**VIII. On-Line Appendices**

**Appendix A**

Table A1: Summary Statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **N** | **Mean** | **S.D.** | **Min** | **Max** |
| Grievance | 1042 | 64.94 | 8.53 | 40.97 | 87.40 |
| Polarization | 1042 | 53.85 | 6.26 | 36.36 | 84.87 |
| Protest | 1226 | 0.42 | 1.26 | 0.00 | 22.00 |
| Gini  | 1105 | 35.22 | 9.79 | 18.94 | 67.40 |
| Ln GDP/cap | 1236 | 9.26 | 1.03 | 5.70 | 10.85 |
| Growth | 1272 | 2.80 | 4.79 | -44.90 | 18.29 |
| Ln Inflation | 1272 | 1.71 | 1.31 | 0.00 | 9.64 |
| Legislative Election | 1264 | 0.27 | 0.45 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Executive Election | 1265 | 0.13 | 0.34 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Polity2 | 1297 | 8.51 | 1.98 | 0.00 | 10.00 |
| Regime Durability | 1297 | 30.98 | 34.30 | 0.00 | 202.00 |
| Political Terror | 1241 | 1.97 | 1.01 | 1.00 | 5.00 |
| Urbanicity | 1287 | 65.94 | 16.63 | 7.25 | 97.49 |
| Ln Population | 1287 | 16.35 | 1.31 | 12.80 | 20.81 |
| Presidential System | 1297 | 0.41 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Ethnic Fractionalization | 1297 | 0.33 | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.93 |
| Time Trend | 1297 | -0.18 | 9.12 | -33.00 | 11.00 |

Table A2: Table of Correlations

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Protest | Polarization | Grievance |
| Protest  |  | 0.0906\*\* | 0.0668\* |
| Polarization | 0.0906\*\* |  | 0.182\*\*\* |
| Grievance | 0.0668\* | 0.182\*\*\* |  |
| GINI | 0.0221 | 0.404\*\*\* | 0.286\*\*\* |
| GDP/cap | 0.00676 | -0.506\*\*\* | -0.351\*\*\* |
| Growth | -0.107\*\*\* | -0.0242 | -0.189\*\*\* |
| Ln Inflation | 0.0616\* | 0.233\*\*\* | 0.365\*\*\* |
| Legislative Election | -0.0138 | -0.0853\*\* | -0.138\*\*\* |
| Executive Election | 0.0208 | 0.0579 | 0.0616\* |
| Polity | -0.0375 | -0.329\*\*\* | -0.312\*\*\* |
| Reg. Durability | 0.0316 | -0.192\*\*\* | -0.468\*\*\* |
| Political Terror | 0.0517 | 0.318\*\*\* | 0.346\*\*\* |
| Urbanicity | 0.0678\* | -0.346\*\*\* | -0.160\*\*\* |
| Ln Population | 0.187\*\*\* | -0.0165 | 0.107\*\*\* |
| Presidential | -0.0162 | 0.245\*\*\* | 0.225\*\*\* |
| Ethnic Fractionalization | -0.0386 | 0.253\*\*\* | 0.193\*\*\* |

Table A3: Alternative Representation of the Relationship Between

Grievance and Polarization

**Polarization**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **High** | **Low** |
| **High** | Exclusive Systems | Oligarchic Systems |
| **Low** | Majoritarian Systems | Inclusive Systems |

**Grievance**

**Appendix B**

Table B1: Countries and Years Represented in Data

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Year** |
| AlbaniaArgentinaArmenia AustraliaAustriaAzerbaijanBangladeshBelarusBelgium BeninBoliviaBotswanaBrazilBulgariaBurkina FasoCanadaCape VerdeChileColombiaCosta RicaCroatiaCyprusCzech RepublicDenmarkDominican RepublicEcuadorEl Salvador EstoniaFinlandFranceGeorgiaGermanyGhanaGreeceGuatemalaHondurasHungaryIndonesiaIranIrelandIsraelItalyJapanKenyaKoreaLatviaLesothoLithuaniaLuxembourgMacedoniaMadagascarMexicoModovaMongoliaMozanbiqueNamibiaNetherlandsNew ZelandNicaraguaNigeriaNorwayPanamaParaguayPeruPhilipinesPolandPortugalRomaniaRussiaSenegalSlovakiaSloveniaSouth AfricaSpainSwedenSwitzerlandTaiwanTanzaniaThailandTurkeyUgandaUkraineUnited KingdomUnited StatesUruguayVenezuelaZambiaZimbabwe | 1192-1996, 2002, 2005, 20081995-20121992-1997, 20081996, 2004, 20071995-20121997, 200820021992-1996, 2000, 2004, 20081973-20122005, 20081996-20121999, 2003, 2005, 20081995-2010, 20121992-201220081997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 20122002, 2005, 20081995-20121996-20121996-1998, 2000-20121995-1999, 2005-20102002-20121992-20121973-20122004-20121996-2010, 20121996-2010, 20121992-1997, 1999, 2001-20121993-20121973, 1976-20121992, 1994-1996, 20081973, 1976-20121999, 2002, 2005, 20081980-20121996-2010, 20121996-2010, 20121992-20122001, 20062000, 20071973, 1976-20121996, 2003, 20061973, 1976-20121996, 2000, 2003, 2004, 20072003, 2005, 20082000-20081992-1999, 2001-20122000, 2003, 2005, 20081992-20121973, 1976-20121992-1996, 2001, 2007-20102005, 20081995-20121992, 1996, 2002, 20082003, 20062002, 2005, 20081999, 2003, 2005, 20081973, 1976-20121996, 2002, 20081996-20122000, 2003, 2005, 20081990-1997, 2001-20051996-2010, 20121995-1998, 2000-2010, 20121995-1998, 2000-20122001-2005, 20101992-1997, 1999, 2001-20121985-20121992-1997, 1999, 2001-20121992-1996, 1999-2000, 2004, 20082002, 2005, 20081993-1997, 1999, 2001-20121992-1997, 1999, 2001-20122000, 2001-2002, 2006, 2008, 20091985-20121995, 1997-20121999, 2003, 2007, 20081996, 2001, 2004, 2006, 20082001, 2003, 2005, 20082001, 2002, 2006, 20072001-20112000-2002, 2005, 20081992-1996, 1998-2000, 2004, 20081973, 1976-20121996, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 20121995-1998, 2000-2010, 20121995-1998, 2000-20121999, 2003, 2005, 20091999, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2009 |

**Appendix C**

Table C1: Count Models of violent and non-violent protest

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model Specification 1** | **Model Specification 2** | **Model Specification 3** |
|  | **Without Country RE** | **With Country RE** | **Without Country RE** | **With Country RE** | **Without Country RE** | **With Country RE** |
| Protest (*t-1*) | 0.236\*\*\*(0.071) | 0.136\*\*\*(0.050) | 0.220\*\*\*(0.068) | 0.141\*\*\*(0.048) | 0.206\*\*\*(0.066) | 0.140\*\*\*(0.048) |
| Polarization (*t-1*) |  |  | 0.056\*\*(0.024) | 0.044\*\*(0.021) | 0.049\*\*(0.021) | 0.043\*\*(0.021) |
| Grievance (*t-1*) |  |  | 0.001(0.013) | 0.000(0.016) | 0.007(0.014) | 0.008(0.016) |
| Grievance\*Polarization (*t-1*) |  |  |  |  | -0.005\*\*(0.002) | -0.004\*(0.002) |
| GINI (*t-1*) | 0.062\*\*\*(0.023) | 0.044\*(0.024) | 0.049\*(0.025) | 0.037(0.024) | 0.049\*(0.025) | 0.036(0.024) |
| GINI^2 (*t-1*) | -0.001(0.001) | -0.001(0.002) | -0.000(0.002) | -0.001(0.001) | 0.000(0.002) | -0.001(0.001) |
| GDP/cap (*t-1*) | -0.167(0.313) | -0.108(0.345) | -0.164(0.299) | -0.055(0.336) | -0.249(0.301) | -0.111(0.330) |
| Growth (*t-1*) | -0.016(0.021) | -0.025(0.025) | -0.011(0.022) | -0.020(0.026) | -0.025(0.021) | -0.027(0.026) |
| Ln Inflation (*t-1*) | -0.065(0.114) | -0.080(0.117) | -0.078(0.120) | -0.076(0.117) | -0.092(0.121) | -0.086(0.116) |
| Legislative Election (*t-1*) | 0.275(0.333) | 0.199(0.231) | 0.206(0.290) | 0.180(0.230) | 0.230(0.288) | 0.199(0.230) |
| Executive Election (*t-1*) | 0.230(0.376) | 0.120(0.337) | 0.147(0.369) | 0.070(0.335) | 0.132(0.360) | 0.048(0.332) |
| Polity (*t-1*) | -0.228\*\*(0.106) | -0.174\*\*(0.087) | -0.195\*\*(0.099) | -0.163\*(0.086) | -0.141(0.096) | -0.137(0.085) |
| Reg. Durability (*t-1*) | 0.002(0.005) | -0.005(0.006) | 0.001(0.005) | -0.006(0.007) | 0.001(0.004) | -0.004(0.006) |
| Political Terror (*t-1*) | -0.065(0.135) | -0.011(0.167) | -0.167(0.133) | -0.061(0.166) | -0.122(0.128) | -0.049(0.164) |
| Urbanicity (*t-1*) | 0.021\*(0.012) | 0.025\*(0.015) | 0.022\*(0.011) | 0.025\*(0.014) | 0.024\*\*(0.011) | 0.026\*(0.014) |
| Ln Population (*t-1*) | 0.348\*\*\*(0.102) | 0.351\*\*\*(0.124) | 0.415\*\*\*(0.102) | 0.395\*\*\*(0.122) | 0.426\*\*\*(0.102) | 0.415\*\*\*(0.120) |
| Presidential | -1.206\*\*\*(0.460) | -0.854\*(0.500) | -1.045\*\*(0.520) | -0.787(0.486) | -1.052\*\*(0.523) | -0.788\*(0.477) |
| Ethnic Fractionalization | -0.210(0.664) | -0.107(0.863) | -0.128(0.703) | -0.125(0.830) | -0.421(0.708) | -0.299(0.816) |
| Time trend | -0.049\*\*\*(0.018) | -0.049\*\*\*(0.016) | -0.032\*(0.019) | -0.038\*\*(0.017) | -0.031\*(0.019) | -0.037\*\*(0.017) |
| Constant | -0.008(0.373) | -0.673(0.465) | -0.327(0.351) | -0.767\*(0.446) | -0.314(0.360) | -0.724\*(0.436) |
| lnalpha |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 1.511\*\*\*(0.171) | 1.189\*\*\*(0.141) | 1.454\*\*\*(0.169) | 1.178\*\*\*(0.142) | 1.423\*\*\*(0.168) | 1.172\*\*\*(0.143) |
| var(cons[Country]) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant |  | 0.644\*\*(0.272) |  | 0.554\*\*(0.250) |  | 0.499\*\*(0.239) |
| N | 872 | 872 | 872 | 872 | 872 | 872 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C2: Count Models with Random Effects and Without Time Trend, Post-1992

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Protest(t-1) | 0.393\*\*\*(0.080) | 0.398\*\*\*(0.088) | 0.381\*\*\*(0.088) |
| GINI | 0.060\*\*\*(0.022) |  | -0.016(0.085) |
| GINI^2 | -0.002(0.001) |  | 0.001(0.001) |
| Polarization |  | 0.050\*\*\*(0.019) | 0.052\*\*\*(0.020) |
| Grievance |  | 0.016(0.015) | 0.015(0.016) |
| Polarization\*Grievance  |  |  | -0.005\*\*(0.002) |
| GDP/cap | -0.077(0.306) | -0.219(0.295) | -0.302(0.306) |
| Growth | -0.029(0.020) | -0.013(0.024) | -0.035(0.025) |
| Logged Inflation | -0.047(0.089) | -0.141(0.099) | -0.185\*(0.101) |
| Legislative Elections | 0.080(0.221) | 0.054(0.245) | 0.064(0.249) |
| Executive Elections | 0.203(0.280) | 0.195(0.303) | 0.284(0.310) |
| Polity | -0.166\*\*(0.065) | -0.190\*\*\*(0.071) | -0.170\*\*(0.075) |
| Regime Durability | -0.005(0.006) | -0.002(0.006) | -0.000(0.006) |
| Regime Terror | -0.147(0.144) | -0.104(0.146) | -0.043(0.151) |
| Urbanicity | 0.025\*(0.013) | 0.027\*\*(0.013) | 0.027\*\*(0.013) |
| Ln Population | 0.271\*\*(0.114) | 0.359\*\*\*(0.113) | 0.324\*\*\*(0.113) |
| Presidential Sys. | -0.869\*\*(0.415) | -0.427(0.371) | -0.738\*(0.436) |
| Ethnic Frac. | 0.012(0.725) | -0.173(0.677) | -0.541(0.730) |
| Constant | -1.163\*\*\*(0.410) | -1.508\*\*\*(0.348) | -1.861(1.601) |
| Ln Alpha | 0.307(0.224) | 0.489\*\*(0.233) | 0.440\*(0.252) |
| *Random Effects* |  |  |  |
| Country  | 0.634\*\*(0.248) | 0.382\*(0.207) | 0.280(0.191) |
| N | 913 | 783 | 703 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C3: Policy-Oriented Protests in Democracies and Autocracies

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Polity Score | Stated goals of the campaign event  |
| Regime Change | Institutional Reform | Policy Change | Territorial Secession | Greater Autonomy | Anti-Occupation | Unknown | Total |
| -10 | 0.79 | 77.78 | 9.52 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 11.90 | 100.00 |
| -9 | 64.77 | 6.84 | 4.86 | 0.53 | 0.48 | 0.09 | 22.44 | 100.00 |
| -8 | 29.84 | 30.24 | 15.32 | 9.27 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 15.32 | 100.00 |
| -7 | 27.78 | 11.13 | 24.02 | 12.12 | 10.12 | 0.11 | 14.72 | 100.00 |
| -6 | 24.38 | 2.48 | 42.78 | 11.89 | 0.03 | 0.25 | 18.18 | 100.00 |
| -5 | 7.54 | 8.71 | 46.29 | 0.37 | 1.72 | 0.18 | 35.19 | 100.00 |
| -4 | 22.75 | 10.01 | 31.74 | 11.49 | 2.96 | 0.57 | 20.48 | 100.00 |
| -3 | 32.44 | 11.30 | 23.83 | 0.03 | 5.54 | 0.03 | 26.85 | 100.00 |
| -2 | 25.64 | 13.06 | 22.65 | 12.25 | 8.48 | 0.12 | 17.80 | 100.00 |
| -1 | 0.67 | 46.00 | 35.33 | 2.67 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 15.33 | 100.00 |
| 0 | 73.19 | 4.82 | 5.66 | 0.05 | 0.84 | 0.14 | 15.30 | 100.00 |
| 2 | 39.32 | 5.44 | 30.17 | 0.00 | 1.53 | 0.07 | 23.47 | 100.00 |
| 3 | 55.14 | 2.10 | 16.18 | 6.79 | 0.62 | 2.00 | 17.16 | 100.00 |
| 4 | 26.89 | 32.86 | 23.55 | 0.00 | 0.53 | 0.00 | 16.17 | 100.00 |
| 5 | 10.01 | 32.54 | 24.35 | 0.63 | 2.08 | 0.19 | 30.21 | 100.00 |
| 6 | 12.60 | 15.56 | 43.32 | 0.51 | 1.35 | 0.11 | 26.55 | 100.00 |
| 7 | 6.41 | 7.49 | 42.77 | 6.34 | 9.10 | 0.05 | 27.83 | 100.00 |
| 8 | 5.21 | 5.64 | 39.44 | 10.05 | 1.18 | 0.16 | 38.32 | 100.00 |
| 9 | 3.29 | 4.35 | 66.22 | 4.72 | 8.27 | 0.21 | 12.94 | 100.00 |
| 10 | 0.55 | 31.28 | 59.97 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.27 | 7.65 | 100.00 |
| Total | 25.72 | 10.16 | 30.91 | 5.90 | 4.07 | 0.26 | 22.97 | 100.00 |
| Cell entries arepercentages. The data show that protests in authoritarian regimes are often centered around regime-change, whereas more stablished democracies (categorized by Polity as those beyond 6in the scale), experience less than 10 percent of protests aimed at regime change. Regarding policy-oriented protest, although protest of this kind happens in both democracies and non-democracies, we suspect this is due to the sample of countries coded in the NAVCO dataset.  |

Figure C1: Protest Occurrence in democracies and non-democracies

**Note**: Data compiled by authors.