

Weßels, Bernhard; Rose, Richard

Report

Online Appendix to European Public Opinion about Security

Provided in Cooperation with:

WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Suggested Citation: Weßels, Bernhard; Rose, Richard (2025) : Online Appendix to European Public Opinion about Security, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), Berlin

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/314935>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

Bernhard Weißels, Richard Rose

Online Appendix to European Public Opinion about Security

Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für
Sozialforschung (WZB), 2025

This document is the online appendix to the
following publication:

Bernhard Weißels, Richard Rose

**European Public Opinion about Security
Who Can Help Us in a Threatening World?**

Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics
Cham: Palgrave Macmillan 2025

Hardcover ISBN 978-3-031-86262-5

Softcover ISBN 978-3-031-86265-6

eBook ISBN 978-3-031-86263-2

Content

1. [Question module “Interdependance” and other questions](#)
2. [Characteristics of variables in the analyses](#)
3. [Additional regression for dependent variable “Seeing an alliance as an effective means”](#)
4. [Access to the survey data](#)

1. *Question wording*

Module: **Interdependence**

q30a - q30e | Risks for own country

How much do you think [COUNTRY] is at risk from the following?

- (A) Problems in the global economy
- (B) Military threats
- (C) Immigration
- (D) Terrorism
- (E) Climate change

SCALE

- (1) Big risk
- (2) A fair amount of risk
- (3) Not much risk
- (4) No risk
-
- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

NOTES FOR PROGRAMMING

Randomize order of items.

Q31 - Q35 should only be asked if the respondent picked 1 or 2 on the scale for the respective item.

q31 | Help: Global economy

[Filter: if q30a<=2]

Which of the following can best help [COUNTRY] deal with **problems in the global economy**?

SCALE

- (1) United Nations
- (2) European Union
- (3) United States (USA)
- (4) NATO
- (5) [COUNTRY] must be able to look after itself on its own.
-
- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

NOTES FOR PROGRAMMING

Randomize order of scale points 1 to 4 for each individual but keep constant for Q31 to Q35.

Use code 77 (not applicable) if person was not shown this question. Save randomization of countries.

q32 | Help: Military threats

[Filter: if q30b<=2]

*Which of the following can best help [COUNTRY] deal with **military threats**?*

SCALE

- (1) United Nations
- (2) European Union
- (3) United States (USA)
- (4) NATO
- (5) [COUNTRY] must be able to look after itself on its own.

- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

Use code 77 (not applicable) if person was not shown this question.

q33 | Help: Immigration

[Filter: if q30c<=2]

*Which of the following can best help [COUNTRY] deal with **immigration**?*

SCALE

- (1) United Nations
- (2) European Union
- (3) United States (USA)
- (4) NATO
- (5) [COUNTRY] must be able to look after itself on its own.

- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

Use code 77 (not applicable) if person was not shown this question.

q34 | Help: Terrorism

[Filter: if q30d<=2]

*Which of the following can best help [COUNTRY] deal with **terrorism**?*

SCALE

- (1) United Nations
- (2) European Union

- (3) United States (USA)
- (4) NATO
- (5) [COUNTRY] must be able to look after itself on its own.

- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

Use code 77 (not applicable) if person was not shown this question.

q35 | Help: Climate change

[Filter: if q30e<=2]

Which of the following can best help [COUNTRY] deal with **climate change**?

SCALE

- (1) United Nations
- (2) European Union
- (3) United States (USA)
- (4) NATO
- (5) [COUNTRY] must be able to look after itself on its own.

- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

Module: **Political Attitudes**

q17e Political Issues II

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- (E) It is very important for me to live in a country which is governed democratically.

SCALE

- (1) 1 - Fully disagree
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7 - Fully agree

- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

q14 | Left-Right

In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 means the left and 7 means the right?

SCALE

(1) 1 - The Left

(2) 2

(3) 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) 7 - The Right

(88) I prefer not to say.

(99) Don't know

q16_f - q16_h | Political Issues I

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

(F) Immigrants endanger the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] society by bringing new ideas and cultures.

(G) International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.

(H) [COUNTRY] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.

SCALE

(1) 1 - Fully disagree

(2) 2

(3) 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) 7 - Fully agree

(88) I prefer not to say.

(99) Don't know

q41 | Subjective Wealth

All in all, and when thinking about other people in your country, what level between rich and poor does your family's standard of living correspond to?

Where would you place your family on this scale?

SCALE

- (1) 1 - Poor Family
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7 - Rich family
-
- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

q24_b Satisfaction with economic performance

Turning to the current situation in [COUNTRY], how satisfied are you with...

(b) ...the economic performance of [COUNTRY] these days?

SCALE

- (1) 1 - Not satisfied at all
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7 - Very satisfied
-
- (88) I prefer not to say.
- (99) Don't know

q4 | Education

What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed? If you have not completed your education in [COUNTRY], please select below the option that comes closest.

SCALE

- (1) ...low education
- (2) ...middle education
- (3) ...high education
- ...

(55) Other → screenout

--

(99) Don't know → screenout

q13 | Political Interest

How interested are you in political issues?

SCALE

(1) 1 - Not interested at all

(2) 2

(3) 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) 7 - Very interested

(88) I prefer not to say.

(99) Don't know

q2 | Age

What is your year of birth?

SCALE

[Numeric input]

2. Characteristics of variables in the analyses

Variable, question number	N	Mean	Stan.dev.	Range
Module “Interdependence”				
<i>Strength of risk: Q30a-e</i>				
- Global economy	11.919	3,30	0,71	No risk to big 1-4
- Military threats	11.604	2,55	0,85	No risk to big 1-4
- Climate change	12.024	3,16	0,84	No risk to big 1-4
Number of perceived risks	11.297	2,17	0,84	Range 0 to 3
<i>Alliance to Deal with Security, Q31-Q34</i>				
EU, economic ally	4.802	0,73	0,44	EU= 1; all others = 0
NATO, military ally	3.822	0,71	0,46	NATO= 1; all others = 0
UN, climate ally	4.992	0,51	0,50	UN = 1; all others = 0
EU, climate ally	4.992	0,39	0,49	EU = 1; all others = 0
On our own - economy	8.952	0,46	0,50	1= On own; 0 =Any ally
On our own – military	4.892	0,22	0,41	1= On own; 0 =Any ally
On our own – climate change	8.077	0,38	0,49	1= On own; 0 =Any ally
Political attitudes				
Democracy valued, Q17e	11,872	6,16	1,26	Not at all to high 0-10
Left-right scale, Q14	10,578	4,16	1,65	Left to right 1-7
Migration endangers society Q16f	10.467	3,81	2,11	1 disagree, 7 agree
Sovereignty endangered Q16g	9.608	4,41	1,99	1 disagree, 7 agree
Protect from imports Q16h	10.363	4,54	1,90	1 disagree, 7 agree
Socio-demographics				
Socio-economic class, Q41	12,302	3,85	1,16	Poor to rich 1-7
Positive nat'l economy, Q24b	12,079	2,95	1,72	Negative to positive 1-7
Education, Q4	12,695	2,14	0,65	Low to high, 1-3
Political interest, Q13	12,460	4,39	1,90	Low to high, 1-7
Young (under 30), Q2	12.694	0,17	0,38	Age < 30 = 1, else = 0
Older (over 64), Q2	12.694	0,14	0,35	Age > 64 = 1, else = 0
Context variables				
Distance capital of country to Moscow	12.694	1729	467	Min. 1150, max. 2500
GDP per capita \$, PPP 2022	12.694	41111	8706	Min. 30777, max. 53613
Global warming annual temperature C	12.694	1,39	0,29	Min 0,93, max. 1,85

Question numbers refer to the questions in the questionnaire as documented above (Section 1)

3. *Additional regression for dependent variable “Seeing an alliance as an effective means”*

Table A1: Regression of going with an alliance vs. on our own on importance of democracy, sociodemographic characteristics, ideology and size of the economy

Risk:	Global Economy		Military Threat		Terrorism		Climate Change	
	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.
Dependent variable: Seeing an alliance as an effective means								
Risk related alliance	2,23	0,00	8,38	0,00	5,59	0,00	3,35	0,00
Democracy important	0,74	0,00	0,79	0,00	0,26	0,16	0,41	0,02
Political interest	0,65	0,00	0,47	0,00	0,37	0,00	0,54	0,00
Education	0,35	0,00	0,27	0,08	0,19	0,04	0,48	0,00
Poor vs. rich	1,07	0,00	0,78	0,00	0,79	0,00	0,74	0,00
Left-Right Self	-1,07	0,00	-0,52	0,03	-0,76	0,00	-0,70	0,00
Size of the economy	-0,59	0,00	-0,74	0,00	-0,47	0,06	-0,01	0,93
_cons	-3,01	0,00	-6,54	0,00	-4,75	0,00	-3,65	0,00
Pseudo R2	0,08		0,42		0,26		0,14	
N of obs =	9838		9.549		9788		9895	

Table A2: Regression of going with an alliance vs. on our own on importance of democracy, sociodemographic characteristics, ideology and GDP per capita

Risk:	Global Economy		Military Threat		Terrorism		Climate Change	
	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.
Dependent variable: Seeing an alliance as an effective means								
Risk related alliance	2,34	0,00	8,27	0,00	5,56	0,00	3,40	0,00
Democracy important	0,79	0,00	0,82	0,00	0,29	0,08	0,42	0,02
Political interest	0,59	0,00	0,44	0,00	0,32	0,00	0,50	0,00
Education	0,34	0,00	0,24	0,18	0,20	0,05	0,49	0,00
Poor vs. rich	0,98	0,00	0,85	0,00	0,67	0,00	0,60	0,00
Left-Right Self	-1,21	0,00	-0,51	0,03	-0,88	0,00	-0,81	0,00
Satisfact. w. economy	0,53	0,21	0,42	0,04	0,51	0,01	0,44	0,01
GDP per capita, PPP	-0,44	0,04	-0,51	0,13	-0,19	0,59	0,14	0,39
_cons	-3,15	0,00	-6,52	0,00	-4,85	0,00	-3,78	0,00
Pseudo R2	0,08		0,42		0,26		0,14	
N of obs =	9.688		9.549		9.627		9.732	

Table A3: Regression of going with an alliance vs. on our own on importance of democracy, sociodemographic characteristics, ideology and Distance to Russian border

Risk:	Global Economy		Military Threat		Terrorism		Climate Change	
	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.
Dependent variable: Seeing an alliance as an effective means								
Risk related alliance	2,48	0,00	8,26	0,00	5,54	0,00	3,38	0,00
Democracy important	0,74	0,00	0,77	0,00	0,27	0,11	0,44	0,02
Political interest	0,57	0,00	0,44	0,00	0,31	0,00	0,51	0,00
Education	0,35	0,00	0,25	0,07	0,21	0,07	0,49	0,00
Poor vs. rich	0,97	0,00	0,84	0,00	0,65	0,00	0,61	0,00
Left-Right Self	-1,20	0,00	-0,50	0,04	-0,87	0,00	-0,82	0,00
Satisfact. w. economy	0,49	0,25	0,33	0,03	0,48	0,00	0,47	0,01
Distance to Russia	-0,45	0,01	-0,70	0,02	-0,26	0,26	0,11	0,60
_cons	-3,22	0,00	-6,43	0,00	-4,80	0,00	-3,76	0,00
Pseudo R2	0,08		0,42		0,26		0,14	
N of obs =	9.688		9.549		9.627		9.732	

Table A4: Regression of going with an alliance vs. on our own on importance of democracy, sociodemographic characteristics, ideology and military expenditure

Risk:	Global Economy		Military Threat		Terrorism		Climate Change	
	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.
Dependent variable: Seeing an alliance as an effective means								
Risk related alliance	2,38	0,00	8,33	0,00	5,63	0,00	3,39	0,00
Democracy important	0,78	0,00	0,81	0,00	0,28	0,10	0,43	0,02
Political interest	0,61	0,00	0,48	0,00	0,33	0,00	0,50	0,00
Education	0,36	0,00	0,26	0,15	0,22	0,02	0,48	0,00
Poor vs. rich	0,95	0,00	0,84	0,00	0,65	0,00	0,60	0,00
Left-Right Self	-1,18	0,00	-0,48	0,03	-0,88	0,00	-0,83	0,00
Satisfact. w. economy	0,49	0,26	0,37	0,05	0,52	0,01	0,48	0,01
Military Expenditure	0,44	0,08	0,45	0,14	0,41	0,18	0,00	0,99
_cons	-3,59	0,00	-7,00	0,00	-5,17	0,00	-3,71	0,00
Pseudo R2	0,08		0,42		0,26		0,14	
N of obs =	9.688		9.549		9.627		9.732	

4. *Access to the survey data*

European Security Survey. Fieldwork: 29 November- 18 December 2022; 12,685 respondents.

The survey module was included in a survey of the Scripts research project. Data have been published here:

Giebler, Heiko, Gerschewski, Johannes, Hellmeier, Sebastian, Keremoglu, Eda, and Zürn, Michael (2025): PAYOFF – Dataset on public attitudes concerning the FIFA World Cup in Qatar. Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)".
<http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-46515>