Online Appendix to

“The Pure People” versus “the Corrupt Elite”? Political Corruption, Political Trust and the Success of Radical Right Parties in Europe

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Figure A1: Relationship between Survey Indicators of Corruption Experience

Note: Data source for the GCB indicator is Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer 2004 and 2005, <http://www.transparency.org/research/gcb> (mean values). No available GCB data for Belgium and Slovenia.

While respondents in Austria, Italy and Poland report higher corruptive involvement in the ESS than in the GCB, Norwegian respondents tend to underreport corruption. It is quite speculative to invoke an explanation for these deviations, especially since we have only access to the aggregated GCB figures. Nonetheless, in both GCB reports (2004 and 2005), remarkable high proportions (more than 10 percent) of Austrian and Polish respondents refrained from answering the bribing question, which indicates that social desirability might play a role in these countries. The core empirical findings are robust to excluding one to all of the outlying countries.

Table A1: Direct and Indirect Effects of Corruption Experience on Radical Right Vote

	Model 1: Trust in Public Officials as Mediating Variable		Model 2: Trust in Political Institutions as Mediating Variable	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
<i>DV: Radical right vote</i>				
Corruption - Being asked for a bribe	-0.070	(0.101)	-0.086	(0.101)
Trust in political institutions			-0.076***	(0.011)
Trust in public officials	-0.089***	(0.019)		
Perceived immigrant threat	0.245***	(0.009)	0.223***	(0.009)
Migration status (ref.=native)	0.035	(0.058)	0.031	(0.058)
Gender (ref.=male)	-0.253***	(0.036)	-0.264***	(0.036)
Education in years	-0.029***	(0.005)	-0.028***	(0.005)
Age	-0.006***	(0.001)	-0.006***	(0.001)
Unemployed	0.100	(0.082)	0.065	(0.082)
<i>DV: Trust in political officials</i>				
Corruption - Being asked for a bribe	-0.476***	(0.028)		
Migration status (ref.=native)	-0.016	(0.017)		
Gender (ref.=male)	0.080***	(0.012)		
Education in years	0.008***	(0.002)		
Age	0.002***	0.000		
Unemployed	-0.161***	(0.026)		
<i>DV: Trust in political institutions</i>				
Corruption - Being asked for a bribe			-0.769***	(0.070)
Migration status (ref.=native)			0.086*	(0.041)
Gender (ref.=male)			-0.080**	(0.030)
Education in years			0.058***	(0.004)
Age			0.004***	(0.001)
Unemployed			-0.708***	(0.062)
<i>Indirect effect on radical right vote (via trust in public officials)</i>				
Corruption - Being asked for a bribe	0.042***	(0.009)		
<i>Indirect effect on radical right vote (via trust in political institutions)</i>				
Corruption - Being asked for a bribe			0.058***	(0.010)
<i>Model Summary</i>				
N(obs.)	20774		20787	
Chi-Square	1252.381		2218.816	
CFI	0.918		0.917	
RMSEA	0.034		0.034	

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed)

Note: Unstandardized coefficients shown. WLSMV estimator with probit link for categorical outcomes (Mplus v. 7.11). Latent factor variables are trust in political institutions and perceived immigrant threat. Perceived immigrant threat is regressed on migration status, gender, education, age, and unemployment (parameters not shown). Country dummies are included in the equations of radical right vote and trust in political institutions/public officials.

Table A2: Predicted Probabilities for Minimum and Maximum Political Trust

Country	Trust in Public Officials (0-4) as Mediating Variable (Model 1)				Trust in Political Institutions (latent) as Mediating Variable (Model 2)			
	Min	Max	Max-Min	Min/Max	Min	Max	Max-Min	Min/Max
AT - Austria	5.25%	2.38%	-2.87%	2.21	10.86%	2.87%	-7.99%	3.78
BE - Belgium	10.66%	5.42%	-5.23%	1.96	19.07%	5.94%	-13.13%	3.21
CH - Switzerland	25.91%	15.72%	-10.19%	1.65	39.25%	17.19%	-22.06%	2.28
DE - Germany	1.54%	0.59%	-0.95%	2.62	4.09%	0.78%	-3.31%	5.27
DK - Denmark	7.90%	3.82%	-4.08%	2.07	18.74%	6.20%	-12.54%	3.02
FR - France	7.44%	3.56%	-3.88%	2.09	13.18%	3.73%	-9.45%	3.53
GR - Greece	1.11%	0.40%	-0.70%	2.73	2.27%	0.34%	-1.92%	6.57
IT - Italy	19.27%	10.97%	-8.30%	1.76	28.08%	10.79%	-17.29%	2.60
NL - Netherlands	2.62%	1.07%	-1.55%	2.44	6.06%	1.43%	-4.64%	4.25
NO - Norway	14.30%	7.68%	-6.62%	1.86	28.05%	10.42%	-17.63%	2.69
PL - Poland	6.86%	3.24%	-3.62%	2.12	10.00%	2.48%	-7.52%	4.03
SI - Slovenia	4.81%	2.15%	-2.66%	2.24	8.17%	2.01%	-6.16%	4.06

Note: Minimum values indicate the probability of a person with an average country-specific socio-demographic background and lowest trust to vote for a radical right party. Maximum values show the probability of a high trusting person. Max-Min values indicate the predicted probability change from minimum to maximum levels of trust. Min/Max is the ratio of the minimum and maximum probability. Trust in political institutions is measured as latent factor variable. Minimum or maximum values refer to the respective country-specific latent factor scores.

Figure A2: Corruption Coefficients from Single-Country Estimates across Different Levels of Institutional Quality

Note: Pearson's $r = -.52$, $p < .10$, $n = 12$. Parentheses indicate non-significant country estimates ($p < .05$, two-tailed). An exclusion of Norway (and Switzerland) as outlier results in a correlation coefficient of $r = -.74$, $p < .05$, $n = 11$ ($r = -.73$, $p < .05$, $n = 10$).