Pride and Protest: Horizontal and vertical emotional response in the aftermath of the 2019 Chilean Spring

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Abstract

A large body of literature has shown that emotions can motivate collective action. Nevertheless, the effect that collective actions could have on emotion has been less researched. This study examined the effect of protests on bystanders' vertical and horizontal pride, using the case of the 2019 "Chilean Spring". Our findings suggest that vertical pride was negatively affected by the crisis. Protests' frame signaled that not everything in the country was as thought, generating a moral shock that affected shared emotions about the country. However, horizontal pride was positively affected. Some of these effects are stronger for people with an intermediate educational level. These findings contribute to the literature on the impact of protests showing that unexpected, loosely organized, and massive movements can trigger generalized emotions. In the aftermath of October 18, the effect on emotions could explain the massive scale and durability of the "Chilean Spring."

Introduction

Social movements can influence public opinion and people's everyday lives through the resonance of collective action frames (Snow et al., 1986), information shortcuts provision (Zaller, 1992), knowledge production as cultural laboratories (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991), among others. As outsiders, observers, or potential participants, the general public is important to social movements and protests because they legitimize their actions

(Benford & Snow, 2000), and their support contributes to achieving the ultimate goal of policy change (Vráblíková, 2013). In this study, following Somma's (2021) distinction, we ask whether protests affect bystanders' (1) horizontal (i.e., the pride of belonging to a group of similar others in a similar power structure position) and (2) vertical pride (i.e., the pride that considers the difference in power) are examined. In addition, we also extend the literature by discussing whether protests have segmented effects on bystanders, considering their educational level and age.

Nevertheless, the social movements literature has often encountered the challenge of isolating the effect of protests on the general population. One of the reasons is their reciprocal relationship because there always has to be a resonance (Bray et al., 2018; Vráblíková, 2013) between existing prior values, emotions, or dispositions in the population that affect collective action. On the other hand, the isolation of the effects of protests requires to separate the impact from other contemporary influences that could also affect population's values, beliefs, and attitudes (Amenta & Polletta, 2019).

Following studies on the revival of emotions in the cultural analysis of social movements (Bray et al., 2018; Coe & Schnabel, 2011; Goodwin et al., 2000; Jasper, 1998, 2011, 2014), these emotions have been isolated as causal mechanisms of willingness or actual engagement in collective actions (e.g., DeCelles, Sonenshein, & King, 2019; Thomas, Zubielevitch, Sibley, & Osborne, 2020; Weber, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2002). Thus, the importance of prior emotions as triggers of social mobilization highlights the challenges of identifying the reversed effect. Besides emotions' role for people joining the movement, they also contribute to sustaining it (Becker et al., 2011; Bray et al., 2018) as well as to generate potential long-term transformations. Here, our focus is on the emotional

consequences of collective action for the general population or bystander public¹, one of the focal groups of social movement analysis (Kemper, 2001).

Emotions are an aspect of culture. Culture delineates how emotions are constituted, managed, and experienced (Thoits, 1989). Emotions are shared among individuals and are socially influenced (Jasper, 2011, 2014). They are also part of the public culture as collective feelings (Berezin, 2002), and individuals can strategically use them to make sense of their actions (Swidler, 2001). Therefore, how individuals change their emotions toward certain objects engages in a broader discussion of social movements' cultural consequences on the general population (Amenta & Polletta, 2019). Using an interrupted public opinion poll, we analyze the impacts of the first weeks of the 2019 "Chilean Spring" (Somma et al., 2020) on bystanders' moral emotions (Jasper, 1998). This study focuses on pride as an emotion, which collective facet has been less examined by social scientists (Williams & Davies, 2017).

The case of the protests in Chile is significant because it was the first country to implement neo-liberal economic policies (Harvey, 2007), and this movement has highlighted the deficiencies of the model as part of its frame. Therefore, not only do the protests in Chile defy the country's structural conditions, but also the legitimacy of the global economic system. As Fantasia and Hirsch (2004) argue, acute social struggles provide a basis for cultural transformation. The Chilean social outburst initiated what cultural sociologists (Bail, 2012; Swidler, 1986) have called "unsettled times," where the

¹ Due to the uniqueness of the research design, we cannot differentiate bystanders from those who participated in the protests. Nevertheless, public opinion polls (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020) indicate that 17% of Chileans declared to have participated several times in a protest since October 18, 2019. We use the terms general population, public opinion, or people interchangeably.

unprecedented, large-scale crisis challenges shared emotions towards the social environment. As “moral holidays” (Ray, 2014), collective feelings and worldviews could be redefined or resignified in this context.

The contribution to the literature is threefold. First, sociological theories of emotions have been hardly applied to the study of political attitudes and behavior (Feinstein, 2020). In recent decades, the literature has made progress on understanding the role of emotions in motivating protests (e.g., Ray, 2014; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). However, studies on the cultural impacts of social movements on bystanders’ everyday life (Amenta & Polletta, 2019) have been limited by the challenge of isolating the effect of protest events on the general population. Thus, the study disentangles these effects by showing how a major wave of protests affects pride in seven different targets that represent (1) the system and (2) the fellow citizens, combining vertical and horizontal emotions. The research design enables us to ask whether the protests triggered a change in emotions independently from previous cultural changes that could have also resulted in the movement. Our findings indicate that the protests negatively affected cultural emotions of pride in the country, in official symbols, in economic development, and in Chile as a place to live. Nevertheless, the valorization of characteristics of Chileans was positively affected by the social outburst. In addition, the heterogeneity of effects by individuals’ educational level and age are also addressed.

Second, most of the literature linking emotions and protests is non-experimental. Therefore, their conclusions can be interpreted in causal terms only based on the available theories, and causality cannot be demonstrated. On the other hand, a small body of literature in social and political psychologists has provided evidence of the role of emotions

using lab experiments. Nevertheless, these studies lack ecological validity despite their internal validity (for a review of experimental and non-experimental evidence, see van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Researchers are unsure whether the students in the lab are willing to take to the streets. Besides defining emotions as an outcome, we use a public opinion survey applied to the general population before and after the outburst of protests. Therefore, our findings are grounded in more realistic settings.

Third, this study is one of the first to provide robust evidence of the consequences of the “Chilean Spring,” which was part of a larger and dynamic wave of protests in the world in 2019.

The article is structured as follows. First, the theoretical framework of emotions and protests is discussed, which provides tools to understand the events during the social outbreak as a moral shock. Second, in the data and methods section, we describe our measurements and analytical strategy. Third, the results are reported and discussed in the conclusion.

Protests and emotional response

According to Jasper (2011), moral shocks are vertiginous feelings triggered by an event or information that suggests the world is not what individuals expected. Thus, we can consider that unexpected waves of protests themselves could be regarded as moral shocks when they generate emotions that lead to a rethinking of moral principles, restructure worldviews, and activate underlying values. This proposition can also be extended to social movements in their initial phases. In addition, repression events following protests could lead to even greater mobilization and ignite public indignation toward those responsible for

the repression (Aytaç et al., 2018; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Hess & Martin, 2006). The focus of this study is the shockwave of the events of the first weeks of a wave of protests as moral shocks. Classic organizational theories of social movements consider this stage as “social ferment,” where disorganization characterizes the movement, and goals have not yet been clearly defined (Blumer, 1995). Therefore, the effects on emotions are essential for the effectiveness of succeeding stages of the protests and as a tipping point for more sustainable transformations (Catone, 2018). However, in our case study, social movement organizations (SMOs) have played a marginal role (Somma et al., 2020), and the “Chilean Spring” better fits the definition of a massive wave of protests.

For social movement researchers, emotions are an aspect of culture (Jasper, 2014). Culture delineates how emotions are constituted, managed, and experienced (Thoits, 1989). Jasper (2006) integrated different emotions into a typology, which helps us to clearly define the scope of this study and its relationship with collective action. First, reflex emotions are quick and automatic reactions to certain events; they include anger, joy, distrust, fear, among others. Second, moods, which typically last longer than reflex emotions, do not have a direct object and can be deployed across settings – nostalgia, for example. Third, moral emotions or sentiments are more complex than the previous ones. They are more stable feelings towards others or objects and include pride and shame, but also compassion, outrage, and complex forms of fear and anger. Since they belong to “sentiment pools” (Kim & McCarthy, 2016) that motivate support for structural changes, moral emotions are crucial for the effectiveness and success of protests (Bugden, 2020). They could also be considered part of the “hot cognition” (Gamson, 1992), which triggers political consciousness and participation. Moreover, social movements and public opinion research indicate that

achieving their goals and social change depends on the support from the public and the alignment of shared sentiments (Andrews et al., 2016; Snow et al., 1986). Our survey includes measurements of pride in one's country and its citizens as moral emotions detailed in the variables section.

Pride is a “self-conscious” emotion that requires a comparison or evaluation of one's behavior vis-a-vis some standard, rule, or goal to conclude that one has succeeded (Lewis, 2008). This complex emotion plays a crucial role in many domains of human activities, reinforcing prosocial behavior and achievement (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Nevertheless, social psychologists have paid less attention to the collective facets of pride (Williams & Davies, 2017) that could be relevant for sociologists or political scientists. National pride is a group-based emotion that people feel toward the nation-state (Vlachová, 2019). The pride of being a citizen of a country could be considered a collective pride, where individuals self-categorize with a group with an admirable quality or behavior (Liu et al., 2014). Bystanders do not need to engage in protest activities to feel pride or not toward the collective or their characteristics. It is driven by belonging and could be considered vicarious pride.

In this regard, social movement researchers (e.g., Somma, 2021) distinguish between horizontal and vertical emotions. In our case, the former refers to the pride of belonging to a group of similar others in a similar power structure position. Thus, pride toward fellow citizens or their characteristics can be considered a horizontal emotion. In contrast, vertical pride considers a difference in power. Here, the pride of bystanders toward the nation-state, social systems, and symbols can be considered as vertical affection because of the relatively higher power of these institutions or what they represent. This

definition is preferred over pride towards the in-group or out-group because it highlights the power difference between actors. However, the studies in cultural emotions have not empirically examined how protests affect pride along these axes. In the following sections, we introduce the empirical case and derive hypotheses about the effect of the wave of protests on both horizontal and vertical pride. In addition, potential heterogeneities of these effects are also hypothesized.

The Chilean case and hypotheses

The aftermath of the night of October 18 may be understood as an unexpected moral shock in the Chilean society (for details of events during the data collection, see Table 1S). The frame of the widespread protests across the country signaled that the Chilean case of apparent success was not what exactly what it seemed. In early October 2019, secondary-school students rallied and initiated the practice of fare dodging on the subway in Santiago, the capital of Chile, as a protest against the increase in the fare (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020). These types of protests have been commonplace in Chile's political landscape (Donoso, 2013; Guzman-Concha, 2012). However, on the night of October 18, protests escalated to the general population.² Barricades were built, the entire subway system was shut down after attacks, and stations were set alight. On October 19, protests continued across the country, with shops being looted, buses burned, and clashes between protestors and special police forces. Major and peaceful protests also took place along the country. The government declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew. Several international

² For a more detailed description of the context and main facts of the social crisis in Chile, as well as explanations based on survey data fielded during the crisis, see (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020). Moreover, we refer to the wave of protests, multiplicity of movements, social organizations, and coalitions that participated in the protests as the “Chilean Spring” following Somma et al. (2020).

organizations have reported human rights violations during that time (e.g., United Nations, 2019). Although the protests have been sporadic during the Covid-19 pandemic, the “Chilean Spring” has achieved the approval of creating a new political constitution after a national referendum. This constitutional process was the institutional response to the events that started in October 2019. However, there is uncertainty on whether the Chilean movement could be resumed with the same strength of 2019 once the health emergency is under control, and simultaneously to the elaboration of the new political constitution.

As a shared feature of unsettled times and turning points (Abbott, 1997; Bail, 2012), social scientists, public opinion leaders, and policymakers claim that the escalation of the events in Chile on October 18 was unexpected or “they did not see it coming” (Sanhueza, 2019; Somma et al., 2020). However, its underlying causes are still a matter of debate. The low levels of political identification, distrust in political parties, unfulfilled expectations, cultural change, and market-based inequalities, among others, have been suggested (e.g., Gonzalez & Morán, 2020; Somma et al., 2020).

Despite citizens’ demands for deep structural reforms (e.g., changes in the pension system, reform of the police, a new political constitution), Chile has been long considered one of the most developed countries in Latin America. In the last three decades, Chile has undergone unprecedented changes: poverty reduction, increased GDP, and longer life expectancy (The World Bank, 2017). These figures also indicate that the Chilean wave of protests was unexpected. Coincidentally, the social crisis interrupted the fieldwork of a public opinion survey designed to measure beliefs, emotions, and attitudes toward the country (Imagen País, 2019). This survey provides, then, a unique opportunity to isolate the effects of the first weeks of the “Chilean Spring” as a moral shock. The research design is

particularly relevant considering the suggested multiple causes of the events (e.g., Gonzalez & Morán, 2020; Somma et al., 2020), which are potential resources of bias due to their effect on both the movement and population's emotions.

Following the literature on emotions and protests, the Chilean social outburst could be conceptualized as a moral shock (Jasper, 1998, 2011, 2014), whose interpretative frame resonated in the general population (Snow et al., 1986). The frame provided information signaling that the country was not as successful as assumed by the citizens, leading to the re-articulation of emotions toward the country and citizens themselves.

Social problems that protests framed also require someone to be held accountable (Jasper, 2014). In Chile's case, the institutions (e.g., government, congress, market, political constitutions, among others) have been held responsible. The indignation is targeted toward the government, the system, and its symbols. Hence, the frame alignment process (Snow et al., 1986) is cognitive and emotional (Jasper, 1998). Interpretative frames contain and elicit emotions to mobilize potential adherents and garner bystanders' support (Benford & Snow, 2000). As part of the frame, these emotions are shared by participants and supporters of the protests and disseminated to those outside the movement.

However, the moral shock can succeed or fail to activate bystanders' sympathy toward collective action (Kemper, 2001). Previous studies have considered protests' success as their ability to shape discursive opportunities (Mausolf, 2017). In this case, the large demonstrations, the rapid spread across the country, and the support from public

opinion³ suggest the success of the “Chilean Spring.” Therefore, the wave of protests activated the emotions of the general population that led to widespread support. This success and the frame of the unexpected and massive movement, pointing to the importance of social problems, yields to the following hypothesis about vertical pride:

Hypothesis 1: pride in the country, official symbols, and economic development will be negatively affected in the aftermath of the social crisis.

These represent the status quo and those responsible for the crisis. Moreover, collective action also generates reciprocal emotions among participants and bystanders of the protests. According to van Troost and colleagues (2013), pride may be elicited when the in-group facilitates collective goals. Thus, what bystanders see on the street and the conflict between groups triggers generalized emotions that concern a positive representation of the in-group as moral and victims. Thus, we also hypothesize about horizontal pride:

Hypothesis 2: the affections toward citizens might be positively impacted by the social outburst.

The restructuring of shared moral emotions toward the country and reciprocal moral emotions among citizens might have reinforced the collective identity of the movement (Jasper, 2011), explaining the escalation of the Chilean crisis in the months after the night of October 18. We cannot elucidate whether the changes will be a stable cultural

³ Based on a representative and probabilistic sample, surveys (Núcleo Milenio en Desarrollo Social et al., 2019) indicate that 85.5% of Chileans over the age of 18 declared their support toward the social movement one month after the social outbreak; and 70% are willing to participate in cabildos ciudadanos (open citizen councils) to discuss the new political constitution and the political context. One of the most prestigious public opinion polls (Centro de Estudios Públicos, 2019) showed that 81% of the Chileans consider that the government responded wrongly or very wrongly to the social outburst, and the president reached the lowest level of approval (6%) ever attained since approval ratings were first measured in the country.

transformation or whether moral emotions will revert to the baseline. However, if the movement has had short-term effects on how citizens feel and think, it could be the basis of a long-term transformation.

Differential impact of the “Chilean Spring”

The literature on collective action’s implications for the general population has not discussed segmented effects on bystanders. We expand this literature by examining two possible sources of heterogeneity of the protests’ effect on vertical and horizontal pride. A recent study (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020) found an association between Chilean protests participation and educational level and age. More educated people and younger individuals were more likely to report having participated in protest activities. This is consistent with the idea of critical citizens (Norris, 1999). Therefore, we explored whether these groups were also differently affected by the social outburst.

First, previous literature in more egalitarian contexts has suggested that only highly educated people are more likely to develop more positive attitudes toward political engagement (Hoskins & Janmaat, 2016). However, Chile is a highly unequal society with high levels of social closure (Méndez & Gayo, 2019), and, despite their internal heterogeneity, a large proportion of the intermediate social groups, that is, the middle classes, share support for neoliberal policies and the status quo (Barozet & Espinoza, 2016; Barozet & Fierro, 2011; Méndez, 2008). The anti-neoliberal frame of the “Chilean Spring” could have highlighted the vulnerability of this sector and the new middle class documented in the literature (López-Calva & Ortiz-Juarez, 2014; Ravallion, 2009; Torche & F. Lopez-Calva, 2012). Thus, the source of the power differential that drives pride is the

vulnerability situation of this group. Due to data availability, we consider education as a proxy of position in the social structure. Therefore, we will expect that:

Hypothesis 3: the impact of the “Chilean Spring” will be higher in the middle sector, represented by subjects with an intermediate educational level.

Second, influential opinion leaders in Chile have argued that the protests engagement is age-related and a product of a generational clash (Peña, 2020). Younger people who socialized during the aftermath of Pinochet’s dictatorship are unsatisfied with the system and have decided to take the street. This argument is also sustained by the frame of the “fearless generation” that has resonated in the previous protest waves in the country (Sandoval Moya & Carvallo Gallardo, 2019). Nevertheless, the debatable argument that the recent wave of protests is age-related does not entail that the consequences will also be segmented by age. If we consider recent evidence in cultural sociology (Kiley & Vaisey, 2020), younger individuals actively update culture more than older individuals. Thus, this yields to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: the impact of the protest events will be stronger for younger age people than older age groups.

Data and Methods

Data

We use data from the Chilean Pride Study⁴ (Imagen País, 2019), a stratified and probabilistic sample of 1,503 Chileans over the age of 18, living in households with

⁴ Data and code will be publicly available after publication.

landline or mobile phone. Respondents were stratified by geographic region (north, center-south, and Metropolitan Region), gender, and age group at the individual and district level. Random quotas were assigned within districts. Landline and mobile phones are randomly selected using random-digit dialing (Waksberg, 1978). The margin of error for the overall poll is plus or minus 2.5%. The fieldwork started on October 15 of 2019, one week before the unexpected events of the night of October 18, and finished on December 7. The total sample can be divided into three measurement periods for substantive theoretical comparison. Of the total sample, 27.8% of respondents were surveyed before the night of October 18, starting on October 15; 30.0% were surveyed 18 days after the crisis between November 5 and November 9; and the remaining 42.2% were interviewed in a follow-up sample 46 days from December 3 to December 7. The fieldwork was resumed on November 5 after the protests began. Thus, it provides unique conditions for evaluating the effect of the first weeks of the protest movement as an events study and monitoring the evolution of moral emotions in a follow-up sample. The survey was originally intended to examine Chileans' beliefs and attitudes toward their own country and identity, including questions of substantive relevance for our research issue.

Measurements

The dependent variables of the study are four measurements of vertical pride and three measurements of horizontal pride. Regarding vertical pride, we have⁵:

⁵ Complete questions are provided in Table 2S of the supplementary material.

Pride in the country. Respondents were asked how proud they are of the country on a 7-point scale, where 1 is “not at all proud” and 7 is “very proud.”

Pride in the country's emblem and motto. The original survey included items measuring how proud the respondents were of specific aspects of the country and its citizens. These items were diverse, including, for instance, the use of the Chilean sky for astronomy, science and technology, and export products. One of these items can be considered as an official symbol of the country: “[pride] in the country's emblem and motto.” Since Pinochet’s military dictatorship, the Chilean national emblem has been signified as a symbol of conservative sectors of the society and the military heritage (Joignant, 2007). In addition, the motto in the emblem may be translated as “by reason or force.” Neighboring countries have long considered this phrase a representation of the Chilean expansionism of the XIX century and the iron fist of the government (Burr, 1965). These official symbols contrast with the use of the Mapuche flag by protestors. The Mapuche are the largest indigenous group in the country, engaged in a long-standing conflict with the Chilean state (Bengoa, 2000). Thus, while the Mapuche flag is part of the movement’s counterculture, the emblem and motto are part of the official culture and symbolize the status quo.

Pride in the economic development of Chile. Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with different statements, which included whether Chile is a developed country and economically stable. Categories of response ranged from 1 “strongly disagree” to 7 “strongly agree.”

Pride in Chile as a good place to live. In the same set of Likert scales as the previous item, respondents indicated their degree of agreement with the phrase "Chile is a good place to live."

The variables of horizontal pride combined a general indicator and two indicators of specific characteristics of citizens.

Pride in being Chilean. The reciprocal moral emotions between citizens were measured by a general question about pride in their citizenship. Respondents were asked how proud they were of being Chilean. The question used the same scale as pride in the country.

Energy shown by Chileans. Respondents answered how proud they are of the energy of their own people. Following the remaining indicators, they responded on the same 7-point scale, where 1 represents "not at all proud" and 7 "very proud."

Chilean work ethic. Respondents were asked to choose which of the following statements they would most like people from abroad to think about Chileans: (1) Chileans are happy and welcoming, (2) Chileans are dedicated and hard-working, (3) Chileans take care of their territory and environment, (4) Chileans are serious and responsible, (5) Chileans make high-quality products, and (6) Chile is an economically developed country. The last category is treated as missing because it is unrelated to characteristics of Chilean people, and few people chose it (N=12). Based on a multinomial model reported in Table 3S of the supplementary material, we recoded this variable into a dummy indicator of work ethic where 1 represents "Chileans are dedicated and hard-working" and 0 "otherwise." Additional information is provided in the results section.

Analytical strategy

Our analytical strategy is threefold. We estimated an OLS regression with the respective emotion as the dependent variable and the treatment dummy (1 “treated” 0 “controlled”) as the independent variable. Robust standard errors were included. In addition, two complementary analyses were conducted as robustness checks. First, control variables were included in the model to ensure that effects are robust against potential confounders: female (1 “yes,” 0 “No”); educational level (1 “less than secondary,” 2 “secondary completed,” and 3 “more than secondary”); the number of household members (1 “one,” 2 “two,” 3 “three,” and 4 “four or more”), and geographic zone of residence (1 “North,” 2 “Center,” 3 “Metropolitan Region,” 4 “South”). Second, we used entropy balancing (Hainmueller, 2012), which is a matching technique that estimates scalar weights for the treatment group. It calculates balanced covariates directly through the exact match of pre-specified means and variances of the covariates’ distribution of the treatment and control group (Hainmueller, 2012; Stahl & Schober, 2020). Commonly used matching or propensity score adjustments often result in low levels of covariate balance in practice and, in some cases, even counteracts bias reduction (Hainmueller, 2012; Iacus et al., 2012). In contrast, entropy balancing makes treatment orthogonal to these predefined covariates, does not rely on a propensity score, and uses the whole sample to estimate effects. During the preprocessing stage, the covariate balance is directly built into the weight function used to adjust the control units. Tables 7AS and 7BS, in the supplementary material, show how differences of means, variances, and skewness between treatment and control groups were zero after entropy balancing.

Results

The results are presented in two sections. First, we describe the time-trend of the moral emotions across the measured period. Second, we estimate the effects of the first week of the protests on these variables.

Descriptive results

Table 1 shows a description of the analytical sample based on demographic variables. Half of the respondents are females (49%) and from the Metropolitan Region (44%). On average, the respondents are 47 years old. Regarding educational level, most of the individuals have some tertiary education (46%). Finally, four or more family members is the most common household size in the sample (47%). These figures approximate the distributions of the population, except for the educational level. It can be explained because the sampling strategy considered households with landline or mobile phone⁶.

Figure 1 shows the daily average of each shared moral emotion. After the social outburst (first vertical line), Chileans reported lower levels of pride. Pride in the country decreases with the level of pride in economic development, which is the moral emotion with the lowest level over the period measured. Nevertheless, although the pride in the country seems to recover in the last measured period, the pride in Chile's economic development maintains a negative trend. Pride in the official symbols shows a similar pattern. The pride in the emblem and motto decreased after the social crisis began, and the

⁶ 31.9% of the Chilean population have completed or uncompleted tertiary education (Observatorio Social, 2018).

negative trend continued in the last period. Chile as a place to live cannot be directly compared with the other variables because it is measured on a different scale. However, although the trend is less pronounced, it is also negative after the crisis and during the third measurement period. It is important to mention that we do not argue that the follow-up sample enables us to conclude that changes become stable. Rather, it aims to test whether the effect on vertical and horizontal pride goes beyond the initial weeks of the “Chilean Spring.”

[Figure 1 about here]

Figure 2 indicates a different pattern for pride in being Chilean and energy shown by Chileans. The overall pride in Chilean citizenship does not show a clear trend and remains at high levels. Nevertheless, the pride in the energy of Chileans increases after the outburst, and it does not return to the levels of the baseline. The peak of the pride in the energy of Chileans is in the first measurement after the fieldwork was resumed. It could suggest that the social crisis is not only a social outburst but also as an “outburst of energy,” in the eyes of the general population.

[Figure 2 about here]

Figure 3 reports the proportion of responses on each category of the variable about features for which Chileans might be known abroad. One of the characteristics that shows a clear trajectory is “dedicated and hard-working.” The descriptive trend indicates that the valorization of this characteristic increases after the social crisis and, although not at baseline levels, decreases again in the third measurement period. Something similar is observed for Chileans as producers of high-quality goods, which could be interpreted as a

market-based feature. For further analyses, we dichotomized this categorical variable considering “dedicated and hard-working” as the reference category.

[Figure 3 about here]

Hypotheses testing

The main methodological challenge of this type of design (Minkus et al., 2019; Slothuus, 2010) is ensuring that respondents interviewed before and after the event are comparable, and the difference between treated and controlled could be attributed to the events. Table 2 shows a balancing test for the background characteristics asked about in the survey using a multinomial regression model. The indicator of whether the respondent was surveyed before the crisis (“before”), in the first measurement after the outburst (“social crisis”), or in the follow-up sample (“follow-up”) is used as the dependent variable. Model 2 indicates no differences between the baseline measurement and the follow-up sample. When comparing the baseline sample with the first sample after the crisis, there are slight differences by age (OR = 0.986, $p < .01$). The same difference appears when comparing the two last measurement periods (OR = 0.988, $p < .05$). Regarding the area of residence, respondents living in southern Chile were more likely to be surveyed after the crisis than in the baseline (OR = 1.870, $p < .001$) and the follow-up sample (OR = 1.768, $p < .001$). These differences are explained by the organization of the fieldwork. The slightly significant coefficients of less-educated respondents in Model 1 and Model 3 suggest they were less likely to be surveyed in the first measurement after the crisis [(OR = 1.821, $p < .001$) and (OR = 1.585, $p < .05$), respectively]. Finally, there are no significant differences in the number of household members. Since they are slightly related to the measurement period,

they could operate as confounders if they simultaneously affect some of the pride indicators. Therefore, as explained in the analytical strategy, this result suggests the importance of including these variables as additional covariates and weights in the entropy balance as a robustness check. Table 1S, in the supplementary material, provides a detailed account of the main events that occurred during the data collection.

[Table 2 about here]

We estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions⁷ with dummy variables for the social crisis and the follow-up sample, using the period before the social outburst as the reference category (Tables 4S, 5S, and 6S in the supplementary material). The linear predictions from these models are shown in Figure 4 and are the main tests of our theoretical predictions. Three predictions from different models are reported. First, the basic models without control or entropy balancing. Second, coefficients from models with dummy variables for the period after the social crisis and the follow-up sample, including control variables. Third, the effects include the entropy weight for the first and second periods. Since entropy balancing can only be used for binary treatments, the linear predictions of the baseline and after the outburst are estimated with the subsample of observations from these two periods. The linear predictions for the follow-up sample are estimated using the subsample of observations of the period after the outburst and the follow-up sample. As stated in Hypothesis 1, Figure 4 suggests that the protest movement negatively affected bystanders' vertical pride. After the first weeks of the movement, pride

⁷ Dependent variables are measured on a seven-point ordinal scale. We assumed them as continuous and reported OLS regressions for the sake of simplicity. Nevertheless, results are consistent when using ordered logistic regressions.

in the country, pride in Chile's economic development, and Chile as a good place to live were significantly lower than the baseline. These effects are consistent when using controls and entropy weights, suggesting the robustness of the findings against potential selection in the treatment. Only in the case of pride in official symbols are there slight differences between the basic, controlled, and entropy balancing models. The estimated effect is negative in the three models, but only marginally significant in the latter two.

The follow-up sample's effects answer the question of whether vertical pride returned to the baseline after more than one month after the crisis started on October 18. Although they do not refer to within-individual changes or an unexpected interruption of the poll, they provide insightful information about the trend that emotions followed after the social crisis. For all the indicators, the linear predictions for the follow-up sample are lower than the baseline and statistically significant. This finding indicates that moral emotions did not return to the baseline levels. When comparing the follow-up linear predictions with the period after the social crisis, the pride in the country recovered in the most advanced stages of the crisis. However, it did not reach the baseline levels, as shown in the previous analysis. For the remaining variables, the change is non-significant, which indicates that negatively affected moral emotions were neither deepened nor recovered.

[Figure 4 about here]

Figure 5 shows the effects on indicators of horizontal pride. The full models are reported in Tables 4S, 5S, and 6S in the supplementary material. The findings from the descriptive trends are confirmed. Although slight differences in the estimations, the social crisis and follow-up samples show no significant effects on Chilean citizens' pride, which

indicates it remains stable. In contrast, the valorization of energy shown by Chileans increases after the social outburst and is maintained in the follow-up. In contrast, the effect on the valorization of Chileans' work ethic (dedicated and hard-working), compared to the other categories, increases after the first weeks of the social crisis but returns almost to the baseline level in the follow-up, as suggested by the non-significant coefficient. Overall, these results partially support Hypothesis 2.

One of the possible criticisms of the estimated coefficients is omitted covariates in the entropy balancing that could potentially confound the effects. I estimate E-values for each of the significant predictors as proposed by van der Weele and Ding (2017) in epidemiology, which are reported in the supplementary material (Table 8S). This coefficient indicates the minimum association on the risk ratio scale needed between an unmeasured confounder and both dependent and independent variables to fully explain away an effect. These effects could be considered large in social sciences, which provides strong evidence against the possibility of omitted confounders.

[Figure 5 about here]

Heterogeneity

All the interactions between educational level and measurement periods were estimated. Figure 6 illustrates the significant interactions (see Table 9S in the supplementary material). We classified bystanders into three groups: low (less than secondary education), intermediate (secondary education completed), and high (more than secondary education) educational levels. The effects of the social outburst on pride towards the country and symbols are stronger for individuals with an intermediate educational level.

Although we do not have measurements of other socioeconomic status dimensions, this finding could capture the heterogeneity of the effects according to respondents' position in the social structure. As shown in Figure 6, all the educational groups reduced their pride in the country. This effect is stronger for the intermediate group. Before October 18, individuals that completed secondary education were the group with the highest level of national pride. However, in the aftermath of the shockwave of events, they lowered the pride in the country, reaching the same level as the highly educated population. Likewise, their pride did not recover in the follow-up period as low and high educational levels. These results support hypothesis 3 for a set of moral emotions toward the country.

In contrast, we did not find significant differences when interacting the time period indicators with respondents' age (not reported). Hence, we cannot support hypothesis 4 of effects segmented by age. The effect of the social outburst is rather homogenous across the board in this regard. However, a more robust test of this hypothesis might untangle age and cohort effects, but other types of methods and data are needed. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that age and cohort effects could cancel out each other's considering that both might affect pride in the same direction if it is the case.

[Figure 6 about here]

Conclusions

Chile was the first neoliberal experiment (Harvey, 2007). In recent months, like other countries in the world, it has undergone a wave of widespread street protests calling for structural changes and challenging the "Chilean miracle" (Friedman, 1991). This study uses an interrupted public opinion poll and a complementary follow-up sample to assess the

effect on bystanders' moral emotions of the Chilean social crisis that began in October 2019. Our findings suggest that vertical pride (i.e., pride in the country, its symbols, in Chile as a place to live, and its economic development) was negatively affected by the crisis. The protests' frame resonated in the general population and signaled that the system was not as healthy as thought. As a moral shock, the events of the first week of protests impacted shared pride in the country. Nevertheless, although not to the baseline levels, pride in Chile recovers in the follow-up. Regarding horizontal pride, although the overall pride in Chileans did not change after the first weeks of protests, the specific reciprocal moral emotions between citizens themselves were positively affected. Hence, the social crisis emerges as an opportunity for strengthening collective ties either by sharing sentiments toward who was held responsible for the movement or between Chileans. In the aftermath of October 18, the "moral holidays" (Ray, 2014) of these "unsettled times" (Bail, 2012; Swidler, 1986) rendered bystanders' shame in the country and pride in the fellow citizens. Thus, the movement succeeded in activating the "right" emotion (Kemper, 2001), which could explain its legitimacy, massiveness, and policy outcomes. Namely, a new political constitution. The fact that 78% of electors voted for a new constitution about a year later and the rejection of traditional political parties in the election of constituents are additional strong indicators that people want to redefine the nation in the wake of the 2019 "Chilean Spring."

These findings show that unexpected, loosely organized, and massive social movements could have short-term impacts on bystanders' everyday life. In particular, the Chilean wave of protests had consequences on the moral emotions of the general population. Thus, this is a major contribution to the literature in social movements and

collective action's cultural consequences (Amenta & Polletta, 2019) that have had difficulties isolating its impact from other contemporary developments or the reciprocal effects with people's emotions, beliefs, or attitudes.

Although previous studies have shown that social movements have a causal effect on how new cultural elements emerge and develop (e.g., Isaac, 2009), recent evidence in cultural sociology has suggested that changes in the belief system come through generational turnover (Kiley & Vaisey, 2020; Vaisey & Lizardo, 2016), instead of an active updating with the environment. In the subset of beliefs and attitudes studied by this literature, high-salience topics and attitudes toward institutions show active updating. Moral emotions toward the system and collective identity measured by our items could be considered among such cultural elements (Boutyline & Vaisey, 2017; Tudor, 2003). Nevertheless, our findings cannot confirm that the change in moral emotions will be permanent but do provide strong evidence that the social crisis had a "period effect" on feelings and worldviews. Not only cultural change triggered the outburst (Somma et al., 2020), but the narratives, frameworks, and worldviews of the general population were also affected by the "Chilean Spring." Thus, the protest movement could have provided the basis and tipping point for cultural and social change in the aftermath of a major disruption in contemporary Chilean history. In addition, since emotions are a basis for action (Morgan, 2020; Williamson, 2011), the effects identified could also explain the durability of the movement and its massive scale. Further studies could examine the sustainability of these changes and whether the new constitutional process could institutionalize moral emotions (Goodin, 1996).

We have evaluated the effect on moral emotions, which are more long-standing affective commitments than reflex sentiments or moods (Jasper, 2006, 2011). Moreover, the overall sentiment towards citizens remained stable after the first week of protests, and only particular features of Chileans -energy and work ethic- were impacted by the social outburst. The general sentiment toward being Chilean is more comprehensive and is at a higher level of abstraction. A mainstream framework in value change (Flanagan, 1982; Flanagan & Lee, 2000; Rokeach, 1973) suggests that core beliefs tend to be acquired at an early age and resist change. Thus, we could argue that, in our case, the effect is on more peripheral aspects of the private culture. The moral shock, or at least during the first weeks of protests, was not sufficient to modify this deeper and more enduring emotion.

The limitations of our study are threefold. They are mainly explained because the research design did not originally consider the potential interruption of the poll by the social context. Hence, the opportunities offered by the “accident” are not without constraints. First, we have been cautious in not referring to our estimations as causal. Our design could be said to resemble a natural experiment, and we compare balanced groups before and after the beginning of the social crisis. However, the original survey was not designed to follow individuals across time or contain a larger set of measurements for assessing other characteristics that could unbalance pre- and post-treatment samples. For instance, prosocial behavior increases the willingness to participate in surveys and shapes attitudes and beliefs (Groves et al., 1992). Thus, we were unable to examine whether individuals with higher prosocial behaviors were overrepresented in the first stage of the survey because they are an easier-to-reach population due to their willingness to participate. This potential bias is particularly relevant for the follow-up sample, where interruption was

not exogenous. Second, we cannot disentangle the specific treatment that generated the change in moral emotions or whether they explain it all together. Violations of human rights, media coverage, protests events, President's addresses, among others, could have driven these changes. Therefore, we provide robust evidence of the emotional consequences of the wave of protests without identifying the specific "trigger" of this change. The repression by the police in the aftermath was particularly important among these factors because it generated fear and anger (Somma et al., 2020). As Bail (2012) suggests, these feelings are emotional energy, enabling civil society to achieve resonance in the public sphere and foster cultural change. Third, the public opinion poll was not designed to measure political engagement, and the questionnaire was not modified after the social crisis. Although the Chileans who declared have participated in several or once is a small fraction of the total population (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020), we cannot clearly identify respondents that participated in the protest activities. Instead, our results refer to an effect on the general population, including potential protestors.

The Chilean case illuminates the understanding of other waves of protests and more organized social movements around the world. Regarding climate protests (Bugden, 2020), their effectiveness relies on the effect on sentiments of support for structural changes generated in the public. The Chilean case illustrates that protests could have significant short-term emotional consequences and could lay the foundations for further cultural changes. Hence, a constituent process of two years, the exposure to moral shocks, and months of protests followed by a health emergency could have generated the conditions for culture's acquisition and change in Chile as durable and embodied dispositions. Future

studies might examine whether these effects were momentary or might lead to a more profound cultural transformation.

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Table 1. Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Mean	SD	N	Min	Max
Female	0.49	0.50	1421	0	1
Age	47.48	14.39	1421	17	87
Geographic area					
North	0.12	0.32	1421	0	1
Center	0.17	0.38	1421	0	1
Metropolitan Region	0.44	0.50	1421	0	1
South	0.27	0.47	1421	0	1
Educational level					
Low	0.34	0.47	1421	0	1
Secondary completed	0.20	0.40	1421	0	1
More than secondary	0.46	0.50	1421	0	1
Number of household members					
One	0.08	0.28	1421	0	1
Two	0.20	0.40	1421	0	1
Three	0.25	0.43	1421	0	1
Four or more	0.47	0.50	1421	0	1

Table 2. Balancing test.

VARIABLES	Model 1 Before vs After	Model 2 Before vs Follow-up	Model 3 Follow-up vs Before	Model 4 Follow-up vs After
Female	1.012 (0.146)	0.834 (0.110)	1.199 (0.158)	1.214 (0.157)
Age	0.986** (0.005)	0.998 (0.005)	1.002 (0.005)	0.988* (0.005)
Northern Chile	1.203 (0.282)	0.909 (0.193)	1.100 (0.234)	1.324 (0.283)
Central Chile	1.354 (0.276)	1.084 (0.201)	0.923 (0.171)	1.249 (0.230)
Southern Chile	1.870*** (0.330)	1.058 (0.176)	0.945 (0.157)	1.768*** (0.277)
Low educational level	1.821** (0.366)	1.149 (0.215)	0.870 (0.163)	1.585* (0.291)
High educational level	1.029 (0.199)	1.154 (0.198)	0.867 (0.149)	0.892 (0.160)
Two household members	1.437 (0.431)	1.131 (0.300)	0.885 (0.235)	1.271 (0.344)
Three household members	1.295 (0.378)	1.031 (0.264)	0.970 (0.248)	1.256 (0.335)
Four or more household members	1.148 (0.317)	0.957 (0.231)	1.045 (0.252)	1.200 (0.303)
Constant	1.058 (0.439)	1.603 (0.596)	0.624 (0.232)	0.660 (0.251)
Observations	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; dummies for Metropolitan region, intermediate educational, one-person household level have been omitted as reference categories; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Figure 1. Time-trend of shared moral emotions (means by day).

Note: Daily sample sizes range from 77 (-2) to 243 (48). Days 23 (N=1), 24 (N=28) and 51 (N=48) have been omitted from the plot due to their small sample sizes.

Figure 2. Time-trend of reciprocal moral emotions (means by day).

Note: Daily sample sizes range from 77 (-2) to 243 (48). Days 23 (N=1), 24 (N=28) and 51 (N=48) have been omitted from the plot due to their small sample sizes.

Figure 3. Time-trend of the multinomial variable of features of Chileans (proportion by day).

Note: Daily sample sizes range from 77 (-2) to 243 (48). Days 23 (N=1), 24 (N=28) and 51 (N=48) have been omitted from the plot due to their small sample sizes.

Figure 4. Linear predictions of national pride indicators for different model specifications.

Figure 5. Linear predictions of pride toward Chileans indicators for different model specifications.

Figure 6. Heterogeneity of the effects by educational level.

Note: Interactions from OLS models with periods as 3-category variables, covariates are included. Profile defined as female, resident of the Metropolitan Region and 40 years old.

Table 1S. Main events during data collection.

Month	Day	Event	Source
October	14	The day when everything started	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
October	18	The radicalization of the movement	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	19	Curfew. The army in the street.	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
October	20	President Piñera says "We are at war"	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
October	21	Call for a national agreement	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	22	President apologizes and announced measurements to increase pensions	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	23	General strike	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	24	Michelle Bachelet announces UN mission to Chile	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/24/chile-protests-human-rights-un-investigation
October	25	"The largest march of the history"	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	27	The emergency state ends	https://www.france24.com/es/20191027-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	28	Cabinet of ministers reshuffles	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
October	30	APEC and COP 25 summits are cancelled	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
November	6	President Piñera rules out resignation	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
November	7	Measurements of public security are announced	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
November	8	Gustavo Gatica is shot on his eyes	https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-50601375
November	9	President Piñera is willing to move forward a constitutional reform	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
November	10	Towards a new constitution	https://www.senado.cl/logran-historico-acuerdo-para-nueva-constitucion-participacion/senado/2019-11-14/134609.html
November	11	The mechanism for a new constitution is agreed upon	https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2019-11-11/chile-to-re-write-pinochet-era-constitution-in-win-for-protesters
November	12	General strike/ Church is set on fire	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile
November	13	Central Bank takes measurements to strengthen the Chilean peso	http://www.rfi.fr/es/20191115-cronologia-del-estallido-social-en-chile

November	15	Agreement between government and opposition	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
November	19	Police suspends use of pellets guns	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
November	20	Public sector strike	https://radio.uchile.cl/2019/11/20/crisis-social-paro-del-sector-publico-moviliza-a-16-gremios-a-nivel-nacional/
November	22	Government rejects Amnesty International's report.	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
November	23	The total figure of deaths is 23	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
November	24	Army on the street without emergency state	https://www.dw.com/es/la-cronolog%C3%ADa-del-estallido-social-de-chile/a-51407726
December	4	Senate approved anti-looting law	https://www.cnnchile.com/pais/senado-aprueba-en-general-la-ley-antisaqueos_20191205/
December	5	OAS condemns the disproportionate use of force	https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/prensa/comunicados/2019/317.asp
December	6	Proposal of the constitutional technical commission	https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2019/11/19/967692/Acuerdo-Constitucion-ComisionTecnica.html
December	9	President Piñera announces anti-abuse agenda	https://prensa.presidencia.cl/comunicado.aspx?id=135208

Table 2S. Dependent variables.

Variable	Survey item in Spanish	Translation into English	Variable Type and number of values (in <i>Italics</i>)*
Pride in the country	¿Qué tan orgulloso/a está usted de Chile?	How proud are you of Chile?	Ordinal (7)
Pride in the country's emblem and motto	¿Qué tan orgulloso/a está usted de los siguientes elementos? Nuestro escudo y su lema	How proud are you of the following elements? Our emblem and motto	Ordinal (7)
Pride in the economic development of Chile	¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo está usted con las siguientes afirmaciones respecto a Chile? Chile es un país desarrollado y estable económicamente	Do you agree with the following statement about Chile? Chile is a developed country and economically stable	Ordinal (7)
Pride in Chile as a good place to live	¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo está usted con las siguientes afirmaciones respecto a Chile? Chile es un buen lugar para vivir	Do you agree with the following statement about Chile? Chile is a good place to live	Ordinal (7)
Pride in being Chilean	¿Qué tan orgulloso/a está usted de ser chileno?	How proud are you of being Chilean?	Ordinal (7)
Energy shown by Chileans	¿Qué tan orgulloso/a está usted de los siguientes elementos? De la energía de nuestra gente.	How proud are you of the following elements? Energy shown by Chileans	Ordinal (7)
Chilean work ethic	De las siguientes afirmaciones, ¿Qué es lo principal que le gustaría que pensarán sobre los <u>chilenos</u> en el exterior?	From the following statements, What would you most like people from abroad to think about Chileans?	Nominal (2)

Note: * Nominal and ordinal variables (with number of categories).

Table 3S. Multinomial model for work ethics variable with baseline as reference category.

VARIABLES	Model 1 2 vs 1	Model 2 2 vs 3	Model 3 2 vs 4	Model 4 2 vs 5
Social crisis	0.655 (0.156)	0.506** (0.108)	0.463*** (0.102)	0.386*** (0.090)
Follow-up	0.891 (0.205)	0.834 (0.170)	0.803 (0.168)	0.698 (0.151)
Constant	0.903 (0.167)	1.565** (0.254)	1.403* (0.233)	1.274 (0.216)
Observations	1,409	1,409	1,409	1,409

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; (1) Chileans are happy and welcoming, (2) Chileans are dedicated and hardworking, (3) Chileans take care of their territory and environment, (4) Chileans are serious and responsible, (5) Chileans make high-quality products, and (6) Chile is an economically developed country; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 4S. OLS models without control variables, using the baseline as the reference category.

VARIABLES	(1) PIC	(2) PEDC	(3) PS	(4) PCGL	(5) PBC	(6) ESC	(7) CWE
Social crisis ^a	-0.709*** (0.116)	-0.511*** (0.113)	-0.250 (0.134)	-0.279** (0.098)	-0.117 (0.100)	0.302** (0.103)	0.126*** (0.029)
Follow-up ^a	-0.381*** (0.103)	-0.507*** (0.100)	-0.469*** (0.125)	-0.229** (0.085)	-0.048 (0.090)	0.193* (0.090)	0.037 (0.024)
Constant	5.097*** (0.074)	4.710*** (0.074)	5.687*** (0.092)	5.728*** (0.064)	6.053*** (0.067)	5.270*** (0.068)	0.158*** (0.018)
Observations	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421
R-squared	0.024	0.019	0.009	0.007	0.001	0.006	0.015

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; PIC = Pride in the country, PEDC = Pride in the economic development of Chile, PS = Pride in symbols, PCGL = Pride in Chile as a good place to live, PBC = Pride in being Chilean, ESC = Energy shown by Chileans, CWE = Chilean work ethic. ^aRef. Cat.: baseline. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 5S. OLS models with control variables, using the baseline as the reference category.

VARIABLES	(1) PIC	(2) PEDC	(3) PS	(4) PCGL	(5) PBC	(6) ESC	(7) CWE
Social crisis ^a	-0.667*** (0.115)	-0.580*** (0.111)	-0.319* (0.128)	-0.348*** (0.092)	-0.117 (0.098)	0.271** (0.102)	0.117*** (0.029)
Follow-up ^a	-0.379*** (0.101)	-0.502*** (0.098)	-0.445*** (0.116)	-0.224** (0.080)	-0.031 (0.087)	0.201* (0.089)	0.041 (0.024)
Female	-0.244** (0.089)	-0.044 (0.085)	-0.022 (0.100)	-0.150* (0.069)	-0.132 (0.074)	-0.073 (0.078)	0.045* (0.022)
Age	0.021*** (0.003)	0.012*** (0.003)	0.033*** (0.004)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.020*** (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)
Northern Chile ^b	0.004 (0.142)	-0.081 (0.157)	0.194 (0.166)	0.218 (0.114)	0.050 (0.122)	0.244 (0.125)	0.016 (0.036)
Central Chile ^b	-0.044 (0.129)	-0.072 (0.121)	0.183 (0.139)	0.087 (0.102)	-0.105 (0.107)	0.121 (0.107)	0.003 (0.031)
Southern Chile ^b	0.204 (0.109)	0.248* (0.101)	0.205 (0.121)	0.466*** (0.083)	0.041 (0.087)	0.237* (0.096)	-0.005 (0.027)
Low ^c	-0.217 (0.127)	0.358** (0.127)	0.328* (0.136)	0.230* (0.102)	-0.053 (0.099)	-0.135 (0.112)	0.017 (0.032)
High ^c	-0.033 (0.118)	-0.228 (0.122)	-0.667*** (0.138)	-0.307** (0.097)	-0.415*** (0.098)	-0.305** (0.106)	-0.066* (0.030)
2 hou. members ^d	-0.223 (0.205)	-0.180 (0.175)	0.175 (0.213)	-0.076 (0.137)	0.110 (0.190)	-0.215 (0.169)	-0.055 (0.044)
3 hou. members ^d	0.065 (0.201)	-0.149 (0.170)	0.324 (0.207)	0.087 (0.134)	0.394* (0.184)	0.164 (0.160)	-0.039 (0.044)
4+ hou. members ^d	0.240 (0.192)	0.007 (0.161)	0.477* (0.197)	0.107 (0.127)	0.557** (0.177)	0.067 (0.156)	-0.019 (0.041)
Constant	4.184*** (0.286)	4.185*** (0.265)	3.868*** (0.308)	4.566*** (0.206)	4.968*** (0.252)	5.355*** (0.253)	0.260*** (0.067)
Observations	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421
R-squared	0.065	0.073	0.152	0.144	0.083	0.029	0.030

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; PIC = Pride in the country, PEDC = Pride in the economic development of Chile, PS = Pride in symbols, PCGL = Pride in Chile as a good place to live, PBC = Pride in being Chilean, ESC = Energy shown by Chileans, CWE = Chilean work ethic. ^aRef. Cat.: baseline, ^bRef. Cat.: Metropolitan Region, ^cRef. Cat.: Intermediate educational level, ^dRef. Cat.: single household. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 6S. Weighted OLS models.

VARIABLES	(1) PIC	(2) PEDC	(3) PS	(4) PCGL	(5) PBC	(6) ESC	(7) CWE
Social crisis ^a	-0.679*** (0.117)	-0.530*** (0.114)	-0.252 (0.140)	-0.304** (0.101)	-0.123 (0.102)	0.327** (0.103)	0.118*** (0.029)
Follow-up ^a	0.286* (0.114)	0.053 (0.108)	-0.168 (0.133)	0.104 (0.094)	0.080 (0.096)	-0.102 (0.095)	-0.077** (0.027)
Constant	5.109*** (0.075)	4.681*** (0.076)	5.638*** (0.095)	5.700*** (0.067)	6.048*** (0.069)	5.238*** (0.070)	0.154*** (0.018)
Observations	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421	1,421
R-squared	0.041	0.026	0.004	0.012	0.002	0.012	0.021

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; PIC = Pride in the country, PEDC = Pride in the economic development of Chile, PS = Pride in symbols, PCGL = Pride in Chile as a good place to live, PBC = Pride in being Chilean, ESC = Energy shown by Chileans, CWE = Chilean work ethic; ^aRef. Cat.: baseline. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 7AS. Means and distribution measurements before and after entropy balance for the social crisis as treatment.

	Treat			Control		
	Mean	Variance	Skewness	Mean	Variance	Skewness
Before: Ebalance as the weighting variable						
Female	0.53	0.25	-0.11	0.49	0.25	0.06
Age	46.98	226.00	0.02	48.17	201.70	0.12
Northern Chile	0.12	0.10	2.37	0.12	0.10	2.36
Central Chile	0.18	0.15	1.71	0.17	0.14	1.73
Southern Chile	0.36	0.23	0.59	0.25	0.19	1.18
Low educational level	0.43	0.25	0.27	0.31	0.21	0.82
High educational level	0.39	0.24	0.47	0.49	0.25	0.05
Two household members	0.21	0.17	1.42	0.20	0.16	1.51
Three household members	0.25	0.19	1.13	0.25	0.19	1.18
Four or more household members	0.47	0.25	0.13	0.46	0.25	0.16
After: Ebalance as the weighting variable						
Female	0.53	0.25	-0.11	0.53	0.25	-0.11
Age	46.98	226.00	0.02	46.98	203.10	0.11
Northern Chile	0.12	0.10	2.37	0.12	0.10	2.37
Central Chile	0.18	0.15	1.71	0.18	0.14	1.71
Southern Chile	0.36	0.23	0.59	0.36	0.23	0.59
Low educational level	0.43	0.25	0.27	0.43	0.25	0.27
High educational level	0.39	0.24	0.47	0.39	0.24	0.47
Two household members	0.21	0.17	1.42	0.21	0.17	1.42
Three household members	0.25	0.19	1.13	0.25	0.19	1.13
Four or more household members	0.47	0.25	0.13	0.47	0.25	0.13
Observations		450			1052	

Table 7BS. Means and distribution measurements before and after entropy balance for the follow-up as treatment.

	Treat			Control		
	Mean	Variance	Skewness	Mean	Variance	Skewness
Before: Ebalance as the weighting variable						
Female	0.47	0.25	0.11	0.52	0.25	-0.07
Age	48.18	211.00	0.07	47.55	207.90	0.08
Northern Chile	0.11	0.10	2.42	0.12	0.11	2.32
Central Chile	0.18	0.15	1.69	0.17	0.14	1.75
Southern Chile	0.25	0.19	1.15	0.30	0.21	0.88
Low educational level	0.31	0.22	0.80	0.37	0.23	0.53
High educational level	0.49	0.25	0.03	0.43	0.25	0.27
Two household members	0.20	0.16	1.48	0.20	0.16	1.48
Three household members	0.25	0.19	1.16	0.25	0.19	1.18
Four or more household members	0.46	0.25	0.18	0.47	0.25	0.13
After: Ebalance as the weighting variable						
Female	0.47	0.25	0.11	0.47	0.25	0.11
Age	48.18	211.00	0.07	48.17	207.70	0.07
Northern Chile	0.11	0.10	2.42	0.11	0.10	2.42
Central Chile	0.18	0.15	1.69	0.18	0.15	1.69
Southern Chile	0.25	0.19	1.15	0.25	0.19	1.14
Low educational level	0.31	0.22	0.80	0.31	0.22	0.80
High educational level	0.49	0.25	0.03	0.49	0.25	0.04
Two household members	0.20	0.16	1.48	0.20	0.16	1.48
Three household members	0.25	0.19	1.16	0.25	0.19	1.16
Four or more household members	0.46	0.25	0.18	0.46	0.25	0.18
Observations		637			865	

Table 8S. E-values for effects from weighted models.

	Baseline vs Social Crisis	Social Crisis vs Follow-up
Shared emotions		
Pride in the country	1.774	1.585
Pride in the economic development	2.013	NA
Pride in symbols	1.499	NA
Pride in Chile as a place to live	1.724	NA
Reciprocal emotions		
Pride in being Chilean	NA	NA
Energy shown by Chileans	1.753	NA
Chilean work ethic	1.932	1.650

Note: NA for non-significant coefficients.

Table 9S. Significant interactions between measurement periods and educational level.

VARIABLES	PIC B	PS B
Social crisis ^a	-0.939*** (0.244)	-0.803** (0.290)
Follow-up ^a	-0.819*** (0.214)	-0.891*** (0.233)
Low ^b	-0.520** (0.197)	-0.148 (0.200)
High ^b	-0.371* (0.173)	-1.049*** (0.210)
Social crisis ^a #Low ^b	0.253 (0.315)	0.690* (0.339)
Social crisis ^a #High ^b	0.413 (0.297)	0.545 (0.360)
Follow-up ^a #Low ^b	0.623* (0.287)	0.672* (0.284)
Follow-up ^a #High ^b	0.495 (0.258)	0.486 (0.301)
Constant	4.666*** (0.219)	4.657*** (0.244)
Observations	1,421	1,421
R-squared	0.058	0.149
Controls	YES	YES

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; PIC = Pride in the country, PS = Pride in symbols. ^aRef. Cat.: baseline, ^bRef. Cat.: Intermediate educational level. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.