Appendix: The mobilisation potential of anti-containment protests in Germany

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic triggered polarisation across Europe. While most citizens supported the governments' containment measures, others took to the streets and voiced their dissatisfaction. The paper focuses on the mobilisation potential related to this het-erogenous protest wave. It examines individuals that show sympathy and are willing to engage in anti-containment demonstrations based on sixteen waves of a rolling cross-section survey fielded in Germany in 2020/2021. The results show a considerable and stable mobilisation potential: Every fifth respondent sympathises with the protesters, and around 60 percent of those are ready to participate themselves. Political distrust, far-right orientations, and an emerging 'freedom divide' structure the potential, as do Covid-19-related economic and health threats. Moreover, the findings indicate a radi-calisation process and show how ideology and threat perceptions drive the step from sympathy to willingness to participate, suggesting that ideological polarisation may quickly spill over to the streets given an appropriate supply of protest opportunities.

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1 Summary statistics for dependent and independent variables

Table 1: Summary statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Ideology left-right	13,095	4.718	1.916	0	10
Extreme ideology	13,095	1.462	0.652	1	3
Distrust in government	13,095	4.870	3.207	0	10
Bypassing of parliament	9,790	2.915	1.290	1	5
Freedom of assembly	9,800	3.215	1.294	1	5
Restrictions on private contacts	9,795	3.224	1.292	1	5
Restrictions on public life	9,790	2.665	1.327	1	5
Health threat	13,095	2.210	0.705	0.750	4.250
Economic threat	13,095	0.253	0.435	0	1
Age	13,095	45.220	14.290	18	99
Age^2	13,095	2,249.018	1,289.098	324	9,801
Female	13,095	1.499	0.500	1	2
Children	13,095	0.546	0.498	0	1
Married	13,095	0.418	0.493	0	1
Infection (self or close individuals)	13,095	0.323	0.468	0	1
Economic situation	13,095	2.634	0.911	1	5
Engaged if others	13,095	6.400	2.777	2	12
Social trust	13,095	4.837	2.507	0	10
Education	13,095	2.102	0.799	1	3
East Germany	13,095	0.217	0.412	0	1
wave	13,095	9.621	4.355	1	16

2 Figure 2: Development of sympathy and readiness to participate in anti-containment protests by survey wave (2020-2021)

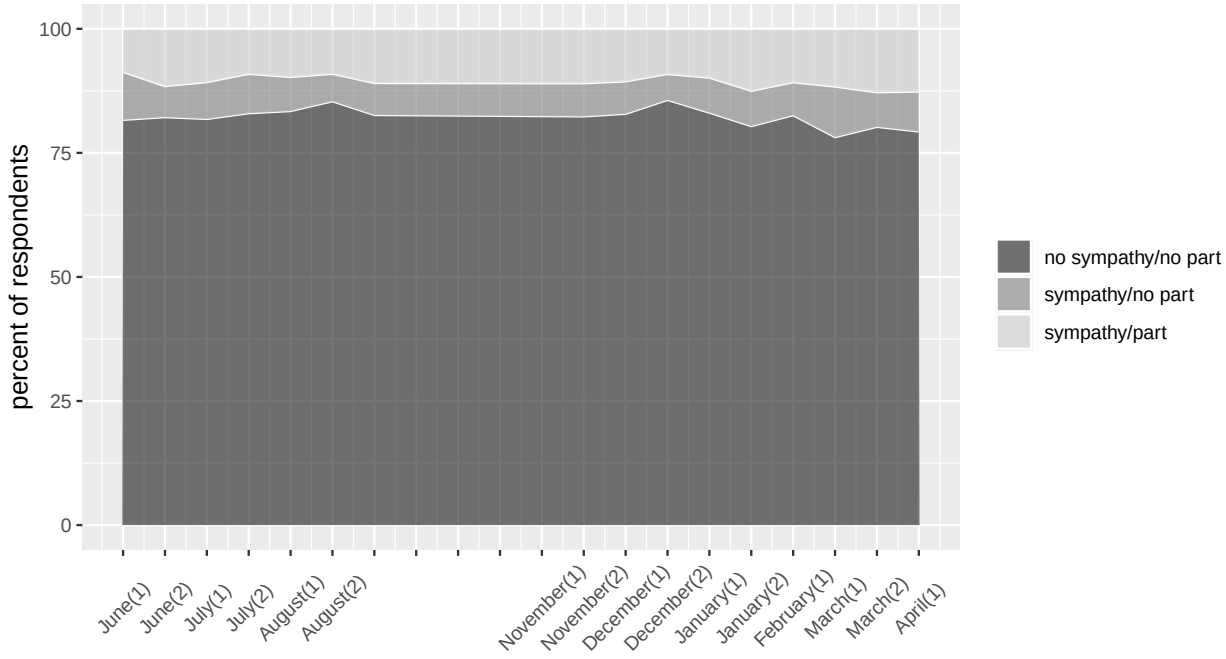


Figure 1: Development of support and participation over time (aggregated by wave)

3 Figure 3: Share of groups by respondents' attitude

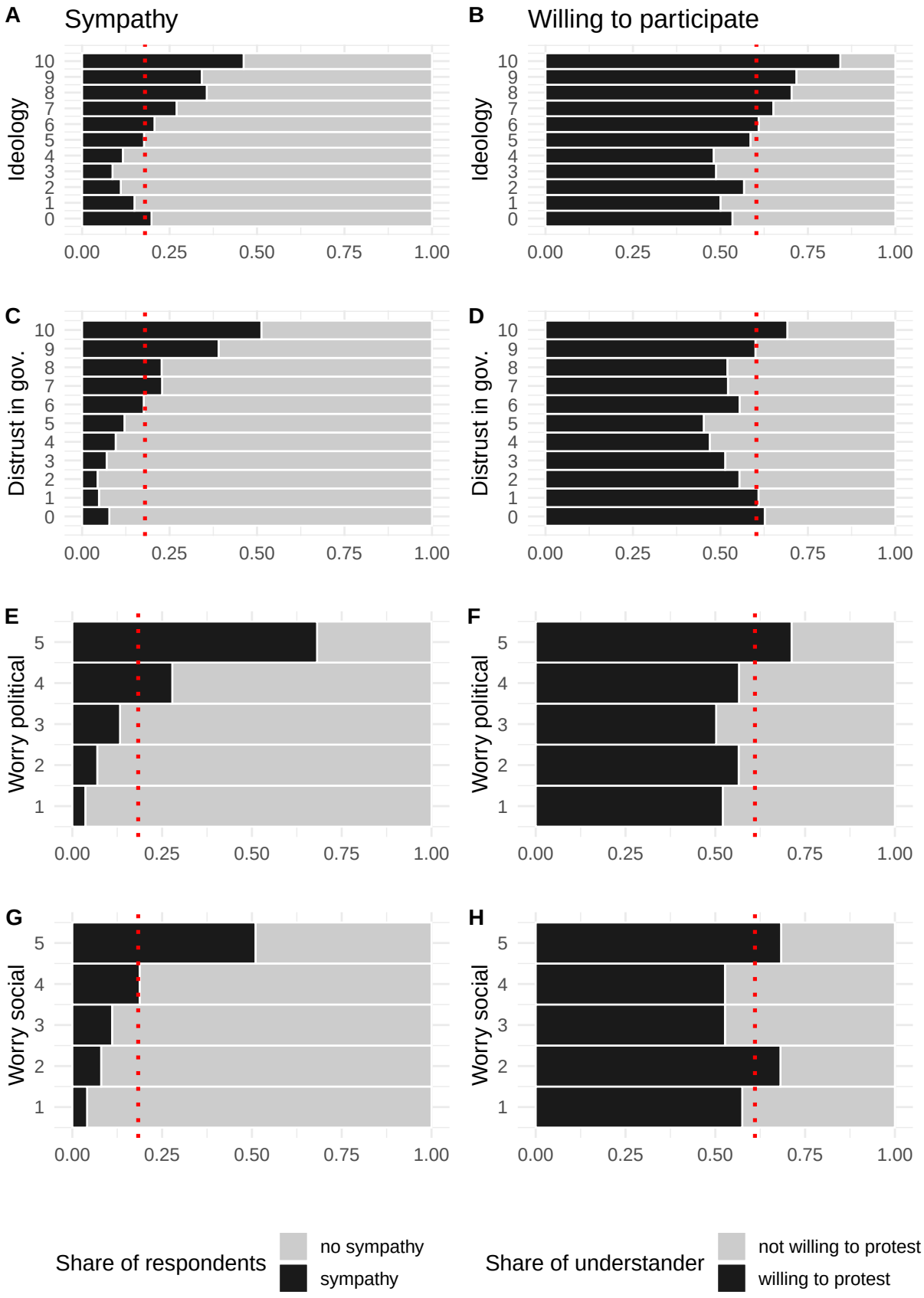
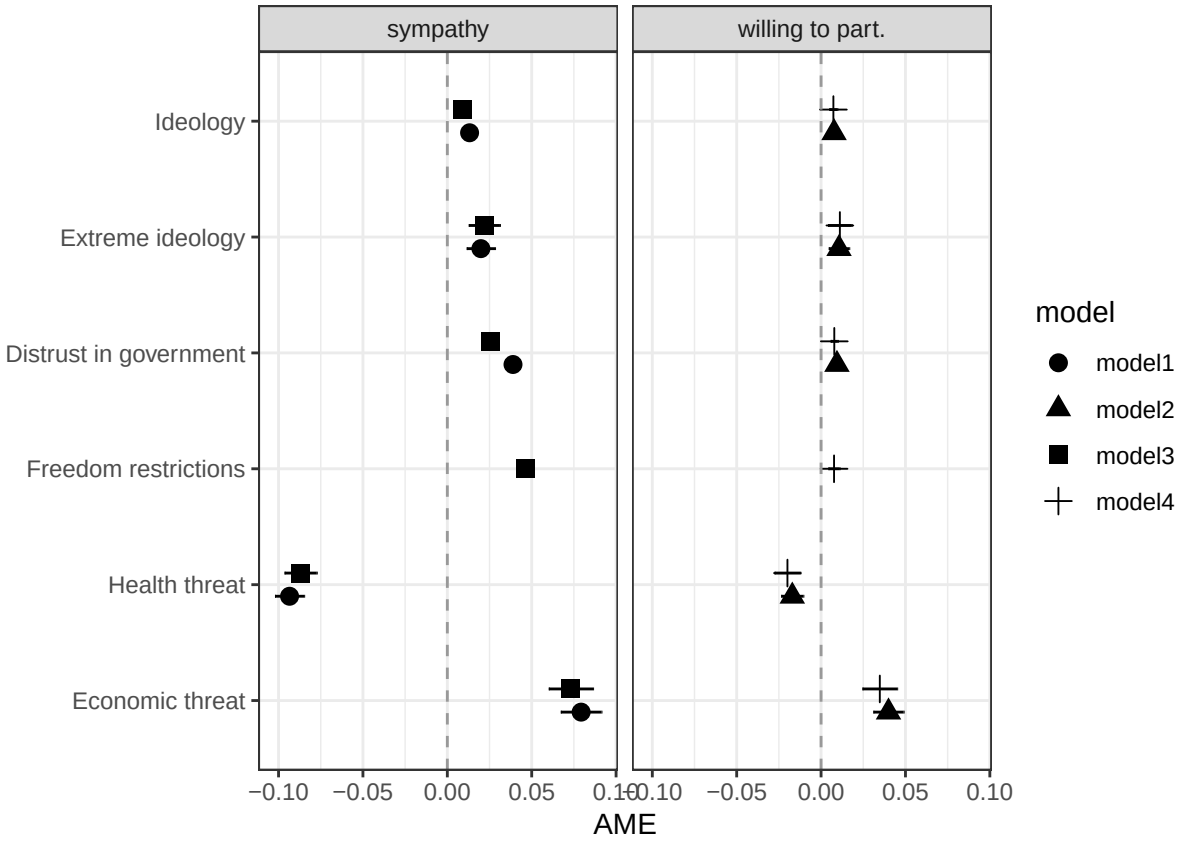


Figure 2: Share of groups by resondents' ideology

4 Main models

4.1 Figure 4: Average marginal effects of logistic regression models predicting sympathy for and willingness to participate in anti-containment protests



4.2 Regression tables for main models

	Sympathy	Willingness	Sympathy	Willingness
Age	-0.005***	-0.002+	-0.006***	-0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Age squ.	0.00003*	0.00001	0.00004*	0.00002
	(0.00002)	(0.00001)	(0.00002)	(0.00001)
Children	0.023***	0.013**	0.015*	0.012*
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Infection (self or close individuals)	0.003	0.007	-0.004	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
East Germany	0.021**	0.009+	0.023**	0.010+
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Economic threat	0.079***	0.040***	0.073***	0.035***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Economic situation	-0.003	-0.005*	-0.010**	-0.005+
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Education - high	0.006	-0.021***	-0.004	-0.027***
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Education - middle	-0.009	-0.017**	-0.017*	-0.018**
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Engaged if others	0.005***	0.004***	0.002	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.0008)	(0.001)	(0.0009)
Health threat	-0.093***	-0.017***	-0.087***	-0.020***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Ideology left-right	0.013***	0.008***	0.009***	0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Extreme ideology	0.020***	0.011***	0.022***	0.011**
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Married	0.003	-0.005	0.003	-0.003
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Female	-0.031***	-0.008+	-0.036***	-0.011*
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Distrust in government	0.039***	0.009***	0.025***	0.008***
	(0.001)	(0.0009)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Social trust	0.012***	0.003**	0.009***	0.0009
	(0.001)	(0.0009)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Symapthy		0.399***		0.369***
		(0.013)		(0.015)
Freedom restrictions			0.047***	0.008***
			(0.002)	(0.002)
AIC	9103.8	5319.6	6175.9	3928.0
BIC	9350.7	5573.9	6377.0	4136.3
RMSE	0.33	0.24	0.31	0.24

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

5 Robustness check: Include worry variables individually

Table 3: Regression Results for individual freedom restrictions variables (odds)

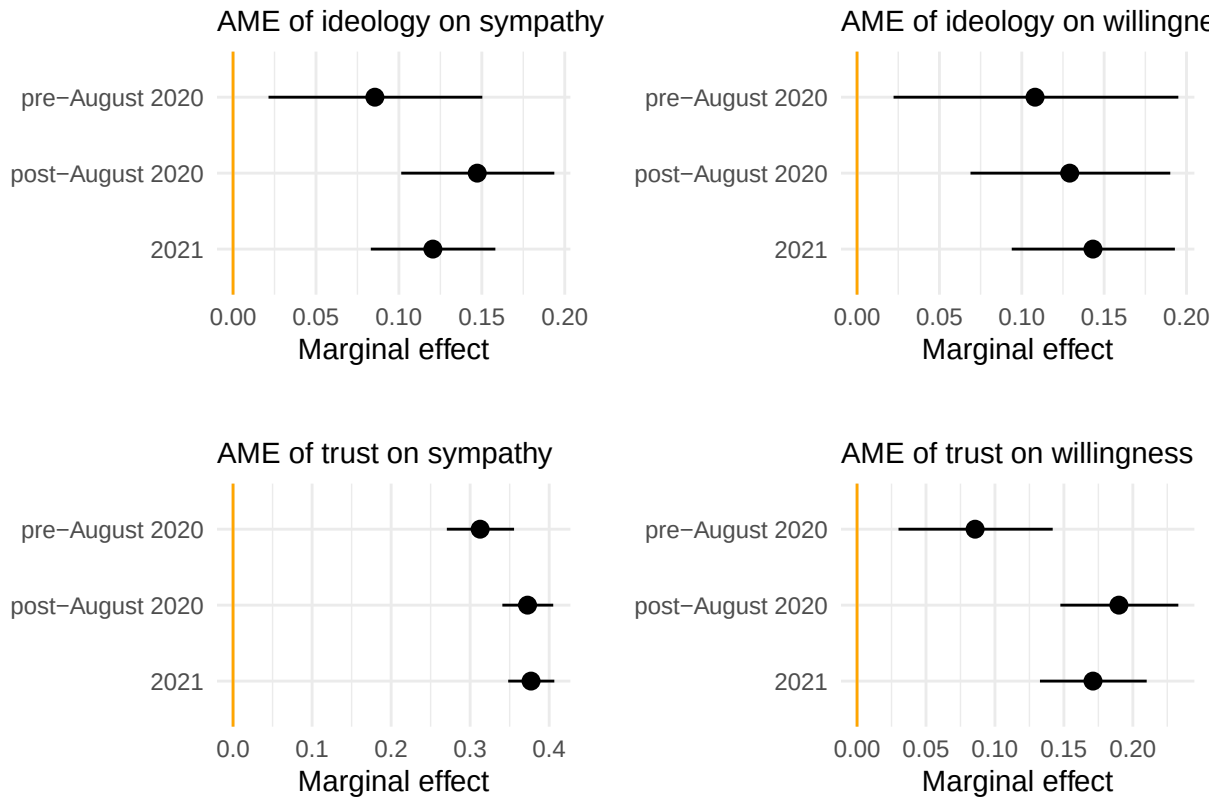
	Dependent variable:							
	sympathy	participate	sympathy	participate	sympathy	participate	sympathy	participate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sympathy		25.48*** (2.46)		28.35*** (2.72)		30.43*** (2.93)		30.07*** (2.88)
Ideology left-right	1.10*** (0.02)	1.13*** (0.02)	1.11*** (0.02)	1.13*** (0.02)	1.11*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)	1.11*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)
Extreme ideology	1.24*** (0.06)	1.21** (0.07)	1.24*** (0.06)	1.21** (0.07)	1.26*** (0.06)	1.20** (0.07)	1.26*** (0.06)	1.19** (0.07)
Distrust in gov.	1.31*** (0.02)	1.13*** (0.02)	1.32*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)	1.37*** (0.02)	1.17*** (0.02)	1.38*** (0.02)	1.17*** (0.02)
freeassembly	1.93*** (0.06)	1.33*** (0.05)						
parliament			1.73*** (0.05)	1.20*** (0.05)				
publiclife					1.60*** (0.05)	1.07 (0.04)		
privatecontact							1.54*** (0.05)	1.07 (0.04)
Health threat	0.42*** (0.02)	0.71*** (0.05)	0.39*** (0.02)	0.70*** (0.05)	0.41*** (0.02)	0.71*** (0.05)	0.39*** (0.02)	0.70*** (0.05)
Economic threat	2.09*** (0.15)	1.84*** (0.17)	2.17*** (0.15)	1.84*** (0.17)	2.13*** (0.15)	1.82*** (0.17)	2.15*** (0.15)	1.84*** (0.17)
Age	0.95** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)	0.94*** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)	0.95*** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)	0.95*** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)
Age^2	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00** (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Children	1.19* (0.09)	1.22* (0.12)	1.19* (0.09)	1.21* (0.12)	1.20* (0.09)	1.23* (0.12)	1.18* (0.09)	1.22* (0.12)
Married	1.04 (0.08)	0.96 (0.09)	1.02 (0.08)	0.95 (0.09)	1.03 (0.08)	0.94 (0.09)	1.02 (0.08)	0.95 (0.09)
Infection	0.97 (0.07)	1.07 (0.10)	0.95 (0.07)	1.06 (0.10)	0.98 (0.07)	1.08 (0.10)	0.97 (0.07)	1.07 (0.10)
Engaged if others	1.02 (0.01)	1.06*** (0.02)	1.02 (0.01)	1.07*** (0.02)	1.03* (0.01)	1.07*** (0.02)	1.03* (0.01)	1.07*** (0.02)
Social trust	1.10*** (0.02)	1.01 (0.02)	1.10*** (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)	1.10*** (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)	1.11*** (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)
Female	0.73*** (0.05)	0.84* (0.07)	0.77*** (0.05)	0.85 (0.07)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.84 (0.07)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.84* (0.07)
Education - middle	0.85* (0.07)	0.73** (0.08)	0.86 (0.07)	0.74** (0.08)	0.86 (0.07)	0.74** (0.08)	0.85 (0.07)	0.75** (0.08)
Education - high	1.00 (0.09)	0.61*** (0.07)	0.93 (0.08)	0.62*** (0.07)	1.00 (0.09)	0.64*** (0.07)	1.00 (0.09)	0.64*** (0.07)
Economic situation	0.91* (0.04)	0.91* (0.04)	0.92* (0.04)	0.92 (0.04)	0.92* (0.04)	0.93 (0.05)	0.93 (0.04)	0.92 (0.04)
East Germany	1.34*** (0.10)	1.21 (0.12)	1.27** (0.10)	1.20 (0.12)	1.26** (0.09)	1.20 (0.12)	1.25** (0.09)	1.19 (0.12)
Constant	0.04*** (0.02)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.02)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.02*** (0.01)
Observations	9,790	9,790	9,790	9,790	9,795	9,795	9,800	9,800
Log Likelihood	−3,016.30	−1,931.29	−3,135.46	−1,943.96	−3,188.11	−1,954.17	−3,200.07	−1,959.74
Akaike Inf. Crit.	6,088.60	3,920.58	6,326.91	3,945.92	6,432.22	3,966.34	6,456.13	3,977.48

Note: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

6 Interactions for different time periods

Lastly, we interact the two main periods of the time frame under analysis with our main explanatory variables: ideology, extreme ideology, trust in government, economic and health risks. The interactions for ideology and trust in government are included in the main paper. The interactions plots for extreme ideology as well as economic and health threats can be found below. We consider two main splits within our time frame: before August 2020, after August 2020 and observations in the year 2021. The first split is marked by large protests in several German cities. These protests received a lot of public and media attention due to several radical and violent action forms, most notably when demonstrators tried to enter the parliamentary building of the German Bundestag. The split between fall 2020 and spring 2021 is characterized by the further radicalization and two lockdowns. This allows us to test the consistency of our findings against the dynamically evolving situation of the protests. We find several differences in the driving factors of protest support and willingness to participate between the three time periods.

6.1 Figure 5: Average marginal effects of left–right ideology and trust in government conditional on time



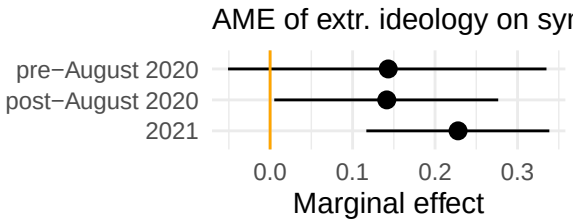
6.2 Regression table for models in figure 5, main text

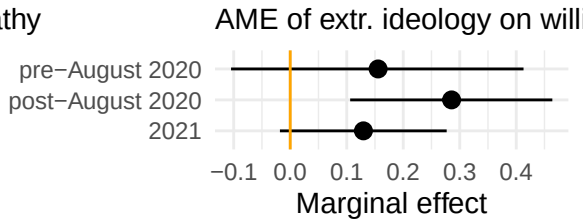
	Sympathy	Sympathy	Willingness	Willingness
(Intercept)	-2.554***	-2.526***	-4.268***	-4.260***
	(0.316)	(0.315)	(0.424)	(0.423)
post. Aug 2020	-0.218	-0.373**	-0.192	-0.431**
	(0.145)	(0.123)	(0.197)	(0.162)
2021	0.236+	0.184	-0.063	0.231
	(0.134)	(0.114)	(0.181)	(0.150)
Extreme ideology	0.183***	0.185***	0.186***	0.190***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Distrust in government	0.363***		0.162***	
	(0.011)		(0.015)	
Health threat	-0.880***	-0.877***	-0.295***	-0.291***
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Economic threat	0.741***	0.739***	0.689***	0.686***
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.080)	(0.080)
Age	-0.042***	-0.042***	-0.032+	-0.031+
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Age squ.	0.0003*	0.0003*	0.0002	0.0002
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Children	0.225***	0.224***	0.223**	0.223**
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Married	0.032	0.031	-0.086	-0.087
	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Infection (self or close individuals)	0.025	0.028	0.113	0.119
	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Engaged if others	0.045***	0.045***	0.072***	0.072***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Social trust	0.114***	0.114***	0.047**	0.047**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Female	-0.289***	-0.291***	-0.145+	-0.140+
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Education - middle	-0.081	-0.081	-0.288**	-0.287**
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.092)	(0.092)
Education - high	0.065	0.067	-0.357***	-0.347***
	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.097)	(0.097)
Economic situation	-0.028	-0.029	-0.086*	-0.086*
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.042)	(0.042)
East Germany	0.201**	0.200**	0.158+	0.162+
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.086)	(0.086)
pre Aug. 2020*ideology	0.086**		0.108*	
	(0.033)		(0.044)	
post. Aug. 2020*ideology	0.147***		0.129***	
	(0.024)		(0.031)	
2021*ideology	0.120***		0.143***	
	(0.019)		(0.025)	
Ideology left-right		0.123***		0.132***
		(0.014)		(0.018)
pre Aug. 2020* trust in gov.		0.313***		0.086**
		(0.022)		(0.029)
post. Aug. 2020*trust in gov.		0.373***		0.190***
		(0.016)		(0.022)

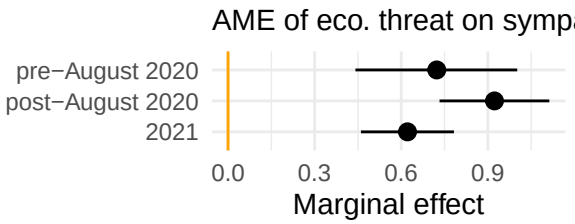
	Sympathy	Sympathy	Willingness	Willingness
2021*trust in gov.		0.377***		0.171***
		(0.015)		(0.020)
Sympathy			3.436***	3.434***
			(0.081)	(0.081)
Num.Obs.	13095	13095	13095	13095
AIC	9097.5	9092.7	5309.0	5299.4
BIC	9262.0	9257.3	5481.1	5471.5
Log.Lik.	-4526.731	-4524.360	-2631.508	-2626.718
F	100.780	100.611	125.961	125.570
RMSE	0.33	0.33	0.24	0.24

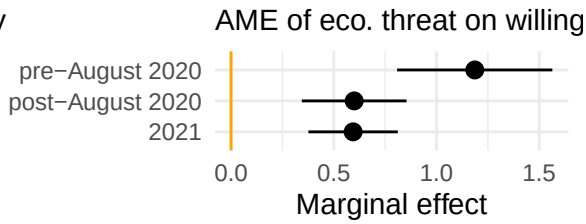
Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

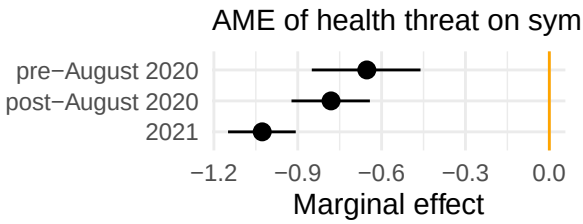
6.3 Extreme ideology as well as economic and health threat over time

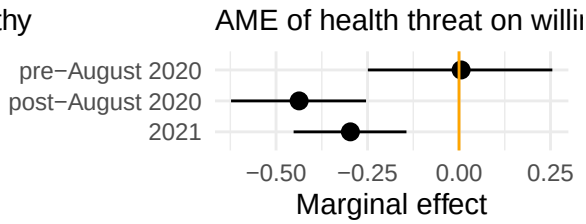












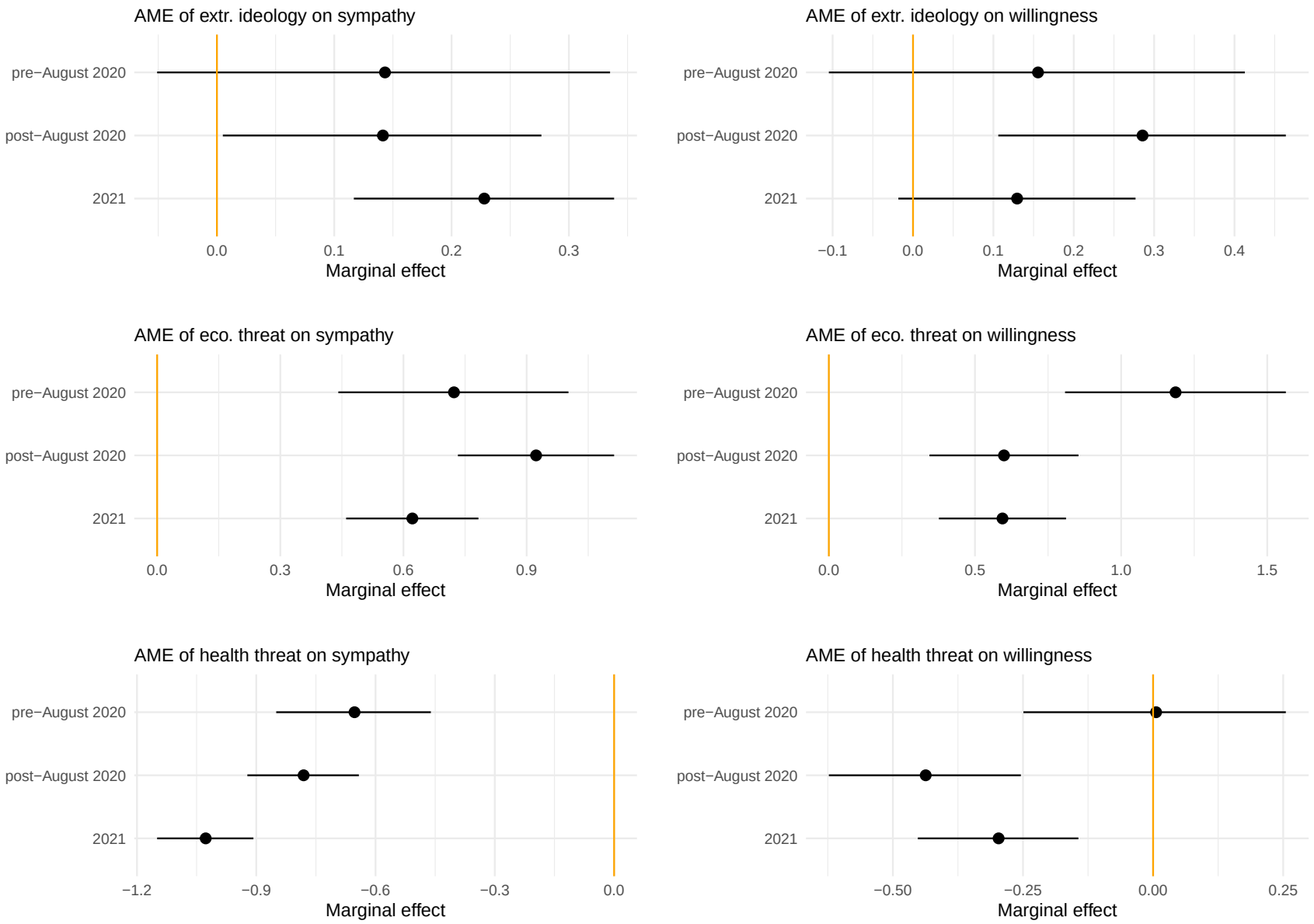


Figure 3: Period effects

6.4 Regression tables for extreme ideology and economic and health threat over time

Table 5: Regression Results (odds ratios)

	Dependent variable:					
	sympathy			willingness		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Sympathy				31.14*** (2.51)	31.25*** (2.52)	31.12*** (2.51)
Ideology left-right	1.13*** (0.02)	1.13*** (0.02)	1.13*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)
Extreme ideology		1.20*** (0.05)	1.20*** (0.05)		1.21*** (0.06)	1.21*** (0.06)
Distrust gov.	1.44*** (0.02)	1.44*** (0.02)	1.44*** (0.02)	1.18*** (0.02)	1.18*** (0.02)	1.17*** (0.02)
Health threat	0.41*** (0.02)	0.41*** (0.02)		0.74*** (0.04)	0.74*** (0.04)	
Economic threat	2.10*** (0.12)		2.10*** (0.12)	1.99*** (0.16)		1.99*** (0.16)
Age	0.96*** (0.01)	0.96*** (0.01)	0.96*** (0.01)	0.97 (0.02)	0.97 (0.02)	0.97* (0.02)
Age^2	1.00* (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Children	1.25*** (0.08)	1.25*** (0.08)	1.25*** (0.08)	1.25** (0.10)	1.25** (0.10)	1.25** (0.10)
Married	1.03 (0.06)	1.03 (0.06)	1.04 (0.06)	0.92 (0.08)	0.92 (0.08)	0.92 (0.08)
Infection (self or close individuals)	1.02 (0.06)	1.02 (0.06)	1.03 (0.06)	1.12 (0.10)	1.12 (0.10)	1.13 (0.10)
Engaged if others	1.05*** (0.01)	1.05*** (0.01)	1.05*** (0.01)	1.07*** (0.01)	1.07*** (0.01)	1.07*** (0.01)
Social trust	1.12*** (0.01)	1.12*** (0.01)	1.12*** (0.01)	1.05** (0.02)	1.05** (0.02)	1.05** (0.02)
Female	0.75*** (0.04)	0.75*** (0.04)	0.75*** (0.04)	0.87 (0.07)	0.87 (0.07)	0.87 (0.07)
Education - middle	0.92 (0.06)	0.92 (0.06)	0.92 (0.06)	0.75** (0.07)	0.75** (0.07)	0.75** (0.07)
Education - high	1.07 (0.08)	1.06 (0.08)	1.07 (0.08)	0.70*** (0.07)	0.70*** (0.07)	0.70*** (0.07)
Economic situation	0.97 (0.03)	0.97 (0.03)	0.97 (0.03)	0.92* (0.04)	0.92* (0.04)	0.92* (0.04)
East Germany	1.22** (0.08)	1.22** (0.08)	1.23** (0.08)	1.17 (0.10)	1.18 (0.10)	1.17 (0.10)
post August	0.83 (0.11)	0.93 (0.06)	1.50* (0.24)	0.96 (0.17)	1.08 (0.10)	1.39 (0.29)
2021	1.00 (0.12)	1.13* (0.07)	1.17 (0.18)	1.10 (0.17)	0.85 (0.07)	0.59** (0.11)
post Aug.*extreme ideol.	1.15 (0.11)			1.17 (0.15)		
2021*extreme ideol.	1.15* (0.08)			1.33** (0.12)		
post Aug.*eco. vul.	1.26*** (0.07)			1.14 (0.09)		
2021.*eco. vul.		2.06*** (0.29)			3.27*** (0.63)	
post Aug.*health		2.52*** (0.24)			1.82*** (0.24)	
2021*health		1.86*** (0.15)			1.81*** (0.20)	
periodpre August 2020:health_all			0.52*** (0.05)			1.01 (0.13)
periodpost August:health_all			0.46*** (0.03)			0.65*** (0.06)
period2021:health_all			0.36*** (0.02)			0.74*** (0.06)
Constant	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.01*** (0.01)	0.01*** (0.01)	0.01*** (0.01)
Observations	13,095	13,095	13,095	13,095	13,095	13,095
Log Likelihood	−4,527.36	−4,525.03	−4,521.28	−2,630.85	−2,627.75	−2,627.77
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,098.71	9,094.07	9,086.57	5,307.71	5,301.50	5,301.54

Note: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

7 Robustness check: Curvilinear term for ideology

Table 6: Regression Results (odds ratios)

	Dependent variable:			
	support	participate	support	participate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sympathy		31.49*** (2.55)		27.86*** (2.71)
Ideology left-right	0.91* (0.04)	0.92 (0.05)	0.85** (0.04)	0.90 (0.06)
Ideology squared	1.44*** (0.02)	1.18*** (0.02)	1.30*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)
Distrust in government			1.62*** (0.04)	1.14*** (0.03)
freedom restrictions	0.42*** (0.02)	0.74*** (0.04)	0.41*** (0.02)	0.71*** (0.05)
Health threat	2.10*** (0.12)	1.99*** (0.16)	2.14*** (0.15)	1.82*** (0.17)
Economic threat	0.96*** (0.01)	0.97 (0.02)	0.94*** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)
Age	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Age^2	1.24*** (0.08)	1.25** (0.11)	1.17* (0.09)	1.23* (0.12)
Children	1.03 (0.06)	0.92 (0.08)	1.03 (0.08)	0.95 (0.09)
Married	1.03 (0.06)	1.12 (0.10)	0.96 (0.07)	1.07 (0.10)
Infection (self or close individuals)	1.05*** (0.01)	1.08*** (0.01)	1.02 (0.01)	1.06*** (0.02)
Engaged if others	1.12*** (0.01)	1.05** (0.02)	1.10*** (0.02)	1.02 (0.02)
Social trust	0.75*** (0.04)	0.87 (0.07)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.83* (0.07)
Female	0.92 (0.06)	0.76** (0.07)	0.84* (0.07)	0.74** (0.08)
Education - middle	1.07 (0.08)	0.71*** (0.07)	0.97 (0.09)	0.63*** (0.07)
Education - high	0.97 (0.03)	0.92* (0.04)	0.90** (0.04)	0.91 (0.04)
Economic situation	1.21** (0.08)	1.17 (0.10)	1.26** (0.10)	1.19 (0.12)
East Germany	1.02*** (0.00)	1.02*** (0.01)	1.03*** (0.01)	1.02*** (0.01)
Constant	0.19*** (0.07)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.85 (0.35)	0.08*** (0.04)
Observations	13,095	13,095	9,744	9,744
Log Likelihood	−4,515.09	−2,623.50	−3,056.99	−1,932.63
Akaike Inf. Crit.	9,096.19	5,314.99	6,169.99	3,923.27
Note:				* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

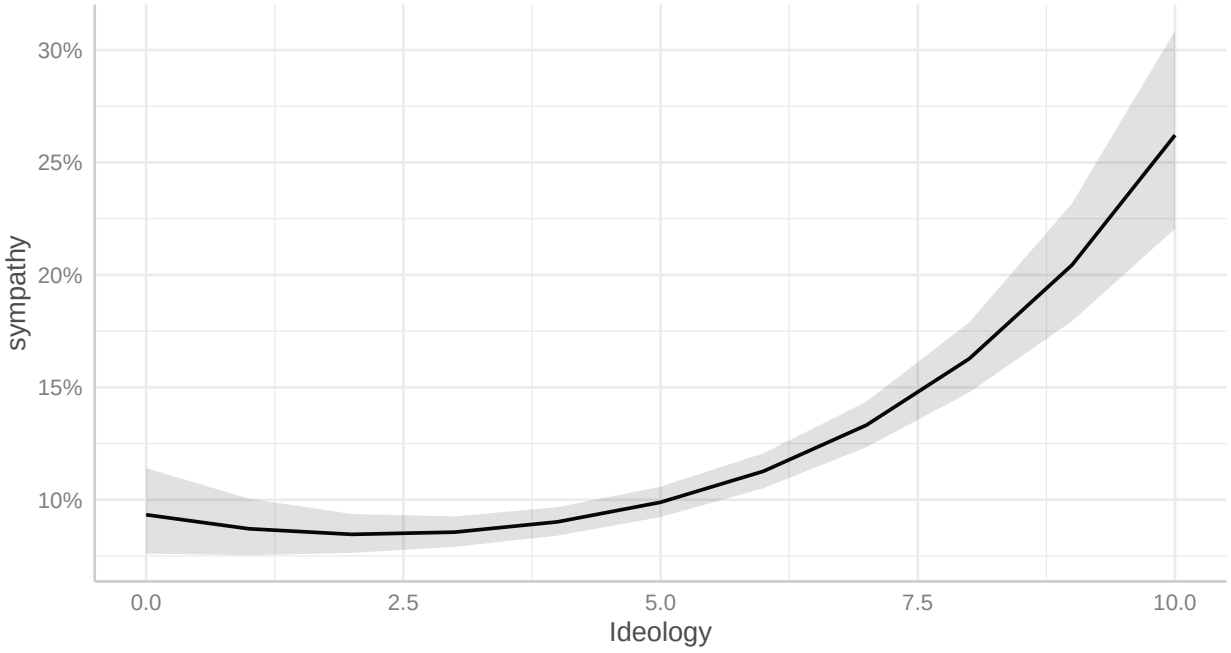


Figure 4: Predicted probabilities for sympathy

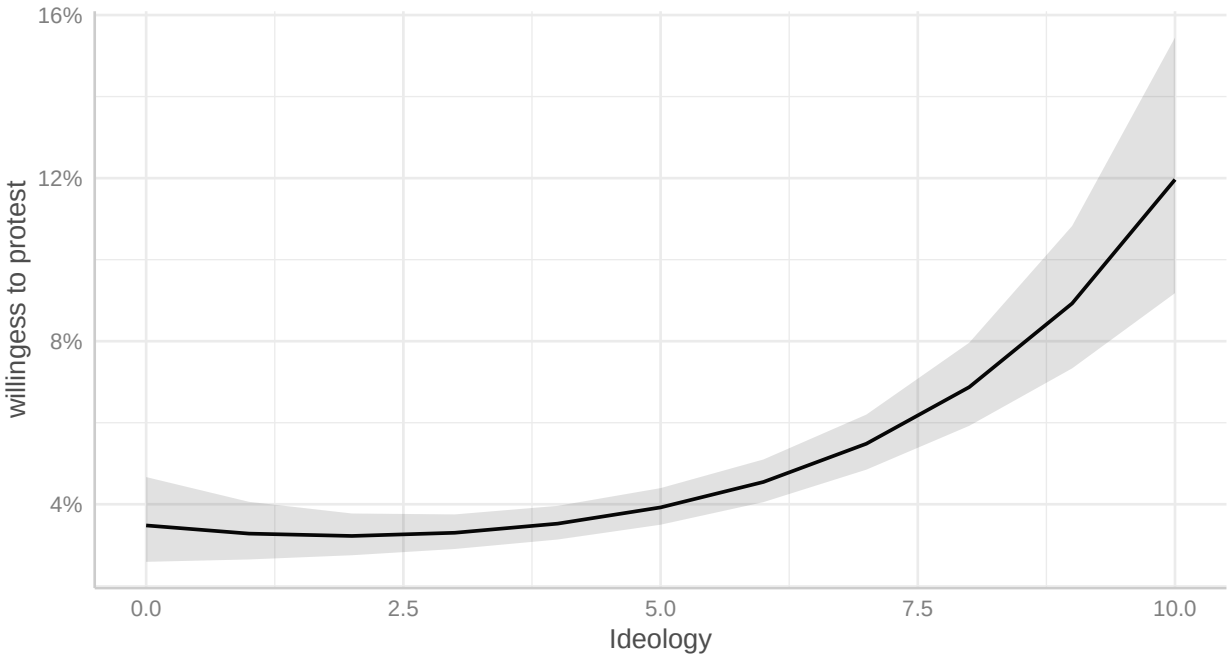


Figure 5: Predicted probabilities for willigness to protest

8 Robustness check: Political trust

Since most of our data includes a measure of political trust that is closely related to the pandemic, we perform additional robustness checks using two items that asks for distrust in politicians and political parties, which were, however, only included on the later waves. The models below show that the results are consistent with our main models regarding sympathy for the anti-containment protest (model 1 and 3 in table 7). For willingness to participate, the significance, however, vanishes (model 2 and 4).

Table 7: Regression Results (odds ratios)

	Dependent variable:			
	support	participate	support	participate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sympathy		31.53*** (3.09)		31.80*** (3.11)
Ideology left-right	1.11*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)	1.11*** (0.02)	1.14*** (0.02)
Extreme ideology	1.24*** (0.06)	1.20** (0.08)	1.25*** (0.06)	1.20** (0.08)
Distrust in politicians	1.15*** (0.02)	1.01 (0.02)		
Trust in parties			1.14*** (0.02)	0.99 (0.02)
Freedom restrictions	1.82*** (0.04)	1.23*** (0.04)	1.83*** (0.04)	1.24*** (0.04)
Health threat	0.34*** (0.02)	0.63*** (0.04)	0.34*** (0.02)	0.62*** (0.04)
Economic threat	2.07*** (0.15)	1.76*** (0.16)	2.08*** (0.15)	1.76*** (0.16)
Age	0.95*** (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)	0.95*** (0.01)	0.96 (0.02)
Age^2	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Children	1.14 (0.09)	1.21 (0.12)	1.15 (0.09)	1.21 (0.12)
Married	1.08 (0.08)	0.99 (0.10)	1.08 (0.08)	0.99 (0.10)
Infection (self or close individuals)	0.95 (0.07)	1.03 (0.10)	0.95 (0.07)	1.03 (0.10)
Engaged if others	1.00 (0.01)	1.05** (0.02)	1.00 (0.01)	1.05** (0.02)
Social trust	1.02 (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)	1.02 (0.01)	0.96* (0.02)
Female	0.68*** (0.05)	0.82* (0.07)	0.67*** (0.05)	0.82* (0.07)
Education - middle	0.82* (0.07)	0.78* (0.08)	0.82* (0.07)	0.78* (0.08)
Education - high	0.83* (0.07)	0.61*** (0.07)	0.83* (0.07)	0.60*** (0.07)
Economic situation	1.00 (0.04)	0.97 (0.05)	1.00 (0.04)	0.97 (0.05)
East Germany	1.32*** (0.10)	1.21 (0.12)	1.32*** (0.10)	1.21 (0.12)
Constant	0.84 (0.35)	0.10*** (0.05)	0.89 (0.37)	0.11*** (0.06)
Observations	9,528	9,528	9,528	9,528
Log Likelihood	−3,107.98	−1,916.40	−3,110.38	−1,916.50
Akaike Inf. Crit.	6,271.97	3,890.81	6,276.75	3,891.00
Note:				* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

9 Robustness check: Multilevel models

As robustness checks, we also ran multilevel models despite the small number of upper level clusters (number of waves = 16). However, the intraclass correlation coefficient for both main dependent variables are very low (see graphs 5 and 6): 0.02 for protest sympathy, 0.01 for willingness to protest. We nevertheless estimated multilevel models with random effects at the upper level. The revised appendix includes these (section 11). The results confirm the main findings from our main models.

9.1 Cluster variance - Protest sympathy

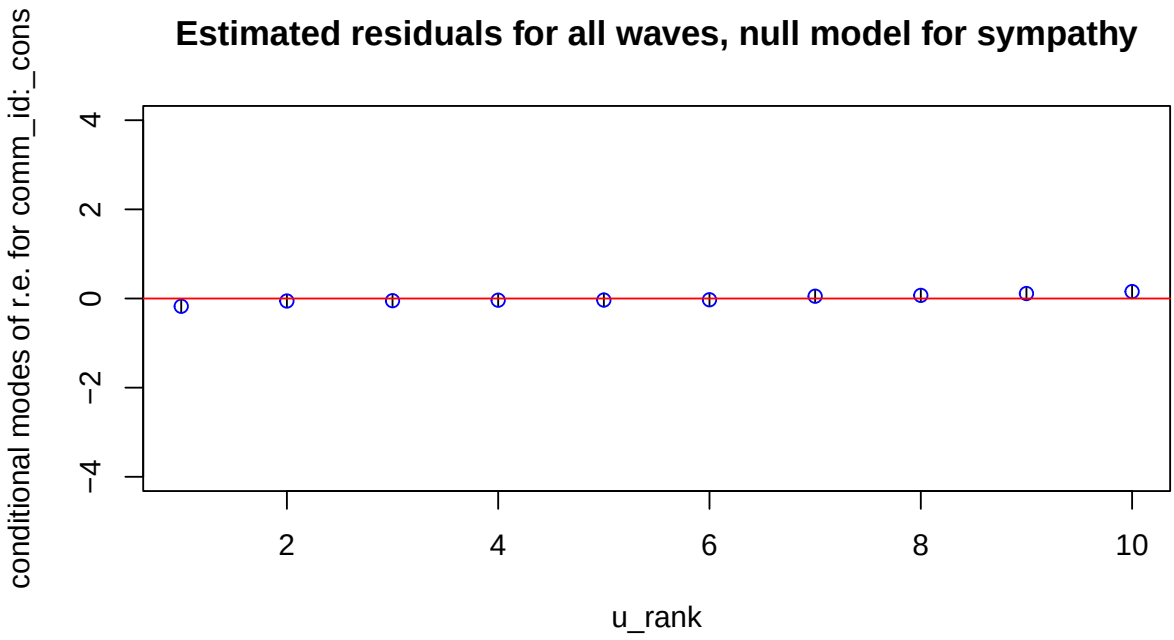


Figure 6: ICC for sympathy

9.2 Cluster variance - Protest willingness

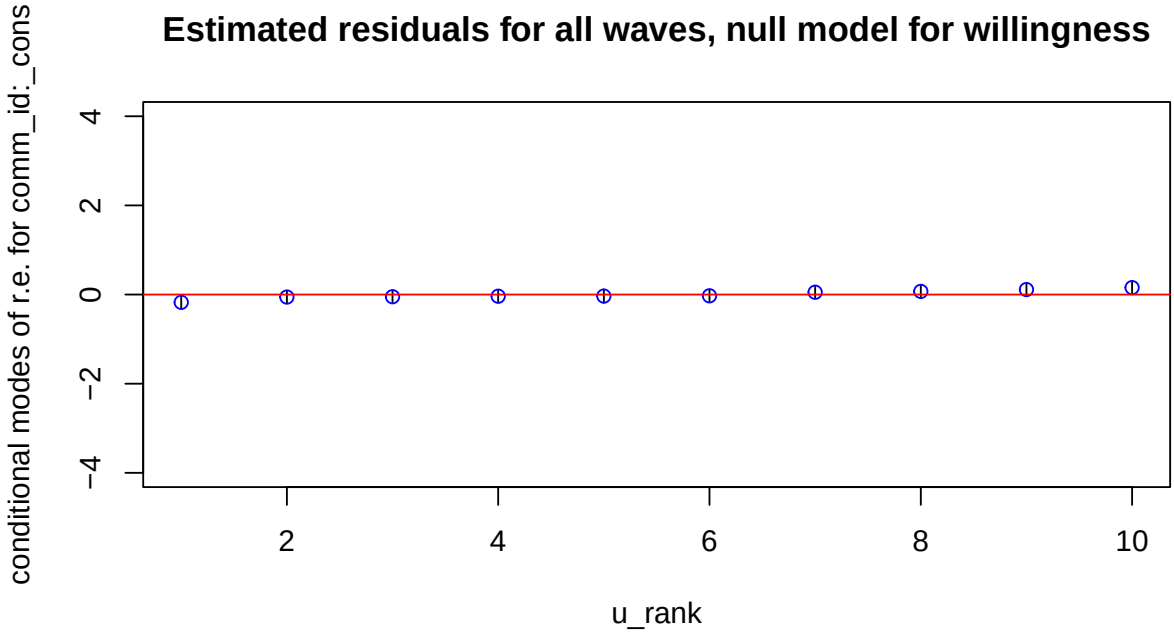


Figure 7: ICC for willigness to protest

9.3 Multi-level models

	Sympathy	Willingness	Sympathy	Willingness
Age	-0.006**	-0.002*	-0.006**	-0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Age squ.	0.00005*	0.00002	0.00005*	0.00002
	(0.00002)	(0.00001)	(0.00002)	(0.00001)
Children	0.019*	0.011*	0.011	0.011*
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Infection (self or close individuals)	-0.0005	0.002	-0.005	0.002
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
East Germany	0.026***	0.009	0.022**	0.009
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Economic threat	0.076***	0.034***	0.068***	0.034***
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Economic situation	0.002	-0.004	-0.006	-0.005+
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Education - high	0.012	-0.020**	0.004	-0.022**
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Education - middle	-0.006	-0.012*	-0.012	-0.013*
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Engaged if others	0.002+	0.004***	0.001	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.0009)	(0.001)	(0.0009)
Health threat	-0.102***	-0.021***	-0.090***	-0.020***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Ideology left-right	0.012***	0.007***	0.009***	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Extreme ideology	0.017***	0.009*	0.018***	0.010**
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Married	0.007	-0.001	0.007	-0.001
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Female	-0.027***	-0.010+	-0.035***	-0.011*
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Distrust in government	0.040***	0.010***	0.026***	0.009***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Social trust	0.010***	0.0007	0.007***	0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Sympathy		0.381***		0.360***
		(0.015)		(0.015)
Freedom restrictions			0.045***	0.007***
			(0.002)	(0.002)

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001