

ONLINE APPENDIX

Table A1. How much would you say you sympathize with MORENA?

Categories	Percent	Sympathizers only
Very much	6.8	8.3
Much	18.6	22.5
Regular	34.9	42.2
A little	22.1	26.7
Do not know	0.3	0.3
No sympathizer	17.3	--
Total	100	100

Source: Survey conducted by Mendoza, Blanco & Asociados. Question wording: “How much would you say you sympathize with MORENA?” In the survey report, publicly available, cases are expressed after weights (variable: “pesof”), in millions of citizens: sympathizers 72,724,528, and no sympathizers 15,219,960. Intensity of partisanship: very much (“muchísimo”) 6,006,889, much (“mucho”) 16,369,669, regular (“regular”) 30,676,209, a little (“poco”) 19,433,414, and Do not know (“no sabe”) 238,347.

Table A2. Full Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Responses	Plain	Percent	Weighted	Percent
Feelings toward Covid19	Worst Is Over	562	35	611	38
	Worst to Come	770	48	715	45
	Not So Bad	156	10	164	10
	DK/DR	114	7	112	7
Worried about Contagion	Not at all	154	10	273	17
	A little	236	15	458	29
	Regular	440	27	470	29

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Variable	Responses	Plain	Percent	Weighted	Percent
	Much	473	30	247	15
	Very much	297	19	153	10
	DK/DR	2	0	1	0.1
Partisan	Militant	275	17	322	20
	Sympathizer	1327	83	1280	80
Know Someone Sick	0	682	43	748	47
	1 to 3	429	27	422	26
	4 to 6	203	13	181	11
	7 to 10	109	7	91	6
	11 or +	106	7	93	6
	DK/DR	73	5	66	4
Indebted	Debt	530	33	1064	66
	No Debt	1057	66	525	33
	DK/DR	15	1	13	1
Sex	Female	1027	64	824	51
	Male	575	36	778	49
Age	18 to 24	152	9	203	13
	25 to 34	303	19	345	22
	35 to 44	318	20	315	20
	45 to 54	302	19	281	18
	55 to 64	230	14	215	13
	65 +	297	19	243	15
Education	No Studies	82	5	79	5
	Elementary	432	27	397	25
	Secondary	457	29	471	29

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Variable	Responses	Plain	Percent	Weighted	Percent
	High School	404	25	430	27
	College +	227	14	225	14
Locality	Urban	1112	69	1070	67
	Rural	490	31	531	33
Region	Northwest	162	10	219	14
	Northeast	136	8	174	11
	West_Central	497	31	419	26
	South	374	23	448	28
	Central	433	27	342	21

Source: Survey conducted by Mendoza Blanco & Asociados, nationally representative sample of 1,602 Mexican citizens, unweighted sample for comparison, in all calculations the weighted sample was used.

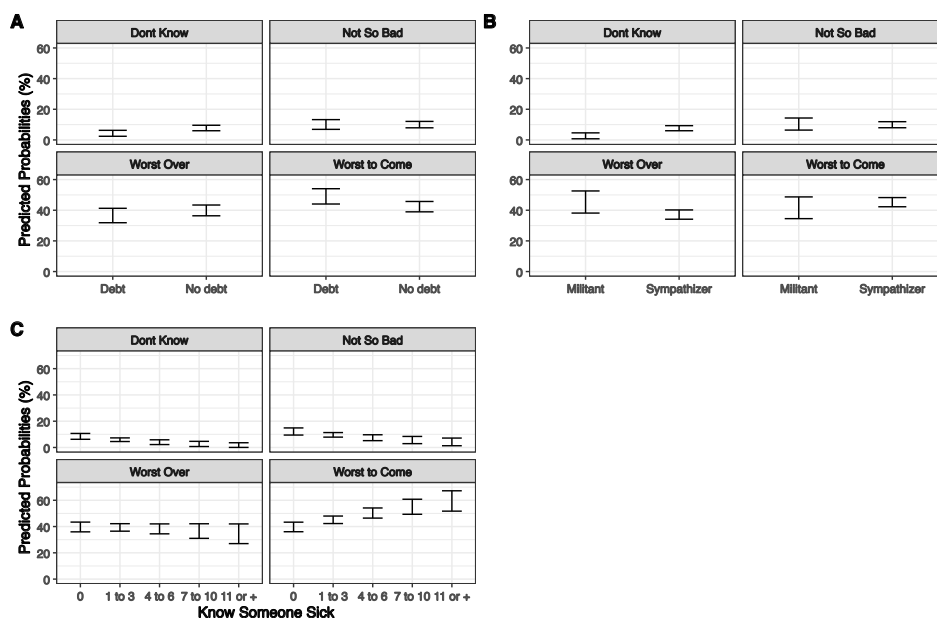
Table A3. Feelings toward Covid19

	Worst Over			Worst to Come			Not So Bad		
	Coef.	Std. Err.		Coef.	Std. Err.		Coef.	Std. Err.	
Militant	1.29	0.42	***	0.99	0.42	**	1.13	0.47	**
Know Someone Sick	0.36	0.16	**	0.50	0.16	***	0.13	0.18	
Debt	0.52	0.29	*	0.77	0.29	***	0.62	0.35	*
Female	-0.70	0.27	***	-0.41	0.27		-0.88	0.31	***
Age	-0.13	0.08		-0.01	0.08		-0.09	0.10	
Education	0.25	0.15	*	0.31	0.14	**	0.12	0.17	
Urban	-0.04	0.27		-0.07	0.27		0.13	0.33	
Northwest	-0.06	0.39		-0.82	0.40	**	-1.21	0.57	**
Northeast	1.19	0.60	**	0.23	0.61		1.34	0.67	**
West Central	-0.52	0.35		-0.41	0.33		-0.02	0.41	
South	0.21	0.39		0.34	0.38		0.27	0.47	
Constant	0.99	0.73		0.24	0.71		0.20	0.88	
Respondents	1517								
McFadden R2	0.06								
Log Likelihood	-1628.9								

Source: Authors' estimations. Multinomial logistic model, dependent variable: feelings toward covid19, reference category: "do not know", robust corrected standard errors. Statistical significance: * 0.1, ** 0.05. Interaction terms between militant and knowing someone sick, and militant and going into debt were statistically insignificant (not shown here but available in Table A9).

Notes: Question wording: "¿Cuál de las siguientes opciones describe mejor sus sentimientos sobre el coronavirus en México?" Response categories: (1) worst over ("lo peor ya pasó"), (2) worst to come ("lo peor está por venir"), (3) not so bad ("no es probable que el coronavirus sea un problema tan grave"), (99) do not know ("no sabe").

Graph A4. Predicted Probabilities of Feelings toward Covid-19



Source: Table A3. Panel A: effects of going into debt. Panel B: effects of type of partisan. Panel C: knowing someone sick.

Table A5. Worried about Contagion

	Plain	Know someone	Debt	Full interactive
Militant	0.06	0.72 ***	-0.08	0.58 ***
	0.15	0.28	0.17	0.29
Know Someone Sick	0.14 ***	0.22 ***	0.14 ***	0.22 ***
	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Debt	0.53 ***	0.50 ***	0.45 ***	0.42 ***
	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12
Militant X Know		-0.35 ***		-0.35 ***
		0.12		0.12
Militant X Debt			0.38	0.39

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	Plain		Know someone		Debt		Full interactive	
					0.34		0.32	
Female	0.21	*	0.21	*	0.21	*	0.21	*
	0.11		0.11		0.11		0.11	
Age	0.05		0.06		0.05		0.06	
	0.04		0.04		0.04		0.04	
Education	0.02		0.02		0.02		0.02	
	0.06		0.06		0.06		0.06	
Urban	0.29	**	0.31	***	0.29	***	0.31	***
	0.12		0.12		0.12		0.12	
Northwest	-0.15		-0.14		-0.16		-0.16	
	0.19		0.19		0.19		0.19	
Northeast	0.33		0.31		0.32		0.30	
	0.22		0.22		0.22		0.22	
West Central	-0.26	**	-0.27	**	-0.27	**	-0.27	**
	0.13		0.13		0.13		0.13	
South	0.14		0.17		0.14		0.17	
	0.15		0.15		0.15		0.15	
Constant 1	-1.42	***	-1.26	***	-1.43	***	-1.27	***
	0.33		0.33		0.33		0.33	
Constant 2	-0.22		-0.05		-0.23		-0.07	
	0.32		0.33		0.32		0.33	
Constant 3	1.12	***	1.29	***	1.11	***	1.28	***
	0.32		0.33		0.32		0.33	
Constant 4	2.58	***	2.76	***	2.57	***	2.75	***
	0.33		0.34		0.33		0.34	

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	Plain	Know someone	Debt	Full interactive
Respondents	1515	1515	1515	1515
McFadden R2	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Log Likelihood	-2267.7	-2260.8	-2266.5	-2259.5

Source: Authors' estimations. Ordinal logistic models, dependent variable: worried about contagion, robust corrected standard errors. Statistical significance: * 0.1, ** 0.05.

Notes: Question wording: "¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de ser contagiado con el coronavirus?" Recoded response categories (reversed): "(1) not at all ("nada"), (2) a little ("poco"), (3) regular ("regular"), (4) much ("mucho"), (5) very much ("muchísimo"), (99) do not know ("no sabe"). Do not know was recoded as NA.

Table A6. Original Question Wordings and Codes

Partisan

Militant (question 7)

¿Es usted militante de MORENA, es decir, se encuentra registrado en el partido?

Original

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 2 No, *no*

Recode

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 0 No, *no*

Sympathizer (question 9)

¿Usted simpatiza con MORENA?

Original

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 2 No, *no*

Recode

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 0 No, *no*

Education (question 10)

¿Hasta qué año estudió usted?

Original

- 1 Sin estudios, *no studies at all*
- 2 Primaria, *elementary school*
- 3 Secundaria, *secondary school*
- 4 Preparatoria, *high school*

- 5 Carrera comercial / técnica, *technical school*
- 6 Normal, *education degree*
- 7 Universidad, *college*
- 8 Maestría o doctorado, *graduate school*
- 9 Otro, *other*
- 99 NS / NR, DK / DR

Recode

- 1 Sin estudios, *no studies at all*
- 2 Primaria, *elementary school*
- 3 Secundaria, *secondary school*
- 4 Preparatoria, Carrera comercial / técnica, Normal, *technical or education degree*
- 5 Universidad, Maestría o Doctorado, *college or graduate school*
- NA Otro, NS / NR, *Other, DK / DR*

Sex (question Género)

Género del seleccionado

Original

- 1 Hombre, *man*
- 2 Mujer, *woman*

Recode

- 0 Hombre, *man*
- 1 Mujer, *woman*

Age (question Edad)

Edad del seleccionado

Original

Age in years (from 18 to 90)

Recode

- 1 18 to 24
- 2 25 to 34
- 3 35 to 44
- 4 45 to 54
- 5 55 to 64
- 6 65 +

Locality (question Estrato)

Original

- 1 Rural
- 2 Mixed
- 3 Urban

Recode

- 0 Rural, Mixed
- 1 Urban

Feelings toward Covid19 (question Covid1)

¿Cuál de las siguientes opciones describe mejor sus sentimientos sobre el Coronavirus en México?

Original (no recode was required)

- 1 Lo peor ya pasó, *worst is over*
- 2 Lo peor está por venir, *worst to come*
- 3 No es probable que el Coronavirus sea un problema tan grave, *not so bad*
- 99 No sabe, *DK*

Know Someone Sick (question Covid2)

¿A cuánta gente cercana conoce que haya estado o que esté enferma de coronavirus?

Original

- 1 No conozco a nadie enfermo de coronavirus, *nobody*
- 2 1 to 3
- 3 4 to 6
- 4 7 to 10
- 5 10 or more
- 99 No sabe / no responde, *DK / DR*

Recode

- 1 No conozco a nadie enfermo de coronavirus, *nobody*
- 2 1 to 3
- 3 4 to 6
- 4 7 to 10
- 5 10 or more
- NA No sabe / no responde, *DK / DR*

Indebted (question Covid3)

¿En su hogar se han endeudado para enfrentar la contingencia por el Coronavirus?

Original

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 2 No, *no*
- 99 No sabe, *DK*

Recode

- 1 Sí, *yes*
- 2 No, *no*
- NA No sabe, *DK*

Worried about contagion (question Covid4)

¿Qué tan preocupado está usted de ser contagiado con el Coronavirus?

Original

- 1 Muchísimo, *very much*
- 2 Mucho, *much*
- 3 Regular, *regular*
- 4 Poco, *a little*
- 5 Nada, *not at all*
- 99 NS/NR, DK / DR

Recode

- 5 Muchísimo, *very much*
- 4 Mucho, *much*
- 3 Regular, *regular*
- 2 Poco, *a little*
- 1 Nada, *not at all*
- NA NS/NR, DK / DR

Table A7. Correlations, Principal Components, and Cronbach's Alpha among Covid-19 Variables

Correlations	Feelings toward Covid19	Indebted	Know Someone Sick	Worried about Contagion
Feelings toward Covid19	1			
Indebted	0.07	1		
Know Someone Sick	0.09	0.13	1	
Worried about Contagion	0.12	0.15	0.18	1

Source: Authors' estimations. All correlations are significant at the 95 percent, 1518 observations.

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Principal components	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4
Feelings toward Covid19	0.38	0.88	0.27	-0.14
Indebted	0.49	-0.46	0.68	-0.28
Know Someone Sick	-0.54	0.11	0.67	0.51
Worried about Contagion	0.58	-0.08	-0.13	0.80
Variance proportion	0.34	0.24	0.22	0.20
Cumulative	0.34	0.58	0.80	1

Source: Authors' estimations. Principal components (unrotated), 1516 observations.

Cronbach's alpha

Average inter-item covariance: 1.25
 Number of items in the scale: 4
 Scale reliability coefficient: 0.0307

- Excluding worried about contagion

Average inter-item covariance: 1.21
 Number of items in the scale: 3
 Scale reliability coefficient: 0.0168

Source: Authors' estimations. 1516 observations.

A8. Discussion of Results: Demographic Variables

Female co-partisans are more likely to perceive greater COVID-19 risk relative to their male counterparts, regardless of measurement strategy. This is in line with existing risk perception research showing that women perceive greater levels of risk than men (see Gustafsson (1998) and Hitchcock (2001) for a review). We find a limited role for education in that those who are more educated are more likely to think that the worst of the pandemic is “yet to come,” relative to their less educated co-partisans. This is the only instance in which education levels matter in our sample. Existing research on the degree to which education factors into risk perceptions is similarly mixed and typically pales in comparison to other covariates, including political ideology and partisan identity (see for example Wachinger et al. (2013), p. 1051 and Sjoberg (2000), p. 7). While some have found significant differences between education levels and knowledge about COVID-19, that knowledge is not necessarily transmitted into risk perceptions in the expected way. Clements (2020), for example, finds that those with some college education

are more knowledgeable about COVID-19, but are also more likely to have attended large social gatherings despite COVID-19 risks, when compared to those with a high school education. Dryhurst et. al (2020), meanwhile report no significant relationship between education level and COVID-19 risk perception in their cross-national study of Australia, Germany, Spain, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Sweden, the UK, and the US.

Age is never a significant factor in perception of COVID-19 risk in our sample. This mirrors the existing literature, in which the relationship between age and risk perceptions is unclear. As Wachinger et al. (2013) observe, age frequently appears to have no influence on risk perception at all (p. 1051). Similar inconsistencies are reported in research on COVID-19. In China, Chan et al. (2020) find that, compared to those 65 years and older, younger generations expressed greater anxiety about catching COVID-19. In the US context, meanwhile, Pedersen and Favero (2020) suggest that older generations are more concerned about COVID-19 relative to younger generations (p. 809). Cross-national findings follow a similar pattern, showing that the relationship between age and COVID-19 risk perception varies in significance based on country, often bearing no significance at all (Dryhurst et al., 2020). The reasons for this divergence are unclear but may be related to other factors correlated with age, such as variation in media exposure (Pederson & Favero, 2020), health literacy, education, trust in science, or as our findings suggest, prior personal experience with COVID-19.

Finally, our analysis revealed subnational variation in regional perceptions of COVID-19 risk. Research about the effects of politics on COVID-19 has focused on cross-national variation. However, scholars have identified some subnational trends regarding the pandemic's multifaceted effects, including on income, nutrition, and mental health, and shown that the pandemic took a particularly heavy toll on urban spaces in Mexico (López & Parás, 2020; Gaitán-Rossi et al., 2021). While we did not find a significant relationship between living in urban spaces and attitudes about the pandemic's severity, we do find a positive association between living in an urban space and perceptions of one's personal risk of contagion. This is logically consistent with the aforementioned research showing that urban dwellers are likely at greater risk than those living in rural spaces.

According to our estimations, there is also a regional divide in risk perceptions between the North and the rest of the country, in which MORENA allies living in the former are less concerned about COVID-19 than those living in any other region. We believe this divide is explained by the geographical trajectory of the pandemic in Mexico and the timing of the survey. While COVID-19 infections first began in the North during the first quarter of 2020, they started to diminish there by autumn, as documented by excess death rates reported by the Financial Times (Webber & Burn-Murdoch, 2021) and the Ministry of Health (Palacio-Mejía et al., 2021, p. 219). By the time the survey was conducted in September

2020, infections were most severe in the Central region (our reference category), namely Mexico City, and the State of Mexico (Ministry of Health, 2020). Overall, our results suggest that personal experience with COVID-19 risk is a powerful and reliable predictor of risk perception among co-partisans, even in the presence of other potentially relevant variables, including strength of partisan affiliation and demographic factors known to shape other forms of political attitudes, like gender, age, and education.

Table A9. Feelings toward Covid-19 (Plain and Interactive Models)

	Worst Over			Worst to Come			Not So Bad				
	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	
Militant	1.292** (0.422)	1.612* (0.736)	1.227* (0.509)	0.994* (0.424)	1.447 (0.740)	1.003* (0.508)	1.456 (0.812)	1.127* (0.467)	1.007 (0.818)	1.100* (0.557)	0.986 (0.894)
Know Someone Sick	0.360* (0.160)	0.381* (0.173)	0.361* (0.160)	0.502** (0.157)	0.539** (0.170)	0.502** (0.158)	0.539** (0.170)	0.131 (0.185)	0.0713 (0.212)	0.131 (0.185)	0.0716 (0.212)
Debt	0.521 (0.294)	0.514 (0.294)	0.485 (0.315)	0.768** (0.291)	0.758** (0.292)	0.777* (0.310)	0.768* (0.311)	0.616 (0.347)	0.633 (0.348)	0.607 (0.376)	0.627 (0.378)
Militant X Know		-0.22 (0.345)			-0.284 (0.345)		-0.283 (0.347)		0.0478 (0.381)		0.0479 (0.383)
Militant X Debt			0.2 (0.837)		0.004 (0.840)		-0.011 (0.837)		0.0944 (0.942)		0.0740 (0.940)
Female	-0.702** (0.270)	-0.701** (0.270)	-0.702** (0.269)	-0.409 (0.269)	-0.41 (0.269)	-0.408 (0.268)	-0.409 (0.269)	-0.881** (0.315)	-0.879** (0.315)	-0.881** (0.315)	-0.879** (0.315)
Age	-0.129 (0.0826)	-0.128 (0.0827)	-0.129 (0.0826)	-0.0129 (0.0808)	-0.0122 (0.0810)	-0.013 (0.0809)	-0.0123 (0.0810)	-0.0862 (0.0987)	-0.0873 (0.0987)	-0.0863 (0.0986)	-0.0875 (0.0986)
Education	0.245 (0.149)	0.245 (0.149)	0.246 (0.148)	0.307* (0.144)	0.306* (0.144)	0.307* (0.144)	0.306* (0.144)	0.125 (0.172)	0.125 (0.172)	0.124 (0.172)	0.124 (0.172)

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	Worst Over			Worst to Come			Not So Bad					
	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3	Plain	Inter 1	Inter 2	Inter 3
Urban	-0.0441 (0.270)	-0.0437 (0.270)	-0.0446 (0.270)	-0.0442 (0.270)	-0.0667 (0.266)	-0.0624 (0.266)	-0.0666 (0.265)	-0.0622 (0.266)	0.134 (0.330)	0.127 (0.330)	0.135 (0.330)	0.128 (0.330)
Northwest	-0.0637 (0.388)	-0.0633 (0.389)	-0.0675 (0.389)	-0.0668 (0.389)	-0.816* (0.396)	-0.817* (0.397)	-0.814* (0.397)	-0.815* (0.397)	-1.215* (0.571)	-1.213* (0.571)	-1.215* (0.572)	-1.214* (0.572)
Northeast	1.190* (0.596)	1.180* (0.596)	1.184* (0.598)	1.175* (0.597)	0.225 (0.609)	0.209 (0.609)	0.224 (0.611)	0.209 (0.611)	1.344* (0.668)	1.366* (0.668)	1.343* (0.671)	1.364* (0.670)
West Central	-0.524 (0.350)	-0.528 (0.349)	-0.525 (0.350)	-0.528 (0.349)	-0.407 (0.335)	-0.414 (0.335)	-0.407 (0.335)	-0.413 (0.335)	-0.0238 (0.410)	-0.0196 (0.410)	-0.0235 (0.410)	-0.0193 (0.410)
South	0.21 (0.390)	0.216 (0.391)	0.211 (0.389)	0.216 (0.390)	0.337 (0.378)	0.345 (0.380)	0.337 (0.378)	0.345 (0.379)	0.27 (0.469)	0.268 (0.470)	0.27 (0.469)	0.269 (0.470)
Constant	0.986 (0.732)	0.953 (0.743)	0.992 (0.733)	0.958 (0.745)	0.237 (0.707)	0.175 (0.718)	0.232 (0.708)	0.171 (0.719)	0.197 (0.878)	0.297 (0.894)	0.2 (0.879)	0.299 (0.894)
Respondents	1517	1517	1517	1517								
McFadden R2	0.057	0.058	0.057	0.058								
Log Likelihood	-1628.9	-1627.4	-1628.7	-1627.2								

Source: Authors' estimations. Multinomial logistic model, dependent variable: feelings toward covid19, reference category: "do not know", robust corrected standard errors. Statistical significance: * 0.1, ** 0.05.

