

Feeling Left Behind by Political Decisionmakers: Anti-Establishment Sentiment in Contemporary Democracies

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Table A1. Question wording

Survey questions	Answer options
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? I don't think the government cares much what people like me think.	Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Most of the time we can trust people in the government to do what is right.	Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Most politicians are in politics only for what they can get out of it personally.	Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.
Thinking of government administrators in [country], how committed are they to serve the people?	Very committed, somewhat committed, not very committed or not at all committed
How widespread do you think corruption is in the public service in [country]?	Hardly anyone is involved, a small number of people are involved, a moderate number of people are involved, a lot of people are involved, or almost everyone is involved.

Notes: Source: ISSP (2012, 2016).

Table A2. Multilevel model: individual and contextual determinants of anti-establishment attitudes.

	Model 0		Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Individual level</i>						
Male (reference: female)			-.004		-.004	
Birth cohort (reference: 1985–2000)						
Birth cohort: 1925–1940			-.029 ***		-.028 ***	
Birth cohort: 1940–1955			-.010 *		-.010 *	
Birth cohort: 1955–1970			-.011 **		-.012 **	
Birth cohort: 1970–1985			-.004		-.004	
Urban			-.004		-.004	
Occupation (reference: managers)						
Self-employed			.020 ***		.020 ***	
Sociocultural professionals			-.004		-.004	
Technical professionals			.009 *		.009 *	
Clerks			.010 **		.010 **	
Service workers			.013 ***		.013 ***	
Production workers			.023 ***		.023 ***	
Household income			-.008 ***		-.008 ***	
Education level (ISCED)			-.013 ***		-.013 ***	
Subjective social status			-.016 ***		-.017 ***	
Political disinterest			.020 ***		.020 ***	
Perceived political understanding			.009 ***		.009 ***	
<i>Contextual level</i>						
Inequality (between)					.002	
Inequality (within)					.014 *	
Affluence (between)					-.001	
Affluence (within)					-.001 *	
Corruption (between)					-.003 ***	
Corruption (within)					-.001	
Constant	.553***		.556***		.555***	
Variance level 1: individual	.027***		.024***		.024***	
Variance level 2: country-years	.001***		.001***		.001***	
Variance level 3: country	.007***		.005***		.001***	
ICC 2	.235		.207		.067	
ICC 3	.199		.172		.039	
N countries	20		20		20	
N country-years	40		40		40	
N respondents	33,246		33,246		33,246	

Notes: Data: ISSP (2012, 2016). All continuous independent variables are centered at their grand means.

p values: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table A3. Regression estimates of the effect of anti-establishment attitudes on types of political participation (models with interaction effect).

	M1		M2		M3		M4	
	abstain from voting in national elections		taking part in demonstrations & street protests		posting political opinions on the internet		voting for anti-elite parties	
	<i>OR</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>p</i>
Anti-establishment sentiment	2.594	***	1.409	*	2.588	***	.906	***
Survey year: 2014 (Reference: 2004)	.471	***	.560	***	2.070	***	-.560	***
Interaction: Anti-establishment sentiment*Survey year	1.810	**	1.198		1.087	***	1.882	***
Male (Reference: female)	1.234	***	1.003		1.190	**	.127	***
Birth cohort (reference: 1985–2000)								
Birth cohort: 1925–1940	.185	***	.187	***	.057	***	-.273	***
Birth cohort: 1940–1955	.203	***	.415	***	.186	***	-.221	**
Birth cohort: 1955–1970	.362	***	.614	***	.360	***	-.064	
Birth cohort: 1970–1985	.601	***	.618	***	.612	***	.032	
Urban	1.128	**	1.496	***	1.191	**	-.056	
Occupation (Reference: managers)								
Self-employed	1.070		.996		1.151		.063	
Sociocultural professionals	.977		1.631	***	1.149		.129	*
Technical professionals	.982		1.026		1.113		.136	*
Clerks	1.053		.866		.985		.112	*
Service workers	1.386	***	1.133		.976		.309	***
Production workers	1.352	***	1.051		.857		.270	***
Household income	.888	***	.987		.964		-.095	***
Education level (ISCED)	.877	***	1.134	***	1.239	***	-.031	
Subjective social status	.930	***	.965	*	.991		-.038	***
Political disinterest	1.775	***	.563	***	.446	***	-.113	***
Perceived political knowledge	.891	***	1.092	***	1.203	***	.033	
Constant	.158	***	.289	***	.151	***	3.859	***
country dummies	yes		yes		yes		yes	
Adj. pseudo R ²	.190		.157		.169		.204	
N	31,034		32,789		32,515		16,735	

Notes: Data: ISSP (2012, 2016); models M1–M3: binary logistic regressions, model M4: OLS regression;
p values: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table A4. Summary statistics.

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Anti-establishment sentiment	46,561	.552	.186	0	1
Taking part in demonstrations	55,207	.064	.246	0	1
Positing political views online	54,707	.055	.228	0	1
Abstain from voting	50,975	.181	.385	0	1
Anti-elite salience of party	25,861	3.231	2.077	.800	9.545
Male	56,830	.478	.499	0	1
Generation	56,688	2.924	1.184	1	5
Education (ISCED)	56,341	2.746	.980	1	4
Household income	46,136	.996	.861	0	31.322
Occupational class	51,220	4.218	2.157	1	7
Subjective social status	54,264	5.597	1.771	1	10
Urban	56,216	.240	.427	0	1
Political disinterest	55,708	2.482	.841	1	4
Perceived political understanding	53,908	3.461	1.043	1	5
Gini (between)	56,874	28.68	3.689	24.300	37.300
Gini (within)	56,874	-.02	.73	-1.40	1.40
Gdp per capita/in 1.000 \$ (between)	56,874	36,347	10,762	19,114	64,955
Gdp per capita/in 1.000 \$ (within)	56,874	149.48	4.51	-10,69	10,69
CPI (between)	56,874	72.510	15.370	45	93.500
CPI (within)	56,874	.312	4.553	-13	13

Table A4. Country cases.

Country	ISSP wave 1 (2003–2006)	ISSP wave 2 (2013–2016)
AT Austria	1,006	1,033
AU Australia	1,914	1,432
BE Belgium	1,398	2,264
CH Switzerland	1,078	1,235
CZ Czech Republic	1,322	1,532
DE Germany	1,332	1,718
DK Denmark	1,186	1,758
ES Spain	2,481	1,755
FI Finland	1,354	1,505
FR France	1,419	1,211
IL Israel	1,184	1,204
JP Japan	1,343	1,593
KR South Korea	1,312	1,370
NL Netherlands	1,823	1,638
NO Norway	1,404	1,459
PL Poland	1,277	2,112
SE Sweden	1,295	899
SI Slovenia	1,054	1,010
SK Slovakia	1,072	1,156
US United States	1,472	1,264
Total	27,726	29,148