

Disentangling How Populism and Radical Host Ideologies Shape Citizens' Conceptions of Democratic Decision-Making

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Online Appendix

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Appendix A. Descriptive information

Table A1. Variables and coding for the AUTNES Online Panel Study.

Item or question wording	Variable(s)	Original coding and transformation
<i>Dependent variables: Citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making</i>		
It would be better if important political decisions were taken by independent experts rather than elected politicians.	w7_q8x1	
In political decisions, politicians should always focus on the common good and not on their own interests.	w7_q8x2	
Minority rights must be protected from majority decisions. *	w7_q8x3	
Sometimes it is better when complex political decisions are taken by politicians rather than citizens.	w7_q8x4	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5) Transformation: reversed
Disputes between politicians and parties with different political positions damage the common good.	w7_q8x5	
The government should stick to planned policies even if the majority of citizens are against them.	w7_q8x6	
One has to accept democratically taken decisions in any case, even if they conflict with own interests.	w7_q8x7	
Majority decisions must apply, even if they curtail minority rights.	w7_q8x8	
<i>Independent variables: Populist attitudes</i>		
When people talk about "compromises" in politics, they actually mean the betrayal of principles.	w6_q34xX	
Most politicians only care about the interests of the rich and powerful.	w7_q40xX	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5) Transformation: reversed
Most politicians are trustworthy. *	w3_q19xX	
The parties are the main problem in Austria.	w2_q24xX	
Politicians do not care what people like me think.	w1_q27xX	
The people, not the politicians, should make the most important political decisions.		
<i>Independent variables: Right-wing authoritarianism</i>		
The age in which strict discipline and obedience are some of the most important virtues should be over.	w3_q45x2	
Our society has to crack down harder on criminals. *	w3_q45x3	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5)
It is also important to protect the rights of criminals.	w3_q45x4	
Our country needs people who oppose traditions and try out new ideas.	w3_q45x5	
This country would flourish if young people paid more attention to values and traditions. *	w3_q45x6	
<i>Independent variables: Anti-immigration attitudes</i>		
Immigrants should adapt to Austrian customs. *	w7_q33x1	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5)
Immigrants enrich the Austrian culture.	w7_q33x2	
Immigrants are generally good for the Austrian economy.	w7_q33x3	
Immigrants increase the crime rate in Austria. *	w7_q33x5	
<i>Independent variables: Left-wing economy</i>		
Politics must fight social inequality.	w7_q22x1	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5) Transformation: reversed
Unemployment must be tackled, even if this means high public debt.	w7_q22x3	
Politics should stay out of the economy. *	w7_q22x4	
Income inequality in Austria is too high.	w7_q22x9	
<i>Control variables:</i>		
Left-right scale: Where would you place yourself on this scale from 0 to 10?	w7_q17 w5_q6 w1_q9	Eleven-point scale: left (0) – right (10)
Political interest	w7_q1	Four-point scale: very interested (1) – not interested at all (4) Transformation: reversed
Subjective income situation: How do you consider your current income situation?	sd22 sd22_y19	Four-point scale: get along very well (1) – get along with great difficulty (4) Transformation: reversed
Education: What is the highest level of school or education you have achieved?	sd7	Dummy-Transformation: without secondary school-leaving certificate (0) – with secondary school-leaving certificate (1)
Gender	sd3	Male (0); Female (1)
Age	sd2x2_y19	Age in years

Notes: All variables are normalized within a range from 0 to 1.0. All variables with an asterisk (*) are reversed for index construction.

Table A2. Variables and coding for the GESIS Panel.

Item or question wording	Variable(s)	Original coding and transformation
<i>Dependent variables: Citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making</i>		
It would be better if important political decisions were taken by independent experts rather than elected politicians.	cdaz036a	
Disputes between different interest groups in our society damage the common good.	cdaz037a	
In political decisions, the common good and not the own interest should be the central focus.	cdaz040a	Seven-point scale: completely disagree (1) – completely agree (7)
One has to accept democratically taken decisions in any case, even if they conflict with own interests.	cdaz042a	Transformation: five-point scale (1 = 1; 2 & 3 = 2; 4 = 3; 5 & 6 = 4; 7 = 5)
Sometimes it is better when political decisions are made behind closed doors.	cdaz045a	
Minority rights must be protected from majority decisions. *	cdaz048a	
Majority decisions must apply, even if they curtail minority rights.	cdaz049a	
The government should stick to planned policies even if the majority of citizens are against them.	cdaz052a	
<i>Independent variables: Populist attitudes</i>		
What is called compromise in politics is in fact just a betrayal of principles.	eebu100a	
Politicians care what ordinary people think. *	eebu101a	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5)
Most politicians are trustworthy. *	eebu102a	
The biggest problem in Germany are the politicians.	eebu103a	Transformation: reversed
The people, not the politicians, should make the most important decisions.	eebu105a	
Most politicians only care about the interests of the rich and powerful.	eebu106a	
<i>Independent variables: Right-wing authoritarianism</i>		
Outsiders and troublemakers should be dealt with severely in society.	dcbi104a	
Troublemakers should clearly feel that they are unwanted in society.	dcbi105a	
Society's rules should be enforced without mercy.	dcbi106a	
We need strong leaders in order to live safely in society.	dcbi107a	Five-point scale: completely disagree (1) – completely agree (5)
People should leave important decisions in society to leaders.	dcbi108a	
We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what we can do.	dcbi109a	
Traditions should definitely be cultivated and maintained.	dcbi110a	
Well-established practices should not be called into question.	dcbi111a	
It is always best to do things in the usual way.	dcbi112a	
<i>Independent variables: Anti-immigration attitudes</i>		
Minorities should adapt to German customs.	eebu107a	Five-point scale: completely agree (1) – completely disagree (5)
Immigrants are generally good for the German economy. *	eebu109a	
German culture is threatened by immigrants.	eebu110a	
Immigrants increase the crime rate in Germany.	eebu111a	Transformation: reversed
<i>Independent variables: Left-wing economy</i>		
The government should take measures to reduce income disparities.	eebu117a	
Should the government spend more or less money on the education system than it does now?	ccay121a	Five-point scale: completely agree / much more (1) – completely disagree / much less (5)
Should the government set more or less rules for the German labor market than it does now?	ccay116a	Transformation: reversed
I consider the social differences in our country to be fair. * [four-point scale]	dfbo067a	
<i>Control variables</i>		
Left-right scale: In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right"?	dbzc061a cbzc061a a12c010a	Eleven-point scale: left (0) – right (10)
Political interest	dbzc001a ebzc001a	Five-point scale: very interested (1) – not interested at all (5) Transformation: reversed
Satisfaction with income: How satisfied are you with your income?	dbaw227a	Eleven-point scale: completely dissatisfied (0) – completely satisfied (10)
Education: What is your highest general degree of education?	dfzh044a cfzh078a efzh038a	Dummy-Transformation: without secondary school-leaving certificate (0); with secondary school-leaving certificate (1)
Gender	dfzh037a efzh031a cfzh071a	Male (0); Female (1)
Age	dfzh038c efzh032c cfzh072c	Age in years

Notes: All variables are normalized within a range from 0 to 1.0. All variables with an asterisk (*) are reversed for index construction.

Table A3. Descriptive statistics.

Variable	AUTNES						GESIS Panel					
	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.
<i>Dependent variables</i>												
Trusteeship democracy	1,380	0.42	0.22	0.38	0.00	1	1,894	0.36	0.23	0.38	0.00	1
Anti-pluralism	1,380	0.61	0.23	0.62	0.00	1	1,894	0.54	0.25	0.50	0.00	1
Deliberative proceduralism	1,380	0.82	0.16	0.88	0.12	1	1,894	0.79	0.17	0.88	0.00	1
Majoritarianism	1,380	0.49	0.22	0.50	0.00	1	1,894	0.42	0.21	0.50	0.00	1
<i>Independent variables</i>												
Populist attitudes	1,380	0.64	0.19	0.62	0.04	1	1,894	0.55	0.18	0.54	0.04	1
Right-wing authoritarianism	1,380	0.60	0.19	0.60	0.00	1	1,894	0.53	0.17	0.53	0.00	1
Anti-immigration attitudes	1,380	0.67	0.22	0.69	0.00	1	1,894	0.53	0.21	0.50	0.00	1
Left-wing economy	1,380	0.64	0.15	0.62	0.00	1	1,894	0.68	0.16	0.69	0.12	1
<i>Control variables</i>												
Left-right scale	1,380	0.50	0.21	0.50	0.00	1	1,894	0.47	0.19	0.50	0.00	1
Political interest	1,380	0.65	0.25	0.67	0.00	1	1,894	0.58	0.21	0.50	0.00	1
Income	1,380	0.57	0.26	0.67	0.00	1	1,894	0.64	0.23	0.70	0.00	1
Education	1,380	0.36	0.48	0.00	0.00	1	1,894	0.49	0.50	0.00	0.00	1
Gender (female)	1,380	0.43	0.49	0.00	0.00	1	1,894	0.44	0.50	0.00	0.00	1
Age	1,380	0.56	0.22	0.50	0.00	1	1,894	0.60	0.26	0.63	0.00	1

Notes: N = Number of respondents; SD = Standard deviation; Min. = Minimum; Max. = Maximum.

Figure A1. Distributions of conceptions of democratic decision-making in Austria.

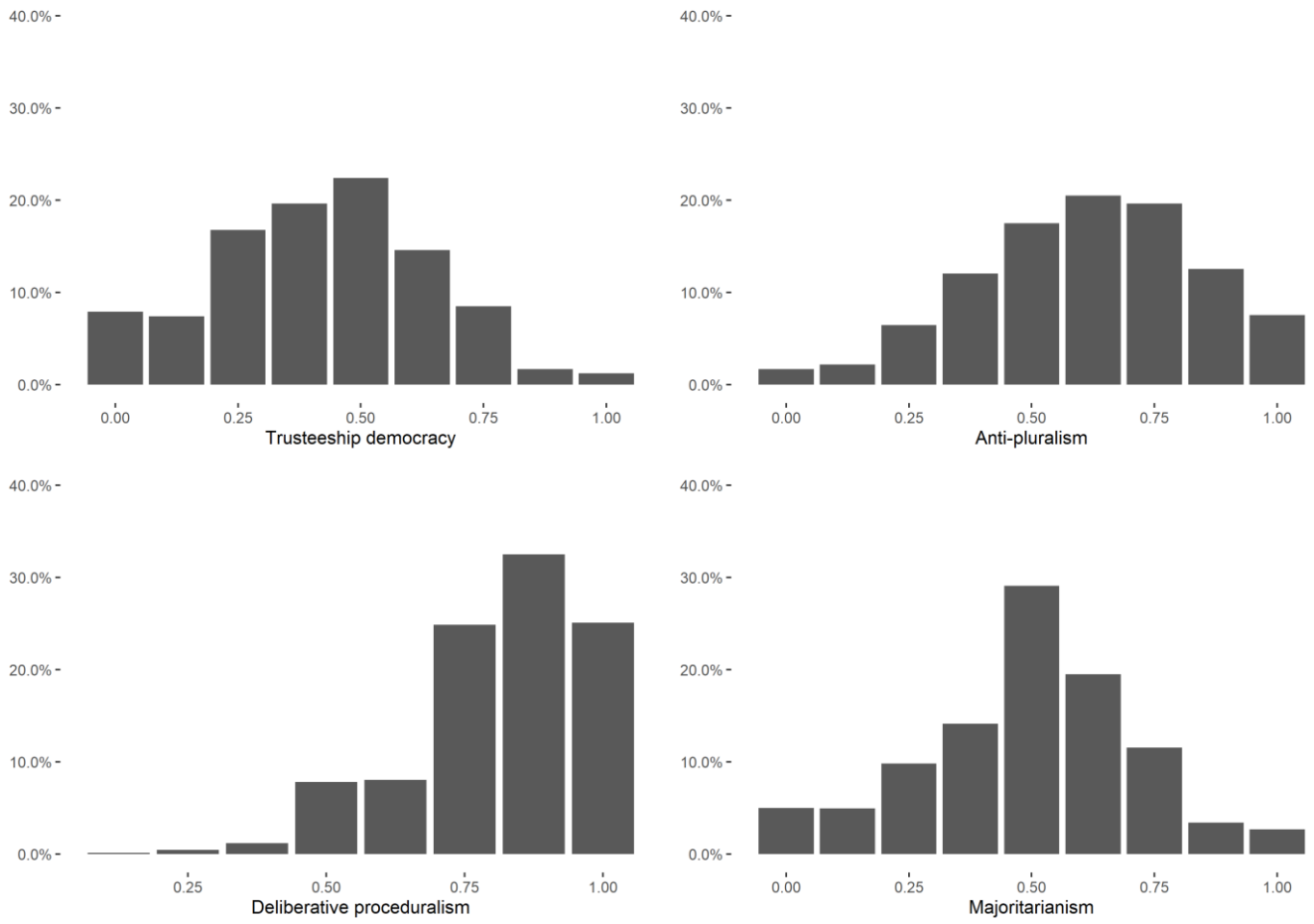


Figure A2. Distributions of conceptions of democratic decision-making in Germany.

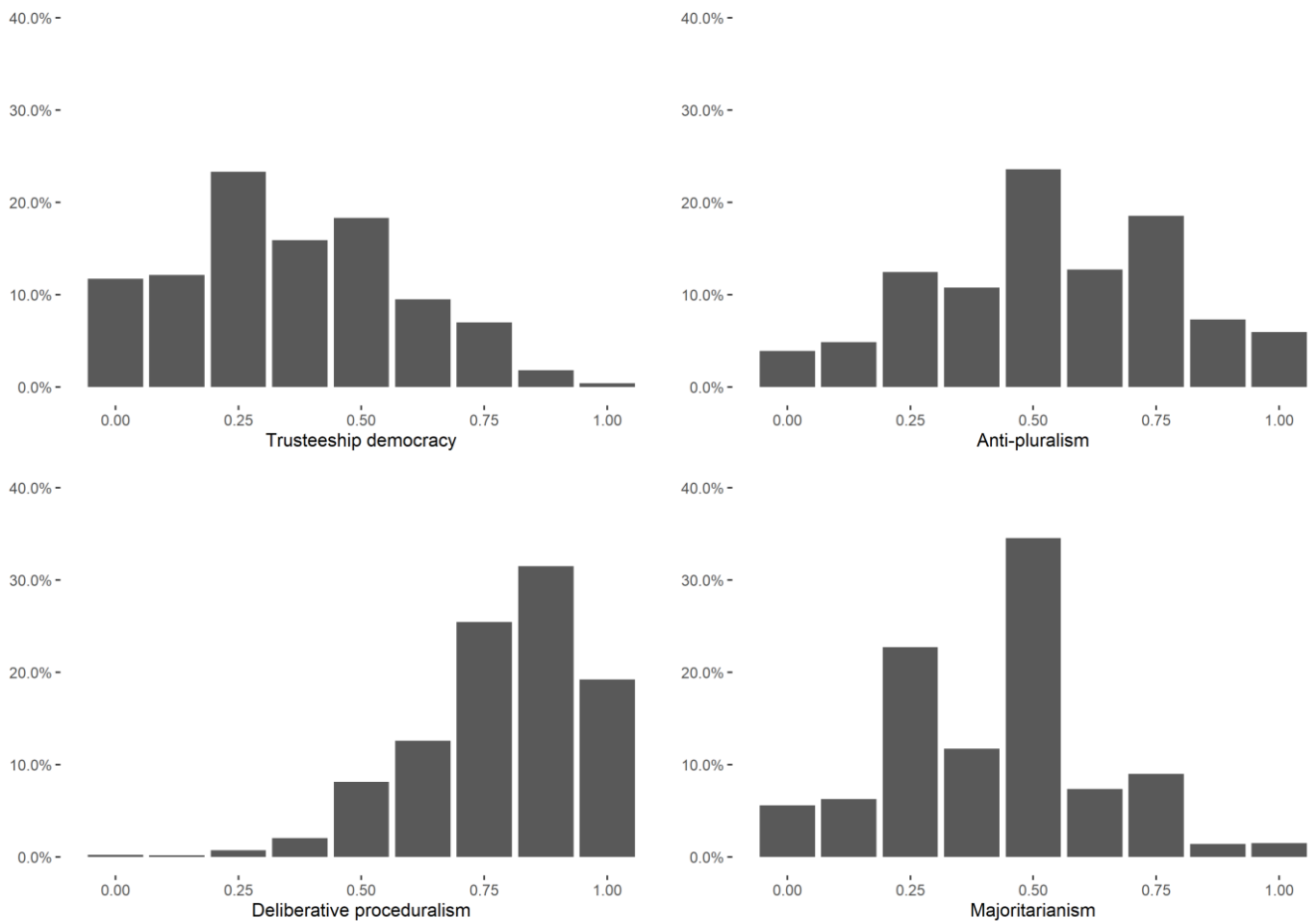


Figure A3. Distributions of populist attitudes.

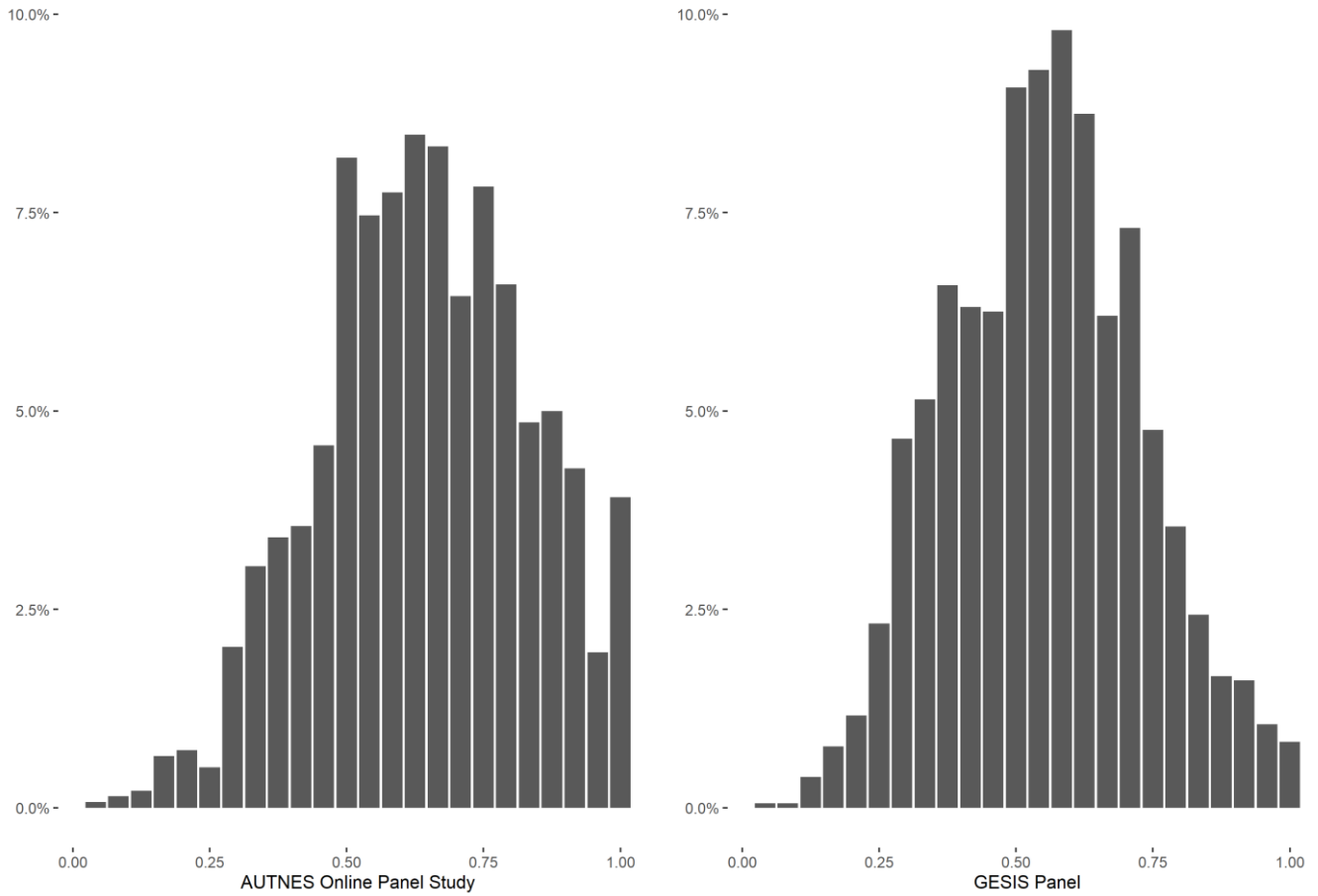


Figure A4. Distributions of right-wing authoritarianism.

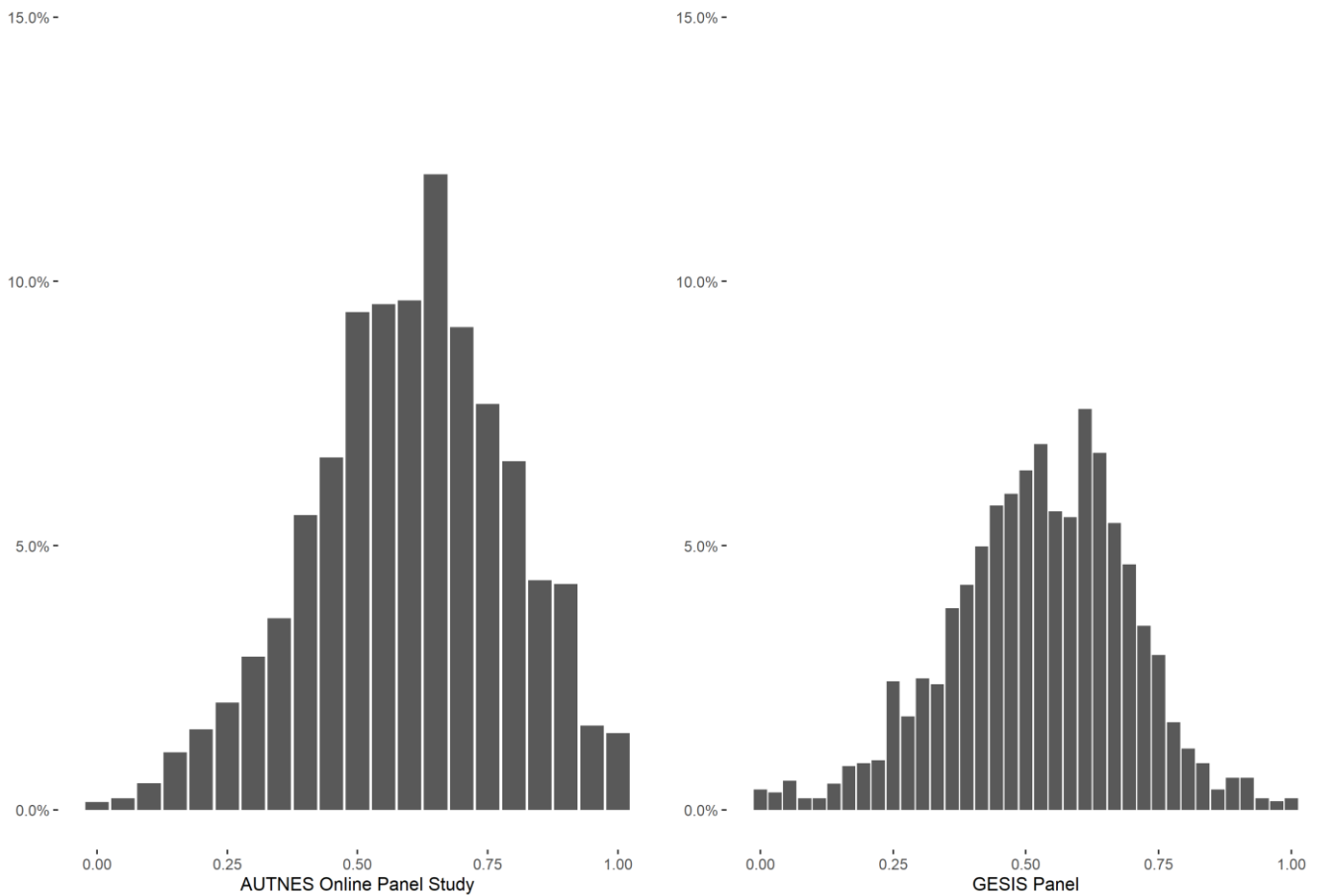


Figure A5. Distributions of anti-immigration attitudes.

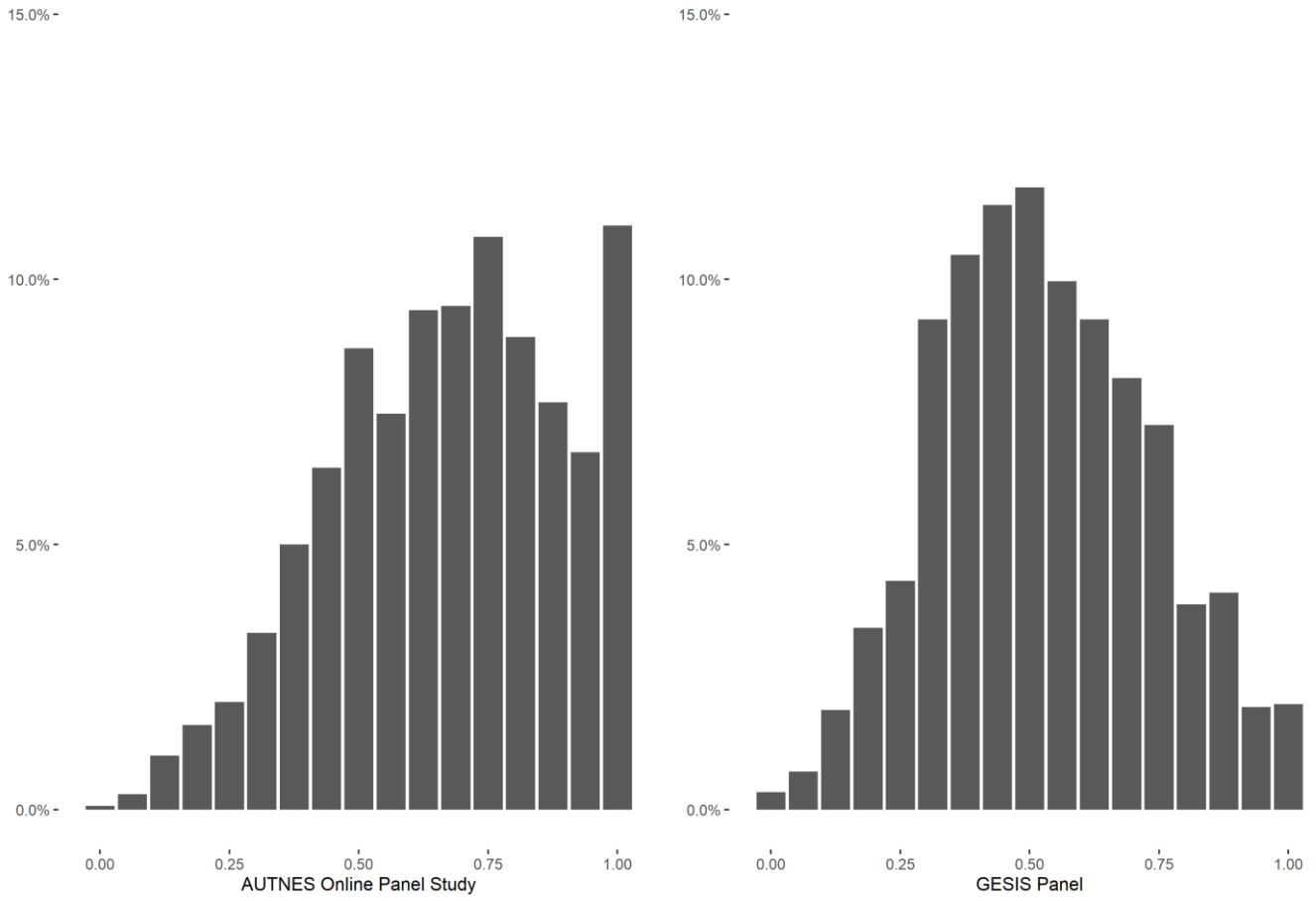
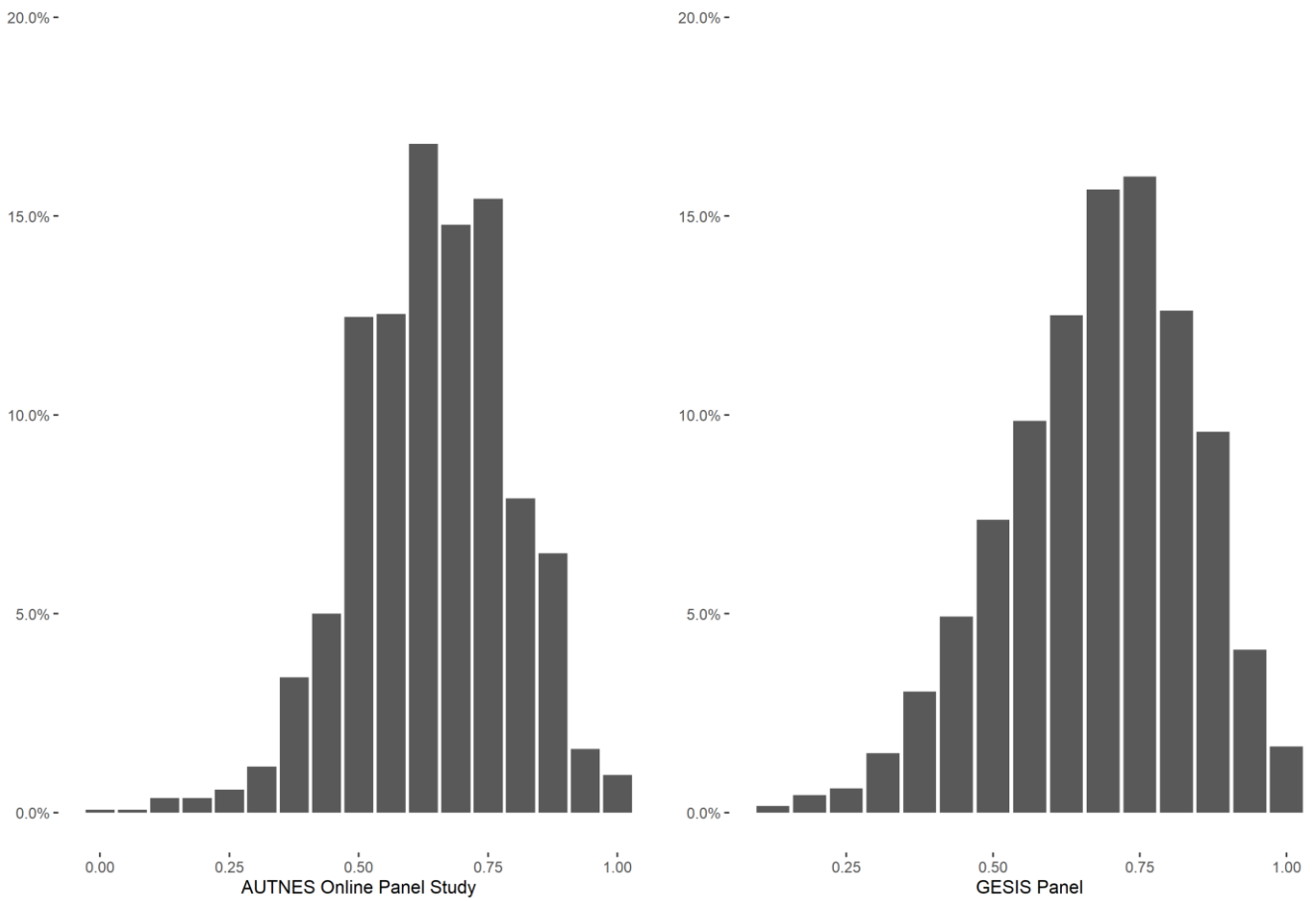


Figure A6. Distributions of preferences for left-wing economic policies.



Appendix B. Factor and reliability analyses

Table B1. Measuring citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making in Austria.

Conception of democratic decision-making	Item	Factor			
		1	2	3	4
Majoritarianism	Minority rights must be protected from majority decisions.	.84	.20	.13	.13
	Majority decisions must apply, even if they curtail minority rights.	-.77	.31	.09	.14
Deliberative proceduralism	One has to accept democratically taken decisions in any case, even if they conflict with own interests.	-.25	.80	.06	-.14
	In political decisions, politicians should always focus on the common good and not on their own interests.	.24	.74	-.20	.13
Trusteeship democracy	The government should stick to planned policies even if the majority of citizens are against them.	-.05	-.20	.88	.16
	Sometimes it is better when complex political decisions are taken by politicians rather than citizens.	.17	.17	.72	-.20
Anti-pluralism	It would be better if important political decisions were taken by independent experts rather than elected politicians.	.17	-.04	.02	.83
	Disputes between politicians and parties with different political positions damage the common good.	-.21	.02	.04	.72
Eigenvalue		1.54	1.39	1.36	1.35
Respondents			1,380		

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analysis with oblique rotation ("promax") using the psych package in R. Parallel analysis suggests four components.

Table B2. Measuring citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making in Germany.

Conception of democratic decision-making	Item	Factor			
		1	2	3	4
Anti-pluralism	Disputes between different interest groups in our society damage the common good.	.81	.08	-.09	.01
	It would be better if important political decisions were taken by independent experts rather than elected politicians.	.80	-.04	.09	-.05
Trusteeship democracy	Sometimes it is better when political decisions are made behind closed doors.	.14	.83	-.04	-.03
	The government should stick to planned policies even if the majority of citizens are against them.	-.11	.78	.07	-.02
Majoritarianism	Minority rights must be protected from majority decisions.	.10	.09	.81	.20
	Majority decisions must apply, even if they curtail minority rights.	.11	.07	-.80	.19
Deliberative proceduralism	In political decisions, the common good and not the own interest should be the central focus.	.12	-.15	.05	.78
	One has to accept democratically taken decisions in any case, even if they conflict with own interests.	-.18	.11	-.04	.74
Eigenvalue		1.40	1.35	1.32	1.24
Respondents			1,807		

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analysis with oblique rotation ("promax") using the psych package in R. Parallel analysis suggests four components.

Table B3. Measuring populist attitudes.

Item	Factor	
	AUTNES	GESIS Panel
When people talk about "compromises" in politics, they actually mean the betrayal of principles.	.70	.76
Most politicians only care about the interests of the rich and powerful.	.74	.80
Most politicians are trustworthy.	-.63	-.71
The parties/politicians are the main problem in Austria/Germany.	.71	.77
Politicians do not care what people like me think.	.79	-.67
The people, not the politicians, should make the most important political decisions.	.66	.66
Eigenvalue	2.98	3.20
Cronbach's α	.79	.82
Respondents	1,380	1,807

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analyses using the psych package in R. Parallel analyses suggest one component. The statement on "politicians do not care what people like me think" is reversed in the GESIS Panel. See Tables A1 and A2 for differences in wording and coding.

Table B4. Measuring right-wing authoritarianism in Austria.

Item	Factor
The age in which strict discipline and obedience are some of the most important virtues should be over.	.65
Our society has to crack down harder on criminals.	.70
It is also important to protect the rights of criminals.	.65
Our country needs people who oppose traditions and try out new ideas.	.64
This country would flourish if young people paid more attention to values and traditions.	.71
Eigenvalue	2.25
Cronbach's α	.69
Respondents	1,380

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analysis using the psych package in R. Parallel analysis suggests one component. See Table A1 for coding.

Table B5. Measuring right-wing authoritarianism in Germany.

Item	Factor
Outsiders and troublemakers should be dealt with severely in society.	.76
Troublemakers should clearly feel that they are unwanted in society.	.71
Society's rules should be enforced without mercy.	.75
We need strong leaders in order to live safely in society.	.77
People should leave important decisions in society to leaders.	.63
We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what we can do.	.60
Traditions should definitely be cultivated and maintained.	.63
Well-established practices should not be called into question.	.73
It is always best to do things in the usual way.	.67
Eigenvalue	4.39
Cronbach's α	.87
Respondents	1,807

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analysis using the psych package in R. Parallel analysis suggests three components (authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, conventionalism). For the sake of simplicity, however, we decide against a second-order latent variable and prefer a single factor solution to calculate the additive index. See Table A2 for coding.

Table B6. Measuring anti-immigration attitudes.

Item	Factor	
	AUTNES	GESIS Panel
Immigrants/Minorities should adapt to Austrian/German customs.	.68	.71
Immigrants enrich the Austrian culture / German culture is threatened by immigrants.	.87	.89
Immigrants are generally good for the Austrian/German economy.	.84	.75
Immigrants increase crime rate in Austria/Germany.	.86	.88
Eigenvalue	2.67	2.63
Cronbach's α	.83	.82
Respondents	1,380	1,807

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analyses using the psych package in R. Parallel analyses suggest one component. See Tables A1 and A2 for differences in wording and coding.

Table B7. Measuring preferences for left-wing economic policies.

Item	Factor	
	AUTNES	GESIS Panel
Politics must fight social inequality. The government should take measures to reduce income disparities.	.83	.78
Unemployment must be tackled, even if this means high public debt. Should the government spend more or less money on the education system than it does now?	.63	.42
Politics should stay out of the economy. Should the government set more or less rules for the German labor market than it does now?	-.18	.46
Income inequality in Austria is too high. I consider the social differences in our country to be fair.	.84	.78
Eigenvalue	1.82	1.61
Cronbach's α	.53	.49
Respondents	1,380	1,807

Notes: Results are from a principal-component factor analyses using the psych package in R. Parallel analyses suggest one component. See Tables A1 and A2 for differences in wording and coding.

Appendix C. Regression analyses

Table C1. Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making.

Dependent variable Country	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.60*** (0.05)	0.58*** (0.05)	0.37*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.54*** (0.04)	0.55*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.05)
Populist attitudes	-0.37*** (0.03)	-0.43*** (0.03)	0.42*** (0.03)	0.39*** (0.04)	0.07** (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Right-wing authoritarianism	0.05 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Left-wing economy	0.02 (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Left-right scale	0.14 (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.25** (0.08)	0.17 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.04 (0.08)	-0.22* (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.16* (0.07)	-0.07 (0.09)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
R ²	0.14	0.16	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.09	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.13	0.16	0.21	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.34	0.14
Respondents	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C2. Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making (including all interactions simultaneously).

Dependent variable Country	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.73*** (0.13)	0.66*** (0.09)	0.23 (0.13)	0.13 (0.10)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.57*** (0.07)	0.15 (0.11)	0.24** (0.09)
Populist attitudes	-0.57** (0.19)	-0.58*** (0.15)	0.63*** (0.18)	0.56*** (0.16)	0.26* (0.13)	-0.09 (0.12)	0.06 (0.16)	0.10 (0.14)
Right-wing authoritarianism	-0.31* (0.13)	0.03 (0.10)	0.34** (0.13)	0.31** (0.11)	-0.04 (0.10)	0.14 (0.08)	0.14 (0.11)	0.31** (0.10)
Anti-immigration attitudes	0.02 (0.12)	0.24** (0.09)	0.05 (0.11)	0.15 (0.09)	0.09 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.45*** (0.10)	0.08 (0.08)
Left-wing economy	-0.01 (0.14)	-0.33*** (0.10)	-0.09 (0.13)	0.06 (0.10)	0.32** (0.10)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.09)
Left-right scale	0.13 (0.09)	0.26** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)	0.24** (0.08)	0.16 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.04 (0.08)	-0.20* (0.09)	-0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.08 (0.09)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)
Right-wing authoritarianism X Populist attitudes	0.57** (0.20)	0.28 (0.18)	-0.39* (0.19)	-0.11 (0.19)	0.17 (0.14)	-0.18 (0.14)	0.24 (0.17)	-0.27 (0.17)
Anti-immigration attitudes X Populist attitudes	-0.23 (0.18)	-0.44** (0.14)	-0.06 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.16 (0.13)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.26 (0.15)	0.20 (0.13)
Left-wing economy X Populist attitudes	0.02 (0.20)	0.35* (0.16)	0.09 (0.20)	-0.00 (0.18)	-0.29* (0.15)	0.14 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.15)
R ²	0.14	0.17	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.10	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.14	0.16	0.21	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.34	0.14
Respondents	1380	1807	1380	1807	1380	1807	1380	1807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C3. Robustness check: Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making (including interaction between populist attitudes and right-wing authoritarianism).

Dependent variable Country	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.75*** (0.08)	0.57*** (0.06)	0.20** (0.08)	0.16* (0.07)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.51*** (0.05)	0.20** (0.07)	0.23*** (0.06)
Populist attitudes	-0.61*** (0.10)	-0.42*** (0.08)	0.69*** (0.09)	0.51*** (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)
Right-wing authoritarianism	-0.20 (0.11)	0.19* (0.09)	0.38*** (0.10)	0.38*** (0.10)	0.00 (0.08)	0.13 (0.07)	0.26** (0.09)	0.24** (0.09)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Left-wing economy	0.01 (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	- (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Left-right scale	0.14 (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)	0.25** (0.08)	0.16 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.03 (0.08)	-0.22* (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.16* (0.07)	-0.07 (0.09)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)
Right-wing authoritarianism X Populist attitudes	0.40** (0.15)	-0.02 (0.15)	-0.44** (0.15)	-0.24 (0.17)	0.09 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.12)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.15)
R ²	0.14	0.16	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.09	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.14	0.15	0.22	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.34	0.14
Respondents	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C4. Robustness check: Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making (including interaction between populist attitudes and anti-immigration attitudes).

Dependent variable Country	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.63*** (0.08)	0.48*** (0.06)	0.25*** (0.07)	0.15* (0.07)	0.53*** (0.06)	0.55*** (0.05)	0.12 (0.07)	0.31*** (0.06)
Populist attitudes	-0.42*** (0.10)	-0.25*** (0.07)	0.62*** (0.09)	0.52*** (0.08)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)
Right-wing authoritarianism	0.05 (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.25*** (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.18 (0.09)	0.18* (0.08)	0.19* (0.09)	0.17* (0.09)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.37*** (0.08)	0.13 (0.07)
Left-wing economy	0.02 (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	- (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Left-right scale	0.14 (0.09)	0.27** (0.09)	-0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.24** (0.08)	0.17 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.03 (0.08)	-0.20* (0.09)	0.00 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.08 (0.09)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)
Anti-immigration attitudes X Populist attitudes	0.08 (0.13)	-0.34** (0.12)	-0.29* (0.13)	-0.26 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.11)	0.10 (0.12)
R ²	0.14	0.16	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.09	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.13	0.16	0.21	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.34	0.14
Respondents	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C5. Robustness check: Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making (including interaction between populist attitudes and preferences for left-wing economic policies).

Dependent variable Country	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.59*** (0.10)	0.70*** (0.08)	0.45*** (0.10)	0.23** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.07)	0.61*** (0.06)	0.18* (0.08)	0.27*** (0.07)
Populist attitudes	-0.34** (0.13)	-0.65*** (0.11)	0.29* (0.13)	0.38** (0.13)	0.25** (0.10)	-0.16 (0.09)	0.00 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)
Right-wing authoritarianism	0.05 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Left-wing economy	0.04 (0.13)	-0.32*** (0.10)	-0.17 (0.13)	0.04 (0.10)	0.31*** (0.09)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.24* (0.11)	-0.14 (0.09)
Left-right scale	0.14 (0.09)	0.27** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)	0.25** (0.08)	0.17 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.04 (0.08)	-0.21* (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.16* (0.07)	-0.08 (0.09)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
Left-wing economy X Populist attitudes	-0.03 (0.20)	0.33* (0.16)	0.20 (0.19)	0.02 (0.18)	-0.28 (0.14)	0.16 (0.13)	0.00 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.15)
R ²	0.14	0.16	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.09	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.13	0.16	0.21	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.34	0.14
Respondents	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C6. Robustness check: Explaining citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making (including interaction between populist attitudes and (squared) self-placement on the left-right scale).

Dependent variable	Trusteeship democracy		Anti-pluralism		Deliberative proceduralism		Majoritarianism	
	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE	AT	DE
(Intercept)	0.66*** (0.09)	0.38*** (0.08)	0.20* (0.09)	0.17 (0.09)	0.41*** (0.06)	0.46*** (0.06)	0.06 (0.08)	0.29*** (0.08)
Populist attitudes	-0.46*** (0.11)	-0.10 (0.12)	0.67*** (0.11)	0.49*** (0.13)	0.25** (0.08)	0.11 (0.09)	0.19* (0.10)	0.02 (0.11)
Right-wing authoritarianism	0.05 (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.25*** (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Left-wing economy	0.01 (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Left-right scale	0.04 (0.31)	0.93** (0.31)	0.60* (0.29)	0.28 (0.33)	0.61** (0.22)	0.39 (0.24)	0.48 (0.26)	0.17 (0.29)
Left-right scale ²	0.01 (0.30)	-0.65* (0.31)	-0.49 (0.29)	-0.27 (0.34)	-0.66** (0.22)	-0.33 (0.24)	-0.16 (0.26)	-0.12 (0.29)
Political interest	0.05* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)
Left-right scale X Populist attitudes	0.17 (0.45)	-1.14* (0.50)	-0.95* (0.43)	-0.44 (0.54)	-0.94** (0.32)	-0.54 (0.39)	-0.40 (0.38)	0.00 (0.47)
Left-right scale ² X Populist attitudes	0.01 (0.43)	0.76 (0.50)	0.74 (0.42)	0.42 (0.54)	0.96** (0.31)	0.38 (0.39)	0.05 (0.37)	0.08 (0.47)
R ²	0.14	0.17	0.22	0.18	0.09	0.10	0.35	0.14
Adjusted R ²	0.13	0.16	0.21	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.35	0.14
Respondents	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807	1,380	1,807
RMSE	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.19

Notes: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Samples are weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study and variable "z000011a" for GESIS Panel. AT = Austria (AUTNES Online Panel Study); DE = Germany (GESIS Panel).

Table C7. Robustness check: Explaining trusteeship democracy in Austria (without including similar populist attitudes item).

Dependent variable Specification	Trusteeship democracy				
	without interaction	all interactions simultaneously	interaction with right- wing authoritarianism	interaction with anti- immigration attitudes	Interaction with left-wing economy
(Intercept)	0.58*** (0.05)	0.71*** (0.13)	0.74*** (0.08)	0.63*** (0.08)	0.55*** (0.10)
Populist attitudes	-0.31*** (0.03)	-0.50** (0.19)	-0.55*** (0.10)	-0.39*** (0.10)	-0.26* (0.13)
Right-wing authoritarianism	0.03 (0.04)	-0.32* (0.13)	-0.23* (0.11)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Anti-immigration attitudes	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.22* (0.10)	-0.14*** (0.04)
Left-wing economy	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.13)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.13)
Left-right scale	0.13 (0.09)	0.13 (0.09)	0.13 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.13 (0.09)
Left-right scale ²	0.04 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)
Political interest	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)
Income	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Education	0.03 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.03* (0.01)
Gender (female)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Right-wing authoritarianism X Populist attitudes		0.54** (0.20)	0.41** (0.15)		
Anti-immigration attitudes X Populist attitudes		-0.19 (0.18)		0.11 (0.14)	
Left-wing economy X Populist attitudes		-0.01 (0.20)			-0.07 (0.20)
R ²	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.12
Adjusted R ²	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.11
Respondents	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380	1,380
RMSE	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.22

Notes: ***p < 0.001; **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05 (two-tailed); Results are unstandardized regression coefficients of linear regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Sample is weighted according to known socio-demographic population distributions using variable "w7_weightd" for AUTNES Online Panel Study. As described more in detail in the manuscript, we recalculated all models with the dependent variable of trusteeship democracy without the corresponding populism item for the Austrian data. Results remain substantially the same.