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Societal pessimism: A study of its conceptualization, causes, correlates and consequences

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Publication date

2016

Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Steenvoorden, E. H. (2016). *Societal pessimism: A study of its conceptualization, causes, correlates and consequences*.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table A1 Description of independent variables in Table 3.6 and 3.7^a

Variable	Exact item wording
Educational level	Low: pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO) Medium: vocational degree (HAVO, VWO, MBO) High: professional or university degree (HBO, WO)
Satisfied with personal financial situation	How satisfied are you with your personal financial situation? ^b
Satisfied with health	How satisfied are you with your health? ^b
Satisfied with daily activity	How satisfied are you with your main daily activity (job, studies, other activity)? ^b
Positive self	In general, I think very positively about myself ^c
No control over things that happen	I have little control over what happens to me ^c
Does volunteering	How many hours a week do you engage in volunteering; unpaid work for an organization or association? ^d
Supports people outside household	How many hours a week do you provide help to people outside your household? ^d
Reads tabloid newspaper regularly	Which newspapers do you read regularly? (answer: Telegraaf)
Reads quality newspaper regularly	Which newspapers do you read regularly? (answer: NRC Handelsblad, de Volkskrant, Trouw)
Uses Internet regularly	To what extent do you use the Internet to follow national political news? ^e
People should rely less on welfare	People in our country should rely less on welfare and be more self-reliant ^c
Difference between rich and poor too large	The difference between rich and poor has become too large in the Netherlands ^c
Sentences too lenient	In general, sentences in the Netherlands are too lenient ^c
Less immigrants would be appealing	The Netherlands would be a more appealing country if there were fewer immigrants ^c
Introducing the euro a bad thing	It is a bad thing that the gulden has been replaced by the euro ^c
Country is losing its character	Because of immigration and open borders, the Netherlands is in danger of losing its character ^c
Membership in EU good thing	Dutch membership in the EU is a good thing ^c
Satisfaction with national economy	How satisfied are you with the Dutch economy? ^b
Trust in Parliament	How much do you trust the national Parliament right now? ^b
Politics too complicated for me	National politics is often too complicated for me to understand ^c

Table A1 (Continued)

Variable	Exact item wording
People like me have no influence	People like me have no influence on what the government does ^c
Voting	If there were to be national Parliamentary elections at this moment, would you vote for? If yes: Which party would you probably vote for?

a Don't know answers are treated as missing values and listwise deleted in the regression analyses.

b The original scale 1-10. Answers 1 thru 5 are coded as 0, 6 thru 10 as 1.

c The original scale is 1-5, (fully disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, fully agree). Answers 1 thru 3 are coded as 0, 4 and 5 as 1.

d The original scale is 1-40 hours with the extra option "not at all". The latter is treated as 0, any hours is treated as 1.

e The original scale is 1 to 4 (not at all, seldom, regularly, many times). Answers 1 and 2 are coded as 0, 3 and 4 as 1.

Appendix B

Table B1 Detailed coding (bold letters refer to categories in Table 4.3)^a

	Societal pessimists ^b	Most societally uneasy ^c
Theoretical model:		
distrust in human capability	0	0
loss of ideology	3	4
decline of political power	5	10
decline of community	20	24
increasing socioeconomic vulnerability	16	18
resentment	3	8
Inductive codes:		
politics:		
competence, one-liners, polarization	7	9
this cabinet, Rutte, wrong cabinet	7	8
Wilders/PVV/populism	5	1
policy (no decisiveness, much disagreement)	3	3
policy (not my party, disagree with policies)	2	3
“politics does not listen to the people”	2	5
economic crisis and austerity measures:		
budget cuts in general	8	10
economy, economic crisis	8	6
unemployment	6	8
“too much attention to the economy”	3	6
housing market	3	3
banks	2	1
poverty and income inequality:		
rising costs, less money to spend		
bonuses, greedy rich and (hoge heren)	7	10
difference between rich and poor	5	6
poverty, minimum income group, (voedselbanken)	4	8
“budget cuts hit too much the poorest/(Jan Modaal)”	4	5
EU and foreign affairs:		
EU/Europe: European leaders, expansion, Eastern Europeans	3	3
euro: introduction, rising prices because of the euro, euro crisis	3	5
too much money to Greece, other EU countries, Third World	4	6
immigration and integration:		
immigrants	8	10
anti-immigrant sentiments/policy	2	3
Islam	1	1

Table B1 (Continued)

	Societal pessimists ^b	Most societally uneasy ^c
criminality and safety: (also low sentences, soft police)	12	19
nature and culture: (too much austerity, too little attention)	3	2
pension (rising age, lower allowance)	3	2
healthcare and education (too many cuts)	3	2
angry	4	8
Other:		
media	2	1
elderly (care, position off)	2	6
Dutch identity disappearing	2	1
youth (less respect)	1	1
managers versus employees	1	2
people on benefits (uitkeringstrekkers)	1	0
diverse (unclear)	9	10
a feeling that things are heading in the wrong direction	2	2

a These are not mutually exclusive codes because 1) the large majority of respondents raise multiple issues and 2) terms often refer to multiple issues simultaneously. b N= 663 c N=105

Appendix C

Table C1-1 Cross-national differences in societal pessimism, (Model 1 and 2) 2006-2012^{ab}

		Model 1				Model 2			
		pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
		B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)
Individual level: controls									
gender (male)		0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)	0.21	(.01)	0.19	(.01)
age (40-54)	15-24	-0.21	(.02)	-0.20	(.03)	-0.20	(.02)	-0.20	(.03)
	25-39	-0.10	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)	-0.10	(.01)	-0.11	(.02)
	55+	-0.17	(.01)	-0.09	(.02)	-0.16	(.01)	-0.09	(.02)
education (medium)	low	0.24	(.01)	0.13	(.02)	0.23	(.01)	0.11	(.02)
	high	-0.30	(.01)	-0.18	(.01)	-0.30	(.01)	-0.19	(.01)
	student	-0.37	(.02)	-0.27	(.03)	-0.37	(.02)	-0.27	(.03)
employment status (employed)	unemployed	0.44	(.02)	0.17	(.02)	0.43	(.02)	0.15	(.02)
	other	0.02	(.01)	0.03	(.02)	0.01	(.01)	0.02	(.02)
community (small town)	rural village	0.04	(.01)	0.02	(.01)	0.04	(.01)	0.02	(.01)
	large town	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)
Individual level: attitudes									
life satisfaction									
economic negative expectation									
political distrust									
Country level: political									
mean net EU benefit		-0.09	(.07)	0.01	(.06)				
EMU (no euro)	new	-0.44	(.17)	0.26	(.13)				
	established	0.16	(.15)	0.50	(.12)				
changes government 2000-2011		0.13	(.04)	0.09	(.03)				
early elections 2000-2011		-0.61	(.25)	0.45	(.19)				
mean elections		0.18	(.77)	-0.68	(.60)				
mean corruption		-0.19	(.05)	-0.16	(.04)				
Country level: economic									
mean change social benefits						0.22	(.11)	0.28	(.09)
Missing values (five countries, see footnote 8)						-0.63	(.22)	-0.31	(.16)
mean GDP growth						0.13	(.22)	0.19	(.19)
mean unemployment						0.06	(.03)	0.02	(.03)
mean inflation						0.04	(.06)	0.01	(.06)

Table C1-1 (Continued)

	Model 1				Model 2			
	pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
	B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)
Wave dummies (2012/4)								
2006/3	-0.71	(.12)	-0.32	(.09)	-0.56	(.13)	-0.23	(.09)
2007/3	-0.72	(.12)	-0.34	(.09)	-0.70	(.12)	-0.32	(.09)
2008/1	-0.63	(.12)	-0.26	(.09)	-0.61	(.12)	-0.23	(.09)
2008/4	-0.37	(.12)	-0.19	(.09)	-0.35	(.12)	-0.16	(.09)
2009/1	-0.01	(.12)	0.02	(.09)	0.00	(.12)	0.04	(.09)
2009/2	-0.25	(.12)	-0.08	(.09)	-0.24	(.12)	-0.05	(.09)
2009/4	-0.38	(.12)	-0.15	(.09)	-0.37	(.12)	-0.12	(.09)
2010/2	-0.30	(.12)	-0.09	(.09)	-0.29	(.12)	-0.08	(.09)
2010/4	-0.29	(.12)	-0.21	(.09)	-0.28	(.12)	-0.19	(.09)
2011/2	-0.34	(.12)	-0.23	(.09)	-0.33	(.12)	-0.22	(.09)
2011/4	0.06	(.12)	0.05	(.09)	0.05	(.12)	0.04	(.09)
2012/2	-0.32	(.12)	-0.13	(.09)	-0.32	(.12)	-0.12	(.09)
Constant	1.56	(.49)	0.07	(.38)	0.17	(.28)	-0.52	(.25)
explained variance country level			69%		75%		23%	

a Multinomial multilevel analysis with three levels. reference category = optimists.

b B-coefficients are log odds. Bold coefficients are significant with $p < .05$. For individual coefficients. two-sided significance tests are performed. for macro coefficients one-sided significance test are performed.

Table C1-2 Cross-national differences in societal pessimism (Model 3 and 4), 2006-2012^{ab}

		Model 3				Model 4			
		pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
		B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)
Individual level: controls									
gender (male)		0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)	0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)
age (40-54)	15-24	-0.21	(.02)	-0.20	(.03)	-0.08	(.02)	-0.15	(.03)
	25-39	-0.10	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)	-0.05	(.01)	-0.10	(.01)
	55+	-0.17	(.01)	-0.09	(.02)	-0.11	(.01)	-0.05	(.02)
education (medium)	low	0.24	(.01)	0.13	(.02)	0.18	(.01)	0.10	(.02)
	high	-0.30	(.01)	-0.18	(.01)	-0.18	(.01)	-0.13	(.01)
	student	-0.37	(.02)	-0.27	(.03)	-0.16	(.03)	-0.19	(.03)
employment status (employed)	unemployed	0.44	(.02)	0.17	(.02)	0.21	(.02)	0.04	(.02)
	other	0.02	(.01)	0.03	(.02)	-0.01	(.01)	0.02	(.02)
community (small town)	rural village	0.03	(.01)	0.02	(.01)	0.03	(.01)	0.01	(.01)
	large town	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.03	(.01)
Individual level: attitudes									
life satisfaction						0.85	(.01)	0.50	(.01)
economic negative expectation						1.20	(.01)	0.43	(.01)
political distrust						1.64	(.01)	0.93	(.01)

Table C1-2 (Continued)

		Model 3				Model 4			
		pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
		B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)	B	(SE)
Country level: political									
mean net EU benefit									
EMU (no euro)	new	-0.41	(.17)	0.26	(.14)	-0.29	(.16)	0.36	(.14)
	established	0.15	(.16)	0.46	(.13)	0.26	(.15)	0.55	(.13)
changes government 2000-2011		0.13	(.04)	0.09	(.03)	0.11	(.04)	0.07	(.03)
early elections 2000-2011		-0.49	(.27)	0.37	(.21)	-0.60	(.24)	0.35	(.22)
mean elections									
mean corruption		-0.13	(.05)	-0.17	(.04)	0.02	(.04)	-0.12	(.04)
Country level: economic									
mean change social benefits		0.04	(.09)	0.04	(.07)	-0.10	(.08)	-0.05	(.07)
Missing values (five countries, see footnote 8)		-0.64	(.22)	-0.32	(.16)	-0.64	(.19)	-0.35	(.15)
mean GDP growth									
mean unemployment		0.02	(.02)	-0.01	(.02)	0.01	(.02)	-0.02	(.02)
mean inflation									
Wave dummies (2012/4)									
2006/3		-0.57	(.13)	-0.25	(.09)	-0.42	(.11)	-0.18	(.09)
2007/3		-0.71	(.12)	-0.35	(.09)	-0.54	(.10)	-0.28	(.08)
2008/1		-0.63	(.12)	-0.27	(.09)	-0.72	(.10)	-0.31	(.08)
2008/4		-0.37	(.12)	-0.20	(.09)	-0.50	(.10)	-0.26	(.08)
2009/1		0.00	(.12)	0.00	(.09)	-0.07	(.10)	0.00	(.08)
2009/2		-0.25	(.12)	-0.09	(.09)	-0.18	(.10)	-0.07	(.08)
2009/4		-0.37	(.12)	-0.16	(.09)	-0.34	(.10)	-0.17	(.08)
2010/2		-0.29	(.12)	-0.09	(.09)	-0.21	(.10)	-0.08	(.08)
2010/4		-0.28	(.12)	-0.21	(.09)	-0.16	(.10)	-0.18	(.08)
2011/2		-0.34	(.12)	-0.23	(.09)	-0.09	(.10)	-0.11	(.08)
2011/4		0.06	(.12)	0.04	(.09)	0.00	(.10)	0.01	(.08)
2012/2		-0.32	(.12)	-0.13	(.09)	-0.31	(.10)	-0.12	(.08)
Constant		0.93	(.55)	0.11	(.43)	-2.43	(.50)	-1.33	(.45)
explained variance country level			69%		72%		62%		72%

a Multinomial multilevel analysis with three levels. reference category = optimists.

b B-coefficients are log odds. Bold coefficients are significant with $p < .05$. For individual coefficients, two-sided significance tests are performed, for macro coefficients one-sided significance test are performed.

Table C2-1 Longitudinal differences in societal pessimism explained (Model 1 and 2), 2006-2012^{ab}

		Model 1				Model 2			
		pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
		B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Individual level: controls									
gender (male)		0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)	0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)
age (40-54)	15-24	-0.21	(.02)	-0.21	(.03)	-0.21	(.02)	-0.21	(.03)
	25-39	-0.10	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)	-0.10	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)
	55+	-0.18	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)	-0.18	(.01)	-0.11	(.02)
education (medium)	low	0.25	(.01)	0.14	(.02)	0.25	(.01)	0.14	(.02)
	high	-0.31	(.01)	-0.19	(.01)	-0.31	(.01)	-0.19	(.01)
	student	-0.37	(.02)	-0.27	(.03)	-0.38	(.03)	-0.27	(.03)
employment status (employed)	unemployed	0.45	(.02)	0.18	(.02)	0.46	(.02)	0.18	(.02)
	other	0.01	(.01)	0.03	(.02)	0.01	(.01)	0.03	(.02)
community (small town)	rural village	0.04	(.01)	0.03	(.01)	0.04	(.01)	0.02	(.01)
	large town	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)
Individual level: attitudes									
life satisfaction									
economic negative expectation									
political distrust									
Country level: political									
centered net EU benefit		-0.12	(.05)	-0.02	(.03)				
centered changes government		0.06	(.07)	0.08	(.05)				
centered early elections		-0.23	(.10)	0.02	(.07)				
centered elections		0.14	(.08)	-0.03	(.06)				
centered corruption		-0.04	(.09)	0.13	(.06)				
Country level: economic									
centered change social benefits						0.00	(.02)	-0.02	(.01)
Missing values (five countries, see footnote 8)						-0.40	0.20	-0.20	0.14
centered GDP growth						-0.15	(.03)	-0.06	(.02)
centered unemployment						0.06	(.01)	0.04	(.01)
centered inflation						0.04	(.02)	-0.01	(.01)
Wave dummies (2012/4)									
2006/3		-0.74	(.12)	-0.33	(.08)	-0.28	(.12)	-0.11	(.09)
2007/3		-0.75	(.12)	-0.35	(.08)	-0.35	(.12)	-0.12	(.09)
2008/1		-0.68	(.12)	-0.29	(.08)	-0.28	(.12)	-0.05	(.09)
2008/4		-0.41	(.12)	-0.23	(.08)	-0.21	(.12)	-0.06	(.09)
2009/1		-0.02	(.12)	0.01	(.08)	-0.11	(.12)	0.06	(.09)
2009/2		-0.27	(.12)	-0.09	(.08)	-0.60	(.14)	-0.13	(.10)
2009/4		-0.41	(.12)	-0.16	(.08)	-0.45	(.11)	-0.11	(.08)
2010/2		-0.29	(.12)	-0.08	(.08)	-0.16	(.12)	-0.05	(.08)
2010/4		-0.29	(.12)	-0.22	(.08)	-0.15	(.12)	-0.17	(.08)
2011/2		-0.32	(.12)	-0.22	(.08)	-0.18	(.11)	-0.21	(.08)
2011/4		0.09	(.12)	0.07	(.08)	0.19	(.11)	0.07	(.08)
2012/2		-0.33	(.12)	-0.11	(.08)	-0.31	(.11)	-0.10	(.08)

Table C2-1 (Continued)

	Model 1				Model 2			
	pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
country dummies (France)								
Belgium	-0.24	(.16)	0.61	(.11)	-0.14	(.15)	0.76	(.11)
Netherlands	-0.68	(.22)	0.66	(.15)	-0.44	(.16)	1.13	(.11)
Germany	-0.86	(.17)	0.37	(.12)	-0.73	(.15)	0.55	(.11)
Italy	0.11	(.27)	1.52	(.18)	0.22	(.15)	1.25	(.11)
Luxembourg	-1.31	(.20)	-0.24	(.14)	-1.21	(.16)	0.10	(.12)
Denmark	-0.67	(.25)	-0.76	(.18)	-0.52	(.15)	-0.33	(.11)
Ireland	-0.20	(.17)	0.33	(.12)	-0.39	(.15)	0.36	(.11)
Great Britain	-0.24	(.17)	-0.42	(.12)	-0.17	(.15)	-0.21	(.11)
Spain	-0.01	(.17)	0.57	(.12)	-0.47	(.17)	0.21	(.12)
Portugal	-0.18	(.20)	0.89	(.14)	-0.45	(.15)	0.66	(.11)
Finland	-0.70	(.24)	-0.37	(.17)	-0.66	(.15)	-0.02	(.11)
Sweden	-1.11	(.25)	-0.86	(.17)	-1.12	(.15)	-0.55	(.11)
Austria	-1.14	(.18)	0.20	(.12)	-0.94	(.16)	0.54	(.11)
Czech Republic	-0.12	(.26)	0.91	(.18)	0.03	(.15)	0.78	(.11)
Estonia	-0.92	(.21)	0.33	(.15)	-1.32	(.16)	0.25	(.12)
Hungary	0.74	(.28)	1.40	(.19)	0.40	(.16)	1.07	(.11)
Latvia	0.37	(.31)	1.18	(.21)	-0.12	(.19)	0.79	(.14)
Lithuania	0.37	(.33)	0.94	(.23)	-0.07	(.17)	0.63	(.13)
Malta	-0.93	(.20)	0.52	(.14)	-0.78	(.15)	0.45	(.11)
Poland	-0.50	(.29)	0.27	(.20)	-0.54	(.16)	-0.04	(.11)
Slovakia	-0.76	(.28)	0.91	(.19)	-1.05	(.15)	0.43	(.11)
Slovenia	-0.31	(.17)	0.80	(.12)	-0.04	(.16)	0.91	(.11)
Constant	1.24	(.15)	-0.84	(.10)	0.90	(.14)	-0.99	(.10)
explained variance country level			7%		7%		16%	

a Multinomial multilevel analysis with three levels, reference category = optimists.

b B-coefficients are log odds. Bold coefficients are significant with $p < .05$. For individual coefficients, two-sided significance tests are performed, for macro coefficients one-sided significance test are performed.

Table C2-2 Longitudinal differences in societal pessimism explained (Model 3 and 4), 2006-2012^{ab}

		Model 3				Model 4			
		pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
		B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Individual level: controls									
gender (male)		0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)	0.22	(.01)	0.19	(.01)
age (40-54)	15-24	-0.21	(.02)	-0.21	(.03)	-0.08	(.02)	-0.16	(.03)
	25-39	-0.10	(.01)	-0.10	(.02)	-0.05	(.01)	-0.09	(.01)
	55+	-0.18	(.01)	-0.11	(.02)	-0.12	(.01)	-0.06	(.02)
education (medium)	low	0.25	(.01)	0.14	(.02)	0.19	(.01)	0.11	(.02)
	high	-0.31	(.01)	-0.19	(.01)	-0.18	(.01)	-0.13	(.01)
	student	-0.38	(.03)	-0.27	(.03)	-0.17	(.03)	-0.19	(.03)
employment status (employed)	unemployed	0.46	(.02)	0.18	(.02)	0.21	(.02)	0.04	(.02)
	other	0.01	(.01)	0.03	(.02)	0.00	(.01)	0.03	(.02)
community (small town)	rural village	0.04	(.01)	0.02	(.01)	0.03	(.01)	0.02	(.01)
	large town	-0.06	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.03	(.01)
Individual level: attitudes									
life satisfaction						0.87	(.01)	0.50	(.01)
economic negative expectation						1.23	(.01)	0.45	(.01)
political distrust						1.68	(.01)	0.96	(.01)
Country level: political									
centered net EU benefit		-0.16	(.05)	-0.08	(.03)	-0.06	(.04)	-0.03	(.03)
centered changes government									
centered early elections		-0.20	(.10)	0.00	(.07)	-0.16	(.08)	0.00	(.07)
centered elections		0.19	(.05)	0.02	(.04)	0.16	(.05)	0.01	(.04)
centered corruption									
Country level: economic									
centered change social benefits									
Missing values (five countries, see footnote 8)									
centered GDP growth		-0.15	(.03)	-0.06	(.02)	-0.12	(.03)	-0.05	(.02)
centered unemployment		0.07	(.01)	0.05	(.01)	0.06	(.01)	0.04	(.01)
centered inflation		0.02	(.02)	-0.01	(.01)	0.02	(.02)	-0.01	(.01)
Wave dummies (2012/4)									
2006/3		-0.40	(.12)	-0.16	(.08)	-0.28	(.10)	-0.11	(.08)
2007/3		-0.37	(.12)	-0.13	(.09)	-0.24	(.10)	-0.08	(.08)
2008/1		-0.30	(.12)	0.05	(.09)	-0.44	(.10)	-0.12	(.08)
2008/4		-0.23	(.12)	-0.07	(.09)	-0.37	(.10)	-0.15	(.08)
2009/1		-0.10	(.12)	0.07	(.09)	-0.13	(.10)	0.06	(.08)
2009/2		-0.60	(.13)	-0.13	(.01)	-0.42	(.12)	-0.08	(.09)
2009/4		-0.47	(.11)	-0.12	(.08)	-0.38	(.10)	-0.11	(.08)
2010/2		-0.19	(.11)	-0.09	(.08)	-0.12	(.10)	-0.08	(.08)
2010/4		-0.17	(.11)	-0.21	(.08)	-0.05	(.10)	-0.18	(.08)
2011/2		-0.17	(.11)	-0.19	(.08)	0.04	(.10)	-0.08	(.08)
2011/4		0.20	(.11)	0.09	(.08)	0.11	(.10)	0.04	(.08)
2012/2		-0.31	(.11)	-0.10	(.08)	-0.29	(.09)	-0.10	(.07)

Table C2-2 (Continued)

	Model 3				Model 4			
	pessimists		undecideds		pessimists		undecideds	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Country dummies (France)								
Belgium	-0.12	(.14)	0.77	(.11)	-0.10	(.13)	0.77	(.10)
Netherlands	-0.36	(.16)	1.17	(.11)	-0.28	(.13)	1.23	(.11)
Germany	-0.74	(.14)	0.57	(.10)	-0.67	(.12)	0.64	(.10)
Italy	0.26	(.15)	1.26	(.11)	0.04	(.13)	1.19	(.10)
Luxembourg	-1.14	(.15)	0.13	(.11)	-0.88	(.13)	0.31	(.11)
Denmark	-0.53	(.15)	-0.28	(.11)	0.13	(.13)	-0.03	(.11)
Ireland	-0.31	(.15)	0.41	(.11)	-0.63	(.13)	0.22	(.10)
Great Britain	-0.13	(.15)	-0.17	(.11)	-0.33	(.13)	-0.32	(.11)
Spain	-0.50	(.17)	0.22	(.12)	-0.40	(.14)	0.29	(.12)
Portugal	-0.21	(.16)	0.79	(.12)	-0.87	(.14)	0.50	(.12)
Finland	-0.66	(.14)	0.01	(.11)	-0.32	(.13)	0.15	(.10)
Sweden	-1.12	(.14)	-0.52	(.11)	-0.62	(.13)	-0.31	(.10)
Austria	-0.84	(.15)	0.59	(.11)	-0.61	(.13)	0.75	(.11)
Czech Republic	0.27	(.16)	0.90	(.12)	-0.39	(.14)	0.57	(.11)
Estonia	-0.91	(.21)	0.46	(.15)	-1.33	(.18)	0.25	(.15)
Hungary	0.84	(.20)	1.32	(.15)	0.19	(.17)	1.05	(.14)
Latvia	0.28	(.23)	0.98	(.17)	-0.47	(.20)	0.53	(.16)
Lithuania	0.54	(.25)	0.91	(.18)	-0.51	(.22)	0.30	(.18)
Malta	-0.62	(.16)	0.56	(.12)	-0.55	(.14)	0.70	(.11)
Poland	-0.22	(.18)	0.15	(.13)	-0.84	(.16)	-0.20	(.13)
Slovakia	-0.85	(.16)	0.53	(.12)	-1.17	(.14)	0.41	(.11)
Slovenia	0.11	(.16)	1.00	(.12)	-0.41	(.14)	0.76	(.11)
Constant	0.74	(.14)	-1.10	(.11)	-1.58	(.13)	-2.19	(.10)
explained variance country level			21%		13%		14%	

a Multinomial multilevel analysis with three levels, reference category = optimists.

b B-coefficients are log odds. Bold coefficients are significant with $p < .05$. For individual coefficients, two-sided significance tests are performed, for macro coefficients one-sided significance test are performed.

Appendix D

Table D1 Overview of Parties

Country	Radical Left	Mainstream Left	Mainstream Right	Populist Radical Right
Belgium	–	Socialist Party Differently (SP.A)	Christian-Democratic and Flemish (CD&V)	Flemish Interest (VB)
Switzerland	–	Social Democratic Party	FDP. The Liberals	Swiss People's Party (SVP)
Denmark	Red-Green Alliance	Social Democrats	Denmark's Liberal Party (Venstre)	Danish People's Party (DF)
Finland	Left Alliance (VAS)	Social Democratic Party	National Coalition Party	True Finns (PS)
France	Left Front (FDG) / Radical Left Party (PRG)	Socialist Party	Union for a Popular Movement (UMP)	National Front (FN)
Hungary	–	Hungarian Socialist Party	Fidesz	Jobbik
The Netherlands	Socialist Party (SP)	Labour (PvdA)	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)	Party for Freedom (PVV)
Norway	Socialist Left Party (VAS)	Social Democrats	Conservative Party (Høyre)	Progress Party (FrP)
Sweden	Left Party (VP)	Social Democratic Party	Moderate Party	Sweden Democrats (SD)

Table D2 Number of respondents per party

Country	Radical left	Mainstream Left	Mainstream Right	Populist Radical Right	Total
Belgium	–	143	195	47	385
Switzerland	–	187	123	181	491
Denmark	85	360	345	117	907
Finland	103	286	370	202	961
France	111	459	358	126	1.054
Hungary	–	229	633	73	935
Netherlands	142	352	361	96	951
Norway	71	436	305	132	944
Sweden	75	453	447	64	1.039
Total	587	2.905	3.137	1.038	7.667

Tabel D3 Polychoric correlation items on societal pessimism per country

	<i>r</i>
Belgium	.51
Switzerland	.44
Denmark	.46
Finland	.44
France	.40
Hungary	.47
Netherlands	.40
Norway	.40
Sweden	.42

Source: ESS 2012

Table D4 Full multinomial regression model of Table1 (reference category = RR voters)

	Radical Left		Mainstream Left		Mainstream Right	
Demographic characteristics						
gender (male)	-0.73***	(0.13)	-0.66***	(0.09)	-0.63***	(0.09)
age	-0.03	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)
age ²	0.00	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
city	-0.06	(0.13)	0.35***	(0.09)	0.09	(0.09)
religious attendance	0.09	(0.06)	-0.04	(0.04)	-0.21***	(0.04)
Socioeconomic characteristics						
educational level (medium)						
low educated	0.00	(0.18)	-0.09	(0.12)	-0.25*	(0.12)
high educated	1.03***	(0.19)	0.79***	(0.15)	0.54***	(0.15)
class (higher grade services)						
lower-grade services	-0.11	(0.22)	0.07	(0.17)	-0.37*	(0.17)
small business owners	-0.87**	(0.29)	-0.98***	(0.20)	-0.32	(0.19)
skilled workers	-0.28	(0.22)	-0.25	(0.16)	-0.80***	(0.16)
unskilled workers	-0.17	(0.25)	-0.36	(0.18)	-0.94***	(0.18)
place in society	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.03)	0.07*	(0.03)
income source (salary)						
pension	-0.31	(0.24)	0.11	(0.16)	0.02	(0.16)
unemployment benefit	0.60	(0.38)	0.09	(0.32)	0.23	(0.33)
other benefit	0.30	(0.30)	-0.11	(0.25)	-0.13	(0.27)
other	-0.61	(0.63)	-0.00	(0.41)	0.48	(0.39)
level of income	-0.05	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.08***	(0.02)
Attitudinal characteristics						
political interest	0.19*	(0.09)	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)
satisfaction with democracy	0.11	(0.08)	0.28***	(0.06)	0.35***	(0.06)
opposition to EU integration	0.04	(0.07)	-0.32***	(0.05)	-0.38***	(0.05)
opposition to immigration	-1.43***	(0.08)	-0.87***	(0.06)	-0.47***	(0.05)
importance attached to following rules	-0.04	(0.06)	0.01	(0.05)	0.00	(0.05)
satisfaction with life	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)
societal pessimism	0.14	(0.08)	0.06	(0.06)	-0.19**	(0.06)
Country (Denmark)						
Belgium	-17.05	(1023.52)	0.39	(0.24)	0.77**	(0.24)
Switzerland	-19.40	(1127.22)	-1.50***	(0.20)	-2.06***	(0.20)
Finland	-0.96***	(0.23)	-1.11***	(0.18)	-0.63***	(0.17)
France	0.36	(0.26)	0.72***	(0.20)	0.84***	(0.20)
Hungary	-16.64	(801.93)	0.77**	(0.26)	2.30***	(0.25)
Netherlands	0.55*	(0.25)	0.30	(0.20)	0.34	(0.20)
Norway	-0.77**	(0.25)	-0.16	(0.18)	-0.50**	(0.18)
Sweden	0.08	(0.27)	0.78***	(0.21)	0.92***	(0.21)
Constant	1.33	(0.87)	0.84	(0.63)	2.17***	(0.62)

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; Pseudo R² = .16; N=6417

Table D5 Mainstream Right versus Populist Radical Right voting, including country dummies.

	Model 1	Model 2
Demographic characteristics		
gender (male)	0,26***	0,27***
age	0,01	0,00
age ²	0,00	0,00
city	-0,02	-0,02
religious attendance	0,10***	0,10***
Socioeconomic characteristics		
educational level (medium)		
low educated	0,16**	0,16**
high educated	-0,23***	-0,23***
class (higher grade services)		
lower-grade services	0,13*	0,13
small business owners	0,12	0,11
skilled workers	0,35***	0,34***
unskilled workers	0,39***	0,38***
place in society	-0,02	-0,02
income source (salary)		
pension	-0,02	-0,02
unemployment benefit	-0,04	-0,04
other benefit	0,05	0,05
other	-0,15	-0,13
level of income	-0,03**	-0,02**
Attitudinal characteristics		
political interest	-0,02	-0,02
satisfaction with democracy	-0,13***	-0,12***
opposition to EU integration	0,18***	0,18***
opposition to immigration	0,23***	0,22***
importance attached to following rules	0,00	0,00
satisfaction with life	-0,01	0,00
societal pessimism		0,07**
Country (Belgium)		
Switzerland	1,09***	1,09***
Denmark	0,29**	0,31**
Finland	0,67***	0,68***
France	0,05	0,02
Hungary	-0,56***	-0,56***
Netherlands	0,15	0,15
Norway	0,47***	0,52***
Sweden	0,00	0,02
Pseudo R ²	27,8%	28,1%

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. N=3419, no constant presented because these are y-standardized coefficients.

Appendix E

Tabel E1 Polychoric correlation items on societal pessimism per country

	<i>r</i>
Austria	.48
Belgium	.47
Bulgaria	.43
Switzerland	.38
Cyprus	.49
Germany	.55
Denmark	.41
Spain	.32
Finland	.40
France	.42
United Kingdom	.44
Ireland	.36
Netherlands	.36
Norway	.34
Poland	.36
Portugal	.52
Sweden	.37
Slovenia	.40
Slovakia	.37

Source: ESS 2006

Table E2 Logistic regression analyses of three types of participation, full model^a

	Institutional political participation		Non-institutional political participation		Civic participation	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Demographic characteristics						
male	0.09*	(.04)	-0.46***	(.04)	0.35***	(.05)
age (18-34)						
* 35-54	0.18**	(.06)	-0.12*	(.06)	0.07	(.07)
*55+	0.31***	(.08)	-0.32***	(.08)	0.01	(.09)
City	-0.22***	(.04)	0.43***	(.05)	-0.26***	(.05)
marital status (married or partnership)						
* divorced or separated	0.01	(.07)	0.12	(.07)	-0.16*	(.08)
* widowed or partner died	-0.18	(.09)	-0.06	(.09)	0.13	(.10)
* single	-0.10	(.06)	0.25***	(.06)	-0.21**	(.07)
household size	0.02	(.02)	-0.05*	(.03)	0.10***	(.03)
children living at home	-0.13*	(.06)	0.04	(.07)	0.01	(.07)
attendance religious services	0.02	(.02)	-0.16***	(.02)	0.27***	(.02)
satisfaction with life	-0.01	(.01)	-0.03**	(.01)	0.03**	(.01)
Resources						
education (medium)						
* low	0.11	(.06)	-0.19**	(.06)	-0.04	(.06)
* high	0.10*	(.05)	0.05	(.05)	0.08	(.06)
source of income (profit/salary)						
* pension	0.06	(.07)	-0.16*	(.07)	0.06	(.08)
* unemployment benefit	0.37*	(.16)	-0.17	(.16)	-0.00	(.16)
* other benefit	0.32*	(.13)	-0.00	(.14)	-0.07	(.14)
* other	0.29*	(.14)	0.17	(.15)	-0.12	(.16)
Household's income	-0.05***	(.01)	0.00	(.01)	0.03*	(.01)
Political interest and efficacy						
ratio political news / all news	0.09	(.07)	0.08	(.08)	0.08	(.09)
political interest	0.31***	(.03)	0.17***	(.03)	-0.23***	(.03)
political efficacy	0.08***	(.01)	0.02	(.01)	-0.08***	(.01)
Societal outlook						
societal pessimism	-0.04	(.02)	0.12***	(.03)	-0.14***	(.03)
political trust	0.08**	(.03)	-0.18***	(.03)	0.06*	(.03)
social trust	-0.15***	(.03)	0.07**	(.03)	0.10***	(.03)
more than 1 type of participation	3.02***	(.05)	3.00***	(.04)	2.16***	(.06)
Country dummies (Austria)						
Belgium	-0.01	(.12)	0.66***	(.12)	-0.80***	(.16)
Bulgaria	0.50*	(.20)	-0.67**	(.22)	-0.42*	(.21)
Switzerland	-0.95***	(.12)	1.47***	(.13)	-0.95***	(.16)
Cyprus	0.91***	(.15)	-0.55***	(.16)	-0.84***	(.18)
Germany	-1.12***	(.11)	1.06***	(.11)	-0.39**	(.15)

Table E2 (Continued)

	Institutional political participation		Non-institutional political participation		Civic participation	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Denmark	-0.67***	(.12)	1.16***	(.12)	-0.85***	(.16)
Spain	-0.40**	(.13)	0.99***	(.13)	-0.53**	(.17)
Finland	-0.14	(.11)	1.01***	(.12)	-1.08***	(.15)
France	-0.52***	(.12)	1.36***	(.12)	-0.93***	(.15)
United Kingdom	-0.63***	(.12)	1.60***	(.12)	-1.09***	(.15)
Ireland	0.07	(.13)	0.38**	(.13)	-0.89***	(.18)
Netherlands	-0.59***	(.12)	0.36**	(.12)	-0.05	(.17)
Norway	0.04	(.11)	0.57***	(.11)	-0.30	(.17)
Poland	0.01	(.18)	0.35*	(.18)	-0.84***	(.20)
Portugal	0.16	(.16)	-0.70***	(.18)	0.26	(.20)
Sweden	-0.56***	(.11)	1.72***	(.12)	-1.46***	(.15)
Slovenia	-0.12	(.14)	-0.10	(.14)	-0.33	(.18)
Slovakia	-0.98***	(.16)	0.97***	(.15)	-0.45*	(.19)
Constant	-3.47***	(.19)	-1.94***	(.19)	1.20***	(.23)

a Coefficients are log odds. with * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix F

Table F1 Model 1: effects of sociotropic attitudes on multiple identification, including country and wave dummies^a

	low identifiers		single identifiers		dual identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.344***	(.035)	.240***	(.023)	.205***	(.013)
political distrust	.711***	(.044)	.535***	(.025)	.395***	(.013)
negative economic expectations	.211***	(.032)	.173***	(.022)	.156***	(.013)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.173**	(.062)	-.213***	(.040)	-.080***	(.023)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	.549**	(.193)	-.069	(.121)	-.192*	(.079)
The Netherlands	1.694***	(.195)	1.400***	(.119)	1.043***	(.084)
Germany West	.178	(.199)	-.034	(.117)	.155*	(.074)
Italy	-.373	(.218)	-.940***	(.144)	-.318***	(.083)
Luxembourg	.472	(.265)	-.257	(.181)	-.168	(.107)
Denmark	-.716*	(.334)	.211	(.136)	.804***	(.079)
Ireland	-.425	(.242)	-1.210***	(.172)	.105	(.082)
Great Britain	1.137***	(.203)	.784***	(.128)	1.058***	(.088)
Greece	-1.684***	(.334)	-1.568***	(.182)	.488***	(.078)
Spain	-.736**	(.248)	-.465***	(.134)	-.195*	(.083)
Portugal	-.687**	(.242)	-1.366***	(.169)	-.051	(.082)
Finland	.199	(.269)	.939***	(.127)	1.337***	(.082)
Sweden	-.079	(.264)	.289*	(.132)	.789***	(.080)
Austria	.339	(.232)	-.551***	(.162)	.674***	(.080)
Cyprus (Republic)	-.400	(.351)	.086	(.175)	.791***	(.106)
Czech Republic	.643***	(.189)	-.294*	(.127)	.126	(.080)
Estonia	.946***	(.214)	.785***	(.126)	.860***	(.083)
Hungary	-.421	(.216)	-.821***	(.138)	-.095	(.080)
Latvia	-.197	(.216)	-.463***	(.131)	-.155	(.081)
Lithuania	.413*	(.209)	.047	(.131)	.482***	(.083)
Malta	.266	(.302)	-.058	(.190)	.243*	(.114)
Poland	-2.074***	(.357)	-1.854***	(.185)	-.602***	(.084)
Slovakia	.290	(.208)	-.278*	(.133)	.254**	(.079)
Slovenia	-.277	(.218)	-.754***	(.139)	.009	(.079)
Constant	-2.700***	(.164)	-1.312***	(.093)	-.059	(.060)

a Multinomial regression, reference group = multiple identifiers, coefficients are log odds. N=38454
Controlled for country and wave dummies

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

Table F2 Model 2: effects of sociotropic uncertainty on multiple identification, including control variables and country and wave dummies^a

	low identifiers		single identifiers		dual identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.277***	(.037)	.223***	(.024)	.173***	(.014)
political distrust	.686***	(.047)	.508***	(.026)	.376***	(.014)
negative economic expectations	.146***	(.038)	.153***	(.026)	.116***	(.015)
Control variables:						
male	-.145*	(.064)	.002	(.043)	.087***	(.025)
age (40-54):						
15-24	.592***	(.128)	.418***	(.092)	.046	(.058)
25-39	.271***	(.082)	.211***	(.056)	-.024	(.034)
55+	-.441***	(.106)	-.295***	(.068)	-.010	(.037)
educational level (medium):						
education low	.040	(.106)	.042	(.072)	.184***	(.037)
education high	-.284***	(.082)	-.017	(.052)	-.289***	(.030)
students	.130	(.176)	.217	(.119)	-.221**	(.074)
occupation (employed):						
unemployed	.312**	(.107)	.240**	(.079)	.106*	(.051)
other	-.180	(.103)	-.180**	(.066)	-.038	(.036)
community (small town):						
rural	.085	(.076)	.083	(.049)	.118***	(.029)
large city	-.039	(.082)	-.317***	(.056)	-.164***	(.031)
Attitudes of personal uncertainty:						
life satisfaction	-.386***	(.033)	-.257***	(.024)	-.151***	(.014)
negative personal financial expectations	.126***	(.034)	.030	(.025)	.045**	(.015)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.202**	(.065)	-.254***	(.043)	-.073**	(.025)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	.584**	(.204)	.008	(.129)	-.178*	(.084)
The Netherlands	1.890***	(.208)	1.541***	(.130)	1.161***	(.092)
Germany West	.071	(.210)	.037	(.125)	.102	(.080)
Italy	-.667**	(.229)	-1.045***	(.152)	-.476***	(.088)
Luxembourg	.564*	(.279)	-.230	(.193)	-.190	(.115)
Denmark	-.427	(.340)	.380**	(.143)	.954***	(.085)
Ireland	-.485	(.249)	-1.166***	(.180)	.048	(.088)
Great Britain	1.210***	(.214)	.936***	(.137)	1.012***	(.094)
Greece	-2.151***	(.342)	-1.685***	(.190)	.370***	(.085)
Spain	-1.048***	(.263)	-.552***	(.142)	-.335***	(.088)
Portugal	-1.309***	(.255)	-1.732***	(.180)	-.391***	(.089)
Finland	.397	(.279)	1.071***	(.134)	1.400***	(.087)
Sweden	.175	(.274)	.479***	(.140)	.888***	(.085)
Austria	.136	(.243)	-.557***	(.168)	.517***	(.086)
Cyprus (Republic)	-.714	(.403)	.002	(.193)	.776***	(.116)
Czech Republic	.559**	(.199)	-.240	(.136)	.082	(.087)
Estonia	.694**	(.231)	.636***	(.139)	.721***	(.092)

Table F2 (Continued)

	low identifiers		single identifiers		dual identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Hungary	-.862***	(.227)	-.969***	(.148)	-.317***	(.087)
Latvia	-.487*	(.229)	-.740***	(.147)	-.276**	(.090)
Lithuania	.117	(.219)	-.137	(.141)	.395***	(.090)
Malta	.085	(.341)	-.128	(.220)	.002	(.132)
Poland	-2.203***	(.362)	-1.919***	(.195)	-.670***	(.089)
Slovakia	-.064	(.220)	-.441**	(.142)	.065	(.086)
Slovenia	-.392	(.228)	-.770***	(.147)	-.032	(.084)
Constant	-2.436***	(.190)	-1.207***	(.115)	.044	(.072)

a Multinomial regression, reference group = multiple identifiers, coefficients are log odds. N=34808
* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001

Table F3 Effects of sociotropic attitudes on multiple identification (reference group = dual identifiers)^a

	low identifiers		single identifiers		multiple identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.104**	(.036)	.051*	(.023)	-.173***	(.014)
political distrust	.310***	(.046)	.132***	(.026)	-.376***	(.014)
negative economic expectations	0.031	(.038)	0.037	(.025)	-.116***	(.015)
Control variables:						
male	-.233***	(.063)	-.085*	(.041)	-.087***	(.025)
age (40-54):						
15-24	.546***	(.125)	.372***	(.088)	-0.046	(.058)
25-39	.295***	(.081)	.235***	(.054)	0.024	(.034)
55+	-.431***	(.104)	-.285***	(.065)	0.01	(.037)
educational level (medium):						
education low	-0.144	(.104)	-.142*	(.069)	-.184***	(.037)
education high	0.005	(.081)	.272***	(.050)	.289***	(.030)
students	.351*	(.173)	.438***	(.115)	.221**	(.074)
occupation (employed):						
unemployed	.206*	(.104)	0.134	(.075)	-.106*	(.051)
other	-0.142	(.102)	-.142*	(.064)	0.038	(.036)
community (small town):						
rural	-0.033	(.075)	-0.035	(.047)	-.118***	(.029)
large city	0.125	(.081)	-.153**	(.055)	.164***	(.031)
Attitudes of personal uncertainty:						
life satisfaction	-.235***	(.032)	-.106***	(.023)	.151***	(.014)
negative personal financial expectations	.080*	(.033)	-0.015	(.024)	-.045**	(.015)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.129*	(.064)	-.181***	(.042)	.073**	(.025)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	.763***	(.203)	.186	(.129)	.178*	(.084)

Table F3 (Continued)

	low identifiers		single identifiers		multiple identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
The Netherlands	.729***	(.202)	.380**	(.122)	-1.161***	(.092)
Germany West	-.031	(.208)	-.064	(.124)	-.102	(.080)
Italy	-.191	(.228)	-.569***	(.152)	.476***	(.088)
Luxembourg	.754**	(.281)	-.040	(.197)	.190	(.115)
Denmark	-1.381***	(.338)	-.574***	(.140)	-.954***	(.085)
Ireland	-.532*	(.247)	-1.214***	(.179)	-.048	(.088)
Great Britain	.198	(.208)	-.076	(.128)	-1.012***	(.094)
Greece	-2.521***	(.340)	-2.055***	(.187)	-.370***	(.085)
Spain	-.713**	(.262)	-.217	(.141)	.335***	(.088)
Portugal	-.918***	(.253)	-1.341***	(.179)	.391***	(.089)
Finland	-1.002***	(.275)	-.328*	(.128)	-1.400***	(.087)
Sweden	-.713**	(.272)	-.408**	(.137)	-.888***	(.085)
Austria	-.381	(.240)	-1.074***	(.166)	-.517***	(.086)
Cyprus (Republic)	-1.490***	(.397)	-.775***	(.181)	-.776***	(.116)
Czech Republic	.477*	(.197)	-.322*	(.133)	-.082	(.087)
Estonia	-.027	(.227)	-.085	(.135)	-.721***	(.092)
Hungary	-.545*	(.225)	-.652***	(.146)	.317***	(.087)
Latvia	-.210	(.228)	-.463**	(.147)	.276**	(.090)
Lithuania	-.278	(.215)	-.533***	(.137)	-.395***	(.090)
Malta	.084	(.338)	-.130	(.217)	-.002	(.132)
Poland	-1.534***	(.362)	-1.249***	(.196)	.670***	(.089)
Slovakia	-.130	(.218)	-.507***	(.140)	-.065	(.086)
Slovenia	-.360	(.226)	-.738***	(.145)	.032	(.084)
Constant	-2.481***	(.189)	-1.251***	(.113)	-.044	(.072)

a Multinomial regression, coefficients are log odds. N=34808

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

Table F4 Effects of sociotropic attitudes on dual identification: Nation vs City (reference group = dual identifiers)

	low identifiers		nation only identifiers		city only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.154***	(.032)	0.027	(.023)	.211***	(.035)
political distrust	.426***	(.039)	.116***	(.023)	.359***	(.041)
negative economic expectations	0.064	(.034)	0.037	(.025)	.104**	(.035)
Control variables:						
male	-.211***	(.057)	-0.02	(.040)	-.240***	(.060)
age (40-54):						
15-24	.679***	(.110)	.367***	(.088)	.658***	(.119)
25-39	.280***	(.073)	.211***	(.053)	.288***	(.078)
55+	-.383***	(.093)	-.183**	(.063)	-.437***	(.100)

Table F4 (Continued)

	low identifiers		nation only identifiers		city only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
educational level (medium):						
education low	-0.125	(.097)	-.239***	(.072)	-0.1	(.099)
education high	0.099	(.070)	.294***	(.048)	.261***	(.074)
students	.387*	(.153)	.310**	(.114)	.379*	(.159)
occupation (employed):						
unemployed	.277**	(.094)	.259***	(.076)	0.048	(.106)
other	-.198*	(.093)	-.137*	(.061)	0.01	(.096)
community (small town):						
rural	-0.012	(.067)	0.081	(.046)	-0.035	(.069)
large city	-0.003	(.072)	-.184***	(.053)	-.226**	(.079)
Attitudes of personal uncertainty:						
life satisfaction	-.260***	(.029)	-.121***	(.024)	-.187***	(.032)
negative personal financial expectations	.087**	(.030)	-0.009	(.025)	0.037	(.033)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.154**	(.057)	-.243***	(.041)	-0.101	(.061)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	.851***	(.175)	-.394***	(.113)	1.085***	(.191)
The Netherlands	1.117***	(.179)	.381***	(.105)	.976***	(.203)
Germany West	-.022	(.185)	-.563***	(.110)	.566***	(.194)
Italy	-.351	(.202)	-1.151***	(.143)	-.082	(.218)
Luxembourg	.783***	(.230)	-.498**	(.164)	-.188	(.339)
Denmark	-1.108***	(.294)	-.330**	(.112)	-1.162***	(.327)
Ireland	-.689**	(.227)	-1.592***	(.167)	-1.167***	(.304)
Great Britain	.416*	(.187)	-.373**	(.121)	.725***	(.202)
Greece	-2.455***	(.311)	-2.305***	(.185)	-1.444***	(.267)
Spain	-.908***	(.238)	-1.583***	(.167)	.854***	(.194)
Portugal	-1.140***	(.230)	-2.000***	(.184)	-.727**	(.242)
Finland	-.502*	(.234)	-.241*	(.108)	-.781**	(.282)
Sweden	-.540*	(.244)	-.482***	(.116)	-.283	(.251)
Austria	-.400	(.222)	-1.476***	(.158)	-.339	(.251)
Cyprus (Republic)	-1.498***	(.388)	-.590***	(.158)	-1.370**	(.417)
Czech Republic	.386*	(.177)	-.751***	(.123)	.056	(.211)
Estonia	.115	(.205)	-.051	(.113)	-.231	(.256)
Hungary	-.448*	(.195)	-.988***	(.132)	-.723**	(.239)
Latvia	-.404*	(.204)	-1.256***	(.145)	.157	(.211)
Lithuania	-.073	(.188)	-.952***	(.130)	-.102	(.217)
Malta	.140	(.301)	.044	(.168)	-.415	(.420)
Poland	-1.830***	(.317)	-1.438***	(.155)	-.998***	(.274)
Slovakia	-.168	(.194)	-1.093***	(.133)	-.186	(.223)
Slovenia	-.455*	(.202)	-1.148***	(.132)	-.549*	(.233)
Constant	-2.883***	(.167)	-1.548***	(.096)	-3.192***	(.186)

a Multinomial regression, coefficients are log odds. N=34808

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

Table F5 Effects of sociotropic attitudes on dual identification: Nation vs EU (reference group = dual identifiers)

	low identifiers		nation only identifiers		EU only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.297***	(.028)	.178***	(.014)	.194***	(.049)
political distrust	.682***	(.036)	.397***	(.014)	.298***	(.051)
negative economic expectations	.162***	(.029)	.122***	(.015)	.104*	(.051)
Control variables:						
male	-.127*	(.050)	.109***	(.024)	-.269**	(.086)
age (40-54):						
15-24	.559***	(.099)	-0.078	(.057)	.652***	(.172)
25-39	.258***	(.064)	-0.041	(.033)	0.152	(.114)
55+	-.450***	(.082)	-0.016	(.037)	-0.213	(.143)
educational level (medium):						
education low	0.081	(.081)	.224***	(.037)	-0.122	(.162)
education high	-.243***	(.063)	-.374***	(.030)	.469***	(.102)
students	0.172	(.134)	-.263***	(.072)	0.409	(.229)
occupation (employed):						
unemployed	.176*	(.086)	0.081	(.049)	0.238	(.154)
other	-0.13	(.080)	-0.042	(.035)	-0.059	(.141)
community (small town):						
rural	0.045	(.058)	.105***	(.028)	-0.028	(.101)
large city	-.177***	(.064)	-.151***	(.031)	-0.131	(.109)
Attitudes of personal uncertainty:						
life satisfaction	-.333***	(.026)	-.151***	(.014)	-.177***	(.048)
negative personal financial expectations	.079**	(.027)	.043**	(.015)	.146**	(.048)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.151**	(.050)	-.079**	(.024)	-.121	(.087)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	.823***	(.164)	-.312***	(.085)	1.035***	(.225)
The Netherlands	1.864***	(.170)	1.224***	(.088)	1.147***	(.251)
Germany West	.645***	(.163)	.186*	(.079)	-.198	(.271)
Italy	-.346	(.183)	-.405***	(.087)	-.131	(.273)
Luxembourg	.367	(.245)	-.162	(.116)	.603*	(.302)
Denmark	-.253	(.260)	1.087***	(.083)	-1.161**	(.431)
Ireland	-.384	(.210)	.231**	(.087)	-1.264**	(.430)
Great Britain	1.545***	(.172)	1.150***	(.091)	.636*	(.289)
Greece	-1.492***	(.248)	.538***	(.083)	-1.062**	(.351)
Spain	.243	(.174)	-.258**	(.087)	.278	(.258)
Portugal	-.867***	(.200)	-.264**	(.088)	-1.003**	(.343)
Finland	.440	(.227)	1.611***	(.084)	.182	(.313)

Table F5 (Continued)

	low identifiers		nation only identifiers		EU only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Sweden	.604**	(.204)	1.071***	(.083)	-1.025*	(.430)
Austria	.365	(.198)	.700***	(.084)	-.466	(.365)
Cyprus (Republic)	-.569	(.322)	.933***	(.113)	-1.526*	(.740)
Czech Republic	.652***	(.166)	.245**	(.085)	-.042	(.280)
Estonia	.734***	(.190)	.840***	(.089)	-.517	(.377)
Hungary	-.610**	(.185)	-.247**	(.086)	-.342	(.280)
Latvia	.046	(.178)	-.147	(.088)	-.355	(.294)
Lithuania	.379*	(.178)	.556***	(.088)	.389	(.263)
Malta	.013	(.285)	-.082	(.130)	-.506	(.545)
Poland	-1.663***	(.259)	-.592***	(.089)	-1.131**	(.344)
Slovakia	.250	(.178)	.249**	(.084)	-.402	(.308)
Slovenia	-.168	(.184)	.128	(.083)	-.646*	(.307)
Constant	-2.219***	(.154)	-.121	(.071)	-3.199***	(.233)

a Multinomial regression, coefficients are log odds. N=34808

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

Table F6 Effects of sociotropic attitudes on dual identification: City vs EU (reference group = dual identifiers)

	low identifiers		city only identifiers		EU only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of sociotropic uncertainty:						
societal pessimism	.208***	(.024)	.185***	(.014)	0.059	(.033)
political distrust	.510***	(.027)	.415***	(.014)	.186***	(.032)
negative economic expectations	.143***	(.026)	.123***	(.015)	0.038	(.036)
Control variables:						
male	0.005	(.043)	.107***	(.025)	-0.042	(.057)
age (40-54):						
15-24	.314***	(.093)	0.002	(.059)	.681***	(.117)
25-39	.205***	(.056)	-0.035	(.034)	.189*	(.077)
55+	-.303***	(.068)	-0.01	(.037)	-0.075	(.092)
educational level (medium):						
education low	0.046	(.072)	.207***	(.038)	-.383**	(.118)
education high	-.165**	(.052)	-.377***	(.031)	.368***	(.068)
students	0.088	(.122)	-.260***	(.074)	0.283	(.154)
occupation (employed):						
unemployed	.304***	(.078)	0.082	(.051)	.340**	(.109)
other	-.188**	(.066)	-0.041	(.036)	-0.159	(.090)
community (small town):						
rural	.111*	(.050)	.111***	(.029)	0.12	(.066)
large city	-.173**	(.056)	-.173***	(.032)	-.271***	(.075)

Table F6 (Continued)

	low identifiers		city only identifiers		EU only identifiers	
	b	(se)	b	(se)	b	(se)
Attitudes of personal uncertainty:						
life satisfaction	-.305***	(.024)	-.152***	(.014)	-.120***	(.036)
negative personal financial expectations	.069**	(.025)	.034*	(.015)	-0.004	(.037)
Control dummies						
year (ref=2007)	-.280***	(.043)	-.169**	(.057)	-.066**	(.025)
Country (ref= France)						
Belgium	-.287*	(.131)	-.031	(.138)	-.175*	(.089)
The Netherlands	1.510***	(.127)	.647***	(.151)	1.291***	(.095)
Germany West	-.282*	(.129)	-.356*	(.148)	.325***	(.083)
Italy	-1.171***	(.151)	-.932***	(.185)	-.332***	(.091)
Luxembourg	-.156	(.187)	-.177	(.193)	-.148	(.122)
Denmark	.432**	(.142)	-.098	(.158)	1.174***	(.088)
Ireland	-.918***	(.163)	-1.725***	(.263)	.276**	(.091)
Great Britain	.806***	(.136)	-.155	(.194)	1.230***	(.095)
Greece	-1.931***	(.196)	-2.168***	(.303)	.598***	(.087)
Spain	-1.542***	(.175)	-1.540***	(.225)	-.111	(.090)
Portugal	-1.832***	(.177)	-1.756***	(.246)	-.185*	(.092)
Finland	1.101***	(.133)	-.124	(.174)	1.641***	(.090)
Sweden	.439**	(.141)	-.373*	(.173)	1.152***	(.088)
Austria	-.422**	(.158)	-1.525***	(.257)	.763***	(.089)
Cyprus (Republic)	.038	(.189)	-.586*	(.278)	.982***	(.119)
Czech Republic	-.021	(.128)	-.852***	(.187)	.272**	(.089)
Estonia	.684***	(.136)	.083	(.165)	.906***	(.095)
Hungary	-1.146***	(.147)	-.496**	(.169)	-.153	(.090)
Latvia	-.986***	(.152)	-1.167***	(.194)	-.047	(.092)
Lithuania	-.244	(.140)	-.586**	(.180)	.597***	(.093)
Malta	-.094	(.212)	.310	(.217)	.025	(.140)
Poland	-2.120***	(.204)	-1.319***	(.195)	-.532***	(.093)
Slovakia	-.490***	(.140)	-1.037***	(.191)	.310***	(.089)
Slovenia	-.740***	(.143)	-1.091***	(.186)	.181*	(.087)
Constant	-1.142***	(.113)	-1.792***	(.135)	-.196**	(.076)

a Multinomial regression, coefficients are log odds. N=34808

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