

Perceived Inequality and Trust in Elections: The Role of Subjective Class Consciousness

Supplementary Materials S1

Table S1. Survey information

Survey	Year	Source	Website
International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)	2004, 2009, 2014, 2019	International Social Survey Programme	http://w.issp.org/menu-top/home/

Table S2. Dependent variables

	Variable	Description	Note
1	Perceived income inequality	Differences in income in respondent's country are too large. Strongly disagree (=1) – Strongly agree (=5)	ISSP 2009, 2019
2	Subjective Class	Lowest class (=1) – Highest class (=10)	ISSP 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019
3	High Class	Subjective Class (8 – 10)	ISSP 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019
4	Low Class	Subjective Class (1 – 3)	ISSP 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019
5	Distrust in elections	Thinking of the last national election, how honest were the counting and reporting of votes? Highest level of trust (=1) – Lowest level of trust (=5)	ISSP 2004, 2014

Table S3. Explanatory variables for ISSP

	Variable	Description		Note
1	Income	Respondent's income		4 deciles by country
2	Employer	self-employed with employee(s)		
3	High skilled	Management or professional/associate professional positions		By ISCO
4	Low skilled	Elementary occupation		By ISCO
5	Education	Years of schooling		
6	Sex	Female = 1 Male = 0		
7	Age	~ 29 = 1 30 ~ 39 = 2 40 ~ 49 = 3	50 ~ 59 = 4 60 ~ 69 = 5 70 ~ = 6	
8	Marriage	Living with a spouse = 1 Otherwise = 0		
9	Urban	Farm or home in country = 1 Country village = 2 Town or small city = 3	Suburb, outskirts of a big city = 4 Urban, big city = 5	
10	Religion	Having a religion = 1 Otherwise = 0		
11	Political orientation	Right leaning (=1) – Left leaning (=3)		

Table S4. Descriptive statistics for analysis 1

	N	Mean	Std	Min	50%	Max
Subjective class	29218	5.08	1.82	1	5	10
High class	29218	0.08	0.27	0	0	1
Low class	29218	0.19	3.93	0	0	1
Perceived income inequality	29218	4.2	0.91	1	4	5
Income	29218	2.49	1.18	1	2	4
High skilled	29218	0.31	0.46	0	0	1
Low skilled	29218	0.21	0.41	0	0	1
Education	29218	2.99	1.47	0	3	5
Sex	29218	0.54	0.49	0	1	1
Age	29218	3.3	1.64	1	3	6
Marriage	29218	0.54	0.49	0	1	1
Urban	29218	3.37	1.28	1	3	5
Religion	29218	0.73	0.43	0	1	1
Political orientation	29218	2.04	0.83	1	2	3

Table S5. Descriptive statistics for analysis 2

	N	Mean	Std	Min	50%	Max
Trust in elections	36360	2.12	1.1	1	2	5
Subjective class	36360	5.33	1.87	1	5	7
High class	36360	0.11	0.32	0	0	1
Low class	36360	0.16	0.37	0	0	1
Income	36360	2.5	1.11	1	3	4
High skilled	36360	0.24	0.42	0	0	1
Low skilled	36360	0.11	0.32	0	0	1
Education	36360	3.18	1.16	0	3	5
Sex	36360	0.53	0.49	0	1	1
Age	36360	3.25	1.65	1	3	6
Marriage	36360	0.54	0.49	0	1	1
Urban	36360	3.42	1.28	1	3	5
Religion	36360	0.74	0.43	0	1	1
Political orientation	36360	2.01	0.84	1	2	3

Table S6. List of countries for analysis

	Country		Country		Country		Country
1	Argentina	12	Estonia	23	Latvia	34	Spain
2	Australia	13	Finland	24	Lithuania	35	Sweden
3	Austria	14	France	25	New Zealand	36	Switzerland
4	Belgium	15	Germany	26	Norway	37	Taiwan
5	Bulgaria	16	Hungary	27	Philippines	38	Thailand
6	Canada	17	India	28	Poland	39	Turkey
7	Chile	18	Iceland	29	Portugal	40	USA
8	Croatia	19	Israel	30	Russia	41	Ukraine
9	Cyprus	20	Italy	31	Slovakia	42	United Kingdom
10	Czech Republic	21	Japan	32	Slovenia	43	Venezuela
11	Denmark	22	Korea (South)	33	South Africa		

Table S7. Perceived income inequality and subjective class, full results

	(1) Subjective Class	(2) High Class	(3) Low Class
Perceived income inequality	-0.096*** (0.027)	-0.096** (0.038)	0.056** (0.028)
Income	0.283*** (0.03)	0.258*** (0.038)	-0.369*** (0.048)
High-skilled	0.435*** (0.048)	0.337*** (0.071)	-0.544*** (0.065)
Low-skilled	-0.011 (0.031)	0.032 (0.063)	0.084** (0.05)
Education	0.263*** (0.025)	0.272*** (0.033)	-0.29*** (0.031)
Age	-0.024 (0.025)	0.047 (0.028)	0.054** (0.032)
Sex	0.008 (0.052)	-0.072 (0.062)	-0.1 (0.068)
Marital	0.327*** (0.042)	0.197*** (0.047)	-0.479*** (0.054)
Religion	0.039 (0.048)	-0.017 (0.053)	-0.113** (0.049)
Urban	0.125** (0.034)	0.126*** (0.031)	-0.142** (0.048)
Political orientation	-0.138*** (0.027)	-0.168*** (0.025)	0.173*** (0.038)
Intercept		-4.408*** (0.29)	0.394 (0.253)
Country FE	√	√	√
Year FE	√	√	√
R ²	0.08	0.12	0.16
Countries	32	32	32
N	29218	29218	29218

Note: Model (1) is ordered logistic estimations which include country fixed and year fixed effects. Model (2) and (3) are logit estimations which include country fixed and year fixed effects.

Country clustered standard errors in parentheses: *p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Table S8. Subjective class and the trust in voting, full results

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Subjective class	-0.074*** (0.019)		
High class		-0.174** (0.073)	
Low class		0.171*** (0.056)	
Income	-0.066*** (0.013)	-0.073*** (0.013)	-0.085*** (0.012)
High-skilled	-0.164*** (0.025)	-0.172*** (0.024)	-0.188*** (0.024)
Low-skilled	0.037 (0.041)	0.048 (0.042)	0.048 (0.053)
Education	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.149*** (0.031)	-0.151*** (0.04)
Age	-0.065*** (0.017)	-0.065*** (0.016)	-0.06*** (0.016)
Sex	0.239*** (0.033)	0.237*** (0.033)	0.233*** (0.034)
Marital	-0.127*** (0.037)	-0.135*** (0.037)	-0.136*** (0.042)
Religion	0.047 (0.04)	0.045 (0.04)	0.049 (0.043)
Urban	0.012 (0.016)	0.009 (0.016)	0.015 (0.021)
Political orientation	-0.031 (0.045)	-0.027 (0.045)	-0.021 (0.045)
Country FE	√	√	√
Year FE	√	√	√
Countries	40	40	40
N	36360	36360	36360

Note: Models are Ordered Logistic estimations which include country fixed effects and year fixed effects.

Country clustered standard errors in parentheses: *p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Table S9. Perceived income inequality and subjective class, multilevel estimations

	(1) Subjective Class	(2) High Class	(3) Low Class
Perceived income inequality	-0.101*** (0.011)	-0.103*** (0.019)	0.071*** (0.02)
Income	0.286*** (0.01)	0.262*** (0.02)	-0.367*** (0.018)
High-skilled	0.433*** (0.026)	0.331*** (0.052)	-0.514*** (0.05)
Low-skilled	0.003 (0.027)	0.035 (0.054)	0.093* (0.048)
Education	0.252*** (0.009)	0.262*** (0.018)	-0.274*** (0.016)
Age	-0.038*** (0.006)	0.043** (0.013)	0.08*** (0.011)
Sex	0.015 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.108** (0.036)
Marital	0.309*** (0.021)	0.185*** (0.041)	-0.429*** (0.036)
Religion	0.039 (0.024)	-0.02 (0.046)	-0.11** (0.045)
Urban	0.115*** (0.008)	0.119*** (0.016)	-0.13*** (0.014)
Political orientation	-0.139*** (0.012)	-0.166*** (0.023)	0.182*** (0.023)
Random intercept (Country level)	0.541 (0.129)	0.486 (0.124)	0.596 (0.145)
Year FE	√	√	√
Wald chi ²	5009.51***	1188.92***	1944.88***
Countries	32	32	32
N	29218	29218	29218

Note: Model (1) is multilevel ordered logistic estimations which include year fixed effects.

Model (2) and (3) are multilevel logistic estimations which include year fixed effects.

Standard errors in parentheses: *p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Table S10. Subjective class and the trust in voting, multilevel estimations

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Subjective class	-0.075*** (0.006)		
High class		-0.175*** (0.031)	
Low class		0.173*** (0.03)	
Income	-0.065*** (0.009)	-0.073*** (0.009)	-0.086*** (0.013)
High-skilled	-0.164*** (0.024)	-0.173*** (0.024)	-0.189*** (0.025)
Low-skilled	0.038 (0.035)	0.049 (0.035)	0.049 (0.055)
Education	-0.14*** (0.011)	-0.15*** (0.011)	-0.154*** (0.044)
Age	-0.066*** (0.007)	-0.065*** (0.007)	-0.065*** (0.019)
Sex	0.239*** (0.02)	0.237*** (0.02)	0.235*** (0.036)
Marital	-0.126*** (0.021)	-0.134*** (0.021)	-0.138*** (0.044)
Religion	0.048 (0.025)	0.046 (0.025)	0.049 (0.043)
Urban	0.013 (0.008)	0.01 (0.008)	0.015 (0.021)
Political orientation	0.156*** (0.025)	-0.026** (0.012)	-0.021 (0.045)
Random intercept (Country level)	0.832 (0.182)	0.856 (0.187)	
Year fixed	√	√	
Wald chi ²	1013.93***	946.78***	
Countries	40	40	
N	36360	36360	

Note: Models are multilevel ordered logistic estimations which include year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses: *p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Table S11. Perceived income inequality and subjective class (Advanced democracies)

	(1) Subjective Class	(2) High Class	(3) Low Class
Perceived income inequality	-0.074** (0.024)	-0.107** (0.044)	0.083* (0.039)
Income	0.274*** (0.025)	0.282*** (0.046)	-0.495*** (0.063)
High-skilled	0.355*** (0.049)	0.351*** (0.088)	-0.552*** (0.093)
Low-skilled	0.037 (0.033)	0.018 (0.078)	0.057 (0.057)
Education	0.185*** (0.022)	0.265*** (0.035)	-0.262*** (0.042)
Age	0.007 (0.022)	0.067** (0.033)	-0.022 (0.038)
Sex	0.09** (0.044)	-0.008 (0.075)	-0.245** (0.081)
Marital	0.279*** (0.038)	0.167*** (0.044)	-0.55*** (0.092)
Religion	0.029 (0.039)	-0.051 (0.06)	-0.109* (0.056)
Urban	0.088*** (0.017)	0.14*** (0.035)	-0.106** (0.035)
Political orientation	-0.126*** (0.022)	-0.191*** (0.025)	0.198*** (0.044)
Intercept	4.775*** (0.155)	-3.558*** (0.274)	-0.866*** (0.23)
Country FE	√	√	√
Year FE	√	√	√
R ²	0.23	0.12	0.15
Countries	17	17	17
N	19702	19702	19702

Note: Model (1) is ordinary least squares estimations which include country fixed and year fixed effects. Model (2) and (3) are logistic estimations which include country fixed and year fixed effects.

Country clustered standard errors in parentheses: *p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Table S12. Subjective class and the trust in voting (Advanced democracies)

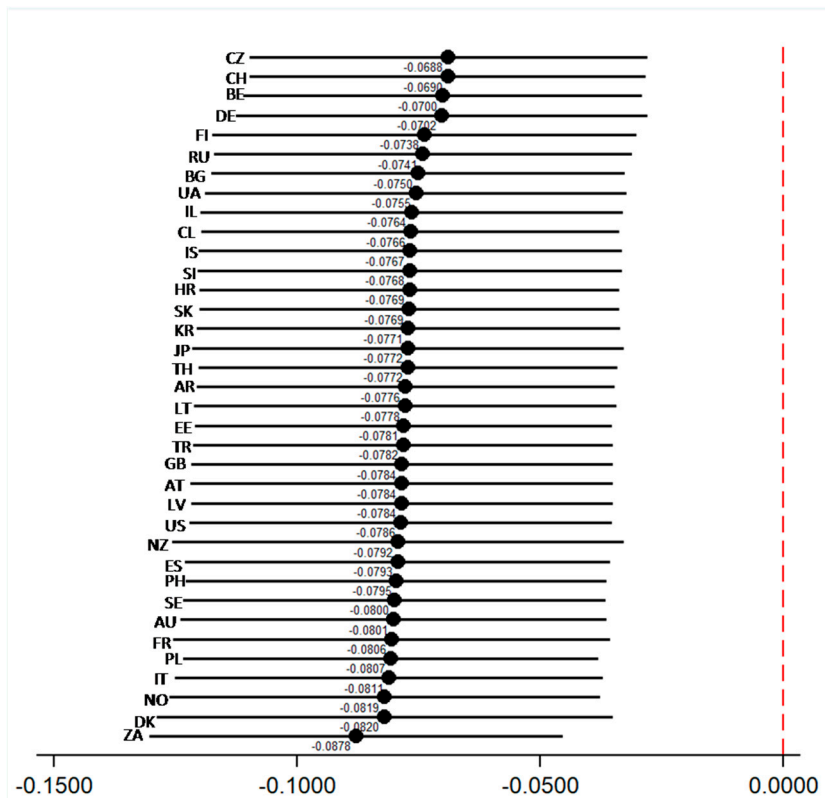
	(a)	(b)
Subjective class	-0.102*** (0.019)	
High class		-0.254*** (0.059)
Low class		0.235*** (0.084)
Income	-0.078*** (0.018)	-0.088*** (0.018)
High-skilled	-0.152*** (0.031)	-0.163*** (0.032)
Low-skilled	0.112*** (0.035)	0.131*** (0.035)
Education	-0.218*** (0.026)	-0.23*** (0.027)
Age	-0.082*** (0.021)	-0.082*** (0.021)
Sex	0.289*** (0.037)	0.287*** (0.038)
Marital	-0.183*** (0.019)	-0.196*** (0.019)
Religion	0.029 (0.049)	0.027 (0.05)
Urban	0.004 (0.015)	0.001 (0.016)
Political orientation	-0.013 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.029)
Country FE	√	√
Year FE	√	√
Countries	40	40
N	36360	36360

Note: Models are Ordered Logistic estimations which include country fixed effects and year fixed effects.

List of advanced democracies: AU, BE, CA, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, GE, IE, IS, JP, NL, NO, NZ, PT, SE, US

Country clustered standard errors in parentheses: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

(a) Perceived income inequality and subjective class



(b) Subjective class and the trust in voting

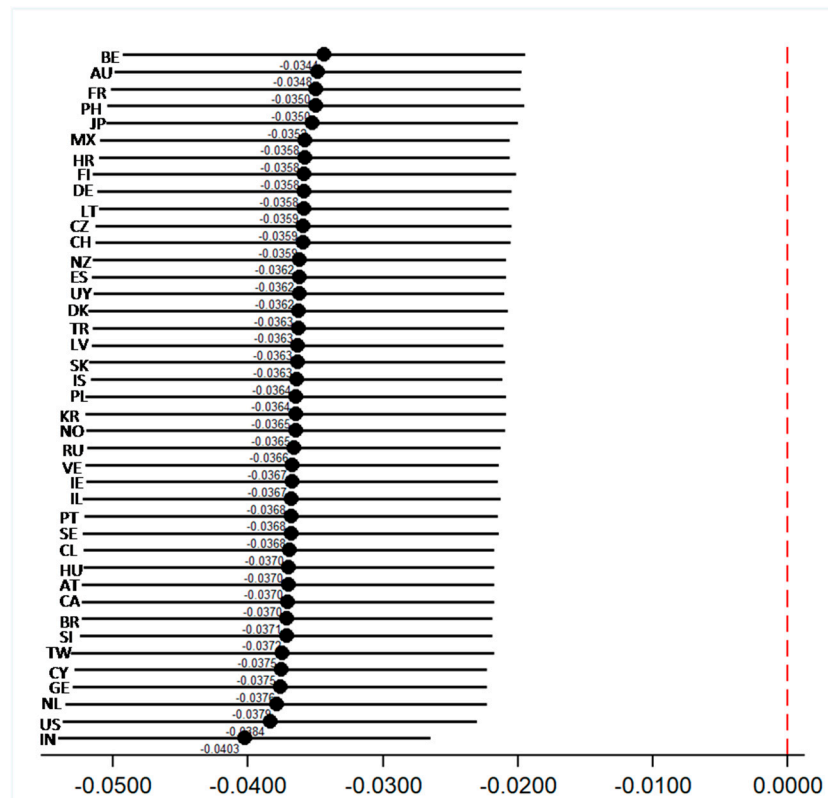


Figure S1. Jackknife analysis