

Mapping Out The Protest Gap

*An exploration of protest participation among Dutch youth versus youth in
Germany and Denmark*

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“Democratic legitimacy depends on the institutionalization of communicative freedoms that allow citizens to articulate, contest, and influence political decisions.”

Jürgen Habermas (1996) – *Between Facts and Norms*

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Abstract

This thesis aims to identify factors that account for the low levels of protest participation among Dutch youth. Expectations for interaction effects are formulated based on existing studies regarding the influence of contextual factors on protest participation. Binary logistic regression was used to test these hypotheses, with data from the Eurobarometer Youth Survey 3392. Effects of 9 variables on protest participation for Dutch youth were compared with German and Danish youth. Some 30 variables were also tested exploratively. Evidence suggested that a part of the protest gap can be explained by the relatively large rural population in The Netherlands, who appear to occupy a disproportionately small share of the protest population. Moderately to very right-winged youth in the Netherlands occupy a larger share of the Dutch youth's protest population than in Germany and Denmark, while protest chances are still higher for German and Danish right-winged youth. Dutch youth who feel they understand their government well, are less likely to protest than their German and Danish counterparts. Overall, looking at subgroups did not generate enough evidence to account for the entire protest gap. Future research would do well to focus more on macro-level explanations of the low protest numbers in The Netherlands.

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List of Abbreviations

EU – European Union
EYS – Flash Eurobarometer Youth Survey 3392
CAWI – Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing
H-L – Hosmer and Lemeshow

1. Introduction

Street demonstrations are a common occurrence in the Netherlands, but compared to their neighbouring countries, their protesting culture seems relatively small amongst youth. According to the Eurobarometer Youth Survey 3392 (EYS) from 2024, which interviewed respondents aged 16 through 30, only 9% of the Dutch youth reports ever having attended a street protest or demonstration. This was the lowest share of all European Union member states, and far below the EU-average (16%). This ‘protest gap’ still remains clearly visible when looking only at other North-Western EU-member states (European Parliament: Directorate-General for Communication & Ipsos European Public Affairs, 2025). Table 1 gives an overview of the protest scores of the North-Western EU-countries in the EYS. Other Europe-wide surveys corroborate the findings that the Dutch are relatively unlikely to participate in street protests¹.

This can’t be explained, however, by the overall score of political inactivity of the Dutch youth, because this number corresponds to the European average. Of the eight different types of political activity surveyed, 15% of Dutch youth say they never participated in any of them, which is equal to the European average (see table 1). Notably, the Dutch youth stands out (rating well above the EU-average) in ‘voted in a local, national or European election’, ‘created or signed a petition’, and ‘volunteering for a charity/campaign organization’ (European Parliament: Directorate-General for Communication & Ipsos European Public Affairs, 2025). It is specifically in the area of street protest participation that the Dutch score underwhelmingly. Since the Dutch youth seem equally politically engaged as other EU-countries' youth, this raises the question as to why they prefer other ways of engaging in politics over street demonstrations at a higher rate than other EU-countries' youth. Or simply put; why do they partake in street protests comparatively little?

However, very little research is available on why this is (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans & Walgrave, 2019). Although political protests (their nature, political impact, context) have received abundant scholarly attention over the years (Teeselink & Melios, 2025; Van Bezouw et al., 2019; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; Walgrave & Vliegthart, 2012; Wouters & Walgrave, 2017), studies scarcely touch the subject of why one country protests more than another. However, there have been studies about the relevance of contextual factors for the *social composition* of protests. One example is the study by Eggert & Guigni (2014), who compared the protest populations of three countries (Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland) by size of socio-economical class cleavage and by type of issue protested (cultural, redistributive, or mixed). They showed that the size of class cleavage matters for how the type

¹ In the last four rounds of the European Social Survey, 15 year-olds and over were asked if they participated in a street demonstration *in the past twelve months* (while the Eurobarometer youth survey asks about ‘ever’ having participated). Although its exact spot varied per year, The Netherlands consistently ended up in the bottom 25% (ESS ERIC, 2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2025).

of issue protested affects the social composition of protest populations. Yet, a lot remains unknown about these differences between protest populations of countries. As Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave (2019) note:

“A variety of types of people demonstrate, but this is hidden from view because studies of movement participation tend to compare participants with non-participants instead of considering differences among protesters. Consequently, we know relatively little about how demonstrators differ within and between demonstrations.”

Therefore, to come closer to an understanding of why the Dutch youth protests relatively little, the focus of this thesis will be on reducing the knowledge gap Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave (2019) identified, concerning differences within and between protest populations. By exploring these differences as to *who* in The Netherlands are protesting particularly little (or more) in comparison to other, similar countries, this study can inspire and give starting points to future research aimed at understanding *why* Dutch youth engage in street demonstrations so infrequently compared to other North-Western EU-countries. To this end, the central, exploratory research question of this thesis is:

Which factors account for the low levels of street protest participation of the Dutch youth?

To answer this question, this thesis will explore and map out the protest gap between The Netherlands and comparison countries with a relatively larger youth protest population, chosen through means of a most-similar-system-design and testing different interaction effects. The countries chosen as the most appropriate comparison countries in this respect were Germany and Denmark (this choice will be explained in ‘case selection’, chapter 4). This study, using quantitative analysis, differentiates between subgroups in the population, and determines which (if any) group in The Netherlands is more or less likely to have protested in comparison to Germany and Denmark. To this end, the publicly available data of the 2024 Flash Eurobarometer Youth Survey 3392 is used. Each of the hypotheses (presented in chapter 3) predicts an interaction effect of a specific independent variable and ‘country’ (being Dutch or being Danish/German) on protest participation. Multivariate binary logistical regression analysis was used to test these hypotheses.

The scientific relevance of this research, as explained, stems from its filling in the knowledge gap of how Dutch protesting youth differs from other countries’ protesting youth. This thesis is able to fuel future research on why the Dutch youth protests comparatively little, by providing insight into the differences between countries in protest participation for various subgroups. Finding these interaction-effects is societally relevant, because it might point to groups in Dutch society that are relatively quiet or overly present in the protest arena, which can signify social disparities in political influence. Larger protests usually generate more political impact (Walgrave & Vliegthart, 2012; Wouters & Walgrave, 2017; Teeselink & Melios, 2021). By facilitating future research through identifying disparities, this study

contributes indirectly to leveling the playing field for citizens in terms of access to the political arena.

The analyses showed only few statistically significant differences between Dutch versus Danish and German protesting youth, at an alpha level of 0,2. However, some effects were identified, such as higher protest participation for youth with conservative, cultural or nationalist values, and lower protest participation for youth living in a rural area, or youth that feel they understand their national government well. Exploratory regressions also suggested that freedom of speech, opposing the idea of the EU, and being at least somewhat right-winged is linked with higher protest chances in The Netherlands. Prioritizing socialist or materialist values seems to decrease protest chances for Dutch youth.

The following chapter (2), ‘Literary review’, conceptualizes key terms in this research, and assesses scientific literature concerning the factors affecting protest participation. This then forms the basis for chapter 3, ‘Theory’, in which the hypotheses are constructed and presented. In the subsequent chapter, ‘Methodology’ (4), the research design, collection and analysis of the data, and case selection are explained. Validity of these methods is discussed. Then, in chapter 5, ‘Results’, the regressions are interpreted. Finally, in chapter 6, ‘Conclusions’, the findings are discussed, and limitations of the study are reflected on.

Table 1

Percentages of Dutch, Danish and German 16-30 year olds (and the European average) that reported ‘yes’ to the question ‘have you done any of the following (multiple answers)?’

	Taken part in a street protest or demonstration	Voted in a local, national or European election	Created or signed a petition (on paper or online)	Volunteered for a charity/ campaign organization	None of the ten types of political activities surveyed
EU-average	16%	39%	26%	20%	15%
The Netherlands	9%	45%	35%	24%	15%
Germany	17%	32%	24%	16%	18%
France	16%	41%	27%	20%	14%
Belgium	12%	35%	20%	20%	11%
Luxemburg	23%	46%	35%	22%	8%
Austria	13%	28%	20%	15%	20%
Finland	14%	33%	30%	31%	8%
Sweden	11%	43%	22%	11%	16%

Denmark	16%	47%	43%	28%	12%
Ireland	14%	22%	17%	20%	19%

Note: The percentages in this table are taken over directly from the Eurobarometer Youth Survey report. N=25863

2. Literary review

This chapter conceptualizes the relevant terms central to the research question in order to demarcate what is meant by them in this study. Relevant scientific literature will be discussed on the topic of influences on (and of) street protest participation.

2.1 Conceptualizations

Street protest participation

Before diving into the definition, it should be said that, in this thesis, the terms ‘protest’ and ‘street protest’ are used interchangeably and refer to demonstrations as well, because the survey question in the EYS asked respondents about having ever taken part in a street protest *or* demonstration (European Parliament: Directorate-General for Communication & Ipsos European Public Affairs, 2025). ‘Street protesters’, in this context, refers to people who have admittedly taken part in a street protest or demonstration at least once.

That said, the definition of street protests/demonstrations differs greatly throughout academic literature. Casquete (2006), for example, called street protests; ‘collective gatherings in a public space whose aim it is to exert political, social and/or cultural influence on authorities, public opinion and participants through the disciplined and peaceful expression of an opinion.’ His definition requires an aim to influence authorities as well as participants and public opinion. It also has to take place in a public space. Moreover, it has to be ‘disciplined’ and ‘peaceful’. He does allow for more than just ‘political’ influence, including social and cultural influence as an aim for protesting.

This is in sharp contrast to Fillieule (2012), who defined street protests as ‘any temporary occupation by a number of people of an open place, public or private, which directly or indirectly includes the expression of political opinions.’ Fillieule’s (2012) definition requires expression of a *political* opinion (unlike Casquete (2006), although Fillieule does allow for indirect expression), and adds an element of temporality. For him, it can take place in both private and public places, as long as they are open, and unlike in Casquete (2006), there is no need for peacefulness or discipline, or an aim to exert any kind of influence. A violent, spontaneous expression of opinion that is only indirectly political and has no aim to exert influence on anything, according to Fillieule’s (2012) definition, could still be a street protest.

This contrast is important to note, because it highlights how dissimilar two interpretations of ‘street protest’ (or ‘demonstration’) can be. The respondents in the EYS, from which this study takes its data, will most likely have had their own views on what “protests” and “demonstrations” are, and will have given their answers accordingly.

This is why, *technically* speaking, street protests and demonstrations should be understood in this thesis as ‘whatever the respondents *thought* it meant when they did or did not answer

‘taken part in a street protest/demonstration’. But since it is unknown how each respondent understood these terms, the most commonly used definition should be chosen, that respondents were most likely to hold, to minimize the discrepancy between what respondents thought it meant, and what this study claims about street protest participation.

Therefore, this thesis combines the Oxford dictionary definition of ‘demonstration’, with their definition of ‘protest’. ‘Demonstration’, according to the Oxford dictionary, means ‘a public meeting or a march at which people show that they are protesting against or supporting somebody/something.’ As for ‘protest’, (‘the expression of strong dislike of or opposition to something; a statement or an action that shows this’) (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, n.d.), this thesis uses an alteration. ‘Street protest’ in this study refers to ‘having expressed strong dislike of or opposition to something, in an open place, with the aim to influence authorities and/or public opinion; a statement or an action that shows this.’ The additions of ‘in an open place’ (taken from Fillieule (2012)), and ‘with the aim to influence authorities and/or public opinion’ (adjusted from Casquete (2006) were made to compensate for the extra layer that the word ‘street’ adds to ‘protest’.

Dutch youth

Youth, in this study, refers to people aged 16 through 30, and ‘Dutch’ refers to people who have the Dutch nationality, and are a permanent resident of The Netherlands. Having another nationality besides being Dutch, is possible within this definition, as long as one also possesses the Dutch nationality. Dutch people with another country of residence are excluded from the definition. This is because the survey used in this thesis used these demarcations (European Parliament: Directorate-General for Communication & Ipsos European Public Affairs, 2025).

Comparable countries with larger youth protest populations

With ‘comparable countries’, this study means countries that are *relatively* similar to the Netherlands, regarding the most relevant aspects to protest participation, such as political efficacy of protesting, political grievances and social embeddedness (identifying with certain groups) (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). With ‘relatively’ similar, I mean that they are more similar to the Netherlands than other countries. There can still be (substantive) differences between them and The Netherlands, but compared to the other countries, they are the closest match. ‘A larger youth protest population’ is to say that their percentage of youth having taken part in a street protest is significantly higher than the Dutch percentage (9%). In chapter 4, Methodology, I argue why Germany and Denmark are the best fit to this definition.

2.2 Who protest and why

Social psychology research on why people attend and organize political public protests is widely available (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans’ (2013) did a large review of scientific literature about who protests, when and why. They identify three principal motives for protest participation: perceived grievances

(anger or sadness over a perceived injustice), political efficacy (expected benefits of protest versus the costs of protesting) and identity or social embeddedness (identification with a social group). Compatible with these findings, Van Bezouw et al. (2019) found, through discussion groups with Dutch, Brazilian and Hungarian people, that people often explain political *inactivity* by fear of social repercussions, cultural differences, and unresponsive governments (relating to ‘political inefficacy’). These findings suggest that cross-national variation in protest culture may stem from individual (e.g. social culture, embeddedness) and institutional (e.g. the quality of channels for civilian political influence) factors.

Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave (2019) find that some groups are overrepresented in the protest population, depending on country, issue at stake or mobilization tactics. Generally, higher-educated people participate in protests more often. This could be explained by higher political knowledge, communicative skills and networks (increasing their chances of being mobilized to protest), but also because they may have more financial resources to, for example, buy the train ticket to the protest. To some degree, it might also be explained by their tendency to be politically left-winged, which is also associated with higher protest participation, according to these authors. Olcese et al. (2014) also find support for the idea that highly educated are more likely to be politically left-leaning, which is also linked to higher protest participation. But the strongest support for this phenomenon, according to them, is the ‘critical network’ of the higher-educated. Due to their higher political knowledge and communicative skills, they are more likely to have political contacts who mobilize them to protest (Olcese et al., 2014).

Living in the city has been linked to higher protest participation (Walgrave & Rucht, 2010), which can likely be explained by the fact that they have to travel less far to partake in protests and can therefore join more easily. But also, living in a more secluded area (versus in a big city), might affect one’s connectedness to issues of society at large. Their social embeddedness (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013) might be lower for certain societal problems on a national or international scale, meaning they feel more disconnected to many of the issues of society than people in the city.

Eggert and Giugni (2014) explored the interaction between several contextual differences on protest participation, proving that some factors work differently in different contexts. In their study, the class cleavage within the country and type of issue protested, were proven to influence the effect of gender, socio-economic status, and political orientation on protest participation. Wegscheider and Mauk (2024) find interactions in the context of protest participation as well. They report that in countries with higher levels of democratic quality, emancipative value orientations have a stronger positive effect on protest participation. The authors suggest perceived political efficacy as a cause for this; in countries with low democratic quality, the total gains of protesting are lower because the (perceived) risks and personal costs of protesting are higher while the perceived chances of success of protesting are lower. Dalton et al. (2010) studied protest participation in 50 autocratic and democratic countries, and found an interaction effect between advanced industrial societies and

post-materialist values on protest participation, and for democraticness and post-materialist values as well.

Other research found that the issue at stake and mobilization tactics shape who participates in protests (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans & Walgrave, 2019). Borbáth and Gessler (2020) also found that in North-Western Europe, left-winged people are more likely to take to the streets than right-winged people, while in Southern and Eastern Europe the opposite is true. Compatible with these findings, Walgrave and Rucht (2010) found that young, highly-educated women living in the city and with high socioeconomic status were the most over-represented in the anti-war street demonstrations on 15 February 2003 against the Iraq invasion. Interestingly, the strength of their (over-)representation varied strongly per country as a result of differing mobilization tactics.

Walgrave and Rucht (2010) also found that in The Netherlands, the organizers of the protests were a coalition of radical-left organizations, whereas in Spain the coalition was made up of major political parties and social organizations. This resulted in the mobilization of different social groups. A more recent example that suggests this trend is still going on is Extinction Rebellion, a global action group against climate change that began in Great Britain, and has since grown especially large in The Netherlands (Gardner et al., 2022). This organization, which by their own account, practices civil disobedience to pressure governments to fight harder against climate change, is seen by many as extreme-leftist because of their approach (Kuyl et al., 2019). They are a primary actor in The Netherlands for mobilizing people for protest actions for societal issues typically on left side of the political spectrum (besides climate change, they also partook in organizing pro-Palestinian demonstrations, and protested against the NOS, the largest Dutch news organization, for being ‘biased’ in favour of the political right (Meindertma, 2025)).

One possible explanation for lower protest numbers in the Netherlands might be the openness of the political system. This relates to the theory of political efficacy of protesting (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans & Walgrave, 2019). These authors suggest that in France, the political system is less open to civilian consultation than in The Netherlands, which may account for France’s larger protest culture.

Damhuis and Rashkova (2024) found that in The Netherlands, the political right is often mobilized to protest by populist radical right-wing parties, through different ways of mobilizing ‘resentment’. Through rhetoric emphasizing (perceived) injustices, and the creation of in- and outgroups, these actors successfully mobilize resentment into protest action (language is used like “asylum seekers get healthcare for free while the hard-working Dutch citizen can no longer afford it!” Damhuis & Rashkova, 2024).

3. Theory

In this chapter, the hypotheses for the research question, ‘Which factors account for the low levels of street protest participation of Dutch youth?’, will be formulated based on the literature discussed. Since this is an exploratory, quantitative study with a large dataset containing dozens of variables, a large variety of hypotheses can be tested to explore if and where in the Dutch protest population the protest gap seems especially disproportionate compared to relatively similar countries with a (relatively) larger youth protest population.

The previously described literature has shown that women are often overrepresented in the protest population, depending on the issue at stake, country, and other contextual factors. Studies on gender and protesting have shown that women tend to give social repercussions as a reason not to partake in protests more often than men (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; Walgrave & Rucht, 2010). The Netherlands has a strong culture of consensus seeking, and the ‘unusualness’ of public political confrontation in The Netherlands might cause Dutch women to perceive a stronger social risk in participating in street protests, compared to Danish and German women. The positive effect of being female on protest participation might be less visible in The Netherlands, compared to other countries. Therefore, the first hypothesis is:

H1: The effect of being a woman on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

The Netherlands, arguably, is characterized by a political and cultural division within the country, marked by the ‘Randstad’ (a densely populated area with the four major cities, including Amsterdam (the capital city) and The Hague, where the national government is situated) and the Provincial area. And while at least half of the population lives in the Provincial area, a commonly heard accusation is that Dutch politics is only focussed on the Randstad, and the Provinces are forgotten (Land, 2024). This belief may cause people living in the Provincial (or: rural) area to protest even less than other countries’ rural populations (Walgrave & Rucht, 2010), because of the idea that the national government will be even more unresponsive to them. This could lower their perceived efficacy of protesting (Van Bezouw et al., 2019). I therefore hypothesize:

H2: The effect of living in a rural area on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

As discussed in the previous chapter, highly (or more objectively stated: ‘theoretically’) educated people tend to be overrepresented in protest populations, due to higher political knowledge, communicative skills and critical networks, and possibly, political left-wingedness (Olcese et al., 2014). One of the possible reasons that a country protests little might be due to a lack of (perceived) political efficacy (Van Bezouw et al., 2019; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). If a part of the explanation for the smaller protest

culture of The Netherlands is that their political system is more ‘open’ (Walgrave & Rucht, 2010), meaning that there are more efficient channels for civilians to influence political decisions, then these channels will likely affect theoretically educated people more than practically schooled people, since the theoretically educated are generally more politically communicative and have a higher chance of being politically mobilized due to their critical networks (Olcese et al., 2014). Then the following should be true:

H3: The effect of being theoretically educated on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Likewise, if one of the reasons that the Dutch youth does not protest as much is because of political openness, and they perceive other channels of political influence for citizens as more efficient, then a higher understanding of the national government should be associated with a lower chance of protest participation in The Netherlands. Therefore:

H4: The effect of understanding the national government on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Generally, the political left protests more than the political right in North-Western Europe (Borbáth & Gessler, 2020). In The Netherlands, radical-left winged organizations seem to be responsible for organizing the leftist protest actions more often than in other countries (Walgrave & Rucht, 2010; Meindersma, 2025). Their reputation as radical-leftist may cause Dutch youth who see themselves as moderately leftist to not be mobilized for protest action for typically leftist issues like climate change and social inequality, as much as in other countries. Moderate leftists may not identify with the organization and thus not feel socially embedded into the group of protesters, which is a predictor for protest participation (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Therefore:

H5: The effect of being moderately leftist on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

This mobilization of protest by (what is perceived as) extremely leftist organizations, may also have consequences for protest action in the political (extreme-)right corner. The larger role of these extreme-left organizations in organizing protest action, and the relative lack of more moderate actors, should lead to extra visibility of these actors, for example through heightened media-attention. This may cause resentment from people on the right, a feeling which, as discussed, right-wing parties in The Netherlands often use to mobilize their followers (Damhuis & Rashkova, 2024). This is why I will also test the following hypothesis:

H6: The effect of being politically right-winged on odds of street protest participation is positive for the Dutch youth, relative to the youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

This effect of leftist values/priorities might be different depending on the type of issue at stake. The hypothesized effect relies on lack of social embeddedness, and this factor might not be as important a driver of protest depending on the type of issue protested. We may separate two types of issues for which a leftist individual may protest: post-materialist issues and materialist issues. I expect a reduction of social embeddedness might not be as strong for materialist issues, because these issues might be more directly visible or tangible, causing people to relate more easily and be more emotionally involved. For post-materialist issues, it might matter more that the moderate leftist cannot identify with the extremely leftist actors organizing the protest, because of the abstract nature of post-materialist values. Social embeddedness with the protesting group and with the issue at stake might lack. I will therefore test if the expected effect holds for both types of issues:

H7: The effect of having materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

And:

H8: The effect of having post-materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for the Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Finally, the hypothesized effect of right-wingedness may be stronger for people prioritising conservative and cultural or nationalistic values. The populist right-winged parties using the previously discussed strategy of resentment (Damhuis & Rashkova, 2024), might be more successful at mobilizing youth who value the aforementioned things, because it should make them more sensitive to the narrative of the in- and outgroup. Therefore:

H9: The effect of having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities on odds of street protest participation is positive for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

4. Methodology

In this chapter, the research design (the most-similar-systems-design), data-collection and statistical method (multivariate logistic regression) will be explained, the variables will be operationalized and the case selection (Germany and Denmark) will be defended. Validity and reliability of these methods will be reflected on. In appendices, the survey questions, commands for descriptive statistics, computations and re-codings (and the logic behind them) are shown.

4.1 Design

Protesting culture, as discussed in chapter 2, has to do with political context and culture, and societal welfare. This is why a most-similar-systems-design was chosen. This reduces the chance that the found differences in effects are actually caused by these other factors (political context, culture, societal welfare), securing internal validity (Toshkov, 2016). The openly accessible EYS dataset (see 4.2 ‘Data collection’) was used (dataset: European Parliament, 2025). Multivariate binary logistic regression was used for each hypothesis. The basic model contained the independent variables ‘Dutch or non-Dutch’, ‘age category’, ‘gender’, ‘education type’, ‘household situation’ (see 4.3 ‘Control variables), and ‘living in a rural area’. The dependent (binary) variable for every model was ‘protest participation’ (‘0’ meaning no and ‘1’ meaning yes). Each regression combined this basic model with the independent variable in the hypothesis (if that variable was not in yet), and an interaction term of said variable by ‘Dutch or non-Dutch’. For the statistical analyses, I used SPSS version 27. The reason for separate models for each interaction was to avoid unnecessary inflation of multicollinearity and loss of statistical power.

A test of multicollinearity was done for each model as a diagnostic check. The observations in the dataset were independent from each other, in line with the assumptions of binary logistic regression. Only categorical variables were used in this study. For assessment of model fit, the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test and the Cox & Snell R^2 and Nagelkerke R^2 are used. Since this thesis exploratorily looks for factors accounting for the low protest levels of Dutch youth, in the hopes of inspiring future research to look further into these effects, missing a true interaction effect would arguably be worse than reporting a false positive. Therefore, the required level of significance of the interaction term is set relatively highly at $P=0.20$.

4.2 Data collection

All data used in this study was taken from the EYS dataset (European Parliament, 2025). The data was collected by Ipsos from 25-09-2024 until 02-10-2024 in Denmark and The Netherlands and from 25-09-2024 until 01-10-2024 in Germany. Respondents were selected from Ipsos online access panels, consisting of pre-recruited people who agreed to take part in research. Most respondents that were approached (70%) took part in the survey. It was anonymous, reducing chances of social desirability bias (Fryer & Dinsmore, 2020)

Data was collected in all 27 EU-member states. The total number of valid cases (N) for The Netherlands was 1011, for Denmark, 1004, for Germany, 1010. The total dataset (after isolating Germany, Denmark and The Netherlands) contained 3025 cases ($=N$).

Quota-sampling was used, based on age category, gender and region, meaning that a limit was put on the amount of respondents for each value of these categories, to make the sample correspond better to the general population. This improves generalizability of the results, thus benefitting external validity.

Surveys were conducted online through Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing (CAWI). Because the data were collected in the same way (anonymous online surveying, with CAWI) during the same period, in less than a week (European Parliament: Directorate-General for Communication & Ipsos European Public Affairs, 2025), time and interview method played a minimal role in causing potential differences between countries and respondents. This benefits the internal validity of this study.

4.3 Control variables

Six variables were included into the basic model. Four of them are ‘Dutch or non-Dutch’, ‘gender’, ‘education type’ and ‘living in a rural area’. These variables are expected to affect protest participation odds (see chapter 2), and interact with the other independent variables, potentially confounding effects. The other two are ‘age category’ and ‘household situation’. ‘Household situation’ is coded as a dummy variable indicating whether respondents live with their family members and/or partners (0), or not (alone, with friends or housemates) (1). Prior research suggests that dependence on family for providence of service decreases civic engagement and political participation (Alesina & Giuliano, 2011). Living with family may therefore reduce chances of street protest participation. The share of respondents living without family might vary across the countries. Therefore, it potentially confounds effects on ‘protest participation’. The last control variable (‘age category’) (in the EYS: d1r1) contains three categories (16-18, 19-24 and 25-30). Age reflects exposure to protest opportunities, making it theoretically plausible that age is linked with higher protest participation. Moreover, age is likely correlated with several other variables in the model.

Including these six variables as controls reduces the risk of confounding in the estimated effects, strengthening the internal validity of this study.

4.4 Operationalization

From the original dataset, I only used data of the respondents representing The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark. Appendix B describes in detail how the data was isolated. In table 2 an overview is given of the operationalization of each concept in the hypotheses. The control variables are also in this table. If a variable was computed or re-coded, then the manner in which this was done is described in the column ‘Re-coding structure’. A detailed explanation of the logic behind each re-coding is given in appendix B, and missing cases are specified.

The commands for computing and re-coding variables in SPSS are also in appendix B. The survey questions are listed in appendix A.

Working definition of leftist or rightist

Political leftists, in this thesis, should be understood as people who value - and advocate for - equality, social justice, collective responsibility, and government intervention to address social inequality and provide public services. Being politically right-winged, on the other hand, should be understood as having political ideals of - and advocating for - social conservatism, personal responsibility, limited economical government intervention, and protecting traditional values. These working definitions of leftist and rightist, based on Drew (2023), are somewhat problematic for The Netherlands. A large group of Dutch people is economically leftist, but socially and culturally rightist. This can be seen by the 2023 elections, in which the PVV became the largest political party of The Netherlands. The PVV matches that description of cultural conservatism combined with elements of economic socialism (Partij voor de Vrijheid, 2025). While I acknowledge this discrepancy, this definition of right and left is classical, and will be used for reasons of consistency. Moreover, this problem of overlap will be solved to a degree by differentiating between post-materialists, materialist, and cultural-conservative values and priorities.

Dummy variables

Dummy variables were made of the originally nominal and ordinal variables. There were three reasons for re-coding into dummies. The first is because for some variables, the expected effects are specifically about a certain category, so the dummy categories as such are more conceptually relevant. A second reason was to make interpretation of the regression analyses easier. The third reason is that the effect of the (originally) continuous or ordinal variables on protest participation, might be non-linear, which can lead to misspecifications of the effects. Dummy variables do not have this problem, because of the clear separation of one category versus the rest. A negative side-effect is loss of statistical power, potentially leading to type II errors. The high alpha-level (0.2) aids this issue.

Measurement fit

For most concepts, the data very closely fit the concept studied (such as gender, education type, value priorities, street protest participation), although some measurements are subjective (living in a rural area, understanding the government). The way of measuring in this thesis assures a consistent understanding of leftist and rightist, and of materialist, post-materialist and conservatist/nationalistic/cultural value prioritization. This improves this study's validity.

Tabel 2*Operationalization table*

Theoretical concept	Empirical concept	Variable label & Measurement level and	Re-coded (if applicable)	Indicator
Street protest participation	By one's own account, having ever taken part in a street protest or demonstration	Protested; Binary	Renamed, original variable name = q14.5	Protested = 1
Dutch youth	16 through 30 year old people with a Dutch nationality living permanently in The Netherlands, by their own account	Dutch or non-Dutch; Binary	'ipsentry' into different variable 'Dutch or Danish / German' (4=0, 5=0, 19=1)	Dutch or non-Dutch = 1
Youth of comparable countries with a relatively larger youth protest population	16 through 30 year olds with a German or Danish nationality, living permanently, by their own account	Dutch or non-Dutch; Binary	'ipsentry' into different variable 'Dutch or Danish / German' (4=0, 5=0, 19=1)	Dutch or non-Dutch = 0
Being a women	By one's own account, identifying as a women	Gender; Binary	'd2' into different variable 'Gender' (1=0, 2=1, 3=system missing)	Gender = 1
Being theoretically educated	Those who, by their own account, are currently in or have finished higher education or upper secondary level general education	Theoretical education; Binary	Computed from EYS questions d4xa and d4xb. Cases with a value of 2 or 5 in d4xa or 3 or 6 in d4xb were given value '1'	Theoretical education = 1
Living in a rural area	By one's own account, living in a rural area as opposed to a small, medium or large town	Subjective urbanization; Binary	'd13' into 'Rural or non-rural' (1=1, 2=0, 3=0)	Subjective urbanizationl = 1

Understanding the national government	By one's own account, how much someone feels they understand about their national government	Understanding the national government; Binary	'q9.2' into 'Understanding the national government' (1=1, 2=1, 3=0, 4=0)	Understanding the national government = 1
Being moderately leftist	Having chosen between 2 and 4 values of q1 and q2 that in this thesis are categorized as leftist	Being moderately leftist; Binary	'Leftistvalues' = $q_{103}+q_{104}+q_{107}+q_{108}+q_{109}+q_{201}+q_{202}+q_{203}+q_{206}+q_{207}+q_{208}+q_{209}+q_{210}$. 'Leftistvalues' into 'Being moderately leftist' (2 through 4 = 1, ELSE=0)	Being moderately leftist = 1
Being politically right-winged	Having chosen at least 4 values of q1 and q2 that in this thesis are categorized as rightist	Being politically right-winged; Binary	'Rightistvalues' = $q_{102}+q_{105}+q_{110}+q_{201}+q_{204}+q_{205}+q_{206}$. 'Rightistvalues' into 'Being politically right-winged' (0 thru 3=0, 4 thru 6=1)	Being politically right-winged = 1
Having post-materialist political priorities	Having chosen at least 4 values of q1 and q2 that in this thesis are categorized as post-materialist	Having post-materialist political priorities; Binary	'Postmaterialism' = $q_{103}+q_{104}+q_{108}+q_{203}+q_{208}+q_{210}$. 'Postmaterialism' into 'Having post-materialist political priorities' (0 thru 3=0, 4 thru 6=1)	Having post-materialist political priorities = 1
Having materialist political priorities	Having chosen at least 4 values of q1 and q2 that in this thesis are categorized as materialist	Having materialist political priorities; Binary	'Materialism' = $q_{106}+q_{107}+q_{109}+q_{209}+q_{202}+q_{207}$. 'Materialism' into 'Having materialist political priorities' (0 thru 3=0, 4 thru 6=1)	Having materialist political priorities = 1
Having conservative,	Having chosen at least 4 values of q1	Having conservative,	'CulturalConservativeNationalistic' =	Having conservative,

cultural or nationalistic political priorities	and q2 that in this thesis are categorized as conservative, cultural or nationalistic	cultural or nationalistic political priorities; Binary	q102+q105+q110+q204+q205+q206. 'CulturalConservativeNationalistic' into 'Having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities' (0 thru 3=0, 4 thru 6=1)	cultural or nationalistic political priorities = 1
Age category [Control variable]	Self-reported age of respondents divided into one of three categories	Age category; Nominal/categorical (not ordinal, for more precision)	Not recoded (original variable name 'd1r1')	1=16-18 2=19-24 3=25-30
Living with family/partner [Control variable]	Respondents who live with close relatives, their children and/or partner, by their own account	Household situation; Binary	'dx1' into 'household situation' (1 thru 5=0, 6 thru 9=1)	Household situation = 0

Note: in the column: 'Re-coding structure', a description of the re-coding is given, not the exact commands. For original variable names, see appendix A. For exact re-coding commands, see appendix B.

4.5 Case-selection: Germany and Denmark

As discussed, the culture of a country, citizen access to political decision-making, and political grievances are the main reasons people protest (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans & Walgrave, 2019). To this end, Germany and Denmark were used to compare to the Netherlands. This is not to say that there are no substantial differences between these three countries concerning the social, cultural, economical and political areas mentioned above, but simply that these differences are smaller compared to the other twentyfour countries surveyed. I will use several arguments to illustrate this relative similarity concerning these issues ².

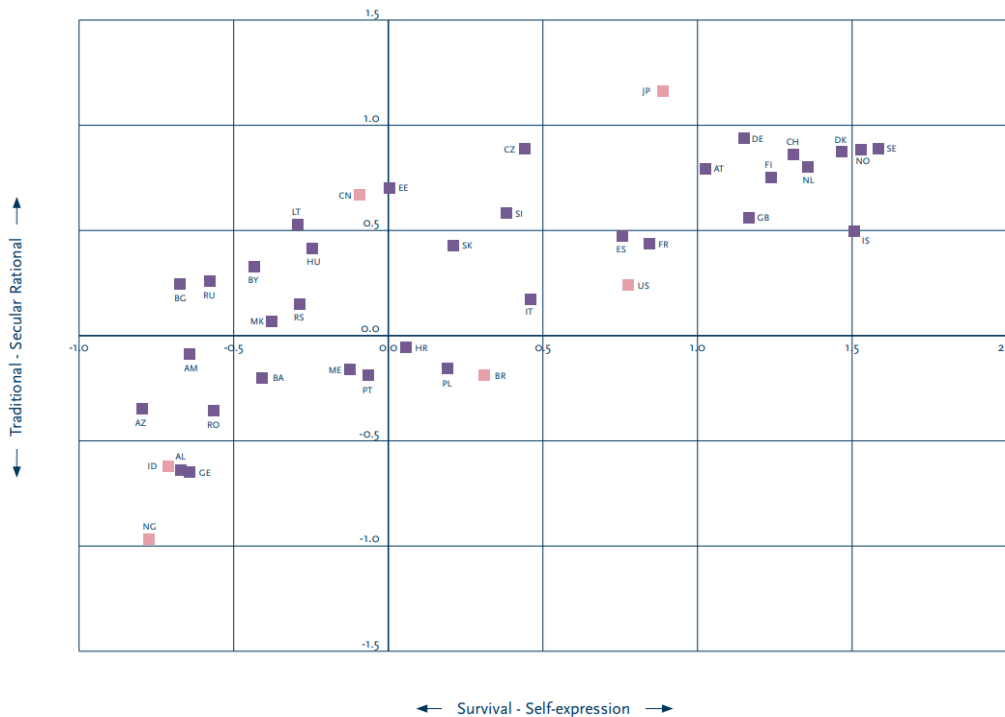
² Four other countries (Finland, Sweden, Belgium and Luxembourg) in the figures 1, 2 and 3 used in this chapter to demonstrate the similarity between The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark will also score consistently close to the Netherlands. But except for Luxembourg, these countries score relatively low (only just above The Netherlands) in the Eurobarometer Youth survey when it comes to street protests; between 10% and 13%. This makes potential differences in their protest population less visible in data-analysis. As for Luxembourg, they have one of the highest scores (23%) of protest participation, but the country is very small (less than 700.000 inhabitants) and therefore has very

Similarity of cultural values

According to the Atlas of European Values, The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark are very close on the two-dimensional scale (see figure 1 below) of cultural values. The vertical axis represents the traditional - secular rational values of the countries ('traditional' meaning an importance placed on the 'nuclear' family, religion, patriotism and authority, and 'secular rational' meaning an emphasis on secularization, individual freedom of choice, law-making based on rationality). The horizontal axis represents the emphasis citizens of a country place on survival values (hard work, economical and physical security) versus self-expression values (individual wellbeing, (gender-)equality and freedom of identity) (Halman et al., 2022). The closeness of the three countries as compared to other countries in the diagram underline the cultural similarity of the three countries.

Figure 1

Cultural values in the EU



From: *Atlas of European Values 2022*

Welfare and societal issues

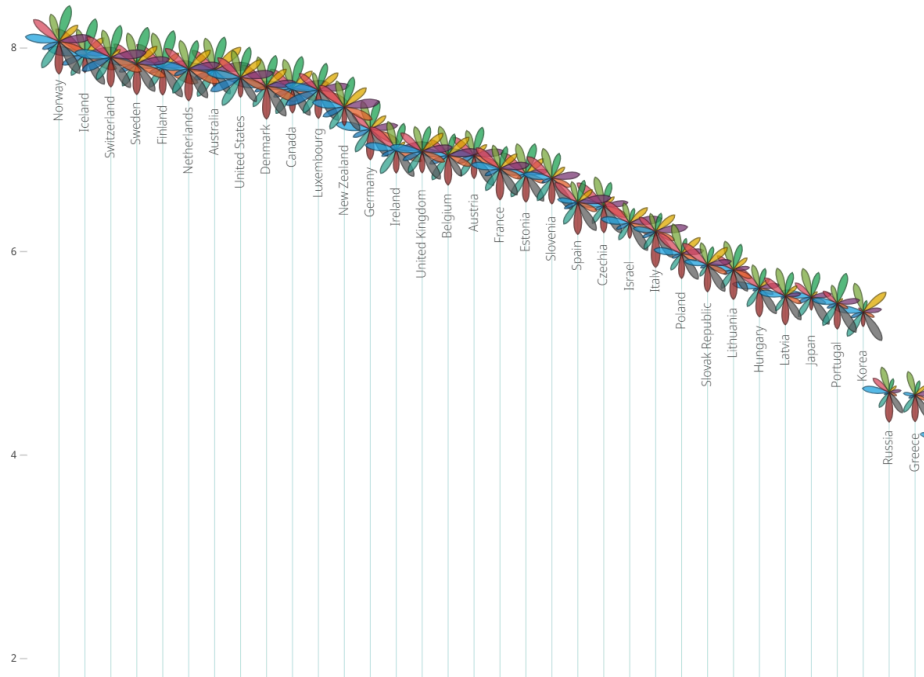
Denmark and Germany also score closer to the Netherlands than most other EU-countries in the OECD's Better Life Index (2025), that measures people's satisfaction in eleven dimensions (housing, income and wealth, job quality, social connection, knowledge and skills,

different societal issues and a different political situation. This is why these countries are less fit to compare the Netherlands to, in this study.

environmental quality, civic engagement, health, subjective wellbeing, safety, and finally, work-life balance) (see figure 2).

Figure 2

Rank of OECD countries based on eleven dimensions of welfare



from: OECD Better Life Index

Democratic similarity

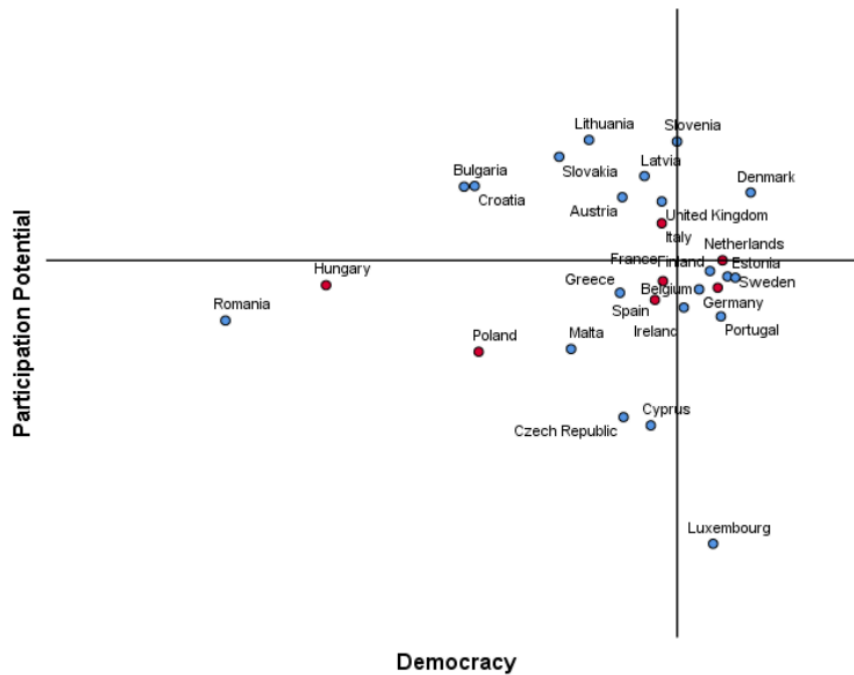
As for the ostensible similarity in political context, both Denmark and Germany are relatively similar to the Dutch system, while still retaining their distinct particularities. Germany is a federal republic while The Netherlands and Denmark are both decentralized unitary states with a constitutional monarchy. For the purposes of this study, however, what is important is that they all function as parliamentary representative democracies. This fact relates more to protesting culture due to what it means for the population in terms of their access to the political arena, their political grievances, and their ways of influencing policy. To illustrate this; in a corrupt country or dictatorship versus a well-functioning democracy, street demonstrations will occur because of entirely different reasons and attract very different protest populations, and the personal risks protesters take and the political response to the protest will be very different too (Kriesi et al., 2020; Walgrave & Rucht, 2010).

Figure 3 below shows where each EU-country is placed on the democratic spectrum. The two crossing lines are the median values of each variable. The diagram shows that Germany, Denmark and The Netherlands score very closely to each other on the horizontal axis ‘Democracy’, which stands for primary democratic characteristics (egalitarian and highly deliberative, free and fair elections). Denmark is a bit further away from Germany and The

Netherlands on the vertical axis, participation potential, which stands for secondary democratic characteristics (robust liberal checks and balances, individual rights and high voter turnout). Denmark scores higher here because they have a higher voter turnout (84,2%) than Germany (76,6%) and the Netherlands (77,7%) (Gora & De Wilde, 2020).

Figure 3

Two-dimensional democracy in the EU



from: RECONNECT - Reconciling Europe 2020

4.6 Descriptive statistics

There are, of course, important differences between The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark, which contextualize the regression results. The occurrence of the value '1' for each variable in this study's hypotheses is given in table 3 below for each country. A chi-square test of independence was done for The Netherlands and the combination of Germany and Denmark to assess significant differences between them. In appendix C the command for SPSS is shown.

Tabel 3

Occurrence of '1' for the dummy variables in this study in The Netherlands and Germany and Denmark

	The Netherlands (N=1011)	Germany + Denmark (N=2014)	Denmark (N=1004)	Germany (N=1010)
Street protest participation (1=taken part in a protest)	9.1% (N=92)*	16.4% (N=331)	15.7% (N=158)	17.1% (N=173)
Gender (1=women)	50.9% (N=515)	49.5% (N=997)	49.8% (N=500)	49.2% (N=497)
Living in a rural area (1=yes)	31.8% (N=322) *	21.7% (N=438)	14.7% (N=148)	28.7% (N=290)
Being theoretically educated (1=yes)	66.0% (N=645) *	55.2% (N=1060)	64.0% (N=636)	45.6% (N=424)
Understanding the national government (1=fair amount/great deal)	57.9% (N=580)	60.9% (N=1188)	64.8% (N=630)	57.0% (N=558)
Being moderately leftist (1=yes)	73.5% (N=743) *	65.2% (N=1314)	66.1% (N=664)	64.4% (N=650)
Being politically right-winged (1=yes)	7.2% (N=73) *	4.7% (N=94)	4.0% (N=40)	5.3% (N=54)
Having post-materialist political priorities (1=yes)	3.6% (N=36)	4.9% (N=98)	5.2% (N=52)	4.6% (N=46)
Having materialist political priorities (1=yes)	3,2% (N=32)	2,3% (N=47)	2,3% (N=23)	2,4% (N=24)

Having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities (1=yes)	4.7% (N=48) *	2.7% (N=55)	2.2% (N=22)	3.3% (N=33)
Age 16-18	23.0% (N=233)	22.1% (N=445)	22.7% (N=228)	21.5% (N=217)
Age 19-24	38.7% (N=391)	37.8% (N=761)	37.9% (N=381)	37.6% (N=380)
Age 25-30	38.3% (N=387)	40.1% (N=808)	39.3% (N=395)	40.9% (N=413)
Living with family/partner (1=No)	24.3% (N=236)	24.8% (N=493)	24.1% (N=241)	25.5% (N=252)

*Note: Missing values were excluded. * = X^2 revealed that the Netherlands differed significantly ($p < 0.05$) from Germany and Denmark combined.*

5. Results

This chapter reports the results for each regression. The interaction terms are interpreted. Reference categories are indicated underneath table 4. Note that the significance level was set relatively high at $P=0.20$, to avoid missing a true effect. Furthermore, 30 exploratory regressions with interaction effects are discussed in section 5.3. The commands and outputs in SPSS for regressions for the hypotheses can be found in appendix D. Commands and outputs for all significant exploratory regressions are found in appendix E.

5.1 Multicollinearity

None of the combined variables for each model tested positive for multicollinearity. ($VIF < 5$, tolerance $> .20$). In appendix D, the commands for and results of the tests for multicollinearity in SPSS are shown.

5.2 Regression results

Table 4 shows the results of each of the nine explanatory regression models.

Tabel 4

Overview of results of nine regression models for 'street protest participation'

	Model 1 exp(B)	Model 2 exp(B)	Model 3 exp(B)	Model 4 exp(B)	Model 5 exp(B)	Model 6 exp(B)	Model 7 exp(B)	Model 8 exp(B)	Model 9 exp(B)
Dutch or non-Dutch ^a	0.552****	0.557****	0.610****	0.672**	0.489****	0.499****	0.512****	0.514****	0.491****
Household situation ^b	1.337****	1.329****	1.340****	1.342****	1.339****	1.330****	1.348****	1.332****	1.336****
Age 16-18 ^c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age 19-24 ^c	1.179	1.175	1.179	1.214	1.182	1.196	1.190	1.180	1.185
Age 25-30 ^c	1.082	1.079	1.081	1.106	1.086	1.100	1.182	1.081	1.091
Gender ^d	1.237**	1.195*	1.190*	1.233**	1.190*	1.167*	1.182*	1.179*	1.184*
Dutch*gender	0.846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Living in a rural area ^e	0.768**	0.858	0.770**	0.773**	0.767**	0.770**	0.768**	0.770**	0.769**
Dutch*living in a rural area	-	0.643*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being theoretically educated ^f	1.209**	1.219**	1.285****	1.176*	1.210**	1.215**	1.224**	1.202*	1.212**

Dutch*being theoretically educated	-	-	0.753	-	-	-	-	-	-
Understanding the national government ^g	-	-	-	1.686****	-	-	-	-	-
Dutch* understanding the national government	-	-	-	0.642**	-	-	-	-	-
Being moderately leftist ^h	-	-	-	-	0.984	-	-	-	-
Dutch*being moderately leftist	-	-	-	-	1.050	-	-	-	-
Being politically right-winged ⁱ	-	-	-	-	-	0.494**	-	-	-
Dutch*being politically right-winged	-	-	-	-	-	1.647	-	-	-
Having materialist political priorities ^j	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.738*	-	-
Dutch*Having materialist political priorities	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.585	-	-
Having post-materialist political priorities ^k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.381	-
Dutch*Having post-materialist political priorities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.794	-
Having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities ^l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.577
Dutch*Having conservative, cultural or nationalistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.460*

political
priorities

Constant	0.110****	0.143****	0.141****	0.103****	0.147****	0.149****	0.143****	0.145****	0.147****
N	2826	2826	2826	2766	2826	2826	2826	2826	2826
Missing	199	199	199	259	199	199	199	199	199

*Note: Total N = 3025. Reference category ^a = non-Dutch, ^b = living with family/partner, ^c = age category 16-18, ^d = male, ^e = living in a non-rural area, ^f = non-theoretically educated, ^g = little to no understanding of the national government, ^h = non-moderately leftist, ⁱ = non-politically right-winged, ^j = non-post-materialist political priorities, ^k = non-materialist political priorities, ^l = non-conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities. **** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.1$, * $p \leq 0.2$*

The first model tested H1: The effect of being a woman on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations. The interaction term ‘Dutch*being a woman’ was added to the basic model, section 1. The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.731$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.2% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,032$). The interaction term showed no significant negative effect of being a woman for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.846$, $P=0.519$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of being a woman on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H2: ‘The effect of living in a rural area on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*living in a rural area’ was added to the basic model. The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.810$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,033$). The interaction term showed a significant negative effect of living in a rural area for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.643$, $P=0.171$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of living in a rural area on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For the third hypothesis: ‘The effect of being theoretically educated on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*education type’ was added to the basic model. The H-L test was non-significant ($P=0.621$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.2% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,032$). The interaction term showed an insignificant negative effect of theoretical education for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.753$, $P=0.297$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of being theoretically educated on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H4: ‘The effect of understanding the national government on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*understanding the national government’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘understanding the national government’ (little to no understanding=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.267$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 4.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,043$). The interaction term showed a significant negative effect of understanding the national government for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.642$, $P=0.099$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of understanding the national government on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H5: ‘The effect of being moderately leftist on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*being moderately leftist’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘being moderately leftist’ (not moderately leftist=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.498$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,033$). The interaction term showed an insignificant positive effect of being moderately leftist for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=1.050$, $P=0.866$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of being moderately leftist on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H6: ‘The effect of being politically right-winged on odds of street protest participation is positive for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*being politically right-winged’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘being politically right-winged’ (not being right-winged=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.352$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.9 and 3.4% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,019$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,034$). The interaction term showed an insignificant positive effect of being politically right-winged for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=1.647$, $P=0.413$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of being politically right-winged on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H7: ‘The effect of having materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*having materialist political priorities’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘having materialist political priorities’ (not having materialist political priorities=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.534$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,033$). The interaction term showed an insignificant negative effect of having materialist political priorities for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.585$, $P=0.459$) on odds of protest participation, relative

to the effect of having materialist political priorities on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H8: ‘The effect of having post-materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*having post-materialist political priorities’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘having post-materialist political priorities’ (not having post-materialist political priorities=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.645$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,033$). The interaction term showed an insignificant negative effect of having post-materialist political priorities for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=0.794$, $P=0.733$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of having post-materialist political priorities on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

For H9: ‘The effect of having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities on odds of street protest participation is positive for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations’, the interaction term ‘Dutch*having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities’ was added to the basic model, as well as ‘having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities’ (not having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities=ref.). The H-L test was insignificant ($P=0.486$), indicating not enough evidence to reject the model. The model explained between 1.8 and 3.3% of the variance in street protest participation (Cox & Snell $R^2=0,018$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0,033$). The interaction term showed a significant positive effect of having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)=2.460$, $P=0.188$) on odds of protest participation, relative to the effect of having conservative, cultural or nationalist political priorities on protest participation for non-Dutch youth, holding all other variables constant.

5.3 Exploratory tests

For around 30 variables in the dataset where no clear theoretical expectations could be formulated, the same style regressions with interaction terms were done to see if there are any significant interactions. These were;

1. All individual answer options for q1 (‘In your opinion, which three of the following values are most important?’)
2. All individual answer options for q2 (‘In your opinion, which three of the following topics should be a priority for the EU in the next 5 years?’)
3. A dummy of q4 (1= ‘opposed to the idea of the EU’, 0= ‘not opposed to the idea of the EU’)
4. Interaction terms for the control variables ‘age re-coded’ and ‘household with family’
5. Dummies for all different levels of the variables ‘leftist values’, ‘rightist values’, ‘post-materialist values’ and ‘materialist values’ (ranging from 0 to 6)

The interactions that were significant at an alpha-level of 0.2 will be discussed. In appendix C, table 5, an overview is given of the above variables' values in The Netherlands and Germany and Denmark, and significant differences are identified with chi-square.

Opposing the EU

Being opposed to the idea of the EU held a significant positive interaction with being Dutch ($\exp(B)=2,804$, $P=0,042$) ('Don't know' and 'prefer not to answer' were coded as missing). This suggests that being anti-EU in the Netherlands gives higher protest odds than in Germany and Denmark, holding all other variables constant.

Freedom of speech and thought

Prioritizing 'freedom of speech and thought' is negatively associated with protest participation for Danish and German youth ($\exp(B)$ 0.778, $P=0.069$), but this effect differs significantly for Dutch youth ($\exp(B)$ 1.584, $P=0.086$), holding all other variables constant.

Protection of human rights, democracy and peace

A significant negative interaction was found for prioritizing this value and being Dutch ($\exp(B)$ 0.447, $P=0.002$), holding all other variables constant.

Rising prices, cost of living

Prioritizing this issue for the EU, and being Dutch, gives a significantly negative interaction ($\exp(B)$ 0.575, $P=0.035$) with protest odds, holding all other variables constant.

Having at least one leftist value

Having more than zero of the 'leftist' values described in chapter 4, and being Dutch, significantly negatively interacts with protest odds ($\exp(B)$ 0.202, $P=0.103$), holding all other variables constant.

Being at least somewhat right-winged

Having selected at least 3 values classified as rightist (see chapter 4) and being Dutch, held a significant positive interaction ($\exp(B)$ 1.681, $P=0.087$), holding all other variables constant.

Having at least one materialist value

A significant negative interaction was found ($\exp(B)$ 0.489, $P=0.064$) for being Dutch and having at least one materialist value, as defined in chapter 4, holding all other variables constant.

6. Conclusions

The results of the analyses will be summarized, and reflections of will be discussed. Readers are advised to keep in mind that a higher chance is accepted (20%) that a null-hypothesis was wrongfully rejected.

6.1 Findings

Out of about 40 different regression models with interaction terms, only a handful proved significant. The nulls for the second, fourth and ninth hypotheses are not rejected, based on the results. Positive significant interactions were found for being Dutch and having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities, for being moderately to very right-winged, and for valuing freedom of speech. Tables 3 and 5 (appendix) showed that all three of these population groups are also significantly larger in The Netherlands, so their share in the Dutch youth protest population seems larger than in the comparison countries. Dutch youth that are opposed to the EU also show a significant positive interaction compared to these effects for Danish and Germans.

The negative interaction found for living in a rural area and being Dutch, in combination with the significantly higher rural population among Dutch youth (table 3), seems to be the most important factor in accounting for the protest gap. Still, Dutch youth not living in a rural area protest less than German and Danish youth (table 4), so it cannot account for much. A negative interaction was found for being Dutch and understanding the government better, prioritizing protection of human rights, democracy and peace, having more than zero leftist values (which counts for 98.3% of the population, see table 5), having three or more materialist values (such as ‘rising prices, cost of living’). The populations in The Netherlands were significantly smaller for better government understanding and choosing ‘protection of human rights, democracy and peace’, while the others are bigger.

6.2 Reflections

This thesis is subject to shortcomings. Validity may be affected by the inherent flaws of a self-report study (Fryer & Dinsmore, 2020). The use of dummies may have caused some interaction effects to be missed, due to over-simplification. Validity concerns should also be reflected on. There may be confounding factors that I have overlooked or am not able to control for, as there are so many factors in social sciences. Also, selection bias may have occurred, as willingness to participate in research may already be related to certain characteristics relevant to protest participation. The data used is self-reported, and self-report studies are prone to reliability issues because respondents can make mistakes, misunderstand questions, forget things or have a shortlasted change of situation or opinion, for example because they just read an upsetting article, or because they were tired (Fryer & Dinsmore, 2020). A large enough N helps with these problems, because the coincidental fluctuations in answers should somewhat even out if the group is large enough.

Importantly, most interaction terms tested in this study revealed to be of no significance. This means that the low levels of protest participation among Dutch youth are mostly not explained by great discrepancies in protest likelihood for different groups in society. This relatively equal distribution of lesser protest chances suggests that the explanation lies not so much in the individual or meso level, but should be looked for at the national (or even international) level. This is my advice to future researchers on this topic.

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Appendix A: Questions of the EYS that were used in this thesis

An overview of the questions (the way they were asked) in the Eurobarometer Youth Survey 3992 that were used in this thesis. **Please note** that for q1, q2 and q14, each possible answer was recorded in the dataset as a separate dummy variable. Each answer option was originally named according to their place in the row of answer options for their question, so 'q1.1', 'q1.2' 'q1.3' etc. But SPSS did not recognize the differences and couldn't separate them, so I renamed these variables as 'q101', 'q102', 'q103' etc. The new names of these variables are indicated in this appendix for the questions q1, q2 and q14.

D1 How old are you? _____ years
[Stop interview if <16 or >30]

D2 What is your sex? [SINGLE ANSWER]
Male 1
Female 2
In another way / prefer not to say 3

D3a What is your nationality or nationalities if you hold more than one? Select all that apply.
[MULTIPLE ANSWERS]
(THIS COUNTRY'S) nationality 1
Other nationality 2
Refusal 999
[Stop interview if D3a=999 or of D3a≠1]

D3c Are you a permanent resident of (COUNTRY)? [SINGLE ANSWER]
Yes 1
No 0
[Stop interview if D3c=0]

D13 Would you say you live in...? [SINGLE ANSWER]
A rural area or village 1
Small or medium-sized town 2
Large town/city 3
Don't know 998

DX4 Are you currently in education or training? This can be full-time or part-time. [SINGLE ANSWER]
Yes, full-time 1
Yes, part-time 2
No 3

Don't know 998

[If DX4=1 or 2]

DX4a What type of education or training are you in? [SINGLE ANSWER]

Lower secondary level 1

Upper secondary level, general education 2

Upper secondary level, vocational education and training, including apprenticeships 3

Post-secondary, non-higher education 4

Higher education 5

Don't know 998

[If DX4=3 or 998]

DX4b What is the highest level of education or training that you have completed? [SINGLE ANSWER]

Left school before completing lower secondary education 1

Lower secondary education 2

Upper secondary level, general education 3

Upper secondary level, vocational education and training, including apprenticeships 4

Post-secondary, non-higher education 5

Higher education 6

Don't know 998

DX1 Which of the following best describes your current household situation? [SINGLE ANSWER]

Living with spouse/partner, no children 1

Living with spouse/partner, children at home 2

Single parent 3

Single, living with parents or close family 4

In a relationship, living with parents or close family 5

Single, living alone 6

In a relationship, living alone 7

Single, sharing accommodation with friends/flatmates 8

In a relationship, sharing accommodation with friends/flatmates 9

Don't know 998

Q1 In your opinion, which three of the following values are most important? (UP TO THREE ANSWERS ALLOWED, RANDOMISE 1-10, CODE 998 IS EXCLUSIVE)

The protection of human rights, democracy and peace variable renamed: q101

Freedom of speech and thought variable renamed: q102

Gender equality variable renamed: q103

The fight against discrimination and the protection of minorities variable renamed: q104

Respect for national identity and culture variable renamed: q105

Solidarity among European Union Member States variable renamed: q106

Solidarity among countries around the world	variable renamed: q107
Tolerance and respect for diversity in society	variable renamed: q108
Human dignity including the prohibition of the death penalty, torture or slavery	variable renamed: q109
The rule of law	variable renamed: q110
Other	variable renamed: q111
Don't know	variable renamed: q112

Q2 In your opinion, which three of the following topics should be a priority for the EU in the next 5 years? (UP TO THREE ANSWERS ALLOWED, RANDOMISE 1-10, CODE 998 IS EXCLUSIVE)

The economic situation and creation of jobs	variable renamed: q201
Rising prices, cost of living	variable renamed: q202
The environment and climate change	variable renamed: q203
Migration and asylum	variable renamed: q204
Democracy and the rule of law	variable renamed: q205
The EU's defence and security	variable renamed: q206
Social protection, welfare and access to healthcare	variable renamed: q207
Gender equality	variable renamed: q208
Housing	variable renamed: q209
Education and training	variable renamed: q210
Other	variable renamed: q211
Don't know	variable renamed: q212

Q4 Which of the following statements regarding the European Union is closest to your opinion? (SINGLE ANSWER)

- I'm in favour of the European Union and the way it is working at present 1
- I'm rather in favour of the European Union, but not the way it is working at present 2
- I'm rather sceptical of the European Union, but could change my opinion if the way it works really changes 3
- I'm opposed to the idea of the European Union in general 4
- Don't know 998
- Prefer not to answer 999

Q9.2 How much, if anything, do you feel you understand about the government in your country?

- A great deal 1
- A fair amount 2
- Not very much 3
- Nothing at all 4
- Don't know 998

Q14 Have you ever done any of the following? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED, RANDOMISE 1-10, CODE 11 AND 998 ARE EXCLUSIVE)

Voted in a local, national or European election

Contacted a politician about an issue

Volunteered for a charity/campaign organisation

Boycotted or bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons

Taken part in street protests or demonstrations variable renamed: PROTESTED

Created or signed a petition (on paper or online)

Joined a youth organisation

Taken part in a public consultation (online or offline)

Posted opinions online or on social media about a political or social issue

Used hashtags or changed your profile picture to show support for a political or social issue

None of these

Don't know

Appendix B: Recoding and computing of variables

This appendix begins with the logic behind the re-coding and computation of each variable, and afterwards, the commands for this in SPSS 27 are shown.

Isolation of Dutch, German and Danish cases

To isolate all Dutch, German and Danish cases, I used the original dataset's variable 'ipsentry', in which Denmark was valued '4', Germany was valued '5', and The Netherlands '19'. Cases with the value 4, 5 or 19 for 'ipsentry' were copied into a new dataset. From then on, this thesis worked with only this new dataset.

Missing values

First, the answer options 'don't know', 'other' and 'prefer not to say' were re-coded as missing values for dx1, dx4a and dx4b, d13 and q9.2, regarding, respectively, household with family, education type, living in a rural area and understanding the national government (see appendix (A) for the survey questions). The value '3' in variable d2, regarding 'gender', was re-coded as missing, because '3' represents the answer: 'in another way/prefer not to say' (see appendix A). The inclusion of the option 'prefer not to say' makes it unknown if '3' includes respondents identifying as women, and therefore 3 cannot be categorized as non-women.

Education type

'Education type' was computed by combining dx4a and dx4b, which were both first re-coded into dummies. Respondents currently in education answered dx4a, respondents not in education were given question dx4b. The values '2' ('Upper secondary level, general education') and '5' ('Higher education') for dx4a and the values '3' ('Upper secondary level, general education') and '6' ('Higher education') for dx4b were given the value '1', for 'theoretical education', all other values were given '0' (except for '998' ('don't know')), re-coded as missing (see appendix B). 'Upper secondary level, general education' was coded as theoretical education, because the other option for 'upper secondary level' is 'vocational training/apprenticeships'.

Being moderately leftist

For 'being moderately leftist', the variable 'leftist values' was first computed. This was done with any of the following responses to q1 ("In your opinion, which three of the following values are most important?"): "Gender equality", "The fight against discrimination and the protection of minorities", "Solidarity amongst countries in the EU", "Solidarity among countries around the world", "Tolerance and respect for diversity in society", and "Human dignity including the prohibition of the death penalty, torture or slavery", and with any of the following responses to q2 ("In your opinion, which three of the following topics should be a priority for the EU in the next 5 years?"): "The economic situation and creation of jobs", "Rising prices, cost of living", "The environment and climate change", "Social protection,

welfare and access to healthcare’, ‘Gender equality’, ‘Housing’, ‘Education and training’’. Of course, some of these materialist answers, like housing and the economic situation and creation of jobs, might have been selected by people who would self-identify as rightist. But the fact that these responses (concerning economic government intervention) were selected as should-be priorities for the EU, makes them fit the working definition of ‘leftist’ in this thesis.

Since the number of answers given for q1 and for q2 was three, the maximum value of ‘leftist values’ is 6. Cases with a value ranging from 2 to 4 were given the label ‘Being moderately leftist’. Having a value of 0, 1, 5 or 6 (out of 6) was coded as ‘0’, meaning ‘Not moderately leftist’. This way, specifically the group of people with some but not (almost) exclusively leftist values can be tested, suitable to the hypothesis.

Being politically right-winged

For being right-winged, a variable ‘rightist values’ was computed from the answers to q1: “Freedom of speech and thought’, ‘Respect for national identity and culture’, ‘The rule of law’”, and from the answers to q2: “Migration and asylum’, ‘The economic situation and the creation of jobs’, ‘Democracy and the rule of law’, and ‘The EU’s defence and security’”. The choice of ‘The economic situation and the creation of jobs’ fits with being right-winged, because of its capitalistic focus on market stimulation and job-creation, which implies a reduction of ‘leftist’ government interventions like rules for minimum wage and working conditions. Again, ‘0’ was the lowest possible value and ‘6’ the highest. Arguably, having chosen two or three of these answers does not make one right-winged. Therefore, in this thesis the minimum number of right-winged values to qualify as right-winged was four, and a dummy was made coding values 0 through 3 as ‘0’, and 4 through 6 as ‘1’, in the new variable ‘Being politically right-winged’.

Having post-materialist political priorities

The answer options for q1: “Gender equality’, ‘The fight against discrimination and the protection of minorities’, and ‘Tolerance and respect for diversity in society’, and for q2: “The environment and climate change’, ‘Gender equality’, ‘Education and training’” were computed into ‘post-materialist values’, with a range between 0 and 6. Cases with a value of 4 or higher were given the value ‘1’, the others ‘0’, in the new variable ‘having post-materialist political priorities’.

Having materialist political priorities

The answer options for q1: “Solidarity among countries around the world’, ‘Solidarity among European Union Member States’, ‘Human dignity including the prohibition of the death penalty, torture or slavery’”, and for q2: “Rising prices, cost of living’, ‘Social protection, welfare and access to healthcare’, ‘Housing’” were computed into new variable ‘materialist values’, with a range between 0 and 6. Cases with a value of 4 or higher were given the value ‘1’, the others ‘0’, in the new variable ‘having materialist political priorities’.

Having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities

The answer options for q1: “Freedom of speech and thought”, “The rule of law”, “Respect for national identity and culture”, and for q2: “Migration and asylum”, “The EU’s defence and security”, “Democracy and the rule of law” were computed into new variable ‘conservative, cultural or nationalistic choices’, with a range between 0 and 6. Cases with a value of 4 or higher were given the value ‘1’, the others ‘0’, in the new variable ‘having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities’. This variable looks very much like being politically right-winged, but without ‘the economic situation and the creation of jobs’.

Household situation [Control variable]

This variable was re-coded from the original variable ‘dx1’ in the EYS, which contains eight categories. Re-coding was necessary because the theoretical expectations regarding protest participation apply specifically to dependence on family, rather than to each individual category. Values 1 thru 5 (living with spouse/partner, with spouse/partner and children, single parent, or with close relatives) were coded as 0, 6 thru 9 (living alone, or with friends/flatmates) as 1.

SPSS Syntax commands:

For ‘Gender’:

```
RECODE d2 (1=0) (2=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO menvswomen.  
VARIABLE LABELS men0women1 'Gender'.  
EXECUTE.
```

For ‘Living in a rural area’:

```
RECODE d13 (1=1) (2=0) (3=0) INTO d13.1.  
VARIABLE LABELS d13.1 'Living in a rural area'.  
EXECUTE.
```

For ‘Dutch or non-Dutch’:

```
RECODE ipscentry (4=0) (5=0) (19=1) INTO NLorNOT.  
VARIABLE LABELS NL1orNOT0 'Dutch or non-Dutch'.  
EXECUTE.
```

For ‘Education type’:

```
RECODE dx4a (1=0) (2=1) (3=0) (4=0) (5=1) (999=0) INTO CURRTHEOEDU.  
VARIABLE LABELS CURRTHEOEDU 'Currently in theoretical education'.  
EXECUTE.
```

RECODE dx4b (1=0) (4=0) (2=0) (3=1) (5=0) (6=1) (999=0) INTO FINISHTHEOEDU.
VARIABLE LABELS FINISHTHEOEDU 'theoretical education finished'.
EXECUTE.

COMPUTE THEOEDUCATION=CURRTHEOEDU + FINISHTHEOEDU.
EXECUTE.

For 'Household situation':

RECODE dx1 (998=SYSMIS) (1 thru 5=0) (6 thru 9=1) INTO LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY.
VARIABLE LABELS LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY 'Living with friends, flatmates or alone (1)
or family (0)'.
EXECUTE.

For 'Understanding of the national government':

COMPUTE understandingnationalgov=q92.
EXECUTE.

DO IF (q92 < 5).
RECODE understandingnationalgov (1=1) (2=1) (3=0) (4=0).
END IF.
EXECUTE.

For 'leftist values':

COMPUTE Leftistvalues=q103 + q104 + q107 + q108 + q109 + q201 + q202 + q203 + q206
+ q207 + q208 + q209 + q210.
EXECUTE.

For 'Being moderately leftist':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0=0) (1=0) (1.9 thru 4.1=1) (4.9 thru 6.1=0) INTO
ONLYmoderateleft.
VARIABLE LABELS ONLYmoderateleft '2 through 4 leftist values as opposed to 0, 1, 5 or
6'.
EXECUTE.

For 'Blocks of leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0=0) (1=0) (1.9 thru 4.1=1) (4.9 thru 6.1=2) INTO Blocksofleftness.
VARIABLE LABELS Blocksofleftness 'three blocks, 0 and 1, 2 through 4 and 5 or 6 leftist
values'.

EXECUTE.

For 'having any leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0=0) (1 thru 6=1) INTO Anyleftistvalue.
VARIABLE LABELS Anyleftistvalue 'No (0) or at least one leftist value'.
EXECUTE.

For 'having three or more leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0 thru 2=0) (3 thru 6=1) INTO Threelleftistvalue.
VARIABLE LABELS Threelleftistvalue 'Less than 3 (0) or at least 3 leftist value'.
EXECUTE.

For 'having four or more leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0 thru 3=0) (4 thru 6=1) INTO Manyleftistvalue.
VARIABLE LABELS Manyleftistvalue 'Less than 4 (0) or at least 4 leftist value'.
EXECUTE.

For 'having five or more leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (0 thru 4=0) (5 thru 6=1) INTO Fiveleftistvalues.
VARIABLE LABELS Fiveleftistvalues 'less than 5 (0) or 5 or 6 leftist values (1)'.
EXECUTE.

For 'having six leftist values':

RECODE Leftistvalues (6=1) (0 thru 5=0) INTO Sixleftistvalues.
VARIABLE LABELS Sixleftistvalues 'less than 6 (0) or 6 leftist values (1)'.
EXECUTE.

For 'rightist values':

COMPUTE Rightisttvalues=q102 + q105 + q110 + q201 + q204 + q205 + q206.
EXECUTE.

For 'having any rightist values':

RECODE Rightisttvalues (0=0) (1 thru 6=1) INTO Anyrightistvalues.
VARIABLE LABELS Anyrightistvalues 'No (0) or at least one rightist value (1)'.
EXECUTE.

For 'being at least somewhat politically right-winged':

RECODE Rightistvalues (0 thru 2=0) (3 thru 6=1) INTO Threerightistvalues.
VARIABLE LABELS Threerightistvalues 'being politically right-winged'.
EXECUTE.

For 'being politically right-winged':

RECODE Rightistvalues (3 thru 6=1) (0 thru 3=0) INTO Fourrightistvalues.
VARIABLE LABELS Fourrightistvalues 'Less than four (0) or at least four rightist value (1)'.
EXECUTE.

For 'post-materialist values':

COMPUTE Postmaterialism=q103 + q104 + q108 + q203 + q208 + q210.
EXECUTE.

For 'materialist values':

COMPUTE Materialism=q106 + q107 + q109 + q209 + q202 + q207.
EXECUTE.

For 'Cultural, conservative, or nationalistic values':

COMPUTE CulturalConservativeNationalistic=q102 + q105 + q110 + q204 + q205 + q206.
EXECUTE.

**For dummies of 'Progressive/cosmopolitan value/priority',
'Socio-economic/materialist value/priority' and Cultural/conservative/nationalistic
value/priority':**

RECODE Postmaterialism CulturalConservativeNationalistic Materialism (3.9 thru 6.1=1) (0
thru 3.1=0) INTO Havingpostmatpriorities cultconsnatiopriorities materialpriorities.
VARIABLE LABELS Havingpostmatpriorities 'Having post-materialist political priorities'
/cultconsnatiopriorities 'Having cultural, conservative or nationalistic political priorities'
/materialpriorities 'Having materialist political priorities'.
EXECUTE.

For 'At least one materialist value':

RECODE Materialism (0 thru 0.9=0) (0.9 thru 6.1=1) INTO Atleastone.
VARIABLE LABELS Atleastone 'One or more materialist values'.
EXECUTE.

For 'Opposing the idea of the EU':

```
RECODE q4 (1=0) (2=0) (3=0) (4=1) (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO opposedEU.  
VARIABLE LABELS opposedEU 'opposed to the idea of EU'.  
EXECUTE.
```

Appendix C: Descriptive statistics

This section shows the commands for the descriptive statistics and chi-square tests of independence. A table is made for the variables in the exploratory regressions as well.

SPSS command for Table 3, chapter 4

CROSSTABS

```
/TABLES=Protested d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY
Understandingnationalgov
```

```
ONLYmoderateleft Fourrightistvalues Havingpostmatpriorities cultconsnatiopriorities
materialpriorities BY Dutch ipsentry
```

```
/FORMAT=AVALUE TABLES
```

```
/STATISTICS=CHISQ
```

```
/CELLS=COUNT COLUMN
```

```
/COUNT ROUND CELL.
```

OUTPUT MODIFY

```
/SELECT TABLES
```

```
/IF COMMANDS=["Crosstabs(LAST)"] SUBTYPES=["Crosstabulation"]
```

```
/TABLE PIVOT=[R1,C1].
```

OUTPUT MODIFY

```
/SELECT TABLES
```

```
/IF COMMANDS=["Crosstabs(LAST)"] SUBTYPES=["Crosstabulation"]
```

```
/TABLECELLS SELECT=[PERCENT] APPLYTO=COLUMNHEADER REPLACE="%"
```

```
/TABLECELLS SELECT=[COUNT] APPLYTO=COLUMNHEADER REPLACE="N".
```

Table 5

Occurrence of '1' for the explored dummy variables in this study for The Netherlands and Germany and Denmark

	The Netherlands (N=1011)	Germany + Denmark (N=2014)
Opposed to the idea of the EU (1)	4.7% (N=42)	6.0% (N=107)
At least one leftist value (1)	98.3% (N=994) *	97.0% (N=1953)
At least one materialist value (1)	89.9% (N=909) *	81.5% (N=1642)
Being somewhat right-winged (1)	25.6% (N=259) *	18.4% (N=371)

Q210 (1=Education and training)	25.1% (N=254)	24.2% (N=488)
Q209(1=Housing)	42.0% (N=425) *	18.2% (N=367)
Q208 (1=Gender equality)	7.6% (N=77) *	16.8% (N=338)
Q207 (1=Social protection, welfare and access to healthcare)	27.6% (N=279)	29.2% (N=589)
Q206 (1=The EU's defence and security)	22.5% (N=227)	23.9% (N=482)
Q205 (1=Democracy and the rule of law)	15.4% (N=156) *	18.4% (N=371)
Q204 (1=Migration and asylum)	26.9% (N=272) *	21.4% (N=430)
Q203 (1=Environment and climate change)	35.1% (N=355)	36.2% (N=730)
Q202 (1=Rising prices, cost of living)	51.6% (N=522) *	38.9% (N=784)
Q201 (1=The economic situation and the creation of jobs)	19.1% (N=193) *	27.3% (N=550)
Q110 (1=Rule of law)	16.2% (N=164)	14.2% (N=286)
Q109 (1=Human dignity, including the prohibition of the death penalty, torture or slavery)	21.9% (N=221) *	33.5% (N=675)
Q108 (1=Tolerance and respect for diversity in society)	28.4% (N=287)	29.0% (N=584)
Q107 (1=Solidarity amongst countries around the world)	18.5% (N=187) *	14.2% (N=285)
Q106 (1=Solidarity amongst countries in the EU)	8.7% (N=88)	8.6% (N=174)
Q105 (1=Respect for national identity and culture)	25.8% (N=261) *	20.4% (N=411)
Q104 (1=The fight against discrimination and the protection of minorities)	28.3% (N=286)	27.6% (N=555)

Q103 (1=Gender equality)	13.3% (N=134) *	25.2% (N=507)
Q102 (1=Freedom of speech)	53.0% (N=536) *	31.4% (N=632)
Q101 (1=The protection of human rights, democracy and peace)	52.8% (N=534) *	48.9% (N=984)

*Note: Missing values were excluded. * indicates that the chi-square test revealed that the difference in occurrence of the value between The Netherlands and Germany and Denmark combined, is significant ($p < 0.05$).*

For Table 5: SPSS command

CROSSTABS

```
/TABLES=q101 q102 q103 q104 q105 q106 q107 q108 q109 q110 q201 q202 q203 q204 q205 q206 q207 q208
```

```
q209 q210 q92 q6 opposedEU Atleastone Threerightistvalues Anyleftistvalue BY Dutch
```

```
/FORMAT=AVALUE TABLES
```

```
/STATISTICS=CHISQ
```

```
/CELLS=COUNT COLUMN
```

```
/COUNT ROUND CELL.
```

OUTPUT MODIFY

```
/SELECT TABLES
```

```
/IF COMMANDS=["Crosstabs(LAST)"] SUBTYPES=["Crosstabulation"]
```

```
/TABLE PIVOT=[R1,C1].
```

OUTPUT MODIFY

```
/SELECT TABLES
```

```
/IF COMMANDS=["Crosstabs(LAST)"] SUBTYPES=["Crosstabulation"]
```

```
/TABLECELLS SELECT=[PERCENT] APPLYTO=COLUMNHEADER REPLACE="%"
```

```
/TABLECELLS SELECT=[COUNT] APPLYTO=COLUMNHEADER REPLACE="N".
```

Appendix D: SPSS 27 commands and output for regression models for hypotheses

This section gives an overview of the results and commands for the binary logistic regressions for the hypotheses 1 through 9. It also shows the commands and results for tests of multicollinearity.

The reference categories for the controls are as follows:

- Dutch or non-Dutch: 'non-Dutch' (German and Danish youth)
- Age category: '16-18'
- Household situation: 'living with family/partner'
- Gender: 'male'
- Education type: 'no theoretical education'
- Living in a rural area: 'living in a non-rural area'

For H1: The effect of being a woman on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION Dutch DutchANDwomen.

Coefficients ^a								
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,104	,025		4,143	<,001		
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,041	,016	,050	2,615	,009	,965	1,036
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES							
	Rural (0) or Non-Rural (1)	,028	,015	,034	1,803	,072	,973	1,028
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,035	,016	,050	2,173	,030	,666	1,501
	Theoretical education	,026	,014	,036	1,919	,055	,968	1,033
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,062	,020	-,083	-3,131	,002	,498	2,008
	DutchANDwomen	-,031	,028	-,033	-1,110	,267	,401	2,494

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Dutch*menvswomen

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2264,472 ^a	,018	,032

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	5,247	8	,731

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	-,594	,186	10,191	1	,001	,552	,383	,795
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,258	2	,533			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,165	,153	1,161	1	,281	1,179	,874	1,592
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,079	,154	,266	1	,606	1,082	,801	1,463
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,291	,122	5,670	1	,017	1,337	1,053	1,699
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,213	,124	2,927	1	,087	1,237	,969	1,579
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,264	,137	3,688	1	,055	,768	,587	1,005
	Theoretical education (1)	,190	,114	2,794	1	,095	1,209	,968	1,511
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1) by Man (0) or Women (1)	-,167	,259	,415	1	,519	,846	,510	1,405
	Constant	-1,944	,154	159,498	1	<,001	,143		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 * Man (0) or Women (1) .

For H2: The effect of living in a rural area on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION
Dutch DutchANDnonrural.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,132	,023		5,849	<,001		
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,039	,015	,048	2,521	,012	,964	1,037
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,002	,009	,005	,276	,782	,969	1,032
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,020	,020	-,025	-1,026	,305	,599	1,670
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,025	,013	,036	1,941	,052	,991	1,009
	Theoretical education	,026	,013	,037	1,930	,054	,966	1,035
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,071	,016	-,095	-4,294	<,001	,713	1,402
	DutchANDnonrural	-,021	,031	-,018	-,675	,500	,468	2,136

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION DutchANDnonrural

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2262,938 ^a	,018	,033

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	4,493	8	,810

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,585	,145	16,186	1	<,001	,557	,419	,741
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,206	2	,547			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,161	,153	1,106	1	,293	1,175	,870	1,586
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,076	,154	,246	1	,620	1,079	,799	1,458
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,284	,122	5,423	1	,020	1,329	1,046	1,688
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,178	,109	2,662	1	,103	1,195	,965	1,481
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,153	,157	,943	1	,331	,858	,631	1,168
	Theoretical education (1)	,198	,114	3,016	1	,082	1,219	,975	1,524
	DutchANDnonrural	-,442	,322	1,878	1	,171	,643	,342	1,209
	Constant	-1,947	,152	164,029	1	<,001	,143		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , DutchANDnonrural.

For H3: *The effect of being theoretically educated on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations*

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION

Dutch DutchANDtheoreticaledu.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,127	,023		5,558	<,001		
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,040	,015	,048	2,559	,011	,966	1,036
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,002	,009	,005	,249	,803	,969	1,032
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,027	,015	-,034	-1,783	,075	,972	1,029
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,025	,013	,036	1,905	,057	,992	1,008
	Theoretical education	,039	,016	,055	2,405	,016	,668	1,497
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,050	,023	-,066	-2,172	,030	,370	2,703
	DutchANDtheoreticaledu	-,043	,029	-,051	-1,490	,136	,300	3,329

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION DutchANDtheoreticaledu

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (DutchANDtheoreticaledu)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2263,816 ^a	,018	,032

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	6,231	8	,621

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,494	,219	5,103	1	,024	,610	,398	,937
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,269	2	,530			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,165	,153	1,162	1	,281	1,179	,874	1,592
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,078	,154	,256	1	,613	1,081	,800	1,460
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,292	,122	5,729	1	,017	1,340	1,054	1,702
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,174	,109	2,536	1	,111	1,190	,961	1,474
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,262	,137	3,622	1	,057	,770	,588	1,008
	Theoretical education (1)	,251	,128	3,841	1	,050	1,285	1,000	1,652
	DutchANDtheoreticaledu (1)	-,283	,271	1,089	1	,297	,753	,443	1,282
	Constant	-1,960	,155	159,506	1	<,001	,141		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , DutchANDtheoreticaledu.

For H4: The effect of understanding the national government on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION

Dutch Understandingnationalgov

DutchANDunderstandinggov.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,089	,025		3,551	<,001		
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,040	,016	,049	2,549	,011	,965	1,036
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,004	,009	,008	,412	,681	,968	1,033
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,027	,016	-,033	-1,745	,081	,972	1,029
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,030	,013	,042	2,219	,027	,988	1,012
	Theoretical education	,022	,014	,031	1,612	,107	,962	1,040
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,038	,022	-,051	-1,736	,083	,405	2,468
	Understanding the national government	,073	,017	,101	4,377	<,001	,653	1,532
	DutchANDunderstanding gov	-,065	,029	-,073	-2,278	,023	,344	2,905

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION

Understandingnationalgov DutchANDunderstandinggov

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Understandingnationalgov)=Indicator(1)
 /PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2218,017 ^a	,024	,043

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9,978	8	,267

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,398	,211	3,539	1	,060	,672	,444	1,017
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,659	2	,436			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,194	,154	1,576	1	,209	1,214	,897	1,642
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,101	,155	,428	1	,513	1,106	,817	1,498
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,294	,123	5,722	1	,017	1,342	1,055	1,708
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,209	,110	3,599	1	,058	1,233	,993	1,531
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,258	,139	3,424	1	,064	,773	,588	1,015
	Theoretical education (1)	,162	,115	1,974	1	,160	1,176	,938	1,473
	Understanding the national government(1)	,522	,136	14,651	1	<,001	1,686	1,290	2,203
	DutchANDUnderstanding gov	-,443	,269	2,725	1	,099	,642	,379	1,087
	Constant	-2,270	,181	157,638	1	<,001	,103		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Understanding the national government, DutchANDUnderstandinggov.

For H5: The effect of being moderately leftist on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender THEOEDUCATION

Dutch ONLYmoderateleft

DutchANDmoderateleft.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,137	,025		5,474	<,001		
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,040	,015	,048	2,554	,011	,965	1,036
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,003	,009	,006	,300	,764	,970	1,031
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,028	,015	-,035	-1,830	,067	,971	1,030
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,025	,013	,036	1,903	,057	,987	1,013
	Theoretical education	,026	,013	,036	1,895	,058	,968	1,033
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,081	,026	-,109	-3,117	,002	,285	3,506
	2 through 4 leftist values as opposed to 0, 1, 5 or 6	-,005	,017	-,007	-,310	,757	,692	1,445
	DutchANDmoderateleft	,007	,031	,008	,225	,822	,245	4,075

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION ONLYmoderateleft

DutchANDmoderateleft

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (ONLYmoderateleft)=Indicator(1)
 /PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2264,856 ^a	,018	,032

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7,360	8	,498

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,716	,244	8,586	1	,003	,489	,303	,789
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,285	2	,526			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,167	,153	1,195	1	,274	1,182	,876	1,596
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,082	,154	,286	1	,593	1,086	,803	1,467
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,292	,122	5,723	1	,017	1,339	1,054	1,701
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,174	,109	2,535	1	,111	1,190	,961	1,475
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,266	,138	3,736	1	,053	,767	,585	1,004
	Theoretical education (1)	,190	,114	2,798	1	,094	1,210	,968	1,512
	2 through 4 leftist values as opposed to 0, 1, 5 or 6 (1)	-,017	,131	,016	1	,899	,984	,761	1,270
	DutchANDmoderateleft	,049	,288	,028	1	,866	1,050	,597	1,846
	Constant	-1,915	,173	122,577	1	<,001	,147		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , 2 through 4 leftist values as opposed to 0, 1, 5 or 6, DutchANDmoderateleft.

For H6: The effect of being politically right-winged on odds of street protest participation is positive for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender

THEOEDUCATION Fourrightistvalues

DutchANDfourrightistvalues.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,137	,022		6,083	<,001		
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,079	,015	-,106	-5,450	<,001	,913	1,095
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,039	,015	,047	2,506	,012	,965	1,037
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,003	,009	,007	,374	,708	,968	1,033
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,028	,015	-,034	-1,815	,070	,973	1,028
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,023	,013	,032	1,729	,084	,980	1,021
	Theoretical education	,026	,013	,037	1,943	,052	,968	1,033
	Being politically right-winged	-,078	,038	-,051	-2,051	,040	,564	1,773
	DutchANDfourrightistvalues	,066	,058	,029	1,140	,254	,541	1,849

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Fourrightistvalues

DutchANDfourrightistvalues

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)
 /CONTRAST (Fourrightistvalues)=Indicator(1)
 /PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2260,531 ^a	,019	,034

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	8,888	8	,352

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,694	,134	26,870	1	<,001	,499	,384	,649
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,433	2	,488			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,179	,153	1,367	1	,242	1,196	,886	1,615
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,095	,154	,383	1	,536	1,100	,814	1,487
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,285	,122	5,455	1	,020	1,330	1,047	1,691
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,154	,110	1,973	1	,160	1,167	,941	1,447
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,261	,138	3,606	1	,058	,770	,588	1,008
	Theoretical education (1)	,195	,114	2,925	1	,087	1,215	,972	1,519
	Being politically right-winged(1)	-,706	,378	3,494	1	,062	,494	,235	1,035
	DutchANDfourrightistvalues	,499	,610	,669	1	,413	1,647	,498	5,447
	Constant	-1,901	,151	157,715	1	<,001	,149		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Being politically right-winged, DutchANDfourrightistvalues.

For H7: The effect of having materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender

THEOEDUCATION materialpriorities

DutchANDmaterialist.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,132	,022		5,864	<,001		
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,075	,014	-,100	-5,234	<,001	,947	1,056
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,040	,015	,049	2,604	,009	,963	1,038
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,002	,009	,005	,271	,786	,968	1,034
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,028	,015	-,034	-1,828	,068	,973	1,028
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,025	,013	,035	1,865	,062	,987	1,013
	Theoretical education	,027	,014	,038	1,977	,048	,961	1,041
	Having materialist political priorities	,079	,055	,035	1,440	,150	,574	1,743
	DutchANDmaterialist	-,081	,084	-,024	-,964	,335	,563	1,776

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION materialpriorities

DutchANDmaterialist

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (materialpriorities)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2262,875 ^a	,018	,033

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7,022	8	,534

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,670	,133	25,518	1	<,001	,512	,395	,664
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,418	2	,492			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,174	,153	1,285	1	,257	1,190	,881	1,607
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,079	,154	,265	1	,606	1,082	,801	1,463
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,299	,122	5,970	1	,015	1,348	1,061	1,713
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,168	,110	2,341	1	,126	1,182	,954	1,466
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,265	,137	3,709	1	,054	,768	,586	1,005
	Theoretical education (1)	,202	,114	3,115	1	,078	1,224	,978	1,531
	Having materialist political priorities(1)	,553	,372	2,206	1	,137	1,738	,838	3,604
	DutchANDmaterialist	-,536	,723	,549	1	,459	,585	,142	2,415
	Constant	-1,946	,152	164,630	1	<,001	,143		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Having materialist political priorities, DutchANDmaterialist.

For H8: The effect of having post-materialist political priorities on odds of street protest participation is negative for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender

THEOEDUCATION Havingpostmatpriorities

DutchANDpostmaterialist.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,133	,022		5,923	<,001		
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,074	,014	-,099	-5,187	<,001	,940	1,064
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,039	,015	,047	2,502	,012	,965	1,037
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,002	,009	,005	,262	,793	,969	1,032
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,028	,015	-,034	-1,810	,070	,972	1,029
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,024	,013	,034	1,804	,071	,986	1,014
	Theoretical education	,025	,013	,034	1,819	,069	,966	1,035
	Having post-materialist political priorities	,056	,037	,033	1,510	,131	,733	1,364
	DutchANDpostmaterialist	-,034	,073	-,010	-,472	,637	,723	1,383

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Havingpostmatpriorities

DutchANDpostmaterialist

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Havingpostmatpriorities)=Indicator(1)
 /PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2263,396 ^a	,018	,033

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	6,019	8	,645

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,666	,133	25,075	1	<,001	,514	,396	,667
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,279	2	,528			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,166	,153	1,169	1	,280	1,180	,874	1,593
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,078	,154	,255	1	,613	1,081	,800	1,460
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,287	,122	5,510	1	,019	1,332	1,048	1,693
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,165	,110	2,265	1	,132	1,179	,951	1,462
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,262	,137	3,634	1	,057	,770	,588	1,007
	Theoretical education (1)	,184	,114	2,606	1	,106	1,202	,961	1,503
	Having post-materialist political priorities(1)	,323	,259	1,548	1	,213	1,381	,831	2,297
	DutchANDpostmaterialist	-,231	,675	,117	1	,733	,794	,211	2,984
	Constant	-1,932	,151	163,589	1	<,001	,145		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Having post-materialist political priorities, DutchANDpostmaterialist.

For H9: *The effect of having conservative, cultural or nationalistic political priorities on odds of street protest participation is positive for Dutch youth, relative to youth of comparable countries with larger protest populations*

Test for multicollinearity:

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA COLLIN TOL

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY d1r1 d13.1 Gender

THEOEDUCATION cultconsnatiopriorities

DutchANDcultconsnat.

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	,135	,022		6,002	<,001		
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1	-,080	,014	-,107	-5,557	<,001	,937	1,068
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1)	,039	,015	,048	2,538	,011	,964	1,037
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES	,003	,009	,006	,331	,741	,969	1,032
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0)	-,028	,015	-,034	-1,821	,069	,973	1,028
	Man (0) or Women (1)	,024	,013	,035	1,858	,063	,984	1,016
	Theoretical education	,026	,013	,036	1,927	,054	,968	1,033
	Having cultural, conservative or nationalistic political priorities	-,063	,050	-,032	-1,276	,202	,537	1,862
	DutchANDcultconsnat	,098	,073	,035	1,344	,179	,524	1,908

a. Dependent Variable: Taken part in a street protest / demonstration

Test for interaction effect:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION cultconsnatiopriorities

DutchANDcultconsnat

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)
 /CONTRAST (cultconsnatiopriorities)=Indicator(1)
 /PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2262,884 ^a	,018	,033

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7,478	8	,486

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,711	,134	28,324	1	<,001	,491	,378	,638
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,296	2	,523			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,169	,153	1,224	1	,269	1,185	,877	1,599
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,087	,154	,321	1	,571	1,091	,807	1,474
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,290	,122	5,632	1	,018	1,336	1,052	1,698
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,169	,110	2,364	1	,124	1,184	,955	1,467
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,263	,137	3,668	1	,055	,769	,587	1,006
	Theoretical education (1)	,193	,114	2,859	1	,091	1,212	,970	1,515
	Having cultural, conservative or nationalistic political priorities(1)	-,550	,477	1,328	1	,249	,577	,227	1,470
	DutchANDcultconsnat	,900	,684	1,734	1	,188	2,460	,644	9,392
	Constant	-1,915	,151	160,287	1	<,001	,147		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Having cultural, conservative or nationalistic political priorities, DutchANDcultconsnat.

Appendix E: Exploratory test results that were significant at the $P < 0.2$ level

SPSS command and output ‘opposing the EU’:

```
LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested
/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1
THEOEDUCATION opposedEU
Dutch*opposedEU
/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (opposedEU)=Indicator(1)
/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20)
CUT(0.5).
```

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2076,075 ^a	,018	,031

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	4,214	8	,837

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,743	,141	27,781	1	<,001	,475	,361	,627
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			,460	2	,795			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,105	,158	,442	1	,506	1,111	,814	1,515
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,087	,157	,303	1	,582	1,090	,801	1,484
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,252	,128	3,840	1	,050	1,286	1,000	1,654
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,143	,114	1,593	1	,207	1,154	,924	1,442
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,218	,141	2,396	1	,122	,804	,610	1,060
	Theoretical education (1)	,178	,119	2,244	1	,134	1,194	,947	1,507
	opposed to the idea of EU(1)	-,103	,290	,127	1	,721	,902	,511	1,591
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1) by opposed to the idea of EU(1)	1,031	,506	4,155	1	,042	2,804	1,040	7,555
	Constant	-1,820	,155	137,091	1	<,001	,162		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , opposed to the idea of EU, non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 * opposed to the idea of EU .

SPSS command and output: 'The protection of human rights, democracy and peace':

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVewithoutfamily menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION q101 Dutch*q101

/CONTRAST (LIVewithoutfamily)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (q101)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2254,516 ^a	,021	,038

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	11,311	8	,185

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,279	,177	2,480	1	,115	,756	,534	1,071
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			,855	2	,652			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,136	,154	,788	1	,375	1,146	,848	1,549
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,065	,154	,180	1	,672	1,068	,789	1,444
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,289	,122	5,580	1	,018	1,335	1,050	1,697
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,168	,110	2,337	1	,126	1,183	,954	1,468
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,276	,138	4,021	1	,045	,759	,579	,994
	Theoretical education (1)	,178	,115	2,408	1	,121	1,195	,954	1,497
	The protection of human rights, democracy and peace(1)	,281	,126	4,933	1	,026	1,324	1,034	1,696
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1) by The protection of human rights, democracy and peace(1)	-,806	,262	9,493	1	,002	,447	,267	,746
	Constant	-2,040	,158	165,877	1	<,001	,130		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , The protection of human rights, democracy and peace, non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 * The protection of human rights, democracy and peace .

SPSS command and output for prioritizing 'rising prices, cost of living':

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

```

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1
THEOEDUCATION q202 Dutch*q202
/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)
/CONTRAST (q202)=Indicator(1)
/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)
/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

```

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2259,868 ^a	,019	,035

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7,275	8	,507

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	-,426	,170	6,244	1	,012	,653	,468	,912
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,277	2	,528			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,163	,154	1,127	1	,288	1,178	,871	1,592
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,070	,154	,207	1	,650	1,073	,793	1,451
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,293	,122	5,732	1	,017	1,340	1,055	1,702
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,185	,110	2,849	1	,091	1,203	,971	1,491
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,262	,137	3,635	1	,057	,769	,588	1,007
	Theoretical education (1)	,191	,114	2,826	1	,093	1,211	,969	1,514
	Q202 Rising prices, cost of living(1)	,048	,127	,146	1	,702	1,050	,819	1,345
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1) by Q202 Rising prices, cost of living(1)	-,554	,263	4,425	1	,035	,575	,343	,963
	Constant	-1,946	,156	156,521	1	<,001	,143		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , Q202 Rising prices, cost of living, non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 * Q202 Rising prices, cost of living .

SPSS command and output for 'having at least one leftist value':

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Anyleftistvalue

Anyleftistvalue*Dutch

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Anyleftistvalue)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2260,227 ^a	,019	,035

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7,357	8	,499

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	,892	,972	,841	1	,359	2,439	,363	16,398
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,247	2	,536			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,166	,153	1,171	1	,279	1,180	,874	1,594
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,084	,154	,296	1	,586	1,087	,805	1,469
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,289	,122	5,605	1	,018	1,336	1,051	1,697
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,172	,109	2,478	1	,115	1,188	,959	1,472
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,268	,137	3,810	1	,051	,765	,584	1,001
	Theoretical education (1)	,180	,114	2,493	1	,114	1,197	,957	1,498
	At least one leftist value (1)	1,061	,601	3,117	1	,077	2,890	,890	9,384
	At least one leftist value (1) by non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	-1,600	,981	2,659	1	,103	,202	,030	1,381
	Constant	-2,961	,610	23,534	1	<,001	,052		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , At least one leftist value, At least one leftist value * non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 .

SPSS command and output for ‘being at least somewhat politically right-winged’:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Threerightistvalues

Dutch*Threerightistvalues

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Threerightistvalues)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2261,152 ^a	,019	,034

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	11,457	8	,177

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1)	-,794	,152	27,444	1	<,001	,452	,336	,608
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,273	2	,529			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,169	,153	1,219	1	,269	1,184	,877	1,600
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,091	,154	,352	1	,553	1,096	,811	1,481
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,287	,122	5,521	1	,019	1,333	1,049	1,693
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,168	,110	2,321	1	,128	1,183	,953	1,468
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,265	,137	3,725	1	,054	,767	,586	1,004
	Theoretical education (1)	,201	,114	3,122	1	,077	1,223	,978	1,529
	Being somewhat politically right-winged(1)	-,282	,171	2,725	1	,099	,755	,540	1,054
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1(1) by Being somewhat politically right-winged(1)	,519	,304	2,927	1	,087	1,681	,927	3,047
	Constant	-1,884	,153	151,241	1	<,001	,152		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1), Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education, Being somewhat politically right-winged, non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 * Being somewhat politically right-winged.

SPSS command and output for ‘at least one materialist values’:

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES Protested

/METHOD=ENTER Dutch d1r1 LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY menvswomen d13.1

THEOEDUCATION Atleastone

Atleastone*Dutch

/CONTRAST (LIVEWITHOUTFAMILY)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d13.1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (menvswomen)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (THEOEDUCATION)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Dutch)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (d1r1)=Indicator(1)

/CONTRAST (Atleastone)=Indicator(1)

/PRINT=GOODFIT CI(95)

/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2260,571 ^a	,019	,034

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9,591	8	,295

Variables in the Equation

Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
	non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	-,058	,362	,026	1	,872	,943	,464	1,917
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES			1,157	2	,561			
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(1)	,157	,153	1,054	1	,304	1,170	,867	1,581
	AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES(2)	,073	,154	,227	1	,634	1,076	,796	1,454
	Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) (1)	,296	,122	5,857	1	,016	1,344	1,058	1,709
	Man (0) or woman (1)(1)	,175	,109	2,550	1	,110	1,191	,961	1,476
	Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0) (1)	-,257	,138	3,502	1	,061	,773	,590	1,012
	Theoretical education (1)	,192	,114	2,854	1	,091	1,212	,970	1,515
	One or more materialist values(1)	,291	,174	2,786	1	,095	1,338	,951	1,882
	One or more materialist values(1) by non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 (1)	-,716	,387	3,418	1	,064	,489	,229	1,044
	Constant	-2,166	,210	106,642	1	<,001	,115		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1, AGE RECODED - 3 CATEGORIES, Household with family, spouse (0) or friends, flatmates, alone (1) , Man (0) or woman (1), Rural (1) or Non-Rural (0), Theoretical education , One or more materialist values, One or more materialist values * non-Dutch 0 Dutch 1 .