**Supplementary Material for article “The Elite-Citizen Gap in International Organization Legitimacy,” by Lisa Dellmuth, Jan Aart Scholte, Jonas Tallberg, and Soetkin Verhaegen, *American Political Science Review*.**

**Appendix A: Survey information**

Appendix A1. Sampling WVS7

The WVS7 covers nationally representative random samples of residents in a country aged 18 or older. The exception in our five countries is Brazil, where a nationally representative random sample was drawn among a target population of residents aged 16 or older. That all samples are probability samples within countries implies that they are representative for a country’s total population, if estimates are weighted using post-stratification weights. The interview completion rate was 88.1 percent in Brazil, 26.07 percent in Germany, 32.61 percent in the Philippines, 58.4 percent in Russia, and 48.3 percent in the US (see [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org) for more detailed information about sampling).

Table A2. Data collection mode in WVS7

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Brazil** | **Germany** | **Philippines** | **Russia** | **United States** |
| Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) | 1,762 | 3,022 | 0 | 1,364 | 0 |
| Paper-and-Pencil Interviewing (PAPI) | 0 | 0 | 1,2 | 2,284 | 0 |
| Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing (CAWI) | 0 | 109 | 0 | 0 | 2,596 |
| Mail/Post | 0 | 567 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Total number of interviews** | **1,762** | **3,698** | **1,2** | **3,648** | **2,596** |

*Note:* See [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org) for more detailed documentation on country-specific methodology in the WVS7.

Table A3. Field phases

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Country | LegGov Elite Survey | WVS 7 |
| Brazil | October 2017-June 2018 | May-June 2018 |
| Germany | October 2017-May 2018 | October 2017 – March 2018 |
| Philippines | November 2017-October 2018 | December 2019 |
| Russia | November 2018-August 2019 | November 2017 – December 2017 |
| United States | October 2017-May 2019 | April-May 2017 |

*Source:* LegGov Elite Survey and WVS7.

*Note:* See <https://www.statsvet.su.se/leggov/leggov-elite-survey> for more detailed information on the LegGov Elite Survey.

**Appendix B: Question wording and distribution of dyadic variables (LegGov Elite Survey and WVS7)**

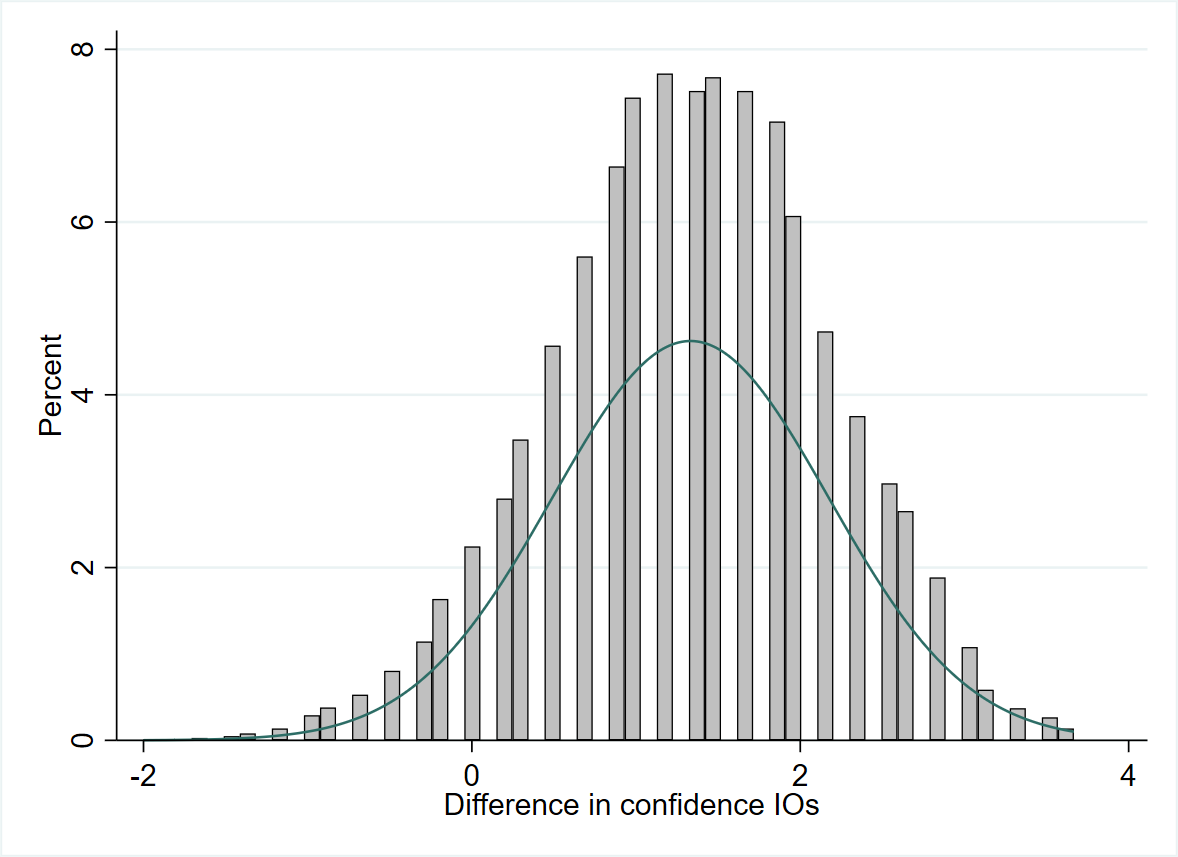
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Question wording | **Mean** | | **SD** | **Range** |
| Confidence in IOs  Confidence in government | I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?  UN; IMF; ICC; WB; WHO; WTO (additive index divided by six, missings excluded)  The government | 1.332  .373 | | .843  1.219 | -2; 3.667  -3; 3 |
| Education | What is the highest educational level that you have attained?  0  Early childhood education (ISCED 0) / no education  1  Primary education (ISCED 1)  2  Lower secondary education (ISCED 2)  3  Upper secondary education (ISCED 3)  4  Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED 4)  5  Short-cycle tertiary education (ISCED 5)  6  Bachelor or equivalent (ISCED 6)  7  Master or equivalent (ISCED 7)  8 Doctoral or equivalent (ISCED 8) | 3.092 | | 2.136 | -5; 8 |
| Financial satisfaction | How satisfied are you with the economic situation of [your household]? You can choose a number between 1: completely dissatisfied, and 10: completely satisfied. | .757 | | 3.128 | -9; 9 |
| Left-right orientation | In political matters, people talk of “the left” and “the right.” How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking? (10-point scale ranging from 1 – left; 10 – right) | -.957 | | 3.008 | -9; 9 |
| Feeling of belonging to world;  Feeling of belonging to country | People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. How close do you feel to...? (3- Very Close; 2- close; 1- Not very close; 0-Not close at all)  The world;  [Country] | .438  .203 | | 1.276  1.407 | -3; 3  -3; 5 |
| Satisfaction political system country | On a scale from 1 to 10 where “1” is “not satisfied at all” and “10” is “completely satisfied”, how satisfied are you with how the political system is functioning in your country these days? | -.609 | | 3.263 | -9; 9 |
| Age | Respondents’ birth year | 4.942 | | 21.21 | -80; 70 |
| Social trust | Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted (1) or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people (0)? Recoded: 0=no difference; 1=citizen more trusting; 2=elite more trusting | .991 | | .964 | 0; 2 |
| Political knowledge | Here are some questions about international organizations. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, but if you do please tell me.  - Five countries have permanent seats on the Security Council of the United Nations. Which 1 2 3 ones of the following is not a member? *A) France, B) China, C) India*  - Where are the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) located? *A) Washington DC, B) London, C) Geneva*  - Which of the following problems does the organization Amnesty International deal with? *A) Climate change, B) Human rights, C) Destruction of historic monuments*  (Each item coded as 1 (correct) versus 0 (incorrect), and then added in an index ranging from 0 to 3.) | 1.146 | | 1.194 | -3; 3 |
|  |  | | **Categories** | | **Proportion** |
| GAL-TAN | Based on sum of following variables:  - Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between. You can choose a number between 1: never justifiable, and 10: always justifiable.  Homosexuality; Abortion; Divorce; Sex before marriage  - Now we would like to know your opinion about the people from other countries who come to live in [your country] - the immigrants. How would you evaluate the impact of these people on the development of [your country]?  5-Very good, 4-Quite good, 3-Neither good-nor bad, 2-Quite bad, 1-Very bad  People sometimes talk about what the aims of their country should be for the next ten years. I will list four of the goals which different people would give top priority.  - If you had to choose, which one of the things would you say is most important? Maintaining order in the nation, giving people more say in important government decisions, fighting rising prices, or protecting freedom of speech?  - And which would be the next most important?  Respondents who responded ‘Maintaining order in the nation’ as first or second priority received code 1, all others code 0. | | Elite TAN, citizen GAL | | 25.5%  21.9%  52.57% |
| Elite GAL, citizen TAN | |
| Elite and citizen same | |
| Gender | Respondent’s sex | | Elite woman, citizen man | | 15.0% |
| Elite man, citizen woman | | 36.1%  48.9% |
| Elite and citizen same | |

**Appendix C: Pearson’s correlation independent variables in main analyses**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. |
| 1. Education | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. Financial satisfaction | 0.096 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. Left-right orientation | -0.045 | 0.083 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. Elite TAN, cit’ GAL | -0.056 | -0.011 | 0.062 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. Elite GAL, cit’ TAN | 0.068 | 0.000 | -0.081 | -0.307 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. Belonging to world | -0.063 | 0.098 | -0.021 | -0.009 | 0.037 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. Belonging to country | -0.169 | 0.072 | 0.128 | -0.015 | 0.070 | 0.417 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. Confidence in gov’ | -0.119 | 0.147 | 0.193 | 0.023 | 0.005 | 0.162 | 0.307 | 1.000 |  |  |  |  |
| 9. Satisfaction country | -0.001 | 0.161 | 0.214 | 0.022 | 0.004 | 0.120 | 0.220 | 0.436 | 1.000 |  |  |  |
| 10. Age | -0.009 | 0.055 | 0.045 | 0.027 | -0.016 | -0.000 | 0.061 | -0.019 | -0.012 | 1.000 |  |  |
| 11. Elite woman, cit’ man | 0.005 | -0.001 | -0.046 | -0.054 | 0.047 | -0.006 | -0.073 | -0.017 | 0.004 | -0.051 | 1.000 |  |
| 12. Elite man, cit’ women | 0.024 | 0.005 | 0.047 | 0.046 | -0.038 | 0.003 | 0.070 | 0.016 | 0.000 | 0.054 | -0.315 | 1.000 |

*Note:* All correlations are significant at *p<*.001. *N=*760,019.

**Appendix D: Distribution of dependent variable (elite-citizen** **gap in confidence in IOs)**



*Source:* WVS 7 and LegGov Elite Survey.

*Note:* Distribution of the dependent variable ‘difference confidence in IOs’ with a normal distribution overlaid.

**Appendix E: Robustness checks**

Table E1: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs including difference in social trust, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .031\*\*\* | .018 | .022\* | .028\*\*\* | .026\*\* | .046\*\*\* | .031\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .030\*\*\* | .021\*\* | .037\*\*\* | .017\*\* | .039\*\*\* | .013 | .038\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | | -.028\*\*\* | -.049\*\*\* | .003 | -.054\*\*\* | -.003 | -.049\*\*\* | -.005 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | | |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.077\* | -.061 | -.098\* | -.004 | -.113\* | -.089 | -.112\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | .087\*\* | .158\*\*\* | .084\* | .044 | .070 | .089\* | .052 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | .070\*\*\* | .080\*\*\* | .067\*\* | .107\*\*\* | .073\*\* | .031 | .066\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | -.000 | .019 | -.025 | -.041\* | -.020 | .029 | .030 |
| Confidence in government | | | .168\*\*\* | .181\*\*\* | .203\*\*\* | .165\*\*\* | .228\*\*\* | .095\*\*\* | .191\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | .004 | -.018\* | .007 | .009 | .010 | -.000 | .005 |
| Age | | | -.002\*\* | -.002 | -.001 | -.002\*\* | -.002 | -.001 | -.003\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | -.070 | .008 | -.123\* | .040 | -.095 | -.101\* | -.118\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | .002 | -.025 | .009 | -.077\*\*\* | .009 | .061\* | .036 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | -.191\*\*\* | -.156\* | -.214\*\* | -.198\*\*\* | -.206\*\* | -.238\*\*\* | -.197\*\* |
| Elite more social trust | .133\*\*\* | .212\*\*\* | .146\*\*\* | .164\*\*\* | .114\* | .156\*\*\* | .099\* |
| Intercept | | | 1.219\*\*\* | 1.406\*\*\* | 1.229\*\*\* | 1.094\*\*\* | 1.211\*\*\* | 2.312\*\*\* | .161 |
| *N* | | | 544701 | 626339 | 654947 | 699894 | 658855 | 686786 | 648324 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .213 | .147 | .163 | .145 | .174 | .126 | .151 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E2: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil including difference in social trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .020 | .051 | .037 | .033 | .029 | .030 | -.012 |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .035\*\* | .029 | .043\*\* | .020 | .043\*\* | .013 | .058\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | | .013 | -.021 | .061\*\*\* | -.020 | .042\* | -.015 | .023 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | | |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.215\*\*\* | -.212\* | -.143 | .002 | -.248\*\* | -.163 | -.328\*\*\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | .164\*\*\* | .156\* | .121\* | .054 | .200\*\*\* | .117\* | .208\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | .019 | .007 | .078 | .013 | .027 | -.003 | .033 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | -.032 | -.021 | -.079 | -.007 | -.049 | -.008 | -.052 |
| Confidence in government | | | .313\*\*\* | .334\*\*\* | .373\*\*\* | .226\*\*\* | .474\*\*\* | .120\*\*\* | .291\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | .013 | .021 | .013 | .006 | .020 | .013 | .016 |
| Age | | | .002 | .004 | .001 | .001 | .002 | .004\* | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | .009 | -.019 | -.025 | .072 | .051 | .027 | -.005 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | -.037 | -.017 | -.042 | -.087 | -.021 | .020 | .015 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | .057 | .169 | .100 | .002 | .185 | -.092 | .043 |
| Elite more social trust | .072 | -.030 | .131 | .020 | .070 | .092 | .013 |
| Intercept | | | 1.267\*\*\* | 1.389\*\*\* | 1.140\*\*\* | 1.141\*\*\* | 1.111\*\*\* | 2.416\*\*\* | .401\*\* |
| *N* | | | 62016 | 72100 | 90505 | 97788 | 90505 | 98724 | 90060 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .265 | .154 | .235 | .084 | .276 | .062 | .168 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E3: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany including difference in social trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .017 | .009 | .048\* | .010 | .037\* | .013 | -.002 |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .005 | .036\*\* | .000 | .025 | -.020 | .009 | .001 |
| Left-right orientation | | | .020 | -.002 | .064\*\*\* | -.032\* | .057\*\* | -.039\* | .062\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.042 | -.022 | -.122 | .001 | -.093 | .026 | -.003 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | .048 | .019 | .130 | -.001 | .108 | -.026 | .008 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | .009 | .088\* | -.050 | .070\* | -.001 | .036 | -.034 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | .001 | .059 | -.002 | -.028 | -.009 | -.035 | .077 |
| Confidence in government | | | .296\*\*\* | .209\*\*\* | .357\*\*\* | .293\*\*\* | .325\*\*\* | .233\*\*\* | .313\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | .031\*\*\* | .012 | .038 | .030 | .031 | .018 | .033\* |
| Age | | | -.002 | -.001 | .000 | -.003\* | .000 | -.005\*\* | -.004\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | -.059 | -.017 | .000 | .052 | -.048 | -.150 | -.122 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | .009 | .014 | -.054 | -.048 | -.024 | .095\* | .035 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | .029 | -.145 | .015 | .060 | -.277 | .280 | .135 |
| Elite more social trust | .068\* | .194\*\*\* | .019 | .105\*\* | .102\* | -.005 | .007 |
| Intercept | | | 1.139\*\*\* | 1.422\*\*\* | 1.112\*\*\* | .828\*\*\* | 1.234\*\*\* | 1.999\*\*\* | .120 |
| *N* | | | 106037 | 132272 | 128260 | 140233 | 125172 | 137860 | 124096 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .297 | .154 | .211 | .212 | .164 | .128 | .185 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E4: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines including difference in social trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .007 | -.014 | -.033 | .012 | -.012 | .027 | .010 |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .029\*\* | -.002 | .047\*\*\* | .010 | .047\*\*\* | .015 | .032\* |
| Left-right orientation | | | .011 | -.022 | .029 | -.004 | .034\* | .011 | .017 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.009 | -.118\* | .009 | -.002 | -.005 | .001 | .061 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | -.098 | .172 | -.203 | -.155 | -.265\* | .033 | -.293\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | -.083\* | -.018 | -.085 | -.087\* | -.089 | -.099\* | -.109\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | .075 | -.008 | .109 | .032 | .064 | .093 | .159\* |
| Confidence in government | | | .182\*\*\* | .096 | .255\*\*\* | .198\*\*\* | .259\*\*\* | .127\*\*\* | .215\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | .010 | -.016 | .017 | .008 | .028\* | .016 | .020 |
| Age | | | -.003 | -.002 | -.003 | -.001 | -.004 | -.002 | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | -.060 | .003 | -.107 | .006 | -.007 | -.001 | -.171\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | .037 | .003 | .082 | -.007 | .005 | -.003 | .120 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | -.113 | -.146 | -.174\* | -.186\* | -.065 | -.081 | -.032 |
| Elite more social trust | -.022 | .302\* | -.010 | .078 | -.128 | .005 | -.104 |
| Intercept | | | 1.041\*\*\* | .857\*\*\* | 1.232\*\*\* | 1.118\*\*\* | 1.197\*\*\* | 2.000\*\*\* | .092 |
| *N* | | | 111400 | 121659 | 123860 | 134922 | 129426 | 130647 | 124120 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .141 | .049 | .165 | .075 | .170 | .075 | .137 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E5: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia including difference in social trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .017 | .002 | .028 | .024 | .011 | .011 | .008 |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .008 | .036 | -.006 | -.007 | .011 | .015 | -.005 |
| Left-right orientation | | | .042\*\* | .034 | .075\*\*\* | .036\* | .051\* | .004 | .077\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.014 | .005 | .009 | .067 | -.115 | -.092 | -.109 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | .163 | .050 | .074 | -.034 | .326\*\* | .183 | .318\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | .120\*\*\* | .144\* | .207\*\*\* | .232\*\*\* | .160\*\* | -.057 | .151\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | -.121\*\* | -.108 | -.233\*\*\* | -.100\*\* | -.175\*\*\* | .065 | -.119\* |
| Confidence in government | | | .260\*\*\* | .348\*\*\* | .258\*\*\* | .268\*\*\* | .228\*\*\* | .210\*\*\* | .278\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | -.028 | -.089\*\*\* | -.025 | -.001 | -.021 | -.054\*\* | -.028 |
| Age | | | -.004\* | -.004 | -.002 | -.001 | -.002 | -.003 | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | -.129 | -.100 | .002 | -.050 | -.041 | -.209 | -.218 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | .043 | .003 | .015 | .023 | .014 | .049 | .096 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | -.120\* | -.218\* | -.116 | -.126\* | -.190\* | -.166\* | -.155\* |
| Elite more social trust | .191\*\* | .296\* | .140 | .161\* | .249\* | .201 | .244\* |
| Intercept | | | 1.263\*\*\* | 1.038\*\*\* | 1.228\*\*\* | 1.478\*\*\* | 1.332\*\*\* | 2.282\*\*\* | .082 |
| *N* | | | 65532 | 78988 | 83980 | 92466 | 84384 | 86450 | 85152 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .203 | .150 | .155 | .202 | .133 | .101 | .170 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E6: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US including difference in social trust

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | | .049\*\*\* | .041\* | .015 | .032\* | .031 | .085\*\*\* | .073\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | | .033\*\* | .023 | .049\*\*\* | .015 | .050\*\*\* | .001 | .048\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | | -.079\*\*\* | -.097\*\*\* | -.064\*\*\* | -.111\*\*\* | -.069\*\*\* | -.091\*\*\* | -.061\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | | -.003 | -.012 | -.009 | .041 | .041 | -.106 | -.020 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | | .126\*\*\* | .123\*\* | .166\*\*\* | .157\*\*\* | .118\*\* | .106\*\* | .107\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | | .123\*\*\* | .108\* | .079\* | .168\*\*\* | .121\*\* | .102\* | .127\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | | .055\* | .083\* | .055 | -.000 | .052 | .073 | .089\* |
| Confidence in government | | | .055 | .081 | .057 | .041 | .103\* | -.013 | .093\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | | -.001 | -.010 | .001 | .009 | -.004 | -.009 | -.007 |
| Age | | | -.001 | -.002 | -.000 | -.003 | -.001 | .001 | -.002 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | | -.058 | .093 | -.197 | .068 | -.187\* | -.147 | -.045 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | | -.046 | -.098\* | -.010 | -.155\*\*\* | .004 | .062 | -.062 |
| Social trust (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Citizen more social trust | -.174\*\* | -.120 | -.231\*\* | -.216\*\*\* | -.144 | -.297\*\* | -.184\* |
| Elite more social trust | .178\*\*\* | .142\* | .229\*\*\* | .208\*\*\* | .158\* | .250\*\*\* | .177\*\* |
| Intercept | | | .995\*\*\* | .957\*\*\* | 1.211\*\*\* | .843\*\*\* | 1.212\*\*\* | 1.923\*\*\* | -.123 |
| *N* | | | 199716 | 221320 | 228342 | 234485 | 229368 | 233105 | 224896 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | | .266 | .173 | .149 | .246 | .157 | .223 | .179 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E7: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs including difference in political knowledge, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | 0.033\*\*\* | 0.022\* | 0.026\*\* | 0.032\*\*\* | 0.028\*\* | 0.047\*\*\* | 0.029\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | 0.032\*\*\* | 0.025\*\*\* | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.021\*\*\* | 0.040\*\*\* | 0.017\* | 0.038\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -0.026\*\*\* | -0.051\*\*\* | 0.005 | -0.053\*\*\* | 0.000 | -0.048\*\*\* | -0.002 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -0.078\* | -0.073 | -0.101\* | -0.006 | -0.121\*\* | -0.087 | -0.107\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | 0.088\*\* | 0.165\*\*\* | 0.084\* | 0.044 | 0.076 | 0.090\* | 0.053 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | 0.075\*\*\* | 0.091\*\*\* | 0.073\*\*\* | 0.109\*\*\* | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.037 | 0.070\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -0.007 | 0.013 | -0.032 | -0.044\* | -0.029 | 0.027 | 0.029 |
| Confidence in government | | 0.178\*\*\* | 0.193\*\*\* | 0.215\*\*\* | 0.175\*\*\* | 0.239\*\*\* | 0.106\*\*\* | 0.198\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | 0.008 | -0.014 | 0.011 | 0.013\* | 0.013 | 0.003 | 0.009 |
| Age | | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.003\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -0.063 | 0.008 | -0.106\* | 0.042 | -0.085 | -0.089 | -0.115\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | 0.004 | -0.018 | 0.001 | -0.072\*\* | 0.011 | 0.057\* | 0.039 |
| Political knowledge | | 0.023 | 0.026 | 0.041\* | 0.021 | 0.012 | 0.017 | 0.008 |
| Intercept | | 1.222\*\*\* | 1.431\*\*\* | 1.207\*\*\* | 1.107\*\*\* | 1.214\*\*\* | 2.333\*\*\* | 0.176 |
| *N* | | 512804 | 589891 | 617849 | 658126 | 619597 | 645440 | 609820 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | 0.205 | 0.138 | 0.162 | 0.135 | 0.172 | 0.112 | 0.147 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E8: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil including difference in political knowledge

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .014 | .040 | .026 | .032 | .025 | .025 | -.019 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .039\*\*\* | .029 | .046\*\* | .023 | .045\*\* | .014 | .061\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .011 | -.022 | .058\*\*\* | -.022 | .044\* | -.016 | .021 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.209\*\* | -.193 | -.148 | .008 | -.244\*\* | -.164 | -.311\*\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .164\*\*\* | .142\* | .127\* | .051 | .199\*\*\* | .118\* | .201\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .026 | .013 | .078 | .019 | .035 | -.001 | .047 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.043 | -.029 | -.080 | -.010 | -.059 | -.011 | -.065 |
| Confidence in government | | .304\*\*\* | .325\*\*\* | .361\*\*\* | .224\*\*\* | .459\*\*\* | .114\*\* | .288\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .019 | .024 | .021 | .008 | .025 | .019 | .020 |
| Age | | .001 | .004 | .000 | .000 | .002 | .004 | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | .048 | -.000 | .025 | .092 | .080 | .073 | .023 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.049 | -.028 | -.065 | -.097 | -.029 | .003 | .008 |
| Political knowledge | | .066\* | .056 | .089\* | .035 | .056 | .087\*\* | .049 |
| Intercept | | 1.231\*\*\* | 1.343\*\*\* | 1.128\*\*\* | 1.100\*\*\* | 1.083\*\*\* | 2.346\*\*\* | .348\*\* |
| *N* | | 62109 | 71968 | 90132 | 97578 | 90248 | 98440 | 89815 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .271 | .154 | .238 | .089 | .273 | .071 | .172 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E9: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany including difference in political knowledge

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .014 | .014 | .040\* | .009 | .032\* | .005 | -.003 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .007 | .036\*\* | .001 | .026 | -.015 | .006 | -.000 |
| Left-right orientation | | .023\* | -.003 | .064\*\*\* | -.026 | .057\*\* | -.034\* | .064\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.020 | -.027 | -.099 | .023 | -.082 | .056 | .027 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .023 | .026 | .103 | -.022 | .092 | -.055 | -.024 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .027 | .116\*\* | -.033 | .070\* | .045 | .050 | -.025 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.004 | .045 | -.005 | -.024 | -.030 | -.026 | .092 |
| Confidence in government | | .307\*\*\* | .241\*\*\* | .370\*\*\* | .297\*\*\* | .350\*\*\* | .228\*\*\* | .310\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .031\*\*\* | .010 | .035 | .032 | .029 | .020 | .035\* |
| Age | | -.002 | -.001 | .001 | -.002 | -.000 | -.005\*\* | -.005\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.043 | -.014 | .021 | .045 | -.009 | -.126 | -.125 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .003 | .018 | -.065 | -.042 | -.047 | .080 | .040 |
| Political knowledge | | .076\*\* | .048 | .069 | .040 | .096\* | .105\*\* | .035 |
| Intercept | | 1.068\*\*\* | 1.387\*\*\* | 1.052\*\*\* | .842\*\*\* | 1.120\*\*\* | 1.909\*\*\* | .071 |
| *N* | | 112665 | 139780 | 136116 | 148473 | 132832 | 145431 | 131544 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .303 | .155 | .210 | .202 | .168 | .130 | .185 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E10: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines including difference in political knowledge

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .006 | -.018 | -.033 | .017 | -.014 | .026 | .008 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .029\*\* | -.003 | .048\*\*\* | .012 | .047\*\*\* | .014 | .032\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .011 | -.025 | .029 | -.009 | .034\* | .013 | .014 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.010 | -.119\* | .008 | .002 | .008 | -.004 | .069 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | -.093 | .188 | -.196 | -.149 | -.260\* | .035 | -.291\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | -.084\* | -.027 | -.084 | -.099\* | -.089 | -.097\* | -.107\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .077 | .009 | .111 | .033 | .063 | .093 | .159\* |
| Confidence in government | | .179\*\*\* | .107 | .254\*\*\* | .215\*\*\* | .246\*\*\* | .129\*\*\* | .203\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .010 | -.010 | .016 | .007 | .026 | .016 | .019 |
| Age | | -.003 | -.001 | -.002 | -.001 | -.004 | -.002 | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.068 | -.010 | -.110 | -.004 | -.016 | -.001 | -.179\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .043 | .016 | .081 | .004 | .010 | -.004 | .116 |
| Political knowledge | | -.022 | .048 | -.018 | -.003 | -.066 | .003 | -.059 |
| Intercept | | 1.038\*\*\* | .972\*\*\* | 1.217\*\*\* | 1.124\*\*\* | 1.173\*\*\* | 1.999\*\*\* | .081 |
| *N* | | 104200 | 112992 | 115170 | 123057 | 119325 | 119880 | 114383 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .141 | .033 | .166 | .080 | .170 | .076 | .138 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E11: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia including difference in political knowledge

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .024 | .014 | .033 | .028 | .019 | .019 | .018 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .013 | .042 | .002 | .001 | .020 | .019 | .001 |
| Left-right orientation | | .049\*\* | .040 | .082\*\*\* | .038\* | .060\*\* | .010 | .087\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.013 | -.018 | .010 | .057 | -.119 | -.094 | -.106 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .141 | .073 | .045 | -.029 | .318\*\* | .182 | .296\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .125\*\*\* | .160\*\* | .210\*\*\* | .232\*\*\* | .170\*\*\* | -.053 | .155\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.115\*\* | -.097 | -.237\*\*\* | -.099\*\* | -.171\*\*\* | .076 | -.105\* |
| Confidence in government | | .268\*\*\* | .361\*\*\* | .259\*\*\* | .265\*\*\* | .240\*\*\* | .220\*\*\* | .287\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | -.026 | -.088\*\*\* | -.021 | .004 | -.020 | -.050\* | -.024 |
| Age | | -.004\* | -.004 | -.002 | -.001 | -.003 | -.003 | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.136 | -.124 | -.003 | -.065 | -.059 | -.202 | -.196 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .058 | .029 | .012 | .021 | .037 | .064 | .103 |
| Political knowledge | | -.046 | -.095\* | -.040 | .002 | -.067 | -.023 | -.060 |
| Intercept | | 1.373\*\*\* | 1.243\*\*\* | 1.318\*\*\* | 1.522\*\*\* | 1.479\*\*\* | 2.367\*\*\* | .240\* |
| *N* | | 67672 | 81561 | 86621 | 95243 | 86926 | 88949 | 87710 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .194 | .145 | .154 | .189 | .126 | .092 | .162 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E12: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US including difference in political knowledge

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .055\*\*\* | .049\*\* | .027 | .042\*\* | .038\* | .094\*\*\* | .075\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | .036\*\*\* | .025 | .054\*\*\* | .019 | .051\*\*\* | .009 | .051\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -.086\*\*\* | -.103\*\*\* | -.073\*\*\* | -.119\*\*\* | -.073\*\*\* | -.100\*\*\* | -.066\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.019 | -.021 | -.033 | .023 | .022 | -.134 | -.043 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .124\*\*\* | .117\*\* | .169\*\*\* | .161\*\*\* | .118\*\* | .103\*\* | .112\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .139\*\*\* | .122\*\* | .092\*\* | .190\*\*\* | .139\*\*\* | .123\*\* | .140\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .049 | .079 | .051 | -.008 | .048 | .073 | .081 |
| Confidence in government | | .053 | .073 | .062 | .038 | .103\* | -.016 | .096\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .001 | -.009 | .004 | .013 | -.002 | -.007 | -.005 |
| Age | | -.001 | -.001 | .000 | -.002 | -.001 | .002 | -.001 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.057 | .092 | -.202 | .066 | -.195\* | -.148 | -.043 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.042 | -.096\* | -.005 | -.153\*\*\* | .016 | .068 | -.062 |
| Political knowledge | | .015 | -.015 | .059 | -.019 | .027 | -.060 | .042 |
| Intercept | | 1.004\*\*\* | .984\*\*\* | 1.193\*\*\* | .884\*\*\* | 1.212\*\*\* | 1.977\*\*\* | -.115 |
| *N* | | 166158 | 183590 | 189810 | 193775 | 190266 | 192740 | 186368 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .247 | .168 | .135 | .233 | .148 | .196 | .162 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E13: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | 0.036\*\*\* | 0.024\*\* | 0.028\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.031\*\*\* | 0.051\*\*\* | 0.035\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | 0.033\*\*\* | 0.022\*\* | 0.041\*\*\* | 0.021\*\*\* | 0.043\*\*\* | 0.016\* | 0.040\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -0.029\*\*\* | -0.053\*\*\* | 0.004 | -0.055\*\*\* | -0.004 | -0.050\*\*\* | -0.004 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -0.076\* | -0.061 | -0.106\* | -0.005 | -0.117\* | -0.088 | -0.099\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | 0.094\*\* | 0.171\*\*\* | 0.095\* | 0.050 | 0.075 | 0.099\*\* | 0.046 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | 0.077\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.109\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.039 | 0.072\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -0.002 | 0.014 | -0.028 | -0.036\* | -0.021 | 0.030 | 0.033 |
| Confidence in government | | 0.176\*\*\* | 0.169\*\*\* | 0.215\*\*\* | 0.177\*\*\* | 0.245\*\*\* | 0.098\*\*\* | 0.202\*\*\* |
| Age | | -0.002\* | -0.002 | -0.001 | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.004\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -0.063 | 0.003 | -0.109\* | 0.050 | -0.081 | -0.101\* | -0.107\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | 0.005 | -0.015 | 0.009 | -0.075\*\*\* | 0.011 | 0.065\*\* | 0.037 |
| Intercept | | 1.238\*\*\* | 1.464\*\*\* | 1.255\*\*\* | 1.121\*\*\* | 1.221\*\*\* | 2.344\*\*\* | 0.169 |
| *N* | | 567278 | 653676 | 683121 | 730648 | 688001 | 715196 | 676491 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | 0.198 | 0.129 | 0.154 | 0.129 | 0.170 | 0.111 | 0.146 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E14: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .016 | .038 | .037 | .031 | .025 | .031 | -.015 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .040\*\*\* | .032\* | .048\*\*\* | .023 | .047\*\* | .017 | .062\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .013 | -.022 | .061\*\*\* | -.021 | .043\* | -.015 | .024 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.211\*\* | -.194 | -.157 | .010 | -.251\*\* | -.170 | -.319\*\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .166\*\*\* | .147\* | .133\* | .059 | .193\*\* | .123\* | .196\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .028 | .017 | .083\* | .021 | .036 | .003 | .044 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.036 | -.023 | -.074 | -.012 | -.050 | -.005 | -.051 |
| Confidence in government | | .313\*\*\* | .330\*\*\* | .378\*\*\* | .221\*\*\* | .482\*\*\* | .125\*\*\* | .302\*\*\* |
| Age | | .001 | .003 | .001 | -.000 | .002 | .004\* | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | .031 | -.011 | -.007 | .084 | .056 | .043 | .003 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.042 | -.017 | -.051 | -.088 | -.011 | .021 | .024 |
| Intercept | | 1.307\*\*\* | 1.414\*\*\* | 1.199\*\*\* | 1.148\*\*\* | 1.150\*\*\* | 2.441\*\*\* | .396\*\* |
| *N* | | 64792 | 75390 | 94068 | 101480 | 94419 | 102776 | 94076 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .251 | .136 | .232 | .080 | .270 | .054 | .166 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E15: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .021\* | .020 | .045\* | .013 | .041\*\* | .014 | .001 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .011 | .037\*\*\* | .007 | .031\* | -.011 | .012 | .003 |
| Left-right orientation | | .019 | -.003 | .059\*\*\* | -.028\* | .053\*\* | -.035\* | .062\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.034 | -.022 | -.125 | .017 | -.094 | .054 | .016 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .036 | .022 | .126 | -.014 | .100 | -.051 | -.015 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .022 | .116\*\* | -.041 | .063 | .038 | .046 | -.034 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .006 | .053 | -.002 | -.017 | -.021 | -.019 | .097 |
| Confidence in government | | .348\*\*\* | .250\*\*\* | .428\*\*\* | .342\*\*\* | .390\*\*\* | .252\*\*\* | .362\*\*\* |
| Age | | -.002 | -.001 | .001 | -.002 | .000 | -.005\*\* | -.005\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.048 | -.030 | .032 | .047 | -.015 | -.141 | -.113 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .010 | .029 | -.063 | -.041 | -.038 | .095\* | .037 |
| Intercept | | 1.106\*\*\* | 1.406\*\*\* | 1.091\*\*\* | .849\*\*\* | 1.175\*\*\* | 1.967\*\*\* | .077 |
| *N* | | 114016 | 141804 | 137885 | 151040 | 134922 | 147854 | 133497 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .283 | .149 | .205 | .193 | .158 | .117 | .178 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E16: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .006 | -.013 | -.034 | .012 | -.013 | .025 | .010 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .030\*\* | -.006 | .048\*\*\* | .011 | .051\*\*\* | .013 | .039\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .012 | -.026 | .030 | -.005 | .038\* | .011 | .022 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.011 | -.123\* | .005 | -.007 | -.007 | -.002 | .060 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | -.103 | .212 | -.211 | -.150 | -.294\* | .031 | -.325\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | -.084\* | -.033 | -.087 | -.093\* | -.086 | -.106\*\* | -.099\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .076 | .001 | .110 | .037 | .064 | .093 | .159\* |
| Confidence in government | | .189\*\*\* | .095 | .269\*\*\* | .208\*\*\* | .278\*\*\* | .135\*\*\* | .237\*\*\* |
| Age | | -.003 | -.001 | -.003 | -.001 | -.004 | -.002 | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.063 | -.016 | -.111 | .000 | -.006 | -.010 | -.158 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .038 | .018 | .083 | -.003 | .003 | .004 | .106 |
| Intercept | | 1.020\*\*\* | .992\*\*\* | 1.206\*\*\* | 1.139\*\*\* | 1.114\*\*\* | 1.981\*\*\* | .030 |
| *N* | | 112716 | 123120 | 125208 | 136458 | 130928 | 132160 | 125496 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .139 | .029 | .162 | .070 | .164 | .063 | .142 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E17: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .024 | .005 | .036 | .033 | .016 | .015 | .014 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .005 | .019 | -.002 | -.003 | .013 | .008 | -.008 |
| Left-right orientation | | .044\*\* | .027 | .086\*\*\* | .039\* | .054\* | .002 | .078\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.005 | .003 | .012 | .073 | -.104 | -.079 | -.074 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .142 | .058 | .059 | -.055 | .287\* | .170 | .239\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .112\*\* | .132\* | .194\*\*\* | .212\*\*\* | .151\*\* | -.057 | .137\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.113\*\* | -.099 | -.239\*\*\* | -.087\* | -.162\*\* | .074 | -.099 |
| Confidence in government | | .250\*\*\* | .291\*\*\* | .232\*\*\* | .269\*\*\* | .229\*\*\* | .183\*\*\* | .277\*\*\* |
| Age | | -.004\* | -.004 | -.001 | -.002 | -.003 | -.003 | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.132 | -.113 | -.000 | -.047 | -.043 | -.213 | -.167 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .047 | .010 | .009 | .008 | .020 | .065 | .073 |
| Intercept | | 1.334\*\*\* | 1.209\*\*\* | 1.285\*\*\* | 1.501\*\*\* | 1.424\*\*\* | 2.379\*\*\* | .187 |
| *N* | | 70666 | 86450 | 91872 | 101352 | 92600 | 93492 | 92800 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .181 | .100 | .147 | .180 | .114 | .076 | .147 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E18: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US without difference in satisfaction with the political system in one’s country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .058\*\*\* | .049\*\* | .027 | .043\*\* | .039\* | .098\*\*\* | .082\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | .035\*\* | .022 | .051\*\*\* | .020\* | .053\*\*\* | .005 | .049\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -.083\*\*\* | -.101\*\*\* | -.069\*\*\* | -.116\*\*\* | -.074\*\*\* | -.098\*\*\* | -.066\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.004 | -.006 | -.014 | .028 | .034 | -.123 | -.018 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .134\*\*\* | .127\*\* | .177\*\*\* | .165\*\*\* | .126\*\*\* | .119\*\*\* | .114\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .135\*\*\* | .118\*\* | .094\*\* | .177\*\*\* | .129\*\*\* | .118\*\* | .141\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .051 | .075 | .053 | .004 | .052 | .068 | .083 |
| Confidence in government | | .056 | .075 | .063 | .053 | .104\* | -.017 | .090\* |
| Age | | -.001 | -.002 | -.000 | -.002 | -.001 | .001 | -.002 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.056 | .078 | -.196 | .089 | -.169 | -.164 | -.049 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.032 | -.083 | .011 | -.151\*\*\* | .008 | .085 | -.047 |
| Intercept | | 1.005\*\*\* | .984\*\*\* | 1.219\*\*\* | .841\*\*\* | 1.225\*\*\* | 1.944\*\*\* | -.101 |
| *N* | | 205088 | 226912 | 234088 | 240318 | 235132 | 238914 | 230622 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .238 | .159 | .120 | .226 | .147 | .190 | .160 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E19: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs without difference in confidence in government, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | 0.031\*\*\* | 0.021\* | 0.023\* | 0.029\*\*\* | 0.023\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.030\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | 0.038\*\*\* | 0.030\*\*\* | 0.046\*\*\* | 0.026\*\*\* | 0.048\*\*\* | 0.020\* | 0.045\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -0.023\*\* | -0.046\*\*\* | 0.009 | -0.049\*\*\* | 0.004 | -0.047\*\*\* | 0.001 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -0.087\* | -0.085 | -0.116\* | -0.018 | -0.133\*\* | -0.098 | -0.125\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | 0.093\*\* | 0.171\*\*\* | 0.091\* | 0.053 | 0.075 | 0.097\*\* | 0.057 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | 0.077\*\*\* | 0.091\*\*\* | 0.075\*\*\* | 0.110\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.039 | 0.071\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | 0.015 | 0.037 | -0.004 | -0.022 | 0.001 | 0.040 | 0.052\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | 0.028\*\*\* | 0.010 | 0.036\*\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.041\*\*\* | 0.015 | 0.031\*\*\* |
| Age | | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.003\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -0.062 | 0.010 | -0.112\* | 0.044 | -0.086 | -0.091 | -0.113\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | 0.006 | -0.017 | 0.010 | -0.072\*\* | 0.011 | 0.062\* | 0.037 |
| Intercept | | 1.328\*\*\* | 1.555\*\*\* | 1.377\*\*\* | 1.236\*\*\* | 1.363\*\*\* | 2.396\*\*\* | 0.280\*\* |
| *N* | | 557970 | 643364 | 672754 | 720293 | 677442 | 706587 | 665950 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | 0.157 | 0.107 | 0.122 | 0.105 | 0.128 | 0.103 | 0.114 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E20: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil without difference in confidence in government

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .008 | .035 | .029 | .026 | .016 | .031 | -.019 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .048\*\*\* | .040\* | .060\*\*\* | .030\* | .060\*\*\* | .018 | .068\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .017 | -.019 | .065\*\*\* | -.017 | .049\*\* | -.014 | .025 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.192\*\* | -.176 | -.141 | .015 | -.230\* | -.159 | -.304\*\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .166\*\*\* | .142\* | .130\* | .057 | .192\*\* | .120\* | .198\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .021 | .004 | .072 | .010 | .019 | -.003 | .030 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.005 | .006 | -.037 | .013 | -.002 | -.000 | -.033 |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .055\*\*\* | .065\*\*\* | .063\*\*\* | .035\*\* | .082\*\*\* | .030\* | .053\*\*\* |
| Age | | .002 | .004 | -.000 | -.000 | .001 | .004\* | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | .006 | -.043 | -.026 | .070 | .040 | .044 | .000 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.032 | -.005 | -.042 | -.081 | -.017 | .017 | .004 |
| Intercept | | 1.460\*\*\* | 1.570\*\*\* | 1.414\*\*\* | 1.281\*\*\* | 1.421\*\*\* | 2.506\*\*\* | .565\*\*\* |
| *N* | | 64169 | 74672 | 94185 | 101598 | 94419 | 102660 | 93844 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .111 | .060 | .117 | .027 | .113 | .039 | .093 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E21: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany without difference in confidence in government

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .027\*\* | .024 | .055\*\* | .017 | .046\*\* | .019 | .009 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .017 | .044\*\*\* | .013 | .035\* | -.004 | .016 | .007 |
| Left-right orientation | | .018 | -.007 | .059\*\* | -.031\* | .050\* | -.037\* | .060\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.038 | -.039 | -.121 | .008 | -.100 | .047 | .006 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .040 | .038 | .124 | -.006 | .109 | -.044 | -.004 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .052 | .135\*\*\* | -.004 | .090\*\* | .074 | .063 | -.001 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .037 | .076 | .042 | .011 | .020 | .003 | .132\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .083\*\*\* | .052\*\*\* | .099\*\*\* | .082\*\*\* | .087\*\*\* | .059\*\*\* | .088\*\*\* |
| Age | | -.003\* | -.001 | -.000 | -.003\* | -.001 | -.006\*\*\* | -.005\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.074 | -.039 | -.016 | .014 | -.044 | -.162\* | -.151 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .020 | .032 | -.043 | -.021 | -.025 | .106\* | .049 |
| Intercept | | 1.258\*\*\* | 1.523\*\*\* | 1.268\*\*\* | 1.002\*\*\* | 1.345\*\*\* | 2.079\*\*\* | .230\*\* |
| *N* | | 113553 | 142216 | 137712 | 151515 | 134848 | 148590 | 133052 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .170 | .109 | .127 | .131 | .090 | .082 | .123 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E22: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines without difference in confidence in government

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | -.007 | -.020 | -.055\* | -.004 | -.033 | .016 | -.009 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .032\*\* | -.003 | .050\*\*\* | .014 | .051\*\*\* | .016 | .037\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .020 | -.019 | .040\* | .003 | .046\*\* | .017 | .027 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.002 | -.118\* | .020 | .004 | .011 | .008 | .073 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | -.109 | .197 | -.221 | -.161 | -.298\* | .025 | -.312\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | -.078\* | -.031 | -.076 | -.085 | -.078 | -.095\* | -.098\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .051 | -.012 | .076 | .009 | .029 | .076 | .128 |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .026\* | -.001 | .041\*\* | .029\* | .050\*\* | .029\* | .037\* |
| Age | | -.002 | -.001 | -.002 | -.001 | -.004 | -.002 | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.068 | -.015 | -.107 | .003 | -.009 | -.003 | -.170 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .049 | .019 | .089 | -.002 | .013 | .000 | .123 |
| Intercept | | 1.001\*\*\* | .961\*\*\* | 1.205\*\*\* | 1.129\*\*\* | 1.116\*\*\* | 1.988\*\*\* | .023 |
| *N* | | 111600 | 121980 | 124080 | 135261 | 129759 | 130980 | 124334 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .082 | .021 | .107 | .032 | .116 | .050 | .098 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E23: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia without difference in confidence in government

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .016 | .004 | .033 | .023 | .012 | .012 | .015 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .024 | .049 | .012 | .009 | .025 | .027 | .008 |
| Left-right orientation | | .043\*\* | .033 | .083\*\*\* | .041\* | .057\* | .009 | .085\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.013 | -.019 | .006 | .051 | -.129 | -.110 | -.124 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .158 | .095 | .071 | -.009 | .343\*\* | .207 | .332\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .129\*\*\* | .156\* | .208\*\*\* | .232\*\*\* | .165\*\* | -.056 | .147\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.075 | -.030 | -.194\*\*\* | -.054 | -.132\*\* | .112\* | -.057 |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .002 | -.038 | .006 | .035\* | .013 | -.022 | .016 |
| Age | | -.004\* | -.003 | -.001 | -.001 | -.002 | -.003 | -.003 |
| Gender  (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.116 | -.118 | -.005 | -.086 | -.064 | -.209 | -.203 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .028 | -.004 | -.004 | .014 | .007 | .043 | .076 |
| Intercept | | 1.404\*\*\* | 1.239\*\*\* | 1.346\*\*\* | 1.617\*\*\* | 1.500\*\*\* | 2.421\*\*\* | .271\* |
| *N* | | 68728 | 82956 | 87979 | 96859 | 88592 | 90792 | 89376 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .077 | .042 | .097 | .103 | .073 | .037 | .085 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E24: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US without difference in confidence in government

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .056\*\*\* | .046\*\* | .024 | .042\*\* | .036\* | .097\*\*\* | .078\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | .040\*\*\* | .030\* | .057\*\*\* | .023\* | .058\*\*\* | .009 | .056\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -.081\*\*\* | -.095\*\*\* | -.067\*\*\* | -.115\*\*\* | -.065\*\*\* | -.101\*\*\* | -.060\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.033 | -.046 | -.053 | .009 | -.004 | -.137 | -.068 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .136\*\*\* | .129\*\* | .179\*\*\* | .168\*\*\* | .127\*\*\* | .122\*\*\* | .118\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .130\*\*\* | .112\* | .088\* | .175\*\*\* | .128\*\* | .112\* | .135\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .066\* | .100\* | .071 | .011 | .074 | .075 | .108\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .006 | -.000 | .010 | .016 | .009 | -.008 | .005 |
| Age | | -.001 | -.001 | .000 | -.002 | -.001 | .002 | -.001 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.044 | .107 | -.186 | .080 | -.169 | -.143 | -.032 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.042 | -.095\* | -.001 | -.149\*\*\* | .005 | .072 | -.058 |
| Intercept | | 1.049\*\*\* | 1.033\*\*\* | 1.272\*\*\* | .891\*\*\* | 1.304\*\*\* | 1.925\*\*\* | -.035 |
| *N* | | 199920 | 221540 | 228798 | 235060 | 229824 | 233565 | 225344 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .243 | .161 | .126 | .228 | .139 | .198 | .160 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E25: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs without difference in feeling belonging to country, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | 0.037\*\*\* | 0.027\*\* | 0.027\*\* | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.030\*\*\* | 0.052\*\*\* | 0.036\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | 0.035\*\*\* | 0.027\*\*\* | 0.042\*\*\* | 0.024\*\*\* | 0.044\*\*\* | 0.019\* | 0.042\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -0.032\*\*\* | -0.056\*\*\* | -0.000 | -0.059\*\*\* | -0.007 | -0.052\*\*\* | -0.007 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -0.077\* | -0.070 | -0.100\* | -0.010 | -0.124\*\* | -0.091 | -0.111\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | 0.093\*\* | 0.169\*\*\* | 0.095\* | 0.054 | 0.077 | 0.100\*\* | 0.058 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | 0.016 | 0.039 | -0.009 | -0.010 | -0.001 | 0.037 | 0.044 |
| Confidence in government | | 0.173\*\*\* | 0.190\*\*\* | 0.212\*\*\* | 0.169\*\*\* | 0.234\*\*\* | 0.099\*\*\* | 0.194\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | 0.006 | -0.015 | 0.008 | 0.012\* | 0.013 | 0.002 | 0.008 |
| Age | | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.002\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.003\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -0.060 | 0.013 | -0.109\* | 0.049 | -0.084 | -0.089 | -0.113\* |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -0.000 | -0.025 | 0.001 | -0.081\*\*\* | 0.006 | 0.059\* | 0.037 |
| Intercept | | 1.277\*\*\* | 1.487\*\*\* | 1.291\*\*\* | 1.182\*\*\* | 1.272\*\*\* | 2.362\*\*\* | 0.200\* |
| *N* | | 569648 | 656653 | 687923 | 736798 | 693364 | 721502 | 680755 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | 0.187 | 0.127 | 0.148 | 0.114 | 0.162 | 0.111 | 0.138 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E26: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil without difference in feeling belonging to country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .019 | .044 | .036 | .032 | .026 | .033 | -.015 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .039\*\*\* | .034\* | .048\*\*\* | .025\* | .047\*\* | .016 | .062\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .013 | -.018 | .062\*\*\* | -.018 | .044\* | -.016 | .023 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.206\*\* | -.219\* | -.145 | -.018 | -.260\*\* | -.174 | -.296\*\* |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .164\*\*\* | .158\* | .126\* | .065 | .197\*\*\* | .127\*\* | .192\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .017 | .023 | .067 | .031 | .021 | -.003 | .027 |
| Confidence in government | | .306\*\*\* | .346\*\*\* | .368\*\*\* | .241\*\*\* | .473\*\*\* | .119\*\*\* | .283\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .015 | .010 | .012 | -.004 | .015 | .015 | .018 |
| Age | | .002 | .004 | .001 | .001 | .001 | .004\* | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | .029 | -.060 | -.020 | .039 | .044 | .047 | .008 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.041 | -.004 | -.044 | -.078 | -.013 | .019 | .015 |
| Intercept | | 1.283\*\*\* | 1.363\*\*\* | 1.157\*\*\* | 1.118\*\*\* | 1.123\*\*\* | 2.436\*\*\* | .376\*\* |
| *N* | | 64688 | 75790 | 94518 | 101983 | 94636 | 102196 | 93380 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .261 | .158 | .236 | .091 | .276 | .060 | .165 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E27: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany without difference in feeling belonging to country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .020\* | .017 | .045\* | .012 | .040\*\* | .014 | -.003 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .009 | .039\*\*\* | .003 | .027 | -.014 | .010 | .003 |
| Left-right orientation | | .021\* | .001 | .063\*\*\* | -.029\* | .052\*\* | -.037\* | .074\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.024 | -.029 | -.104 | .024 | -.085 | .058 | .021 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .027 | .029 | .107 | -.023 | .094 | -.057 | -.019 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .028 | .120\*\*\* | -.032 | .065\* | .041 | .046 | -.018 |
| Confidence in government | | .302\*\*\* | .245\*\*\* | .365\*\*\* | .291\*\*\* | .343\*\*\* | .222\*\*\* | .320\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .032\*\*\* | .012 | .036 | .032 | .029 | .020 | .038\* |
| Age | | -.002 | -.000 | .001 | -.003\* | -.000 | -.005\*\* | -.004\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.058 | -.022 | .008 | .038 | -.026 | -.147 | -.129 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .013 | .025 | -.055 | -.037 | -.036 | .097\* | .042 |
| Intercept | | 1.127\*\*\* | 1.423\*\*\* | 1.104\*\*\* | .870\*\*\* | 1.193\*\*\* | 1.980\*\*\* | .105 |
| *N* | | 112887 | 140476 | 136572 | 149292 | 133392 | 146133 | 132008 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .293 | .151 | .207 | .199 | .160 | .120 | .177 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E28: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines without difference in feeling belonging to country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .007 | -.012 | -.033 | .013 | -.012 | .027 | .010 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .029\*\* | -.004 | .046\*\*\* | .011 | .047\*\*\* | .014 | .032\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .012 | -.024 | .030 | -.005 | .036\* | .013 | .020 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.013 | -.123\* | .005 | -.007 | -.005 | -.001 | .057 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | -.099 | .202 | -.210 | -.150 | -.280\* | .030 | -.313\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | -.056 | -.033 | -.048 | -.079\* | -.063 | -.067 | -.050 |
| Confidence in government | | .176\*\*\* | .105 | .246\*\*\* | .198\*\*\* | .250\*\*\* | .119\*\*\* | .199\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .010 | -.011 | .018 | .010 | .027 | .017 | .020 |
| Age | | -.003 | -.001 | -.003 | -.001 | -.005 | -.002 | -.005\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.050 | -.014 | -.094 | .008 | .003 | .010 | -.145 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .032 | .016 | .075 | -.008 | -.001 | -.011 | .103 |
| Intercept | | .916\*\*\* | .973\*\*\* | 1.061\*\*\* | 1.097\*\*\* | 1.053\*\*\* | 1.864\*\*\* | -.179 |
| *N* | | 111700 | 122087 | 124190 | 135374 | 129870 | 131091 | 124441 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .134 | .030 | .157 | .072 | .166 | .066 | .121 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E29: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia without difference in feeling belonging to country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .023 | .011 | .037 | .029 | .018 | .015 | .016 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .005 | .032 | -.010 | -.006 | .011 | .022 | -.005 |
| Left-right orientation | | .044\*\* | .035 | .078\*\*\* | .040\* | .052\* | .011 | .081\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.004 | -.011 | .036 | .075 | -.106 | -.100 | -.098 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .144 | .076 | .036 | -.045 | .325\* | .185 | .298\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .101\*\* | .120\* | .175\*\*\* | .207\*\*\* | .153\*\* | -.049 | .136\*\* |
| Confidence in government | | .246\*\*\* | .329\*\*\* | .224\*\*\* | .245\*\*\* | .224\*\*\* | .222\*\*\* | .267\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | -.024 | -.082\*\* | -.024 | .000 | -.015 | -.047\* | -.020 |
| Age | | -.005\*\* | -.004 | -.003 | -.002 | -.003 | -.002 | -.003 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.112 | -.064 | .001 | -.032 | -.075 | -.176 | -.168 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .040 | -.009 | .002 | .008 | .029 | .055 | .079 |
| Intercept | | 1.282\*\*\* | 1.128\*\*\* | 1.161\*\*\* | 1.502\*\*\* | 1.312\*\*\* | 2.388\*\*\* | .132 |
| *N* | | 69064 | 83190 | 88298 | 97104 | 88605 | 90650 | 89397 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .169 | .120 | .115 | .170 | .110 | .083 | .150 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E30: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US without difference in feeling belonging to country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | | .054\*\*\* | .045\*\* | .024 | .042\*\* | .037\* | .095\*\*\* | .078\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | .039\*\*\* | .028\* | .056\*\*\* | .021\* | .055\*\*\* | .010 | .054\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -.085\*\*\* | -.100\*\*\* | -.071\*\*\* | -.118\*\*\* | -.074\*\*\* | -.099\*\*\* | -.067\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN  (ref. elite and citizen same) | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.007 | -.002 | -.020 | .019 | .037 | -.118 | -.016 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .135\*\*\* | .126\*\* | .178\*\*\* | .170\*\*\* | .125\*\*\* | .119\*\*\* | .114\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .142\*\*\* | .131\*\* | .102\*\* | .176\*\*\* | .139\*\*\* | .129\*\* | .156\*\*\* |
| Confidence in government | | .068 | .101\* | .073 | .043 | .117\* | .008 | .114\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .001 | -.008 | .005 | .011 | -.001 | -.005 | -.004 |
| Age | | -.000 | -.001 | .001 | -.002 | -.000 | .002 | -.001 |
| Gender  (ref. elite and citizen same) | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.068 | .074 | -.206 | .073 | -.196\* | -.158 | -.062 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.028 | -.077 | .010 | -.148\*\*\* | .019 | .084 | -.039 |
| Intercept | | 1.007\*\*\* | .970\*\*\* | 1.227\*\*\* | .858\*\*\* | 1.227\*\*\* | 1.933\*\*\* | -.107 |
| *N* | | 199716 | 221320 | 228456 | 234600 | 229482 | 233220 | 225008 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .241 | .159 | .125 | .229 | .145 | .192 | .160 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E31: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | 0.018\*\*\* | 0.016\* | 0.007 | 0.023\*\*\* | 0.012 | 0.038\*\*\* | 0.011 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.022\*\*\* | 0.023\*\*\* | 0.023\*\*\* | 0.015\*\* | 0.025\*\*\* | 0.016\*\* | 0.026\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.024\*\*\* | -0.011\* | -0.035\*\*\* | -0.012\* | -0.019\*\*\* | -0.018\*\*\* |
| GAL | 0.127\*\*\* | 0.156\*\*\* | 0.110\*\*\* | 0.173\*\*\* | 0.076\*\* | 0.145\*\*\* | 0.081\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | 0.086\*\*\* | 0.099\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.098\*\*\* | 0.080\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* | 0.078\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.025 | -0.009 | 0.030 | 0.024 | 0.005 | 0.047\*\* | 0.039\* |
| Confidence in government | 0.214\*\*\* | 0.229\*\*\* | 0.214\*\*\* | 0.239\*\*\* | 0.238\*\*\* | 0.189\*\*\* | 0.201\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.009 | 0.005 | 0.015\*\* | 0.004 | 0.012\* | 0.009 | 0.006 |
| Age | -0.003\*\*\* | -0.003\*\*\* | -0.002\*\* | -0.003\*\*\* | -0.002\*\*\* | -0.002\*\* | -0.004\*\*\* |
| Female | 0.032 | 0.014 | 0.037 | 0.073\*\* | 0.021 | 0.002 | 0.032 |
| Intercept | 0.934\*\*\* | 0.902\*\*\* | 0.619\*\*\* | 1.096\*\*\* | 0.804\*\*\* | 1.078\*\*\* | 1.036\*\*\* |
| *N* | 5177 | 5578 | 5624 | 5882 | 5670 | 5829 | 5623 |
| *R*2 | 0.299 | 0.186 | 0.200 | 0.213 | 0.249 | 0.200 | 0.189 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights, country size equalized to 1000. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E32: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs in Brazil

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | 0.019 | 0.052\* | 0.005 | 0.032 | 0.016 | 0.058\*\* | -0.001 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.021 | 0.017 | 0.016 | 0.002 | 0.021 | 0.015 | 0.010 |
| Left-right orientation | 0.002 | 0.005 | 0.025\* | 0.002 | 0.018 | -0.016 | -0.018 |
| GAL | -0.026 | -0.009 | -0.124 | -0.007 | -0.116 | 0.128 | -0.077 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -0.021 | -0.014 | -0.003 | -0.102\* | 0.041 | -0.020 | 0.034 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.035 | -0.042 | 0.017 | 0.058 | -0.009 | 0.066 | 0.012 |
| Confidence in government | 0.391\*\*\* | 0.378\*\*\* | 0.441\*\*\* | 0.369\*\*\* | 0.468\*\*\* | 0.261\*\*\* | 0.332\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | -0.004 | 0.000 | -0.007 | -0.004 | 0.011 | 0.011 | -0.007 |
| Age | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.002 | -0.004 |
| Female | 0.078 | 0.060 | 0.109 | 0.164\* | -0.002 | -0.047 | 0.013 |
| Intercept | 0.738\*\*\* | 0.624\*\* | 0.465\*\* | 0.962\*\*\* | 0.522\*\* | 0.894\*\*\* | 1.285\*\*\* |
| *N* | 510 | 583 | 653 | 699 | 651 | 707 | 649 |
| *R*2 | 0.217 | 0.124 | 0.184 | 0.125 | 0.196 | 0.090 | 0.115 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E33: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs in Germany

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | 0.011 | 0.029\*\* | 0.011 | 0.025\* | 0.022\* | 0.013 | -0.016 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.014\* | 0.020\* | 0.016 | 0.005 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.016 |
| Left-right orientation | 0.012 | 0.009 | 0.021 | -0.001 | 0.034\*\* | -0.006 | 0.027\* |
| GAL | 0.062 | 0.210\*\*\* | 0.014 | 0.102\* | 0.016 | 0.115\*\* | 0.039 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | 0.031 | 0.048 | 0.033 | 0.082\*\* | 0.031 | 0.017 | 0.002 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.008 | 0.035 | 0.041 | 0.034 | 0.010 | 0.009 | 0.049 |
| Confidence in government | 0.278\*\*\* | 0.319\*\*\* | 0.252\*\*\* | 0.321\*\*\* | 0.269\*\*\* | 0.215\*\*\* | 0.257\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.048\*\*\* | 0.031\*\* | 0.071\*\*\* | 0.039\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.035\*\*\* | 0.023\* |
| Age | -0.003\*\*\* | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.003\* | -0.003\* | -0.005\*\*\* | -0.004\*\*\* |
| Female | 0.020 | -0.037 | 0.065 | 0.040 | 0.076\* | -0.016 | 0.018 |
| Intercept | 0.580\*\*\* | 0.553\*\*\* | -0.008 | 0.465\*\*\* | 0.176 | 1.338\*\*\* | 0.735\*\*\* |
| *N* | 963 | 1135 | 1120 | 1192 | 1119 | 1172 | 1075 |
| *R*2 | 0.343 | 0.237 | 0.220 | 0.224 | 0.187 | 0.150 | 0.149 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E34: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs in the Philippines

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | -0.003 | -0.029\* | -0.042\*\* | 0.014 | -0.004 | 0.021 | 0.021 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.018\*\* | 0.024\* | 0.014 | 0.009 | 0.025\* | 0.010 | 0.026\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | 0.010 | 0.001 | 0.020\* | -0.002 | 0.016 | 0.025\*\* | 0.005 |
| GAL | 0.030 | 0.051 | 0.038 | 0.072 | 0.038 | -0.042 | 0.024 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | 0.027 | 0.071\* | 0.018 | 0.035 | 0.014 | 0.020 | 0.010 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.043 | 0.014 | 0.074 | 0.081 | -0.003 | 0.026 | 0.039 |
| Confidence in government | 0.248\*\*\* | 0.195\*\*\* | 0.238\*\*\* | 0.373\*\*\* | 0.251\*\*\* | 0.209\*\*\* | 0.202\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.004 | -0.005 | 0.010 | -0.001 | 0.007 | 0.009 | 0.011 |
| Age | -0.005\*\*\* | -0.007\*\*\* | -0.004\* | -0.003\* | -0.003\* | -0.005\*\* | -0.005\*\* |
| Female | 0.015 | -0.015 | -0.012 | 0.015 | -0.010 | 0.050 | 0.039 |
| Intercept | 1.191\*\*\* | 1.404\*\*\* | 1.002\*\*\* | 0.915\*\*\* | 1.219\*\*\* | 1.455\*\*\* | 1.196\*\*\* |
| *N* | 1115 | 1139 | 1127 | 1195 | 1168 | 1179 | 1161 |
| *R*2 | 0.162 | 0.080 | 0.091 | 0.142 | 0.078 | 0.076 | 0.070 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E35: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs in Russia

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | rus1 | rus2 | rus3 | rus4 | rus5 | rus6 | rus7 |
| Education | -0.014 | -0.014 | 0.008 | 0.004 | -0.042\* | -0.021 | -0.030 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.003 | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.014 | 0.009 | -0.011 | 0.019 |
| Left-right orientation | 0.012 | 0.013 | 0.017 | 0.014 | 0.002 | 0.016 | 0.005 |
| GAL | 0.069 | 0.049 | 0.099 | 0.152\* | 0.062 | -0.013 | 0.029 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | 0.170\*\*\* | 0.172\*\*\* | 0.142\*\*\* | 0.196\*\*\* | 0.144\*\*\* | 0.216\*\*\* | 0.201\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | -0.001 | -0.070 | -0.006 | -0.016 | 0.039 | 0.060 | 0.015 |
| Confidence in government | 0.323\*\*\* | 0.339\*\*\* | 0.289\*\*\* | 0.288\*\*\* | 0.310\*\*\* | 0.397\*\*\* | 0.338\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.006 | 0.014 | 0.009 | 0.011 | 0.018 | 0.006 | 0.004 |
| Age | -0.005\*\* | -0.004\* | -0.005\* | -0.003 | -0.006\*\* | -0.005\* | -0.005\* |
| Female | -0.019 | 0.015 | -0.036 | -0.032 | -0.017 | 0.007 | -0.050 |
| Intercept | 0.569\*\*\* | 0.603\*\* | 0.439\* | 0.249 | 0.636\*\* | 0.567\*\* | 0.570\*\* |
| *N* | 722 | 806 | 815 | 859 | 818 | 846 | 826 |
| *R*2 | 0.219 | 0.161 | 0.129 | 0.164 | 0.155 | 0.213 | 0.193 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E36: Regression of citizen confidence in IOs in the US

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | rus1 | rus2 | rus3 | rus4 | rus5 | rus6 | rus7 |
| Education | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.048\*\*\* | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.031\* | 0.055\*\*\* | 0.088\*\*\* | 0.048\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.026\*\* | 0.014 | 0.034\*\*\* | 0.023\* | 0.027\*\* | 0.027\*\* | 0.030\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | -0.073\*\*\* | -0.073\*\*\* | -0.068\*\*\* | -0.106\*\*\* | -0.073\*\*\* | -0.066\*\*\* | -0.059\*\*\* |
| GAL | 0.180\*\*\* | 0.188\*\*\* | 0.153\*\*\* | 0.196\*\*\* | 0.083 | 0.289\*\*\* | 0.175\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | 0.127\*\*\* | 0.132\*\*\* | 0.134\*\*\* | 0.136\*\*\* | 0.128\*\*\* | 0.123\*\*\* | 0.127\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.080\*\* | 0.045 | 0.091\*\* | 0.102\*\* | 0.052 | 0.103\*\* | 0.092\*\* |
| Confidence in government | 0.064\* | 0.105\*\* | 0.063 | 0.015 | 0.103\*\* | 0.047 | 0.082\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.020\* | 0.013 | 0.021 | 0.014 | 0.022\* | 0.017 | 0.016 |
| Age | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.004\*\* | -0.001 | 0.001 | -0.001 |
| Female | 0.132\*\*\* | 0.132\*\* | 0.154\*\*\* | 0.236\*\*\* | 0.109\* | 0.039 | 0.142\*\* |
| Intercept | 0.676\*\*\* | 0.803\*\*\* | 0.458\*\*\* | 1.143\*\*\* | 0.633\*\*\* | 0.601\*\*\* | 0.546\*\*\* |
| *N* | 1867 | 1915 | 1909 | 1937 | 1914 | 1925 | 1912 |
| *R*2 | 0.200 | 0.133 | 0.157 | 0.196 | 0.127 | 0.176 | 0.135 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with poststratification weights. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E37: Regression of elite confidence in IOs, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | 0.077\* | 0.002 | 0.101\* | 0.018 | 0.116\*\* | 0.062 | 0.082 |
| Financial satisfaction | 0.044\*\*\* | 0.028 | 0.050\*\* | 0.025 | 0.057\*\* | 0.030 | 0.053\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | 0.015 | -0.035 | 0.078\*\*\* | -0.036\* | 0.053\*\* | -0.050\*\* | 0.059\*\* |
| GAL | 0.041 | 0.179\* | -0.015 | 0.047 | -0.016 | 0.153 | 0.022 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -0.116\*\*\* | -0.109\* | -0.125\*\* | -0.227\*\*\* | -0.124\*\* | -0.026 | -0.103\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | 0.076\* | -0.048 | 0.178\*\*\* | 0.083 | 0.119\* | 0.004 | 0.087 |
| Confidence in government | 0.200\*\*\* | 0.206\*\*\* | 0.259\*\*\* | 0.171\*\*\* | 0.286\*\*\* | 0.120\* | 0.211\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | 0.010 | -0.041\* | 0.007 | 0.032 | 0.018 | 0.008 | 0.027 |
| Age | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.000 | 0.000 | -0.001 | -0.003 |
| Female | -0.107\* | 0.004 | -0.141\* | 0.019 | -0.098 | -0.126 | -0.201\*\* |
| Intercept | 0.872\*\*\* | 1.689\*\*\* | -0.200 | 1.723\*\*\* | -0.079 | 1.831\*\*\* | 0.520 |
| *N* | 489 | 515 | 535 | 545 | 535 | 539 | 532 |
| *R*2 | 0.212 | 0.251 | 0.192 | 0.163 | 0.184 | 0.099 | 0.173 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E38: Regression of elite confidence in IOs in Brazil

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | .010 | -.021 | .191\* | -.161\* | .142 | -.078 | -.050 |
| Financial satisfaction | .059\* | .049 | .071\* | .059 | .066 | .018 | .140\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | .024 | -.039 | .111\*\* | -.065 | .073 | -.022 | .010 |
| GAL | .141 | .305 | -.005 | .235 | .037 | .240 | -.133 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -.026 | -.032 | -.095 | -.026 | .012 | .026 | -.038 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | .118 | .046 | .172 | .068 | .063 | .127 | .139 |
| Confidence in government | .207\*\* | .271\*\* | .215\* | .116 | .412\*\*\* | .031 | .174 |
| Satisfaction political system country | .084\*\* | .064 | .080\* | .099\*\* | .082 | .062 | .101\* |
| Age | .001 | .007 | -.001 | -.001 | .002 | .008 | -.007 |
| Female | .060 | -.031 | .034 | .048 | .165 | .080 | .070 |
| Intercept | .617 | .896 | -1.208 | 2.466\*\*\* | -1.058 | 2.016\*\* | 1.070 |
| *N* | 99 | 100 | 111 | 111 | 111 | 110 | 110 |
| *R*2 | .377 | .229 | .389 | .265 | .383 | .100 | .313 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E39: Regression of elite confidence in IOs in Germany

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | .052 | -.095 | .229\* | -.093 | .184 | .017 | .082 |
| Financial satisfaction | .000 | .057 | -.016 | .060 | -.033 | .023 | -.010 |
| Left-right orientation | .063 | -.003 | .165\*\* | -.038 | .106 | -.016 | .141\* |
| GAL | .057 | .027 | .072 | .052 | -.099 | .229 | .096 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -.029 | -.151 | .120 | -.061 | -.095 | -.039 | -.008 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | .041 | -.105 | .153 | .124 | .118 | .036 | -.085 |
| Confidence in government | .389\*\*\* | .083 | .684\*\*\* | .302\* | .534\*\* | .240 | .361\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | -.003 | .001 | -.076 | .013 | -.017 | .013 | .062 |
| Age | -.000 | .002 | .006 | -.008 | .006 | -.007 | -.005 |
| Female | -.067 | .009 | .079 | .041 | -.054 | -.207 | -.255 |
| Intercept | .448 | 2.548\*\*\* | -2.072\* | 1.761 | -1.067 | 1.557 | -.337 |
| *N* | 108 | 113 | 111 | 114 | 109 | 114 | 113 |
| *R*2 | .258 | .152 | .318 | .191 | .192 | .138 | .282 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E40: Regression of elite confidence in IOs in the Philippines

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | .077 | .001 | .008 | .027 | .046 | .109 | -.052 |
| Financial satisfaction | .046 | -.052 | .099\* | .015 | .085 | .022 | .050 |
| Left-right orientation | .005 | -.055 | .023 | -.024 | .038 | -.006 | .031 |
| GAL | -.080 | .140 | -.240 | -.228 | -.297 | .111 | -.098 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -.199\* | -.170 | -.213\* | -.211\* | -.163 | -.182\* | -.229\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | .112 | -.075 | .229 | -.047 | .120 | .121 | .321\*\* |
| Confidence in government | .145 | .011 | .302\*\* | .064 | .280\* | .128 | .211 |
| Satisfaction political system country | .010 | .003 | .002 | .022 | .032 | .029 | .023 |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | -.001 | -.002 | -.008 | -.003 | .000 |
| Female | -.148 | -.002 | -.200 | -.011 | -.027 | -.035 | -.442\*\* |
| Intercept | 1.034 | 2.376\* | .481 | 2.143\*\* | .674 | 1.405\* | 1.249 |
| *N* | 99 | 106 | 109 | 112 | 110 | 110 | 106 |
| *R*2 | .196 | .089 | .277 | .117 | .274 | .117 | .240 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E41: Regression of elite confidence in IOs in Russia

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | .293\*\* | .189 | .183 | .150 | .402\*\* | .317 | .277 |
| Financial satisfaction | .079\* | .140\* | .021 | -.008 | .074 | .090 | .026 |
| Left-right orientation | .069\* | .026 | .145\*\* | .100\* | .105\* | -.023 | .160\*\* |
| GAL | -.218 | -.018 | .022 | -.333\* | -.081 | -.213 | -.115 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -.072 | -.101 | -.161 | -.350\*\*\* | -.094 | .247\* | -.000 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | .353\*\*\* | .234 | .508\*\*\* | .290\* | .420\*\* | -.033 | .303\* |
| Confidence in government | .113 | .342\* | .151 | .142 | .001 | .109 | .118 |
| Satisfaction political system country | -.043 | -.183\*\* | -.047 | -.009 | -.032 | -.097 | -.021 |
| Age | -.009 | -.004 | .002 | .003 | -.004 | -.008 | -.002 |
| Female | -.246 | -.162 | .069 | -.172 | -.018 | -.332 | -.231 |
| Intercept | -.885 | -.387 | -1.007 | .438 | -2.150\* | -.255 | -1.683 |
| *N* | 84 | 89 | 93 | 96 | 94 | 93 | 94 |
| *R*2 | .398 | .221 | .320 | .364 | .285 | .198 | .254 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E42: Regression of elite confidence in IOs in the US

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
|  | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Education | .081 | .086 | -.043 | .070 | .026 | .137 | .218\* |
| Financial satisfaction | .055\* | .014 | .101\*\* | .019 | .098\*\* | -.016 | .061 |
| Left-right orientation | -.087\*\* | -.122\*\* | -.067 | -.121\*\* | -.068 | -.153\*\*\* | -.047 |
| GAL | .137 | .177 | .137 | .207 | .133 | .210 | .113 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | -.123\* | -.062 | -.017 | -.223\*\* | -.116 | -.094 | -.109 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | -.080 | -.161 | -.038 | -.035 | -.045 | -.129 | -.129 |
| Confidence in government | .081 | .063 | .158 | .139 | .151 | -.030 | .134 |
| Satisfaction political system country | -.008 | -.036 | .002 | .049 | -.010 | -.019 | -.022 |
| Age | .004 | .003 | .010 | .010 | .003 | .003 | .003 |
| Female | -.065 | .107 | -.225 | .206 | -.260 | -.238 | -.089 |
| Intercept | .925 | 1.311 | .776 | .727 | .992 | 1.918\*\* | -.277 |
| *N* | 99 | 107 | 111 | 112 | 111 | 112 | 109 |
| *R*2 | .370 | .233 | .202 | .355 | .270 | .276 | .245 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients). \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E43: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs, controlling for elite types, all countries pooled

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | | (3) | | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | | (7) | |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | | IMF | | | UN | | WB | | WHO | | WTO | |
| Elite type  (ref. partisan-political) | |  |  | |  | | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Bureaucratic | 0.189\*\* | 0.212\* | | 0.339\*\*\* | | | 0.038 | | 0.239\*\* | | -0.041 | | 0.202\* | |
| Civil society | -0.121 | 0.127 | | -0.153 | | | 0.071 | | -0.190 | | -0.188 | | -0.287\*\* | |
| Media | 0.078 | 0.039 | | 0.147 | | | -0.096 | | 0.110 | | -0.136 | | 0.080 | |
| Business | 0.155\* | -0.146 | | 0.447\*\*\* | | | 0.170\* | | 0.372\*\* | | -0.234 | | 0.392\*\*\* | |
| Research | 0.125 | 0.170 | | 0.210 | | | 0.016 | | 0.251\* | | -0.039 | | 0.210 | |
| Education | | 0.031\*\*\* | 0.021\* | | 0.021\* | | | 0.032\*\*\* | | 0.022\*\* | | 0.049\*\*\* | | 0.027\*\*\* | |
| Financial satisfaction | | 0.030\*\*\* | 0.024\*\*\* | | 0.035\*\*\* | | | 0.020\*\*\* | | 0.037\*\*\* | | 0.017\* | | 0.035\*\*\* | |
| Left-right orientation | | -0.031\*\*\* | -0.050\*\*\* | | -0.002 | | | -0.057\*\*\* | | -0.007 | | -0.051\*\*\* | | -0.010 | |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  | |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -0.075\* | -0.073 | | -0.094\* | | | -0.003 | | -0.110\* | | -0.094 | | -0.099\* | |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | 0.105\*\*\* | 0.176\*\*\* | | 0.109\*\* | | | 0.053 | | 0.090\* | | 0.105\*\* | | 0.071 | |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | 0.075\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | | 0.067\*\*\* | | | 0.108\*\*\* | | 0.079\*\*\* | | 0.048\* | | 0.071\*\* | |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -0.002 | 0.019 | | -0.028 | | | -0.040\* | | -0.022 | | 0.028 | | 0.033 | |
| Confidence in government | | 0.162\*\*\* | 0.179\*\*\* | | 0.195\*\*\* | | | 0.170\*\*\* | | 0.223\*\*\* | | 0.091\*\*\* | | 0.183\*\*\* | |
| Satisfaction political system country | | 0.008 | -0.013 | | 0.012 | | | 0.012 | | 0.014 | | 0.001 | | 0.009 | |
| Age | | -0.002\* | -0.002 | | -0.001 | | | -0.002\* | | -0.001 | | -0.001 | | -0.003\*\* | |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  | |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -0.061 | -0.004 | | -0.107\* | | | 0.037 | | -0.082 | | -0.093 | | -0.102\* | |
| Elite man and citizen woman | 0.006 | -0.011 | | 0.008 | | | -0.070\*\* | | 0.010 | | 0.063\* | | 0.034 | |
| Intercept | | 1.174\*\*\* | 1.394\*\*\* | | 1.104\*\*\* | | | 1.104\*\*\* | | 1.123\*\*\* | | 2.435\*\*\* | | 0.084 | |
| *N* | | 556557 | 640441 | | 669421 | | | 715574 | | 673375 | | 701373 | | 662419 | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | 0.215 | 0.145 | | 0.183 | | | 0.136 | | 0.189 | | 0.120 | | 0.171 | |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens. Country fixed effects are included. \* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E44: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Brazil, controlling for elite types

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | | (3) | | | (4) | | (5) | | (6) | | (7) | |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | | IMF | | | UN | | WB | | WHO | | WTO | |
| Elite type  (ref. partisan-political) | |  |  | |  | | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Bureaucratic | -.143 | -.372\* | | .168 | | | -.334\*\*\* | | .060 | | -.347\* | | -.167 | |
| Civil society | -.277\* | .068 | | -.048 | | | -.054 | | -.137 | | -.213 | | -.697\*\* | |
| Media | -.100 | -.259 | | .100 | | | -.324 | | -.158 | | -.157 | | -.169 | |
| Business | .131 | -.140 | | .591\*\*\* | | | -.029 | | .213 | | -.249 | | .068 | |
| Research | -.080 | .067 | | .079 | | | -.043 | | -.048 | | -.415\* | | -.229 | |
| Education | | .019 | .043 | | .029 | | | .033 | | .024 | | .050\*\* | | -.014 | |
| Financial satisfaction | | .034\*\* | .033\* | | .037\* | | | .022 | | .041\*\* | | .019 | | .051\*\* | |
| Left-right orientation | | .007 | -.014 | | .049\*\*\* | | | -.020 | | .036\* | | -.015 | | .011 | |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  | |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.236\*\*\* | -.237\*\* | | -.144 | | | -.036 | | -.226\* | | -.208\*\* | | -.340\*\*\* | |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .176\*\*\* | .165\*\* | | .128\* | | | .076 | | .182\*\* | | .141\*\* | | .211\*\*\* | |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .018 | .006 | | .065 | | | .010 | | .027 | | .007 | | .036 | |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.031 | -.022 | | -.064 | | | -.008 | | -.044 | | -.021 | | -.051 | |
| Confidence in government | | .310\*\*\* | .335\*\*\* | | .372\*\*\* | | | .225\*\*\* | | .463\*\*\* | | .119\*\* | | .285\*\*\* | |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .013 | .018 | | .019 | | | .005 | | .023 | | .009 | | .011 | |
| Age | | .002 | .003 | | .001 | | | .000 | | .003 | | .005\* | | -.002 | |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | | |  | |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Elite woman and citizen man | .031 | -.041 | | -.004 | | | .046 | | .058 | | .048 | | .045 | |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.041 | -.011 | | -.046 | | | -.079 | | -.014 | | .016 | | .005 | |
| Intercept | | 1.385\*\*\* | 1.565\*\*\* | | 1.083\*\*\* | | | 1.313\*\*\* | | 1.156\*\*\* | | 2.614\*\*\* | | .574\*\*\* | |
| *N* | | 64066 | 74360 | | 92916 | | | 100269 | | 93032 | | 101315 | | 92575 | |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .276 | .172 | | .253 | | | .104 | | .278 | | .079 | | .197 | |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E45: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Germany, controlling for elite types

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Elite type (ref. partisan-political) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bureaucratic | .166\* | .080 | .403\*\* | -.007 | .335\* | -.065 | .276 |
| Civil society | -.256\*\* | -.127 | -.425\* | .041 | -.444\* | -.108 | -.364\* |
| Media | -.257 | -.279 | -.096 | -.129 | -.325 | -.426 | -.126 |
| Business | .212 | -.089 | .531\* | -.063 | .455 | -.127 | .281 |
| Research | .021 | .104 | .047 | -.131 | .121 | -.045 | -.067 |
| Education | | .018 | .016 | .044\*\* | .013 | .038\*\* | .012 | .001 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .006 | .034\*\* | .002 | .025 | -.016 | .007 | -.004 |
| Left-right orientation | | .012 | -.006 | .046\*\* | -.029\* | .041\* | -.040\* | .051\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.003 | -.021 | -.067 | .023 | -.043 | .064 | .057 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .003 | .020 | .070 | -.022 | .049 | -.062 | -.057 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .042 | .119\*\*\* | -.005 | .068\* | .068 | .054 | -.006 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.026 | .031 | -.038 | -.021 | -.068 | -.039 | .071 |
| Confidence in government | | .296\*\*\* | .239\*\*\* | .342\*\*\* | .295\*\*\* | .330\*\*\* | .236\*\*\* | .286\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .033\*\*\* | .013 | .038\* | .033\* | .032\* | .020 | .039\*\* |
| Age | | -.002 | -.001 | -.000 | -.002 | -.001 | -.004\*\* | -.005\*\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.039 | -.023 | .052 | .039 | .016 | -.148\* | -.091 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .005 | .026 | -.074 | -.037 | -.055 | .098\* | .025 |
| Intercept | | 1.134\*\*\* | 1.458\*\*\* | 1.023\*\*\* | .898\*\*\* | 1.166\*\*\* | 2.081\*\*\* | .082 |
| *N* | | 112887 | 140476 | 136572 | 149292 | 133392 | 146133 | 132008 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .352 | .171 | .290 | .204 | .243 | .137 | .233 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E46: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the Philippines, controlling for elite types

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Elite type (ref. partisan-political) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bureaucratic | .207 | .078 | .416\* | .009 | .305 | -.084 | .347 |
| Civil society | -.180 | .263 | -.281 | .000 | -.598\*\* | -.281 | -.218 |
| Media | .251 | .149 | .510 | -.013 | .364 | -.036 | .370 |
| Business | .453\*\* | -.294 | .771\*\* | .407 | .680\*\* | .290 | .949\*\*\* |
| Research | .152 | .155 | .263 | .193 | .240 | .024 | -.002 |
| Education | | .010 | -.017 | -.025 | .013 | -.003 | .032\* | .027 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .022\* | .003 | .039\*\* | .007 | .035\* | .008 | .026\* |
| Left-right orientation | | .010 | -.023 | .026 | -.005 | .032\* | .010 | .015 |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.018 | -.117\* | -.009 | -.005 | -.024 | -.004 | .042 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | -.058 | .171 | -.116 | -.141 | -.156 | .065 | -.222\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | -.070\* | -.043 | -.061 | -.080 | -.065 | -.093\* | -.064 |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .059 | .009 | .075 | .015 | .039 | .079 | .115\* |
| Confidence in government | | .200\*\*\* | .098 | .279\*\*\* | .226\*\*\* | .269\*\*\* | .141\*\*\* | .237\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .011 | -.009 | .019 | .014 | .028\* | .018 | .018 |
| Age | | -.003 | -.002 | -.003 | -.001 | -.004 | -.002 | -.004\* |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.031 | -.038 | -.068 | .010 | .032 | .012 | -.117 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .018 | .033 | .054 | -.011 | -.023 | -.013 | .079 |
| Intercept | | .864\*\*\* | .940\*\*\* | .859\*\*\* | 1.079\*\*\* | .878\*\*\* | 1.987\*\*\* | -.299 |
| *N* | | 111600 | 121980 | 124080 | 135261 | 129759 | 130980 | 124334 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .183 | .043 | .232 | .086 | .241 | .099 | .206 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E47: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in Russia, controlling for elite types

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Elite type (ref. partisan-political) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bureaucratic | .067 | .421\* | .132 | .204 | -.019 | .019 | -.059 |
| Civil society | .446\*\* | 1.111\*\*\* | .538 | .368 | .588\* | -.076 | .567\* |
| Media | -.010 | .179 | -.176 | -.206 | .192 | -.475 | .237 |
| Business | -.448\*\*\* | -1.137\*\*\* | -.193 | .251\* | .036 | -1.694\*\*\* | .263 |
| Research | .482\*\* | .502 | .551 | .314\*\* | .894\*\*\* | -.071 | .967\*\*\* |
| Education | | .014 | .009 | .025 | .029 | -.001 | .004 | -.002 |
| Financial satisfaction | | .010 | .026 | .004 | .005 | .015 | .008 | .001 |
| Left-right orientation | | .048\*\* | .034 | .076\*\*\* | .033 | .046\* | .024 | .072\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | .034 | .086 | .064 | .075 | -.050 | -.018 | -.048 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .015 | -.173 | -.068 | -.059 | .177 | .010 | .171 |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .144\*\*\* | .194\*\*\* | .208\*\*\* | .204\*\*\* | .162\*\* | .048 | .143\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | -.102\*\* | -.081 | -.212\*\*\* | -.084\* | -.121\* | .028 | -.063 |
| Confidence in government | | .264\*\*\* | .354\*\*\* | .240\*\*\* | .256\*\*\* | .243\*\*\* | .185\*\*\* | .302\*\*\* |
| Satisfaction political system country | | -.019 | -.055\* | -.019 | -.000 | -.008 | -.033 | -.017 |
| Age | | -.005\*\* | -.005 | -.002 | -.001 | -.004 | -.003\* | -.004 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.118 | -.163 | .019 | -.078 | .038 | -.270\* | -.078 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | .045 | .040 | .004 | .029 | -.017 | .089 | .039 |
| Intercept | | 1.282\*\*\* | .959\*\*\* | 1.158\*\*\* | 1.384\*\*\* | 1.229\*\*\* | 2.638\*\*\* | -.032 |
| *N* | | 68288 | 82305 | 87397 | 96152 | 87710 | 89725 | 88494 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .265 | .313 | .190 | .216 | .181 | .329 | .230 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

Table E48: Dyadic analysis of difference in confidence in IOs in the US, controlling for elite types

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Differences between elites and citizens in: | | All IOs | ICC | IMF | UN | WB | WHO | WTO |
| Elite type (ref. partisan-political) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bureaucratic | .090 | .282 | .197 | -.092 | .072 | -.158 | -.025 |
| Civil society | -.211 | -.125 | -.186 | -.108 | -.177 | -.422 | -.537\*\* |
| Media | .196 | .144 | .262 | .045 | .293 | .057 | .025 |
| Business | .083 | .155 | .173 | -.021 | .209 | -.103 | .035 |
| Research | .038 | .008 | .081 | -.275 | .083 | -.088 | .143 |
| Education | | .053\*\*\* | .044\*\* | .019 | .049\*\*\* | .033\* | .092\*\*\* | .069\*\*\* |
| Financial satisfaction | | .038\*\*\* | .023 | .054\*\*\* | .025\*\* | .054\*\*\* | .011 | .050\*\*\* |
| Left-right orientation | | -.086\*\*\* | -.101\*\*\* | -.071\*\*\* | -.120\*\*\* | -.075\*\*\* | -.102\*\*\* | -.068\*\*\* |
| GAL-TAN (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite TAN and citizen GAL | -.036 | -.045 | -.058 | -.004 | .011 | -.162 | -.042 |
| Elite GAL and citizen TAN | .139\*\*\* | .136\*\*\* | .187\*\*\* | .167\*\*\* | .130\*\*\* | .123\*\*\* | .121\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to world | | .129\*\*\* | .096\* | .076\* | .182\*\*\* | .123\*\*\* | .137\*\* | .155\*\*\* |
| Feeling of belonging to country | | .057\* | .078\* | .057 | -.002 | .056 | .075 | .094\* |
| Confidence in government | | .039 | .062 | .038 | .033 | .086 | -.026 | .083 |
| Satisfaction political system country | | .003 | -.009 | .006 | .010 | .002 | -.006 | -.005 |
| Age | | -.001 | -.001 | .000 | -.002 | -.001 | .002 | -.001 |
| Gender (ref. elite and citizen same) | | |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elite woman and citizen man | -.041 | .096 | -.190 | .095 | -.179\* | -.130 | -.041 |
| Elite man and citizen woman | -.041 | -.089\* | .003 | -.160\*\*\* | .010 | .069 | -.049 |
| Intercept | | .996\*\*\* | .916\*\*\* | 1.183\*\*\* | .922\*\*\* | 1.195\*\*\* | 2.055\*\*\* | -.045 |
| *N* | | 199716 | 221320 | 228456 | 234600 | 229482 | 233220 | 225008 |
| Adjusted *R*2 | | .265 | .183 | .146 | .237 | .163 | .214 | .201 |

*Notes*: OLS regression (unstandardized coefficients) with robust standard errors clustered by elites and citizens.   
\* *p<*.05, \*\* *p<*.01, \*\*\* *p<*.001

**Appendix F: Ethics**

According to the guidelines of Stockholm University and the Swedish Ethical Review Authority, the survey did not require approval since we collected only strictly anonymized data, and did not submit research participants to any experiments or treatments. Furthermore, we acted in accordance with the institution’s policies and recommendations regarding ethics for research involving human participants by applying informed consent and anonymity.