Supplementary materials for "Rationalizing Democracy"

This document constitutes the Supplementary Materials for the article. It includes only the most essential supplementary information in order to comply with the APSR page limit. Please find the full Online Appendix on the dataverse page https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/WGPHFT.
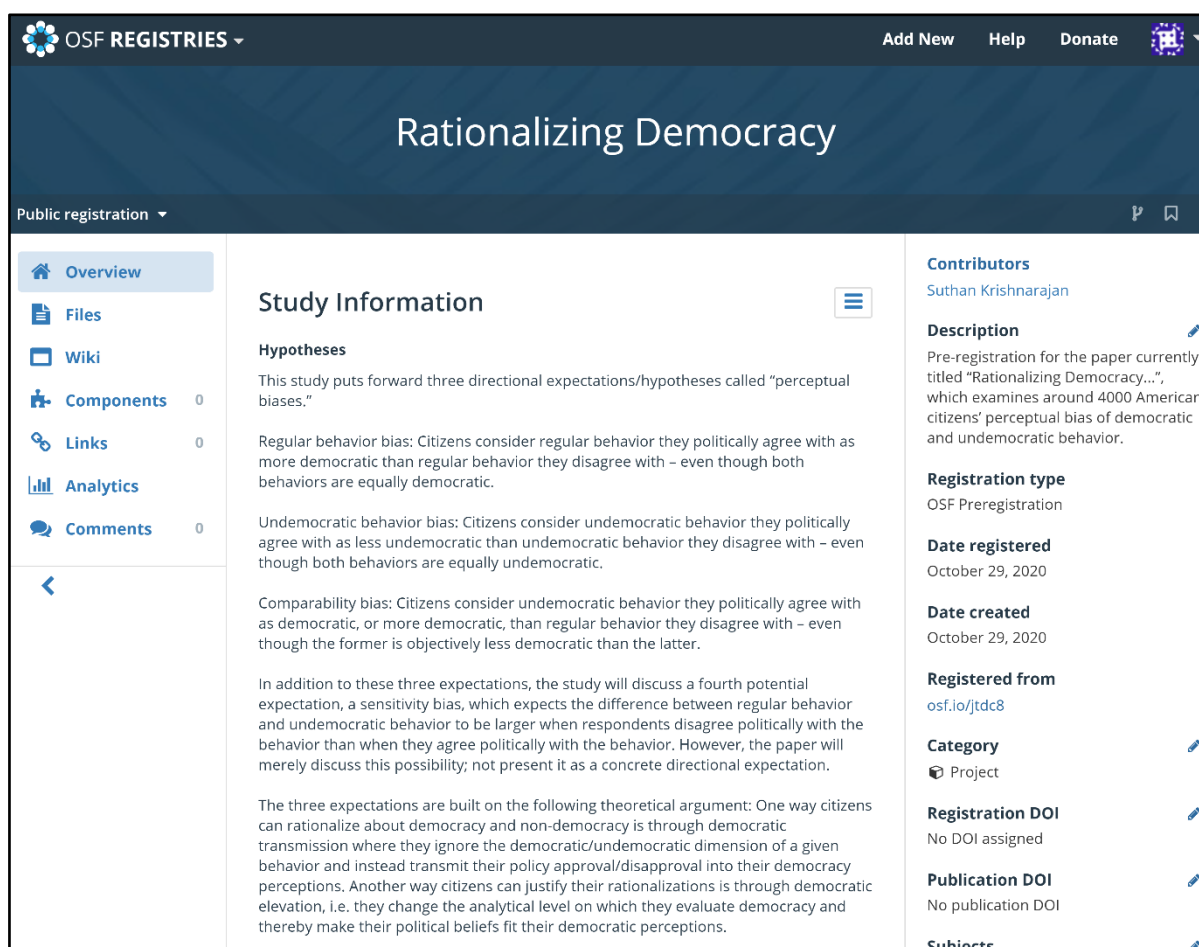
Contents

Appendix A: Pre-registration

Appendix A presents the preregistration of this study. All aspects of this study were pre-registered: the main argument, all hypotheses, the experimental design, full survey questionnaire, data collection procedures, measurement of all key variables, model specifications and estimation methods, and a Stata dofile with codes for all main analyses. Below, a screenshot of the pre-registration page is shown in Appendix A1 (note that author anonymity is not ensured on the webpage), followed by the text of the full pre-registration in Appendix A2. Appendix A3 presents deviations from the pre-registration plan.

Appendix A1: Screenshot of pre-registration webpage (first page only)

Appendix A2: Full text of pre-registration

Study Information
Hypotheses This study puts forward three directional expectations/hypotheses called "perceptual biases." Regular behavior bias: Citizens consider regular behavior they politically agree with as more democratic than regular behavior they disagree with – even though both behaviors are equally democratic. Undemocratic behavior bias: Citizens consider undemocratic behavior they politically agree with as less undemocratic than undemocratic behavior they disagree with – even though both behaviors are equally undemocratic.

Comparability bias: Citizens consider undemocratic behavior they politically agree with as democratic, or more democratic, than regular behavior they disagree with – even though the former is objectively less democratic than the latter.

In addition to these three expectations, the study will discuss a fourth potential expectation, a sensitivity bias, which expects the difference between regular behavior and undemocratic behavior to be larger when respondents disagree politically with the behavior than when they agree politically with the behavior. However, the paper will merely discuss this possibility; not present it as a concrete directional expectation.

The three expectations are built on the following theoretical argument: One way citizens can rationalize about democracy and non-democracy is through democratic transmission where they ignore the democratic/undemocratic dimension of a given behavior and instead transmit their policy approval/disapproval into their democracy perceptions. Another way citizens can justify their rationalizations is through democratic elevation, i.e. they change the analytical level on which they evaluate democracy and thereby make their political beliefs fit their democratic perceptions.

Design Plan

Study type
Experiment - A researcher randomly assigns treatments to study subjects, this includes field or lab experiments. This is also known as an intervention experiment and includes randomized controlled trials.

Blinding
For studies that involve human subjects, they will not know the treatment group to which they have been assigned.

Personnel who interact directly with the study subjects (either human or non-human subjects) will not be aware of the assigned treatments. (Commonly known as "double blind")

Study design
The argument is tested in a pre-registered survey experiment on a representative sample of around 4000 respondents in the United States. The experiment randomly exposes respondents to different fictional events—presented in short vignettes—in which an unnamed senator has behaved in a certain manner. The behavior either takes form as a concrete action or as a policy proposal, and it randomly varies on how democratic they are (regular behavior versus undemocratic behavior) and political content (left-wing versus right-wing). That is, the behavior can be either (1) regular left-wing behavior, (2) regular right-wing behavior, (3) undemocratic left-wing behavior, or (4) undemocratic right-wing behavior. After reading the vignette, respondents answer how democratic they perceive the behavior to be in general, how democratic they perceive it to be with respect to their individually pre-specified understanding of democracy, and they provide justifications for their answers in open-ended questions.

Full questionnaire uploaded here (can be downloaded on pre-registration webpage)

Randomization
Each respondent goes through 4 rounds. In each round, they read one randomly chosen vignette followed by the four questions described above.

The experiment consists of two parts: A senator action experiment and a senator policy proposal experiment. Each respondent reads two senator actions and two senator policy proposals. The order of the two experiments, the senator actions and two senator policy proposals, is randomized. A respondent cannot receive more than one vignette for each political issue. For example, a respondent cannot receive two senator actions regarding health care.

Sampling Plan

Existing Data
Registration prior to creation of data

Data collection procedures
All 4000 survey responses will be collected through YouGov. Respondents are selected through YouGov's online panel, and the sample is representative on gender, age, region, education, and race.

Pilot responses on 500 respondents are collected October 23, that is, before this pre-registration. The purpose of the pilot study is to see whether respondents fully understand the question wordings, whether randomization works as intended, and to see whether YouGov delivers the variables in the correct format. The main study with 4000 respondents will be undertaken a week later, that is, approximately between October 29 and November 7. No substantial changes have been made between the pilot study and the main study.

Sample size

The full sample size will be around 4000 respondents. Given that each respondent will read 4 rounds of randomly assigned vignettes followed by outcome questions, the total number of observations will be up to 16000.

Respondents who fail to answer correctly on either of the two attention questions: "Please select answer number '2'" and "Please select answer number '4'", will be removed from the study. Also, respondents who have spent less than 120 seconds (2 minutes) on the survey will be removed.

Sample size rationale

4000 was the maximum sample size within the financial limit of this project.

Stopping rule

Only YouGov controls start and end of the data collection. Data collection is set to stop when 4000 respondents have answered the survey.

Variables

Measured variables

Main treatment variable

As is evident from the questionnaire, there are 24 vignettes in total, of which 6 are regular left-wing behaviors, 6 are regular right-wing behaviors, 6 are undemocratic left-wing behaviors, and 6 are undemocratic right-wing behaviors. By aggregating all 6 of each type of behavior into a categorical variable with four values, the main treatment variable will take the following four values: regular left-wing behavior, regular right-wing behavior, undemocratic left-wing behavior, and undemocratic right-wing behavior.

Main moderating variable

As is evident from the questionnaire, there are three questions that measure respondents' opinions regarding health care, immigration, and economy/social benefits. Each question has a five-point answer (0-4). After having turned all variables into the same direction – 0 being most left-wing position and 4 being most right-wing position – the answers are aggregated into a continuous variable taking the values 0-12. In this way, the main moderating variable is political left-right position, which takes the values 0 for the most left-wing respondents and 12 for the most right-wing respondents.

Main outcome variable

The main dependent variable is respondents' perceptions of how democratic a given behavior is. The questionnaire asks very directly: "In your opinion, how does the senator's behavior affect our democracy in the United States?" (for senator's actions) and "If adopted, how would this proposal affect our democracy in the United States?" (for senator's policy proposals). The answer is a five-category variable, which is used as a continuous dependent variable without further changes.

*** Robustness checks ***

As robustness checks, numerous other specifications will be used. These will all take the above-described operationalizations as starting point but deviate in different ways. Most importantly, one robustness check will replace the main dependent variable with a more specific one. This specific dependent variable will utilize respondents' answers to the question "in your opinion, which of the following attributes is most important in a democracy?" (Elections are free and fair; People can assemble and speak freely; Courts are independent and fair; People can discuss politics with each other in a sober manner; The media can report freely and without censorship; Congress can legislate without being gridlocked; Election turnout is high; Every citizen has an equal chance to influence government policy). The answer is then piped into this alternative dependent variable: "How would this proposal affect the extent to which [...] in the United States?" It takes the exact same values as the main dependent variable. The difference is that it asks about respondents' perceptions of this specific aspect of democracy.

*** Test of mechanisms ***

To examine the theoretical argument, the analysis will use the open-ended question: "You have stated that: '...'. Please offer a brief explanation for your answer." By following the approach stipulated by Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn (2008) for discovering lexical features of text, the analysis will examine how respondents muster up arguments for their democratic perceptions. Respondents' full sentences are broken up into single words, which are then cleaned, de-capitalized, and stemmed. As described above, the expectation is that rationalizing citizens will ignore democratic aspects of politicians' behavior and transmit their policy disagreement/agreement into their democracy perceptions (democratic transmission), and/or to evaluate politicians' behavior based on how it affects their country in a broader sense (democratic elevation).

Analysis Plan

Statistical models

The main estimation strategy is a series of OLS models with clustered standard errors (on respondents).

A dofile is attached with specifications of all main analyses.

Stata dofile uploaded here (can be downloaded on pre-registration webpage)

Inference criteria
Results are only considered significant at the 95% confidence level (p-value <0.05) using two-tailed tests.

Data exclusion
Respondents will be removed from the study if they fail to answer correctly on either of the two attention questions: "Please select answer number '2'" and "Please select answer number '4'". Likewise, respondents who have spent less than 120 seconds (2 minutes) on the survey will be removed.

Missing data
All respondents (except inattentive ones; see above) are included in the analysis – even if they have not answered all questions in the survey.

Exploratory analysis
If it becomes possible (financial constraints etc.), the main results will be replicated across several Western democracies (e.g. France, Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United States again). Specifically, the vignettes on immigration and economy/social benefits will be used, as these are the most universally salient across Western democracies (in contrast to health care). The purpose of these examinations is to assess the generalizability of the main results. The specifications of these extra analyses (measurement, aggregation, model specification, and regression) will follow the main analysis.

Other
Monroe, Burt L., Michael P. Colaresi, and Kevin M. Quinn. 2008. "Fightin' Words: Lexical Feature Selection and Evaluation for Identifying the Content of Political Conflict." Political Analysis 16(4): 372–403.

Appendix A3: Deviations from pre-registration

In general, almost all aspects of the pre-registration plan were implemented in the article. Three minor elements were not exactly as described in the pre-registration.

1) A potential sensitivity bias—i.e. a pattern where the difference between regular behavior and undemocratic behavior is perceived to be larger when respondents disagree politically with the behavior than when they agree politically with the behavior—is discussed in the conclusion, but only briefly.
2) The global analysis was not undertaken only in Western democracies (as stated in the pre-registration), but in democracies from all regions of the world.
3) There are minor changes between the analyses included in the pre-registered Stata dofile and the actual Stata dofile. All changes regard the layout and appearance of graphs (colors, labels, size of markers, etc.). No changes were made to the statistical estimations.
4) Furthermore, the final dofile (available on the article's OSF project site) includes additional analyses not included in the pre-registration dofile. These include Figure 7-10 for the global analyses; Figure 4, Figure 6, and Figure 11 which were added during the revision process; and all analyses included in the Online Appendix, which were not included in the pre-registration dofile but are now added to the final dofile.

Appendix B: Data collection and survey questionnaire

Appendix B1 presents data collection and period for each country, Appendix B2 presents the full survey questionnaire for the main analysis in the United States, and Appendix B3 presents the survey questions that where replicated in 22 democracies (U.S. version only). The questions in the global analyses were part of a larger survey on freedom of speech.

Appendix B1: Data collection process

	Data collection period	Number of respondents included in the analyses	Data collection panels
United States (main analysis)	Start: 29-10-2020 End: 09-11-2020	3301	YouGov
United States	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 17-02-2021	1355	YouGov
France	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 17-02-2021	1354	YouGov
Germany	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 17-02-2021	1422	YouGov
Spain	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 17-02-2021	1425	YouGov
United Kingdom	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 15-02-2021	1427	YouGov
Denmark	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 16-02-2021	1425	YouGov
Norway	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 17-02-2021	1336	YouGov
Sweden	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 20-02-2021	1596	YouGov
Poland	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 20-02-2021	1394	YouGov
Hungary	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 23-02-2021	1407	YouGov & partner panels
Czech Republic	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 19-02-2021	1471	YouGov & partner panels
India	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 22-02-2021	1262	YouGov
South Korea	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 24-02-2021	883	YouGov
Taiwan	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 19-02-2021	1484	YouGov
Japan	Start: 10-02-2021 End: 16-02-2021	1205	NRC
Australia	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 20-02-2021	1389	YouGov
South Africa	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 22-02-2021	1543	YouGov & partner panels
Tunisia	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 24-02-2021	858	YouGov & partner panels
Israel	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 22-02-2021	1500	Toluna
Argentina	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 26-02-2021	1499	YouGov & partner panels
Brazil	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 12-02-2021	1405	YouGov
Mexico	Start: 09-02-2021 End: 22-02-2021	1433	YouGov

Appendix B2: Survey questionnaire for main analysis

Individual background questions already collected by YouGov:
- Gender, Age, Region, Race, Education, State of Residence, Personal income, Last election vote choice, Next election vote choice, Left-right self-placement, and Employment status

Recently, important political events occurred in our country. We are interested in your opinion on these events.

This survey includes 27 short questions, and there are no right or wrong answers.

We reserve the right to reject anyone who simply clicks through the survey without carefully reading and answering the questions.

All answers are completely anonymous.

Thank you!

[Q0] Please select answer number "2".

<1>	1
<2>	2
<3>	3
<4>	4
<5>	5

Thank you! Let's start out with some general questions.

[Q1] In general, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United States?

<5>	Very satisfied
<4>	Fairly satisfied
<3>	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
<2>	Not very satisfied
<1>	Not at all satisfied
<977>	Don't know

Dyngrid - Grid – roworder=randomize

[Q2] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[q2_1] The government should increase social spending even if it means higher taxes for all.
[q2_2] The number of immigrants entering the United States should be reduced.
[q2_3] Obamacare should be abolished.

<5>	Strongly agree
<4>	Somewhat agree
<3>	Neither agree nor disagree
<2>	Somewhat disagree
<1>	Strongly disagree
<977>	Don't know

Open

[Q3] How would you define democracy in your own words?

#open

Single – order=randomize 1-8

[Q4] In your opinion, which among the following attributes is most important in a democracy?

<1>	Elections are free and fair

6

<2>	People can assemble and speak freely
<3>	Courts are independent and fair
<4>	People can discuss politics with each other in a sober manner
<5>	The media can report freely and without censorship
<6>	Congress can legislate without being gridlocked
<7>	Election turnout is high
<8>	Every citizen has an equal chance to influence government policy

Text

Thank you! You will now be presented with short descriptions of two recent events involving different senators. Please read them carefully and answer the following questions.

Text

Here comes a short description of the **first event** followed by some questions.
The event description will be repeated at the top of your screen before each question.

Scripting instruction:
Insert randomly chosen vignette from Table 1 and repeat at the top of the screen before each question.
Repeat 2 times in total.

Single

[Q5] How much do you approve or disapprove of the senator's behavior?

<5>	Strongly approve
<4>	Somewhat approve
<3>	Neither/nor
<2>	Somewhat disapprove
<1>	Strongly disapprove
<977>	Don't know

Single

[Q6] In your opinion, how does the senator's behavior affect our democracy in the United States?

<5>	It makes our country much more democratic
<4>	It makes our country somewhat more democratic
<3>	It does not change how democratic our country is
<2>	It makes our country somewhat less democratic
<1>	It makes our country much less democratic
<977>	Don't know

Open

[Q7] You have stated that: "<<insert answer from Q6 lower case>>". Please offer a brief explanation for your answer.

#open

Single

[Q8] In your opinion, how does the senator's behavior affect the extent to which <<insert answer from Q4>> in the United States?

<5>	It improves this aspect of our democracy a lot
<4>	It improves this aspect of our democracy somewhat
<3>	It neither improves nor worsens this aspect of our democracy
<2>	It worsens this aspect of our democracy somewhat
<1>	It worsens this aspect of our democracy a lot
<977>	Don't know

Text

Thank you! You will now be presented with two recent proposals that Congress will vote on in the coming weeks. Please read them carefully and answer the following questions.

Text

Here comes the first proposal followed by some questions.
The proposal will be repeated at the top of your screen before each question.

Single

[Q13] How much do you agree or disagree that this proposal should be implemented?

<5>	Strongly agree
<4>	Somewhat agree
<3>	Neither agree nor disagree
<2>	Somewhat disagree
<1>	Strongly disagree
<977>	Don't know

Single

[Q14] If adopted, how would this proposal affect our democracy in the United States?

<5>	It would make our country much more democratic
<4>	It would make our country somewhat more democratic
<3>	It would not change how democratic our country is
<2>	It would make our country somewhat less democratic
<1>	It would make our country much less democratic
<977>	Don't know

Open

[Q15] You have stated that "<<insert answer from Q14 lower case>>". Please offer a brief explanation for your answer.

#open

Single

[Q16] How would this proposal affect the extent to which <<insert answer from Q4 lower case>> in the United States?

<5>	It improves this aspect of our democracy a lot
<4>	It improves this aspect of our democracy somewhat
<3>	It neither improves nor worsens this aspect of our democracy
<2>	It worsens this aspect of our democracy somewhat
<1>	It worsens this aspect of our democracy a lot
<977>	Don't know

Single

Please select answer number "4".

<1>	1
<2>	2
<3>	3
<4>	4
<5>	5

Text

Thank you for participating in this survey!

You have read about different politicians' behaviors in our country. Some of the information provided about these events may have made you feel worried.

We would like to stress that the portrayed actions and proposals are not real. They are fictional and have been constructed for research purposes only. Politicians have not acted in the way described in this survey.

This type of research is of great scientific importance because it allows us to study important developments in Western democracies, which will hopefully become useful for both academic scholarship and democratic stability. We would therefore like to thank you again for your participation.

You can contact the research team with any questions, concerns, or complaints that you may have about the research by e-mailing xxxxxxx

Appendix B3: Survey questionnaire for global analysis in 22 countries (U.S. version)

Dyngrid - Grid – roworder=randomize

[Q] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[q_1] The government should increase social spending even if it means higher taxes for all.

[q_2] The number of immigrants entering the United States should be reduced.

<5>	Strongly agree
<4>	Somewhat agree
<3>	Neither agree nor disagree
<2>	Somewhat disagree
<1>	Strongly disagree
<977>	Don't know

(Other questions in between)

Scripting instruction:

Insert randomly chosen vignette from Table 1 (immigration) and repeat at the top of the screen before each question.

Single

[Q] In your opinion, how does the senator's behavior affect our democracy in the United States?

<5>	It makes our country much more democratic
<4>	It makes our country somewhat more democratic
<3>	It does not change how democratic our country is
<2>	It makes our country somewhat less democratic
<1>	It makes our country much less democratic
<977>	Don't know

Scripting instruction:

Insert randomly chosen vignette from Table 2 (social spending) and repeat at the top of the screen before each question.

Single

[Q] If adopted, how would this proposal affect our democracy in the United States?

<5>	It would make our country much more democratic
<4>	It would make our country somewhat more democratic
<3>	It would not change how democratic our country is
<2>	It would make our country somewhat less democratic
<1>	It would make our country much less democratic
<977>	Don't know

Scripting instruction:

Insert randomly chosen vignette from Table 2 (immigration) and repeat at the top of the screen before each question.

Single

[Q] If adopted, how would this proposal affect our democracy in the United States?

<5>	It would make our country much more democratic
<4>	It would make our country somewhat more democratic
<3>	It would not change how democratic our country is
<2>	It would make our country somewhat less democratic
<1>	It would make our country much less democratic
<977>	Don't know

All translations for each specific country were undertaken by professional translation agencies. These questionnaires for each country are available on https://osf.io/jtdc8/?view_only=6b35a4f42a0e473193dd3563e9dccb49.

Appendix G: Ethical considerations

Survey methodology

The argument was tested in a pre-registered survey experiment, administered through YouGov, of around 3,300 respondents in the United States in October and November 2020. Key parts of the experiment were replicated in February 2021 on representative samples of between 900 and 1,500 respondents each in 22 democracies worldwide, administered through YouGov and their worldwide network of survey partners.

Recruitment

All survey answers are collected online from voluntary participants who are already part of YouGov's online survey panel (or YouGov partners' online survey panel). Potential respondents receive an email with a request to participate in the survey. The email includes a short description of the survey, guarantees of participant anonymity, information on data protection and storage, payment details, and a link to the survey with instructions. Respondents are made clear that participation is completely voluntary.

Consent

All participants are recruited based on informed consent. That is, potential participants are first told about the study details (see above) and then asked whether they want to participate. If participants agree to participate in the survey, they can click on the attached link which takes them to the survey. Before answering the questions in the survey, they are once again presented with information about the survey, and they are told that all answers are completely anonymous. Respondents can withdraw their consent to participate at any time during the survey. Moreover, every survey question includes a don't know/prefer not to answer option, which gives respondents the opportunity to participate in only some parts of the survey while declining to participate in other parts of the survey—without any

deductions in payments. This way, respondents are neither directly nor indirectly forced to participate in the survey even after having given their initial consent.

Compensation

All participants receive fair compensation for their participation. After finishing the survey, respondents receive YouGov points that can be converted into vouchers at the YouGov online store (or YouGov partner stores). The amount of points depends on the survey length and estimated time to finish the survey (which vary from country to country). Respondents are told about the size of payment before they decide whether or not to participate in the survey, so they can make an informed decision. The total amount of payment converted into monetary terms is higher than the hourly minimum wage in each surveyed country.

Deception, misrepresentation and potential harm

While respondents are not downright deceived in the survey, they do read fictional vignettes. That is, the survey includes no *identity deception* (i.e. deception about who is undertaking the survey), no *activity deception* (i.e. deception about the purpose of the survey), and no *motivation deception* (i.e. deception about the reasons for the research or how data will be used). However, it does include a mild form of *misinformation*, as the vignettes describe fictional political events without mentioning that they are in fact fictional. Such randomized manipulation of treatment is pivotal in order to estimate the causal effect of politicians' behaviors on citizens' democratic perceptions, but it comes with the risk that respondents may lose trust in mainstream news media outlets and academic research. In order to minimize such risk, this study does the following. First, none of the vignettes describe situations with named politicians (e.g. Donald Trump, Joe Biden, or Nancy Pelosi). Instead, all vignettes describe how "a senator" has behaved in a certain manner. This ensures that no harm is done to any particular politicians. Secondly, in some surveyed countries where the political situation can be unstable (e.g. Tunisia, Taiwan, or Israel) respondents are told from the beginning of the survey that they will read

about hypothetical situations. Finally, all respondents are told clearly at the end of the survey that they have read fictional vignettes. Specifically, the final message reads as follows:

"Thank you for participating in this survey! You have read about different politicians' behaviors in our country. Some of the information provided about these events may have made you feel worried. We would like to stress that the portrayed actions and proposals are not real. They are fictional and have been constructed for research purposes only. Politicians have not acted in the way described in this survey. This type of research is of great scientific importance because it allows us to study important developments in Western democracies, which will hopefully become useful for both academic scholarship and democratic stability. We would therefore like to thank you again for your participation. You can contact the research team with any questions, concerns, or complaints that you may have about the research by e-mailing xxxxxxx."

In sum, all these measures ensure that the risk of any harm as a result of the fictional vignettes is held to an absolute minimum. Moreover, by providing an email address, all respondents have the opportunity to write to the research team with any complaints that they might have. So far, no one has written with a complaint.

Confidentiality

All survey responses are 100% anonymous and have been approved by the Data Protection Unit at the authors' university. The dataset with survey responses includes only a randomized id along with all survey answers. Therefore, no answers can be traced back to individual respondents. In addition, YouGov has provided a signed document guaranteeing that all data management on their behalf complies with national legal regulations and ethical standards.

Appendix J: Regression tables of main results

Appendix J1: Regression tables of Figure 1 and Figure 5

	Figure 1	Figure 5
Regular right-wing	-1.059*	-0.854*
	(0.066)	(0.061)
Undemocratic left-wing	-0.786*	-0.665*
	(0.064)	(0.060)
Undemocratic right-wing	-1.319*	-1.167*
	(0.067)	(0.063)
Left-right	-0.067*	-0.064*
	(0.007)	(0.006)
Regular right-wing x left-right	0.159*	0.132*
	(0.010)	(0.009)
Undemocratic left-wing x left-right	0.050*	0.036*
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Undemocratic right-wing x left-right	0.142*	0.120*
	(0.010)	(0.009)
Constant	3.202*	3.216*
	(0.046)	(0.042)
Observations	12043	11889

Standard errors (clustered on respondent ID) in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$

Appendix J2: Regression tables of Figure 7

	USA	UK	France	Germany	Spain	Australia
Regular right-wing	-2.011*	-1.668*	-1.964*	-1.784*	-2.513*	-1.593*
	(0.113)	(0.090)	(0.154)	(0.103)	(0.106)	(0.130)
Undemocratic left-wing	-0.776*	-0.889*	-0.563*	-1.154*	-0.855*	-0.570*
	(0.118)	(0.097)	(0.169)	(0.108)	(0.119)	(0.133)
Undemocratic right-wing	-2.605*	-2.467*	-2.172*	-2.387*	-2.720*	-2.373*
	(0.102)	(0.080)	(0.169)	(0.106)	(0.113)	(0.122)
Left-right	-0.241*	-0.199*	-0.234*	-0.232*	-0.247*	-0.166*
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.021)
Regular right-wing x Left-right	0.421*	0.396*	0.434*	0.428*	0.489*	0.358*
	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.028)
Undemocratic left-wing x Left-right	0.045	0.060*	0.032	0.111*	0.089*	0.019
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.028)
Undemocratic right-wing x Left-right	0.446*	0.415*	0.402*	0.380*	0.473*	0.426*
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.030)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.029)
Constant	4.102*	3.573*	3.913*	3.750*	4.056*	3.660*
	(0.072)	(0.054)	(0.103)	(0.069)	(0.068)	(0.092)
Observations	3753	4015	3620	4005	4005	3865

Standard errors (clustered on respondent ID) in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$

Appendix J3: Regression tables of Figure 8

	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Poland	Hungary	Czech Republic
Regular right-wing	-1.577*	-1.681*	-1.850*	-1.558*	-1.651*	-1.577*
	(0.103)	(0.111)	(0.115)	(0.156)	(0.140)	(0.103)
Undemocratic left-wing	-1.432*	-1.165*	-1.224*	-0.868*	-0.225	-1.432*
	(0.113)	(0.118)	(0.124)	(0.170)	(0.139)	(0.113)
Undemocratic right-wing	-2.326*	-2.234*	-2.622*	-2.008*	-2.268*	-2.326*
	(0.102)	(0.118)	(0.108)	(0.171)	(0.155)	(0.102)
Left-right	-0.212*	-0.201*	-0.226*	-0.201*	-0.253*	-0.212*
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.016)
Regular right-wing x Left-right	0.429*	0.389*	0.423*	0.324*	0.371*	0.429*
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.023)
Undemocratic left-wing x Left-right	0.125*	0.097*	0.086*	0.049	0.029	0.125*
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.023)
Undemocratic right-wing x Left-right	0.359*	0.339*	0.397*	0.348*	0.428*	0.359*
	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.021)	(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.024)
Constant	3.552*	3.628*	3.817*	3.898*	3.896*	3.552*
	(0.070)	(0.081)	(0.074)	(0.110)	(0.095)	(0.070)
Observations	3880	3672	4398	3799	3922	3880

Standard errors (clustered on respondent ID) in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$

Appendix J4: Regression tables of Figure 9

	Argentina	Brazil	Japan	South Korea	Mexico
Regular right-wing	-1.771*	-1.734*	-1.087*	-1.448*	-1.088*
	(0.127)	(0.154)	(0.147)	(0.172)	(0.173)
Undemocratic left-wing	-0.400*	-0.896*	-0.632*	-0.344*	-0.411*
	(0.129)	(0.155)	(0.158)	(0.167)	(0.172)
Undemocratic right-wing	-1.757*	-1.921*	-1.367*	-1.247*	-1.096*
	(0.142)	(0.154)	(0.166)	(0.188)	(0.177)
Left-right	-0.179*	-0.136*	-0.165*	-0.234*	-0.218*
	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.020)
Regular right-wing x Left-right	0.355*	0.281*	0.245*	0.314*	0.263*
	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.031)
Undemocratic left-wing x Left-right	-0.020	0.057	0.050	0.028	0.019
	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.031)
Undemocratic right-wing x Left-right	0.318*	0.247*	0.202*	0.234*	0.222*
	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.043)	(0.032)
Constant	3.846*	3.851*	3.600*	3.994*	3.923*
	(0.080)	(0.095)	(0.100)	(0.118)	(0.113)
Observations	4267	3863	3314	2519	3976

Standard errors (clustered on respondent ID) in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$

Appendix J5: Regression tables of Figure 10

	Israel	Taiwan	India	Tunisia	South Africa
Regular right-wing	-0.775[*]	-1.405[*]	-0.673[*]	-1.469[*]	-1.503[*]
	(0.155)	(0.152)	(0.195)	(0.182)	(0.187)
Undemocratic left-wing	-1.263[*]	-0.993[*]	0.145	-0.570[*]	-0.491[*]
	(0.165)	(0.149)	(0.197)	(0.178)	(0.190)
Undemocratic right-wing	-1.086[*]	-1.647[*]	-0.784[*]	-1.364[*]	-1.315[*]
	(0.159)	(0.154)	(0.203)	(0.198)	(0.193)
Left-right	-0.189[*]	-0.178[*]	-0.230[*]	-0.126[*]	-0.226[*]
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.028)	(0.022)
Regular right-wing x Left-right	0.177[*]	0.290[*]	0.169[*]	0.272[*]	0.335[*]
	(0.030)	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.031)
Undemocratic left-wing x Left-right	0.125[*]	0.121[*]	-0.044	0.035	0.058
	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.032)
Undemocratic right-wing x Left-right	0.108[*]	0.247[*]	0.191[*]	0.195[*]	0.254[*]
	(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.033)
Constant	3.709[*]	3.922[*]	4.491[*]	3.743[*]	4.098[*]
	(0.116)	(0.109)	(0.143)	(0.115)	(0.133)
Observations	4130	4243	3462	2437	4415

Standard errors (clustered on respondent ID) in parentheses
[*] $p < 0.05$