**Party Institutionalization and Partisan Mobilization**

**Online Appendix**

Table A. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Analyses

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Mean | Std Dev | Min | Max |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Dependent Variables |  |  |  |  |
| Attended a Political Event | .08 | .27 | 1 | 1 |
| Independent Variables |  |  |  |  |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization*  Permanent local offices | .82 | .17 | .11 | 1 |
| Permanent local offices \* Party membership | .12 | .29 | 0 | 1 |
| Permanent local offices & permanent local representatives | 1.52 | .33 | .19 | 2 |
| Permanent local offices & permanent local representatives \* Party membership | .22 | .55 | 0 | 2 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | .67 | .19 | .08 | 1 |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders \* Party membership  *Control Variables* | .11 | .28 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 48.07 | 17.65 | 15 | 102 |
| Gender (female) | 53.34 | .50 | 0 | 1 |
| Education | 3.30 | 1.59 | 0 | 6 |
| Union membership | .19 | .39 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideological extremeness | 2.79 | 1.63 | 1 | 6 |
| Religious attendance | 2.55 | 2.31 | 0 | 7 |
| Party membership | .11 | .32 | 0 | 1 |
| Left-Right Placements | 5.62 | 2.11 | 1 | 9.91 |
| Party age | 58.44 | 46.64 | 4 | 192 |
| Electoral success | 24.27 | 16.38 | 0 | 57.5 |
| Party size | 27.64 | 17.38 | 0 | 67.8 |
| PBI per capita | 33926 | 23427.4 | 1573.8 | 97019.2 |
| Presidential systems | .28 | .45 | 0 | 1 |

The countries in the analysis are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Chile, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, India, Israel., Japan, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, United States, and Venezuela.

Table B. Description of Variables Used in the Analyses

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Description | Source |
|  |  |  |
| Dependent Variables |  |  |
| Attended a Political Event | Attended a political meeting or rally in the past year. Measured dichotomously (1=attended in the past year; 0=otherwise) | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Independent Variables |  |  |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization*  Permanent local offices (A) | Parties or their individual candidates maintain offices and paid staff at the local or municipal-level? [4] Yes, the party maintains permanent local offices in MOST districts; [3] Yes, the party maintains permanent local offices in SOME districts; [2] Yes, the party maintains local offices, but only during national elections; [1] No, the party does not maintain local offices. Normalized variable between 0 and 1. | Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project |
| Permanent local offices & permanent local representatives (B) | Summation of previous variables—(A) and (B). B is measured through the following criterion: Parties have local intermediaries who operate in local constituencies on the parties’ behalf, and perform a variety of important tasks such as maintaining contact with large groups of voters, organizing electoral support and voter turnout, and distributing party resources to voters and supporters? [3] Yes, they have local representatives in MOST constituencies; [2] Yes, they have local representatives in SOME constituencies; [1] No, they have almost no local representatives. Normalized variable between 0 and 1. | Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | The extent to which parties draw on and appeal to voters’ long-term partisan loyalty (“party identification”). Parties may invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders. They may feature party symbols and rituals to reinvigorate party identification. [4] Not at all; [3] To a small extent; [2] To a moderate extent; [1] To a great extent. Normalized variable between 0 and 1. | Democratic Accountability and Linkages project |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |
| Age | Years of age | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Gender (female) | Measured dichotomously (1=female). There are 26,559 interviewed women in the dataset. | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Education | Highest completed education level using a 7-point index (higher=more educated) | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Union membership | Measured dichotomously (1=trade union member), There are 9,097 interviewed union members in the dataset. | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Ideological extremeness | Measured using a 6-point index (higher = more ideological extremeness) | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Religious attendance | Attendance of religious services using a 8-point index (higher=more attendance) | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Party Membership | Measured dichotomously (1=party members). Those who chose the answers “Belong and actively participate” and “Belong but don’t participate” to the question “People sometimes belong to different kinds of groups or associations. For each type of group, please indicate whether you”. There are 5,480 interviewed members in the database. | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Active Party Membership | Measured dichotomously (1=active party members). Those who chose the answers “Belong and actively participate” to the question “People sometimes belong to different kinds of groups or associations. For each type of group, please indicate whether you”. There are 1,841 interviewed active members in the database. | The 2014 International Social Survey Programme |
| Left-Right Placements | Overall Left-Right Placement using a 10-point scale calculated by experts | Democratic Accountability and Linkages project |
| Party age | Years of party age | Coded by authors |
| Electoral success | Percentage of votes obtained in the latest election (before the ISSP survey wave was collected) | Coded by authors based on multiple sources |
| Party size | Percentage of seats obtained in the latest election | Coded by authors based on multiple sources |
| GDP per capita | Gross Domestic Product per capita | 2014 World Bank |
| Presidential systems | Binary variable (1=presidential system) | Coded by authors |

Table C. Employing Permanent Local offices & Permanent Local Representatives as Measurement of Routinization (Bolleyer & Ruth 2018)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent local offices & permanent local representatives | -0.47\*\*\* | -0.60\*\*\* | -0.55\*\*\* | -0.68\*\*\* |
|  | (0.15) | (0.17) | (0.21) | (0.23) |
| Permanent local offices & permanent local representatives \* Party membership |  | 0.67\*\*\* |  | 0.77\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.24) |  | (0.25) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.36\*\*\* | 1.65\*\*\* | 1.05\*\*\* | 1.40\*\*\* |
|  | (0.23) | (0.27) | (0.33) | (0.38) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.25\*\*\* |  | -2.73\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.39) |  | (0.39) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 2.25\*\*\* |  | 2.46\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.30) |  | (0.31) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003\* | 0.001 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -3.23\*\*\* | -3.24\*\*\* | -2.90\*\*\* | -2.93\*\*\* |
|  | (0.28) | (0.30) | (0.34) | (0.36) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5536.55 | -5081.99 | -5507.63 | -5047.67 |
| Observations | 19,182 | 18,973 | 19,182 | 18,973 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

Table D. Testing Hypotheses. Model without Control Variables

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent local offices | -1.03\*\*\* | -1.37\*\*\* | -1.24\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* |
|  | (0.26) | (0.28) | (0.42) | (0.42) |
| Permanent local offices \* Party membership |  | 1.52\*\*\* |  | 1.73\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.38) |  | (0.40) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.14\*\*\* | 1.38\*\*\* | 1.79\*\*\* | 0.91\*\* |
|  | (0.20) | (0.23) | (0.28) | (0.36) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.05\*\*\* |  | -2.50\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.31) |  | (0.32) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.97\*\*\* |  | 2.15\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.30) |  | (0.31) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.42\*\*\* | -2.69\*\*\* | -2.54\*\*\* | -2.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.23) | (0.25) | (0.33) | (0.34) |
| Log-Likelihood | -6366.08 | -5795.58 | -6361.21 | -5738.93 |
| Observations | 22,840 | 22,541 | 22,840 | 22,541 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

Table E1. Testing Hypotheses. Additional Control Variables

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent Local Offices | -1.11\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -1.08\*\*\* | -1.46\*\*\* | -1.21\*\*\* | -1.64\*\*\* | -1.28\*\*\* | -1.71\*\*\* |
|  | (0.28) | (0.31) | (0.29) | (0.31) | (0.32) | (0.34) | (0.32) | (0.35) |
| Permanent Local Offices \* Party membership |  | 1.68\*\*\* |  | 1.55\*\*\* |  | 1.69\*\*\* |  | 1.58\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.41) |  | (0.41) |  | (0.41) |  | (0.41) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.34\*\*\* | 1.68\*\*\* | 1.54\*\*\* | 1.79\*\*\* | 1.29\*\*\* | 1.56\*\*\* | 1.53\*\*\* | 1.83\*\*\* |
|  | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.24) | (0.28) | (0.22) | (0.26) | (0.27) | (0.30) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders \* Party |  | -2.21\*\*\* |  | -2.32\*\*\* |  | -2.27\*\*\* |  | -2.39\*\*\* |
| membership |  | (0.33) |  | (0.34) |  | (0.34) |  | (0.34) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.86\*\*\* |  | 2.02\*\*\* |  | 1.89\*\*\* |  | 2.05\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.32) |  | (0.33) |  | (0.32) |  | (0.33) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003\* | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.001 | -0.003\* | 0.001 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.9\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Party age | -4.06e-05 | -0.0003 |  |  |  |  | -0.0003 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) |  |  |  |  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Electoral success |  |  | -0.002 | 0.0002 |  |  | -0.01 | -0.004 |
|  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.003) |  |  | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Party size |  |  |  |  | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.01 | 0.01\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| GDP per capita | 8.77e-07 | 9.33e-07 | 1.24e-06 | 6.45e-07 | 7.18e-07 | 3.11e-07 | 1.47e-06 | 1.36e-06 |
|  | (4.61e-06) | (4.62e-06) | (4.48e-06) | (4.49e-06) | (4.40e-06) | (4.35e-06) | (4.57e-06) | (4.54e-06) |
| Presidential systems | -0.61\*\* | -0.61\*\* | -0.61\*\* | -0.63\*\* | -0.62\*\* | -0.64\*\*\* | -0.61\*\* | -0.63\*\* |
|  | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.24) | (0.25) | (0.24) |
| Constant | -2.89\*\*\* | -2.83\*\*\* | -3.01\*\*\* | -2.89\*\*\* | -2.82\*\*\* | -2.68\*\*\* | -2.91\*\*\* | -2.79\*\*\* |
|  | (0.36) | (0.37) | (0.36) | (0.37) | (0.36) | (0.37) | (0.37) | (0.39) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5531.15 | -5071.38 | -5377.28 | -4933.74 | -5530.94 | -5070.76 | -5376.27 | -4932.17 |
| Observations | 19,182 | 18,973 | 18,759 | 18,557 | 19,182 | 18,973 | 18,759 | 18,557 |
| Number of groups | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Two-level hierarchical model

Table E2. Testing Hypotheses. Additional Control Variables

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent Local Offices | -1.31\*\*\* | | -1.67\*\*\* | -1.05\*\*\* | -1.46\*\*\* | -1.23\*\*\* | -1.70\*\*\* | -1.39\*\*\* | -1.84\*\*\* |
|  | (0.38) | | (0.40) | (0.40) | (0.42) | (0.44) | (0.46) | (0.43) | (0.44) |
| Permanent Local Offices \* Party membership |  | | 1.93\*\*\* |  | 1.77\*\*\* |  | 1.92\*\*\* |  | 1.81\*\*\* |
|  |  | | (0.42) |  | (0.42) |  | (0.42) |  | (0.42) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 0.89\*\* | | 1.28\*\*\* | 1.31\*\*\* | 1.64\*\*\* | 1.05\*\*\* | 1.39\*\*\* | 1.19\*\*\* | 1.61\*\*\* |
|  | (0.35) | | (0.38) | (0.34) | (0.38) | (0.32) | (0.35) | (0.37) | (0.41) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders \* Party |  | | -2.66\*\*\* |  | -2.70\*\*\* |  | -2.66\*\*\* |  | -2.74\*\*\* |
| membership |  | | (0.34) |  | (0.34) |  | (0.34) |  | (0.34) |
|  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | | 2.00\*\*\* |  | 2.14\*\*\* |  | 2.01\*\*\* |  | 2.13\*\*\* |
|  |  | | (0.33) |  | (0.33) |  | (0.33) |  | (0.33) |
| *Control Variables* |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | | -0.003 | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.001 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.37\*\*\* | | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.41\*\*\* | | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.31\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.14\*\*\* | | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.07\*\*\* | | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.0527\*\*\* | 0.0655\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Party age | 0.002 | | 0.001 |  |  |  |  | 0.002 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.002) | | (0.002) |  |  |  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Electoral success |  | |  | -0.01\*\* | -0.01\* |  |  | -0.02\*\*\* | -0.02\*\*\* |
|  |  | |  | (0.005) | (0.005) |  |  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Party size |  | |  |  |  | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.01 | 0.01\*\* |
|  |  | |  |  |  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| GDP per capita | -1.14e-06 | | -4.75e-07 | 1.47e-06 | 1.45e-06 | 7.42e-07 | 8.27e-07 | -2.62e-07 | 7.68e-07 |
|  | (4.22e-06) | | (4.04e-06) | (4.09e-06) | (3.69e-06) | (3.99e-06) | (3.68e-06) | (4.19e-06) | (3.86e-06) |
| Presidential systems | -0.59\*\*\* | | -0.55\*\*\* | -0.50\*\* | -0.47\*\* | -0.55\*\* | -0.54\*\* | -0.55\*\* | -0.51\*\* |
|  | (0.22) | | (0.21) | (0.23) | (0.21) | (0.23) | (0.21) | (0.22) | (0.20) |
| Constant | -2.48\*\*\* | | -2.45\*\*\* | -2.82\*\*\* | -2.74\*\*\* | -2.60\*\*\* | -2.48\*\*\* | -2.60\*\*\* | -2.57\*\*\* |
|  | (0.42) | | (0.44) | (0.43) | (0.45) | (0.43) | (0.45) | (0.43) | (0.44) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5502.82 | | -5036.88 | -5348.06 | -4897.83 | -5503.45 | -5037.14 | -5345.94 | -4895.16 |
| Observations | 19,182 | | 18,973 | 18,759 | 18,557 | 19,182 | 18,973 | 18,759 | 18,557 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Three-level hierarchical model

Table F. Testing Hypotheses. Excluding Outliers

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent Local Offices | -0.78\*\* | -1.36\*\*\* | -0.71\* | -1.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.33) | (0.37) | (0.401) | (0.42) |
| Permanent Local Offices \* Party membership |  | 2.03\*\*\* |  | 2.08\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.54) |  | (0.55) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 0.75\*\* | 1.00\*\*\* | 0.82\*\* | 1.08\*\* |
|  | (0.31) | (0.36) | (0.38) | (0.42) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.26\*\*\* |  | -2.42\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.49) |  | (0.50) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.71\*\*\* |  | 1.78\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.45) |  | (0.45) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.001 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.35\*\*\* | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.31\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Education | 0.17\*\*\* | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Union membership | 0.43\*\*\* | 0.38\*\*\* | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.36\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.04\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.04\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.11\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -2.85\*\*\* | -2.62\*\*\* | -2.87\*\*\* | -2.60\*\*\* |
|  | (0.33) | (0.35) | (0.38) | (0.40) |
| Log-Likelihood | -3080.67 | -2786.11 | -3076.23 | -2782.60 |
| Observations | 10,136 | 10,007 | 10,136 | 10,007 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

Table G. Testing Hypotheses. Excluding the Cases of Russia and Venezuela

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent Local Offices | -0.99\*\*\* | -1.33\*\*\* | -1.06\*\*\* | -1.43\*\*\* |
|  | (0.28) | (0.30) | (0.37) | (0.40) |
| Permanent Local Offices \* Party membership |  | 1.70\*\*\* |  | 1.91\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.41) |  | (0.42) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.27\*\*\* | 1.55\*\*\* | 0.94\*\*\* | 1.24\*\*\* |
|  | (0.21) | (0.25) | (0.31) | (0.35) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.19\*\*\* |  | -2.64\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.33) |  | (0.34) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.83\*\*\* |  | 2.00\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.32) |  | (0.33) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003\* | 0.001 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -3.03\*\*\* | -2.95\*\*\* | -2.75\*\*\* | -2.66\*\*\* |
|  | (0.29) | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.37) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5476.52 | -5024.05 | -5450.40 | -4991.91 |
| Observations | 18,590 | 18,381 | 18,590 | 18,381 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

Table H. Testing Hypotheses. Employing Country Fixed Effects

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent local offices | -1.04\*\*\* | -1.46\*\*\* | -1.06\*\*\* | -1.53\*\*\* |
|  | (0.30) | (0.32) | (0.38) | (0.41) |
| Permanent local offices \* Party membership |  | 1.75\*\*\* |  | 1.90\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.41) |  | (0.42) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.32\*\*\* | 1.71\*\*\* | 1.04\*\*\* | 1.52\*\*\* |
|  | (0.22) | (0.26) | (0.29) | (0.33) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.28\*\*\* |  | -2.63\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.33) |  | (0.34) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.86\*\*\* |  | 2.00\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.32) |  | (0.33) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003\* | 0.002 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.43\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -2.89\*\*\* | -3.12\*\*\* | -2.73\*\*\* | -2.97\*\*\* |
|  | (0.33) | (0.36) | (0.41) | (0.45) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5477.23 | -5018.60 | -5463.87 | -5000.95 |
| Observations | 19,182 | 18,961 | 19,170 | 18,961 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| Country Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

Table I. Testing Hypotheses. Employing Region Fixed Effects

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent local offices | -1.07\*\*\* | -1.44\*\*\* | -1.18\*\*\* | -1.62\*\*\* |
|  | (0.28) | (0.31) | (0.39) | (0.42) |
| Permanent local offices \* Party membership |  | 1.68\*\*\* |  | 1.91\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.41) |  | (0.42) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.29\*\*\* | 1.62\*\*\* | 0.94\*\*\* | 1.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.21) | (0.25) | (0.32) | (0.36) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.20\*\*\* |  | -2.64\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Party membership |  | (0.33) |  | (0.34) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Party membership |  | 1.86\*\*\* |  | 2.01\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.32) |  | (0.33) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.002 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.32\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| Education | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.42\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.07\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.08\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -3.42\*\*\* | -3.12\*\*\* | -3.11\*\*\* | -2.81\*\*\* |
|  | (0.61) | (0.62) | (0.56) | (0.55) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5531.99 | -5072.56 | -5504.10 | -5038.47 |
| Observations | 19,182 | 18,973 | 19,182 | 18,973 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| Region Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Models 1 and 2: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 3 and 4: Three-level hierarchical model

The regions we consider in the analysis are Oceania, Europe, Asia, Latin America, North America, and Africa

Table J.1 Testing Hypotheses. Employing Active and Inactive Membership

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variables: | Attend a Political Event | | | | | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Permanent local offices | -1.24\*\*\* | -1.31\*\*\* | -1.43\*\*\* | -1.35\*\*\* | -1.43\*\*\* | -1.58\*\* |
|  | (0.29) | (0.29) | (0.31) | (0.40) | (0.39) | (0.41) |
| Permanent local offices \* Active party membership | 1.28\*\* |  | 1.30\*\* | 1.48\*\*\* |  | 1.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.53) |  | (0.54) | (0.54) |  | (0.55) |
| Permanent local offices \* Inactive party membership |  | 2.33\*\*\* | 1.99\*\*\* |  | 2.51\*\*\* | 2.22\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.55) | (0.55) |  | (0.557) | (0.561) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical | 1.51\*\*\* | 1.57\*\*\* | 1.66\*\*\* | 1.18\*\*\* | 1.25\*\*\* | 1.37\*\*\* |
| leaders | (0.23) | (0.22) | (0.25) | (0.34) | (0.33) | (0.36) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical | -3.38\*\*\* |  | -3.16\*\*\* | -3.72\*\*\* |  | -3.65\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Active party membership | (0.44) |  | (0.46) | (0.45) |  | (0.47) |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical |  | -2.50\*\*\*+ | -1.95\*\*\* |  | -2.82\*\*\*+ | -2.37\*\*\* |
| Leaders \* Inactive party membership |  | (0.39) | (0.41) |  | (0.39) | (0.41) |
| Active party membership | 3.58\*\*\* |  | 3.65\*\*\* | 3.69\*\*\* |  | 3.82\*\*\* |
|  | (0.44) |  | (0.44) | (0.45) |  | (0.46) |
| Inactive party membership |  | 0.60+ | 0.93\*\* |  | 0.70+ | 1.06\*\* |
|  |  | (0.420) | (0.422) |  | (0.426) | (0.430) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.002 | -0.0002 | -0.003\* | -0.001 | 0.0003 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.32\*\*\* | -0.36\*\*\* | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.33\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.31\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Education | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.30\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* | 0.30\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.10\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.10\*\*\* | 0.13\*\*\* | 0.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Religious attendance | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* | -0.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -2.95\*\*\* | -3.02\*\*\* | -2.92\*\*\* | -2.62\*\*\* | -2.70\*\*\* | -2.58\*\*\* |
|  | (0.30) | (0.29) | (0.31) | (0.37) | (0.36) | (0.39) |
| Log-Likelihood | -5086.80 | -5383.15 | -4976.67 | -5056.29 | -5350.46 | -4942.83 |
| Observations | 18,973 | 18,973 | 18,973 | 18,973 | 18,973 | 18,973 |
| Number of groups (countries) | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1, + jointly significant p<0.01.

Models 1, 2, and 3: Two-level hierarchical model

Models 4, 5, and 6: Three-level hierarchical model

Figure J.2 Predicted Probabilities. Routinization, value infusion, and participation in political meetings and rallies\*





\*Note: We calculate these expected probabilities based on Model 3 of Table J.1 in the Online Appendix. In the estimation, we employ a two-level hierarchical model to avoid a discontinuous region with missing values that was present when computing the expected probabilities using a three-level hierarchical model.

Table K. Multicollinearity Test (Variance Inflation Factor)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| VARIABLES | VIF |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |
| Permanent local offices | 1.20 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.41 |
|  |  |
| Party membership | 1.08 |
| *Control Variables* |  |
| Age | 1.05 |
| Gender (female) | 1.02 |
| Education | 1.21 |
| Union membership | 1.08 |
| Ideological extremeness | 1.01 |
| Religious attendance | 1.15 |
| Left-Right placements | 1.03 |
| **Mean VIF score** | 1.12 |

\*\* It is advisable that the value of the Variance Inflation Factor does not exceed 10. If it exceeds this value, further investigation might be needed

Online Appendix L. Assessing the Relationship between PI Dimensions and Party Membership

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Dependent Variable: | Party membership | |
| VARIABLES | Model 1 | Model 2 |
| *Testing Hypothesis 1: Routinization* |  |  |
| Permanent local offices | -0.49 | -0.72 |
|  | (0.30) | (0.49) |
| *Testing Hypothesis 2: Value Infusion* |  |  |
| Parties invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders | 1.73\*\*\* | 1.69\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.38) |
| *Control Variables* |  |  |
| Age | 0.01\*\*\* | 0.01\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.002) |
| Gender (female) | -0.25\*\*\* | -0.27\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| Education | 0.09\*\*\* | 0.09\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Union membership | 0.40\*\*\* | 0.41\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) |
| Ideological extremeness | 0.16\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Religious attendance | 0.06\*\*\* | 0.05\*\*\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Left-Right placements | -0.03\*\* | -0.02 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Constant | -2.65\*\*\* | -3.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.27) | (0.45) |
| Log-Likelihood | -6964.54 | -6896.01 |
| Observations | 19,305 | 19,305 |
| Number of groups | 31 | 31 |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Model 1: Two-level hierarchical model

Model 2: Three-level hierarchical model