

Why democracy does not work for everyone: Social status and support for democracy in Europe

Appendix A: Descriptive statistics, tables and robustness tests

Table A1: Descriptive statistics of all variables used in the analysis

| Variable | N | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|---|-------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|
| <i>Individual-level variables (explanatory)</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society (10=top) | 47391 | 5.437087 | 1.847648 | 0 | 10 |
| Households total income (10= 10th decantil) | 39187 | 5.118381 | 2.830176 | 1 | 10 |
| Education (years) | 48386 | 12.52027 | 3.90489 | 0 | 20 |
| Occupation | 41134 | 4.117907 | 2.478067 | 1 | 9 |
| Gender (1=male) | 48369 | .4592611 | .4983427 | 0 | 1 |
| Age (years) | 48275 | 48.76151 | 18.57574 | 15 | 103 |
| <i>Individual-level variables (dependent)</i> | | | | | |
| Expectations liberal democracy | 45374 | 8.448662 | 1.513478 | 0 | 10 |
| Evaluations liberal democracy | 43756 | 6.729267 | 1.923673 | 0 | 10 |
| Expectations social democracy | 46812 | 8.424645 | 1.855974 | 0 | 10 |
| Evaluations social democracy | 46172 | 4.009865 | 2.705728 | 0 | 10 |
| Expectations direct democracy | 46647 | 8.29213 | 2.014664 | 0 | 10 |
| Evaluations direct democracy | 45716 | 5.037842 | 3.145245 | 0 | 10 |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Gini inequality index (0=equal) | 26 | 29.16775 | 4.082261 | 21.917 | 36.544 |
| Reduction in income inequality in % | 26 | 32.41536 | 12.80693 | 7.6427 | 51.218 |
| Age of democracy (years) | 26 | 53.30069 | 36.76969 | 15 | 164 |
| Democratic quality | 26 | 58.01453 | 8.143321 | 42.835 | 72.583 |

Notes: Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), SWIID (Solt, 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016).

Table A2: Effects of status on liberal democratic expectations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | 0.0763*** (0.00416) | | 0.0981*** (0.00571) | 0.118*** (0.0137) | 0.118*** (0.0114) |
| Gender (male) | 0.131*** (0.0139) | 0.129*** (0.0156) | 0.132*** (0.0143) | 0.129*** (0.0139) | 0.135*** (0.0249) |
| Age | 0.00304*** (0.000383) | 0.00771*** (0.000468) | 0.00263*** (0.000396) | 0.00270*** (0.000385) | 0.00299* (0.00110) |
| Household total income | | 0.0279*** (0.00307) | | | |
| Education (years) | | 0.0579*** (0.00240) | | | |
| Occupation | | 0.0363*** (0.00352) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effects</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | 0.0868 (0.301) | 0.635* (0.227) | 0.632* (0.252) |
| Crisis country | | | 0.229 (0.250) | 0.505+ (0.281) | 0.447+ (0.276) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | -0.0689*** (0.0201) | -0.0642** (0.0196) |
| Crisis country | | | | -0.0628* (0.0279) | -0.0486* (0.0238) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | -0.00322 (0.00297) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | 0.00462 (0.0137) | | |
| Constant | 7.849*** (0.0826) | 7.051*** (0.0904) | 7.629*** (0.914) | 7.470*** (0.159) | 7.436*** (0.144) |
| Var (Constant) | -0.946*** (0.140) | -0.907*** (0.140) | -1.083*** (0.146) | -3.176*** (0.177) | -3.206*** (0.206) |
| Var (Residual) | 0.380*** (0.00335) | 0.324*** (0.00395) | 0.387*** (0.00342) | 0.377*** (0.00335) | 0.381*** (0.0288) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.687*** (0.148) | -0.722*** (0.0987) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 44608 | 32042 | 42842 | 44608 | 44608 |
| AIC | 160587.5 | 111858.8 | 154890.9 | 160528.3 | 160528.3 |
| BIC | 160639.7 | 111925.8 | 154977.5 | 160615.3 | 160615.3 |
| Chi2 | 473.2 | 1372.5 | 462.1 | 541.2 | 541.2 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, *** p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.

Table A3: Effects of status on social democratic expectations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | -0.0629*** (0.00494) | | -0.0654*** (0.00513) | -0.0813*** (0.0150) | -0.0808*** (0.0174) |
| Gender (male) | -0.204*** (0.0167) | -0.192*** (0.0193) | -0.204*** (0.0172) | -0.205*** (0.0166) | -0.204*** (0.0288) |
| Age | 0.00609*** (0.000455) | 0.00521*** (0.000577) | 0.00578*** (0.000469) | 0.00608*** (0.000457) | 0.00581*** (0.00142) |
| Household total income | | -0.0446*** (0.00382) | | | |
| Education (years) | | -0.0110*** (0.00297) | | | |
| Occupation | | -0.0261*** (0.00438) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effects</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | 0.0808 (0.356) | 0.238* (0.222) | 0.291* (0.245) |
| Crisis country | | | 0.438 (0.289) | 0.394* (0.238) | 0.394* (0.238) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | 0.0261 (0.0218) | 0.0221 (0.0237) |
| Crisis country | | | | 0.0694* (0.0304) | 0.0775** (0.0239) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | -0.00363 (0.00368) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | -0.00232 (0.0185) | | |
| Gini Household Income | | | -0.00876 (0.0249) | | |
| % Redistribution | | | -0.0122 (0.0107) | | |
| Constant | 8.616*** (0.108) | 8.799*** (0.110) | 9.527*** (1.473) | 8.479*** (0.157) | 8.458*** (0.131) |
| Var (Constant) | -0.659*** (0.140) | -0.714*** (0.140) | -0.978*** (0.146) | -3.118*** (0.176) | -3.211*** (0.173) |
| Var (Residual) | 0.573*** (0.00330) | 0.551*** (0.00390) | 0.582*** (0.00337) | 0.572*** (0.00330) | 0.574*** (0.0300) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.724*** (0.149) | -0.793*** (0.158) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 45928 | 32828 | 44111 | 45928 | 45928 |
| AIC | 183103.2 | 129494.7 | 176648.8 | 183027.6 | 183073.7 |
| BIC | 183155.6 | 129561.9 | 176753.1 | 183123.7 | 183169.7 |
| Chi2 | 534.8 | 632.8 | 514.9 | 387.5 | 99.44 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, ***p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ES,S 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.

Table A4: Robustness test: Effects of status on direct democratic expectations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | -0.0125* | | -0.0112* | -0.0172** | -0.0211*** |
| | (0.00549) | | (0.00567) | (0.00931) | (0.00772) |
| Gender (male) | -0.104*** | -0.124*** | -0.102*** | -0.105*** | -0.0952* |
| | (0.0185) | (0.0215) | (0.0189) | (0.0184) | (0.0354) |
| Age | 0.000263 | -0.00100 | 0.0000390 | 0.000205 | -0.000245 |
| | (0.000506) | (0.000643) | (0.000520) | (0.000508) | (0.000818) |
| Household total income | | -0.0131** | | | |
| | | (0.00424) | | | |
| Education (years) | | -0.0143*** | | | |
| | | (0.00331) | | | |
| Occupation | | -0.00980* | | | |
| | | (0.00486) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effects</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | 0.586 | 0.168 | 0.224 |
| | | | (0.319) | (0.210) | (0.241) |
| Crisis country | | | 0.569* | 0.281* | 0.124* |
| | | | (0.266) | (0.190) | (0.185) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | 0.0306 | 0.0279 |
| | | | | (0.0279) | (0.0292) |
| Crisis country | | | | 0.0353* | 0.0384* |
| | | | | (0.0186) | (0.0173) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | 0.00513 | | |
| | | | (0.00315) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | -0.00760 | | |
| | | | (0.0146) | | |
| Constant | 8.425*** | 8.738*** | 8.220*** | 8.345*** | 8.340*** |
| | (0.0987) | (0.108) | (0.971) | (0.150) | (0.142) |
| Var (Constant) | -0.788*** | -0.783*** | -1.026*** | -2.834*** | -2.896*** |
| | (0.140) | (0.141) | (0.147) | (0.168) | (0.124) |
| Var (Residual) | 0.674*** | 0.657*** | 0.678*** | 0.574*** | 0.757*** |
| | (0.00331) | (0.00391) | (0.00337) | (0.00681) | (0.00691) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.796*** | -0.824*** |
| | | | | (0.155) | (0.125) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 45770 | 32719 | 43964 | 45770 | 45770 |
| AIC | 191753.6 | 135945.6 | 184504.8 | 191662.6 | 191770.3 |
| BIC | 191806.0 | 136012.7 | 184591.8 | 191758.7 | 191866.3 |
| Chi2 | 38.15 | 92.06 | 44.48 | 36.22 | 16.59 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, ***p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.

Table A5: Effects of status on liberal democratic evaluations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | 0.160*** (0.00485) | | 0.159*** (0.00497) | 0.153*** (0.00734) | 0.155*** (0.00840) |
| Gender (male) | 0.126*** (0.0162) | 0.143*** (0.0187) | 0.142*** (0.0164) | 0.141*** (0.0164) | 0.142*** (0.0387) |
| Age | 0.00721*** (0.000447) | 0.00884*** (0.000561) | 0.00738*** (0.000453) | 0.00772*** (0.000456) | 0.00742*** (0.00105) |
| Household total income | | 0.0549*** (0.00368) | | | |
| Education (years) | | 0.00681* (0.00287) | | | |
| Occupation | | 0.0114* (0.00422) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effect</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | -0.440 (0.418) | -1.407*** (0.312) | -1.377*** (0.368) |
| Crisis country | | | -0.153 (0.348) | -0.436 (0.387) | -0.465 (0.390) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | 0.0280 (0.0226) | 0.0245 (0.0324) |
| Crisis country | | | | -0.0786* (0.0315) | -0.0762* (0.0392) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | -0.00162 (0.00413) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | 0.0682*** (0.0191) | | |
| Constant | 5.399*** (0.163) | 5.813*** (0.177) | 1.733 (1.273) | 6.039*** (0.218) | 6.036*** (0.168) |
| Var (Constant) | -0.209 (0.139) | -0.148 (0.139) | -0.751*** (0.146) | -3.067*** (0.176) | -2.798*** (0.231) |
| Var (Residual) | 0.513*** (0.00341) | 0.492*** (0.00401) | 0.507*** (0.00348) | 0.511*** (0.00341) | 0.509*** (0.0386) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.358* (0.145) | -0.296* (0.148) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 43103 | 31174 | 41392 | 43103 | 43103 |
| AIC | 166678.4 | 119300.7 | 159536.6 | 166549.4 | 166335.6 |
| BIC | 166730.4 | 119367.5 | 159622.9 | 166644.8 | 166431.0 |
| Chi2 | 1346.1 | 517.5 | 1368.2 | 572.0 | 630.6 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, ***p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.

Table A6: Effects of status on social democratic evaluations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | 0.214*** (0.00640) | | 0.212*** (0.00654) | 0.244*** (0.0180) | 0.248*** (0.0150) |
| Gender (male) | 0.176*** (0.0216) | 0.168*** (0.0255) | 0.181*** (0.0219) | 0.182*** (0.0219) | 0.188*** (0.0357) |
| Age | -0.000817 (0.000591) | 0.000118 (0.000764) | -0.000876 (0.000603) | -0.000857 (0.000603) | -0.00162 (0.00149) |
| Household total income | | 0.0524*** (0.00504) | | | |
| Education (years) | | -0.0137*** (0.00392) | | | |
| Occupation | | 0.0196*** (0.00578) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effect</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | -1.027* (0.391) | -2.079*** (0.320) | -2.041*** (0.364) |
| Crisis country | | | -0.650* (0.317) | -1.339*** (0.396) | -1.436*** (0.457) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | -0.0521* (0.0238) | -0.0625+ (0.0349) |
| Crisis country | | | | -0.0716* (0.0336) | -0.0591* (0.0284) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | 0.0111* (0.00404) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | 0.0361 (0.0203) | | |
| Gini Household Income | | | -0.0781** (0.0273) | | |
| % Redistribution | | | 0.00618 (0.0118) | | |
| Constant | 2.799*** (0.254) | 3.750*** (0.278) | 2.707 (1.616) | 3.854*** (0.225) | 3.896*** (0.235) |
| Var (Constant) | 0.238 (0.139) | 0.317* (0.139) | -0.887*** (0.147) | -3.105*** (0.207) | -2.839*** (0.316) |
| Var (Residual) | 0.824*** (0.00332) | 0.824*** (0.00392) | 0.819*** (0.00339) | 0.823*** (0.00332) | 0.822*** (0.0265) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.348* (0.149) | -0.311* (0.144) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 45343 | 32497 | 43560 | 45343 | 45343 |
| AIC | 203583.8 | 145926.1 | 195056.2 | 203508.8 | 203202.7 |
| BIC | 203636.2 | 145993.3 | 195160.3 | 203604.7 | 203298.6 |
| Chi2 | 1211.7 | 190.2 | 1405.3 | 515.0 | 719.9 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, ***p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.

Table A7: Robustness test: Effects of status on direct democratic evaluations

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se | b/se |
| <i>Individual-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Place in society | 0.145*** (0.00810) | | 0.143*** (0.00828) | 0.0967*** (0.0266) | 0.0947*** (0.0233) |
| Gender (male) | -0.0993*** (0.0272) | -0.0926** (0.0322) | -0.0917*** (0.0276) | -0.0910*** (0.0276) | -0.0910*** (0.0276) |
| Age | 0.00613*** (0.000748) | 0.00295** (0.000965) | 0.00688*** (0.000762) | 0.00616*** (0.000748) | 0.00616*** (0.000748) |
| Household total income | | 0.0100 (0.00635) | | | |
| Education (years) | | -0.0608*** (0.00496) | | | |
| Occupation | | -0.0259*** (0.00728) | | | |
| <i>Country groups: Direct effects</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | 2.215*** (0.658) | 1.655* (0.661) | 1.707*** (0.506) |
| Crisis country | | | 1.265* (0.548) | 1.277* (0.553) | 1.029* (0.604) |
| <i>Country groups: Interaction with place in society (Baseline: Western Europe)</i> | | | | | |
| Post-communist | | | | -0.104* (0.0390) | -0.115* (0.0447) |
| Crisis country | | | | 0.0107 (0.0541) | 0.0139 (0.0538) |
| <i>Country-level variables</i> | | | | | |
| Regime Durability | | | 0.0225*** (0.00650) | | |
| Democratic quality | | | 0.122*** (0.0300) | | |
| Constant | 4.060*** (0.243) | 5.834*** (0.269) | -5.350* (2.001) | 4.923*** (0.341) | 4.994*** (0.318) |
| Var (Constant) | 0.181 (0.139) | 0.256 (0.139) | -0.299* (0.146) | -2.514*** (0.175) | -2.465*** (0.162) |
| Var (Residual) | 1.053*** (0.00334) | 1.053*** (0.00394) | 1.047*** (0.00340) | 1.052*** (0.00334) | 1.048*** (0.0174) |
| Random slope | | | | -0.0854 (0.145) | -0.0899 (0.103) |
| N Level 1 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| N Level 2 | 44918 | 32223 | 43155 | 44918 | 44918 |
| AIC | 222252.8 | 159441.4 | 213003.4 | 222150.2 | 221376.0 |
| BIC | 222305.1 | 159508.5 | 213090.1 | 222246.1 | 221471.8 |
| Chi2 | 381.7 | 276.8 | 405.9 | 164.1 | 70.08 |

Notes: Linear Hierarchical Random-Intercept Regression. Models 4 and 5 include Random Slopes for "Place in Society". Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05, **p< 0.005, ***p<0.001. Data sources: European Social Survey (ESS, 2012), Democracy Barometer (Merkel et al., 2016), Polity IV (Marshall; Gurr, 2016). All models are weighted with ESS post-stratification weight, models 1-4 are additionally weighted with population size weights.