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Different worlds of contention? Protest in Northwestern, Southern and Eastern Europe

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Online Appendix: Different Worlds of Contention?

Protest in Northwestern, Southern and Eastern Europe

Endre Borbáth, Theresa Gessler

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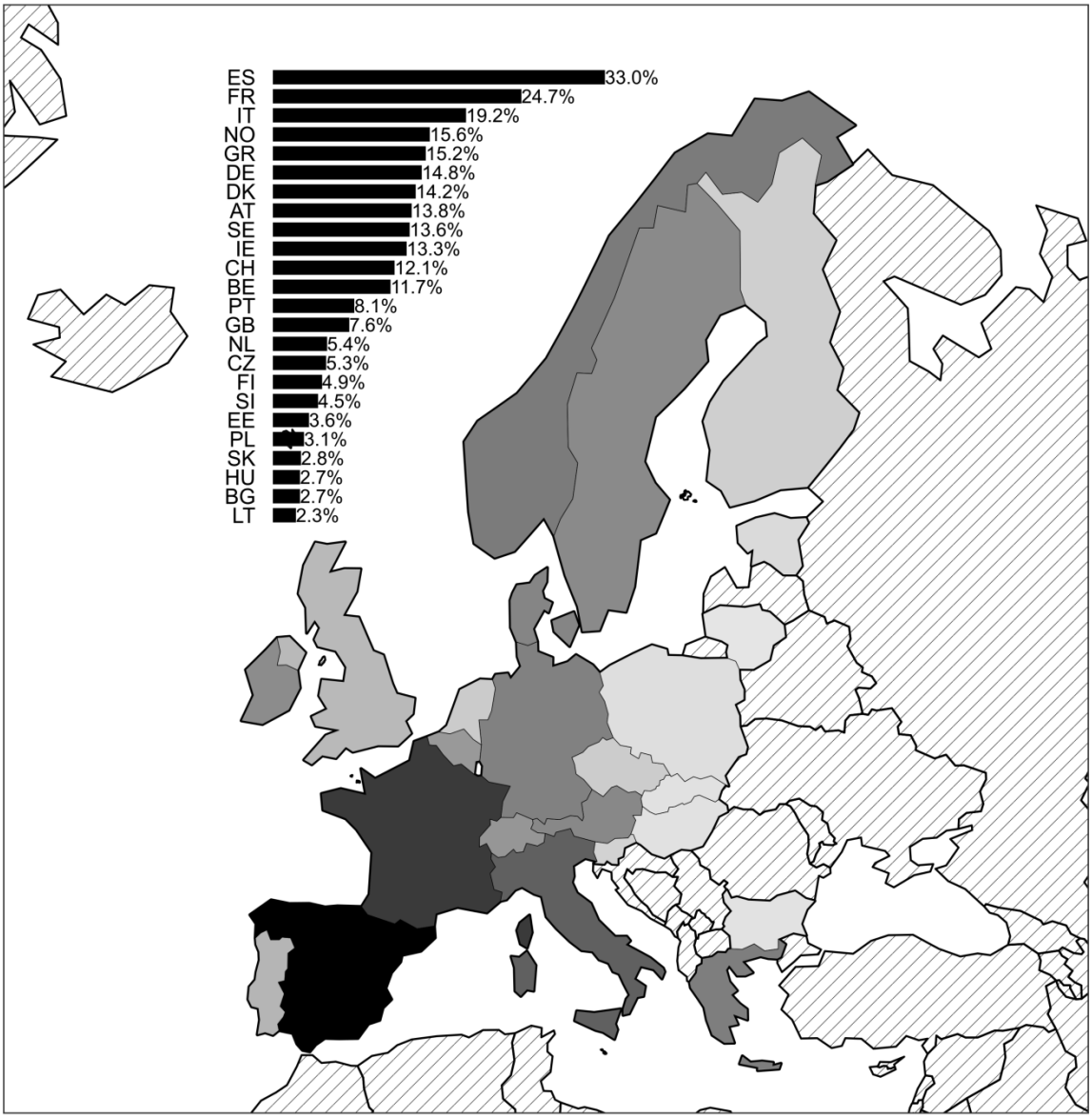
All replication material is available at: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/HUEPQJ

Appendix A descriptive statistics and additional models

Figure 1: Bivariate relationship between ideology and protest at the country level



Note: The map shows the average share of protesters among those who identify as radical or moderate left across the different surveys from the respective country. Darker shades reflect higher average share of left-wing protesters relative to all left-wing citizens in each country.

Figure 2: Random effects by country*year groups

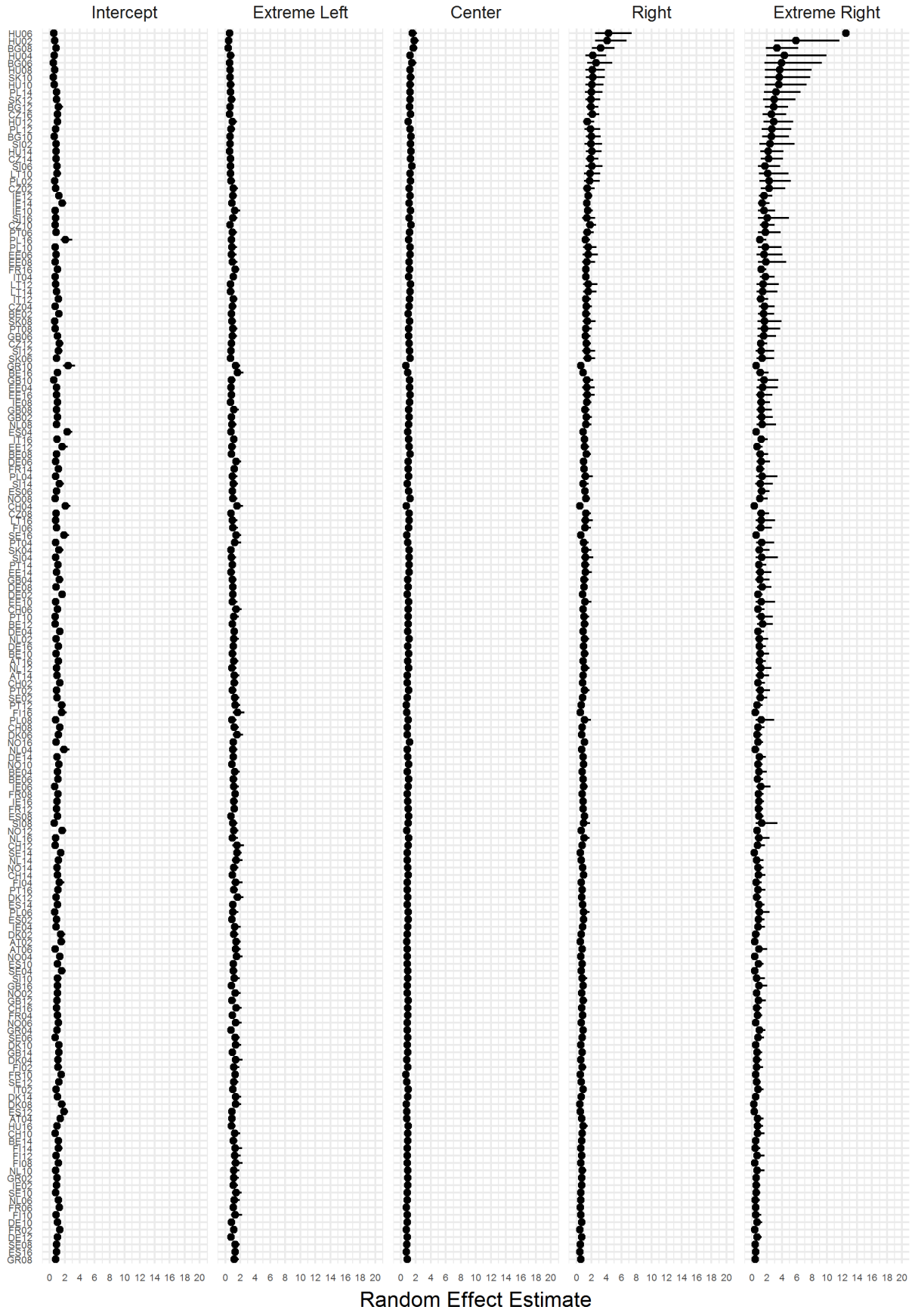
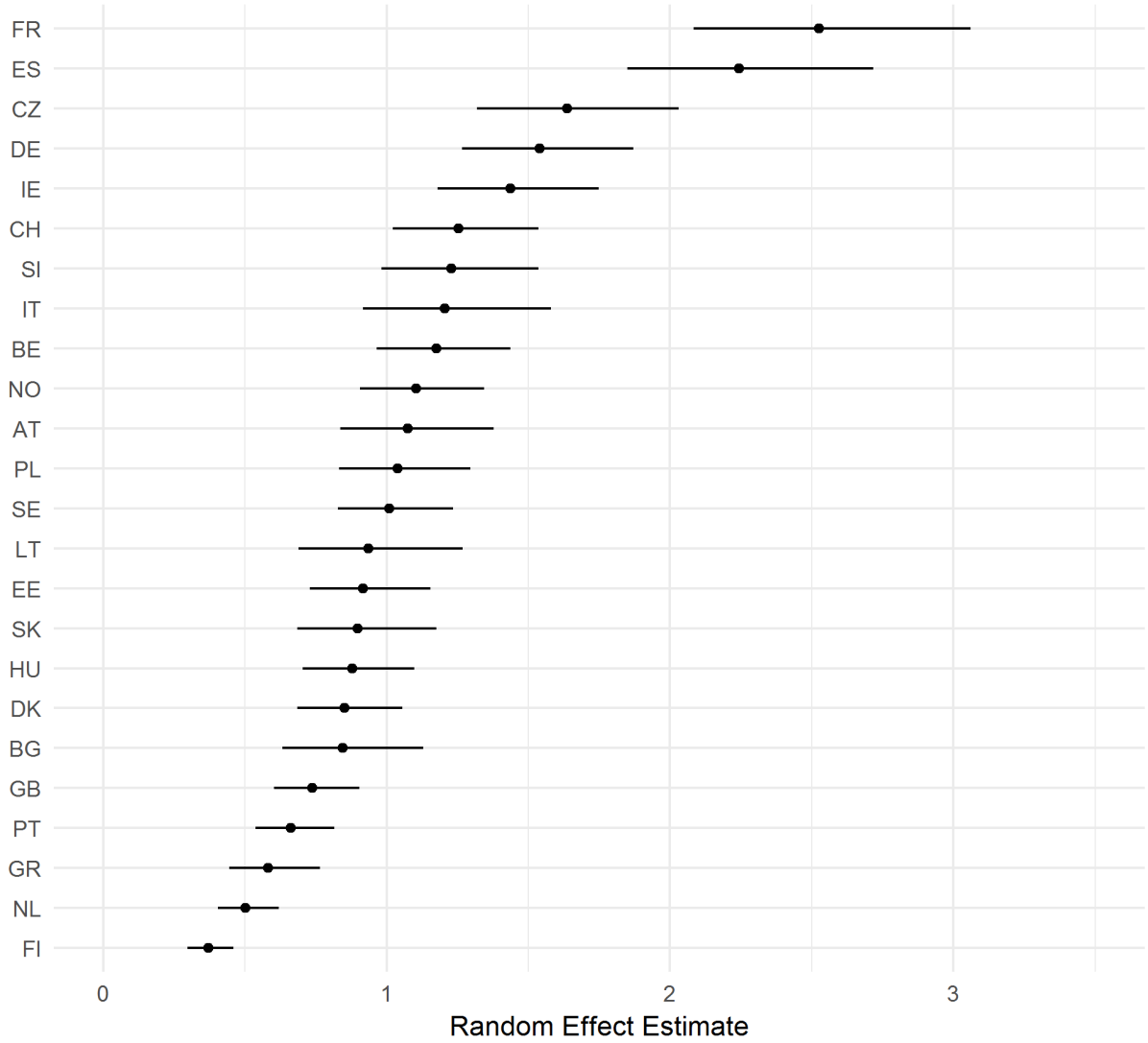


Figure 3: Random effects by countries



Notes: Both the country*year and the country level random effects are from model 1 with aggregate controls and region, presented by table 1 in the paper. The regional averages are very similar across all random effect plots.

Table 1: Categorical estimates of year of the survey * personal ideology * region

	Model 1
Intercept	-2.46 (0.39)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.60 (0.11)***
Center	-0.60 (0.08)***
Right	-0.99 (0.11)***
Extreme right	-0.80 (0.20)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.51 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.94 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.40 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.50 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.25 (0.09)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.27 (0.53)
Voice & Accountability	-0.74 (0.41)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.35 (0.34)
Eastern Europe	-1.84 (0.38)***
2004	0.07 (0.13)
2006	-0.25 (0.13)
2008	-0.17 (0.13)
2010	-0.30 (0.13)*
2012	-0.21 (0.13)
2014	-0.04 (0.13)
2016	-0.08 (0.14)
Ext Left*SE	-0.30 (0.23)
Center*SE	0.08 (0.17)
Right*SE	0.10 (0.24)
Ext Right*SE	-0.10 (0.42)
Ext Left*EE	-0.14 (0.34)
Center*EE	0.93 (0.25)***
Right*EE	1.62 (0.28)***
Ext Right*EE	1.97 (0.38)***
SE*2004	0.12 (0.25)
EE*2004	0.44 (0.31)
SE*2006	0.21 (0.30)
EE*2006	0.24 (0.33)
SE*2008	0.08 (0.27)
EE*2008	0.62 (0.30)*
SE*2010	0.68 (0.27)*

EE*2010	0.61 (0.30)*
SE*2012	0.83 (0.28)**
EE*2012	1.09 (0.30)***
SE*2014	0.26 (0.31)
EE*2014	0.82 (0.30)**
SE*2016	0.21 (0.27)
EE*2016	1.00 (0.30)***
Rad Left*2004	0.06 (0.16)
Center*2004	-0.06 (0.11)
Right*2004	-0.13 (0.16)
Ext Right*2004	-0.25 (0.31)
Rad Left*2006	0.26 (0.16)
Center*2006	-0.01 (0.12)
Right*2006	0.10 (0.16)
Ext Right*2006	0.13 (0.30)
Rad Left*2008	0.02 (0.16)
Center*2008	0.10 (0.12)
Right*2008	0.20 (0.16)
Ext Right*2008	-0.02 (0.31)
Rad Left*2010	0.05 (0.17)
Center*2010	0.04 (0.12)
Right*2010	0.10 (0.16)
Ext Right*2010	-0.30 (0.32)
Rad Left*2012	-0.03 (0.16)
Center*2012	-0.04 (0.12)
Right*2012	0.15 (0.16)
Ext Right*2012	0.04 (0.30)
Rad Left*2014	0.11 (0.15)
Center*2014	0.01 (0.11)
Right*2014	0.14 (0.15)
Ext Right*2014	-0.19 (0.30)
Rad Left*2016	0.25 (0.15)
Center*2016	0.03 (0.11)
Right*2016	0.22 (0.16)
Ext Right*2016	0.13 (0.30)
SE*Rad Left*2004	-0.02 (0.32)
EE*Rad Left*2004	-0.53 (0.46)
SE*Center*2004	-0.10 (0.24)
EE*Center*2004	-0.59 (0.33)
SE*Right*2004	0.28 (0.33)
EE*Right*2004	-0.90 (0.38)*
SE*Ext Right*2004	0.73 (0.58)
EE*Ext Right*2004	-0.70 (0.55)
SE*Rad Left*2006	-0.03 (0.37)
EE*Rad Left*2006	-0.63 (0.49)

SE*Center*2006	-0.08 (0.27)
EE*Center*2006	0.03 (0.35)
SE*Right*2006	0.52 (0.38)
EE*Right*2006	-0.19 (0.39)
SE*Ext Right*2006	0.51 (0.71)
EE*Ext Right*2006	-0.38 (0.54)
SE*Rad Left*2008	0.04 (0.34)
EE*Rad Left*2008	-0.84 (0.45)
SE*Center*2008	-0.18 (0.25)
EE*Center*2008	-0.86 (0.32)**
SE*Right*2008	0.01 (0.35)
EE*Right*2008	-0.97 (0.36)**
SE*Ext Right*2008	-0.18 (0.65)
EE*Ext Right*2008	-0.92 (0.52)
SE*Rad Left*2010	0.34 (0.33)
EE*Rad Left*2010	-0.55 (0.45)
SE*Center*2010	-0.42 (0.25)
EE*Center*2010	-0.49 (0.32)
SE*Right*2010	-0.19 (0.35)
EE*Right*2010	-0.67 (0.36)
SE*Ext Right*2010	0.55 (0.62)
EE*Ext Right*2010	-0.47 (0.52)
SE*Rad Left*2012	0.25 (0.32)
EE*Rad Left*2012	-0.18 (0.41)
SE*Center*2012	-0.04 (0.24)
EE*Center*2012	-0.56 (0.30)
SE*Right*2012	-0.28 (0.35)
EE*Right*2012	-0.88 (0.34)**
SE*Ext Right*2012	-0.12 (0.61)
EE*Ext Right*2012	-0.99 (0.49)*
SE*Rad Left*2014	-0.01 (0.34)
EE*Rad Left*2014	-0.56 (0.43)
SE*Center*2014	-0.03 (0.26)
EE*Center*2014	-0.64 (0.31)*
SE*Right*2014	-0.00 (0.38)
EE*Right*2014	-0.85 (0.36)*
SE*Ext Right*2014	0.52 (0.67)
EE*Ext Right*2014	-0.83 (0.53)
SE*Rad Left*2016	0.09 (0.32)
EE*Rad Left*2016	-0.71 (0.44)
SE*Center*2016	-0.09 (0.25)
EE*Center*2016	-0.68 (0.31)*
SE*Right*2016	-0.60 (0.36)
EE*Right*2016	-1.16 (0.36)**
SE*Ext Right*2016	0.35 (0.60)

EE*Ext Right*2016	-1.52 (0.53)**
AIC	115075.93
BIC	116637.93
Log Likelihood	-57388.96
Num. obs.	263871
Cntry*Yrs	167
Countries	24
Var Cntry*Yrs: Intercept	0.07
Var Cntry*Yrs: Extreme Left	0.04
Var Cntry*Yrs: Center	0.02
Var Cntry*Yrs: Right	0.08
Var Cntry*Yrs: Extreme Right	0.24
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Intercept, Ext Left	-0.01
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Intercept, Center	-0.01
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Intercept, Right	-0.03
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.06
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Ext Left, Center	0.00
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Ext Left, Right	-0.01
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.01
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Center, Right	0.03
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Center, Ext Right	0.03
Cov Cntry*Yrs: Right, Ext Right	0.12
Var Country: Intercept	0.21

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 4: Marginal effects of categorical estimates of year of the survey * personal ideology * region

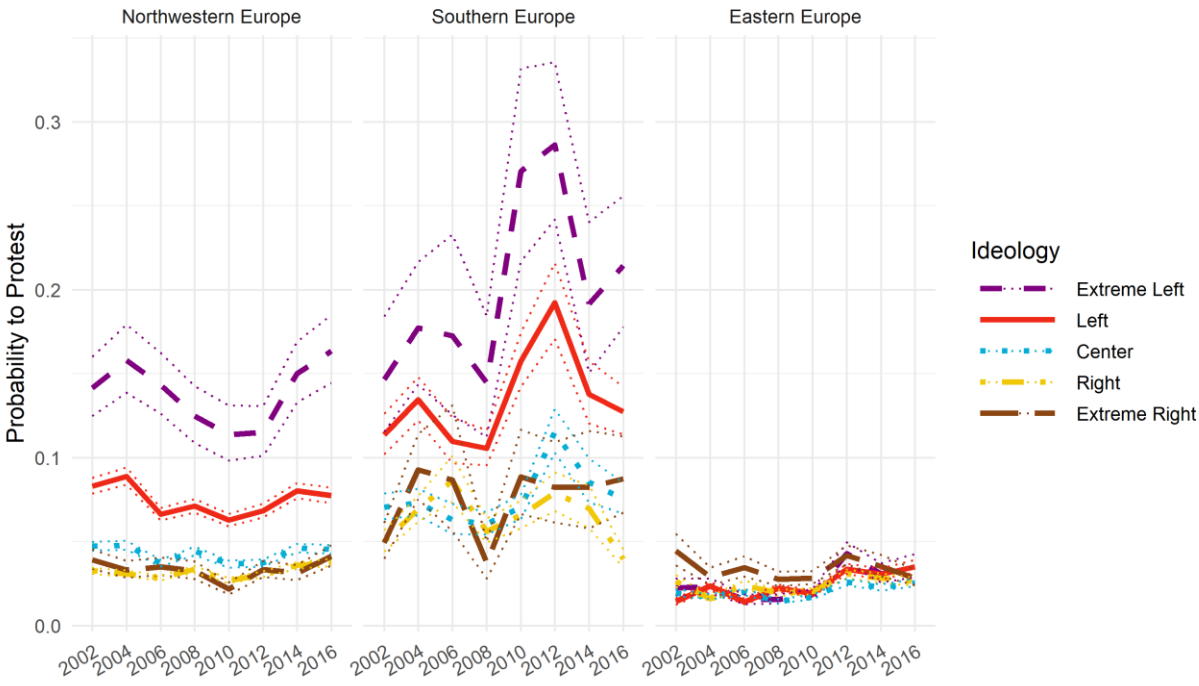


Table 2: The effect of distance from the government on protest over time conditional on the three macro regions:

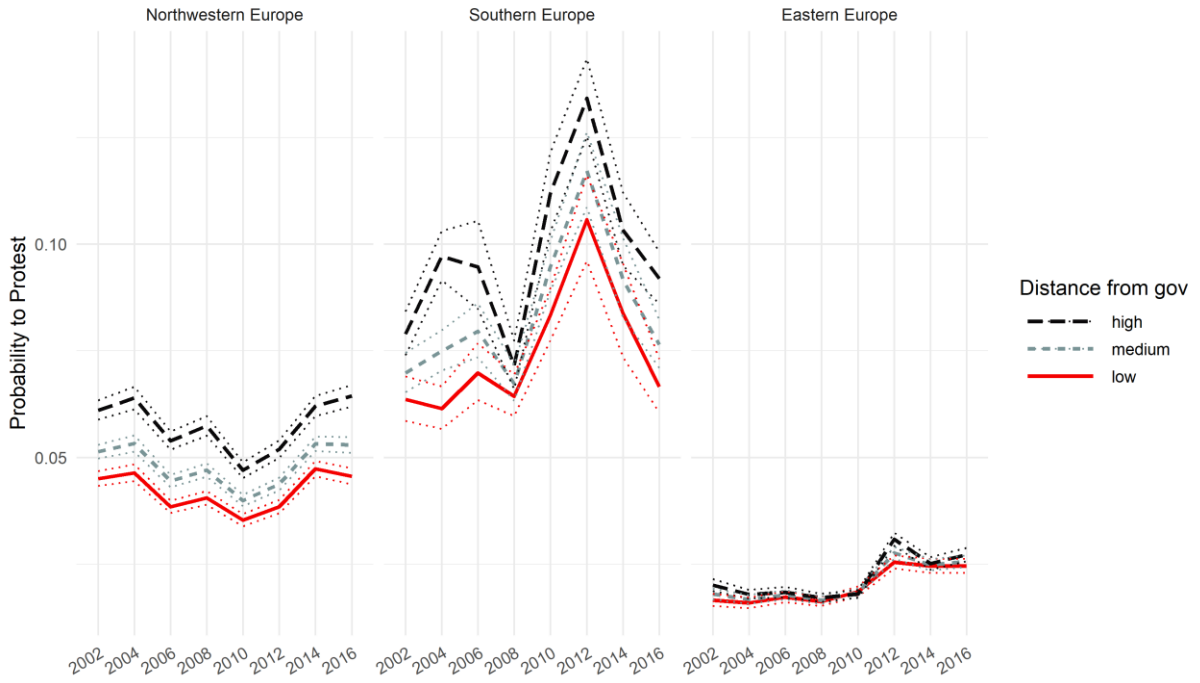
	Model 1
Intercept	-2.73 (0.39)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.16 (0.05)**
Center	-0.36 (0.03)***
Right	-0.57 (0.05)***
Extreme right	-0.65 (0.08)***
Distance from the gov.	1.21 (0.20)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.93 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.41 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.52 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.22 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.06 (0.10)
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.15 (0.52)
Voice & Accountability	-0.80 (0.43)
2004 (base: 2002)	0.03 (0.15)
2006	-0.18 (0.14)
2008	-0.13 (0.14)
2010	-0.24 (0.14)
2012	-0.16 (0.14)
2014	0.07 (0.14)
2016	-0.00 (0.16)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.40 (0.34)
Eastern Europe	-0.98 (0.38)*
Gov. dist*SE	-0.33 (0.41)
Gov. dist*EE	-0.47 (0.46)
SE*2004	-0.16 (0.31)
SE*2006	0.24 (0.33)
SE*2008	0.19 (0.30)
SE*2010	0.50 (0.30)
SE*2012	0.70 (0.31)*
SE*2014	0.23 (0.36)
SE*2016	0.01 (0.32)
EE*2004	-0.04 (0.31)
EE*2006	0.27 (0.30)
EE*2008	0.16 (0.30)
EE*2010	0.44 (0.29)

EE*2012	0.60 (0.29)*
EE*2014	0.40 (0.29)
EE*2016	0.44 (0.29)
Gov. Dist.*2004	0.06 (0.28)
Gov. Dist.*2006	0.12 (0.27)
Gov. Dist.*2008	0.16 (0.28)
Gov. Dist.*2010	-0.09 (0.29)
Gov. Dist.*2012	-0.03 (0.28)
Gov. Dist.*2014	-0.14 (0.26)
Gov. Dist.*2016	0.17 (0.27)
Gov. Dist.*2004*SE	0.93 (0.59)
Gov. Dist.*2006*SE	0.24 (0.67)
Gov. Dist.*2008*SE	-0.61 (0.61)
Gov. Dist.*2010*SE	0.44 (0.60)
Gov. Dist.*2012*SE	0.17 (0.58)
Gov. Dist.*2014*SE	0.13 (0.65)
Gov. Dist.*2016*SE	0.28 (0.59)
Gov. Dist.*2004*EE	-0.34 (0.64)
Gov. Dist.*2006*EE	-0.62 (0.64)
Gov. Dist.*2008*EE	-0.69 (0.62)
Gov. Dist.*2010*EE	-0.75 (0.59)
Gov. Dist.*2012*EE	0.02 (0.57)
Gov. Dist.*2014*EE	-0.51 (0.59)
Gov. Dist.*2016*EE	-0.51 (0.61)
AIC	114960.10
BIC	115809.24
Log Likelihood	-57399.05
Num. obs.	263871
Country*Years	167
Countries	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.09
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05
Var Country*Years: Right	0.24
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.57
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.09
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.15
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.10
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.15
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.09
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.09
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.33

Var Country: Intercept	0.20

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 5: Marginal effects of estimates of year of the survey * distance from the government * region



Appendix B regression tables with all estimates included in the paper

Table 1: All estimates in table 1 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.64 (0.38)***	-2.58 (0.38)***	-2.50 (0.40)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.48 (0.04)***	0.68 (0.04)***	0.63 (0.08)***
Center	-0.51 (0.03)***	-0.60 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.06)***
Right	-0.66 (0.05)***	-0.90 (0.04)***	-1.01 (0.08)***
Extreme right	-0.48 (0.07)***	-0.86 (0.09)***	-0.88 (0.15)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.51 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***	0.51 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.94 (0.02)***	0.94 (0.02)***	0.94 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.42 (0.06)***	-2.40 (0.06)***	-2.40 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.50 (0.12)***	3.50 (0.12)***	3.50 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.29 (0.10)**	0.26 (0.10)*	0.28 (0.10)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.60 (0.42)	0.63 (0.42)	0.04 (0.53)
Voice & Accountability	-1.05 (0.33)**	-1.04 (0.33)**	-0.63 (0.36)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.64 (0.30)*	0.66 (0.30)*	0.44 (0.32)
Eastern Europe	-0.83 (0.31)**	-1.15 (0.30)***	-1.75 (0.36)***
Year of Survey			-0.07 (0.12)
Ext Left*SE		-0.22 (0.07)**	-0.30 (0.16)
Center*SE		-0.05 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.12)
Right*SE		0.05 (0.10)	0.36 (0.16)*
Ext Right*SE		0.22 (0.17)	0.19 (0.29)
Ext Left*EE		-0.63 (0.10)***	-0.57 (0.22)*
Center*EE		0.40 (0.07)***	0.65 (0.16)***
Right*EE		0.87 (0.09)***	1.25 (0.18)***
Ext Right*EE		1.18 (0.14)***	1.68 (0.27)***
Ext Left*Year			0.11 (0.13)
Center*Year			0.04 (0.09)
Right*Year			0.24 (0.13)
Ext Right*Year			0.05 (0.25)
SE*Year*Ext Left			0.17 (0.26)
EE*Year*Ext Left			-0.14 (0.34)
SE*Year*Center			-0.02 (0.20)
EE*Year*Center			-0.44 (0.24)
SE*Year*Right			-0.64 (0.28)*
EE*Year*Right			-0.71 (0.28)*
SE*Year*Ext Right			0.04 (0.49)

EE*Year*Ext Right			-0.94 (0.43)*
AIC	115112.12	114998.13	114989.61
BIC	115489.51	115459.39	115608.12
Log Likelihood	-57520.06	-57455.07	-57435.80
Num. obs.	263871	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167	167
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.12	0.11	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.12	0.02	0.05
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.02	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.24	0.10	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.53	0.27	0.27
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.02	-0.00	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.04	-0.02	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.09	-0.04	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.15	-0.08	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.01	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.11	-0.02	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.13	-0.00	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.10	0.03	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.10	0.02	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.32	0.14	0.13
Var Country: Intercept	0.20	0.20	0.22

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 2: All estimates in table 2 in the paper (only Southern and Eastern Europe)

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-3.28 (0.46)***	-3.29 (0.45)***	-3.03 (0.43)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.14 (0.08)	0.16 (0.08)*	0.42 (0.10)***
Center	-0.31 (0.07)***	-0.32 (0.07)***	-0.66 (0.08)***
Right	-0.31 (0.09)***	-0.32 (0.09)***	-0.97 (0.11)***
Extreme right	-0.03 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.13)	-0.85 (0.21)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.55 (0.04)***	0.59 (0.04)***	0.58 (0.04)***
Party ID (cont.)	1.06 (0.04)***	1.06 (0.04)***	1.06 (0.04)***
Male	0.14 (0.03)***	0.13 (0.03)***	0.13 (0.03)***
Age (cont.)	-2.43 (0.25)***	-2.81 (0.26)***	-2.82 (0.26)***
Years of education (cont.)	4.42 (0.20)***	4.64 (0.21)***	4.64 (0.21)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
Small City	-0.29 (0.04)***	-0.28 (0.04)***	-0.28 (0.04)***
Village	-0.57 (0.04)***	-0.56 (0.04)***	-0.56 (0.04)***
Countryside	-0.52 (0.13)***	-0.51 (0.13)***	-0.51 (0.13)***
Unemployed	0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)
Gov. L-R	0.55 (0.16)***	0.55 (0.16)***	0.52 (0.16)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	1.90 (0.86)*	1.94 (0.87)*	1.96 (0.84)*
Voice & Accountability	-0.72 (0.53)	-0.80 (0.53)	-0.68 (0.53)
Exposure	0.02 (0.14)	0.58 (0.18)**	0.52 (0.21)*
Eastern Europe (base: Southern Europe)	-1.23 (0.30)***	-1.14 (0.29)***	-1.48 (0.28)***
Exposure*EE		-0.59 (0.12)***	-0.78 (0.20)***
Ext Left*EE			-0.06 (0.19)
Center*EE			0.33 (0.13)*
Right*EE			0.79 (0.16)***
Ext Right*EE			0.86 (0.26)**
Ext Left*Exposure			0.03 (0.28)
Center*Exposure			0.01 (0.22)
Right*Exposure			0.21 (0.23)
Ext Right*Exposure			0.23 (0.43)
EE*Ext Left*Exposure			-0.62 (0.39)
EE*Center*Exposure			0.42 (0.29)
EE*Right*Exposure			0.13 (0.30)
EE*Ext Right*Exposure			0.43 (0.48)
AIC	34619.35	34598.52	34558.46
BIC	34959.01	34947.62	35020.78
Log Likelihood	-17273.68	-17262.26	-17230.23
Num. obs.	92503	92503	92503
Country*Years	71	71	71
Countries	11	11	11
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.21	0.21	0.16
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.08	0.08	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.12	0.11	0.04

Var Country*Years: Right	0.35	0.35	0.13
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.75	0.75	0.42
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.06	0.05	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.11	-0.11	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.18	-0.17	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.29	-0.28	-0.15
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.09	-0.09	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.14	-0.13	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.10	-0.09	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.19	0.18	0.05
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.19	0.18	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.42	0.42	0.15
Var Country: Intercept	0.11	0.11	0.11

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 3: All estimates in table 3 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**
Intercept	-2.58 (0.38)***	-2.57 (0.39)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.47 (0.04)***	0.39 (0.07)***
Center	-0.51 (0.03)***	-0.55 (0.04)***
Right	-0.66 (0.05)***	-0.65 (0.06)***
Extreme right	-0.49 (0.07)***	-0.90 (0.15)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.85 (0.03)***	0.94 (0.05)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.41 (0.06)***	-2.40 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.52 (0.12)***	3.51 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.39 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.27 (0.10)*	0.26 (0.10)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.62 (0.42)	0.64 (0.42)
Voice & Accountability	-1.07 (0.33)**	-1.05 (0.34)**
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.50 (0.30)	0.52 (0.31)
Eastern Europe	-0.93 (0.31)**	-1.14 (0.31)***
SE:Party ID	0.27 (0.06)***	0.30 (0.09)**
EE:Party ID	0.20 (0.07)**	-0.03 (0.13)
SE:Ext Left		0.02 (0.14)
EE:Ext Left		-0.39 (0.18)*
SE:Center		0.06 (0.09)
EE:Center		0.25 (0.10)*
SE:Right		-0.08 (0.13)
EE:Right		0.56 (0.12)***
SE:Ext Right		-0.03 (0.29)
EE:Ext Right		0.96 (0.22)***
Ext Left:Party ID		0.47 (0.10)***
Center:Party ID		-0.14 (0.07)
Right:Party ID		-0.50 (0.08)***
Ext Right:Party ID		0.07 (0.19)
SE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.45 (0.20)*
EE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.39 (0.26)
SE:Center:Party ID		-0.21 (0.15)
EE:Center:Party ID		0.47 (0.18)**
SE:Right:Party ID		0.26 (0.17)
EE:Right:Party ID		0.64 (0.18)***
SE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.28 (0.35)
EE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.34 (0.28)

AIC	115102.64	114895.44
BIC	115501.00	115503.46
Log Likelihood	-57513.32	-57389.72
Num. obs.	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167
Countries	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.12	0.11
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.09	0.01
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.24	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.52	0.27
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.03	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.04	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.09	-0.05
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.15	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.06	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.13	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.13	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.09	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.10	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.32	0.13
Var Country: Intercept	0.20	0.20

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 4: All estimates in table 4 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.86 (0.39)***	-3.01 (0.39)***	-2.67 (0.40)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.14 (0.05)**	0.17 (0.05)***	0.18 (0.05)***
Center	-0.36 (0.03)***	-0.36 (0.03)***	-0.37 (0.03)***
Right	-0.57 (0.05)***	-0.57 (0.05)***	-0.57 (0.05)***
Extreme right	-0.67 (0.07)***	-0.64 (0.08)***	-0.64 (0.07)***
Distance from the gov.	1.08 (0.09)***	1.25 (0.10)***	0.51 (0.19)**
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.92 (0.02)***	0.92 (0.02)***	0.92 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.41 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.51 (0.12)***	3.52 (0.12)***	3.52 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.13 (0.11)	0.19 (0.10)	-0.56 (0.18)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.66 (0.42)	0.63 (0.42)	0.60 (0.42)
Voice & Accountability	-1.11 (0.33)***	-1.04 (0.33)**	-0.93 (0.33)**
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.62 (0.29)*	0.67 (0.30)*	0.45 (0.33)
Eastern Europe	-0.88 (0.30)**	-0.45 (0.31)	-1.46 (0.33)***
Gov. dist*SE		-0.12 (0.16)	0.18 (0.32)
Gov. dist*EE		-1.02 (0.19)***	0.98 (0.32)**
Gov. L-R*SE			0.48 (0.31)
Gov. L-R*EE			1.94 (0.28)***
Gov. L-R*Gov. dist			1.38 (0.33)***
Gov. L-R*SE*Gov. dist			-0.63 (0.55)
Gov. L-R*EE*Gov. dist			-3.70 (0.53)***
AIC	114963.15	114939.17	114894.97
BIC	115351.03	115348.01	115356.23
Log Likelihood	-57444.58	-57430.58	-57403.48
Num. obs.	263871	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167	167
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.12	0.15	0.11
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.13	0.08	0.11
Var Country*Years: Center	0.06	0.05	0.04
Var Country*Years: Right	0.26	0.23	0.16
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.45	0.59	0.37
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.03	0.03	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.09	-0.12	-0.07

Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.12	-0.19	-0.09
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.02	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.14	-0.08	-0.09
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.16	-0.12	-0.11
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.11	0.09	0.06
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.09	0.09	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.30	0.33	0.20
Var Country: Intercept	0.19	0.19	0.19

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Appendix C robustness checks – additional models

In this section of the appendix we address two theoretical and methodological concerns regarding our approach. One of the difficulties on a theoretical level consists in distinguishing the legacy of the former regime from changes induced by the protest experience during the transition. To test the extent to which differences in the transition period, rather than the legacy of the previous regime, explain our results, we construct a measure of the level of protest during the transition. To do so, we rely on the concept of 'eventfulness' originally introduced by Sewell (1996) referring to transformative events triggering a larger process of mobilization, e.g. the siege of the Bastille at the beginning of the French revolution. This concept has subsequently been applied by Della Porta (2014) to distinguish democratization from below from transitions negotiated by the elites.

We rely on mass surveys from the period of the transition to estimate the extent of participation (see Joly 2019). For the Eastern European countries, we rely on the second wave of the European Values Study conducted between 1990-92. In this survey, respondents were asked if they have attended a lawful demonstration[1]. We calculate the relative share of those who report protesting, weighted by population weights included in the survey, for each of our Eastern European countries. Among the Southern European countries, Spain and Italy were included in the first wave of the European Values Study conducted in 1981. Therefore, we can calculate the same indicator of the eventfulness of their transition based on this survey. In the case of Greece and Portugal, we rely on a second source, a survey conducted in 1985 in the framework of the project 'The Political Culture of Southern Europe: a Four Nation Study' conducted by Fernando Ollero and Giacomo Sani which represents the earliest survey with an item related to protest participation we found from these countries. Instead of asking whether

[1] While the question can be interpreted to also refer to the communist period, we believe most respondents who indicate that they have done so, probably consider the period after and during the regime change.

they have participated, the survey asks respondents to indicate the extent to which they approve of demonstrations. We took the share of those who strongly approve as the functional equivalent of participating in a public demonstration. While admittedly imperfect, we believe our indicator captures the extent of mass-mobilization during the transition period in Southern and Eastern Europe[2]. The level of mass-mobilization in the countries included in our sample is presented by Table 1:

Table 1: The level of protest participation in Southern and Eastern Europe during the transition period

ES	21.0
GR	35.7
IT	22.1
PT	11.9
BG	12.9
CZ	33.0
EE	23.9
HU	4.2
LT	32.5
PL	17.9
SI	8.5
SK	19.8

In case the eventfulness of the transition explains differences between Southern and Eastern Europe, regional differences should disappear once we introduce our indicator. The results show that the extent of mass mobilization during the transition is not a statistically or substantively significant predictor of protest with our regional dummies in the models. We interpret these results as further evidence that the legacy of the previous regime rather than differences in the pattern of transition explains regional divergence.

[2] Instead of dropping Northwestern European countries from the equation, we score them as zero and keep them in our model. This decision does not affect the results.

The methodological concern regarding the ideological composition of protest refers to the extent to which left and right is understood in systematically different ways across Europe. Our theoretical framework postulates that past and contemporary regime access influences the effect of left-right ideology on protest. However, evidence shows that East-West differences exist in the value preferences of respondents who identify with these labels (Thorisdottir et al., 2007), some of which might be independent of regime access. Moreover, the voting behaviour literature shows that the embedding of left-right in the cleavage structure of different societies as well as the extent to which it reflects partisan preferences varies between countries (Vegetti & Širinić, 2018). For this reason, we introduce several control variables, both at the individual and at the country year level, to check the robustness of the effects we uncover in the paper.

At the individual level we follow the operationalization of Torcal et al (2016) and construct three additive indexes to control for the value preferences which they have shown to influence protest behaviour (universalism, conformity, security). For universalism, we rely on the importance which respondents attribute to people being treated equally and having equal opportunities as well as the importance they attribute to caring for nature and the environment. To assess conformity, we rely on the importance respondents attribute to doing what is told / following rules as well as the importance they attribute to behaving properly. To assess security, we rely on the importance respondents attribute to living in secure and safe surroundings as well as the importance they attribute to a strong government that ensures safety.

We also include the two economic and cultural issue preferences available in all waves of the ESS. These are seven point agreement scores in response to the statement “the government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels” and “gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish”. At the country*year level we include the

average level of conformity, security and universalism. The aggregate share of values have been shown to have an effect on protest participation both at the individual and at the societal level (Welzel & Deutsch, 2012).

We follow the standard approach in voting behaviour and conduct OLS regression models in each country*year cluster to measure the extent to which variables associated with social cleavages explain left-right self-placement. In these models, we control for age, gender, education, unemployment, church attendance, religiosity, income, class, place of residence, preference with regard to income inequality, gay rights. Our measure of class is based on the eight categories introduced by the scheme of Oesch (2006). We take the adjusted R squared of these regression models and introduce in the multilevel models as one of the country*year level control variables. In addition, following the idea that in some contexts left-right primarily reflects partisan identities, we replicate Vegetti & Širinić (2018) and include their indicator of the relative importance of party preferences in left-right self-placement.

Since in four country*year groups, some of the variables were missing, the sample is smaller than the one reported in the paper. Specifically, in Italy 2002 the measures to construct the indexes for values are missing. In France in 2002 and 2004 and in Hungary 2004, the occupational categories to construct our indicator of class are missing. In the case of 2002 -, 2004 France subjective income is also missing. Similarly, to the models reported in the paper, to ease the convergence all continuous variables have been rescaled to a range between 0-1.

With small differences, the results underpin our conclusions based on the more parsimonious models reported in the paper.

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Welzel, C. & Deutsch, F. (2012). Emancipative Values and Non-Violent Protest: The Importance of 'Ecological' Effects. *British Journal of Political Science 42*(2): 465–479.

Table 2: Replicating table 1 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.32 (0.80)**	-2.32 (0.86)**	-1.91 (0.84)*
Extreme left (base: left)	0.41 (0.04)***	0.59 (0.04)***	0.55 (0.08)***
Center	-0.43 (0.03)***	-0.48 (0.03)***	-0.51 (0.06)***
Right	-0.49 (0.04)***	-0.67 (0.04)***	-0.77 (0.08)***
Extreme right	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.56 (0.09)***	-0.56 (0.16)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.49 (0.02)***	0.49 (0.02)***	0.49 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.89 (0.03)***	0.89 (0.03)***	0.89 (0.03)***
Income diff. (cont.)	-0.44 (0.04)***	-0.44 (0.04)***	-0.44 (0.04)***
Gay rights (cont.)	-0.30 (0.04)***	-0.30 (0.04)***	-0.30 (0.04)***
Conformity (cont.)	-0.71 (0.04)***	-0.71 (0.04)***	-0.71 (0.04)***
Universalism (cont.)	1.30 (0.06)***	1.29 (0.06)***	1.29 (0.06)***
Security (cont.)	-0.79 (0.05)***	-0.78 (0.05)***	-0.78 (0.05)***
Male	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.23 (0.06)***	-2.21 (0.06)***	-2.21 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	2.75 (0.12)***	2.76 (0.12)***	2.76 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.36 (0.02)***	-0.36 (0.02)***	-0.36 (0.02)***
Village	-0.60 (0.02)***	-0.60 (0.02)***	-0.60 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Transition protest level	0.17 (0.50)	0.14 (0.51)	0.15 (0.52)
Gov. L-R	0.29 (0.11)**	0.28 (0.11)**	0.28 (0.11)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.75 (0.44)	0.76 (0.44)	0.16 (0.53)
Voice & Accountability	-0.79 (0.35)*	-0.75 (0.35)*	-0.52 (0.37)
Adj R sq. of soc. structure for L-R	-0.24 (0.24)	-0.23 (0.25)	-0.24 (0.24)
Rel.imp. of parties for L-R	-0.51 (0.30)	-0.51 (0.30)	-0.40 (0.30)
Avg. universalism	-0.11 (1.11)	-0.19 (1.15)	0.20 (1.10)
Avg. conformity	-1.93 (0.97)*	-1.97 (1.05)	-2.00 (0.95)*
Avg. security	1.69 (0.99)	1.84 (1.15)	1.06 (1.01)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.74 (0.46)	0.80 (0.46)	0.68 (0.49)
Eastern Europe	-0.62 (0.43)	-0.87 (0.43)*	-1.47 (0.46)**
Year of Survey			-0.05 (0.13)
Ext Left*SE		-0.21 (0.09)*	-0.31 (0.16)
Center*SE		-0.09 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.12)
Right*SE		-0.03 (0.10)	0.28 (0.17)
Ext Right*SE		0.10 (0.17)	0.07 (0.31)
Ext Left*EE		-0.56 (0.11)***	-0.53 (0.23)*
Center*EE		0.31 (0.08)***	0.58 (0.16)***
Right*EE		0.72 (0.09)***	1.11 (0.18)***
Ext Right*EE		0.94 (0.14)***	1.36 (0.28)***
Ext Left*Year			0.07 (0.13)
Center*Year			0.06 (0.09)

Right*Year			0.19 (0.13)
Ext Right*Year			0.01 (0.26)
SE*Year*Ext Left			0.19 (0.26)
EE*Year*Ext Left			-0.05 (0.35)
SE*Year*Center			-0.05 (0.21)
EE*Year*Center			-0.48 (0.24)*
SE*Year*Right			-0.62 (0.28)*
EE*Year*Right			-0.71 (0.28)*
SE*Year*Ext Right			0.03 (0.51)
EE*Year*Ext Right			-0.78 (0.44)
AIC	104580.00	104487.85	104494.50
BIC	105068.29	105059.26	105221.75
Log Likelihood	-52243.00	-52188.93	-52177.25
Num. obs.	240185	240185	240185
Country*Years	163	163	163
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.11	0.10	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.09	0.03	0.03
Var Country*Years: Center	0.04	0.02	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.18	0.09	0.08
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.43	0.27	0.26
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.02	-0.00	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.07	-0.04	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.12	-0.08	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.08	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.08	0.01	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.07	0.03	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.07	0.02	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.24	0.12	0.11
Var Country: Intercept	0.19	0.19	0.22

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 1: Replicating figure 2 in the paper

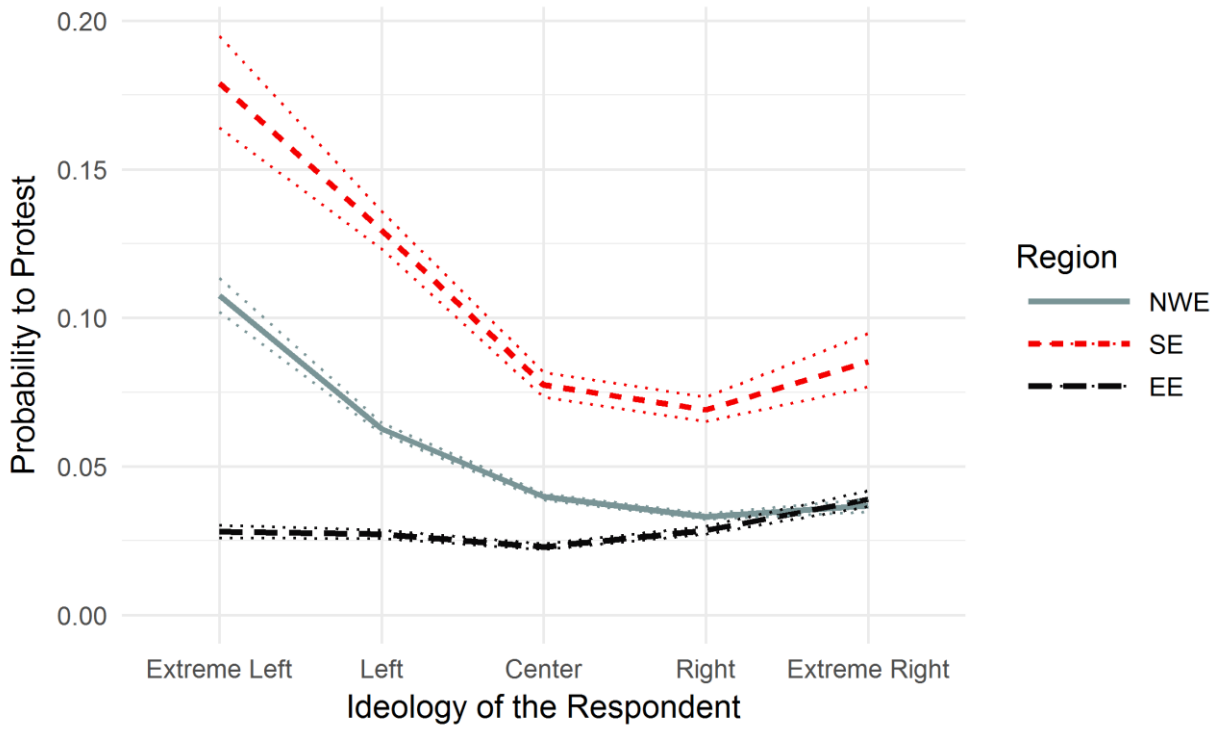


Figure 2: Replicating figure 3 in the paper

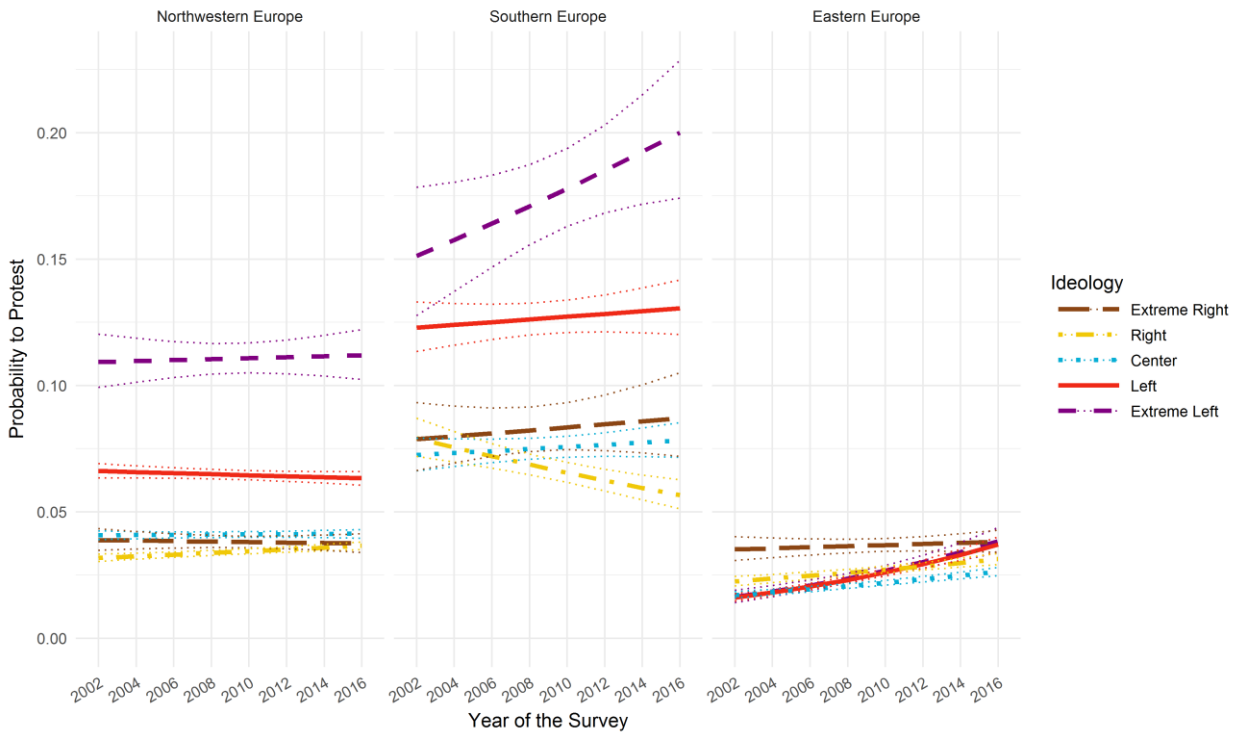


Table 3: Replicating table 2 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-3.67 (1.57)*	-3.86 (1.63)*	-3.70 (1.75)*
Exposure	0.08 (0.14)	0.67 (0.18)***	0.64 (0.21)**
Extreme left (base: left)	0.11 (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)	0.31 (0.10)**
Center	-0.27 (0.07)***	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.59 (0.08)***
Right	-0.23 (0.09)**	-0.24 (0.09)**	-0.82 (0.11)***
Extreme right	0.03 (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)	-0.63 (0.21)**
Union member (dichot.)	0.54 (0.04)***	0.58 (0.04)***	0.58 (0.04)***
Party ID (cont.)	1.05 (0.05)***	1.05 (0.05)***	1.05 (0.05)***
Income diff. (cont.)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)
Gay rights (cont.)	-0.30 (0.06)***	-0.29 (0.06)***	-0.28 (0.06)***
Conformity (cont.)	-0.80 (0.08)***	-0.81 (0.08)***	-0.80 (0.08)***
Universalism (cont.)	1.13 (0.11)***	1.13 (0.11)***	1.11 (0.11)***
Security (cont.)	-0.84 (0.10)***	-0.84 (0.10)***	-0.83 (0.10)***
Male	0.16 (0.03)***	0.16 (0.03)***	0.16 (0.03)***
Age (cont.)	-2.22 (0.25)***	-2.63 (0.27)***	-2.63 (0.27)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.80 (0.21)***	4.04 (0.22)***	4.05 (0.22)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
Small City	-0.28 (0.04)***	-0.27 (0.04)***	-0.27 (0.04)***
Village	-0.53 (0.04)***	-0.52 (0.04)***	-0.52 (0.04)***
Countryside	-0.51 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.13)***
Unemployed	0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Transition protest level	-0.02 (0.44)	0.04 (0.44)	-0.01 (0.45)
Gov. L-R	0.45 (0.18)*	0.45 (0.18)*	0.44 (0.18)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	1.37 (0.88)	1.40 (0.88)	1.43 (0.90)
Voice & Accountability	-0.72 (0.54)	-0.81 (0.54)	-0.72 (0.55)
Adj R sq. of soc. structure for L-R	0.14 (0.46)	0.16 (0.46)	0.17 (0.47)
Rel.imp. of parties for L-R	-0.78 (0.48)	-0.75 (0.49)	-0.77 (0.49)
Avg. universalism	-1.30 (2.15)	-0.99 (2.54)	-1.33 (2.70)
Avg. conformity	-1.86 (1.77)	-1.91 (1.83)	-2.03 (1.90)
Avg. security	4.72 (2.42)	4.60 (2.87)	5.17 (2.81)
Eastern Europe (base: Southern Europe)	-1.32 (0.33)***	-1.21 (0.33)***	-1.54 (0.34)***
Exposure*EE		-0.63 (0.13)***	-0.82 (0.21)***
Ext Left*EE			0.03 (0.19)
Center*EE			0.31 (0.14)*
Right*EE			0.71 (0.16)***
Ext Right*EE			0.71 (0.27)**
Ext Left*Exposure			0.14 (0.30)
Center*Exposure			-0.00 (0.23)
Right*Exposure			0.16 (0.24)
Ext Right*Exposure			-0.13 (0.47)
EE*Ext Left*Exposure			-0.70 (0.41)
EE*Center*Exposure			0.42 (0.31)

EE*Right*Exposure			0.17 (0.31)
EE*Ext Right*Exposure			0.74 (0.52)
AIC	32145.44	32123.45	32094.57
BIC	32584.07	32571.41	32654.53
Log Likelihood	-16025.72	-16013.72	-15987.29
Num. obs.	83494	83494	83494
Country*Years	70	70	70
Countries	11	11	11
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.20	0.19	0.15
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.06	0.06	0.03
Var Country*Years: Center	0.11	0.10	0.04
Var Country*Years: Right	0.32	0.31	0.13
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.67	0.67	0.41
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.05	0.04	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.09	-0.09	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.15	-0.15	-0.06
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.27	-0.26	-0.16
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.08	-0.07	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.12	-0.11	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.09	-0.08	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.17	0.16	0.06
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.15	0.14	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.37	0.37	0.15
Var Country: Intercept	0.12	0.11	0.12

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 3: Replicating figure 4 in the paper

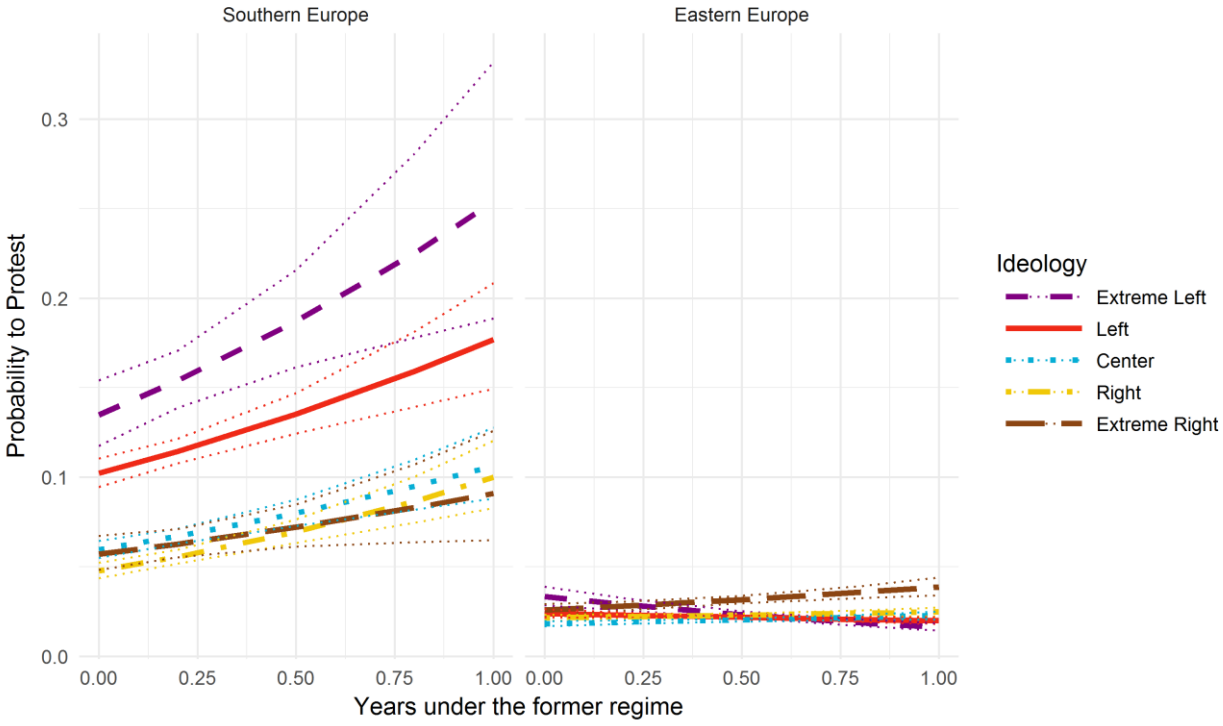


Table 4: Replicating table 3 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**
Intercept	-2.28 (0.97)*	-2.28 (0.90)*
Extreme left (base: left)	0.40 (0.04)***	0.31 (0.08)***
Center	-0.42 (0.03)***	-0.47 (0.05)***
Right	-0.49 (0.04)***	-0.49 (0.06)***
Extreme right	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.71 (0.16)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.49 (0.02)***	0.49 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.79 (0.03)***	0.83 (0.05)***
Income diff. (cont.)	-0.45 (0.04)***	-0.43 (0.04)***
Gay rights (cont.)	-0.30 (0.04)***	-0.30 (0.04)***
Conformity (cont.)	-0.71 (0.04)***	-0.70 (0.04)***
Universalism (cont.)	1.31 (0.06)***	1.29 (0.06)***
Security (cont.)	-0.79 (0.05)***	-0.78 (0.05)***
Male	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.22 (0.06)***	-2.21 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	2.77 (0.12)***	2.76 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.36 (0.02)***	-0.36 (0.02)***
Village	-0.60 (0.02)***	-0.60 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Transition protest level	0.18 (0.51)	0.15 (0.51)
Gov. L-R	0.29 (0.11)**	0.28 (0.11)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.77 (0.44)	0.78 (0.45)
Voice & Accountability	-0.80 (0.36)*	-0.77 (0.35)*
Adj R sq. of soc. structure for L-R	-0.25 (0.25)	-0.23 (0.25)
Rel.imp. of parties for L-R	-0.53 (0.30)	-0.53 (0.30)
Avg. universalism	-0.05 (1.39)	-0.16 (1.22)
Avg. conformity	-1.92 (1.06)	-1.95 (1.11)
Avg. security	1.64 (1.17)	1.78 (1.20)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.61 (0.47)	0.63 (0.48)
Eastern Europe	-0.73 (0.44)	-0.92 (0.44)*
SE:Party ID	0.28 (0.06)***	0.34 (0.10)***
EE:Party ID	0.25 (0.07)***	0.09 (0.14)
SE:Ext Left		0.07 (0.15)
EE:Ext Left		-0.38 (0.20)
SE:Center		0.03 (0.09)
EE:Center		0.22 (0.11)*
SE:Right		-0.12 (0.13)
EE:Right		0.49 (0.12)***
SE:Ext Right		0.02 (0.30)
EE:Ext Right		0.89 (0.23)***
Ext Left:Party ID		0.46 (0.11)***

Center:Party ID		-0.04 (0.08)
Right:Party ID		-0.37 (0.08)***
Ext Right:Party ID		0.23 (0.20)
SE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.51 (0.21)*
EE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.30 (0.28)
SE:Center:Party ID		-0.24 (0.16)
EE:Center:Party ID		0.32 (0.19)
SE:Right:Party ID		0.18 (0.17)
EE:Right:Party ID		0.49 (0.19)**
SE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.02 (0.37)
EE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.06 (0.30)
AIC	104556.24	104422.46
BIC	105065.31	105139.31
Log Likelihood	-52229.12	-52142.23
Num. obs.	240185	240185
Country*Years	163	163
Countries	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.11	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.10	0.03
Var Country*Years: Center	0.04	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.19	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.42	0.27
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.02	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.03	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.07	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.12	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.03	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.08	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.08	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.08	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.07	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.24	0.12
Var Country: Intercept	0.19	0.19

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Figure 4: Replicating figure 5 in the paper

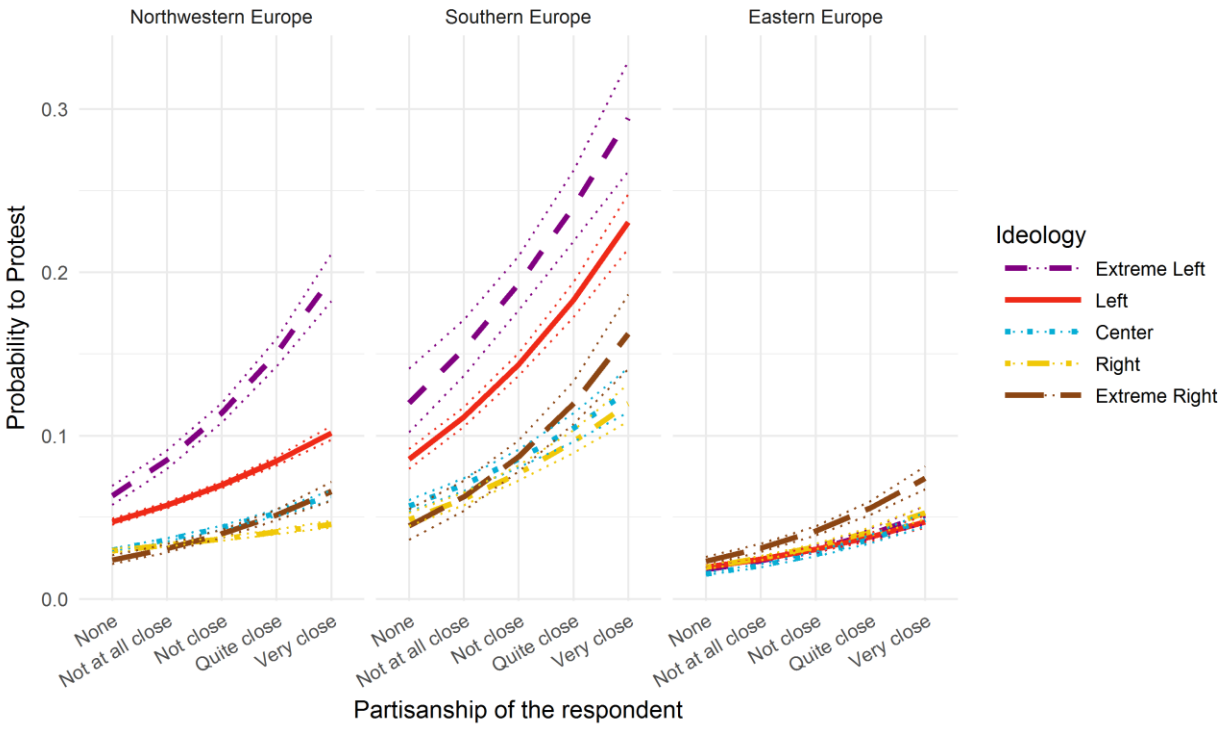


Table 5: Replicating table 4 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.50 (0.83)**	-2.59 (0.88)**	-2.63 (0.84)**
Extreme left (base: left)	0.14 (0.05)**	0.16 (0.05)**	0.17 (0.05)***
Center	-0.31 (0.03)***	-0.31 (0.03)***	-0.31 (0.03)***
Right	-0.42 (0.05)***	-0.42 (0.04)***	-0.43 (0.05)***
Extreme right	-0.43 (0.07)***	-0.41 (0.08)***	-0.42 (0.07)***
Distance from the gov.	0.87 (0.09)***	1.03 (0.10)***	0.50 (0.20)**
Union member (dichot.)	0.49 (0.02)***	0.49 (0.02)***	0.49 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.87 (0.03)***	0.87 (0.03)***	0.87 (0.03)***
Income diff. (cont.)	-0.43 (0.04)***	-0.43 (0.04)***	-0.42 (0.04)***
Gay rights (cont.)	-0.30 (0.04)***	-0.30 (0.04)***	-0.30 (0.04)***
Conformity (cont.)	-0.70 (0.04)***	-0.70 (0.04)***	-0.70 (0.04)***
Universalism (cont.)	1.29 (0.06)***	1.28 (0.06)***	1.28 (0.06)***
Security (cont.)	-0.78 (0.05)***	-0.78 (0.05)***	-0.77 (0.05)***
Male	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.22 (0.06)***	-2.22 (0.06)***	-2.22 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	2.77 (0.12)***	2.78 (0.12)***	2.77 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.21 (0.03)***	-0.21 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.36 (0.02)***	-0.36 (0.02)***	-0.36 (0.02)***
Village	-0.60 (0.02)***	-0.60 (0.02)***	-0.60 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Transition protest level	0.16 (0.48)	0.10 (0.51)	0.18 (0.49)
Gov. L-R	0.17 (0.12)	0.21 (0.11)	-0.42 (0.19)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.81 (0.43)	0.78 (0.43)	0.79 (0.43)
Voice & Accountability	-0.84 (0.34)*	-0.77 (0.35)*	-0.68 (0.34)*
Adj R sq. of soc. structure for L-R	-0.25 (0.24)	-0.28 (0.24)	-0.31 (0.24)
Rel.imp. of parties for L-R	-0.57 (0.30)	-0.57 (0.30)	-0.52 (0.29)
Avg. universalism	-0.22 (1.10)	-0.45 (1.12)	0.36 (1.17)
Avg. conformity	-1.73 (0.94)	-1.80 (1.01)	-2.09 (1.02)*
Avg. security	1.69 (1.05)	1.97 (1.09)	1.72 (1.14)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.73 (0.44)	0.80 (0.46)	0.56 (0.47)
Eastern Europe	-0.65 (0.41)	-0.30 (0.44)	-1.18 (0.45)**
Gov. dist*SE		-0.14 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.32)
Gov. dist*EE		-0.88 (0.18)***	0.78 (0.33)*
Gov. L-R*SE			0.43 (0.31)
Gov. L-R*EE			1.71 (0.28)***
Gov. L-R*Gov. dist			1.00 (0.34)**
Gov. L-R*SE*Gov. dist			-0.23 (0.56)
Gov. L-R*EE*Gov. dist			-3.05 (0.54)***
AIC	104486.26	104468.67	104438.09
BIC	104984.94	104988.13	105009.49

Log Likelihood	-52195.13	-52184.34	-52164.04
Num. obs.	240185	240185	240185
Country*Years	163	163	163
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.11	0.13	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.10	0.06	0.08
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.04	0.04
Var Country*Years: Right	0.20	0.18	0.13
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.36	0.46	0.32
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.02	0.02	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.07	-0.09	-0.05
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.10	-0.15	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.10	-0.07	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.11	-0.08	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.08	0.07	0.05
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.06	0.06	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.22	0.24	0.16
Var Country: Intercept	0.18	0.19	0.18

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 5: Replicating figure 6 in the paper

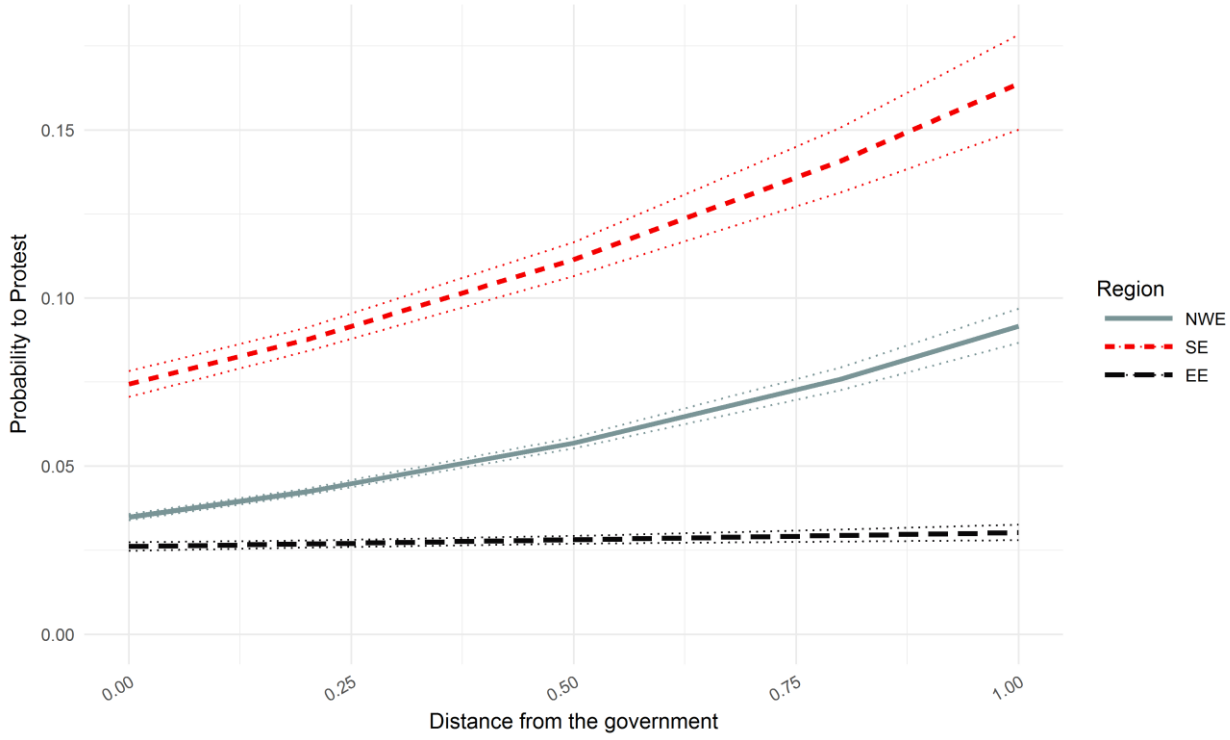
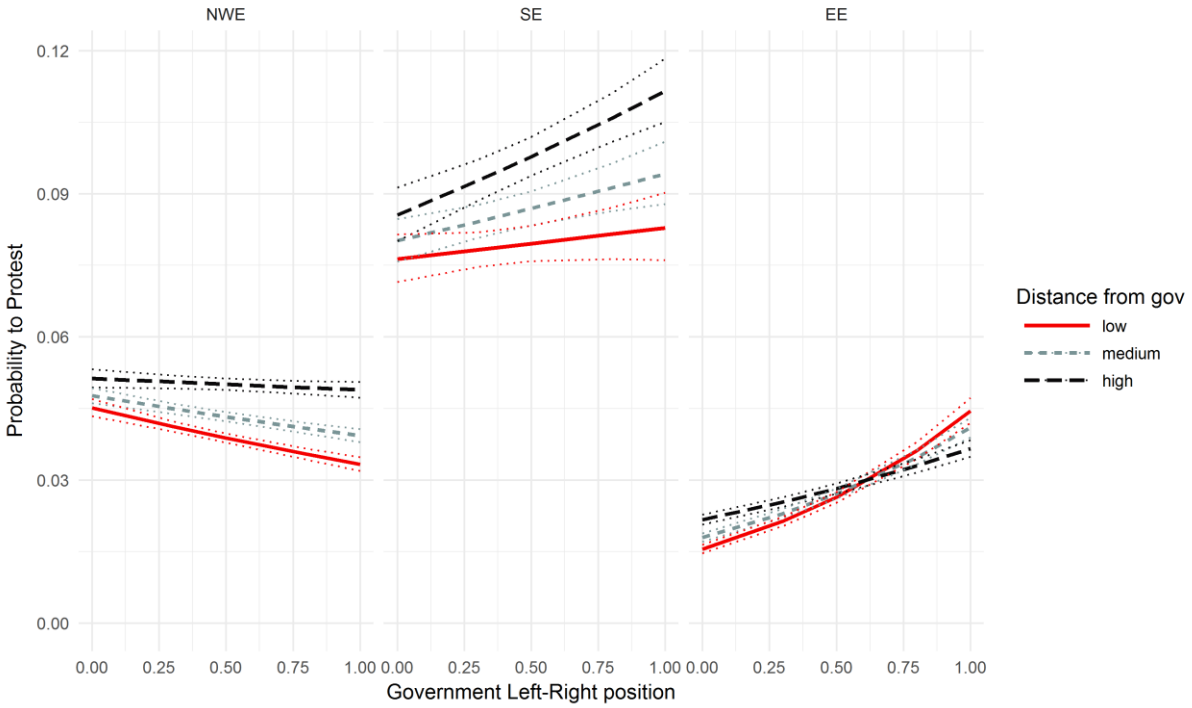


Figure 5: Replicating figure 7 in the paper



Appendix D robustness checks – only countries with extensive over time coverage

In this section of the appendix we test the extent to which our results are sensitive to countries joining or falling out of European Social Survey. Table 1 presents the coverage of the sample based on which the analysis presented in the paper is based on.

Table 1: Over time and country coverage of the sample used in the paper

	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
AT	X	X	X				X	X
BE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BG			X	X	X	X		
CH	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CZ	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
DE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
DK	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
EE		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ES	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
FI	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
FR	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GB	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GR	X	X		X	X			
HU	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
IE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
IT	X	X				X		X
LT					X	X	X	X
NL	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
NO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
PL	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
PT	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SI	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SK		X	X	X	X	X		

In the following analysis we only leave those countries which have been present in all waves of the ESS or have missed only one (CZ, DK, EE). In other words, we replicate all tables and

figures and drop AT, BG, GR, IT, LT, SK. The differences between the results are marginal and do not concern our substantive interpretation presented in the paper.

Table 2: Replicating table 1 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.82 (0.41)***	-2.81 (0.41)***	-2.65 (0.42)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.53 (0.04)***	0.69 (0.04)***	0.63 (0.08)***
Center	-0.54 (0.03)***	-0.59 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.05)***
Right	-0.70 (0.05)***	-0.89 (0.05)***	-0.99 (0.08)***
Extreme right	-0.56 (0.08)***	-0.88 (0.09)***	-0.86 (0.16)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.91 (0.03)***	0.91 (0.03)***	0.91 (0.03)***
Male	0.08 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***	0.09 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.30 (0.06)***	-2.28 (0.06)***	-2.28 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.36 (0.12)***	3.37 (0.12)***	3.37 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.61 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.03)***
Countryside	-0.51 (0.04)***	-0.51 (0.04)***	-0.51 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.28 (0.10)**	0.28 (0.10)**	0.26 (0.10)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.75 (0.43)	0.78 (0.44)	0.22 (0.54)
Voice & Accountability	-0.88 (0.34)**	-0.83 (0.34)*	-0.54 (0.36)
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.91 (0.41)*	0.95 (0.41)*	0.67 (0.44)
Eastern Europe	-0.65 (0.34)	-0.91 (0.34)**	-1.61 (0.39)***
Year of Survey			-0.07 (0.12)
Ext Left*SE		-0.25 (0.10)*	-0.31 (0.19)
Center*SE		-0.07 (0.07)	0.10 (0.14)
Right*SE		0.06 (0.12)	0.53 (0.20)**
Ext Right*SE		0.26 (0.21)	0.42 (0.38)
Ext Left*EE		-0.51 (0.11)***	-0.28 (0.23)
Center*EE		0.30 (0.08)***	0.59 (0.17)***
Right*EE		0.82 (0.10)***	1.24 (0.20)***
Ext Right*EE		1.15 (0.15)***	1.74 (0.29)***
Ext Left*Year			0.10 (0.13)
Center*Year			0.04 (0.09)
Right*Year			0.19 (0.13)
Ext Right*Year			-0.02 (0.26)
SE*Year*Ext Left			0.09 (0.30)
EE*Year*Ext Left			-0.41 (0.35)
SE*Year*Center			-0.33 (0.22)
EE*Year*Center			-0.50 (0.25)*
SE*Year*Right			-0.92 (0.34)**

EE*Year*Right			-0.76 (0.30)*
SE*Year*Ext Right			-0.36 (0.61)
EE*Year*Ext Right			-1.08 (0.46)*
AIC	100766.12	100682.77	100684.29
BIC	101138.08	101137.39	101293.89
Log Likelihood	-50347.06	-50297.38	-50283.15
Num. obs.	226903	226903	226903
Country*Years	141	141	141
Countries	18	18	18
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.10	0.09	0.08
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.09	0.04	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.03	0.02	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.22	0.11	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.52	0.29	0.27
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.08	-0.05	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.13	-0.08	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.02	-0.00	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.07	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.09	0.01	0.01
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.07	0.04	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.07	0.02	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.29	0.14	0.13
Var Country: Intercept	0.24	0.24	0.26

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 1: Replicating figure 2 in the paper

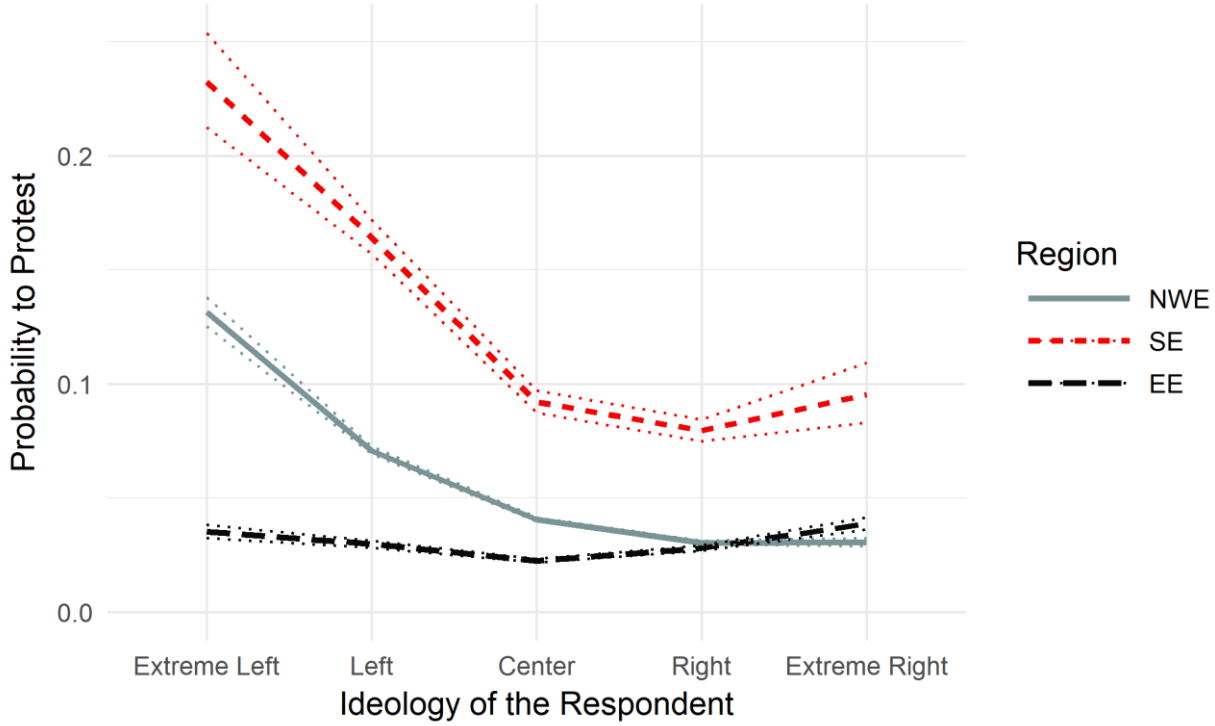


Figure 2: Replicating figure 3 in the paper

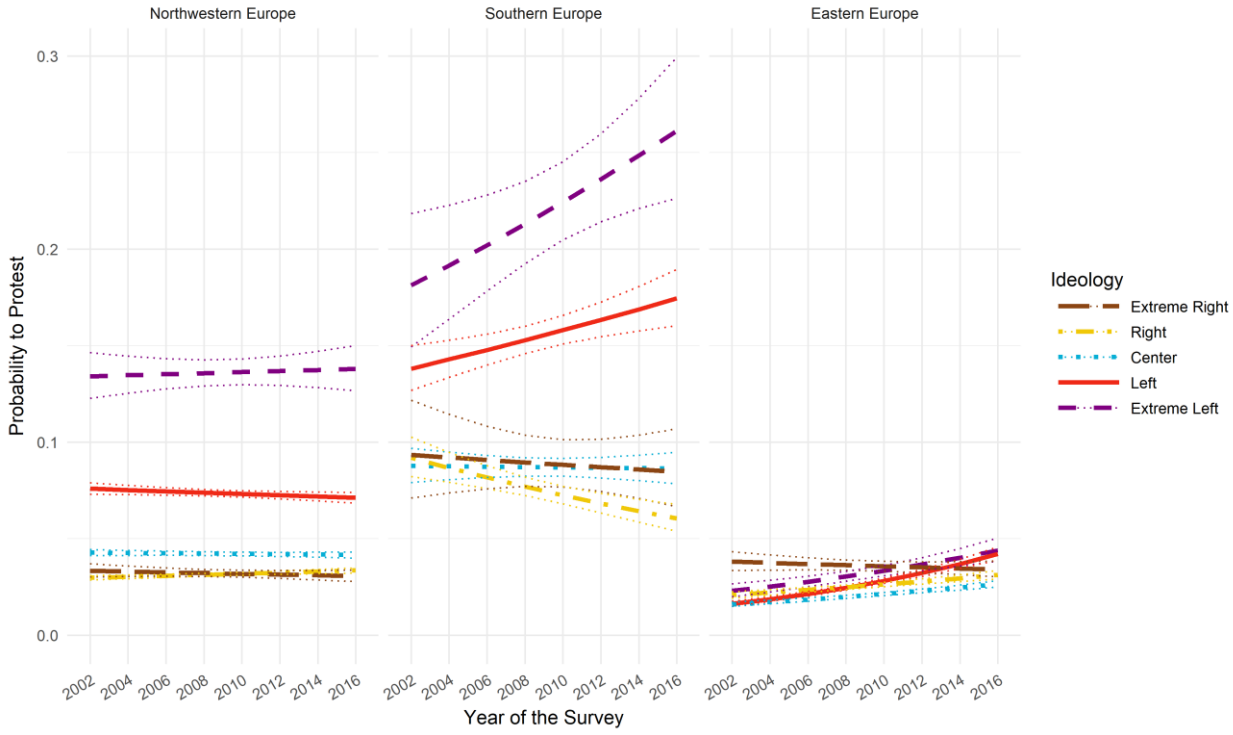


Table 3: Replicating table 2 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-3.41 (0.55)***	-3.41 (0.55)***	-3.27 (0.54)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.27 (0.08)***	0.29 (0.08)***	0.44 (0.11)***
Center	-0.36 (0.07)***	-0.36 (0.07)***	-0.58 (0.09)***
Right	-0.34 (0.10)***	-0.35 (0.10)***	-0.91 (0.13)***
Extreme right	-0.06 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.69 (0.26)**
Union member (dichot.)	0.54 (0.04)***	0.57 (0.04)***	0.57 (0.04)***
Party ID (cont.)	1.11 (0.05)***	1.11 (0.05)***	1.11 (0.05)***
Male	0.11 (0.03)**	0.10 (0.03)**	0.11 (0.03)**
Age (cont.)	-1.52 (0.31)***	-1.88 (0.33)***	-1.87 (0.33)***
Years of education (cont.)	4.19 (0.22)***	4.38 (0.23)***	4.38 (0.23)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Small City	-0.28 (0.04)***	-0.27 (0.04)***	-0.27 (0.04)***
Village	-0.55 (0.05)***	-0.54 (0.05)***	-0.54 (0.05)***
Countryside	-0.51 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.13)***	-0.50 (0.13)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
Gov. L-R	0.48 (0.17)**	0.50 (0.17)**	0.49 (0.17)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	2.22 (0.96)*	2.33 (0.98)*	2.45 (0.98)*
Voice & Accountability	-0.34 (0.58)	-0.49 (0.59)	-0.37 (0.59)
Exposure	-0.44 (0.17)**	-0.00 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.24)
Eastern Europe (base: Southern Europe)	-1.29 (0.34)***	-1.22 (0.34)***	-1.43 (0.34)***
Exposure*EE		-0.46 (0.13)***	-0.71 (0.22)**
Ext Left*EE			-0.01 (0.20)
Center*EE			0.17 (0.15)
Right*EE			0.66 (0.19)***
Ext Right*EE			0.57 (0.32)
Ext Left*Exposure			0.01 (0.29)
Center*Exposure			-0.04 (0.23)
Right*Exposure			0.26 (0.23)
Ext Right*Exposure			0.13 (0.44)
EE*Ext Left*Exposure			-0.41 (0.42)
EE*Center*Exposure			0.47 (0.32)
EE*Right*Exposure			0.14 (0.32)
EE*Ext Right*Exposure			0.69 (0.51)
AIC	27200.01	27188.94	27169.58
BIC	27528.98	27527.05	27617.34
Log Likelihood	-13564.00	-13557.47	-13535.79
Num. obs.	68739	68739	68739
Country*Years	54	54	54
Countries	7	7	7
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.18	0.18	0.15
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.03	0.04	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.08	0.07	0.04

Var Country*Years: Right	0.32	0.33	0.16
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.73	0.77	0.54
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.00	-0.00	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.07	-0.07	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.16	-0.16	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.29	-0.30	-0.21
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.07	-0.05	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	0.00	0.04	0.10
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.14	0.15	0.07
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.11	0.13	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.35	0.37	0.18
Var Country: Intercept	0.11	0.11	0.11

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 3: Replicating figure 4 in the paper

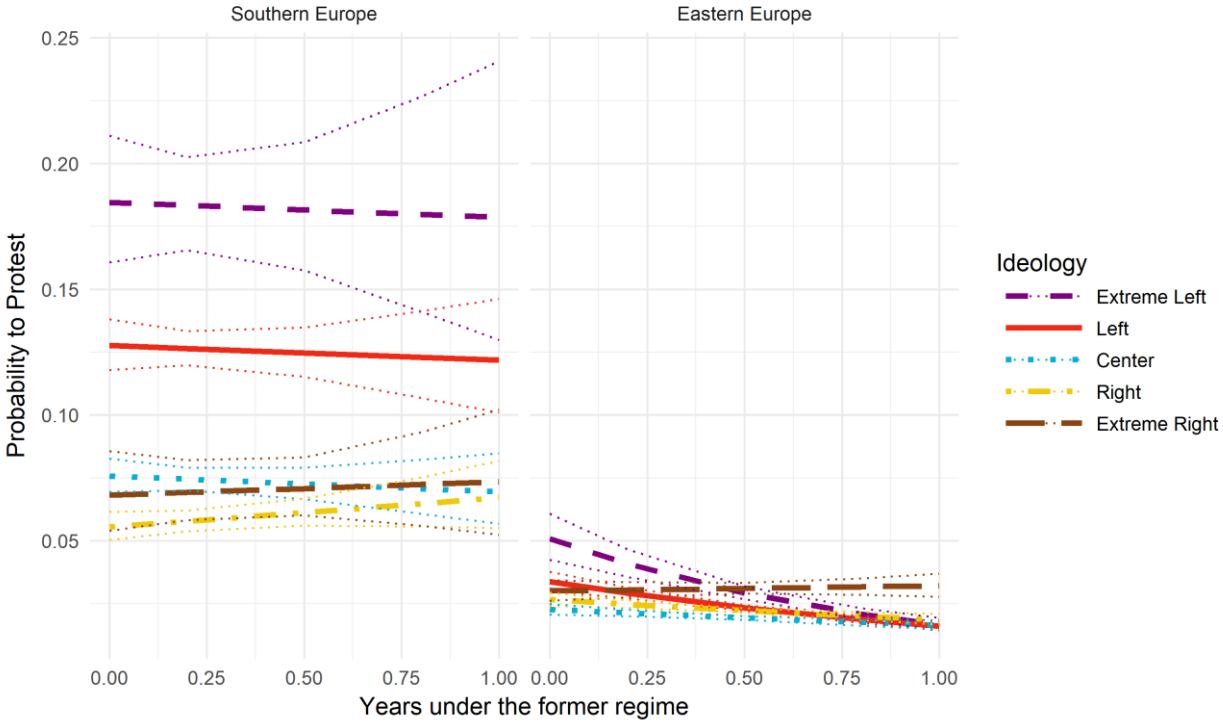


Table 4: Replicating table 3 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**
Intercept	-2.76 (0.42)***	-2.83 (0.42)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.52 (0.04)***	0.40 (0.08)***
Center	-0.54 (0.03)***	-0.54 (0.04)***
Right	-0.70 (0.05)***	-0.62 (0.06)***
Extreme right	-0.56 (0.08)***	-0.89 (0.16)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.82 (0.03)***	0.92 (0.05)***
Male	0.08 (0.02)***	0.09 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.29 (0.06)***	-2.28 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.38 (0.12)***	3.37 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.24 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.61 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.03)***
Countryside	-0.51 (0.04)***	-0.51 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.26 (0.10)*	0.28 (0.10)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.77 (0.45)	0.80 (0.45)
Voice & Accountability	-0.89 (0.35)**	-0.84 (0.35)*
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.76 (0.41)	0.84 (0.42)*
Eastern Europe	-0.79 (0.35)*	-0.90 (0.35)*
SE:Party ID	0.28 (0.07)***	0.25 (0.10)*
EE:Party ID	0.30 (0.08)***	-0.01 (0.15)
SE:Ext Left		-0.03 (0.17)
EE:Ext Left		-0.39 (0.21)
SE:Center		-0.02 (0.10)
EE:Center		0.19 (0.11)
SE:Right		-0.10 (0.15)
EE:Right		0.43 (0.14)**
SE:Ext Right		0.01 (0.36)
EE:Ext Right		0.84 (0.25)***
Ext Left:Party ID		0.46 (0.11)***
Center:Party ID		-0.14 (0.07)
Right:Party ID		-0.53 (0.08)***
Ext Right:Party ID		0.01 (0.20)
SE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.40 (0.23)
EE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.18 (0.30)
SE:Center:Party ID		-0.07 (0.18)
EE:Center:Party ID		0.40 (0.21)
SE:Right:Party ID		0.31 (0.19)
EE:Right:Party ID		0.84 (0.20)***
SE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.30 (0.45)
EE:Ext Right:Party ID		0.50 (0.31)

AIC	100753.02	100587.16
BIC	101145.64	101186.43
Log Likelihood	-50338.51	-50235.58
Num. obs.	226903	226903
Country*Years	141	141
Countries	18	18
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.10	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.06	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.03	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.21	0.10
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.49	0.28
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.02	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.07	-0.05
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.13	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.09	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.08	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.07	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.07	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.29	0.13
Var Country: Intercept	0.23	0.24

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 4: Replicating figure 5 in the paper

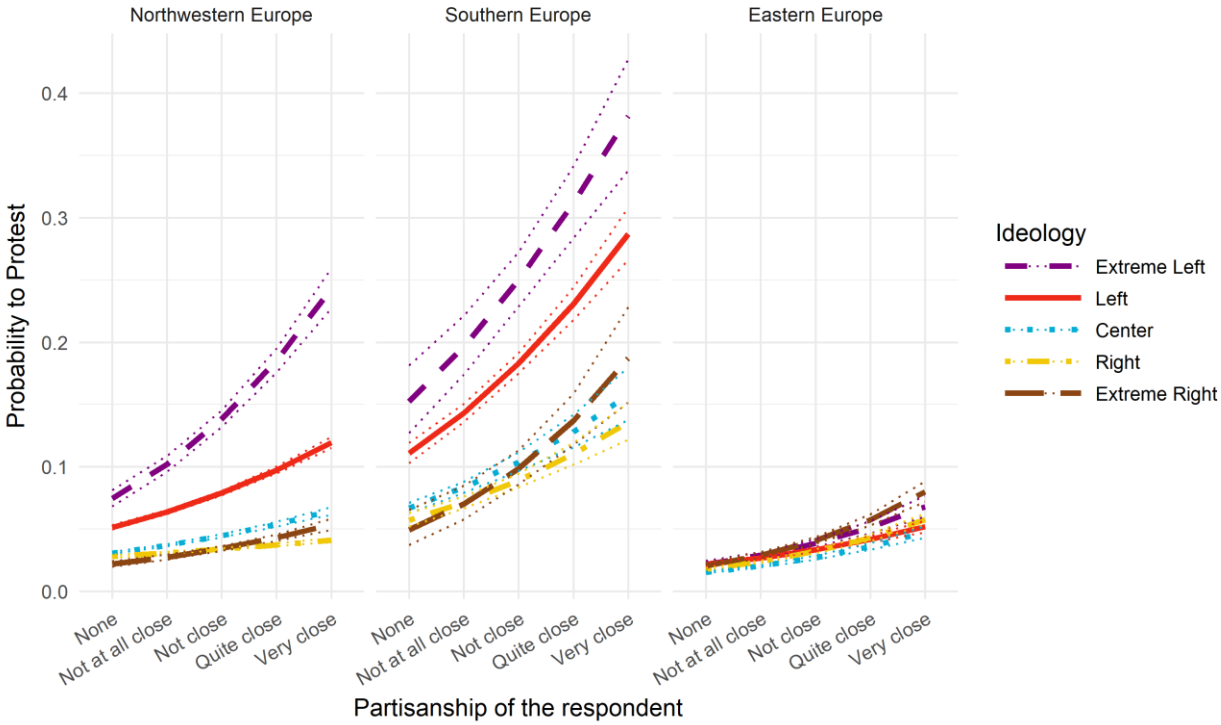


Table 5: Replicating table 4 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-3.02 (0.43)***	-3.13 (0.43)***	-2.87 (0.41)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.20 (0.05)***	0.23 (0.05)***	0.25 (0.05)***
Center	-0.40 (0.03)***	-0.40 (0.03)***	-0.41 (0.03)***
Right	-0.61 (0.05)***	-0.62 (0.05)***	-0.63 (0.05)***
Extreme right	-0.73 (0.08)***	-0.72 (0.08)***	-0.72 (0.08)***
Distance from the gov.	1.03 (0.10)***	1.13 (0.11)***	0.47 (0.20)*
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.89 (0.03)***	0.89 (0.03)***	0.89 (0.03)***
Male	0.08 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.29 (0.06)***	-2.29 (0.06)***	-2.29 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.38 (0.12)***	3.38 (0.12)***	3.37 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.61 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.03)***
Countryside	-0.51 (0.04)***	-0.51 (0.04)***	-0.51 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.11 (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)	-0.56 (0.18)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.78 (0.44)	0.77 (0.45)	0.76 (0.42)
Voice & Accountability	-0.91 (0.35)**	-0.87 (0.35)*	-0.69 (0.34)*
Southern Europe (base: Northwestern)	0.89 (0.40)*	0.93 (0.41)*	0.50 (0.43)
Eastern Europe	-0.69 (0.35)*	-0.32 (0.36)	-1.46 (0.37)***
Gov. dist*SE		-0.06 (0.20)	0.22 (0.37)
Gov. dist*EE		-0.85 (0.21)***	1.47 (0.35)***
Gov. L-R*SE			0.89 (0.34)**
Gov. L-R*EE			2.17 (0.29)***
Gov. L-R*Gov. dist			1.22 (0.34)***
Gov. L-R*SE*Gov. dist			-0.60 (0.60)
Gov. L-R*EE*Gov. dist			-4.21 (0.55)***
AIC	100646.94	100635.56	100581.99
BIC	101029.24	101038.52	101036.61
Log Likelihood	-50286.47	-50278.78	-50247.00
Num. obs.	226903	226903	226903
Country*Years	141	141	141
Countries	18	18	18
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.10	0.12	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.11	0.07	0.10
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.04	0.03
Var Country*Years: Right	0.24	0.21	0.13
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.43	0.55	0.32
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.01	0.01	0.00
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.08	-0.09	-0.05

Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.11	-0.16	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.11	-0.07	-0.06
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.13	-0.10	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.09	0.07	0.05
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.07	0.06	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.27	0.29	0.17
Var Country: Intercept	0.22	0.23	0.22

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 5: Replicating figure 6 in the paper

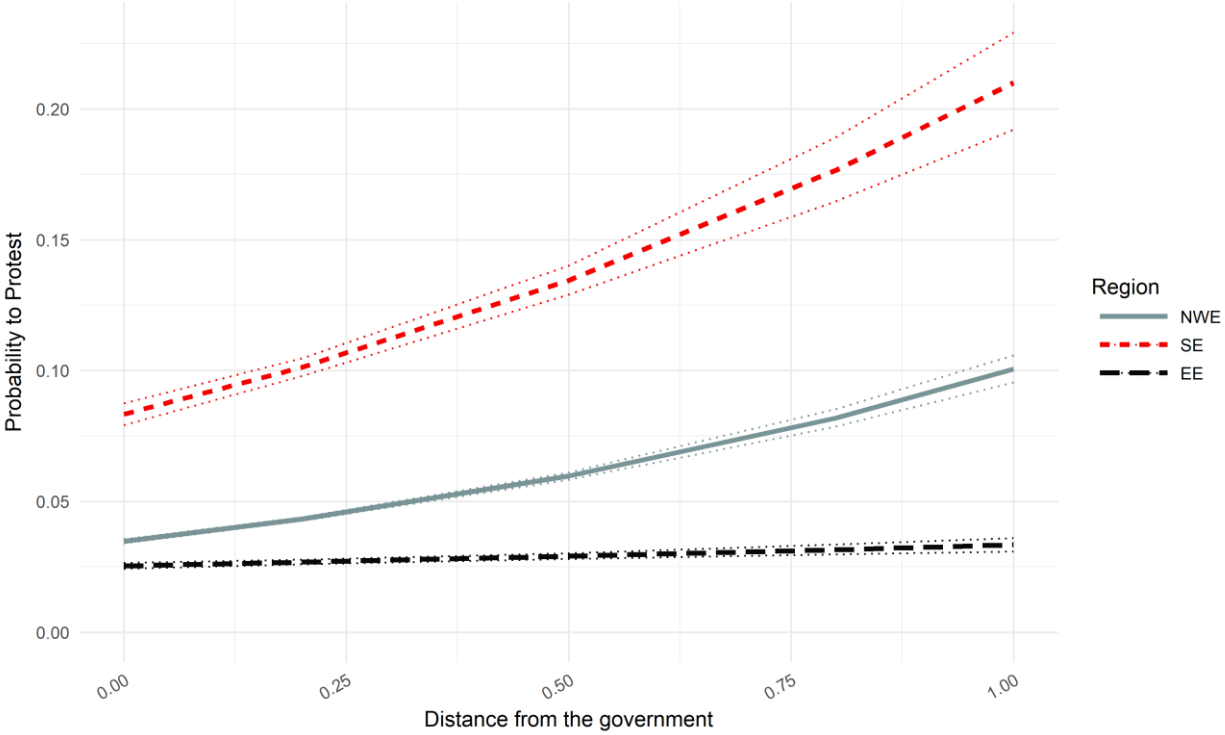
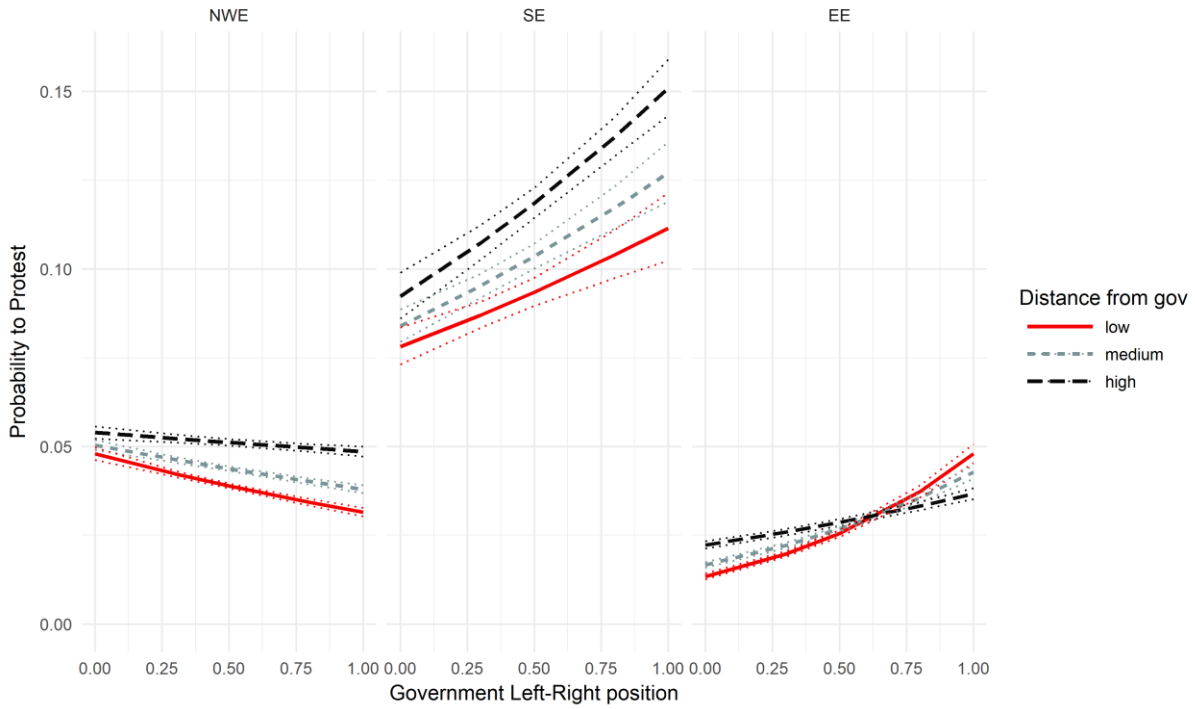


Figure 6: Replicating figure 7 in the paper



Appendix E robustness checks – distinguishing between the Northern and the Western European region

In this section of the appendix we examine differences within the Northwestern European region by splitting the sample between a Northern and a Western European cluster. Following the findings of Ronen & Shenkar (2013) in the Northern European group we include Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden; we include Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom in the Western European cluster. The results show that the differences between the two regions primarily consists of a lower level of protest in the former group of countries. In terms of the ideological composition of protest, we observe the relative lack of right-wing protests in Northern Europe.

References:

Ronen, S. & Shenkar, O. (2013). Mapping world cultures: Cluster formation, sources and implications. *Journal of International Business Studies 44*(9): 867–897.

Table 1: Replicating table 1 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.66 (0.36)***	-2.65 (0.37)***	-2.56 (0.37)***
Extreme.left..base..left.	0.48 (0.04)***	0.61 (0.05)***	0.56 (0.09)***
Center	-0.51 (0.03)***	-0.61 (0.04)***	-0.64 (0.07)***
Right	-0.66 (0.05)***	-0.78 (0.06)***	-0.95 (0.10)***
Extreme.right	-0.48 (0.07)***	-0.63 (0.11)***	-0.66 (0.18)***
Union.member..dichot..	0.51 (0.02)***	0.51 (0.02)***	0.51 (0.02)***
Party.ID..cont..	0.94 (0.02)***	0.94 (0.02)***	0.94 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age..cont..	-2.42 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***
Years.of.education..cont..	3.50 (0.12)***	3.50 (0.12)***	3.50 (0.12)***
Suburbs..base..big.city.	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small.City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov..L.R	0.29 (0.10)**	0.28 (0.10)**	0.28 (0.10)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.87 (0.41)*	0.89 (0.42)*	0.47 (0.50)
Voice & Accountability	-0.86 (0.33)**	-0.80 (0.33)*	-0.47 (0.34)
Northern.Europe (base Western)	-0.72 (0.23)**	-0.66 (0.24)**	-0.73 (0.26)**
Southern.Europe	0.47 (0.27)	0.51 (0.27)	0.26 (0.29)
Eastern.Europe	-0.92 (0.28)**	-1.22 (0.28)***	-1.81 (0.32)***
Year.of.Survey			-0.14 (0.15)
Ext.Left.NE		0.23 (0.09)**	0.20 (0.15)
Center.NE		0.09 (0.07)	0.10 (0.12)
Right.NE		-0.26 (0.09)**	-0.13 (0.15)
Ext.Right.NE		-0.55 (0.17)**	-0.49 (0.30)
Ext.Left.SE		-0.13 (0.09)	-0.24 (0.16)
Center.SE		-0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.12)
Right.SE		-0.05 (0.10)	0.30 (0.17)
Ext.Right.SE		0.00 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.30)
Ext.Left.EE		-0.56 (0.11)***	-0.49 (0.22)*
Center.EE		0.42 (0.08)***	0.68 (0.16)***
Right.EE		0.76 (0.09)***	1.19 (0.18)***
Ext.Right.EE		0.97 (0.15)***	1.47 (0.28)***
Ext.Left.Year			0.09 (0.14)
Center.Year			0.05 (0.11)
Right.Year			0.32 (0.15)*
Ext.Right.Year			0.07 (0.29)
NE.Year.Ext.Left			0.04 (0.26)
SE.Year.Ext.Left			0.19 (0.26)
EE.Year.Ext.Left			-0.14 (0.34)
NE.Year.Center			-0.02 (0.20)

SE.Year.Center			-0.04 (0.21)
EE.Year.Center			-0.46 (0.24)
NE.Year.Right			-0.25 (0.25)
NE.Year.Right.1			-0.25 (0.25)
SE.Year.Right			-0.72 (0.29)*
EE.Year.Right			-0.80 (0.29)**
SE.Year.Ext.Right			0.01 (0.50)
EE.Year.Ext.Right			-0.94 (0.44)*
AIC	115106.37	114961.04	114969.90
BIC	115494.25	115474.72	115693.24
Log Likelihood	-57516.18	-57431.52	-57415.95
Num. obs.	263871	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167	167
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.13	0.11	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.12	0.04	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.02	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.24	0.10	0.08
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.53	0.25	0.24
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.03	-0.01	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.04	-0.02	-0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.10	-0.05	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.16	-0.09	-0.08
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.00	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.11	-0.00	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.13	0.03	0.03
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.10	0.04	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.10	0.04	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.32	0.12	0.11
Var Country: Intercept	0.13	0.13	0.15

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 1: Replicating figure 2 in the paper

Figure 2: Replicating figure 3 in the paper

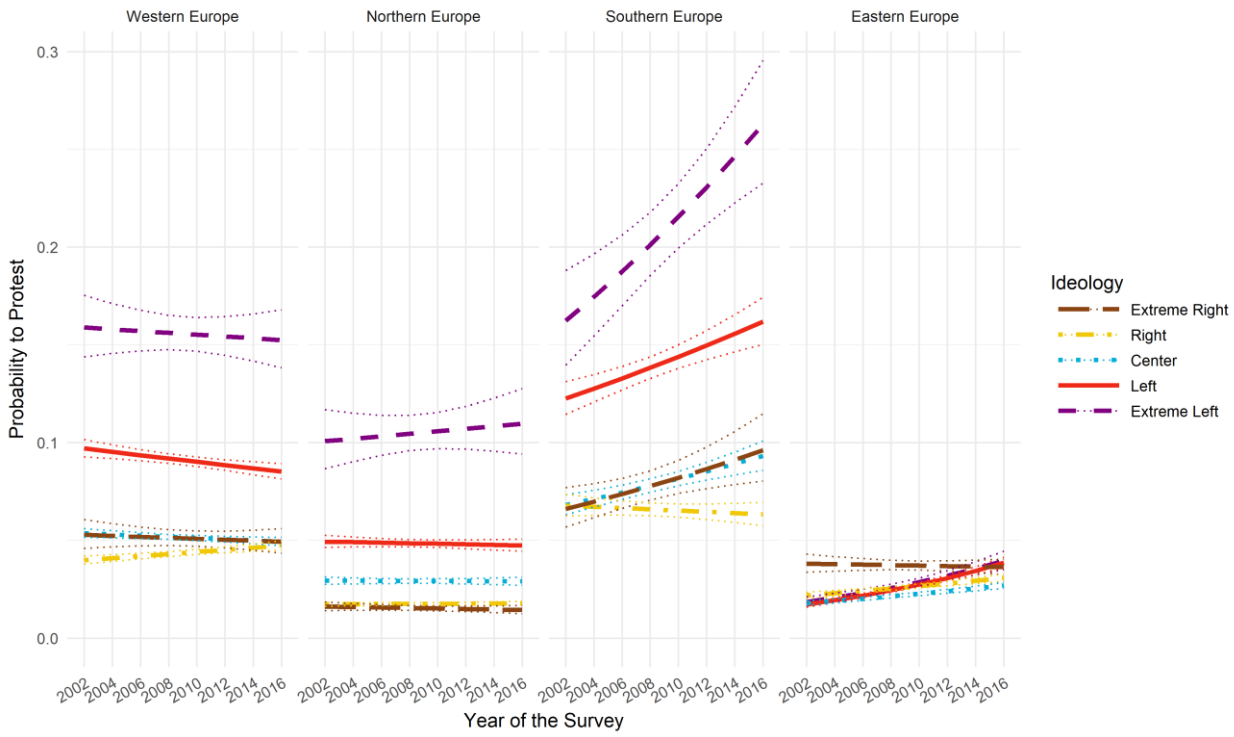


Table 2: Replicating table 3 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**
Intercept	-2.65 (0.38)***	-2.66 (0.36)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.47 (0.04)***	0.39 (0.08)***
Center	-0.50 (0.03)***	-0.56 (0.05)***
Right	-0.66 (0.05)***	-0.59 (0.07)***
Extreme right	-0.48 (0.07)***	-0.94 (0.19)***
Union member (dichot.)	0.51 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.91 (0.03)***	0.96 (0.05)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.42 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.52 (0.12)***	3.51 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.23 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.39 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.29 (0.10)**	0.28 (0.10)**
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.87 (0.42)*	0.90 (0.42)*
Voice & Accountability	-0.87 (0.33)**	-0.81 (0.33)*
Northern Europe (base: Western)	-0.61 (0.24)*	-0.63 (0.24)*
Southern Europe	0.37 (0.27)	0.37 (0.28)
Eastern Europe	-0.99 (0.29)***	-1.20 (0.28)***
NE:Party ID	-0.20 (0.06)**	-0.06 (0.10)
SE:Party ID	0.22 (0.06)***	0.28 (0.10)**
EE:Party ID	0.15 (0.07)*	-0.05 (0.13)
NE:Ext Left		0.01 (0.20)
SE:Ext Left		0.04 (0.15)
EE:Ext Left		-0.39 (0.19)*
NE:Center		0.10 (0.10)
SE:Center		0.08 (0.09)
EE:Center		0.27 (0.10)*
NE:Right		-0.12 (0.12)
SE:Right		-0.13 (0.13)
EE:Right		0.50 (0.13)***
NE:Ext Right		0.31 (0.31)
SE:Ext Right		0.02 (0.31)
EE:Ext Right		1.00 (0.25)***
Ext Left:Party ID		0.39 (0.12)***
Center:Party ID		-0.16 (0.08)
Right:Party ID		-0.41 (0.09)***
Ext Right:Party ID		0.46 (0.23)*
NE:Ext Left:Party ID		0.24 (0.26)

SE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.37 (0.20)
EE:Ext Left:Party ID		-0.31 (0.27)
NE:Center:Party ID		-0.02 (0.16)
SE:Center:Party ID		-0.19 (0.16)
EE:Center:Party ID		0.49 (0.18)**
NE:Right:Party ID		-0.23 (0.17)
SE:Right:Party ID		0.17 (0.18)
EE:Right:Party ID		0.56 (0.19)**
NE:Ext Right:Party ID		-1.30 (0.40)**
SE:Ext Right:Party ID		-0.13 (0.37)
EE:Ext Right:Party ID		-0.04 (0.31)
AIC	115076.38	114854.91
BIC	115495.71	115567.77
Log Likelihood	-57498.19	-57359.45
Num. obs.	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167
Countries	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.13	0.11
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.13	0.04
Var Country*Years: Center	0.05	0.02
Var Country*Years: Right	0.25	0.09
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.52	0.25
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.03	-0.01
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.05	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.10	-0.05
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.16	-0.09
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.05	-0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.11	0.00
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.13	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.11	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.11	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.32	0.12
Var Country: Intercept	0.14	0.14

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Figure 3: Replicating figure 5 in the paper

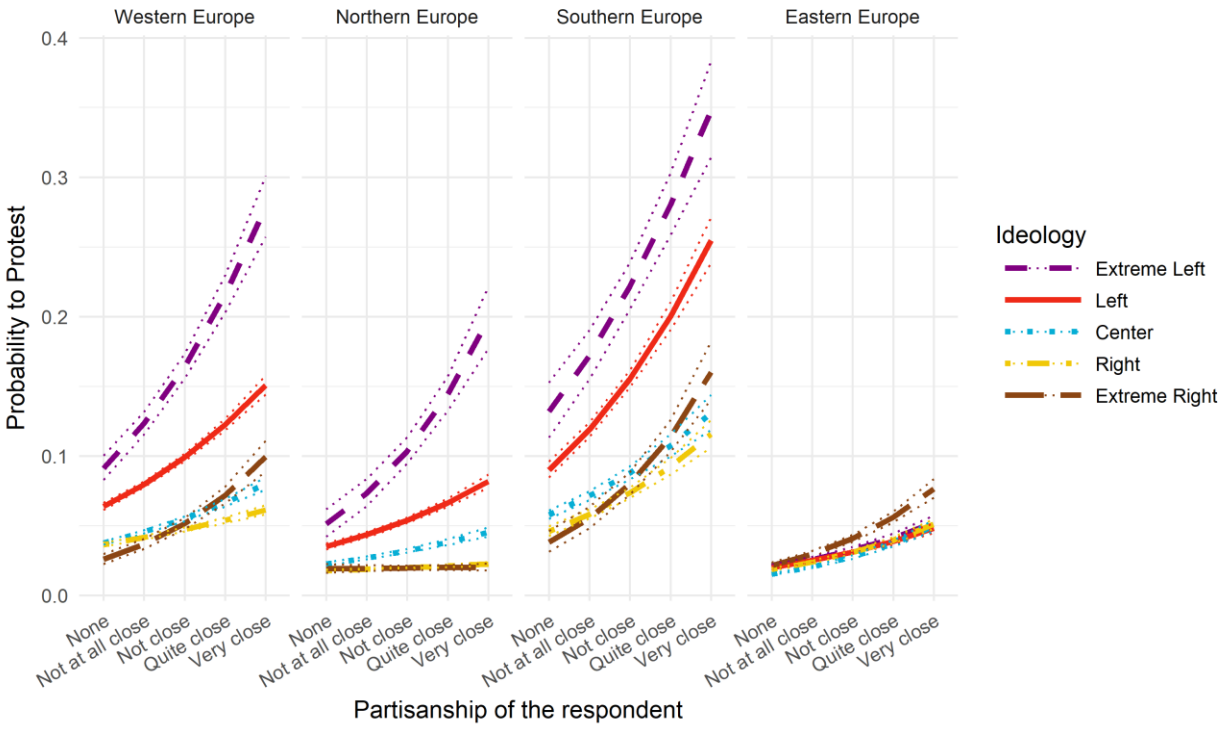


Table 3: Replicating table 4 in the paper

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	-2.92 (0.37)***	-3.06 (0.37)***	-2.67 (0.37)***
Extreme left (base: left)	0.14 (0.05)**	0.16 (0.05)***	0.18 (0.05)***
Center	-0.36 (0.03)***	-0.36 (0.03)***	-0.36 (0.03)***
Right	-0.56 (0.05)***	-0.57 (0.05)***	-0.57 (0.05)***
Extreme right	-0.67 (0.07)***	-0.64 (0.08)***	-0.64 (0.07)***
Distance from the gov.	1.08 (0.09)***	1.26 (0.11)***	0.75 (0.24)**
Union member (dichot.)	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***	0.50 (0.02)***
Party ID (cont.)	0.92 (0.02)***	0.93 (0.02)***	0.92 (0.02)***
Male	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Age (cont.)	-2.42 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***	-2.41 (0.06)***
Years of education (cont.)	3.52 (0.12)***	3.52 (0.12)***	3.52 (0.12)***
Suburbs (base: big city)	-0.23 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***	-0.22 (0.03)***
Small City	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***	-0.38 (0.02)***
Village	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***	-0.62 (0.02)***
Countryside	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***	-0.50 (0.04)***
Unemployed	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Gov. L-R	0.16 (0.11)	0.22 (0.10)*	-0.63 (0.25)*
GDP (ppp, 2011 US$)	0.95 (0.41)*	0.93 (0.41)*	0.92 (0.40)*
Voice & Accountability	-0.90 (0.33)**	-0.82 (0.34)*	-0.75 (0.32)*
Northern Europe (base: Western)	-0.74 (0.22)***	-0.79 (0.23)***	-0.79 (0.27)**
Southern Europe	0.45 (0.25)	0.49 (0.26)	0.22 (0.31)
Eastern Europe	-0.94 (0.28)***	-0.53 (0.28)	-1.59 (0.31)***
Gov. dist*NE		0.01 (0.17)	-0.57 (0.33)
Gov. dist*SE		-0.12 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.36)
Gov. dist*EE		-1.04 (0.19)***	0.75 (0.35)*
Gov. L-R*NE			0.14 (0.32)
Gov. L-R*SE			0.59 (0.35)
Gov. L-R*EE			2.02 (0.32)***
Gov. L-R*Gov. dist			0.99 (0.45)*
Gov. L-R*NE*Gov. dist			0.84 (0.58)
Gov. L-R*SE*Gov. dist			-0.21 (0.63)
Gov. L-R*EE*Gov. dist			-3.33 (0.61)***
AIC	114956.31	114933.06	114888.30
BIC	115354.67	115362.87	115391.49
Log Likelihood	-57440.15	-57425.53	-57396.15
Num. obs.	263871	263871	263871
Country*Years	167	167	167
Countries	24	24	24
Var Country*Years: Intercept	0.13	0.16	0.11
Var Country*Years: Extreme Left	0.13	0.08	0.11
Var Country*Years: Center	0.06	0.05	0.04

Var Country*Years: Right	0.26	0.23	0.15
Var Country*Years: Extreme Right	0.45	0.60	0.36
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Left	0.04	0.03	0.02
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Center	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Right	-0.10	-0.13	-0.07
Cov Country*Years: Intercept, Ext Right	-0.14	-0.21	-0.10
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Center	-0.04	-0.02	-0.03
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Right	-0.14	-0.08	-0.09
Cov Country*Years: Ext Left, Ext Right	-0.16	-0.12	-0.11
Cov Country*Years: Center, Right	0.11	0.09	0.06
Cov Country*Years: Center, Ext Right	0.09	0.09	0.04
Cov Country*Years: Right, Ext Right	0.30	0.33	0.19
Var Country: Intercept	0.12	0.12	0.12

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Figure 4: Replicating figure 6 in the paper

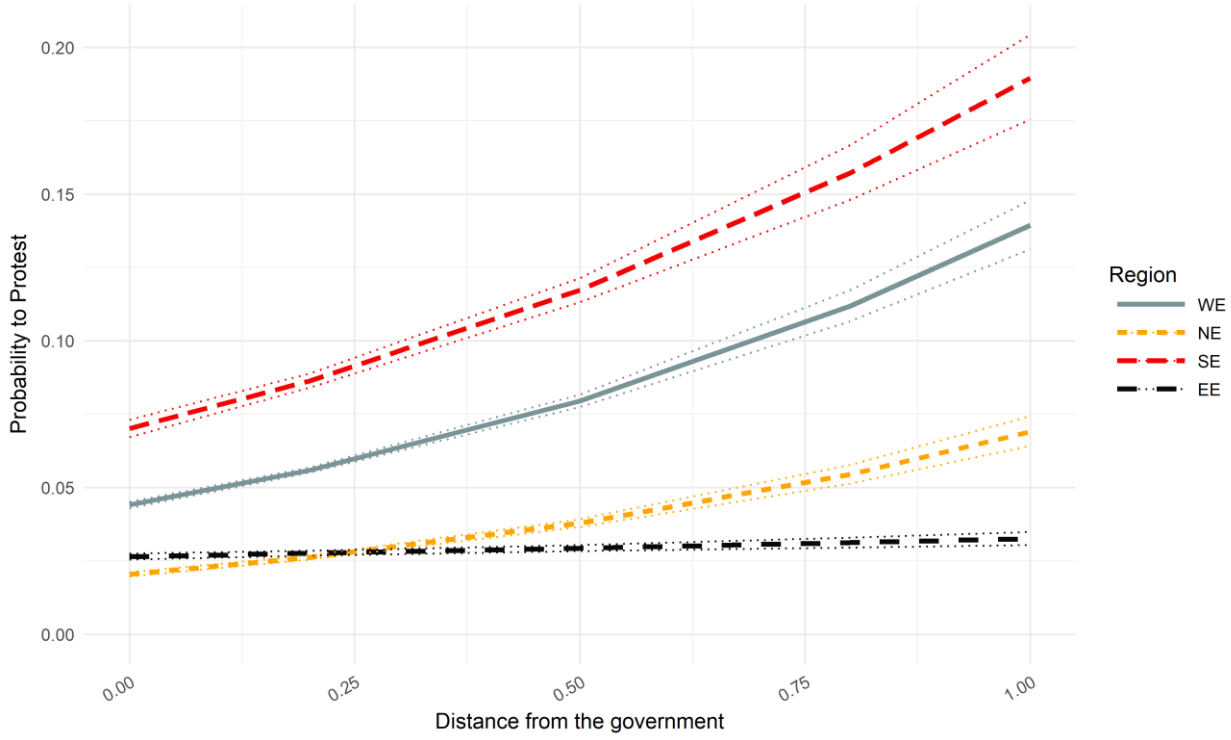
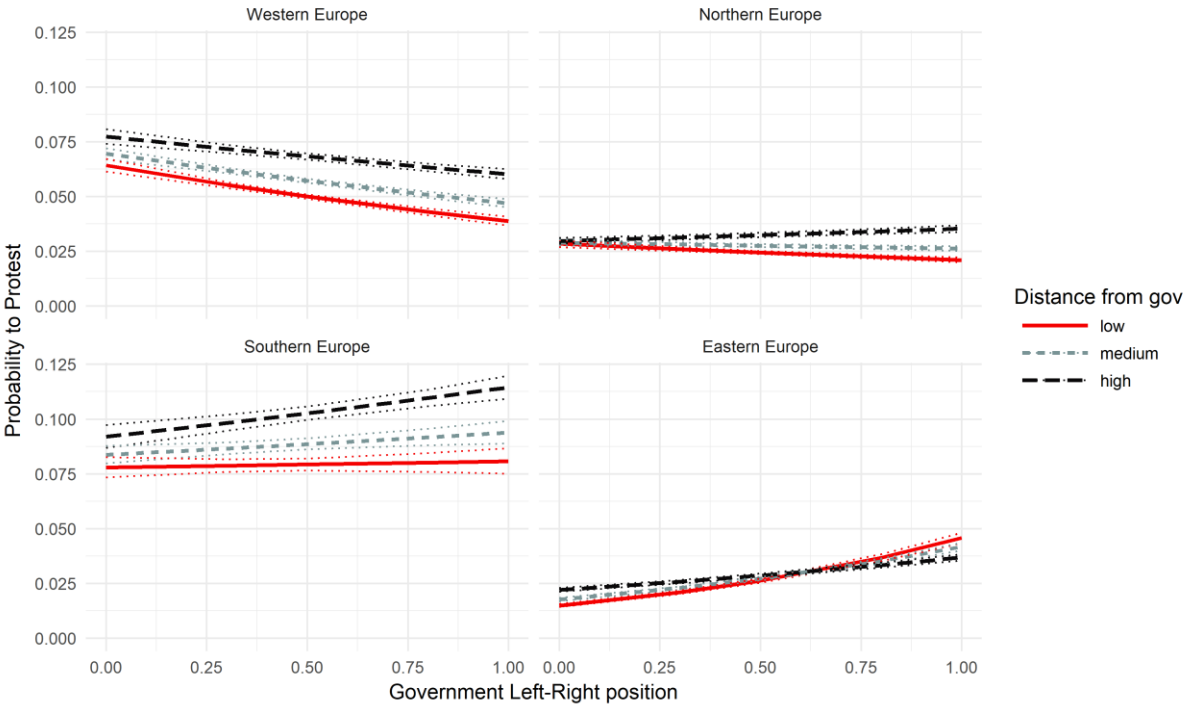



Figure 5: Replicating figure 7 in the paper