**ONLINE APPENDIX**

**Part I: Protest Issues in Kosovo**

*Source: KPD*

*Source: KPD*

*Note*: UNDP Kosovo Early Warning or Public Pulse data (2002-2012). Percent of Kosovo -Albanian survey respondents stating which issue they consider to be the paramount problem facing Kosovo today.

*Note*: UNDP Kosovo Early Warning or Public Pulse data (2002-2012). Percent of survey Kosovo-Serb respondents stating which issue they consider to be the paramount problem facing Kosovo today.

*Note*: UNDP Kosovo Early Warning or Public Pulse data (2005-2012). Percent of Kosovo survey respondents stating willingness to join protests that could be organized due to the current political situation in Kosovo.

*Note*: UNDP Kosovo Early Warning or Public Pulse data (2005-2012). Percent of Kosovo survey respondents stating willingness to join protests that could be organized due to the current economic situation in Kosovo.

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| **Table A1: Frequency of Protest Events in Kosovo, 1999-2012** | | | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Year | Demonstration | Strike | Petition | H. Strike | Riot | | Boycott | Sit-in | Vigil | Other | Total |
| 1999 | 40 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 53 |
| 2000 | 110 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 1 | | 5 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 142 |
| 2001 | 42 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 50 |
| 2002 | 58 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 0 | | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 84 |
| 2003 | 62 | 13 | 4 | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 79 |
| 2004 | 36 | 5 | 12 | 2 | 7 | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 64 |
| 2005 | 30 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| 2006 | 30 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 0 | | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 |
| 2007 | 20 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 |
| 2008 | 49 | 10 | 3 | 0 | 3 | | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 71 |
| 2009 | 42 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 54 |
| 2010 | 31 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| 2011 | 28 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 2012 | 53 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 1 | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 64 |
| Total | 631 | 74 | 58 | 19 | 14 | | 33 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 848 |
| Source: Kosovo Protest Dataset (KPD); 1999 includes events occurring during August-December only. | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| **Table A2: Size Distribution of Demonstrations in Kosovo According to Protest Grievance/Demand (1999-2012)** | | | | | | |  |
| Group Grievance/Demand | | Number of Events | Mean | Median | SD | Min | Max |
| Ethnic Group Security and Status | | 196 | 6608 | 500 | 33022 | 22 | 400000 |
|  | *Political System and Group Representation* | 101 | 7662 | 500 | 44225 | 22 | 400000 |
|  | *Group Security and Transitional Justice* | 95 | 5487 | 1000 | 13375 | 40 | 100000 |
| Good Governance | | 20 | 986 | 300 | 1378 | 40 | 5000 |
| Economic Justice | | 19 | 731 | 300 | 1193 | 40 | 4000 |
| Other |  | 7 | 1815 | 3000 | 1480 | 100 | 3000 |
| **Note**: Source KPD. The Table includes only demonstrations for which there is data on both protest grievance/demand and the number of protesters at the event. Some estimates of size, moreover, are described by orders of magnitude. We follow Biggs (2018, 361) in coding hundreds as 300, thousands as 3,000 and so on. | | | | | | | |

**Part II: Individual-level Analysis**

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| **Table A3: Demonstration Participation in Kosovo (2012) -- Kosovo Albanians** | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Variables | M1: Probit | | M2: High School | | M3: Under 30 | | | M4: Voluntarism2 | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Age | -0.002 | (0.008) | -0.004 | (0.016) | -0.076 | (0.630) | | -0.006 | (0.016) |
| Sex (F) | **-0.850\*\*\*** | (0.250) | **-1.724\*\*\*** | (0.625) | **-1.791\*\*\*** | (0.632) | | **-1.798\*\*\*** | (0.609) |
| Married | -0.294 | (0.240) | -0.559 | (0.559) | -0.708 | (0.576) | | -0.586 | (0.554) |
| Education (Univ.) | 0.197 | (0.276) | 0.287 | (0.464) | 0.348 | (0.594) | | 0.406 | (0.601) |
| Unemployed | -0.138 | (0.208) | -0.359 | (0.447) | -0.271 | (0.449) | | -0.282 | (0.442) |
| Income Decile | 0.021 | (0.049) | 0.030 | (0.120) | 0.041 | (0.103) | | 0.037 | (0.104) |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | 0.007 | (0.043) | 0.033 | (0.094) | 0.021 | (0.098) | | 0.011 | (0.091) |
| Trust in Parties | **-0.093\*** | (0.048) | **-0.195\*** | (0.111) | **-0.196\*** | (0.111) | | -0.173 | (0.112) |
| Satisfaction w/ Democracy | 0.005 | (0.058) | -0.034 | (0.137) | -0.024 | (0.138) | | -0.034 | (0.139) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | 0.048 | (0.051) | 0.096 | (0.109) | 0.097 | (0.111) | | 0.102 | (0.108) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.033 | (0.040) | -0.059 | (0.091) | -0.056 | (0.092) | | -0.047 | (0.091) |
| Interest in Politics | **0.178\*** | (0.101) | 0.329 | (0.216) | 0.319 | (0.216) | | 0.346 | (0.212) |
| Civic Engagement | **0.485\*\*** | (0.244) | **0.962\*\*** | (0.483) | **0.982\*\*** | (0.482) | | 0.597 | (0.451) |
| ***Party Preference*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| LDK (Ref: No Pref.) | -0.388 | (0.340) | -0.788 | (0.701) | -0.828 | (0.694) | | -0.788 | (0.683) |
| PDK | -0.138 | (0.427) | -0.313 | (0.909) | -0.272 | (0.919) | | -0.359 | (0.887) |
| VV | **0.740\*\*** | (0.342) | 1.230 | (0.805) | 1.287 | (0.795) | | 1.141 | (0.858) |
| AAK | 0.323 | (0.293) | 0.628 | (0.587) | 0.638 | (0.595) | | 0.675 | (0.579) |
| Other Party | 0.476 | (0.475) | 0.931 | (0.909) | 0.881 | (0.903) | | 0.845 | (0.905) |
| Serb Party | - |  | - |  | - |  | | - |  |
| **Grievances** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.153 | (0.116) | 0.343 | (0.269) | 0.325 | (0.263) | | 0.345 | (0.264) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr) | **1.386\*\*** | (0.573) | **2.767\*\*** | (1.252) | **2.691\*\*** | (1.312) | | **2.581\*** | (1.442) |
| Nonethnic Discrimination | 0.208 | (0.464) | 0.380 | (0.850) | 0.476 | (0.805) | | 0.645 | (0.859) |
| **Networks** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Party Worker | **1.024\*\*\*** | (0.311) | **1.948\*\*\*** | (0.570) | **1.959\*\*\*** | (0.578) | | **1.874\*\*\*** | (0.562) |
| Trade Unionist | **0.604\*\*** | (0.273) | **1.180\*\*** | (0.543) | **1.096\*\*** | (0.538) | | **1.225\*\*** | (0.523) |
| NGO Worker | -0.031 | (0.335) | 0.069 | (0.654) | 0.043 | (0.638) | | 0.108 | (0.670) |
| Constant | **-2.098\*\*\*** | (0.588) | **-3.975\*\*\*** | (1.291) | **-3.912\*\*\*** | (1.338) | | **-3.872\*\*\*** | (1.279) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.3175 |  | 0.3173 |  | 0.3171 |  | | 0.3128 |  |
| Observations | 642 |  | 642 |  | 642 |  | | 642 |  |
| Note: Robust standard errors in brackets. All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina) – region coefficients and standard errors not included to save space; LDK = Democratic League of Kosovo; PDK = Democratic Party of Kosovo; VV = Self-Determination Movement; AAK = Alliance for Future of Kosovo (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.01 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | | |

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| **Table A4: Logit Estimation Results for Demonstration Participation in Kosovo (2012) -- Kosovo Albanians** | | | | | | |  |  |
| Variables | Religiosity |  | Left-Right |  | Public Sector |  | Student |  |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.007 | (0.016) | -0.009 | (0.018) | -0.008 | (0.016) | -0.013 | (0.016) |
| Sex (F) | **-1.877\*\*\*** | (0.653) | **-2.413\*\*\*** | (0.848) | **-1.772\*\*\*** | (0.625) | **-1.946\*\*\*** | (0.680) |
| Married | -0.403 | (0.587) | -0.070 | (0.650) | -0.591 | (0.550) | -0.775 | (0.547) |
| Education (Univ.) | 0.503 | (0.574) | 0.444 | (0.599) | 0.302 | (0.612) | 0.247 | (0.608) |
| Unemployed | -0.376 | (0.474) | -0.654 | (0.511) | -0.242 | (0.436) | -0.494 | (0.448) |
| Income Decile | 0.022 | (0.105) | 0.026 | (0.134) | 0.034 | (0.105) | 0.020 | (0.105) |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | 0.002 | (0.088) | -0.129 | (0.139) | 0.026 | (0.099) | 0.022 | (0.097) |
| Trust in Parties | **-0.182\*** | (0.102) | **-0.280\*** | (0.153) | **-0.192\*** | (0.110) | -0.210\* | (0.108) |
| Satisfaction w/ Democracy | -0.028 | (0.137) | 0.127 | (0.156) | -0.024 | (0.138) | -0.013 | (0.133) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | 0.110 | (0.109) | 0.023 | (0.108) | 0.087 | (0.112) | 0.094 | (0.108) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.054 | (0.093) | -0.031 | (0.120) | -0.055 | (0.091) | -0.047 | (0.091) |
| Interest in Politics | 0.352 | (0.216) | **0.429\*** | (0.243) | 0.332 | (0.216) | **0.372\*** | (0.211) |
| Civic Engagement | **0.802\*** | (0.479) | **1.055\*\*** | (0.536) | **0.951\*** | (0.492) | **0.975\*\*** | (0.493) |
| ***Party Preference*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LDK (Ref: No Pref.) | -0.957 | (0.718) | -0.387 | (0.694) | -0.885 | (0.718) | -0.795 | (0.708) |
| PDK | -0.487 | (0.922) | 0.104 | (0.984) | -0.265 | (0.901) | -0.230 | (0.932) |
| VV | 1.168 | (0.784) | 0.185 | (0.851) | 1.258 | (0.819) | **1.287\*** | (0.782) |
| AAK | 0.530 | (0.623) | 1.010 | (0.669) | 0.671 | (0.587) | 0.491 | (0.617) |
| Other Party | 0.714 | (0.860) | 1.109 | (0.884) | 0.837 | (0.868) | 0.599 | (0.893) |
| Serb Party | - | | - | | - | | - | |
| **Grievances** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.320 | (0.260) | 0.474 | (0.300) | 0.323 | (0.261) | 0.332 | (0.262) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr) | **2.578\*\*** | (1.185) | **2.720\*** | (1.399) | **2.625\*** | (1.351) | **2.831\*\*** | (1.223) |
| Nonethnic Discrimination | 0.667 | (0.809) | 1.071 | (0.941) | 0.469 | (0.830) | 0.724 | (0.845) |
| **Networks** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Worker | **2.059\*\*\*** | (0.574) | **1.586\*\*** | (0.704) | **1.926\*\*\*** | (0.573) | **1.987\*\*\*** | (0.592) |
| Trade Unionist | **1.249\*\*** | (0.556) | **1.139\*\*** | (0.543) | **1.066\*** | (0.566) | **1.150\*\*** | (0.561) |
| NGO Worker | 0.052 | (0.638) | 0.503 | (0.612) | 0.031 | (0.635) | -0.004 | (0.654) |
| Religiosity | 0.151 | (0.096) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left to Right Scale |  |  | **-0.114\*** | (0.069) |  |  |  |  |
| Public Sector Employee |  |  |  |  | 0.298 | (0.491) |  |  |
| Student |  |  |  |  |  |  | -1.085 | (0.864) |
| Constant | **-4.764\*\*\*** | (1.570) | **-3.215\*\*** | (1.446) | **-3.761\*\*\*** | (1.303) | **-3.257\*\*** | (1.377) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.3268 | | 0.319 | | 0.3182 | | 0.3235 | |
| Observations | 641 | | 365 | | 642 | | 642 | |
| Note: Robust standard errors in brackets. All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina) – region coefficients and standard errors not included to save space; LDK = Democratic League of Kosovo; PDK = Democratic Party of Kosovo; VV = Self-Determination Movement; AAK = Alliance for Future of Kosovo (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.01 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | |

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| **Table A5: Estimation Results for Demonstration Participation in Kosovo (2012) -- Kosovo Serbs** | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Variables | M1: Probit | | M2: High School | | M3: Under 30 | | M4: Voluntarism2 | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | **-0.023\*\*\*** | (0.009) | **-0.037\*\*** | (0.018) | -0.513 | (0.555) | **-0.041\*\*** | (0.016) |
| Sex (F) | -0.056 | (0.245) | -0.186 | (0.454) | -0.279 | (0.482) | -0.262 | (0.470) |
| Married | -0.312 | (0.243) | -0.533 | (0.438) | **-0.919\*\*** | (0.463) | -0.485 | (0.461) |
| Education (Univ.) | -0.318 | (0.278) | 0.325 | (0.540) | -0.454 | (0.494) | -0.419 | (0.491) |
| Unemployed | -0.469 | (0.341) | -0.748 | (0.654) | -0.245 | (0.577) | -0.762 | (0.639) |
| Income Decile | 0.057 | (0.072) | 0.028 | (0.135) | 0.163 | (0.118) | 0.059 | (0.141) |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | -0.297 | (0.214) | -0.769 | (0.757) | -0.803 | (0.774) | -0.660 | (0.606) |
| Trust in Parties | 0.209 | (0.229) | 0.619 | (0.766) | 0.667 | (0.776) | 0.510 | (0.625) |
| Satisfaction w/ Democracy | 0.106 | (0.097) | 0.109 | (0.194) | 0.109 | (0.161) | 0.078 | (0.192) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | -0.090 | (0.103) | -0.101 | (0.170) | -0.005 | (0.160) | -0.092 | (0.164) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.055 | (0.055) | -0.103 | (0.106) | -0.103 | (0.105) | -0.108 | (0.104) |
| Interest in Politics | **0.434\*\*\*** | (0.151) | **0.708\*\*** | (0.286) | **0.520\*\*** | (0.255) | **0.741\*\*** | (0.292) |
| Civic Engagement | -0.551 | (0.668) | -0.913 | (1.305) | -1.049 | (1.084) | 0.168 | (0.747) |
| ***Party Preference*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LDK (Ref: No Pref.) | - |  | - |  | - |  | - |  |
| PDK | - |  | - |  | - |  | - |  |
| VV | - |  | - |  | - |  | - |  |
| AAK | - |  | - |  | - |  | - |  |
| Other Party | 0.399 | (1.287) | -0.481 | (2.795) | -0.279 | (2.563) | -0.992 | (2.593) |
| Serb Party | 0.226 | (0.286) | 0.404 | (0.521) | 0.008 | (0.506) | 0.373 | (0.532) |
| **Grievances** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.105 | (0.162) | 0.184 | (0.279) | 0.174 | (0.293) | 0.181 | (0.288) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr) | **0.841\*\*\*** | (0.226) | **1.511\*\*\*** | (0.470) | **1.515\*\*\*** | (0.462) | **1.539\*\*\*** | (0.471) |
| Nonethnic Discrimination | 1.084 | (0.864) | 1.837 | (1.330) | 1.233 | (1.283) | 1.853 | (1.368) |
| **Networks** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Worker | **0.914\*** | (0.553) | 1.743 | (1.160) | **1.887\*** | (1.070) | **1.903\*** | (1.128) |
| Trade Unionist | 0.382 | (0.260) | 0.533 | (0.455) | 0.173 | (0.437) | 0.586 | (0.461) |
| NGO Worker | **1.232\*\*** | (0.509) | **2.168\*\*** | (1.008) | **1.970\*\*** | (0.907) | **1.759\*** | (0.994) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Constant* | **-2.704\*\*\*** | (0.824) | **-4.823\*\*\*** | (1.570) | **-5.730\*\*\*** | (1.440) | **-4.534\*\*\*** | (1.555) |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.3231 | | 0.3237 | | 0.3058 | | 0.3232 | |
| *Observations* | 249 | | 249 | | 250 | | 249 | |
| Note: Robust standard errors in brackets. All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina) – region coefficients and standard errors not included to save space; LDK = Democratic League of Kosovo; PDK = Democratic Party of Kosovo; VV = Self-Determination Movement; AAK = Alliance for Future of Kosovo (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.01 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | |

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| **Table A6: Logit Estimation Results for Demonstration Participation in Kosovo (2012) -- Kosovo Serbs** | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Variables | Religiosity | | Left-Right | | Public Sector | | | Student | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Age | **-0.039\*\*** | (0.016) | 0.002 | (0.021) | **-0.068\*\*\*** | (0.020) | | **-0.034\*** | (0.018) |
| Sex (F) | -0.246 | (0.484) | -0.563 | (0.571) | -0.522 | (0.512) | | -0.162 | (0.456) |
| Married | -0.562 | (0.450) | -0.515 | (0.524) | -0.686 | (0.490) | | -0.461 | (0.469) |
| Education (Univ.) | -0.453 | (0.509) | -0.098 | (0.535) | **-1.171\*\*** | (0.551) | | -0.464 | (0.504) |
| Unemployed | -0.742 | (0.660) | 0.139 | (0.714) | -0.761 | (0.674) | | -0.598 | (0.721) |
| Income Decile | 0.063 | (0.139) | 0.146 | (0.147) | 0.096 | (0.140) | | 0.079 | (0.139) |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | -0.746 | (0.743) | -0.587 | (0.783) | -1.118 | (0.930) | | -0.739 | (0.762) |
| Trust in Parties | 0.610 | (0.759) | 0.296 | (0.767) | 1.068 | (0.935) | | 0.578 | (0.777) |
| Satisfaction w/ Democracy | 0.101 | (0.190) | 0.295 | (0.242) | 0.082 | (0.186) | | 0.104 | (0.195) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | -0.092 | (0.175) | -0.021 | (0.203) | -0.187 | (0.193) | | -0.083 | (0.178) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.105 | (0.105) | -0.204 | (0.135) | -0.131 | (0.109) | | -0.106 | (0.106) |
| Interest in Politics | **0.735\*\*** | (0.293) | **0.833\*\*** | (0.344) | **0.778\*\*\*** | (0.288) | | **0.789\*\*\*** | (0.284) |
| Civic Engagement | -0.939 | (1.292) | -0.788 | (1.175) | -0.877 | (1.232) | | -1.085 | (1.317) |
| ***Party Preference*** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| LDK (Ref: No Pref.) | - |  | - |  | - |  | | - |  |
| PDK | - |  | - |  | - |  | | - |  |
| VV | - |  | - |  | - |  | | - |  |
| AAK | - |  | - |  | - |  | | - |  |
| Other Party | -0.483 | (2.844) | 0.453 | (3.022) | -0.953 | (3.165) | | -0.023 | (2.927) |
| Serb Party | 0.316 | (0.537) | -0.250 | (0.573) | 0.269 | (0.553) | | 0.311 | (0.522) |
| **Grievances** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.164 | (0.283) | 0.157 | (0.354) | 0.007 | (0.282) | | 0.198 | (0.282) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr) | **1.514\*\*\*** | (0.460) | **1.586\*\*\*** | (0.589) | **1.851\*\*\*** | (0.526) | | **1.557\*\*\*** | (0.461) |
| Nonethnic Discrimination | 1.837 | (1.398) | 1.580 | (1.291) | 1.586 | (1.190) | | 1.928 | (1.351) |
| **Networks** |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Party Worker | 1.774 | (1.158) | **1.756\*** | (1.016) | 1.956 | (1.227) | | 1.758 | (1.180) |
| Trade Unionist | 0.678 | (0.447) | -0.114 | (0.499) | -0.058 | (0.493) | | 0.661 | (0.459) |
| NGO Worker | **2.251\*\*** | (0.975) | **2.025\*\*** | (0.961) | **2.584\*\*** | (1.133) | | **2.279\*\*** | (0.997) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Religiosity | 0.060 | (0.128) |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| Left to Right Scale |  |  | 0.136 | (0.110) |  |  | |  |  |
| Public Sector Employee |  |  |  |  | **2.166\*\*\*** | (0.769) | |  |  |
| Student |  |  |  |  |  |  | | 0.576 | (0.857) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  |  |
| *Constant* | **-5.027\*\*\*** | (1.730) | **-7.264\*\*\*** | (2.091) | **-4.638\*\*\*** | (1.444) | | **-5.125\*\*\*** | (1.701) |
| *Pseudo R2* | 0.3254 | | 0.3764 | | 0.3705 | | | 0.3275 | |
| *Observations* | 248 | | 179 | | 249 | | | 249 | |
| **Note**: Robust standard errors in brackets. All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina) – region coefficients and standard errors not included to save space; LDK = Democratic League of Kosovo; PDK = Democratic Party of Kosovo; VV = Self-Determination Movement; AAK = Alliance for Future of Kosovo (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.01 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | | |

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| **Table A7: Probit Estimation Results for Boycott Participation in Kosovo (2012)** | | | | |  |
| Variables | Albanians | | Serbs | | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  | |
| Age | 0.003 | (0.004) | **-0.036\*\*** | (0.016) | |
| Sex (F) | -0.065 | (0.126) | -0.326 | (0.463) | |
| Married | 0.020 | (0.146) | **-0.576\*\*** | (0.290) | |
| Education (Univ.) | 0.157 | (0.182) | 0.651 | (0.401) | |
| Unemployed | 0.021 | (0.148) | 0.197 | (0.504) | |
| Income Decile | **0.077\*\*** | (0.036) | -0.126 | (0.128) | |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  | |
| Trust in Parliament | -0.026 | (0.030) | 0.253 | (0.234) | |
| Trust in Parties | 0.018 | (0.032) | -0.163 | (0.228) | |
| Satisfaction w/ Democracy | 0.008 | (0.033) | 0.062 | (0.116) | |
| Satisfaction w/Government | **-0.061\*** | (0.034) | 0.081 | (0.096) | |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  | |
| Trust in People | -0.036 | (0.024) | -0.132 | (0.087) | |
| Interest in Politics | **0.182\*\*\*** | (0.065) | **0.560\*** | (0.286) | |
| Civic Engagement | **0.450\*\*** | (0.193) | 0.906 | (0.825) | |
| ***Party Preference*** |  |  |  |  | |
| LDK (Ref: No Pref.) | 0.294 | (0.191) | - | | |
| PDK | **0.389\*** | (0.207) | - | | |
| VV | **0.698\*\*\*** | (0.227) | - | | |
| AAK | 0.312 | (0.238) | - | | |
| Other Party | -0.113 | (0.453) | 0.234 | (1.170) | |
| Serb Party | - | | 0.524 | (0.542) | |
| **Grievances** |  |  |  |  | |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.040 | (0.077) | **-0.349\*** | (0.190) | |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr) | **1.533\*\*\*** | (0.456) | **0.656\*** | (0.348) | |
| Nonethnic Discrimination | 0.103 | (0.505) | **3.305\*\*\*** | (0.739) | |
| **Networks** |  |  |  |  | |
| Party Worker | **0.703\*\*** | (0.294) | 0.884 | (0.657) | |
| Trade Unionist | 0.288 | (0.185) | -0.001 | (0.427) | |
| NGO Worker | -0.112 | (0.288) | 0.016 | (0.564) | |
| Constant | **-1.893\*\*\*** | (0.381) | **-5.949\*\*\*** | (1.167) | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.1652 | | 0.4227 | | |
| Observations | 712 | | 227 | | |
| **Note**: Robust standard errors in brackets. All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina) – region coefficients and standard errors not included to save space; LDK = Democratic League of Kosovo; PDK = Democratic Party of Kosovo; VV = Self-Determination Movement; AAK = Alliance for Future of Kosovo (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.01 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | |

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| **Table A8: Logit Estimation Results for Demonstration Participation (Kosovo Albanians and Serbs)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Variables | M1: Base | | MA2: Probit | | MA3: High School | | MA4: Under 30 | | MA5: Voluntarism2 | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.011 | (0.019) | -0.005 | (0.008) | -0.011 | (0.019) | -0.047 | (0.631) | -0.008 | (0.018) |
| Sex (F) | -1.065\* | (0.548) | -0.542\*\* | (0.215) | -1.093\*\* | (0.529) | -1.066\* | (0.563) | -1.115\*\* | (0.509) |
| Married | -0.482 | (0.601) | -0.229 | (0.253) | -0.446 | (0.603) | -0.719 | (0.601) | -0.492 | (0.604) |
| Education | 0.492 | (0.575) | 0.276 | (0.260) | -0.033 | (0.437) | 0.489 | (0.571) | 0.448 | (0.601) |
| Unemployed | -0.183 | (0.446) | -0.069 | (0.202) | -0.242 | (0.437) | -0.185 | (0.448) | -0.149 | (0.435) |
| Income Decile | 0.069 | (0.083) | 0.035 | (0.041) | 0.092 | (0.098) | 0.065 | (0.082) | 0.083 | (0.086) |
| ***Support for Institutions*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | 0.111 | (0.106) | 0.044 | (0.048) | 0.112 | (0.102) | 0.112 | (0.107) | 0.095 | (0.092) |
| Trust in Parties | -0.147 | (0.104) | -0.069 | (0.049) | -0.147 | (0.104) | -0.153 | (0.106) | -0.143 | (0.102) |
| Satisfaction w/Democracy | -0.120 | (0.130) | -0.026 | (0.057) | -0.124 | (0.128) | -0.114 | (0.128) | -0.122 | (0.128) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | 0.082 | (0.106) | 0.035 | (0.048) | 0.078 | (0.104) | 0.082 | (0.106) | 0.074 | (0.104) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.062 | (0.090) | -0.036 | (0.041) | -0.070 | (0.091) | -0.060 | (0.091) | -0.053 | (0.089) |
| Interest in Politics | 0.342\* | (0.205) | 0.171\* | (0.097) | 0.353\* | (0.206) | 0.313 | (0.207) | 0.392\* | (0.203) |
| Voluntarism | 0.607 | (0.625) | 0.338 | (0.284) | 0.683 | (0.604) | 0.671 | (0.620) | 0.968\*\* | (0.426) |
| ***Party Preference*** (Ref: No Pref.) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LDK | -0.204 | (0.777) | -0.064 | (0.370) | -0.131 | (0.771) | -0.166 | (0.763) | -0.142 | (0.767) |
| PDK | -0.371 | (0.906) | -0.168 | (0.413) | -0.382 | (0.907) | -0.347 | (0.918) | -0.245 | (0.834) |
| VV | 2.191\*\*\* | (0.631) | 1.143\*\*\* | (0.319) | 2.159\*\*\* | (0.628) | 2.251\*\*\* | (0.625) | 2.199\*\*\* | (0.630) |
| AAK | 0.955 | (0.656) | 0.510 | (0.321) | 0.895 | (0.669) | 0.998 | (0.661) | 1.088\* | (0.649) |
| Other Party | 1.424\* | (0.799) | 0.790\* | (0.451) | 1.605\* | (0.839) | 1.452\* | (0.806) | 1.330\* | (0.786) |
| Serb Party | -0.542 | (0.674) | -0.306 | (0.332) | -0.612 | (0.664) | -0.584 | (0.667) | -0.567 | (0.673) |
| ***Grievances*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.168 | (0.242) | 0.080 | (0.107) | 0.179 | (0.244) | 0.133 | (0.241) | 0.207 | (0.233) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr.) | 2.043\*\*\* | (0.742) | 1.039\*\*\* | (0.334) | 2.070\*\*\* | (0.739) | 2.045\*\*\* | (0.740) | 1.959\*\* | (0.778) |
| Nonethnic Discrimin. (Ref: No Discr.) | 1.352 | (0.864) | 0.633 | (0.445) | 1.298 | (0.895) | 1.199 | (0.868) | 1.184 | (0.909) |
| ***Networks*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Worker | 1.666\*\* | (0.664) | 0.843\*\*\* | (0.323) | 1.679\*\* | (0.675) | 1.674\*\* | (0.671) | 1.637\*\*\* | (0.604) |
| Trade Unionist | 1.760\*\* | (0.704) | 0.892\*\*\* | (0.299) | 1.813\*\*\* | (0.700) | 1.680\*\* | (0.687) | 1.656\*\*\* | (0.573) |
| NGO Member | -0.606 | (0.661) | -0.336 | (0.331) | -0.611 | (0.678) | -0.617 | (0.659) | -0.709 | (0.682) |
| ***Controls*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Serb (Ref: Albanian) | 1.505\*\* | (0.658) | 0.927\*\*\* | (0.304) | 1.522\*\* | (0.658) | 1.499\*\* | (0.660) | 1.630\*\* | (0.690) |
| Mitrovica Region (Ref: Prishtina) | -0.837 | (0.686) | -0.478\* | (0.275) | -0.776 | (0.657) | -0.826 | (0.695) | -0.887 | (0.683) |
| Prizren Region | -0.777 | (0.728) | -0.411 | (0.310) | -0.784 | (0.757) | -0.777 | (0.743) | -0.702 | (0.708) |
| Gjakova Region | 0.119 | (0.642) | 0.023 | (0.295) | 0.151 | (0.651) | 0.125 | (0.644) | 0.079 | (0.652) |
| Gjilan Region | -0.222 | (0.751) | -0.258 | (0.365) | -0.238 | (0.717) | -0.200 | (0.752) | -0.255 | (0.783) |
| Peja Region | 1.040\* | (0.629) | 0.469 | (0.286) | 1.070\* | (0.642) | 1.035 | (0.634) | 1.082\* | (0.596) |
| Ferizaj Region | -2.422\*\*\* | (0.742) | -1.313\*\*\* | (0.344) | -2.411\*\*\* | (0.768) | -2.413\*\*\* | (0.728) | -2.426\*\*\* | (0.774) |
| **Constant** | -3.941\*\*\* | (1.113) | -2.174\*\*\* | (0.505) | -3.993\*\*\* | (1.104) | -4.082\*\*\* | (1.166) | -4.406\*\*\* | (1.127) |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.3264 | | 0.3291 | | 0.3291 | | 0.3248 | | 0.3353 | |
| **Observations** | 971 | | 971 | | 971 | | 972 | | 971 | |
| **Note**: Logistic regression coefficients (standard errors). All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina); LDK = Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës; PDK = Partia Demokratike e Kosovës; VV = Lëvizja Vetëvendosje; AAK = Aleanca për Ardhmërinë e Kosovës (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.05 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | | | |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A9: Logit Estimation Results for Demonstration Participation (Kosovo)** | | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variables | M1: Base | | MA6: Religiosity | | | MA7: Left-Right | | MA8: Public Sector | | MA9: Student | |
| ***Socioeconomic*** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.011 | (0.019) | -0.012 | (0.018) | | 0.004 | (0.018) | -0.008 | (0.018) | -0.011 | (0.018) |
| Sex (F) | -1.065\* | (0.548) | -1.119\*\* | (0.514) | | -1.955\*\*\* | (0.589) | -1.066\*\* | (0.542) | -1.060\* | (0.579) |
| Married | -0.482 | (0.601) | -0.380 | (0.611) | | 0.011 | (0.681) | -0.475 | (0.599) | -0.469 | (0.628) |
| Education | 0.492 | (0.575) | 0.655 | (0.530) | | 0.949\* | (0.536) | 0.532 | (0.588) | 0.503 | (0.573) |
| Unemployed | -0.183 | (0.446) | -0.214 | (0.461) | | 0.046 | (0.472) | -0.205 | (0.443) | -0.164 | (0.452) |
| Income Decile | 0.069 | (0.083) | 0.053 | (0.082) | | 0.113 | (0.106) | 0.074 | (0.085) | 0.071 | (0.090) |
| **Support for Institutions** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in Parliament | 0.111 | (0.106) | 0.096 | (0.094) | | -0.075 | (0.159) | 0.106 | (0.106) | 0.112 | (0.108) |
| Trust in Parties | -0.147 | (0.104) | -0.140 | (0.096) | | -0.346\* | (0.182) | -0.146 | (0.104) | -0.146 | (0.103) |
| Satisfaction w/Democracy | -0.120 | (0.130) | -0.122 | (0.130) | | 0.062 | (0.153) | -0.122 | (0.130) | -0.122 | (0.134) |
| Satisfaction w/Government | 0.082 | (0.106) | 0.093 | (0.105) | | 0.019 | (0.101) | 0.089 | (0.110) | 0.082 | (0.107) |
| ***Motivational*** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust in People | -0.062 | (0.090) | -0.059 | (0.093) | | 0.003 | (0.114) | -0.064 | (0.089) | -0.063 | (0.089) |
| Interest in Politics | 0.342\* | (0.205) | 0.363\* | (0.205) | | 0.212 | (0.232) | 0.338\* | (0.205) | 0.341\* | (0.203) |
| Voluntarism | 0.607 | (0.625) | 0.551 | (0.601) | | 0.852 | (0.587) | 0.608 | (0.628) | 0.610 | (0.608) |
| ***Party Preference*** (Ref: No Pref) |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LDK | -0.204 | (0.777) | -0.332 | (0.820) | | 0.229 | (0.738) | -0.175 | (0.769) | -0.208 | (0.790) |
| PDK | -0.371 | (0.906) | -0.533 | (0.923) | | 0.155 | (0.957) | -0.372 | (0.908) | -0.375 | (0.918) |
| VV | 2.191\*\*\* | (0.631) | 2.112\*\*\* | (0.636) | | 1.277\* | (0.739) | 2.206\*\*\* | (0.616) | 2.194\*\*\* | (0.627) |
| AAK | 0.955 | (0.656) | 0.846 | (0.699) | | 0.962 | (0.692) | 0.911 | (0.679) | 0.966 | (0.672) |
| Other Party | 1.424\* | (0.799) | 1.280 | (0.787) | | 1.499\*\* | (0.726) | 1.415\* | (0.825) | 1.438\* | (0.823) |
| Serb Party | -0.542 | (0.674) | -0.544 | (0.678) | | -0.634 | (0.637) | -0.545 | (0.682) | -0.534 | (0.682) |
| ***Grievances*** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Income Dissatisfaction | 0.168 | (0.242) | 0.145 | (0.234) | | 0.408 | (0.304) | 0.181 | (0.233) | 0.171 | (0.242) |
| Ethnic Discrimination (Ref: No Discr.) | 2.043\*\*\* | (0.742) | 1.941\*\*\* | (0.710) | | 2.344\*\* | (0.919) | 2.078\*\*\* | (0.733) | 2.034\*\*\* | (0.760) |
| Nonethnic Discrimin. (Ref: No Discr.) | 1.352 | (0.864) | 1.367 | (0.888) | | 1.616\* | (0.924) | 1.391 | (0.873) | 1.344 | (0.848) |
| ***Networks*** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Worker | 1.666\*\* | (0.664) | 1.771\*\*\* | (0.654) | | 1.374\* | (0.731) | 1.695\*\* | (0.659) | 1.666\*\* | (0.662) |
| Trade Unionist | 1.760\*\* | (0.704) | 1.799\*\* | (0.699) | | 1.286\*\*\* | (0.468) | 1.837\*\* | (0.740) | 1.756\*\*\* | (0.676) |
| NGO Member | -0.606 | (0.661) | -0.647 | (0.653) | | 0.562 | (0.619) | -0.592 | (0.653) | -0.604 | (0.657) |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Serb (Ref: Albanian | 1.505\*\* | (0.658) | 1.377\*\* | (0.652) | | 1.626\* | (0.869) | 1.541\*\* | (0.671) | 1.501\*\* | (0.660) |
| Mitrovica Region (Ref: Prishtina) | -0.837 | (0.686) | -0.874 | (0.662) | | -0.560 | (0.594) | -0.870 | (0.704) | -0.825 | (0.656) |
| Prizren Region | -0.777 | (0.728) | -0.811 | (0.730) | | -0.340 | (0.830) | -0.811 | (0.723) | -0.772 | (0.717) |
| Gjakova Regjion | 0.119 | (0.642) | 0.023 | (0.644) | | 0.136 | (0.700) | 0.099 | (0.636) | 0.118 | (0.643) |
| Gjilan Region | -0.222 | (0.751) | -0.255 | (0.724) | | -2.482\*\*\* | (0.901) | -0.271 | (0.783) | -0.214 | (0.752) |
| Peja Region | 1.040\* | (0.629) | 0.961 | (0.630) | | 1.356\* | (0.709) | 1.018 | (0.634) | 1.033 | (0.646) |
| Ferizaj Region | -2.42\*\*\* | (0.742) | -2.48\*\*\* | (0.725) | | -2.233\*\*\* | (0.743) | -2.451\*\*\* | (0.772) | -2.430\*\*\* | (0.752) |
| Religiosity |  |  | 0.121 | (0.096) | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left to Right Scale |  |  |  |  | | -0.051 | (0.065) |  |  |  |  |
| Public Sector Employee |  |  |  |  | |  |  | -0.263 | (0.532) |  |  |
| Student |  |  |  |  | |  |  |  |  | 0.071 | (0.794) |
| **Constant** | -3.94\*\*\* | (1.113) | -4.66\*\*\* | (1.397) | | -4.879\*\*\* | (1.417) | -4.027\*\*\* | (1.087) | -3.995\*\*\* | (1.281) |
| **Pseudo R2** | 0.3264 | | 0.3327 | | | 0.3621 | | 0.3269 | | 0.3264 | |
| **Observations** | 971 | | 969 | | | 648 | | 971 | | 971 | |
| **Note**: Logistic regression coefficients (standard errors). All models include region fixed effects (reference: Prishtina); LDK = Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës; PDK = Partia Demokratike e Kosovës; VV = Lëvizja Vetëvendosje; AAK = Aleanca për Ardhmërinë e Kosovës (reference: no party preference); Statistically significant coefficients at the 0.05 level in bold. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 | | | | | | | | | | | |