## 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.

| 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 education; 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). |
| Gender | $1=$ woman; $0=\operatorname{man}$ (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 | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \text { (extreme left) }=0-1 ; 2(\text { left })=2-4 ; 3 \text { (center) }=5 ; 4 \text { (right) }=6-8 ; 5 \\ & \text { (extreme right) }=9-10 ; 6=\mathrm{DK} / \text { missing (reference) } . \end{aligned}$ |
| Survey-level variables |  |
| Economic performance index | Calculated following Khramov and Lee (2013). Source: World Bank's World Economic Outlook: unemployment (total unemployment), inflation (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 1976, 4). Source: Gallagher's Election indices dataset. |
| Regional Authority Index | Measure of the authority of regional governments across ten dimensions: 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 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 | $2003,2005,2007,2009,2011$ |

Table A3: Descriptive statistics of individual-level variables.

|  | Signed petition |  | Boycotted certain products |  | Taken part in lawful public demonstration |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 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 demonstration |  |  |  |  | 0.064 |  | 0 | 1 |
| 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 or tertiary education completed | 0.276 |  | 0.276 |  | 0.276 |  | 0 | 1 |
| Paid work | 0.519 |  | 0.519 |  | 0.519 |  | 0 | 1 |
| Lives w/ husband, wife, partner | 0.627 |  | 0.627 |  | 0.627 |  | 0 | 1 |
| 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.
$\left.\begin{array}{lccc}\hline & \text { Signed petition } & \text { Boycotted } & \text { Taken part in } \\ \text { lawful public } \\ \text { certain products }\end{array}\right]$

|  |  | Continued from previous page |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $(0.013)$ | $(0.015)$ |
| 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: * $=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.05 ;{ }^{* *}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.01 ;{ }^{* * *}=\mathrm{p} \leq$ |  |  |  |
| 0.001. Countries: 26; surveys: 111 . Continuous variables are standardized. |  |  |  |

Table A6: Multilevel models predicting non-violent protest, with interaction terms.
$\left.\begin{array}{lccccccc}\hline & \text { Signed petition } & \text { Boycotted } & \text { Taken part in } \\ & & & & \text { certain products } & \text { lawful public } \\ \text { demonstration }\end{array}\right]$

|  | Continued from previous page |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (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: ${ }^{*}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.05 ;{ }^{* *}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.01$; ${ }^{* * *}=\mathrm{p} \leq$ 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 |  | Boycotted certain products |  | Taken part in lawful public demonstration |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Intercept | $\begin{gathered} -2.611^{* * *} \\ (0.152) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.592^{* * *} \\ (0.152) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.106^{* * *} \\ (0.156) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.090^{* * *} \\ (0.155) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -4.216^{* * *} \\ (0.186) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-4.211^{* * *} \\ (0.185) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of trade union | $\begin{gathered} 0.408^{* * *} \\ (0.064) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.258^{* * *} \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.174^{*} \\ & (0.078) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.060^{* * *} \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.665^{* * *} \\ (0.113) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.535^{* * *} \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of political party | $\begin{gathered} 0.556^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.731^{* * *} \\ (0.136) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.172^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.330 \\ (0.174) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.837^{* * *} \\ (0.034) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.133^{* * *} \\ (0.195) \end{gathered}$ |
| Left-right scale: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Extreme left | $\begin{gathered} 0.800^{* * *} \\ (0.041) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.811^{* * *} \\ (0.037) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.888^{* * *} \\ (0.046) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.903^{* *} * \\ (0.042) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.317^{* * *} \\ (0.061) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.387^{* * *} \\ (0.057) \end{gathered}$ |
| Left | $\begin{gathered} 0.748^{* * *} \\ (0.031) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.718^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.726^{* * *} \\ (0.036) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.722^{* * *} \\ (0.033) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.959^{* * *} \\ (0.051) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.933^{* * *} \\ (0.048) \end{gathered}$ |
| Center | $\begin{gathered} 0.365^{* * *} \\ (0.030) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.356^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.287^{* * *} \\ (0.036) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.278^{* * *} \\ (0.033) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.247^{* * *} \\ (0.053) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.272^{* * *} \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ |
| Right | $\begin{gathered} 0.422^{* * *} \\ (0.031) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.388^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.348^{* * *} \\ (0.037) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.311^{* * *} \\ (0.034) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.180^{* *} \\ & (0.055) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.128^{*} \\ & (0.051) \end{aligned}$ |
| Extreme right | $\begin{gathered} 0.492^{* * *} \\ (0.042) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.460^{* * *} \\ (0.040) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.365^{* * *} \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.301^{* * *} \\ (0.047) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.536^{* * *} \\ (0.072) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.507^{* * *} \\ (0.070) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of trade union $\times$ Left-right scale: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Member $\times$ Extreme left | $\begin{gathered} 0.120 \\ (0.086) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.072 \\ (0.099) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.243 \\ (0.131) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Member $\times$ Left | $\begin{gathered} -0.176^{* *} \\ (0.068) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.069 \\ & (0.082) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.181 \\ & (0.117) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Member $\times$ Center | $\begin{aligned} & -0.106 \\ & (0.068) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.092 \\ & (0.083) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.029 \\ & (0.121) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Member $\times$ Right | $\begin{gathered} -0.224^{* *} \\ (0.068) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.213^{*} \\ & (0.083) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.332^{* *} \\ (0.124) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Member $\times$ Extreme right | $\begin{gathered} -0.278^{* *} \\ (0.094) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.348^{* *} \\ (0.112) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.391^{*} \\ & (0.164) \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Member of political party $\times$ Left-right scale: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Member $\times$ Extreme left |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.142 \\ (0.156) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ (0.192) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.074 \\ & (0.212) \end{aligned}$ |
| Member $\times$ Left |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.149 \\ & (0.143) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.118 \\ & (0.180) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.280 \\ & (0.202) \end{aligned}$ |
| Member $\times$ Center |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.177 \\ & (0.145) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.166 \\ & (0.184) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.356 \\ & (0.209) \end{aligned}$ |
| Member $\times$ Right |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.273 \\ & (0.142) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.246 \\ & (0.180) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.397 \\ & (0.207) \end{aligned}$ |
| Member $\times$ Extreme right |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.271 \\ & (0.157) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.163 \\ & (0.196) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.446^{*} \\ & (0.227) \end{aligned}$ |
| Continued on next page |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Economic performance | Continued from previous page |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -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 |
| Note: entries are log-odds with standard errors in parentheses. Significance: * $=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.05$; ${ }^{* *}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.01$; ${ }^{* * *}=\mathrm{p} \leq$ 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 |  | Taken part in lawful public demonstration |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Intercept | $\begin{gathered} -2.088^{* * *} \\ (0.146) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.088^{* * *} \\ (0.146) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.649^{* * *} \\ (0.150) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.649^{* * *} \\ (0.151) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.751^{* * *} \\ (0.176) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.751^{* * *} \\ (0.177) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of trade union | $\begin{gathered} 0.261^{* * *} \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.260^{* * *} \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.062^{* * *} \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.062^{* * *} \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.528^{* * *} \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.534^{* * *} \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of political party | $\begin{gathered} 0.553^{* * *} \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.537^{* *} * \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.173^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.165^{* * *} \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.830^{* * *} \\ (0.034) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.807^{* * *} \\ (0.036) \end{gathered}$ |
| Distance from government | $\begin{gathered} 0.086^{* * *} \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.085^{* * *} \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.083^{* * *} \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.085^{* *} * \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.176^{* * *} \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.178^{* * *} \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ |
| Member of trade union $\times$ Distance | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.018 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.034 \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Member of political party $\times$ Distance |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.078^{* * *} \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.040 \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0.064^{*} \\ & (0.028) \end{aligned}$ |
| Economic performance | $\begin{aligned} & -0.029 \\ & (0.032) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.029 \\ & (0.032) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.008 \\ & (0.030) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.008 \\ & (0.030) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.044 \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.044 \\ (0.044) \end{gathered}$ |
| Southern country | $\begin{gathered} -1.071^{* * *} \\ (0.259) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.073^{* * *} \\ (0.260) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.044^{* * *} \\ (0.266) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.045^{* * *} \\ (0.267) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.358 \\ (0.308) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.358 \\ (0.309) \end{gathered}$ |
| Eastern country | $\begin{gathered} -0.991^{* * *} \\ (0.240) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.993^{* * *} \\ (0.240) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.163^{* * *} \\ (0.246) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.165^{* * *} \\ (0.246) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.448 \\ (0.285) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.451 \\ & (0.285) \end{aligned}$ |
| EU non-member country | $\begin{gathered} 0.215 \\ (0.365) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.215 \\ (0.367) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.192 \\ (0.371) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.192 \\ (0.375) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.224 \\ (0.432) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.224 \\ (0.431) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regional Authority Index | $\begin{gathered} 0.184 \\ (0.103) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.185 \\ (0.103) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.162 \\ (0.104) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.162 \\ (0.104) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.262^{*} \\ & (0.123) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.262^{*} \\ & (0.124) \end{aligned}$ |
| Effective number of electoral parties | $\begin{aligned} & -0.019 \\ & (0.061) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.018 \\ & (0.061) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.053 \\ & (0.061) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.053 \\ & (0.061) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.141 \\ & (0.081) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.140 \\ & (0.081) \end{aligned}$ |
| Election year | $\begin{gathered} 0.029 \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.028 \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.053 \\ (0.046) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.053 \\ (0.046) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.016 \\ & (0.066) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.017 \\ & (0.066) \end{aligned}$ |
| Year | $\begin{aligned} & -0.025 \\ & (0.023) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.025 \\ & (0.023) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.001 \\ & (0.021) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.001 \\ & (0.021) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.047 \\ & (0.031) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.047 \\ & (0.031) \end{aligned}$ |
| Education: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lower secondary | $\begin{gathered} 0.367^{* * *} \\ (0.029) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.367^{* * *} \\ (0.029) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.348^{* * *} \\ (0.035) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.348^{* * *} \\ (0.035) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.297^{* * *} \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.297^{* * *} \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ |
| Upper secondary | $\begin{gathered} 0.641^{* * *} \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.641^{* * *} \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.703^{* * *} \\ (0.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.703^{* *} * \\ (0.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.484^{* * *} \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.484^{* * *} \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ |
| Post-secondary or tertiary | $\begin{gathered} 0.994^{* * *} \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.994^{* *} * \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.157^{* * *} \\ (0.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.157^{* * *} \\ (0.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.791^{* * *} \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.791^{* *} * \\ (0.045) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 35- | $\begin{gathered} 0.186^{* * *} \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.186^{* * *} \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.053^{* *} \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.054^{* *} \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.356^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \\ \text { ontinued or } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.355^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \\ \text { next page } \end{gathered}$ |


|  | Continued from previous page |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $65+$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.495^{* * *} \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.496^{* * *} \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.396^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.396^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.753^{* * *} \\ (0.040) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.755^{* * *} \\ (0.040) \end{gathered}$ |
| Gender | $\begin{gathered} 0.256^{* * *} \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.256^{* * *} \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.237^{* * *} \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.237^{* * *} \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.037 \\ & (0.021) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.037 \\ & (0.021) \end{aligned}$ |
| Paid work | $\begin{aligned} & 0.041^{* *} \\ & (0.015) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.041^{* *} \\ & (0.015) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.121^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.121^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ |
| Lives with husband, wife, partner | $\begin{aligned} & -0.030^{*} \\ & (0.013) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.029^{*} \\ & (0.013) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.000 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.288^{* * *} \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.287^{* * *} \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ |
| How interested in politics | $\begin{gathered} 0.605^{* * *} \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.605^{* * *} \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.785^{* * *} \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.785^{* * *} \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.792^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.792^{* * *} \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ |
| Trust in country's parliament | $\begin{aligned} & -0.016^{*} \\ & (0.007) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.016^{*} \\ & (0.007) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.088^{* * *} \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.088^{* * *} \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.014 \\ & (0.011) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.013 \\ & (0.011) \end{aligned}$ |
| LR Scale | $\begin{gathered} -0.128^{* * *} \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.128^{* * *} \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.180^{* * *} \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.180^{* * *} \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.320^{* * *} \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.320^{* * *} \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ |
| 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: ${ }^{*}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.05 ;{ }^{* *}=\mathrm{p} \leq 0.01$; ${ }^{* * *}=$ $\mathrm{p} \leq 0.001$. Countries: 26; surveys: 111. Continuous variables are standardized. Distance from government $=$ $\left|\bar{P}_{g}-P_{i}\right|$, 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).

