## Political Discontent as DV

How to explain these disparities in public political discontents across countries? What are the drivers of the changes over years? The literature presents various perspectives on how political and economic contexts may affect public political discontent. The first argument deals with the role of election. Elections provide an opportunity for people to turning their dissatisfaction into ballots for candidates or parties that promise changes to the system. Discontented citizens, as a result, gain political fulfillment through voting for a party voicing their discontents (Van der Brug 2003; Rooduijn, Van Der Brug, and De Lange 2016). From this perspective, public political discontent should be expected to be lower in years of national elections, where some of the existing discontents could be ameliorated. However, existing studies also suggest that the effect of election time on public political discontent could be the opposite. During election times, citizens are exposed to more political messages, a significant proportion of which are those criticizing the elites and the system (Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner 2007; López-García and Pavía 2019). Particularly, many advanced democracies are experiencing increased levels of false information during elections, which has become a clear danger to the integrity of political process (Bennett and Livingston 2018). If so, public political discontent may be expected to be higher at election times.

The second potential source of public political discontent is the distribution of power created by political institutions. According to prominent democratic theories (Norris 2008; Lijphart 1999; Powell 2000), power-sharing systems—parliamentarism, federalism, and proportional electoral rules—aim to generate governments that facilitate broad inclusion and participation, while power-concentrating systems prioritize to generate efficient and accountable majority rule. Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer (2010) argue, power-sharing systems, not only encourage actual political participation, but also send symbolic signals of inclusiveness to citizens. If so, the publics in countries with parliamentary, federal systems, and proportional electoral rules should be more likely to perceive themselves as being included and represented in the system, thereby being less discontented.

The third focus is political corruption. A number of studies have shown that people's experience with and perception of corruption yield salient negative impacts on the perceived institutional performance and responsiveness of the political system (Della Porta 2000; Uslaner 2017; Busby et al. 2018; Hawkins, Kaltwasser, and Andreadis 2020). If so, public political discontents should be higher in countries where corruption is pervasive, which problem drives people perceive political authorities working for their own interests without addressing public demands.

Lastly, economic conditions, particularly inequalities, are argued to be salient sources of political discontent (Quaranta and Martini 2016). For one thing, unfavorable economic conditions fuel social discontent and anxiety about the future among the public, which can easily evolve into anti-establishment sentiments (Kinnvall and Svensson 2022). For another, economic indicators are usually used by people to evaluate the performance of the system or government policies (Becher and Donnelly 2013). Hence, poor economic conditions, such as slow growth, high unemployment, and significant disparity, are likely to hurt the perceived institutional quality, thus increasing public political discontent.

## Bibliography

Almond, Gabriel Abraham, and Sidney Verba. 1963. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Becher, Michael, and Michael Donnelly. 2013. "Economic Performance, Individual Evaluations, and the Vote: Investigating the Causal Mechanism." *The Journal of Politics* 75 (4): 968–79.

Bennett, W Lance, and Steven Livingston. 2018. "The Disinformation Order: Disruptive Communication and the Decline of Democratic Institutions." *European Journal of Communication* 33 (2): 122–39.

Bertsou, Eri. 2019. "Rethinking Political Distrust." European Political Science Review 11 (2): 213–30.

Busby, Ethan C, David Doyle, Kirk A Hawkins, and Nina Wiesehomeier. 2018. "Activating Populist Attitudes: The Role of Corruption." In *The Ideational Approach to Populism*, 374–95. Routledge.

Camacho, Luis A. 2019. "Understanding Support for Democracy in New and Old Democracies in the Americas: The Role of Democratic Experience." *Democratization* 26 (6): 1047–69.

- Citrin, Jack. 1974. "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government." American Political Science Review 68 (3): 973–88.
- Claassen, Christopher. 2020. "Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive?" American Journal of Political Science 64 (1): 118–34.
- Craig, Stephen C. 1979. "Efficacy, Trust, and Political Behavior: An Attempt to Resolve a Lingering Conceptual Dilemma." American Politics Quarterly 7 (2): 225–39.
- ——. 1980. "The Mobilization of Political Discontent." Political Behavior 2: 189–209.
- Craig, Stephen C, and Michael A Maggiotto. 1981. "Political Discontent and Political Action." The Journal of Politics 43 (2): 514–22.
- Dahlberg, Stefan, and Sören Holmberg. 2014. "Democracy and Bureaucracy: How Their Quality Matters for Popular Satisfaction." West European Politics 37 (3): 515–37.
- Dahlberg, Stefan, Jonas Linde, and Sören Holmberg. 2015. "Democratic Discontent in Old and New Democracies: Assessing the Importance of Democratic Input and Governmental Output." *Political Studies* 63 (1\_suppl): 18–37.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2004. Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J, To-chol Sin, and Willy Jou. 2007. "Understanding Democracy: Data from Unlikely Places." Journal of Democracy 18 (4): 142–56.
- Dawson, Andrew, and Isabel L Krakoff. 2024. "Political Trust and Democracy: The Critical Citizens Thesis Re-Examined." *Democratization* 31 (1): 90–112.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2000. "Social Capital, Beliefs in Government, and Political Corruption." Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries, 202–28.
- Doorenspleet, Renske. 2012. "Critical Citizens, Democratic Support and Satisfaction in African Democracies." International Political Science Review 33 (3): 279–300.
- Easton, David. 1975. "A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support." British Journal of Political Science 5 (4): 435–57.
- Hawkins, Kirk A, Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, and Ioannis Andreadis. 2020. "The Activation of Populist Attitudes." *Government and Opposition* 55 (2): 283–307.
- Hetherington, Marc J. 1998. "The Political Relevance of Political Trust." American Political Science Review 92 (4): 791–808.
- ——. 2005. Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism. New York, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Hetherington, Marc J., and Jason A. Husser. 2012. "How Trust Matters: The Changing Political Relevance of Political Trust." *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2): 312–25. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00548.x.
- Heyne, Lea. 2019. "Democratic Demand and Supply: A Spatial Model Approach to Satisfaction with Democracy." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 29 (3): 381–401.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Ruth Dassonneville. 2018. "A Spiral of Distrust: A Panel Study on the Relation between Political Distrust and Protest Voting in Belgium." *Government and Opposition* 53 (1): 104–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2016.18.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Sofie Marien. 2013. "A Comparative Analysis of the Relation Between Political Trust and Forms of Political Participation in Europe." *European Societies* 15 (1): 131–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2012.692807.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2003. "How Solid Is Mass Support for Democracy—and How Can We Measure It?" PS: Political Science & Politics 36 (1): 51–57.
- Jennings, Will, Nick Clarke, Jonathan Moss, and Gerry Stoker. 2017. "The Decline in Diffuse Support for National Politics: The Long View on Political Discontent in Britain." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 81 (3): 748–58.
- Jennings, Will, Gerry Stoker, and Joe Twyman. 2016. "The Dimensions and Impact of Political Discontent in Britain." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (4): 876–900.
- Kinnvall, Catarina, and Ted Svensson. 2022. "Exploring the Populist Mind: Anxiety, Fantasy, and Everyday Populism." The British Journal of Politics and International Relations 24 (3): 526–42.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. 2010. "Engaging Citizens: The Role of Power-Sharing Institutions." The Journal of Politics 72 (4): 990–1002.

- Kwak, Joonghyun, Irina Tomescu-Dubrow, Kazimierz M Slomczynski, and Joshua K Dubrow. 2020. "Youth, Institutional Trust, and Democratic Backsliding." *American Behavioral Scientist* 64 (9): 1366–90.
- Lau, Richard R, Lee Sigelman, and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2007. "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment." The Journal of Politics 69 (4): 1176–1209.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. Yale University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy1." American Political Science Review 53 (1): 69–105.
- López-García, Guillermo, and José M Pavía. 2019. "Political Communication in Election Processes: An Overview." Contemporary Social Science 14 (1): 1–13.
- Marien, Sofie, and Marc Hooghe. 2011. "Does Political Trust Matter? An Empirical Investigation into the Relation between Political Trust and Support for Law Compliance." European Journal of Political Research 50 (2): 267–91. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01930.x.
- Martin, Aaron. 2010. "Does Political Trust Matter? Examining Some of the Implications of Low Levels of Political Trust in Australia." Australian Journal of Political Science 45 (4): 705–12.
- Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964–1970." American Political Science Review 68 (3): 951–72.
- Miller, Arthur H., and Ola Listhaug. 1990. "Political Parties and Confidence in Government: A Comparison of Norway, Sweden and the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 20 (3): 357–86.
- Mishler, William, and Richard Rose. 2005. "What Are the Political Consequences of Trust? A Test of Cultural and Institutional Theories in Russia." Comparative Political Studies 38 (9): 1050–78.
- Moisés, José Álvaro. 2011. "Political Discontent in New Democracies: The Case of Brazil and Latin America." International Review of Sociology 21 (2): 339–66.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." Government and Opposition 39 (4): 541–63.
- Muller, Edward N, and Thomas O Jukam. 1983. "Discontent and Aggressive Political Participation." *British Journal of Political Science* 13 (2): 159–79.
- Norris, Pippa. 1999. Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government. OUP Oxford.
- ——. 2008. Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work? Cambridge University Press.
- ——. 2011. Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited. Cambridge University Press.
- ——. 2019. "Do Perceptions of Electoral Malpractice Undermine Democratic Satisfaction? The US in Comparative Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 40 (1): 5–22.
- Park, Chong-Min. 2011. "Political Discontent in South Korea." International Review of Sociology 21 (2): 391–412.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions. Yale University Press.
- Quaranta, Mario, and Sergio Martini. 2016. "Does the Economy Really Matter for Satisfaction with Democracy? Longitudinal and Cross-Country Evidence from the European Union." *Electoral Studies* 42: 164–74.
- Rooduijn, Matthijs, Wouter Van Der Brug, and Sarah L De Lange. 2016. "Expressing or Fuelling Discontent?" The Relationship Between Populist Voting and Political Discontent." *Electoral Studies* 43: 32–40.
- Ruck, Damian J, Luke J Matthews, Thanos Kyritsis, Quentin D Atkinson, and R Alexander Bentley. 2020. "The Cultural Foundations of Modern Democracies." *Nature Human Behaviour* 4 (3): 265–69.
- Saikkonen, Inga A-L, and Henrik Serup Christensen. 2023. "Guardians of Democracy or Passive Bystanders? A Conjoint Experiment on Elite Transgressions of Democratic Norms." *Political Research Quarterly* 76 (1): 127–42.
- Singh, Shane P, and Quinton Mayne. 2023. "Satisfaction with Democracy: A Review of a Major Public Opinion Indicator." Public Opinion Quarterly 87 (1): 187–218.
- Stoker, Gerry. 2017. Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Uslaner, Eric M. 2017. "Political Trust, Corruption, and Inequality." In *Handbook on Political Trust*, 302–15. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Van der Brug, Wouter. 2003. "How the LPF Fuelled Discontent: Empirical Tests of Explanations of LPF Support." Acta Politica 38: 89–106.
- Van der Meer, Tom W. G. 2017. "Political Trust and the 'Crisis of Democracy'." In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.77.

- Van der Meer, Tom WG, and Sonja Zmerli. 2017. "The Deeply Rooted Concern with Political Trust." In *Handbook on Political Trust*, 1–16. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Van der Meer, Tom, and Armen Hakhverdian. 2017. "Political Trust as the Evaluation of Process and Performance: A Cross-National Study of 42 European Countries." *Political Studies* 65 (1): 81–102.
- Van Egmond, Marcel, Robert Johns, and Heinz Brandenburg. 2020. "When Long-Distance Relationships Don't Work Out: Representational Distance and Satisfaction with Democracy in Europe." *Electoral Studies* 66: 102182.
- Yap, O. Fiona. 2019. "How Political Trust Matters in Emergent Democracies: Evidence from East and Southeast Asia." *Journal of Public Policy* 39 (2): 295–328. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X1800003X.