**Appendix A1: Qualitative data – In-depth interviews with delegates and non-elected candidates**

The twenty-five in-depth interviews with Convention delegates and candidates to the Constitutional Convention were conducted face-to-face and remotely, 5 and 20, respectively, between December 2022 and June 2023. All interviews were done under the compromise of ethical use of the qualitative data, established in informed consent. These documents stated that the data would be confidentially used, under pseudo-anonymization, and with strictly academic purposes. Table A1.1 shows the interview list, respecting the compromise of pseudo-anonymization.

Table A1.1: In-depth interviews with Convention delegates and candidates to the Constitutional Convention

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Interview | Sex | Interview format | Date |
| Interview 1 with a No+AFP movement activist non-elected delegate  | Man | Face-to-face | 06/12/2022 |
| Interview 2 with a No+AFP movement activist non-elected delegate | Woman | Face-to-face | 16/12/2022 |
| Interview 3 with a workers’ movement activist non-elected delegate | Man | Face-to-face | 27/12/2022 |
| Interview 4 with a workers’ movement activist non-elected delegate | Woman | Face-to-face | 23/01/2023 |
| Interview 5 with a No+AFP movement activist non-elected delegate | Woman | Face-to-face | 25/01/2023 |
| Interview 6 with an elected delegate | Man | Remote | 03/04/2023 |
| Interview 7 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 04/04/2023 |
| Interview 8 with a member of an environmental organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 04/04/2023 |
| Interview 9 with a member of a cultural organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 04/04/2023 |
| Interview 10 with a member of an environmental organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 05/04/2023 |
| Interview 11 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate  | Woman | Remote | 06/04/2023 |
| Interview 12 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate  | Woman | Remote | 06/04/2023 |
| Interview 13 with a member of an environmental organization elected delegate | Woman  | Remote | 08/04/2023 |
| Interview 14 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 10/04/2023 |
| Interview 15 with a member of a regionalist-local organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 10/04/2023 |
| Interview 16 with a workers’ movement activist non-elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 11/04/2023 |
| Interview 17 with an elected delegate | Man | Remote | 11/04/2023 |
| Interview 18 with an elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 11/04/2023 |
| Interview 19 with a member of an environmental organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 12/04/2023 |
| Interview 20 with a member of a workers’ organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 13/04/2023 |
| Interview 21 with a member of a regionalist-local organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 14/04/2023 |
| Interview 22 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 14/05/2023 |
| Interview 23 with a member of an environmental organization elected delegate | Man | Remote | 02/06/2023 |
| Interview 24 with a member of a regionalist-local organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 05/06/2023 |
| Interview 25 with a member of a feminist organization elected delegate | Woman | Remote | 16/06/2023 |

**Appendix A2: Dataset of the political and social trajectories of the Convention**'**s delegates**

The dataset was constructed from the Chilean National Congress Library's Convention delegates' political profiles and public information on the delegates' social organizations. In this manner, the unit of analysis is the delegates, and the characteristics of the political and social trajectories are the variables. The dataset employed to develop this research is an updating and complementing of the one used for the analysis of the paper “Entre la independencia y la militancia: análisis de la vinculación partidaria de los convencionales constituyentes de Chile” (Rozas, Olivares and Maillet 2022). Some results in this paper slightly differ from those presented in Rozas, Olivares, and Maillet 2022 because of gathering new data on the delegates’ trajectories. Table 2.1 exposes the variables considered in the dataset for the analysis of this research.

Table A2.1. Variables of the Convention’s delegates dataset used in the analysis

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Variables (code of the variable) | Operationalization |
| Formal party militancy (*polparty*) | A binary variable that indicates if the delegate is a formal party member (=1) |
| Party electoral list (*list\_part*) | A binary variable that indicates if the delegate competed in an electoral list of a political party (=1)  |
| Political organization participation (*orgpol*) | A Binary variable indicates if the delegate has been part of organizations linked to political parties or organizations with political ends (=1), such as think tanks and political movements. The variable considers the experience in this organization at any time.  |
| Experience in public positions (*pol\_pos*) | A binary variable indicates if the delegate has occupied a position in the political party's name or representative political seats at the different levels of the political administration (=1). The variable considers these experiences at any time. |
| Delegates' political ties (*pol\_ties*) | A categorical variable based on the formal party militancy, party electoral list, political organization participation, and experience in public changes: partisan militant, partisan independent, and non-partisan independent. After this table, I explain the construction of this categorization.  |
| Delegates' civic volunteer organization membership (*part\_socorg*) | A binary variable that indicates if the delegate participated in a civic volunteer organization at the moment of being elected as a member of the Constitutional Convention  |
| Delegates' type of civic volunteer organization (*demands*)  | A categorical variable for the kind of the main civic volunteer organization that the delegates participated (11 categories). The categories are based on categorizing social movements of the COES’ Observatory of Conflicts. * Regionalist-local
* Environmental
* Feminist
* Indigenous people
* Culture
* Human Rights
* Labor
* Health
* Education
* Religion
* LGTBIQ+

It is worth noting that the organizations related to disability rights (2) and sports (1) were codified as health and culture organizations, respectively, for reasons of comparative analysis. I constructed this variable on public information about the organization the delegates participated in, mainly from their websites and social media, and complemented by data from the press.  |
| Civic volunteer organizations' years (*socorg\_old*) | A continuous variable that counts the years of the delegate's main civic volunteer organization based on the distance between the year of the civic volunteer organizations’ foundation and the year of the delegates' election (2021)  |
| Delegates' electoral districts (*RM*) | A categorical variable of the delegates’ electoral districts: Metropolitan region’s districts, other regions’ districts, and indigenous people’s districts |
| Delegates' age (*age*) | A continuous variable of the delegates’ age |
| Delegates' sex (*sex*) | A binary categorical variable of the delegates’ sex: man and woman |
| Delegates' education level (*educ\_level*) | A binary categorical variable of the delegates’ education level: less than postgraduate; postgraduate  |
| Delegates' marital status (*mar\_stat*) | A binary categorical variable of the delegates’ marriage status: married; not married |

The typology of delegates’ political ties was constructed following the work of Rozas, Olivares, and Maillet (2022). The typology considers the formal party militancy and other links with parties (participation in a party electoral list, involvement in a political organization, and experience in public positions). Thus, the delegates with formal party militancy are categorized as partisan militant. In contrast, the delegates that do not have formal party militancy but have at least one of the other kinds of links with parties are categorized as partisan independent. Finally, the delegates that do not have formal party militancy and any of the different kinds of party links are considered non-partisan independent. Figure A.2.1 summarizes the operationalization.

Figure A2.1. Operationalization of the delegates’ political ties typology



Table A2.2 shows the categorization of the delegates based on the political ties’ typology.

Table A2.2. Delegates’ political ties categorization

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Name | Electoral district | Political ties' categorization |
| Carolina Videla Osorio | 1 | Partisan militant |
| Pollyana Rivera Bigas | 1 | Partisan independent |
| Jorge Abarca Riveros | 1 | Partisan independent |
| Hugo Gutierrez Gálvez | 2 | Partisan militant |
| Álvaro Jofré Cáceres | 2 | Partisan militant |
| Alejandra Flores Carlos | 2 | Non-partisan independent |
| Cristina Dorador Ortiz | 3 | Non-partisan independent |
| Dayyana González Araya | 3 | Non-partisan independent |
| Pablo Toloza Fernández | 3 | Partisan militant |
| Hernán Velásquez Núñez | 3 | Partisan militant |
| Ericka Portilla Barrios | 4 | Partisan militant |
| Constanza San Juan Standen | 4 | Non-partisan independent |
| Guillermo Namor Kong | 4 | Non-partisan independent |
| Maximiliano Hurtado Roco | 4 | Partisan militant |
| Ivanna Olivares Miranda | 5 | Non-partisan independent |
| Jeniffer Mella Escobar | 5 | Partisan independent |
| Carlos Calvo Muñoz | 5 | Partisan independent |
| Daniel Bravo Silva | 5 | Non-partisan independent |
| Roberto Vega Campusano | 5 | Partisan militant |
| María Trinidad Castillo Boilet | 5 | Non-partisan independent |
| Carolina Vilches Fuenzalida | 6 | Partisan independent |
| Lisette Vergara Riquelme | 6 | Non-partisan independent |
| Ruggero Cozzi Elzo | 6 | Partisan militant |
| Mariela Serey Jiménez | 6 | Partisan independent |
| Janis Meneses Palma | 6 | Non-partisan independent |
| Claudio Gómez Castro | 6 | Partisan independent |
| Cristóbal Andrade León | 6 | Non-partisan independent |
| Miguel Botto Salinas | 6 | Non-partisan independent |
| Jaime Bassa Mercado | 7 | Partisan independent |
| Jorge Arancibia Reyes | 7 | Partisan independent |
| Camila Zárate Zárate | 7 | Non-partisan independent |
| Agustín Squella Narducci | 7 | Partisan independent |
| Tania Madriaga Flores | 7 | Partisan independent |
| Raúl Celis Montt | 7 | Partisan militant |
| María José Oyarzun Solís | 7 | Partisan militant |
| Daniel Stingo Camus | 8 | Partisan independent |
| Bernardo de la Maza Bañados | 8 | Partisan independent |
| Marco Arrellano Ortega | 8 | Non-partisan independent |
| María Magdalena Rivera Iribarren | 8 | Partisan independent |
| Valentina Miranda Arce | 8 | Partisan militant |
| Bessy Gallardo Prado | 8 | Partisan independent |
| Tatiana Urrutia Herrera | 8 | Partisan militant |
| Rodrigo Logan Soto | 9 | Non-partisan independent |
| Bárbara Sepúlveda Hales | 9 | Partisan militant |
| Alejandra Pérez Espina | 9 | Non-partisan independent |
| Natalia Henríquez Carreño | 9 | Non-partisan independent |
| Arturo Zúñiga Jory | 9 | Partisan militant |
| César Valenzuela Maass | 9 | Partisan militant |
| Fernado Atria Lemaitre | 10 | Partisan independent |
| Teresa Marinovic Vial | 10 | Partisan independent |
| Patricia Politzer Kerekes | 10 | Partisan independent |
| Jorge Baradit Morales | 10 | Partisan independent |
| Cristián Monckeberg Bruner | 10 | Partisan militant |
| Manuel Woldarsky González | 10 | Non-partisan independent |
| Giovanna Roa Cadin | 10 | Partisan militant |
| Marcela Cubillos Sigall | 11 | Partisan independent |
| Hernán Larraín Matte | 11 | Partisan militant |
| Constanza Schönhaut Soto | 11 | Partisan militant |
| Constanza Hube Portus | 11 | Partisan militant |
| Bernardo Fontaine Talavera | 11 | Partisan independent |
| Patricio Fernández Chadwick | 11 | Partisan independent |
| Benito Baranda Ferrán | 12 | Non-partisan independent |
| Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz | 12 | Partisan independent |
| Alondra Carrillo Vidal | 12 | Non-partisan independent |
| Giovanna Grandón Caro | 12 | Non-partisan independent |
| Manuel José Ossandón Lira | 12 | Partisan independent |
| Juan José Martín Bravo | 12 | Non-partisan independent |
| Malucha Pinto Solari | 13 | Partisan militant |
| Ingrid Villena Narbona | 13 | Non-partisan independent |
| Rodrigo Rojas Vade | 13 | Non-partisan independent |
| Marcos Barraza Gómez | 13 | Partisan militant |
| Ignacio Achurra Díaz | 14 | Partisan militant |
| Francisco Caamaño Rojas | 14 | Non-partisan independent |
| Renato Garín González | 14 | Partisan independent |
| Paulina Valenzuela Río | 14 | Non-partisan independent |
| Claudia Castro Gutiérrez | 14 | Partisan independent |
| Loreto Vallejos Dávila | 15 | Non-partisan independent |
| Alvin Saldaña Muñoz | 15 | Partisan independent |
| Carol Bown Sepúlveda | 15 | Partisan militant |
| Matías Orellana Cuellar | 15 | Partisan militant |
| Damaris Abarca González | 15 | Partisan independent |
| Ricardo Neumann Bertín | 16 | Partisan independent |
| Nicolás Núñez Gangas | 16 | Partisan militant |
| Gloria Alvarado Jorquera | 16 | Non-partisan independent |
| Adriana Cancino Meneses | 16 | Partisan independent |
| Roberto Celedón Fernández | 17 | Partisan independent |
| Bárbara Rebolledo Aguirre | 17 | Partisan independent |
| María Elisa Quinteros Cáceres | 17 | Non-partisan independent |
| Alfredo Moreno Echeverría | 17 | Partisan independent |
| Christian Viera Álvarez | 17 | Partisan independent |
| Elsa Labraña Pino | 17 | Non-partisan independent |
| Paola Grandón González | 17 | Partisan militant |
| Patricia Labra Besserer | 18 | Partisan militant |
| Francisca Arauna Urrutia | 18 | Non-partisan independent |
| Fernando Salinas Manfredini | 18 | Non-partisan independent |
| Ricardo Montero Allende | 18 | Partisan militant |
| Martín Arrau García-Huidobro | 19 | Partisan militant |
| César Uribe Araya | 19 | Partisan independent |
| Felipe Harboe Bascuñán | 19 | Partisan militant |
| Carolina Sepúlveda Sepúlveda | 19 | Non-partisan independent |
| Margarita Letelier Cortés | 19 | Partisan militant |
| Amaya Álvez Marín | 20 | Partisan militant |
| Rocío Cantuarias Rubio | 20 | Partisan independent |
| Rossana Loreto Vidal Hernández | 20 | Non-partisan independent |
| Andrés Cruz Carrasco | 20 | Partisan independent |
| Luciano Silva Mora | 20 | Partisan militant |
| Tammy Pustilnick Arditi | 20 | Non-partisan independent |
| Bastián Labbé Salazar | 20 | Non-partisan independent |
| Paulina Veloso Muñoz | 21 | Partisan militant |
| Luis Barceló Amado | 21 | Partisan independent |
| Vanessa Hoppe Espoz | 21 | Partisan independent |
| Javier Fuchslocher Baeza | 21 | Non-partisan independent |
| Fuad Chahín Valenzuela | 22 | Partisan militant |
| Eduardo Cretton Rebolledo | 22 | Partisan militant |
| Ruth Hurtado Olave | 22 | Partisan independent |
| Luis Mayol Bouchon | 23 | Partisan militant |
| Manuela Royo Letelier | 23 | Partisan independent |
| Helmuth Martínez Llancapan | 23 | Partisan independent |
| Eduardo Castillo Vigouroux | 23 | Partisan militant |
| Lorena Céspedes Fernández | 23 | Non-partisan independent |
| María Angélica Tepper Kolossa | 23 | Partisan independent |
| Ramona Reyes Painequeo | 24 | Partisan militant |
| Pedro Muñoz Leiva | 24 | Partisan militant |
| Felipe Mena Villar | 24 | Partisan militant |
| Aurora Delgado Vergara | 24 | Partisan independent |
| Harry Jürgensen Caesar | 25 | Partisan militant |
| Mario Vargas Vidal | 25 | Partisan militant |
| María Cecilia Ubilla Pérez | 25 | Partisan independent |
| Julio Álvarez Pinto | 26 | Partisan militant |
| Adriana Ampuero Barrientos | 26 | Non-partisan independent |
| Gaspar Domínguez Donoso | 26 | Non-partisan independent |
| Katerine Montealegre Navarro | 26 | Partisan militant |
| Tomás Laibe Sáez | 27 | Partisan militant |
| Geoconda Navarrete Arratia | 27 | Partisan militant |
| Yarela Gómez Sánchez | 27 | Partisan militant |
| Mauricio Daza Carrasco | 28 | Non-partisan independent |
| Elisa Giustinianovich Campos | 28 | Non-partisan independent |
| Rodrigo Álvarez Zenteno | 28 | Partisan militant |
| Elisa Loncón Antileo | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Natividad Llanquileo Pilquimán | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Adolfo Millabur Ñancul | Mapuche | Partisan independent |
| Rosa Catrileo Arias | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Francisca Linconao Huircapán | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Victorino Antilef Ñanco | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Alexis Caiguán Ancapán | Mapuche | Non-partisan independent |
| Tiare Aguilera Hey | Rapanui | Non-partisan independent |
| Félix Galleguillos | Atacameño | Non-partisan independent |
| Luis Jiménez Cáceres | Aimara | Non-partisan independent |
| Isabella Mamani Mamani | Aimara | Non-partisan independent |
| Wilfredo Baicián Delgado | Quechua | Partisan independent |
| Isabel Godoy Monardez | Colla | Non-partisan independent |
| Eric Chinga | Diaguita | Non-partisan independent |
| Margarita Vargas López | Kawashkar | Partisan militant |
| Lidia González Calderón | Yagán | Partisan independent |
| Fernando Tirado Soto | Chango | Partisan independent |

Table A2.3 shows the categorization of each delegate’s organizations regarding the types of civic volunteer organizations.

Table A2.3. Delegates’ type of civic volunteer organizations

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Name | Name of delegates' civic volunteer organization | Civic volunteer organization types |
| Carolina Videla Osorio | Mujeres Memoria y Derechos Humanos | Human rights |
| Pollyana Rivera Bigas | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Jorge Abarca Riveros | Comité Ambiental de Arica | Regionalist-local |
| Hugo Gutierrez Gálvez | Asociación Americana de Juristas | Labor |
| Álvaro Jofré Cáceres | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Alejandra Flores Carlos | ANAMURI | Indigenous people |
| Cristina Dorador Ortiz | Sociedad Civil por la Acción Climática | Environmental |
| Dayyana González Araya | Unión de Mujeres Kori Tocopilla | Feminist |
| Pablo Toloza Fernández | Fundación Cultural FUNDECAP Antofagasta | Culture |
| Hernán Velásquez Núñez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Ericka Portilla Barrios | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Constanza San Juan Standen | MAT | Environmental |
| Guillermo Namor Kong | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Maximiliano Hurtado Roco | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Ivanna Olivares Miranda | MODATIMA | Environmental |
| Jeniffer Mella Escobar | Asamblea de Autoconvocades por una Nueva Constitución Ovalle-Limarí | Regionalist-local |
| Carlos Calvo Muñoz | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Daniel Bravo Silva | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Roberto Vega Campusano | Club Ovalle de la Asociación Limarí | Culture |
| María Trinidad Castillo Boilet | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Carolina Vilches Fuenzalida | MODATIMA | Environmental |
| Lisette Vergara Riquelme | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Ruggero Cozzi Elzo | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Mariela Serey Jiménez | Asociación Yo Cuido | Health |
| Janis Meneses Palma | Asamblea Vecinal Los Pinos de Quilpué | Regionalist-local |
| Claudio Gómez Castro | Corporación Aconcagua Región | Regionalist-local |
| Cristóbal Andrade León | Somos el Pueblo Quilpué | Regionalist-local |
| Miguel Botto Salinas | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Jaime Bassa Mercado | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Jorge Arancibia Reyes | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Camila Zárate Zárate | MAT | Environmental |
| Agustín Squella Narducci | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Tania Madriaga Flores | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Raúl Celis Montt | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| María José Oyarzun Solís | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Daniel Stingo Camus | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Bernardo de la Maza Bañados | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Marco Arrellano Ortega | Red Plurinacional de Humedales | Environmental |
| María Magdalena Rivera Iribarren | Defensa popular | Human rights |
| Valentina Miranda Arce | CONES | Education |
| Bessy Gallardo Prado | Fundación Honra | Feminist |
| Tatiana Urrutia Herrera | Unidad Social Maipú | Regionalist-local |
| Rodrigo Logan Soto | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Bárbara Sepúlveda Hales | Abofem | Feminist |
| Alejandra Pérez Espina | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Natalia Henríquez Carreño | Colegio Médico de Santiago | Labor |
| Arturo Zúñiga Jory | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| César Valenzuela Maass | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Fernado Atria Lemaitre | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Teresa Marinovic Vial | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Patricia Politzer Kerekes | Educación 2020 | Education |
| Jorge Baradit Morales | Fundación Los Ojos de Chile | Human rights |
| Cristián Monckeberg Bruner | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Manuel Woldarsky González | Fundación Huentelauquen | Culture |
| Giovanna Roa Cadin | Ruidosa | Feminist |
| Marcela Cubillos Sigall | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Hernán Larraín Matte | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Constanza Schönhaut Soto | Corporación Humanas | Feminist |
| Constanza Hube Portus | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Bernardo Fontaine Talavera | Fundación Buen Samaritano | Health |
| Patricio Fernández Chadwick | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Benito Baranda Ferrán | América Solidaria | Human rights |
| Beatriz Sánchez Muñoz | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Alondra Carrillo Vidal | CF8M | Feminist |
| Giovanna Grandón Caro | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Manuel José Ossandón Lira | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Juan José Martín Bravo | Cverde | Environmental |
| Malucha Pinto Solari | Fundación Aracataca | Culture |
| Ingrid Villena Narbona | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Rodrigo Rojas Vade | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Marcos Barraza Gómez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Ignacio Achurra Díaz | Sidarte | Labor |
| Francisco Caamaño Rojas | Verde Nativo | Regionalist-local |
| Renato Garín González | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Paulina Valenzuela Río | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Claudia Castro Gutiérrez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Loreto Vallejos Dávila | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Alvin Saldaña Muñoz | MAT | Environmental |
| Carol Bown Sepúlveda | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Matías Orellana Cuellar | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Damaris Abarca González | Federación de Ajedrez de Chile | Culture |
| Ricardo Neumann Bertín | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Nicolás Núñez Gangas | Asociación Regional Ambiental O'Higgins | Regionalist-local |
| Gloria Alvarado Jorquera | FENAPRU | Environmental |
| Adriana Cancino Meneses | Agrupación de la Discapacidad de Nancagua | Health |
| Roberto Celedón Fernández | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Bárbara Rebolledo Aguirre | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| María Elisa Quinteros Cáceres | Fundación Afluentes | Environmental |
| Alfredo Moreno Echeverría | Federación de Criadores de Caballos Chilenos | Culture |
| Christian Viera Álvarez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Elsa Labraña Pino | Colectivo de Mujeres de Curicó | Feminist |
| Paola Grandón González | No+AFP | Labor |
| Patricia Labra Besserer | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Francisca Arauna Urrutia | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Fernando Salinas Manfredini | CODEFF | Environmental |
| Ricardo Montero Allende | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Martín Arrau García-Huidobro | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| César Uribe Araya | Ñuble Libre | Regionalist-local |
| Felipe Harboe Bascuñán | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Carolina Sepúlveda Sepúlveda | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Margarita Letelier Cortés | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Amaya Álvez Marín | Corporación "Colectiva - Justicia en DDHH" | Human rights |
| Rocío Cantuarias Rubio | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Rossana Loreto Vidal Hernández | Corporación Sempiterno | Human rights |
| Andrés Cruz Carrasco | Corporación de Desarrollo Regional Corbiobío | Regionalist-local |
| Luciano Silva Mora | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Tammy Pustilnick Arditi | Corporación Descentralizadas | Feminist |
| Bastián Labbé Salazar | Salvemos el Santuario de la Naturaleza de Hualpén | Regionalist-local |
| Paulina Veloso Muñoz | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Luis Barceló Amado | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Vanessa Hoppe Espoz | Corporación de Abogadas Feministas | Feminist |
| Javier Fuchslocher Baeza | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Fuad Chahín Valenzuela | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Eduardo Cretton Rebolledo | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Ruth Hurtado Olave | Mujeres por la Araucanía | Regionalist-local |
| Luis Mayol Bouchon | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Manuela Royo Letelier | MODATIMA | Environmental |
| Helmuth Martínez Llancapan | Pastoral juvenil de la Diócesis San José de Temuco | Religion |
| Eduardo Castillo Vigouroux | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Lorena Céspedes Fernández | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| María Angélica Tepper Kolossa | Corporación Ruta Huellas de Pablo Neruda | Culture |
| Ramona Reyes Painequeo | Red Iberoamericana de Municipios por la Igualdad de Género | Feminist |
| Pedro Muñoz Leiva | ONG Valdiversa | LGTBIQ+ |
| Felipe Mena Villar | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Aurora Delgado Vergara | No+AFP | Labor |
| Harry Jürgensen Caesar | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Mario Vargas Vidal | Organización Laicos y Laicas | Religion |
| María Cecilia Ubilla Pérez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Julio Álvarez Pinto | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Adriana Ampuero Barrientos | Movimiento Archipiélago Soberano | Regionalist-local |
| Gaspar Domínguez Donoso | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Katerine Montealegre Navarro | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Tomás Laibe Sáez | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Geoconda Navarrete Arratia | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Yarela Gómez Sánchez | MODATIMA | Environmental |
| Mauricio Daza Carrasco | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Elisa Giustinianovich Campos | Coordinadora Feminista Punta Arenas | Feminist |
| Rodrigo Álvarez Zenteno | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Elisa Loncón Antileo | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Natividad Llanquileo Pilquimán | CIDSUR | Indigenous people |
| Adolfo Millabur Ñancul | Identidad Territorial Lafkenche | Indigenous people |
| Rosa Catrileo Arias | Comunidad de Historia Mapuche | Indigenous people |
| Francisca Linconao Huircapán | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Victorino Antilef Ñanco | Asociación Mapuche Kalfulikan de Los Ríos. | Indigenous people |
| Alexis Caiguán Ancapán | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Tiare Aguilera Hey | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Félix Galleguillos | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Luis Jiménez Cáceres | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Isabella Mamani Mamani | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Wilfredo Baicián Delgado | Movimiento Comunidad Indígena Quechua de Quipisca | Indigenous people |
| Isabel Godoy Monardez | Consejo Nacional del Pueblo Kolla | Indigenous people |
| Eric Chinga | Red Nacional Diaguita | Indigenous people |
| Margarita Vargas López | No civic volunteer organization membership | NA |
| Lidia González Calderón | Movimiento en contra de la instalación de salmoneras en el Canal Beagle | Regionalist-local |
| Fernando Tirado Soto | Consejo de Pescadores Changos | Indigenous people |

The following two tables present the completed results of the models to predict delegates’ civic volunteer organizations and the civic volunteer organizations’ age. I decided to use probability linear models to predict delegates’ civic volunteer organizations membership because specialized literature shows that these models give practically the same results as other kinds of models to address binary outcomes, such as probit and logit models, in addition to the interpretation of the probability linear models are more straightforward than the probit and logit models (Wooldridge 2016).

Table A2.4. Probability linear models to predict delegates’ civic volunteer organizations membership

| Predictors | Base Model | Compl. Model | Compl. Model + RSE |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intercept | 0.335\*\*\* | 0.233 | 0.233+ |
|  | (0.098) | (0.214) | (0.134) |
| Partisan independent (ref. Partisan militant) | 0.185+ | 0.194+ | 0.194 |
|  | (0.100) | (0.104) | (0.164) |
| Partisan independent (ref. Partisan militant) | 0.190+ | 0.153 | 0.153\* |
|  | (0.101) | (0.103) | (0.073) |
| Other regions’ districts (ref. Metropolitan region’s districts)  | 0.014 | 0.069 | 0.069\*\*\* |
|  | (0.093) | (0.095) | (0.014) |
| Indigenous people’s districts (ref. Metropolitan regions’ districts) | 0.016 | -0.002 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.148) | (0.153) | (0.046) |
| Age |  | -0.003 | -0.003+ |
|  |  | (0.004) | (0.001) |
| Sex: woman (ref. man) |  | 0.104 | 0.104\*\* |
|  |  | (0.084) | (0.032) |
| Education level: less than postgraduate (ref. postgraduate) |  | 0.167+ | 0.167\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.087) | (0.002) |
| Not married (ref. married) |  | 0.086 | 0.086 |
|  |  | (0.093) | (0.080) |
| Num.Obs. | 155 | 147 | 147 |
| R2 | 0.032 | 0.107 | 0.107 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.006 | 0.055 | 0.055 |
| AIC | 231.5 | 216.0 | 216.0 |
| BIC | 249.7 | 245.9 | 245.9 |
| RMSE | 0.49 | 0.47 | 0.47 |
| Rob. Std. Errors | No | No | by: Districts |
| + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 |

Note: The number of observations in the second and third models decreases because of the missing data on the delegates’ marital status (Álvaro Jofré Cáceres, Claudio Gómez Castro, Jaime Bassa Mercado, Bessy Gallardo Prado, Tatiana Urrutia Herrera, Luis Barceló Amado, and Fernando Tirado Soto), and educational level (María Angélica Tepper Kolossa, and Fernando Tirado Soto) variables.

Table A2.5. Linear regression models to predict the age of delegates’ civic volunteer organizations

| Predictors | Base Model | Compl. Model | Compl. Model + RSE |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (Intercept) | 51.000\*\*\* | 58.295\*\* | 58.295\*\*\* |
|  | (12.322) | (17.465) | (7.932) |
| Civic volunteer org. types: (ref. religious organizations): Indigenous People | -32.600\* | -22.978 | -22.978 |
|  | (14.580) | (19.070) | (16.392) |
| Environmental | -40.231\*\* | -33.745\* | -33.745\*\* |
|  | (13.236) | (14.219) | (11.907) |
| Culture | -16.167 | -6.152 | -6.152 |
|  | (14.228) | (14.555) | (5.856) |
| Human Rights | -43.833\*\* | -35.547\* | -35.547\*\*\* |
|  | (14.228) | (15.215) | (7.087) |
| Education | -39.500\* | -26.633 | -26.633\*\* |
|  | (17.426) | (19.317) | (7.934) |
| Feminist | -44.100\*\* | -31.937\* | -31.937\*\*\* |
|  | (13.498) | (15.240) | (8.738) |
| Labor | -13.200 | 0.760 | 0.760 |
|  | (14.580) | (15.331) | (10.042) |
| LGTBIQ+ | -40.000+ | -27.201 | -27.201\*\*\* |
|  | (21.342) | (21.810) | (2.136) |
| Regionalist-local | -45.077\*\* | -39.356\*\* | -39.356\*\*\* |
|  | (13.236) | (14.177) | (6.699) |
| Health | -47.000\* | -44.433\* | -44.433\*\*\* |
|  | (21.342) | (21.972) | (7.805) |
| Partisan independent (ref. Partisan militant) |  | 12.822+ | 12.822\*\*\* |
|  |  | (6.682) | (0.662) |
| Non-partisan independent (ref. Partisan militant) |  | 10.748 | 10.748\*\*\* |
|  |  | (6.410) | (0.962) |
| Other regions’ districts (ref. Metropolitan regions’ districts) |  | -0.938 | -0.938 |
|  |  | (6.342) | (0.778) |
| Indigenous people’s districts (ref. Metropolitan regions’ districts) |  | -4.970 | -4.970 |
|  |  | (14.636) | (7.532) |
| Sex: woman (ref. man) |  | -8.471 | -8.471 |
|  |  | (5.814) | (8.079) |
| Age |  | -0.236 | -0.236 |
|  |  | (0.239) | (0.153) |
| Education level: less than postgraduate (ref. postgraduate) |  | -3.843 | -3.843 |
|  |  | (5.745) | (3.404) |
| Not married (ref. married) |  | -7.531 | -7.531\*\* |
|  |  | (6.224) | (2.584) |
| Num.Obs. | 64 | 60 | 60 |
| R2 | 0.386 | 0.545 | 0.545 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.270 | 0.346 | 0.346 |
| AIC | 559.4 | 527.0 | 527.0 |
| BIC | 585.3 | 568.9 | 568.9 |
| RMSE | 15.86 | 14.00 | 14.00 |
| Rob. Std. Errors | No | No | by: Districts |
| + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 |

Note: the number of observations in the models decreases because of the missing data in the civic volunteer organizations’ age (Comité Ambiental de Arica, Unión de Mujeres Kori Tocopilla, Fundación Buen Samaritano, Federación de Ajedrez de Chile, Agrupación de la Discapacidad de Nancagua, Movimiento de Comunidad Indígena Quechua de Quipisca, Consejo Nacional del Pueblo Kolla, Red Nacional Diaguita, and Consejo de Pescadores Changos), delegates’ marital status (Álvaro Jofré Cáceres, Claudio Gómez Castro, Jaime Bassa Mercado, Bessy Gallardo Prado, Tatiana Urrutia Herrera, Luis Barceló Amado, and Fernando Tirado Soto), and educational level (María Angélica Tepper Kolossa and Fernando Tirado Soto) variables.

**Appendix A3: COES’ Longitudinal Social Study of Chile (ELSOC)**

This part of the appendix specifies the operationalization and results regarding the second part of the analysis presented in the paper. The COES’ Longitudinal Social Study of Chile (ELSOC) is a longitudinal panel survey with six waves (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021, and 2022) with a total of 18,035 responses, whose target population is men and women between eighteen and seventy-five years old, who live in private residences in urban zones in Chile. The survey has a probabilistic stratified clustered multi-stage sampling design. The 2016 wave sample represents 77% of the Chilean population and 93% of the urban population. The replenishment sampling began to be considered during the third wave of the study[[1]](#footnote-1). Table A3.1 contains the operationalization of each variable used in the complementary analysis of the article.

Table A3.1 ELSOC’s variable operationalization

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable (code of the variable) | ELSOC’s question(s) | Operationalization |
| Support for the student movement (*studmov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Social movement in support of the student cause | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the student movement |
| Support for the workers’ movement (*labormov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Social movement in support of labor demands | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the workers’ movement |
| Support for the environmental movement (*env\_mov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Social movement of environmental groups | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the environmental movement |
| Support for the indigenous movement (*indig\_mov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Social movement in support of indigenous demands | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the indigenous movement |
| Support for LGTBIQ+ movement (*lgtbiq\_mov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Social movement in support of sexual diversity | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the LGTBIQ+ movement |
| Support for the feminist movement (*fem\_mov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Feminist movement or movement in support of gender equality | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the feminist movement |
| Support for the No+AFP movement (*noafp\_mov*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: Movement for the change of the pension system | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent supports the No+AFP movement |
| Support for no-movement (*nonemov\_sup*) | C20 question: Thinking about the list of social movements below, please indicate which one you value the most?Response: None | A binary categorical variable on whether the respondent does not support any movement |
| Survey’s wave (*rec\_ola*) | ola: survey wave identifier | A categorical variable of the survey’s wave: 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022 |
| Index of trust in political institutions (*trustpols*) | Can you tell me how much confidence you have in each of the following institutions? C05\_01: governmentC05\_07: parliamentC05\_08: president C05\_02: political parties | A continuous variable of the average of trust five-point scale (1=not at all to 5=a lot) of four items related to parliament, national government, president, and political parties |
| Respondents’ region of residence (*regions2*) | Region\_cod | A binary categorical variable that distinguishes between respondents who live in the Metropolitan region and other regions.  |
| Respondents’ sex (*sex*) | M0\_sexo: What is your sex? | A binary categorical variable of the respondents’ sex: man, woman.  |
| Respondents’ age (*m0\_edad*) | M0\_edad: What is your birth date? | A continuous variable of the respondents’ age |
| Respondents’ political ideology (*ideol*) | C15 question: Where would you place yourself? | A categorical variable of the respondents’ political ideology: left, center, right, and independent. This operationalization is based on a ten-point scale (0=left wing, 5=center, and 10=right wing). The 11 and 12 responses were coded as independent.  |
| Respondent's education level (*educ*) | M01: What is your educational level? Indicate your current type of education (if you are currently studying) or the last approved type (if you are not currently studying) | A categorical variable of the respondents’ education level: less than primary education, primary education, secondary education, and tertiary education education |

The index of trust in politics has a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.79 (see Table A3.3). In addition, a factorial analysis with the varimax rotation method shows that one factor for the four items included in the index is sufficient (see Table A3.4). Cronbrach’s alpha and factorial analysis was conducted using the *alpha* and *factanal* functions from the *psych* package of R.

Table A3.3: Cronbach’s alpha of the trust in political institutions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Raw alpha | Standard alpha | G6 (smc) | Average R | Mean | Standard deviation | Median R |
| 0.79 | 0.80 | 0.78 | 0.50 | 1.80 | 0.75 | 0.47 |

Table A3.4: Factorial analysis of the trust in political institutions

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Items | Factor |
| Trust in the national government | 0.87 |
| Trust in political parties | 0.56 |
| Trust in parliament | 0.58 |
| Trust in president  | 0.80 |
| SS loadings | 2.03 |
| Proportion variance | 0.51 |
| Chi-square | 1936.16 |
| Degrees of freedom | 2 |
| P-value | 0.00 |

Output note: the test of the hypothesis that 1 factor is sufficient.

I estimate individual fixed effects probability linear models to predict support for social movement because this model allows controlling by non-specified characteristics of the individuals (see Table A2.4). This question is crucial to analyzing longitudinal panel data in a long format. The decision to use probability linear models is based on the same aspects mentioned in the methodological justification of the models to predict delegates’ civic volunteer organizations membership (see the explanations related to table A2.4). I included weights that consider the sample without attrition in the models (weights constructed by the research team of the ELSOC-COES, *ponderador\_long\_panel* in the ELSOC dataset). Thus, the models only consider the respondents that are common among waves.

Table A3.4: Individual fixed effects probability linear models to predict support for social movements

| Predictors  | Student Mov. | Workers Mov. | Env. Mov. | Indig. Mov. | LGTBIQ+ Mov. | Feminist Mov. | No+AFP Mov. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Waves (ref. 2016): 2017 | 0.034\* | -0.013 | 0.007\* | 0.010 | -0.005 |  |  |
|  | (0.015) | (0.014) | (0.003) | (0.014) | (0.008) |  |  |
| 2018 | -0.107\*\*\* | -0.047\*\*\* | -0.009\* | -0.002 | -0.036\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.021) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.009) | (0.009) |  |  |
| 2019 | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.056\*\*\* | 0.003 | -0.022\*\* | -0.052\*\* | -0.013\*\*\* | 0.019 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.009) | (0.003) | (0.008) | (0.016) | (0.003) | (0.015) |
| 2021 | -0.092\*\*\* | -0.016 | 0.034\*\* | 0.003 | -0.048\*\*\* | -0.026 | -0.050 |
|  | (0.025) | (0.013) | (0.011) | (0.009) | (0.011) | (0.018) | (0.040) |
| 2022 | -0.135\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* | 0.067\*\* | -0.025\*\*\* | -0.043\*\* | -0.028\*\* | -0.083 |
|  | (0.025) | (0.013) | (0.021) | (0.005) | (0.014) | (0.011) | (0.060) |
| Sex: woman (ref. man) | 0.052 | -0.029+ | -0.002 | 0.073\*\*\* | 0.030\* | 0.008 | -0.359 |
|  | (0.085) | (0.017) | (0.030) | (0.009) | (0.014) | (0.010) | (0.257) |
| Age | 0.001 | 0.004\*\*\* | -0.007\*\*\* | 0.001\* | 0.000 | 0.008\* | -0.007 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.004) | (0.016) |
| Political ideology (ref. right): Center | 0.020 | 0.009 | -0.003 | -0.022\* | 0.025\*\*\* | 0.015\*\* | -0.027 |
|  | (0.020) | (0.019) | (0.003) | (0.010) | (0.003) | (0.006) | (0.030) |
| Left | 0.016 | 0.015 | -0.006 | -0.012\*\* | 0.021\*\*\* | -0.001 | -0.031 |
|  | (0.011) | (0.017) | (0.007) | (0.005) | (0.003) | (0.006) | (0.021) |
| Independent | -0.047\* | 0.002 | -0.015\*\* | -0.017+ | 0.007 | 0.011+ | -0.073\*\*\* |
|  | (0.020) | (0.011) | (0.006) | (0.009) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.013) |
| Educ. Level (ref. less than primary educ.): Primary education | 0.010 | 0.002 | -0.013 | 0.018 | -0.002 | 0.010 | -0.097+ |
|  | (0.044) | (0.022) | (0.024) | (0.020) | (0.003) | (0.017) | (0.050) |
| Secondary education | -0.014 | 0.009 | 0.007 | 0.019 | 0.009\*\* | -0.015 | -0.089 |
|  | (0.039) | (0.013) | (0.020) | (0.025) | (0.003) | (0.017) | (0.074) |
| Tertiary education | -0.081\* | 0.021 | -0.006 | 0.021 | -0.014\*\*\* | 0.008 | -0.122\* |
|  | (0.035) | (0.019) | (0.021) | (0.029) | (0.003) | (0.015) | (0.058) |
| Trust in political institutions | 0.026\*\*\* | 0.010 | 0.025\*\*\* | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.016\*\* | -0.009 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.008) | (0.006) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.009) |
| Other regions (ref. Metrop. Region) | -0.015 | -0.007 | -0.067 | 0.040\* | -0.026 | -0.025 | 0.069+ |
|  | (0.042) | (0.016) | (0.049) | (0.019) | (0.018) | (0.028) | (0.041) |
| Num.Obs. | 9735 | 9735 | 9735 | 9735 | 9735 | 7244 | 7244 |
| R2 | 0.373 | 0.359 | 0.393 | 0.344 | 0.426 | 0.566 | 0.405 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.202 | 0.183 | 0.228 | 0.165 | 0.269 | 0.391 | 0.165 |
| AIC | 17660.6 | 14961.9 | 10715.0 | 4234.9 | 2424.6 | 4080.3 | 14401.1 |
| BIC | 17775.5 | 15076.8 | 10830.0 | 4349.8 | 2539.5 | 4176.8 | 14497.6 |
| RMSE | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.18 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.32 |
| Rob. Std. Errors | by: region of residence | by: region of residence | by: region of residence | by: region of residence | by: region of residence | by: region of residence | by: region of residence |
| Fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 |

References

Wooldridge, J. (2016). Introductory econometrics, a modern approach. Cengage Learning.

1. For more information, review: https://coes.cl/encuesta-panel/ [↑](#footnote-ref-1)