

Appendix A: Survey question wording, measurement, and recoding

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
Information channels	1	Via which channels have you heard about the Climate strikes of "Youth for Climate"? Indicate all information channels which apply to you.	1. Radio or television 2. Newspaper(s) (print or online) 3. <i>(value 3 was recoded to 10 to match survey 2/3/4)</i> 4. Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters 5. Partner, family or relatives 6. Friends or acquaintances 7. People in school 8. (Fellow) members of an organization or association 9. Via an organization (meeting, magazine, website, mailing list, ...) 10. Online social media (e.g. Facebook or Twitter)	Respondents who indicated more than one channel were shown a follow-up question asking them to pick the single most important channel among those indicated.
	2/3/4	How did you find out about the demonstration? Was it via: (check as many as apply).	1. Radio or television 2. Newspaper(s) (print or online) 3. Alternative online media 4. Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters 5. Partner and/or family 6. Friends and/or acquaintances 7. People at your school or work 8. (Fellow) members of an organization or association 9. An organization (magazine, meeting, website, mailing list, ...) 10. Online social media like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram (not personal messages)	Since the answer options are (practically) identical across survey 1 to 4, this variable was merged into one uniform variable when we combined the datasets. Dummies made: Main info channel: organizational coded 1 if the indicated channel was 8 or 9.
	5/6	(not asked)		Main info channel: social media coded 1 if the indicated channel was 10.

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
Organizational embeddedness	1	Can you indicate whether you were a member of any of the following types of organizations in the past few months?	Not a member (0) – Member (1): 1. Youth organization (scouts, chiro, ksa, ...) 2. Political party or its youth organization 3. Sport club 4. Cultural organization (music-, theatre school, ...) 5. Environmental organization 6. Civil society organization (peace organization, women's organization, ...) 7. Others (specify)	We kept the variables in their original state when we combined the datasets. This means we had a unique variable for each dataset-source, which we used to construct our dummies. We ignored the distinction between passive and active membership (both recoded into 1: member).
	2/3	If you have been involved in any of the following types of organizations in the past 12 months, please indicate whether you are a passive member or an active member	Not a member (0) – Passive/financial member (1) – Active member (1): 1. School council 2. Youth organization 3. Church or religious organization 4. Student organization 5. Trade union or professional association 6. Political party or its youth organization 7. Women's organization 8. Sport or cultural organization 9. Environmental organization 10. Lesbian or gay rights organization 11. Community or neighborhood association 12. Charity or humanitarian organization 13. Third world, global justice or peace organization 14. Anti-racist or Migrant organization 15. Human or civil rights organization 16. Other	Dummies made: Member of an environmental NGO: coded 1 if 'Environmental organization' was indicated. Not a member of any political organization: coded 1 if respondent was not a member of any of the following answer options: - Political party (youth org.) - Environmental org. - Trade union - Civil society org. - Women's organization - Lesbian or gay rights... - Third world... - Anti-racist... - Charity or humanitarian... - Human or civil rights...

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
	4	Can you indicate whether you were a passive or active member of any of the following types of organizations in the past few months?	1. Church or religious organization 2. Trade union or professional association 3. Political party 4. Women's organization 5. Sport or cultural organization 6. Environmental organization 7. Lesbian or gay rights organization 8. Community or neighborhood association 9. Charity or humanitarian organization 10. Third world, global justice or peace organization 11. Anti-racist or Migrant organization 12. Human or civil rights organization 13. Other (specify)	(see above)
	5/6	(not asked)		
Gender	1/2/3	Are you...?	1. Female 2. Male 3. Prefer not to answer (put on missing)	For surveys 1/2/3 we recoded male = 1 and female = 2 so that we have a uniform gender variable before combining the datasets.
	4	Are you...?	1. Male 2. Female	Dummy made: Female (0/1)
	5/6	(gender was indicated by the interviewer)	1. Male 2. Female 3. (missing)	
Age	All	(calculated based on year of birth and year of interview)		

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
Categorized education level	1	You go to...?	1. Primary school 2. Secondary school: technical 3. Secondary school: professional 4. Secondary school: general 5. Secondary school: art 6. Higher education: professional bachelor 7. Higher education: academic bachelor 8. Higher education: master	1 was coded into the category Low 2-5 into Middle 6-8 into High
&				For the educational orientation of youngsters, we grouped as follows: 2, 3, 5 into TSO, BSO, KSO 4 into ASO 6 into Professional bachelor 7, 8 into University
Educational orientation youngsters (<26)	2/3/4	What is the highest level of education that you completed? If you are a student, at what level are you currently studying?	1. Not completed primary education 2. Primary, basic, and special primary 3. Lower secondary vocational 4. Lower secondary general education 5. Higher secondary vocational/technical 6. Higher secondary general education 7. Higher education, short type (HOKT) 8. Higher education, long type (HOLT) 9. University education 10. Doctoral and postdoctoral education	1-2 into Low 3-6 into Middle 7-10 into High 3, 5 into TSO, BSO, KSO 4, 6 into ASO 7 into Professional bachelor 8, 9 into University
	5/6	What is the highest level of education that you have completed successfully?	1. Niet voltooid lager onderwijs 2. Getuigschrift Basisonderwijs 3. Lager beroepsonderwijs, Lager technisch onderwijs 4. Getuigschrift van de eerste graad secundair onderwijs; Diploma van het lager algemeen secundair onderwijs 5. Studiegetuigschrift van secundair onderwijs (na 6e jaar BSO), Diploma van het hoger secundair beroepsonderwijs <i>(continued)</i>	The country-specific education variables in the ESS datasets evolve over time (given the longitudinal character of the ESS). We use the following variables (original ESS names): <i>edlvbe</i> , <i>edlvabe</i> , <i>edlvdbe</i> , <i>edlvebe</i> .

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
			6. Studiegetuigschrift van het 3de leerjaar van de 3de graad TSO, KSO of BSO; 4de graad BSO; Diploma 'Ondernemersopleiding' 7. Diploma van het secundair onderwijs (na 7e jaar BSO) 8. Diploma van het secundair onderwijs (TSO of KSO); Diploma van het hoger secundair technisch (of kunst) onderwijs 9. Diploma van het secundair onderwijs (ASO), Diploma van het hoger algemeen secundair onderwijs 10. Secundair onderwijs voorbereidend jaar op het hoger onderwijs 11. Certificaat van schakelprogramma of voorbereidingsprogramma 12. Diploma hogeschoolonderwijs van 1 cyclus: graduaat of professionele bachelor; Voortgezette opleiding volgend op hogeschool 13. Universitair diploma van kandidaat of academische bachelor 14. Diploma hogeschoolonderwijs van 2 cycli: licentiaat of master; Diploma van industrieel ingenieur 15. Voortgezette opleiding volgend op hogeschoolonderwijs van 2 cycli: postgraduaat of master-na-master 16. Universitair diploma van licentiaat of master; Diploma van doctor, ingenieur (universitair), apotheker, arts 17. Master-na-master (universiteit); Postgraduaat; Gediplomeerde in de aanvullende studies 18. Doctoraat; post-doctoraat	<p>The response options shown (in Dutch) are those for <i>edlvebe</i>, which has the most exhaustive list of response options.</p> <p>We grouped <i>edlvebe</i> as follows (the other <i>edl/v</i>-variables are grouped along the same logic):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1-3 into Low 4-11 into Middle 12-18 into High <p>For the educational orientation of youngsters, we grouped as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5, 6, 7, 8 into TSO, BSO, KSO 4, 9, 10, 11 into ASO 12 into Professional bachelor 13-17 into University
Political interest	1/2/3/4	How interested are you in politics?	1. Not at all 2. Not very 3. Quite 4. Very much	Recoded into the same direction before combining the datasets with one uniform political interest-variable

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
	5/6	How interested would you say you are in politics – Are you...	1. Very interested 2. Quite interested 3. Hardly interested 4. Not at all interested	(see above)
Talking politics	1/2/3/4	When you get together with your friends, relatives or fellow workers, how often do you discuss politics?	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often 5. Very often	In survey 1, the survey question did not include 'or fellow workers'.
	5/6	(not asked)		
Political positioning	All	In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?	11-pt scale with 0 = Left, 10 = Right All surveys had 'Don't know' option (missing) Survey 2/3 also had 'To me, this categorization is meaningless' option (missing)	
Party preference	1	Suppose you are able to vote during the elections on the 26th of May 2019, on which party would you vote?	(List of all contemporary Belgian political parties)	Dummy made: Greenvote coded 1 if respondent would vote for either 'Ecolo' or 'Groen'.

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
	2/3	(Did you vote in Belgium's latest national election?) For which party did you vote?	(List of all contemporary Belgian political parties)	Dummy made: Greenvote coded 1 if respondent would vote for either 'Ecolo' or 'Groen'.
	4	(Did you vote in the last regional elections of the 7th of June 2009?) For which party did you vote?	(List of all contemporary Belgian political parties)	(see above)
	5/6	For which party did you vote in the latest election?	(List of all contemporary Belgian political parties)	(see above)
Demonstration experience	1/4	How many times have you in the past taken part in a demonstration?	1. Never 2. 1 to 5 3. 6 to 10 4. 11 to 20 5. 21+	Dummy recoded by merging category 1 & 2 (=1) and 3 to 4 (0).
	2/3	Not including your participation in the Global Climate Strike (20 Sept), how many...	1. Never 2. 1 to 5 3. 6 to 10 4. 11 to 20 5. 21+	

Variable	Survey N°	Survey question	Response options	Remarks & recoding procedure
		...times have you in the past taken part in a demonstration?		
	5/6	(not asked)		
Democratic satisfaction	All	In general, how satisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in Belgium?	11-pt scale with 0 = Very dissatisfied, 10 = Very satisfied	

Appendix B: Non-response bias analysis

The non-response analysis was conducted by comparing those F2F interview respondents that answered the online survey (1s) with those F2F respondents that did not (0s). By linking the ID numbers of the F2F respondents to the ID numbers of the online survey respondents, it was possible to separate both groups. In a first step, in the table below, a bivariate analysis was made for each relevant variable of the F2F questionnaire. For none of the variables, significance tests reach the 0.05 threshold.

	F2F + online			Cramer's V /	p-value
	F2F only respondents	survey respondents	All respondents	T-test	
Dit artikel uit Politieke studies is gepubliceerd door de auteur en is bestemd voor een monieme bezoeker					
Female (%)					
March	58	52	57	-0.05	0.59
Sept	46	37	44	-0.08	0.38
Age (mean)					
March	33	37	34	-1.34	0.18
Sept	40	42	41	-0.47	0.64
Age: Adolescents (%)					
March	22	16	25	-0.05	0.52
Sept	7	13	9	0.08	0.34
Education: Ongoing or completed tertiary education (%)					
March	70	72	71	0.02	0.86
Sept	80	84	81	0.04	0.60
Education: Is a pupil or student (%)					
March	46	40	45	-0.05	0.58
Sept	22	19	22	-0.03	0.73
Political interest: Quite or very much (%)					
March	81	96	84	0.16	0.06
Sept	83	97	86	0.16	0.06
Protest experience: Fewer than six times (%)					
March	58	44	56	-0.11	0.19
Sept	41	29	38	-0.10	0.24
Time of decision: Decided to take part in protest a few weeks or over a month ago (%)					
March	62	68	63	0.05	0.56
Sept	54	65	56	0.09	0.29
Satisfaction with democracy in one's country, mean value (0=very dissatisfied; 10=very satisfied)					
March	5.1	5.6	5.2	-1.05	0.29
Sept	4.8	4.7	4.7	0.21	0.83

Appendix C: Significance tests corresponding to Figure 2, 3, and 4

Table (Fig2): Information channels and organizational embeddedness
 (pairwise comparison post hoc ANOVA)

	Contrast	Std. Err.	Bonferroni t (P>t)
Main info channel: organizational			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	-,5048212	,0294536	-17,14 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	-,375861	,0361288	-10,40 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	-,2279365	,035014	-6,51 (0,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	,1289602	,0360153	3,58 (0,002)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	,2768847	,0348969	7,93 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,1479245	,0406887	3,64 (0,002)
Main info channel: social media			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,5972408	,0322569	18,52 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,2353998	,0395673	5,95 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	,3009524	,0383464	7,85 (0,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,3618409	,0394431	-9,17 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,2962884	,0382182	-7,75 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,0655526	,0445612	1,47 (0,850)
Member of an environmental NGO			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	-,294462	,037269	-7,90 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	-,1423307	,0459791	-3,10 (0,012)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	-,0908996	,0444975	-2,04 (0,248)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	,1521313	,046443	3,28 (0,007)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	,2035624	,0449767	4,53 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,0514311	,0524214	0,98 (1,000)
Not a member of any political organization			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,5473571	,0325285	16,83 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,2238294	,0415315	5,39 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	,1667157	,0402222	4,14 (0,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,3235276	,040468	-7,99 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,3806413	,0391231	-9,73 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	-,0571137	,0468762	-1,22 (1,000)

Table (Fig3): Socio-demographics
(pairwise comparison post hoc ANOVA)

			Bonferroni
	Contrast	Std. Err.	t (P>t)
Share of female participants			
COP 2009 vs BE demo'rs	,0243222	,0309588	0,79 (1,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs BE demo'rs	,1805418	,0298788	6,04 (0,000)
GCS March vs BE demo'rs	,0368593	,0426419	0,86 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs BE demo'rs	,0426865	,0411434	1,04 (1,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,1562197	,0376944	4,14 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,0125371	,0484402	0,26 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	,0183644	,0471265	0,39 (1,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,1436825	,0477572	-3,01 (0,027)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,1378553	,0464242	-2,97 (0,030)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,0058272	,0555049	0,10 (1,000)

	Age groups					Total
	Adolescents (<19)	Early emergent adults (19-25)	Gen Y (26-39)	Gen X (40-55)	Baby Boomers <th data-kind="ghost"></th>	
BE pop	88 5.36	174 10.59	348 21.18	417 25.38	616 37.49	1643 100.00
BE demo'rs	55 4.86	166 14.66	266 23.50	397 35.07	248 21.91	1132 100.00
COP 2009	6 1.81	41 12.35	84 25.30	120 36.14	81 24.40	332 100.00
YfC Jan-Feb	284 77.17	70 19.02	6 1.63	6 1.63	2 0.54	368 100.00
GCS March	34 20.48	20 12.05	28 16.87	43 25.90	41 24.70	166 100.00
GCS Sept	23 12.57	19 10.38	38 20.77	46 25.14	57 31.15	183 100.00
Total	490 12.81	490 12.81	770 20.14	1029 26.91	1045 27.33	3824 100.00

First row has frequencies and second row has row percentages

Pearson's χ^2 (20, $N = 3824$) = 1800, $p < 0.001$

Cramer's V = 0.3386

Table (Fig3) Categorized education level

	Low	Middle	High	Total
BE pop	336 20.51	742 45.30	560 34.19	1638 100.00
BE demo'rs	110 9.67	558 49.03	470 41.30	1138 100.00
COP 2009	3 0.90	65 19.46	266 79.64	334 100.00
YfC Jan-Feb	3 0.84	294 82.35	60 16.81	357 100.00
GCS March	3 1.95	40 25.97	111 72.08	154 100.00
GCS Sept	3 1.79	29 17.26	136 80.95	168 100.00
Total	458 12.09	1728 45.61	1603 42.31	3789 100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *row percentages*

Pearson's χ^2 (10, $N = 3789$) = 685, $p < 0.001$

Cramer's V = 0.3007

Table (Fig3)

Educational orientation youngsters (<26)

	TSO BSO KSO	ASO	Professional bachelor	University	Total
BE pop	398 30.73	344 26.56	317 24.48	236 18.22	1295 100.00
BE demo'rs	323 31.76	235 23.11	211 20.75	248 24.39	1017 100.00
COP 2009	32 10.74	33 11.07	87 29.19	146 48.99	298 100.00
YfC Jan-Feb	45 12.71	249 70.34	20 5.65	40 11.30	354 100.00
GCS March	8 5.76	32 23.02	23 16.55	76 54.68	139 100.00
GCS Sept	6 4.17	23 15.97	21 14.58	94 65.28	144 100.00
Total	812 25.01	916 28.21	679 20.91	840 25.87	3247 100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *row percentages*

Pearson's χ^2 (15, $N = 3247$) = 713, $p < 0.001$

Cramer's V = 0.27

Table (Fig4): Political attitudes and behavior
 (pairwise comparison post hoc ANOVA)

			Bonferroni
	Contrast	Std. Err.	t (P>t)
Share 'quite' or 'very' politically interested			
COP 2009 vs BE demo'rs	,2018323	,0269364	7,49 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs BE demo'rs	,2012768	,0276347	7,28 (0,000)
GCS March vs BE demo'rs	,138604	,037042	3,74 (0,002)
GCS Sept vs BE demo'rs	,1981278	,035656	5,56 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	-,0005555	,0341051	-0,02 (1,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,0632283	,0420903	-1,50 (1,000)
Bijdrage uit Nederlandse en buitenlandse jongeren en ouders voor een bezoek aan de politieke kantoor van de burgemeester voor anonieme bezoeker			
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	-,0037045	,0408758	-0,09 (1,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,0626728	,0425405	-1,47 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,003149	,0413393	-0,08 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,0595238	,0481391	1,24 (1,000)
Talk politics			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,029036	,0661924	0,44 (1,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	-,073879	,0821245	-0,90 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	,0461085	,0793993	0,58 (1,000)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,102915	,0829514	-1,24 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	,0170724	,0802542	0,21 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,1199875	,0938283	1,28 (1,000)
Left-right scale			
COP 2009 vs BE demo'rs	-1,230301	,1336216	-9,21 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs BE demo'rs	-1,216166	,1373946	-8,85 (0,000)
GCS March vs BE demo'rs	-1,703739	,1965478	-8,67 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs BE demo'rs	-1,835183	,1906732	-9,62 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,0141359	,1694824	0,08 (1,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	-,4734375	,2201773	-2,15 (0,317)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	-,6048814	,2149495	-2,81 (0,049)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,4875734	,2224873	-2,19 (0,285)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,6190173	,217315	-2,85 (0,044)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	-,1314439	,2588041	-0,51 (1,000)
Share vote green			
COP 2009 vs BE demo'rs	,4388788	,0274737	15,97 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs BE demo'rs	,5199834	,0295482	17,60 (0,000)
GCS March vs BE demo'rs	,5236464	,0440243	11,89 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs BE demo'rs	,610948	,0406164	15,04 (0,000)
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,0811046	,0348283	2,33 (0,200)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,0847676	,047729	1,78 (0,759)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	,1720692	,044605	3,86 (0,001)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	,003663	,0489525	0,07 (1,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	,0909646	,0459119	1,98 (0,477)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,0873016	,0563289	1,55 (1,000)

Table (Fig4): Political attitudes and behavior (continued)

(pairwise comparison post hoc ANOVA)

	Contrast	Std. Err.	Bonferroni t (P>t)
Share respondents fewer 6 demonstrations			
YfC Jan-Feb vs COP 2009	,4627238	,0347557	13,31 (0,000)
GCS March vs COP 2009	,0760554	,0428143	1,78 (0,456)
GCS Sept vs COP 2009	-,1041394	,0415839	-2,50 (0,075)
GCS March vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,3866683	,0432117	-8,95 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs YfC Jan-Feb	-,5668632	,0419929	-13,50 (0,000)
GCS Sept vs GCS March	,1801948	,0488724	-3,69 (0,001)