

Online appendix

Trust the People? Populism, Trust and Support for Direct Democracy

1. Questions used (Ramos-Gonzalez et al. 2014)

Mechanisms of Direct Democracy

- Initiation
 - Bottom up
Citizens should have the right to initiate referendums on laws (to be passed or already enacted) by collecting a minimum number of signatures.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Neither
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
 98. I prefer not to answer
 - Top down
Politicians should have the right to initiate referendums on issues of particular public interest.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Neither
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
 98. I prefer not to answer
- Scope
And where on a scale of 1 to 10 would you position yourself in relation to the implementation of referendums?
 1. A referendum should be binding, the legislator must implement what the citizens voted for without changes
 10. A referendum should only be advisory, the legislator can take other factors into account, even if this means that the result of the vote would not ultimately be implemented
 98. I prefer not to answer
- Assertiveness
And on the following scale on mechanisms of direct democracy?
 1. Citizens should have the right to decide all important issues by direct vote, even if this means, for example, the elimination or restriction of minority rights
 10. Citizens' decision-making power on important public issues should be limited in some sensitive issues such as minority rights
 98. I prefer not to answer

Trust judgments

- Generalized trust

In general, would you say that you can trust most people, or that you can't be too careful when dealing with people?

 1. You can never be too careful
 2. In general, most people can be trusted
 98. I prefer not to answer

- Trust in “the people”
 - Which of the following definitions best reflects your idea of “the people”?
The people are...
 1. all those living in the same territory
 2. all those sharing a common history, culture and language
 3. all those belonging to the same ethnic group
 4. all those suffering financial difficulties
 5. other
 - You said “the people” are all those [piped-in answer]
 - When you think about this definition, would you say that the people can generally be trusted or that you can never be too careful? Where would you place yourself on the following scale?
 1. You can never be too careful
 2. In general, the people can be trusted
 98. I prefer not to answer

- Political trust

On a scale of 1 to 10, how much do you personally trust each of the following institutions or groups of people? 1 means you do not trust this institution or group of people at all, and 10 means you trust them completely.

 - The parliament
 - The political parties

- Manichean anti-elitism: The first two items are taken from Akkerman et al. (2014), the last two from Van Hauwert and Van Kessel (2018). All are measured on the same 5 point Likert scale (see below).
 - Politicians talk too much and take too little action
 - What people call "compromise" in politics is just selling out on one's principles
 - The particular interests of the political class negatively affect the welfare of the people
 - Politicians always end up agreeing when it comes to protecting their privileges.
 - 1. Strongly agree
 - 2. Agree
 - 3. Neither
 - 4. Disagree
 - 5. Strongly disagree

- 98. I prefer not to answer
- Populism: alle items are taken from Akkerman et al. (2014). All are measured on the same 5-point Likert scale as listed above
 - People make decisions
 - People, not politicians, should make most important decisions.
 - Ordinary citizen
 - I would rather be presented by a citizen
 - The will of “the people”
 - Politicians in [national congress / parliament] must follow the will of the people
 - Differences elites-people
 - The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people

Control variables

- Left-right self-placement
 In politics, people usually talk about "left" and "right". Where on a scale of 1 to 10 would you place yourself if 1 means left and 10 means right?
 1. Left
 10. Right
 98. I prefer not to answer
- Participation within institutions
 Imagine a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 represents that it is good for people to take to the streets to protest, even if there are riots, and 10 represents that civic participation should only take place within formal institutions. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
 1. It is good for people to take to the streets to protest, even if there are riots
 10. Participation should only take place within formal institutions
- Has protested
 Have you ever taken to the streets to demand your rights or to criticise the authorities' policies?
 Yes/No
- Political interest
 How interested are you in politics?
 1. Very interested
 2. Quite interested
 3. Somewhat interested
 4. Not at all interested

2. Full results

Table 3

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Trust in "the people"	0.05*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.02* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.28*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Voter-revealed populism		0.08** (0.04)		0.13*** (0.04)
People make decisions		0.18*** (0.02)		0.16*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.03* (0.02)		-0.00 (0.02)
Will of "the people"		0.16*** (0.03)		0.13*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.03 (0.02)		0.05** (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Has protested	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)
Political Interest	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)
age	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
education	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
sex	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Germany	0.36*** (0.06)	0.34*** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)
Italy	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)
Portugal	-0.09 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.11* (0.06)	0.24*** (0.06)
Spain	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)
Constant	3.98*** (0.13)	2.24*** (0.18)	3.83*** (0.13)	2.37*** (0.18)
Observations	3,508	3,433	3,498	3,425
R-squared	0.13	0.21	0.10	0.16

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)
Trust in “the people”	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)
Political Trust	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.40*** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.51*** (0.05)	-0.10* (0.06)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.24** (0.11)		-0.22* (0.12)
People make decisions		-0.32*** (0.06)		-0.65*** (0.05)
Ordinary citizen		0.08 (0.05)		-0.00 (0.05)
Will of “the people”		-0.43*** (0.07)		-0.23*** (0.06)
Differences elite-people		-0.09 (0.06)		-0.06 (0.06)
Left-right self-placement	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Participation within formal institutions	0.31*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)
Has protested	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.27*** (0.10)	0.26*** (0.10)
Political Interest	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
education	0.05 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.06 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)
sex	0.14 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.15 (0.10)	0.16* (0.09)
Germany	-1.13*** (0.18)	-1.27*** (0.18)	-0.65*** (0.20)	-0.54*** (0.20)
Italy	-1.96*** (0.19)	-2.04*** (0.19)	-0.32 (0.21)	-0.23 (0.21)
Portugal	-0.42** (0.20)	-0.72*** (0.21)	-0.30 (0.21)	-0.53** (0.21)
Spain	-0.04 (0.18)	-0.17 (0.18)	0.10 (0.18)	0.06 (0.18)
Constant	3.28*** (0.36)	6.68*** (0.51)	2.68*** (0.37)	6.63*** (0.49)
Observations	3,382	3,316	3,395	3,334
R-squared	0.21	0.24	0.15	0.22

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

3. Robustness checks

3.1 Excluding income

Income has a high number of non-responses leading to the loss of about 450 to 500 observations. We re-run our analysis excluding this variable. The results remain unchanged.

Table 3.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Bottom-up	Bottom-up	Top-down	Top-down
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Trust in "the people"	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.28*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Voter-revealed populism		0.08** (0.04)		0.12*** (0.04)
People make decisions		0.18*** (0.02)		0.16*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.03** (0.02)		-0.01 (0.02)
Will of "the people"		0.16*** (0.03)		0.13*** (0.02)
Differences elite-people		0.05** (0.02)		0.05** (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Has protested	0.05 (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)
Political Interest	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
age	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
education	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)
sex	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Germany	0.37*** (0.05)	0.35*** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
Italy	0.04 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)
Portugal	-0.07 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.13** (0.06)	0.24*** (0.06)
Spain	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Constant	4.01*** (0.12)	2.27*** (0.17)	3.78*** (0.12)	2.36*** (0.17)
Observations	3,946	3,855	3,930	3,842
R-squared	0.14	0.21	0.10	0.16

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)
Trust in “the people”	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Political Trust	0.14*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.40*** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.50*** (0.05)	-0.11* (0.06)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.22** (0.10)		-0.20* (0.11)
People make decisions		-0.33*** (0.05)		-0.65*** (0.05)
Ordinary citizen		0.06 (0.05)		-0.03 (0.05)
Will of “the people”		-0.41*** (0.06)		-0.20*** (0.06)
Differences elite-people		-0.12** (0.05)		-0.05 (0.05)
Left-right self-placement	0.10*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)
Participation within formal institutions	0.30*** (0.02)	0.27*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.02)	0.20*** (0.02)
Has protested	-0.15 (0.09)	-0.18* (0.09)	0.25*** (0.09)	0.22** (0.09)
Political Interest	-0.00 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.11* (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
education	0.05 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)
sex	0.17** (0.09)	0.17* (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.16* (0.09)
Germany	-1.26*** (0.17)	-1.37*** (0.17)	-0.72*** (0.19)	-0.59*** (0.19)
Italy	-2.02*** (0.18)	-2.09*** (0.18)	-0.33* (0.20)	-0.23 (0.19)
Portugal	-0.49*** (0.19)	-0.76*** (0.19)	-0.33* (0.20)	-0.52*** (0.20)
Spain	-0.09 (0.17)	-0.19 (0.17)	0.06 (0.17)	0.04 (0.17)
Constant	3.23*** (0.34)	6.76*** (0.48)	2.72*** (0.35)	6.55*** (0.46)
Observations	3,803	3,724	3,813	3,735
R-squared	0.21	0.24	0.14	0.22

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

3.2. Dropping a country at a time

We re-run our analyses dropping each country at a time to see whether the results are driven by one particular case. The results remain unchanged

- Excluding Argentina

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Trust in “the people”	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.28*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.03)
Voter-revealed populism		0.12*** (0.04)		0.15*** (0.04)
People make decisions		0.19*** (0.02)		0.19*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.03 (0.02)		-0.01 (0.02)
Will of “the people”		0.16*** (0.03)		0.13*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.03 (0.02)		0.05** (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Has protested	0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)
Political Interest	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
age	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
income	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
education	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)
sex	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Italy	-0.33*** (0.05)	-0.33*** (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)
Portugal	-0.47*** (0.05)	-0.33*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.06)	0.34*** (0.06)
Spain	-0.47*** (0.05)	-0.41*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)
Constant	4.43*** (0.13)	2.72*** (0.19)	3.85*** (0.13)	2.37*** (0.18)
Observations	2,954	2,905	2,952	2,903
R-squared	0.14	0.22	0.11	0.18

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.06** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)
Trust in "the people"	-0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Political Trust	0.12*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.42*** (0.05)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.49*** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.07)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.24** (0.12)		-0.24* (0.12)
People make decisions		-0.30*** (0.06)		-0.64*** (0.05)
Ordinary citizen		0.04 (0.05)		0.00 (0.05)
Will of "the people"		-0.46*** (0.07)		-0.30*** (0.06)
Differences elite-people		-0.03 (0.06)		-0.06 (0.06)
Left-right self-placement	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Participation within formal institutions	0.32*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.02)	0.26*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)
Has protested	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.10)	0.33*** (0.10)	0.32*** (0.10)
Political Interest	0.07 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
income	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)
education	0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.12* (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)
sex	0.15 (0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	0.23** (0.10)	0.25** (0.10)
Italy	-0.81*** (0.12)	-0.76*** (0.13)	0.35** (0.14)	0.33** (0.13)
Portugal	0.73*** (0.14)	0.57*** (0.14)	0.35** (0.14)	0.01 (0.14)
Spain	1.10*** (0.13)	1.09*** (0.13)	0.71*** (0.14)	0.57*** (0.13)
Constant	2.07*** (0.33)	5.21*** (0.49)	1.97*** (0.33)	6.16*** (0.48)
Observations	2,893	2,848	2,880	2,838
R-squared	0.22	0.26	0.17	0.26

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

- Excluding Germany

Table 3

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Trust in “the people”	0.05*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.28*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)
Voter-revealed populism		0.10** (0.05)		0.19*** (0.04)
People make decisions		0.20*** (0.02)		0.19*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.03* (0.02)		-0.01 (0.02)
Will of “the people”		0.16*** (0.03)		0.13*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.03 (0.03)		0.06** (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Has protested	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)
Political Interest	0.06** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
age	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)
education	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
sex	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
Italy	0.02 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)
Portugal	-0.11 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.27*** (0.07)
Spain	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)
Constant	4.12*** (0.14)	2.32*** (0.21)	3.98*** (0.15)	2.40*** (0.20)
Observations	2,779	2,721	2,777	2,722
R-squared	0.12	0.19	0.10	0.18

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Trust in "the people"	-0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Political Trust	0.11*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.31*** (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.50*** (0.06)	-0.16** (0.07)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.25* (0.13)		-0.19 (0.13)
People make decisions		-0.32*** (0.06)		-0.60*** (0.06)
Ordinary citizen		0.10* (0.06)		0.00 (0.06)
Will of "the people"		-0.42*** (0.08)		-0.20*** (0.07)
Differences elite-people		-0.05 (0.07)		-0.04 (0.07)
Left-right self-placement	0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Participation within formal institutions	0.31*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)
Has protested	-0.19* (0.12)	-0.19 (0.12)	0.28** (0.11)	0.31*** (0.11)
Political Interest	-0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.13* (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
income	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.03)
education	0.05 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)
sex	0.16 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)	0.11 (0.11)	0.11 (0.11)
Italy	-1.90*** (0.20)	-2.01*** (0.20)	-0.30 (0.21)	-0.22 (0.21)
Portugal	-0.39* (0.20)	-0.70*** (0.21)	-0.30 (0.22)	-0.51** (0.22)
Spain	-0.00 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.18)	0.13 (0.18)	0.09 (0.18)
Constant	3.28*** (0.41)	6.44*** (0.59)	2.31*** (0.42)	5.88*** (0.54)
Observations	2,664	2,613	2,667	2,623
R-squared	0.20	0.23	0.13	0.20

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

- Excluding Italy
Table 3

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Trust in "the people"	0.05*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.27*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.03)
Voter-revealed populism		0.02 (0.05)		0.06 (0.05)
People make decisions		0.20*** (0.02)		0.16*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.04* (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)
Will of "the people"		0.15*** (0.03)		0.12*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.04 (0.03)		0.04* (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Has protested	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)
Political Interest	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
education	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
sex	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Germany	0.37*** (0.06)	0.32*** (0.06)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.12* (0.06)
Portugal	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.12* (0.06)	0.22*** (0.07)
Spain	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
Constant	4.00*** (0.15)	2.18*** (0.20)	3.81*** (0.15)	2.40*** (0.20)
Observations	2,843	2,780	2,836	2,774
R-squared	0.13	0.21	0.11	0.16

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
Trust in "the people"	-0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Political Trust	0.14*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.34*** (0.06)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.07)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.14 (0.13)		-0.11 (0.14)
People make decisions		-0.42*** (0.06)		-0.66*** (0.06)
Ordinary citizen		0.06 (0.06)		0.01 (0.06)
Will of "the people"		-0.37*** (0.07)		-0.17** (0.07)
Differences elite-people		-0.14** (0.07)		-0.08 (0.06)
Left-right self-placement	0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Participation within formal institutions	0.31*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Has protested	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.19* (0.11)	0.17 (0.11)	0.18* (0.11)
Political Interest	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
education	0.06 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.07 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)
sex	0.12 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)	0.12 (0.11)
Germany	-1.11*** (0.19)	-1.20*** (0.19)	-0.62*** (0.20)	-0.47** (0.20)
Portugal	-0.43** (0.20)	-0.71*** (0.21)	-0.24 (0.22)	-0.42* (0.22)
Spain	0.01 (0.18)	-0.13 (0.18)	0.18 (0.18)	0.14 (0.18)
Constant	3.38*** (0.41)	7.23*** (0.56)	2.63*** (0.42)	6.46*** (0.54)
Observations	2,725	2,671	2,748	2,698
R-squared	0.16	0.21	0.13	0.21

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

- Excluding Portugal

Table 3

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Trust in "the people"	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.28*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.02)	0.06** (0.03)
Voter-revealed populism		0.09** (0.04)		0.13*** (0.04)
People make decisions		0.15*** (0.02)		0.14*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.05*** (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)
Will of "the people"		0.20*** (0.03)		0.18*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.05* (0.03)		0.06*** (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Has protested	0.06 (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)
Political Interest	0.07*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
education	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
sex	0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Germany	0.33*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)
Italy	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
Spain	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)
Constant	3.91*** (0.14)	2.02*** (0.20)	3.85*** (0.15)	2.17*** (0.20)
Observations	2,785	2,722	2,768	2,707
R-squared	0.14	0.22	0.09	0.16

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)
Trust in "the people"	-0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Political Trust	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.43*** (0.06)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.54*** (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.22** (0.11)		-0.21* (0.12)
People make decisions		-0.30*** (0.06)		-0.74*** (0.06)
Ordinary citizen		0.10* (0.06)		-0.05 (0.06)
Will of "the people"		-0.44*** (0.08)		-0.20*** (0.07)
Differences elite-people		-0.15** (0.06)		-0.04 (0.07)
Left-right self-placement	0.12*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
Participation within formal institutions	0.32*** (0.03)	0.30*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Has protested	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.11)	0.29** (0.11)	0.26** (0.11)
Political Interest	-0.02 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	0.16** (0.07)	0.16** (0.06)
age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
education	0.09 (0.07)	0.04 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
sex	0.17 (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)	0.17 (0.11)	0.20* (0.11)
Germany	-1.11*** (0.19)	-1.23*** (0.18)	-0.71*** (0.20)	-0.57*** (0.20)
Italy	-1.92*** (0.20)	-2.01*** (0.20)	-0.36* (0.22)	-0.29 (0.21)
Spain	0.02 (0.18)	-0.10 (0.18)	0.05 (0.19)	0.00 (0.18)
Constant	3.02*** (0.40)	6.62*** (0.57)	2.87*** (0.42)	7.20*** (0.55)
Observations	2,674	2,618	2,691	2,639
R-squared	0.24	0.27	0.15	0.24

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

- Excluding Spain

Table 3

VARIABLES	(1) Bottom-up	(2) Bottom-up	(3) Top-down	(4) Top-down
Generalized trust	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Trust in "the people"	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Political Trust	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Manichean anti-elitism	0.30*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.03)
Voter-revealed populism		0.07 (0.04)		0.12*** (0.05)
People make decisions		0.17*** (0.02)		0.14*** (0.02)
Ordinary citizen		0.02 (0.02)		-0.02 (0.02)
Will of "the people"		0.16*** (0.03)		0.09*** (0.03)
Differences elite-people		0.01 (0.03)		0.04 (0.02)
Left-right self-placement	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Participation within formal institutions	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)
Has protested	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
Political Interest	0.08*** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.02)
age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
income	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
education	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
sex	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Germany	0.41*** (0.06)	0.38*** (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)
Italy	0.05 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)
Portugal	-0.06 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.14** (0.06)	0.25*** (0.07)
Constant	3.78*** (0.14)	2.34*** (0.20)	3.49*** (0.14)	2.42*** (0.20)
Observations	2,671	2,604	2,659	2,594
R-squared	0.16	0.21	0.11	0.15

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4

VARIABLES	(1) Consultative	(2) Consultative	(3) Safeguards	(4) Safeguards
Generalized trust	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
Trust in "the people"	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Political Trust	0.13*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)
Manichean anti-elitism	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.52*** (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)
Voter-revealed populism		-0.35*** (0.13)		-0.32** (0.14)
People make decisions		-0.24*** (0.07)		-0.61*** (0.06)
Ordinary citizen		0.09 (0.06)		0.01 (0.06)
Will of "the people"		-0.42*** (0.07)		-0.25*** (0.07)
Differences elite-people		-0.09 (0.07)		-0.08 (0.07)
Left-right self-placement	0.06** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.03)	-0.05** (0.03)
Participation within formal institutions	0.28*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Has protested	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.24** (0.12)	0.24** (0.11)
Political Interest	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)
age	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
income	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
education	0.01 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)
sex	0.12 (0.11)	0.10 (0.11)	0.10 (0.11)	0.10 (0.11)
Germany	-1.23*** (0.19)	-1.39*** (0.19)	-0.77*** (0.20)	-0.67*** (0.20)
Italy	-2.02*** (0.20)	-2.09*** (0.19)	-0.39* (0.21)	-0.28 (0.21)
Portugal	-0.49** (0.20)	-0.78*** (0.21)	-0.38* (0.22)	-0.62*** (0.22)
Constant	3.58*** (0.40)	6.54*** (0.57)	3.03*** (0.42)	6.81*** (0.55)
Observations	2,572	2,514	2,594	2,538
R-squared	0.22	0.25	0.16	0.23

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1