Online Appendix.

The ‘withdrawn citizen’. Making sense of the failed constitutional process in Chile.

This appendix details the supplementary analyses performed to strengthen the empirical foundation of our argument. These analyses were conducted at various levels of electoral data to test the relationships between voter turnout and the rejection vote in Chile’s 2022 constitutional exit referendum.

1. Correlation Between Turnout in the 2020 and 2022 Referenda

To test the alternative hypothesis that the same voters abstained in both the 2020 entry referendum and the 2022 exit referendum, we analyzed the correlation between voter turnout across these two events. The analysis was performed at three levels: municipal, district, and polling place.

1.1. Municipal Level

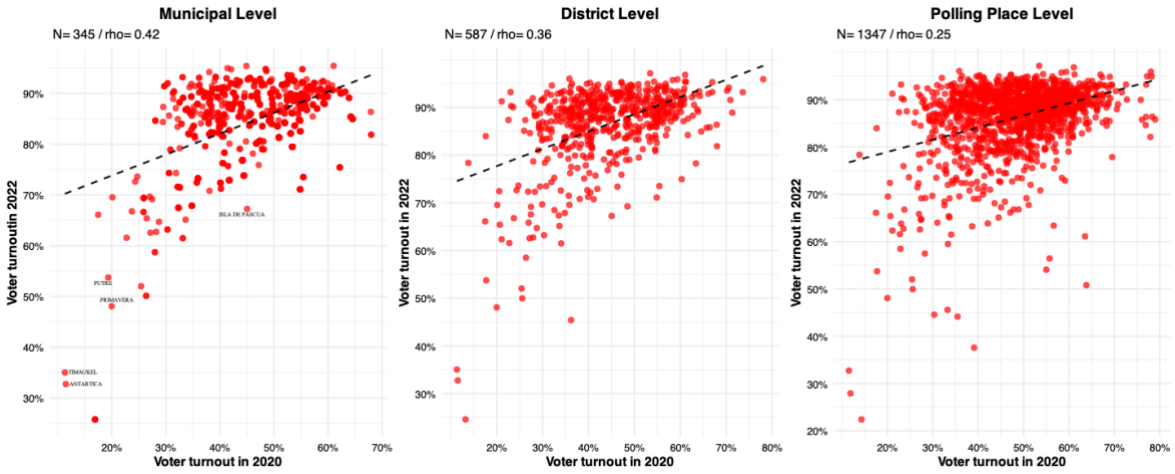
At the municipal level, we found a moderate positive correlation (r = 0.45) between voter turnout in the two referenda, indicating some overlap in the voter base. However, this correlation is insufficient to suggest that abstention patterns were consistent across the 2020 and 2022 referenda, as it is primarily influenced by outliers, as shown in Figure 1x.

At the district level, the correlation between turnout in the two referenda was slightly lower (r = 0.38), indicating a weaker relationship between the two events.

The analysis at the polling place level showed the weakest correlation (r = 0.25), which was largely driven by outliers. These results indicate that many of the new voters mobilized by compulsory voting in 2022 had not participated in the voluntary referendum in 2020. This weak correlation disproves the alternative hypothesis that abstaining voters remained consistent across both events, supporting our

argument that previously disengaged voters played a significant role in the rejection of the proposed constitution.

Figure 1x. Correlation between the turnout in the 2020 and the 2022 referendums.



2. Regression Analysis: Turnout and Rejection Vote in 2022

We conducted a municipal-level regression analysis to further examine the relationship between voter turnout in both referenda and the rejection vote in 2022. The dependent variable in this analysis was the percentage of rejection in the 2022 referendum. The independent variables were turnout in the 2020 voluntary referendum and turnout in the 2022 compulsory referendum.

Table 1x. Regression Models.

	Percentage of rejection vote at the communal level			**Percentage of rejection vote at the district level**			**Percentage of rejection vote at the polling station level**		
Predictors	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*	*Estimates*	*CI*	*p*
(Intercept)	0.64	0.58 – 0.71	**<0.001**	0.57	0.51 – 0.63	**<0.001**	0.62	0.58 – 0.67	**<0.001**
Commune electoral participation 2020	-0.78	-0.87 – -0.70	**<0.001**						
Commune electoral participation 2022	0.43	0.34 – 0.52	**<0.001**						
District electoral participation 2020				-0.73	-0.79 – -0.67	**<0.001**			
District electoral participation 2022				0.49	0.42 – 0.57	**<0.001**			
Polling station electoral participation 2020							-0.68	-0.72 – -0.64	**<0.001**
Polling station electoral participation 2022							0.40	0.34 – 0.45	**<0.001**
Observations	344			583			1347		
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.512 / 0.509			0.500 / 0.499			0.456 / 0.456		

2.1. Results

At all three levels—municipal, district, and polling station—the analysis shows consistent trends:

3. **Turnout in 2020 (Voluntary Voting):** A negative beta coefficient across all levels (-0.78 at the municipal, -0.73 at the district, and -0.68 at the polling station) indicates that higher voluntary turnout in 2020 is strongly linked to

lower rejection rates in 2022, reflecting greater support for constitutional changes among politically engaged voters.

4. **Turnout in 2022 (Compulsory Voting):** Positive coefficients (0.43 at the municipal, 0.49 at the district, and 0.40 at the polling station) show that higher compulsory turnout in 2022 is associated with higher rejection rates, suggesting that newly mobilized, previously disengaged voters were more likely to reject the constitution.

4.1. Model Fit

The regression model explained a substantial portion of the variance in the rejection vote, with an R^2 of 0.512. This highlights the predictive power of voter turnout in both referenda, especially the strong inverse relationship between turnout in 2020 and rejection in 2022.

These additional analyses strengthen our argument by demonstrating that the group of voters mobilized in 2022 was largely composed of previously disengaged individuals, many of whom rejected the proposed constitution. The weak correlation between turnout in 2020 and 2022, combined with the regression results, provides indirect but robust evidence supporting our hypothesis that compulsory voting in 2022 significantly altered the voter base, contributing to the rejection of the constitution.