Francisco Cantú and Agustina Haime, Negative Partisanship in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 64, no. 1 (Spring 2022).

ONLINE APPENDIX

Overview

This file includes additional information about the data and models for the article. Each table or figure presented is referenced in the article. Additional information about the figures and tables is provided below.

A: Descriptive Statistics and Additional Figures

Table A1: Descriptive statistics and variables: Conjoint Survey in Argentina

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Negative Partisans	971	0.950	0.219	0	1
Positive Partisans	1,036	0.325	0.469	0	1

Table A2: Descriptive statistics and variables: Conjoint Survey in Mexico

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Negative Partisans	1,007	0.972	0.164	0	1
Positive Partisans	1,105	0.417	0.493	0	1

Table A3: Descriptive statistics and variables: LAPOP survey in Ecuador

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Trust in political parties	1,530	2.941	1.694	1.000	7.000
Attitudes towards democracy	1,512	4.594	1.513	1.000	7.000
Age	1,524	38.165	17.096	16.00	92.000
Female	1,524	0.501	0.500	0.000	1.000
Education	1,370	11.015	3.392	2.000	17.000
Interest in politics	1,530	2.076	0.951	1.000	4.000
Ideological extremism	1,428	6.145	7.292	0.250	20.250
Negative partisanship	1,533	0.252	0.434	0.000	1
Positive partisanship	1,533	0.228	0.419	0.000	1

Table A4: Descriptive statistics and variables: LAPOP survey in Chile

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Trust in political parties	1,599	2.415	1.483	1.000	7.000
Attitudes towards democracy	1,550	5.042	1.610	1.000	7.000
Age	1,637	42.217	16.798	18.00	92.000
Female	1,637	0.503	0.500	0.000	1.000

Education	1,617	11.604	3.445	1.000	17.000
Interest in politics	1,629	1.895	1.037	1.000	4.000
Ideological extremism	1,344	5.564	7.241	0.250	20.250
Negative partisanship	1,638	0.247	0.431	0.000	1
Positive partisanship	1,638	0.107	0.309	0.000	1

Table A5: Descriptive statistics and variables: Brazil Four Wave Panel Survey.

	N	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Min**	**Max**
Positive Partisanship	6929	0.463	0.499	0	1
Negative Partisanship	6793	0.177	0.381	0	1
Lagged Positive Partisanship	6741	0.480	0.450	0	1
Lagged Negative Partisanship	6818	0.219	0.413	0	1
Education	6912	8.282	3.699	0	15
Female	6970	0.546	0.498	0	1
Race	6846	1.537	.908	1	5
Juiz de Fora	6970	0.497	0.499	0	2

Table A6: Operationalization of variables for analysis: Brazil Four Wave Panel Survey.

Variable	Operationalization
Positive partisanship	Do you sympathize with a political party? (1=yes, 0=no)
Negative partisanship	Party feeling thermometers that go from 0 to 10, with values closer to 0 indicating that the individual "does not like the party at all" and higher values indicating that the individual likes the party "very much"). Coded as (1) if the respondent gives a score equal or lower than 2 to any of the party feeling thermometers. Coded as (0) otherwise
Education	Ordinal variable from 0 to 15 indicating the number of years of schooling attained by the respondent.
Gender	0=man, 1=woman
Race	Which of the following categories best describes your skin color? Coded as (1) if the respondent self-describes as white. Coded as (2) if the respondent self-describes as brown. Coded as (3) if the respondent self-describes as black. Coded as (4) if the respondent self-describes as yellow. Coded as (5) if the respondent self-describes as Indian

Table A7: Operationalization of variables for analysis: LAPOP Survey

Variable	Operationalization
Negative partisanship	Do you currently dislike a political party? Which political party do you dislike the most? 1 = respondent dislikes a party and chooses a party he/she dislikes the most. 0 = respondent doesn't dislike a party
Attitudes towards democracy	Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? Ordinal variable from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree.
Political interest	How much interest do you have in politics? Ordinal variable from 1 = none to 4 = a lot.
Education	How many years of schooling have you completed? Ordinal variable indicating the number of years of education.

Age	How old are you? Ordinal variable for age
Ideological extremism	"Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale?" (0-10 scale)

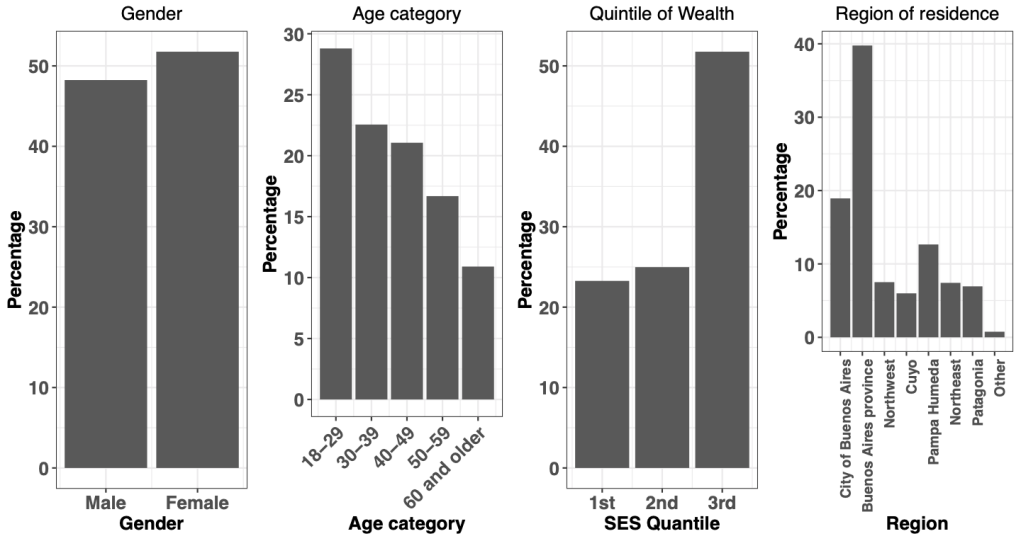

Figure A1. Demographic characteristics of the survey including a conjoint experiment in Argentina.

Note: A relative wealth index was created using principal component analysis, following Cordova (2009) and based on the following items of the survey: Could you tell me if you have the following in your house?: Television, Refrigerator, Conventional telephone, Cellular telephone, Vehicle, Washing Machine, Microwave oven, Indoor plumbing, Indoor bathroom, Computer. All variables were first dichotomized (1=Yes, 0=No) to indicate the ownership of each household asset. Quintiles of wealth were then computed based on the first principal component.

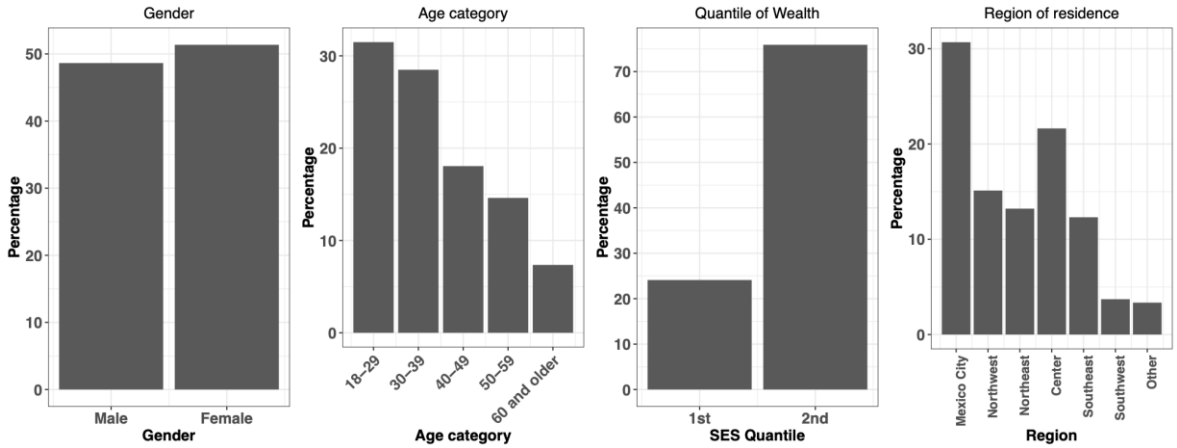

Figure A2. Demographic characteristic of the survey including a conjoint experiment in Mexico

Note: A relative wealth index was created using principal component analysis, following Cordova (2009) and based on the following items of the survey: Could you tell me if you have the following in your house?: Television, Refrigerator, Conventional telephone, Cellular telephone, Vehicle, Washing Machine, Microwave oven, Indoor plumbing, Indoor bathroom, Computer. All variables were first dichotomized (1=Yes, 0=No) to indicate the ownership of each household asset. Quintiles of wealth were then computed based on the first principal component.

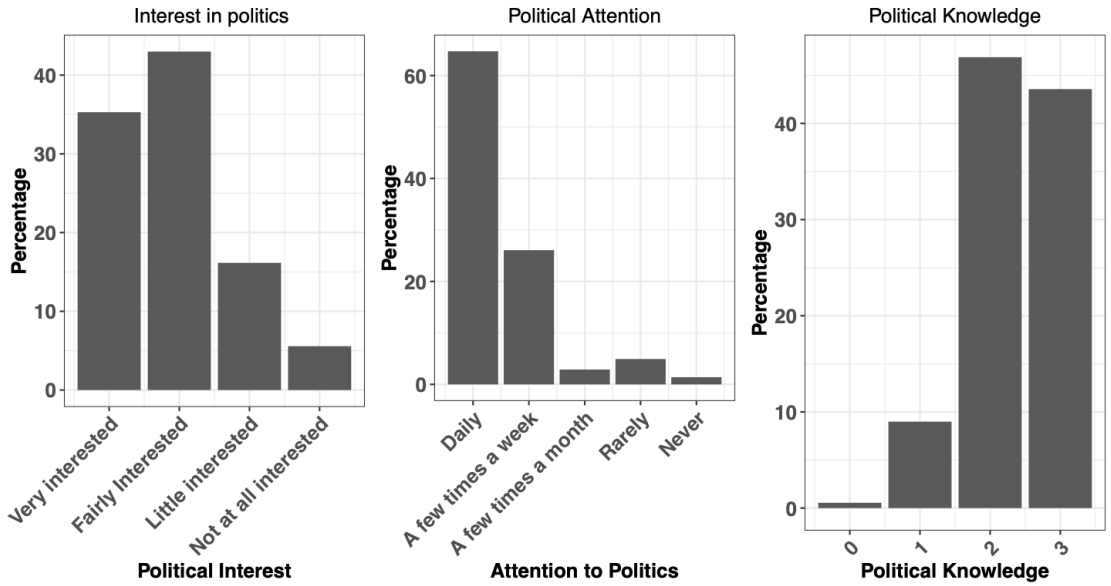

Figure A3. Political interest, attention and knowledge among survey respondents in Argentina

Note: Political knowledge is measured as the count of the number of correct responses of each respondent to three questions. The questions are: what is the president's term in office? What is the number of legislators in the Chamber of Deputies?, and what is the name of the current Minister of Economy?

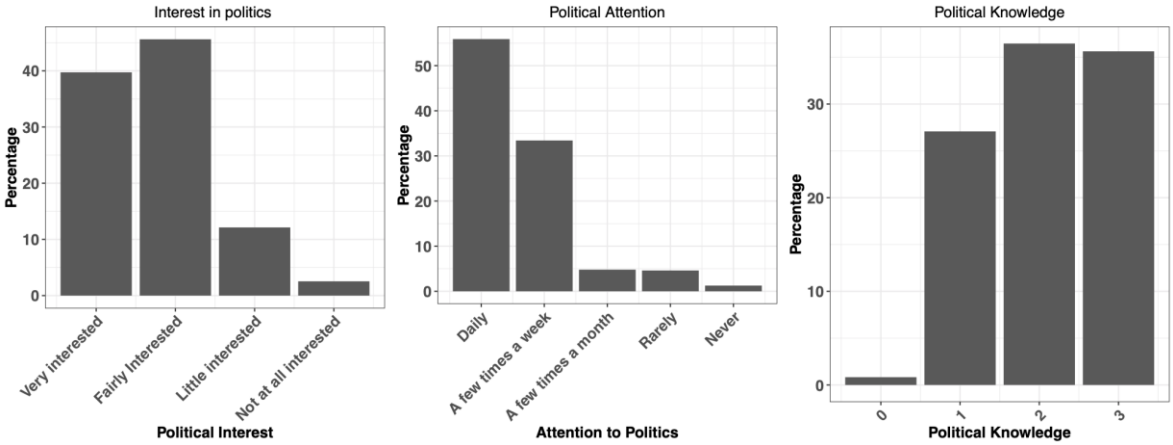

Figure A4. Political interest, attention and knowledge among survey respondents in Mexico

Note: Political knowledge is measured as the count of the number of correct responses of each respondent to three questions. The questions are: what is the president's term in office? What is the number of legislators in the Chamber of Deputies?, and what is the name of the current Minister of Economy?

Appendix B: Conjoint design and methodology

Conjoint analysis was first presented by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2013) and it allows to "identify the causal effects of various components of a treatment in a survey experiment" (Hainmueller Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2013: 2). In particular, the technique "asks respondents to choose from or rate hypothetical profiles that combine multiple attributes, enabling researchers to estimate the relative influence of each attribute value on the resulting choice or rating" (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2013: 2). This

methodology has been extensively used in consumer research where, for example, respondents are provided information about certain attributes of a product (e.g., color, size, brand, price) with different levels for each attribute (e.g., blue, yellow or red for the color) to participants in an experiment. These attributes and their different levels constitute a profile of a hypothetical product, and participants are asked to make a choice between the multiple products or rate their preferences for each of them. Conjoint experiments allow researchers to examine the weight that each attribute (and its levels) has on the choice or preference of products.

To show how the AMCEs are obtained, consider the following example. If we want to estimate the AMCEs for one of the profile attributes—party identification—in Argentina, we would estimate the following model:

$$Choice_{ijk} = \theta_0 + \theta_1[partyid_{ijk} = RadicalCivicUnion] + \theta_2[partyid_{ijk} = JusticialistParty] + \theta_3[partyid_{ijk} = PRO] + \theta_4[partyid_{ijk} = CitizenUnity] + \theta_5[partyid_{ijk} = FrontforVictory] + s_{ijk}$$

Where *i* indexes the respondent, *j* indexes the particular profile shown, and *k* indexes the choice task. $Choice_{ijk}$ is the outcome variable that contains the hypothetical individual that is chosen by the respondent, and [$partyid_{ijk}$ =Radical Civic Union], [$partyid_{ijk}$= Justicialist Party], etc., are dummy variables coded 1 if the party of the hypothetical individual is Radical Civic Union, Justicialist party, etc., and 0 otherwise. The reference category is a hypothetical citizen with no party identification and is excluded from the regression. Accordingly, θ_1, θ_2, and so on, are the estimators for the AMCEs for party identification with the Radical Civic Union, Justicialist Party, etc., compared to none. To obtain the AMCEs of the other attributes we would simply run a single regression on the combined set of dummies for all the individuals' attributes (Hainmueller et al. 2013).

Abajo tiene las características de dos argentinos. ¿Cuál es **más como usted**? Aunque no esté del todo seguro, por favor seleccione el que considere más parecido a usted. Si está completando la encuesta en un dispositivo móvil, las características le aparecerán una abajo de la otra.

	Argentino A	Argentino B
Religion	Protestante	Protestante
Genero	Mujer	Hombre
Region donde vive	Noroeste Argentino	Pampa Humeda
Ocupacion	Abogado(a)	Estudiante
Cualidades de su personalidad	Agradable	Odiado(a) por todos
Partido con el que se identifica	Ninguno	Frente para la Victoria

¿Cuál de los dos argentinos es más como usted?

Argentino A **Argentino B**

Figure B1: Example of profile comparison in web survey: Argentina.

The surveys were in the field during July and August of 2018 in Argentina and Mexico. They were fielded using the online panel of Survey Sampling International (https:// www.dynata.com) to achieve a national sample of respondents that is representative of the general population with respect to gender and gender. Tables B2 and B3 below show how the sample compared with the target quotas (using the Census as a benchmark) for age and gender in more detail. Overall, our sample closely matches the Census benchmarks across both variables. The final sample included respondents from every Argentinian and Mexican state, from all age groups, and from varying socio-economic backgrounds.

After checking and eliminating invalid responses[1], a total of 1,078 respondents completed the survey in Argentina and a total of 1,105 respondents completed it in Mexico. The median survey completion time was about 14 minutes in Argentina and 13 minutes in Mexico. Participants could complete the survey on PCs, laptops, tables and mobile phones.

[1] Respondents were considered invalid if they fulfilled two or more of the following criteria: they were speeders, straightliners, failed an attention check question, and those who said they were politically interested but failed to know the party of the President in each country.

Table B1: Experimental design: Attributes and Levels.

Attribute	Levels
Party identification	**Argentina**: 1. Radical Civic Union, 2. Justicialist Party, 3. Front for Victory, 4. PRO, 5. Citizen Unity, 6. None; **Mexico**: 1. National Action Party, 2. Institutional Revolutionary Party, 3. Party of the Democratic Revolution, 4. MORENA, 5. New Alliance, 6. None
Gender	1. Man, 2. Woman
Occupation	1. CEO, 2. Entrepreneur, 3. Doctor, 4. Farmer, 5. Teacher, 6. Lawyer, 7. Student, 8. Unemployed
Religion	1. Jewish, 2. Catholic, 3. Protestant, 4. Evangelic, 5. None
Region of residence	**Argentina**: 1. City of Buenos Aires, 2. Buenos Aires province, 3. Northwest, 4. Cuyo, 5. Pampa, 5. Pampa, 6. Northeast, 7. Patagonia, **Mexico**: 1. Mexico City, 2. Northeast, 3. Northwest, 4. Center, 5. Southeast, 6. Southwest
Perceived likeability	1. Likeable, 2. Loved by everyone, 3. Not well-liked, 4. Hated by everyone
Ethnicity (Mexico only)	1. White, 2. Mixed, 3. Indigenous, 4. Black, 5. Mulatto

Table B2: Comparison between target and final age and gender quotas in Argentina

	Target	Final Sample
Gender		
Male	48.7%	48.2%
Female	51.3%	51.8%
Age Group		
18-29	31.2%	28.7%
30-39	22.9%	22.4%
40-49	17.9%	21%
50-59	15.5%	16.6%

Note: Target quotas were calculated using data from the last available census previous to the launch of the survey in Argentina (from the year 2010) obtained from https://www.indec.gob.ar/

Table B3: Comparison between target and final age and gender quotas in Mexico

	Target	Final Sample
Gender		
Male	48.8%	48.6%
Female	51.1%	51.3%
Age Group		
18-29	33.9%	31.4%

30-39	24.8%	28.4%
40-49	19.1%	18%
50-59	13.2%	14.6%
60-70	8.8%	7.3%

Note: Target quotas were calculated using data from the last available census previous to the launch of the survey in Mexico (from the year 2010) obtained from https://www.inegi.org.mx/

Following Hainmueller et al. (2013) we conducted a series of diagnostic checks to examine the robustness of our experimental design and produced similar Figures as the ones shown on their paper. In particular, we examined profile order, attribute order and carryover effects in both countries. To test for the latter we estimated the AMCEs for each choice task and, as Figures B2 and B3 below show, found no significant differences across the 5 rounds of choice in our study. In other words, respondents would choose the same citizen as long as the two profiles in the same choice task had identical attributes, regardless of what profiles they had already seen or would see later.

To test for profile order effects we examined whether the estimated AMCEs are similar regardless of whether the attribute occurs in the first or second profile in a given choice task. As Figures B4 and B5 below show, AMCEs are similar for those who saw each attribute first or second. Finally, to examine attribute order effects we test whether the AMCEs of our main attribute of interest — party identification — varies across the order in which it appears in the conjoint table. In particular, we estimate row-specific AMCEs for each level of this attribute, as well as the pooled estimate across all rows for comparison. As Figures B6 and B7 below show, the AMCE estimates are similar across the 6 (in the case of Argentina) and 7 (in the case of Mexico) row positions.

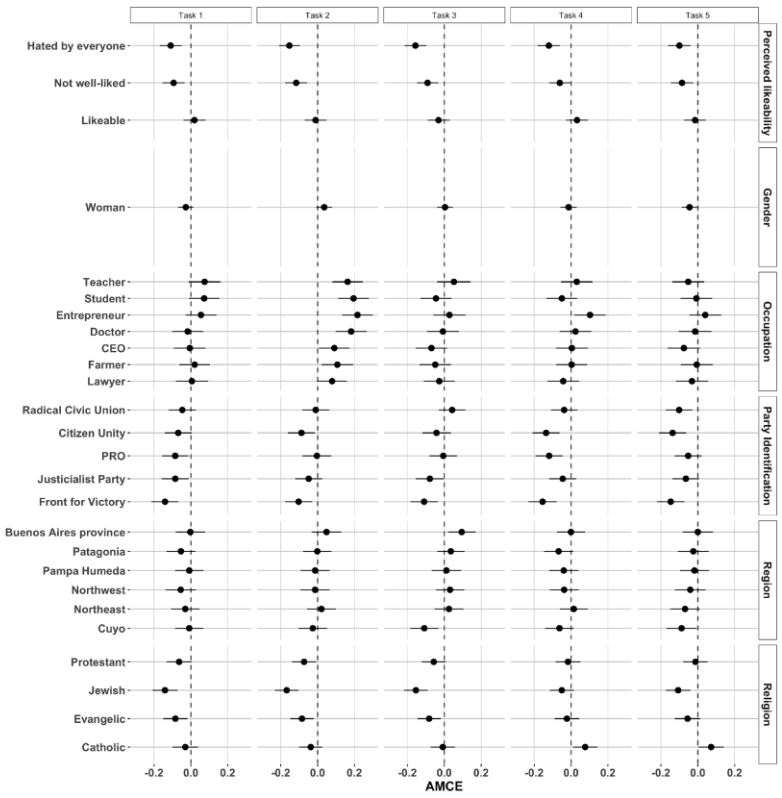

Figure B2: Carry over effects Argentina

Note: Each facet indicates the number of tasks respondents had to complete in the order in which they appeared in the survey. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each task.

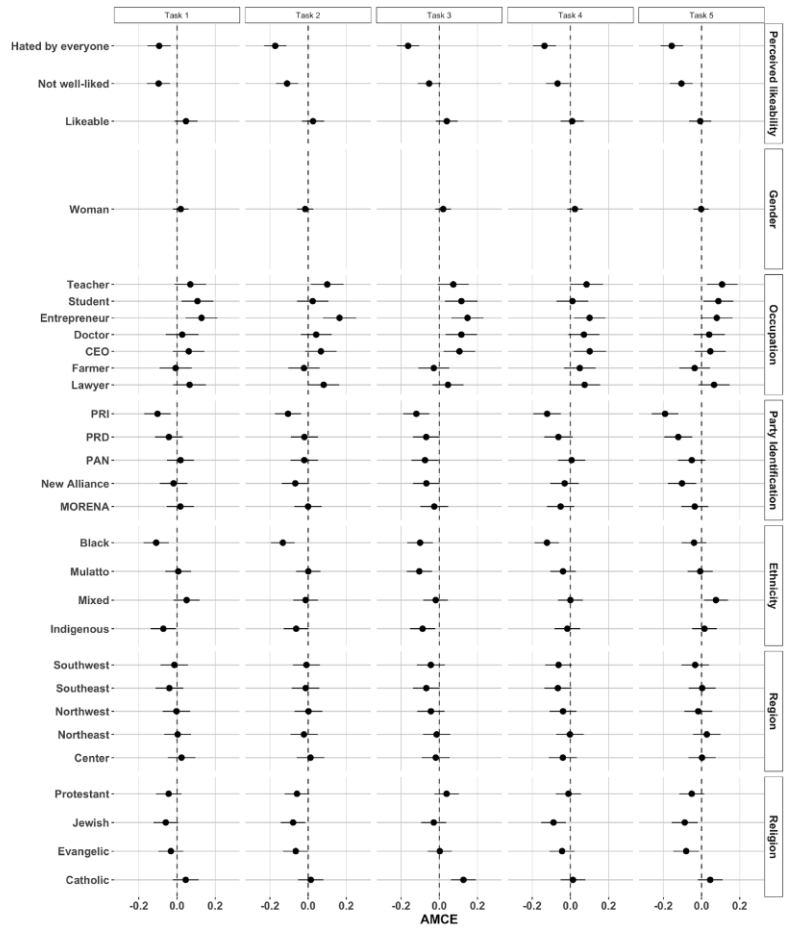

Figure B3: Carry over effects Mexico

Note: Each facet indicates the number of tasks respondents had to complete in the order in which they appeared in the survey. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each task.

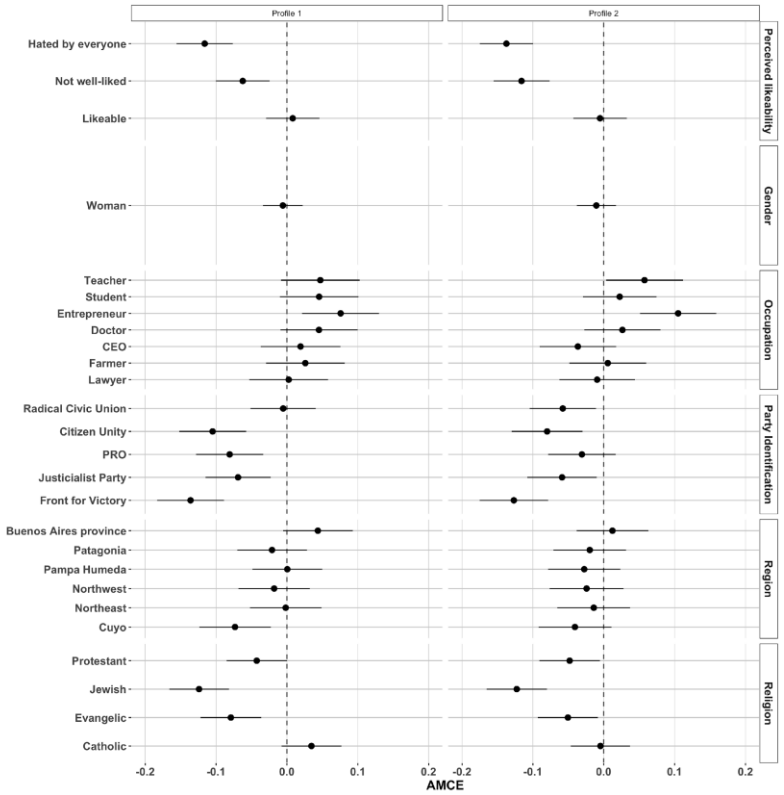

Figure B4: Profile order effects Argentina

Note: Each facet indicates the profile respondents saw in the order in which they appeared in the survey. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each profile.

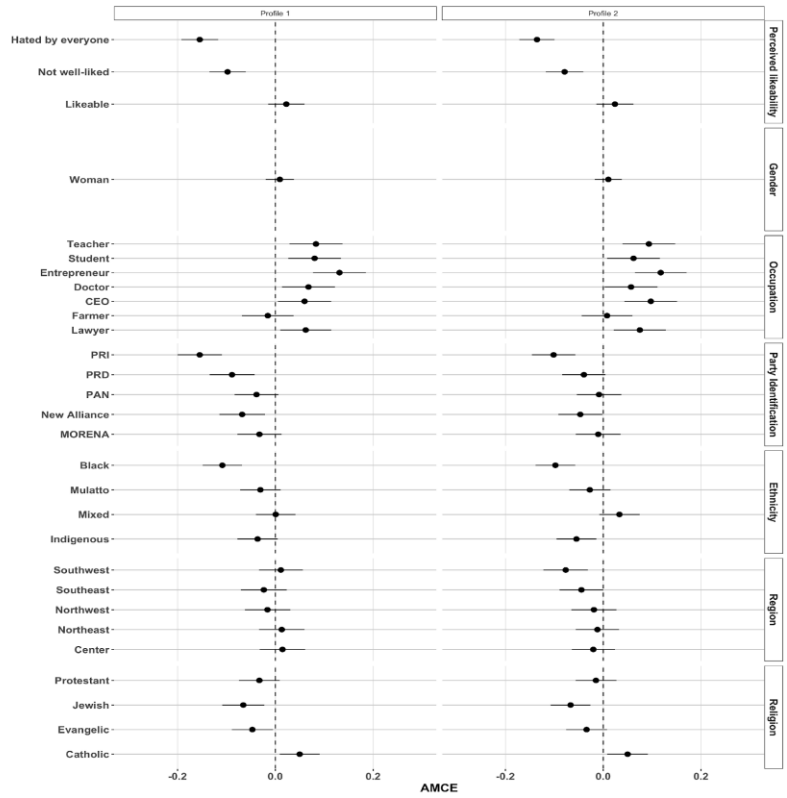

Figure B5: Profile order effects Mexico

Note: Each facet indicates the profile respondents saw in the order in which they appeared in the survey. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each profile.

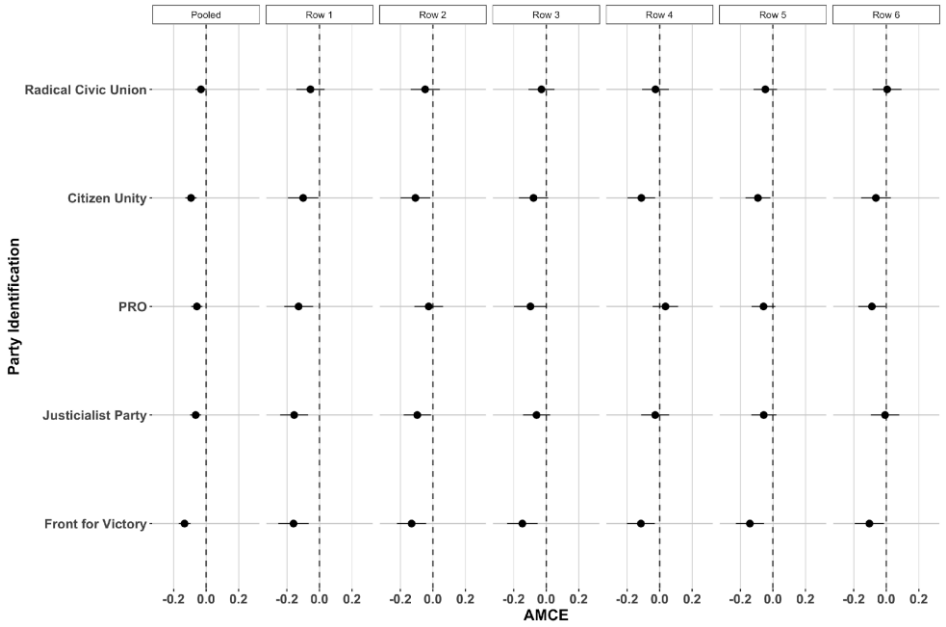

Figure B6: Row order effects Argentina

Note: This plot shows estimates of the effects of the randomly assigned party identification levels on the probability of being considered similar conditional on the row position of the attribute-level. The first column shows the pooled estimate across all row positions and the other columns indicate the row position in which they appeared to respondents. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of the party identification attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute (no party identification). The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level is not included in the Figure.

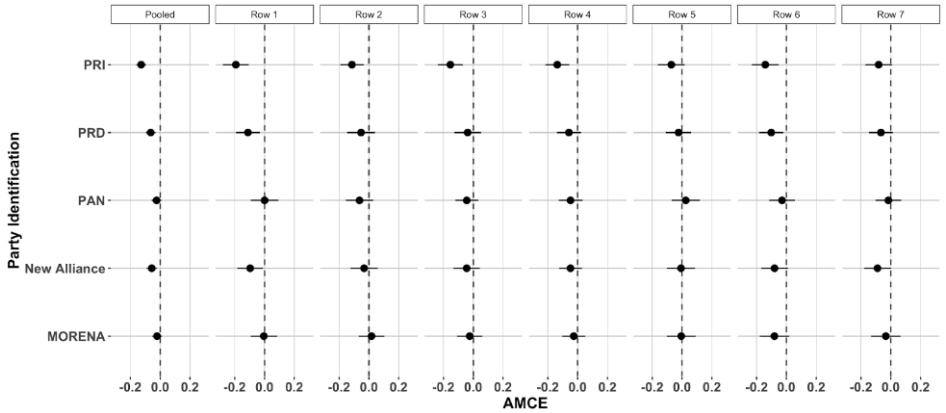

Figure B7: Row order effects Mexico

Note: This plot shows estimates of the effects of the randomly assigned party identification levels on the probability of being considered similar conditional on the row position of the attribute-level. The first column shows the pooled estimate across all row positions and the other columns indicate the row position in which they appeared to respondents. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of the party identification attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute (no party identification). The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level is not included in the Figure.

Figure B8 below shows the full results of the main models in the paper (corresponding to the results of the conjoint experiment). The results shown below were used to create Figure 2 in the main text.

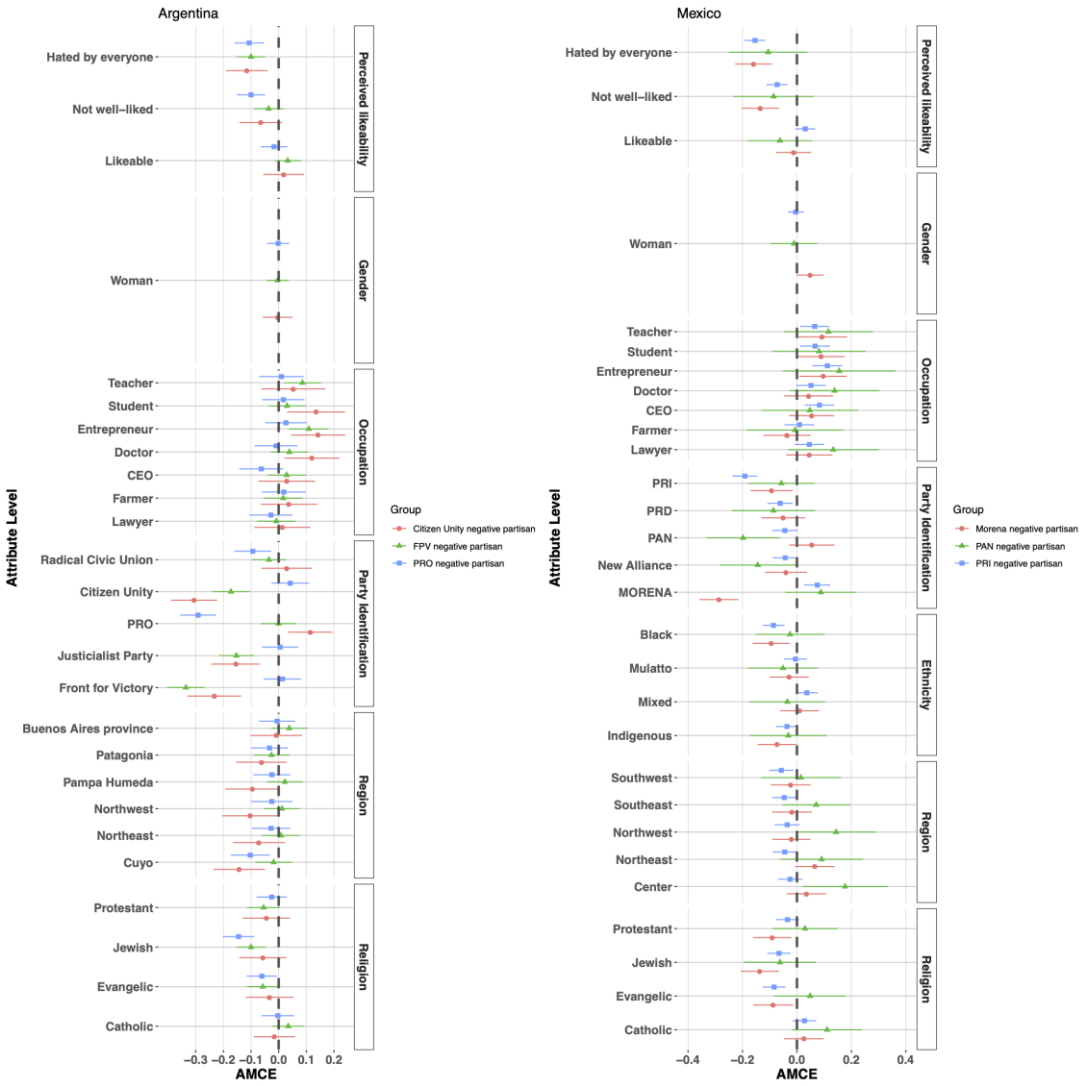

Figure B8: Average Effects of the Characteristics of a Hypothetical Individual on the Probability of considering him/her more similar to yourself in Argentina and Mexico.

Note: Each facet indicates the attributes of the hypothetical individual. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each

attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each party's negative partisans.

Figures B9 and B10 below presents the results of models estimating the AMCEs of each attribute for sub-groups of respondents according to their ideology (left, right and center). This is a robustness check on our main models to ensure that the results that we find are not explained by the ideological location of individuals rather than by their affection towards parties. These models largely support our main findings.

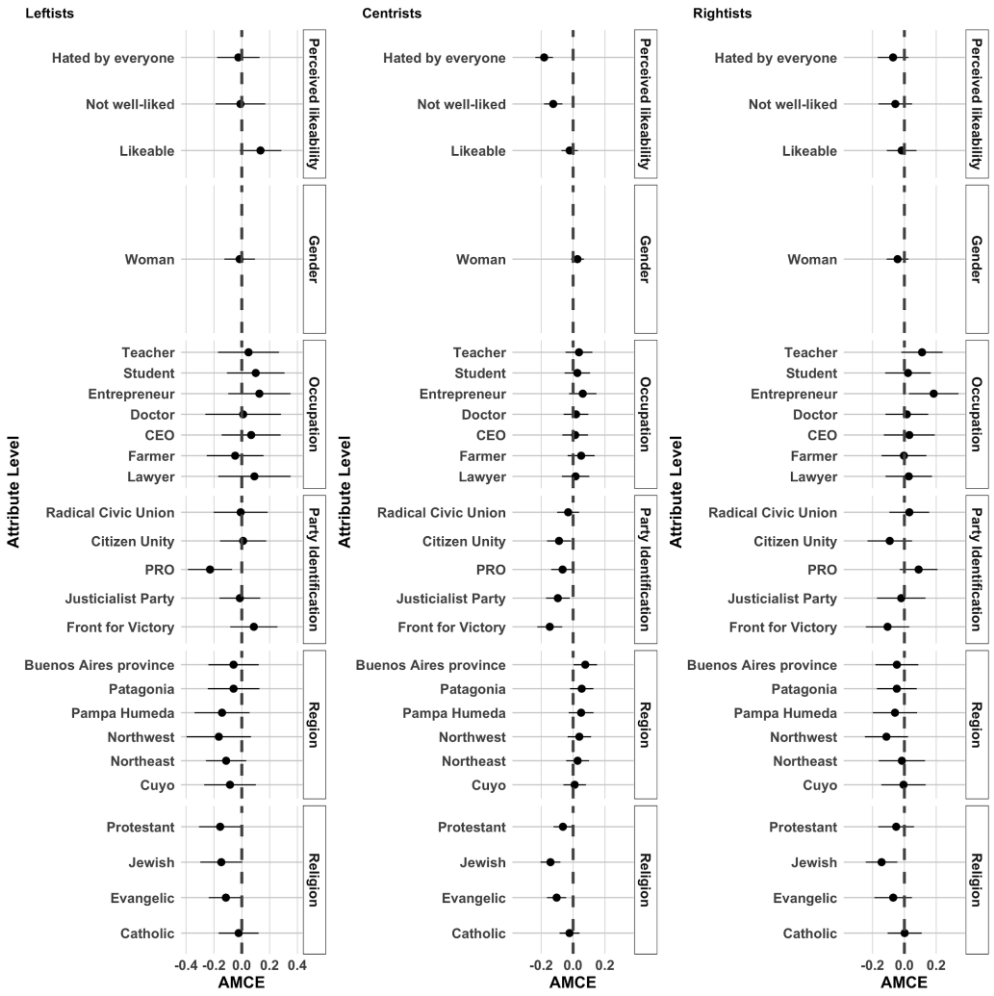

Figure B9: Average Effects of the Characteristics of a Hypothetical Individual on the Probability of considering him/her more similar to yourself in Argentina by ideology.

Note: Each facet indicates the attributes of the hypothetical individual. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each sub-group of ideologues.

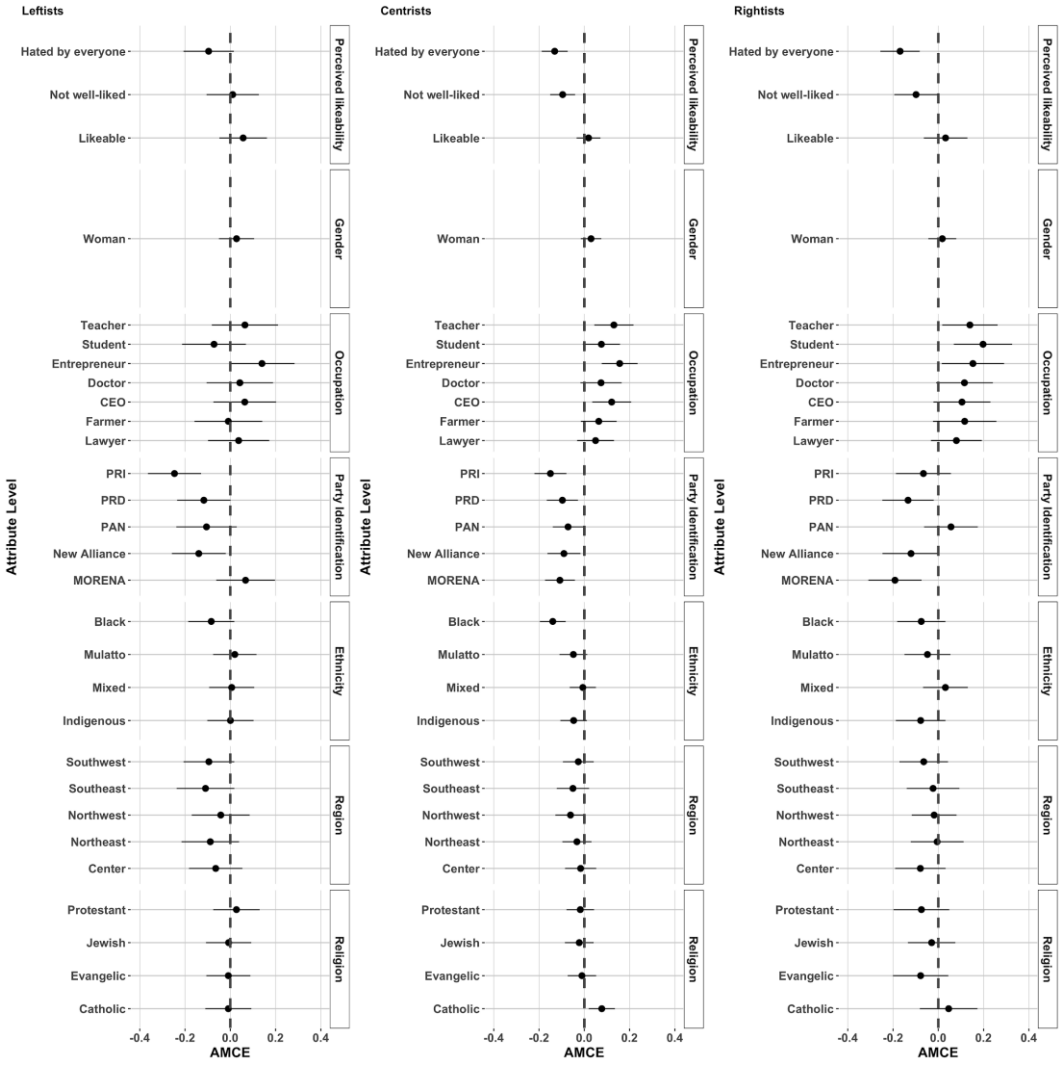

Figure B10: Average Effects of the Characteristics of a Hypothetical Individual on the Probability of considering him/her more similar to yourself in Mexico by ideology.

Note: Each facet indicates the attributes of the hypothetical individual. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each sub-group of ideologues.

Figure B11 below presents the results of models estimating the AMCEs of each attribute for respondents who only negatively identify with a party. This is another robustness check on our main models to corroborate whether our findings are driven by "hard-core" respondents (i.e., those individuals having both a positive and a negative partisanship). The results show that these respondents are less likely to find a resemblance between themselves and supporters of the party they dislike. These results suggest that our findings are not driven by "hard-core" partisans.

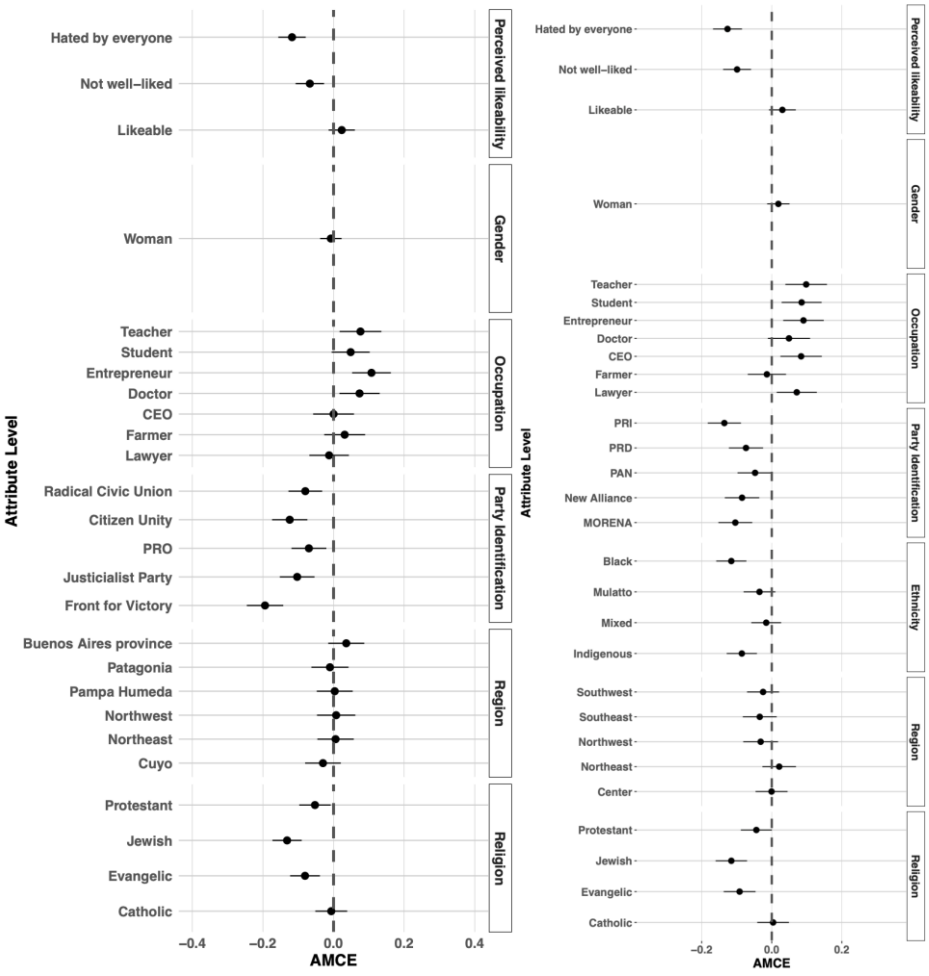

Figure B11: Average Effects of the Characteristics of a Hypothetical Individual on the Probability of Considering him/her more similar to yourself: negative-only partisans in Argentina (left panel) and Mexico (right panel).

Note: Each facet indicates the attributes of the hypothetical individual. Each circle in the plot represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of a level of an attribute on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence

intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level for each attribute is not included in the Figure. Models only include respondents who negatively identify with a party but don't positively identify with another party.

The Figures below present the results of models estimated after dropping unrealistic profiles from the analysis. This is another robustness check to corroborate that our main findings were not impacted by the fact that respondents saw atypical combination of attributes (i.e., empirically less common). Figure B12 below shows the results of our main models (corresponding to Figure 2 on the manuscript) excluding those profiles that included a combination of Jewish (for the religion attribute) and Indigenous (for the ethnicity attribute) in Mexico.

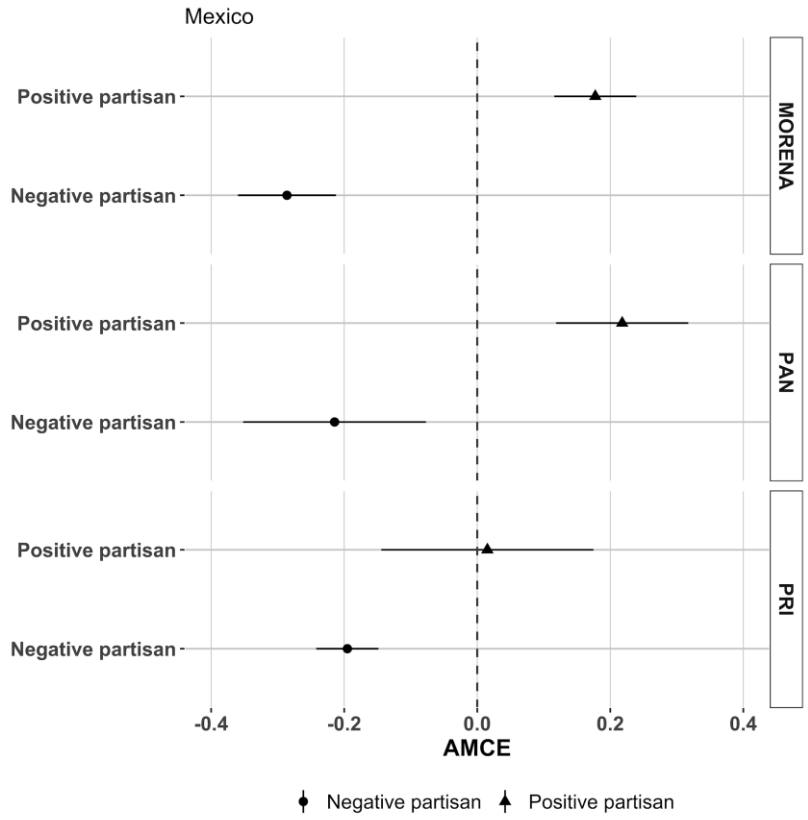

Figure B12: Average Effects of the Characteristics of a Hypothetical Individual on the Probability of Considering him/her more similar to yourself in Mexico: excluding profiles that were both jewish and indigenous.

Note: Each facet indicates the party with which respondents negatively or positively identify. Each circle represents the estimated average marginal component effect (AMCE) of the level of the party attribute of that same party on a respondent's probability of choosing a hypothetical individual containing that attribute-level, compared against another individual with the baseline level for the same attribute. The horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals robust to clustering at the respondent level. The baseline level ("no party identification") is not included in the Figure. Models are run separately for each party's negative and positive partisans.

Appendix C: Text of the survey including a conjoint experiment in Argentina and Mexico

This survey will ask you some questions about current politics in Argentina and about your position on some key political issues.

How interested would you say you are in politics?
- Very interested
- Fairly interested
- Little interested
- Not at all interested

In politics sometimes people talk of "Left" and "Right." Please place yourself on the scale below, where 0 means the "most Left" and 10 means the "most Right."

- Most Left
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- Most Right
- Don't Know

- How often do you pay attention to the news, whether on TV, the radio, newspapers or the Internet?
  - Daily
  - A few times a week
  - A few times a month
  - Rarely
  - Never
  - Don't know

Do you currently identify with a political party?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

Which political party do you identify with?

- [Party 1]
- [Party 2]
- [Party 3]
- [Party N]
- Other (please specify):

Is there a political party with which you currently identify the least?

- [Party 1]
- [Party 2]
- [Party 3]
- [Party N]
- No
- Other (please specify):
- Don’t know

CONJOINT TASK. Below are some characteristics of two hypothetical [Argentinians/Mexicans]. Which of these two [Argentinians/Mexicans] is **more like you**? Even if you are not entirely sure, please choose the one that is more like you. If you are completing the survey with a mobile device, the characteristics will appear horizontally, one below the other. Please scroll down to read the whole set of characteristics.

[Tasks 1 to 5 here]

Which [Argentinian/Mexican] is more like you?

- Argentinian/Mexican A
- Argentinian/Mexican B

For statistical purposes, I would like to know how much information about politics and the country is known by the people. For each of the statements below, please select the answer you think is correct.

The president's term in office is

- 3 years
- 4 years
- 6 years
- Don't know

What is the name of the current Minister of Economy?

- [Nicolas Dujovne in Argentina survey] [Salvador Cienfuegos Cepeda in Mexico survey]
- [Martin Redrado in Argentina survey] [Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong in Mexico survey]
- [Alfonso Prat Gay in Argentina survey] [José Antonio González Anaya in Mexico survey]
- Don't know

The Chamber of Deputies consists of

- [245 legislators in Argentina survey] [420 legislators in Mexico survey]
- [253 legislators in Argentina survey] [470 legislators in Mexico survey]
- 257 legislators in Argentina survey] [500 legislators in Mexico survey]
- Don't know

Finally, I would like to ask a few questions about you.

What is the highest education level you have achieved?

- Less than high school
- High-school
- Post high-school, not university
- University
- Postgraduate qualification (e.g. masters)
- None
- Other (please specify) _____

What is your age? (Please provide your age in two digits).
Gender

- Male
- Female

What is your religion, if any?

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Evangelic
- Jewish
- None
- Other (please specify) _____
- Don't know

How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently...

- Working
- Not working, but have a job
- Actively looking for a job
- A student
- Taking care of the home
- Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work
- Not working and not looking for a job
- Don't know

City of residence

To conclude, could you tell me if you have the following in your house? (please select one option per row)

	Yes	No	Don't know
Refrigerator			
Landline telephone			
Cellular telephone			
Vehicle/car			
Washing machine			
Microwave oven			
Motorcycle			
Indoor plumbing			
Computer			
Indoor bathroom			
Internet			
Television			

Section E: Negative partisanship and anti-system attitudes. Additional analysis.

Table E1 below considers the possibility that the null effects for the relationship between negative partisanship and attitudes toward democracy is an artifact of lumping together different types of negative partisans. In particular, we test the case in which those who have negative partisanship towards the incumbent party will be more negative towards democracy than other negative partisans. To check for this possibility, we separate negative partisans in two groups: those who have negative partisanship towards the incumbent party and those who have negative partisanship towards non-incumbent parties. We can then verify the results from Table 2 and test whether negative partisans of incumbent parties show more negative attitudes toward democracy.

The results show that neither type of negative partisan presents lower support for democracy than non-partisans. In fact, for both Chile and Ecuador, negative partisans of incumbent parties present more *positive* attitudes toward democracy than non-partisans.

Table E1: Attitudes towards democracy and negative partisanship (distinction between incumbent and non-incumbent partisan attachments)

	Chile	Ecuador
	(1)	(2)
Negative partisanship (incumbent)	0.428 **	0.204
	(0.143)	(0.128)
Negative partisanship (other)	-0.060	0.028
	(0.130)	(0.123)
Positive partisanship (incumbent)	0.055	0.100
	(0.160)	(0.106)
Positive partisanship (other)	0.062	0.188
	(0.245)	(0.304)

Age	0.016 ***	0.005 **
	(0.003)	(0.002)
Female	0.012	0.020
	(0.085)	(0.082)
Education	0.053 ***	0.042 ***
	(0.014)	(0.011)
Interest in politics	0.224 ***	0.163 ***
	(0.048)	(0.046)
Extremism	0.001	-0.003
	(0.006)	(0.006)
(Intercept)	3.501 ***	3.560 ***
	(0.235)	(0.197)
N	1299	1399
R2	0.078	0.034
logLik	-2383.534	-2546.510
AIC	4793.068	5119.020

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Finally, to make sure that the null results are not a mere artifact of the survey question we used, Table E2 presents the analysis using as the dependent variable an additive index combining orientations to support a military coup, the dissolution of the Supreme Court of Justice, or the closure of the Legislative Assembly.[2] Answers are coded so that support to anti-democratic

[2] The questions used for this index are the following: (q1) "Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the military of this country to take power by a coup d'état (military coup). In your opinion would a military coup be justified under the following circumstances?" (q1a) "When there is a lot of crime" (q1b) "When there is a lot of corruption"; (q2) Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Assembly and govern without the Assembly?"; (q3) "Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president/prime minister of the country to dissolve the Supreme Court of

events receive high scores. The results again fail to show significant differences on democratic attitudes among partisan groups. If anything, there seems to be a negative correlation between anti-democratic attitudes for negative partisans of the incumbent parties in Chile.

Table E2: Attitudes towards democracy and negative partisanship (distinction between incumbent and non-incumbent partisan attachments)

	Chile			Ecuador		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Positive only	0.068			-0.026		
	(0.092)			(0.061)		
Hardcore	0.024			0.017		
	(0.079)			(0.071)		
Negative only	-0.017			0.064		
	(0.051)			(0.056)		
Positive partisanship		0.053			-0.033	
		(0.062)			(0.050)	
Negative partisanship		-0.021			0.058	
		(0.048)			(0.047)	
Positive partisanship (incumbent)			0.329 **			-0.122
			(0.106)			(0.147)
Negative partisanship (incumbent)			-0.236 ***			0.094
			(0.063)			(0.062)
Positive partisanship (other)			-0.043			-0.026
			(0.069)			(0.051)

Justice and govern without the Supreme Court of Justice?" Respondents randomly answered either q1a or q1b and either q2 or q3.

Negative partisanship (other)			0.141 *			0.024
			(0.057)			(0.060)
Age	-0.004 **	-0.004 **	-0.004 **	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.147 ***	0.147 ***	0.143 ***	0.074	0.074	0.076
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Education	-0.030 ***	-0.030 ***	-0.029 ***	-0.018 ***	-0.018 ***	-0.019 ***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Interest in Politics	-0.042 *	-0.042 *	-0.032	0.054 *	0.054 *	0.055 *
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Extremism	0.004	0.004	0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
(Intercept)	0.982 ***	0.983 ***	0.959 ***	0.880 ***	0.881 ***	0.882 ***
	(0.104)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.095)
N	1334	1334	1334	1411	1411	1411
R2	0.054	0.054	0.088	0.017	0.017	0.018
logLik	-1376.02	-1376.05	-1351.57	-1547.39	-1547.42	-1546.75
AIC	2776.050	2774.100	2729.154	3118.797	3116.844	3119.495

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.