

Supplementary File

Rethinking Democratic Disconnect: Ontological Insecurity, Institutional Trust and Democratic Support Across Generations

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1. Sample Characteristics REDIRECT-Survey

Table A1. Comparison Sample proportion with population proportion by Country for Gender, age groups, educational levels.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population Proportion</i>	<i>Sample Proportion</i>	<i>Absolute Diff: Population-Sample</i>	<i>Relative Diff: Population/Sample</i>
<i>Belgium</i>				
Male	47.83	48.80	-.97	.980
Female	52.26	51.20	1.06	1.021
18–24	8.87	10.00	-1.13	.887
25–34	16.48	16.30	.18	1.011
35–44	16.83	16.40	.43	1.026
45–54	17.22	17.00	.22	1.013
55+	40.70	40.30	.40	1.010
Low Education	21.30	21.70	-.40	.982
Medium Education	38.26	38.00	.26	1.007
High Education	40.52	40.20	.32	1.008
<i>France</i>				
Male	43.40	47.60	-4.20	.912
Female	51.30	52.40	-1.10	.979
18–24	4.92	10.20	-5.28	.482
25–34	14.03	14.70	-.67	.954
35–44	15.80	15.70	.10	1.006
45–54	17.02	16.90	.12	1.007
55+	42.94	42.41	.53	1.012
Low Education	14.92	20.70	-5.78	.721
Medium Education	43.70	43.30	.40	1.009
High Education	36.09	36.00	.09	1.003
<i>Germany</i>				
Male	49.04	48.75	.29	1.006
Female	52.06	51.25	.81	1.016
18–24	7.89	8.60	-.71	.917
25–34	15.14	14.85	.29	1.020

35–44	15.60	15.35	.25	1.016
45–54	16.10	15.88	.22	1.014
55+	46.38	45.32	1.06	1.023
Low Education	18.35	17.60	.75	1.043
Medium Education	54.86	54.60	.26	1.005
High Education	27.89	27.80	.09	1.003
<i>Hungary</i>				
Male	48.34	46.90	1.44	1.031
Female	51.88	53.10	-1.22	.977
18–24	8.17	9.10	-.93	.898
25–34	17.69	15.40	2.29	1.149
35–44	22.66	18.90	3.76	1.199
45–54	19.61	16.80	2.81	1.167
55+	32.10	39.70	-7.60	.809
Low Education	22.58	17.70	4.88	1.276
Medium Education	48.78	59.50	-1.72	.820
High Education	28.86	22.80	6.06	1.266
<i>Italy</i>				
Male	49.29	48.30	.99	1.020
Female	53.56	51.70	1.86	1.036
18–24	7.02	8.20	-1.18	.856
25–34	13.16	12.50	.66	1.053
35–44	15.47	14.60	.87	1.060
45–54	19.69	18.90	.79	1.042
55+	47.51	45.91	1.60	1.035
Low Education	40.09	41.00	-.91	.978
Medium Education	44.36	42.00	2.36	1.056
High Education	18.40	17.00	-1.4	1.082
<i>Poland</i>				
Male	46.70	47.73	1.03	.978
Female	54.55	52.27	-2.28	1.044
18–24	9.06	9.44	.38	.960

25–34	18.54	18.47	-.07	1.004
35–44	21.03	19.24	-1.79	1.093
45–54	16.39	15.06	-1.33	1.088
55+	36.22	37.79	1.57	.958
Low Education	4.89	10.80	5.91	.453
Medium Education	65.19	61.50	-3.69	1.060
High Education	31.16	27.70	-3.46	1.125
<i>Norway</i>				
Male	47.23	50.12	2.89	.942
Female	54.11	49.88	-4.23	1.085
18–34	20.71	27.79	7.08	.745
35–54	38.39	33.43	-4.96	1.148
55+	42.23	38.78	-3.45	1.089
Low Education	8.30	19.20	10.9	.432
Medium Education	47.59	41.30	-6.29	1.152
High Education	45.45	39.50	-5.95	1.151
<i>United Kingdom</i>				
Male	49.67	48.50	-1.17	1.024
Female	50.43	51.50	1.07	.979
18–24	10.85	11.1	0.25	.977
25–39	26.43	25.40	-1.03	1.041
40–49	15.78	16.50	.72	.956
50–65	23.90	23.90	0	1.000
65+	23.24	23.10	-.14	1.006
Low Education	28.87	28.00	-.87	1.031
Medium Education	38.26	39.00	.74	.981
High Education	33.05	33.00	-.05	1.002

2. Question Wording REDIRECT & Scale analysis citizen survey

2.1. Democratic Support (index)

“And, on the whole, on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “Extremely dissatisfied” and 10 indicates “Extremely satisfied”, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [Country]?”

0 Extremely dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Extremely satisfied

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

2.2. Institutional Trust (index)

“On a scale of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following institutions?

0 means you do “Not trust at all”, and 10 means you have “Complete trust”.”

poltr1 The [Country] Parliament

poltr2 The [Country] government

poltr3 The [Country] politicians

poltr4 The [Country] political parties

poltr5 The European Parliament

poltr6 The European Commission

0 No trust all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Complete trust

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

Table A2. Trust: Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix.

	ML1	h2	u2	com
poltr1	.90	.81	.19	1
poltr2	.88	.78	.22	1
poltr3	.92	.84	.16	1
poltr4	.88	.77	.23	1

poltr5	.64	.41	.59	1
poltr6	.63	.40	.60	1
Sum of Sq loadings	4.02			
Proportion Var	.67			
Cronbach's alpha:	.92			

2.3. Societal Threat (index)

Now, below is a list of threats that some people consider as a critical threat to the security of [Country] today while others do not consider it to be a threat at all.

For each one, please select how serious a threat you think it is using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "Not a threat at all" and 10 "Critical threat".

threat1 Russia's territorial ambitions

threat2 International terrorism

threat3 The weakening of democratic institutions

threat4 Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into [Country]*

threat5 Climate change

threat6 Pandemics

0 Not a threat at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Critical threat

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

* Threat 4 was removed from the analysis

Table A3. Tested Threat Scale Standardized loadings (pattern matrix).

Threats 6 items	ML1	h2	u2	com
threat1	.60	.359	.64	1
threat2	.48	.227	.77	1
threat3	.41	.170	.83	1
threat4	.10	.011	.99	1
threat5	.56	.317	.68	1

threat6	.69	.477	.52	1
Sum of Sq loadings	1.56			
Proportion Var	.26			
Cronbach's alpha:	.62			

Table A4. Used Threat Scale Standardized loadings (pattern matrix).

Threats 5 items	ML1	h2	u2	com
threat1	.60	.36	.64	1
threat2	.45	.20	.80	1
threat3	.41	.17	.83	1
threat5	.58	.34	.66	1
threat6	.69	.48	.52	1
Sum of Sq loadings	1.55			
Proportion Var	.31			
Cronbach's alpha:	.68			

2.4. Insecurity (2 Indexes)

Turning now to your personal situation. Now we would like to know, how much do you agree or disagree with each one of the following statements.

a. Material

insec1 I feel that my health may get worse in the next 12 months

insec2 I feel that my financial situation may get worse in the next 12 months

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

b. Identity Related (Perceived Social Denigration)

insec3 Some people look down on me because of my religion

insec4 Some people look down on me because of my ethnic/racial background

insec5 Some people look down on me because of my sexual orientation

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

Table A5. Insecurity Standardized loadings (pattern matrix)

Threats 5 items	ML2	ML1	h2	u2	com
threat1	.14	.52	.29	.706	1.1
threat2	.00	1.00	1.00	.005	1.0
threat3	.77	.13	.61	.385	1.1
threat5	.82	.15	.69	.310	1.1
threat6	.68	.10	.48	.524	1.0
Sum of Sq loadings	1.75	1.32			
Proportion Var	.35	.26			
Proportion Explained	.57	.43			
Cronbach's alpha:	.802	.685			

Iter-Item correlation threat1 – threat 2: .52

2.5. Government Responsiveness

Government responsiveness is gauged by a single item:

Some people think that “The government should change its planned policies in response to what most people think”. Others think that “The government should stick to its planned policies regardless of what most people think”. Where would you place yourself?

0 The government should change its planned policies in response to what most people think

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10 The government should stick to its planned policies regardless of what most people think

98 Don't know

99 I prefer not to answer

3. Supplementary tables of country fixed effects analysis

The regression models all use Country Fixed Effects with Standard Errors, clustered by country.

Indirect effects are calculated using nonparametric bootstrap procedures with 5,000 replications. Indirect effects were estimated using the product-of-coefficients approach, combining the effect of insecurity on the mediator and the effect of the mediator on democratic support).

Table A6. Standardized Estimates Trust & Threat - Country Fixed Effects (SE clustered by Country).

<i>Trust Model</i>	beta	se	stat	P
Insecurity Material	-0,208	0,009	-23,583	0,00000 ***
Insecurity Identity Based	-0,167	0,010	-17,144	0,00000 ***
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,221	0,017	12,851	0,00000 ***
Employment Status (0=Not working)	0,044	0,020	2,247	0,02463 *
Gender (0=Male)Female	-0,031	0,016	-1,948	0,05138 *
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,154	0,030	-5,100	0,00000 ***
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,168	0,030	-5,658	0,00000 ***
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	-0,137	0,027	-5,118	0,00000 ***
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,051	0,029	1,745	0,08096 ***
<i>Threat Model</i>	Beta	se	stat	P
Insecurity Material	0,137	0,010	14,393	0,00000 ***
Insecurity Identity Based	0,013	0,009	1,431	0,15259
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,028	0,018	1,570	0,11646
Employment Status (0=Not working)	0,003	0,020	0,149	0,88141
Gender (0=Male)Female	0,198	0,017	11,908	0,00000 ***
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,051	0,031	-1,671	0,09476
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,057	0,031	-1,820	0,06884
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	0,048	0,028	1,723	0,08489
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,209	0,030	7,047	0,00000 ***

Significance - Type I error * p<.05 - ** p<.01 - p<.001

Table A7. Age Interactions - - Country Fixed Effects (SE clustered by Country).

Term	B	se	B/SE	p	
Insecurity Material	-0,062	0,020	-3,083	0,00205	**
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,725	0,427	-1,697	0,08965	
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,758	0,431	-1,757	0,07896	
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	-0,399	0,394	-1,014	0,31056	
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,121	0,426	0,283	0,77709	
Insecurity Identity Based	0,300	0,023	12,855	0,00000	***
Trust (index)	-0,029	0,025	-1,193	0,23272	
Threat (index)	-0,020	0,032	-0,628	0,53003	
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,960	0,036	26,730	0,00000	***
Employment Status (0=Not working)	-0,348	0,041	-8,494	0,00000	***
Gender (0=Male)Female	-0,236	0,034	-7,007	0,00000	***
Insecurity Material:Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,003	0,026	-0,100	0,92043	
Insecurity Material:Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,003	0,026	-0,120	0,90460	
Insecurity Material:Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	0,025	0,023	1,071	0,28427	
Insecurity Material:Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,028	0,024	1,165	0,24386	
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30):Insecurity Identity Based	-0,015	0,031	-0,490	0,62444	
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30):Insecurity Identity Based	-0,056	0,031	-1,788	0,07384	
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30):Insecurity Identity Based	-0,079	0,030	-2,666	0,00769	**
Age 65+ (Ref: <30):Insecurity Identity Based	-0,139	0,033	-4,253	0,00002	***
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30):Trust (index)	0,082	0,031	2,632	0,00851	**
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30):Trust (index)	0,162	0,032	5,073	0,00000	***
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30):Trust (index)	0,223	0,028	7,955	0,00000	***
Age 65+ (Ref: <30):Trust (index)	0,249	0,029	8,688	0,00000	***
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30):Threat (index)	0,023	0,041	0,561	0,57510	
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30):Threat (index)	0,042	0,041	1,018	0,30854	
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30):Threat (index)	0,004	0,036	0,115	0,90825	
Age 65+ (Ref: <30):Threat (index)	-0,007	0,038	-0,189	0,84980	

Significance - Type I error * $p < .05$ - ** $p < .01$ - $p < .001$

Table A8. Model Fit - - Models Country Fixed Effects (SE clustered by Country).

Model	n	R ²	Within R ²
Trust model	13902	0,114	0,083
Threat model	13974	0,057	0,043
Democratic support total	13808	0,172	0,140
Democratic support with mediators	13716	0,194	0,162
Age interaction model	13716	0,205	0,174

Table A9. Robustness Test - Trust & Threat- Models Country Fixed Effects (SE clustered by Country)

TRUST	B	se	B/SE	p	
Insecurity Material	-0,143	0,007	-19,652	0,00000	***
Insecurity Identity Based	-0,118	0,010	-12,209	0,00000	***
Government Responsiveness (L-H)	-0,331	0,008	-43,218	0,00000	***
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,379	0,040	9,448	0,00000	***
Employment Status (0=Not working)	0,059	0,046	1,282	0,19999	
Gender (0=Male)Female	0,008	0,037	0,210	0,83389	
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,309	0,070	-4,402	0,00001	***
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,322	0,070	-4,601	0,00000	***
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	-0,275	0,063	-4,343	0,00001	***
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,119	0,068	1,752	0,07980	
THREAT					
Insecurity Material	0,087	0,006	14,584	0,00000	***
Insecurity Identity Based	0,020	0,008	2,668	0,00764	*
Government Responsiveness (L-H)	-0,042	0,006	-7,106	0,00000	***
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,027	0,032	0,831	0,40574	

Employment Status (0=Not working)	0,007	0,037	0,188	0,85125	
Gender (0=Male)Female	0,355	0,030	11,962	0,00000	***
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,099	0,055	-1,805	0,07109	
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,103	0,056	-1,829	0,06736	
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	0,077	0,050	1,537	0,12424	
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,373	0,053	6,978	0,00000	***
Democratic Support					
Insecurity Material	-0,053	0,007	-7,762	0,00000	***
Insecurity Identity Based	0,254	0,010	25,657	0,00000	***
Trust (index)	0,150	0,009	17,199	0,00000	***
Threat (index)	-0,010	0,011	-0,894	0,37130	
Government Responsiveness (L-H)	0,027	0,007	3,693	0,00022	***
Education - High (0=Low/Mid)	0,958	0,037	26,067	0,00000	***
Employment Status (0=Not working)	-0,368	0,042	-8,789	0,00000	***
Gender (0=Male)Female	-0,232	0,034	-6,736	0,00000	***
Age 30-40 (Ref: <30)	-0,259	0,070	-3,701	0,00022	***
Age 40-50 (Ref: <30)	-0,192	0,069	-2,786	0,00534	**
Age 50-65 (Ref: <30)	0,057	0,061	0,935	0,34959	
Age 65+ (Ref: <30)	0,082	0,065	1,264	0,20629	
Significance - Type I error * p<.05 - ** p<.01 - p<.001					