Online Appendix for “Pulling the Strings? The Strategic Use of Pro-Government Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes”

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Figure A1: Distribution of the monthly number of pro-regime rallies (N = 8,454). X-axis truncated at 10 for purposes of readability.
|                                | N   | Mean | St. Dev. | Min | Max |
|--------------------------------|-----|------|----------|-----|-----|
| Pro-government rallies         | 8,886 | 0.23 | 1.49     | 0   | 51  |
| GDP per capita (log, lag)      | 8,886 | 8.19 | 1.18     | 5.49| 11.05|
| GDP growth (log, lag)          | 8,886 | 0.04 | 0.07     | −0.66| 0.62|
| Population size (log, lag)     | 8,886 | 16.37| 1.37     | 13.37| 21.03|
| State violence (lag)           | 8,886 | 3.11 | 0.91     | 1   | 5   |
| Leader age                     | 8,886 | 61.66| 11.36    | 29  | 91  |
| Leader tenure (log)            | 8,886 | 4.60 | 1.12     | 0.69| 6.38|
| Pro-government rallies (binary)| 8,886 | 0.09 | 0.28     | 0   | 1   |
| Anti-regime protest events (lag)| 8,886 | 1.62 | 5.47     | 0   | 161 |
| Terrorist event (lag)          | 8,886 | 0.18 | 0.38     | 0   | 1   |
| Violent conflict event (lag)   | 8,886 | 0.17 | 0.38     | 0   | 1   |
| Pre-election period            | 8,886 | 0.07 | 0.25     | 0   | 1   |
| Post-election period           | 8,886 | 0.09 | 0.28     | 0   | 1   |
| Pre-coup period                | 8,886 | 0.01 | 0.07     | 0   | 1   |
| Post-coup period               | 8,886 | 0.01 | 0.09     | 0   | 1   |
| Anti-regime protest participants (log, lag) | 8,886 | 2.09 | 3.34 | 0 | 15.11 |
| Regional anti-regime protest (lag) | 8,886 | 0.62 | 1.45 | 0 | 26.40 |
| Coup risk (lag)                | 8,886 | 0.17 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 3.89 |
| Media attention (lag)          | 8,886 | 0.50 | 0.92 | 0 | 17 |
| Polity2                         | 8,830 | −2.78| 4.71    | −10 | 8   |
| Coercive capacity (centered, lag) | 7,055 | 0.004| 0.53  | −2.75| 2.54|

**Table A1:** Summary statistics for relevant variables.
|                                | Model A1   | Model A2   | Model A3   | Model A4   | Model A5   | Model A6   |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Anti-regime protest events (lag) | 0.02***    | 0.02***    | 0.01***    | 0.01***    | 0.01***    | 0.01***    |
|                                | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     |
| Anti-regime protest participants (lag) | 0.00†      | 0.00†      | 0.00       | 0.01       | 0.00       | 0.00       |
|                                | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     |
| Regional anti-regime protest (lag) | 0.01*      | 0.01*      | 0.01*      | 0.01*      | 0.01†      | 0.01       |
|                                | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     |
| Pre-election period            | 0.12***    | 0.11***    | 0.11***    | 0.12***    | 0.13***    | 0.13***    |
|                                | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     |
| Post-election period           | −0.01      | −0.01      | −0.01      | −0.02      | 0.01       | −0.02      |
|                                | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.02)     | (0.01)     |
| Coup risk (lag)                | 0.10***    | 0.10***    | 0.09**     | 0.05†      | 0.09**     |
|                                | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     | (0.03)     |
| Violent conflict event (lag)   | −0.00      | 0.01       | −0.01      | 0.01       |
|                                | (0.02)     | (0.02)     | (0.02)     | (0.02)     |
| Terrorist event (lag)          | 0.04*      | 0.03       | 0.01       | 0.04*      |
|                                | (0.02)     | (0.02)     | (0.02)     | (0.02)     |
| State violence (lag)           | 0.01       | 0.01       | 0.01       |
|                                | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     |
| Leader tenure (lag)            | 0.01       | −0.02      | 0.00       | −0.00      |
|                                | (0.01)     | (0.02)     | (0.02)     | (0.01)     |
| Leader age                     | −0.00      | 0.01       | 0.00       |
|                                | (0.00)     | (0.00)     | (0.00)     |
| GDP per capita (log, lag)      | −0.04      | −0.04      | −0.05      |
|                                | (0.04)     | (0.03)     | (0.04)     |
| GDP growth (lag)               | −0.09      | −0.12†     | −0.13      |
|                                | (0.06)     | (0.06)     | (0.08)     |
| Population size (log, lag)     | −0.04      | −0.03      | −0.05      |
|                                | (0.04)     | (0.05)     | (0.05)     |
| Media attention (lag)          | 0.01       | 0.00       | 0.00       |
|                                | (0.01)     | (0.01)     | (0.01)     |
| Coercive capacity (centered)   | −0.00      |            |            |
|                                | (0.01)     |             |            |
| Anti-regime (domestic) X       | 0.00       |            |            |
| Coercive capacity              | (0.00)     |             |            |
| Anti-regime (regional) X       | 0.03       |            |            |
| Coercive capacity              | (0.02)     |             |            |
| R²                             | 0.30       | 0.30       | 0.30       | 0.37       | 0.43       | 0.33       |
| Adj. R²                        | 0.29       | 0.29       | 0.29       | 0.36       | 0.38       | 0.32       |
| Num. obs.                      | 8,999      | 8,999      | 8,886      | 8,886      | 8,999      | 7,055      |
| RMSE                           | 0.29       | 0.29       | 0.29       | 0.28       | 0.27       | 0.28       |

**Table A2:** Robustness checks. Logged count OLS. Standard errors clustered at the country level. Dependent variable: Logged number of pro-government rallies (constant (one) added). Time lags depend on measurement interval. Time polynomials omitted from table. Significance levels: ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05; †p < 0.1.
| Model | Coefficient (Standard Error) | Coefficient (Standard Error) | Coefficient (Standard Error) | Coefficient (Standard Error) | Coefficient (Standard Error) | Coefficient (Standard Error) |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|       | Anti-regime protest events (lag) | 0.01* (0.00) | 0.01* (0.00) | 0.01* (0.00) | 0.01*** (0.00) | 0.01** (0.00) |
|       | Anti-regime protest participants (log, lag) | 0.10*** (0.02) | 0.09*** (0.02) | 0.08*** (0.02) | 0.09*** (0.02) | 0.05** (0.02) |
|       | Regional anti-regime protest (lag) | 0.08*** (0.01) | 0.08*** (0.01) | 0.07*** (0.01) | 0.07*** (0.01) | 0.04† (0.01) |
|       | Pre-election period | 0.85*** (0.17) | 0.80*** (0.17) | 0.79*** (0.17) | 0.80*** (0.17) | 0.84*** (0.16) |
|       | Post-election period | 0.01 (0.11) | 0.06 (0.11) | 0.06 (0.11) | 0.05 (0.11) | 0.07 (0.17) |
|       | Pre-coup period | 1.19** (0.42) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Post-coup period | 0.52† (0.27) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Coup risk (lag) | 0.73*** (0.12) | 0.77*** (0.12) | 0.73** (0.12) | 0.44* (0.12) | 0.80*** (0.12) |
|       | Violent conflict event (lag) | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.01) |
|       | Terrorist event (lag) | 0.12 (0.11) | 0.09 (0.11) | 0.05 (0.11) | 0.10 (0.11) | 0.07 (0.11) |
|       | State violence (lag) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.01 (0.10) | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.06 (0.10) | 0.07 (0.10) |
|       | Leader tenure (log) | 0.09 (0.07) | -0.19 (0.07) | -0.09 (0.07) | -0.09 (0.07) | -0.00 (0.07) |
|       | Leader age | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.08† (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.10 (0.01) |
|       | GDP per capita (log, lag) | -0.65** (0.23) | -0.50* (0.21) | -0.65** (0.21) | -0.50* (0.21) | -0.71** (0.21) |
|       | GDP growth (lag) | -0.68 (0.90) | -1.22 (0.90) | -1.23 (0.90) | -1.23 (0.90) | -1.30 (0.90) |
|       | Population size (log, lag) | 0.11 (0.75) | 0.40 (0.77) | 0.33 (0.77) | 0.33 (0.77) | 0.33 (0.77) |
|       | Media attention (lag) | 0.06 (0.06) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.06) | 0.04 (0.06) |
|       | Coercive capacity (centered) | 0.09 (0.09) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Anti-regime (domestic) X | 0.00 (0.00) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Coercive capacity | 0.00 (0.00) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Anti-regime (regional) X | 0.09** (0.04) |             |             |             |             |
|       | Coercive capacity | 0.09 (0.04) |             |             |             |             |

Table A3: Robustness checks. Conditional logistic regression models. Standard errors clustered at the country level. Dependent variable: Occurrence of one or more pro-government rallies. Time lags depend on measurement interval. Time polynomials omitted from table. Significance levels: *** p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05; † p < 0.1.
Table A4: Robustness checks. Linear probability models. Standard errors clustered at the country level. Dependent variable: Occurrence of one or more pro-government rallies. Time lags depend on measurement interval. Time polynomials omitted from table. Significance levels: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; † p < 0.1.

|                          | Model A13 | Model A14 | Model A15 | Model A16 | Model A17 | Model A18 |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Anti-regime protest events (lag) | 0.01***   | 0.01***   | 0.01***   | 0.01***   | 0.01***   | 0.01***   |
|                          | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    |
| Anti-regime protest participants (log, lag) | 0.01**    | 0.01**    | 0.01*     | 0.01*     | 0.00      | 0.01*     |
|                          | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    |
| Regional anti-regime protest (lag) | 0.01**    | 0.01**    | 0.01**    | 0.01**    | 0.01      | 0.00      |
|                          | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    |
| Pre-election period       | 0.11***   | 0.10***   | 0.10***   | 0.10***   | 0.10***   | 0.11***   |
|                          | (0.02)    | (0.02)    | (0.02)    | (0.02)    | (0.02)    | (0.02)    |
| Post-election period      | 0.00      | -0.00     | -0.01     | -0.01     | 0.01      | -0.01     |
|                          | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |
| Pre-coup period           | 0.12†     |           |           |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.06)    |           |           |           |           |           |
| Post-coup period          | 0.08      |           |           |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.06)    |           |           |           |           |           |
| Coup risk (lag)           | 0.09**    | 0.08**    | 0.08**    | 0.05†     | 0.08**    |           |
|                          | (0.03)    | (0.03)    | (0.03)    | (0.01)    | (0.03)    |           |
| Violent conflict event (lag) | -0.00    | 0.01      | -0.00     | 0.01      |           |           |
|                          | (0.02)    | (0.02)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |           |           |
| Terrorist event (lag)     | 0.03*     | 0.01      | 0.00      | 0.03*     |           |           |
|                          | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |           |           |
| State violence (lag)      | 0.01      | 0.00      |           | 0.00      |           |           |
|                          | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |           | (0.01)    |           |           |
| Leader tenure (log)       | 0.00      | -0.02†    | -0.00     | -0.01     |           |           |
|                          | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |           |           |
| Leader age                | -0.00     | 0.01*     | 0.00      |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.00)    | (0.00)    | (0.00)    |           |           |           |
| GDP per capita (log, lag) | -0.03     | -0.05*    | -0.07†    |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.03)    | (0.02)    | (0.03)    |           |           |           |
| GDP growth (lag)          | -0.05     | -0.09     | -0.12*    |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.05)    | (0.05)    | (0.06)    |           |           |           |
| Population size (log, lag) | 0.03      | -0.00     | -0.02     |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.02)    | (0.03)    | (0.03)    |           |           |           |
| Media attention (lag)     | 0.00      | 0.00      | 0.00      |           |           |           |
|                          | (0.01)    | (0.01)    | (0.01)    |           |           |           |
| Coercive capacity (centered) | 0.00      |           | 0.00      |           |           |           |
|                          |           |           | (0.01)    |           |           |           |
| Anti-regime (domestic) X  | 0.00*     |           |           |           |           |           |
| Coercive capacity         | (0.00)    |           |           |           |           |           |
| Anti-regime (regional) X  | 0.01      |           |           |           |           |           |
| Coercive capacity         | (0.01)    |           |           |           |           |           |

R²        | 0.07  | 0.08  | 0.08  | 0.07  | 0.40  | 0.10  |
Adj. R²   | 0.06  | 0.07  | 0.07  | 0.05  | 0.34  | 0.09  |
Num. obs. | 8,999 | 8,999 | 8,886 | 8,886 | 8,999 | 7,055 |
| Country                        | Start    | End       |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| Afghanistan                   | 2009-01-01 | 2014-06-01 |
| Algeria                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Angola                        | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Armenia                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Azerbaijan                    | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Bahrain                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Bangladesh (1)                | 2007-01-01 | 2008-12-31 |
| Bangladesh (2)                | 2014-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Belarus                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Botswana                      | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Burkina Faso                  | 2003-01-01 | 2014-10-31 |
| Burundi (1)                   | 2003-01-01 | 2003-04-30 |
| Burundi (2)                   | 2013-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Cambodia                      | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Cameroon                      | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Central African Republic      | 2003-03-01 | 2014-30-01 |
| Chad                          | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| China                         | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Congo (Brazzaville)           | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Cuba                          | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Democratic Rep. of the Congo  | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Egypt (1)                     | 2003-01-01 | 2012-08-30 |
| Egypt (2)                     | 2013-07-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Eritrea                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Ethiopia                      | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Gabon                         | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Gambia                        | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Georgia                       | 2003-01-01 | 2003-11-30 |
| Guinea                        | 2003-01-01 | 2010-01-30 |
| Guinea-Bissau (1)             | 2003-01-01 | 2003-09-30 |
| Guinea-Bissau (2)             | 2012-04-01 | 2014-05-31 |
| Haiti                         | 2003-01-01 | 2004-02-29 |
| Iran                          | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Ivory Coast                   | 2003-01-01 | 2011-04-30 |
| Jordan                        | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Kazakhstan                    | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Kuwait                        | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Kyrgyzstan                    | 2003-01-01 | 2010-05-31 |
| Laos                          | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Liberia                       | 2003-01-01 | 2003-08-30 |
| Libya                         | 2003-01-01 | 2011-09-31 |
| Madagascar                    | 2009-03-01 | 2012-12-31 |
| Malaysia                      | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Mali                          | 2013-01-01 | 2013-08-30 |
| Mauritania                    | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Morocco                       | 2003-01-01 | 2015-12-31 |
| Country               | Start of Period | End of Period |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Mozambique           | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Myanmar              | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Namibia              | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Nepal                | 2003-01-01      | 2006-04-24    |
| Niger                | 2010-02-19      | 2011-03-02    |
| North Korea          | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Oman                 | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Pakistan             | 2003-01-01      | 2008-08-30    |
| Russia               | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Rwanda               | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Saudi Arabia         | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Singapore            | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| South Sudan          | 2011-07-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Sri Lanka            | 2013-01-01      | 2015-01-30    |
| Sudan                | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Swaziland            | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Syria                | 2003-01-01      | 2012-12-31    |
| Tajikistan           | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Tanzania             | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Thailand (1)         | 2006-09-01      | 2007-12-31    |
| Thailand (2)         | 2014-05-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Togo                 | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Tunisia              | 2003-01-01      | 2011-01-30    |
| Turkmenistan         | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Uganda               | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| United Arab Emirates | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Uzbekistan           | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Venezuela            | 2005-12-04      | 2015-12-31    |
| Vietnam              | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |
| Yemen                | 2003-01-01      | 2012-12-31    |
| Zambia               | 2003-01-01      | 2011-09-30    |
| Zimbabwe             | 2003-01-01      | 2015-12-31    |

*Table A5: Country-periods in the MMAD*