Online Appendix

Table A1: Variables, data source and summary statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **N** | **Mean** | **SD** | **Min** | **Max** | **Data sourcea** |
| Support for democracy | 41,454 | 3.6 | 0.6 | 1 | 4 | Q43, v148 |
| Support for strong leader | 40,770 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 1 | 4 | Q43, v145 |
| Support for army rule | 41,242 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 1 | 4 | Q43, v146 |
| Democracy-autocracy preference index | 39,202 | 3.4 | 0.6 | 1 | 4 | Q43, v145, v146, v148 |
| National identity: ancestry | 42,987 | 2.6 | 1.0 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v191 |
| National identity: born | 43,080 | 2.7 | 1.0 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v189 |
| National identity: culture | 43,052 | 3.3 | 0.7 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v193 |
| National identity: language | 43,269 | 3.6 | 0.6 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v192 |
| National identity: institutions | 43,127 | 3.6 | 0.6 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v190 |
| Ethnic national identity index | 42,817 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v189, v191 |
| Civic national identity index | 43,063 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 1 | 4 | Q53, v190, v192 |
| *Civic national identity index (3-item)* | *42,837* | *3.5* | *0.5* | *1* | *4* | *Q53, v190, v192, v193* |
| *Alternative civic national identity index* | *42,622* | *1.6* | *1.1* | *1* | *4* | *Q53, v189–v192* |
| *Ethnic-Civic combined index* | *42,433* | *2.0* | *0.4* | *1* | *4* | *Q53, v189–v193* |
| Household income | 39,564 | 5.3 | 2.8 | 1 | 10 | Q98, v261 |
| Unemployment experience | 44,741 | 0.17 | 0.38 | 0 | 1 | Q96, v259 |
| Welfare dependency experience | 45,140 | 0.10 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 | Q97, v260 |
| GDP per capita | 24 | 10.2 | 0.7 | 8.7 | 11.3 | World Bank, 2019, NY.GDP.PCAP.CD |
| Unemployment rate | 24 | 6.8 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 17.2 | World Bank, 2019, SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS |
| Income inequality | 24 | 31.4 | 4.0 | 25.4 | 39.6 | World Bank, 2019, SI.POV.GINI |
| *Mean replacement rate* | *21* | *58.2* | *10.6* | *31.0* | *78.9* | *Scruggs, Jahn and Kuitto, 2017, US100, UC1000,* *SS100, SC1000, MPS100, MPC1000* |
| Age | 45,752 | 50 | 18 | 18 | 82 | Q64, age |
| Sex (1: male) | 46,009 | 0.46 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | Q63, v225 |
| Education | 45,493 | 3.9 | 1.9 | 0 | 8 | Q81, v243\_ISCED\_1 |
| Work status: full-time employed | 45,480 | 0.43 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 1 |
| Work status: part-time employed | 45,480 | 0.07 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 2 |
| Work status: self-employed | 45,480 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 3 |
| Work status: unemployed | 45,480 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 8 |
| Work status: retired | 45,480 | 0.28 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 5 |
| Work status: student | 45,480 | 0.05 | 0.22 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 7 |
| Work status: other | 45,480 | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 | Q82, v244 = 4;6;9;10 |
| Marital status: single | 45,646 | 0.25 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 | Q72, v234 = 6 |
| Marital status: married/reg. partnership | 45,646 | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | Q72, v234 = 1;2 |
| Marital status: widowed | 45,646 | 0.09 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 | Q72, v234 = 3 |
| Marital status: divorced/separated | 45,646 | 0.11 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 | Q72, v234 = 4;5 |
| Children | 45,604 | 0.71 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 | Q77, v239\_r > 0 |
| Religious attendance | 45,632 | 2.9 | 1.9 | 1 | 7 | Q15, v54 |
| Migration background: none | 45,453 | 0.83 | 0.37 | 0 | 1 | Q65, v227; Q68, 0 |
| Migration background: 1st gen. | 45,453 | 0.09 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 | v230; Q70, v232 |
| Migration background: 2nd gen. | 45,453 | 0.07 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 | recoded |
| Left-right self-placement | 39,156 | 5.4 | 2.2 | 1 | 10 | Q31, v102 |
| Interest in politics | 43,326 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 1 | 4 | Q29, v97 |
| Generalized trust | 44,880 | 0.44 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | Q7, v31 |
| Specific support for democracy | 44,738 | 5.3 | 2.6 | 1 | 10 | Q42, v144 |
| *Regarding pol. system as democratic* | *42,025* | *6.6* | *2.4* | *1* | *10* | *Q41, v143* |
| *Attitudes towards immigrants* | *44,299* | *3.0* | *1.0* | *1* | *5* | *Q51, v184* |
| *Particularized trust* | *43,173* | *3.3* | *0.6* | *1* | *4* | *Q8, v34* |
| *Club membership* | *43,016* | *0.60* | *0.49* | *0* | *1* | *Q4, v9–v20* |
| *National pride* | *42,409* | *3.3* | *0.75* | *1* | *4* | *Q47* |
| *Liberal vs. traditional values* | *38,141* | *6.4* | *2.6* | *1* | *10* | *Q44, v153–v156* |
| *Authoritarian attitudes* | *40,607* | *2.3* | *0.8* | *1* | *3* | *Q37, v114* |
| *GDP growth* | *24* | *3.3* | *1.4* | *1.6* | *7.0* | *World Bank, 2019,* *NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG* |
| *KOF globalization index* | *24* | *84.5* | *4.6* | *72.9* | *91.2* | *Gygli et al., 2019, KOFGI* |
| *Net migration rate* | *24* | *6.9* | *19.2* | *−57.9* | *36.9* | *World Bank, 2019, SM.POP.NETM, SP.POP.TOTL* |
| *WGI Government Effectiveness* | *24* | *1.1* | *0.5* | *1* | *2.5* | *World Bank, 2019, Worldwide Governance Indicators, gee* |
| *Freedom House index* | *24* | *1.3* | *0.5* | *1* | *2.5* | *Freedom House, 2019* |

Note: a unless specified EVS (2019); Italics: Variables not used in main regressions, but only in robustness checks.

**Sources:**

EVS, 2019. *European Values Study 2017, Integrated Dataset (EVS 2017), ZA7500, Data file Version 2.0.0*. [online] Available through: https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/sdesc2.asp?no=7500&db=e&doi=10.4232/1.13314 [Accessed 27 April 2020].

Freedom House, 2019. *Freedom in the World, Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses, 1973–2019*. [online] Available through: https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world [Accessed 27 April 2020].

Gygli, S., Haelg, F., Potrafke, N. and Sturm, J.‑E., 2019. Publisher Correction to: The KOF Globalisation Index – revisited. *The Review of International Organizations*, 14(3), p. 575.

Scruggs, L., Jahn, D. and Kuitto, K., 2017. *Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset 2. Version 2017-09*. [online] Available through: http://cwed2.org/ [Accessed 27 April 2020].

World Bank, 2019. *World Bank Open Data: Free and open access to global development data*. [online] Available through: https://data.worldbank.org/ [Accessed 27 April 2020].

Table A2: Frequency tables for the key variables

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Democracy** | **Strong leader** | **Army rule** |
| Very bad | 1.3 | 44.8 | 66.3 |
| Fairly bad | 3.8 | 27.2 | 23.8 |
| Fairly good | 32.4 | 20.4 | 7.6 |
| Very good | 62.5 | 7.6 | 2.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Ancestry** | **Born** | **Culture** | **Language** | **Institutions** |
| Not at all important | 15.2 | 11.6 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| Not important | 34.8 | 29.8 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| Quite important | 28.8 | 31.9 | 43.6 | 32.1 | 30.5 |
| Very important | 21.2 | 26.8 | 45.7 | 63.0 | 64.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table A3: Regression models of the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and support for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives

**Full sample:**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Democracy-autocracy preference** | **Democracy** | | **Leader rule** | | **Army rule** | |
| **National identity: ancestry** | −0.050 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.086 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.077 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| **National identity: born** | −0.042 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.078 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.058 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| **National identity: culture** | 0.028 | (0.01)\*\* | 0.012 | (0.02) | −0.013 | (0.01) |
| **National identity: language** | 0.057 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.047 | (0.02)\*\* | −0.036 | (0.01)\*\* |
| **National identity: institutions** | 0.113 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.080 | (0.02)\*\*\* | −0.059 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Age | 0.006 | (0.00)\*\* | −0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.019 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Age² | −0.000 | (0.00)\* | 0.000 | (0.00)\* | 0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Sex (1: male) | 0.009 | (0.01) | 0.047 | (0.01)\*\* | −0.030 | (0.01)\* |
| Education | 0.029 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.059 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.031 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Household income | 0.009 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.014 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Work status: part-time employed | 0.033 | (0.01)\* | −0.050 | (0.02)\* | −0.000 | (0.01) |
| Work status: self-employed | 0.033 | (0.01)\* | −0.061 | (0.02)\* | −0.014 | (0.02) |
| Work status: unemployed | 0.008 | (0.02) | −0.033 | (0.03) | −0.013 | (0.02) |
| Work status: retired | 0.003 | (0.01) | −0.006 | (0.03) | −0.034 | (0.02)+ |
| Work status: student | 0.066 | (0.02)\*\* | −0.169 | (0.03)\*\*\* | −0.057 | (0.03)+ |
| Work status: other | 0.017 | (0.02) | −0.025 | (0.03) | 0.023 | (0.02) |
| Unemployment experience | −0.012 | (0.01) | −0.015 | (0.02) | −0.010 | (0.02) |
| Welfare dependency experience | −0.030 | (0.02)+ | 0.057 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.065 | (0.02)\*\* |
| Marital status: married/reg. partnership | −0.026 | (0.01)\* | 0.063 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.015 | (0.01) |
| Marital status: widowed | −0.029 | (0.02) | 0.065 | (0.03)\* | 0.022 | (0.02) |
| Marital status: divorced/separated | 0.006 | (0.01) | 0.017 | (0.02) | −0.002 | (0.02) |
| Children | −0.023 | (0.01)+ | 0.028 | (0.02) | 0.029 | (0.01)\* |
| Religious attendance | −0.006 | (0.00)\* | 0.015 | (0.00)\*\* | 0.016 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Migration background: 1st gen. | 0.007 | (0.01) | 0.036 | (0.01)\* | −0.004 | (0.01) |
| Migration background: 2nd gen. | −0.018 | (0.02) | 0.164 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.095 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| Left-right self-placement | −0.019 | (0.01)\* | 0.003 | (0.01) | −0.001 | (0.01) |
| Left-right self-placement² | 0.001 | (0.00) | 0.003 | (0.00)\* | 0.002 | (0.00)\* |
| Interest in politics | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.082 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.047 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Generalized trust | 0.084 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.132 | (0.02)\*\*\* | −0.069 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Specific support for democracy | 0.028 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.005 | (0.01) | 0.001 | (0.01) |
| Constant | 2.510 | (0.09)\*\*\* | 2.653 | (0.16)\*\*\* | 2.268 | (0.09)\*\*\* |
| Respondents | 28,392 | | 28,145 | | 28,313 | |
| Countries | 24 | | 24 | | 24 | |
| adj. Within-R2 | 0.099 | | 0.096 | | 0.090 | |

Note: Fixed-effects regression coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses, base categories: Sex: female, Work status: full-time employed, Marital status: single, Migration background: none

+ p < 0.10, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table A4: Robustness checks for the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and support for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives using combined indices

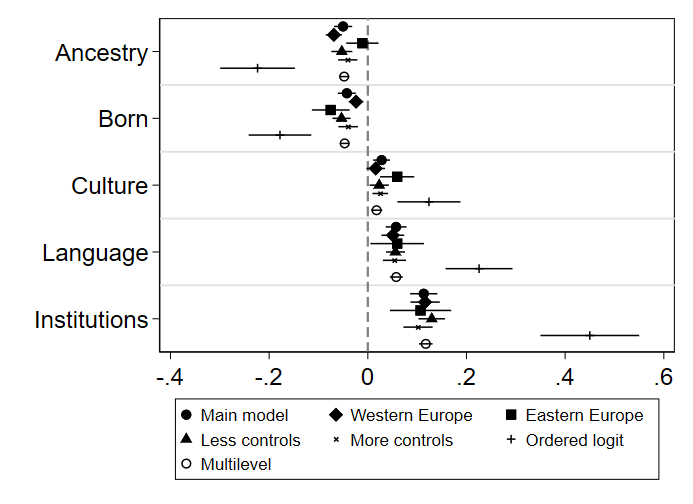
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Democracy** | | **Leader rule** | | **Army rule** | |
| **Ethnic NI** | −0.091 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.168 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.134 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| **Civic NI** | 0.187 | (0.02)\*\*\* | −0.122 | (0.03)\*\*\* | −0.102 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| **Ethnic-Civic** | −0.275 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.322 | (0.03)\*\*\* | 0.272 | (0.03)\*\*\* |
| **Civic NI – alternative** | 0.069 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.130 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.101 | (0.01)\*\*\* |

Note: Displayed are regression coefficients for the effect of combined indices of national identity on support for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives with 95% confidence intervals.

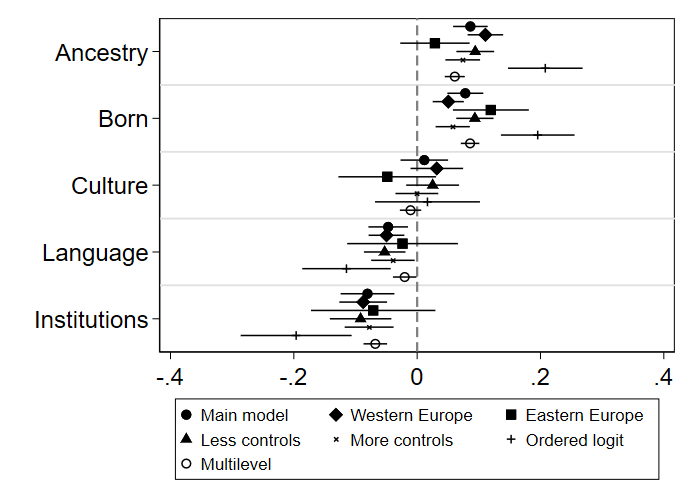
1. Ethnic NI: Mean of ancestry and born
2. Civic NI: Mean of institutions and language
3. Ethnic-Civic: Subtracts the civic NI index from the ethnic NI index
4. Civic NI – alternative: Weights the civic NI index by an inverse of the ethnic NI index in order to account for the idea that accepting ethnic conceptions of national identity could be considered a contradiction to civic conceptions of national identity.

Figure A1: Robustness checks for the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and support for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives

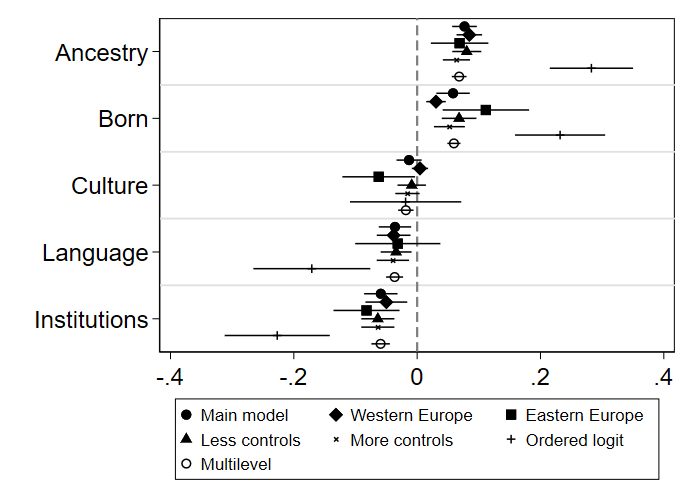
**Democratic rule**



**Leader rule**



**Army rule**



Note: Displayed are regression coefficients for the effect of national identity on support for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives with 95% confidence intervals.

1. Main model: Coefficients as in the models of the main text
2. Western Europe: Sample restricted to West European countries
3. Eastern Europe: Sample restricted to East European countries
4. Less controls: Only socio-demographic control variables (excluding left-right self-placement, interest in politics, generalized trust and specific support for democracy)
5. More controls: Including additional control variables (regarding the political system as democratic, attitudes towards immigrants, particularized trust, club membership, national pride, liberal vs. traditional values and authoritarian attitudes)
6. Ordered logit: Ordered logit regression with country dummies instead of FE-OLS regression
7. Multilevel: Multilevel regression instead of FE-OLS regression, including several country control variables (GDP per capita, GDP growth, unemployment rate, GINI index, KOF globalization index, net migration rate, WGI government effectiveness, FH democracy index)

**EVS 2008 Replication**

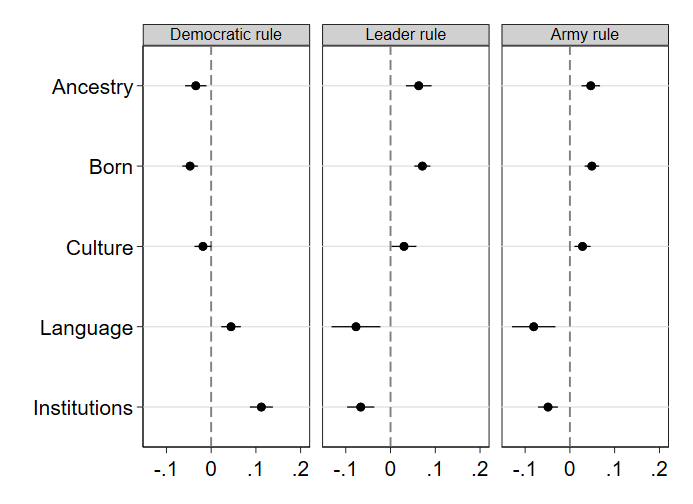


Table A5: Regression models of the moderating effect of economic hardship on the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and the preference for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives

**Economic hardship at the individual level:**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Democracy-autocracy preference** | **Household income** | | **Unemployment experience** | | **Welfare depen-dency experience** | |
| National identity: ethnic | −0.169 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.128 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.127 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| National identity: civic | 0.179 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.139 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.137 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| **NI: ethnic\*Economic hardship** | 0.007 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.025 | (0.01)\*\* | −0.053 | (0.02)\*\* |
| **NI: civic\* Economic hardship** | −0.007 | (0.00)\* | −0.008 | (0.02) | 0.008 | (0.02) |
| Age | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Age² | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Sex (1: male) | −0.003 | (0.01) | −0.003 | (0.01) | −0.003 | (0.01) |
| Education | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Household income | 0.022 | (0.01) | 0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Work status: part-time employed | 0.027 | (0.01)\* | 0.028 | (0.01)\* | 0.028 | (0.01)\* |
| Work status: self-employed | 0.034 | (0.01)\* | 0.035 | (0.01)\* | 0.036 | (0.01)\* |
| Work status: unemployed | 0.018 | (0.02) | 0.017 | (0.02) | 0.016 | (0.02) |
| Work status: retired | 0.014 | (0.01) | 0.014 | (0.01) | 0.014 | (0.01) |
| Work status: student | 0.098 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.100 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.100 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| Work status: other | 0.006 | (0.02) | 0.005 | (0.02) | 0.006 | (0.02) |
| Unemployment experience | 0.004 | (0.01) | 0.098 | (0.08) | 0.003 | (0.01) |
| Welfare dependency experience | −0.050 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.051 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.060 | (0.08) |
| Marital status: married/reg. partnership | −0.032 | (0.01)\*\* | −0.033 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.032 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Marital status: widowed | −0.032 | (0.02)+ | −0.036 | (0.02)\* | −0.035 | (0.02)\* |
| Marital status: divorced/separated | −0.002 | (0.02) | −0.001 | (0.02) | −0.001 | (0.02) |
| Children | −0.028 | (0.01)\* | −0.028 | (0.01)\* | −0.029 | (0.01)\* |
| Religious attendance | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Migration background: 1st gen. | −0.011 | (0.01) | −0.011 | (0.01) | −0.011 | (0.01) |
| Migration background: 2nd gen. | −0.096 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Left-right self-placement | −0.005 | (0.01) | −0.005 | (0.01) | −0.005 | (0.01) |
| Left-right self-placement² | −0.001 | (0.00)\* | −0.001 | (0.00)\* | −0.001 | (0.00)\* |
| Interest in politics | 0.011 | (0.01)+ | 0.011 | (0.01)+ | 0.011 | (0.01)+ |
| Generalized trust | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Specific support for democracy | 0.096 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Constant | 2.468 | (0.09)\*\*\* | 2.508 | (0.09)\*\*\* | 2.513 | (0.09)\*\*\* |
| Respondents | 27,608 | | 27,608 | | 27,608 | |
| Countries | 24 | | 24 | | 24 | |
| adj. Within-R2 | 0.162 | | 0.161 | | 0.162 | |

Note: Fixed-effects regression coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses, base categories: Sex: female, Work status: full-time employed, Marital status: single, Migration background: none

+ p < 0.10, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

**Economic hardship at the societal level:**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Democracy-autocracy preference** | **GDP per capita** | | **Unemployment rate** | | **Income inequality** | |
| National identity: ethnic | −0.422 | (0.10)\*\*\* | −0.081 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.034 | (0.06) |
| National identity: civic | 0.375 | (0.28) | 0.059 | (0.03)\* | 0.083 | (0.20) |
| **NI: ethnic\*Economic hardship** | 0.027 | (0.01)\* | −0.008 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.005 | (0.00)\* |
| **NI: civic\* Economic hardship** | −0.022 | (0.03) | 0.012 | (0.00)\* | 0.002 | (0.01) |
| Age | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.013 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Age² | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.000 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Sex (1: male) | −0.003 | (0.01) | −0.002 | (0.01) | −0.003 | (0.01) |
| Education | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.039 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Household income | 0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | 0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Work status: part-time employed | 0.028 | (0.01)\* | 0.029 | (0.01)\* | 0.028 | (0.01)\* |
| Work status: self-employed | 0.036 | (0.01)\* | 0.036 | (0.01)\*\* | 0.036 | (0.01)\*\* |
| Work status: unemployed | 0.016 | (0.02) | 0.018 | (0.02) | 0.015 | (0.02) |
| Work status: retired | 0.015 | (0.01) | 0.014 | (0.01) | 0.015 | (0.01) |
| Work status: student | 0.100 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.100 | (0.02)\*\*\* | 0.100 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| Work status: other | 0.006 | (0.02) | 0.008 | (0.02) | 0.006 | (0.02) |
| Unemployment experience | 0.004 | (0.01) | 0.002 | (0.01) | 0.003 | (0.01) |
| Welfare dependency experience | −0.051 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.052 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.051 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Marital status: married/reg. partnership | −0.033 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.033 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.032 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Marital status: widowed | −0.035 | (0.02)\* | −0.036 | (0.02)\* | −0.035 | (0.02)\* |
| Marital status: divorced/separated | −0.002 | (0.02) | −0.002 | (0.02) | −0.001 | (0.02) |
| Children | −0.028 | (0.01)\* | −0.028 | (0.01)\* | −0.028 | (0.01)\* |
| Religious attendance | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.011 | (0.00)\*\*\* | −0.012 | (0.00)\*\*\* |
| Migration background: 1st gen. | −0.010 | (0.01) | −0.010 | (0.01) | −0.011 | (0.01) |
| Migration background: 2nd gen. | −0.093 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.094 | (0.01)\*\*\* | −0.096 | (0.02)\*\*\* |
| Left-right self-placement | −0.006 | (0.01) | −0.004 | (0.01) | −0.005 | (0.01) |
| Left-right self-placement² | −0.001 | (0.00)\* | −0.001 | (0.00)\* | −0.001 | (0.00)\* |
| Interest in politics | 0.011 | (0.01)+ | 0.011 | (0.01)+ | 0.011 | (0.01)+ |
| Generalized trust | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.066 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Specific support for democracy | 0.096 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* | 0.095 | (0.01)\*\*\* |
| Constant | 2.534 | (0.08)\*\*\* | 2.539 | (0.08)\*\*\* | 2.531 | (0.08)\*\*\* |
| Respondents | 27,608 | | 27,608 | | 27,608 | |
| Countries | 24 | | 24 | | 24 | |
| adj. Within-R2 | 0.162 | | 0.163 | | 0.162 | |

Note: Fixed-effects regression coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses, base categories: Sex: female, Work status: full-time employed, Marital status: single, Migration background: none

+ p < 0.10, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Figure A2: Robustness checks for the moderating effect of economic hardship on the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and the preference for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Household income**  M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Household income.png | **Unemployment experience**  M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Unemployment experience.png |
| **Welfare dependency experience**  **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Welfare dependency experience.png** | **GDP per capita**  **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, GDP per capita.png** |
| **Unemployment rate**  **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Unemployment rate.png** | **GINI index**  **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Gini index.png** |
| **Replacement rate**  **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\20_04 EPSR\Figure A2, Replacement rate.png** | |
| **M:\EVS National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy\Results\Robustness_interaction_legend.png** | |

Note: Displayed are regression coefficients for the moderating effect of economic hardship on the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and the preference for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives with 95% confidence intervals.

1. Main model: Coefficients as in the models of the main text
2. Western Europe: Sample restricted to West European countries
3. Eastern Europe: Sample restricted to East European countries
4. Less controls: Only socio-demographic control variables (excluding left-right self-placement, interest in politics, generalized trust and specific support for democracy)
5. More controls: Including additional control variables (regarding the political system as democratic, attitudes towards immigrants, particularized trust, club membership, national pride, liberal vs. traditional values and authoritarian attitudes)
6. Ordered logit: Ordered logit regression with country dummies instead of FE-OLS regression
7. Multilevel: Multilevel regression instead of FE-OLS regression, including several country control variables (GDP per capita, GDP growth, unemployment rate, GINI index, KOF globalization index, net migration rate, WGI government effectiveness, FH democracy index)
8. 3-item civic: Civic national identity measured as an average of three items (including culture) instead of two
9. Civic NI – alternative: Weights the civic NI index by an inverse of the ethnic NI index in order to account for the idea that accepting ethnic conceptions of national identity could be considered a contradiction to civic conceptions of national identity.
10. Ethnic-Civic: Subtracts the civic NI index from the ethnic NI index

Table A6: Robustness checks for the moderating effect of economic hardship on the relation between ethnic or civic national identity and the preference for democracy as opposed to authoritarian alternatives, EVS 2008 replication

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Economic hardship variables** | **Ethnic NI** | | **Civic NI** | |
| **Individual level** |  | |  |  |
| Household income | 0.003 | (0.01) | 0.002 | (0.01) |
| Unemployment experience | −0.027 | (0.01)+ | −0.033 | (0.03) |
| Welfare dependency experience | −0.055 | (0.01)\*\* | 0.019 | (0.04) |
| **Societal level** |  | |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.005 | (0.01) | −0.000 | (0.03) |
| Unemployment rate | −0.002 | (0.00) | −0.013 | (0.01)\* |
| Income inequality | −0.002 | (0.00) | 0.002 | (0.01) |

Note: Displayed are fixed-effects interaction regression coefficients with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses, + p < 0.10, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001