**Appendix**

**Measures and Coding**

The variables drawn from the survey are coded as follows.

*Gender* Male (1), female (0).

*Age* “What is your age range?” Under 25 (1), 25–29 (2), 30–34 (3), 35–39 (4), 40–44 (5), 45–49 (6), 50–54 (7), 55–59 (8), 60–64 (9), and 65 and over (10).

*Household Income* For Korean activists: “Please estimate your annual Household income.” Under 10,000,000 won (1), 10,000,000 – 20,000,000 won (2), 20,000,000 – 29,999,999 won (3), 30,000,000 – 39,999,999 won (4), 40,000,000 – 49,999,999 won (5), 50,000,000 – 59,999,999 won (6), 60,000,000 – 69,999,999 won (7), 70,000,000 – 80,000,000 won (8), 80,000,000 won and over (9). For Mongolian activists: “Please estimate your monthly household income (including your own income).” Under 100,000 tugrik (1), 100,000 – 199,999 tugrik (2), 200,000 – 299,999 tugrik (3), 300,000 – 399,999 tugrik (4), 400,000 – 499,999 tugrik (5), 500,000 – 599,999 tugrik (6), 600,000 – 699,999 tugrik (7), 700,000 – 799,999 tugrik (8), 800,000 tugrik and over (9)

*Economic Satisfaction* “As for your own family, how do you rate your economic situation today?” From very bad (1) to very good (5).

*Left-Right Ideology* “In politics, people sometimes talk about the ‘progressive’ and the ‘conservative.’ Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the progressive and 10 means the conservative?” In Mongolia, I used ‘leftist’ and ‘rightist’ instead of ‘progressive’ and ‘rightist.’

*Political Efficacy* “In your opinion, how much are you able to influence this party’s policy programs?” From not at all (1) to very much (4).

*Read Party Programs* “Have you ever read the platform or election manifestos the party?” I have thoroughly read it (2), I have come across but have not thoroughly read it (1), and I have not read it at all (0).

*Read Party News* “Before you joined this election campaigning, did you regularly receive and read this party’s newspaper, leaflet, or email newsletter?” Regularly or at least three times a year (2), occasionally or at least once a year (1), rarely or Not at all (0).

*Voted* “Did you vote last election?” Yes (1) and no (0).

*Campaigning Experience* “Did you participate in campaigning activities in any of previous elections?” “I participated in election campaigning of this party” (1), “I participated in election campaigning of other parties” (-1), and “this is my first participation in election campaigning” (0).

*Protests* “Have you ever participated in a protest or demonstration?” Yes (1) and no (0)

*Local Meeting* “Have you attended the meetings of the local branch of this party before this election campaigning?” Regularly or at least twice (2), occasionally or at least once (1), and not at all (0).

*National Meeting* “Have you attended National Party Congress or presidential primary of this party?” Yes at least twice (2), yes once (1), not at all (0).

*Party Hierarchy* “Which of the following describes best your current position with respect to this party? If you are taking multiple positions, please indicate all your positions.” Management or staff of the national party organizations (6), management or staff of city/province branches or elected representative at the city/province parliament level (5), management or staff of council or elected representative at the council parliament level (4), delegates of National Party Congress (3), working for this party only temporarily for this election, with an official title with respect to this party or this election camp (2), and working for this party only temporarily for this election, without an official title with respect to this party or this election camp (1). When respondents indicate multiple positions, they were assigned the highest value among their choices.