

Supplementary materials for

**Anything but Representative Democracy: Explaining  
Conspiracy Believers' Support for Direct Democracy and  
Technocracy**

**Table S.1: Bivariate logistic regression models (first preference) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.338***	0.256	0.444	3.021***	2.481	3.678	0.639***	0.532	0.767	1.709	0.861	3.394
Constant	2.133***	1.386	3.280	0.084***	0.057	0.124	1.125	0.799	1.585	0.004***	0.001	0.017
N	1536			1536			1536			1536		
LogLik	-674.035			-828.339			-841.233			-81.291		
AIC	1,352.069			1,660.678			1,686.467			166.583		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.102			0.177			0.044			0.016		

Note: \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.2: Bivariate logistic regression models (second preference) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.445***	0.352	0.562	0,856	0,675	1,085	2,099***	1,686	2,614	2,205***	1,426	3,409
Constant	3.071***	1.952	4.831	0,390***	0,241	0,630	0,113***	0,070	0,183	0,008***	0,003	0,024
N	1023			1023			1023			1023		
LogLik	-639.040			-530.749			-609.520			-179.907		
AIC	1,282.080			1,065.497			1,223.040			363.813		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.111			0.004			0.108			0.047		

Note: \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.3 Full logistic regression models predicting preference for model of government (1st choice) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.379***	0.297	0.479	2.596***	2.177	3.111	0.685***	0.573	0.817	1.184	0.477	2.815
Age	1.018***	1.010	1.027	0.996	0.988	1.003	0.992*	0.985	0.999	0.977	0.938	1.015
Sex (female)	0.895	0.680	1.178	1.156	0.903	1.480	0.991	0.782	1.256	0.531	0.094	2.164
Education (high)	2.475***	1.593	3.887	0.516***	0.353	0.754	0.974	0.674	1.409	0.336	0.040	2.270
Education (medium)	1.477 <sup>+</sup>	0.983	2.246	1.037	0.754	1.426	0.833	0.604	1.151	0.323	0.056	1.588
Class (lower)	0.948	0.587	1.528	1.389	0.900	2.151	0.803	0.534	1.209	1.639	0.140	70.269
Class (middle)	1.052	0.741	1.501	1.165	0.807	1.696	0.895	0.647	1.243	1.826	0.211	69.305
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.510*	0.296	0.843	1.700**	1.200	2.414	0.763	0.528	1.093	0.933	0.149	4.510
Immigrant background	1.013	0.655	1.541	1.197	0.822	1.738	0.791	0.545	1.136	2.501	0.321	13.057
Political interest	1.285**	1.101	1.503	1.028	0.900	1.175	0.810***	0.712	0.921	1.276	0.632	2.737
L/R self-placement	1.070	0.986	1.161	0.953	0.889	1.021	0.983	0.918	1.052	1.230	0.844	1.771
East Germany	0.635*	0.424	0.935	1.072	0.783	1.465	1.139	0.836	1.546	5.577*	1.356	23.992
Constant	0.134***	0.046	0.384	0.135***	0.054	0.332	4.385***	1.829	10.592	0.003*	0.000	0.337
N	1.398			1.398			1.398			1.398		
LogLik	-585.187			-723.009			-754.474			-69.179		
AIC	1,196.374			1,472.017			1,534.949			164.359		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.177			0.220			0.059			0.153		

Note: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.4 Full logistic regression models predicting preference for model of government (2<sup>nd</sup> choice) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.471***	0.378	0.584	0.952	0.757	1.192	1.864***	1.518	2.297	2.520***	1.579	4.091
Age	1.003	0.994	1.012	0.993	0.983	1.003	1.004	0.994	1.013	1.003	0.982	1.024
Sex (female)	0.828	0.618	1.11	0.981	0.707	1.36	1.425*	1.049	1.939	0.430*	0.188	0.918
Education (high)	0.837	0.532	1.313	1.136	0.684	1.895	0.846	0.523	1.367	3.531*	1.277	9.984
Education (medium)	0.698 <sup>+</sup>	0.478	1.018	1.107	0.725	1.705	1.325	0.908	1.943	1.066	0.440	2.644
Class (lower)	0.97	0.581	1.620	0.868	0.492	1.547	0.915	0.518	1.634	6.449*	1.539	39.046
Class (middle)	0.852	0.556	1.306	0.999	0.627	1.62	1.248	0.768	2.068	1.270	0.319	7.323
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.695 <sup>+</sup>	0.455	1.051	0.889	0.559	1.389	1.769**	1.190	2.630	0.433 <sup>+</sup>	0.158	1.070
Immigrant background	0.723	0.455	1.134	0.825	0.492	1.341	1.964**	1.260	3.056	0.152*	0.015	0.680
Political interest	1.098	0.937	1.289	1.011	0.849	1.206	0.956	0.812	1.125	0.762	0.526	1.105
L/R self-placement	1.083 <sup>+</sup>	0.997	1.178	0.945	0.863	1.036	0.928 <sup>+</sup>	0.853	1.009	1.260*	1.022	1.560
East Germany	0.666*	0.457	0.963	0.99	0.654	1.479	1.520*	1.055	2.184	0.977	0.439	2.093
Constant	2.125	0.720	6.303	0.605	0.183	1.978	0.104***	0.033	0.319	0.001***	0.000	0.021
N	921			921			921			921		
LogLik	-568.725			-479.481			-524.351			-129.653		
AIC	1,163.450			984.962			1,074.702			285.305		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.078			0.010			0.169			0.187		

Note: <sup>+</sup>  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.5.: Logistic regression models Covid conspiracy beliefs (first preference) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
COVID-19 Conspir belief	0.406***	0.324	0.502	2.147***	1.854	2.496	0.758***	0.652	0.878	1.564	0.719	3.408
Age	1.016***	1.007	1.025	0.999	0.991	1.007	0.990**	0.983	0.997	0.976	0.933	1.017
Sex (female)	0.831	0.625	1.103	1.246*	0.971	1.601	0.960	0.754	1.221	0.54	0.087	2.414
Education (high)	2.454***	1.556	3.915	0.501***	0.339	0.738	0.980	0.674	1.426	0.377	0.039	2.818
Education (medium)	1.506+	0.988	2.323	1.005	0.728	1.388	0.823	0.594	1.143	0.24	0.033	1.357
Class (lower)	0.924	0.563	1.516	1.372	0.887	2.133	0.821	0.543	1.244	1.411	0.104	76.124
Class (middle)	1.002	0.697	1.445	1.166	0.806	1.702	0.898	0.645	1.254	1.685	0.168	80.495
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.491**	0.280	0.827	1.753**	1.230	2.502	0.738	0.508	1.061	0.794	0.112	4.332
Immigrant background	1.046	0.669	1.611	1.26	0.866	1.829	0.750	0.513	1.083	2.509	0.28	14.926
Political interest	1.265**	1.079	1.486	1.034	0.904	1.183	0.814**	0.715	0.926	1.175	0.54	2.761
L/R self- placement	1.04	0.958	1.129	0.985	0.919	1.055	0.972	0.908	1.041	1.318	0.875	1.952
East Germany	0.565**	0.371	0.844	1.204	0.877	1.65	1.106	0.809	1.504	6.511*	1.453	32.421
Constant	0.180**	0.060	0.528	0.126***	0.050	0.315	4.358***	1.815	10.535	0.002*	0.000	0.287
N	1369			1369			1369			1369		
LogLik	-569.755			-712.574			-738.944			-60.159		
AIC	1,165.511			1,451.148			1,503.889			146.318		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.201			0.220			0.056			0.221		

Note: +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.6.: Logistic regression models Covid conspiracy beliefs (second preference) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
COVID-19 Conspir belief	0.564***	0.471	0.671	0.980	0.812	1.179	1.674***	1.414	1.987	1.632*	1.085	2.460
Age	0.999	0.990	1.009	0.994	0.984	1.004	1.005	0.995	1.015	1.006	0.982	1.031
Sex (female)	0.791	0.589	1.061	0.926	0.664	1.290	1.469*	1.078	2.006	0.608	0.265	1.315
Education (high)	0.819	0.516	1.297	1.268	0.753	2.144	0.825	0.502	1.354	3.014*	0.948	9.681
Education (medium)	0.672*	0.459	0.983	1.135	0.737	1.766	1.329	0.905	1.959	1.111	0.44	2.952
Class (lower)	1.063	0.633	1.789	0.871	0.487	1.572	0.826	0.465	1.484	6.288*	1.517	37.355
Class (middle)	0.842	0.546	1.300	1.065	0.661	1.746	1.202	0.734	2.005	0.973	0.233	5.631
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.654*	0.427	0.992	0.942	0.588	1.484	1.723**	1.149	2.585	0.601	0.224	1.466
Immigrant background	0.669*	0.421	1.049	0.775	0.457	1.272	2.151***	1.381	3.351	0.216*	0.021	0.950
Political interest	1.071	0.914	1.258	0.989	0.829	1.182	0.957	0.812	1.129	0.959	0.645	1.443
L/R self- placement	1.071	0.986	1.165	0.949	0.865	1.041	0.945	0.867	1.029	1.203*	0.972	1.495
East Germany	0.600*	0.411	0.869	0.957	0.63	1.433	1.722**	1.195	2.480	1.122	0.488	2.46
Constant	2.306	0.783	6.821	0.539	0.161	1.776	0.105***	0.033	0.330	0.002***	0.000	0.029
N	893			893			893			893		
LogLik	-560.638			-464.884			-511.832			-120.583		
AIC	1,147.276			955.767			1,049.663			267.167		
Nagelkerke Pseudoe R2	0.123			0.018			0.175			0.119		

Note: \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table S.7 Full logistic regression models with interaction effect predicting preference for model of government (1<sup>st</sup> choice) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.645*	0.409	0.993	2.133***	1.552	2.974	0.483***	0.339	0.676	1.347	0.406	4.818
Education (high)	11.114***	3.597	35.218	0.200***	0.074	0.540	0.307*	0.123	0.762	0.462	0.004	63.487
Education (medium)	4.335**	1.433	13.336	0.754	0.308	1.873	0.385*	0.157	0.941	0.727	0.006	87.717
Age	1.019***	1.011	1.028	0.995	0.988	1.003	0.992*	0.985	0.999	0.977	0.939	1.014
Sex (female)	0.879	0.669	1.154	1.161	0.906	1.488	0.998	0.786	1.265	0.536	0.102	2.095
Class (lower)	0.987	0.613	1.588	1.341	0.866	2.085	0.765	0.507	1.154	1.678	0.156	59.673
Class (middle)	1.083	0.764	1.545	1.136	0.783	1.663	0.862	0.623	1.198	1.889	0.233	59.598
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.485**	0.283	0.799	1.726**	1.216	2.452	0.790	0.545	1.135	0.932	0.160	4.248
Immigrant background	0.993	0.645	1.506	1.209	0.829	1.759	0.799	0.549	1.148	2.458	0.342	12.214
Political interest	1.283**	1.100	1.499	1.028	0.900	1.174	0.807***	0.709	0.918	1.287	0.652	2.685
L/R self-placement	1.079	0.996	1.171	0.950	0.887	1.018	0.980	0.916	1.049	1.231	0.856	1.751
East Germany	0.639*	0.428	0.938	1.070	0.781	1.463	1.129	0.828	1.534	5.633*	1.436	23.031
CB * Educ. (high)	0.417**	0.226	0.763	1.635*	1.029	2.603	1.858**	1.188	2.920	0.887	0.085	6.074
CB * Educ. (medium)	0.563*	0.318	0.998	1.145	0.758	1.722	1.448*	0.950	2.223	0.703	0.093	4.595
Constant	0.045***	0.012	0.167	0.222**	0.072	0.672	9.977***	3.337	30.253	0.002***	0.000	0.382
N	1398			1398			1398			1398		

Note: +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

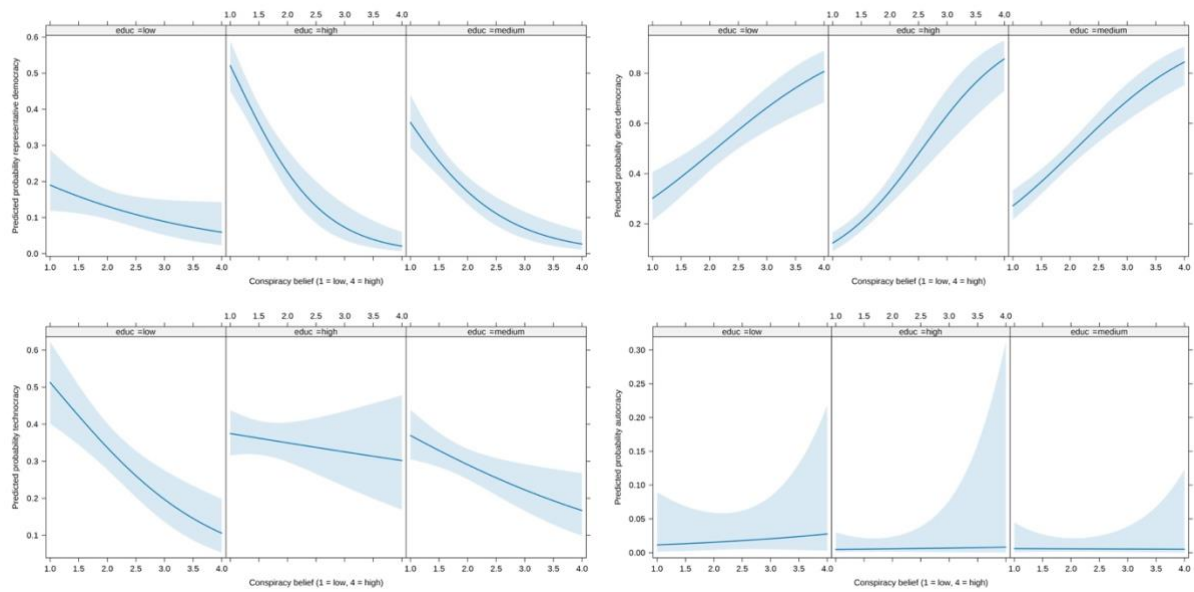
**Table S.8 Full logistic regression models with interaction effect predicting preference for model of government (2<sup>nd</sup> choice) – odds ratios:**

	Representative democracy			Direct democracy			Technocracy			Autocracy		
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Conspiracy belief	0.422***	0.281	0.619	1.050	0.691	1.590	2.116***	1.453	3.146	1.662	0.765	3.728
Education (high)	0.871	0.269	2.795	1.178	0.338	4.226	1.161	0.329	4.204	0.454	0.023	8.687
Education (medium)	0.399*	0.133	1.172	1.795	0.546	6.094	2.096	0.671	6.823	0.370	0.023	6.092
Age	1.003	0.994	1.012	0.993	0.983	1.003	1.004	0.994	1.013	1.000	0.979	1.021
Sex (female)	0.819	0.610	1.099	0.987	0.710	1.370	1.427*	1.049	1.942	0.426*	0.189	0.898
Class (lower)	0.947	0.565	1.590	0.885	0.500	1.58	0.933	0.527	1.669	5.739*	1.375	33.834
Class (middle)	0.848	0.552	1.304	1.001	0.627	1.625	1.258	0.773	2.087	1.213	0.306	6.801
Fin. Problems (yes)	0.709	0.464	1.074	0.88	0.553	1.376	1.755**	1.180	2.613	0.458	0.169	1.117
Immigrant background	0.731	0.459	1.150	0.817	0.487	1.331	1.939**	1.242	3.022	0.164*	0.017	0.718
Political interest	1.092	0.931	1.283	1.015	0.852	1.212	0.960	0.815	1.131	0.740	0.513	1.068
L/R self-placement	1.083*	0.996	1.178	0.947	0.864	1.038	0.929*	0.854	1.01	1.247*	1.018	1.536
East Germany	0.667*	0.458	0.966	0.988	0.652	1.478	1.525*	1.058	2.194	1.039	0.475	2.196
CB * Educ. (high)	0.937	0.526	1.664	1.016	0.570	1.802	0.878	0.502	1.527	2.314	0.749	7.31
CB * Educ. (medium)	1.327	0.810	2.196	0.792	0.467	1.34	0.818	0.504	1.313	1.512	0.529	4.335
Constant	2.775	0.731	10.727	0.467	0.104	2.042	0.073***	0.017	0.303	0.006**	0.000	0.168
N	921			921			921			921		

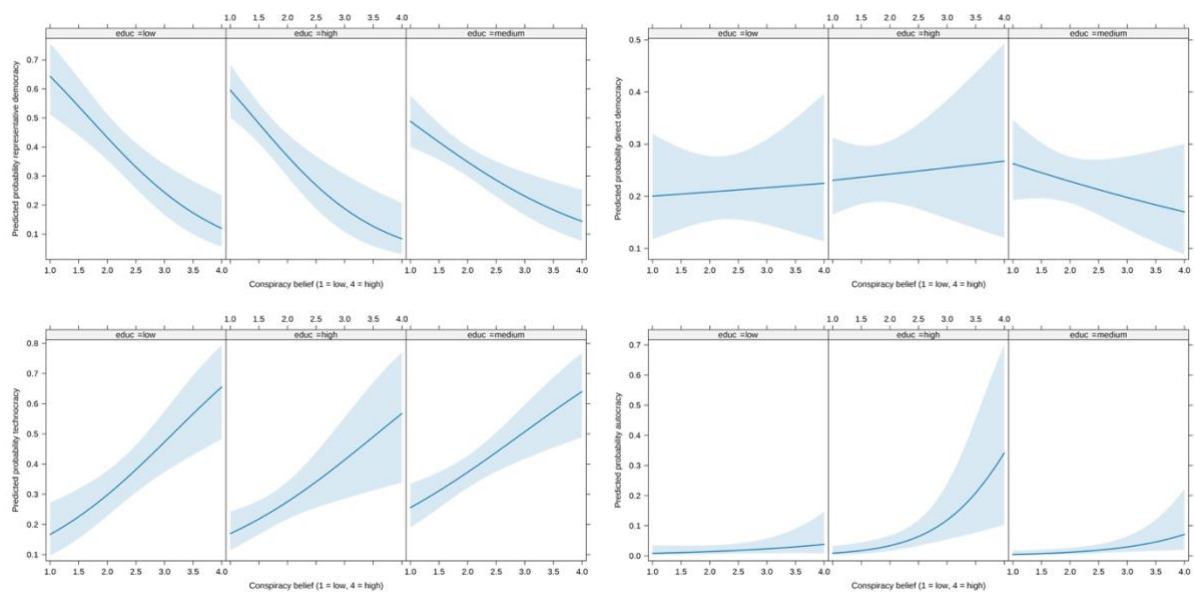
Note: +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**Figure S.1.: Predicted probabilities for preferred decision-making model by level of conspiracy belief ('best model') including an interaction term for conspiracy belief and level of education**



**Figure S 2.: Predicted probabilities for preferred decision-making model by level of conspiracy belief ('second best model') including an interaction term for conspiracy belief and level of education**



**Table S.9: List of variables**

Models of decision-making	<p>If it were up to you: Who should best decide on laws?.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elected members of parliament and government representatives (representative democracy)</li> <li>• Citizens in regular referendums (direct democracy)</li> <li>• Specialized experts in the relevant subject area (expert-based decision-making)</li> <li>• A single leader with broad decision-making power (autocratic decision-making model)<sup>1</sup></li> </ul>
Conspiracy belief	<p>The ruling elites pursue the goal of replacing the German people with immigrants.</p> <p>The Western world has conspired against Russia and Putin to expand its own power.</p> <p>The Coronavirus is a bioweapon intentionally designed to harm humans. The government deliberately created fear among the population during the Corona crisis to impose massive restrictions on fundamental rights. Scientists deliberately exaggerate the risks of climate change to get more money and credit for their research</p> <p>Each item was answered on a 4-point scale: fully agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, fully disagree (don't know/no answer)</p>
Age	May I ask how old you are?
Immigrant background	Finally, please indicate whether or not the following applies to you. My father or mother or I myself immigrated to Germany. (Responses: yes, no; don't know/no answer)
Gender	Please enter your gender.
Education	<p>What is your highest general educational qualification?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. still at school -- NA</li> <li>2. finished school education without graduation -- low</li> <li>3. elementary or (polytechnic) secondary school, left before 10th grade without graduation -- low</li> <li>4. elementary or (polytechnic) secondary school, left before 10th grade with graduation -- low</li> <li>5. intermediate school leaving certificate, secondary school or polytechnic secondary school 10th grade, technical school entrance qualification -- medium</li> <li>6. advanced technical college entrance qualification, graduation from a technical college, engineering school, extended secondary school (EOS) without graduation -- high</li> <li>7. general higher education entrance qualification, extended secondary school (EOS) with qualification -- high</li> <li>8. degree from a university or university of applied sciences -- high</li> <li>9. other qualification -- NA</li> </ol>
Class (self-placement)	<p>There is a lot of talk today about the different social classes. Which class do you consider yourself to belong to?</p> <p>The lower class -- low</p> <p>The working class -- low</p> <p>The middle class -- middle</p>

<sup>1</sup> The German wording was: representative democracy: "gewählte Abgeordnete und Regierungsvertreter"; direct: "Bürger in regelmäßigen Volksentscheiden"; expert-based: "Fachliche Experten im jeweiligen Themenbereich"; autocratic: "eine einzelne Führungspersönlichkeit mit umfassender Entscheidungsmacht"

	The upper middle class -- high Or the upper class -- high
Financial problems	Finally, please indicate whether or not the following applies to you. I have problems covering my current expenses. (Responses: yes, no; don't know/no answer)
Political interest	How interested are you in politics? (5-point-scale: very strongly, strongly, moderately, little, not at all; don't know/no answer)
L/R self-placement	In politics, people often talk about "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale of 0 to 10, if 0 means far left and 10 far right and 5 is right in the middle?
East Germany	CATI: based on phone number; CAWI: based on indication of state of residence

**Table S.10 Descriptive statistics**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean (or share)</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
COVID-19 Conspir belief	1.87	0.78	1	4
Age	52.03	18.36	18	93
Gender	M: 49.9% F: 50.1%			
Education	Low: 24% Medium: 41.6% High: 34.5%			
Class self-placement	Low: 31.7% Medium: 52.7% High: 15.6%			
Fin. Problems)	Yes: 17.9% No: 82.1%			
Immigrant background	Yes: 12.4% No: 87.6%			
Political interest	3.52	1.00	1	5
L/R self-placement	4.82	1.77	0	10
East Germany	East: 20.3% West: 79.7%			