



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

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

Steenvoorden, E.H.

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*.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

List of Data Sources

- Armingeon, K., Knöpfel, L., Weisstanner, D., & Engler, S. (2014). *Comparative Political Data Set III 1990-2012*. Bern: Institute of Political Science, University of Berne.
- Citizens' Outlooks Barometer 12|1. (2012). *Citizens' Outlooks Barometer Series*. The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.
- ESS Round 3: European Social Survey Round 3 Data. (2006). *Data file edition 3.5*. Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC: Norwegian Social Science Data Services.
- ESS Round 6: European Social Survey Round 6 Data. (2012). *Data file edition 2.1*. Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC: Norwegian Social Science Data Services.
- European Commission. (2006). *Eurobarometer 66.1 (Sep-Oct 2006)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4526 Data file Version 1.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.10980: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2007). *Eurobarometer 68.1 (Sep-Nov 2007)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4565 Data file Version 4.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.10988: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2008a). *Eurobarometer 69.2 (Mar-May 2008)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4744 Data file Version 5.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11755: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2008b). *Eurobarometer 70.1 (Oct-Nov 2008)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4819 Data file Version 3.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.10989: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2009a). *Eurobarometer 71.1 (Jan-Feb 2009)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4971 Data file Version 4.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11756: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2009b). *Eurobarometer 71.3 (Jun-Jul 2009)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4973 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11135: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2009c). *Eurobarometer 72.4 (Oct-Nov 2009)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4994 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11141: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.

- European Commission. (2010a). *Eurobarometer 73.4 (May 2010)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5234 Data file Version 2.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.11479: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2010b). *Eurobarometer 74.2 (2010)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5449 Data file Version 2.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.11626: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2011a). *Eurobarometer 75.3 (May 2011)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2011b). *Eurobarometer 76.3 (Nov 2011)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2012a). *Eurobarometer 77.3 (May 2012)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2012b). *Eurobarometer 78.1 (Nov 2012)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.: TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels.
- European Commission. (2013a). *EU budget 2012 Report*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/budget/index_en.cfm, December 12, 2014.
- European Commission. (2013b). *Public Opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 77*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, April 9, 2013.
- Eurostat. (2013). *Eurostat database*. Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>, November 2013.
- OECD. (2013). *OECD Tax Benefit Models*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/social/benefits-and-wages.htm>, November 2013.
- Oesch, D. (2015). *Scripts for Social Class. ESS 2012 (round 6) in Stata*. Retrieved from <http://people.unil.ch/danieloesch/scripts>, July 2015
- Teorell, J., Charron, N., Dahlberg, S., Holmberg, S., Rothstein, B., Sundin, P., & Svensson, R. (2013). *The Quality of Government Standard Dataset version Dec 2013*. University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute, <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se>.

References

- Abdelal, R., Herrera, Y. M., Johnston, A. I., & McDermott, R. (2009). Identity as a Variable. In R. Abdelal, Y. M. Herrera, A. I. Johnston & R. McDermott (Eds.), *Measuring Identity* (pp. 17-32). Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Adcock, R. (2001). Measurement validity: A shared standard for qualitative and quantitative research. *American Political Science Association*, 95(3), 529-546.
- Adler, R. P., & Goggin, J. (2005). What do we mean by “civic engagement”? *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3(3), 236-253.
- Akkerman, T., & Hagelund, A. (2007). ‘Women and children first!’ Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41(2), 197-214.
- Allum, N., Patulny, R., Read, S., & Sturgis, P. (2010). Re-evaluating the links between social trust, institutional trust and civic association. In J. Stillwell, P. Norman & C. Thomas (Eds.), *Spatial and Social Disparities. Understanding population trends and processes, Volume 2* (pp. 199-215). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Amnå, E., & Ekman, J. (2014). Standby citizens: diverse faces of political passivity. *European Political Science Review*, 6(2), 261-281.
- Anderson, B. (2006 [1983]). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, C. J., & Tverdova, Y. V. (2003). Corruption, political allegiances, and attitudes toward government in contemporary democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(1), 91-109.
- Armingeon, K. (2007). Political participation and associational involvement. In J. W. Van Deth, J. R. Montero & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis* (pp. 358-383). New York: Routledge.
- Arnett, J. J. (2002). The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist*, 57(10), 774.
- Azmanova, A. (2011). After the Left–Right (Dis) continuum: Globalization and the Remaking of Europe’s Ideological Geography. *International Political Sociology*, 5(4), 384-407.
- Badescu, G., & Neller, K. (2007). Explaining associational involvement. In J. W. Van Deth, J. R. Montero & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis* (pp. 158-187). New York: Routledge.

- Barbalet, J. M. (2001). *Emotion, social theory, and social structure: A macrosociological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barber, B. (2003). *Jihad vs. McWorld. Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*. London: Corgi Books.
- Barnes, S. H., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political action. Mass participation in five western democracies*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Bauman, Z. (1997). *Postmodernity and its Discontents*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2006). *Liquid Fear*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2007). *Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2008). Happiness in a society of individuals. *Soundings*, 38, 19-28.
- Beck, A. T., Weissman, A., Lester, D., & Trexler, L. (1974). The measurement of pessimism: the hopelessness scale. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(6), 861-865.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Beck, U. (2006). Living in the world risk society. *Economy and Society*, 35(3), 329-345.
- Beker, M. (2003). *Inzicht in onvrede. Visies op maatschappelijk onbehagen aan het begin van de 21ste eeuw*. Amsterdam: SISWO.
- Bekkers, R. (2005). Participation in voluntary associations: Relations with resources, personality, and political values. *Political Psychology*, 26(3), 439-454.
- Bellucci, P., Sanders, D., & Serricchio, F. (2012). Explaining European Identity. *The Europeanization of National Politics*, 61-90.
- Bennett, O. (2001). *Cultural Pessimism. Narratives of Decline in the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Benson, M., & Rochon, T. R. (2004). Interpersonal Trust and the Magnitude of Protest. A Micro and Macro Level Approach. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(4), 435-457.
- Berger, B. (2009). Political theory, political science and the end of civic engagement. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(2), 335-350.
- Betz, H. G. (1998). Introduction. In H. G. Betz, & S. Immerfall (Eds.), *The new politics of the right: Neo-populist parties and movements in established democracies* (pp. 1-10). Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Betz, H., & Johnson, C. (2004). Against the current—stemming the tide: the nostalgic ideology of the contemporary radical populist right. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 311-327.
- Betz, H. (1994). *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. London: Macmillan.

- Bjarnason, T. (2009). Anomie Among European Adolescents: Conceptual and Empirical Clarification of a Multilevel Sociological Concept. *Sociological Forum*, 24(1), 135-161.
- Bollen, K. A., & Hoyle, R. H. (1990). Perceived cohesion: A conceptual and empirical examination. *Social Forces*, 69(2), 479-504.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). *Opstellen over smaak, habitus en het veldbegrip*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep.
- Boutellier, H. (2002). *De veiligheidsutopie. Hedendaags onbehagen en verlangen rond misdaad en straf*. The Hague: Boom Juridische uitgevers.
- Bovens, M., & Wille, A. (2011). *Diplomademocratie. Over de Spanning Tussen Meritocratie en Democratie*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(2), 271-294.
- Brehm, J., & Rahn, W. (1997). Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3), 999-1023.
- Brewer, M. B. (2001). The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology. *Political Psychology*, 22(1), 115-125.
- Brown, T. A. (2006). *Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Applied Research*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods* (third ed.). London: Oxford University Press.
- Buller, J., & Flinders, M. (2005). The Domestic Origins of Depoliticisation in the Area of British Economic Policy. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 7(4), 526-543.
- Burkatzki, E. (2008). Is the Market Eroding Moral Norms? A Micro-analytical Validation of Some Ideas of Anomie Theory. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2(2), 268-287.
- Burnham, P. (2001). New Labour and the politics of depoliticisation. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 3(2), 127-149.
- Byrne, B. M. (2012). *Structural Equation Modeling With Mplus*. New York: Routledge.
- Canovan, M. (2004). Populism for political theorists? *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 241-252.
- Carmignani, F. (2002). New evidence on the politics and economics of multiparty cabinets duration. *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 49(3), 249-279.
- Carver, C. C., Scheier, M. F., & Segerstrom, S. C. (2010). Optimism. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 30(7), 879-889.

- Catterberg, G., & Moreno, A. (2006). The individual bases of political trust: Trends in new and established democracies. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 18(1), 31-48.
- Chan, J., To, H., & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering social cohesion: Developing a definition and analytical framework for empirical research. *Social Indicators Research*, 75(2), 273-302.
- Chang, E. C., & Chu, Y. (2006). Corruption and trust: exceptionalism in Asian democracies? *Journal of Politics*, 68(2), 259-271.
- Chapin, J. R. (2000). Third-person perception and optimistic bias among urban minority at-risk youth. *Communication Research*, 27(1), 51-81.
- Citrin, J., Levy, M., & Wright, M. (2014). Multicultural policy and political support in European democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(11), 1531-1557.
- Citrin, J., & Sears, D. O. (2009). Balancing National and Ethnic Identities The Psychology of E Pluribus Unum. In R. Abdelal, Y. M. Herrera, A. I. Johnston & R. and McDermott (Eds.), *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (pp. 145-174). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Citrin, J., & Sides, J. (2004). More than nationals: How identity choice matters in the new Europe. In R. K. Herrmann, T. Risse & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (pp. 161-185). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Citrin, J., Wong, C., & Duff, B. (2001). The Meaning of American National Identity: Patterns of Ethnic Conflict and Consensus. In R. D. Ashmore, L. Jussim & D. Wilder (Eds.), *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction* (pp. 71-100). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Citrin, J., & Wright, M. (2014). E Pluribus Europa? In A. C. Gould, & A. M. Messina (Eds.), *Europe's Contending Identities. Supranationalism, Ethnoregionalism, Religion, and New Nationalism* (pp. 29-53). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, H. D., Dutt, N., & Kornberg, A. (1993). The political economy of attitudes toward polity and society in Western European democracies. *Journal of Politics*, 55(4), 998-1021.
- Clary, E. G., & Snyder, M. (1999). The motivations to volunteer theoretical and practical considerations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 8(5), 156-159.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: a functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1516-1530.
- Cohen, A., Vigoda, E., & Samorly, A. (2001). Analysis of the Mediating Effect of Personal-Psychological Variables on the Relationship Between Socioeconomic

- Status and Political Participation: A Structural Equations Framework. *Political Psychology*, 22(4), 727-757.
- Criado, H., & Herreros, F. (2007). Political support taking into account the institutional context. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(12), 1511-1532.
- Culbertson, H. M., & Stempel, G. H. (1985). "Media malaise": Explaining personal optimism and societal pessimism about health care. *Journal of Communication*, 35(2), 180-190.
- Dalton, R. D. (2004). *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices. The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56(1), 76-98.
- De Boef, S., & Kellstedt, P. M. (2004). The political (and economic) origins of consumer confidence. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4), 633-649.
- De Gruijter, M., Gruijter, M., van Waesberghe, E. S., Boutellier, H., Drost, L., & Slagmolen, R. (2010). *'Een vreemde in eigen land': boze autochtone burgers over nieuwe Nederlanders en de overheid*. Amsterdam: Aksant.
- De Lange, S. L., & Art, D. (2011). Fortuyn versus Wilders: An agency-based approach to radical right party building. *West European Politics*, 34(6), 1229-1249.
- Dean, D. G. (1961). Alienation: Its meaning and Measurement. *American Sociological Review*, 26(5), 753-758.
- Dekker, P., & Den Ridder, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Stemmig onbestemd. Tweede verdiepingstudie Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven*. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., & Den Ridder, J. (2014). *COB kwartaalbericht 2014*|3. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Den Ridder, J., & Van Houwelingen, P. (2013). *COB kwartaalbericht 2013*|4. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Den Ridder, J., & De Goede, I. (2010). *COB kwartaalbericht 2010*|1. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Koopmans, R., & Van den Broek, A. (1997). Voluntary associations, social movements and individual political behaviour in Western Europe. In J. W. Van Deth (Ed.), *Private Groups and Public Life: Social Participation and Political Involvement in Representative Democracies* (pp. 224-243). London: Routledge.
- Dekker, P., & Steenvoorden, E. (2008). *COB kwartaalbericht 2008*|1. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., & Van der Meer, T. (2009). Opleidingsverschillen verder onderzocht. In P. Dekker, T. Van der Meer, P. Schyns & E. Steenvoorden (Eds.), *Crisis in*

- aantocht? Verdiepingsstudie Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven 2008* (pp. 135-152). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Van der Meer, T., Schyns, P., & Steenvoorden, E. (2009). *Crisis in aantocht? Verdiepingsstudie Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven 2008*. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Van der Meer, T., & Steenvoorden, E. (2008). *COB kwartaalbericht 2008*[3]. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P., Van Noije, L., & Den Ridder, J. (2013). Achtergrondstudie van het SCP: Overvloed aan onbehagen. Ontwikkelingen, concentraties, tegenbeelden en emoties van het maatschappelijke onbehagen in Nederland. In Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling (Ed.), *Het onbehagen voorbij. Een wenkend perspectief op onvrede en onmacht* (pp. 60-172). The Hague: Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling.
- Delhey, J., & Newton, K. (2005). Predicting cross-national levels of social trust: global pattern or Nordic exceptionalism? *European Sociological Review*, 21(4), 311-327.
- Della Porta, D. (2000). Social capital, beliefs in government, and political corruption. In S. J. Pharr, & R. D. Putnam (Eds.), *Disaffected democracies: What's troubling the trilateral countries* (pp. 202-228). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Den Ridder, J., Dekker, P., & Van Houwelingen, P. (2015). *COB kwartaalbericht 2015*[2]. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Den Ridder, J., Dekker, P., & Van Ditmars, M. (2013). *COB kwartaalbericht 2012*[4]. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Díez Medrano, J., & Gutiérrez, P. (2001). Nested identities: national and European identity in Spain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(5), 753-778.
- Durkheim, E. (1951 [1897]). *Suicide. A study in Sociology* (J. A. Spaulding, G. Simpson Trans.). Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Duyvendak, J. W. (2011). *The politics of home: belonging and nostalgia in Western Europe and the United States*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Easton, D. (1975). A re-assessment of the concept of political support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(04), 435-457.
- Eckersley, R. (2000). The state and fate of nations: Implications of subjective measures of personal and social quality of life. *Social Indicators Research*, 52(1), 3-27.
- Eckersley, R. (2013). Subjective Wellbeing: Telling Only Half the Story. *Social Indicators Research*, 112(3), 1-6.
- Ehrenberg, A. (2010). *Society of Discontent or Discontent in Society? A Response to Robert Castel*. Retrieved from <http://www.booksandideas.net/Society-of-Discontent-or.html>, September 28, 2012.

- Ehrenreich, B. (1989). *Fear of Falling. The inner life of the middle class*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Ekman, J., & Amnå, E. (2012). Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. *Human Affairs*, 22(3), 283-300.
- Elchardus, M. (2008). Een slecht verhaal. Over onbehagen en politiek. *Socialisme En Democratie*, 65(10), 12-22.
- Elchardus, M., & Smits, W. (2007). *Het grootste geluk*. Leuven: Lannoo Campus.
- Elchardus, M., & Smits, W. (2002). *Anatomie en oorzaken van het wantrouwen*. Brussel: VUB press.
- Eliasoph, N. (1998). *Avoiding politics: How Americans produce apathy in everyday life*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Etzioni, A. (1993). *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc.
- European Commission. (2013). *Public Opinion in the European Union. Standard Eurobarometer 77*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm, April 9, 2013.
- Evans, J. A. (2005). The dynamics of social change in radical right-wing populist party support. *Comparative European Politics*, 3(1), 76-101.
- Federico, C. M., Hunt, C. V., & Fisher, E. L. (2013). Uncertainty and Status-Based Asymmetries in the Distinction Between the “Good” Us and the “Bad” Them: Evidence That Group Status Strengthens the Relationship Between the Need for Cognitive Closure and Extremity in Intergroup Differentiation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(3), 473-494.
- Federico, C. M., Golec, A., & Dial, J. L. (2005). The relationship between the need for closure and support for military action against Iraq: moderating effects of national attachment. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(5), 621-632.
- Fleisher, L., & Barker, T. (2014). *Tech Investor Peter Thiel Slams Europe's 'Pervasive Pessimism'*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.wsj.com/digits/2014/09/26/tech-investor-peter-thiel-slams-europes-pervasive-pessimism>, September 13, 2015.
- Fligstein, N. (2008). *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Forgeard, M., & Seligman, M. (2012). Seeing the glass half full: A review of the causes and consequences of optimism. *Pratiques Psychologiques*, 18(2), 107-120.
- Freud, S. (1961 [1929]). *Civilization and its discontents*. (J. Strachery Trans.). Toronto: Hogarth Press Limited.
- Fromm, E. (1960 [1942]). *The Fear of Freedom*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

- Furedi, F. (2002 [1997]). *Culture of Fear. Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*. (second ed.). London: Continuum.
- Gallagher, M. W., Lopez, S. J., & Preacher, K. J. (2009). The Hierarchical Structure of Well-Being. *Journal of Personality*, 77(4), 1025-1050.
- Gallup. (2014). *Gallup Poll Social Series: Governance*. Retrieved from http://www.gallup.com/file/poll/175799/Satisfaction_140912.pdf, October 12, 2015.
- Geschiere, P., & Meyer, B. (1998). Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of flow and closure. Introduction. *Development and Change*, 29(4), 601-615.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glassner, B. G. (1999). *The Culture of Fear. Why Americans Are Afraid of the Wrong Things*. New York: Basic Books.
- Granik, S. (2005). A reconceptualisation of the antecedents of party activism: a multidisciplinary approach. *Political Studies*, 53(3), 598-620.
- Grant, F., & Hogg, M. A. (2012). Self-uncertainty, social identity prominence and group identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(2), 538-542.
- Grant, P. R., & Brown, R. (1995). From Ethnocentrism to Collective Protest: Responses to Relative Deprivation and Threats to Social Identity. *Social Psychological Quarterly*, 58(3), 195-212.
- Grofman, B., & Van Roozendaal, P. (1997). Modelling cabinet durability and termination. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27(03), 419-451.
- Hakhverdian, A., & Mayne, Q. (2012). Institutional Trust, Education, and Corruption: A Micro-Macro Interactive Approach. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(3), 739-750.
- Hakhverdian, A., Van Elsas, E., Van der Brug, W., & Kuhn, T. (2013). Euroscepticism and education: A longitudinal study of 12 EU member states, 1973-2010. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 522-541.
- Haller, H. B., & Norpoth, H. (1994). Let the Good Times Roll: The Economic Expectations of U.S. Voters. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(3), 625-650.
- Han, B. C. (2012). *De vermoeide samenleving*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep.
- Hardin, R. (2002). *Trust and trustworthiness*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Harmel, R., & Robertson, J. D. (1986). Government stability and regime support: A cross-national analysis. *The Journal of Politics*, 48(4), 1029-1040.
- Harteveld, E., Kokkonen, A., & Dahlberg, S. (2015). Adapting to party lines: The effect of party affiliation on immigration attitudes. *ECPR General Conference*, Montreal August 26-29, 2015.
- Harteveld, E., Van der Meer, T., & De Vries, C. E. (2013). In Europe we trust? Exploring three logics of trust in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 542-565.

- Hay, C. (2007). *Why We Hate Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Hermans, H. J., & Dimaggio, G. (2007). Self, identity, and globalization in times of uncertainty: A dialogical analysis. *Review of General Psychology, 11*(1), 31-61.
- Heywood, A. (2003). *Political Ideologies. An Introduction*. (Third ed.). New York: Palgrave MacMillen.
- Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernandez, B. (2001). Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 21*(3), 273-281.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty. Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subjective uncertainty reduction through self-categorization: A motivational theory of social identity processes. *European Review of Social Psychology, 11*(1), 223-255.
- Hogg, M. A. (2007). Uncertainty-identity theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 39*, 69-126.
- Hogg, M. A., Meehan, C., & Farquharson, J. (2010). The solace of radicalism: Self-uncertainty and group identification in the face of threat. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(6), 1061-1066.
- Hogg, M. A., Sherman, D. K., Dierselhuis, J., Maitner, A. T., & Moffitt, G. (2007). Uncertainty, entitativity, and group identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43*(1), 135-142.
- Hogg, M. A., Adelman, J. R., & Blagg, R. D. (2010). Religion in the face of uncertainty: an uncertainty-identity theory account of religiousness. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 14*(1), 72-83.
- Hohman, Z. P., Hogg, M. A., & Bligh, M. C. (2010). Identity and intergroup leadership: Asymmetrical political and national identification in response to uncertainty. *Self and Identity, 9*(2), 113-128.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, community and cues. Public opinion on European integration. *European Union Politics, 6*(4), 419-443.
- Hooghe, M., & Marien, S. (2012). How to reach members of Parliament? Citizens and members of Parliament on the effectiveness of political participation repertoires. *Parliamentary Affairs, 67*(1), 1-25.
- Hooghe, M., & Marien, S. (2013). A Comparative Analysis of the Relation between Political Trust and Forms of Political Participation in Europe. *European Societies, 15*(1), 131-152.
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277-1288.

- Huddy, L. (2001). From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory. *Political Psychology*, 22(1), 127-156.
- Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 63-77.
- Huici, C., Ros, M., Cano, I., Hopkins, N., Emler, N., & Carmona, M. (1997). Comparative identity and evaluation of socio-political change: Perceptions of the European Community as a function of the salience of regional identities. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27(1), 97-113.
- Huppert, F. A., Marks, N., Clark, A., Siegrist, J., Stutzer, A., Vittersø, J., & Wahrendorf, M. (2009). Measuring well-being across Europe: Description of the ESS well-being module and preliminary findings. *Social Indicators Research*, 91(3), 301-315.
- Huth, W. L., Eppright, D. R., & Taube, P. M. (1994). The indexes of consumer sentiment and confidence: Leading or misleading guides to future buyer behavior. *Journal of Business Research*, 29(3), 199-206.
- Ibn Khaldūn, Abd Ar Rahman bin Muhammed. (1967 [1377]). *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (F. Rosenthal Trans.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ignazi, P. (1992). The silent counter-revolution. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22(1), 3-34.
- Ignazi, P. (2003). *Extreme right parties in Western Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2008). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(1), 3-23.
- Ivarsflaten, E., & Stubager, R. (2012). Voting for the populist radical right in Western Europe: the role of education. In J. Rydgren (Ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right* (pp. 122-137). London: Routledge.
- Jacoby, R. (1999). *The End of Utopia. Politics and Culture in an Age of Apathy*. New York: Basic Books.
- Judt, T. (2010). *Ill Fares the Land. A Treatise On Our Present Discontents*. London: Penguin Books.
- Kaase, M. (1999). Interpersonal trust, political trust and non-institutionalised political participation in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 22(3), 1-21.
- Karácsony, G., & Róna, D. (2011). The secret of Jobbik. Reasons behind the rise of the Hungarian radical right. *Journal of East European and Asian Studies*, 2(1), 61-92.
- Karp, J. A., Banducci, S. A., & Bowler, S. (2003). To know it is to love it? Satisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(3), 271-292.

- Kearns, A., & Forrest, R. (2000). Social cohesion and multilevel urban governance. *Urban Studies*, 37(5-6), 995-1017.
- Keeter, S., Zukin, C., Andolina, M., & Jenkins, K. (2002). *The civic and political health of the nation: A generational portrait*. Washington, DC: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE).
- Keyes, C. L. M. (1998). Social well-being. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(2), 121-140.
- Keyes, C. L., & Shapiro, A. D. (2004). Social well-being in the United States: A descriptive epidemiology. In O. G. Brim, C. D. Ryff & R. C. Kessler (Eds.), *How Healthy Are We? A National Study of Well-being at Midlife* (pp. 350-372). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kim, J. (2005). "Bowling Together" isn't a Cure-All: The Relationship between Social Capital and Political Trust in South Korea. *International Political Science Review*, 26(2), 193-213.
- Kim, J., & Ng, S. H. (2008). Perceptions of social changes and social identity: Study focusing on Hong Kong society after reunification. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 11(3), 232-240.
- Kim, M., & Robertson, J. D. (2002). Analysing German Unification: State, Nation and the Quest for Political Community. *German Politics*, 11(3), 3-18.
- Kinder, D. R., & Kiewiet, D. R. (1979). Economic discontent and political behavior: The role of personal grievances and collective economic judgments in congressional voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 23(3), 495-527.
- Kline, R. B. (2010). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Koenis, S. (2012). *De Democratisering van het Ressentiment. Emancipatie en Onbehagen in de Nederlandse Politiek. Inaugurele rede*. Maastricht: Maastricht University. doi:<http://digitalarchive.maastrichtuniversity.nl/fedora/get/guid:0a10c50c-bd7c-40d0-b709-f260caa1d1aa/ASSET1>.
- Kohli, M. (2000). The battlegrounds of European identity. *European Societies*, 2(2), 113-137.
- Korpi, W. (2003). Welfare-state regress in Western Europe: politics, institutions, globalization, and Europeanization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29, 589-609.
- Kramer, R. M., & Brewer, M. B. (1984). Effects of group identity on resource use in a simulated commons dilemma. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(5), 1044-1057.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Dolezal, M., Helbling, M., Höglinger, D., Hutter, S., & Wüest, B. (2012). *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(6), 921-956.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2008). *West European politics in the age of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kroll, C., & Delhey, J. (2013). A Happy Nation? Opportunities and Challenges of Using Subjective Indicators in Policymaking. *Social Indicators Research*, 114(1), 13-28.
- Kruglanski, A. W., Pierro, A., Mannetti, L., & De Grada, E. (2006). Groups as epistemic providers: need for closure and the unfolding of group-centrism. *Psychological Review*, 113(1), 84-100.
- Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Pierro, A., & Mannetti, L. (2002). When similarity breeds content: Need for closure and the allure of homogeneous and self-resembling groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(3), 648.
- Kruglanski, A. W., & Webster, D. M. (1996). Motivated closing of the mind: "Seizing" and "freezing". *Psychological Review*, 103(2), 263.
- Laver, M. (2003). Government termination. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6(1), 23-40.
- Legge, S., Davidov, E., & Schmidt, P. (2008). Social Structural effects on the level and Development of the Individual Experience of Anomie in the German Population. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2(2), 248-267.
- Leighley, J. E. (2008). Commentary on "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation". *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(1), 46-49.
- Lenz, G. S. (2009). Learning and opinion change, not priming: Reconsidering the priming hypothesis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(4), 821-837.
- Lijphart, A. (1984). Measures of Cabinet Durability A Conceptual and Empirical Evaluation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 17(2), 265-279.
- Liu, L. A., Chua, C. H., & Stahl, G. (2010). Quality of communication experience: Definition, measurement, and implications for intercultural negotiations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(3), 469-487.
- Lubbers, M., Gijsberts, M., & Scheepers, P. (2002). Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41(3), 345-378.
- Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2010). Divergent trends of euroscepticism in countries and regions of the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(6), 787-817.
- Lukes, S. (1967). Alienation and Anomie. In P. Laslett, & W. G. Runciman (Eds.), *Philosophy, Politics and Society* (pp. 135-156). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Mahbubani, K. (2008). *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Mahler, V. A., Taylor, B. J., & Wozniak, J. R. (2000). Economics and public support for the European Union: An analysis at the national, regional, and individual levels. *Polity*, 17, 429-453.
- Mair, P. (2008). Electoral volatility and the Dutch party system: A comparative perspective. *Acta Politica*, 43(2), 235-253.
- Manzo, L. C., & Perkins, D. D. (2006). Finding common ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation and planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20(4), 335-350.
- March, L., & Mudde, C. (2005). What's left of the radical left? The European radical left after 1989: Decline and mutation. *Comparative European Politics*, 3(1), 23-49.
- March, L., & Rommelskirchen, C. (2015). Out of left field? Explaining the variable electoral success of European radical left parties. *Party Politics*, 21(1), 40-53.
- Marien, S. (2011). Measuring political trust across time and space. In S. Zmerli, & M. Hooghe (Eds.), *Political Trust: Why Context Matters* (pp. 13-47). Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Marien, S., Hooghe, M., & Quintelier, E. (2010). Inequalities in Non-institutionalised Forms of Political Participation: A Multi-level Analysis of 25 countries. *Political Studies*, 58(1), 187-213.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1987 [1848]). *The communist manifesto*. Retrieved from <http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/viewFile/5709/2605>, November 11, 2015.
- Mayer, N. (2013). From Jean-Marie to Marine le Pen: electoral change on the far right. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66(1), 160-178.
- Mazarr, M. J. (1998). The pessimism syndrome. *Washington Quarterly*, 21(3), 93-108.
- McEwan, I. (2012). *Sweet Tooth*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- McGann, A. J., & Kitschelt, H. (2005). The Radical Right in The Alps Evolution of Support for the Swiss SVP and Austrian FPÖ. *Party Politics*, 11(2), 147-171.
- McKenzie, R. B. (1997). *The Paradox of Progress: Can Americans Regain Their Confidence in a Prosperous Future?*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McLaren, L. (2012). Immigration and trust in politics in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(1), 163-185.
- Meffert, M. F., Chung, S., Joiner, A. J., Waks, L., & Garst, J. (2006). The effects of negativity and motivated information processing during a political campaign. *Journal of Communication*, 56(1), 27-51.
- Meltzer, B. N., & Musolf, G. R. (2002). Resentment and Ressentiment. *Sociological Inquiry*, 72(2), 240-255.

- Merton, R. K. (1938). Social Structure and Anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3(5), 672-682.
- Messner, S. F., & Rosenfeld, R. (1997). Political Restraint of the Market and Levels of Criminal Homicide: A Cross-National Application of Institutional-Anomie Theory. *Social Forces*, 75(4), 1393-1416.
- Miller, A. H., & Listhaug, O. (1990). Political parties and confidence in government: A comparison of Norway, Sweden and the United States. *British Journal of Political Science*, 20(03), 357-386.
- Miller, D. (1995). *On Nationality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mills, C. W. (1971 [1959]). *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Mishler, W., & Rose, R. (2001). What are the origins of political trust? Testing institutional and cultural theories in post-communist societies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1), 30-62.
- Moïsi, D. (2009). *The Geopolitics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope Are Reshaping the World*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Mondak, J. J., & Halperin, K. D. (2008). A framework for the study of personality and political behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(02), 335-362.
- Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 542-563.
- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (Eds.). (2013). *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy?*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Muthén, B., & Muthén, L. (1998-2012). *Mplus User's Guide. Seventh Edition*. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Mutz, D. C. (1992). Mass media and the depoliticization of personal experience. *American Journal of Political Science*, 36(2), 483-508.
- Nie, N. H., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996). *Education and democratic citizenship in America* University of Chicago Press.
- Norris, P. (2005). *Radical right: Voters and parties in the electoral market* Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic Deficits: Critical Citizens Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oesch, D. (2008). Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review*, 29(3), 349-373.

- Oesch, D. (2012). The class basis of the cleavage between the New Left and the radical right: an analysis for Austria, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland. In J. Rydgren (Ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right* (pp. 31-51). London: Routledge.
- Oser, J., Hooghe, M., & Marien, S. (2013). Is online participation distinct from offline participation? A latent class analysis of participation types and their stratification. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(1), 91-101.
- Paasi, A. (2009). The resurgence of the 'region' and 'regional identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics in Europe. *Review of International Studies*, 35(S1), 121-146.
- Park, E., Scherer, C. W., & Glynn, C. J. (2001). Community involvement and risk perception at personal and societal levels. *Health, Risk & Society*, 3(3), 281-292.
- Pattie, C., Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2003). Citizenship and civic engagement: Attitudes and behaviour in Britain. *Political Studies*, 51(3), 443-468.
- Pattie, C., Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2004). *Citizenship in Britain: Values, participation and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pharr, S. J., & Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Disaffected Democracies. What's troubling the trilateral countries?*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pierson, C. (1998). *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare*. (second ed.). Oxford: Polity Press.
- Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Pridemore, A., & Kim, S. (2006). Democratization and Political Change as Threats to Collective Sentiments: Testing Durkheim in Russia. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 605(1), 82-103.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton university press.
- Quintelier, E., & Hooghe, M. (2012). The stability of individualized collective action. Results from a panel study among Belgian late adolescents. In J. W. Van Deth, & W. A. Maloney (Eds.), *New participatory dimensions in civil society: professionalization and individualized collective action* (pp. 197-211). London: Routledge.
- Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling. (2013). *Het onbehagen voorbij. Een wenkend perspectief op onvrede en onmacht*. The Hague: Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling.
- Rahn, W. M., Kroeger, B., & Kite, C. M. (1996). A framework for the study of public mood. *Political Psychology*, 17(1), 29-58.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Reid, S. A., & Hogg, M. A. (2005). Uncertainty reduction, self-enhancement, and ingroup identification. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(6), 804-817. doi:10.1177/0146167204271708
- Risse, T. (2004). European institutions and identity change: what have we learned? In R. D. Ashmore (Ed.), *Transnational identities: Becoming European in the EU* (pp. 247-271). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Risse, T. (2010). *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rooduijn, M., De Lange, S. L., & Van der Brug, W. (2014). A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 20(4), 563-575.
- RTL Nieuws. (2013). *Mark Rutte: 'niet zo somberen!'*. Retrieved from <http://www.rtlnieuws.nl/editien/mark-rutte-niet-zo-somberen>, September 9, 2015.
- Rydgren, J. (2012). *Class Politics and the Radical Right*. London: Routledge.
- Sabucedo, J., & Arce, C. (1991). Types of political participation: A multidimensional analysis. *European Journal of Political Research*, 20(1), 93-102.
- Samuelson, R. (1995). *The Good Life and Its Discontents. The American Dream in the Age of Entitlement 1945-1995*. New York: Time Books.
- Saris, W. E., Satorra, A., & Van der Veld, William M. (2009). Testing Structural Equation Models or Detection of Misspecifications? *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 16(4), 561-582.
- Savolainen, J. (2000). Inequality, Welfare State, and Homicide: Further Support for the Institutional Anomie Theory. *Criminology*, 38(4), 1021-1042.
- Scharpf, F. W. (2000). Interdependence and Democratic Legitimation. In S. J. Pharr, & R. D. Putnam (Eds.), *Disaffected Democracies. What's troubling the trilateral countries?* (pp. 101-120). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Scherer, K. R. (2005). What are emotions? And how can they be measured? *Social Science Information*, 44(4), 695-729.
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2014). Boundaries of American Identity: Evolving Understandings of "Us". *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 441-460.
- Schnabel, P. (2004). Het zestiende Sociaal en Cultureel Rapport kijkt zestien jaar vooruit. In P. Schnabel (Ed.), *In het zicht van de toekomst. Sociaal en Cultureel Rapport 2004* (pp. 47-90). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Scott, W. J., & Acock, A. C. (1979). Socioeconomic status, unemployment experience, and political participation: A disentangling of main and interaction effects. *Political Behavior*, 1(4), 361-381.

- Seeman, M. (1959). On the Meaning of Alienation. *American Sociological Review*, 24(6), 783-791.
- Seeman, M. (1975). Alienation Studies. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1, 91-123.
- Seeman, M. (1983). Alienation Motif's in Contemporary Theorizing: The Hidden Continuity of the Classic Themes. *Social Psychological Quarterly*, 46(3), 171-184.
- Seeman, M. (1991). Alienation and Anomie. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitudes* (pp. 291-372). San Diego: Elsevier.
- Seligson, M. A. (2002). The impact of corruption on regime legitimacy: A comparative study of four Latin American countries. *Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 408-433.
- Shah, J. Y., Kruglanski, A. W., & Thompson, E. P. (1998). Membership has its (epistemic) rewards: need for closure effects on in-group bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(2), 383.
- Shrum, J., & Bischak, D. (2001). Mainstreaming, resonance, and impersonal impact. *Human Communication Research*, 27(2), 187-215.
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56(4), 319-331.
- Slothuus, R. (2015). Assessing the Influence of Political Parties on Public Opinion: The Challenge from Pretreatment Effects. *Political Communication*, 1-26.
- Smith, H. P., & Bohm, R. M. (2008). Beyond Anomie: Alienation and Crime. *Critical Criminology*, 16(1), 1-15.
- Srole, L. (1956). Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exporatory Study. *American Sociological Review*, 21(6), 709-716.
- Steenvoorden, E. (2009). De publieke stemming in 2008. In P. Dekker, T. Van der Meer, P. Schyns & E. Steenvoorden (Eds.), *Crisis in aantocht? Verdiepingsstudie Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven 2008* (pp. 29-48). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Steenvoorden, E. (2015). A General Discontent Disentangled: A Conceptual and Empirical Framework for Societal Unease. *Social Indicators Research*, 124(1), 85-110.
- Steenvoorden, E., Schyns, P., & Van der Meer, T. (2009). Omgangsvormen volgens werkenden in het publieke domein. In P. Dekker, T. Van der Meer, P. Schyns & E. Steenvoorden (Eds.), *Crisis in aantocht? Verdiepingsstudie Continu onderzoek burgerperspectieven 2008* (pp. 171-196). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Stimson, J. A. (1991). *Public opinion in America: Moods, cycles, and swings*. Bolder, Colorado: Westview.

- Stolle, D., Hooghe, M., & Micheletti, M. (2005). Politics in the supermarket: Political consumerism as a form of political participation. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 245-269.
- Stubager, R. (2010). The development of the education cleavage: Denmark as a critical case. *West European Politics*, 33(3), 505-533.
- Suh, H., Yee, J., & Chang, D. (2013). Type of Trust and Political Participation in Five Countries. *Development and Society*, 42(1), 1-28.
- Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 269-288.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 33, 47.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004 [1986]). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In J. T. Jost, & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Political psychology: Key readings in social psychology* (pp. 276-293). New York: Psychology Press.
- Taylor, C. (1991). *The Malaise of Modernity*. Toronto: Anansi.
- Taylor, M. A. (2000). Channeling frustrations: Institutions, economic fluctuations, and political behavior. *European Journal of Political Research*, 38(1), 95-134.
- Taylor, S. E., & Brown, J. D. (1988). Illusion and well-being: a social psychological perspective on mental health. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103(2), 193.
- Taylor-Gooby, P., & Zinn, J. O. (2006). Current Directions in Risk Research: New Developments in Psychology and Sociology. *Risk Analysis*, 26(2), 397-411.
- Teorell, J., Torcal, M., & Montero, J. R. (2007). Political participation: Mapping the terrain. In J. W. Van Deth, J. R. Montero & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis* (pp. 334-357). New York: Routledge.
- The Times. (2015). *Hollande: don't let pessimism sink us*. Retrieved from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/europe/article4314748.ece>, October 12, 2015.
- Thorlindsson, T., & Bernburg, J. G. (2004). Durkheim's theory of social order and deviance: a multi-level test. *European Sociological Review*, 20(4), 271-285.
- Tillie, J. (2008). *Gedeeld land. Het multiculturele ongemak van Nederland*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Tillie, J. (2004). Social capital of organisations and their members: explaining the political integration of immigrants in Amsterdam. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(3), 529-541.
- Tocqueville, A. d. (1998 [1840]). *Democracy in America*. Ware: Wordsworth.

- Transue, J. E. (2007). Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Radical Policy Attitudes: American National Identity as a Uniting Force. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 78-91.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. New York & Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Place and identity processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), 205-220.
- Tyler, T. R. (1980). Impact of directly and indirectly experienced events: The origin of crime-related judgments and behaviors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(1), 13.
- Tyler, T. R., & Cook, F. L. (1984). The mass media and judgments of risk: Distinguishing impact on personal and societal level judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47(4), 693.
- Uslaner, E. M. (2002). *The moral foundations of trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Uslaner, E. M., & Brown, M. (2005). Inequality, trust, and civic engagement. *American Politics Research*, 33(6), 868-894.
- Van der Bos, K., Loseman, A., & Doosje, B. (2009). *Waarom jongeren radicaliseren en sympathie krijgen voor terrorisme: Onrechtvaardigheid, onzekerheid en bedreigde groepen*. The Hague: Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., De Lange, S. L., & Baller, I. (2012). Radical right parties: their voters and their electoral competitors. In J. Rydgren (Ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right* (pp. 52-74). London: Routledge.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2005). Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed A two-step model of aggregate electoral support. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(5), 537-573.
- Van der Brug, W., & Van Spanje, J. (2009). Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(3), 309-334.
- Van der Meer, T. (2009). *States of freely associating citizens: comparative studies into the impact of state institutions on social, civic and political participation*. Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Van der Meer, T. (2010). In what we trust? A multi-level study into trust in parliament as an evaluation of state characteristics. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 76(3), 517-536.

- Van der Meer, T., Dekker, P., & Steenvoorden, E. (2009). *COB kwartaalbericht 2009*|2. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Van der Meer, T., Te Grotenhuis, M., & Scheepers, P. L. (2009). Three types of voluntary associations in comparative perspective: The importance of studying associational involvement through a typology of associations in 21 European countries. *Journal of Civil Society*, 5(3), 227-241.
- Van Deth, J. W. (2001). The proof of the pudding: Social capital, democracy and citizenship. *Paper Presented at EURESCO Conference "Social Capital: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Exeter, 15–20 September.
- Van Deth, J. W. (2012). New modes of participation and norms of citizenship. In J. W. Van Deth, & W. A. Maloney (Eds.), *New participatory dimensions in civil society: professionalization and individualized collective action* (pp. 115-138). London: Routledge.
- Van Deth, J. W. (2014). A conceptual map of political participation. *Acta Politica*, 49(3), 349-367.
- Van Houwelingen, P. (2011). Bezorgde en boze burgers. In P. Dekker, & J. Den Ridder (Eds.), *Stemming Onbestemd. Tweede verdiepingsstudie Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven* (pp. 112-135). The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Van Stokkum, B. (2010). *Wat een hufter! Ergernis, lichtgeraaktheid en maatschappelijke verruwing*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom.
- Vatican Network. (2014). *Pope Francis: Address to the Council of Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.news.va/en/news/pope-francis-address-to-the-council-of-europe>, October 12, 2015.
- Vecchione, M., & Caprara, G. V. (2009). Personality determinants of political participation: The contribution of traits and self-efficacy beliefs. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 46(4), 487-492.
- Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America. Political democracy and social equality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Verba, S., Scholzman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Verbrugge, A. (2004). *Tijd van Onbehagen. Filosofische essays over een cultuur op drift*. Amsterdam: SUN.
- Wallace, W. (1999). The sharing of sovereignty: the European paradox. *Political Studies*, 47(3), 503-521.
- Warwick, P. (1979). The durability of coalition governments in parliamentary democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 11(4), 465-498.

- Warwick, P. (1992). Economic trends and government survival in West European parliamentary democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 86(2), 875-887.
- Webber, C. (2007). Revaluating relative deprivation theory. *Theoretical Criminology*, 11(1), 97-120.
- Weinstein, N. D. (1980). Unrealistic optimism about future life events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(5), 806.
- Whitman, D. (1998). *The Optimism Gap: The I'm Ok--they're Not Syndrome and the Myth of American Decline*. New York: Walker and Company.
- Wilkinson, I. (1999). What is the Novelty in Our Current 'Age of Anxiety'? *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2(4), 445-467.
- Wilkinson, I. (2001). *Anxiety in a risk society*. London: Routledge.
- Winship, C., & Mare, R. D. (1984). Regression models with ordinal variables. *American Sociological Review*, 512-525.
- Yuill, C. (2011). Forgetting and remembering alienation theory. *History of Human Sciences*, 24(2), 103-119.
- Zak, P. J., & Knack, S. (2001). Trust and growth. *The Economic Journal*, 111(470), 295-321.
- Zhao, R., & Cao, L. (2010). Social change and anomie: A cross-national study. *Social Forces*, 88(3), 1209-1229.
- Zhirkov, K. (2014). Nativist but not alienated A comparative perspective on the radical right vote in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 20(2), 286-296.
- Zinn, J. O. (2008). Introduction. In J. O. Zinn (Ed.), *Social Theories of Risk and Uncertainty. An introduction* (pp. 1-17). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.