The Ideological Profile of the Technocratic Citizen

Bertsou, Caramani, and Koedam

Online Appendix

Appendix 1

The survey was administered online using a professional survey company that provides adult national samples using quotas for age, gender, and location to match the national population. Sample sizes for each country are between N = 1,000 and 1,004, adding up to a total pool of N = 9,006 respondents. We have no missing data, since respondents needed to answer questions before moving along the survey.

Table A1: Items measuring the dimensions of Elitism, Expertise, Anti-politics and Populism

Items	Scale	Phrasing
EL1	Elitism	Ordinary people don't know what policies are good for them.
EL2		Political leaders should make decisions according to their best judgment, not the will of the people.
EL3		I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts. (R)
EL4		If people were knowledgeable enough, everyone would agree on the political decisions that are best for the country.
EXP1	Expertise	Politicians should be like managers and fix what does not work in society.
EXP2		The leaders of my country should be more educated and skilled than ordinary citizens.
EXP3		Social problems should be addressed based on scientific evidence, not ideological preferences.
EXP4		The problems facing my country require experts to solve them.

AP1	Anti-politics	The best political decisions are taken by experts who are not politicians.
AP2		Political parties do more harm than good to society.
AP3		Politicians just want to promote the interests of those who vote for them and not the interest of the whole country.
AP4		Politicians spend all their time seeking re-election instead of fixing problems.
POP1	Populism	Politicians need to follow the will of the people. (Akkerman et al. 2014)
POP2		The people, not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions. (Akkerman et al. 2014)
POP3		I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician. (Akkerman et al. 2014)
POP4		I take pride in being an ordinary person. (Castanho Silva et al. 2019)
POP5		It's important for a political leader to be like the people he or she represents. (Castanho Silva et al. 2019)

Table A2: Factor analysis: Nine countries, all technocracy and populist items

Items	*Factor1 Eigenvalue 5.1*	*Factor2 Eigenvalue 2.1*	*Factor3 Eigenvalue 1.5*	*Factor4 Eigenvalue 1.2*
EL1				*.705*
EL2				*.803*
EL3	-.508			
EL4				.435
EXP1			*.631*	
EXP2			*.708*	
EXP3			*.675*	
EXP4			*.741*	
AP1	.300		.484	
AP2	*.838*			
AP3	*.731*			
AP4	*.724*		.352	
POP1		*.742*		
POP2	.435	*.538*		
POP3	.540	*.420*		
POP4		*.751*		
POP5		*.774*		

Note: Results show item loadings following Principal Component Factoring and oblique rotation (Oblimin). The four factors explain 58.4 per cent of variance. Loadings below .300 omitted for ease of interpretation except when loading on proper factor.

Appendix 2

Based on the results of the EFA in the pooled sample and individual country samples, we do not include EL3 and EL4 items in the calculation of the Latent Class Analysis, due to low factor loadings. This choice is in line with Bertsou and Caramani (2022).

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was calculated using the pooled sample of nine countries. We are looking for respondents who combine high scores on Expertise, Antipolitics, and Elitism, with low scores on Populism. Latent class analysis (LCA) is a technique to investigate the existence of distinct "profiles" based on the similarities of people's responses to survey questions (Hagenaars and Halman 1989; Magidson and Vermunt 2004). LCA identifies clusters of respondents based on the similarities of response patterns. It is designed to study heterogeneous groups among the population. Our aim is to identify substantively meaningful groups of people, in particular people who exhibit technocratic attitudes mentioned above.

We decide the best model to describe our data is a 7-class model, best model to describe our data based on goodness-of-fit statistics and researcher judgment. We calculate each group's mean response value on individual items and on the four scales. We estimate the probability that respondents belong to each class, and, assigning each respondent to one class following the modal probability of class membership. We then calculate the size of each class and investigate its characteristics.

Figure B1 below shows profile plots following a 7-class model, using the pooled sample of nine countries. The 7-class model fits our data well, with a lower Bayesian information criterion (BIC) compared to the six-class model (BIC = 409607.2 compared to 411526.7). These seven latent classes constitute a mutually exclusive and exhaustive classification of citizens' profiles. Each line in the graph corresponds to one class of respondents. The lines trace the classes' mean score (7-point scale on the y-axis) on each item.

We identify each class with a name on the basis of its scores on the dimensions of expertise, antipolitics, elitism and populism. Latent Class (LC) 3 in red represents the technocratic class: high scores on expertise, antipolitics, elitism and low score on populism. LC4 in dark green represents the party-democratic class: low scores on antipolitics and populism. LC5 in dark grey represents the populist class and LC2 in light great represents a moderate populist class: high scores on populism and antipolitics, low scores on elitism (surprisingly, but in line with previous empirical research these classes score highly in expertise). LC1 in purple represents a class of citizens that stay around the mean scores across these items and which we label "Trackers" (i.e. tracking the average standpoints). LC6 in yellow represents a group of citizens that respond using the middle category in across all items and which we label "middle responders". This is a very small group of respondents that do not appear to be interested in politics or particularly engaged with our questionnaire. LC7 groups together a smaller number of respondents that are characterised by very low scores on all dimensions, especially antipolitics.

Table B1: LCA Model Fit Statistics (all countries)

	BIC	**LL**	**χ^2**	**% change in χ^2**
1 class	465338.7	-232259.6	1.16835e+21	
2 class	435208.2	-216780	6.413395e+19	-94.51
3 class	425088.6	-211305.9	3.751063e+18	-94.15
4 class	419162.1	-207928.4	2.330893e+15	-99.94
5 class	41415.6	-205008.3	7.907267e+14	-66.08
6 class	411526.7	-203282.1	1.540411e+14	-8.52
7 class	**409607.2**	**-201908**	**1.484397e+14**	**-3.64**
8 class	408262	-200821.1	1.601736e+14	7.90

Figure B1: Profile plot from LCA showing seven latent classes

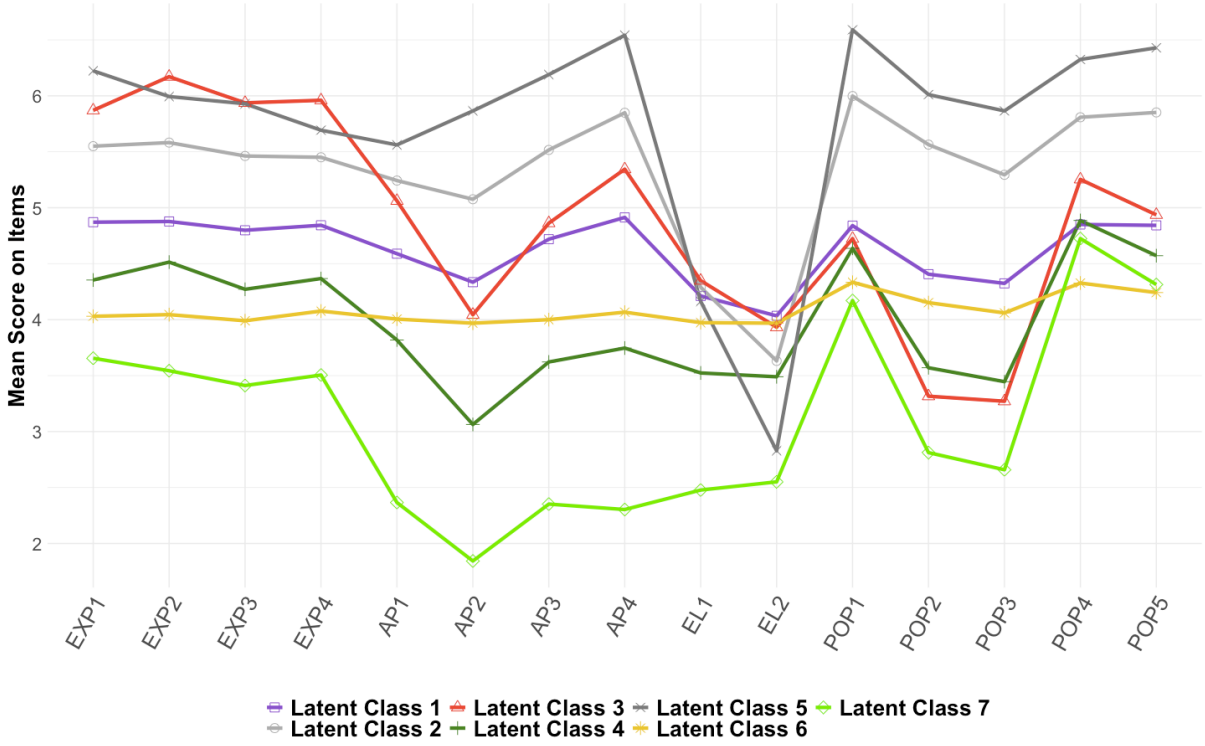


Table B2: Class sizes in the pooled sample

Class	Size (% of total sample)
Technocratic (LC 3)	16.3%
Party-Democratic (LC4)	15.3%
Populist (LC5)	14.1%
Moderate Populist (LC2)	21.8%
Trackers (LC1)	22.7%
Middle Responders (LC6)	6.6%
Extreme PD (LC7)	3.2%

Note: Models calculated using the poLCA package in R. Overall means calculated following class assignment for seven classes (pooled sample) by modal posterior probability. Size refers to percentages of respondents assigned to each class.

Table B3: Class sizes per country

	Technocratic	Party-Democratic	Populist	Moderate Populist	Trackers	Middle Responders	Extreme PD
Australia	12.5	12.6	12.5	24.6	28.4	7.6	1.8
France	14.4	1.6	17.8	22.8	23.7	7.2	3.5
Germany	14.4	16.3	12.9	19.9	24.0	7.8	4.8
Great Britain	15.8	14.8	11.0	17.1	3.1	9.3	1.9
Greece	22.6	9.1	18.9	28.6	16.2	2.5	2.1
Italy	22.6	8.6	16.4	26.3	19.0	4.3	2.8
Netherlands	17.5	28.0	5.4	13.9	24.6	7.5	3.2
Sweden	14.6	26.6	12.9	15.4	19.4	6.2	4.9
USA	12.1	1.9	19.1	27.6	19.1	7.5	3.7
Total	**16.3**	**15.3**	**14.1**	**21.8**	**22.7**	**6.7**	**3.2**

Table B4: Group profile mean scores on all dimensions and group size (pooled sample)

Latent Class	Expertise	Anti-politics	Elitism	Populism
Technocratic	6.0	4.8	4.1	4.3
Party-democratic	4.4	3.6	3.5	4.2
Populist	6.0	6.0	3.5	6.2
Moderate Populist	5.5	5.4	4.0	5.7
Tracker	4.8	4.6	4.1	4.7
Mid Responses	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.2
Extreme party-democratic	3.5	2.2	2.5	3.7
Overall	5.2	4.8	3.8	4.9

Figure B2: Class mean scores on Expertise, Antipolitics, Elitism, Populism per country

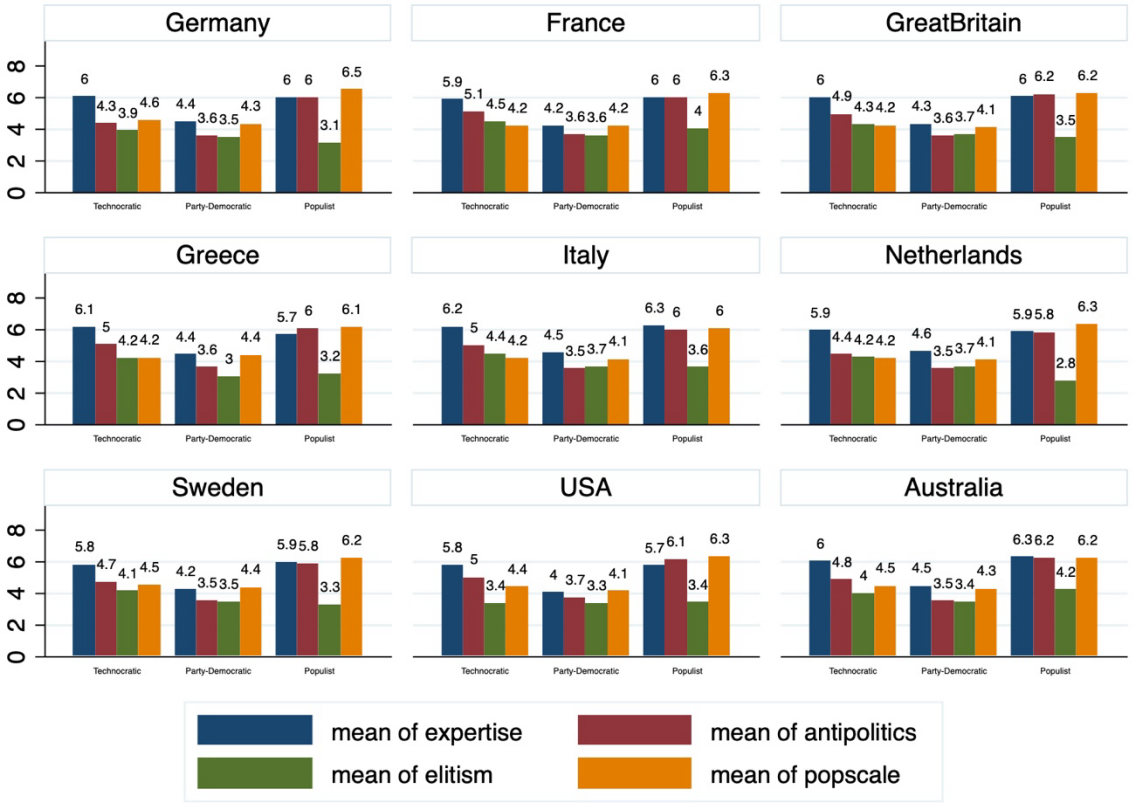


Table B5: Exploratory Factor Analysis, showing factor loadings for two-factor solutions following oblique rotation (promax)

All Countries	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.836
ID2		.831
ID3	.583	.371
ID4	.747	
ID5	.752	
ID6	.603	

IT	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.853
ID2		.855
ID3	.562	.317
ID4	.767	
ID5	.805	
ID6	.515	

DE	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.814
ID2		.802
ID3	.574	.403
ID4	.809	
ID5	.743	
ID6	.324	

NL	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.804
ID2		.776
ID3	.675	.360
ID4	.714	
ID5	.733	
ID6	.470	-.401

FR	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.837
ID2		.831
ID3	.476	.449
ID4	.721	
ID5	.731	
ID6	.751	

SE	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.739
ID2		.727
ID3	.417	.605
ID4	.709	
ID5	.785	
ID6	.683	

UK	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.797
ID2		.83
ID3	.597	.357
ID4	.748	
ID5	.743	
ID6	.655	

US	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.883
ID2		.87
ID3	.743	.201
ID4	.784	
ID5	.665	
ID6	.634	-.302

GR	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.767
ID2		.807
ID3		.531
ID4	.829	
ID5	.841	
ID6	.627	

AUS	Factor 1	Factor 2
ID1		.767
ID2		.836
ID3	.773	.300
ID4	.790	
ID5	.463	-.471
ID6	.619	

Appendix 3

Table C1: Average ideology scores per class for pooled sample.

	Left-Right Ideology		**Economic Ideology**		**Cultural Ideology**	
Class	Mean	St.d.	Mean	St.d.	Mean	St.d.
Technocratic	5.37	2.13	2.81	2.06	4.41	2.49
Party-Democratic	5.26	2.07	3.64	1.88	4.08	2.12
Populist	5.87	2.67	2.33	2.32	5.58	2.95
Moderate Populist	5.84	2.34	3	1.96	5.56	2.49
Trackers	5.55	1.82	3.71	1.53	4.95	1.9
Mid. Responders	5.35	1.66	4.49	1.33	4.79	1.48
Extreme PD	4.92	2.81	3.81	2.68	3.18	2.76
Total	**5.55**	**2.20**	**3.26**	**2.01**	**4.88**	**2.42**

Table C2 Multinomial logistic regression models predicting assignment to the profiles of interest (pooled country sample)

	Model 1 Technocratic (1) vs. party-democratic (0)	**Model 2 Technocratic (1) vs. populist (0)**
	Model 1	Model 2
Left−right	1.000	1.706***
	(.119)	(.102)
Left−right squared	1.004	.943***
	(.009)	(.008)
Political interest	1.222***	1.058
	(.046)	(.051)
Political trust	.803***	1.530***
	(.045)	(.086)
Education	1.100*	1.159***
	(.041)	(.043)
Age	1.009^{+}	1.003
	(.005)	(.004)
Female	.938	1.224**
	(.102)	(.073)
Constant	.535	.0453***
	(.400)	(.497)
Observations	2,834	2,728
Hosmer–Lemeshow test	χ^2= 6.1, p =.634	χ^2 =22 p =.004

Note: Entries show relative risk ratios (RRR). Clustered standard errors at the country level. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, $^{+}$ p<.1.

Table C2.1: Multinomial logistic regression models predicting assignment to the profiles of interest with country Fixed Effects and Jackknife robustness check (pooled country sample)

	Model 1 Technocratic (1) vs. party-democratic (0)	Model 2 Technocratic (1) vs. populist (0)	Model 1 Jackknife	Model 2 Jackknife
Left−right	1.045	1.667 ***	1.000	. 1.706***
	(.079)	(.118)	(.121)	(.181)
Left−right squared	1.000	.945***	1.004	.943***
	(.007)	(.006)	(.009)	(.008)
Political interest	1.245***	1.050	1.222***	1.058
	(.062)	(.052)	(.059)	(.056)
Political trust	.853***	1.534***	.803***	1.530***
	(.026)	(.045)	(.040)	(.133)
Education	1.055^{+}	1.175***	1.100 $^{+}$	1.159**
	(.029)	(.034)	(.048)	(.051)
Age	1.012***	1.004	1.009	1.003
	(.002)	(.002)	(.005)	(.004)
Female	.948	1.239**	.938	1.223**
	(.075)	(.101)	(.104)	(.092)
FR	1.553*	.953		
	(.276)	(.167)		
UK	1.145	1.547*		
	(.190)	(.279)		
GR	2.855***	1.485*		
	(.509)	(.253)		
IT	2.839***	1.737**		
	(.495)	(.291)		
NL	.743*	3.021***		
	(.113)	(.617)		
SE	.615**	1.283		
	(.097)	(.229)		
US	1.120	.871		
	(.204)	(.156)		
AUS	1.196	.900		
	(.209)	(.165)		
(GER reference)				
Constant	.305***	.034***	.535	.045***
	(.105)	(.011)	(.226)	(.023)
Observations	2,834	2,728	2,834	2,728

Table C3: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to the Profiles of Interest. Showing only the comparison between the technocratic class (baseline) and the populist class. Breakdown of Ideology to Economic and Cultural Dimensions

Predicting Assignment to the Technocratic (0) vs Populist (1) class

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Economic Ideology	. 902*	.702***			.836***	.641***
	(.050)	(.036)			(.050)	(.028)
Economic Ideology Sqrd		1.039***				1.044***
		(.008)				(.007)
Cultural Ideology			1.281***	.742***	1.305***	.803***
			(.054)	(.041)	(.052)	(.050)
Cultural Ideology Sqrd				1.053***		1.047***
				(.009)		(.009)
Political Interest	.999	.968	1.030	1.018	1.036	.981
	(.047)	(.043)	(.039)	(.042)	(.042)	(.038)
National Political Trust	.674***	-.695***	.626***	.625***	.641***	.659***
	(.067)	(.073)	(.058)	(.056)	(.057)	(.061)
Education	.878***	.873***	.886**	.880***	.909*	.892***
	(.043)	(.043)	(.042)	(.037)	(.045)	(.038)
Age	.996	.995	.994	.995	.992	.992
	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)	(.005)
Female	.764***	.760***	.902	.904	.887	.886
	(.055)	(.053)	(.072)	(.071)	(.072)	(.076)
Constant	9.630***	12.56***	2.507*	7.521***	3.250***	11.69***
	(4.45)	(4.76)	(1.200)	(2.34)	(1.76)	(3.78)
Observations	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980
Hosmer–Lemeshow test	χ^2=182, p>.001	χ^2=178, p>.001	χ^2=11, p=.189	χ^2=13, p =.119	χ^2=16, p=.04	χ^2=13, p=.09

Note: Entries show relative risk ratios (RRR). Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table C4: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to the Profiles of Interest. Showing only the comparison between the technocratic class (baseline) and the party-democratic class. Breakdown of Ideology to Economic and Cultural Dimensions

Predicting Assignment to the Technocratic (0) vs Party-Democratic (1) class

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Economic Ideology	1.245***	1.555***			1.299***	1.705***
	(.061)	(.111)			(.064)	(.098)
Economic Ideology Sqrd		.967***				.960***
		(.007)				(.007)
Cultural Ideology			.913***	1.321***	.857***	1.158*
			(.025)	(.110)	(.022)	(.097)
Cultural Ideology Sqrd				.959***		.966***
				(.008)		(.008)
Political Interest	.828***	.846***	.807***	.827***	.821***	.859***
	(.045)	(.043)	(.041)	(.042)	(.043)	(.042)
National Political Trust	1.210***	1.183***	1.273***	1.289***	1.294***	1.277***
	(.045)	(.050)	(.057)	(.056)	(.053)	(.056)
Education	.888***	.889***	.902***	.913**	.886**	.897***
	(.035)	(.036)	(.035)	(.035)	(.033)	(.034)
Age	.993	.994	.990*	.990**	.993	.993
	(.005)	(.004)	(.004)	(.005)	(.004)	(.004)
Female	1.120	1.123	1.023	1.025	1.029	1.027
	(.123)	(.128)	(.099)	(.105)	(.111)	(.116)
Constant	.815	.613	2.362*	1.159	1.147	.453***
	(.387)	(.239)	(1.80)	(.417)	(.532)	(.123)
Observations	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980
Hosmer–Lemeshow test	χ^2=20, p>.009	χ^2=19, p=.011	χ^2=13, p-.113	χ^2=9.3, p=.325	χ^2=32, p>.001	χ^2=25, p=.001

Note: Entries show relative risk ratios (RRR). Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Figure C1: Predicted probabilities of class assignment **as opposed to all remaining classes**

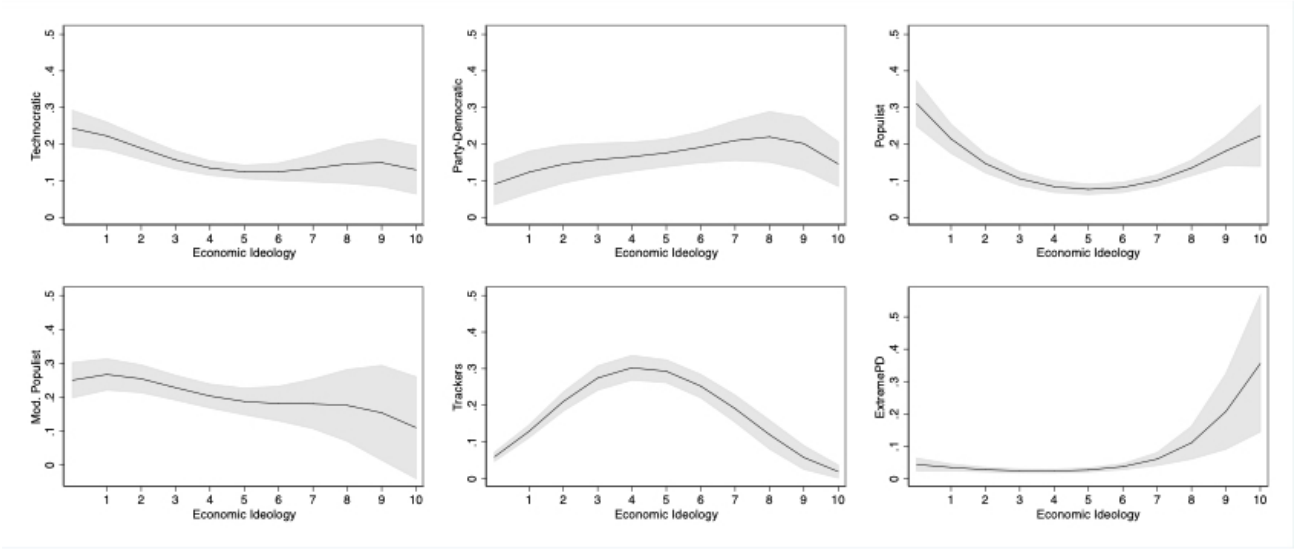
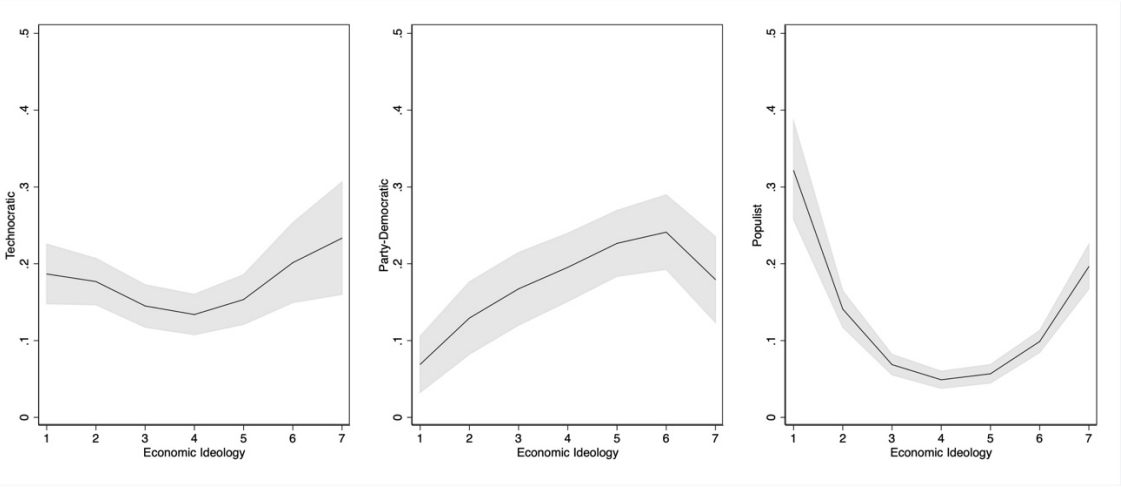


Figure C1.2 Robustness Check: Predicted probabilities of class assignment **as opposed to all remaining classes using one single item as a proxy for the economic dimension** (Replicating Figure 7 in the manuscript)



Note: Single item "The state should intervene to reduce income differences between citizens (R)" used as a proxy for the economic ideological dimension.

Figure C2: Predicted probabilities of class assignment **as opposed to all remaining classes**, based on Model 4 in Tables C2 and C3

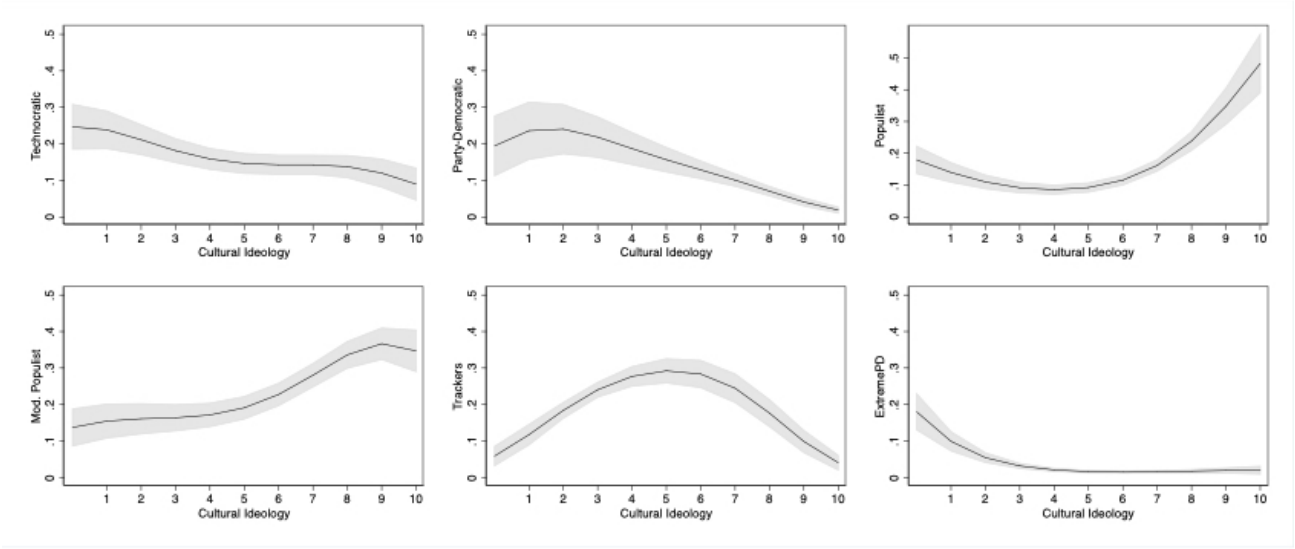
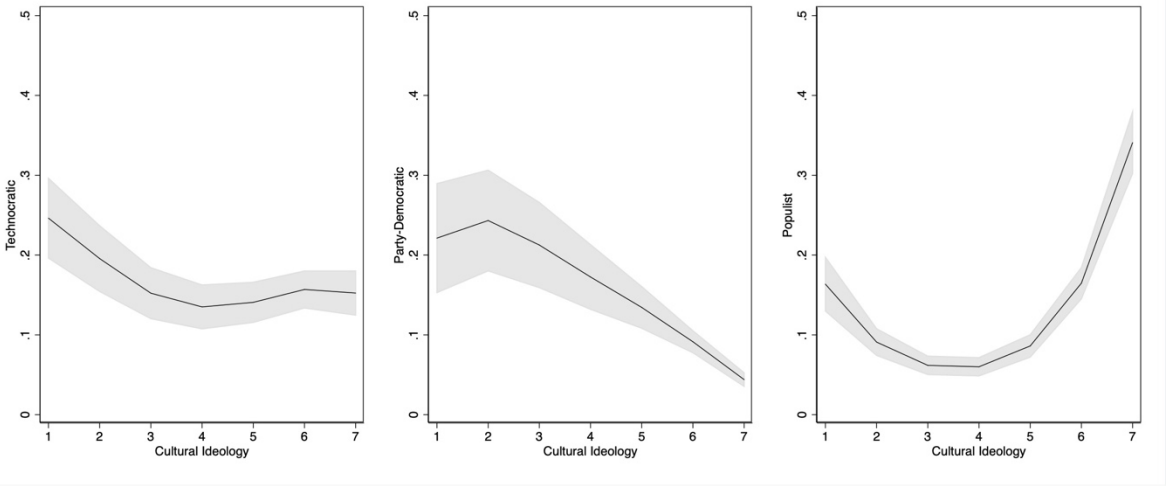


Figure C2.2: Robustness Check: Predicted probabilities of class assignment **as opposed to all remaining classes using one single item as a proxy for the cultural dimension** (Replicating Figure 8 in the manuscript)



Note: Single item "Employers should give priority to hiring natives over immigrants" used as a proxy for the cultural ideological dimension.

Figure C3: Predicted probability of assignment to the **technocratic** as opposed to the **party democratic** class for (i) economic and (ii) cultural dimensions of ideology

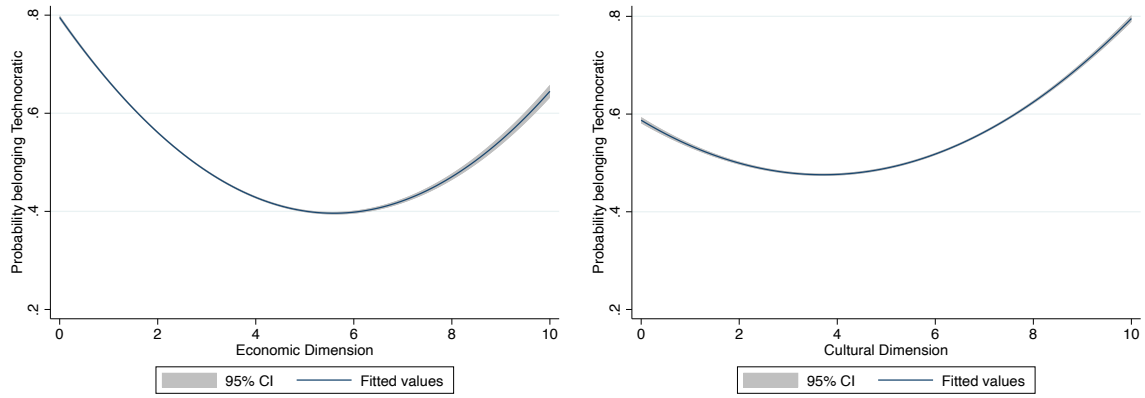
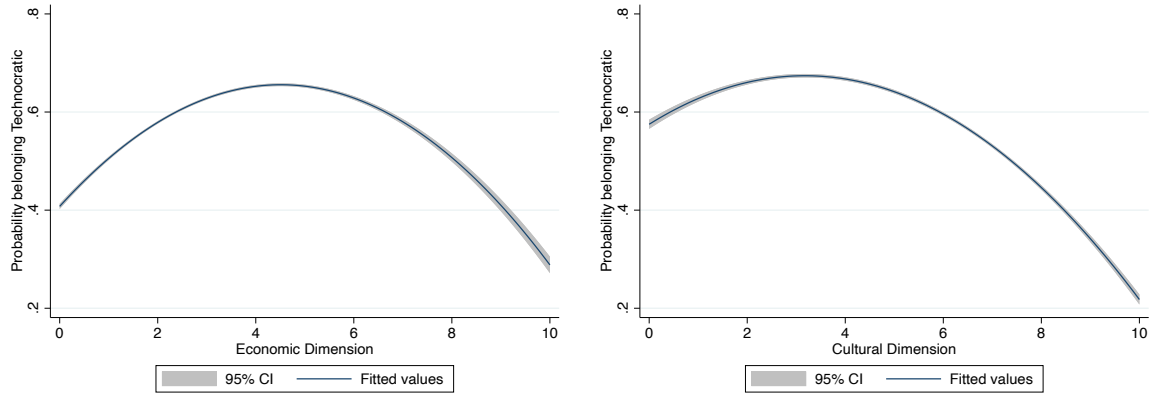


Figure C4: Predicted probability of assignment to the **technocratic** as opposed to the **populist** class for (i) economic and (ii) cultural dimensions of ideology



Appendix 4: Comparative analysis

4.1 Descriptive Information

What we want to find out from this analysis is if the ideological distribution we find for the overall sample across countries applies to all countries equally or if there is variation across them, i.e. some countries where it applies like the overall distribution and some where the distribution is different. Maybe there are "clusters" of countries (based on variables such as economic performance, parties in cabinet, technocratic cabinet experience, etc.).

Figure D1: Density plot of the technocratic class and total sample across left-right self-placement, by country.

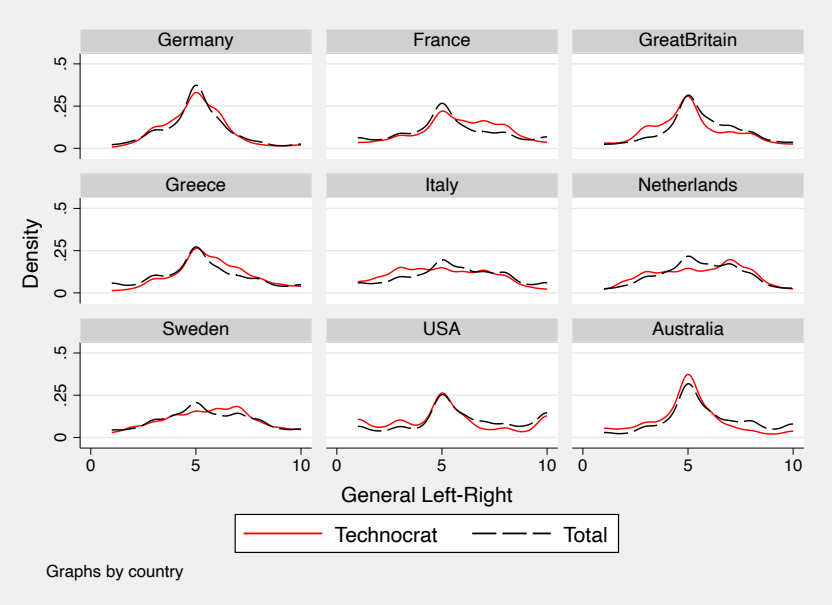


Figure D2: Density plot of the technocratic class and total sample across economic positions, by country.

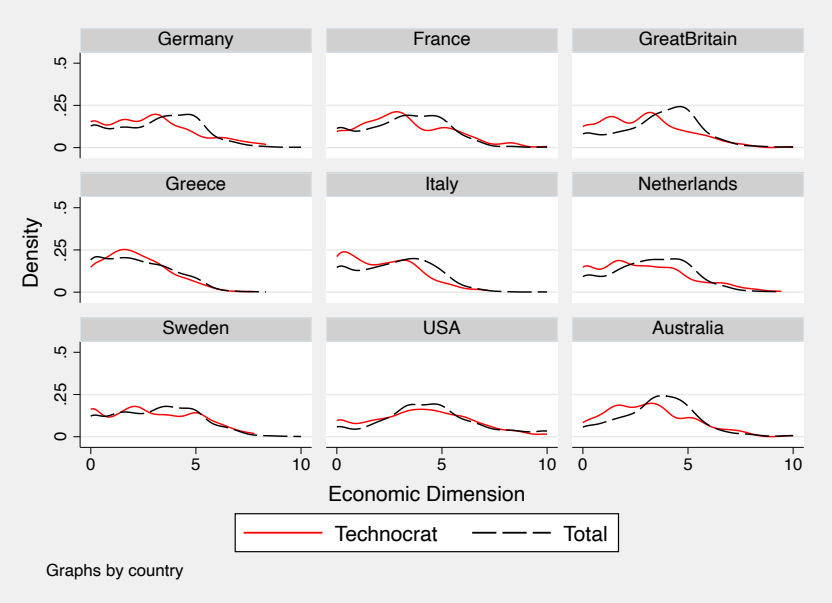


Figure D3: Density plot of the technocratic class and total sample across cultural positions, by country.

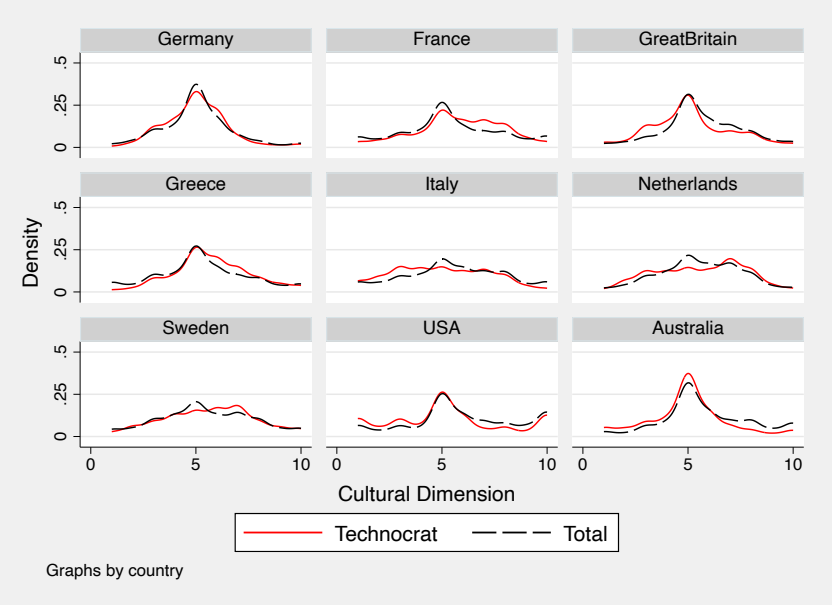


Figure D4: Density plots showing the technocratic, populist and party-democratic classes across left-right self-placement, by country.

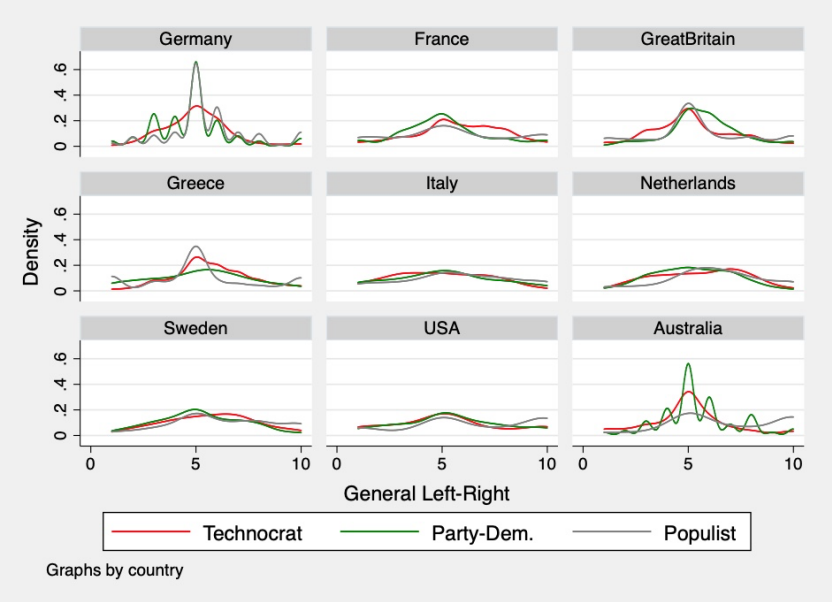


Figure D5: Density plots showing the technocratic, populist and party-democratic classes across economic positions, by country.

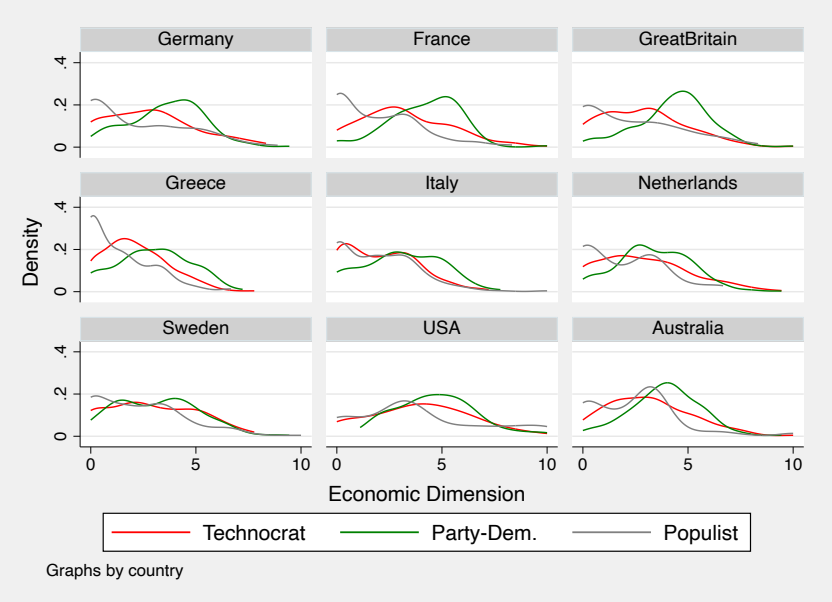
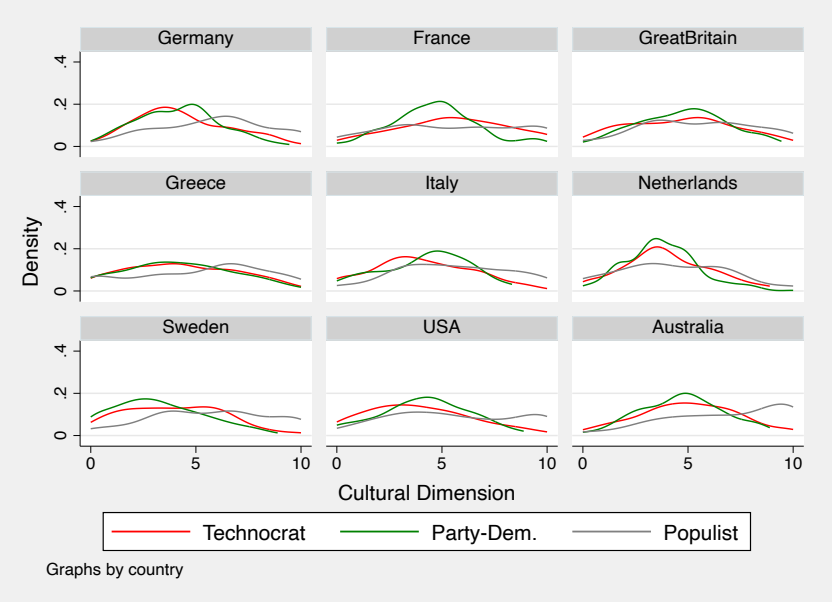


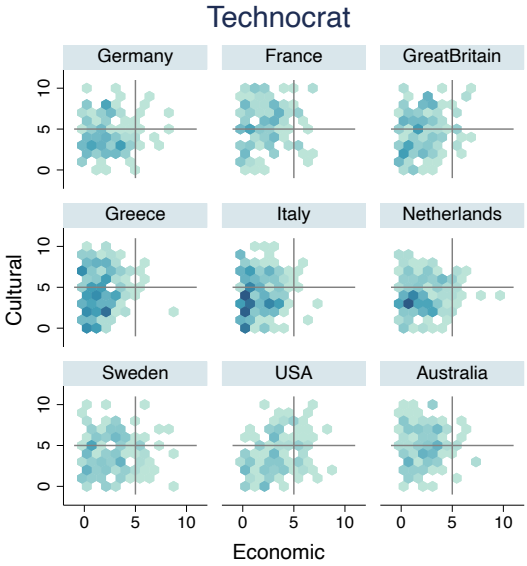
Figure D6: Density plots showing the technocratic, populist and party-democratic classes across cultural positions, by country.



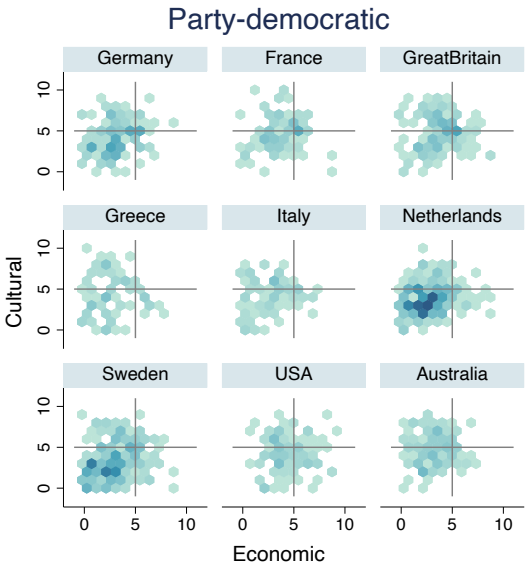
Visualizing the heatmaps in the two-dimensional ideological space for each country we see that the main differences across countries are to be found in the numbers of technocratic citizens rather than their position in the ideological space. When looking at the technocratic class, the only exception is France and to a lesser extent Australia, where technocratic citizens not as culturally liberal as in other countries (the distribution resembles a normal distribution). Further, as discussed in the manuscript, we can see some comparative differences also among the positions of the populist class, with the countries of southern Europe (Greece and Italy) having populist citizens cluster both at the far left and the far right end of the cultural dimension, in line with the tradition of left-wing (centrist) progressive populist parties in these countries. Countries such as the US and Australia, on the other hand, have the main cluster on the far right end of this dimension. Nevertheless, the differences are small and do not deviate from the overall picture presented in the manuscript in any substantive way.

Figure D7: Two-dimensional heatmaps for each class by country

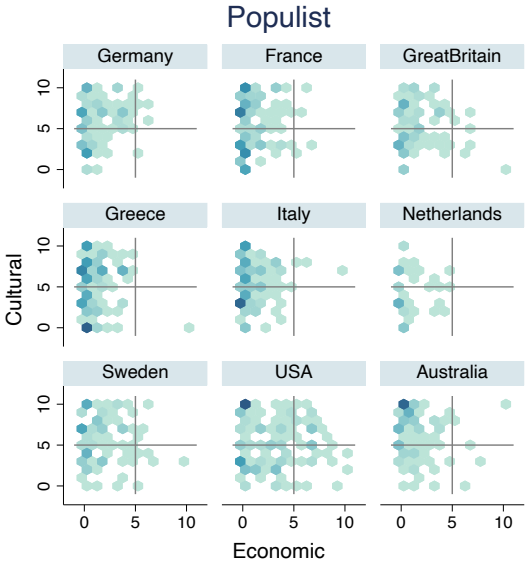
(I)



(II)



(III)


Populist
Germany
France
GreatBritain
Greece
Italy
Netherlands
Sweden
USA
Australia
Cultural
Economic
0
5
10

4.2 Regression Analyses per country

Table D1: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **Left-Right ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **party-democratic** class. Cross country analysis.

Dependent Variable: Assignment to the Technocratic (0) vs Party-Democratic (1) class

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Left-right Ideology	-.477	-.185	.570*	-.904***	-.312	.260	.0169	.0735	.358
	(.279)	(.251)	(.289)	(.244)	(.212)	(.217)	(.213)	(.204)	(.275)
Left-Right Ideology Sqrd	.0345	.00113	-.0393	.0660**	.0318	-.0329*	-.0109	-.00671	-.0206
	(.0258)	(.0220)	(.0249)	(.0212)	(.0196)	(.0199)	(.0188)	(.0178)	(.0248)
Political Interest	-.229	-.134	-.217	-.119	-.406*	-.233	-.0716	-.347*	-.145
	(.156)	(.160)	(.150)	(.177)	(.177)	(.138)	(.141)	(.153)	(.154)
National Political Trust	-.0604	.241*	.168	.226*	.155	.171	.165	.0957	.0205
	(.0929)	(.104)	(.0906)	(.101)	(.0953)	(.0965)	(.0869)	(.0995)	(.105)
Education	-.00258	-.116	-.221**	.0498	-.0360	-.0899	.146	-.116	-.135
	(.0777)	(.0990)	(.0856)	(.114)	(.0772)	(.0801)	(.0750)	(.105)	(.101)
Age	-.0239***	-.019*	-.0248***	-.0140	-.0104	-.023**	.00242	-.0111	-.00913
	(.00735)	(.00816)	(.00727)	(.0104)	(.00790)	(.00605)	(.00587)	(.00788)	(.00781)
Female	-.202	-.531*	.0261	-.0547	-.333	.133	.505*	.200	.322
	(.242)	(.270)	(.242)	(.270)	(.258)	(.205)	(.215)	(.277)	(.268)
Constant	3.889***	1.850*	.299	1.649	1.130	1.510	-.490	1.381	-.0831
	(1.072)	(1.015)	(1.087)	(1.063)	(.968)	(.920)	(.854)	(.987)	(1.115)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Table D2: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **Left-Right ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **populist** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Left-right Ideology	-.0667	-.851***	-.305	-1.031***	-.368*	-.0858	-.295	-.302	-.586*
	(.315)	(.210)	(.243)	(.212)	(.180)	(.324)	(.242)	(.177)	(.250)
Left-Right Ideology Sqrd	.0155	.0740***	.0453*	.0884***	.0456**	.0233	.0331	.0375*	.0927***
	(.0277)	(.0177)	(.0217)	(.0181)	(.0163)	(.0279)	(.0206)	(.0153)	(.0219)
Political Interest	.0549	.0762	-.172	-.249	-.102	-.130	.175	-.0463	-.144
	(.166)	(.142)	(.158)	(.139)	(.145)	(.204)	(.165)	(.142)	(.158)
National Political Trust	-.800***	-.238**	-.368***	-.614***	-.319***	-.947***	-.738***	-.0778	-.535***
	(.0988)	(.0882)	(.0945)	(.0861)	(.0809)	(.135)	(.0995)	(.0846)	(.103)
Education	-.0735	-.298***	-.306**	-.191*	-.255***	-.247	.0698	-.135	.0174
	(.0857)	(.0897)	(.0968)	(.0939)	(.0662)	(.146)	(.0931)	(.0928)	(.105)
Age	.0120	-.0128	-.0310***	.00686	.00900	-.0120	.00454	-.00191	.00460
	(.00880)	(.00735)	(.00807)	(.00884)	(.00670)	(.0108)	(.00728)	(.00698)	(.00821)
Female	-.385	-.338	.00248	-.00409	-.184	.107	.0262	-.371	-.362
	(.275)	(.242)	(.268)	(.226)	(.216)	(.350)	(.263)	(.242)	(.280)
Constant	2.316*	4.797***	4.168***	5.436***	1.990**	3.782***	1.716*	1.889**	2.212**
	(1.199)	(.873)	(.974)	(.888)	(.824)	(1.357)	(.958)	(.881)	(1.079)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Table D3: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **economic ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **party-democratic** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Economic Dimension	.627***	.662***	.645***	.102	.177	.536***	.265*	.722***	.761***
	(.185)	(.225)	(.202)	(.240)	(.211)	(.149)	(.155)	(.233)	(.222)
Economic Dimension Sqrd	-.0715***	-.0546**	-.0362	.0343	.0185	-.0649***	-.0279	-.0558**	-.0653**
	(.0261)	(.0270)	(.0248)	(.0404)	(.0344)	(.0206)	(.0219)	(.0230)	(.0261)
Political Interest	-.185	-.118	-.197	.0620	-.303*	-.220	-.0647	-.320**	-.136
	(.155)	(.161)	(.151)	(.174)	(.175)	(.137)	(.140)	(.152)	(.154)
National Political Trust	-.0870	.149	.161*	.107	.150	.125	.164*	.0518	-.00780
	(.0932)	(.104)	(.0866)	(.0970)	(.0963)	(.0956)	(.0875)	(.0994)	(.0962)
Education	-.0244	-.149	-.240***	-.0330	-.0692	-.0913	.125*	-.103	-.122
	(.0779)	(.101)	(.0868)	(.115)	(.0785)	(.0809)	(.0753)	(.105)	(.100)
Age	-.0183**	-.0149*	-.0190***	-.00825	-.00530	-.0180***	.00458	-.0145*	-.00811
	(.00752)	(.00829)	(.00738)	(.0105)	(.00808)	(.00624)	(.00603)	(.00808)	(.00783)
Female	-.200	-.465*	.00851	.0378	-.333	.190	.593***	.244	.342
	(.243)	(.271)	(.246)	(.270)	(.260)	(.207)	(.217)	(.279)	(.271)
Constant	1.222	-.436	.114	-1.599*	-.505	.922	-1.294*	-.170	-.530
	(.802)	(.912)	(.850)	(.873)	(.810)	(.767)	(.689)	(.927)	(.882)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Table D3.1 Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **economic ideology (linear term only)** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **party-democratic** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Economic Dimension	.171***	.275***	.415***	.288***	.305***	.109*	.0835	.164***	.272***
	(.0637)	(.0742)	(.0686)	(.0779)	(.0765)	(.0564)	(.0555)	(.0588)	(.0758)
Political Interest	-.197	-.127	-.225	.0754	-.301*	-.254*	-.0793	-.379**	-.194
	(.155)	(.160)	(.150)	(.174)	(.175)	(.137)	(.139)	(.149)	(.152)
National Political Trust	-.0612	.170*	.182**	.104	.144	.141	.176**	.115	.0511
	(.0929)	(.103)	(.0858)	(.0967)	(.0966)	(.0954)	(.0871)	(.0953)	(.0932)
Education	-.0261	-.171*	-.237***	-.0321	-.0712	-.105	.119	-.111	-.106
	(.0775)	(.101)	(.0869)	(.115)	(.0786)	(.0805)	(.0751)	(.105)	(.0998)
Age	-.0186**	-.0170**	-.0195***	-.00844	-.00522	-.0189***	.00424	-.0148*	-.00870
	(.00743)	(.00821)	(.00734)	(.0105)	(.00806)	(.00618)	(.00602)	(.00807)	(.00778)
Female	-.187	-.458*	.0210	.0431	-.342	.205	.595***	.212	.363
	(.242)	(.271)	(.245)	(.270)	(.260)	(.205)	(.216)	(.278)	(.269)
Constant	1.615**	.193	.366	-1.791**	-.633	1.497**	-1.081	.997	.0367
	(.786)	(.825)	(.794)	(.840)	(.794)	(.743)	(.670)	(.794)	(.829)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Table D4: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **cultural ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **party-democratic** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Cultural Dimension	.313	.449**	.403**	.0836	.309	.434**	.108	.364*	.371
	(.203)	(.210)	(.185)	(.166)	(.201)	(.179)	(.147)	(.197)	(.231)
Cultural Dimension Sqrd	-.0420*	-.063***	-.0472**	-.0135	-.0355	-.0625***	-.0278	-.0391*	-.0457**
	(.0218)	(.0207)	(.0188)	(.0178)	(.0225)	(.0210)	(.0175)	(.0218)	(.0231)
Political Interest	-.161	-.115	-.208	.0220	-.351**	-.249*	-.0925	-.353**	-.166
	(.156)	(.161)	(.147)	(.173)	(.176)	(.139)	(.142)	(.151)	(.154)
National Political Trust	-.0399	.253**	.258***	.185*	.176*	.171*	.185**	.126	.138
	(.0936)	(.105)	(.0880)	(.100)	(.100)	(.0969)	(.0890)	(.103)	(.102)
Education	-.00845	-.161	-.234***	.00418	-.0258	-.0771	.132*	-.103	-.111
	(.0781)	(.101)	(.0857)	(.113)	(.0770)	(.0802)	(.0750)	(.106)	(.101)
Age	-.0257***	-.0176**	-.0227***	-.0129	-.0101	-.0258***	-2.45e-05	-.0109	-.00848
	(.00747)	(.00832)	(.00724)	(.0104)	(.00789)	(.00621)	(.00591)	(.00797)	(.00772)
Female	-.226	-.611**	-.0651	-.0494	-.353	.135	.489**	.194	.246
	(.243)	(.275)	(.243)	(.272)	(.259)	(.207)	(.217)	(.280)	(.268)
Constant	1.881**	.639	1.151	-1.152	-.244	1.446*	-.488	.760	.117
	(.853)	(.942)	(.856)	(.858)	(.843)	(.780)	(.721)	(.863)	(.990)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table D4.1: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **cultural ideology (linear term only)** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **party-democratic** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Cultural Dimension	-.0670	-.171***	-.0460	-.0346	.00458	-.0820	-.110**	.0253	-.0733
	(.0564)	(.0562)	(.0541)	(.0505)	(.0563)	(.0529)	(.0457)	(.0590)	(.0619)
Political Interest	-.175	-.137	-.251*	.00849	-.353**	-.277**	-.112	-.362**	-.205
	(.156)	(.160)	(.147)	(.172)	(.175)	(.138)	(.141)	(.151)	(.152)
National Political Trust	-.0505	.248**	.256***	.183*	.164*	.168*	.165*	.0909	.129
	(.0940)	(.104)	(.0885)	(.0999)	(.0989)	(.0964)	(.0879)	(.101)	(.102)
Education	-.0138	-.162	-.238***	.00652	-.0313	-.0939	.123	-.108	-.136
	(.0781)	(.1000)	(.0857)	(.113)	(.0767)	(.0798)	(.0747)	(.105)	(.0995)
Age	-.024***	-.0176**	-.0233***	-.0124	-.0101	-.0224***	.000476	-.0107	-.00877
	(.00741)	(.00824)	(.00722)	(.0104)	(.00786)	(.00605)	(.00589)	(.00794)	(.00770)
Female	-.216	-.603**	-.0449	-.0563	-.332	.129	.464**	.206	.235
	(.242)	(.272)	(.241)	(.272)	(.259)	(.206)	(.216)	(.280)	(.267)
Constant	2.589***	1.893**	2.135***	-.963	.303	2.280***	-.0463	1.437*	1.258
	(.781)	(.820)	(.771)	(.814)	(.761)	(.726)	(.655)	(.781)	(.811)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table D5: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **economic ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **populist** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Economic Dimension	-.321*	-.506***	-.488***	-.815***	-.271	-.165	-.244	-.530***	-.382**
	(.173)	(.157)	(.169)	(.190)	(.166)	(.245)	(.172)	(.148)	(.173)
Economic Dimension Sqrd	.0331	.0371	.0607**	.120***	.0489	-.00876	.0100	.0565***	.0314
	(.0253)	(.0226)	(.0236)	(.0365)	(.0299)	(.0394)	(.0241)	(.0154)	(.0215)
Political Interest	.0591	.0792	-.147	-.208	-.0535	-.0625	.178	-.0585	-.118
	(.165)	(.143)	(.159)	(.137)	(.141)	(.207)	(.168)	(.140)	(.151)
National Political Trust	-.781***	-.181**	-.209**	-.588***	-.339***	-.955***	-.768***	.0834	-.0972
	(.0984)	(.0890)	(.0907)	(.0853)	(.0808)	(.138)	(.101)	(.0857)	(.0903)
Education	-.0550	-.282***	-.319***	-.216**	-.241***	-.260*	.119	-.178*	.0867
	(.0868)	(.0904)	(.0993)	(.0938)	(.0662)	(.152)	(.0945)	(.0937)	(.102)
Age	.009	-.0189**	-.0325***	.00814	.00863	-.0187*	.00226	-.00148	-.0004
	(.009)	(.007)	(.008)	(.009)	(.007)	(.011)	(.008)	(.007)	(.008)
Female	-.382	-.436*	-.0495	-.0722	-.240	-.143	-.184	-.423*	-.653**
	(.278)	(.245)	(.270)	(.226)	(.215)	(.356)	(.270)	(.242)	(.272)
Constant	2.883***	3.797***	4.199***	3.540***	1.703**	5.020***	1.949**	2.233***	1.388*
	(.850)	(.741)	(.805)	(.669)	(.667)	(1.166)	(.788)	(.749)	(.826)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table D6: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **cultural ideology** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **populist** class. Cross country analysis.

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Cultural Dimension	-.330	-.384**	-.0997	-.291**	-.144	-.264	-.353**	-.310**	-.576***
	(.208)	(.152)	(.180)	(.130)	(.148)	(.231)	(.176)	(.156)	(.205)
Cultural Dimension Sqrd	.0580***	.0372***	.0261	.0500***	.0404***	.0559**	.0632***	.0559***	.0839***
	(.0204)	(.0138)	(.0174)	(.0135)	(.0153)	(.0248)	(.0185)	(.0166)	(.0190)
Political Interest	.0771	.110	-.103	-.0799	-.00169	-.109	.170	.0587	-.129
	(.171)	(.141)	(.157)	(.137)	(.144)	(.206)	(.169)	(.140)	(.157)
National Political Trust	-.824***	-.224***	-.355***	-.718***	-.389***	-1.052***	-.751***	-.163*	-.384***
	(.100)	(.0850)	(.0915)	(.0868)	(.0824)	(.141)	(.102)	(.0880)	(.0971)
Education	-.0282	-.320***	-.271***	-.209**	-.244***	-.217	.0895	-.164*	.0228
	(.0879)	(.0894)	(.0972)	(.0943)	(.0669)	(.148)	(.0950)	(.0935)	(.104)
Age	.0147	-.0162**	-.0344***	.00387	.00527	-.0104	.00331	-.00363	-.00410
	(.00906)	(.00737)	(.00810)	(.00899)	(.00679)	(.0109)	(.00755)	(.00717)	(.00819)
Female	-.289	-.367	.0167	.105	.0187	.0946	.0774	-.124	-.500*
	(.283)	(.242)	(.270)	(.230)	(.222)	(.351)	(.274)	(.249)	(.284)
Constant	1.958**	3.615***	3.463***	2.673***	1.068	4.138***	1.152	1.536**	2.169**
	(.916)	(.774)	(.891)	(.688)	(.705)	(1.132)	(.858)	(.773)	(.987)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Table D6.1: Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Assignment to different classes and using **cultural ideology (linear term only)** as a predictor. Showing only the comparison between the **technocratic** class (baseline) and the **populist** class. Cross country analysis

	GER	FRA	UK	GRE	ITA	NL	SE	USA	AUS
Cultural Dimension	.312***	-.000466	.198***	.175***	.279***	.246***	.287***	.281***	.438***
	(.0636)	(.0478)	(.0593)	(.0413)	(.0487)	(.0872)	(.0571)	(.0523)	(.0661)
Political Interest	.0396	.128	-.0886	-.0351	.001	-.102	.200	.0827	-.0429
	(.168)	(.140)	(.156)	(.135)	(.144)	(.205)	(.167)	(.141)	(.155)
National Political Trust	-.833***	-.261***	-.353***	-.712***	-.393***	-1.087***	-.708***	-.0982	-.379***
	(.100)	(.0867)	(.0911)	(.0862)	(.0829)	(.141)	(.101)	(.0867)	(.0958)
Education	-.0332	-.323***	-.291***	-.215*	-.247***	-.212	.101	-.164*	.0699
	(.0866)	(.0890)	(.0973)	(.0937)	(.0671)	(.147)	(.0941)	(.0937)	(.103)
Age	.0125	-.0153*	-.0332***	.00216	.00523	-.0123	.00428	-.00345	-.00315
	(.00885)	(.00730)	(.00806)	(.00889)	(.00681)	(.0108)	(.00744)	(.00709)	(.00809)
Female	-.336	-.391	.0107	.146	-.0409	.0780	.132	-.144	-.395
	(.279)	(.240)	(.268)	(.227)	(.220)	(.347)	(.269)	(.246)	(.277)
Constant	.861	2.990***	2.783***	1.924***	.268	3.480***	-.383	.121	-.886
	(.882)	(.721)	(.824)	(.657)	(.673)	(1.097)	(.776)	(.732)	(.844)
Observations	999	998	996	1,001	999	998	996	993	1,000

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Appendix 5: Robustness Checks

5.1 Alternative Dependent Variable: Probability of belonging to the Technocratic Class

In this robustness check, we substitute class assignment with the probability of class assignment as the dependent variable. In the analyses presented in the paper, following the Latent Class Analysis we assign each respondent to one of the classes based on the modal probability of class membership. This results in our dependent variable being a categorical variable that shows class assignment to one of the seven classes identified through the LCA. All regression analyses use class assignment as the dependent variable and explore how ideological positions (left-right, economic or cultural) increase or decrease the probability of a respondent to belong to the technocratic class, as opposed to the party-democratic or populist classes. In the analysis below, we take the probability of membership for the technocratic class that is calculated through the latent class model, and use it as a continuous dependent variable to replicate regression results. Results support the findings elaborated in the paper.

Table E1: Dependent Variable: Probability of membership in the technocratic class

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Left-Right Plcm	-.00674	.00941				
	(.00505)	(.0156)				
Left-Right Plcm Sqrd		-.00143				
		(.00101)				
Economic Dimension			-.0173***	-.0398***		
			(.00415)	(.00833)		
Economic Dimension Sqrd				.00317**		
				(.00113)		
Cultural Dimension					-.0134***	-.0281**
					(.00359)	(.00850)
Cultural Dimension Sqrd						.00150*
						(.000715)
Political Interest	.0254***	.0271***	.0226***	.0201***	.0248***	.0237***
	(.00474)	(.00432)	(.00414)	(.00374)	(.00459)	(.00452)
National Political Trust	-.000583	-.000733	-9.33e-05	.00255	.00107	.00114
	(.00433)	(.00425)	(.00522)	(.00510)	(.00440)	(.00451)
Education	.0119**	.0120**	.0127**	.0127**	.0108**	.0105**
	(.00409)	(.00406)	(.00404)	(.00413)	(.00404)	(.00401)
Age	.00118**	.00116**	.00101*	.000921*	.00125**	.00126**
	(.000471)	(.000473)	(.000445)	(.000429)	(.000461)	(.000459)
Female	.00839	.00794	.00854	.00873	.00171	.00178
	(.00996)	(.00986)	(.0108)	(.0108)	(.00976)	(.00993)
Constant	.0235	-.0190	.0535	.0821**	.0519	.0828**
	(.0384)	(.0490)	(.0358)	(.0328)	(.0354)	(.0250)
Observations	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980	8,980

Note: Entries show regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1