## Non-violent protest in Europe: The role of macroeconomic conditions in party and union members' participation

Online appendix

 Table A1: Description of individual-level variables.

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Variable	Description
Individual-level variables	
Signed petition last 12 months	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
Boycotted certain products last 12 months	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
Taken part in lawful public demonstration	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
last 12 months	
Member of trade union or similar organization	1 = yes, currently; 0 = yes, previously or no (reference).
Member of political party	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
Education	1 = less than lower secondary (reference); 2 = lower secondary educa-
	tion; 3 = Upper secondary education completed; 4 = post-secondary
	non-tertiary education or tertiary education completed.
Main activity, last 7 days: paid work	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
Lives with husband, wife, partner at house-	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
hold grid	
Gender	1 = woman; 0 = man (reference).
Age	1 = 35-; 2 = 36 - 65 (reference); 3 = 65+.
How interested in politics	1 = very or quite interested; 0 = hardy or not at all interested (reference).
Trust in country's parliament	0 = no trust at all, 1 - 9, 10 = complete trust.
Left-right scale	1  (extreme left) = 0 - 1; 2  (left) = 2 - 4; 3  (center) = 5; 4  (right) = 6 - 8; 5
	(extreme right) = $9 - 10$ ; $6 = DK/missing$ (reference).
Survey-level variables	
Economic performance index	Calculated following Khramov and Lee (2013). Source: World Bank's
	World Economic Outlook: unemployment (total unemployment), infla-
	tion (annual percentage of average consumer prices are year-on-year
	changes), deficit (general government net lending/borrowing), and
	growth (gross domestic product growth). Reversed to measure bad
	economic performance, with one-year lag.
Effective number of electoral parties	Effective number of electoral parties (seats) (see Laakso and Taagepera
Degional Authority Indox	1976, 4). Source: Gallagher's Election indices dataset.
Regional Authority Index	Measure of the authority of regional governments across ten dimensions, institutional double relieve across feed outcomes, hornoving
	sions: institutional depth, policy scope, fiscal autonomy, borrowing
	autonomy, representation, law making, executive control, fiscal control, borrowing control, constitutional reform. Source: Hooghe, Liesbet et
	al. 2015. A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance. Volume I: Measuring
Courthouse countries	Regional Authority. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Southern country	1 = Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain; 0 = else (reference).
Eastern country	1 = Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia; 0 = else (reference).
EU non-member country	1 = Norway, Switzerland; 0 = else (reference).
Election year	1 = yes; 0 = no (reference).
Year	Survey year.

 Table A2: Surveys: countries and years.

Country	Year
Austria	2003, 2005, 2007
	· · · · · ·
Belgium	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Bulgaria	2007, 2009, 2011
Croatia	2009, 2011
Cyprus	2006, 2008, 2011
Czech Republic	2003, 2004, 2009, 2011
Denmark	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Estonia	2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Finland	2002, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010
France	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Germany	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Greece	2003, 2005, 2009, 2011
Hungary	2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010
Ireland	2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2012
Italy	2003, 2006
Luxembourg	2003, 2005
Netherlands	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Norway	2003, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2011
Poland	2002, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011
Portugal	2003, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2011
Slovakia	2004, 2007, 2009, 2011
Slovenia	2002, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011
Spain	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Sweden	2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
Switzerland	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011
United Kingdom	2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011

 $\textbf{Table A3:} \ \textit{Descriptive statistics of individual-level variables}.$ 

	Signed p	gned petition Boycotted Taken part in certain products lawful public demonstration		Signed petition		•		•		lawful public		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Min	Max				
Signed petition	0.229						0	1				
Boycotted certain products			0.160				0	1				
Taken part in lawful public					0.064		0	1				
demonstration												
Member of trade union	0.205		0.205		0.205		0	1				
Member of political party	0.052		0.052		0.052		0	1				
Education:												
Less than lower secondary	0.137		0.138		0.137		0	1				
Lower secondary education	0.177		0.177		0.177		0	1				
Upper secondary education completed	0.410		0.409		0.410		0	1				
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.276		0.276		0.276		0	1				
or tertiary education com-	0.270		0.270		0.270		U	1				
pleted												
Paid work	0.519		0.519		0.519		0	1				
Lives w/ husband, wife, part-	0.627		0.627		0.627		0	1				
ner												
Gender (woman)	0.528		0.528		0.528		0	1				
Age:												
35-	0.257		0.257		0.257		0	1				
36 - 65	0.553		0.553		0.553		0	1				
65+	0.190		0.190		0.190		0	1				
How interested in politics	0.473		0.473		0.473		0	1				
Trust in country's parliament	4.458	2.517	4.461	2.517	4.460	2.517	0	10				
Left-right scale:												
Extreme left	0.048		0.048		0.048		0	1				
Left	0.240		0.240		0.241		0	1				
Center	0.292		0.293		0.293		0	1				
Right	0.255		0.255		0.255		0	1				
Extreme right	0.050		0.050		0.050		0	1				
DK/missing	0.114		0.114		0.114		0	1				
N	189026		188988		189395							

**Table A4:** Descriptive statistics of survey-level variables.

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Economic performance index	74.654	7.983	55.711	96.591
Effective number of electoral parties	3.995	1.361	2	8.42
Regional Authority Index	13.334	10.846	0	36.99
Southern country	0.171		0	1
Eastern country	0.288		0	1
EU non-member country	0.090		0	1
Election year	0.297		0	1
Year	2006.928	2.956	2002	2012
N	111			

**Table A5:** Multilevel models predicting non-violent protest, without interaction terms.

	Signed petition	Boycotted	Taken part in
		certain products	lawful public
			demonstration
Intercept	-2.587***	-3.087***	-4.198***
	(0.153)	(0.154)	(0.185)
Member of trade union	0.259***	0.062***	0.537***
	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.026)
Member of political party	0.558***	0.175***	0.839***
	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.034)
Economic performance	-0.021	0.002	0.065
	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.043)
Southern country	-1.111***	-1.065***	0.314
	(0.267)	(0.267)	(0.316)
Eastern country	-1.013***	-1.196***	-0.468
	(0.247)	(0.247)	(0.292)
EU non-member country	0.212	0.196	0.215
	(0.372)	(0.376)	(0.442)
Regional Authority Index	0.185	0.156	0.253*
	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.125)
Effective number of electoral parties	-0.031	-0.065	-0.134
-	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.080)
Election year	0.033	0.062	-0.016
·	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.064)
Year	-0.026	0.002	-0.047
	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.030)
Education:			
Lower secondary	0.381***	0.354***	0.323***
·	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.046)
Upper secondary	0.661***	0.721***	0.494***
	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.043)
Post-secondary or tertiary	1.002***	1.172***	0.801***
	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.043)
Age:			
35-	0.186***	-0.058***	0.355***
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.023)
65+	-0.499***	-0.404***	-0.773***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.039)
Gender	0.256***	0.229***	-0.052*
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.020)
Paid work	0.041**	0.017	-0.133***
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.023)
Lives w/ husband, wife, partner	-0.029*	0.002	-0.297***
	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.021)
How interested in politics	0.600***	0.773***	0.781***

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	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.023)
Trust in country's parliament	-0.032***	-0.112***	-0.041***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.012)
Left-right scale:			
Extreme left	0.845***	0.919***	1.410***
	(0.036)	(0.041)	(0.054)
Left	0.714***	0.720***	0.921***
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.046)
Center	0.350***	0.273***	0.253***
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.048)
Right	0.374***	0.300***	0.102*
	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.050)
Extreme right	0.439***	0.296***	0.458***
	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.065)
Random effects (variance)			
Survey	0.045	0.034	0.063
Country	0.223	0.226	0.306
BIC	151123	123848	69390
Respondents	189026	188988	189395

Note: entries are log-odds with standard errors in parentheses. Significance: \* =  $p \le 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p \le 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p \le 0.001$ . Countries: 26; surveys: 111. Continuous variables are standardized.

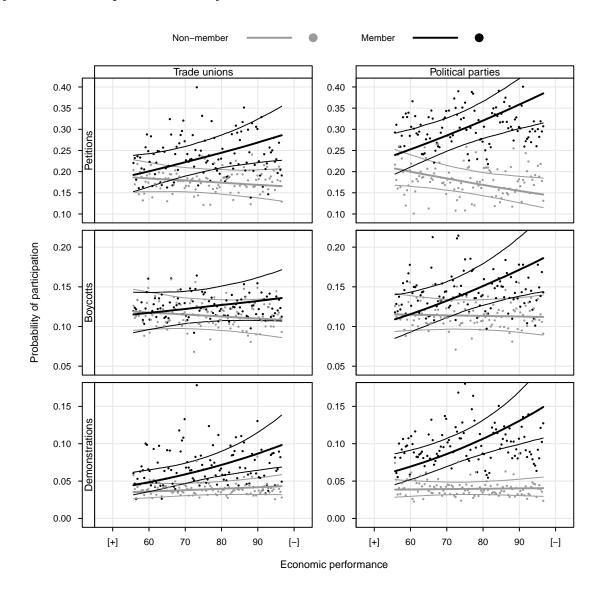
 $\textbf{Table A6:} \ \textit{Multilevel models predicting non-violent protest, with interaction terms.}$ 

	Signed	petition	•	otted	Taken part in		
			certain <sub>]</sub>	products	lawful	-	
					demons		
Intercept	-2.574***	-2.671***	-3.097***	-3.089***	-4.131***	-4.219***	
	(0.155)	(0.150)	(0.154)	(0.153)	(0.184)	(0.181)	
Member of trade unions	0.349***	0.256***	0.101***	0.061***	0.541***	0.537***	
	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.047)	(0.026)	
Member of political parties	0.556***	0.705***	0.175***	0.244***	0.844***	0.942***	
	(0.025)	(0.046)	(0.028)	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.058)	
Economic performance	-0.027	-0.082*	-0.019	-0.007	0.042	0.012	
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.045)	(0.046)	
Economic performance × Member of trade union	0.130***	, ,	0.056*	, ,	0.124**	, ,	
	(0.027)		(0.022)		(0.045)		
Economic performance × Member of political party	(0.027)	0.215***	(0.022)	0.129***	(0.013)	0.175**	
party		(0.045)		(0.035)		(0.056)	
Southern country	-1.167***	-0.865**	-1.029***	-1.053***	0.243	0.399	
	(0.274)	(0.266)	(0.266)	(0.266)	(0.312)	(0.307)	
Eastern country	-1.021***	-0.889***	-1.172***	-1.201***	-0.525	-0.433	
24500111 00 01101 )	(0.250)	(0.241)	(0.245)	(0.245)	(0.288)	(0.282)	
EU non-member country	0.235	0.266	0.226	0.192	0.147	0.155	
20 11011 1110111201 0041112)	(0.381)	(0.364)	(0.372)	(0.370)	(0.438)	(0.428)	
Regional Authority Index	0.202	0.189	0.171	0.155	0.258*	0.295*	
regional riumonty macx	(0.106)	(0.102)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.123)	(0.120)	
Effective number of electoral parties	-0.033	-0.031	-0.074	-0.062	-0.132	-0.187*	
Effective number of electoral parties	(0.063)	(0.059)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.080)	(0.078)	
Election year	0.044	0.017	0.048	0.061	-0.004	-0.043	
Election year	(0.051)	(0.047)			(0.065)	(0.043)	
Vacu	, ,	` ,	(0.047)	(0.047)	` ,		
Year	-0.033	-0.004	0.007	0.006	-0.055	-0.030	
D1 (*	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.029)	
Education:	0.050***	0.050***	0.054***	0.054***	0.015***	0.000***	
Lower secondary	0.378***	0.379***	0.354***	0.354***	0.315***	0.330***	
**	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.047)	
Upper secondary	0.658***	0.659***	0.721***	0.721***	0.489***	0.504***	
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.043)	
Post-secondary or tertiary	0.999***	0.998***	1.173***	1.172***	0.797***	0.810***	
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.043)	
Age:							
35-	0.186***	0.184***	-0.058***	-0.059***	0.356***	0.352***	
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.023)	
65+	-0.505***	-0.497***	-0.407***	-0.404***	-0.782***	-0.774***	
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.039)	(0.039)	
Gender	0.261***	0.259***	0.230***	0.229***	-0.048*	-0.052**	

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	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Paid work	0.039**	0.041**	0.016	0.017	-0.133***	-0.135***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Lives w/ husband, wife, partner	-0.027*	-0.029*	0.003	0.003	-0.292***	-0.295***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.021)
How interested in politics	0.597***	0.600***	0.772***	0.773***	0.777***	0.778***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Trust in country's parliament	-0.032***	-0.032***	-0.111***	-0.112***	-0.041***	-0.042***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Left-right scale:						
Extreme left	0.838***	0.830***	0.915***	0.913***	1.401***	1.398***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Left	0.713***	0.709***	0.719***	0.717***	0.919***	0.912***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Center	0.349***	0.345***	0.272***	0.270***	0.252***	0.246***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Right	0.371***	0.369***	0.297***	0.297***	0.098*	0.094
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Extreme right	0.431***	0.429***	0.291***	0.291***	0.445***	0.442***
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Random effects (variance)						
Survey	0.042	0.070	0.041	0.036	0.067	0.094
Country	0.231	0.212	0.222	0.220	0.298	0.287
Member of trade unions	0.044		0.016		0.150	
Member of political parties		0.139		0.043		0.206
BIC	151033	150982	123860	123847	69285	69295
N respondents	189026	189026	188988	188988	189395	189395

Note: entries are log-odds with standard errors in parentheses. Significance: \* =  $p \le 0.05$ ; \*\* =  $p \le 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p \le 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p \le 0.001$ . Countries: 26; surveys: 111. Continuous variables are standardized.

**Figure A1:** Probability of signing a petition, boycotting certain products, and taking part in lawful public demonstrations of members and non-members of trade unions and political parties along economic performance in Europe, with 95% confidence intervals.



**Table A7:** Models including interaction terms between membership in trade unions or political parties and ideological position.

	Signed	petition	-	otted products	lawful	part in public stration
ntercept	-2.611***	-2.592***	-3.106***	-3.090***	-4.216***	-4.211***
	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.156)	(0.155)	(0.186)	(0.185)
Member of trade union	0.408***	0.258***	0.174*	0.060***	0.665***	0.535***
	(0.064)	(0.016)	(0.078)	(0.018)	(0.113)	(0.026)
Member of political party	0.556***	0.731***	0.172***	0.330	0.837***	1.133***
	(0.024)	(0.136)	(0.028)	(0.174)	(0.034)	(0.195)
Left-right scale:						
Extreme left	0.800***	0.811***	0.888***	0.903***	1.317***	1.387***
	(0.041)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.061)	(0.057)
Left	0.748***	0.718***	0.726***	0.722***	0.959***	0.933***
	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.051)	(0.048)
Center	0.365***	0.356***	0.287***	0.278***	0.247***	0.272***
	(0.030)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.053)	(0.049)
Right	0.422***	0.388***	0.348***	0.311***	0.180**	0.128*
	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.055)	(0.051)
Extreme right	0.492***	0.460***	0.365***	0.301***	0.536***	0.507***
C	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.049)	(0.047)	(0.072)	(0.070)
Member of trade union $\times$ Left-right scale:						
Member × Extreme left	0.120		0.072		0.243	
	(0.086)		(0.099)		(0.131)	
$Member \times Left$	-0.176**		-0.069		-0.181	
	(0.068)		(0.082)		(0.117)	
$Member \times Center$	-0.106		-0.092		-0.029	
	(0.068)		(0.083)		(0.121)	
$Member \times Right$	-0.224**		-0.213*		-0.332**	
<u> </u>	(0.068)		(0.083)		(0.124)	
$Member \times Extreme right$	-0.278**		-0.348**		-0.391*	
, and the second	(0.094)		(0.112)		(0.164)	
Member of political party × Left-right	, ,		` ,		` ,	
scale:						
Member $\times$ Extreme left		0.142		0.009		-0.074
		(0.156)		(0.192)		(0.212)
$Member \times Left$		-0.149		-0.118		-0.280
		(0.143)		(0.180)		(0.202)
$Member \times Center$		-0.177		-0.166		-0.356
		(0.145)		(0.184)		(0.209)
$Member \times Right$		-0.273		-0.246		-0.397
		(0.142)		(0.180)		(0.207)
N. 1 . D		-0.271		-0.163		-0.446*
Member $\times$ Extreme right						

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Economic performance	-0.021	-0.021	0.002	0.002	0.066	0.065
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Southern country	-1.112***	-1.114***	-1.064***	-1.067***	0.311	0.312
	(0.267)	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.269)	(0.315)	(0.316)
Eastern country	-1.014***	-1.015***	-1.197***	-1.197***	-0.472	-0.471
	(0.245)	(0.246)	(0.248)	(0.248)	(0.291)	(0.292)
EU non-member country	0.212	0.212	0.194	0.197	0.216	0.217
	(0.374)	(0.375)	(0.378)	(0.376)	(0.442)	(0.441)
Regional Authority Index	0.184	0.186	0.156	0.156	0.251*	0.253*
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.125)	(0.125)
Effective number of electoral parties	-0.031	-0.032	-0.065	-0.065	-0.134	-0.135
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.080)	(0.081)
Election year	0.033	0.032	0.062	0.062	-0.016	-0.017
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Year	-0.026	-0.026	0.002	0.002	-0.047	-0.047
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Education:						
Lower secondary	0.381***	0.382***	0.355***	0.354***	0.323***	0.323***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Upper secondary	0.661***	0.662***	0.722***	0.721***	0.494***	0.494***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Post-secondary or tertiary	1.003***	1.002***	1.174***	1.172***	0.803***	0.802***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Age:						
35-	0.186***	0.186***	-0.056***	-0.058***	0.355***	0.355***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.023)
65+	-0.501***	-0.500***	-0.407***	-0.405***	-0.775***	-0.775***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.039)	(0.039)
Gender	0.257***	0.256***	0.229***	0.229***	-0.052*	-0.052*
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Paid work	0.040**	0.041**	0.016	0.017	-0.135***	-0.134***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Lives w/ husband, wife, partner	-0.029*	-0.029*	0.001	0.002	-0.297***	-0.297***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.021)
How interested in politics	0.599***	0.599***	0.771***	0.773***	0.779***	0.781***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Trust in country's parliament	-0.032***	-0.032***	-0.112***	-0.112***	-0.041***	-0.041***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Random effects (variance)						
Survey	0.045	0.045	0.034	0.034	0.063	0.063
Country	0.223	0.223	0.227	0.226	0.305	0.307
BIC	151139	151157	123873	123899	69391	69436
N respondents	189026	189026	188988	188988	189395	189395
		.1 01	*			

N respondents 189026 189026 188988 188988 189395 189395 Note: entries are log-odds with standard errors in parentheses. Significance:  $* = p \le 0.05$ ;  $** = p \le 0.01$ ;  $*** = p \le 0.001$ . Countries: 26; surveys: 111. Continuous variables are standardized.

**Table A8:** Models including interaction terms between membership in trade unions or political parties and distance from government.

	Signed	petition	•	Boycotted certain products		part in public
						stration
Intercept	-2.088***	-2.088***	-2.649***	-2.649***	-3.751***	-3.751**
	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.150)	(0.151)	(0.176)	(0.177)
Member of trade union	0.261***	0.260***	0.062***	0.062***	0.528***	0.534***
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Member of political party	0.553***	0.537***	0.173***	0.165***	0.830***	0.807***
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.034)	(0.036)
Distance from government	0.086***	0.085***	0.083***	0.085***	0.176***	0.178***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Member of trade union $\times$ Distance	0.021		0.018		0.034	
	(0.014)		(0.015)		(0.021)	
Member of political party × Distance		0.078***		0.040		0.064*
		(0.021)		(0.024)		(0.028)
Economic performance	-0.029	-0.029	-0.008	-0.008	0.044	0.044
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.045)	(0.044)
Southern country	-1.071***	-1.073***	-1.044***	-1.045***	0.358	0.358
·	(0.259)	(0.260)	(0.266)	(0.267)	(0.308)	(0.309)
Eastern country	-0.991***	-0.993***	-1.163***	-1.165***	-0.448	-0.451
•	(0.240)	(0.240)	(0.246)	(0.246)	(0.285)	(0.285)
EU non-member country	0.215	0.215	0.192	0.192	0.224	0.224
,	(0.365)	(0.367)	(0.371)	(0.375)	(0.432)	(0.431)
Regional Authority Index	0.184	0.185	0.162	0.162	0.262*	0.262*
,	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.123)	(0.124)
Effective number of electoral parties	-0.019	-0.018	-0.053	-0.053	-0.141	-0.140
1	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Election year	0.029	0.028	0.053	0.053	-0.016	-0.017
	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Year	-0.025	-0.025	-0.001	-0.001	-0.047	-0.047
7001	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Education:	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Lower secondary	0.367***	0.367***	0.348***	0.348***	0.297***	0.297***
Lower secondary	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Upper secondary	0.641***	0.641***	0.703***	0.703***	0.484***	0.484***
opper secondary	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Post-secondary or tertiary	0.994***	0.994***	1.157***	1.157***	0.791***	0.791***
Post-secondary or tertiary	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Ασοι	(0.027)	(0.047)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Age:	0 10/***	0 10/***	0.052**	0.054**	0.257***	0.255***
35-	0.186***	0.186***	-0.053**	-0.054**	0.356***	0.355***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.024) Continued or	(0.024)

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				Continu	ued from pre	vious page
65+	-0.495***	-0.496***	-0.396***	-0.396***	-0.753***	-0.755***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Gender	0.256***	0.256***	0.237***	0.237***	-0.037	-0.037
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Paid work	0.041**	0.041**	0.021	0.021	-0.121***	-0.121***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Lives with husband, wife, partner	-0.030*	-0.029*	0.000	0.000	-0.288***	-0.287***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.022)
How interested in politics	0.605***	0.605***	0.785***	0.785***	0.792***	0.792***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Trust in country's parliament	-0.016*	-0.016*	-0.088***	-0.088***	-0.014	-0.013
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)
LR Scale	-0.128***	-0.128***	-0.180***	-0.180***	-0.320***	-0.320***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Random effects (variance)						
Survey	0.040	0.040	0.031	0.031	0.068	0.068
Country	0.212	0.212	0.223	0.223	0.288	0.289
BIC	162633	162622	133342	133341	71888	71886
N respondents	167492	167492	167485	167485	167822	167822

Note: entries are log-odds with standard errors in parentheses. Significance: \* = p  $\leq$  0.05; \*\* = p  $\leq$  0.01; \*\*\* = p  $\leq$  0.001. Countries: 26; surveys: 111. Continuous variables are standardized. Distance from government =  $|\overline{P}_g - P_i|$ , where  $P_g$  is the weighted average left-right position of the parties in government for each survey and  $P_i$  is the respondent's left-right position. Positions of parties in government are taken from the ParlGov database (http://www.parlgov.org).