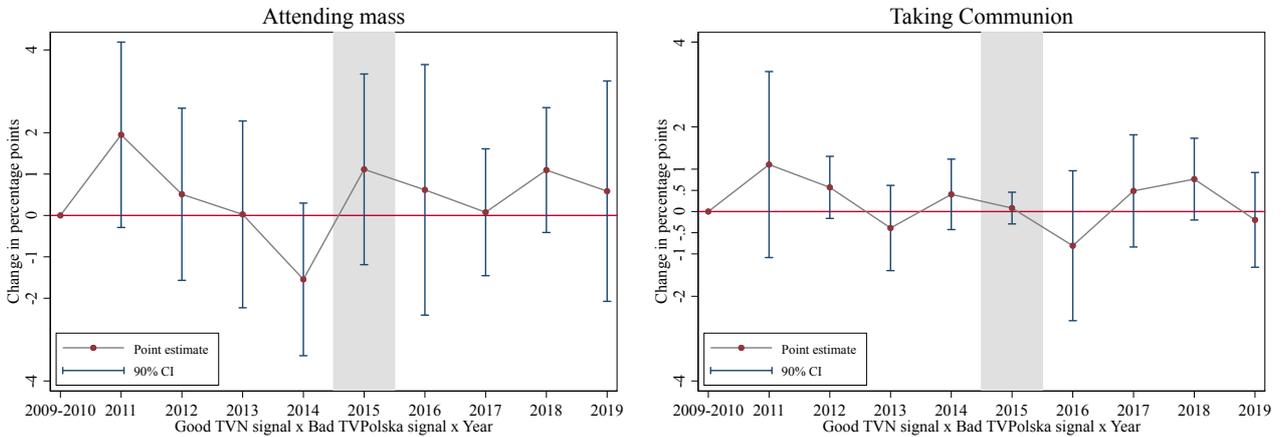
**Notes.** The figure presents the results of the event study in the full sample using continuous TVN signal strength. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. Point estimates and 90% confidence intervals are presented. Year 2014 is the excluded time period. Standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period.

**Figure A15:** Event-study specification: combinations of TVN and TVPolska signals

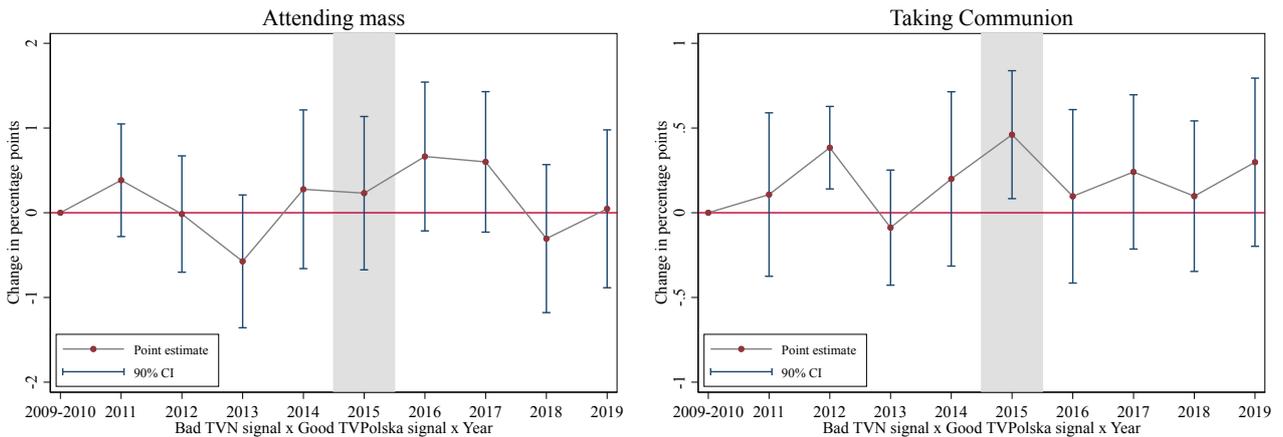
(a) Good TVN & Good TVPolska (relative to Bad TVN & Bad TVPolska)



(b) Good TVN & Bad TVPolska (relative to Bad TVN & Bad TVPolska)



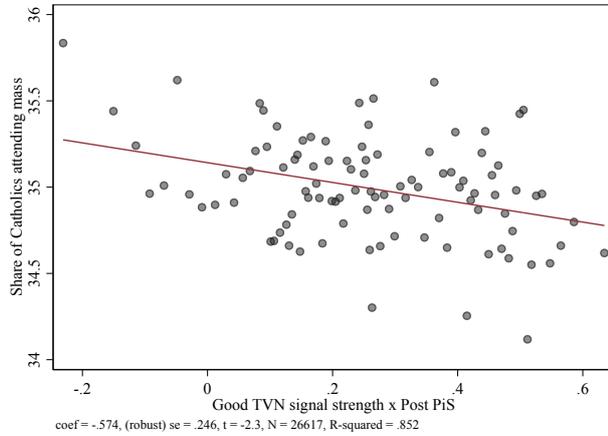
(c) Good TVPolska & Bad TVN (relative to Bad TVN & Bad TVPolska)



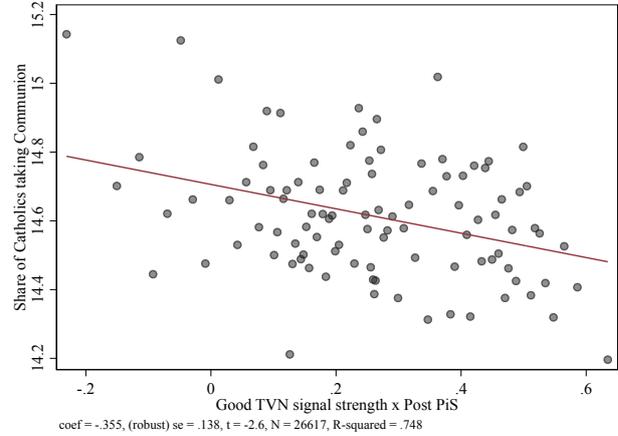
**Notes:** The figure presents the results of the event study for the specification with full set of interactions of TVN and TVPolska reception. To increase precision, the excluded time period is two years, instead of one: 2009 and 2010.

**Figure A16:** Bin scatter plots: Religious participation and TVN

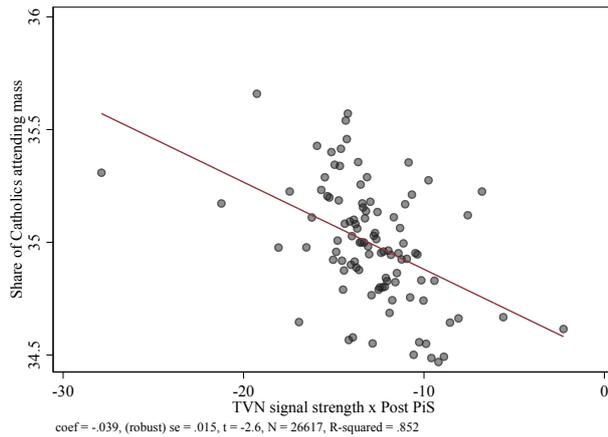
(a) Dep. Var.: Attending mass,  
Expl. Var.: Dummy for good TVN signal



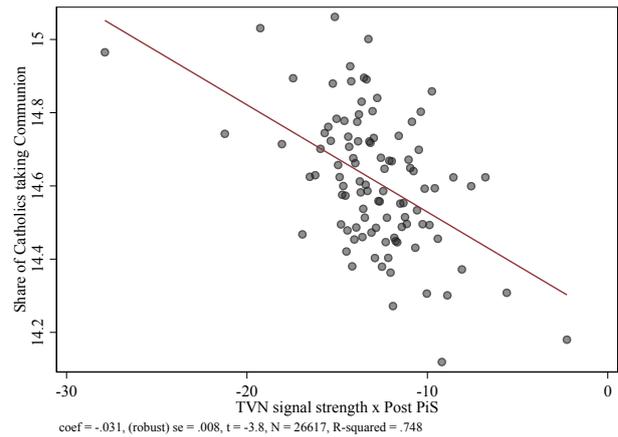
(b) Dep. Var.: Taking Communion,  
Expl. Var.: Dummy for good TVN signal



(c) Dep. Var.: Attending mass,  
Expl. Var.: Continuous TVN signal



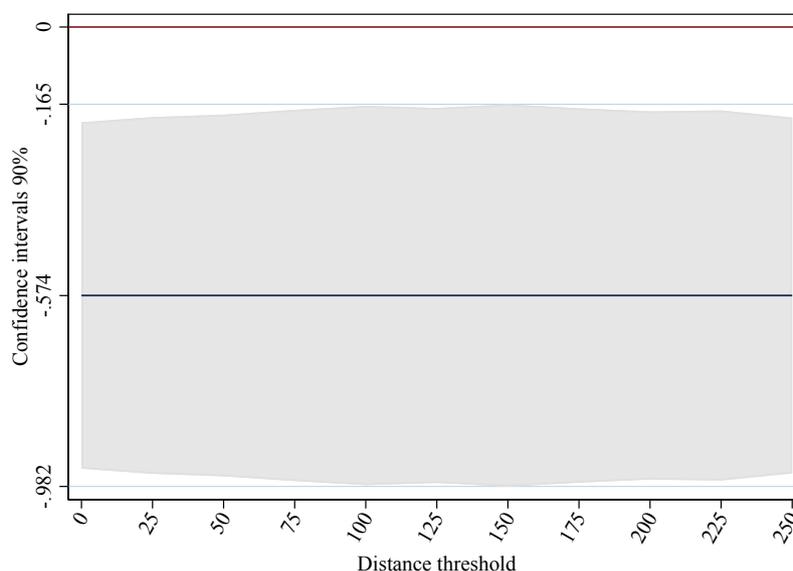
(d) Dep. Var.: Taking Communion,  
Expl. Var.: Continuous TVN signal



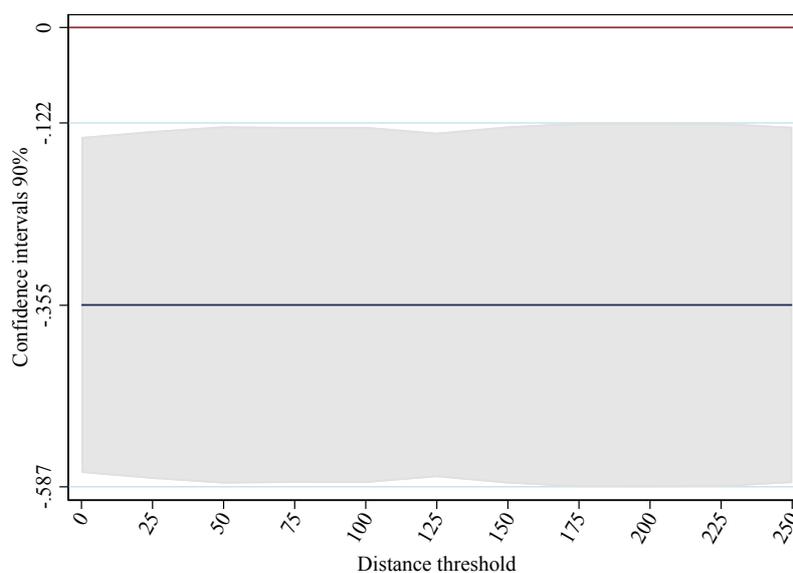
**Notes:** The figures represent the bin scatter plots visualizing the effect of TVN signal strength on religious participation after PiS came to power. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. All results are based on regression specifications presented in Table 2: Panel A is based on Panel A Column 5 of Table 2; Panel B on Panel B Column 5 of Table 2; Panel C is based on Panel A Column 7 of Table 2; Panel D on Panel B Column 7 of Table 2. Standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period.

**Figure A17:** Robustness of the difference-in-differences estimates to different Conley correction thresholds

(a) Dependent Variable: Attending mass



(b) Dependent Variable: Taking Communion

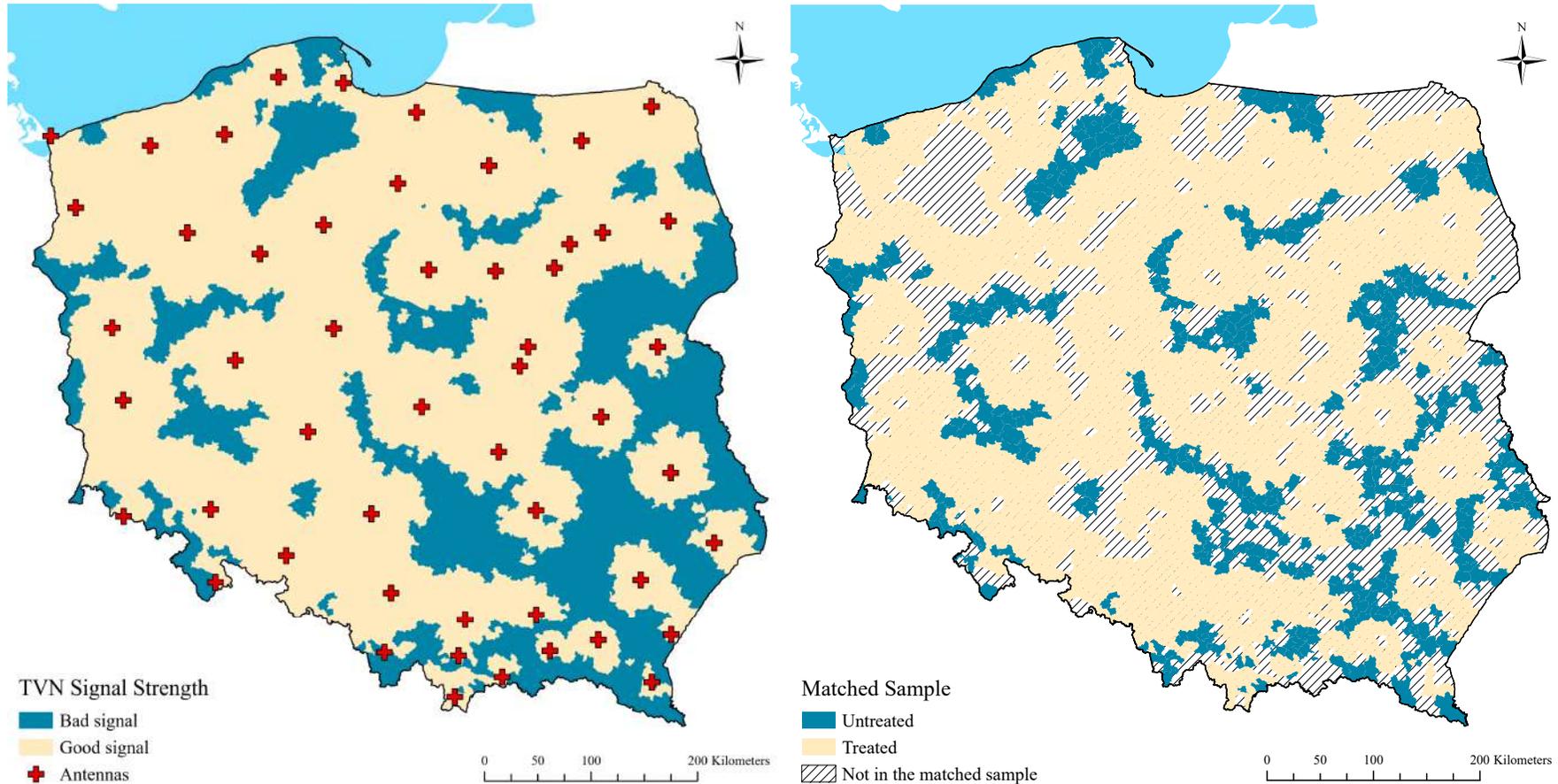


**Notes:** The figure presents the robustness of inference to different Conley correction thresholds. OLS estimates conditional on controls listed in Columns 5 of Table 2. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. Panel A of the figure corresponds to Panel A Column 5 of Table 2; Panel B of the figure corresponds to Panel B Column 5 of Table 2. The horizontal blue lines represent the point estimates; the shaded areas represent the confidence intervals at 90% for different spatial Conley correction thresholds (indicated on the x-axis). Each threshold in each panel represents the confidence interval obtained from a different regression where standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation within that distance threshold and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period. The results presented for distance threshold “0” are equivalent to the standard errors clustered at the municipality level. The horizontal red lines represent the null effect.

**Figure A18:** Municipalities with good and bad TVN reception and the matched sample

(a) Good TVN Signal

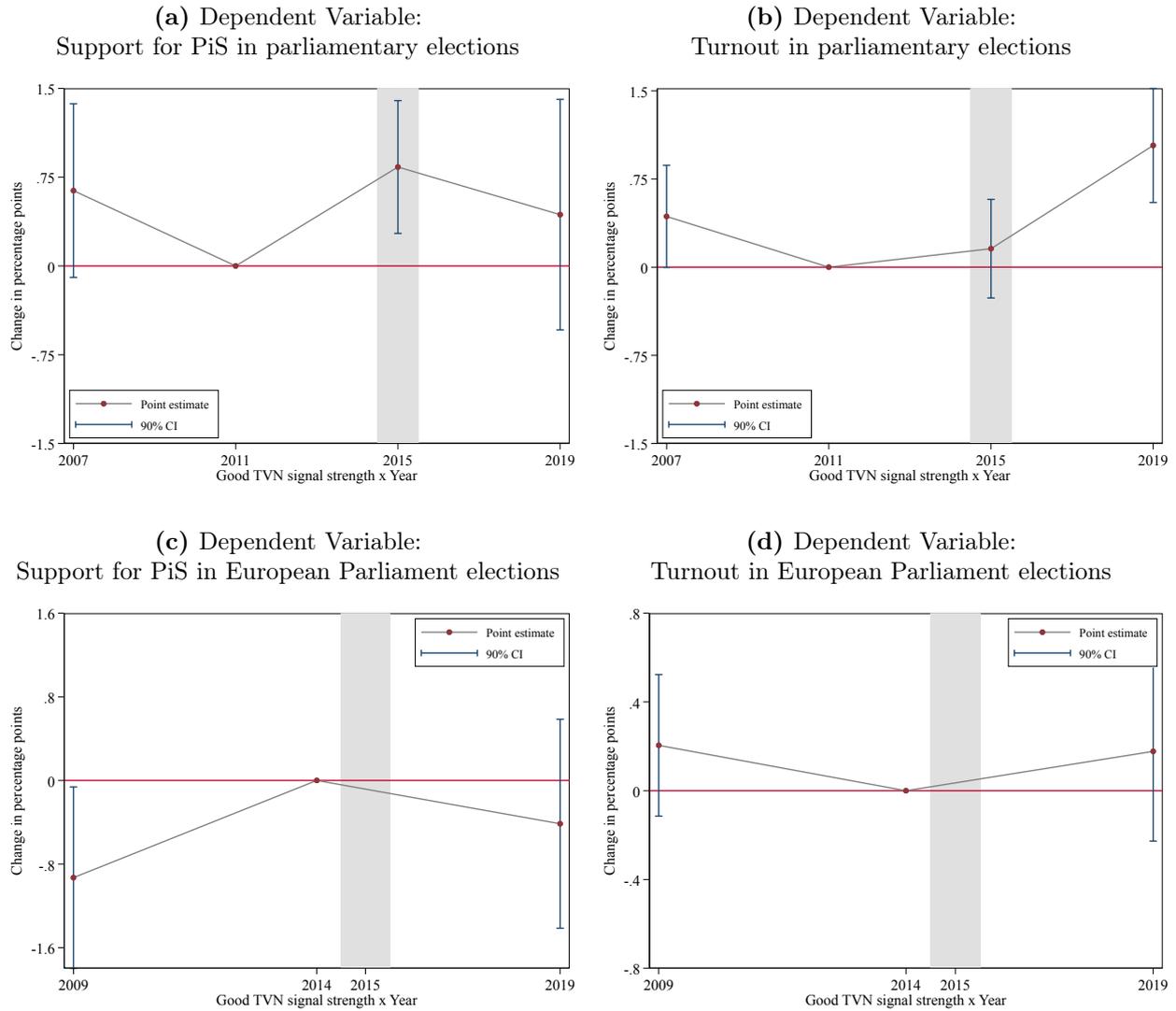
(b) Matched sample



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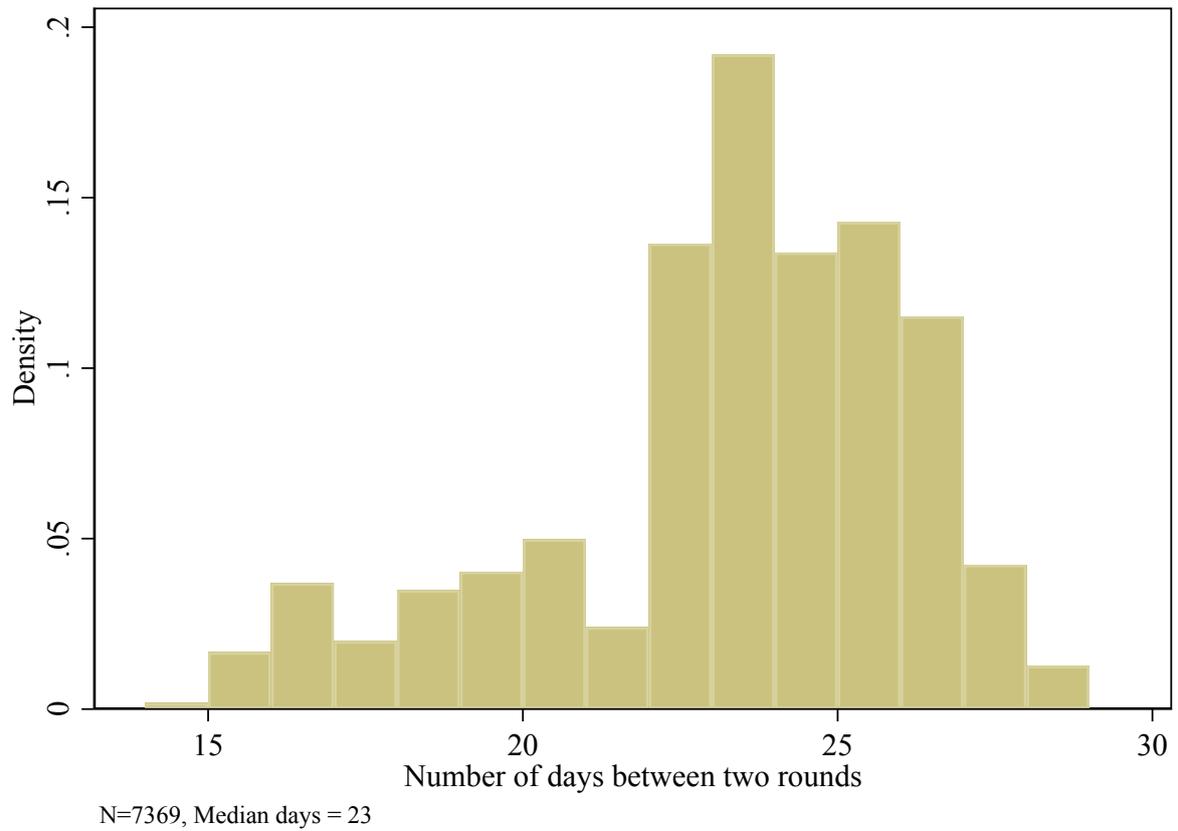
**Notes.** The maps visualize the “Good TVN signal strength” at the municipality level and the matched sample. We match each treated municipality (with “Good TVN signal”) to an untreated municipality (without “Good TVN signal”) within 50 km distance, based on a propensity score imposing a minimum distance of one standard deviation in TVN signal strength between municipalities in each pair. We exclude from the sample all municipalities with a TVN transmitter. Propensity score is calculated by regressing a dummy variable, indicating whether a municipality is treated, on the following covariates: fixed and mobile internet availability, nighttime light density per capita in 2009, average pretreatment level of religiosity (2009-2014), pre-2009 level of support for PiS, dummy variables for Austro-Hungarian and Prussian partitions, log total population, and share of working-age population.

**Figure A19: Event-study specification, political outcomes**



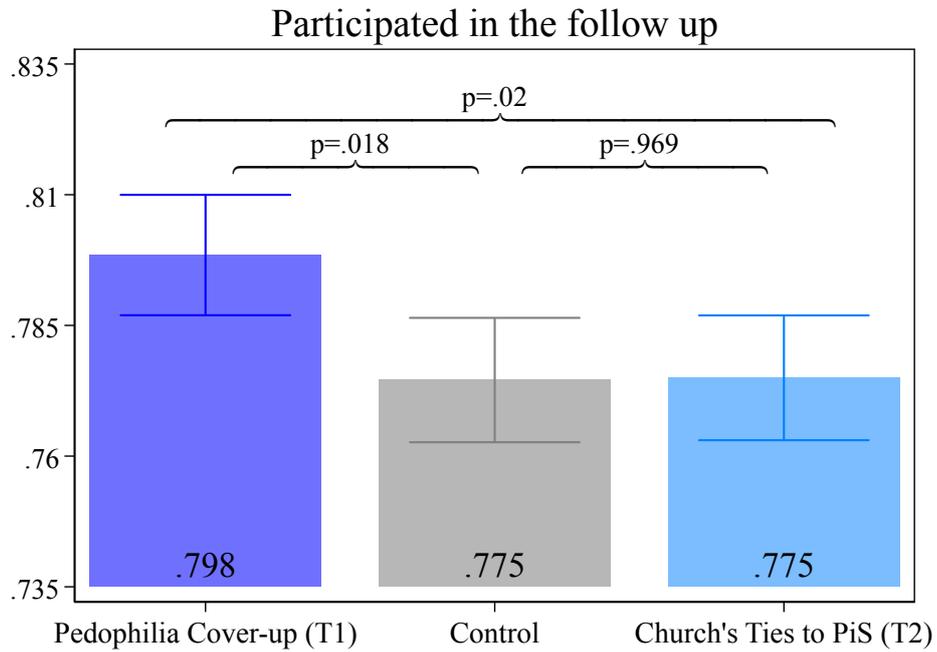
**Notes.** The figure presents the event-study estimates of the exposure to good TVN signal strength on political outcomes. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. Point estimates and 90% confidence intervals are from OLS regressions of the respective outcome variables on year and municipality fixed effects, conditional on covariates listed in Columns 1 and 3 of Table A7. Years 2011 and 2014 are the excluded time periods for parliamentary and European parliament elections, respectively. Standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period.

**Figure A20:** Distribution of difference in days between two rounds



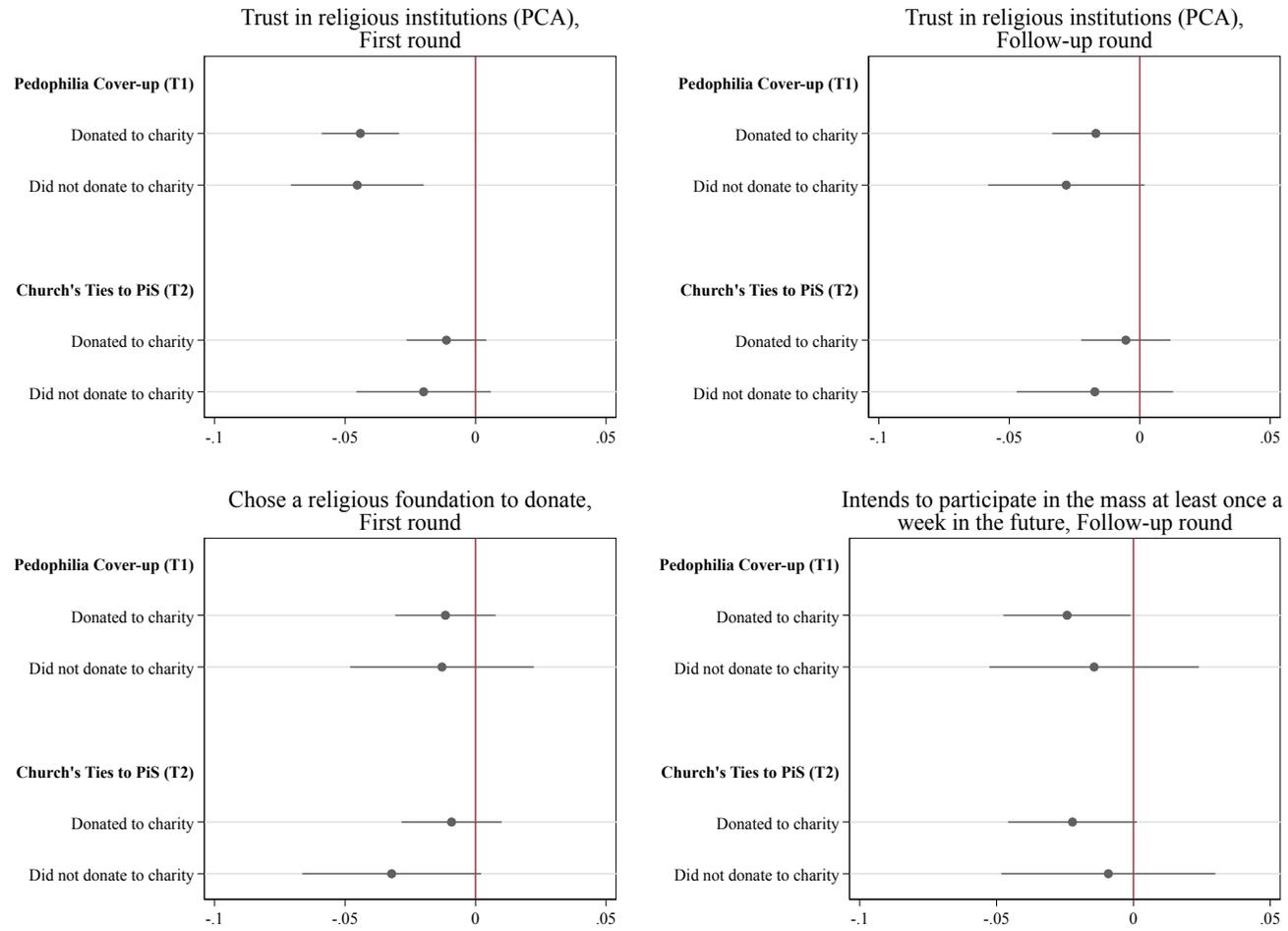
**Notes:** The figure presents the histogram of the number of days between the day when the respondent took the first-round survey and the day when the respondent took the follow-up survey.

**Figure A21:** Retention rate between two survey rounds by treatment status



**Notes.** The figure presents the ATE of the experimental treatments on the participation status in the follow-up round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The figure presents results from a single regression. The unit of analysis is individual. The regression controls for randomization strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Table A11, and initial level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported.

**Figure A22:** Test for Experimenter Demand Effects



**Notes.** The figure presents the heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments on the main religiosity outcomes with respect to having donated time or money to a charity in the last year, in each round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. Each graph on the figure presents results from a different regression. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for randomization strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Online Appendix Table A11, and initial level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported.

**Table A1:** Descriptive statistics: Observational study

	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Religious participation</b>						
Share of Catholic population attending mass	35.1	32.9	12.3	4	231	26,628
Share of Catholic population taking Communion	14.7	13.7	5.7	0	147	26,628
Share of Catholic population attending mass [winsorized top 1%]	35.0	32.9	11.8	4	71	26,628
Share of Catholic population taking Communion [winsorized top 1%]	14.6	13.7	5.3	0	35	26,628
<b>Panel B: TV antennas and signal strength</b>						
TVN antenna within 10 km	0.052	0	0.222	0	1	2,478
TVPolska antenna within 10 km	0.177	0	0.382	0	1	2,478
Entertainment TV antenna within 10 km in 2019	0.078	0	0.268	0	1	2,478
Good TVN signal	0.711	1	0.453	0	1	2,478
Good TVPolska signal	0.897	1	0.303	0	1	2,478
Good entertainment TV signal in 2019	0.724	1	0.447	0	1	2,478
<b>Panel C: Fixed and Mobile Internet, Night-time lights per capita, Disasters</b>						
Log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes (km)	1.016	1	0.507	0	3	2,478
Speed of 3G mobile internet	38.494	38.5	9.825	9	74	2,478
Night-time lights per capita until 2011	0.212	0	0.631	0	10	27,258
Night-time lights per capita after 2011	0.048	0	0.100	0	6	27,258
Occurrence of natural disaster	0.160	0	0.367	0	1	27,258
<b>Panel D: Cross-sectional covariates</b>						
Austro-Hungarian partition	0.144	0	0.351	0	1	2,478
Prussian partition	0.410	0	0.492	0	1	2,478
Russian partition	0.447	0	0.497	0	1	2,478
Population (1000s)	15.3	7.4	50.7	1	1707	2,473
Share of working age population	67.0	67.5	3.0	48	78	2,473
Share of elderly population	15.8	15.4	3.3	7	42	2,473
Share of population with higher education	6.1	5.1	2.8	2	31	2,473
Share of population with secondary education	17.8	17.0	3.9	7	30	2,473
Share of population employed in agriculture	37.5	34.9	20.0	0	80	2,474
Share of population that speaks only Polish	97.4	98.8	4.9	61	100	2,474
Log industrial production per capita	6.4	6.6	1.7	0	11	2,474
Log municipality revenue per capita	7.7	7.7	0.2	7	10	2,452
Log EU subsidies to municipality per capita	2.2	1.9	2.2	0	8	2,395
Wages relative to country average	81.4	79.3	10.4	62	184	2,382
Rural areas	0.643	1	0.479	0	1	2,474
Railways within 10 km	0.942	1	0.233	0	1	2,474
Altitude	185.6	155.0	131.3	-3	1202	2,478
Pre-2009 support for PiS (PCA)	0	-0.1	1.6	-4	5	2,475
Vote share of PiS in 2009 European Parliament elections	30.2	27.6	12.9	2	82	2,476
Vote share of PiS in 2011 Parliament elections	35.6	34.2	12.6	1	79	2,476
Vote share of PiS in 2005 President elections	63.7	64.3	15.9	17	97	2,475
<b>Panel E: Political outcomes</b>						
Vote share of PiS in parliamentary elections	41.3	39.9	15.2	1	89	9,908
Turnout in parliamentary elections	47.6	46.9	8.8	23	81	9,908
Vote share of PiS in European Parliament elections	43.3	41.6	17.3	2	89	7,431
Turnout in European Parliament elections	26.2	22.0	11.6	7	73	7,431

**Notes:** The table presents the summary statistics for the outcome, main treatment variables, and control variables used in the observational study.

**Table A2:** Difference-in-differences: Heterogeneous effects of TVN on religious participation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Panel A:</b>	<b>Share of Catholic population attending mass</b>					
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.791*** (0.227)	-0.559** (0.264)	-0.507* (0.290)	-0.957*** (0.330)	-0.573*** (0.219)	-0.702* (0.367)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.401** (0.194)	-0.286 (0.177)	-0.389** (0.192)	-0.402** (0.196)	-0.402** (0.197)	-0.400** (0.195)
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Religious participation in 2009} > \text{Median}\}$		-0.701* (0.410)				
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Rural}\}$			-0.390 (0.374)			
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Pre-2009 support for PiS} > \text{Median}\}$				0.632 (0.398)		
$\times \text{Share of 15-29 year olds}$					0.165 (0.105)	
$\times \text{Share of 65+ year olds}$					0.100 (0.082)	
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Fixed internet} > \text{Median}\}$						-0.136 (0.365)
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Mobile internet} > \text{Median}\}$						-0.040 (0.388)
R-squared	0.850	0.854	0.850	0.851	0.851	0.850
<b>Panel B:</b>	<b>Share of Catholic population taking Communion</b>					
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.557*** (0.124)	-0.331** (0.163)	-0.254 (0.172)	-0.519*** (0.192)	-0.406*** (0.124)	-0.542** (0.215)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.273** (0.138)	-0.237* (0.141)	-0.266* (0.137)	-0.273** (0.138)	-0.275* (0.140)	-0.273** (0.139)
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Religious participation in 2009} > \text{Median}\}$		-0.487** (0.245)				
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Rural}\}$			-0.442* (0.227)			
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Pre-2009 support for PiS} > \text{Median}\}$				0.145 (0.236)		
$\times \text{Share of 15-29 year olds}$					0.034 (0.064)	
$\times \text{Share of 65+ year olds}$					0.011 (0.044)	
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Fixed internet} > \text{Median}\}$						-0.037 (0.210)
$\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Mobile internet} > \text{Median}\}$						0.018 (0.227)
R-squared	0.745	0.748	0.746	0.746	0.746	0.745
Year and Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	26,617	26,240	26,578	26,617	26,606	26,617
SD of the TVN signal measure	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45

**Notes.** The table presents heterogeneity of the difference-in-difference estimates of the effect of TVN on religious participation after PiS came to power with respect to municipality characteristics. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. The dependent variables are the shares of Catholics attending mass and taking Communion in Panels A and B, respectively. All specifications control for year and municipality fixed effects. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A3:** Robustness of the difference-in-differences estimates to additional controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Panel A: Dependent Variable:</b>	<b>Share of Catholic pop. attending mass</b>					
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.568** (0.243)	-0.548** (0.242)	-0.616** (0.246)	-0.550** (0.242)	-0.694*** (0.241)	-0.634*** (0.239)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.258 (0.207)	-0.281 (0.212)	-0.269 (0.210)	-0.259 (0.206)	-0.342 (0.214)	-0.350 (0.219)
R-squared	0.8549	0.8553	0.8550	0.8549	0.8604	0.8604
Mean of dependent variable	35.03	35.03	35.03	35.03	35.03	35.03
Osters delta						5.80
<b>Panel B: Dependent Variable:</b>	<b>Share of Catholic pop. taking Communion</b>					
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.350** (0.137)	-0.340** (0.138)	-0.354*** (0.137)	-0.330** (0.137)	-0.393*** (0.140)	-0.350** (0.140)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.201 (0.148)	-0.210 (0.156)	-0.189 (0.141)	-0.191 (0.152)	-0.236 (0.156)	-0.214 (0.160)
R-squared	0.7508	0.7513	0.7507	0.7508	0.7573	0.7573
Mean of dependent variable	14.62	14.62	14.62	14.62	14.62	14.62
Osters delta						3.11
Year and Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fixed/Mobile Internet $\times$ Year FEs; Night lights; Disasters	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times$ Post PiS and in 2015	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log cable TV subscribers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Partitions of Poland $\times$ Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Population deciles $\times$ Year FEs		✓				✓
Log altitude $\times$ Year FEs			✓			✓
Pre-2009 PiS support $\times$ Year FEs				✓		✓
Religious participation, 2009 $\times$ Year FEs					✓	✓
Observations	26,201	26,201	26,201	26,201	26,201	26,201
SD of variable of interest	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45

**Notes.** The table presents the robustness of the difference-in-differences estimation to controlling for various potential confounding factors. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. The dependent variables are the shares of Catholics attending mass and taking Communion in Panels A and B, respectively. Column 1 controls for year and municipality fixed effects and the interactions of fixed and mobile internet with year dummies, time-varying nighttime light density per capita, and dummy variables for a natural disaster in the last three years, free-space TVN signal strength interacted with post-PiS and 2015 dummies, and the interactions of the dummies for Polish partitions with year dummies. In addition, Column 2 includes the interactions of dummies for population deciles with year dummies; Column 3 controls for the inte interactions of log altitude of municipalities with year dummies; Column 4 – for the interactions of the pre-2009 level of support for PiS with year dummies; Column 5 – for the interactions of the 2009 level of religiosity with year dummies. Column 6 controls for all additional covariates included in Columns 2 to 5 together. At the bottom of each panel, we report Oster’s  $\delta$ , which is calculated under the assumption that, net of municipality and year fixed effects, the  $R_{max}^2$  is equal to  $1.3R^2$  from Column 6. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A4:** Difference-in-differences robustness: 2013–2019 sample restriction, after the switch to digital transmission

	Share of Catholic population			
	attending mass		taking Communion	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.548** (0.262)		-0.344** (0.153)	
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.322 (0.271)		-0.221 (0.146)	
TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$		-0.032** (0.016)		-0.030*** (0.009)
TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$		-0.011 (0.014)		-0.023** (0.011)
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	0.014 (0.025)	0.038 (0.033)	0.002 (0.013)	0.031* (0.018)
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	0.019 (0.026)	0.021 (0.034)	0.004 (0.014)	0.029 (0.021)
Year and Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fixed and Mobile Internet $\times$ Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Night-time light density per capita	✓	✓	✓	✓
Disaster dummy	✓	✓	✓	✓
Partitions of Poland $\times$ Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log cable TV subscribers	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	16,978	16,978	16,978	16,978
R-squared	0.882	0.882	0.800	0.801
Mean of dependent variable	34.35	34.35	14.66	14.66
SD of the TVN signal measure	0.45	10.12	0.45	10.12

**Notes.** The table presents robustness of the difference-in-differences estimation to restricting the sample to the period after the switch from analogue to digital transmission, 2013–2019. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. The dependent variables are the share of Catholics attending mass in Columns 1 and 2 and taking Communion in Columns 3 and 4. All specifications control for year and municipality fixed effects, the interactions of fixed and mobile internet with year dummies, time-varying nighttime light density per capita, dummy variables for a natural disaster in the last three years, log cable TV subscribers, the free-space TVN signal strength at municipality level interacted with post-PiS and 2015 dummies, and the interactions of the dummies for Polish partitions with year dummies. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A5:** Matching: Balance test of treatment status with respect to covariates in the matched sample

Variable	(1) Control		(2) Treated		(1)-(2) Pairwise t-test	
	N	Mean/(SE)	N	Mean/(SE)	N	P-value
Log night-time lights per capita, 2009	451	-1.980 (0.056)	1496	-1.891 (0.018)	1947	0.126
Log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes (km)	451	0.967 (0.033)	1496	0.990 (0.013)	1947	0.511
Speed of 3G mobile internet	451	38.249 (0.568)	1496	38.515 (0.249)	1947	0.668
Religious participation (PCA), 2009-2014	451	-0.107 (0.081)	1496	-0.083 (0.034)	1947	0.790
Pre-2009 support for PiS (PCA)	451	-0.055 (0.092)	1496	-0.092 (0.039)	1947	0.717
Austro-Hungarian partition	451	0.119 (0.017)	1496	0.128 (0.009)	1947	0.626
Prussian partition	451	0.418 (0.035)	1496	0.445 (0.013)	1947	0.482
Log population	451	9.071 (0.059)	1496	9.133 (0.022)	1947	0.330
Share of working age population	451	67.343 (0.171)	1496	67.403 (0.068)	1947	0.746
Log cable TV subscribers	451	12.597 (0.042)	1496	12.585 (0.016)	1947	0.776
Log altitude	451	5.025 (0.048)	1496	4.954 (0.020)	1947	0.166
Share of population employed in agriculture	451	36.931 (1.243)	1496	35.208 (0.513)	1947	0.200
Share of population with secondary education	451	17.650 (0.293)	1496	18.051 (0.103)	1947	0.198
Share of population with higher education	451	6.192 (0.205)	1496	6.235 (0.075)	1947	0.844

**Notes.** The table presents the balance test between treated and untreated municipalities in terms of socio-economic characteristics in the matched sample. The unit of analysis is municipality. The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the treated and untreated groups. Untreated municipalities are weighted using the weights representing the number of treated municipalities for which they serve as counterfactual. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A6:** Using the numbers of Catholics, mass participants, and Communion takers as dependent variable

	Log number of		
	catholics	Mass participants	Communion takers
	(1)	(2)	(3)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.018** (0.007)	-0.017* (0.009)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.015 (0.016)	-0.013* (0.008)	-0.015* (0.009)
Log number of Catholics		0.874*** (0.013)	0.887*** (0.015)
R-squared	0.932	0.980	0.964
Mean of dependent variable	8.82	7.71	6.83
Year and Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓
Fixed and Mobile Internet $\times$ Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Nighttime light density per capita	✓	✓	✓
Disaster dummy	✓	✓	✓
Log cable TV subscribers	✓	✓	✓
Partitions of Poland $\times$ Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Free-space TVN signal strength	✓	✓	✓
Observations	26,617	26,617	26,608
SD of the TVN signal measure	0.45	0.45	0.45

**Notes.** The table shows that our main results are not driven by the effect of media environment on the denominator used in calculating the rates of mass attendance and taking Communion, namely, on the number of registered Catholics. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A7:** Difference-in-differences: Political outcomes and TVN

	PiS vote share		Turnout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A: Parliamentary Elections, 2007, 2011, 2015, and 2019</b>				
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	0.119 (0.530)	0.121 (0.518)	0.822*** (0.243)	0.677*** (0.232)
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	0.517* (0.294)	0.416* (0.248)	-0.059 (0.214)	0.345* (0.189)
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.167*** (0.046)	-0.156*** (0.049)	-0.012 (0.028)	-0.015 (0.024)
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{2015\}$	-0.052 (0.034)	-0.050 (0.031)	0.013 (0.022)	-0.020 (0.015)
Observations	9,904	9,904	9,904	9,904
R-squared	0.937	0.938	0.956	0.958
Mean of dependent variable	41.29	41.29	47.56	47.56
SD of the TVN signal measure	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45
<b>Panel B: European Parliament Elections, 2009, 2014, and 2019</b>				
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\} \times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	0.023 (0.561)	0.029 (0.556)	0.081 (0.231)	0.019 (0.230)
Free-space TVN signal strength $\times \mathbb{1}\{\text{Post PiS}\}$	-0.245*** (0.049)	-0.222*** (0.050)	0.021 (0.022)	0.030 (0.023)
Observations	7,428	7,428	7,428	7,428
R-squared	0.905	0.906	0.968	0.968
Mean of dependent variable	43.30	43.30	26.17	26.17
SD of the TVN signal measure	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45
Year and Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fixed and Mobile Internet $\times$ Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Night-time light density per capita	✓	✓	✓	✓
Disaster dummy	✓	✓	✓	✓
Empire $\times$ Year trend	✓		✓	
Empire $\times$ Year FE		✓		✓

**Notes.** The table presents the difference-in-differences estimation of the effect of TVN on political outcomes after PiS came to power. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality  $\times$  year. Panel A considers the national parliamentary elections, while Panel B considers European Parliament elections. The dependent variables are the vote share for PiS in Columns 1 and 2 and turnout rate in Columns 3 and 4. All columns control for year and municipality fixed effects, interactions of fixed and mobile internet with year dummies, time-varying nighttime light density per capita, and dummy variables for a natural disaster in the last three years, and the free-space TVN signal strength at municipality level interacted with post-PiS and 2015 dummies. In addition, Columns 1 and 3 include the interactions of the dummies for Polish partitions with year trends, while Columns 2 and 4 include the interactions of the dummies for Polish partitions with year dummies. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km and temporal autocorrelation for the whole time period are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A8:** Experiment’s descriptive statistics: Pre-treatment characteristics

	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
Lives in a rural area	0.309	0	0.462	0	1	9,416
Lives in a city (< 200,000 inhabitants)	0.460	0	0.498	0	1	9,416
Lives in a big city (> 200,000 inhabitants)	0.230	0	0.421	0	1	9,416
Marital status: single	0.194	0	0.396	0	1	9,416
Marital status: married	0.481	0	0.500	0	1	9,416
Marital status: informal partnership	0.245	0	0.430	0	1	9,416
Employed	0.662	1	0.473	0	1	9,416
Unemployed	0.067	0	0.251	0	1	9,416
Student	0.119	0	0.324	0	1	9,416
Household size	3.372	3	1.407	1	7	9,416
Household income	8.473	8	2.732	1	14	8,290
Has internet access at home	0.864	1	0.343	0	1	9,361
Internet services used: Facebook, twitter	0.860	1	0.347	0	1	9,416
Internet services used: pro-PiS portals	0.089	0	0.284	0	1	9,416
Internet services used: anti-PiS portals	0.255	0	0.436	0	1	9,416
Time spent watching TV	3.699	4	1.518	1	6	9,416
Main TV source of information: TVPolska	0.192	0	0.394	0	1	9,416
Main TV source of information: TVN	0.488	0	0.500	0	1	9,416
Main other sources of information: internet media	0.546	1	0.498	0	1	9,416
Main other sources of information: social media	0.441	0	0.497	0	1	9,416
Main other sources of information: periodicals	0.112	0	0.315	0	1	9,416
Denomination: Catholic	0.838	1	0.368	0	1	9,161
Denomination: not religious	0.121	0	0.326	0	1	9,161
Attends mass weekly	0.340	0	0.474	0	1	7,963
Takes Communion weekly	0.139	0	0.346	0	1	7,649
Considers self a religious person	0.762	1	0.426	0	1	9,090
Donated time or resources to a religious charity	0.130	0	0.337	0	1	9,290
Voted in the parliamentary elections in 2019	0.719	1	0.449	0	1	9,322
Voted for PiS in the parliamentary elections in 2019	0.334	0	0.472	0	1	5,886
Voted in the EU elections in 2019	0.629	1	0.483	0	1	9,301
Voted for PiS in the EU elections in 2019	0.320	0	0.466	0	1	5,116
Watched the movie ‘Clergy’	0.568	1	0.495	0	1	9,364
Watched the movie ‘Tell no one’	0.598	1	0.490	0	1	9,308

**Notes:** The table presents the summary statistics for the pre-treatment socio-economic characteristics of the participants in the survey-experiment.

**Table A9:** Experiment's descriptive statistics: Outcome variables

	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
<b>Panel A: First-round outcomes</b>						
<b>Primary outcomes:</b>						
Chose a religious foundation to donate	0.220	0	0.414	0	1	9,416
Trust in religious institutions (PCA)	0.370	0.179	0.340	0	1	9,066
Trust in the Church	0.340	0	0.474	0	1	9,263
Trust in parish priests	0.384	0	0.486	0	1	9,257
Trust in the Episcopate	0.184	0	0.387	0	1	9,216
Trust in the Pope	0.699	1	0.459	0	1	9,270
Opinion: The Church's reaction to the pedophilia is insufficient	0.774	1	0.418	0	1	9,264
Disagree: The problem of pedophilia in Church is exaggerated	0.755	1	0.430	0	1	9,279
Disagree: The attack on the Church is underway to reduce its authority	0.566	1	0.496	0	1	9,221
Opinion: Lessons of religion should take place at school	0.430	0	0.495	0	1	9,331
Opinion: At school because the children are safer	0.500	1	0.500	0	1	3,948
Opinion: At parish because school should be separated from the Church	0.530	1	0.499	0	1	4,406
Approve: Priest salaries for teaching at school from the state budget	0.324	0	0.468	0	1	9,339
Opinion: The mutual support of PiS and the Catholic Church is inadmissible	0.691	1	0.462	0	1	9,416
<b>Secondary outcomes:</b>						
Intention to vote for Duda if there were no pandemic	0.260	0	0.439	0	1	7,105
Intention to vote for Duda if vote by correspondence	0.495	0	0.500	0	1	2,742
Trust in political institutions (PCA)	0.191	0	0.324	0	1	9,154
Trust in the president	0.286	0	0.452	0	1	9,265
Trust in the Senate	0.279	0	0.449	0	1	9,238
Trust in the Sejm (parliament)	0.149	0	0.357	0	1	9,257
Trust in the government	0.185	0	0.388	0	1	9,277
Has positive feelings for PiS	0.249	0	0.432	0	1	9,155
<b>Panel B: Follow-up-round outcomes</b>						
Trust in religious institutions (PCA)	0.368	0.183	0.343	0	1	7,194
Intends to participate in the mass at least once a week in the future	0.309	0	0.462	0	1	7,277
Actively searched info on pedophilia in the Church in the media or on the intern	0.254	0	0.435	0	1	7,157
Pedophiles within the Catholic Church are treated differently	0.806	1	0.396	0	1	7,270
Watched 'Tell no one' since the first round	0.222	0	0.416	0	1	2,832

**Notes:** The table presents the summary statistics for the outcome variables in the survey-experiment. Panel A presents the outcomes in the first round of the survey-experiment, separately for primary outcomes that are related to religiosity and secondary outcomes that are related to political preferences. Panel B presents the outcomes in the follow-up round of the survey-experiment.

**Table A10:** Experiment. Omnibus test of randomization quality: Pre-treatment characteristics do not predict treatment status

Sample:	Peadophilia Cover-up Treatment & Control				<i>(continued...)</i>				Peadophilia Cover-up Treatment & Control							
Dependent variable:	Peadophilia Cover-up Treatment				Church's ties to PiS Treatment				Peadophilia Cover-up Treatment				Church's ties to PiS Treatment			
	coeff.	se	coeff.	se					coeff.	se	coeff.	se	coeff.	se		
Lives in a city (< 200,000 inhabitants)	0.015	(0.015)	0.004	(0.015)	Main TV source of information: TVPolska				0.007	(0.020)	0.007	(0.020)				
Lives in a big city (> 200,000 inhabitants)	0.005	(0.019)	-0.015	(0.019)	Main TV source of information: TVN				-0.011	(0.016)	0.000	(0.015)				
Marital status: single	-0.006	(0.029)	0.029	(0.029)	Main other sources of information: internet media				-0.002	(0.014)	-0.016	(0.014)				
Marital status: married	-0.029	(0.025)	0.026	(0.026)	Main other sources of information: social media				0.005	(0.015)	0.029**	(0.015)				
Marital status: informal partnership	-0.013	(0.027)	0.016	(0.028)	Main other sources of information: periodicals				0.000	(0.022)	-0.008	(0.022)				
Employed	-0.004	(0.016)	-0.014	(0.016)	Denomination: Catholic				-0.003	(0.033)	-0.016	(0.033)				
Unemployed	-0.016	(0.027)	-0.017	(0.027)	Denomination: not religious				-0.028	(0.039)	-0.025	(0.039)				
Student	-0.003	(0.028)	0.000	(0.027)	Attends mass weekly				-0.010	(0.018)	-0.025	(0.018)				
Household size	0.013**	(0.005)	-0.007	(0.005)	Takes Communion weekly				0.009	(0.024)	-0.005	(0.024)				
Household income	0.000	(0.003)	0.003	(0.003)	Considers self a religious person				-0.007	(0.019)	0.043**	(0.019)				
Has internet access at home	0.008	(0.019)	-0.007	(0.019)	Donated time or resources to a religious charity				-0.002	(0.021)	-0.018	(0.021)				
Internet services used: Facebook, twitter	-0.004	(0.019)	0.014	(0.020)	Voted in the parliamentary elections in 2019				-0.018	(0.025)	-0.010	(0.025)				
Internet services used: pro-PiS portals	0.002	(0.024)	0.020	(0.024)	Voted for PiS in the parliamentary elections in 2019				-0.020	(0.029)	-0.013	(0.029)				
Internet services used: anti-PiS portals	-0.002	(0.016)	-0.005	(0.016)	Voted in the EU elections in 2019				0.025	(0.024)	0.039	(0.024)				
Time spent watching TV	0.000	(0.005)	-0.003	(0.005)	Voted for PiS in the EU elections in 2019				0.000	(0.031)	-0.011	(0.032)				
Watched the movie 'Tell no one'	-0.001	(0.015)	0.016	(0.015)	Watched the movie 'Clergy'				0.014	(0.014)	0.019	(0.014)				
					Observations				6,293		6,299					
					R-squared				0.006		0.010					
					p-value for joint significance				0.998		0.460					

**Notes:** The table presents the omnibus test of randomization quality for the experiment. It reports the estimates obtained from regressing the treatment status on the full list of pre-treatment covariates. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. In the first estimation, an indicator variable for being assigned to “Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment” is regressed on the covariates in a sample of respondents assigned to “Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment” and “Control” groups. In the second estimation, an indicator variable for being assigned to “Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment” is regressed on the covariates in a sample of respondents assigned to “Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment” and “Control” groups. In both regressions, we control for randomization-strata fixed effects. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parenthesis. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A11:** Balance test: pre-treatment characteristics across treatments

	Peadophilia Cover-up Treatment		Church's ties to PiS Treatment		R-sq.	N
	coeff.	s.e.	coeff.	s.e.		
Lives in a rural area	-0.006	(0.011)	-0.002	(0.012)	0.036	9,416
Lives in a city (< 200,000 inhabitants)	0.010	(0.013)	0.009	(0.013)	0.007	9,416
Lives in a big city (> 200,000 inhabitants)	-0.004	(0.010)	-0.008	(0.010)	0.038	9,416
Marital status: single	0.003	(0.009)	0.001	(0.009)	0.157	9,416
Marital status: married	-0.009	(0.012)	0.007	(0.012)	0.148	9,416
Marital status: informal partnership	0.003	(0.010)	-0.002	(0.010)	0.070	9,416
Employed	0.001	(0.011)	-0.004	(0.011)	0.140	9,416
Unemployed	-0.004	(0.006)	-0.005	(0.006)	0.021	9,416
Student	0.002	(0.006)	0.002	(0.006)	0.463	9,416
Household size	0.069**	(0.034)	-0.028	(0.033)	0.127	9,416
Household income	0.053	(0.070)	0.077	(0.071)	0.079	8,290
Has internet access at home	0.006	(0.009)	0.001	(0.009)	0.016	9,361
Internet services used: Facebook, twitter	0.001	(0.009)	0.013	(0.009)	0.045	9,416
Internet services used: pro-PiS portals	0.003	(0.007)	0.006	(0.007)	0.022	9,416
Internet services used: anti-PiS portals	0.003	(0.011)	0.004	(0.011)	0.043	9,416
Time spent watching TV	0.011	(0.037)	0.003	(0.037)	0.057	9,416
Main TV source of information: TVPolska	0.004	(0.010)	-0.005	(0.010)	0.008	9,416
Main TV source of information: TVN	-0.004	(0.012)	0.009	(0.012)	0.031	9,416
Main other sources of information: internet media	0.004	(0.012)	-0.002	(0.012)	0.027	9,416
Main other sources of information: social media	0.007	(0.012)	0.029**	(0.012)	0.048	9,416
Main other sources of information: periodicals	0.003	(0.008)	0.000	(0.008)	0.019	9,416
Denomination: Catholic	0.006	(0.009)	0.005	(0.009)	0.021	9,161
Denomination: not religious	-0.007	(0.008)	-0.007	(0.008)	0.019	9,161
Attends mass weekly	-0.007	(0.013)	-0.019	(0.013)	0.014	7,963
Takes Communion weekly	0.001	(0.010)	-0.008	(0.010)	0.010	7,649
Considers self a religious person	-0.002	(0.011)	0.017	(0.011)	0.028	9,090
Donated time or resources to a religious charity	0.001	(0.009)	-0.006	(0.009)	0.005	9,290
Voted in the parliamentary elections in 2019	0.000	(0.011)	0.009	(0.011)	0.109	9,322
Voted for PiS in the parliamentary elections in 2019	-0.010	(0.015)	-0.021	(0.015)	0.028	5,886
Voted in the EU elections in 2019	0.008	(0.012)	0.025**	(0.011)	0.123	9,301
Voted for PiS in the EU elections in 2019	-0.006	(0.016)	-0.021	(0.016)	0.030	5,116
Watched the movie 'Clergy'	0.013	(0.012)	0.031**	(0.012)	0.019	9,364
Watched the movie 'Tell no one'	0.006	(0.012)	0.028**	(0.012)	0.018	9,308

**Notes.** The table presents the balance test between treatment groups and the control group in terms of pre-treatment socio-economic characteristics. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is individual. Each row represents the estimates from a different regression, where the dependent variable indicated in the row label is regressed on two indicator variables for assignment to “Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment” and to “Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment”. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A12:** Experiment. Testing Selective Attrition between the First Round and the Follow-up by Treatment Status, using the outcomes from the First Round

	Trust in religious institutions	Donated to religious foundations	Disagree with Problem of pedophilia exaggerated
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1) × Participated in follow up	-0.001 (0.026)	0.079 (0.036)	0.932 (0.036)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1) × Not participated in follow up	-0.015 (0.028)	0.060 (0.039)	0.942 (0.039)
Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment (T2) × Participated in follow up	0.022 (0.026)	0.079 (0.036)	0.872 (0.037)
Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment (T2) × Not participated in follow up	0.030 (0.028)	0.067 (0.038)	0.879 (0.039)
Control × Participated in follow up	0.046 (0.026)	0.096 (0.036)	0.855 (0.036)
Control × Not participated in follow up	0.028 (0.027)	0.081 (0.038)	0.859 (0.039)
Observations	9,066	9,416	9,279
R-squared	0.633	0.280	0.780
Mean of dependent variable	0.370	0.220	0.755
p-value for joint equality of coefficients between participated and not participated within each treatment group separately	0.380	0.495	0.921
p-value for equality of coefficients, T1	0.306	0.276	0.558
p-value for equality of coefficients, T2	0.577	0.468	0.720
p-value for equality of coefficients, Control	0.190	0.390	0.858

**Notes.** The table presents a test for selective attrition by treatment status between the first round and the follow-up round of the survey-experiment using the religiosity outcomes from the first round. OLS estimates without an intercept. The unit of analysis is individual. Each coefficient represents the average of the outcome reported in each column title by treatment status × an indicator variable for whether the respondent participated in the follow-up round of the survey. The regressions are conditional on strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. The p-values for the test of the equality of means between those who participated and those who did not for each treatment are reported at the bottom of the table.

**Table A13:** Experiment. Testing Selective Attrition between the First Round and the Follow-up by Treatment Status, using the pre-treatment characteristics

	Denomination: Catholic	Attends mass weekly	Takes Communion weekly	Considers self a religious person
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1) × Participated in follow up	0.566 (0.040)	0.233 (0.050)	0.157 (0.043)	0.552 (0.041)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1) × Not participated in follow up	0.575 (0.042)	0.237 (0.052)	0.179 (0.044)	0.575 (0.043)
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2) × Participated in follow up	0.571 (0.041)	0.228 (0.050)	0.155 (0.043)	0.581 (0.041)
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2) × Not participated in follow up	0.564 (0.042)	0.224 (0.051)	0.153 (0.044)	0.579 (0.043)
Control × Participated in follow up	0.562 (0.041)	0.252 (0.050)	0.163 (0.043)	0.554 (0.041)
Control × Not participated in follow up	0.568 (0.042)	0.217 (0.052)	0.156 (0.044)	0.580 (0.043)
Observations	9,161	7,963	7,649	9,090
R-squared	0.844	0.370	0.158	0.773
Mean of dependent variable	0.838	0.340	0.139	0.762
p-value for joint equality of coefficients between participated and not participated within each treatment group separately	0.890	0.468	0.635	0.337
p-value for equality of coefficients, T1	0.571	0.862	0.218	0.226
p-value for equality of coefficients, T2	0.686	0.839	0.945	0.949
p-value for equality of coefficients, Control	0.704	0.116	0.676	0.160

**Notes.** The table presents a test for selective attrition by treatment status between first round and follow-up round of the survey-experiment using the pre-treatment characteristics. OLS estimates without an intercept. The unit of analysis is individual. Each coefficient represents the average of the outcome reported in each column title by treatment status × an indicator variable for whether the respondent participated in the follow-up round of the survey. The regressions are conditional on strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. The p-values for the test of the equality of means between those who participated and those who did not for each treatment are reported at the bottom of the table.

**Table A14:** Testing for Experimenter Demand Effects: Heterogeneity by self-reported donation to charity last year

Dependent variable:	First round		Follow-up round	
	Trust in religious institutions	Donated to religious foundations	Trust in religious institutions	Attend mass weekly in future
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.045***	-0.013	-0.028	-0.014
p-value	(0.003)	(0.548)	(0.122)	(0.537)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.004}	{0.544}	{0.118}	{0.536}
Sharpened q-value	[0.061]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FWER p-value	[0.038]	[0.997]	[0.713]	[0.997]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.054]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
T1 × Donated to charity last year	0.001	0.001	0.011	-0.010
p-value	(0.947)	(0.957)	(0.586)	(0.717)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.947}	{0.956}	{0.587}	{0.719}
Sharpened q-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FWER p-value	[0.998]	[0.958]	[0.996]	[0.979]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[0.958]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.020	-0.032	-0.017	-0.009
p-value	(0.204)	(0.123)	(0.345)	(0.700)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.208}	{0.124}	{0.351}	{0.700}
Sharpened q-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FWER p-value	[0.854]	[0.704]	[0.969]	[0.989]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
T2 × Donated to charity last year	0.009	0.023	0.012	-0.013
p-value	(0.632)	(0.336)	(0.571)	(0.637)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.634}	{0.335}	{0.572}	{0.641}
Sharpened q-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FWER p-value	[0.995]	[0.967]	[0.996]	[0.988]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Observations	9,066	9,416	7,194	7,277
R-squared	0.249	0.112	0.246	0.225
Mean of dependent variable	0.370	0.220	0.368	0.309
p-value for T1 + T1 x Donated to charity last year = 0	0.000	0.324	0.098	0.087
p-value for T2 + T2 x Donated to charity last year = 0	0.230	0.431	0.608	0.119

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments with respect to having donated time or money to a charity in the last year on the main religiosity outcomes in both rounds of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## 2 Anecdotal evidence about media environment

### 2.1 Divergence in the content of TVPolska and TVN after 2015

An American journalist and historian, Anne Applebaum, describes the transformation of TVPolska in an long article in *The Atlantic* as follows: [PiS] “took over the state public broadcaster, *Telewizja Polska*; fired popular presenters; and began running unabashed propaganda, sprinkled with easily disprovable lies, at taxpayers’ expense. [...] Under Law and Justice [i.e., PiS party], state television doesn’t just produce regime propaganda; it celebrates the fact that it is doing so. It doesn’t just twist and contort information; it glories in deceit.”<sup>1</sup> In the same article, she describes how TVPolska was transformed by PiS: “...In 2015, Kaczyński [the leader of PiS] plucked Jacek [Kurski] out of the relative obscurity of fringe politics and made him the director of state television. Since his arrival at *Telewizja Polska*, [...] Kurski has changed the station beyond recognition, firing the best-known journalists and radically reorienting its politics. Although the station is funded by taxpayers, the news broadcasts no longer make any pretense of objectivity or neutrality. In April of this year, for example, the station made an advertisement for itself. It showed a clip from a press conference; the leader of the opposition party, Grzegorz Schetyna, is asked what his party achieved during its eight years in government, from 2007 to 2015. Schetyna pauses and frowns; the video slows down and then ends. It’s as if he had nothing to say. In reality, Schetyna spoke for several minutes and listed a number of achievements, from the mass construction of roads to rural investments to advances in foreign policy. But this manipulated clip was deemed such a success that for several days, it remained pinned to the top of *Telewizja Polska*’s Twitter feed” (source footnote 1).

A British historian and essayist Timothy Garton Ash described the difference between TVPolska and TVN’s news coverage of the COVID19 pandemic, by writing: “If you watched only Polish state television news over the last fortnight, you would have no idea that Poland is currently among the countries doing the worst during the pandemic. According to Bloomberg’s Covid resilience ranking, Poland has fallen to 50th place among the world’s 53 largest economies, with only Brazil, the Czech Republic and Mexico performing worse.<sup>2</sup> But switch on the official news and [...] there are long items about how the government is speeding up the vaccination campaign [...] and how terrible the opposition’s record was on public health when it was in power. In other “news,” you learn [...] how Christians are being persecuted all over the world and how a grave was recently uncovered showing more victims of wartime German occupation. The propaganda is more extreme but also more skillful than during the last decade of communist rule. Only when you turn to the independent TVN24 news [i.e., a 24-hour version of TVN news] do you see footage of long queues of ambulances waiting outside hospitals, because there are no more intensive care beds, and hear doctors explaining how terrible the public health situation really is.”<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2 Additional example of TVN’s coverage of Church sex scandals

In November 2020, TVN showed a reportage entitled “Don Stanislaw. The second face of cardinal Dziwisz” containing evidence that cardinal Stanislaw Dziwisz, Archbishop of Krakow and

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<sup>1</sup>Source: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/10/poland-polarization/568324/>, accessed May 5, 2021.

<sup>2</sup>These figures correspond to the Bloomberg’s Covid resilience ranking as of April 25, 2021. See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210425035008/https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/covid-resilience-ranking/>, accessed June 21, 2021.

<sup>3</sup><https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/apr/08/covid-poland-democracy-media-europe-coronavirus-tax>, accessed May 5, 2021.

the personal secretary to the Pope John Paul II, took part in covering up cases of sexual abuse by Catholic priests both in Poland and in other countries (see <https://www.polishnews.co.uk/reportage-don-stanislawo-the-other-face-of-cardinal-dziwisz-political-comments/> (accessed May 21, 2021)).

### 2.3 Additional sources describing Polsat’s pro-government editorial policy

- <https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/jak-polsat-pokochal-pis/vckxvg6>, accessed September 21, 2022.
- [https://www.press.pl/tresc/58523,polsat-news\\_-obiektywnie-w-prawo](https://www.press.pl/tresc/58523,polsat-news_-obiektywnie-w-prawo), accessed September 21, 2022.
- <https://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/spot-pis-platne-ogloszenie-spoleczne-partii-politycznej-program-po-polsat-tvp>, accessed September 21, 2022.
- <https://innpoland.pl/143433,solorz-wpadl-we-wlasne-sidla-chcial-byc-obok-teraz-musi-chwalicz-rad>, accessed September 21, 2022.

### 2.4 Pro-PiS and pro-Church propaganda outside TVPolska

PiS’s efforts to influence Polish population are not limited to propaganda on TV. PiS has also transformed radio and print media environment in Poland by means of heavily subsidizing pro-PiS and pro-Church content and exercising political pressure on those media that do not comply.

**Radio:** The state radio company *Polskie Radio* owns four stations: Jedynka (PR1), Dwójka (PR2), Trojka (PR3), and Czwórka (PR4). They have seen a similar content transformation to the one at TVPolska after PiS came to power. For example, according to the data provided by the Polskie Radio to the Polish broadcasting regulator (KRRiT), in the first three quarters of 2022, Polskie Radio devoted 294 hours to PiS and 40 hours to the main opposition party, Civic Platform (<https://www.rp.pl/polityka/art37483261-pluralizm-w-polskim-radiu-294-godziny-dla-pis-40-godzin-dla-platformy>, accessed May 5, 2023).

The two state radio stations with regular news programs, Jedynka (PR1) and Trojka (PR3) have nearly universal coverage. The maps of areas with reception of these radio stations without an amplifier are available here:

PR1 – <https://www2.polskieradio.pl/czestotliwosci/jedynka.aspx> (accessed May 5, 2023) and PR3 – <https://www2.polskieradio.pl/czestotliwosci/trojka.aspx> (accessed May 5, 2023).

Another important medium of pro-PiS and pro-Church propaganda is a private Catholic radio, *Radio Maryja*, which is part of a media network created by Father Tadeusz Rydzyk that gets generous funding from state budget since 2015. Data on transmitters and signal coverage of Radio Maryja’s are available here:

<https://fmscan.org/net.php?r=f&m=m&itu=POL&pxf=Radio+Maryja> (accessed May 5, 2023).

We have verified that at least one of these three radio stations (PR1, PR3, or Radio Maryja) is available in every municipality where TVPolska has poor reception.

**Press:** Since 2015, PiS also controls the content of a large number of print media by providing them with state funds in exchange for support and for dissemination pro-PiS propaganda. There are many articles describing this phenomenon in the few independent media outlets that remain, see, for instance:

<https://www.press.pl/tresc/56634,prawicowe-tytuly-z-najwiekszymi-przychodami-z-reklam-od-panstwowych-spolek>;

<https://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,20839408,reklamy-pod-sam-korek-czyli-jak-prawicowe-media-zarabiaja.html>;

<https://biqdata.wyborcza.pl/biqdata/7,159116,27448575,kurczy-sie-talia-wolnych-mediow-zobacz-kto-zgarnia-kolejne.htm>.

Many of these print media outlets have very wide circulation: *Polska Press Grupa*, a publishing house with 20 local daily newspapers and 50 local weeklies; *Gazeta Polska*, a weekly magazine; *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, a daily newspaper with a dense network of local clubs called *Kluby Gazety Polskiej* (the list the clubs in each region is available here:

<http://www.klubygp.pl/kluby/>, accessed May 5, 2023); *Nasz dziennik*, a Catholic national newspaper founded by priest Rydzyk, the founder and director of Radio Maryja; the following weeklies: *Sieci*, *Do Rzeczy*, *Gość Niedzielny*, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, and magazines: *Gazeta Bankowa* and *wSieci Historii*.

### 3 Data Appendix

In this section, we describe the variables used as controls in the observational part of our study. We define each variable and provide information on the aggregation level, time coverage, and sources. Online Appendix Table C1 (below in this section) summarizes the aggregation level, at which these variables are measured, and the years for which they are available.

**Historical Partitions of Poland.** The data on historical partitions of Poland come from Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya (2015a,b). We generate three dummy variables indicating whether a municipality was part of the Russian Empire partition, the Austro-Hungarian Empire partition, or the Prussian Partition. In our regression analyses, we set the Russian Empire partition as the omitted category as it was the largest of the three partitions in terms of the surface area.

**Stationary and mobile internet availability.** The data on the mobile and fix internet availability come from UKE (2019), available here: <https://www.uke.gov.pl/en/> (accessed October 20, 2022). The dataset provides information on the location of optic-fiber internet nodes for stationary internet, and for mobile internet, it contains antenna locations, along with their directions and data transmission speed (in mb/s). This information is available only for 2019. We compute log of the average distance of each municipality to the optic-fiber internet nodes as our measure of stationary internet availability. The motivation for this is that distance to nodes reduces data transmission speed because of signal attenuation through copper cables. We use the average speed of mobile internet as a proxy for its availability. More precisely, we proxy the speed at which a user can browse on her mobile device by the average data transmission speed of the antennas surrounding her. For each municipality we compute the average speed of all antennas covering this municipality, each antenna being weighted by the share of the municipality actually covered by it.

**Night-time lights.** The data on night-time light density come from two sources: top-corrected versions of NASA’s DMSP-OLS provided by Bluhm and Krause (2022), <http://lightinequality.com/top-lights> (accessed January 13, 2024) for the period between 2009 and 2011 and Earth Observation Group Data (2020) annual VNL composites (v2.1) of VIIRS Day/Night Band Nighttime Lights for the period between 2012 and 2019, [https://eogdata.mines.edu/nighttime\\_light/annual/v21/](https://eogdata.mines.edu/nighttime_light/annual/v21/) (accessed January 13, 2024). We compute yearly night-time lights per capita at the municipality level by summing the night-time lights within the municipality border and then dividing these values by the population size in 2009.

**Natural disasters.** The data on natural disasters come from the international disasters database (EM-DAT, 2020), <https://public.emdat.be/> (accessed October 20, 2022). We generate four dummy variables indicating whether a natural disaster occurred in each municipality in the calendar year, the year before, two years before, and three years before.

**Cable TV subscriptions.** The data on cable TV subscriptions come from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed April 10, 2023). They are available as a regional-level panel for our whole observation period, 2009–2019.

**Population data.** The data on total population of municipalities come from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>). We use the total population in 2007, which pre-dates the period of our analysis.

**Age structure of population.** The data on age distribution of municipal population come from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We use the breakdown of population in 2007. We compute the share of young population (aged 15 or less), the share of working age population (aged between 15 and 64), and the share of elderly population (aged 65 or more) by dividing the number of population in each category by the total population in 2007. In our regression analyses, we set the share of young population as the omitted category.

**Education structure of population.** The data on education of municipal population come from the Census of 2002, which is provided by the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the share of population with higher education, the share of population with secondary education, and the share of population with less than secondary education by dividing the number of population in each category by the total population in 2002. In our regression analyses, we set the share of population with less than secondary education as the omitted category.

**Access to railways.** The data on railway network come from Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya (2015a). We generate a dummy variable indicating whether a municipality is within 10-km distance from the railway network in 2006.

**Wages.** The data on the average wage level at the municipality level in 2007 come from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the relative wages of each municipality with respect to the country average, by dividing the average wages in the municipality by the average wage in Poland in 2007.

**Municipality revenue.** The data on municipality revenue in 2007 come from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the municipal revenue per capita by dividing the total municipality revenue by population in 2007, then taking its natural log.

**European Union subsidies.** The data on European Union (EU) subsidies in 2007 comes from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the EU subsidies per capita by dividing the total amount of EU subsidy each municipality received by population in 2007, then taking its natural log.

**Industrial production.** The data on industrial production levels in 2007 are available at the county level and come from Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We divide the value of industrial production by the total population in 2007 and take its natural log.

**Employment in agriculture.** The data on employment in agriculture in 2005 are available at the county level and come from Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the share of population employed in agriculture by dividing the number of people working in agriculture by the total employment level in 2005.

**Language proficiency.** The data on language proficiency are available at the county level and come from the 2002 Census, which is provided by the Central Statistical Office of Poland (CSOP, 2020) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the share of population that speaks only Polish by dividing the their number by the total population in 2002.

**Support for PiS.** The data on the support for PiS in the period before 2009 come from the [National Electoral Commission \(2019\)](#) (Panstwowa Komisja Wyborcza, <http://pkw.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022). We compute the share of votes for PiS by dividing the number of valid votes for PiS by the total number of valid votes for the presidential election in 2005, the parliamentary election in 2007, and for the European Parliament election in 2009. Then, we compute the first principal component of these three variables to generate our pre-2009 support for PiS.

**Religious participation.** The data on religious participation, i.e., mass attendance (*Dominicantes*) and taking Holy Communion (*Communicantes*), in 2009 at the municipality level comes from the Institute of Statistics of the Catholic Church ([ISKK, 2020](#)). We compute the first principal component of these two religious participation measures to generate our religious participation variable in 2009.

**Other geographical characteristics.** The data on elevation come from [Fischer et al. \(2008\)](#). We compute the average altitude of each municipality and take its natural logs. We compute the average altitude of each municipality and take its natural logs. We use the definition provided by the Central Statistical Office of Poland ([CSOP, 2020](#)) (<https://stat.gov.pl/>, accessed October 20, 2022) to classify municipalities as rural areas and cities.

**Table C1:** Aggregation level and time availability of control variables

Covariate	Aggregation	Availability
Austro-Hungarian partition	Municipality	Cross-section, historical
Prussian partition	Municipality	Cross-section, historical
Russian partition	Municipality	Cross-section, historical
Speed of 3G mobile internet	Municipality	Cross-section, 2019
Log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes (km)	Municipality	Cross-section, 2019
Log night-time lights per capita	Municipality	Yearly panel, 2009–2019
Natural disasters	Municipality	Yearly panel, 2009–2019
Log cable TV subscriptions	Region	Yearly panel, 2009–2019
Population	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Share of young population	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Share of working age population	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Share of elderly population	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Share of population with higher education	Municipality	Cross-section, 2002
Share of population with secondary education	Municipality	Cross-section, 2002
Share of population with less than secondary education	Municipality	Cross-section, 2002
Railways within 10 km	Municipality	Cross-section, 2006
Wages relative to country average	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Log municipality revenue per capita	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Log EU subsidies to gminy per capita	Municipality	Cross-section, 2007
Log industrial production per capita	County	Cross-section, 2006
Share of population employed in agriculture	County	Cross-section, 2005
Share of population that speaks only Polish	County	Cross-section, 2002
Religious participation (PCA), 2009	Municipality	Cross-section, 2009
Pre-2009 support for PiS (PCA)	Municipality	Cross-section, pre-2009
Rural areas	Municipality	Cross-section
Log altitude	Municipality	Cross-section

## 4 Determinants of TV signal and the location of antennas

In this section, we explore the correlates of the cross sectional variation in the signal strength of different TV networks. Table D1 presents the results of cross-municipality OLS regressions. As dependent variable, Columns 1 to 4 use dummies for having a good signal strength in the municipality for the two main transmitting networks that we study: one used by TVN and Polsat and the other used by TVPolska. To illustrate the residual variation in TV availability that is the basis of our identification strategy, we account for the proximity to transmitters by controlling for the free-space signal strength. Columns 5 to 8 illustrate the correlates of transmitter locations; they use the dummies for the presence of a transmitting antenna in the vicinity of 10 kilometers for TVN and TVPolska as dependent variables. We regress these variables on a long list of socio-economic, geographical, and historical municipal characteristics. Because the list of potential correlates of the signal strength is long and many of them are strongly correlated, we also use the robust LASSO method (Belloni et al., 2013) to select the most relevant correlates of the TVN’s and TVPolska’s availability.<sup>4</sup> The full list of considered covariates is as follows: dummy for the top population decile, dummies for historical partitions of Poland, log altitude, share of population employed in agriculture, speed of 3G mobile internet, shares of population with different education levels, log night-time lights per capita, share of working age population, log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes, railways within 10 km, log municipality revenue per capita, log EU subsidies to municipality per capita, wages relative to country average, log industrial production per capita, rural dummy, share of elderly population, share of population that speaks only Polish, log number of cable TV subscriptions, religious participation in 2009, and pre-2009 support for PiS. (Online Appendix Section 3 provides definitions of each of these variables.) Odd columns present the “kitchen-sink” regressions with all covariates included; even columns show the results of regressions with covariates selected by LASSO. Online Appendix Table D2 presents a similar analysis of the correlates of the availability of the entertainment TV.

One should expect transmitters to be placed in locations that allow reaching larger numbers of people and more developed areas. This is exactly what we find. Column 1 shows that a good reception of TVN network (available in 71% of municipalities) is significantly more likely in municipalities that are in the top population decile, have higher nighttime light density, are closer to optic-fiber nodes, and have lower share of agricultural employment. Column 2 shows that the only robust significant drivers of variation in TVN availability, once we control for free-space signal strength, are the dummy for the top population decile and the dummy for the historical Austro-Hungarian partition of Poland. The historical partitions matter for TV availability due to local topography, which affects how far the TV waves can travel. There is a higher number of TVN transmitters in mountainous areas in the south-East of Poland that coincide with the Austro-Hungarian partition (see Columns 5 and 6); but the reception in these areas is weaker (Columns 1 and 2). Similarly, if anything, there is a lower reception, but more transmitters in municipalities with higher average altitude. Columns 3 and 4 show that there is significantly smaller likelihood of a good TVPolska reception in agricultural areas. It is also the case for the entertainment TV reception (see Online Appendix Table D2).

The fact that many potential covariates of the good TV reception are not picked up by LASSO highlights the overwhelming importance of controlling for free-space signal strength, which accounts for all characteristics that correlate with proximity to transmitting infrastructure, and for partition dummies, which account for topographical differences that happen to correlate with levels of religiosity (Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya, 2015a). In particular, the reli-

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<sup>4</sup>We implement robust LASSO method in Stata using the package `lassopack` provided by Ahrens et al. (2020).

gious participation in 2009—the initial level of our main dependent variables—is not chosen by LASSO as an important correlate of the good TV signal strength for both any of the TV channels. Yet, as we show in Table D3, mass attendance in 2009 is negatively and significantly correlated with the dummy for good TVN signal strength and the rate of taking Communion in 2009 is negatively correlated with good TVPolska signal strength when no additional covariates are included. The table also shows that this correlation disappears once we condition on the historical partitions of Poland, to account for a much higher level of religious participation in the former Austro-Hungarian partition (Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya, 2015a), and on the free-space signal strength, to account for other correlates of the proximity to transmitters (Olken, 2009). Our baseline specification, presented below, controls for partitions-by-year fixed effect and free-space signal strength interacted with post-PiS dummy. In the robustness section, we also show that our results are robust to controlling for the population-decile dummies, log altitude of municipalities, initial political preferences, and initial levels of religious participation and interacted with year fixed effects.

**Table D1:** Determinants of TVN and TVPolska reception and antenna location

Dependent variable:	Good TV signal				Transmitter presence			
	Good TVN signal strength		Good TVPolska signal strength		TVN antenna present		TVPolska antenna present	
	All	LASSO	All	LASSO	All	LASSO	All	LASSO
Covariates:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Free-space TVN signal strength	0.042*** (0.004)	0.043*** (0.005)						
Free-space TVPolska signal strength			0.020*** (0.004)	0.020*** (0.005)				
Top population decile	0.099*** (0.032)	0.049** (0.019)	0.022 (0.020)	-0.040* (0.021)	-0.022 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.038 (0.047)	-0.047 (0.048)
Austro-Hungarian partition	-0.223*** (0.060)	-0.250*** (0.054)	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.067** (0.028)	0.064*** (0.025)	0.057*** (0.019)	0.194*** (0.071)	0.125** (0.060)
Prussian partition	-0.019 (0.028)	0.026 (0.044)	0.003 (0.031)		0.007 (0.021)		0.094** (0.042)	
Log altitude	-0.044* (0.024)	-0.041 (0.027)	-0.038** (0.016)	-0.038** (0.017)	0.017** (0.009)	0.013* (0.007)	0.113** (0.045)	0.094** (0.043)
Share of population employed in agriculture	-0.001** (0.001)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Speed of 3G mobile internet	-0.004*** (0.001)		-0.002** (0.001)		0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.001)
Share of population with higher education	-0.007 (0.007)		0.001 (0.005)		0.010* (0.005)		0.018*** (0.006)	0.013*** (0.004)
Share of population with secondary education	0.002 (0.004)		-0.009* (0.005)		0.002 (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.005)	
Pre-2009 support for PiS (PCA)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.017 (0.013)	0.012 (0.009)		0.003 (0.005)		-0.003 (0.011)	
Log night-time lights per capita, 2009	0.045** (0.018)		0.044* (0.027)		0.016** (0.007)		-0.002 (0.022)	
Share of working age population	0.024 (0.015)		0.021*** (0.008)		-0.003 (0.004)		-0.008 (0.015)	
Log municipality revenue per capita	-0.242*** (0.049)		-0.088*** (0.031)		0.034 (0.036)		0.195*** (0.072)	
Share of elderly population	0.005 (0.011)		0.008 (0.007)		-0.002 (0.002)		0.000 (0.011)	
Log industrial production per capita	-0.010 (0.008)		0.005 (0.004)		-0.003 (0.003)		-0.002 (0.005)	
Rural areas	0.023 (0.030)		-0.043 (0.051)		-0.003 (0.016)		0.040* (0.021)	
Log EU subsidies to municipality per capita	0.003 (0.005)		-0.002 (0.003)		-0.005** (0.002)		-0.007 (0.005)	
Wages relative to country average	0.000 (0.001)		0.001 (0.001)		0.000 (0.000)		-0.002** (0.001)	
Log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes (km)	-0.025** (0.010)		0.003 (0.003)		-0.009 (0.009)		-0.019 (0.022)	
Railways within 10 km	0.008 (0.030)		-0.036 (0.029)		-0.018 (0.026)		-0.013 (0.029)	
Share of population that speaks only Polish	0.001 (0.003)		-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)		-0.001 (0.002)	
Religious participation (PCA), 2009	0.004 (0.009)		-0.005 (0.003)		-0.001 (0.004)		-0.016*** (0.005)	
Log cable TV subscribers	0.030 (0.030)		0.022 (.)		0.014 (0.010)		0.049** (0.025)	
Observations	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478
R-squared	0.307	0.277	0.194	0.165	0.044	0.028	0.185	0.156
Mean of dependent variable	0.71	0.71	0.90	0.90	0.05	0.05	0.18	0.18

**Notes.** The table presents the correlates of the good signal strength quality of TVN and TVPolska and of the location of transmitters used by them. OLS estimates. Columns 1, 2, 5, and 6 report the estimates for TVN, Columns 3, 4, 7, and 8 for TVPolska. Transmitter presence is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if there is a TV transmitter for the network within 10 km distance to municipality centroid, and 0 otherwise, multiplied by 100. Free-space signal strength (in Db) computed with ITM model is included in the set of regressors in Columns 1 to 4. Columns 1, 3, 5, 7 control for all listed covariates. Columns 2, 4, 6, 8 control for the top population decile and the covariates selected by robust LASSO method (Belloni et al., 2013). Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table D2:** Determinants of Entertainment TV reception and antenna locations

Covariates:	Entertainment TV			
	Good signal strength		Antenna present	
	All	LASSO	All	LASSO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Free-space entertainment TV signal strength in 2019	0.045*** (0.004)	0.045*** (0.004)		
Top population decile	0.045 (0.031)	0.034* (0.019)	0.009 (0.033)	0.023 (0.024)
Austro-Hungarian partition	-0.013 (0.051)	-0.085* (0.051)	0.072*** (0.020)	
Prussian partition	0.046 (0.059)	0.016 (0.032)	0.014 (0.015)	
Log altitude	-0.022 (0.014)		0.028*** (0.009)	0.030** (0.012)
Share of population employed in agriculture	-0.001** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	
Speed of 3G mobile internet	-0.003** (0.001)		0.002* (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Share of population with higher education	-0.004 (0.005)		0.007** (0.003)	
Share of population with secondary education	0.001 (0.003)		0.003 (0.003)	
Pre-2009 support for PiS (PCA)	0.017 (0.017)		0.005 (0.007)	
Log night-time lights per capita, 2009	0.049*** (0.016)	0.043*** (0.012)	0.018 (0.013)	
Share of working age population	0.019* (0.011)		-0.005 (0.006)	
Log municipality revenue per capita	-0.122*** (0.044)		0.039 (0.033)	
Share of elderly population	0.010 (0.008)		-0.005 (0.004)	
Log industrial production per capita	0.006 (0.006)		-0.007 (0.004)	
Rural areas	0.005 (0.025)		-0.007 (0.013)	
Log EU subsidies to municipality per capita	0.004 (0.003)		-0.006*** (0.002)	
Wages relative to country average	0.002 (0.002)		-0.000 (0.001)	
Log distance to optic-fiber internet nodes (km)	-0.020 (0.018)		-0.011 (0.015)	
Railways within 10 km	-0.038 (0.031)		0.003 (0.026)	
Share of population that speaks only Polish	-0.005** (0.002)		-0.003*** (0.001)	
Religious participation (PCA), 2009	-0.008 (0.006)		-0.010*** (0.003)	
Log cable TV subscribers	0.031* (0.016)		0.029*** (0.010)	
Observations	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478
R-squared	0.297	0.278	0.048	0.026
Mean of dependent variable	0.72	0.72	0.08	0.08

**Notes.** The table presents the correlates of the good signal strength quality of the Entertainment TV and the location of its transmitters. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality. Transmitter presence is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if there is a TV transmission antenna for the network within 10 km distance of municipality centroid, and 0 otherwise, multiplied by 100. Free-space signal strength (in Db) is computed with ITM model. Columns 1 and 3 control for all the listed covariates. Columns 2 and 4 control for the top population decile and the covariates selected by robust LASSO method Belloni et al. (2013). Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table D3:** Correlation between initial religiosity and good TV signal strength for TVN and TVPolska

	Mass attendance in 2009		Taking Communion in 2009	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Panel A:</b>	<b>Good TVN signal strength and religiosity</b>			
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal}\}$	-3.461** (1.526)	-1.355 (0.920)	-0.839 (0.563)	-0.426 (0.346)
Free-space TVN signal strength		-0.090 (0.075)		-0.047 (0.037)
Prussian partition		0.672 (2.536)		0.388 (1.295)
Austro-Hungarian partition		17.543*** (2.021)		2.549** (1.291)
Observations	2,418	2,418	2,418	2,418
R-squared	0.017	0.263	0.005	0.028
<b>Panel B:</b>	<b>Good TVPolska signal strength and religiosity</b>			
$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVPolska signal}\}$	-1.396 (1.538)	-0.796 (1.275)	-0.917* (0.552)	-0.679 (0.528)
Free-space TVPolska signal strength		-0.157* (0.095)		-0.052 (0.036)
Prussian partition		0.647 (2.555)		0.385 (1.319)
Austro-Hungarian partition		18.399*** (2.287)		2.772** (1.264)
Observations	2,418	2,418	2,418	2,418
R-squared	0.001	0.265	0.003	0.029

**Notes:** The table presents the correlation between the initial levels of religious participation and the reception of TVN and TVPolska. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is municipality. Panel A considers the TVN reception as the variable of interest; while Panel B considers the TVPolska reception. Columns 1 and 3 present unconditional correlations between the share of Catholics attending mass in 2009 and taking Communion in 2009 and the dummies for good signal strength. Columns 2 and 4 present the same correlations controlling for the Polish partitions and free-space signal strength of the TV channel of interest. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation within 100 km are reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## 5 The Calculation of the Slope of the Pretrend That We Can Reject

Assume that there is a linear pretrend with slope  $\zeta$  and that the time-varying coefficients on TV signal are jointly normally distributed. The mean of these coefficients is  $(S\zeta, 4\zeta, 3\zeta, 2\zeta, \zeta)$ , where  $S$  is the average difference in the number of years between the period  $t - 1$  and each of the period before  $t - 5$ . (Taking into account the fact that  $S \leq 5$  and that the pretrend is more easily rejected for larger  $S$ , for simplicity, we set  $S = 5$ .) For a given  $\zeta$ , we take the variance-covariance matrix from the estimation of the 5 pre-event coefficients in the event study and perform 100,000 random draws from the corresponding multivariate normal distribution. We calculate the percentage of draws with at least one of the pretrend coefficients significant at 10% significance level. Then, we find those  $\zeta$  for which in 90% of draws at least one of the pretrend coefficients is significant. It is equal to -0.18 for the rate of mass attendance and -0.104 for the rate of taking Communion. Finally, we compare these numbers to the absolute values of the corresponding treatment effects from Column 5 of Table 2, -0.574 and -0.355.

## 6 The Calculation of Persuasion Rates

In this section, we present the exact calculations of persuasion rates. Subsection 6.1 focuses on the results using observational data, whereas Subsection 6.2 focuses on the results of the experiment.

### 6.1 Persuasion rates implied by the analysis of the observational data

To compare the magnitude of these effects to those from other persuasive communications studied in the literature, we calculate the persuasion rates relying on the formula developed by DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007):

$$f = 100 \times \frac{y_T - y_C}{e_T - e_C} \times \frac{1}{1 - y_0}, \quad (\text{F.1})$$

where  $f$  stands for the persuasion rate,  $y$  is the behavior of interest,  $e$  is exposure, subscripts  $T$  and  $C$  stand for treatment and control groups, respectively.  $y_0$  is the share of subjects who would adopt the behavior of interest in a hypothetical case of no message. For an infinitesimally small change in exposure to the message  $de$ , the formula becomes Enikolopov et al. (2011):

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - y_0} \left( t \frac{dy}{de} + y \frac{dt}{de} \right). \quad (\text{F.2})$$

**Persuasion rate of TVN to abstain from religious participation.** First, we calculate the persuasion rate of TVN, such that  $y$  refers not going to the mass and not taking Communion. In order to apply this formula to the estimates of the effect of local TV signal on local religious participation, several assumptions are needed. First, one needs to define exposure, i.e., explain how the change in local TVN signal (denoted by  $s$ ) affects viewers' exposure ( $e$ ) to the messages critical of the Polish Catholic Church. With this additional notation, Equation (F.2) becomes:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - y_0} \times \frac{dy}{ds} \times \frac{1}{de/ds}. \quad (\text{F.3})$$

To find  $\frac{de}{ds}$ , we first measure the share of people watching TVN among those who watch either TVN or TVPolska main prime-time news programs. In Table 1, we show that TVN

signal strength is significantly associated with a higher share of people watching TVN’s news. To proxy for  $\frac{de}{ds}$ , we multiply the coefficient on “Weighted mean  $\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal strength}\}$ ” from Column 2 of Table 1, which we denote as  $\frac{dV}{ds}$ , by the share of households in Poland having access to TV, i.e., 98%.<sup>5</sup>  $V$  here stands for “viewership.”

To measure  $\frac{dy}{ds}$ , we consider the coefficients on “ $\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal strength}\} \times \text{Post}$ ” and “ $\mathbb{1}\{\text{Good TVN signal strength}\} \times 2015$ ” obtained from Column 5 of Table 2, divided by 100. As they are expressed relative to the number of Catholics, we multiply them by the share of Catholics in Poland. We assume that the share of Catholics is unaffected by TV coverage and retain that 87% of Poles are Catholics (see the background section for the source).

$y_0$  is the share of Poles that would not go to the mass or not take Holy Communion if there were no TVN. To estimate their values, we use the regressions of Column 5 of Table 2 and predict the share of Catholics attending the mass or taking Communion at the municipality level, if no place had access to TVN. We then consider the population weighted value at the national level to compute the share of Catholics not going to the mass or taking Communion. The respective estimates are 67.2% and 86.2%, which we multiply by the share of Catholics. Finally we add the 13% of non-Catholics who never go to the mass or take Communion to obtain our estimate of  $y_0$ .

Thus, the persuasion rates can be written as:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - 0.13 - 0.87 \times \tilde{y}_0} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times \frac{d\tilde{y}}{ds} \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times \frac{dV}{ds}}, \quad (\text{F.4})$$

where  $\tilde{y}_0$  is the share of Catholics attending the mass or taking Communion.

This implies the following numbers for the persuasion rates:

- For the outcome of not attending the mass:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - 0.13 - 0.87 \times 0.672} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times 0.574 \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times 0.154} = 11.5\%$$

- For the outcome of not taking Communion:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - 0.13 - 0.87 \times 0.862} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times 0.355 \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times 0.154} = 17.0\%$$

**Persuasion rate of state propaganda.** We can also calculate the persuasiveness of state propaganda, i.e., compute the persuasion rate of not having access to TVN on attending mass and on taking Communion. In this case, we adjust the formula as follows:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1 - 0.87 \times (1 - \tilde{y}_0)} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times \frac{d\tilde{y}}{ds} \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times \frac{dV}{ds}}, \quad (\text{F.5})$$

To estimate the share of Catholics not going to the mass ( $1 - \tilde{y}_0$ ), we use the same regressions of Column 5 of Table 2 but now predict the share of Catholics attending the mass or taking Communion at the municipality level, in a hypothetical scenario in which TVN is available in all municipalities, and thus, state propaganda is counter-balanced. Again, we then consider the population weighted value at the national level.

This implies the following numbers for the persuasion rates:

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<sup>5</sup>See <https://web.archive.org/web/20101121000845/http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.TVS.HOUS.ZS>, accessed, June 3 2021.

- For the outcome of attending the mass:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1-0.87 \times 0.325} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times 0.574 \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times 0.154} = 4.6\%$$

- For the outcome of taking Communion:

$$f = 100 \times \frac{1}{1-0.87 \times 0.137} \left( \frac{0.87}{100} \times 0.355 \right) \frac{1}{0.98 \times 0.154} = 2.3\%$$

## 6.2 Persuasion rates implied by the results of the experiment

To calculate the persuasion rates implied by the experiment's results, one can apply the formula for the discrete case (Equation F.1), which is reduced to:

$$f = \frac{y_T - y_C}{1 - y_0} \quad (\text{F.6})$$

We use the coefficients on dummy variables indicating treatment status from Table 5 to compute  $y_T - y_C$ . As the treatment is randomly assigned,  $y_0 = y_C$ .

**Persuasion rate of Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment.** The persuasion rates of Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment implied by our experiment are:

- For the first-round outcomes:
  - Do not trust religious institutions, 1<sup>st</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.046}{1-0.619} = 12.1\%$
  - Donate to a non-religious foundation, 1<sup>st</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.017}{1-0.777} = 7.6\%$
- For the follow-up-round outcomes:
  - Do not trust religious institutions, 2<sup>nd</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.022}{1-0.625} = 5.9\%$
  - Do not intend to attend mass weekly in the future, 2<sup>nd</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.024}{1-0.686} = 7.6\%$

**Persuasion rate of Church's Ties to PiS Treatment.** The persuasion rates of Church's Ties to PiS Treatment implied by our experiment are:

- For the first-round outcome:
  - Do not trust religious institutions, 1<sup>st</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.019}{1-0.632} = 5.2\%$
- For the follow-up-round outcome:
  - Do not intend to attend mass weekly in the future, 2<sup>nd</sup> round:  $f = -\frac{-0.022}{1-0.689} = 7.1\%$

For the following two outcomes, the effects of Church's Ties to PiS Treatment are insignificant. For comparison, we also calculate the persuasion rates based on these imprecisely estimated effects:

- For the following first-round outcome:
  - Do not trust religious institutions (2<sup>nd</sup> round):  $f = -\frac{-0.011}{1-0.633} = 3.0\%$  (insignificant)
- For the following follow-up-round outcome:
  - Donate to a non-religious foundation (1<sup>st</sup> round):  $f = -\frac{-0.016}{1-0.776} = 7.1\%$  (insignificant)

## 7 Additional Experiment Results

### 7.1 Additional first-round outcomes

Table G1 presents the results for each of the components of the trust in religious institutions separately. It shows that Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment affected all components, whereas Favor Exchange Treatment affected only trust in the Episcopate, which is not surprising because Episcopate is featured in this treatment. Table G2 focuses on how the respondents assess the importance of pedophilia problem in the Church. We asked whether the respondents agree that: (1) “the reaction of the Church to these cases is insufficient,” (2) “the problem of pedophilia in the Church is exaggerated,” and (3) “the news about pedophilia in the Church is a deliberate attack aimed at reducing the authority of the Church.” Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment makes respondents more aware of and concerned about this problem. There is also some, albeit less robust, effect of Favor Exchange Treatment on these outcomes. Table G3 focuses on the attitude of respondents to religious education and whether it should be conducted at school or on the parish premises. Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment raises the share of respondents who think that religious education should be done at school because of a better control of what priests do with the children. Tables G4 and G5 show that Favor Exchange Treatment has a significant negative effect on support for PiS, whereas trust in political institutions generally is not affected by either treatment. These results on the political outcomes are in line with the hypotheses outlined in the pre-analysis plan. We consider them auxiliary, as we focus on religiosity outcomes in this paper.

### 7.2 Heterogeneity of results in the experiment

We examine heterogeneity of the experiment’s results along the following three dimensions, measured before treatments: (1) whether the respondent considers oneself a religious person (26% of respondents are not religious); (2) whether the respondent lives in rural areas or small towns vs. in large cities (44.8% of respondents live in large cities, i.e., with population greater than 50,000), and (3) whether the respondent is, a priori, more or less likely to be exposed to independent media. For the third dimension of heterogeneity, we combine two pre-treatment characteristics: whether respondent voted for PiS in the past and whether respondent watches TVPolska.<sup>6</sup> We deem those who never voted for PiS and those who do not watch news on TVPolska more likely to have been exposed to independent media prior to our experiment than the rest of the sample (those people constitute 59% of respondents).

In all three dimensions of heterogeneity, we find statistically significant differences in the size of the effect of Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment on trust in religious institutions in the first round. Exposure to the information about Church’s cover-ups of pedophilia scandals among clergy leads to a significantly larger declines in trust in religious institutions among religious people compared to non-religious people, among residents of small towns or rural areas compared to residents of large cities, and among those who voted for PiS in the past or watch news on TVPolska compared to those who did not vote for PiS and does not watch news on TVPolska. Tables G6 to G8 report the results. The heterogeneities for trust in religious institutions in the follow-up round tend to go in the same direction, but they are less pronounced. Only one result is significant: the decline in trust in religious institutions as a result of exposure to Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment is significantly higher for residents of rural areas and small cities as compared to residents of large cities. The only significant heterogeneity of the effect of Favor

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<sup>6</sup>If we do not combine voting for PiS and TVPolska news consumption and, instead, treat them separately, the results for each of these two potential dimensions of heterogeneity go in the same direction, but are not statistically significant.

Exchange Treatment is with respect to religiosity level: religious people were significantly more affected by the information provided in this treatment as well. Figure G1 visualizes heterogeneity results for the outcomes of the follow-up round. Most of them are not statistically significant, but they do go in the same direction as for first-round trust in religious institutions. The heterogeneity is significant only with respect to the type of resident's locality for the follow-up-round outcome of the intent to attend mass weekly in the future.

### 7.3 Details of the test for EDE

As reported in Table A14, for the trust in religious institutions both in the first and the follow-up rounds, as well as for the choice between religious and non-religious charitable foundations, we find insignificantly smaller treatment effects among participants who positively answered the question about whether they donated time or money to charity in the last year. For the intention to attend mass weekly in the future, the treatment effects are the same irrespective of the answer to the question on self-reported donations. In Figure G2, we report heterogeneity of results when we further split the sample of respondents who donated to charity last year into those who donated to a religious charity (19%) and to a non-religious charity (81%). As those who donated to a religious charity are predominantly religious, we find a result that is consistent with other results on heterogeneity with respect to religiosity: the treatment effects are the strongest among those who donated to religious charity. Yet, as they are a small minority, the treatment effects for the group that combines those who donated to a religious charity and to a non-religious charity are smaller than for those who did not donate to charity.

**Table G1:** Experimental ATE: Trust in Religious Institutions, First round

Dependent variable:	Trust in	Trust in	Trust in	Trust in
	the Church	parish priests	the Episcopate	the Pope
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.058***	-0.035***	-0.055***	-0.028**
p-value	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.011)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.002}	{0.000}	{0.012}
Sharpened q-value	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.001]	[0.012]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.012]	[0.000]	[0.040]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.001]	[0.013]	[0.001]	[0.043]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.017	-0.019	-0.026***	-0.007
p-value	(0.136)	(0.106)	(0.008)	(0.538)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.137}	{0.108}	{0.007}	{0.543}
Sharpened q-value	[0.063]	[0.057]	[0.010]	[0.168]
FWER p-value	[0.248]	[0.271]	[0.043]	[0.531]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.271]	[0.324]	[0.046]	[0.531]
Observations	9,263	9,257	9,216	9,270
R-squared	0.170	0.130	0.092	0.098
Mean of dependent variable	0.340	0.384	0.184	0.699
Lee bounds, T1	[-.06, -.056]	[-.037, -.034]	[-.059, -.049]	[-.029, -.027]
Lee bounds, T2	[-.02, -.013]	[-.022, -.015]	[-.028, -.02]	[-.008, -.006]
p-value for equality of treatment effects	0.000	0.157	0.001	0.055

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated ATE of the experimental treatments on trust in religious institutions in the first round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G2:** Experimental ATE: Assessment of Church’s Reaction  
First round

Dependent variable:	Agree with	Disagree with	
	Church’s Reaction insufficient	Problem of pedophilia exaggerated	Attack on church underway
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	0.066***	0.078***	0.033***
p-value	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.006)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.000}	{0.006}
Sharpened q-value	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.009]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.021]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.022]
Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	0.010	0.018*	0.027**
p-value	(0.313)	(0.099)	(0.023)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.307}	{0.096}	{0.027}
Sharpened q-value	[0.114]	[0.042]	[0.021]
FWER p-value	[0.309]	[0.179]	[0.070]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.309]	[0.194]	[0.075]
Observations	9,264	9,279	9,221
R-squared	0.101	0.104	0.102
Mean of dependent variable	0.774	0.755	0.566
Lee bounds, T1	[.066, .066]	[.077, .08]	[.032, .034]
Lee bounds, T2	[.005, .014]	[.015, .019]	[.025, .029]
p-value for equality of treatment effects	0.000	0.000	0.619

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated ATE of the experimental treatments on the assessment of the Church’s reaction to pedophilia cases in the first round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G3:** Experimental ATE: Opinion on whether religious instruction should take place at school (First Round)

Dependent variable:	Religious courses at school	At school to control priests	At parish because of secular state	Approve priest salaries for teaching
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	0.001	0.131***	0.001	-0.027**
p-value	(0.908)	(0.000)	(0.947)	(0.019)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.910}	{0.000}	{0.946}	{0.021}
Sharpened q-value	[1.000]	[0.001]	[1.000]	[0.078]
FWER p-value	[0.991]	[0.000]	[0.954]	[0.122]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[0.001]	[0.954]	[0.138]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.006	0.017	0.012	-0.008
p-value	(0.595)	(0.367)	(0.479)	(0.487)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.595}	{0.361}	{0.478}	{0.494}
Sharpened q-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
FWER p-value	[0.929]	[0.918]	[0.945]	[0.921]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Observations	9,331	3,948	4,406	9,339
R-squared	0.183	0.058	0.099	0.083
Mean of dependent variable	0.430	0.500	0.530	0.324
Lee bounds, T1	[0, .002]	[.125, .137]	[-.002, .003]	[-.024, -.015]
Lee bounds, T2	[-.006, -.006]	[.006, .031]	[.002, .024]	[-.014, -.009]
p-value for equality of treatment effects	0.522	0.000	0.526	0.100

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated ATE of the experimental treatments on the opinion about whether religious instruction should take place at school, measured in the first round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G4:** Experimental ATE: Political Preferences

	Intention to				
	Vote for Duda-PiS (no covid)	Vote for Duda-PiS (by corresp.)	Trust in the president	Positive feelings for PiS	Support btwn Church & PiS inadmissible
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.027**	-0.075***	-0.030***	-0.021**	0.033***
p-value	(0.024)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.043)	(0.003)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.025}	{0.000}	{0.007}	{0.047}	{0.002}
Sharpened q-value	[0.022]	[0.002]	[0.011]	[0.035]	[0.006]
FWER p-value	[0.083]	[0.002]	[0.026]	[0.131]	[0.021]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.107]	[0.003]	[0.032]	[0.170]	[0.025]
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.020	-0.057***	-0.008	-0.012	0.068***
p-value	(0.105)	(0.009)	(0.481)	(0.248)	(0.000)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.104}	{0.008}	{0.481}	{0.248}	{0.000}
Sharpened q-value	[0.055]	[0.011]	[0.150]	[0.090]	[0.001]
FWER p-value	[0.223]	[0.032]	[0.473]	[0.372]	[0.000]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.306]	[0.039]	[0.473]	[0.482]	[0.001]
Observations	7,105	2,742	9,265	9,155	9,416
R-squared	0.108	0.159	0.081	0.090	0.116
Mean of dependent variable	0.260	0.495	0.286	0.249	0.691
Lee bounds, T1	[-.06, .04]	[-.12, -.001]	[-.012, -.002]	[-.015, -.008]	[.068, .068]
Lee bounds, T2	[-.04, -.019]	[-.096, -.056]	[-.031, -.03]	[-.022, -.02]	[.033, .033]
p-value for equality of treatment effects	0.557	0.412	0.041	0.394	0.002

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated ATE of the experimental treatments on political preferences, measured in the first round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G5:** Experimental ATE: Trust in Political Institutions  
First Round

	Trust in political institutions	Trust in the Sejm	Trust in the the Senate	Trust in the government
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.013	-0.013	-0.016	-0.006
p-value	(0.117)	(0.149)	(0.150)	(0.528)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.121}	{0.150}	{0.146}	{0.534}
Sharpened q-value	[0.429]	[0.429]	[0.429]	[0.439]
FWER p-value	[0.469]	[0.452]	[0.519]	[0.778]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.938]	[0.760]	[0.907]	[1.000]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.009	-0.003	-0.007	-0.015
p-value	(0.261)	(0.768)	(0.529)	(0.122)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.261}	{0.769}	{0.529}	{0.124}
Sharpened q-value	[0.429]	[0.625]	[0.439]	[0.429]
FWER p-value	[0.593]	[0.762]	[0.888]	[0.466]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[0.762]	[1.000]	[0.829]
Observations	9,154	9,257	9,238	9,277
R-squared	0.060	0.044	0.089	0.068
Mean of dependent variable	0.191	0.149	0.279	0.185
Lee bounds, T1	[-.014, -.009]	[-.015, -.006]	[-.016, -.015]	[-.007, -.004]
Lee bounds, T2	[-.012, -.002]	[-.006, .006]	[-.012, 0]	[-.015, -.015]
p-value for equality of treatment effects	0.664	0.254	0.422	0.365

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated ATE of the experimental treatments on trust in political institutions, measured in the first round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G6: Heterogeneity by Pre-treatment Levels of Religiosity**

Dependent variable:	First round		Follow-up round	
	Trust in religious institutions	Donated to religious foundations	Trust in religious institutions	Attend mass weekly in future
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.059***	-0.023*	-0.024**	-0.032**
p-value	(0.000)	(0.078)	(0.035)	(0.044)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.076}	{0.036}	{0.045}
Sharpened q-value	[0.001]	[0.168]	[0.133]	[0.133]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.467]	[0.299]	[0.324]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.002]	[0.784]	[0.467]	[0.510]
T1 × Non-religious person	0.051***	0.009	0.004	0.024
p-value	(0.000)	(0.649)	(0.784)	(0.208)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.638}	{0.791}	{0.205}
Sharpened q-value	[0.002]	[0.487]	[0.487]	[0.234]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.947]	[0.953]	[0.738]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.002]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.024**	-0.017	-0.010	-0.027*
p-value	(0.018)	(0.189)	(0.405)	(0.089)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.018}	{0.188}	{0.403}	{0.095}
Sharpened q-value	[0.093]	[0.234]	[0.368]	[0.168]
FWER p-value	[0.183]	[0.753]	[0.895]	[0.491]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.263]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[0.822]
T2 × Non-religious person	0.025*	-0.003	-0.008	0.017
p-value	(0.079)	(0.873)	(0.623)	(0.385)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.083}	{0.875}	{0.625}	{0.392}
Sharpened q-value	[0.168]	[0.489]	[0.487]	[0.368]
FWER p-value	[0.479]	[0.868]	[0.974]	[0.918]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.823]	[0.868]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Observations	9,066	9,416	7,194	7,277
R-squared	0.199	0.076	0.199	0.183
Mean of dependent variable	0.370	0.220	0.368	0.309
p-value for T1 + T1 x Non-religious person = 0	0.450	0.371	0.098	0.492
p-value for T2 + T2 x Non-religious person = 0	0.881	0.188	0.150	0.376

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments with respect to initial levels of religiosity on the main religiosity outcomes, measured in both rounds of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table G7:** Heterogeneity by type of locality: rural areas and small towns vs. large cities

Dependent variable:	First round		Follow-up round	
	Trust in religious institutions	Donated to religious foundations	Trust in religious institutions	Attend mass weekly in future
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.062***	-0.012	-0.037***	-0.035**
p-value	(0.000)	(0.401)	(0.003)	(0.041)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.398}	{0.002}	{0.041}
Sharpened q-value	[0.001]	[0.324]	[0.014]	[0.123]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.823]	[0.024]	[0.312]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.002]	[1.000]	[0.030]	[0.474]
T1 × Cities	0.035**	-0.013	0.033*	0.021
p-value	(0.025)	(0.512)	(0.058)	(0.380)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.028}	{0.508}	{0.058}	{0.381}
Sharpened q-value	[0.108]	[0.351]	[0.125]	[0.324]
FWER p-value	[0.224]	[0.865]	[0.364]	[0.873]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.322]	[1.000]	[0.563]	[1.000]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.026**	-0.018	-0.023*	-0.029*
p-value	(0.019)	(0.190)	(0.061)	(0.095)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.020}	{0.194}	{0.061}	{0.095}
Sharpened q-value	[0.106]	[0.212]	[0.125]	[0.151]
FWER p-value	[0.180]	[0.702]	[0.380]	[0.485]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.252]	[1.000]	[0.605]	[0.814]
T2 × Cities	0.014	0.004	0.026	0.012
p-value	(0.369)	(0.833)	(0.141)	(0.629)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.376}	{0.836}	{0.146}	{0.630}
Sharpened q-value	[0.324]	[0.457]	[0.171]	[0.417]
FWER p-value	[0.908]	[0.838]	[0.622]	[0.859]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[0.838]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Observations	9,066	9,416	7,194	7,277
R-squared	0.201	0.076	0.202	0.189
Mean of dependent variable	0.370	0.220	0.368	0.309
p-value for T1 + T1 x Cities = 0	0.014	0.093	0.742	0.415
p-value for T2 + T2 x Cities = 0	0.325	0.363	0.810	0.316

**Notes.** The table presents the estimated heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments with respect to the locality type of the residence on the main religiosity outcomes, measured in both rounds of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

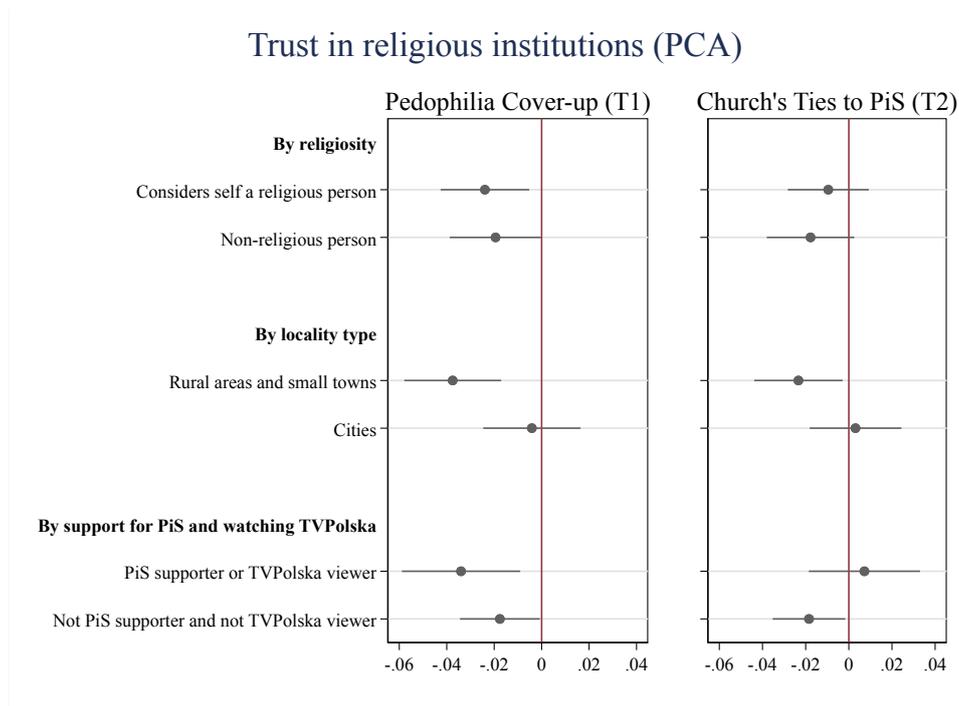
**Table G8:** Heterogeneity by Support for PiS and Watching TVPolska

Dependent variable:	First round		Follow-up round	
	Trust in religious institutions	Donated to religious foundations	Trust in religious institutions	Attend mass weekly in future
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment (T1)	-0.071***	-0.026	-0.034**	-0.045**
p-value	(0.000)	(0.138)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.000}	{0.139}	{0.027}	{0.027}
Sharpened q-value	[0.001]	[0.341]	[0.111]	[0.111]
FWER p-value	[0.000]	[0.693]	[0.227]	[0.217]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.002]	[1.000]	[0.360]	[0.347]
T1 × Not PiS supporter and not TVPolska viewer	0.041**	0.014	0.016	0.035
p-value	(0.011)	(0.521)	(0.370)	(0.152)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.012}	{0.526}	{0.370}	{0.151}
Sharpened q-value	[0.103]	[0.541]	[0.513]	[0.341]
FWER p-value	[0.099]	[0.968]	[0.921]	[0.718]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[0.142]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Church's Ties to PiS Treatment (T2)	-0.007	0.003	0.007	-0.025
p-value	(0.622)	(0.863)	(0.645)	(0.236)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.630}	{0.862}	{0.644}	{0.232}
Sharpened q-value	[0.582]	[0.704]	[0.582]	[0.449]
FWER p-value	[0.974]	[0.862]	[0.953]	[0.812]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[0.862]	[1.000]	[1.000]
T2 × Not PiS supporter and not TVPolska viewer	-0.017	-0.030	-0.026	0.009
p-value	(0.288)	(0.169)	(0.169)	(0.714)
Randomization-t p-value	{0.289}	{0.165}	{0.169}	{0.707}
Sharpened q-value	[0.513]	[0.341]	[0.341]	[0.605]
FWER p-value	[0.849]	[0.705]	[0.722]	[0.916]
Holm-Bonferroni p-value	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]	[1.000]
Observations	9,066	9,416	7,194	7,277
R-squared	0.242	0.103	0.237	0.199
Mean of dependent variable	0.370	0.220	0.368	0.309
p-value for T1 + T1 x Not PiS supporter and not TVPolska viewer = 0	0.001	0.272	0.086	0.512
p-value for T2 + T2 x Not PiS supporter and not TVPolska viewer = 0	0.008	0.019	0.072	0.300

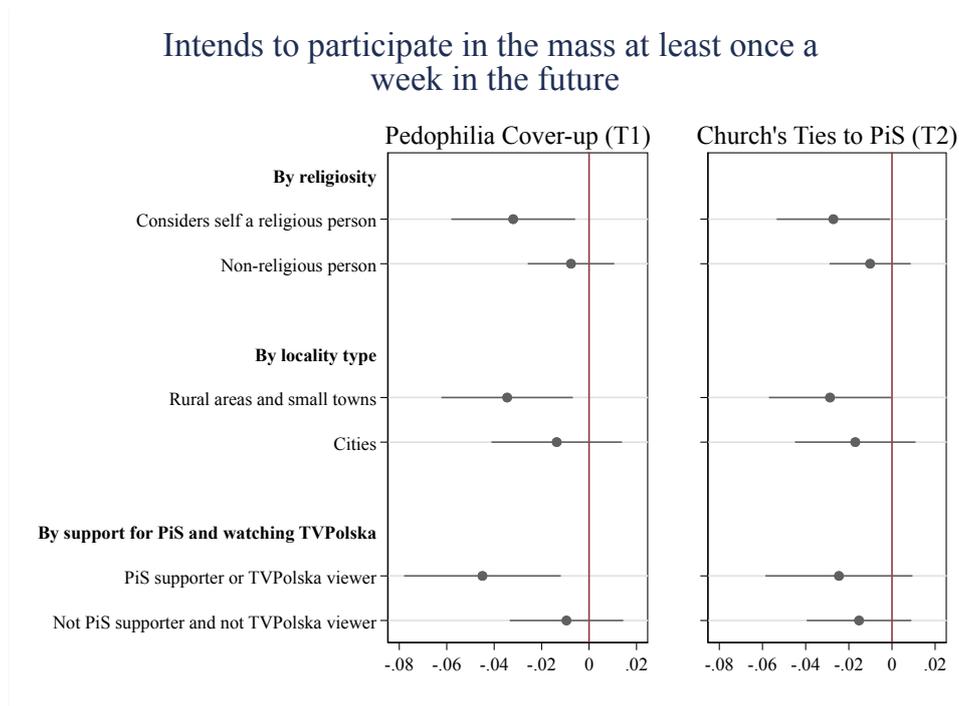
**Notes.** The table presents the estimated heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments with respect to support for the PiS party and to TVPolska viewership on the main religiosity outcomes, measured in both rounds of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for strata fixed effects. All regressions also include controls for unbalanced pre-treatment characteristics reported in Table A11, namely, household size, dummies for using social media as a main source of information, for having voted in the EU elections in 2019, and for having watched the movies “Clergy” and “Tell no one,” separately. All regressions also control for the level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values obtained from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are in parentheses. Randomization-t p-values for sharp null hypothesis obtained with 10,000 repetitions using Young (2018) are reported in curly brackets. P-values corrected for multiple hypothesis testing using the methods developed by Anderson (2008) (sharpened q-value), List et al. (2019) and Steinmayr (2020) (FWER p-value), Holm (1979) (Holm-Bonferroni p-value) are reported in square brackets. Lee bounds for the treatment effects (Lee, 2009) are reported at the bottom of the table along with p-values from the test of equality of treatment effects of the two treatments. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Figure G1:** Heterogenous experimental effects: additional outcomes

(a) Follow-up round

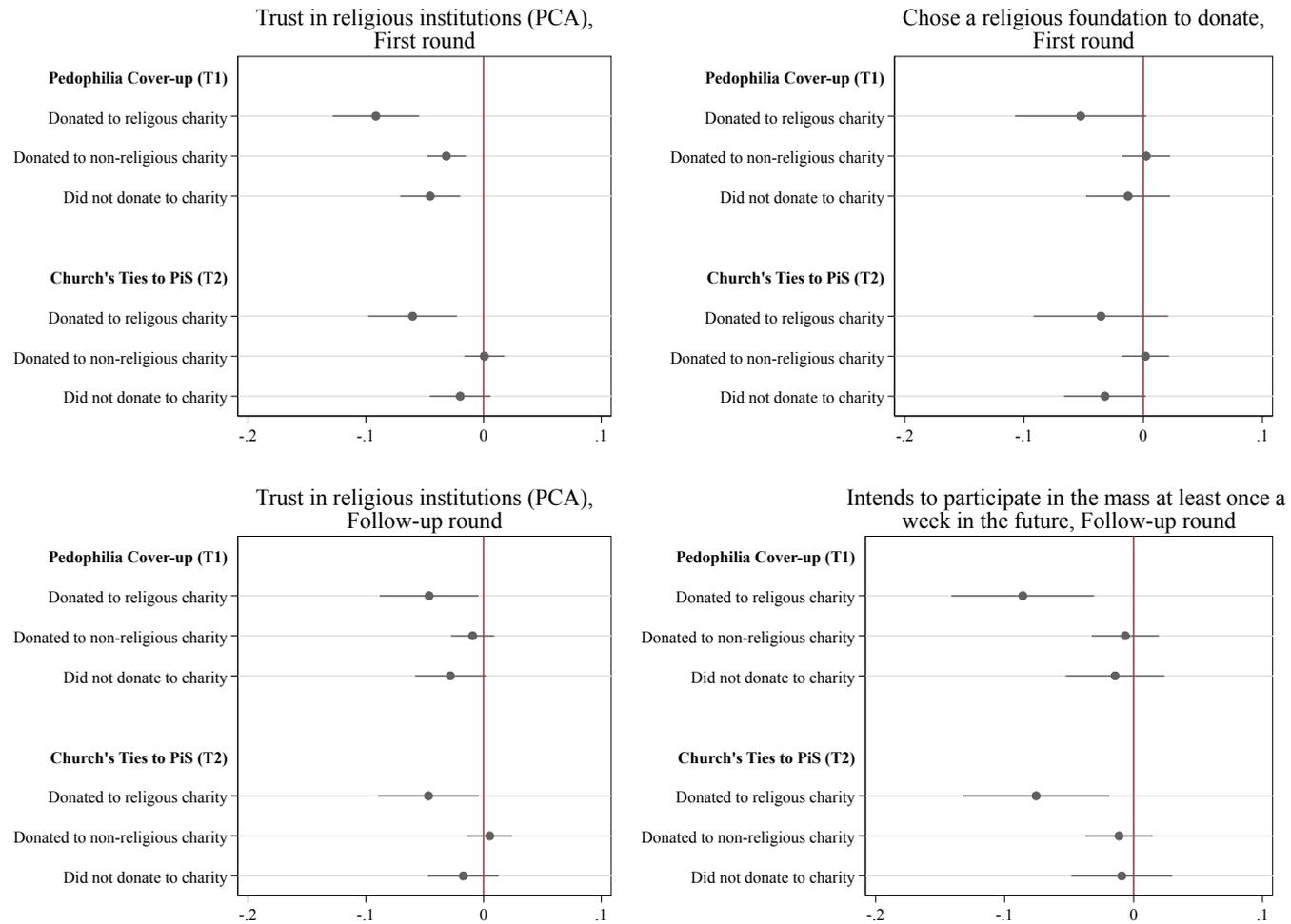


(b) Follow-up round



**Notes.** The figure presents the heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments on the additional outcomes in the first and the follow-up rounds of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. Each graph on the figure presents results from three different regressions for three dimensions of heterogeneity, indicated by a subtitle on the left in bold. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for randomization strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Table A11, and initial level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported.

**Figure G2:** Heterogeneity with respect to previous donations to religious and non-religious charity



**Notes.** The figure presents the heterogeneous effects of the experimental treatments on the main religiosity outcomes with respect to having donated time or money to a religious charity or to a non-religious charity in the last year, in each round of the survey-experiment. OLS estimates. Each graph on the figure presents results from a different regression. The unit of analysis is individual. All regressions control for randomization strata fixed effects, unbalanced controls reported in Table A11, and initial level of religiosity self-reported in pre-treatment survey. P-values from heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported.

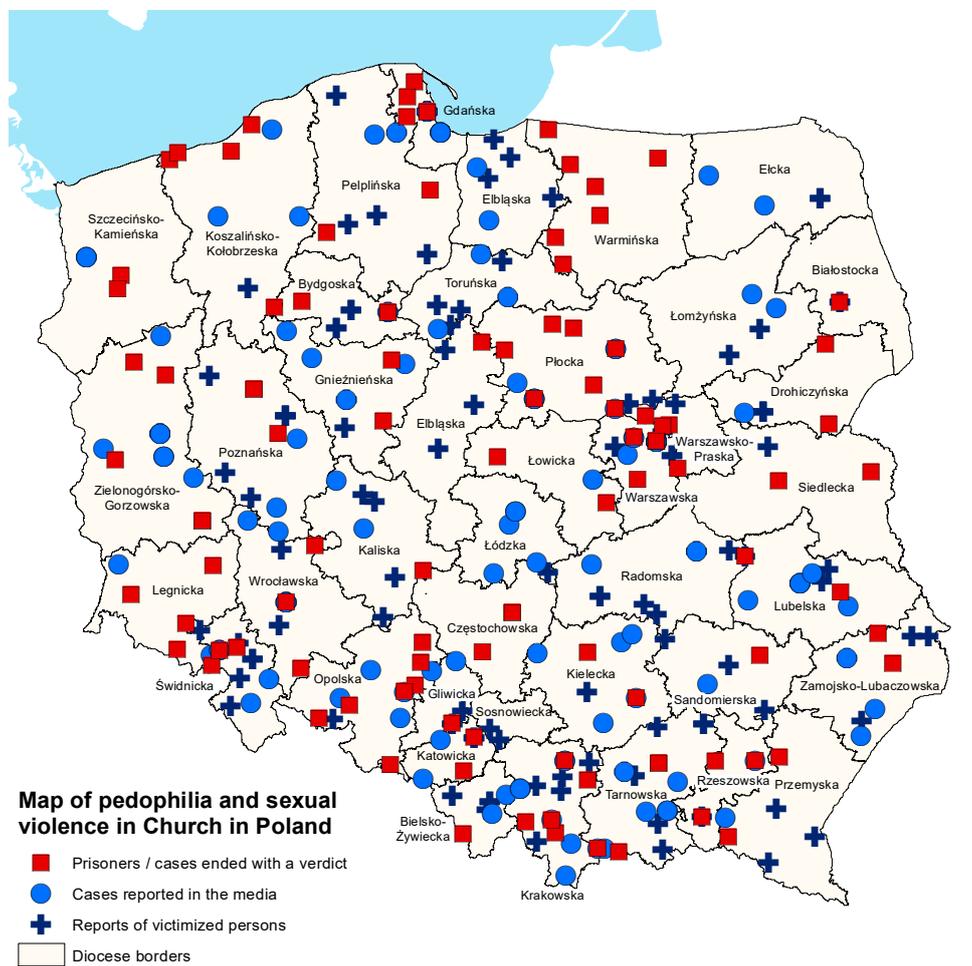
## 8 Description of the Survey-Experiment

Sections 8.1 and 8.2 of this section of the Online Appendix present the transcripts of both treatments. Sections 8.3 and 8.4 present the full transcripts of the questionnaires, including the introduction and the full set of questions with possible answers in each of the two waves of the survey-experiment.

### 8.1 Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment

**Screen 1:** Agata Diduszko-Zyglewska, a journalist, together with a member of the Polish parliament, Joanna Sheuring-Wielgus, have created a data base of the cases of pedophilia crimes committed by priests of the Catholic Church in Poland. This information was the basis of the report that they submitted to the Pope on the 20th of February 2019.

This report contained the following map. Please, look at it carefully:



**Screen 2:** And now please watch a short extract of an interview with Agata Diduszko-Zyglewska (one of the co-authors of the map) who explains the problem of pedophilia in the Catholic Church. (Video can be accessed with the following link: <https://vimeo.com/393419992> using the password “treatment1”.)

Transcript of the video:

“Hierarchs of the Catholic Church think that priests can abuse children. In case of other pedophiles – because cases of pedophilia occur not only in the Church, they also occur within families – pedophiles who are not ecclesiastic go to prison and nobody has any doubt that this is the only way of reparation for victims. Priests pedophiles go to another parish: that is why we talk about it separately. Common pedophiles usually hurt one or a couple of children. A priest pedophile can operate for decades: he is protected by bishops, and by the institution of the Church. That is why he can hurt a dozen or even several dozens of children.”

**Screen 3:** Do you want to see the video once again?

- Yes
- No

**Screen 4:** Do you agree with the arguments of Agata Diduszko-Zyglewska?

- Yes, I completely agree
- I partly agree and partly disagree
- No, I completely disagree
- Difficult to say

**Screen 5:** Media have reported on many of the cases described on the map created by Agata Diduszko-Zyglewska and Joanna Sheuring-Wielgus.

Here is one of such cases.

On February 19, 2020 a criminal state trial opened in Nowy Targ against Priest Marian W. from Tarnow diocese, who is accused of having sexually abused 11 boys, 7 of which were under the age of 15, between 2003 and 2012. Already in 2013, the priest was condemned for sexual abuse of children in the canonical trial within the Church: he could not work with children any longer and was supposed to get a treatment. However, the Church did not inform the state prosecutor about this case.

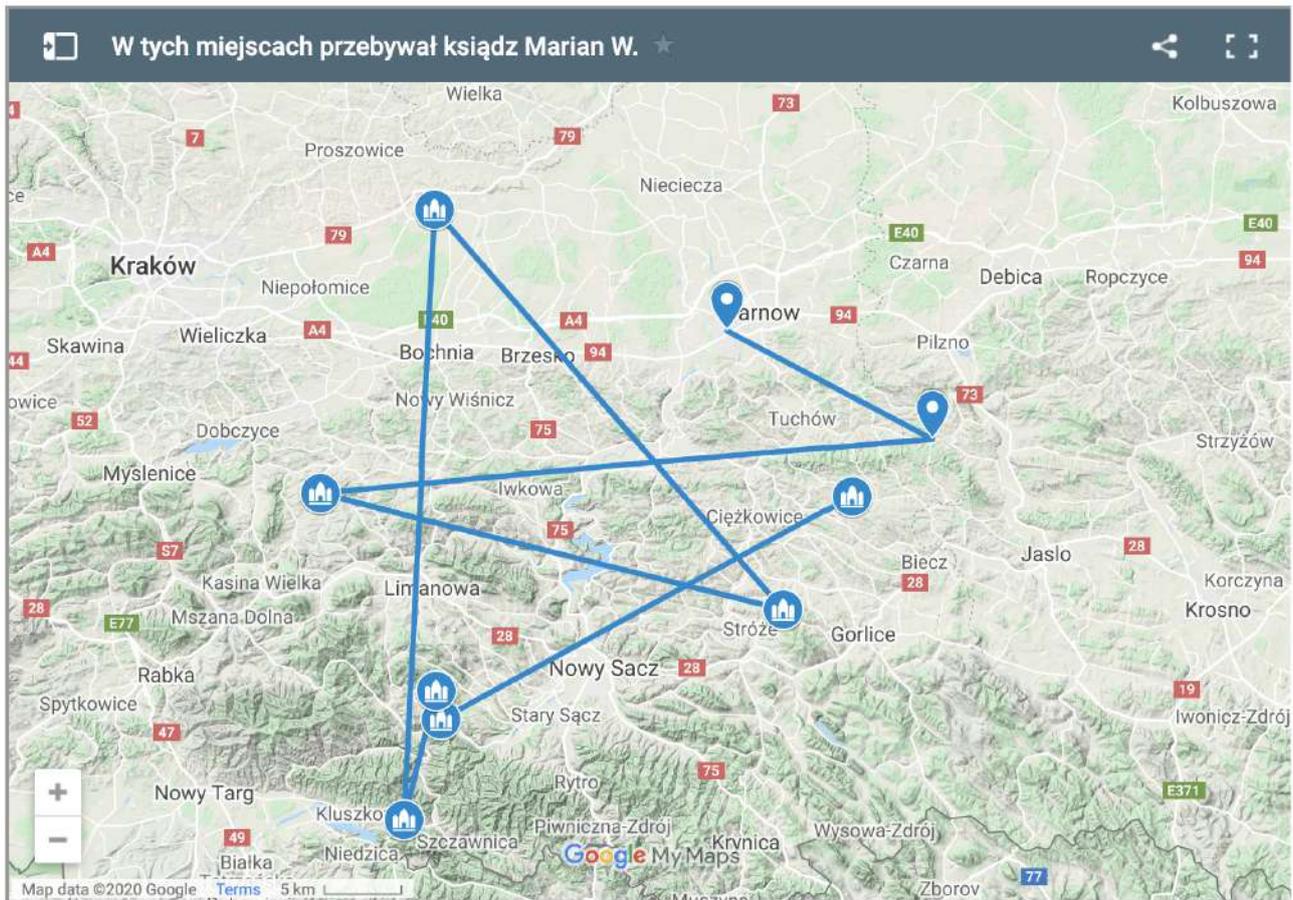
It was only in May 2018 when a new accusation of priest Marian W. arrived to the Tarnow Curie, that the Curie informed the prosecutor. A new law adopted in 2017 was then already applicable: it made mandatory to report to the state prosecutor about known cases of pedophilia.

According to the prosecutor’s act, priest Marian W. was abusing kids at presbyteries and on vacations for which he was taking kids. In 2018, one of his victims committed suicide.

Since 1978 when priest Marian W. started to serve, he was vicar and rector in several parishes and worked with children. The church moved him from parish to parish within Tarnow diocese. This is a map showing places where Priest Marian W. worked during 2003-2012:

**Screen 6:** How do you evaluate the behavior of Tarnow Curie? Do you think ...

- Tarnow Curie was right – although it did not report about the abuse to the state prosecutor, but according to the law applicable then did not have to do it
- Tarnow Curie was wrong – whatever the law applicable then it should have reported to the state prosecutor
- Difficult to say



**Screen 7:** Below there is another case from the pedophilia map. OKO.press, an online media, described in 2018 the case. A priest, Ks. Wincenty Pawłowicz, from Lowicka diocese, suspected of sexually abusing children was moved from one parish to another between 1992 and 2002. In 2003, he was condemned for 3 years of prison. When he got out of prison in 2006, he still worked with children in a parish near Odessa in Ukraine. When he returned to Poland in 2017 he led an advent retreat with children in the Kashubia region. Journalists tried to ask the whereabouts of priest Pawłowicz, but the Curie did not reply.

**Screen 8:** Please watch a short video of a reportage of OKO.press, in which a journalist asks the bishop Dziuba of Lowicz diocese about the place of living of priest Pawłowicz. (Video can be accessed with the following link: <https://vimeo.com/393420864> using the password “treatment2”.)

Transcript of the video:

Reporter – “Good morning, your excellency. One question only.”

Bishop – “Yes, what is it, director?”

Reporter – “I am not director. Your excellency, I wanted to ask about priest Pawłowicz, the priest pedophile.”

Bishop – “I have nothing to say.”

Reporter – “How come? Yet, your excellency is the bishop of Lowicz diocese.”

Bishop – “I have nothing to say, thank you.”

Reporter – “Your excellency, should not you give information about what is happening with priest Pawłowicz? We asked several times. There is no answer. This is very serious. It is about the safety of children.”

Bishop – “...” (silence)

Reporter – “I address myself to the most sensitive sphere of your excellency. It is about protecting children from pedophiles. Why your excellency remain silent?”

Bishop – “...” (silence)

Reporter – Shouldn’t bishops care about the safety of the youngest in their dioceses.

Bishop – “...” (silence)

Reporter – “We do not know what is happening with the priest. He still leads retreats; he still has contact with altar boys. We are trying to find out. Did your excellency report it to Vatican?”

Bishop – “...” (silence)

Reporter – “What does your silence means in such situation?”

**Screen 9:** Do you want to see the video once again?

- Yes
- No

**Screen 10:** How do you evaluate the behavior of the bishop of Lowicz diocese?

- Definitely positively
- Rather positively
- Rather negatively
- Definitely negatively
- Difficult to say

**Screen 11:** Sources for Pedophilia Cover-up Treatment:

The source of the map on reported cases of pedophilia:

<http://mapakoscielnejpedofilii.pl/>

The report submitted to the Pope can be found here:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190222151941/http://nielekajciesie.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/ReportPOLISH.pdf>

The full original interview with Mrs. Diduszko-Zyglewska can be accessed with the following link:

<https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/diduszko-zyglewska-w-newsweek-opinie-pedofilia-niszczy-swiat-dziecka/kylylvd>

Media reports on the case of Priest Marian W.:

<https://tvn24.pl/krakow/nowy-targ-ruszył-proces-ksiedza-mariana-w-oskarzonego-o-pedofilie-4169893>

<https://krakow.onet.pl/pedofilia-w-kosciele-diecezja-tarnowska-czy-ks-marian-w-molestował/bxs6yww>

OKO.press reports on Priest Wincenty Pawłowicz:

<https://oko.press/kosciol-dal-ksiedzopedofilowi-parafie-pod-odessa-i-ministrantow-w-polsce-prowadzi-rekolekcje/>

<https://oko.press/bp-dziuba-milczy-w-sprawie-ksiedza-pedofila-nie-mam-nic-do-powiedzenia-zobacz-film/>

## 8.2 Church's Ties to PiS Treatment

**Screen 1:** Please read carefully a short text documenting the relationship between the political party Law and Justice (PiS) and the Church. As you probably remember, parliamentary elections took place in autumn 2019. PiS won the majority enabling him to form a government.

**Screen 2:** In the program of PiS in the chapter “Values and principles” we can read:

“... The Catholic Church is a depositary and spokesman for the moral teaching commonly known in Poland. In a wide social sense, it does not have any competitor and that is why it is fully justified to say that only nihilism can be opposed to moral teaching of the Catholic Church...”

During an election rally in Lublin on September 6, 2019, Jaroslaw Kaczynski said: “This nihilism we reject because nihilism . . . destroys everything.”

**Screen 3:** Do you think that the theses included in the program of PiS and the statement by Jaroslaw Kaczynski conform or not to the spirit of the Polish Constitution, which affirms the impartiality of the state as far as religious questions are concerned?

- Definitely conform
- Rather conform
- Rather not conform
- Definitely not conform
- Difficult to say

**Screen 4:** Here is an example of how some priests and bishops express support for PiS during Sunday homilies. Bishop Senior of Czestochowa, Antoni Dlugosz, said in his homily in January 2018: “We are grateful for the wonderful two years of government, the best years for Poland. Our hope is back.”

Some priests also appeal for voting for PiS candidates and help organizing rallies for them: A PiS candidates for the position of the president of Siedlce in local elections in 2018, Karol Tchórzewski, organized an electoral meeting in the Chapel of Blessed Virgin in the Saint Stanislas Church A parish priest in Wierzbna announced the collection of signatures supporting the candidacy of the president Andrzej Duda for the upcoming presidential election.

**Screen 5:** The PiS party supports Catholic media financially and expresses gratitude for their support.

According to OKO.press, since the beginning of PiS government, the total amount of public subsidies allocated to different projects of father Rydzyk amount to over 214 million zlotys (214.158.441 zl).

Please watch a short video from the celebration of the 28th anniversary of the of Radio Maryja on December 8, 2019, two months after the last parliamentary elections, in which the Minister of Defense, Mariusz Blaszczak, reads a letter from Jaroslaw Kaczynski thanking father Rydzyk. (Video can be accessed with the following link: <https://vimeo.com/409040943> using the password “treatment3”.)

Transcript of the video:

“Taking this opportunity I would like to thank for your support of Law and Justice party, support of the camp of the United Right, expressed in the parliamentary elections. Thanks to your votes we have absolute majority in Sejm and we can continue our Polish politics of independence. There is another electoral battle awaiting us in spring, which we have to approach extremely mobilized, because a lot of things will depend upon its results.”

**Screen 6:** Do you want to see the video once again?

- Yes
- No

**Screen 7:** Sources for Church’s Ties to PiS Treatment:

PiS program is here:

<http://pis.org.pl/materialy-do-pobrania>

Report about electoral meeting in Lublin september 6, 2019:

<https://www.rp.pl/Wybory-parlamentarne-2019/190919919-Michal-Szuldrzynski-PiS-robi-z-Kosciola-politycznego-zakladnika.html>

Media about picnic in Pułtusk:

<https://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/7,114884,24751324,jaroslaw-kaczynski-w-pultusku-kto-podnosi-reke-na-kosciol.html>

<https://www.pch24.pl/kaczynski-kto-podnosi-reke-na-kosciol-ten-podnosi-reke-na-polske,67956,i.html>

Information about the bishop from Częstochowa:

<https://niezalezna.pl/212910-w-wyborczej-sie-zagotuje-biskup-na-jasnej-gorze-zgromil-totalna-opozycje-i-pochwalil-pis>

Media about electoral meeting in Siedlce:

<https://liberte.pl/wybory-2018-ksieza-pomagaja-w-agitacji-na-rzecz-pis-u/>

<https://www.facebook.com/DzienDobrySiedlce/posts/468327530321162>

Media on collecting signatures supporting Andrzej Duda:

<https://rzeszow.onet.pl/proboszcz-informuje-o-zbiorce-podpisow-poparcia-dla-andrzej-dudy/99b3zwq>

<https://ekai.pl/kosciol-popiera-pis-polacy-odpowiedzieli/>

oko.press on subsidies for father Rydzyk:

<https://oko.press/214-238-441-zl-na-dziela-o-rydzyka/>

### 8.3 Questionnaire, First Round

**Screen 1:** We invite you to participate in a survey conducted by Opinie.pl of IQS together with CBOS. Our customer is an academic institution so the study has a scientific character. Nevertheless it is not difficult and the first trials show it is interesting for a lot of people.

The survey concerns different issues, among others the question of sexual abuse of children by priests of the Catholic Church and the role of the Catholic Church in Poland. In the survey we will present some information, and then we will ask you what you think about it. All information

comes from publicly available (published) sources; we will always indicate what they are. You will always be able to skip any material.

We assure you that your answers will be kept secret. They will only be used in an aggregate form in anonymous statistical summaries. Nobody will ever know what were your answers to the questions. We count very much on your participation in our survey and on your response to all our questions. However, if you find some of the questions too difficult or too sensitive, you will be able to choose the option “refuse to answer.” You will also be able to skip any of the presented materials.

Given what is said above, do you agree to participate in our survey?

- I agree
- I disagree

**Screen 2:** The study will consist of two stages. In the first stage, you will be asked to answer a set of questions. In the second stage, after 3-4 weeks, we will get back to you and ask to answer a very short survey. We would like all respondents participating in the first stage of the study, to also take part in the second stage. The quality (reliability) of our study will depend on this participation.

Our customer decided to support some charity foundations and allocate 2500 PLN to them. The amount transferred to each of the foundations will depend on the share of people who will choose each of the foundation in our survey. If you also participate in the second stage of our project, you will get the information about the results of the vote and the certificate of the actual bank transfer to the foundations. You will also be remunerated for the participation in the study.

**Questionnaire** *The following questions (until INT, inclusive) are asked at the time when the respondents subscribe to the online polling platform, i.e., before the survey takes place.*

**SEX.** Please indicate your gender:

- Woman
- Man

**AGE.** Please indicate your age: ... years

**EDU.** What is your education? Please indicate the highest education level achieved:

- Incomplete primary school
- Primary school
- Middle school
- Basic professional
- Incomplete secondary (secondary without final exam)
- Secondary professional
- Secondary general

- Post-secondary
- Higher incomplete (without diploma)
- Higher bachelor degree (licence)
- Higher master degree
- PhD/postdoctoral

**REG.** Please indicate the województwo (region) where you live:

- Dolnośląskie
- Kujawsko-pomorskie
- Lubelskie
- Lubuskie
- Łódzkie
- Małopolskie
- Mazowieckie
- Opolskie
- Podkarpackie
- Podlaskie
- Pomorskie
- Śląskie
- Świętokrzyskie
- Warmińsko-mazurskie
- Wielkopolskie
- Zachodniopomorskie

**SOR.** Please indicate the size of the locality where you live:

- Rural
- City less than 20,000
- City 20,000–49,000
- City 50,000–99,000
- City 100,000–199,000
- City 200,000–500,000
- City more than 500,000

**POSTCODE.** Please indicate the postal code of your place of residence: ....

**RODZINA.** Please indicate your personal situation (only one answer):

- Single
- Informal partnership
- Formal partnership (married)
- In separation
- Divorced
- Widow

**HOLD.** How many people belong to your household? Indicate the number of persons living with you and sharing your household. Please include yourself.

- 1 person
- 2 persons
- 3 persons
- 4 persons
- 5 persons
- 6 persons
- 7 persons or more

**MOTHX.** How many people below 18 years old live in your household. Please indicate the persons whom you have custody of:

- None
- 1 person
- 2 persons
- 3 persons
- 4 persons
- 5 persons
- 6 persons
- 7 persons or more

**EMST.** What is your current professional situation. Please indicate all adequate answers. (MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE.)

- Pupil (in middle school, post secondary school)
- Student
- Permanent job
- Work occasionally
- Parental leave
- Retired/pensioner
- Unemployed
- Not working/work at home
- Other situation

**WRK02.** In which sector do you work? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE.)

- Agriculture, hunting, forestry
- Fishing
- Mining
- Industry
- Electricity, gaz, water
- Construction
- Wholesale and retail trade and repair of motor vehicles
- Hotels, restaurants, bars
- Transport, communication, and warehouse management
- Financial intermediary (eg. banks)
- Retail estate services and services related to running businesses
- Public administration and national defense
- Education
- Healthcare and social ssistance
- Service activities, communal, social and individual activities
- Other
- IT

**WRK04.** What is the profession you exercise? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE.)

- Professional engineer, architect
- Lawyer
- Graphic designer, programmer, database administrator
- Photographer, cameraman, musician
- Artist, writer, journalist, painter
- Doctor, vet, dentist
- Pharmacist
- Nurse, midwife
- Entrepreneur
- Representative of authorities, director
- Manager of different specialties
- Academic teacher
- Teacher at higher than primary school
- Teacher at primary school
- Specialist of management and administration
- Financial specialist
- Marketing specialist

- Computer scientist
- Civil servant
- Middle level personnel
- Office service employee
- Employee in transport
- Farmer in plant production
- Farmer in plant and animal production
- Farmer producing for its own needs
- Technician
- Worker
- Blacksmith, locksmith, metallurgist
- Welder
- Machine and device machinists
- Craftsman
- Electrician
- Machine operator
- Fitter
- Railwayman
- Trade and business intermediary
- Car driver
- Truck and bus driver
- Charwoman
- Seller
- Personal care worker
- Hairdresser, beautician
- Cook
- Server, barman, steward
- Professional soldier
- Employee of security services
- Employee of uniformed services (fireman, policeman)
- None of those
- HR
- Higher level manager

**PINC.** Please indicate your net monthly income obtained from all sources. Please choose one answer.

- No income
- Less than 500 zł
- 501 – 1,000 zł
- 1,001 – 1,500 zł
- 1,501 – 2,000 zł
- 2,001 – 3,000 zł
- 3,001 – 4,000 zł
- 4,001 – 5,000 zł
- 5,001 – 6,000 zł
- 6,001 – 7,000 zł
- 7,001 – 8,000 zł
- 8,001 – 9,000 zł
- 9,001 – 10,000 zł
- More than 10,000 zł
- Do not know, difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**HINC.** Please indicate net total income of all members of your household. Please choose one answer.

- No income
- Less than 500 zł
- 501 – 1,000 zł
- 1,001 – 1,500 zł
- 1,501 – 2,000 zł
- 2,001 – 3,000 zł
- 3,001 – 4,000 zł
- 4,001 – 5,000 zł
- 5,001 – 6,000 zł
- 6,001 – 7,000 zł
- 7,001 – 8,000 zł
- 8,001 – 9,000 zł
- 9,001 – 10,000 zł
- More than 10,000 zł
- Do not know, difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**TV.** On average how much time did you spend last week watching TV?

- I do not watch TV
- Less than one hour per day
- From 1 to 2 hours per day
- From 2 to 3 hours per day
- More than 4 hours per day

**INT.** Which of the following internet services do you use at least once a week?

- Facebook
- Gazeta (Gazeta.pl)
- Interia (Interia.pl)
- Instagram
- Onet (Onet.pl)
- o2 (o2.pl)
- Snapchat
- Wirtualna Polska (WP.pl)
- YouTube
- Twitter
- wPolityce.pl
- Wyborcza.pl
- Niezalezna.pl
- None of those

*The following questions are asked at the time of the survey.*

*Questions NQ07 - Q17 are asked pre-treatment, i.e., before the information treatments take place.*

**NQ07.** Please indicate the locality/gmina where you were born. In which locality were you born? To which gmina belongs this locality?

**Q01.** How would you describe your interest in politics?

- Very big
- Big
- Medium
- Small
- None
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q02.** Do you think that most people can be trusted or that one should never be too careful in dealing with people?

- One can trust most of people
- One is never too careful
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q03.** On the scale from 1 (left) to 7 (right), how would you describe your political opinions?

Left                           Right  
         (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)   (5)   (6)   (7)

**Q04.** Did you vote in the parliamentary election to Sejm and Senat on October 13, 2019?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q05.** (If Yes to Q04) For the candidate of which party did you vote in the elections to Sejm in 2019?

- Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe - Koalicja Polska (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe , Kukiz'15, UED)
- Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (with Solidarna Polska and Porozumienie)
- Lewica (Nowa Lewica (previously SLD), Wiosna, Lewica Razem)
- Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (KORWiN, Ruch Narodowy, Braun)
- Koalicja Obywatelska (Platforma Obywatelska, Nowoczesna, Inicjatywa Polska, Zieloni)
- Other party or electoral committee
- Refuse to answer

**Q06.** Did you vote in the elections to the European Parliament on May 26, 2019?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q07.** (If Yes to Q06) For the candidate of which party did you vote in the elections to the European Parliament on May 26, 2019?

- Kukiz'15
- Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc
- Wiosna Roberta Biedronia
- Konfederacja Korwin Braun Liroy narodowcy
- Koalicja Europejska (PO PSL .N SLD Zieloni)
- Lewica razem
- Other committee
- Refuse to answer

**NQ05.** What is your confession (to which Church or religious community do you belong)?

- Roman Catholic Church
- Orthodox Church
- Jehova's Witnesses
- Protestantism
- Greek Catholic Church
- Islam
- Judaism
- Buddhism
- Other (please, specify: NQ0509TXT)
- I do not belong to any religious community
- Refuse to answer

**Q08.** Do you participate in religious practices, such as masses, other religious ceremonies, and if so, how often?

- Yes, several times per week
- Yes, once a week
- Yes, on average once or twice per month
- Yes, several times a year
- I do not participate at all
- Refuse to answer

**NQ02.** How often do you take communion?

- Several times per week
- Once a week
- On average once or twice per month
- Several times a year
- Never
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q09.** Independently of participating in religious practices, do you consider yourself as a person:

- Profoundly religious
- Religious
- Rather not religious
- Completely non-religious
- Refuse to answer

**NQ09A.** Did you receive the sacrament of confirmation?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q10.** Did you devote last year your time, services, money, cloth or books for charity?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember
- Refuse to answer

**NQ03.** If your answer to the previous question is positive, was the charity related to the Catholic Church?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember
- Refuse to answer

**NQ09.** Did you participate during the last year in non-religious events or activities organized by the Catholic Church (such as for instance collecting money for the needy, helping elderly or unemployed, going for vacation, getting psychological help, participate in cultural or sport events, getting language, professional or computer training)?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q11.** Which of the following TV channels, and which programs are for you the main source of everyday information about the events in Poland and abroad? You can choose no more than two answers. As the first one please indicate the main source of information:

- Fakty, other programs on TVN (except TVN24)
- TVN24
- Wiadomosci, Teleexpress and other programs of the First Channel of TVP (TVP1)
- Panorama and other programs of the Second Channel of TVP (TVP2)
- TVP Info
- Wydarzenia and other programs of Polsat (not Polsat NEWS)
- Polsat News
- Telewizja Trwam
- Telewizja Republika
- Other
- Do not watch programs about events in Poland and abroad
- Refuse to answer

**Q12.** (Q1201, etc) What are other media that are for you source of everyday information about the events in Poland and abroad?

- Radio Maryja
- Polskie radio (Jedynka, Dwójka, Trojka)
- RFM, Radio Zet
- TOK FM
- Newspapers, weeklies
- Internet media
- Social media
- Other
- None of those
- Refuse to answer

**Q13.** Do you have access to stationary Internet at home?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**NQ08.** To what extent do you agree with the statement that a woman – if she decides so – should have the right to abortion during the first weeks of pregnancy?

- Definitely agree
- Rather agree
- Rather disagree
- Definitely disagree
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q14.** Did you see the film “Clergy” (“Kler”) by Wojciech Smarzowski?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q15.** In 2019, Tomasz and Marek Sekielski made a documentary “Tell No One” (“*Tylko nie mów nikomu*”) about child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church in Poland. The film could be seen on YouTube online platform. It was also broadcasted on TVN last year.

Did you see this film?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**Q16.** If yes, where did you see it?

- On Internet, YouTube
- On TVN
- Somewhere else
- Refuse to answer

**Q17.** Do you think the spread of coronavirus is

- The result of the working of nature
- The result of deliberate action of a group of people
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

***RANDOMIZATION INTO:***

***(1) CONTROL GROUP***

***(2) TREATMENT “Pedophilia Cover-up”***

***(3) TREATMENT “Church’s Ties to PiS”***

***TAKES PLACE AT THIS MOMENT OF THE SURVEY.***

***The following questions are asked post-treatment.***

**Q18.** Do you know, when was the law requiring anybody to report about the known cases of sexual abuse of children to the state prosecutor adopted?

- In 2000
- In 2005
- In 2017
- There is no such law
- Do not know
- Refuse to answer

**Q18A.** Do you think that the mutual support of the ruling party and the Catholic Church is

- Admissible
- Rather admissible
- Rather inadmissible
- Inadmissible
- Difficult to say

**Q19A.** If the presidential elections were to take place on May 10, 2020, as initially planned before the pandemic of COVID-19, and if there were no epidemiological danger, would you participate in the elections?

- Yes
- Non
- I haven't decided yet
- Refuse to answer

**Q19.** (If Yes to Q19A) For whom would you vote in such situation in the upcoming presidential elections?

- Andrzej Duda
- Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska
- Szymon Hołownia
- Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz
- Robert Biedroń
- Krzysztof Bosak
- Inny kandydat
- Jeszcze nie zdecydowałam|em]
- Odmawiam odpowiedzi

**Q19B.** Given the present situation related to threat of coronavirus, do you intend to take part in voting by correspondence if such vote had to take place in May 2020?

- Yes
- No
- I haven't decided yet
- Refuse to answer

**Q19C.** (If yes to Q19B) For whom would you vote in such situation if the presidential elections were to take place by correspondence?

- Andrzej Duda
- Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska
- Szymon Hołownia
- Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz
- Robert Biedroń
- Krzysztof Bosak
- Inny kandydat
- Jeszcze nie zdecydowałam|em]
- Odmawiam odpowiedzi

**Q20.** Do you agree with the following statements:

- “The problem of pedophilia in Church is exaggerated.” (Q20\_01)
- “The attack on the Church is underway which is used to reduce its authority and introduce moral changes.” (Q20\_02)
- “The Catholic Church is crucial for morality of the Polish society.” (Q20\_03)
  - I completely agree
  - I rather agree
  - I rather disagree
  - I completely disagree
  - Difficult to say
  - Refuse to answer

**NQ12.** There is a lot of discussions in Poland about the place of religion in the public life. Please answer if you are offended or not offended by the following situations:

- Blessings by priests of places and public buildings (NQ12\_01)
- The Church giving opinion on laws voted by the Parliament (NQ12\_02)
- Priests express their political opinions before elections during the mass (NQ12\_03)
  - I am definitely offended
  - I am rather offended
  - I am rather not offended
  - I am definitely not offended
  - Difficult to say
  - Refuse to answer

**Q21A.** Do you think that the lessons of religion should take place at school or at parish premises?

- At school
- At parish premises
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q21B.** (If replied “at school” to Q21A) Why do you think the lessons of religion should take place at school?

- Because it is more convenient
- Because at school the children are safer – it is easier to control the behavior of priests and teachers
- Other reason:

**Q21C.** (If replied “at parish premises” to Q21A) Why do you think that the lessons of religion should take place at parish premises?

- Because school should be separated from the Church
- Because the church is a natural place for religious experience
- Other reason

**Q22.** Do you think that the salaries of priests teaching religion at school should be paid from the state budget?

- Yes
- No
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q23.** Should the budget money be spent on financing Church-run media, like Radio Maryja or TV Trwam?

- Yes
- No
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q24.** Do you think that the reaction of the Polish Catholic Church to the information of sexual abuse of minors by the clergy is sufficient?

- Sufficient
- Insufficient
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q26.** Do you trust ... ? (The order in which respondents were asked about each institution was randomized.)

- Parliament (Q26\_01)
- Senat (Q26\_02)
- President (Q26\_03)
- Catholic Church (Q26\_04)
- Government (Q26\_05)
- Courts (Q26\_06)
- Priest in your parish (Q26\_07)
- Your neighbors (Q26\_08)
- Police (Q26\_09)
- Episcopate (Q26\_10)

- The Pope (**Q26\_11**)

- Definitely yes
- Rather yes
- Rather no
- Definitely no
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**PP01.** On the scale from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive) how would you describe your attitude towards the following political parties :

- Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (with Solidarna Polska and Porozumienie) (**PP01\_01**)

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

- Koalicja Obywatelska PO .N IPL Zieloni (**PP01\_02**)

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

- Lewica (SLD, Wiosna, Lewica Razem) (**PP01\_03**)

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

- Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowa Kukiz '15 (**PP01\_04**)

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

- Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (**PP01\_05**)

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

- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Q27.** We would like to support on your behalf charity foundations offering scholarships to children and young people. We will allocate 2500 PLN among the following foundations. The amount of money each of the foundations receives will depend on the shares of respondents choosing this foundation. So please indicate to which of the following foundations you would like us to transfer money. When the study is over, you will get the information about the results of this vote and the certificates of the actual transfers to the foundations. Please, put the cross next to one of the four foundations, which you would like us to support on your behalf. (The order in which each respondent saw the foundations was randomized.)

- Katolicka Wspólnota Chleb Życia.

A catholic charitable foundation that gives scholarships to support talented children who are in a difficult material situation.

<https://chlebzycia.org/fundusz-stypendialny/>

- Fundacja Fabryki Marzeń.  
A civic charitable foundation that gives scholarships to support talented children who are in a difficult material situation.  
<http://www.fabrykimarzen.org/nasze-fabryki/fabryka-wspierania-talentow>
- EFC.  
A foundation of Roman Czernecki that provides a scholarship program to support students from smaller towns to get education in good schools in big cities.  
<https://efc.edu.pl/programy/horyzonty>
- Dzieło Nowego Tysiąclecia.  
A foundation created by the Polish Episcopate that runs a scholarship program helping to equalize chances of young people from small localities.  
<https://dzieło.pl/o-fundacji/kim-jestesmy/>

## 8.4 Questionnaire, Follow-up Round

**Screen 1:** We invite you to participate in the second part of the study conducted by Opinie.pl of IQS together with CBOS. A couple of weeks ago you participated in the first stage of this study. Now we are coming back to you asking you to answer more questions. Some of the questions will be similar to those we asked in the first part: this is because we would like to know if your opinion has changed. This survey is much shorter than the previous one. We would like everybody who answered our questions in the first stage do it this time as well. The reliability of our study will depend on your participation. We remind you that our contractor decided to support some charity NGOs in your name, allocating 2500 PLN among them. The amount transferred to each of four organizations depended on the number of people who have chosen each NGO. According to this promise, the money was already transferred. At the end of the survey you will find the information about the actual amount transferred to each organization and the proofs of bank transfers.

**Screen 2:** We inform you that there are questions in the survey which concern sensitive issues such as political preferences or religion. We assure you that all your answers will be kept secret. Information such as names or addresses will not be kept and any identification of a person participating in the study will not be possible. All information will only be used in an aggregate form in anonymous statistical summaries. Nobody will ever know what were your answers to the questions.

**P01.** If the presidential elections were to take place next Sunday, would you participate in the elections?

- Yes
- No
- I haven't decided yet
- Refuse to answer

**P01A.** (If Yes to P01) For whom would you vote in such situation if the presidential elections were to take place next Sunday?

- Andrzej Duda
- Rafał Trzaskowski
- Szymon Hołownia
- Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz
- Robert Biedroń
- Krzysztof Bosak
- Inny kandydat
- I haven't decided yet
- Refuse to answer

**PA.** Do you consider the question of pedophilia in the Catholic Church as socially important?

- This is a definitely important question
- This is rather an important question
- This is rather an unimportant question
- This is definitely an unimportant question

**P02.** Did you see the second part of Sekielskis' film "Hide and seek" ("Zabawa w chowanego")?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**P02A1.** (If Yes to P02) Where did you see Sekielskis' film "Hide and seek"?:

- In internet, YouTube
- On TVN
- Elsewhere (specify where ...)
- Refuse to answer

**P02A.** Since you participated in the first part of our survey have you seen the first part of Sekielskis' film "Tell no one"?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**P03.** According to you, who should be blamed for the pedophilia in the Catholic Church?

- Individual priests
- Not only individual priests but also the entire Church as an institution
- Do not know/difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**NQ13.** Do you trust ... ? (The order in which respondents were asked about each institution was randomized.)

- Parliament (NQ13\_01)
- Senat (NQ13\_02)
- President (NQ13\_03)
- Catholic Church (NQ13\_04)
- Government (NQ13\_05)
- Courts (NQ13\_06)
- Priest in your parish (NQ13\_07)
- Your neighbors (NQ13\_08)
- Police (NQ13\_09)
- Episcopate (NQ13\_10)
- The Pope (NQ13\_11)
  - Definitely yes
  - Rather yes
  - Rather no
  - Definitely no
  - Difficult to say
  - Refuse to answer

**PP01.** On the scale from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive) how would you describe your attitude towards the following political parties:

- Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (wraz z Solidarną Polską i Porozumieniem) (PP01\_01)
  - ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦
  - 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Koalicja Obywatelska PO .N IPL Zieloni (PP01\_02)
  - ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦
  - 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Lewica (SLD, Wiosna, Lewica Razem) (PP01\_03)
  - ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦
  - 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Kukiz '15 (PP01\_04)
  - ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦
  - 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (PP01\_05)
  - ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦
  - 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**PB01.** What do you think about the separation of the Catholic Church and the State in Poland? Do you think:

- The current level of separation of the Church and the State is adequate
- The Church should be more separated from the State
- The Church should be more closely related to the State
- Do not know, difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**NQ17.** How would you describe your faith?

- I am a believer and I follow Church's recommendations
- I am a believer in my own way and I do not always follow Church's recommendations
- I am not a believer
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**NQ15.** How many times did you participate in the mass during the last two weeks? Please, take into account all masses, including those in the church and those in which you participated through TV, radio and the internet.

- Several times per week, altogether more than 4 times
- Once a week, 4 times
- Less than once a week, once or twice
- I did not participate
- Refuse to answer

**NQ16.** In the future, do you think you will go to church?

- Several times a week
- Once or twice a month
- Several times a year, or less
- I will not participate
- Difficult to say

**P4.** Did you hear recently about cases of sexual abuse of children by priests of the Catholic Church in your close environment: locality, gmina, parish, neighboring parishes, or diocese?

- Yes
- No
- Do not remember
- Refuse to answer

**P5.** During the last two weeks, were you interested in this issue of the abuse of children by priests to the point that you actively search information on this topic in the media or in the internet?

- Yes
- No
- Refuse to answer

**NQ18.** Do you agree with the statement “pedophiles within the Catholic Church are treated differently than pedophiles outside the Church”?

- I definitely agree
- I rather agree
- I rather disagree
- I definitely disagree
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**P6.** Consider an adult who was a victim of sexual abuse a long time ago when she/he was a child by a priest of the Catholic Church. Do you think he/she should speak out and testify or, on the contrary, there is no point in speaking out because the abuse happened a long time ago?

- The victim should speak out
- There is no point in speaking out
- Difficult to say
- Refuse to answer

**Last Screen:** In the first part of our study we asked you to choose a foundation that we can support on behalf of participants of this study. Overall, 12,49% of respondents chose Katolicka Wspólnota Chleb Życia, 61,87% chose Fundacja Fabryki Marzeń, 16,13% chose Edukacyjna Fundacja im. prof. Romana Czerneckiego, and 9,51% chose Fundacja Dzieło Nowego Tysiąclecia.

Below we present the payslips confirming that we have transferred the money to the foundations.

Thank you for your participation!

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