

Myth and Reality of the Legitimacy Crisis

Explaining Trends and Cross-National
Differences in Established Democracies

Edited by

Carolien van Ham, Jacques Thomassen, Kees Aarts,
and Rudy Andeweg

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xv

Part I. Legitimacy and Representative Democracy: State of the Art, Concepts, and Trends

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. A Legitimacy Crisis of Representative Democracy?
<i>Jacques Thomassen and Carolien van Ham</i> | 3 |
| 2. The Myth of Legitimacy Decline: An Empirical Evaluation of Trends in Political Support in Established Democracies
<i>Carolien van Ham and Jacques Thomassen</i> | 17 |

Part II. What is Wrong with Theories of Legitimacy Decline?: Reappraising Existing Theories

- | | |
|--|----|
| 3. Modernization, Globalization, and Satisfaction with Democracy
<i>Kees Aarts, Carolien van Ham, and Jacques Thomassen</i> | 37 |
| 4. Social Capital and the Development of Political Support in Europe
<i>Marc Hooghe and Anna Kern</i> | 59 |
| 5. Legitimacy Decline and Party Decline
<i>Rudy B. Andeweg and David M. Farrell</i> | 76 |
| 6. Media Malaise and the Decline of Legitimacy: Any Room for Good News?
<i>Peter Van Aelst</i> | 95 |

Part III. Diverging Trends?: Explaining Within and Between Country Differences in Political Support

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 7. Institutions and Political Support: How Much do Institutions Matter?
<i>Shaun Bowler</i> | 117 |
|--|-----|

Contents

8. Dissecting the Causal Chain from Quality of Government to Political Support <i>Tom van der Meer</i>	136
9. Economic Outcomes, Quality of Governance, and Satisfaction with Democracy <i>Pedro C. Magalhães</i>	156
10. Political Support in the Wake of Policy Controversies <i>Peter Esaiasson, Mikael Gilljam, and Mikael Persson</i>	172
 Part IV. Reflections and Conclusions	
11. Studying Political Legitimacy: Findings, Implications, and an Uneasy Question <i>Rudy B. Andeweg and Kees Aarts</i>	193
 <i>Appendices</i>	 207
<i>Bibliography</i>	225
<i>Author Index</i>	249
<i>Subject Index</i>	254

List of Figures

1.1	Levels of political support	7
1.2	Explaining legitimacy decline	10
2.1	Time coverage comparative data sets	22
2.2	Support for the political community	23
2.3	Support for the political regime	26
2.4	Support for political institutions—parliament	27
2.5	Support for political institutions—political parties	28
2.6	Support for political authorities	29
3.1	Structure of theories of legitimacy decline	38
3.2	Post-materialism and materialism by country, 1973–99	47
3.3	Level of education by country, 1973–2015	47
3.4	Trends in economic globalization by country, 1970–2012	51
3.5	Probability of being satisfied with democracy by time and education	54
4.1	Percentage of respondents who are involved in civil society organizations, ESS, Wave 3 (2006), and Wave 6 (2012)	68
6.1	Number of minutes for news and current affairs per week on the two most important commercial and public TV channels in thirteen European countries (1977–2007)	100
6.2	Probability of being satisfied with democracy by time and media use in nine European democracies (1983–2014)	105
7.1	How important are elections to the principle of democracy and how well are elections working in your country?	120
7.2	Effect of independent variables across their range of satisfaction with democracy	129
7.3	Effect of independent variables across their range on trust in parliament	130
7.4	Effect of independent variables across their range of trust in politicians	131
8.1	Marginal effects plots of Table 8.3	150

List of Figures

8.2	Marginal effects plots, two categories (importance 0–6; importance 10)	152
9.1	Economic performance and satisfaction with democracy in Greece and Sweden	158
9.2	Marginal effect of economic performance (EPI) on satisfaction with democracy, across the range of levels of quality of governance	167
9.3	Marginal effect of economic performance (EPI) on satisfaction with democracy, across the range of levels of impartiality	167
9.4	Predicted values of satisfaction with democracy for combinations of values in EPI and QoG, with all remaining variables at their mean values	168
10.1	Satisfaction with local democracy among protesters and a control group of non-affected Suburbians	182
10.2	Process preferences among protesters and a control group of non-affected Suburbians	183
10.3	Satisfaction with local democracy among protesters who were satisfied and dissatisfied with the formal decision	185
10.4	Satisfaction with national democracy (SWD _{national})	187

List of Tables

2.1	Measuring political support: current measurements	18
2.2a	Support for democracy as a political regime	24
2.2b	Support for democracy as a political regime	25
3.1	Satisfaction with democracy and post-materialism and level of education, by country (1973–2015)	48
3.2	Modernization: testing period and cohort effects on satisfaction with democracy	50
3.3	Globalization: testing the interaction effect of period and education on satisfaction with democracy	53
4.1	Factor analysis for political trust	69
4.2	The effect of civil society involvement on political trust	71
4.3	The effect of civil society involvement on satisfaction with democracy	73
5.1	Trend data on parties and elections	78
5.2a	The effect of partisanship on satisfaction with the way national democracy works	85
5.2b	The effect of partisanship on trust in parliament	86
5.3	Relative impact of party membership, party closeness, and other variables on democratic satisfaction and trust in parliament (part correlation coefficients)	87
5.4	The contribution of a populist vote to satisfaction with the way national democracy works and trust in parliament	90
6.1	The effect of media use on political support in nine European democracies (1983–2014)	103
6.2	The effect of media use on political support over time in nine European democracies (1983–2014)	104
7.1	Assessments of principles of democracy and how well they are working in the country	121
7.2	Variance explained of the models in Appendices: Tables 7.2A, 7.2B, and 7.2C	127

8.1	Multilevel random intercept models: determinants of satisfaction with democracy, trust in parliament	146
8.2	Multilevel random intercept models: conditional intermediary effects	148
8.3	Multilevel random slope models: the conditional effect of impartiality	149
8.4	Multilevel random intercept models (subsample of established democracies)	151
9.1	Economic performance, quality of governance, and satisfaction with democracy	165
10.1	Data structure for the Suburbia study	181
10.2	Determinant of political support post decision (OLS-estimates)	186
A.2.a	Sample	207
A.2.b	Question wording political support questions	208
A.2.c	Significance time trends	211
A.7.1a	Coding of variables	213
A.7.1b	Categorization of countries on main institutional measures	214
A.7.2a	Satisfaction with democracy	214
A.7.2b	Trust in parliament	215
A.7.2c	Trust in Politicians	217
A.8.a	Perturbation analyses: satisfaction with democracy	218
A.8.b	Perturbation analyses: trust in parliament	218
A.9.1	Countries and surveys in the ESS1-6 Cumulative Data File and included in the analyses	219
A.9.2	Economic performance, quality of governance, and satisfaction with democracy	220
A.10.1	Satisfaction with democracy in own municipality (0–1)	222
A.10.2	Satisfaction with national democracy (0–1)	223
A.10.3	Process preference (0 = electoral democracy; 1 = participatory democracy)	224