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The Wind of Populism: Voter Turnout and Political Distance

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The wind of populism: voter turnout and political distance

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Abstract

Based on the horizontal differentiation literature we model decline in voter turnout as a rational choice when the distance between the voter and the closest party on the hyperplane of political preferences is regarded as too high by the voter. To analyse political preferences we consider five crucial segments going beyond the traditional left-right scale simplification (climate, migration, security, civil rights and income distribution). Our empirical findings on 32 countries in the last eight waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) support our research hypothesis: respondents who do not feel close to any party (57 percent of the sample) are more likely to abstain (23 percent of the sample). Results are confirmed when we use the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) classification of political party positions to calculate distance. We as well show that those who declare to feel distant from political parties are significantly less concerned with climate and civil rights, while significantly more with income distribution, migration threat and security, as well as having lower education and belonging to lower income deciles. We conclude by arguing that the success of populist parties in the last decade is probably related to their higher capacity to identify characteristics of non voters and moving toward their preferences.

Keywords— Turnout, Hotelling differentiation, environment, civil rights..

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1 Introduction

Voter turnout has declined globally from around 80 percent to around 70 percent in the last decades (Solijonov, 2016). The decline in voter turnout is a crucial and growing concern in contemporary democracies revealing lack of civil participation that can undermine the same principles of democracy. Understanding its determinants is as well crucial for political parties since almost all of them consider that they can increase their political support by conquering the votes of those who abstain.

The turnout literature is rich and articulated and originates from the well-known rational choice paradox. If going to vote entails even minimal “shoe leather’s costs” (ie. the opportunity cost of going physically to vote) and the voter is aware that her/his choice individually taken has almost no chance to modify the final outcome, the rational choice should be not to vote (Downs, 1957). This is the reason why voting decisions are often used as proxies for social capital (Guiso et al., 2004). The empirical observation of a share of voters much higher than what predicted by the paradox has stimulated theoretical work trying to find rationale for what can create enough pleasure/utility to compensate the cost of going to vote in the turnout choice.

One of the most reputed theories providing a rationale for the paradox is based on the group rule utilitarian approach developed by Feddersen and Sandroni (2006) and Coate and Conlin (2004). According to this principle the decision to vote is partly endogenously determined by preferences over actions. More specifically, this approach postulates the existence of a duty payoff related to the compliance of one’s own action to the action required by one’s own political group. The group rule utilitarian principle can be therefore related to the literature of guilt aversion showing that individuals find a disutility when their actions do not comply with what they expect their reference group expects from them (Charness and Dufwenberg, 2006). Alternatively, we can also believe that voter turnout could be related to a moral more than a social norm since in situations without social control the individual voting choice is not monitored from the group and therefore the decision not to vote cannot trigger social disapproval. Another line of thought argues that the voting decision depends on an adaptive learning approach by which individuals repeat a voting action that they have experienced has produced positive feelings in

the past (Bendor et al., 2003; Fowler, 2006). This line of reasoning however does not solve the puzzle of the first voting choice.

To make a synthesis of these views it is possible that individuals decide to vote because they have positive utility in doing what they believe they should do¹ (a sort of Kantian argument related to conformity to a moral norm)², or because of conformity to a group utilitarian principle, and that the satisfaction experienced after their decision does not contradict their expectations and reinforces the decision to do the same in the future.

Our work contributes to this literature by modelling the decision to vote as crucially influenced by the distance in political preferences between the voter and her/his preferred party. A theoretical reference for our approach are horizontal differentiation models developed in the industrial organisation literature to investigate firm location choices (Hotelling, 1929; d'Aspremont et al., 1979), that have been later used also to analyse political competition (Osborne, 1995; Austen-Smith and Banks, 2009). Based on these models where the decision to “buy” crucially depends on the cost of distance, our research hypothesis assumes that that the cost of voting is not only represented by shoe’s leather costs, but also by a disutility proportional to the distance between one’s own opinion and the party political stance on a given relevant policy domain.

More specifically, we argue that the voter utility includes a negative argument represented by such distance and a positive argument that provides utility to the voting choice in proportion to her/his level of “civic sense”, a variable collecting previously considered issues related to Kantian preferences, group rule utilitarianism and pleasure of doing something that is perceived as having a social benefit and has increased voter’s well-being in the past. These factors (and especially group utilitarianism) pushing the individual to vote progressively fade as far as the distance from the closest party in terms of position in the multidimensional hyper-

¹The reason why they believe they should do can have a rational background based on the following reasoning. If every voter sharing my opinion merely follows the rational choice theory without Kantian preferences my party will have no votes. This is why I should vote and the same should happen for those supporting my favourite party.

²The presence of this kind of preferences is observed in several fields of the empirical literature. For instance in social dilemmas we usually observe a share of unconditional co-operators who decide to choose the more costly cooperation strategy, irrespective of the decision of the other players, while another important share of players behave as conditional co-operators (see among others Becchetti et al. (2018); Thöni and Volk (2018)).

plane grows. According to the model behind our research hypothesis, a too high distance in preferences with respect to the preferred party, above the individual “reservation distance”, triggers the decision to abstain, exactly as a high distance of the seller from consumer location (and above her/his reservation price) in the traditional horizontal differentiation model triggers the decision not to buy in horizontal differentiation models (Economides, 1984).

In order to calculate political distance we define the space of political preferences based on five crucial domains in the current political debate (environment, immigrants, civil rights, security and income redistribution). Empirical findings presented in the paper support our theoretical hypothesis since the distance between the voter and her/his preferred party crucially affects the decision to abstain. We test our research hypothesis in two different ways. The first relies entirely on EES survey respondent declarations of closeness/distance from the preferred political party. The second uses political expert data on party positions from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) database to calculate the distance between the EES respondent and preferred party political stance.

Our results using the first approach are robust when estimated separately in each country and wave and show that respondents who do not vote have lower levels of education and income, declare to be more right-wing oriented, are significantly more favourable to government intervention to reduce income inequality, significantly less concerned with environment and civil rights and significantly more with immigrants arrival and safety. Evidence supporting our main research hypothesis is confirmed when we use CHES data.

2 Our model and research hypothesis

We assume that the i -th voter ($i = 1, \dots, N$) has the following voting cost function:

$$C_i = c_{oi} + c \sum_j (X_{ij} - W_{ij})$$

Where c_{oi} is the shoe’s leather cost, i.e. the i -th voter opportunity cost of going to the ballot place, while $c(X_{ij} - W_{ij})$ is the psychological cost for the i -th voter of the distance between one’s own political preferences and the program of the voted party in

the j -th political preference domain ($j = 1, \dots, M$), where the impact of distance on the voting cost function is assumed to be linear and additive in preference domains for simplicity.

The utility function of the i -th potential voter is therefore the following:

$$U_i = sY_i + VC_i - [c_{oi} + c \sum_j (X_{ij} - W_{ij})]$$

where, on the positive side, we find the perceived marginal impact (s) of one's own vote on the final electoral outcome (Y) and the positive impact on the utility determined by the voting choice (VC). Going back to the literature described in the introduction this second positive argument should depend on the presence/importance of Kantian preferences (I like to do something that I believe is my duty to do, or, in other terms, for the pleasure of conformity to my social norm) and/or group utilitarianism (I do because my group expects me to do so) and is reinforced by past voting/civic experience where the voter experimented the non-negative effects of her/his decision on her/his subjective well-being. Another way to interpret our utility function is that there is a component of satisfaction from voting independent from the distance (i.e. the Kantian component) and another that tends to fall as far as the distance falls.

Under the Down (1957) paradox, $s = 0$, $VC = 0$ and $C_o > 0$. Hence, all voters should decide not to vote and the belief distance and previous citizenship actions should not matter. Our research hypothesis is instead that $SC > 0$, $s = 0$ and therefore the distance in political preferences between the voter and her/his preferred party $c(X - W)$ plays a crucial role on the decision to abstain.

H₀: the distance between the voters and the preferred political party position in the space of political preferences is positively and significantly correlated with the voter turnout decline

3 Data and descriptive findings

Most of data used for our empirical research are taken from the European Social Survey. The ESS survey is run every two years and has become a well-established research infrastructure of the European Union. Its goal is to capture individual so-

cial and political preferences, beliefs and attitudes beyond standard socio-demographic controls. The European Social Survey database recording our variables of interest includes waves from 3 to 10. Waves relevant for us are released at a two-year distance from 2006 to 2020.

[Table 1 and 2 around here]

The average share of ESS survey respondents that did not vote in the last election in our sample is 23 percent (26.2 percent in the last wave), the highest in Lithuania with more than 40 percent, the lowest in Iceland with less than 10 percent (Figure 1).

A crucial variable of interest for our research is in the question asking whether the respondent feels closer to a particular party than all other parties. If the answer is yes a second question asks about the degree of closeness (very close, quite close, not close, not close at all).

The share of those who do not feel closer to a particular party than other parties is 52.36 percent (55.99 percent in the last wave), the highest in Latvia above 75 percent, the lowest in Denmark below 25 percent (Figure 2). Among the complementary sample of those who feel closer to a particular party (47.64 percent of respondents) those who feel very close to their preferred party are only 13 percent, while the other in this group respond that they feel quite close (63.10 percent), not very close (21.53 percent), not close at all (2.36 percent). Average sample age is 48.9, while average education years are 12.6. Around 10 percent of respondents declare the highest level of life satisfaction on the standard 0 – 10 scale, 50.3 percent are married or cohabiting, while 28.3 percent are single. Legend and full details of descriptive statistics of the variables used in the empirical analysis are in Tables 1 and 2.

Figure 3 help us to understand significant differences between voters and non voters in socio-demographic and preference characteristics (the latter being measured on the five domains of environment, immigrants, income inequality, civil rights and security).

[Figure 3 around here]

Non voters belong to a lower average income decile (4.6 against 5.4) and are significantly less educated (11.9 against 12.95 years of education). When asked about how many immigrants from poorer countries should be allowed to come and live in Europe, non voters are around 27 percent among those saying none should be allowed, while 22 percent among those answering at the opposite that many should come and live in their own country. When asked about their feeling of safety when walking alone after dark in their living place (a proxy for security concerns) non voters are 30 percent among those saying they feel very unsafe, while 18 percent among those feeling very safe. Non voters are significantly in higher proportion among those who agree strongly that government should intervene to reduce income differences against those who disagree strongly about it (24.8 against 20.6 percent) and among those who agree less about the importance of the environment (36 percent), against those who agree more (20 percent). The share of non voters among those who disagree strongly that gay and lesbian should live as they wish (29 percent) is significantly higher than among those who agree strongly on this point (19 percent). These differences are confirmed when compare the entire distribution of preferences for voters and non voters as in Figure 4. In all the considered cases the hypothesis that the distributions of voters and non voters in terms of income, education and political preferences in the five domains are not significantly different is rejected by the Epps-Singleton tests.

[Figure 4 around here]

Overall, the reported evidence shows that non voters are significantly less concerned about environment and civil rights, significantly more concerned about safety and immigrants and also significantly more favourable to government intervention to reduce income inequality. Even though we could believe that these are all preferences characterising a right wing attitude (with the exception of income redistribution) non voters and voters are actually very close in the 0 – 10 self-declared left-right wing scale (5 against 5.19 for non voters versus non voters where 0 is extreme left and 10 extreme right). When we however consider right wing attitudes as those of respondents placed above 7 in the left-right scale, and left wing attitude as those of respondents placed below 4 in the left-right scale, we find that non voters are 28.9 percent in the first (right wing) against 17 percent in the second (left wing)

group.

If we examine differences in preferences and socio-demographic characteristics having as a reference those who declare they do not feel close to any party with respect to those who feel, we find similar patterns (Figure 5). Respondents who do not feel closer to a political party are less educated, belong to a lower income decile, are more likely to be right wing, less concerned about environment and civil rights, more concerned about security and immigrants and more favourable to government intervention to reduce income differences.

[Figure 5 around here]

4 Econometric analysis

To test our research hypothesis on the effects of distance from political parties on the decision not to vote controlling for concurring factors we estimate the following logit specification

$$Turnout_Decline_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Distance_{it} + X'_{it}\gamma + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where the dependent variable (*Turnout_decline*) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national elections and zero otherwise. Our main regressor of interest (*Distance*) is a unit dummy taking value one for respondents declaring they do not feel close to any political party and zero otherwise. Among controls we introduce a gender (male) dummy, years of education, age and age squared³, dummies for income deciles, for marital and employment status and the number of household members (Table 3.1, column 1). In the specification of column 2 we as well control for self-assessed health, placement in the left/right scale and life satisfaction. In column 3 we add satisfaction about economy, government and democracy. In the fully augmented specification of column 4 we add preferences on the five selected domains (environment, immigrants, civil rights, safety and government intervention to reduce income inequality). In all specifications we

³Our findings are robust if we use five-year age classes to measure age instead of the chosen quadratic specification. Results are omitted for reasons of space and available upon request.

as well control for country and wave dummies using standard errors clustered at country level.

[Table 3.1 around here]

We estimate the specification on the whole sample including the last 8 (3 to 10) ESS waves containing our variables of interest. The distance variable is positive and significant in all specifications (Table 3.1, columns 1-4). In terms of economic significance respondents declaring they do not feel closer to any political party have a 15 percent higher probability of declaring they did not vote in the last political election. The probability of abstention is higher among males, middle-aged, less educated and lower income class respondents. Non voters declare lower life satisfaction and self-assessed health and less care for the environment.

We alternatively estimate our specification using an additional variable qualifying positions of those answering positively about feeling close to their preferred political party (those recorded with zero in the distance variable). This subgroup of respondents is in turn asked how close is and the answers are (very close, quite close, not close, not close at all). The dependent variable remains the decision to abstain in the last national elections but the (0/1) distance dummy is replaced with a set of unit dummies capturing whether the respondent feels very close, quite close, not close, not close at all with the omitted benchmark being the value one in the distance variable (those responding they do not feel close to their preferred party).

Again the considered dummies are positive and significant and in increasing order as far as the respondent feels more distant from her/his preferred party (Table 3.2). We finally reduce our sample only to those declaring they do feel closer to a political party than all other parties but with different degrees of proximity (very close, quite close, not close, not close at all) using the very close response as omitted benchmark (ie. we exclude from the sample those who declare they do not feel closer to any political party). Our findings show that other responses are significantly more correlated with abstention in the expected order (higher coefficient for those not close at all, up to a lowest coefficient for those who feel quite close) (Table 3.3).

[Table 3.2 and 3.3 around here]

5 Discussion and robustness checks

We re-estimate our fully augmented specification separately for each of the eight waves and find that the distance variable remains positive and significant in all waves (Tables 4.1-4.2-4.3). In terms of magnitude the last wave has the highest coefficient (distance from parties raises by 19 percent the turnout probability) and the first wave the lowest (12.67 percent).

[Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 around here]

We as well estimate the model separately for each country and our main findings remain robust, with the exception of Tables 5.1-5.2-5.3-5.4. The two countries with the highest coefficient are Montenegro and North Macedonia, the two countries with the lowest Belgium and Iceland.

[Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 around here]

The characteristics of non voters, of those feeling more distant from political parties and the turnout decision are all likely to be affected by the respondent's social capital. We therefore re-estimate the benchmark specifications of Table 3.1 by adding as control a proxy of social capital. More specifically we use a variable where respondents say whether they take part in social activities compared to others of same age and the possible answers are much less than most, less than most, about the same, more than most and much more than most. Our findings show that the impact of these responses on the turnout decision is negative and significant as expected with respect to the omitted benchmark of the lowest level of social capital (much less than most) and in the expected ranking order. The distance variable remains strongly positive and significant, thereby confirming that the distance effect persists also when controlling for social capital (Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

[Tables 6.1 and 6.2 around here]

6 Using expert survey positions of political parties in the space of political preferences

In this section we provide a robustness check on our research hypothesis by replacing the EES respondents' fully subjective perception of distance from the preferred party with a distance where the preferred party placement on the space of political preferences is calculated using expert survey evaluation based on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) dataset.

The CHES dataset consists of the Chapel Hill expert surveys, which provide estimations of party positioning on ideology, policy issues, and international relations for national parties in various countries around the world. Specifically, we are interested in the CHES-Europe dataset, which spans six waves from 1999 to 2019. The dataset covers an increasing number of countries, starting with 14 Western European countries in 1999, expanding to 24 current or prospective EU members in 2006, and reaching 32 countries in 2019. Over this period, the number of national parties grew from 143 to 277. The 2019 survey includes all EU member states, as well as parties in Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, and Turkey. Additionally, separate surveys were conducted in the Balkan candidate countries.

Common questions across all CHES-Europe surveys include party positions on European integration, various EU policies, and general left/right, economic left/right, and social left/right orientations. Moreover, more recent surveys also cover non-EU policy issues such as immigration, redistribution, decentralization, and environmental policy. Initially, the classification was guided by Hix and Lord's (1997) methodology, with the exception that confessional and agrarian parties were placed in distinct categories. For parties in Central/Eastern Europe, family association was determined using Derksen's classification (now integrated into Wikipedia), cross-referenced with a) membership or affiliation with international and EU party associations, and b) self-identification. Party codings are regularly updated to reflect ideological shifts or organizational changes.

CHES information is available and can be matched with ESS respondent declaration for only three of our political preference dimensions (Income Redistribution, Civil Rights, and Immigration). We therefore restrict our robustness check on them.

Regarding the economy, the experts in the dataset assess each party’s stance on ‘redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.’ For immigration, we concentrate on the extent to which parties ‘Strongly favor a liberal policy on immigration.’ As for civil rights, we look into the party’s position on social lifestyle issues, such as rights for homosexuals and gender equality, and the degree of opposition they show toward these matters. All these expert evaluations are expressed on a continuous scale from 0 to 10.

To facilitate comprehension and align the dataset with the European Social Survey (ESS), we rescale CHES variables, converting them into discrete values ranging from 1 to 5. This transformation allows us to calculate the distance between each individual respondent’s subjective assessment of the three specific issues (also in a 1 to 5 scale) reported in the ESS dataset and the objective position of the party concerning the same issues in the CHES dataset. We can therefore calculate political distance as the distance between the position in the given preference domain of the given ESS respondent with the position of the party she/he has identified as closer in the ESS responses on the same preference domains calculated with the CHES dataset.

In order to provide a robustness check on our research hypothesis we test the impact of our new distance measure on the decision not to vote. To test the hypothesis of a connection between the distance of the voter from the reference party, we use the same specification presented in section 4 and used for the analysis on ESS data only, focusing solely on the following fully augmented specification.

$$\begin{aligned} Turnout_Decline_{it} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 Distance_Immigration_{it} + \beta_2 Distance_Economics_{it} + \\ & + \beta_3 Distance_CivilRights_{it} + X'_{it}\gamma + \epsilon_{it} \end{aligned}$$

where the dependent variable (*Turnout_Decline*) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national election and zero otherwise. Our main regressors of interest (the three distance regressors) are variables calculating the difference between the respondent’s and the closer party position calculated using CHES data, in the three different domains of political preferences (Immigration, Economics and Civil Rights). The set of controls is the same as in the specification described in

equation 1.

Our findings presented in Table 7 do not reject our research hypothesis of a strong, positive, and statistically significant association between political distance and abstention for each of the three analyzed political preference domains. Moreover, in column 4 of Table 7, it becomes evident that when considering jointly all the three political distances, each of them remain significant. By taking into account that our attempt in matching CHES with ESS data to compute the alternative measure of distance is not free from measurement error we expect the variance of the distance regressor to be inflated and our coefficient significance to be downward biased. We could therefore reasonably expect our findings to be more significant than what shown in estimate tables.

[Table 7 around here]

7 Conclusions

We model turnout as a rational decision affected by the distance from the preferred political party in crucial dimensions of political preferences having as a reference the logic of horizontal differentiation models applied to political competition. We test our research hypothesis by showing that such distance positively and significantly affects the decision not to vote in 32 countries and 8 waves of the European Social Survey. Our findings are robust across each wave. We redefine the left-right segment of political preferences in five dimensions (climate, migration, income redistribution, safety, civil rights) and show that respondents who decline to vote, or those that vote but declare to be distant from their preferred party, are significantly less concerned about civil rights and environmental sustainability, while they are significantly more concerned about safety, control of migration flows and government intervention to redistribute income. Non voters are as well significantly less educated, belong to lower income deciles and are more likely to declare to be right wing.

If we consider turnout decline as a form of protest toward political parties that are too distant from citizen preferences we therefore clearly find with our empirical evidence that this protest matches citizens with lower education, lower income, re-

duced care for the environment and civil rights and higher care for security and fear for immigrant invasion. The so called populist movements seem to have increase their consensus by moving toward preferences of these individuals not voting or feeling distant from political parties. Our findings can therefore contribute to explain the success of emerging EU right-wing parties in the last decade since these parties (i.e. the Northern League in Italy, AFD in Germany, the Lepenist party in France examples) moved in our multidimensional segment of political differentiation exactly toward the location of respondents declaring to feel more distant from political parties (higher focus on security, less focus on hosting migrants, environmental sustainability, civil rights). We do not directly test this point and an interesting direction for future research could be to see whether party political movements are strategically designed to bridge the revealed distance of survey respondents in the different domains and if they electoral success is positively affected by movement in this direction.

Our results as well show that non voters or respondents who do not feel close care less for the environment and are less educated and with lower income. If we assume that our statistical association between these two factors and the dimensions of political preferences hides a causality nexus a stronger focus on education and income distribution could partially reduce these attitudes. As well this is left to future research. If this is the case our findings advocate for the importance of reconciling social and environmental issues in the logic of the just transition that tries to reconcile ecological transition with social worries.

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Table 1: Variable legend

How close to the closest party	Answer to the question How much do you feel close to the closest party ? (very close, quite close, not close, not close at all)
CHES distance Immigration	Distance between the ESS respondent and her/his preferred (CHES calculated) political party position on immigration
CHES distance Economics	Distance between the ESS respondent and her/his preferred (CHES calculated) political party position on economics
CHES distance Civil rights	Distance between the ESS respondent and her/his preferred (CHES calculated) political party position on civil rights
Left-right scale	Placement on the left-right scale (0=extreme left,..,10=extreme right)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	Answer to the question: Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (many, some, a few, none)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish	Consensus on the statement: Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish (Agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, disagree strongly)

Continued on next page

Table 1 – Variable legend (*Continued from previous page*)

Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	Feeling of safety of walking alone in the local area after dark (Very safe, safe, unsafe, very unsafe)
Government should reduce differences in income levels	Answer to the question: Government should reduce differences in income levels (Agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, disagree strongly)
Importance of the environment	Agreement on the statement: It is important to care for nature and the environment (very much like me, like me, somewhat like me, a little like me, not like me, not at all like me)
Satisfaction with economy	Are you satisfied with the present state of the economy? (0= very unsatisfied,...,1 very satisfied)
Satisfaction with the government	Are you satisfied with the government? (0= very unsatisfied,...,1 very satisfied)
Satisfaction with democracy	Are you satisfied with democracy? (0= very unsatisfied,...,1 very satisfied)
Life satisfaction	How satisfied with life as a whole (0=extremely unsatisfied,...,10=extremely satisfied)
Self-assessed health	Subjective general health (very good, good, fair, bad, very bad)
Male	(0/1) dummy taking value one if the respondent is male.
Age	Respondent age

Continued on next page

Table 1 – Variable legend (*Continued from previous page*)

Years of Education	Years of full-time education completed.
N. of children	Number of children ever given birth to/fathered.
Income class	Placement of respondent household total net income in one of the income deciles of the country (1=lowest, 10=highest)
Household members	Number of household members
Marital status dummies	(0/1) dummies picking up the following marital status conditions: married, civil union, separated, divorced, widowed, never married
Employment status	(0/1) dummies picking up the following employment status conditions: student, unemployed, inactive, paid worker, houseworker, disabled.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
Turnout decline	323,688	0.230	0.421	0	1
CHES distance Immigration	112,237	1.11	0.927	0	4
CHES distance Income inequality	114,419	1.07	0.904	0	4
CHES distance Civil rights	112,896	1.08	0.984	0	4
How close to the closest party					
Very close	152,437	0,056	0.230	0	1
Quite close	152,437	0.631	0.483	0	1
Not close	152,437	0.215	0.411	0	1
Not at all close	152,437	0.024	0.152	0	1
Male	354,044	0.464	0.499	0	1
Income class 1	270,850	0.003	0.050	0	1
Income class 2	270,850	0.103	0.304	0	1
Income class 3	270,850	0.108	0.310	0	1
Income class 4	270,850	0.115	0.319	0	1
Income class 5	270,850	0.111	0.315	0	1
Income class 6	270,850	0.105	0.307	0	1
Income class 7	270,850	0.102	0.303	0	1
Income class 8	270,850	0.096	0.295	0	1
Income class 9	270,850	0.088	0.284	0	1
Income class 10	270,850	0.081	0.273	0	1
Household members	353,292	2.669	1.405	1	22
Age	352,424	48.932	18.656	14	123
Marital status					
Married	354,044	0.503	0.500	0	1
Separated	354,044	0.090	0.287	0	1
Widowed	354,044	0.092	0.289	0	1
Never Married	354,044	0.283	0.451	0	1

Continued on next page

Table 2 – Descriptive statistics (*Continued from previous page*)

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
Education years	350,396	120.623	40.081	0	60
Employment status					
Retired	353,933	0.264	0.441	0	1
Student	353,933	0.095	0.293	0	1
Unemployed, in search	353,933	0.044	0.205	0	1
Unempoloyed, not in search	353,933	0.021	0.144	0	1
Employed	353,933	0.519	0.500	0	1
Houseworker	353,933	0.162	0.162	0	1
Disabled	353,933	0.032	0.032	0	1
Self-Assessed Health					
Very good	353,452	0.2238	0.427	0	1
Good	353,452	0.418	0.493	0	1
Fair	353,452	0.259	0.438	0	1
Bad	353,452	0.069	0.253	0	1
Very bad	353,452	0.014	0.119	0	1
Left-right scale	306,565	5.134	2.246	0	10
Life satisfaction	33,008	7.043	2.130	0	10
Satisfaction with present state of economy in country					
Level 0	352,139	0.078	0.267	0	1
Level 1	352,139	0.053	0.223	0	1
Level 2	352,139	0.093	0.290	0	1
Level 3	352,139	0.119	0.323	0	1
Level 4	352,139	0.115	0.319	0	1
Level 5	352,139	0.153	0.360	0	1
Level 6	352,139	0.120	0.325	0	1
Level 7	352,139	0.124	0.329	0	1
Level 8	352,139	0.087	0.282	0	1

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Table 2 – Descriptive statistics (*Continued from previous page*)

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
Level 9	352,139	0.028	0.166	0	1
Level 10	352,139	0.016	0.126	0	1
Satisfaction with government					
Level 0	351,622	0.104	0.305	0	1
Level 1	351,622	0.064	0.245	0	1
Level 2	351,622	0.099	0.298	0	1
Level 3	351,622	0.121	0.326	0	1
Level 4	351,622	0.116	0.320	0	1
Level 5	351,622	0.163	0.369	0	1
Level 6	351,622	0.114	0.318	0	1
Level 7	351,622	0.108	0.310	0	1
Level 8	351,622	0.063	0.243	0	1
Level 9	351,622	0.018	0.132	0	1
Level 10	351,622	0.010	0.101	0	1
Satisfaction with democracy					
Level 0	351,593	0.057	0.232	0	1
Level 1	351,593	0.037	0.189	0	1
Level 2	351,593	0.066	0.248	0	1
Level 3	351,593	0.092	0.290	0	1
Level 4	351,593	0.098	0.297	0	1
Level 5	351,593	0.164	0.370	0	1
Level 6	351,593	0.118	0.322	0	1
Level 7	351,593	0.142	0.349	0	1
Level 8	351,593	0.125	0.330	0	1
Level 9	351,593	0.049	0.216	0	1
Level 10	351,593	0.026	0.158	0	1
Importance of the environment					
Very much like me	32,935	0.304	0.460	0	1
Like me	32,935	0.381	0.486	0	1

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Table 2 – Descriptive statistics (*Continued from previous page*)

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
Somewhat like me	32,935	0.225	0.418	0	1
A little like me	32,935	0.088	0.284	0	1
Not like me	32,935	0.025	0.155	0	1
Not like me at all	32,935	0.007	0.081	0	1
Government should reduce differences in income levels					
Agree strongly	347,649	0.309	0.462	0	1
Agree	347,649	0.428	0.495	0	1
Neither agree nor disagree	347,649	0.145	0.352	0	1
Disagree	347,649	0.095	0.293	0	1
Disagree strongly	347,649	0.023	0.149	0	1
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish					
Agree strongly	351,678	0.331	0.471	0	1
Agree	351,678	0.348	0.476	0	1
Neither agree nor disagree	351,678	0.143	0.350	0	1
Disagree	351,678	0.087	0.282	0	1
Disagree strongly	351,678	0.069	0.253	0	1
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark					
Very safe	350,245	0.270	0.444	0	1
Safe	350,245	0.507	0.500	0	1
Unsafe	350,245	0.181	0.385	0	1
Very unsafe	350,245	0.041	0.199	0	1
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe					
Many	351,703	0.125	0.331	0	1
Some	351,703	0.345	0.475	0	1
A few	351,703	0.320	0.467	0	1

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Table 2 – Descriptive statistics (*Continued from previous page*)

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
None	351,703	0.182	0.386	0	1
Countries					
Austria	353,933	0.037	0.190	0	1
Belgium	353,933	0.035	0.184	0	1
Bulgaria	353,933	0.037	0.190	0	1
Switzerland	353,933	0.036	0.186	0	1
Cyprus	353,933	0.015	0.120	0	1
Czech Republic	353,933	0.044	0.206	0	1
Germany	353,933	0.056	0.230	0	1
Denmark	353,933	0.022	0.147	0	1
Estonia	353,933	0.042	0.201	0	1
Spain	353,933	0.039	0.193	0	1
Finland	353,933	0.044	0.205	0	1
France	353,933	0.044	0.206	0	1
Great Britain	353,933	0.045	0.207	0	1
Greece	353,933	0.021	0.145	0	1
Croatia	353,933	0.018	0.135	0	1
Hungary	353,933	0.038	0.191	0	1
Ireland	353,933	0.046	0.209	0	1
Israel	353,933	0.035	0.184	0	1
Iceland	353,933	0.007	0.084	0	1
Italy	353,933	0.025	0.157	0	1
Lithuania	353,933	0.039	0.193	0	1
Latvia	353,933	0.014	0.116	0	1
Montenegro	353,933	0.004	0.060	0	1
North Macedonia	353,933	0.004	0.063	0	1
Netherlands	353,933	0.040	0.195	0	1
Norway	353,933	0.035	0.183	0	1
Poland	353,933	0.033	0.180	0	1

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Table 2 – Descriptive statistics (*Continued from previous page*)

Variable	Obs	Mean	St dev	Min	Max
Portugal	353,933	0.040	0.197	0	1
Romania	353,933	0.012	0.109	0	1
Sweden	353,933	0.034	0.181	0	1
Slovenia	353,933	0.030	0.170	0	1
Slovakia	353,933	0.028	0.164	0	1
ESS Waves					
Wave 3	354,044	0.120	0.326	0	1
Wave 4	354,044	0.153	0.360	0	1
Wave 5	354,044	0.142	0.349	0	1
Wave 6	354,044	0.134	0.341	0	1
Wave 7	354,044	0.114	0.317	0	1
Wave 8	354,044	0.119	0.323	0	1
Wave 9	354,044	0.124	0.329	0	1
Wave 10	354,044	0.094	0.292	0	1

Figure 1: Average turnout decline share in the 32 ESS countries - average from ESS3 (2006) to ESS10 (2020)

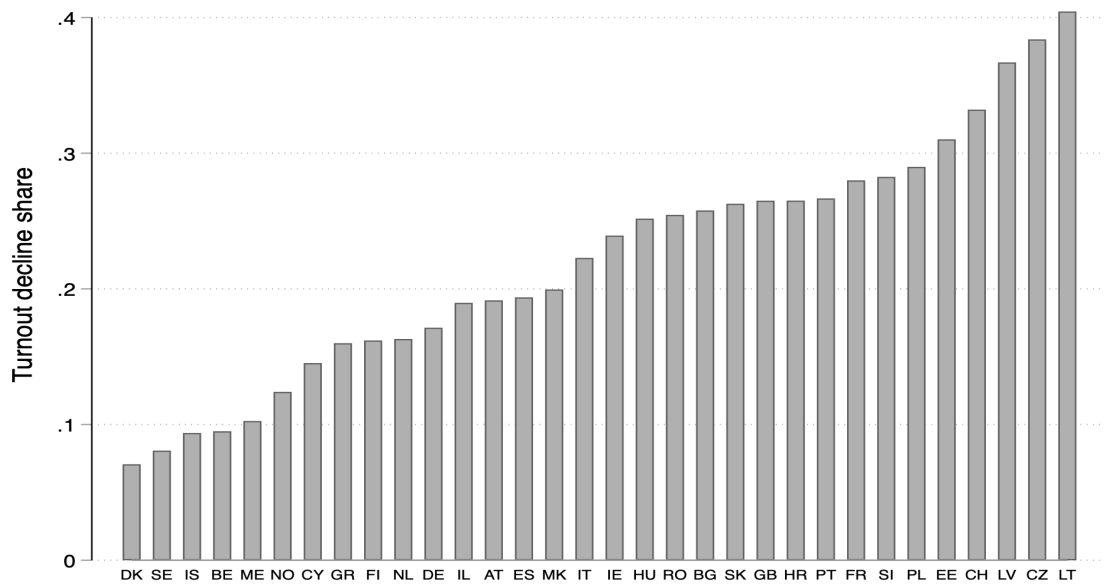


Figure 2: Average share of respondents declaring to be not close to any party in the 32 countries - average from ESS3 (2006) to ESS10 (2020)

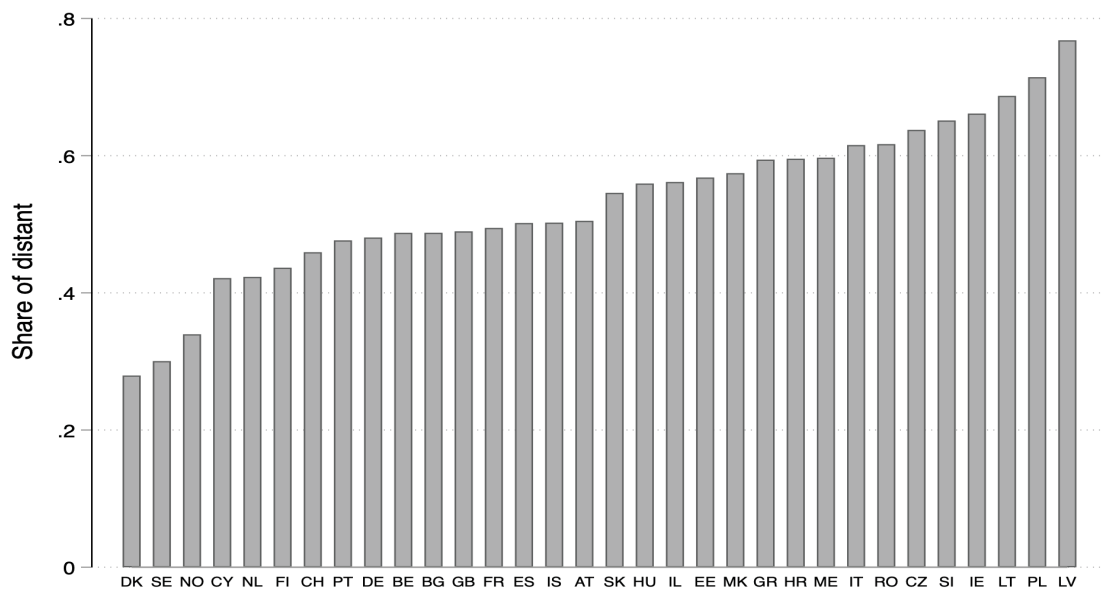
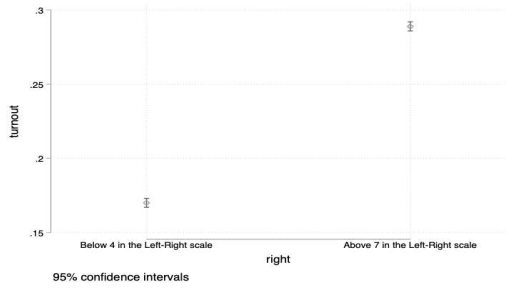
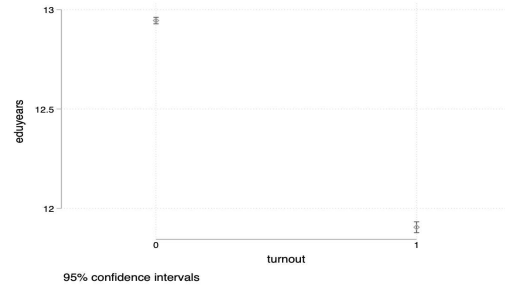


Figure 3: Socio-demographic and preference differences between voters and non voters

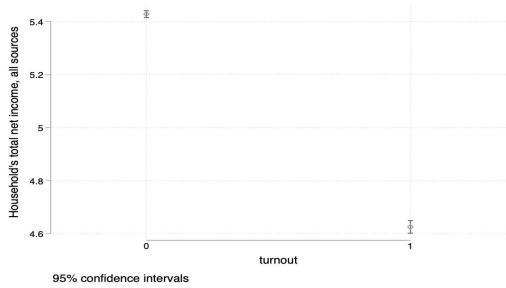
Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; Horizontal axis: right in the left-right scale



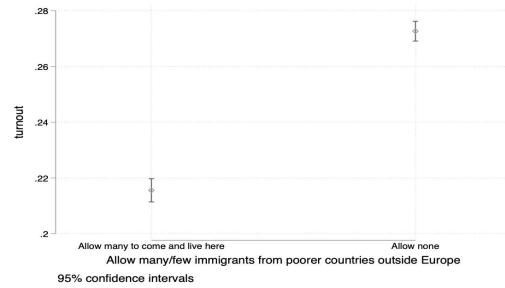
Vertical axis: average education years, horizontal axis: 1 if respondents do not vote



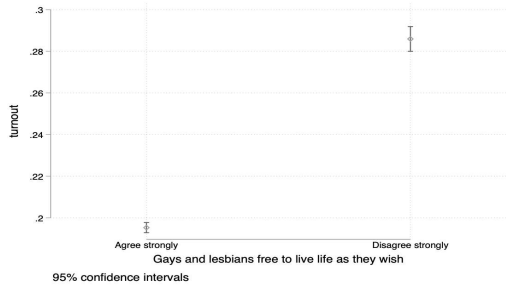
Vertical axis: average income decile; horizontal axis: 1 if respondents do not vote



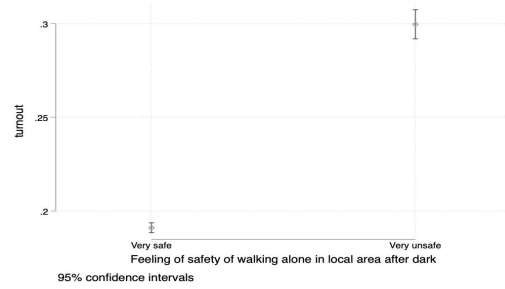
Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; horizontal axis: opinion about migrants



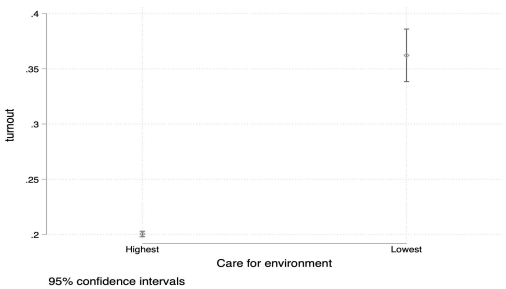
Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; horizontal axis: opinion about gay/lesbians



Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; horizontal axis: opinion about security



Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; horizontal axis: opinion about care for environment



Vertical axis: percent of turnout decline; horizontal axis: opinion about income distribution

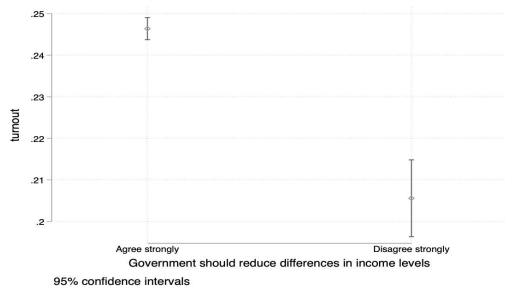


Figure 4: Education years and distribution of preferences in the five relevant domains for those who vote and those who abstain

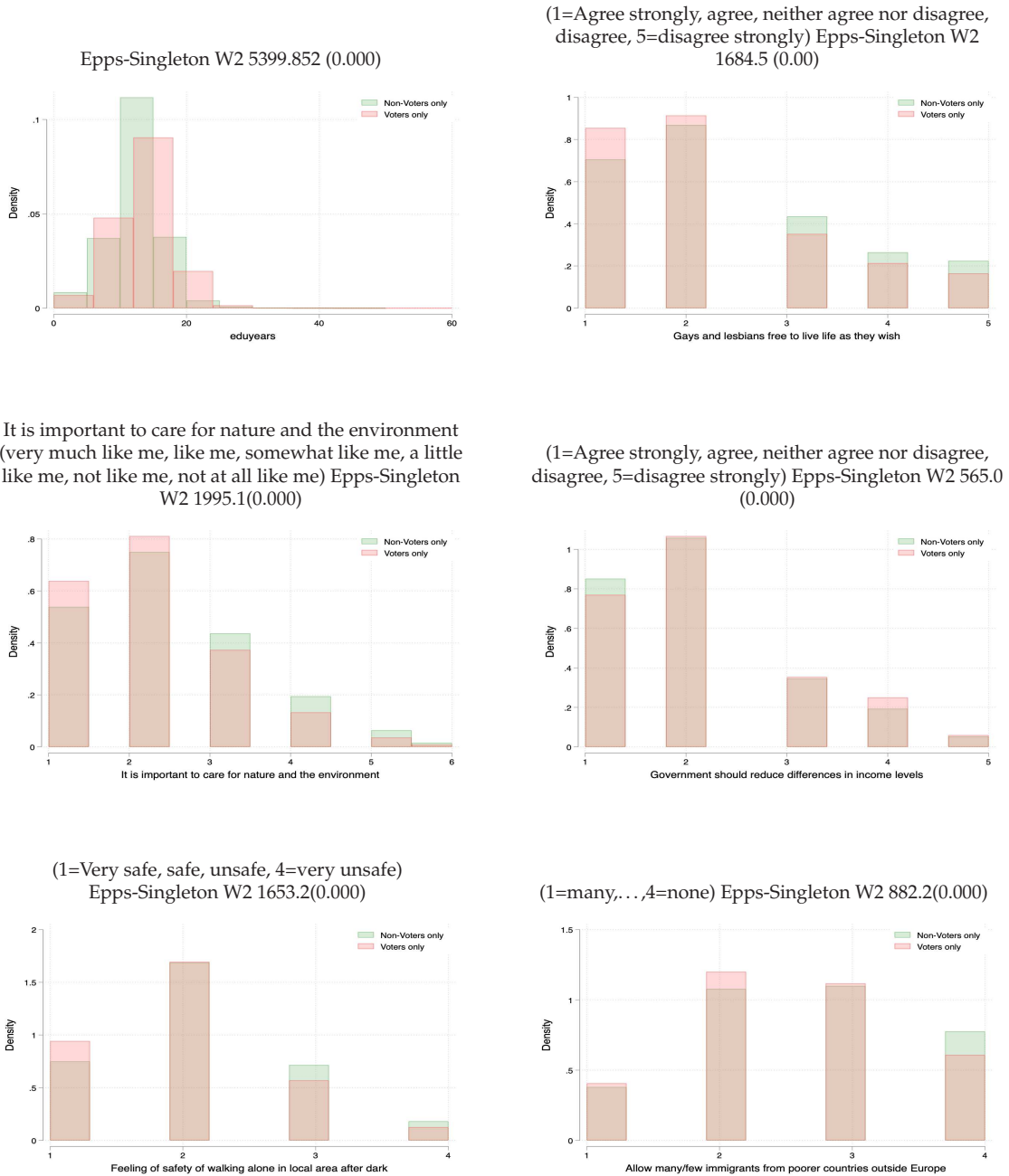
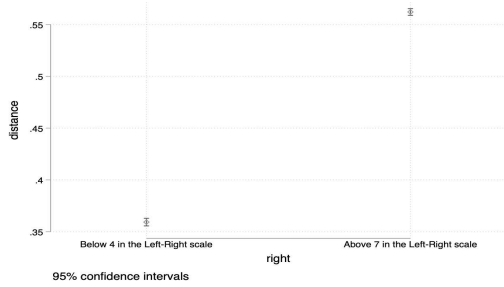
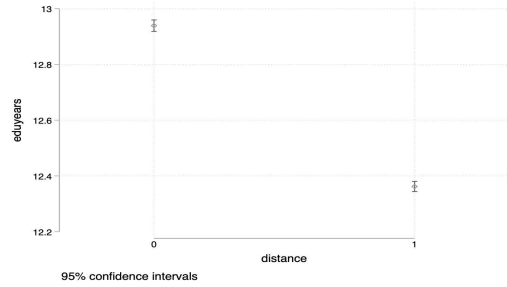


Figure 5: Socio-demographic and preference differences between respondents declaring distance/non distance from political parties

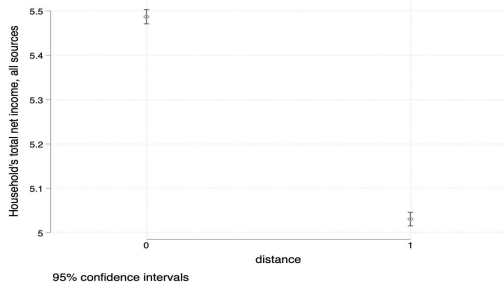
Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: right in the left-right scale



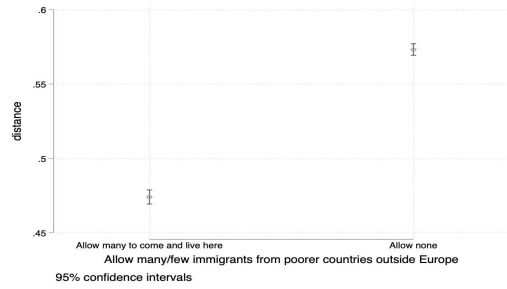
Vertical axis: education years. Horizontal axis: 1: EES respondents declaring they do not feel closer to any political party



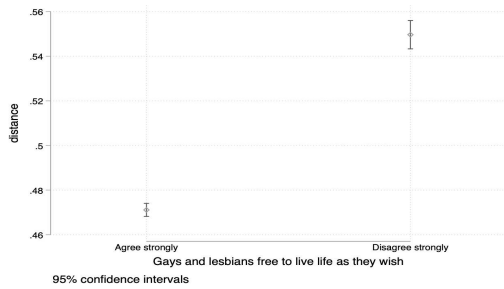
Vertical axis: average income decile. Horizontal axis: EES respondents declaring they do not feel closer to any political party



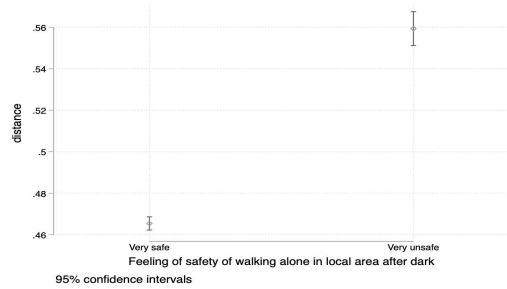
Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: position toward immigrants



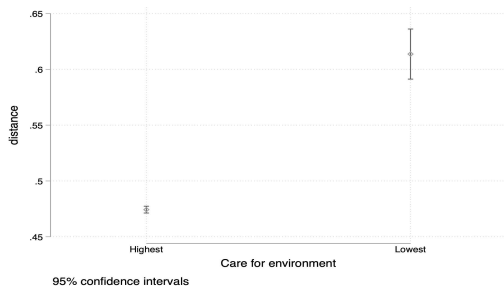
Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: position on civil rights



Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: position on security



Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: position on care for the environment (1=like me) (6=not like me)



Vertical axis: share of those declaring they do not feel closer to any political party. Horizontal axis: position on income redistribution

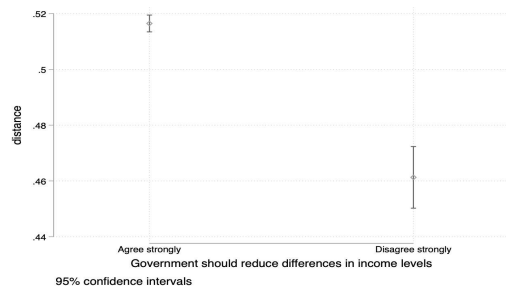


Table 3.1: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance	1.366*** (0.0925)	1.225*** (0.0864)	1.200*** (0.0880)	1.188*** (0.0872)
Adj. R squared	0.164	0.164	0.164	0.164
Log-likelihood	-107338	-91378	-87975	-84691
Observations	246,237	222,658	216,611	209,935

Note: The estimated specification is described in section 4. The dependent variable (Turnout_Decline) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national election and zero otherwise. The main regressor of interest (Distance) is a unit dummy taking value one for respondents that declare they do not feel closer to a particular party than all other parties and zero otherwise. In column 2 we add for self-assessed health, life satisfaction and placement in the left right scale. In column 3 satisfaction about economy, government and democracy. In the fully augmented specification of column 4 we add preferences on the five selected domains (environment, immigrants, civil rights, safety and government intervention to reduce income inequality) Self-assessed health is added in column 2, political preferences in column 3, social capital in column 4 and income satisfaction in column 5. Omitted benchmarks: income class 1, divorced, living in Austria, very good self-assessed health status. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table 3.2: The effect of different degrees of political distance on the decision not to vote

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Degrees of distance from political parties				
Not at all close	-0.423*** (0.132)	-0.320*** (0.113)	-0.288*** (0.107)	-0.311*** (0.105)
Not close	-0.824*** (0.0792)	-0.694*** (0.0713)	-0.679*** (0.0730)	-0.672*** (0.0716)
Quite close	-1.464*** (0.0845)	-1.332*** (0.0793)	-1.302*** (0.0815)	-1.290*** (0.0814)
Very close	-1.902*** (0.103)	-1.772*** (0.105)	-1.760*** (0.106)	-1.770*** (0.108)
Adj. R squared	0.165	0.165	0.165	0.165
Log-likelihood	-107490	-91248	-87850	-84551
Observations	246,237	222,658	216,611	209,935

Note: The estimated specification is described in section 4. The dependent variable (Turnout_Decline) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national election and zero otherwise. The main regressors of interest are a set of unit dummies capturing whether the respondent feels very close, quite close, not close, not close at all with the omitted benchmark being the value one in the distance variable (those responding they do not feel closer to a particular party than all other political parties). In column 2 we add for self-assessed health, life satisfaction and placement in the left right scale. In column 3 satisfaction about economy, government and democracy. In the fully augmented specification of column 4 we add preferences on the five selected domains (environment, immigrants, civil rights, safety and government intervention to reduce income inequality) Self-assessed health is added in column 2, political preferences in column 3, social capital in column 4 and income satisfaction in column 5. Omitted benchmarks: income class 1, divorced, living in Austria, very good self-assessed health status. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3.3: The effect of distance on the decision not to vote (subsample of less distant respondents)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Quite close	0.367*** (0.0485)	0.380*** (0.0500)	0.399*** (0.0505)	0.422*** (0.0513)
Not close	0.994*** (0.0603)	1.000*** (0.0621)	1.004*** (0.0621)	1.022*** (0.0641)
Not at all close	1.420*** (0.115)	1.387*** (0.113)	1.404*** (0.109)	1.397*** (0.105)
Adj. R squared	0.112	0.112	0.112	0.112
Log-likelihood	-34441	-32641	-31550	-30446
Observations	117,717	114,160	111,621	108,468

Note: The estimated specification is described in section 4. The dependent variable (Turnout_Decline) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national election and zero otherwise. The estimate is run on the subsample of those declaring they do feel close to a particular party than all other parties but with different degrees of proximity (very close, quite close, not close, not close at all) using the very close response as omitted benchmark. Respondents who declare they do not feel close to a particular party are omitted from the sample. In column 2 we add self-assessed health, life satisfaction and placement in the left right scale, in column 3 satisfaction about economy, government and democracy as regressors. In the fully augmented specification of column 4 we add preferences on the five selected domains (environment, immigrants, civil rights, safety and government intervention to reduce income inequality). Omitted benchmarks: income class 1, legally married, living in Austria, very bad self-assessed health status. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4.1: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote - waves breakdown

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Distance	1.056*** (0.0904)	1.112*** (0.0887)	1.267*** (0.106)	1.241*** (0.106)	1.149*** (0.129)	1.074*** (0.112)	1.287*** (0.114)	1.460*** (0.157)
Adj. R squared	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174
Log-likelihood	-8467	-11765	-11878	-12298	-10043	-10637	-10204	-8335
Observations	22,105	29,249	28,971	30,014	25,214	27,302	26,701	20,358

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.1 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4.2: The effect of different degrees of distance on the decision not to vote - waves breakdown

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Not at all close	-0.242 (0.247)	-0.499** (0.244)	-0.345 (0.215)	-0.407* (0.227)	-0.393*** (0.121)	-0.179 (0.180)	-0.314** (0.153)	-0.173 (0.141)
Not close	-0.525*** (0.0992)	-0.664*** (0.0920)	-0.798*** (0.111)	-0.766*** (0.0962)	-0.631*** (0.111)	-0.581*** (0.118)	-0.711*** (0.0852)	-0.918*** (0.0953)
Quite close	-1.160*** (0.0879)	-1.235*** (0.0979)	-1.314*** (0.0998)	-1.354*** (0.111)	-1.251*** (0.121)	-1.224*** (0.119)	-1.414*** (0.107)	-1.457*** (0.101)
Very close	-1.605*** (0.119)	-1.660*** (0.167)	-1.817*** (0.184)	-1.768*** (0.130)	-1.727*** (0.201)	-1.702*** (0.155)	-1.957*** (0.202)	-2.050*** (0.294)
Adj. R squared	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170
Log-likelihood	-8448	-11742	-11885	-12279	-10023	-10585	-10177	-8377
Observations	22,105	29,249	28,971	30,014	25,214	27,302	26,701	20,358

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.2 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses.
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4.3: The effect of political distance on decision not to vote (subsample of less distant respondents) - waves breakdown

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Quite close	0.405*** (0.124)	0.422*** (0.115)	0.457*** (0.151)	0.402*** (0.118)	0.442*** (0.149)	0.434*** (0.109)	0.458*** (0.140)	0.405** (0.180)
Not close	1.052*** (0.157)	1.032*** (0.134)	0.934*** (0.149)	0.949*** (0.155)	1.048*** (0.155)	1.081*** (0.148)	1.130*** (0.142)	0.863*** (0.187)
Not at all close	1.400*** (0.281)	1.191*** (0.237)	1.398*** (0.268)	1.362*** (0.247)	1.286*** (0.209)	1.565*** (0.232)	1.549*** (0.221)	1.598*** (0.191)
Adj. R squared	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130
Log-likelihood	-3401	-4272	-4101	-4219	-4002	-3936	-3471	-2418
Observations	12,227	15,085	14,547	15,212	13,989	14,165	13,626	9,172

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.3 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 5.1: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote - country breakdown

VARIABLES	Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Switzerland	Cyprus	Czech Rep.	Germany	Denmark
Distance	1.642*** (0.152)	0.525*** (0.0861)	2.050*** (0.256)	1.291*** (0.0568)	1.754*** (0.0971)	2.108*** (0.0742)	0.946*** (0.0872)	0.884*** (0.0840)
Adj. R squared	2.017***	1.071	1.336***	4.178***	1.152	2.102***	1.395	2.979***
Log-likelihood	(0.494)	(1.091)	(0.492)	(0.600)	(1.198)	(0.410)	(0.882)	(0.910)
Observations	7,314	9,573	6,206	7,651	2,224	8,910	14,319	5,997

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.1 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 5.2: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote - country breakdown

VARIABLES	Estonia	Spain	Finland	France	United Kingdom	Greece	Croatia	Hungary
Distance	0.884*** (0.0840)	0.979*** (0.0918)	0.860*** (0.0539)	0.826*** (0.0471)	0.975*** (0.0664)	1.485*** (0.0792)	1.275*** (0.0884)	1.996*** (0.246)
Adj. R squared	2.979*** (0.910)	0.869*** (0.285)	2.142*** (0.689)	2.746*** (0.358)	2.274** (0.889)	-0.243 (0.229)	2.889*** (0.642)	1.646*** (0.415)
Log-likelihood								
Observations	5,997	7,687	12,105	11,404	10,621	3,451	3,613	6,028

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.1 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 5.3: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote - country breakdown

VARIABLES	Ireland	Israel	Iceland	Italy	Lituania	Latvia	Montenegro	North Macedonia
Distance	1.081*** (0.0786)	1.233*** (0.198)	0.571*** (0.152)	1.347*** (0.230)	2.061*** (0.196)	1.330*** (0.113)	2.85*** (0.618)	2.38*** (0.369)
Adj. R squared	3.688*** (0.777)	2.417** (0.940)	4.081** (1.635)	0.991 (0.812)	1.873*** (0.435)	3.975*** (1.263)	-2.877 (2.794)	-3.949 (2.262)
Observations	9,209	6,848	1,804	3,522	7,093	2,454	696	696

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.1 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 5.4: The effect of political distance on the decision not to vote - country breakdown

VARIABLES	Netherlands	Norway	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Sweden	Slovenia	Slovakia
Distance	0.913*** (0.0934)	0.654*** (0.0640)	0.916*** (0.108)	1.426*** (0.0955)	1.44*** (0.206)	0.906*** (0.111)	0.924*** (0.0846)	1.777*** (0.162)
Adj. R squared	2.213*** (0.486)	3.881*** (0.255)	2.839*** (0.419)	1.513*** (0.444)	2.07 (2.208)	0.551 (1.445)	2.073*** (0.359)	1.667** (0.828)
Observations	10,650	9,877	6,604	5,476	1,001	8,931	6,006	4,387

Note: Results from the fully augmented specification of Table 3.1 (column 4) separate for each wave. Robust standard errors in parentheses.
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 6.1: The effect of distance on turnout – including controls for social activity

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance	1.346*** (0.0919)	1.213*** (0.0864)	1.189*** (0.0881)	1.176*** (0.0875)
Take part in social activities compared to others of same age (omitted benchmark: much less than most)				
Less than most	-0.334*** (0.0297)	-0.248*** (0.0336)	-0.237*** (0.0334)	-0.232*** (0.0335)
About the same	-0.589*** (0.0383)	-0.468*** (0.0465)	-0.451*** (0.0449)	-0.447*** (0.0448)
More than most	-0.667*** (0.0507)	-0.531*** (0.0603)	-0.527*** (0.0599)	-0.519*** (0.0608)
Much more than most	-0.617*** (0.0587)	-0.508*** (0.0635)	-0.512*** (0.0661)	-0.491*** (0.0680)
Observations	242,988	220,390	214,569	208,151
Adj. R ²	0.167	0.167	0.167	0.167
Log-likelihood	-105009	-90020	-86761	-83635

Note: Specifications table 3.1 augmented with the social capital variable. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 6.2: The effect of different degrees of distance on turnout – including controls for social activity

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Degrees of distance from political parties				
Not at all close	-0.447*** (0.136)	-0.335*** (0.114)	-0.303*** (0.108)	-0.328*** (0.107)
Not close	-0.812*** (0.0779)	-0.689*** (0.0707)	-0.674*** (0.0726)	-0.669*** (0.0713)
Quite close	-1.442*** (0.0844)	-1.319*** (0.0799)	-1.290*** (0.0823)	-1.278*** (0.0821)
Very close	-1.885*** (0.102)	-1.765*** (0.104)	-1.751*** (0.107)	-1.753*** (0.109)
Take part in social activities compared to others of same age (omitted benchmark: much less than most)				
Less than most	-0.331*** (0.0292)	-0.245*** (0.0328)	-0.233*** (0.0324)	-0.226*** (0.0326)
About the same	-0.584*** (0.0376)	-0.462*** (0.0454)	-0.445*** (0.0436)	-0.438*** (0.0435)
More than most	-0.659*** (0.0485)	-0.522*** (0.0577)	-0.517*** (0.0573)	-0.508*** (0.0581)
Much more than most	-0.600*** (0.0565)	-0.490*** (0.0614)	-0.494*** (0.0641)	-0.471*** (0.0661)
Observations	242,988	220,390	214,569	208,151
Adj. R ²	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168
Log-likelihood	-105147	-89889	-86636	-83503

Note: Specifications table 3.2 augmented with the social capital variable. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 7: Voter abstention and political distance (calculated with CHES data)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance_Immigration	0.0673*** (0.0197)			0.0625*** (0.0198)
Distance_Economics		0.0640** (0.0256)		0.0547* (0.0291)
Distance_Civil Rights			0.109*** (0.0219)	0.0976*** (0.0214)
Observations	55,880	56,647	56,647	55,880
Adj. R ²	0.102	0.102	0.102	0.102
Log-likelihood	-15174	-15378	-15360	-15149

Note: The estimated specification is described in section 6. The dependent variable (Turnout_Decline) takes value one if the respondent did not vote in the last national election and zero otherwise. Our main regressors of interest (the three distance regressors) are categorical variables calculating the difference between the respondent's and the closer party position calculated using CHES data, in the three different domains of political preferences (Immigration, Economics and Civil Rights). The set of controls is the same as in the specification described in section 4. Omitted benchmarks: income class 1, legally married, living in Austria, very bad self-assessed health status. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Appendix A

Table 3.1A: The effect of distance on turnout (full estimate details)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance	1.366*** (0.0925)	1.225*** (0.0864)	1.200*** (0.0880)	1.188*** (0.0872)
Male	0.0869*** (0.0220)	0.100*** (0.0237)	0.108*** (0.0240)	0.111*** (0.0226)
Income class 2	-0.0776*** (0.0243)	-0.0558* (0.0312)	-0.0584** (0.0284)	-0.0519* (0.0283)
Income class 3	-0.161*** (0.0341)	-0.113*** (0.0370)	-0.107*** (0.0351)	-0.104*** (0.0344)
Income class 4	-0.237*** (0.0351)	-0.161*** (0.0369)	-0.160*** (0.0356)	-0.155*** (0.0352)
Income class 5	-0.271*** (0.0372)	-0.175*** (0.0375)	-0.163*** (0.0352)	-0.153*** (0.0334)
Income class 6	-0.316*** (0.0412)	-0.205*** (0.0424)	-0.192*** (0.0411)	-0.184*** (0.0397)
Income class 7	-0.429*** (0.0522)	-0.327*** (0.0494)	-0.305*** (0.0483)	-0.284*** (0.0480)
Income class 8	-0.473*** (0.0615)	-0.351*** (0.0588)	-0.328*** (0.0557)	-0.314*** (0.0549)
Income class 9	-0.519*** (0.0730)	-0.395*** (0.0706)	-0.372*** (0.0657)	-0.346*** (0.0657)
Income class 10	-0.532*** (0.0749)	-0.381*** (0.0694)	-0.353*** (0.0656)	-0.324*** (0.0635)
N. of household members	-0.0149 (0.0114)	-0.0127 (0.0121)	-0.0179 (0.0118)	-0.0212* (0.0114)
Age	-0.0794***	-0.0831***	-0.0826***	-0.0780***

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.00497)	(0.00527)	(0.00518)	(0.00512)
Age squared	0.000531***	0.000539***	0.000535***	0.000482***
	(4.92e-05)	(4.81e-05)	(4.67e-05)	(4.59e-05)
Married	-0.439***	-0.420***	-0.407***	-0.397***
	(0.0398)	(0.0410)	(0.0444)	(0.0465)
Separated	0.00700	-0.0149	-0.0120	0.00202
	(0.0452)	(0.0443)	(0.0444)	(0.0445)
Widowed	-0.141***	-0.176***	-0.161***	-0.155***
	(0.0464)	(0.0461)	(0.0464)	(0.0500)
Never married	-0.179***	-0.199***	-0.195***	-0.179***
	(0.0406)	(0.0320)	(0.0329)	(0.0399)
Retired	-0.274***	-0.276***	-0.282***	-0.283***
	(0.0530)	(0.0527)	(0.0514)	(0.0533)
Student	-0.198***	-0.165***	-0.141***	-0.130***
	(0.0413)	(0.0438)	(0.0434)	(0.0435)
Unemployed not in search	0.107*	0.0833	0.0713	0.0793
	(0.0574)	(0.0537)	(0.0543)	(0.0557)
Unemployed in search	0.179***	0.146***	0.142***	0.140***
	(0.0544)	(0.0497)	(0.0480)	(0.0464)
Paid worker	-0.189***	-0.170***	-0.173***	-0.173***
	(0.0301)	(0.0337)	(0.0345)	(0.0350)
Houseworker	-0.0529**	-0.0537**	-0.0540*	-0.0422
	(0.0244)	(0.0267)	(0.0285)	(0.0289)
Disabled	0.251***	0.00709	0.0170	0.0188
	(0.0405)	(0.0367)	(0.0383)	(0.0381)
Education years	-0.0785***	-0.0717***	-0.0706***	-0.0666***
	(0.00679)	(0.00716)	(0.00677)	(0.00651)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Health: Good		0.0296 (0.0212)	0.0283 (0.0226)	0.0138 (0.0228)
Health: Fair		0.154*** (0.0309)	0.136*** (0.0335)	0.108*** (0.0339)
Health: Bad		0.408*** (0.0460)	0.369*** (0.0491)	0.330*** (0.0500)
Health: Very bad		0.670*** (0.0728)	0.628*** (0.0754)	0.571*** (0.0783)
Left-right scale		-0.0326*** (0.00833)	-0.0264*** (0.00824)	-0.0299*** (0.00793)
Life satisfaction		-0.0617*** (0.00678)	-0.0489*** (0.00710)	-0.0428*** (0.00662)
Satisfaction with economy 1			0.0450 (0.0414)	0.0378 (0.0433)
Satisfaction with economy 2			0.0510 (0.0314)	0.0532* (0.0312)
Satisfaction with economy 3			0.0372 (0.0335)	0.0338 (0.0336)
Satisfaction with economy 4			0.0633 (0.0474)	0.0558 (0.0451)
Satisfaction with economy 5			0.0874* (0.0490)	0.0827* (0.0474)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with economy 6			0.0362 (0.0554)	0.0351 (0.0509)
Satisfaction with economy 7			0.0185 (0.0635)	0.0239 (0.0604)
Satisfaction with economy 8			0.0428 (0.0738)	0.0505 (0.0715)
Satisfaction with economy 9			0.0797 (0.0915)	0.0871 (0.0884)
Satisfaction with economy 10			0.272** (0.111)	0.272** (0.109)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1			-0.108*** (0.0281)	-0.105*** (0.0296)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 2			-0.0612* (0.0316)	-0.0654** (0.0328)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 3			-0.115*** (0.0324)	-0.116*** (0.0322)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 4			-0.166*** (0.0346)	-0.173*** (0.0340)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with government 5			-0.0772*	-0.0879**
			(0.0435)	(0.0440)
Satisfaction with government 6			-0.212***	-0.220***
			(0.0518)	(0.0541)
Satisfaction with government 7			-0.181***	-0.191***
			(0.0523)	(0.0533)
Satisfaction with government 8			-0.194***	-0.214***
			(0.0642)	(0.0660)
Satisfaction with government 9			-0.271***	-0.268***
			(0.0795)	(0.0802)
Satisfaction with government 10			-0.218*	-0.222*
			(0.122)	(0.122)
Satisfaction with democracy 1			-0.113**	-0.116**
			(0.0558)	(0.0568)
Satisfaction with democracy 2			-0.164***	-0.155***
			(0.0439)	(0.0428)
Satisfaction with democracy 3			-0.178***	-0.175***
			(0.0450)	(0.0446)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with democracy 4			-0.175***	-0.162***
			(0.0488)	(0.0473)
Satisfaction with democracy 5			-0.152***	-0.139***
			(0.0406)	(0.0404)
Satisfaction with democracy 6			-0.244***	-0.223***
			(0.0578)	(0.0555)
Satisfaction with democracy 7			-0.341***	-0.310***
			(0.0652)	(0.0655)
Satisfaction with democracy 8			-0.402***	-0.372***
			(0.0693)	(0.0672)
Satisfaction with democracy 9			-0.410***	-0.374***
			(0.0950)	(0.0940)
Satisfaction with democracy 10			-0.315***	-0.294***
			(0.0826)	(0.0826)
Importance of the environment				
Like me				0.0409**
				(0.0194)
Somewhat like me				0.0991***
				(0.0274)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
A little like me				0.207*** (0.0400)
Not like me				0.255*** (0.0428)
Not like me at all				0.329*** (0.0989)
Government should reduce differences in income Levels				
Agree				-0.0686*** (0.0200)
Neither agree nor disagree				-0.0466** (0.0226)
Disagree				-0.104*** (0.0346)
Disagree strongly				-0.0704 (0.0806)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree				0.130*** (0.0309)
Neither agree nor disagree				0.193*** (0.0319)
Disagree				0.234*** (0.0446)
Disagree strongly				0.245*** (0.0556)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe				0.0294 (0.0226)
Unsafe				0.140*** (0.0301)
Very unsafe				0.225*** (0.0507)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
Some				-0.0301 (0.0321)
A few				0.00526 (0.0387)
None				0.0167 (0.0436)
Belgium	-0.703*** (0.00840)	-0.647*** (0.00872)	-0.684*** (0.0140)	-0.668*** (0.0148)
Bulgaria	0.515*** (0.0352)	0.321*** (0.0380)	0.252*** (0.0567)	0.190*** (0.0585)
Switzerland	1.057*** (0.0225)	1.148*** (0.0250)	1.235*** (0.0307)	1.266*** (0.0337)
Cyprus	-0.103*** (0.0304)	-0.237*** (0.0356)	-0.230*** (0.0445)	-0.275*** (0.0481)
Czech Republic	1.028***	0.967***	0.963***	0.898***

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0175)	(0.0190)	(0.0223)	(0.0236)
Germany	0.117***	0.0558***	0.0344***	0.0350***
	(0.0101)	(0.0109)	(0.0117)	(0.0123)
Denmark	-0.845***	-0.779***	-0.756***	-0.697***
	(0.0241)	(0.0270)	(0.0267)	(0.0304)
Estonia	0.659***	0.562***	0.549***	0.504***
	(0.0226)	(0.0236)	(0.0240)	(0.0237)
Spain	0.0510**	-0.0455**	-0.0989***	-0.0637**
	(0.0202)	(0.0219)	(0.0334)	(0.0300)
Finland	0.110***	0.162***	0.216***	0.195***
	(0.0144)	(0.0175)	(0.0202)	(0.0218)
France	0.804***	0.766***	0.724***	0.749***
	(0.0158)	(0.0161)	(0.0296)	(0.0317)
Great Britain	0.657***	0.638***	0.609***	0.600***
	(0.0101)	(0.0116)	(0.0190)	(0.0183)
Greece	-0.401***	-0.573***	-0.627***	-0.697***
	(0.0291)	(0.0347)	(0.0485)	(0.0501)
Croatia	0.442***	0.357***	0.266***	0.229***
	(0.0240)	(0.0247)	(0.0402)	(0.0386)
Hungary	0.445***	0.257***	0.208***	0.109***
	(0.0177)	(0.0221)	(0.0333)	(0.0370)
Ireland	0.190***	0.191***	0.159***	0.158***
	(0.0127)	(0.0178)	(0.0252)	(0.0253)
Israel	-0.146***	-0.145***	-0.176***	-0.213***
	(0.0203)	(0.0231)	(0.0288)	(0.0294)
Iceland	-0.715***	-0.683***	-0.739***	-0.721***
	(0.0435)	(0.0505)	(0.0516)	(0.0570)

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Italy	0.0741* (0.0389)	-0.0888** (0.0394)	-0.141*** (0.0486)	-0.176*** (0.0493)
Lithuania	1.118*** (0.0191)	0.811*** (0.0204)	0.785*** (0.0265)	0.641*** (0.0280)
Latvia	0.627*** (0.0302)	0.544*** (0.0399)	0.469*** (0.0443)	0.398*** (0.0489)
Montenegro	-0.908*** (0.0874)	-0.916*** (0.0888)	-0.973*** (0.0906)	-1.126*** (0.0925)
North Macedonia	0.0415 (0.0849)	-0.152* (0.0861)	-0.227** (0.0948)	-0.308*** (0.0969)
Netherlands	0.114*** (0.0159)	0.129*** (0.0190)	0.168*** (0.0220)	0.212*** (0.0268)
Norway	-0.161*** (0.0216)	-0.101*** (0.0257)	-0.0402 (0.0338)	-0.0544 (0.0356)
Poland	0.429*** (0.0191)	0.353*** (0.0218)	0.302*** (0.0253)	0.266*** (0.0236)
Portugal	0.454*** (0.0412)	0.266*** (0.0428)	0.241*** (0.0530)	0.251*** (0.0510)
Romania	0.618*** (0.0484)	0.400*** (0.0522)	0.366*** (0.0538)	0.285*** (0.0549)
Sweden	-0.682*** (0.0139)	-0.684*** (0.0168)	-0.676*** (0.0185)	-0.726*** (0.0195)
Slovenia	0.461*** (0.0151)	0.333*** (0.0174)	0.253*** (0.0294)	0.246*** (0.0285)
Slovakia	0.636*** (0.0242)	0.512*** (0.0272)	0.474*** (0.0353)	0.401*** (0.0397)
Wave 4	-0.0253	-0.0422	-0.0527	-0.0411

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Table 3.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0660)	(0.0634)	(0.0614)	(0.0611)
Wave 5	-0.0124	-0.00552	-0.0185	0.00751
	(0.0675)	(0.0702)	(0.0704)	(0.0681)
Wave 6	0.00253	0.0203	0.0242	0.0558
	(0.0568)	(0.0579)	(0.0549)	(0.0540)
Wave 7	0.111	0.111	0.0844	0.124
	(0.0787)	(0.0833)	(0.0824)	(0.0797)
Wave 8	-0.0323	-0.0110	-0.0117	0.0310
	(0.0771)	(0.0841)	(0.0836)	(0.0815)
Wave 9	-0.0463	-0.0186	-0.0231	0.0301
	(0.0947)	(0.0943)	(0.0928)	(0.0916)
Wave 10	-0.0389	0.0418	0.0576	0.102
	(0.115)	(0.123)	(0.121)	(0.121)
Constant	1.745***	2.250***	2.434***	2.086***
	(0.198)	(0.190)	(0.177)	(0.162)
Observations	246,237	222,658	216,611	209,935
Adj. R ²	0.164	0.164	0.164	0.164
Log-likelihood	-107338	-91378	-87975	-84691

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.2A: The effect of different degrees of distance on turnout (full estimate details)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Degrees of distance from political parties				
Not at all close	-0.423*** (0.132)	-0.320*** (0.113)	-0.288*** (0.107)	-0.311*** (0.105)
Not close	-0.824*** (0.0792)	-0.694*** (0.0713)	-0.679*** (0.0730)	-0.672*** (0.0716)
Quite close	-1.464*** (0.0845)	-1.332*** (0.0793)	-1.302*** (0.0815)	-1.290*** (0.0814)
Very close	-1.902*** (0.103)	-1.772*** (0.105)	-1.760*** (0.106)	-1.770*** (0.108)
Male	0.0852*** (0.0218)	0.100*** (0.0233)	0.107*** (0.0236)	0.110*** (0.0226)
Income class 2	-0.0840*** (0.0232)	-0.0617** (0.0302)	-0.0636** (0.0275)	-0.0576** (0.0276)
Income class 3	-0.165*** (0.0330)	-0.117*** (0.0356)	-0.112*** (0.0334)	-0.108*** (0.0329)
Income class 4	-0.243*** (0.0345)	-0.167*** (0.0359)	-0.165*** (0.0349)	-0.159*** (0.0347)
Income class 5	-0.278*** (0.0370)	-0.185*** (0.0371)	-0.173*** (0.0347)	-0.163*** (0.0332)
Income class 6	-0.326*** (0.0407)	-0.216*** (0.0414)	-0.203*** (0.0399)	-0.195*** (0.0386)
Income class 7	-0.437*** (0.0515)	-0.337*** (0.0487)	-0.314*** (0.0474)	-0.293*** (0.0473)
Income class 8	-0.480***	-0.361***	-0.338***	-0.323***

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0603)	(0.0574)	(0.0541)	(0.0537)
Income class 9	-0.526***	-0.405***	-0.382***	-0.354***
	(0.0722)	(0.0697)	(0.0647)	(0.0651)
Income class 10	-0.539***	-0.392***	-0.365***	-0.334***
	(0.0740)	(0.0680)	(0.0643)	(0.0626)
N. of household members	-0.0145	-0.0120	-0.0171	-0.0205*
	(0.0113)	(0.0120)	(0.0117)	(0.0113)
Age	-0.0802***	-0.0836***	-0.0832***	-0.0787***
	(0.00509)	(0.00534)	(0.00526)	(0.00518)
Age squared	0.000535***	0.000542***	0.000538***	0.000487***
	(5.05e-05)	(4.89e-05)	(4.76e-05)	(4.66e-05)
Married	-0.430***	-0.412***	-0.399***	-0.389***
	(0.0391)	(0.0413)	(0.0447)	(0.0466)
Separated	0.0192	-0.00175	0.000556	0.0140
	(0.0453)	(0.0457)	(0.0455)	(0.0451)
Widowed	-0.126***	-0.161***	-0.148***	-0.143***
	(0.0454)	(0.0452)	(0.0453)	(0.0490)
Never married	-0.170***	-0.190***	-0.187***	-0.172***
	(0.0392)	(0.0320)	(0.0329)	(0.0396)
Retired	-0.276***	-0.277***	-0.281***	-0.282***
	(0.0520)	(0.0516)	(0.0502)	(0.0521)
Student	-0.196***	-0.164***	-0.140***	-0.130***
	(0.0404)	(0.0427)	(0.0422)	(0.0423)
Unemployed not in search	0.114**	0.0931*	0.0811	0.0870
	(0.0561)	(0.0531)	(0.0540)	(0.0557)
Unemployed in search	0.180***	0.145***	0.141***	0.135***
	(0.0540)	(0.0485)	(0.0468)	(0.0452)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Paid worker	-0.192*** (0.0294)	-0.174*** (0.0327)	-0.177*** (0.0336)	-0.178*** (0.0339)
Houseworker	-0.0542** (0.0247)	-0.0551** (0.0264)	-0.0556* (0.0288)	-0.0441 (0.0290)
Disabled	0.254*** (0.0408)	0.0116 (0.0367)	0.0206 (0.0386)	0.0213 (0.0380)
Education years	-0.0793*** (0.00675)	-0.0720*** (0.00715)	-0.0708*** (0.00681)	-0.0669*** (0.00656)
Health: Good		0.0224 (0.0216)	0.0220 (0.0234)	0.00897 (0.0235)
Health: Fair		0.142*** (0.0317)	0.125*** (0.0342)	0.0990*** (0.0345)
Health: Bad		0.402*** (0.0454)	0.365*** (0.0487)	0.328*** (0.0494)
Health: Very bad		0.675*** (0.0744)	0.633*** (0.0770)	0.572*** (0.0803)
Left-right scale		-0.0344*** (0.00837)	-0.0285*** (0.00832)	-0.0316*** (0.00794)
Life satisfaction		-0.0597*** (0.00681)	-0.0478*** (0.00710)	-0.0421*** (0.00660)
Satisfaction with economy 1			0.0449 (0.0424)	0.0383 (0.0444)
Satisfaction with economy 2			0.0531* (0.0311)	0.0563* (0.0309)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with economy 3			0.0395 (0.0341)	0.0380 (0.0341)
Satisfaction with economy 4			0.0691 (0.0463)	0.0629 (0.0440)
Satisfaction with economy 5			0.0929* (0.0487)	0.0905* (0.0473)
Satisfaction with economy 6			0.0441 (0.0539)	0.0448 (0.0493)
Satisfaction with economy 7			0.0277 (0.0625)	0.0353 (0.0594)
Satisfaction with economy 8			0.0485 (0.0727)	0.0584 (0.0705)
Satisfaction with economy 9			0.0851 (0.0904)	0.0948 (0.0870)
Satisfaction with economy 10			0.275** (0.107)	0.278*** (0.106)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1			-0.116*** (0.0281)	-0.113*** (0.0300)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with government 2			-0.0738**	-0.0779**
			(0.0300)	(0.0314)
Satisfaction with government 3			-0.131***	-0.131***
			(0.0310)	(0.0307)
Satisfaction with government 4			-0.181***	-0.186***
			(0.0323)	(0.0320)
Satisfaction with government 5			-0.0921**	-0.101**
			(0.0417)	(0.0427)
Satisfaction with government 6			-0.224***	-0.231***
			(0.0503)	(0.0529)
Satisfaction with government 7			-0.188***	-0.195***
			(0.0516)	(0.0530)
Satisfaction with government 8			-0.189***	-0.207***
			(0.0657)	(0.0672)
Satisfaction with government 9			-0.242***	-0.236***
			(0.0819)	(0.0829)
Satisfaction with government 10			-0.165	-0.166
			(0.118)	(0.119)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with democracy 1			-0.118**	-0.120**
			(0.0542)	(0.0550)
Satisfaction with democracy 2			-0.169***	-0.159***
			(0.0431)	(0.0421)
Satisfaction with democracy 3			-0.182***	-0.177***
			(0.0452)	(0.0448)
Satisfaction with democracy 4			-0.174***	-0.158***
			(0.0499)	(0.0479)
Satisfaction with democracy 5			-0.152***	-0.138***
			(0.0408)	(0.0404)
Satisfaction with democracy 6			-0.250***	-0.227***
			(0.0589)	(0.0565)
Satisfaction with democracy 7			-0.338***	-0.306***
			(0.0653)	(0.0656)
Satisfaction with democracy 8			-0.397***	-0.366***
			(0.0693)	(0.0674)
Satisfaction with democracy 9			-0.404***	-0.367***
			(0.0947)	(0.0940)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with democracy 10			-0.295***	-0.274***
			(0.0846)	(0.0849)
Importance of the environment				
Like me				0.0348*
				(0.0198)
Somewhat like me				0.0937***
				(0.0280)
A little like me				0.204***
				(0.0406)
Not like me				0.248***
				(0.0421)
Not like me at all				0.333***
				(0.0994)
Government should reduce differences in income levels				
Agree				-0.0762***
				(0.0204)
Neither agree nor disagree				-0.0602***
				(0.0232)
Disagree				-0.115***
				(0.0355)
Disagree strongly				-0.0840
				(0.0827)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree				0.124*** (0.0317)
Neither agree nor disagree				0.185*** (0.0332)
Disagree				0.231*** (0.0443)
Disagree strongly				0.254*** (0.0537)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe				0.0255 (0.0227)
Unsafe				0.134*** (0.0299)
Very unsafe				0.224*** (0.0502)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
Some				-0.0384 (0.0315)
A few				-0.00654 (0.0380)
None				0.0111

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
				(0.0423)
Belgium	-0.654*** (0.00761)	-0.605*** (0.00900)	-0.640*** (0.0150)	-0.625*** (0.0149)
Bulgaria	0.553*** (0.0347)	0.385*** (0.0372)	0.321*** (0.0555)	0.262*** (0.0573)
Switzerland	1.102*** (0.0246)	1.187*** (0.0266)	1.267*** (0.0312)	1.298*** (0.0348)
Cyprus	-0.153*** (0.0273)	-0.261*** (0.0322)	-0.243*** (0.0415)	-0.287*** (0.0447)
Czech Republic	1.073*** (0.0177)	1.008*** (0.0188)	1.006*** (0.0225)	0.946*** (0.0237)
Germany	0.131*** (0.0104)	0.0637*** (0.0114)	0.0443*** (0.0130)	0.0446*** (0.0130)
Denmark	-0.854*** (0.0259)	-0.794*** (0.0290)	-0.775*** (0.0283)	-0.714*** (0.0324)
Estonia	0.680*** (0.0218)	0.578*** (0.0223)	0.567*** (0.0234)	0.524*** (0.0232)
Spain	0.0363* (0.0208)	-0.0649*** (0.0231)	-0.115*** (0.0342)	-0.0801** (0.0311)
Finland	0.122*** (0.0149)	0.170*** (0.0175)	0.222*** (0.0201)	0.200*** (0.0218)
France	0.797*** (0.0178)	0.757*** (0.0174)	0.719*** (0.0309)	0.741*** (0.0330)
Great Britain	0.671*** (0.0129)	0.646*** (0.0135)	0.619*** (0.0210)	0.613*** (0.0199)
Greece	-0.372*** (0.0290)	-0.542*** (0.0337)	-0.592*** (0.0473)	-0.661*** (0.0488)

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Croatia	0.443*** (0.0250)	0.353*** (0.0247)	0.265*** (0.0401)	0.231*** (0.0389)
Hungary	0.500*** (0.0188)	0.320*** (0.0224)	0.274*** (0.0334)	0.175*** (0.0366)
Ireland	0.227*** (0.0122)	0.220*** (0.0165)	0.190*** (0.0245)	0.189*** (0.0240)
Israel	-0.107*** (0.0210)	-0.112*** (0.0234)	-0.139*** (0.0289)	-0.178*** (0.0294)
Iceland	-0.686*** (0.0440)	-0.659*** (0.0503)	-0.713*** (0.0517)	-0.700*** (0.0571)
Italy	0.0822** (0.0396)	-0.0795** (0.0395)	-0.125** (0.0486)	-0.159*** (0.0492)
Lithuania	1.144*** (0.0183)	0.833*** (0.0193)	0.809*** (0.0262)	0.666*** (0.0284)
Latvia	0.675*** (0.0277)	0.587*** (0.0362)	0.515*** (0.0415)	0.443*** (0.0462)
Montenegro	-0.921*** (0.0874)	-0.933*** (0.0878)	-0.987*** (0.0894)	-1.116*** (0.0908)
North Macedonia	-0.0264 (0.0843)	-0.196** (0.0839)	-0.267*** (0.0923)	-0.360*** (0.0925)
Netherlands	0.184*** (0.0176)	0.195*** (0.0202)	0.233*** (0.0228)	0.279*** (0.0275)
Norway	-0.124*** (0.0232)	-0.0685** (0.0267)	-0.0106 (0.0336)	-0.0257 (0.0353)
Poland	0.468*** (0.0177)	0.381*** (0.0209)	0.333*** (0.0248)	0.296*** (0.0241)
Portugal	0.302***	0.105**	0.0875	0.101*

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0434)	(0.0456)	(0.0552)	(0.0536)
Romania	0.614***	0.393***	0.364***	0.287***
	(0.0467)	(0.0504)	(0.0526)	(0.0539)
Sweden	-0.655***	-0.656***	-0.649***	-0.700***
	(0.0148)	(0.0175)	(0.0190)	(0.0196)
Slovenia	0.476***	0.335***	0.259***	0.252***
	(0.0153)	(0.0177)	(0.0304)	(0.0301)
Slovakia	0.726***	0.603***	0.565***	0.495***
	(0.0254)	(0.0273)	(0.0354)	(0.0391)
Wave 4	-0.0251	-0.0435	-0.0522	-0.0397
	(0.0659)	(0.0623)	(0.0607)	(0.0604)
Wave 5	-0.00160	0.00122	-0.00964	0.0162
	(0.0671)	(0.0691)	(0.0694)	(0.0672)
Wave 6	0.0134	0.0273	0.0313	0.0628
	(0.0578)	(0.0579)	(0.0551)	(0.0540)
Wave 7	0.116	0.113	0.0876	0.126
	(0.0768)	(0.0809)	(0.0799)	(0.0774)
Wave 8	-0.0203	-0.00139	-0.00281	0.0398
	(0.0762)	(0.0820)	(0.0818)	(0.0798)
Wave 9	-0.0400	-0.0135	-0.0188	0.0339
	(0.0967)	(0.0947)	(0.0933)	(0.0923)
Wave 10	-0.0406	0.0412	0.0553	0.0990
	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.120)	(0.119)
Constant	3.067***	3.429***	3.600***	3.265***
	(0.158)	(0.177)	(0.160)	(0.142)
Observations	246,237	222,658	216,611	209,935

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Table 3.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Adj. R ²	0.165	0.165	0.165	0.165
Log-likelihood	-107490	-91248	-87850	-84551

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.3A: The effect of distance on turnout (subsample of less distant) (full estimate details)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Quite close	0.367*** (0.0485)	0.380*** (0.0500)	0.399*** (0.0505)	0.422*** (0.0513)
Not close	0.994*** (0.0603)	1.000*** (0.0621)	1.004*** (0.0621)	1.022*** (0.0641)
Not at all close	1.420*** (0.115)	1.387*** (0.113)	1.404*** (0.109)	1.397*** (0.105)
Male	0.0749** (0.0353)	0.0824** (0.0363)	0.0929** (0.0366)	0.112*** (0.0354)
Income class 2	-0.0752 (0.0521)	-0.0524 (0.0537)	-0.0514 (0.0515)	-0.0315 (0.0505)
Income class 3	-0.190*** (0.0363)	-0.144*** (0.0420)	-0.127*** (0.0408)	-0.114*** (0.0413)
Income class 4	-0.330*** (0.0482)	-0.249*** (0.0463)	-0.248*** (0.0493)	-0.244*** (0.0497)
Income class 5	-0.330*** (0.0512)	-0.260*** (0.0550)	-0.245*** (0.0509)	-0.236*** (0.0538)
Income class 6	-0.381*** (0.0556)	-0.283*** (0.0531)	-0.279*** (0.0506)	-0.271*** (0.0508)
Income class 7	-0.517*** (0.0589)	-0.412*** (0.0588)	-0.382*** (0.0536)	-0.362*** (0.0567)
Income class 8	-0.530*** (0.0661)	-0.420*** (0.0663)	-0.403*** (0.0622)	-0.388*** (0.0621)
Income class 9	-0.524*** (0.0802)	-0.400*** (0.0764)	-0.377*** (0.0691)	-0.345*** (0.0734)
Income class 10	-0.567***	-0.404***	-0.379***	-0.345***

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Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0898)	(0.0887)	(0.0834)	(0.0822)
N. of household members	0.0318**	0.0325**	0.0267*	0.0242
	(0.0153)	(0.0148)	(0.0144)	(0.0150)
Age	-0.0789***	-0.0859***	-0.0851***	-0.0812***
	(0.00617)	(0.00623)	(0.00611)	(0.00627)
Age squared	0.000508***	0.000565***	0.000555***	0.000504***
	(6.08e-05)	(6.14e-05)	(5.83e-05)	(5.83e-05)
Married	-0.508***	-0.459***	-0.452***	-0.432***
	(0.0565)	(0.0625)	(0.0644)	(0.0620)
Separated	0.0501	0.0713	0.0704	0.0895
	(0.0701)	(0.0780)	(0.0775)	(0.0724)
Widowed	-0.233***	-0.221***	-0.199***	-0.182***
	(0.0696)	(0.0728)	(0.0719)	(0.0657)
Never married	-0.195***	-0.172***	-0.179***	-0.159***
	(0.0522)	(0.0505)	(0.0475)	(0.0516)
Retired	-0.190***	-0.236***	-0.240***	-0.249***
	(0.0612)	(0.0610)	(0.0645)	(0.0649)
Student	-0.0848*	-0.0570	-0.0242	-0.0340
	(0.0497)	(0.0518)	(0.0535)	(0.0538)
Unemployed not in search	0.255***	0.191***	0.188**	0.193**
	(0.0616)	(0.0665)	(0.0742)	(0.0765)
Unemployed in search	0.231***	0.168**	0.172**	0.169**
	(0.0723)	(0.0757)	(0.0776)	(0.0767)
Paid worker	-0.153***	-0.131***	-0.131**	-0.134**
	(0.0439)	(0.0470)	(0.0525)	(0.0527)
Houseworker	-0.0146	-0.0245	-0.0200	-0.0171
	(0.0345)	(0.0284)	(0.0320)	(0.0341)

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Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Disabled	0.383*** (0.0527)	0.0956** (0.0482)	0.104** (0.0526)	0.103* (0.0528)
Education years	-0.0693*** (0.00734)	-0.0646*** (0.00759)	-0.0631*** (0.00735)	-0.0602*** (0.00710)
Health: Good		0.0528* (0.0289)	0.0502* (0.0294)	0.0533* (0.0288)
Health: Fair		0.217*** (0.0282)	0.198*** (0.0298)	0.189*** (0.0302)
Health: Bad		0.499*** (0.0449)	0.454*** (0.0465)	0.419*** (0.0414)
Health: Very bad		0.769*** (0.0924)	0.761*** (0.0932)	0.678*** (0.101)
Left-right scale		-0.0144* (0.00831)	-0.00857 (0.00802)	-0.0124 (0.00773)
Life satisfaction		-0.0625*** (0.00815)	-0.0466*** (0.00836)	-0.0431*** (0.00832)
Satisfaction with economy 1			-0.00697 (0.0731)	0.00255 (0.0741)
Satisfaction with economy 2			-0.0106 (0.0563)	0.0141 (0.0575)
Satisfaction with economy 3			-0.0355 (0.0612)	-0.00788 (0.0600)
Satisfaction with economy 4			0.0241	0.0529

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Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0640)	(0.0642)
Satisfaction with economy			-0.000279	0.0235
5				
			(0.0629)	(0.0653)
Satisfaction with economy			-0.0358	-0.00457
6				
			(0.0534)	(0.0568)
Satisfaction with economy			-0.142**	-0.0955
7				
			(0.0682)	(0.0697)
Satisfaction with economy			-0.0576	-0.0194
8				
			(0.0842)	(0.0842)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0889	0.136
9				
			(0.104)	(0.105)
Satisfaction with economy			0.204	0.222*
10				
			(0.127)	(0.125)
Satisfaction with govern-			-0.0739	-0.0637
ment 1				
			(0.0610)	(0.0615)
Satisfaction with govern-			-0.0526	-0.0477
ment 2				
			(0.0604)	(0.0603)
Satisfaction with govern-			-0.119**	-0.112**
ment 3				

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Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0552)	(0.0539)
Satisfaction with government 4			-0.121**	-0.126**
			(0.0543)	(0.0564)
Satisfaction with government 5			-0.0398	-0.0406
			(0.0509)	(0.0523)
Satisfaction with government 6			-0.175**	-0.168**
			(0.0729)	(0.0735)
Satisfaction with government 7			-0.0796	-0.0818
			(0.0679)	(0.0697)
Satisfaction with government 8			-0.185**	-0.200**
			(0.0776)	(0.0778)
Satisfaction with government 9			-0.223**	-0.207*
			(0.113)	(0.111)
Satisfaction with government 10			-0.0920	-0.0806
			(0.141)	(0.138)
Satisfaction with democracy 1			-0.232***	-0.215***
			(0.0682)	(0.0696)
Satisfaction with democracy 2			-0.222***	-0.206***

Continued on next page

Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0479)	(0.0501)
Satisfaction with democracy 3			-0.283***	-0.270***
			(0.0581)	(0.0619)
Satisfaction with democracy 4			-0.285***	-0.262***
			(0.0495)	(0.0530)
Satisfaction with democracy 5			-0.281***	-0.255***
			(0.0364)	(0.0382)
Satisfaction with democracy 6			-0.346***	-0.308***
			(0.0536)	(0.0548)
Satisfaction with democracy 7			-0.404***	-0.370***
			(0.0677)	(0.0681)
Satisfaction with democracy 8			-0.499***	-0.472***
			(0.0724)	(0.0707)
Satisfaction with democracy 9			-0.508***	-0.460***
			(0.0916)	(0.0907)
Satisfaction with democracy 10			-0.421***	-0.394***
			(0.108)	(0.110)
Importance of the environment				

Continued on next page

Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Like me				0.0107 (0.0311)
Somewhat like me				-0.0216 (0.0345)
A little like me				0.0808* (0.0473)
Not like me				0.148* (0.0804)
Not like me at all				0.160 (0.144)
Government should reduce differences in income Levels				
Agree				-0.0685*** (0.0250)
Neither agree nor disagree				-0.0955*** (0.0326)
Disagree				-0.0833* (0.0452)
Disagree strongly				0.00918 (0.0787)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree				0.0990** (0.0423)
Neither agree nor disagree				0.0893* (0.0460)

Continued on next page

Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Disagree				0.181*** (0.0497)
Disagree strongly				0.226*** (0.0759)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe				0.0192 (0.0293)
Unsafe				0.168***
Very unsafe				(0.0430)
Very unsafe				0.297*** (0.0803)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
Some				0.00189 (0.0451)
A few				0.0388 (0.0535)
None				-0.00346 (0.0588)
Belgium	0.152*** (0.0146)	0.153*** (0.0155)	0.101*** (0.0158)	0.0981*** (0.0176)
Bulgaria	0.495*** (0.0326)	0.384*** (0.0476)	0.250*** (0.0563)	0.204*** (0.0598)
Switzerland	1.341***	1.418***	1.482***	1.485***

Continued on next page

Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0167)	(0.0156)	(0.0283)	(0.0315)
Cyprus	-0.177***	-0.159***	-0.163***	-0.188***
	(0.0336)	(0.0370)	(0.0403)	(0.0444)
Czech Republic	0.786***	0.696***	0.654***	0.600***
	(0.0178)	(0.0213)	(0.0244)	(0.0285)
Germany	0.459***	0.367***	0.355***	0.349***
	(0.0215)	(0.0231)	(0.0237)	(0.0231)
Denmark	-0.501***	-0.437***	-0.406***	-0.366***
	(0.0368)	(0.0356)	(0.0377)	(0.0384)
Estonia	1.125***	1.003***	0.974***	0.928***
	(0.0252)	(0.0272)	(0.0278)	(0.0290)
Spain	0.380***	0.299***	0.209***	0.221***
	(0.0208)	(0.0230)	(0.0295)	(0.0275)
Finland	0.580***	0.593***	0.638***	0.611***
	(0.0205)	(0.0195)	(0.0256)	(0.0271)
France	1.208***	1.126***	1.058***	1.065***
	(0.0197)	(0.0265)	(0.0309)	(0.0355)
Great Britain	0.975***	0.942***	0.900***	0.887***
	(0.0245)	(0.0250)	(0.0257)	(0.0268)
Greece	-0.210***	-0.285***	-0.380***	-0.447***
	(0.0360)	(0.0409)	(0.0482)	(0.0550)
Croatia	0.733***	0.642***	0.516***	0.490***
	(0.0299)	(0.0306)	(0.0407)	(0.0397)
Hungary	0.279***	0.140***	0.0630*	-0.0547
	(0.0235)	(0.0293)	(0.0372)	(0.0403)
Ireland	0.456***	0.450***	0.410***	0.408***
	(0.0233)	(0.0257)	(0.0287)	(0.0304)

Continued on next page

Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Israel	0.112*** (0.0298)	0.140*** (0.0303)	0.0843** (0.0336)	0.0705** (0.0351)
Iceland	-0.0269 (0.0444)	0.00255 (0.0488)	-0.0639 (0.0511)	-0.0321 (0.0600)
Italy	0.289*** (0.0425)	0.257*** (0.0423)	0.160*** (0.0525)	0.118** (0.0547)
Lithuania	0.670*** (0.0246)	0.457*** (0.0316)	0.395*** (0.0360)	0.260*** (0.0414)
Latvia	0.994*** (0.0344)	0.886*** (0.0419)	0.778*** (0.0472)	0.691*** (0.0511)
Montenegro	-0.858*** (0.102)	-0.671*** (0.102)	-0.917*** (0.101)	-1.077*** (0.112)
North Macedonia	-0.0986 (0.0899)	-0.0594 (0.0913)	-0.126 (0.0950)	-0.189* (0.0998)
Netherlands	0.627*** (0.0197)	0.627*** (0.0189)	0.653*** (0.0222)	0.675*** (0.0267)
Norway	0.411*** (0.0172)	0.436*** (0.0188)	0.462*** (0.0331)	0.449*** (0.0351)
Poland	0.776*** (0.0278)	0.733*** (0.0307)	0.703*** (0.0337)	0.669*** (0.0332)
Portugal	0.321*** (0.0428)	0.202*** (0.0498)	0.162*** (0.0543)	0.175*** (0.0553)
Romania	0.687*** (0.0680)	0.486*** (0.0755)	0.435*** (0.0765)	0.395*** (0.0799)
Sweden	-0.273*** (0.0193)	-0.280*** (0.0188)	-0.275*** (0.0214)	-0.328*** (0.0290)
Slovenia	0.813***	0.717***	0.619***	0.603***

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Table 3.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0221)	(0.0263)	(0.0349)	(0.0329)
Slovakia	0.772***	0.659***	0.582***	0.519***
	(0.0309)	(0.0349)	(0.0378)	(0.0413)
Wave 4	-0.109*	-0.0733	-0.0918	-0.0800
	(0.0646)	(0.0655)	(0.0663)	(0.0686)
Wave 5	-0.0799	-0.0545	-0.0699	-0.0537
	(0.0852)	(0.0860)	(0.0871)	(0.0859)
Wave 6	-0.132	-0.0973	-0.0922	-0.0649
	(0.0820)	(0.0820)	(0.0826)	(0.0806)
Wave 7	0.0650	0.0857	0.0441	0.0808
	(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.104)
Wave 8	-0.0882	-0.0287	-0.0333	0.00922
	(0.109)	(0.107)	(0.109)	(0.108)
Wave 9	-0.172	-0.139	-0.138	-0.0887
	(0.119)	(0.122)	(0.125)	(0.122)
Wave 10	-0.0933	-0.0420	-0.0339	0.0135
	(0.132)	(0.136)	(0.136)	(0.139)
Constant	0.852***	1.249***	1.549***	1.237***
	(0.180)	(0.186)	(0.176)	(0.192)
Observations	117,717	114,160	111,621	108,468
Adj. R ²	0.112	0.112	0.112	0.112
Log-likelihood	-34441	-32641	-31550	-30446

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.1A: The effect of distance on turnout - waves breakdown

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Distance	1.056*** (0.0904)	1.112*** (0.0887)	1.267*** (0.106)	1.241*** (0.106)	1.149*** (0.129)	1.074*** (0.112)	1.287*** (0.114)	1.460*** (0.157)
Male	0.0976*** (0.0375)	0.0752** (0.0371)	0.196*** (0.0445)	0.0778* (0.0438)	0.109** (0.0425)	0.0667 (0.0485)	0.146*** (0.0441)	0.0747 (0.0480)
Income class 2	0.261* (0.143)	-0.0179 (0.0734)	-0.0785 (0.0800)	0.0939 (0.110)	-0.0226 (0.0606)	-0.216*** (0.0750)	-0.169** (0.0700)	-0.164 (0.103)
Income class 3	0.213* (0.117)	-0.0606 (0.0718)	-0.0500 (0.0733)	-0.0724 (0.104)	-0.116 (0.0927)	-0.288*** (0.101)	-0.214*** (0.0542)	-0.0602 (0.101)
Income class 4	0.149 (0.163)	-0.133 (0.0931)	-0.0547 (0.0966)	-0.115 (0.111)	-0.142* (0.0761)	-0.328*** (0.0857)	-0.295*** (0.0698)	-0.183 (0.120)
Income class 5	0.245* (0.132)	-0.169** (0.0840)	-0.0798 (0.0889)	-0.104 (0.119)	-0.195** (0.0869)	-0.442*** (0.0856)	-0.184*** (0.0694)	-0.134 (0.125)
Income class 6	0.161 (0.140)	-0.0954 (0.0970)	-0.177* (0.0962)	-0.131 (0.111)	-0.224** (0.103)	-0.459*** (0.0807)	-0.230*** (0.0702)	-0.139 (0.116)

Continued on next page

Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Income class 7	0.0970 (0.166)	-0.141 (0.0872)	-0.247* (0.136)	-0.298** (0.146)	-0.319*** (0.118)	-0.509*** (0.0860)	-0.474*** (0.0900)	-0.186 (0.125)
Income class 8	-0.0163 (0.146)	-0.149 (0.0975)	-0.281** (0.113)	-0.364*** (0.137)	-0.456*** (0.137)	-0.511*** (0.0839)	-0.525*** (0.0671)	-0.121 (0.146)
Income class 9	-0.103 (0.169)	-0.188* (0.105)	-0.180 (0.129)	-0.386*** (0.145)	-0.538*** (0.131)	-0.602*** (0.118)	-0.585*** (0.135)	-0.154 (0.116)
Income class 10	-0.0458 (0.149)	-0.265** (0.108)	-0.206 (0.157)	-0.327* (0.182)	-0.591*** (0.137)	-0.512*** (0.134)	-0.389*** (0.116)	-0.348** (0.139)
N. of household members	-0.0245 (0.0224)	-0.0431*** (0.0153)	-0.0199 (0.0199)	-0.0356 (0.0240)	0.0183 (0.0217)	-0.0188 (0.0203)	-0.00833 (0.0238)	-0.0105 (0.0242)
Age	-0.0943*** (0.0124)	-0.0828*** (0.00960)	-0.0842*** (0.00780)	-0.0671*** (0.00645)	-0.0733*** (0.0124)	-0.0837*** (0.00910)	-0.0762*** (0.0100)	-0.0705*** (0.00991)
Age squared	0.000623*** (0.000121)	0.000504*** (9.05e-05)	0.000531*** (6.39e-05)	0.000381*** (6.52e-05)	0.000442*** (0.000116)	0.000484*** (8.39e-05)	0.000464*** (0.000108)	0.000494*** (0.000105)
Married	-0.407* (0.166)	-0.587** (0.0975)	-0.145 (0.113)	-0.334* (0.137)	-0.494*** (0.137)	-0.0319 (0.0839)	-0.251** (0.0671)	-0.578*** (0.146)

Continued on next page

Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.233)	(0.251)	(0.166)	(0.190)	(0.156)	(0.101)	(0.125)	(0.0738)
Separated	-0.00558	-0.222	0.246	-0.00901	-0.0505	0.326***	0.138	0.0299
	(0.195)	(0.263)	(0.152)	(0.222)	(0.153)	(0.0987)	(0.132)	(0.107)
Widowed	-0.155	-0.301	0.160	-0.168	-0.463**	0.184	0.0595	-0.222**
	(0.252)	(0.233)	(0.184)	(0.204)	(0.192)	(0.118)	(0.178)	(0.101)
Never married	-0.187	-0.356	0.0313	-0.129	-0.335**	0.127	-0.00698	-0.240***
	(0.202)	(0.253)	(0.160)	(0.184)	(0.163)	(0.0920)	(0.119)	(0.0730)
Retired	-0.207*	-0.215**	-0.171**	-0.257***	-0.325***	-0.277**	-0.393***	-0.488***
	(0.123)	(0.0875)	(0.0692)	(0.0714)	(0.0959)	(0.114)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Student	-0.115	-0.0806	-0.0974	-0.00951	-0.284***	-0.261***	-0.194	0.0311
	(0.101)	(0.106)	(0.0918)	(0.0964)	(0.0958)	(0.0866)	(0.119)	(0.114)
Unemployed not in search	0.159	0.203**	0.280***	0.0804	-0.0118	-0.0872	0.138	-0.240*
	(0.105)	(0.0924)	(0.0792)	(0.0894)	(0.102)	(0.136)	(0.111)	(0.126)
Unemployed in search	0.418***	0.213**	0.126	0.162	0.105	0.0626	0.103	-0.161
	(0.129)	(0.0992)	(0.134)	(0.121)	(0.127)	(0.0999)	(0.104)	(0.190)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Paid worker	-0.157** (0.0797)	-0.122** (0.0575)	-0.153** (0.0628)	-0.189*** (0.0536)	-0.166** (0.0821)	-0.144* (0.0800)	-0.160** (0.0751)	-0.341*** (0.104)
Houseworker	-0.126** (0.0504)	-0.0149 (0.0544)	-0.0332 (0.0778)	-0.0680 (0.0632)	0.0405 (0.0778)	0.0246 (0.0623)	-0.0119 (0.0556)	-0.191* (0.106)
Disabled	-0.00178 (0.147)	0.117 (0.108)	-0.0438 (0.0693)	-0.0135 (0.120)	-0.0710 (0.115)	0.0815 (0.110)	0.0579 (0.105)	-0.00335 (0.163)
Education years	-0.0659*** (0.00862)	-0.0724*** (0.00918)	-0.0627*** (0.00709)	-0.0700*** (0.00960)	-0.0595*** (0.00956)	-0.0857*** (0.00943)	-0.0649*** (0.00985)	-0.0669*** (0.00951)
Health: Good	-0.0184 (0.0524)	-0.0293 (0.0444)	0.0482 (0.0549)	0.000278 (0.0424)	0.131** (0.0509)	0.0428 (0.0386)	-0.0465 (0.0479)	-0.0474 (0.0555)
Health: Fair	0.0156 (0.0850)	0.0572 (0.0529)	0.180*** (0.0629)	0.0763 (0.0516)	0.161*** (0.0589)	0.151* (0.0783)	0.0496 (0.0743)	0.0947 (0.0829)
Health: Bad	0.270** (0.126)	0.283*** (0.0862)	0.490*** (0.0745)	0.231** (0.0953)	0.465*** (0.106)	0.302*** (0.0703)	0.265** (0.124)	0.254*** (0.0939)
Health: Very bad	0.561***	0.372**	0.480***	0.595***	0.650***	0.716***	0.720***	0.624***

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.151)	(0.184)	(0.127)	(0.139)	(0.200)	(0.126)	(0.231)	(0.211)
Left-right scale	-0.0230	-0.0273	-0.0373***	-0.0171	-0.0413***	-0.0308***	-0.0417***	-0.0267***
	(0.0149)	(0.0185)	(0.0122)	(0.0133)	(0.0120)	(0.0116)	(0.0125)	(0.00966)
Life satisfaction	-0.0164	-0.0382***	-0.0557***	-0.0428***	-0.0338**	-0.0466***	-0.0598***	-0.0535***
	(0.0153)	(0.0110)	(0.0116)	(0.00693)	(0.0134)	(0.0133)	(0.0101)	(0.0160)
Satisfaction with economy	0.166	0.0970	0.0591	0.0618	-0.0723	-0.104	-0.271**	0.121
1								
	(0.125)	(0.112)	(0.0672)	(0.0832)	(0.117)	(0.100)	(0.130)	(0.110)
Satisfaction with economy	0.00731	-0.0347	-0.00889	0.244***	0.0545	0.00974	-0.229*	0.307**
2								
	(0.118)	(0.0813)	(0.0899)	(0.0803)	(0.0831)	(0.0989)	(0.131)	(0.154)
Satisfaction with economy	-0.0164	-0.0447	-0.0252	0.186**	0.000476	0.0312	-0.205**	0.241**
3								
	(0.124)	(0.0513)	(0.106)	(0.0734)	(0.0905)	(0.120)	(0.0884)	(0.107)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 4	0.0314 (0.120)	0.0329 (0.101)	0.00607 (0.122)	0.141 (0.0860)	0.0434 (0.0990)	0.154 (0.144)	-0.340*** (0.103)	0.232** (0.113)
Satisfaction with economy 5	0.0462 (0.112)	0.0291 (0.105)	0.0976 (0.107)	0.114 (0.117)	0.0454 (0.102)	0.140 (0.117)	-0.231** (0.0976)	0.245** (0.125)
Satisfaction with economy 6	-0.0217 (0.117)	-0.166 (0.118)	0.00513 (0.152)	0.217** (0.105)	-0.120 (0.105)	0.135 (0.115)	-0.270** (0.106)	0.303*** (0.103)
Satisfaction with economy 7	-0.0598 (0.115)	-0.118 (0.105)	-0.00493 (0.140)	0.147 (0.161)	-0.103 (0.125)	0.155 (0.127)	-0.345*** (0.118)	0.367*** (0.109)
Satisfaction with economy 8	-0.0566 (0.153)	0.105 (0.124)	0.199 (0.140)	0.234* (0.121)	-0.0393 (0.152)	0.103 (0.146)	-0.365*** (0.121)	0.274* (0.156)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 9	-0.0894 (0.158)	0.0848 (0.207)	0.238 (0.267)	0.346* (0.180)	0.0719 (0.187)	0.121 (0.162)	-0.351** (0.165)	0.402** (0.182)
Satisfaction with economy 10	0.138 (0.333)	0.224 (0.214)	0.178 (0.246)	0.478* (0.249)	0.302 (0.211)	0.104 (0.281)	0.148 (0.136)	0.442** (0.207)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1	-0.181** (0.0859)	-0.174** (0.0779)	-0.0763 (0.0720)	-0.147* (0.0809)	-0.105 (0.115)	-0.116 (0.110)	-0.0531 (0.0864)	-0.108 (0.121)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 2	-0.182* (0.0984)	-0.124 (0.0975)	-0.103 (0.0702)	-0.0835 (0.0610)	-0.0780 (0.102)	-0.0587 (0.0765)	0.0617 (0.0806)	-0.0606 (0.139)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 3	-0.178 (0.121)	-0.153 (0.0948)	-0.190*** (0.0549)	-0.169** (0.0828)	-0.0700 (0.111)	-0.150* (0.0837)	-0.00983 (0.0731)	-0.0665 (0.126)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with govern- ment 4	-0.245** (0.112)	-0.315*** (0.105)	-0.149** (0.0693)	-0.262*** (0.0723)	-0.213** (0.107)	-0.0736 (0.0993)	-0.0742 (0.103)	-0.149 (0.136)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 5	-0.112 (0.103)	-0.191 (0.118)	-0.227*** (0.0721)	-0.154** (0.0748)	-0.0848 (0.117)	-0.108 (0.0865)	0.0539 (0.0874)	0.0668 (0.149)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 6	-0.334** (0.132)	-0.342** (0.138)	-0.307*** (0.0684)	-0.312*** (0.0919)	-0.248* (0.150)	-0.158 (0.121)	-0.0424 (0.0889)	-0.185 (0.163)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 7	-0.279* (0.148)	-0.196 (0.137)	-0.337*** (0.0926)	-0.393*** (0.106)	-0.142 (0.141)	-0.198* (0.103)	0.0303 (0.0855)	-0.134 (0.170)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 8	-0.385** (0.184)	-0.389*** (0.137)	-0.269** (0.115)	-0.277*** (0.101)	-0.215 (0.199)	-0.141 (0.154)	0.0426 (0.114)	-0.207 (0.171)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with govern- ment 9	-0.523*** (0.160)	-0.0133 (0.230)	-0.525*** (0.174)	-0.199 (0.178)	-0.161 (0.247)	-0.166 (0.213)	-0.261 (0.173)	-0.361** (0.178)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 10	0.0555 (0.251)	-0.598* (0.362)	-0.309 (0.255)	-0.261 (0.281)	-0.585* (0.316)	0.0465 (0.224)	0.0711 (0.154)	-0.439* (0.234)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 1	-0.163 (0.130)	-0.108 (0.119)	-0.0138 (0.111)	-0.0193 (0.120)	-0.279* (0.153)	-0.0624 (0.0886)	-0.138 (0.127)	-0.0651 (0.134)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 2	-0.0857 (0.119)	-0.186** (0.0891)	0.000686 (0.0903)	-0.0720 (0.122)	-0.211* (0.115)	-0.305** (0.124)	-0.0713 (0.106)	-0.238* (0.126)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 3	-0.187*** (0.0676)	-0.156* (0.0933)	-0.137 (0.105)	0.00874 (0.0929)	-0.266** (0.110)	-0.270*** (0.0845)	-0.102 (0.128)	-0.222 (0.142)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 4	-0.168** (0.0787)	-0.100 (0.0963)	-0.0814 (0.0914)	0.00772 (0.0920)	-0.243* (0.131)	-0.256*** (0.0703)	-0.105 (0.101)	-0.274 (0.177)
Satisfaction with democracy 5	-0.236*** (0.0909)	-0.0644 (0.0865)	0.00842 (0.100)	-0.0243 (0.0930)	-0.277** (0.117)	-0.225*** (0.0730)	-0.0691 (0.104)	-0.198 (0.171)
Satisfaction with democracy 6	-0.346*** (0.119)	-0.128 (0.123)	-0.0976 (0.109)	-0.0899 (0.0917)	-0.247** (0.118)	-0.359*** (0.0835)	-0.126 (0.122)	-0.321* (0.185)
Satisfaction with democracy 7	-0.354*** (0.0964)	-0.293*** (0.108)	-0.179* (0.107)	-0.0984 (0.107)	-0.347*** (0.123)	-0.478*** (0.109)	-0.221* (0.120)	-0.412** (0.196)
Satisfaction with democracy 8	-0.476*** (0.0979)	-0.439*** (0.0883)	-0.158 (0.109)	-0.115 (0.125)	-0.386*** (0.122)	-0.532*** (0.117)	-0.303** (0.131)	-0.470** (0.195)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 9	-0.263*** (0.0998)	-0.371*** (0.108)	-0.348** (0.149)	-0.224 (0.142)	-0.546*** (0.202)	-0.423*** (0.144)	-0.221 (0.195)	-0.467** (0.215)
Satisfaction with democracy 10	-0.356** (0.174)	-0.406* (0.213)	-0.268 (0.169)	-0.152 (0.151)	-0.241 (0.192)	-0.184 (0.142)	-0.211 (0.177)	-0.372** (0.167)
_Impenv110_2	-0.00846 (0.0626)	0.0415 (0.0414)	0.0595 (0.0401)	0.0553 (0.0445)	-0.00509 (0.0450)	-0.00845 (0.0539)	0.0940** (0.0441)	0.119** (0.0499)
_Impenv110_3	0.0591 (0.0709)	0.131** (0.0634)	0.112 (0.0712)	0.188*** (0.0526)	-0.0242 (0.0639)	0.00345 (0.0528)	0.196** (0.0760)	0.127** (0.0530)
_Impenv110_4	0.273*** (0.0736)	0.177** (0.0690)	0.166** (0.0696)	0.227*** (0.0782)	0.151** (0.0667)	0.210*** (0.0644)	0.216** (0.0990)	0.323*** (0.0883)
_Impenv110_5	0.316* (0.175)	0.170 (0.147)	0.105 (0.0978)	0.331*** (0.104)	0.307** (0.141)	0.278*** (0.0867)	0.468*** (0.0925)	0.165 (0.114)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
_Impenv110_6	0.453 (0.337)	0.342 (0.257)	0.324 (0.260)	0.294 (0.192)	-0.435** (0.192)	0.806*** (0.220)	0.470* (0.268)	0.425 (0.272)
_Igovernment_2	-0.147** (0.0645)	-0.0269 (0.0575)	-0.0778* (0.0420)	-0.0933** (0.0375)	0.0292 (0.0451)	-0.0271 (0.0480)	-0.0490 (0.0439)	-0.146** (0.0696)
_Igovernment_3	-0.0971 (0.0696)	-0.0626 (0.0630)	-0.0485 (0.0514)	-0.164*** (0.0574)	0.0155 (0.0812)	-0.00590 (0.0692)	0.0951 (0.0744)	-0.0903 (0.0929)
_Igovernment_4	-0.228*** (0.0735)	-0.0243 (0.0544)	-0.153* (0.0784)	-0.213** (0.0859)	0.0461 (0.0747)	-0.156 (0.100)	-0.0135 (0.106)	-0.117 (0.123)
_Igovernment_5	-0.126 (0.183)	-0.220** (0.108)	0.00520 (0.169)	-0.340*** (0.111)	0.133 (0.102)	-0.0717 (0.195)	-0.0229 (0.124)	-0.0259 (0.223)
_Ifreehms_2	0.102** (0.0477)	0.0168 (0.0482)	0.0996** (0.0455)	0.0963** (0.0442)	0.107*** (0.0392)	0.225*** (0.0601)	0.235*** (0.0572)	0.0843 (0.0552)
_Ifreehms_3	0.203***	0.121**	0.111	0.103	0.284***	0.253***	0.175**	0.284***

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0486)	(0.0605)	(0.0797)	(0.0745)	(0.0608)	(0.0784)	(0.0762)	(0.0885)
_Ifreehms_4	0.164**	0.0778	0.157*	0.256***	0.271***	0.357***	0.328***	0.236
	(0.0765)	(0.0648)	(0.0885)	(0.0635)	(0.0730)	(0.0824)	(0.0803)	(0.145)
_Ifreehms_5	0.260***	0.0674	0.119	0.262***	0.348***	0.303***	0.440***	0.215*
	(0.0986)	(0.0976)	(0.0858)	(0.0889)	(0.0760)	(0.103)	(0.121)	(0.118)
_Ifeel_safe_2	-0.0268	-0.0621	0.124***	-0.0432	0.0708**	0.0370	0.0262	0.0273
	(0.0601)	(0.0511)	(0.0408)	(0.0425)	(0.0320)	(0.0616)	(0.0541)	(0.0599)
_Ifeel_safe_3	0.0912	0.124*	0.168**	0.0715	0.143**	0.0677	0.178**	0.175**
	(0.0610)	(0.0635)	(0.0824)	(0.0651)	(0.0668)	(0.0941)	(0.0798)	(0.0694)
_Ifeel_safe_4	0.117	0.0162	0.227**	0.330***	0.268***	0.268	0.290**	0.182
	(0.0897)	(0.0736)	(0.0943)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.166)	(0.122)	(0.154)
_Impcntr_2	0.00448	-0.0147	-0.0833	-0.0717	0.0573	0.000812	-0.122	-0.0214
	(0.0717)	(0.0601)	(0.0622)	(0.0618)	(0.0757)	(0.0807)	(0.0796)	(0.0848)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
_Impcntr_3	0.0372 (0.0726)	0.0953 (0.0611)	-0.118* (0.0689)	-0.125** (0.0618)	0.0253 (0.104)	0.123 (0.0861)	0.0237 (0.0665)	0.0852 (0.0935)
_Impcntr_4	0.0633 (0.113)	0.0636 (0.0545)	-0.157* (0.0839)	-0.0519 (0.0923)	0.109 (0.103)	0.185** (0.0850)	0.0494 (0.0705)	0.0110 (0.0876)
Belgium	-0.719*** (0.0400)	-1.101*** (0.0606)	-0.946*** (0.0238)	-0.733*** (0.0390)	-0.875*** (0.0349)	-0.245*** (0.0348)	-0.241*** (0.0435)	
Bulgaria	0.734*** (0.0968)		-0.561*** (0.0860)	0.145*** (0.0551)			-0.439*** (0.0948)	0.507*** (0.0381)
Switzerland	1.980*** (0.0634)	1.124*** (0.0578)	1.065*** (0.0496)	1.030*** (0.0734)	0.931*** (0.0560)	1.453*** (0.0657)	1.384*** (0.0350)	0.958*** (0.0652)
Cyprus	-0.895*** (0.0527)		-0.683*** (0.0820)	-0.452*** (0.0491)			0.517*** (0.0597)	
Czech Republic		1.016*** (0.0649)	0.306*** (0.0471)	0.507*** (0.0324)	0.730*** (0.0443)	1.524*** (0.0384)	1.126*** (0.0491)	0.632*** (0.0451)
Germany	0.220***	-0.158***	-0.479***	-0.0481	-0.0714*	0.600***	0.0417	

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0299)	(0.0545)	(0.0238)	(0.0436)	(0.0401)	(0.0448)	(0.0407)	
Denmark	-0.432***	-1.095***	-0.689***	-1.189***	-0.962***			
	(0.0626)	(0.0457)	(0.0559)	(0.0681)	(0.0508)			
Estonia		0.114	0.118***	0.325***		0.829***	0.840***	0.365***
		(0.257)	(0.0415)	(0.0379)		(0.0278)	(0.0430)	(0.0485)
Spain	0.349***	-0.494***	-0.788***	-0.241***	-0.167***	0.246***	0.592***	
	(0.0399)	(0.0696)	(0.0556)	(0.0507)	(0.0327)	(0.0668)	(0.0591)	
Finland	0.472***	0.0611	-0.111	-0.136***	0.0321	0.813***	0.344***	0.411***
	(0.0405)	(0.0565)	(0.147)	(0.0514)	(0.0281)	(0.0341)	(0.0228)	(0.0727)
France	0.681***	0.197***	0.271***	0.0227	0.710***	1.515***	1.191***	1.284***
	(0.0399)	(0.0604)	(0.0601)	(0.0380)	(0.0300)	(0.0600)	(0.0581)	(0.0578)
Great Britain	0.922***	0.533***	0.217***	0.378***	0.535***	1.014***	0.484***	
	(0.0262)	(0.0684)	(0.0533)	(0.0434)	(0.0365)	(0.0316)	(0.0490)	
Greece		-0.947***	-0.875***					-0.992***
		(0.0753)	(0.0909)					(0.0522)

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Croatia		-0.460*** (0.0525)	-0.375*** (0.0682)				0.577*** (0.0682)	0.554*** (0.0625)
Hungary		-0.594*** (0.0837)	-0.0702 (0.0816)	-0.0437 (0.0336)	-0.114** (0.0513)	0.458*** (0.0535)	0.330*** (0.0670)	0.184*** (0.0237)
Ireland	0.826*** (0.0422)	-0.0109 (0.0796)	-0.349*** (0.0702)	-0.0839 (0.0525)	-0.243*** (0.0367)	0.741*** (0.0262)	0.261*** (0.0490)	
Israel		-0.171*** (0.0615)	-0.524*** (0.0581)	-0.102** (0.0505)	-0.923*** (0.0376)	-0.102** (0.0475)		
Iceland				-0.967*** (0.0677)		-0.185*** (0.0606)		-0.749*** (0.103)
Italy				-0.725*** (0.0505)		0.277*** (0.0509)	0.0387 (0.0649)	-0.113** (0.0527)
Lithuania		0.724*** (0.0666)	0.130* (0.0687)	0.331*** (0.0384)	0.536*** (0.0580)	1.252*** (0.0500)	0.479*** (0.0634)	0.512*** (0.0303)
Latvia	0.569***	0.320***					0.455***	

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0796)	(0.0922)					(0.0756)	
Montenegro								-1.072***
								(0.0841)
North Macedonia								-0.203***
								(0.0746)
Netherlands	0.474***	-0.128**	-0.0903**	0.0171	0.286***	0.941***	0.460***	-0.369***
	(0.0313)	(0.0607)	(0.0377)	(0.0528)	(0.0463)	(0.0492)	(0.0462)	(0.0878)
Norway	0.450***	-0.0224	-0.491***	-0.362***	-0.319***	0.460***	-0.140***	-0.299***
	(0.0559)	(0.0418)	(0.0613)	(0.0855)	(0.0768)	(0.0654)	(0.0501)	(0.0988)
Poland	0.537***	-0.116*	-0.254***	0.0615**	0.236***	0.673***	0.574***	
	(0.0812)	(0.0629)	(0.0423)	(0.0293)	(0.0322)	(0.0317)	(0.0384)	
Portugal	0.122	-0.234**		-0.197***	0.275***	1.012***	0.673***	0.581***
	(0.0812)	(0.0941)		(0.0711)	(0.0557)	(0.0913)	(0.0643)	(0.0609)
Romania		0.0917						
		(0.0638)						

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Table 4.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Sweden	-0.283*** (0.0544)	-0.803*** (0.0435)	-1.477*** (0.0427)	-0.914*** (0.0636)	-0.667*** (0.0460)	-0.411*** (0.0510)	-0.855*** (0.0416)	
Slovenia	0.0689 (0.0485)	0.0735 (0.0484)	-0.458*** (0.0541)	-0.387*** (0.0384)	0.223*** (0.0389)	0.872*** (0.0511)	0.908*** (0.0487)	0.317*** (0.0782)
Slovakia	0.864*** (0.0603)		-0.0292 (0.0508)				0.974*** (0.0642)	
Constant	2.104*** (0.400)	2.825*** (0.340)	2.337*** (0.427)	2.027*** (0.303)	2.189*** (0.342)	1.995*** (0.266)	1.913*** (0.313)	1.690*** (0.349)
Observations	22,105	29,249	28,971	30,014	25,214	27,302	26,701	20,358
Adj. R ²	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174	0.174
Log-likelihood	-8467	-11765	-11878	-12298	-10043	-10637	-10204	-8335

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.2A: The effect of different degrees of distance on the decision not to vote - waves breakdown

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Not at all close	-0.242 (0.247)	-0.499** (0.244)	-0.345 (0.215)	-0.407* (0.227)	-0.393*** (0.121)	-0.179 (0.180)	-0.314** (0.153)	-0.173 (0.141)
Not close	-0.525*** (0.0992)	-0.664*** (0.0920)	-0.798*** (0.111)	-0.766*** (0.0962)	-0.631*** (0.111)	-0.581*** (0.118)	-0.711*** (0.0852)	-0.918*** (0.0953)
Quite close	-1.160*** (0.0879)	-1.235*** (0.0979)	-1.314*** (0.0998)	-1.354*** (0.111)	-1.251*** (0.121)	-1.224*** (0.119)	-1.414*** (0.107)	-1.457*** (0.101)
Very close	-1.605*** (0.119)	-1.660*** (0.167)	-1.817*** (0.184)	-1.768*** (0.130)	-1.727*** (0.201)	-1.702*** (0.155)	-1.957*** (0.202)	-2.050*** (0.294)
Male	0.0958*** (0.0369)	0.0755** (0.0359)	0.190*** (0.0455)	0.0757* (0.0444)	0.110*** (0.0420)	0.0737 (0.0473)	0.144*** (0.0446)	0.0674 (0.0489)
Income class 2	0.246* (0.145)	-0.0194 (0.0732)	-0.0827 (0.0778)	0.0886 (0.111)	-0.0231 (0.0619)	-0.237*** (0.0759)	-0.169** (0.0704)	-0.157 (0.0989)
Income class 3	0.190* (0.110)	-0.0569 (0.0707)	-0.0547 (0.0718)	-0.0811 (0.104)	-0.105 (0.0984)	-0.296*** (0.104)	-0.219*** (0.0546)	-0.0616 (0.101)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Income class 4	0.122 (0.165)	-0.135 (0.0938)	-0.0592 (0.0949)	-0.123 (0.114)	-0.133* (0.0780)	-0.333*** (0.0887)	-0.310*** (0.0686)	-0.173 (0.118)
Income class 5	0.220 (0.135)	-0.177** (0.0833)	-0.0800 (0.0858)	-0.121 (0.121)	-0.185* (0.0959)	-0.449*** (0.0838)	-0.196*** (0.0716)	-0.156 (0.132)
Income class 6	0.124 (0.143)	-0.0946 (0.0961)	-0.190** (0.0947)	-0.140 (0.112)	-0.227** (0.105)	-0.469*** (0.0797)	-0.244*** (0.0687)	-0.145 (0.122)
Income class 7	0.0649 (0.168)	-0.145 (0.0892)	-0.247* (0.134)	-0.306** (0.150)	-0.321*** (0.119)	-0.524*** (0.0826)	-0.479*** (0.0941)	-0.193 (0.128)
Income class 8	-0.0406 (0.149)	-0.147 (0.0979)	-0.289** (0.112)	-0.381*** (0.137)	-0.450*** (0.140)	-0.519*** (0.0834)	-0.539*** (0.0712)	-0.133 (0.150)
Income class 9	-0.131 (0.174)	-0.189* (0.105)	-0.194 (0.128)	-0.390** (0.152)	-0.534*** (0.136)	-0.604*** (0.116)	-0.589*** (0.135)	-0.166 (0.123)
Income class 10	-0.0776 (0.151)	-0.267** (0.111)	-0.220 (0.153)	-0.332* (0.183)	-0.583*** (0.141)	-0.520*** (0.130)	-0.409*** (0.110)	-0.349** (0.145)
N. of household members	-0.0228	-0.0407***	-0.0193	-0.0345	0.0157	-0.0176	-0.00577	-0.0138

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0221)	(0.0148)	(0.0198)	(0.0246)	(0.0225)	(0.0205)	(0.0239)	(0.0246)
Age	-0.0950***	-0.0838***	-0.0847***	-0.0673***	-0.0749***	-0.0845***	-0.0761***	-0.0717***
	(0.0124)	(0.00957)	(0.00785)	(0.00628)	(0.0125)	(0.00919)	(0.0101)	(0.0102)
Age squared	0.000632***	0.000516***	0.000534***	0.000380***	0.000452***	0.000488***	0.000461***	0.000500***
	(0.000121)	(9.10e-05)	(6.49e-05)	(6.33e-05)	(0.000118)	(8.61e-05)	(0.000109)	(0.000109)
Married	-0.413*	-0.541**	-0.129	-0.343*	-0.518***	-0.0512	-0.258**	-0.556***
	(0.229)	(0.254)	(0.181)	(0.189)	(0.153)	(0.0972)	(0.122)	(0.0736)
Separated	0.000260	-0.167	0.257	-0.00404	-0.0703	0.314***	0.129	0.0444
	(0.189)	(0.267)	(0.164)	(0.224)	(0.152)	(0.0956)	(0.128)	(0.116)
Widowed	-0.157	-0.254	0.171	-0.157	-0.491***	0.178	0.0533	-0.197**
	(0.247)	(0.235)	(0.200)	(0.206)	(0.184)	(0.112)	(0.173)	(0.0935)
Never married	-0.191	-0.308	0.0481	-0.136	-0.367**	0.106	-0.00590	-0.228***
	(0.202)	(0.258)	(0.174)	(0.185)	(0.157)	(0.0908)	(0.116)	(0.0746)
Retired	-0.222*	-0.213**	-0.168**	-0.258***	-0.322***	-0.291**	-0.384***	-0.496***
	(0.124)	(0.0893)	(0.0713)	(0.0737)	(0.0929)	(0.116)	(0.106)	(0.107)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Student	-0.123 (0.100)	-0.0735 (0.107)	-0.0959 (0.0917)	-0.0107 (0.0995)	-0.276*** (0.0918)	-0.260*** (0.0881)	-0.187 (0.119)	0.00683 (0.114)
Unemployed not in search	0.162 (0.103)	0.211** (0.0930)	0.291*** (0.0809)	0.0791 (0.0927)	0.000140 (0.0993)	-0.0915 (0.136)	0.163 (0.111)	-0.247** (0.116)
Unemployed in search	0.408*** (0.131)	0.227** (0.0974)	0.133 (0.135)	0.123 (0.117)	0.0850 (0.122)	0.0502 (0.104)	0.0917 (0.106)	-0.130 (0.185)
Paid worker	-0.177** (0.0794)	-0.122** (0.0567)	-0.152** (0.0636)	-0.192*** (0.0566)	-0.165** (0.0786)	-0.156* (0.0803)	-0.163** (0.0734)	-0.353*** (0.102)
Houseworker	-0.129** (0.0521)	-0.0124 (0.0538)	-0.0471 (0.0756)	-0.0644 (0.0670)	0.0385 (0.0800)	0.0189 (0.0625)	-0.0157 (0.0551)	-0.208* (0.107)
Disabled	-0.0110 (0.142)	0.120 (0.108)	-0.0375 (0.0714)	-0.00439 (0.116)	-0.0524 (0.111)	0.0666 (0.109)	0.0593 (0.106)	-0.0238 (0.165)
Education years	-0.0666*** (0.00835)	-0.0732*** (0.00929)	-0.0628*** (0.00713)	-0.0704*** (0.00946)	-0.0584*** (0.00991)	-0.0848*** (0.00927)	-0.0652*** (0.00989)	-0.0680*** (0.00919)
Health: Good	-0.0230	-0.0333	0.0335	-0.00355	0.131***	0.0410	-0.0518	-0.0484

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0542)	(0.0441)	(0.0578)	(0.0421)	(0.0503)	(0.0379)	(0.0472)	(0.0591)
Health: Fair	0.00511	0.0523	0.160**	0.0720	0.157***	0.145*	0.0388	0.0850
	(0.0852)	(0.0534)	(0.0653)	(0.0518)	(0.0607)	(0.0760)	(0.0746)	(0.0852)
Health: Bad	0.270**	0.277***	0.468***	0.230**	0.470***	0.320***	0.264**	0.249***
	(0.123)	(0.0851)	(0.0777)	(0.0964)	(0.102)	(0.0699)	(0.123)	(0.0898)
Health: Very bad	0.554***	0.380**	0.470***	0.610***	0.642***	0.705***	0.742***	0.631***
	(0.151)	(0.183)	(0.129)	(0.140)	(0.200)	(0.131)	(0.228)	(0.207)
Left-right scale	-0.0257*	-0.0290	-0.0385***	-0.0208	-0.0409***	-0.0328***	-0.0416***	-0.0291***
	(0.0149)	(0.0185)	(0.0119)	(0.0128)	(0.0125)	(0.0122)	(0.0128)	(0.0101)
Life satisfaction	-0.0162	-0.0393***	-0.0556***	-0.0415***	-0.0328**	-0.0450***	-0.0577***	-0.0507***
	(0.0142)	(0.0111)	(0.0116)	(0.00685)	(0.0135)	(0.0134)	(0.0102)	(0.0165)
Satisfaction with economy	0.166	0.111	0.0624	0.0467	-0.0778	-0.0931	-0.268**	0.131
1	(0.123)	(0.111)	(0.0665)	(0.0831)	(0.119)	(0.109)	(0.133)	(0.107)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 2	-0.0171 (0.119)	-0.0178 (0.0797)	-0.00575 (0.0884)	0.239*** (0.0811)	0.0569 (0.0852)	0.0150 (0.100)	-0.210* (0.126)	0.320** (0.158)
Satisfaction with economy 3	-0.0139 (0.127)	-0.0246 (0.0520)	-0.0255 (0.105)	0.176** (0.0735)	0.0102 (0.0894)	0.0302 (0.125)	-0.185** (0.0892)	0.247** (0.117)
Satisfaction with economy 4	0.0288 (0.124)	0.0520 (0.0983)	0.0120 (0.122)	0.141 (0.0865)	0.0556 (0.101)	0.161 (0.146)	-0.315*** (0.102)	0.237** (0.121)
Satisfaction with economy 5	0.0486 (0.118)	0.0505 (0.102)	0.104 (0.107)	0.116 (0.119)	0.0596 (0.107)	0.145 (0.120)	-0.208** (0.0980)	0.251* (0.134)
Satisfaction with economy 6	-0.0135 (0.117)	-0.144 (0.116)	0.0166 (0.149)	0.219** (0.106)	-0.109 (0.109)	0.144 (0.119)	-0.252** (0.107)	0.308*** (0.105)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 7	-0.0544 (0.116)	-0.103 (0.0997)	-6.58e-05 (0.136)	0.156 (0.164)	-0.0795 (0.129)	0.170 (0.130)	-0.324*** (0.117)	0.365*** (0.111)
Satisfaction with economy 8	-0.0546 (0.152)	0.118 (0.124)	0.199 (0.137)	0.235* (0.126)	-0.0148 (0.160)	0.113 (0.151)	-0.343*** (0.119)	0.275* (0.153)
Satisfaction with economy 9	-0.105 (0.164)	0.120 (0.202)	0.254 (0.269)	0.344* (0.181)	0.0918 (0.200)	0.124 (0.160)	-0.328* (0.169)	0.392** (0.177)
Satisfaction with economy 10	0.114 (0.326)	0.285 (0.212)	0.201 (0.250)	0.478* (0.249)	0.328 (0.216)	0.120 (0.277)	0.160 (0.136)	0.420** (0.204)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1	-0.173** (0.0865)	-0.193** (0.0797)	-0.0887 (0.0731)	-0.158** (0.0802)	-0.105 (0.112)	-0.120 (0.117)	-0.0731 (0.0834)	-0.0804 (0.125)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with government 2	-0.189*	-0.146	-0.118*	-0.0974*	-0.0873	-0.0745	0.0571	-0.0632
	(0.101)	(0.0974)	(0.0667)	(0.0589)	(0.100)	(0.0812)	(0.0789)	(0.139)
Satisfaction with government 3	-0.181	-0.175*	-0.205***	-0.188**	-0.0814	-0.162**	-0.0306	-0.0688
	(0.122)	(0.0934)	(0.0522)	(0.0794)	(0.110)	(0.0821)	(0.0712)	(0.125)
Satisfaction with government 4	-0.249**	-0.335***	-0.169**	-0.281***	-0.219**	-0.0859	-0.0822	-0.149
	(0.113)	(0.104)	(0.0671)	(0.0692)	(0.103)	(0.101)	(0.0999)	(0.136)
Satisfaction with government 5	-0.108	-0.215*	-0.241***	-0.171**	-0.0941	-0.119	0.0485	0.0422
	(0.102)	(0.117)	(0.0722)	(0.0703)	(0.114)	(0.0888)	(0.0841)	(0.151)
Satisfaction with government 6	-0.332**	-0.355***	-0.325***	-0.327***	-0.257*	-0.167	-0.0471	-0.194
	(0.131)	(0.137)	(0.0684)	(0.0893)	(0.148)	(0.123)	(0.0862)	(0.163)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with government 7	-0.271*	-0.203	-0.338***	-0.407***	-0.147	-0.195*	0.0258	-0.143
	(0.152)	(0.137)	(0.0958)	(0.101)	(0.135)	(0.103)	(0.0817)	(0.170)
Satisfaction with government 8	-0.366*	-0.380***	-0.272**	-0.274***	-0.195	-0.126	0.0339	-0.204
	(0.189)	(0.142)	(0.116)	(0.0992)	(0.197)	(0.156)	(0.112)	(0.179)
Satisfaction with government 9	-0.444***	-0.00982	-0.471***	-0.185	-0.120	-0.125	-0.233	-0.341*
	(0.160)	(0.231)	(0.174)	(0.178)	(0.252)	(0.218)	(0.184)	(0.183)
Satisfaction with government 10	0.0997	-0.576	-0.207	-0.195	-0.516	0.0791	0.151	-0.376
	(0.251)	(0.364)	(0.252)	(0.285)	(0.323)	(0.220)	(0.158)	(0.235)
Satisfaction with democracy 1	-0.161	-0.120	0.00205	-0.0202	-0.291*	-0.0759	-0.153	-0.0630
	(0.132)	(0.112)	(0.108)	(0.118)	(0.157)	(0.0870)	(0.131)	(0.122)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 2	-0.0967 (0.118)	-0.193** (0.0858)	0.00606 (0.0927)	-0.0801 (0.126)	-0.225* (0.116)	-0.293** (0.124)	-0.0996 (0.104)	-0.234** (0.112)
Satisfaction with democracy 3	-0.188** (0.0732)	-0.166* (0.0943)	-0.123 (0.104)	0.0133 (0.0958)	-0.279** (0.112)	-0.266*** (0.0852)	-0.130 (0.127)	-0.225* (0.131)
Satisfaction with democracy 4	-0.172** (0.0827)	-0.101 (0.0946)	-0.0627 (0.0913)	0.0178 (0.0934)	-0.245* (0.134)	-0.253*** (0.0754)	-0.130 (0.102)	-0.260 (0.168)
Satisfaction with democracy 5	-0.242*** (0.0931)	-0.0686 (0.0832)	0.0316 (0.0996)	-0.0240 (0.0944)	-0.284** (0.122)	-0.217*** (0.0745)	-0.0992 (0.105)	-0.181 (0.164)
Satisfaction with democracy 6	-0.354*** (0.118)	-0.148 (0.121)	-0.0809 (0.108)	-0.0907 (0.0942)	-0.264** (0.125)	-0.357*** (0.0848)	-0.156 (0.123)	-0.314* (0.178)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 7	-0.357*** (0.102)	-0.300*** (0.105)	-0.163 (0.104)	-0.0868 (0.104)	-0.351*** (0.123)	-0.469*** (0.111)	-0.240** (0.121)	-0.393** (0.192)
Satisfaction with democracy 8	-0.473*** (0.0978)	-0.446*** (0.0865)	-0.140 (0.109)	-0.105 (0.124)	-0.389*** (0.126)	-0.523*** (0.119)	-0.317** (0.133)	-0.444** (0.191)
Satisfaction with democracy 9	-0.249** (0.101)	-0.373*** (0.107)	-0.345** (0.148)	-0.221 (0.139)	-0.546*** (0.206)	-0.411*** (0.147)	-0.234 (0.195)	-0.418* (0.215)
Satisfaction with democracy 10	-0.321* (0.175)	-0.399* (0.207)	-0.250 (0.167)	-0.148 (0.152)	-0.244 (0.198)	-0.135 (0.149)	-0.198 (0.175)	-0.327** (0.166)
Importance of the environment								
Like me	-0.00961	0.0343	0.0542	0.0511	-0.0183	-0.0172	0.0867*	0.119**

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0617)	(0.0386)	(0.0405)	(0.0455)	(0.0436)	(0.0536)	(0.0450)	(0.0555)
Somewhat like me	0.0459	0.125**	0.108	0.182***	-0.0325	-0.00765	0.188**	0.148**
	(0.0723)	(0.0624)	(0.0717)	(0.0523)	(0.0649)	(0.0531)	(0.0767)	(0.0618)
A little like me	0.259***	0.176***	0.167**	0.229***	0.148**	0.188***	0.220**	0.335***
	(0.0742)	(0.0650)	(0.0667)	(0.0794)	(0.0637)	(0.0668)	(0.101)	(0.0882)
Not like me	0.298*	0.167	0.0958	0.340***	0.293**	0.257***	0.446***	0.195
	(0.172)	(0.145)	(0.0983)	(0.102)	(0.142)	(0.0861)	(0.0960)	(0.124)
Not like me at all	0.406	0.352	0.338	0.314	-0.413**	0.786***	0.432*	0.470
	(0.335)	(0.250)	(0.253)	(0.198)	(0.192)	(0.218)	(0.246)	(0.301)
Government should reduce differences in income								
Levels								
Agree	-0.147**	-0.0251	-0.0910**	-0.103***	0.0164	-0.0460	-0.0546	-0.150**
	(0.0655)	(0.0577)	(0.0412)	(0.0379)	(0.0456)	(0.0467)	(0.0443)	(0.0739)
Neither agree nor disagree	-0.0969	-0.0688	-0.0674	-0.172***	-0.00457	-0.0272	0.0811	-0.111
	(0.0712)	(0.0630)	(0.0505)	(0.0578)	(0.0801)	(0.0710)	(0.0756)	(0.0977)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Disagree	-0.223*** (0.0752)	-0.0349 (0.0539)	-0.164** (0.0782)	-0.227*** (0.0856)	0.0241 (0.0703)	-0.174* (0.0967)	-0.0177 (0.105)	-0.140 (0.129)
Disagree strongly	-0.144 (0.179)	-0.241** (0.117)	-0.00924 (0.162)	-0.351*** (0.111)	0.113 (0.104)	-0.0912 (0.198)	-0.0202 (0.130)	-0.0220 (0.228)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish								
Agree	0.0927** (0.0460)	0.0117 (0.0487)	0.0909* (0.0466)	0.0949** (0.0453)	0.0963** (0.0408)	0.225*** (0.0607)	0.228*** (0.0577)	0.0744 (0.0560)
Neither agree nor disagree	0.187*** (0.0488)	0.116* (0.0611)	0.111 (0.0796)	0.103 (0.0747)	0.279*** (0.0613)	0.246*** (0.0802)	0.166** (0.0773)	0.272*** (0.0913)
Disagree	0.149** (0.0734)	0.0686 (0.0640)	0.163* (0.0901)	0.260*** (0.0626)	0.257*** (0.0749)	0.355*** (0.0803)	0.332*** (0.0777)	0.231 (0.147)
Disagree strongly	0.272** (0.107)	0.0740 (0.0953)	0.130 (0.0842)	0.283*** (0.0892)	0.350*** (0.0803)	0.318*** (0.101)	0.466*** (0.117)	0.224* (0.119)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark								
Safe	-0.0306 (0.0608)	-0.0615 (0.0519)	0.116*** (0.0388)	-0.0437 (0.0421)	0.0631** (0.0319)	0.0295 (0.0634)	0.0238 (0.0541)	0.0263 (0.0593)
Unsafe	0.0769 (0.0628)	0.121* (0.0648)	0.160** (0.0806)	0.0758 (0.0636)	0.135** (0.0657)	0.0649 (0.0929)	0.176** (0.0804)	0.156** (0.0667)
Very unsafe	0.102 (0.0852)	0.0196 (0.0744)	0.243*** (0.0930)	0.335*** (0.104)	0.261** (0.102)	0.283* (0.164)	0.277** (0.123)	0.158 (0.138)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe								
Some	-0.00109 (0.0735)	-0.0264 (0.0603)	-0.0839 (0.0615)	-0.0740 (0.0593)	0.0349 (0.0768)	-0.0113 (0.0823)	-0.126 (0.0776)	-0.0229 (0.0881)
A few	0.0244 (0.0733)	0.0743 (0.0610)	-0.123* (0.0672)	-0.129** (0.0607)	0.00392 (0.103)	0.105 (0.0889)	0.0202 (0.0672)	0.0735 (0.0967)
None	0.0571	0.0465	-0.154* (0.0672)	-0.0511 (0.0607)	0.105 (0.103)	0.184** (0.0889)	0.0373 (0.0672)	-0.00223 (0.0967)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.113)	(0.0516)	(0.0821)	(0.0917)	(0.103)	(0.0848)	(0.0687)	(0.0837)
Belgium	-0.648***	-1.018***	-0.918***	-0.752***	-0.838***	-0.239***	-0.227***	
	(0.0428)	(0.0552)	(0.0267)	(0.0399)	(0.0332)	(0.0344)	(0.0439)	
Bulgaria	0.877***		-0.470***	0.160***			-0.454***	0.460***
	(0.0959)		(0.0861)	(0.0525)			(0.0935)	(0.0334)
Switzerland	2.047***	1.199***	1.098***	1.000***	0.965***	1.466***	1.371***	0.880***
	(0.0663)	(0.0601)	(0.0535)	(0.0713)	(0.0566)	(0.0670)	(0.0321)	(0.0648)
Cyprus	-0.782***		-0.827***	-0.534***			0.492***	
	(0.0475)		(0.0721)	(0.0494)			(0.0565)	
Czech Republic		1.092***	0.356***	0.479***	0.749***	1.553***	1.144***	0.616***
		(0.0626)	(0.0485)	(0.0325)	(0.0413)	(0.0394)	(0.0485)	(0.0463)
Germany	0.273***	-0.112**	-0.468***	-0.110**	-0.0721*	0.568***	0.0225	
	(0.0318)	(0.0504)	(0.0281)	(0.0454)	(0.0423)	(0.0437)	(0.0410)	
Denmark	-0.394***	-1.042***	-0.719***	-1.267***	-1.000***			
	(0.0642)	(0.0498)	(0.0562)	(0.0667)	(0.0512)			

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Estonia		0.214 (0.251)	0.117*** (0.0428)	0.270*** (0.0421)		0.815*** (0.0276)	0.832*** (0.0437)	0.333*** (0.0473)
Spain	0.353*** (0.0457)	-0.454*** (0.0666)	-0.785*** (0.0572)	-0.326*** (0.0499)	-0.187*** (0.0343)	0.180*** (0.0664)	0.541*** (0.0600)	
Finland	0.509*** (0.0424)	0.112** (0.0535)	-0.0983 (0.162)	-0.199*** (0.0519)	0.0286 (0.0285)	0.788*** (0.0339)	0.323*** (0.0217)	0.326*** (0.0761)
France	0.716*** (0.0424)	0.246*** (0.0575)	0.256*** (0.0621)	-0.0361 (0.0379)	0.687*** (0.0311)	1.472*** (0.0597)	1.152*** (0.0618)	1.167*** (0.0650)
Great Britain	0.985*** (0.0280)	0.590*** (0.0640)	0.236*** (0.0560)	0.322*** (0.0440)	0.525*** (0.0362)	1.006*** (0.0329)	0.461*** (0.0537)	
Greece		-0.877*** (0.0720)	-0.869*** (0.0917)					-1.000*** (0.0508)
Croatia		-0.439*** (0.0484)	-0.389*** (0.0677)				0.561*** (0.0705)	0.471*** (0.0614)
Hungary		-0.471***	-0.0425	-0.0603*	-0.0684	0.500***	0.384***	0.168***

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
		(0.0767)	(0.0776)	(0.0335)	(0.0531)	(0.0539)	(0.0648)	(0.0251)
Ireland	0.840*** (0.0455)	0.0530 (0.0738)	-0.305*** (0.0729)	-0.110** (0.0501)	-0.209*** (0.0356)	0.730*** (0.0258)	0.272*** (0.0480)	
Israel		-0.0975* (0.0567)	-0.487*** (0.0590)	-0.152*** (0.0506)	-0.905*** (0.0365)	-0.0960** (0.0467)		
Iceland				-1.012*** (0.0646)		-0.208*** (0.0630)		-0.796*** (0.102)
Italy				-0.775*** (0.0510)		0.268*** (0.0515)	0.0392 (0.0640)	-0.182*** (0.0534)
Lithuania		0.797*** (0.0641)	0.126* (0.0689)	0.284*** (0.0384)	0.546*** (0.0579)	1.253*** (0.0498)	0.468*** (0.0644)	0.442*** (0.0312)
Latvia	0.665*** (0.0795)	0.390*** (0.0853)					0.493*** (0.0697)	
Montenegro								-1.148*** (0.0805)

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
North Macedonia								-0.358*** (0.0620)
Netherlands	0.591*** (0.0345)	-0.0226 (0.0576)	-0.0135 (0.0419)	0.0274 (0.0534)	0.337*** (0.0442)	0.956*** (0.0510)	0.483*** (0.0468)	-0.387*** (0.0861)
Norway	0.518*** (0.0563)	0.0544 (0.0417)	-0.476*** (0.0631)	-0.392*** (0.0841)	-0.321*** (0.0793)	0.467*** (0.0664)	-0.144*** (0.0510)	-0.340*** (0.0974)
Poland	0.618*** (0.0845)	-0.0439 (0.0562)	-0.220*** (0.0444)	0.0275 (0.0308)	0.250*** (0.0300)	0.643*** (0.0311)	0.572*** (0.0384)	
Portugal	0.0542 (0.0830)	-0.300*** (0.0991)		-0.352*** (0.0716)	0.0975* (0.0555)	0.788*** (0.0900)	0.435*** (0.0694)	0.287*** (0.0545)
Romania		0.135** (0.0626)						
Sweden	-0.212*** (0.0578)	-0.734*** (0.0426)	-1.470*** (0.0434)	-0.957*** (0.0617)	-0.646*** (0.0451)	-0.426*** (0.0520)	-0.846*** (0.0444)	
Slovenia	0.133**	0.100**	-0.455***	-0.455***	0.214***	0.856***	0.882***	0.263***

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Table 4.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0548)	(0.0450)	(0.0568)	(0.0379)	(0.0420)	(0.0503)	(0.0485)	(0.0816)
Slovakia	1.020***		0.0481				1.072***	
	(0.0613)		(0.0486)				(0.0619)	
Constant	3.161***	3.866***	3.586***	3.344***	3.386***	3.131***	3.202***	3.202***
	(0.367)	(0.352)	(0.413)	(0.300)	(0.296)	(0.264)	(0.300)	(0.314)
Observations	22,105	29,249	28,971	30,014	25,214	27,302	26,701	20,358
Adj. R ²	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170	0.170
ll	-8448	-11742	-11885	-12279	-10023	-10585	-10177	-8377

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.3A: The effect of political distance on decision not to vote (subsample of less distant respondents) - waves breakdown

Quite close	0.405*** (0.124)	0.422*** (0.115)	0.457*** (0.151)	0.402*** (0.118)	0.442*** (0.149)	0.434*** (0.109)	0.458*** (0.140)	0.405** (0.180)
Not close	1.052*** (0.157)	1.032*** (0.134)	0.934*** (0.149)	0.949*** (0.155)	1.048*** (0.155)	1.081*** (0.148)	1.130*** (0.142)	0.863*** (0.187)
Not at all close	1.400*** (0.281)	1.191*** (0.237)	1.398*** (0.268)	1.362*** (0.247)	1.286*** (0.209)	1.565*** (0.232)	1.549*** (0.221)	1.598*** (0.191)
Male	0.111 (0.0749)	0.0541 (0.0641)	0.184*** (0.0711)	0.168** (0.0795)	0.0973 (0.0680)	0.00535 (0.0746)	0.198*** (0.0715)	-0.0308 (0.0899)
Income class 2	0.492 (0.302)	-0.0311 (0.133)	-0.0376 (0.127)	0.285* (0.149)	-0.0602 (0.0935)	-0.218 (0.134)	-0.264* (0.156)	-0.245 (0.247)
Income class 3	0.336 (0.240)	0.000632 (0.149)	0.0637 (0.121)	0.0232 (0.173)	-0.0970 (0.115)	-0.449*** (0.156)	-0.188 (0.139)	-0.180 (0.231)
Income class 4	0.272 (0.279)	-0.249 (0.186)	-0.131 (0.145)	-0.140 (0.171)	-0.107 (0.100)	-0.333** (0.164)	-0.342*** (0.112)	-0.314 (0.208)
Income class 5	0.410** (0.200)	-0.360** (0.143)	-0.0351 (0.116)	-0.0113 (0.174)	-0.178 (0.147)	-0.503*** (0.148)	-0.338* (0.179)	-0.214 (0.260)
Income class 6	0.379	-0.318* (0.143)	-0.0961 (0.116)	-0.0584 (0.174)	-0.115 (0.147)	-0.661*** (0.148)	-0.329*** (0.179)	-0.340 (0.260)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.249)	(0.190)	(0.142)	(0.158)	(0.133)	(0.161)	(0.0955)	(0.273)
Income class 7	0.354	-0.337**	-0.228	-0.259	-0.251	-0.605***	-0.637***	-0.205
	(0.228)	(0.171)	(0.157)	(0.195)	(0.172)	(0.157)	(0.151)	(0.234)
Income class 8	0.195	-0.323*	-0.302**	-0.220	-0.324	-0.620***	-0.647***	-0.238
	(0.232)	(0.167)	(0.126)	(0.198)	(0.211)	(0.182)	(0.145)	(0.267)
Income class 9	0.197	-0.168	-0.177	-0.179	-0.369**	-0.615***	-0.713***	-0.262
	(0.237)	(0.189)	(0.188)	(0.235)	(0.174)	(0.226)	(0.196)	(0.269)
Income class 10	0.325	-0.288	-0.191	-0.208	-0.423**	-0.724***	-0.534***	-0.509**
	(0.222)	(0.188)	(0.226)	(0.242)	(0.213)	(0.183)	(0.162)	(0.251)
N. of household members	-0.00130	-0.0456**	0.0396	0.0178	0.0573	0.00549	0.0987***	0.0353
	(0.0317)	(0.0215)	(0.0244)	(0.0298)	(0.0381)	(0.0333)	(0.0333)	(0.0426)
Age	-0.0908***	-0.0719***	-0.0928***	-0.0592***	-0.0964***	-0.0866***	-0.0826***	-0.0699***
	(0.0154)	(0.0125)	(0.0130)	(0.0123)	(0.0152)	(0.0163)	(0.0138)	(0.0117)
Age squared	0.000576***	0.000361***	0.000628***	0.000274**	0.000644***	0.000514***	0.000546***	0.000490***
	(0.000159)	(0.000134)	(0.000107)	(0.000107)	(0.000152)	(0.000155)	(0.000137)	(0.000117)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Married	0.0977 (0.635)	-0.786* (0.409)	-0.458* (0.267)	0.346 (0.412)	-0.319 (0.227)	-0.0824 (0.142)	0.0667 (0.267)	-0.630*** (0.115)
Separated	0.660 (0.619)	-0.353 (0.421)	-0.0425 (0.251)	0.835* (0.427)	0.334 (0.242)	0.415*** (0.155)	0.670** (0.273)	-0.143 (0.434)
Widowed	0.250 (0.710)	-0.512 (0.396)	-0.269 (0.290)	0.532 (0.411)	-0.139 (0.241)	0.265* (0.154)	0.584** (0.255)	-0.204 (0.189)
Never married	0.372 (0.599)	-0.475 (0.406)	-0.282 (0.271)	0.493 (0.365)	-0.104 (0.263)	0.133 (0.130)	0.473* (0.243)	-0.127 (0.151)
Retired	-0.229 (0.176)	-0.210 (0.163)	-0.0453 (0.139)	-0.199** (0.0968)	-0.231* (0.139)	-0.442** (0.214)	-0.532*** (0.121)	-0.294 (0.203)
Student	-0.00907 (0.146)	0.00277 (0.149)	-0.0539 (0.149)	0.250* (0.150)	-0.367*** (0.139)	-0.224 (0.170)	-0.0552 (0.225)	0.270* (0.140)
Unemployed not in search	0.0977 (0.186)	0.350* (0.181)	0.567*** (0.134)	0.0386 (0.148)	0.142 (0.173)	-0.127 (0.202)	0.170 (0.184)	0.379* (0.199)
Unemployed in search	0.323	0.0518	0.274	0.000956	0.127	0.0425	0.251	0.214

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.242)	(0.162)	(0.190)	(0.239)	(0.170)	(0.235)	(0.173)	(0.316)
Paid worker	-0.124	-0.158	-0.0935	-0.214**	-0.0659	-0.238	-0.168	-0.0298
	(0.135)	(0.145)	(0.121)	(0.0969)	(0.119)	(0.156)	(0.129)	(0.135)
Houseworker	-0.0671	-0.0323	-0.0541	-0.0246	0.0894	-0.0482	-0.0750	-0.0474
	(0.0880)	(0.0788)	(0.0735)	(0.0910)	(0.115)	(0.0943)	(0.0883)	(0.115)
Disabled	-0.00835	-0.0124	0.0856	0.173	0.0775	0.0853	0.210	0.0174
	(0.280)	(0.128)	(0.138)	(0.154)	(0.126)	(0.227)	(0.238)	(0.260)
Education years	-0.0543***	-0.0712***	-0.0547***	-0.0622***	-0.0464***	-0.0766***	-0.0652***	-0.0797***
	(0.0104)	(0.0105)	(0.00787)	(0.0121)	(0.0106)	(0.00970)	(0.0157)	(0.0137)
Health: Good	-0.0793	-0.00896	-0.106	0.104	0.0702	0.119	0.219***	0.108
	(0.0699)	(0.0785)	(0.113)	(0.0780)	(0.0627)	(0.0762)	(0.0812)	(0.155)
Health: Fair	-0.0477	0.0559	0.104	0.265***	0.179***	0.350***	0.198**	0.318**
	(0.119)	(0.0783)	(0.116)	(0.0890)	(0.0676)	(0.130)	(0.0830)	(0.135)
Health: Bad	0.200	0.343**	0.445***	0.373***	0.480***	0.516***	0.495***	0.397
	(0.166)	(0.136)	(0.129)	(0.104)	(0.128)	(0.150)	(0.154)	(0.250)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Health: Very bad	0.567** (0.269)	0.603** (0.236)	0.461* (0.279)	0.757*** (0.224)	0.474* (0.258)	0.874*** (0.192)	0.865** (0.361)	0.986*** (0.196)
Left-right scale	-0.0103 (0.0209)	-0.0195 (0.0152)	-0.0136 (0.0158)	0.00238 (0.0160)	-0.0500*** (0.0141)	-0.00643 (0.0156)	-0.00599 (0.0209)	-0.0182 (0.0166)
Life satisfaction	-0.0391*** (0.0145)	-0.0378* (0.0227)	-0.0690*** (0.0213)	-0.0654*** (0.0132)	-0.0238 (0.0193)	-0.0454** (0.0194)	-0.0378** (0.0166)	-0.0505** (0.0248)
Satisfaction with economy 1	-0.0832 (0.202)	0.00368 (0.142)	0.179 (0.150)	0.106 (0.147)	-0.0802 (0.185)	-0.166 (0.218)	-0.0583 (0.187)	0.119 (0.271)
Satisfaction with economy 2	-0.163 (0.137)	-0.0481 (0.133)	0.222 (0.157)	0.178 (0.127)	0.124 (0.126)	-0.253 (0.154)	-0.387** (0.158)	0.372* (0.197)
Satisfaction with economy 3	-0.376*** (0.120)	-0.0510 (0.139)	0.00837 (0.173)	0.124 (0.147)	0.0805 (0.136)	-0.0370 (0.137)	-0.385*** (0.145)	0.491*** (0.149)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 4	-0.164 (0.200)	0.158 (0.134)	-0.0799 (0.180)	0.184 (0.137)	0.150 (0.107)	0.186 (0.184)	-0.542*** (0.182)	0.356 (0.221)
Satisfaction with economy 5	-0.187 (0.196)	0.0166 (0.142)	0.103 (0.178)	0.0676 (0.176)	0.0652 (0.144)	-0.0426 (0.123)	-0.308** (0.157)	0.213 (0.238)
Satisfaction with economy 6	-0.235 (0.160)	-0.184 (0.138)	0.00669 (0.216)	0.0602 (0.156)	-0.0379 (0.139)	0.0225 (0.181)	-0.314* (0.169)	0.299 (0.194)
Satisfaction with economy 7	-0.382** (0.182)	-0.202 (0.130)	0.0381 (0.193)	-0.0174 (0.252)	-0.0490 (0.158)	-0.0732 (0.173)	-0.700*** (0.144)	0.277 (0.253)
Satisfaction with economy 8	-0.454** (0.209)	0.224 (0.174)	0.218 (0.197)	0.166 (0.194)	-0.111 (0.200)	-0.0192 (0.192)	-0.622*** (0.205)	0.231 (0.283)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with economy 9	-0.0825 (0.230)	0.0664 (0.288)	0.435 (0.307)	0.279 (0.266)	0.317* (0.178)	0.0989 (0.147)	-0.559** (0.236)	0.406 (0.395)
Satisfaction with economy 10	-0.0352 (0.395)	0.459* (0.245)	0.194 (0.277)	0.286 (0.314)	0.394 (0.262)	0.107 (0.361)	-0.343 (0.284)	0.359 (0.370)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1	-0.187 (0.171)	-0.215 (0.149)	-0.0533 (0.125)	-0.111 (0.163)	-0.143 (0.218)	0.163 (0.291)	-0.0881 (0.157)	-0.0136 (0.265)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 2	-0.0675 (0.181)	-0.0950 (0.139)	-0.205 (0.136)	-0.0168 (0.129)	0.0266 (0.124)	-0.0347 (0.212)	-0.00885 (0.182)	0.189 (0.227)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 3	0.0189 (0.179)	-0.200 (0.176)	-0.110 (0.182)	-0.129 (0.124)	-0.247 (0.154)	0.0402 (0.202)	-0.0962 (0.146)	-0.00440 (0.241)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with government 4	-0.107 (0.198)	-0.357** (0.147)	0.0701 (0.172)	-0.205* (0.123)	-0.275 (0.178)	0.0983 (0.239)	-0.0971 (0.184)	0.0969 (0.239)
Satisfaction with government 5	0.0756 (0.187)	-0.202 (0.158)	-0.0790 (0.157)	-0.114 (0.128)	-0.110 (0.132)	0.0496 (0.195)	0.0596 (0.161)	0.249 (0.243)
Satisfaction with government 6	-0.0775 (0.207)	-0.270 (0.183)	-0.121 (0.165)	-0.334*** (0.104)	-0.354* (0.196)	0.142 (0.222)	-0.0960 (0.185)	-0.0439 (0.250)
Satisfaction with government 7	-0.0795 (0.210)	-0.134 (0.186)	-0.103 (0.174)	-0.302** (0.122)	-0.109 (0.190)	0.0995 (0.227)	0.0925 (0.161)	0.218 (0.311)
Satisfaction with government 8	-0.354 (0.250)	-0.369* (0.193)	-0.0904 (0.195)	-0.264* (0.138)	-0.244 (0.206)	0.0786 (0.258)	-0.0747 (0.210)	0.0997 (0.296)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with govern- ment 9	-0.372 (0.293)	0.240 (0.294)	-0.170 (0.331)	0.00858 (0.244)	-0.494 (0.461)	-0.0909 (0.366)	-0.434 (0.364)	-0.0704 (0.358)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 10	-0.0433 (0.418)	-0.636* (0.361)	-0.204 (0.564)	-0.185 (0.445)	-0.716 (0.458)	0.550** (0.277)	0.270 (0.316)	0.0324 (0.394)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 1	-0.247 (0.172)	-0.189 (0.177)	-0.287 (0.231)	0.0262 (0.202)	-0.346* (0.201)	-0.174 (0.211)	0.118 (0.169)	-0.397* (0.234)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 2	-0.443* (0.232)	-0.236 (0.157)	0.0346 (0.188)	-0.182 (0.196)	-0.285 (0.174)	-0.309 (0.234)	0.0151 (0.162)	-0.255 (0.283)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 3	-0.357** (0.158)	-0.119 (0.164)	-0.361** (0.173)	-0.198 (0.135)	-0.145 (0.136)	-0.451** (0.181)	-0.138 (0.211)	-0.473** (0.221)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 4	-0.352*** (0.136)	-0.140 (0.160)	-0.314* (0.168)	-0.174 (0.142)	-0.211 (0.183)	-0.376** (0.146)	-0.0627 (0.141)	-0.475* (0.249)
Satisfaction with democracy 5	-0.509*** (0.128)	-0.0331 (0.171)	-0.162 (0.175)	-0.231* (0.136)	-0.410*** (0.146)	-0.301 (0.198)	-0.0984 (0.109)	-0.339 (0.260)
Satisfaction with democracy 6	-0.641*** (0.171)	-0.169 (0.158)	-0.316* (0.175)	-0.245* (0.136)	-0.266** (0.134)	-0.338* (0.184)	-0.0390 (0.124)	-0.517* (0.282)
Satisfaction with democracy 7	-0.667*** (0.161)	-0.342* (0.189)	-0.401** (0.195)	-0.143 (0.166)	-0.336* (0.174)	-0.410* (0.228)	-0.0777 (0.129)	-0.586** (0.288)
Satisfaction with democracy 8	-0.615*** (0.136)	-0.429*** (0.157)	-0.432** (0.194)	-0.277 (0.181)	-0.464*** (0.146)	-0.669*** (0.219)	-0.238 (0.158)	-0.651* (0.333)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Satisfaction with democracy 9	-0.342** (0.163)	-0.460*** (0.151)	-0.590** (0.258)	-0.365* (0.220)	-0.464** (0.204)	-0.494* (0.257)	-0.121 (0.162)	-0.861** (0.416)
Satisfaction with democracy 10	-0.739*** (0.225)	-0.372 (0.296)	-0.666** (0.291)	-0.298 (0.248)	-0.00942 (0.190)	-0.466** (0.228)	-0.0530 (0.241)	-0.546* (0.332)
Importance of the environment								
Like me	-0.0252 (0.0773)	0.0235 (0.0740)	0.0818 (0.0736)	0.00601 (0.0808)	-0.0153 (0.0882)	-0.0323 (0.0696)	0.0320 (0.0512)	0.0950 (0.0775)
Somewhat like me	-0.0917 (0.0982)	-0.0421 (0.0846)	0.0950 (0.0983)	0.0204 (0.0949)	-0.0272 (0.0878)	-0.0856 (0.0681)	-0.0150 (0.114)	0.119 (0.0730)
A little like me	0.0260 (0.139)	0.0868 (0.118)	0.200 (0.122)	-0.0203 (0.196)	0.0648 (0.107)	0.118 (0.114)	-0.00374 (0.102)	0.225 (0.172)
Not like me	0.0969	0.0995	0.271*	0.194	0.142	0.220	0.129	0.123

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.307)	(0.211)	(0.164)	(0.244)	(0.204)	(0.191)	(0.235)	(0.346)
Not like me at all	0.252	-0.0715	0.276	0.126	-0.670	0.542	0.466	0.0743
	(0.709)	(0.454)	(0.338)	(0.445)	(0.484)	(0.406)	(0.579)	(0.749)
Government should reduce differences in income Levels								
Agree	-0.105	-0.132	-0.00814	-0.143*	0.0374	-0.0170	-0.0613	-0.0607
	(0.0768)	(0.0826)	(0.0827)	(0.0840)	(0.0625)	(0.0716)	(0.0661)	(0.0788)
Neither agree nor disagree	-0.105	-0.178**	0.0934	-0.171**	-0.149	-0.0628	-0.0626	-0.0754
	(0.131)	(0.0779)	(0.117)	(0.0787)	(0.128)	(0.147)	(0.121)	(0.129)
Disagree	-0.142	-0.0783	-0.107	-0.157	0.0130	-0.191	-0.0265	0.0907
	(0.115)	(0.0905)	(0.121)	(0.127)	(0.139)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.164)
Disagree strongly	-0.0121	-0.200	0.257	-0.451**	0.236	0.157	-0.0334	0.134
	(0.259)	(0.165)	(0.174)	(0.221)	(0.185)	(0.228)	(0.117)	(0.372)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish								

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Agree	-0.00592 (0.0769)	0.0213 (0.0848)	0.0928 (0.0687)	0.121* (0.0714)	0.138* (0.0748)	0.143 (0.0873)	0.154** (0.0746)	-0.0369 (0.113)
Neither agree nor disagree	-0.000624 (0.104)	0.112 (0.102)	-0.0590 (0.112)	0.0402 (0.125)	0.276*** (0.101)	0.230** (0.114)	-0.0511 (0.140)	0.155 (0.144)
Disagree	-0.0724 (0.116)	0.0974 (0.118)	0.150 (0.0986)	0.319*** (0.106)	0.287** (0.142)	0.240* (0.134)	0.285** (0.128)	0.146 (0.180)
Disagree strongly	0.264 (0.188)	0.00723 (0.194)	0.0399 (0.154)	0.473*** (0.132)	0.486*** (0.160)	0.244 (0.204)	0.408** (0.170)	0.106 (0.246)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark								
Safe	0.0175 (0.0794)	-0.0715 (0.0503)	0.122** (0.0569)	-0.0710 (0.0622)	0.155** (0.0772)	-0.0428 (0.0645)	0.0601 (0.0999)	-0.140 (0.119)
Unsafe	0.149 (0.132)	0.179* (0.0983)	0.198* (0.102)	0.106 (0.0809)	0.247** (0.125)	-0.0296 (0.136)	0.300*** (0.115)	0.0141 (0.130)
Very unsafe	0.0374	0.00579	0.440***	0.417**	0.379**	0.272	0.374**	0.246

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.193)	(0.179)	(0.156)	(0.172)	(0.150)	(0.224)	(0.153)	(0.261)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe								
Some	-0.0193 (0.125)	-0.0205 (0.0943)	-0.0418 (0.103)	0.00482 (0.0727)	0.186* (0.0999)	-0.0468 (0.129)	-0.107 (0.124)	0.00241 (0.156)
A few	-0.0134 (0.106)	0.0739 (0.0747)	-0.0452 (0.0975)	-0.00698 (0.0950)	0.198 (0.141)	0.136 (0.115)	0.0489 (0.103)	0.000358 (0.168)
None	-0.0280 (0.138)	-0.0480 (0.0733)	-0.0699 (0.119)	-0.134 (0.123)	0.180* (0.107)	0.222* (0.131)	0.0401 (0.141)	0.114 (0.203)
Belgium	-0.308*** (0.0449)	0.0357 (0.0628)	0.413*** (0.0556)	0.440*** (0.0677)	-0.179*** (0.0463)	-0.0106 (0.0487)	0.461*** (0.0718)	
Bulgaria	0.916*** (0.125)		-0.293** (0.126)	0.659*** (0.0769)			-1.196*** (0.138)	0.149** (0.0586)
Switzerland	1.950*** (0.0553)	1.696*** (0.0585)	1.571*** (0.0635)	1.642*** (0.0968)	1.262*** (0.0926)	1.136*** (0.0763)	1.457*** (0.0531)	1.178*** (0.0993)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Cyprus	-0.673*** (0.0734)		0.167** (0.0812)	0.0281 (0.0770)			-0.0314 (0.0877)	
Czech Republic		1.125*** (0.0915)	0.280*** (0.0798)	0.276*** (0.0437)	0.207*** (0.0723)	0.679*** (0.0329)	0.921*** (0.0550)	0.386*** (0.110)
Germany	-0.164*** (0.0415)	0.409*** (0.0835)	0.122** (0.0577)	0.642*** (0.0876)	0.386*** (0.0652)	0.638*** (0.0563)	0.506*** (0.0642)	
Denmark	-0.366*** (0.0706)	-0.522*** (0.0487)	0.0714 (0.0637)	-0.299*** (0.0950)	-0.609*** (0.0802)			
Estonia		0.772* (0.400)	0.965*** (0.0705)	1.137*** (0.0755)		0.742*** (0.0633)	0.981*** (0.0734)	0.772*** (0.132)
Spain	0.523*** (0.0538)	-0.184** (0.0786)	-0.186* (0.0986)	0.582*** (0.0752)	0.231*** (0.0467)	0.0194 (0.0513)	0.674*** (0.0920)	
Finland	0.782*** (0.0617)	0.683*** (0.0825)	0.502** (0.234)	0.606*** (0.0864)	0.504*** (0.0512)	0.746*** (0.0594)	0.700*** (0.0497)	0.718*** (0.135)
France	0.942***	0.874***	0.855***	0.821***	1.118***	1.293***	1.441***	1.509***

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.0445)	(0.0780)	(0.0993)	(0.0631)	(0.0518)	(0.0678)	(0.0910)	(0.132)
Great Britain	1.192***	1.168***	0.843***	1.073***	0.921***	0.825***	0.383***	
	(0.0389)	(0.110)	(0.0926)	(0.0639)	(0.0553)	(0.0414)	(0.0823)	
Greece		-0.544***	-0.341**					-0.477***
		(0.0870)	(0.136)					(0.0745)
Croatia		-0.0626	0.354***				0.691***	0.755***
		(0.0919)	(0.105)				(0.111)	(0.0711)
Hungary		0.237**	0.241**	0.0212	-0.521***	-0.172**		0.166*
		(0.119)	(0.103)	(0.0774)	(0.0662)	(0.0692)		(0.0937)
Ireland	0.946***	0.694***	-0.162	0.544***	0.265***	0.356***	0.392***	
	(0.0424)	(0.118)	(0.129)	(0.0723)	(0.0467)	(0.0479)	(0.0616)	
Israel		0.919***	-0.0526	0.752***	-0.883***	-0.520***		
		(0.100)	(0.0758)	(0.0621)	(0.0402)	(0.0916)		
Iceland				0.315***		-0.0837		-0.0646
				(0.108)		(0.106)		(0.165)

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Italy				0.554*** (0.0663)		0.229*** (0.0607)	-0.202** (0.0945)	0.144* (0.0821)
Lithuania		0.733*** (0.107)	0.160 (0.122)	-0.331*** (0.0544)	-0.258*** (0.0931)	0.261*** (0.0841)	0.0586 (0.102)	0.947*** (0.105)
Latvia	0.752*** (0.0773)	0.995*** (0.123)					0.978*** (0.164)	
Montenegro								-1.006*** (0.118)
North Macedonia								-0.0852 (0.0832)
Netherlands	0.663*** (0.0481)	0.561*** (0.0758)	0.829*** (0.0584)	0.789*** (0.0728)	0.929*** (0.0711)	0.972*** (0.0571)	0.774*** (0.0867)	-0.0969 (0.128)
Norway	0.852*** (0.0664)	0.785*** (0.0549)	0.359*** (0.0643)	0.536*** (0.120)	0.140 (0.106)	0.547*** (0.0754)	0.272*** (0.0604)	0.138 (0.159)
Poland	1.100***	0.748***	0.372***	0.784***	0.618***	0.643***	0.520***	

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
	(0.105)	(0.0906)	(0.0700)	(0.0697)	(0.0474)	(0.0801)	(0.0770)	
Portugal	-0.129	-0.210		-0.0550	0.416***	0.243**	0.444***	0.464***
	(0.134)	(0.131)		(0.0931)	(0.0720)	(0.119)	(0.0939)	(0.0821)
Romania		0.517***						
		(0.0915)						
Sweden	-0.214***	-0.00109	-0.759***	-0.179**	-0.179**	-0.331***	-0.429***	
	(0.0486)	(0.0445)	(0.0475)	(0.0906)	(0.0874)	(0.0597)	(0.0691)	
Slovenia	0.501***	0.947***	0.336***	0.103	0.773***	0.797***	1.011***	0.405***
	(0.0861)	(0.0815)	(0.105)	(0.0647)	(0.0755)	(0.0637)	(0.0773)	(0.0943)
Slovakia	1.212***		0.439***				0.920***	
	(0.0921)		(0.0768)				(0.0980)	
Constant	0.903	1.861***	1.303**	-0.190	1.054**	1.604**	0.451	0.821
	(0.663)	(0.649)	(0.559)	(0.461)	(0.442)	(0.623)	(0.579)	(0.641)
Observations	12,227	15,085	14,547	15,212	13,989	14,165	13,626	9,172

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Table 4.3A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Wave 9	Wave 10
Adj. R ²	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130	0.130
Log-likelihood	-3401	-4272	-4101	-4219	-4002	-3936	-3471	-2418

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6.1A: The effect of distance on turnout – including controls for social activity

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
distance	1.346*** (0.0919)	1.213*** (0.0864)	1.189*** (0.0881)	1.176*** (0.0875)
Take part in social activities compared to others of same age (omitted benchmark: much less than most)				
Less than most	-0.334*** (0.0297)	-0.248*** (0.0336)	-0.237*** (0.0334)	-0.232*** (0.0335)
About the same	-0.589*** (0.0383)	-0.468*** (0.0465)	-0.451*** (0.0449)	-0.447*** (0.0448)
More than most	-0.667*** (0.0507)	-0.531*** (0.0603)	-0.527*** (0.0599)	-0.519*** (0.0608)
Much more than most	-0.617*** (0.0587)	-0.508*** (0.0635)	-0.512*** (0.0661)	-0.491*** (0.0680)
Male	0.0900*** (0.0213)	0.102*** (0.0229)	0.110*** (0.0230)	0.112*** (0.0216)
Income class 2	-0.0605** (0.0247)	-0.0484 (0.0311)	-0.0514* (0.0292)	-0.0448 (0.0287)
Income class 3	-0.127*** (0.0326)	-0.0972*** (0.0371)	-0.0946*** (0.0354)	-0.0903** (0.0352)
Income class 4	-0.194*** (0.0331)	-0.139*** (0.0366)	-0.141*** (0.0355)	-0.137*** (0.0351)
Income class 5	-0.216*** (0.0350)	-0.146*** (0.0370)	-0.139*** (0.0348)	-0.129*** (0.0328)
Income class 6	-0.258*** (0.0401)	-0.176*** (0.0424)	-0.167*** (0.0409)	-0.160*** (0.0398)
Income class 7	-0.369***	-0.298***	-0.280***	-0.261***

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0496)	(0.0475)	(0.0465)	(0.0461)
Income class 8	-0.405***	-0.319***	-0.300***	-0.287***
	(0.0579)	(0.0566)	(0.0533)	(0.0528)
Income class 9	-0.445***	-0.357***	-0.338***	-0.313***
	(0.0696)	(0.0691)	(0.0643)	(0.0647)
Income class 10	-0.454***	-0.341***	-0.318***	-0.291***
	(0.0705)	(0.0669)	(0.0630)	(0.0609)
N. of household members	-0.0196*	-0.0157	-0.0206*	-0.0237**
	(0.0112)	(0.0120)	(0.0117)	(0.0113)
Age	-0.0812***	-0.0834***	-0.0832***	-0.0787***
	(0.00490)	(0.00532)	(0.00524)	(0.00516)
Age squared	0.000538***	0.000539***	0.000537***	0.000486***
	(4.80e-05)	(4.89e-05)	(4.72e-05)	(4.62e-05)
Married	-0.423***	-0.411***	-0.402***	-0.393***
	(0.0416)	(0.0413)	(0.0441)	(0.0462)
Separated	0.0111	-0.00588	-0.00668	0.00665
	(0.0470)	(0.0449)	(0.0445)	(0.0449)
Widowed	-0.147***	-0.171***	-0.161***	-0.153***
	(0.0470)	(0.0452)	(0.0451)	(0.0492)
Never married	-0.170***	-0.188***	-0.189***	-0.174***
	(0.0436)	(0.0337)	(0.0334)	(0.0408)
Retired	-0.275***	-0.273***	-0.280***	-0.282***
	(0.0509)	(0.0522)	(0.0509)	(0.0524)
Student	-0.166***	-0.146***	-0.124***	-0.112***
	(0.0402)	(0.0424)	(0.0424)	(0.0427)
Unemployed not in search	0.105*	0.0880	0.0762	0.0824
	(0.0572)	(0.0541)	(0.0545)	(0.0559)

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Unemployed in search	0.174*** (0.0521)	0.152*** (0.0483)	0.149*** (0.0466)	0.143*** (0.0454)
Paid worker	-0.174*** (0.0298)	-0.162*** (0.0334)	-0.165*** (0.0345)	-0.167*** (0.0350)
Houseworker	-0.0627*** (0.0242)	-0.0637** (0.0262)	-0.0648** (0.0284)	-0.0534* (0.0288)
Disabled	0.170*** (0.0379)	-0.00952 (0.0377)	-0.000420 (0.0392)	0.000370 (0.0395)
Education years	-0.0750*** (0.00668)	-0.0699*** (0.00711)	-0.0689*** (0.00674)	-0.0650*** (0.00649)
Health: Good		0.0168 (0.0206)	0.0146 (0.0223)	-0.00117 (0.0224)
Health: Fair		0.116*** (0.0309)	0.0992*** (0.0334)	0.0726** (0.0341)
Health: Bad		0.320*** (0.0435)	0.286*** (0.0468)	0.250*** (0.0479)
Health: Very bad		0.526*** (0.0714)	0.488*** (0.0733)	0.443*** (0.0767)
Left-right scale		-0.0337*** (0.00805)	-0.0276*** (0.00803)	-0.0311*** (0.00774)
Life satisfaction		-0.0513*** (0.00706)	-0.0396*** (0.00764)	-0.0337*** (0.00708)
Satisfaction with economy 1			0.0452 (0.0419)	0.0384 (0.0441)
Satisfaction with economy 2			0.0565* (0.0565)	0.0579* (0.0579)

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0337)	(0.0337)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0433	0.0390
3			(0.0350)	(0.0347)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0729	0.0634
4			(0.0495)	(0.0476)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0934*	0.0871*
5			(0.0509)	(0.0496)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0465	0.0437
6			(0.0577)	(0.0537)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0279	0.0326
7			(0.0656)	(0.0628)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0509	0.0578
8			(0.0753)	(0.0735)
Satisfaction with economy			0.0940	0.0994
9			(0.0928)	(0.0899)
Satisfaction with economy			0.275**	0.278**
10			(0.112)	(0.112)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1			-0.111***	-0.109***

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0295)	(0.0308)
Satisfaction with government 2			-0.0645**	-0.0705**
			(0.0304)	(0.0317)
Satisfaction with government 3			-0.116***	-0.119***
			(0.0329)	(0.0327)
Satisfaction with government 4			-0.167***	-0.176***
			(0.0347)	(0.0341)
Satisfaction with government 5			-0.0804*	-0.0932**
			(0.0423)	(0.0426)
Satisfaction with government 6			-0.209***	-0.221***
			(0.0519)	(0.0537)
Satisfaction with government 7			-0.180***	-0.191***
			(0.0524)	(0.0529)
Satisfaction with government 8			-0.198***	-0.219***
			(0.0649)	(0.0655)
Satisfaction with government 9			-0.287***	-0.285***
			(0.0796)	(0.0798)
Satisfaction with government 10			-0.231*	-0.233*

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.121)	(0.122)
Satisfaction with democracy 1			-0.102*	-0.106*
			(0.0557)	(0.0562)
Satisfaction with democracy 2			-0.153***	-0.148***
			(0.0425)	(0.0410)
Satisfaction with democracy 3			-0.167***	-0.166***
			(0.0436)	(0.0428)
Satisfaction with democracy 4			-0.161***	-0.149***
			(0.0490)	(0.0476)
Satisfaction with democracy 5			-0.140***	-0.130***
			(0.0403)	(0.0395)
Satisfaction with democracy 6			-0.224***	-0.205***
			(0.0560)	(0.0539)
Satisfaction with democracy 7			-0.323***	-0.295***
			(0.0627)	(0.0629)
Satisfaction with democracy 8			-0.388***	-0.359***
			(0.0672)	(0.0649)
Satisfaction with democracy 9			-0.395***	-0.361***

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0925)	(0.0909)
Satisfaction with democracy 10			-0.306***	-0.288***
			(0.0805)	(0.0795)
Importance of the environment				
Like me				0.0450**
				(0.0193)
Somewhat like me				0.1000***
				(0.0269)
A little like me				0.203***
				(0.0409)
Not like me				0.241***
				(0.0416)
Not like me at all				0.304***
				(0.0947)
Government should reduce differences in income Levels				
Agree				-0.0653***
				(0.0200)
Neither agree nor disagree				-0.0395*
				(0.0231)
Disagree				-0.0998***
				(0.0339)
Disagree strongly				-0.0698
				(0.0798)

Continued on next page

Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree				0.134*** (0.0311)
Neither agree nor disagree				0.196*** (0.0331)
Disagree				0.235*** (0.0450)
Disagree strongly				0.241*** (0.0568)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe				0.0323 (0.0230)
Unsafe				0.132*** (0.0305)
Very unsafe				0.198*** (0.0486)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
Some				-0.0258 (0.0318)
A few				0.0107 (0.0383)
None				0.0172 (0.0447)
Belgium	-0.775***	-0.706***	-0.742***	-0.727***

Continued on next page

Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.00917)	(0.0106)	(0.0164)	(0.0161)
Bulgaria	0.544***	0.369***	0.300***	0.239***
	(0.0334)	(0.0355)	(0.0531)	(0.0550)
Switzerland	1.048***	1.123***	1.208***	1.236***
	(0.0222)	(0.0252)	(0.0300)	(0.0330)
Cyprus	-0.165***	-0.283***	-0.275***	-0.317***
	(0.0313)	(0.0368)	(0.0463)	(0.0497)
Czech Republic	0.984***	0.942***	0.936***	0.871***
	(0.0176)	(0.0190)	(0.0228)	(0.0240)
Germany	0.0809***	0.0333***	0.0101	0.00909
	(0.0105)	(0.0113)	(0.0124)	(0.0129)
Denmark	-0.858***	-0.800***	-0.780***	-0.721***
	(0.0246)	(0.0279)	(0.0270)	(0.0303)
Estonia	0.567***	0.508***	0.494***	0.448***
	(0.0219)	(0.0234)	(0.0245)	(0.0243)
Spain	0.0195	-0.0638***	-0.113***	-0.0806***
	(0.0201)	(0.0218)	(0.0341)	(0.0309)
Finland	0.0641***	0.119***	0.171***	0.150***
	(0.0146)	(0.0180)	(0.0201)	(0.0213)
France	0.852***	0.815***	0.772***	0.798***
	(0.0152)	(0.0152)	(0.0278)	(0.0305)
Great Britain	0.629***	0.614***	0.584***	0.574***
	(0.0109)	(0.0120)	(0.0193)	(0.0184)
Greece	-0.433***	-0.587***	-0.639***	-0.706***
	(0.0298)	(0.0348)	(0.0497)	(0.0512)
Croatia	0.376***	0.325***	0.237***	0.199***
	(0.0252)	(0.0257)	(0.0415)	(0.0410)

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Hungary	0.362*** (0.0190)	0.211*** (0.0226)	0.164*** (0.0343)	0.0692* (0.0382)
Ireland	0.170*** (0.0128)	0.166*** (0.0178)	0.136*** (0.0256)	0.134*** (0.0254)
Israel	-0.214*** (0.0211)	-0.198*** (0.0242)	-0.225*** (0.0304)	-0.255*** (0.0303)
Iceland	-0.707*** (0.0429)	-0.683*** (0.0497)	-0.731*** (0.0512)	-0.712*** (0.0565)
Italy	0.0841** (0.0379)	-0.0772** (0.0385)	-0.131*** (0.0482)	-0.164*** (0.0489)
Lithuania	1.079*** (0.0181)	0.807*** (0.0201)	0.777*** (0.0263)	0.640*** (0.0281)
Latvia	0.551*** (0.0298)	0.508*** (0.0382)	0.441*** (0.0436)	0.370*** (0.0474)
Montenegro	-0.879*** (0.0857)	-0.888*** (0.0874)	-0.954*** (0.0892)	-1.122*** (0.0922)
North Macedonia	-0.0516 (0.0856)	-0.196** (0.0858)	-0.266*** (0.0954)	-0.347*** (0.0987)
Netherlands	0.0971*** (0.0159)	0.113*** (0.0190)	0.148*** (0.0218)	0.190*** (0.0257)
Norway	-0.145*** (0.0212)	-0.0956*** (0.0252)	-0.0397 (0.0333)	-0.0551 (0.0352)
Poland	0.381*** (0.0183)	0.324*** (0.0213)	0.276*** (0.0253)	0.239*** (0.0243)
Portugal	0.422*** (0.0417)	0.251*** (0.0424)	0.228*** (0.0529)	0.238*** (0.0514)
Romania	0.558***	0.397***	0.371***	0.290***

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Table 6.1A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0474)	(0.0513)	(0.0536)	(0.0543)
Sweden	-0.692***	-0.700***	-0.694***	-0.741***
	(0.0142)	(0.0170)	(0.0186)	(0.0190)
Slovenia	0.424***	0.313***	0.236***	0.225***
	(0.0156)	(0.0176)	(0.0300)	(0.0299)
Slovakia	0.540***	0.452***	0.417***	0.343***
	(0.0269)	(0.0291)	(0.0373)	(0.0418)
Wave 4	-0.0267	-0.0407	-0.0495	-0.0375
	(0.0639)	(0.0620)	(0.0601)	(0.0596)
Wave 5	-0.00398	-0.00119	-0.0134	0.0119
	(0.0664)	(0.0692)	(0.0697)	(0.0670)
Wave 6	-0.00673	0.00754	0.0127	0.0446
	(0.0558)	(0.0568)	(0.0544)	(0.0532)
Wave 7	0.103	0.102	0.0777	0.116
	(0.0776)	(0.0824)	(0.0817)	(0.0786)
Wave 8	-0.0249	-0.0131	-0.0137	0.0274
	(0.0763)	(0.0825)	(0.0819)	(0.0796)
Wave 9	-0.0404	-0.0210	-0.0243	0.0260
	(0.0938)	(0.0937)	(0.0926)	(0.0909)
Wave 10	-0.0412	0.0274	0.0471	0.0888
	(0.112)	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Constant	2.212***	2.558***	2.731***	2.384***
	(0.204)	(0.194)	(0.183)	(0.170)
Observations	242,988	220,390	214,569	208,151
Adj. R ²	0.167	0.167	0.167	0.167
Log-Likelihood	-105009	-90020	-86761	-83635

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6.2A: The effect of different degrees of distance on turnout – including controls for social activity

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance from the preferred political party				
Not at all close	-0.447*** (0.136)	-0.335*** (0.114)	-0.303*** (0.108)	-0.328*** (0.107)
Not close	-0.812*** (0.0779)	-0.689*** (0.0707)	-0.674*** (0.0726)	-0.669*** (0.0713)
Quite close	-1.442*** (0.0844)	-1.319*** (0.0799)	-1.290*** (0.0823)	-1.278*** (0.0821)
Very close	-1.885*** (0.102)	-1.765*** (0.104)	-1.751*** (0.107)	-1.753*** (0.109)
Take part in social activities compared to others of same age				
Less than most	-0.331*** (0.0292)	-0.245*** (0.0328)	-0.233*** (0.0324)	-0.226*** (0.0326)
About the same	-0.584*** (0.0376)	-0.462*** (0.0454)	-0.445*** (0.0436)	-0.438*** (0.0435)
More than most	-0.659*** (0.0485)	-0.522*** (0.0577)	-0.517*** (0.0573)	-0.508*** (0.0581)
Much more than most	-0.600*** (0.0565)	-0.490*** (0.0614)	-0.494*** (0.0641)	-0.471*** (0.0661)
Male	0.0882*** (0.0211)	0.103*** (0.0225)	0.110*** (0.0227)	0.111*** (0.0215)
Income class 2	-0.0679*** (0.0235)	-0.0550* (0.0302)	-0.0571** (0.0283)	-0.0511* (0.0281)

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Income class 3	-0.131*** (0.0313)	-0.102*** (0.0355)	-0.0990*** (0.0336)	-0.0941*** (0.0336)
Income class 4	-0.200*** (0.0324)	-0.144*** (0.0355)	-0.146*** (0.0345)	-0.141*** (0.0345)
Income class 5	-0.224*** (0.0350)	-0.156*** (0.0367)	-0.148*** (0.0344)	-0.139*** (0.0327)
Income class 6	-0.269*** (0.0393)	-0.188*** (0.0411)	-0.179*** (0.0396)	-0.172*** (0.0385)
Income class 7	-0.377*** (0.0489)	-0.309*** (0.0468)	-0.289*** (0.0455)	-0.270*** (0.0454)
Income class 8	-0.414*** (0.0566)	-0.329*** (0.0551)	-0.311*** (0.0517)	-0.297*** (0.0515)
Income class 9	-0.453*** (0.0692)	-0.367*** (0.0684)	-0.348*** (0.0634)	-0.321*** (0.0643)
Income class 10	-0.462*** (0.0697)	-0.353*** (0.0657)	-0.329*** (0.0619)	-0.301*** (0.0602)
N. of household members	-0.0193* (0.0112)	-0.0149 (0.0118)	-0.0197* (0.0115)	-0.0230** (0.0112)
Age	-0.0819*** (0.00501)	-0.0839*** (0.00539)	-0.0837*** (0.00531)	-0.0793*** (0.00521)
Age squared	0.000541*** (4.92e-05)	0.000541*** (4.95e-05)	0.000539*** (4.80e-05)	0.000490*** (4.67e-05)
Married	-0.416*** (0.0408)	-0.404*** (0.0414)	-0.395*** (0.0442)	-0.386*** (0.0463)
Separated	0.0221 (0.0471)	0.00609 (0.0462)	0.00487 (0.0455)	0.0178 (0.0455)
Widowed	-0.132***	-0.157***	-0.148***	-0.141***

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0461)	(0.0442)	(0.0440)	(0.0483)
Never married	-0.162***	-0.180***	-0.182***	-0.167***
	(0.0423)	(0.0336)	(0.0333)	(0.0404)
Retired	-0.277***	-0.274***	-0.280***	-0.282***
	(0.0501)	(0.0512)	(0.0497)	(0.0514)
Student	-0.165***	-0.145***	-0.123***	-0.113***
	(0.0392)	(0.0413)	(0.0413)	(0.0416)
Unemployed not in search	0.112**	0.0970*	0.0851	0.0889
	(0.0559)	(0.0536)	(0.0543)	(0.0559)
Unemployed in search	0.174***	0.151***	0.147***	0.138***
	(0.0523)	(0.0476)	(0.0456)	(0.0445)
Paid worker	-0.178***	-0.165***	-0.168***	-0.172***
	(0.0291)	(0.0325)	(0.0337)	(0.0339)
Houseworker	-0.0639***	-0.0649**	-0.0661**	-0.0552*
	(0.0245)	(0.0261)	(0.0289)	(0.0291)
Disabled	0.175***	-0.00451	0.00365	0.00294
	(0.0382)	(0.0376)	(0.0394)	(0.0393)
Education years	-0.0757***	-0.0703***	-0.0691***	-0.0652***
	(0.00665)	(0.00710)	(0.00678)	(0.00653)
Health: Good		0.00981	0.00855	-0.00585
		(0.0211)	(0.0230)	(0.0231)
Health: Fair		0.105***	0.0887***	0.0641*
		(0.0317)	(0.0341)	(0.0348)
Health: Bad		0.316***	0.284***	0.249***
		(0.0429)	(0.0464)	(0.0473)
Health: Very bad		0.532***	0.494***	0.447***
		(0.0729)	(0.0750)	(0.0791)

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Left-right scale		-0.0354*** (0.00811)	-0.0297*** (0.00812)	-0.0326*** (0.00777)
Life satisfaction		-0.0497*** (0.00710)	-0.0387*** (0.00763)	-0.0332*** (0.00706)
Satisfaction with economy 1			0.0455 (0.0424)	0.0396 (0.0448)
Satisfaction with economy 2			0.0592* (0.0332)	0.0618* (0.0332)
Satisfaction with economy 3			0.0457 (0.0354)	0.0435 (0.0349)
Satisfaction with economy 4			0.0788 (0.0481)	0.0708 (0.0462)
Satisfaction with economy 5			0.0987* (0.0504)	0.0949* (0.0492)
Satisfaction with economy 6			0.0546 (0.0559)	0.0538 (0.0518)
Satisfaction with economy 7			0.0374 (0.0645)	0.0445 (0.0618)
Satisfaction with economy 8			0.0566	0.0661

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0742)	(0.0725)
Satisfaction with economy 9			0.0993	0.107
			(0.0918)	(0.0886)
Satisfaction with economy 10			0.277***	0.284***
			(0.108)	(0.108)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1			-0.118***	-0.116***
			(0.0295)	(0.0312)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 2			-0.0764***	-0.0824***
			(0.0287)	(0.0302)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 3			-0.133***	-0.134***
			(0.0315)	(0.0312)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 4			-0.181***	-0.189***
			(0.0324)	(0.0321)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 5			-0.0956**	-0.107***
			(0.0405)	(0.0413)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 6			-0.222***	-0.232***
			(0.0504)	(0.0525)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 7			-0.187***	-0.196***

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0517)	(0.0526)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 8			-0.194***	-0.213***
			(0.0664)	(0.0667)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 9			-0.260***	-0.255***
			(0.0817)	(0.0824)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 10			-0.179	-0.177
			(0.118)	(0.119)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 1			-0.107**	-0.109**
			(0.0540)	(0.0545)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 2			-0.159***	-0.152***
			(0.0414)	(0.0401)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 3			-0.170***	-0.167***
			(0.0436)	(0.0428)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 4			-0.160***	-0.145***
			(0.0498)	(0.0481)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 5			-0.140***	-0.128***
			(0.0403)	(0.0393)
Satisfaction with democ- racy 6			-0.230***	-0.210***

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
			(0.0570)	(0.0548)
Satisfaction with democracy 7			-0.321***	-0.291***
			(0.0628)	(0.0630)
Satisfaction with democracy 8			-0.383***	-0.353***
			(0.0671)	(0.0650)
Satisfaction with democracy 9			-0.388***	-0.353***
			(0.0921)	(0.0907)
Satisfaction with democracy 10			-0.286***	-0.267***
			(0.0826)	(0.0816)
Importance of the environment				
Like me				0.0392**
				(0.0196)
Somewhat like me				0.0950***
				(0.0274)
A little like me				0.201***
				(0.0414)
Not like me				0.234***
				(0.0406)
Not like me at all				0.306***
				(0.0953)

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Government should reduce differences in income Levels				
Agree				-0.0730*** (0.0205)
Neither agree nor disagree				-0.0531** (0.0236)
Disagree				-0.111*** (0.0347)
Disagree strongly				-0.0834 (0.0823)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree				0.128*** (0.0318)
Neither agree nor disagree				0.188*** (0.0344)
Disagree				0.232*** (0.0446)
Disagree strongly				0.249*** (0.0549)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe				0.0287 (0.0230)
Unsafe				0.126***

Continued on next page

Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Very unsafe				(0.0302)
Very unsafe				0.198***
				(0.0483)
Allow many/few immi- grants from poorer coun- tries outside Europe				
Some				-0.0341
				(0.0314)
A few				-0.000935
				(0.0376)
None				0.0119
				(0.0435)
Belgium	-0.727***	-0.664***	-0.699***	-0.685***
	(0.00956)	(0.0118)	(0.0179)	(0.0168)
Bulgaria	0.583***	0.430***	0.366***	0.308***
	(0.0329)	(0.0350)	(0.0522)	(0.0540)
Switzerland	1.093***	1.162***	1.240***	1.268***
	(0.0241)	(0.0268)	(0.0306)	(0.0343)
Cyprus	-0.208***	-0.303***	-0.287***	-0.327***
	(0.0279)	(0.0331)	(0.0428)	(0.0459)
Czech Republic	1.029***	0.984***	0.980***	0.919***
	(0.0181)	(0.0190)	(0.0230)	(0.0242)
Germany	0.0956***	0.0418***	0.0209	0.0198
	(0.0114)	(0.0120)	(0.0137)	(0.0137)
Denmark	-0.866***	-0.815***	-0.799***	-0.737***
	(0.0263)	(0.0298)	(0.0286)	(0.0323)
Estonia	0.589***	0.525***	0.513***	0.469***

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0216)	(0.0225)	(0.0242)	(0.0242)
Spain	0.00401	-0.0842***	-0.130***	-0.0974***
	(0.0210)	(0.0231)	(0.0349)	(0.0319)
Finland	0.0751***	0.125***	0.177***	0.155***
	(0.0153)	(0.0182)	(0.0202)	(0.0214)
France	0.846***	0.806***	0.766***	0.789***
	(0.0167)	(0.0161)	(0.0290)	(0.0315)
Great Britain	0.645***	0.622***	0.595***	0.587***
	(0.0136)	(0.0139)	(0.0212)	(0.0199)
Greece	-0.405***	-0.557***	-0.604***	-0.671***
	(0.0297)	(0.0338)	(0.0484)	(0.0498)
Croatia	0.377***	0.320***	0.237***	0.200***
	(0.0262)	(0.0258)	(0.0413)	(0.0412)
Hungary	0.420***	0.277***	0.232***	0.138***
	(0.0198)	(0.0228)	(0.0343)	(0.0376)
Ireland	0.208***	0.195***	0.167***	0.165***
	(0.0125)	(0.0166)	(0.0249)	(0.0242)
Israel	-0.174***	-0.163***	-0.186***	-0.218***
	(0.0219)	(0.0247)	(0.0305)	(0.0303)
Iceland	-0.680***	-0.659***	-0.706***	-0.692***
	(0.0432)	(0.0495)	(0.0513)	(0.0567)
Italy	0.0935**	-0.0673*	-0.115**	-0.147***
	(0.0385)	(0.0386)	(0.0481)	(0.0489)
Lithuania	1.105***	0.828***	0.801***	0.664***
	(0.0176)	(0.0190)	(0.0259)	(0.0284)
Latvia	0.600***	0.552***	0.487***	0.416***
	(0.0277)	(0.0348)	(0.0412)	(0.0450)

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Montenegro	-0.893*** (0.0853)	-0.900*** (0.0865)	-0.963*** (0.0879)	-1.112*** (0.0905)
North Macedonia	-0.122 (0.0847)	-0.242*** (0.0837)	-0.307*** (0.0929)	-0.399*** (0.0942)
Netherlands	0.166*** (0.0176)	0.178*** (0.0203)	0.213*** (0.0227)	0.256*** (0.0264)
Norway	-0.110*** (0.0226)	-0.0645** (0.0261)	-0.0107 (0.0331)	-0.0269 (0.0349)
Poland	0.418*** (0.0176)	0.352*** (0.0208)	0.307*** (0.0251)	0.269*** (0.0250)
Portugal	0.273*** (0.0441)	0.0909** (0.0451)	0.0750 (0.0550)	0.0895* (0.0538)
Romania	0.554*** (0.0461)	0.390*** (0.0498)	0.371*** (0.0525)	0.291*** (0.0535)
Sweden	-0.664*** (0.0150)	-0.672*** (0.0177)	-0.667*** (0.0191)	-0.714*** (0.0193)
Slovenia	0.438*** (0.0161)	0.315*** (0.0181)	0.242*** (0.0309)	0.232*** (0.0314)
Slovakia	0.631*** (0.0279)	0.543*** (0.0292)	0.507*** (0.0374)	0.436*** (0.0412)
Wave 4	-0.0263 (0.0638)	-0.0421 (0.0609)	-0.0493 (0.0593)	-0.0367 (0.0588)
Wave 5	0.00654 (0.0662)	0.00541 (0.0682)	-0.00498 (0.0688)	0.0200 (0.0661)
Wave 6	0.00401 (0.0571)	0.0144 (0.0570)	0.0194 (0.0546)	0.0510 (0.0533)
Wave 7	0.108	0.105	0.0809	0.118

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Table 6.2A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0759)	(0.0801)	(0.0792)	(0.0764)
Wave 8	-0.0130	-0.00318	-0.00464	0.0361
	(0.0758)	(0.0808)	(0.0804)	(0.0781)
Wave 9	-0.0343	-0.0162	-0.0204	0.0295
	(0.0958)	(0.0943)	(0.0932)	(0.0917)
Wave 10	-0.0422	0.0276	0.0453	0.0865
	(0.111)	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.117)
Constant	3.509***	3.723***	3.881***	3.544***
	(0.163)	(0.176)	(0.160)	(0.144)
Observations	242,988	220,390	214,569	208,151
Adj. R ²	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168
Log-Likelihood	-105147	-89889	-86636	-83503

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7A: Voter abstention and political distance (calculated with CHES data)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance_Immigration	0.0673*** (0.0197)			0.0625*** (0.0198)
Distance_Economics		0.0640** (0.0256)		0.0547* (0.0291)
Distance_Civil Rights			0.109*** (0.0219)	0.0976*** (0.0214)
male	0.132*** (0.0468)	0.132*** (0.0459)	0.124*** (0.0466)	0.127*** (0.0473)
Income class 2	-0.0535 (0.0563)	-0.0611 (0.0547)	-0.0595 (0.0544)	-0.0546 (0.0558)
Income class 3	-0.187*** (0.0567)	-0.206*** (0.0539)	-0.203*** (0.0543)	-0.185*** (0.0562)
Income class 4	-0.215*** (0.0675)	-0.231*** (0.0675)	-0.231*** (0.0674)	-0.217*** (0.0673)
Income class 5	-0.286*** (0.0535)	-0.292*** (0.0541)	-0.291*** (0.0552)	-0.284*** (0.0549)
Income class 6	-0.371*** (0.0399)	-0.381*** (0.0354)	-0.377*** (0.0365)	-0.366*** (0.0403)
Income class 7	-0.452*** (0.0714)	-0.458*** (0.0741)	-0.453*** (0.0741)	-0.448*** (0.0726)
Income class 8	-0.424*** (0.0556)	-0.435*** (0.0593)	-0.430*** (0.0573)	-0.417*** (0.0538)
Income class 9	-0.377*** (0.0751)	-0.391*** (0.0770)	-0.384*** (0.0781)	-0.370*** (0.0760)
Income class 10	-0.448*** (0.103)	-0.462*** (0.105)	-0.460*** (0.105)	-0.440*** (0.103)

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
N. of household members	0.0308* (0.0170)	0.0327* (0.0170)	0.0311* (0.0170)	0.0292* (0.0169)
Age	-0.0897*** (0.00831)	-0.0876*** (0.00822)	-0.0879*** (0.00822)	-0.0891*** (0.00834)
Age squared	0.000577*** (7.88e-05)	0.000557*** (7.75e-05)	0.000562*** (7.71e-05)	0.000574*** (7.88e-05)
Married	-0.466*** (0.0735)	-0.464*** (0.0753)	-0.464*** (0.0753)	-0.466*** (0.0741)
Separated	-0.0363 (0.217)	-0.00944 (0.229)	-0.0104 (0.222)	-0.0364 (0.211)
Widowed	-0.267*** (0.0681)	-0.263*** (0.0709)	-0.263*** (0.0702)	-0.268*** (0.0677)
Never married	-0.257*** (0.0615)	-0.243*** (0.0626)	-0.237*** (0.0634)	-0.248*** (0.0618)
eduyears	-0.0617*** (0.0111)	-0.0616*** (0.0106)	-0.0603*** (0.0107)	-0.0598*** (0.0110)
Retired	-0.267*** (0.0807)	-0.258*** (0.0793)	-0.255*** (0.0788)	-0.260*** (0.0805)
Student	-0.134* (0.0813)	-0.117 (0.0821)	-0.109 (0.0803)	-0.120 (0.0814)
Unemployed not in search	0.0895 (0.107)	0.0990 (0.106)	0.106 (0.106)	0.0962 (0.109)
Unemployed in search	0.227* (0.119)	0.233** (0.117)	0.238** (0.116)	0.228* (0.118)
Paid worker	-0.151** (0.0643)	-0.147** (0.0631)	-0.148** (0.0636)	-0.150** (0.0639)
Houseworker	-0.0379	-0.0401	-0.0421	-0.0394

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0582)	(0.0595)	(0.0586)	(0.0577)
Disabled	0.0565	0.0648	0.0569	0.0474
	(0.0758)	(0.0727)	(0.0720)	(0.0758)
Health: Good	0.0818*	0.0778	0.0795*	0.0826*
	(0.0466)	(0.0473)	(0.0465)	(0.0460)
Health: Fair	0.261***	0.260***	0.259***	0.260***
	(0.0508)	(0.0506)	(0.0492)	(0.0497)
Health: Bad	0.464***	0.466***	0.465***	0.464***
	(0.0676)	(0.0708)	(0.0699)	(0.0664)
Health: Very bad	0.757***	0.732***	0.720***	0.742***
	(0.119)	(0.117)	(0.121)	(0.123)
Left-right scale	-0.0146	-0.0207**	-0.0229***	-0.0270***
	(0.00998)	(0.0103)	(0.00873)	(0.00979)
Life satisfaction	-0.0331***	-0.0321***	-0.0321***	-0.0334***
	(0.00810)	(0.00830)	(0.00827)	(0.00805)
Satisfaction with economy 1	0.00859	-0.00532	-0.00280	0.0163
	(0.0776)	(0.0735)	(0.0755)	(0.0780)
Satisfaction with economy 2	-0.0342	-0.0363	-0.0352	-0.0269
	(0.0721)	(0.0736)	(0.0731)	(0.0712)
Satisfaction with economy 3	-0.0186	-0.0257	-0.0194	-0.00602
	(0.0576)	(0.0583)	(0.0597)	(0.0568)
Satisfaction with economy 4	0.0298	0.0192	0.0215	0.0367
	(0.0763)	(0.0759)	(0.0758)	(0.0753)

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with economy 5	-0.000899 (0.0835)	-0.0108 (0.0833)	-0.00640 (0.0838)	0.0101 (0.0824)
Satisfaction with economy 6	-0.0716 (0.0752)	-0.0815 (0.0751)	-0.0752 (0.0742)	-0.0604 (0.0740)
Satisfaction with economy 7	-0.161** (0.0781)	-0.159** (0.0726)	-0.150** (0.0735)	-0.147* (0.0785)
Satisfaction with economy 8	-0.134 (0.112)	-0.127 (0.113)	-0.121 (0.115)	-0.124 (0.114)
Satisfaction with economy 9	-0.0179 (0.147)	-0.0303 (0.146)	-0.0189 (0.145)	-0.00145 (0.146)
Satisfaction with economy 10	0.206 (0.172)	0.206 (0.168)	0.206 (0.166)	0.208 (0.173)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 1	0.0399 (0.0841)	0.0242 (0.0875)	0.0237 (0.0897)	0.0369 (0.0853)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 2	0.0501 (0.0587)	0.0442 (0.0562)	0.0472 (0.0556)	0.0492 (0.0578)
Satisfaction with govern- ment 3	-0.0122 (0.0599)	-0.0230 (0.0638)	-0.0153 (0.0658)	-0.00700 (0.0614)

Continued on next page

Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with government 4	0.0104 (0.0631)	-0.000107 (0.0682)	0.0141 (0.0689)	0.0151 (0.0625)
Satisfaction with government 5	0.0214 (0.0579)	0.00974 (0.0615)	0.0257 (0.0628)	0.0255 (0.0582)
Satisfaction with government 6	-0.165* (0.0968)	-0.178* (0.1000)	-0.160 (0.102)	-0.156 (0.0969)
Satisfaction with government 7	-0.163* (0.0908)	-0.175* (0.0953)	-0.157 (0.0988)	-0.157* (0.0924)
Satisfaction with government 8	-0.177 (0.126)	-0.187 (0.129)	-0.171 (0.131)	-0.170 (0.127)
Satisfaction with government 9	-0.125 (0.166)	-0.135 (0.170)	-0.120 (0.172)	-0.122 (0.164)
Satisfaction with government 10	-0.190 (0.194)	-0.183 (0.192)	-0.168 (0.192)	-0.190 (0.192)
Satisfaction with democracy 1	-0.142 (0.115)	-0.140 (0.118)	-0.140 (0.118)	-0.140 (0.115)
Satisfaction with democracy 2	-0.0872 (0.0675)	-0.0953 (0.0660)	-0.0930 (0.0673)	-0.0831 (0.0691)

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Satisfaction with democracy 3	-0.191** (0.0813)	-0.195** (0.0778)	-0.195** (0.0781)	-0.189** (0.0813)
Satisfaction with democracy 4	-0.170** (0.0763)	-0.188** (0.0797)	-0.182** (0.0809)	-0.166** (0.0777)
Satisfaction with democracy 5	-0.194*** (0.0648)	-0.212*** (0.0698)	-0.202*** (0.0705)	-0.188*** (0.0659)
Satisfaction with democracy 6	-0.165* (0.0859)	-0.173* (0.0924)	-0.164* (0.0943)	-0.156* (0.0869)
Satisfaction with democracy 7	-0.302*** (0.104)	-0.309*** (0.111)	-0.296*** (0.114)	-0.288*** (0.106)
Satisfaction with democracy 8	-0.441*** (0.0888)	-0.461*** (0.0969)	-0.446*** (0.0987)	-0.425*** (0.0903)
Satisfaction with democracy 9	-0.460*** (0.143)	-0.463*** (0.147)	-0.456*** (0.149)	-0.446*** (0.144)
Satisfaction with democracy 10	-0.370** (0.156)	-0.363** (0.160)	-0.353** (0.159)	-0.357** (0.155)
Importance of the environment				
Like me	0.0622*	0.0540*	0.0550*	0.0653**

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0318)	(0.0315)	(0.0320)	(0.0320)
Somewhat like me	0.0482	0.0447	0.0427	0.0496
	(0.0427)	(0.0458)	(0.0457)	(0.0423)
A little like me	0.0956	0.0845	0.0791	0.0934
	(0.0691)	(0.0690)	(0.0695)	(0.0688)
Not like me	0.152*	0.171*	0.166*	0.144
	(0.0917)	(0.0909)	(0.0933)	(0.0928)
Not like me at all	0.361	0.336	0.326	0.345
	(0.222)	(0.223)	(0.227)	(0.227)
Government should re- duce differences in income Levels				
Agree	-0.0333	-0.000564	-0.0313	-0.00752
	(0.0352)	(0.0354)	(0.0346)	(0.0359)
Neither agree nor disagree	-0.0825	-0.0396	-0.0778	-0.0535
	(0.0591)	(0.0564)	(0.0587)	(0.0592)
Disagree	-0.0381	-0.00925	-0.0358	-0.0221
	(0.0567)	(0.0574)	(0.0529)	(0.0574)
Disagree strongly	-0.00170	-0.0152	-0.00759	-0.0329
	(0.0648)	(0.0756)	(0.0699)	(0.0683)
Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish				
Agree	0.101**	0.0958*	0.118**	0.117**
	(0.0512)	(0.0511)	(0.0535)	(0.0518)
Neither agree nor disagree	0.112**	0.124**	0.176***	0.157***
	(0.0518)	(0.0544)	(0.0519)	(0.0505)
Disagree	0.214***	0.219***	0.265***	0.256***

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0715)	(0.0677)	(0.0603)	(0.0635)
Disagree strongly	0.186**	0.195**	0.176**	0.166**
	(0.0903)	(0.0866)	(0.0804)	(0.0842)
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark				
Safe	0.0144	0.0157	0.0127	0.0106
	(0.0444)	(0.0450)	(0.0440)	(0.0434)
Unsafe	0.182***	0.188***	0.182***	0.172***
	(0.0572)	(0.0561)	(0.0543)	(0.0543)
Very unsafe	0.261***	0.259***	0.248***	0.241***
	(0.0899)	(0.0912)	(0.0893)	(0.0867)
Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe				
Some	0.0377	0.0341	0.0167	0.0188
	(0.0537)	(0.0547)	(0.0516)	(0.0516)
A few	0.0843	0.0777	0.0428	0.0482
	(0.0755)	(0.0764)	(0.0722)	(0.0720)
None	0.0510	0.0439	0.00291	0.00459
	(0.0810)	(0.0807)	(0.0780)	(0.0791)
Belgium	0.226***	0.282***	0.318***	0.259***
	(0.0376)	(0.0408)	(0.0438)	(0.0392)
Bulgaria	0.0485	0.0229	-0.00348	0.0242
	(0.0807)	(0.0833)	(0.0815)	(0.0801)
Cyprus	-0.0431	-0.0327	0.0132	-0.0301
	(0.0728)	(0.0767)	(0.0804)	(0.0817)

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Czech Republic	0.612*** (0.0527)	0.634*** (0.0535)	0.634*** (0.0547)	0.627*** (0.0518)
Germany	0.484*** (0.0551)	0.493*** (0.0532)	0.490*** (0.0528)	0.490*** (0.0517)
Denmark	-0.189*** (0.0614)	-0.158*** (0.0595)	-0.121* (0.0639)	-0.152** (0.0616)
Estonia	1.072*** (0.0538)	1.074*** (0.0525)	1.078*** (0.0539)	1.072*** (0.0540)
Spain	0.280*** (0.0487)	0.300*** (0.0501)	0.325*** (0.0510)	0.297*** (0.0498)
Finland	0.736*** (0.0489)	0.755*** (0.0490)	0.705*** (0.0455)	0.715*** (0.0465)
France	1.167*** (0.0546)	1.156*** (0.0537)	1.173*** (0.0538)	1.164*** (0.0553)
Great Britain	0.670*** (0.0523)	0.674*** (0.0574)	0.689*** (0.0530)	0.634*** (0.0598)
Greece	-0.645*** (0.0809)	-0.586*** (0.0852)	-0.602*** (0.0872)	-0.599*** (0.0817)
Croatia	0.453*** (0.0638)	0.486*** (0.0648)	0.455*** (0.0627)	0.448*** (0.0632)
Hungary	-0.200*** (0.0437)	-0.216*** (0.0470)	-0.206*** (0.0476)	-0.236*** (0.0513)
Ireland	0.330*** (0.0513)	0.292*** (0.0573)	0.342*** (0.0515)	0.287*** (0.0591)
Italy	0.0752** (0.0379)	0.0813** (0.0367)	0.101*** (0.0373)	0.0894** (0.0384)
Lithuania	0.246***	0.243***	0.267***	0.253***

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Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(0.0449)	(0.0457)	(0.0479)	(0.0482)
Latvia	0.737***	0.735***	0.730***	0.718***
	(0.0540)	(0.0572)	(0.0563)	(0.0548)
Netherlands	0.776***	0.778***	0.824***	0.794***
	(0.0507)	(0.0474)	(0.0506)	(0.0492)
Norway	0.0258	-0.0184	-0.0354	-0.0532
	(0.0771)	(0.0724)	(0.0768)	(0.0752)
Poland	0.758***	0.785***	0.748***	0.756***
	(0.0564)	(0.0570)	(0.0549)	(0.0543)
Portugal	0.524***	0.569***	0.578***	0.573***
	(0.0672)	(0.0668)	(0.0681)	(0.0642)
Romania	0.782***	0.764***	0.783***	0.801***
	(0.102)	(0.106)	(0.110)	(0.109)
Sweden	-0.323***	-0.272***	-0.249***	-0.274***
	(0.0494)	(0.0528)	(0.0550)	(0.0513)
Slovenia	0.800***	0.849***	0.861***	0.832***
	(0.0701)	(0.0712)	(0.0738)	(0.0703)
Slovakia	0.133**	0.150**	0.153**	0.133**
	(0.0636)	(0.0636)	(0.0641)	(0.0635)
Wave 4	-0.621***	-0.600***	-0.583***	-0.603***
	(0.217)	(0.222)	(0.217)	(0.216)
Wave 5	-0.215	-0.207	-0.197	-0.205
	(0.163)	(0.166)	(0.162)	(0.160)
Wave 6	-0.195	-0.188	-0.178	-0.181
	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.165)	(0.167)
Wave 7	-0.0204	-0.00976	-0.00161	-0.00960
	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.139)	(0.142)

Continued on next page

Table 7A – (Continued from previous page)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Wave 8	-0.0562 (0.115)	-0.0469 (0.117)	-0.0452 (0.117)	-0.0535 (0.117)
Wave 9	-0.139 (0.118)	-0.129 (0.123)	-0.126 (0.123)	-0.133 (0.120)
Constant	1.862*** (0.265)	1.823*** (0.273)	1.756*** (0.280)	1.674*** (0.276)
Observations	55,880	56,647	56,647	55,880
Adj. R ²	0.102	0.102	0.102	0.102
Log-Likelihood	-15174	-15378	-15360	-15149

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix B

CHES Variables <https://www.chesdata.eu/ches-europe>

REDISTRIBUTION = position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.
0 = Strongly favors redistribution : 10 = Strongly opposes redistribution

SOCIAL_SALIENCE = importance/salience of social lifestyle issues (e.g. homosexuality). (Not asked in 2014 or 2019)

IMMIGRATE_POLICY = position on immigration policy. 0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration : 10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration

ENVIRONMENT = position towards environmental sustainability. (Asked in 2010, 2014, and 2019) 0 = Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth : 10 = Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection

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