

Online Appendix

A Pre-registered design and hypotheses

The problems (hypotheses) and the research design have been pre-registered with the OSF (<https://osf.io/avfd9>). To make both problems a little bit clearer, I reformulated them. I re-framed Hypothesis 3 as potential problem for the study of citizens' support for democracy to make the study more coherent. Since this study does not aim at testing classical hypotheses to support a new theoretical argument, this does neither affect the analysis nor does it affect the conclusion of the study. These are the original versions of Hypotheses 1 through 3:

Original hypothesis 1 *Respondents' self-reported support for democracy is higher when they are asked directly compared to when they are asked indirectly through a list experiment.*

Original hypothesis 2 *The extent to which the respondents' self-reported support for democracy when asked directly is affected by social desirability depends on the country the survey was conducted in.*

Original hypothesis 3 *Overall, Western Europeans have a common understanding of democracy that is compatible with liberal democracy.*

The survey has been designed as foreseen in the pre-registration. Research design and measurement were not changed after the pre-registration. The pre-registration contains several additional hypotheses regarding the relationship between authoritarianism, radicalism and populism and citizens' support for and understandings of democracy. These will be discussed in a separate study.

B Control variables

Age: Measured in years since birth

Sex: Measured dichotomously as female (1) or male (0)

Education: 7-point scale measurement based on ISCED categories, higher values indicate higher official level of education

Local (size of locality): Ordinal measurement of the number of inhabitants the respondents' place of residence has, from 1 (big locality) to 3 (small locality)

Left-right self-placement: Scale from 0 (left) to 10 (right)

Political knowledge: Index based on the number of correct answers to country specific questions about politics ranging from 0 (no question answered correctly) to 1 (all questions answered correctly)

C Quotas set and met

Tables C.1 through C.4 compare the quotas that were set by You Gov based on the EUROSTAT Census Hub for each country's population age 18 and older with the quotas that we filled in percent of respondents by country.

Table C.1: Quotas set and met for France in percent of respondents

Variable	Our survey	YouGov	Difference
Age * sex			
Male - 18-24 years	3.00	5.65	-2.65
Female - 18-24 years	6.03	5.54	0.49
Male - 25-34 years	6.06	7.84	-1.78
Female - 25-34 years	8.69	8.04	0.65
Male - 35-44 years	7.49	8.84	-1.35
Female - 35-44 years	10.20	9.00	1.20
Male - 45-54 years	7.46	8.56	-1.10
Female - 45-54 years	9.71	8.93	0.78
Male - 55-64 years	10.20	7.77	2.43
Female - 55-64 years	9.63	8.24	1.39
Male - 65+ years	10.91	8.95	1.96
Female - 65+ years	10.63	12.63	-2.00
Educational attainment			
Low - ISCED 0, 1 & 2	18.80	33.77	-14.97
Medium - ISCED 3 & 4	49.94	40.94	9.00
High - ISCED 5 & 6	31.26	25.29	5.97
Size of locality			
Small - < 2,000 inhab.	22.26	24.25	-1.99
Medium - 2,000 to < 20,000 inhab.	40.80	36.85	3.95
Large - > 20,000 inhab.	36.94	38.90	-1.96

Table C.2: Quotas set and met for Germany in percent of respondents

Variable	Our survey	YouGov	Difference
Age * sex			
Male - 18-24 years	2.89	4.96	-2.07
Female - 18-24 years	5.23	4.76	0.47
Male - 25-34 years	6.49	7.22	-0.73
Female - 25-34 years	7.49	7.13	0.36
Male - 35-44 years	7.54	8.33	-0.79
Female - 35-44 years	8.60	8.21	0.39
Male - 45-54 years	10.89	9.93	0.96
Female - 45-54 years	10.54	9.76	0.78
Male - 55-64 years	8.86	7.41	1.45
Female - 55-64 years	8.80	7.68	1.12
Male - 65+ years	11.69	10.47	1.22
Female - 65+ years	11.00	14.15	-3.15
Educational attainment			
Low - ISCED 0, 1 & 2	25.14	20.90	4.24
Medium - ISCED 3 & 4	46.00	53.16	-7.16
High - ISCED 5 & 6	28.86	25.94	2.92
Size of locality			
Small - < 2,000 inhab.	12.03	19.48	-7.45
Medium - 2,000 to < 20,000 inhab.	30.29	26.40	3.89
Large - > 20,000 inhab.	57.69	54.13	3.56

Table C.3: Quotas set and met for Italy in percent of respondents

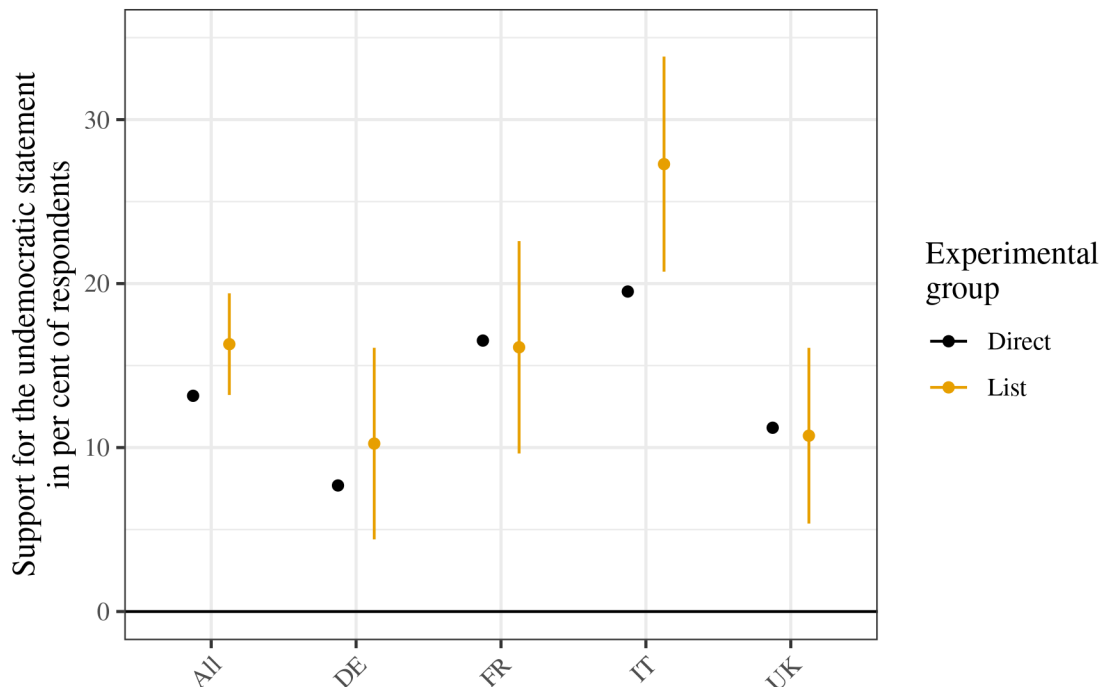
Variable	Our survey	YouGov	Difference
Age * sex			
Male - 18-24 years	4.14	4.39	-0.25
Female - 18-24 years	4.66	4.19	0.47
Male - 25-34 years	6.49	7.13	-0.64
Female - 25-34 years	8.43	7.15	1.28
Male - 35-44 years	9.97	9.41	0.56
Female - 35-44 years	11.77	9.53	2.24
Male - 45-54 years	9.69	8.87	0.82
Female - 45-54 years	10.97	9.18	1.79
Male - 55-64 years	9.49	7.31	2.18
Female - 55-64 years	9.26	7.79	1.47
Male - 65+ years	8.54	10.63	-2.09
Female - 65+ years	6.60	14.43	-7.83
Educational attainment			
Low - ISCED 0, 1 & 2	37.54	51.08	-13.54
Medium - ISCED 3 & 4	45.71	36.23	9.48
High - ISCED 5 & 6	16.74	12.69	4.05
Size of locality			
Small - < 2,000 inhab.	5.69	20.34	-14.65
Medium - 2,000 to < 20,000 inhab.	37.91	35.38	2.53
Large - > 20,000 inhab.	56.40	44.27	12.13

Table C.4: Quotas set and met for the United Kingdom in percent of respondents

Variable	Our survey	YouGov	Difference
Age * sex			
Male - 18-24 years	2.91	6.03	-3.12
Female - 18-24 years	4.06	5.93	-1.87
Male - 25-34 years	5.60	8.45	-2.85
Female - 25-34 years	8.57	8.50	0.07
Male - 35-44 years	8.71	8.78	-0.07
Female - 35-44 years	8.86	8.95	-0.09
Male - 45-54 years	9.40	8.69	0.71
Female - 45-54 years	10.34	8.88	1.46
Male - 55-64 years	8.29	7.35	0.94
Female - 55-64 year	9.09	7.57	1.52
Male - 65+ years	10.91	9.24	1.67
Female - 65+ years	13.26	11.63	1.63
Educational attainment			
Low - ISCED 0, 1 & 2	23.80	35.96	-12.16
Medium - ISCED 3 & 4	40.89	33.19	7.70
High - ISCED 5 & 6	35.31	30.85	4.46
Size of locality			
Small - < 2,000 inhab.	14.06	11.34	2.72
Medium - 2,000 to < 20,000 inhab.	21.20	14.67	6.53
High - > 20,000 inhab.	64.74	73.98	-9.24

D Weighted support for democracy

Figure D.1: Social desirability bias in self-reported levels of support for democracy in France, Germany, Italy, and the UK, using population weights provided by YouGov



The results for weighted and unweighted data only differs for Italian respondents to the list experiment. Weights are distributed equally across the three different experimental groups in Italy: the control group, the list experiment group seeing three statements and the list experiment group seeing four statements. P-values from Welch two-sample t-tests for each of the three group comparisons are all larger than 0.82. Section H suggests that randomization across the treatment groups has worked in all countries, including Italy, even when taking variables such as authoritarianism, populism, and radicalism into account. Therefore, differences in observed variables across the Italian treatment groups do not seem to drive the increase in Italians' self-reported levels of support for the undemocratic statement. However, since weighting does not affect the mean support for the undemocratic statement for respondents who saw the direct question, weighting neither seems to be the reason for this increase. Instead, some unobserved difference between the experimental groups in Italy most likely explains this increase in hidden support for the undemocratic statement in Italy.

E Comparison with other surveys

Figures E.2 through E.4 compare the behavior of the respondents in our sample with the behavior of respondents in the ESS (2018) and EB (2019/09) samples. Overall, the responses do not deviate strongly from each other across surveys, with the exception of French respondents who seem to trust less in parties and politicians in our survey than in the ESS. However, in terms of their left-right self-placement, they do not differ from the respondents in the ESS and the EB. In Table E.5, I furthermore compare vote intention in our sample to vote intention in polling data collected by Europe Elects (europeelects.eu, last access: 1 July 2022) for Germany and Italy, and to vote intention in the English Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opinion_polling_for_the_next_United_Kingdom_general_election, last access: July 6, 2022). French polling data is restricted to presidential or European Parliament elections which follow a different logic and are therefore not used for comparison.

Different groups of voters are substantially under- and over-represented in the British, German, and Italian samples. These groups also differ strongly regarding their support for democracy. For example, the average support for democracy among AfD supporters is 10.68 percentage points lower than the average support for democracy among all German citizens. The average support for democracy among Italia Viva supporters, however, is 5.22 percentage points higher than the average support for democracy among all Italian citizens. Supporters of the AfD are over-represented in our sample, while supporters of Italia Viva are under-represented. I therefore weight the average support for democracy of different party supporters, using the strength of the parties in EE polling data as weights. I divide a party's vote share by the sum of the larger parties' vote shares and multiply that with the party supporters' average support for the undemocratic statement:

$$\sum \left(\frac{\text{voteShare}_{\text{partyEE}}}{\sum(\text{voteShare}_{EE})} * \text{democracySupp}_{\text{partyVoters}} \right)$$

Applying this formula to the data in Tables E.5, I get an approximate support for the undemocratic statement of 7.51 in Germany, 18.92 in Italy and 7.25 in the UK. This is similar to the support for the undemocratic statement mentioned in the main analysis for the German and Italian case, but substantially lower than the percentage reported for British respondents in

the main analysis. This is because 11.06 percent of British respondents have indicated that they would abstain, vote invalid or that they preferred not to answer. Of these respondents, 23.26 percent said that it would be better if the UK were not a democracy. Thus, focusing on British respondents with a vote intention substantially under-estimates the British average support for the undemocratic statement.

Figure E.2: Comparing left-right self-placements across three different surveys, re-coded to a 0 through 1 scale

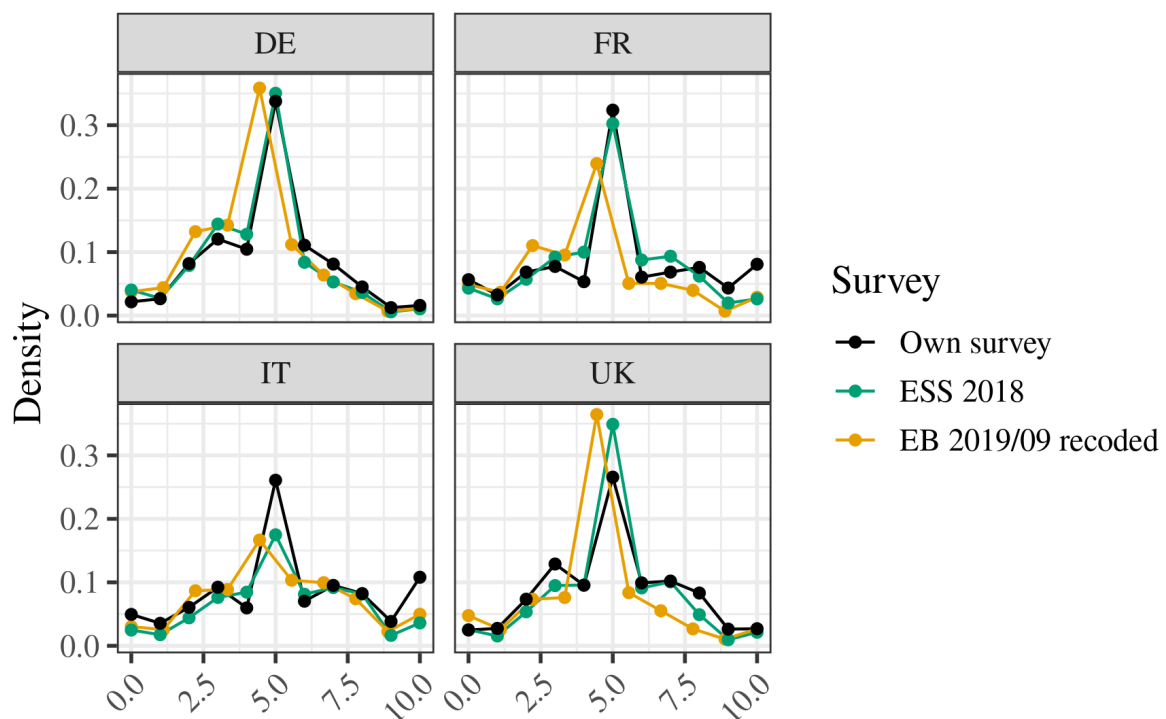


Figure E.3: Comparing trust in parties with the ESS 2018 sample, re-coded to a 0 through 1 scale

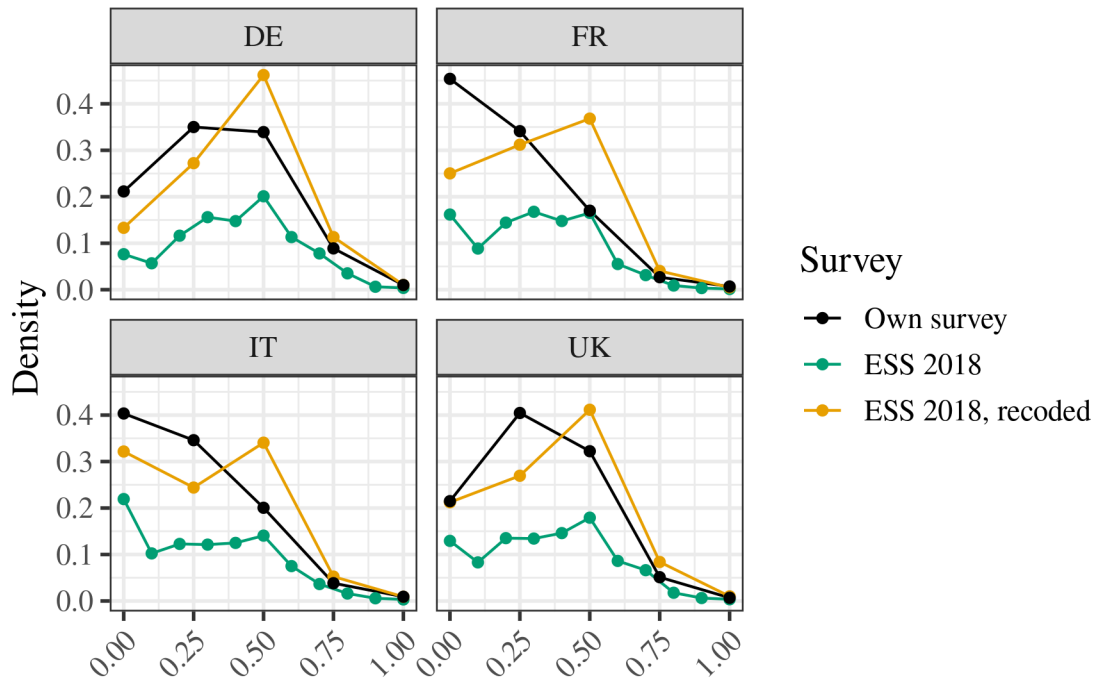


Figure E.4: Comparing trust in politicians with the ESS 2018 sample, re-coded to a 0 through 1 scale

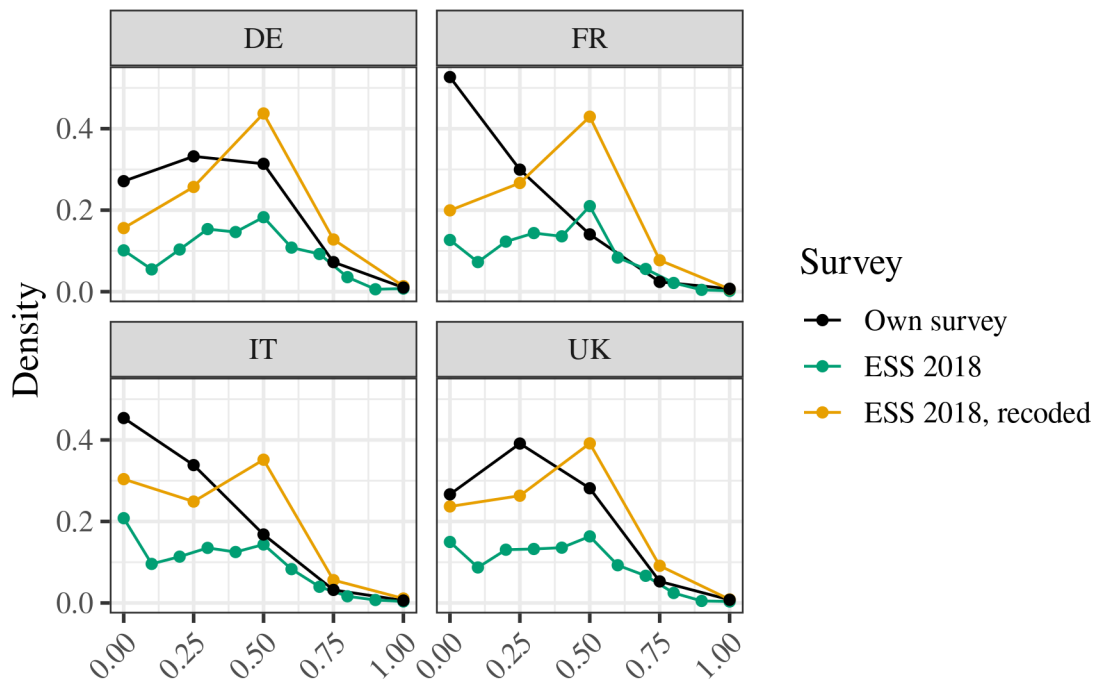


Table E.5: Percent of respondents indicating vote intentions for the largest parties in my sample, in Europe Elects (EE) polling data (DE and IT) and in Wikipedia polling data (UK) for the field period, including 95%-confidence intervals for the polling data and information on support for democracy among party supporter vs. the average citizen in each country measured using direct questions.

Party	Vote	EE/Wikipedia vote	EE/Wiki 95% CI	Represented	Diff dem. support
AfD	13.54	10.88	[10.3;11.45]	over (+2.67)	-10.68
B90/Gruene	17.71	16.25	[15.64;16.86]	over (+1.46)	+3.22
CDU/CSU	16.77	25.14	[23.91;26.37]	under (-8.37)	+1.99
FDP	7.40	10.06	[9.07;11.05]	under (-2.66)	+5.6
Linke	11.51	6.31	[5.7;6.92]	over (+5.2)	+4.07
SPD	10.03	23.75	[22.79;24.71]	under (-13.72)	-1.46
5 Stelle	15.46	14.38	[13.93;14.82]	over (+1.08)	+3.43
Forza Italia	4.20	7.95	[7.53;8.37]	under (-3.75)	-5.5
Fratelli d'Italia	7.46	20.51	[19.93;21.08]	under (-13.05)	+1.13
Italia Viva	2.03	2.72	[2.4;3.04]	under (-0.69)	+5.22
Lega	22.46	17.77	[17.33;18.2]	over (+4.69)	-11.17
PD	14.20	21.05	[20.83;21.27]	under (-6.85)	+9.72
Brexit	0.06	2.77	[2.2;3.34]	under (-2.71)	+7.87
Con	37.43	44.96	[43.28;46.64]	under (-7.53)	-0.21
Greens	1.00	4.00	[2.98;5.02]	under (-3)	+7.87
Lab	26.49	30.86	[29.55;32.16]	under (-4.37)	+0.01
SNP	9.06	4.30	[3.74;4.86]	over (+4.76)	+2.21

F European Social Survey

Table F.6: Mean importance attributed to living in a democracy across 15 Western European countries, using analysis weights, ignoring missing and invalid responses

Ranking	Country	Importance	Std. Error	Lower CI	Upper CI
1	DK	9.39	0.04	9.32	9.46
2	SE	9.33	0.03	9.26	9.40
3	NO	9.25	0.04	9.17	9.33
4	IS	9.24	0.05	9.14	9.35
5	CH	9.03	0.04	8.94	9.11
6	DE	9.00	0.04	8.93	9.07
7	FI	8.90	0.04	8.83	8.97
8	IT	8.72	0.08	8.57	8.86
9	ES	8.43	0.05	8.33	8.53
10	NL	8.43	0.04	8.34	8.51
11	IE	8.42	0.05	8.33	8.52
12	GB	8.37	0.05	8.27	8.48
13	FR	8.21	0.06	8.10	8.33
14	BE	8.18	0.05	8.08	8.27
15	PT	7.99	0.05	7.89	8.09

Figure F.5: Differences in understandings of democracy across the four countries under study based on the ESS data (wave 6, 2012), using analysis weights, ignoring missing and invalid responses

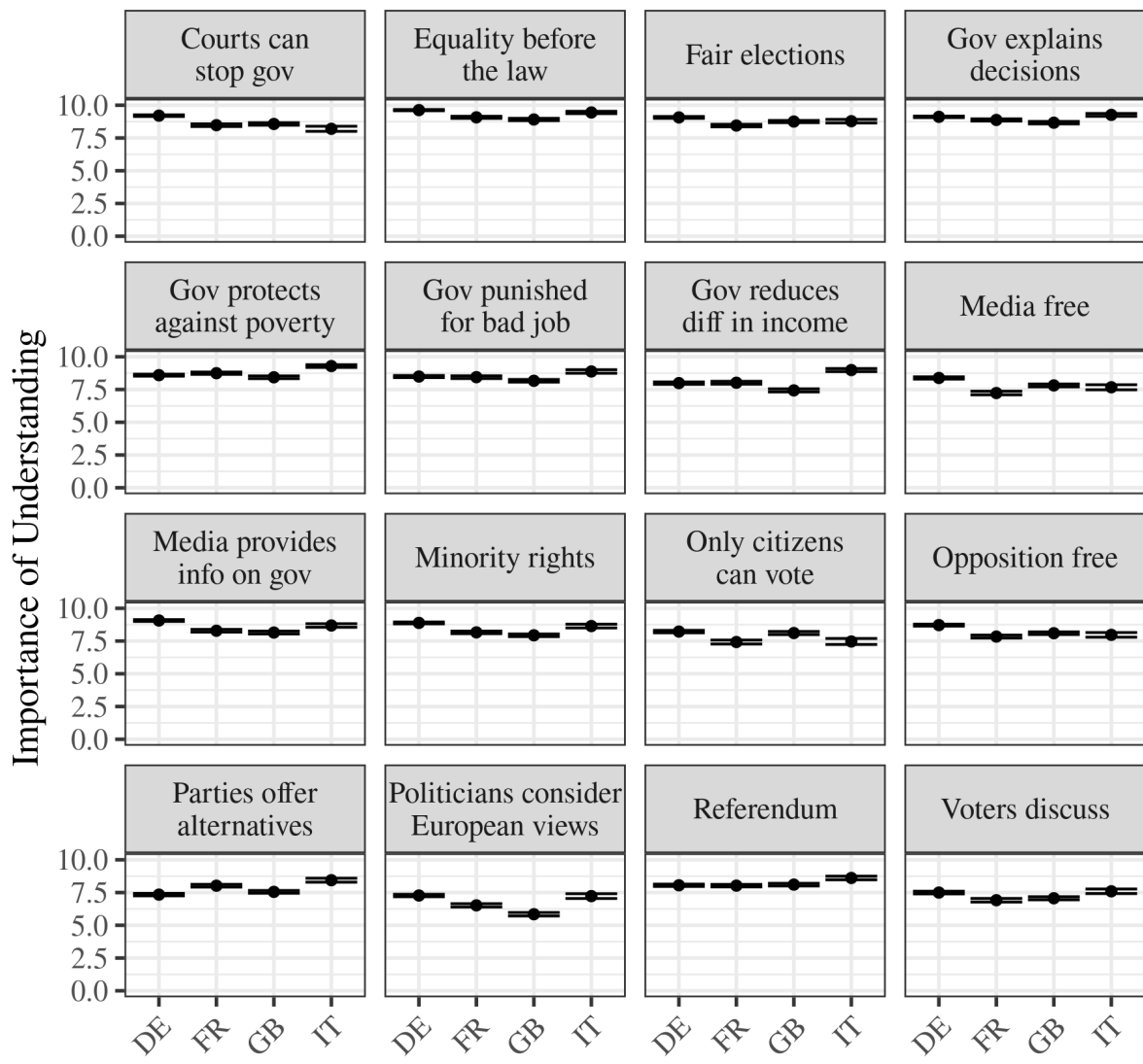
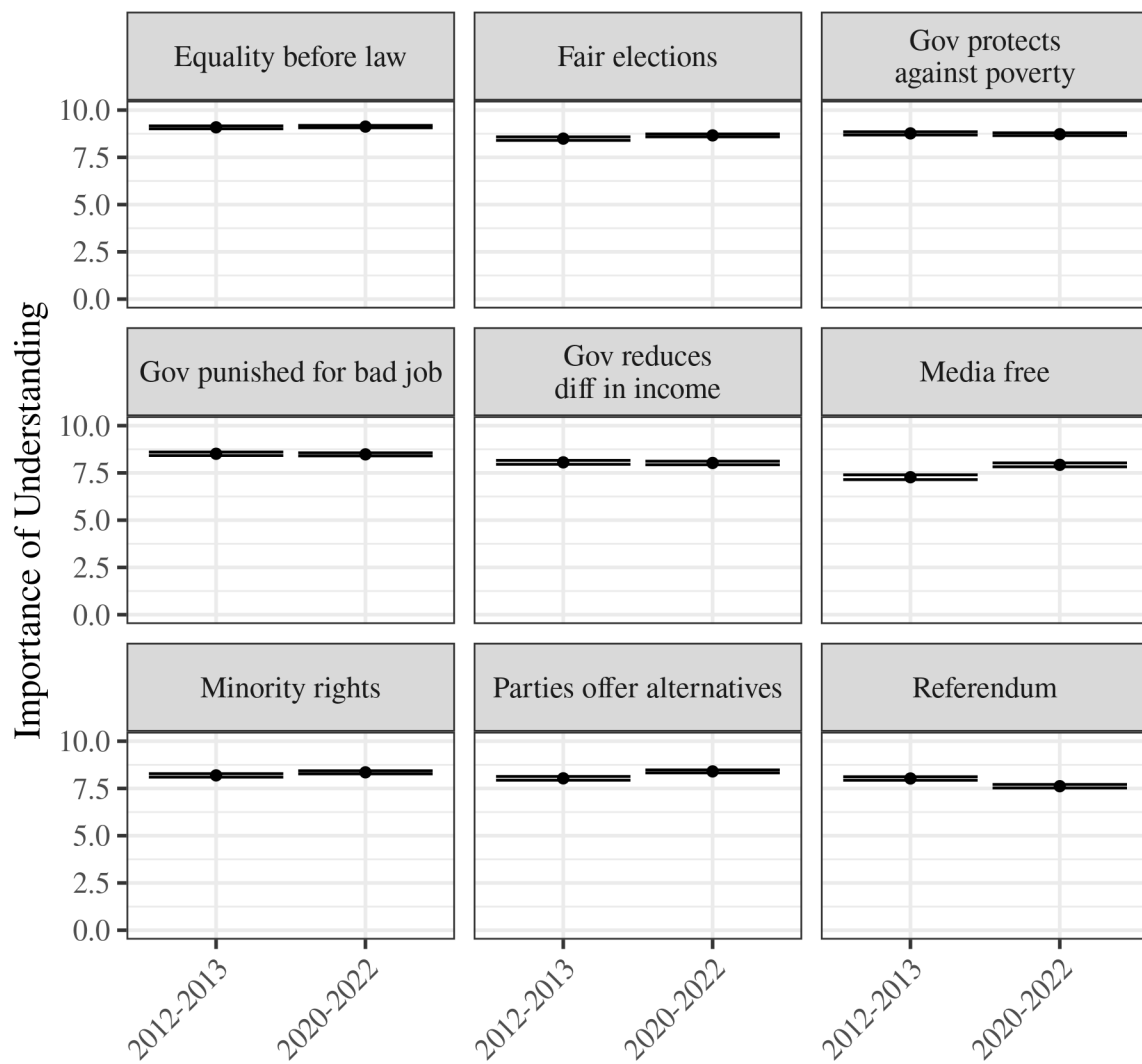


Figure F.6: Differences in understandings of democracy across wave 6 (2012-2013) and wave 10 (2020-2022) for French respondents, including population and design weights and all items included in both waves, ignoring missing and invalid responses



G Questions on citizens' support for democracy in other surveys

The European Value Study (EVS) waves 3 and 4 and the World Value Survey (WVS) waves 3 and 4 have asked respondents inter alia whether they agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly with the statement that “democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government”. Similarly, the Barometer series has asked with which of the following statements respondents would agree most: “1) Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. 2) Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one. 3) For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime” (Asian Barometer wave 4, other Barometer series have used a very similar wording). Additionally, WVS waves 3 to 6 and the EVS waves 3 to 5 use the following question: “Would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? 1) Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections. 2) Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country. 3) Having the army rule. 4) Having a democratic political system.”

Table H.7: ANOVA for distribution of main variables across different list experiment groups

Factor	Df	Sum sq	Mean sq	F value	Pr(>F)
Age	1	0	0.25	0.46	0.50
Sex	1	0	0.15	0.27	0.61
Education	1	1	1.04	1.87	0.17
Size of locality	1	0	0.31	0.57	0.45
Trust in Parliament	1	0	0.03	0.05	0.82
Left-right self-placement	1	0	0.04	0.07	0.82
Authoritarianism	1	0	0.47	0.85	0.36
Populism	1	0	0.00	0.00	0.97
Radicalism	1	0	0.28	0.51	0.47
Residuals	13295	7372	0.56		

Notes: * marks significant differences across groups of respondents for $p < 0.05$. Authoritarians/populists are respondents with an attitude higher than the mean attitude in their country.

H List experiment

Randomization across treatment groups (Blair and Imai, 2012; Glynn, 2013). Table H.7 shows the results of an analysis of variance (ANOVA) that assesses whether control variables are correlated with the group assignment in the list experiment (direct, short list, and long list). All of these factors are distributed equally. Table H.8 shows the same values by country. Again, the factors are distributed equally across experimental groups.

No ceiling and floor effects (Glynn, 2013). Table H.9 shows the percent of respondents who agree with 0 to 4 statements and the percent of respondents who agree with at least 0 through at least 4 statements for each group. The percent of respondents who agree with at least 0 through at least 4 statements in the treatment group is always larger than the percent of respondents who agree with at least 0 through at least 4 statements in the control group (Joint). Thus, there is no evidence that ceiling and floor effects have significantly influenced respondents. Additionally, there is no large difference between the average amount of statements respondents agree with in the direct question and the treatment group.

Table H.10 shows the same values for each country separately. With the exception for one value for the UK, all of these values are also positive for each country. The one exception for the UK is very close to 0. Additionally, the average amount of statements respondents agree with in the list and when they are asked directly is very similar. Thus, I again conclude that

Table H.8: ANOVA for distribution of main variables across different list experiment groups by country

CN	Factor	Df	Sum sq	Mean sq	F value	Pr(>F)
DE	Age	1	0	0.00	0.00	0.99
DE	Sex	1	0.6	0.57	1.02	0.31
DE	Education	1	0.6	0.56	1.01	0.32
DE	Size of locality	1	0.4	0.41	0.73	0.39
DE	Trust in Parliament	1	0.2	0.19	0.35	0.56
DE	Left-right self-placement	1	1.3	1.35	2.42	0.12
DE	Authoritarianism	1	1.1	1.11	1.98	0.16
DE	Populism	1	0.3	0.32	0.57	0.45
DE	Radicalism	1	2.5	2.54	4.56	0.03*
DE	Residuals	3345	1863.3	0.56		
FR	Age	1	0.3	0.26	0.47	0.49
FR	Sex	1	0.5	0.49	0.88	0.35
FR	Education	1	0.4	0.38	0.68	0.41
FR	Size of locality	1	0.3	0.33	0.59	0.44
FR	Trust in Parliament	1	0.2	0.21	0.37	0.55
FR	Left-right self-placement	1	0.1	0.13	0.24	0.63
FR	Authoritarianism	1	0.0	0.04	0.06	0.80
FR	Populism	1	0.4	0.37	0.66	0.42
FR	Radicalism	1	0.7	0.74	1.32	0.25
FR	Residuals	3279	1834.9	0.56		
IT	Age	1	0.3	0.33	0.59	0.44
IT	Sex	1	0.2	0.16	0.28	0.60
IT	Education	1	0.1	0.14	0.26	0.61
IT	Size of locality	1	0.2	0.22	0.28	0.54
IT	Trust in Parliament	1	0.5	0.50	0.90	0.34
IT	Left-right self-placement	1	0.8	0.80	1.43	0.23
IT	Authoritarianism	1	0.0	0.01	0.03	0.87
IT	Populism	1	0.2	0.23	0.40	0.53
IT	Radicalism	1	1.4	1.40	2.50	0.11
IT	Residuals	3316	1856.8	0.56		
UK	Age	1	0.0	0.01	0.02	0.88
UK	Sex	1	0.1	0.10	0.18	0.67
UK	Education	1	0.1	0.07	0.12	0.73
UK	Size of locality	1	0.4	0.37	0.67	0.41
UK	Trust in Parliament	1	0.9	0.91	1.68	0.20
UK	Left-right self-placement	1	1.2	1.19	2.20	0.14
UK	Authoritarianism	1	0.2	0.23	0.43	0.51
UK	Populism	1	1.1	1.08	20.00	0.16
UK	Radicalism	1	0.0	0.02	0.04	0.83
UK	Residuals	3325	1801.1	0.54		

Notes: * marks significant differences across groups of respondents for $p < 0.05$. Authoritarians/populists are respondents with an attitude higher than the mean attitude in their country.

Table H.9: Ceiling and floor effects for list experiment, excluding NAs

Experimental group	0	1	2	3	4
Direct question	8.52	41.44	38.59	8.38	3.07
Direct, at least 0-4	100.00	91.48	50.04	11.45	3.07
Control	11.75	46.08	36.16	6.01	NA
Control, at least 0-3	100.00	88.25	42.17	6.01	NA
Treatment	11.04	40.05	37.98	8.57	2.36
Treatment, at least 0-4	100.00	88.96	48.92	10.93	2.36
Joint	0.00	0.71	6.75	4.29	2.36

Notes: All numbers in percentage points. Joint=Treatment, at least 0-4 – Control, at least 0-3.

there are no ceiling or floor effects for the list experiment in each country.

No design effects (Blair and Imai, 2012). The test for design effects by Blair and Imai (2012), (see also Blair, Chou, et al. (2020)) fails to reject the null hypothesis that there are no design effects, overall and by country. The respective Bonferroni-corrected p-value is always at least larger than 0.84.

Table H.10: Ceiling and floor effects for list experiment by country, excluding NAs

CN	Experimental group	0	1	2	3	4
DE	Direct question	11.82	45.11	35.47	5.84	1.75
DE	Direct, at least 0-4	100.00	88.18	43.07	7.59	1.75
DE	Control	15.87	49.18	30.88	4.07	NA
DE	Control, at least 0-3	100.00	84.13	34.59	4.07	NA
DE	Treatment	14.37	44.73	34.96	4.67	1.27
DE	Treatment, at least 0-4	100.00	85.63	40.91	5.94	1.27
DE	Joint	0.00	1.50	6.32	1.87	1.27
FR	Direct question	6.87	40.25	39.55	9.40	3.93
FR	Direct, at least 0-4	100.00	93.13	52.88	13.32	3.93
FR	Control	12.63	40.90	39.69	6.78	NA
FR	Control, at least 0-3	100.00	87.37	46.47	6.78	NA
FR	Treatment	11.21	34.27	43.02	8.68	2.82
FR	Treatment, at least 0-4	100.00	88.79	54.52	11.50	2.82
FR	Joint	0.00	1.42	8.05	4.72	2.82
IT	Direct question	5.73	25.11	50.22	13.36	5.58
IT	Direct, at least 0-4	100.00	94.27	69.16	18.94	5.58
IT	Control	8.60	34.78	46.20	10.41	NA
IT	Control, at least 0-3	100.00	91.40	56.62	10.41	NA
IT	Treatment	8.60	27.20	45.10	14.55	4.55
IT	Treatment, at least 0-4	100.00	91.40	64.20	19.09	4.55
IT	Joint	0.00	0.00	7.58	8.68	4.55
UK	Direct question	9.77	55.88	28.70	4.73	0.92
UK	Direct, at least 0-4	100.00	90.23	34.35	5.65	0.92
UK	Control	9.90	58.93	28.25	2.91	NA
UK	Control, at least 0-3	100.00	90.01	31.16	2.91	NA
UK	Treatment	10.00	54.14	28.79	6.29	0.79
UK	Treatment, at least 0-4	100.00	90.00	35.86	7.07	0.79
UK	Joint	0.00	-0.23	4.70	4.16	0.79

Notes: All numbers in percentage points. Joint=Treatment, at least 0-4 – Control, at least 0-3.

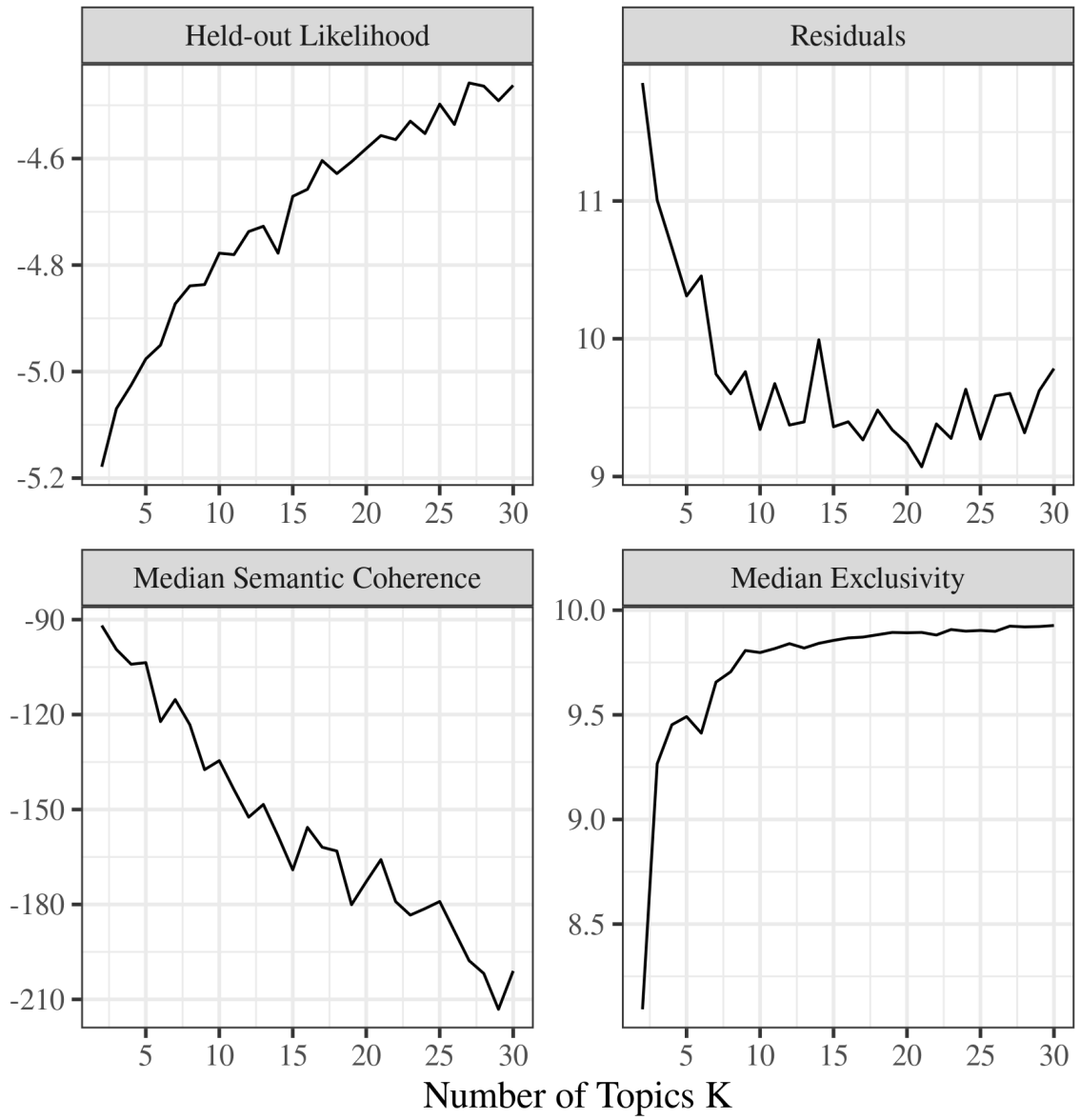
I LDA Models

Pre-processing steps, in this order: translation to English using DeepL, lower casing, removal of numbers, removal of punctuation, stemming, removal of words with 2 or less characters, removal of highly infrequent words, removal of stop words: and, the, this, that. This pre-processing excluded 730 responses from the analysis that were meaningless (e.g. “llll”), that only contained words mentioned by only one respondent (e.g. “sausage and booze”) or that were short abbreviations of don’t know, not applicable, etc. (e.g. “dk”).

I.1 Model selection

I ran 29 different models with K between 2 and 30. Figure I.7 shows the respective indicators of model performance for LDA models with different K s. Based on the held-out likelihood (should approximate zero), the residuals (should approximate zero), the median semantic coherence (should approximate zero) and exclusivity (should be high) of each model, I chose the topic model with $K=10$ (Grimmer and Stewart, 2013; Roberts, Stewart, Tingley, and Benoit, 2018). Models with other K s, for example $K=5$ or $K=6$, would have clearly optimized the median semantic coherence in comparison to a model with $K=10$, but would have performed worse in terms of model fit measured with residuals and the held-out likelihood as well as exclusivity, the degree to which single words only load onto one topic. Models with higher K s would show a better model fit measured in terms of the held-out likelihood and slightly improved on the median exclusivity, but would substantially decrease the semantic coherence of topics, the degree to which words that predict topics co-appear in documents.

Figure I.7: Model specifications for topic models with K s 5, 10, 15, ... 100.



I.2 Topic correlations

Table I.11: Topic correlations

	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10
T1	1				-0.35	-0.16		0.45		
T2		1	-0.34	0.27	-0.39		-0.12		-0.14	0.20
T3		-0.34	1	-0.68	-0.27	-0.57	-0.55	0.34	-0.49	0.29
T4		0.27	-0.68	1		0.58	0.29	-0.33	0.20	-0.37
T5	-0.35	-0.39	-0.27		1	0.46		-0.17		-0.45
T6	-0.16		-0.57	0.58	0.46	1		-0.36		-0.55
T7		-0.12	-0.55	0.29			1	-0.45	0.75	-0.21
T8	0.45		0.34	-0.33	-0.17	-0.36	-0.45	1	-0.37	
T9		-0.14	-0.49	0.20			0.75	-0.37	1	-0.26
T10		0.20	0.29	-0.37	-0.45	-0.55	-0.21		-0.26	1

I.3 Regression tables for Figure 2

see the following pages

Table I.12: Regression results for Topics 1 through 5 including population weights provided by YouGov and only considering respondents with open-ended responses that have not been excluded from the topic model analysis

	1: Electoral Democracy	2: Everyone has say	3: Civil liberties	4: Elected politicians make policy	5: Melange
FR (vs. DE)	0.136** (0.058)	0.238 (0.165)	0.757** (0.356)	-0.643*** (0.099)	-1.155*** (0.195)
IT (vs. DE)	-0.100* (0.059)	-0.378** (0.168)	1.421*** (0.361)	-0.601*** (0.101)	0.293 (0.198)
UK (vs. DE)	0.377*** (0.056)	4.966*** (0.159)	-5.835*** (0.342)	1.579*** (0.095)	-2.321*** (0.187)
Age	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.003)	0.068*** (0.007)	-0.016*** (0.002)	-0.024*** (0.004)
Male (vs. female)	0.036 (0.041)	-0.624*** (0.115)	-0.617** (0.248)	0.153** (0.069)	0.507*** (0.136)
Level of education	-0.009 (0.015)	0.023 (0.044)	-0.444*** (0.094)	0.161*** (0.026)	0.124** (0.051)
Size of locality	0.006 (0.026)	-0.067 (0.074)	-0.401** (0.160)	0.023 (0.045)	0.259*** (0.088)
Political knowledge	0.215*** (0.064)	0.201 (0.183)	2.454*** (0.394)	0.281** (0.110)	-2.216*** (0.216)
Left-right self-placement	0.004 (0.008)	-0.046** (0.023)	0.014 (0.050)	0.015 (0.014)	-0.012 (0.027)
Constant	7.226*** (0.115)	9.771*** (0.327)	14.754*** (0.704)	7.318*** (0.197)	10.753*** (0.386)
N	12,670	12,670	12,670	12,670	12,670
R ²	0.009	0.115	0.052	0.069	0.038
Adjusted R ²	0.008	0.114	0.051	0.068	0.037
F Statistic (df = 9; 12660)	12.445***	182.276***	77.058***	104.169***	55.720***

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table I.13: Regression results for Topics 6 through 10 including population weights provided by YouGov and only considering respondents with open-ended responses that have not been excluded from the topic model analysis

	6: Gov by people	7: Not existent (today)	8: Equal rights & opportunities	9: Does not work	10: Freedom of opinion & speech
FR (vs. DE)	-0.769*** (0.217)	0.241 (0.169)	-0.396*** (0.153)	0.965*** (0.159)	0.624*** (0.204)
IT (vs. DE)	0.797*** (0.220)	-0.839*** (0.172)	-0.303* (0.156)	-0.631*** (0.161)	0.339 (0.207)
UK (vs. DE)	1.995*** (0.208)	0.427*** (0.163)	-1.602*** (0.147)	0.844*** (0.153)	-0.430** (0.196)
Age	-0.032*** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.00003 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.019*** (0.004)
Male (vs. female)	0.574*** (0.151)	0.508*** (0.118)	-0.351*** (0.107)	0.745*** (0.111)	-0.933*** (0.142)
Level of education	0.425*** (0.057)	-0.049 (0.045)	0.036 (0.040)	0.003 (0.042)	-0.270*** (0.054)
Size of locality	0.117 (0.098)	0.143* (0.076)	-0.107 (0.069)	0.164** (0.072)	-0.138 (0.092)
Political knowledge	0.721*** (0.240)	-1.164*** (0.188)	0.571*** (0.170)	-1.385*** (0.176)	0.322 (0.226)
Left-right self-placement	-0.069** (0.030)	0.058** (0.024)	-0.075*** (0.022)	0.014 (0.022)	0.096*** (0.029)
Constant	12.634*** (0.429)	9.606*** (0.335)	10.858*** (0.304)	6.945*** (0.315)	10.135*** (0.403)
N	12,670	12,670	12,670	12,670	12,670
R ²	0.028	0.009	0.013	0.018	0.011
Adjusted R ²	0.027	0.008	0.012	0.017	0.010
F Statistic (df = 9; 12660)	40.770***	12.447***	18.206***	25.800***	15.838***

* p < .1; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

I.4 Regression tables for Figure 3

see the following pages

Table I.14: Regression results for Topics 1 through 5 including population weights provided by YouGov and only considering respondents with open-ended responses that have not been excluded from the topic model analysis

	1: Electoral Democracy	2: Everyone has say	3: Civil liberties	4: Elected politicians make policy	5: Melange
Supports undemocratic statement (vs. not)	-0.101 (0.133)	-1.133*** (0.424)	-3.912*** (0.870)	0.517** (0.236)	1.114** (0.479)
Age	0.001 (0.003)	-0.024*** (0.008)	0.066*** (0.017)	-0.012** (0.005)	-0.031*** (0.009)
Male (vs. female)	0.171** (0.087)	-1.107*** (0.278)	-0.238 (0.569)	0.030 (0.154)	0.579* (0.313)
Level of education	0.048 (0.033)	0.194* (0.104)	-0.556*** (0.213)	0.199*** (0.058)	-0.287*** (0.117)
Size of locality	0.019 (0.056)	-0.568*** (0.178)	0.461 (0.365)	-0.209** (0.099)	-0.009 (0.201)
Political knowledge	0.188 (0.132)	0.861** (0.420)	-0.070 (0.862)	0.697*** (0.234)	-2.561*** (0.475)
Left-right self-placement	-0.008 (0.018)	-0.061 (0.056)	-0.044 (0.115)	-0.008 (0.031)	0.090 (0.063)
Constant	6.947*** (0.234)	11.835*** (0.746)	15.421*** (1.530)	7.159*** (0.415)	11.614*** (0.843)
N	2,489	2,489	2,489	2,489	2,489
R ²	0.005	0.023	0.019	0.017	0.030
Adjusted R ²	0.003	0.020	0.016	0.014	0.028
F Statistic (df = 7; 2481)	1.915*	8.296***	6.823***	6.116***	11.133***

* p < .1; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

Table I.15: Regression results for Topics 6 through 10 including population weights provided by YouGov and only considering respondents with open-ended responses that have not been excluded from the topic model analysis

	6: Gov by people	7: Not existent (today)	8: Equal rights & opportunities	9: Does not work	10: Freedom of opinion & speech
Supports undemocratic statement (vs. not)	0.532 (0.528)	2.507*** (0.404)	-1.043*** (0.355)	3.388*** (0.375)	-1.870*** (0.479)
Age	-0.026** (0.010)	0.017** (0.008)	-0.006 (0.007)	0.006 (0.007)	0.008 (0.009)
Male (vs. female)	0.249 (0.345)	0.713*** (0.264)	-0.027 (0.232)	0.959*** (0.245)	-1.330*** (0.313)
Level of education	0.276** (0.129)	0.138 (0.099)	0.042 (0.087)	0.160* (0.092)	-0.214* (0.117)
Size of locality	-0.115 (0.221)	0.189 (0.169)	0.055 (0.149)	0.152 (0.157)	0.026 (0.201)
Political knowledge	0.773 (0.523)	0.149 (0.400)	-0.034 (0.351)	-0.083 (0.372)	0.080 (0.474)
Left-right self-placement	-0.025 (0.070)	-0.041 (0.053)	-0.002 (0.047)	0.001 (0.050)	0.097 (0.063)
Constant	13.345*** (0.928)	7.224*** (0.710)	10.243*** (0.624)	5.196*** (0.660)	11.017*** (0.842)
N	2,489	2,489	2,489	2,489	2,489
R ²	0.007	0.022	0.004	0.042	0.016
Adjusted R ²	0.004	0.019	0.001	0.039	0.013
F Statistic (df = 7; 2481)	2.476**	7.790***	1.495	15.510***	5.828***

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

I.5 Answers that are most strongly related with each topic

Table I.16 shows the answers with the highest estimated proportion for each topic. Answers are always composed of different topics. Thus, most answers will not only speak to the respective topic, but also mention other topics at the same time. This is especially true for topics with overall low estimated proportions.

Table I.16: Sample texts for all topics

Topic	Answers
1: Electoral democracy	<p>1) People voting for parties who vote for bills and laws voting for votes, voting for confirming votes. voting for against union votes. If you disagree with vote get law to rule against vote and have another vote until you vote correctly.</p> <p>2) Freedom of the press Freedom for all Equal rights for all Equal rights for all One with one another No double or triple taxation Good education for all Many and good daycare centres Kindergarten and schools Freedom of opinion</p> <p>3) search for the best for the nation, proposals, dialogue, negotiation, argumentation, equal opportunities, equal treatment of citizens, freedom of opinion, the right to disagree and to express it, fraternity so that everyone can live with dignity, especially people in difficulty (unemployed, sick, disabled).</p> <p>4) Everyone gets a vote. The highest number of votes win the vote</p>
2: Everyone has say	<p>1) Everyone having a fair chance to have their say in how the country is running</p> <p>2) Everyone gets a say in how their country is run.</p> <p>3) where everybody has a say in how the country is run</p> <p>4) Everybody has their say. Everybody gets fair chance.</p>

Continued on next page

Table I.16. Sample texts for all topics, continued from previous page

Topic	Answers
3: Civil liberties	<p>1) freedom of choice, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, tolerance, anti-racism</p> <p>2) Freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, free travel</p> <p>3) freedom of expression, women’s rights, freedom of choice, free education, peace, cultural and religious diversity, etc..</p> <p>4) 1. Human dignity is sacrosanct. Freedom of expression Freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, postal secrecy, protection of the home</p>
4: Elected politicians make policies	<p>1) unlike a dictatorship, decisions are made in parliaments. The members of Parliament, of parliaments, are determined at elections.</p> <p>2) Democracy is about enacting policies for the greater good of the substantial majority of the country’s population and ensuring that the weakest and poorest in our Society are given the help they need by the more fortunate in Society and also to have an immigration policy that encourages movement between our country and others to encourage international goodwill.</p> <p>3) slow, self obstructing, carried out by a few groups that are supposed to represent the general public, but lobbies and large corporations are equally favored or more represented than the people. Nevertheless human rights-protective, defensive, but sensible. peaceful. compromise-oriented,</p> <p>4) The majority is asked, everyone is allowed to participate, a decision of the majority is also adopted, even if noisy/strong groups are against it.</p>

Continued on next page

Table I.16. Sample texts for all topics, continued from previous page

Topic	Answers
5: Melange: power to the people, form of government, polit* and don't know	<p>1) Derived from the Greek Demos + kratos, i.e. power in the hands of the people.</p> <p>2) free and equal elections, the majority or consensus principle, protection of minorities, acceptance of a political opposition, separation of powers, constitutionality, and protection of basic, civil and human rights.</p> <p>3) Demos Cratia derives from Latin and is a form of government in which power is exercised by the people.</p> <p>4) I don't know, I don't follow politics</p>
6: Gov by the people	<p>1) Government elected by the people, people who govern in the spirit of the people</p> <p>2) Allows national & local elections. People are represented by an MP (national), or a councillor (local). Politicians are held to account. Elections are held at regular intervals.</p> <p>3) government of the people by the people for the people, legitimacy of the elected government, taking into account the wishes of the people without being held hostage by a minority.</p> <p>4) It is the people who rule through their elected representatives and elected rulers!</p>

Continued on next page

Table I.16. Sample texts for all topics, continued from previous page

Topic	Answers
7: Not existent (today)	<p>1) I was not unfree in the dictatorship of the GDR - I could list many good things that I am missing in the current democracy</p> <p>2) having a say, being heard and discussing things. but also being able to rely on politicians - I don't see that happening in Germany at the moment. Everything is seen globally, but the small one, which is also very important in a democracy, is passed over - and then we have no democracy anymore, but only a sign that is carried in front of us. Reich and then the doormats. The rich are relieved, the poor have to carry. Democracy?????????????</p> <p>3) Democracy is a big word with a comprehensive meaning, but in Germany it is more appearance than reality. Germany is far from being a democratic country. Unfortunately</p> <p>4) Answer consistently to your questions that seem rather pretentious and to which I cannot answer sincerely, but only to make your tendentious questionnaire fail.</p>
8: Equal rights & opportunities	<p>1) Equal rights and duties among citizens of all social classes.</p> <p>2) every individual is equal, has the same rights and duties.</p> <p>3) All men have the same rights and duties Decided laws apply to all</p> <p>4) Fairer society, equal opportunities, no wealth gaps</p>

Continued on next page

Table I.16. Sample texts for all topics, continued from previous page

Topic	Answers
9: Does not work	<p>1) In a country as complex as the UK, with such close ties to other countries, democracy needs to be complex. The current "first past the post, winner takes all" system is not fit for purpose and has caused mass disillusionment in our political system. However, replacing the current system with a simple, populist "TV talent show" style of democracy would not solve the problem. Centuries of class wars, xenophobia, decades of misleading propaganda and twisting of facts by unregulated tabloid newspapers and social media... attacks on responsive broadcasters, liberal media and academic institutions... Sadly, I cannot trust the majority of voters when it comes to making complex decisions.</p> <p>2) A system that sounds like it should work but doesn't. Sadly, the 'majority' aren't well informed enough to make sensible decisions. I feel quite well informed but I include myself in that.</p> <p>3) Tricky concept. Ideal in theory, hard to achieve in practice. V badly served by constituency system & FPTP system. PR would be better. Devolution of more decisions to local level in theory better, but still fraught with danger - vulnerable people probably won't get involved, personalities likely to be more of a distorting factor, plenty of ways to abuse, eg dodgy consultations, biased information.</p> <p>4) less restrictions in daily life, less taxes to pay for the private air travel of governments ... that senators and deputies, ministers and president lower their salaries and benefits.</p>

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Table I.16. Sample texts for all topics, continued from previous page

Topic	Answers
10: Freedom of opinion & speech	<p>1) to be able to give one's opinion without being punished or censored.</p> <p>2) You can speak out freely and have your own opinions. You can live your life as you want.</p> <p>3) To be able to expose one's own way of thinking without fear of repercussions.</p> <p>4) Democracy is about being able to do and say what you think, to be able to give your ideas.</p>

Concluded