

Supplementary Materials: Voting for Democracy? Testing Political-Cultural Constraints on Democratic Backsliding

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1. Measuring Democratic Political Cultures

1.1. Democracy–Autocracy Preferences

Scholars have traditionally measured democracy–autocracy preferences using survey items that ask directly about support for democracy and undemocratic alternatives (e.g., Norris 1999). We use four such questions. Three are adapted from items appearing in the World Values Survey (items 1 and 2) or the Global Barometers Survey (item 4). Because we include a balanced pair of pro-democracy items, we add a corresponding item about support for “strong” undemocratic leaders (item 3), mirroring the valence of the WVS question.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

sup_dem1. Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government.

sup_dem2. It would be best to get rid of [national parliament] and elections and have a strong leader who can quickly decide everything.

sup_dem3. [Executive]s who try to bypass the courts and [national parliament] are bad for the country.

sup_dem4. Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one.

Response options: <1> Strongly disagree ... <5> Strongly agree

Items sup_dem2 and sup_dem4 are reverse-coded so that higher values indicate greater opposition to authoritarian rule. For each national sample, we take the respondent-level mean (ignoring missing values) and standardize the index to have mean 0 and unit variance.

1.2. Support for the Institutions of Liberal Democracy

Claassen et al. (2025) develop a finely grained scale that measures support for seven key institutions of liberal democracy, including free speech, voting rights, judicial oversight, and the rule of law. We use revised questions from their short-form, seven-item battery:

Do you agree or disagree with the following principles for how a political system should be organized and run?

sup_ld_1. The [executive] should be able to censor media outlets that are too critical.

sup_ld_2. This country would be better off if there were only one political party.

sup_ld_3. We should rethink the universal right to vote since so many voters are poorly informed and easily misled.

sup_ld_4. It is justifiable for one party to break election rules if other parties have also done so in the past.

sup_ld_5. The [executive] should be able to ignore court rulings from judges appointed by opposing political parties.

sup_ld_6. If [national parliament] obstructs the work of the [executive], it should be overridden.

sup_ld_7. The [executive] should be able to bend the law to solve pressing social and economic problems.

Response options: identical to the democracy-autocracy items above.

For each national sample, responses are averaged (ignoring missing values) and standardized (mean 0, SD 1).

1.3. Institutional Trust

Following the approach used in the European Social Survey, we measure trust in multiple political and civil institutions. Respondents evaluate:

trust_leg. The justice/legal system

trust_parl. [national parliament]

trust_civ. The civil service

trust_part. The major political parties

Response scale: <0> No trust at all ... <10> Complete trust.

The institutional-trust index is the respondent-level mean of the four items (missing values ignored), standardized to mean 0 and unit variance.

1.4. Political Tolerance

Political tolerance is the belief that all adult citizens should have equal political rights regardless of their views (Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus 1982). We use the “least-liked” approach, drawing on guidance from Mutz (2023) (US), Stoeckel and Ceka (2023) (Poland), and Sohn and Kang (2025) (Korea). Each national list includes supporters of major parties, activist groups, or fringe ideological movements, avoiding ethnic or racial categories to prevent conflation with ethnocentrism.

Would you please select from the following list the one group or organization that you dislike the most?

United States

1. Black Lives Matter activists
2. Socialists
3. Fascists
4. White supremacists
5. MAGA supporters
6. Republican activists
7. Democratic activists
8. LGBT activists

Poland

1. PiS (Law and Justice) activists
2. Civic Coalition activists
3. People advocating full legalization of abortion
4. LGBT rights activists
5. Catholic fundamentalists
6. Konfederacja supporters
7. Communists

South Korea

1. Democratic Party supporters
2. People Power Party supporters

3. Feminist activists
4. Korean nationalists
5. People advocating dialogue with North Korea
6. Communists

Respondents then evaluate whether the least-liked group should enjoy standard political rights:

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about [least-liked group]?

pol_tol_1. They should not be allowed to vote.

pol_tol_2. They should not be allowed to run for public office.

pol_tol_3. They should not be allowed to organize public rallies and demonstrations.

Response options: <1> Strongly disagree ... <5> Strongly agree.

Items are reverse-coded (5 ~ item value). The tolerance index is the respondent-level mean of the three items, standardized to mean 0 and SD 1.

1.5. Emancipative Values

Emancipative values emphasize autonomy, choice, equality, and voice (Welzel 2013). We follow the World Values Survey coding guidance.¹ Four subindices are constructed.

Autonomy Index

Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be important? Please choose up to five.

child_man. Good manners

child_ind. Independence

child_work. Hard work

child_resp. Feeling of responsibility

child_imag. Imagination

child_tol. Tolerance and respect for other people

child_thrf. Thrift, saving money and things

child_detr. Determination, perseverance

child_fait. Religious faith

child_uslf. Not being selfish (unselfishness)

child_obed. Obedience

Autonomy = sum of child_ind, child_imag, and *non*-selection of child_obed; standardized.

Equality Index

Do you agree or disagree with the following?

gend_eq_1. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women.

gend_eq_2. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.

gend_eq_3. A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.

¹<https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>; <http://www.cambridge.org/welzel>

Scale: <1> Strongly disagree ... <5> Strongly agree.

Equality = mean of 3 items; standardized.

Choice Index

Please tell me whether each of the following can always be justified, never justified, or something in between.

gay_just. Homosexuality

abort_just. Abortion

divorc_just. Divorce

Scale: <0> Never justified ... <10> Always justified.

Choice = mean of 3 items; standardized.

Voice Index

1. If you had to choose, which one of these things would you say is most important? And which would be the next most important?

1. Maintaining order in the nation
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

2. And now, thinking about these goals, which one would you say is most important? And which would be the next most important?

1. Maintaining a high level of economic growth
2. Making sure this country has strong military forces
3. Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities
4. Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

Scale: options 2 and 4 from battery 1 = 1, 0 otherwise. Options 3 and 4 from battery 2 = 1, 0 otherwise. Each battery score (0-2) added and then standardized to create voice subscale

Overall Index

Emancipative values = mean of Autonomy, Equality, Choice, and Voice. The composite is standardized to mean 0 and SD 1.

1.6. Authoritarian Values

Following Feldman (2003), authoritarian values can be measured as the sum of the Schwartz values of “conformity” and “tradition” less the sum of “self-direction” and “stimulation”. We use eight items from the Twenty Item Values Inventory (Sandy et al. 2017).

Here we briefly describe some people. Using a 0-10 scale, rate how similar the person is to you (Pronouns are varied by respondent gender):

val_conf_1. [He/she/they] believes [he/she/they] should always show respect to [his/her/their] parents and to older

people. Obedience is important.

val_trad_1. Religious belief is important to [him/her/them]. [He/she/they] tries hard to do what religion requires.

val_selfd_1. [He/she/they] likes to be curious and to understand different things.

val_stim_1. [He/she/they] likes to take risks and seek adventures.

val_conf_2. It is important to [him/her/them] to behave properly and avoid doing anything considered wrong.

val_trad_2. [He/she/they] thinks it is best to do things in traditional ways and to preserve customs.

val_selfd_2. Being creative and doing things in an original way is important.

val_stim_2. [He/she/they] likes to try many different activities and seek new experiences.

Response scale: <0> Not like me at all ... <10> Very much like me.

Index construction:

1. Ipsatize (mean-center) each item for each respondent.
2. Conformity = mean(val_conf_1, val_trad_1, val_conf_2, val_trad_2).
3. Autonomy = mean(val_selfd_1, val_stim_1, val_selfd_2, val_stim_2).
4. Authoritarian values (reversed) = Autonomy – Conformity
5. Standardize within country

2. Preregistered Hypotheses and Deviations From Preregistration

The study was preregistered on the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/um6xa/>). The following features of the study and analysis were preregistered and followed in the analyses:

- The three country samples: Poland, the United States, and South Korea.
- The candidate-conjoint experimental design, including the candidate attributes, treatment wording, constrained randomization of the democracy attribute, and the use of 12 profile-pair replications per respondent.
- The six political-culture measures, the specific items used to measure them, and the procedures used to aggregate items into scales.
- The three main choice settings: all candidate choices, cross-party choices, and cross-ideological choices. The latter are defined separately for redistribution and gender-policy proximity.
- The operational definitions of in-party and out-party status used for the cross-party analyses, and the coding rules used to identify ideological proximity and cross-ideological profile pairs.
- The use of Average Treatment Moderation Effects (ATMEs) to test whether political-culture measures moderate the effect of the pro- versus anti-democratic candidate attribute.
- The use of Linear Probability Models (LPMs) as a complementary analysis of the association between political-culture measures and the probability of pro-democratic choice.
- The six preregistered hypotheses: H1–H3 for ATME analyses of overall, cross-party, and cross-ideological choices, and H4–H6 for the corresponding LPM analyses.

The preregistered hypotheses, as originally stated, and their reporting locations are as follows:

- **H1: Overall ATME.** Each political-culture measure was expected to positively moderate the effect of the pro- versus anti-democratic candidate attribute across all candidate choices. This hypothesis is tested in the main text in Figure 2 and reported in full in Tables S9 and S10.
- **H2: Cross-party ATME.** Each political-culture measure was expected to positively moderate the effect of the pro- versus anti-democratic candidate attribute in cross-party choices, where the pro-democratic candidate comes from an out-party and the anti-democratic candidate from an in-party. This hypothesis is tested in the main text in Figure 2 and reported in full in Tables S9 and S10.
- **H3: Cross-ideological ATME.** Each political-culture measure was expected to positively moderate the effect of the pro- versus anti-democratic candidate attribute in cross-ideological choices, where the pro-democratic candidate is farther from the respondent's own policy position than the anti-democratic candidate. This hypothesis is tested separately for redistribution and gender-policy proximity in the main text in Figure 2 and reported in full in Tables S9 and S10.
- **H4: Overall LPM.** Each political-culture measure was expected to be positively associated with the probability of selecting the pro-democratic candidate across all candidate choices. This hypothesis is discussed in the main text and reported in full in Tables S11 and S12.
- **H5: Cross-party LPM.** Each political-culture measure was expected to be positively associated with the probability of selecting the pro-democratic candidate in cross-party choices. This hypothesis is discussed in the main text and reported in full in Tables S11 and S12.
- **H6: Cross-ideological LPM.** Each political-culture measure was expected to be positively associated with the probability of selecting the pro-democratic candidate in cross-ideological choices. This hypothesis is tested separately for redistribution and gender-policy proximity, discussed in the main text, and reported in full in Tables S11 and S12.

The following analyses, specifications, or presentation choices were not preregistered. They were added as robustness checks, as descriptive diagnostics, or in response to reviewer requests. These additions do not replace any preregistered tests.

- The control-variable specifications. We did not preregister a set of control variables and include two specifications in the analyses: a basic-control specification including demographic and political covariates, and a full-control specification that additionally includes the other political-culture measures. The full-control specification is more demanding, but may also introduce collinearity because the political-culture measures are conceptually related.
- The decision to emphasize country-specific analyses as the primary results and to report pooled analyses as supplementary evidence. Country-specific analyses are preferable for the main tests because the measures and associations may vary across national contexts.
- The descriptive decile plots reported in Figure 1 and the corresponding regression-based descriptive slopes reported in Table S8.
- The sample-composition comparisons with population benchmarks reported in Tables S1–S3.
- The reliability and factor-structure diagnostics for the political-culture scales reported in Table S4.
- The support-for-liberal-democracy item-omission robustness checks, including the simultaneous exclusion of the three items closest to the institutional domains manipulated in the conjoint experiment, reported in Tables S13–S15.
- The reporting of Benjamini–Hochberg false-discovery-rate adjusted q -values. The q -values are calculated within each political-culture measure across the 12 country-scenario tests.
- The use of logit models to estimate first differences in predicted probabilities for one-standard-deviation changes in political-culture measures, reported in Table S16.

3. Control Variables

The basic set of controls is below. We also use a full control specification that includes all (other) political culture measures in models.

Demographics

- **Male** (gender_male): Binary indicator coded 1 for respondents recorded as male and 0 otherwise.
- **Age** (age_1): Age in years (continuous).
- **Education (5 categories)** (educ_5f): Factor with levels *less high school, high school grad, some college/2yr, bachelors, postgrad*.
- **Household income (5 categories + Refused)** (income_cat): Harmonised factor from country-specific income questions with levels *Lowest, Low, Middle, High, Highest, and Refused*.

Regions

- **Region** (region_pool): Country-specific region variables mapped to a common factor:
US: Census divisions
Korea: Provinces and metropolitan/special cities
Poland: voivodeships
Note: controlling for region fixed effects also controls for country effects

Political interest and positions

- **Political interest** (pol_interest): “I am very interested in politics” (<1> Strongly disagree ... <5> Strongly agree)
- **Gender policy positions (left)** (gend_pol_left): Sum of two gender-policy items (“Companies should be required to give preference to women when hiring for jobs where men are overrepresented”; “Political parties should be required to have gender quotas to ensure equal numbers of male and female candidates”), standardised (z-score). Higher = more left-liberal on gender equality.
- **Redistributive policy positions (left)** (redist_pol_left): Sum of two redistribution items (“Spending on public services and benefits should be increased”; “Taxes on the richest 10% should be increased”), standardised (z-score). Higher = more pro-redistribution.

Partisanship

- **Party evaluations**: “Please rate each [party] on a 0-10 scale.” (<0> Strongly dislike ... <10> Strongly like):
eval_dem_us/eval_rep_us (US),
eval_dpk_kr/eval_ppp_kr (Korea),
eval_pis_pl/eval_kon_pl/eval_ko_pl/eval_lew_pl (Poland).
- **Most-liked party** (top_party): Computed from party evaluations. The maximum thermometer score in each country defines the party listed as top_party; ties are broken deterministically using small random jitter with a fixed seed for replication.

4. Questionnaire Order

1. Demographic questions: Age, gender, area of residence, education, and household income.
2. Party support: Party feeling-thermometer ratings on a 0–10 scale, using country-specific party lists.
3. Conjoint voting experiment: Twelve candidate-choice tasks with randomized candidate attributes.
4. Attitudes to political issues: Political interest, redistributive attitudes, gender-policy attitudes, gender-equality attitudes, democracy-autocracy preference items.
5. Child qualities: Selection of qualities children should be encouraged to learn: autonomy index, part of emancipative values.
6. Support for liberal democracy, seven item battery.
7. Social-conformity, autonomy values: Schwartz questions to measure authoritarian-libertarian values.
8. Justifiability ratings for homosexuality, abortion, and divorce: the choice index that is part of emancipative values.
9. Post-materialism: Priority rankings over order, prices, free speech, etc.; the voice index that is part of emancipative values.
10. Political trust: four item battery.
11. Political tolerance: Least-liked group selection followed by questions about political rights for that group.

5. Representativeness of the Samples

Table S1. Sample vs. population characteristics, Poland

Variable	Category	Sample %	Pop %
Gender	Female	53.8	51.7
Gender	Male	46.1	48.3
Gender	Other	0.1	
Gender	Refused	0.1	
Age group	20-29	16.1	12.5
Age group	30-44	30.2	28.5
Age group	45-59	29.0	25.7
Age group	60+	24.7	33.3
Region	Dolnośląskie	7.0	7.7
Region	Kujawsko-pomorskie	5.9	5.3
Region	Łódzkie	6.0	6.3
Region	Lubelskie	6.2	5.3
Region	Lubuskie	1.9	2.6
Region	Małopolskie	8.4	9.1
Region	Mazowieckie	16.9	14.7
Region	Opolskie	2.7	2.5
Region	Podkarpackie	5.0	5.5
Region	Podlaskie	2.9	3.0
Region	Pomorskie	5.0	6.3
Region	Śląskie	13.4	11.4
Region	Świętokrzyskie	2.5	3.1
Region	Warmińsko-mazurskie	3.7	3.6
Region	Wielkopolskie	8.6	9.3
Region	Zachodniopomorskie	3.8	4.3
Partisan evaluations	PiS	25.8	
Partisan evaluations	Konfederacja	25.0	
Partisan evaluations	KO	40.9	
Partisan evaluations	Lewica	31.0	

Population data are from the Statistics Poland API, 2024 data. Regional population data show total population by voivodeship, not the 18+ population. Partisan evaluations show the percent of the sample giving a 6-10 evaluation for each party on the 0-10 scale.

Table S2. Sample vs. population characteristics, Korea

Variable	Category	Sample %	Pop %
Gender	Female	49.1	50.2
Gender	Male	50.8	49.8
Gender	Refused	0.1	
Age group	20-29	12.1	13.4
Age group	30-44	28.7	24.0
Age group	45-59	33.9	28.8
Age group	60+	25.3	33.8
Region	Busan - Metro city	7.6	6.4
Region	Chungcheongbuk-do	2.0	3.1
Region	Chungcheongnam-do	2.3	4.2
Region	Daegu - Metro city	5.9	4.6
Region	Daejeon - Metro city	3.1	2.8
Region	Gangwon-do	2.6	3.0
Region	Gwangju - Metro city	3.1	2.7
Region	Gyeonggi-do	24.5	26.8
Region	Gyeongsangbuk-do	3.5	4.9
Region	Gyeongsangnam-do	4.8	6.3
Region	Incheon - Metro city	5.7	5.9
Region	Jeju-do	0.6	1.3
Region	Jeollabuk-do	2.5	3.4
Region	Jeollanam-do	2.0	3.5
Region	Sejong Special Autonomous City	0.4	0.8
Region	Seoul - Metro city	27.5	18.2
Region	Ulsan - Metro city	1.7	2.1
Partisan evaluations	DPK	43.7	
Partisan evaluations	PPP	20.3	

Population data are from KOSIS resident registration population, June 2025. Regional population data show total population by province, not the 18+ population. Partisan evaluations show the percent of the sample giving a 6-10 evaluation for each party on the 0-10 scale.

Table S3. Sample vs. population characteristics, United States

Variable	Category	Sample %	Pop %
Gender	Female	54.5	51.0
Gender	Male	45.1	49.0
Gender	Other	0.3	
Gender	Refused	0.1	
Age group	18-34	23.9	29.0
Age group	35-49	25.9	24.8
Age group	50-64	27.4	23.3
Age group	65+	22.8	22.9
Region	East North Central	16.7	14.0
Region	East South Central	8.4	5.9
Region	Middle Atlantic	14.3	12.5
Region	Mountain	5.0	7.7
Region	New England	4.1	4.5
Region	Pacific	7.8	15.8
Region	South Atlantic	24.9	20.5
Region	West North Central	6.5	6.5
Region	West South Central	12.3	12.7
Partisan evaluations	Democrat	39.1	
Partisan evaluations	Republican	41.5	

Population data are from Census Reporter / US Census ACS 2024 1-year table B01001. Regional population data show total population by census division, not the 18+ population. Partisan evaluations show the percent of the sample giving a 6-10 evaluation for each party on the 0-10 scale.

6. Psychometric properties of the political culture scales

Table S4. Psychometric properties of political culture scales

Scale	Statistic	Poland	US	Korea
Authoritarian values	CFI	0.198	0.204	0.192
Authoritarian values	RMSEA	0.371	0.363	0.365
Authoritarian values	SRMR	0.115	0.110	0.137
Authoritarian values	Cronbach's α	0.750	0.730	0.630
Dem-aut preference	CFI	0.978	0.964	0.953
Dem-aut preference	RMSEA	0.093	0.103	0.089
Dem-aut preference	SRMR	0.026	0.036	0.034
Dem-aut preference	Cronbach's α	0.721	0.655	0.552
Emancipative values	CFI	0.963	0.932	0.905
Emancipative values	RMSEA	0.046	0.064	0.068
Emancipative values	SRMR	0.036	0.044	0.050
Emancipative values	Cronbach's α	0.396	0.503	0.322
Institutional trust	CFI	0.962	0.968	0.898
Institutional trust	RMSEA	0.209	0.190	0.288
Institutional trust	SRMR	0.030	0.026	0.071
Institutional trust	Cronbach's α	0.898	0.901	0.828
Political tolerance	CFI	0.976	0.987	0.961
Political tolerance	RMSEA	0.177	0.101	0.190
Political tolerance	SRMR	0.022	0.021	0.034
Political tolerance	Cronbach's α	0.934	0.876	0.896
Support liberal democ.	CFI	0.933	0.961	0.946
Support liberal democ.	RMSEA	0.110	0.100	0.083
Support liberal democ.	SRMR	0.046	0.036	0.040
Support liberal democ.	Cronbach's α	0.841	0.891	0.800

Note: CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; SRMR = Standardized Root Mean Square Residual. The CFA models are as follows: authoritarian values: one-factor CFA on ipsatized items; democracy-autocracy preference: one-factor CFA; emancipative values: hierarchical four-factor CFA using sub-indices; institutional trust: one-factor CFA; political tolerance: one-factor CFA with loadings equal; support for liberal democracy: one-factor CFA. Cronbach's α estimates are based on polychoric correlations for batteries other than emancipative and authoritarian values. For emancipative values, Cronbach's α is calculated using the four subindices rather than the raw survey items.

7. Variable Correlations

Table S5. Variable correlations, Polish sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
(1) Dem-aut preference	1.00										
(2) Support liberal democracy	0.38	1.00									
(3) Institutional trust	0.29	-0.07	1.00								
(4) Political tolerance	0.23	0.31	0.16	1.00							
(5) Auth. values (rev)	0.20	0.10	0.00	0.08	1.00						
(6) Emancipative values	0.28	0.18	0.07	0.18	0.47	1.00					
(7) Gender policy (left)	0.06	-0.33	0.17	-0.11	-0.01	0.14	1.00				
(8) Redistributive policy (left)	0.07	-0.07	0.06	-0.10	-0.06	-0.03	0.25	1.00			
(9) Party evals: PiS	-0.27	0.03	-0.03	-0.05	-0.30	-0.32	-0.08	0.11	1.00		
(10) Party evals: Kon	-0.37	-0.00	-0.10	-0.10	-0.24	-0.31	-0.14	-0.02	0.49	1.00	
(11) Party evals: KO	0.41	-0.10	0.48	0.10	0.19	0.25	0.18	-0.01	-0.47	-0.37	1.00
(12) Party evals: Lewica	0.32	-0.07	0.38	0.11	0.27	0.33	0.21	0.08	-0.34	-0.28	0.62

Table S6. Variable correlations, Korean sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(1) Dem-aut preference	1.00								
(2) Support liberal democracy	0.48	1.00							
(3) Institutional trust	0.08	-0.03	1.00						
(4) Political tolerance	0.06	0.15	0.15	1.00					
(5) Auth. values (rev)	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.07	1.00				
(6) Emancipative values	0.29	0.25	0.06	0.23	0.22	1.00			
(7) Gender policy (left)	-0.01	-0.17	0.21	0.05	0.00	0.24	1.00		
(8) Redistributive policy (left)	0.16	-0.05	0.15	0.04	0.02	0.19	0.37	1.00	
(9) Party evals: DPK	0.14	-0.05	0.39	0.09	0.10	0.14	0.22	0.37	1.00
(10) Party evals: PPP	-0.18	-0.07	0.03	-0.09	-0.10	-0.20	-0.06	-0.25	-0.25

Table S7. Variable correlations, US sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(1) Dem-aut preference	1.00								
(2) Support liberal democracy	0.68	1.00							
(3) Institutional trust	-0.05	-0.20	1.00						
(4) Political tolerance	0.20	0.24	0.01	1.00					
(5) Auth. values (rev)	0.11	0.16	-0.13	0.01	1.00				
(6) Emancipative values	0.39	0.46	-0.16	0.11	0.45	1.00			
(7) Gender policy (left)	-0.19	-0.26	0.12	-0.23	0.13	0.06	1.00		
(8) Redistributive policy (left)	0.20	0.18	-0.00	-0.14	0.21	0.31	0.34	1.00	
(9) Party evals: Democrat	0.25	0.20	0.17	-0.06	0.14	0.29	0.29	0.36	1.00
(10) Party evals: Republican	-0.32	-0.39	0.27	0.02	-0.25	-0.44	-0.17	-0.36	-0.44

8. Bivariate Associations Between Political Culture and Pro-Democratic Choice

Table S8. Bivariate linear probability models, political culture and pro-democratic choice

Pol Cult Measure	Sample	Scenario	Slope	SE	P-Val	N
Authoritarian values	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.000	0.009	0.993	1486
Authoritarian values	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	-0.021	0.009	0.020	1656
Authoritarian values	PL	Cross-party	0.025	0.011	0.024	1271
Authoritarian values	PL	Overall	0.004	0.004	0.348	1967
Authoritarian values	SK	Cross-ideology gender	-0.014	0.010	0.141	1543
Authoritarian values	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.004	0.008	0.603	1783
Authoritarian values	SK	Cross-party	-0.009	0.013	0.512	874
Authoritarian values	SK	Overall	-0.002	0.004	0.678	2001
Authoritarian values	US	Cross-ideology gender	0.029	0.009	0.001	1609
Authoritarian values	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.016	0.009	0.068	1802
Authoritarian values	US	Cross-party	0.063	0.012	0.000	1077
Authoritarian values	US	Overall	0.029	0.005	0.000	1983
Authoritarian values	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.005	0.005	0.333	4638
Authoritarian values	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.000	0.005	0.919	5241
Authoritarian values	Pooled	Cross-party	0.027	0.007	0.000	3222
Authoritarian values	Pooled	Overall	0.010	0.003	0.000	5951
Dem-aut preferences	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.021	0.009	0.014	1486
Dem-aut preferences	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.007	0.008	0.440	1656
Dem-aut preferences	PL	Cross-party	0.009	0.010	0.380	1271
Dem-aut preferences	PL	Overall	0.021	0.004	0.000	1967
Dem-aut preferences	SK	Cross-ideology gender	0.035	0.009	0.000	1543
Dem-aut preferences	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.013	0.008	0.106	1783
Dem-aut preferences	SK	Cross-party	0.011	0.014	0.401	874
Dem-aut preferences	SK	Overall	0.030	0.004	0.000	2001
Dem-aut preferences	US	Cross-ideology gender	0.044	0.008	0.000	1609
Dem-aut preferences	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.043	0.008	0.000	1802
Dem-aut preferences	US	Cross-party	0.109	0.011	0.000	1077
Dem-aut preferences	US	Overall	0.078	0.004	0.000	1983
Dem-aut preferences	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.033	0.005	0.000	4638
Dem-aut preferences	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.021	0.005	0.000	5241
Dem-aut preferences	Pooled	Cross-party	0.045	0.007	0.000	3222
Dem-aut preferences	Pooled	Overall	0.043	0.003	0.000	5951
Emancipative values	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.008	0.008	0.354	1486
Emancipative values	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	-0.006	0.008	0.488	1656
Emancipative values	PL	Cross-party	0.008	0.011	0.460	1271
Emancipative values	PL	Overall	0.012	0.004	0.006	1967
Emancipative values	SK	Cross-ideology gender	0.007	0.009	0.407	1543
Emancipative values	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.014	0.008	0.086	1783
Emancipative values	SK	Cross-party	0.011	0.013	0.370	874
Emancipative values	SK	Overall	0.026	0.004	0.000	2001
Emancipative values	US	Cross-ideology gender	0.071	0.008	0.000	1609
Emancipative values	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.027	0.008	0.001	1802
Emancipative values	US	Cross-party	0.109	0.011	0.000	1077
Emancipative values	US	Overall	0.064	0.004	0.000	1983
Emancipative values	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.028	0.005	0.000	4638
Emancipative values	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.012	0.005	0.010	5241
Emancipative values	Pooled	Cross-party	0.046	0.007	0.000	3222

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Table S8 – continued from previous page

Pol Cult Measure	Sample	Scenario	Slope	SE	P-Val	N
Emancipative values	Pooled	Overall	0.034	0.003	0.000	5951
Institutional trust	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.011	0.008	0.195	1486
Institutional trust	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	-0.005	0.009	0.570	1656
Institutional trust	PL	Cross-party	-0.013	0.011	0.236	1271
Institutional trust	PL	Overall	0.000	0.004	0.934	1967
Institutional trust	SK	Cross-ideology gender	0.007	0.009	0.407	1543
Institutional trust	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.003	0.008	0.692	1783
Institutional trust	SK	Cross-party	0.005	0.014	0.724	874
Institutional trust	SK	Overall	0.000	0.004	0.946	2001
Institutional trust	US	Cross-ideology gender	-0.017	0.008	0.029	1609
Institutional trust	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.004	0.008	0.658	1802
Institutional trust	US	Cross-party	-0.048	0.012	0.000	1077
Institutional trust	US	Overall	-0.019	0.004	0.000	1983
Institutional trust	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.000	0.005	0.991	4638
Institutional trust	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.001	0.005	0.837	5241
Institutional trust	Pooled	Cross-party	-0.022	0.007	0.003	3222
Institutional trust	Pooled	Overall	-0.006	0.003	0.011	5951
Political tolerance	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.027	0.008	0.001	1486
Political tolerance	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.016	0.009	0.058	1656
Political tolerance	PL	Cross-party	0.027	0.010	0.010	1271
Political tolerance	PL	Overall	0.028	0.004	0.000	1967
Political tolerance	SK	Cross-ideology gender	0.025	0.009	0.007	1543
Political tolerance	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.006	0.008	0.450	1783
Political tolerance	SK	Cross-party	0.020	0.013	0.138	874
Political tolerance	SK	Overall	0.011	0.004	0.010	2001
Political tolerance	US	Cross-ideology gender	0.018	0.008	0.033	1609
Political tolerance	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.042	0.008	0.000	1802
Political tolerance	US	Cross-party	0.049	0.012	0.000	1077
Political tolerance	US	Overall	0.034	0.004	0.000	1983
Political tolerance	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.023	0.005	0.000	4638
Political tolerance	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.022	0.005	0.000	5241
Political tolerance	Pooled	Cross-party	0.031	0.007	0.000	3222
Political tolerance	Pooled	Overall	0.024	0.003	0.000	5951
Support liberal democ.	PL	Cross-ideology gender	0.032	0.008	0.000	1486
Support liberal democ.	PL	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.038	0.008	0.000	1656
Support liberal democ.	PL	Cross-party	0.047	0.011	0.000	1271
Support liberal democ.	PL	Overall	0.055	0.004	0.000	1967
Support liberal democ.	SK	Cross-ideology gender	0.047	0.009	0.000	1543
Support liberal democ.	SK	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.026	0.008	0.001	1783
Support liberal democ.	SK	Cross-party	0.026	0.014	0.059	874
Support liberal democ.	SK	Overall	0.037	0.004	0.000	2001
Support liberal democ.	US	Cross-ideology gender	0.065	0.008	0.000	1609
Support liberal democ.	US	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.045	0.008	0.000	1802
Support liberal democ.	US	Cross-party	0.126	0.011	0.000	1077
Support liberal democ.	US	Overall	0.087	0.004	0.000	1983
Support liberal democ.	Pooled	Cross-ideology gender	0.048	0.005	0.000	4638
Support liberal democ.	Pooled	Cross-ideology redistribution	0.036	0.005	0.000	5241
Support liberal democ.	Pooled	Cross-party	0.068	0.007	0.000	3222
Support liberal democ.	Pooled	Overall	0.059	0.002	0.000	5951

Note: Estimated slopes / associations between each political culture measure and the probability of respondent pro-democratic choice across samples, political culture measures, and choice scenarios. Estimates are based on choice-level linear regressions with respondent-clustered standard errors.

9. Main Effects of Conjoints

Figure S1. Conjoint results, Poland (marginal means)

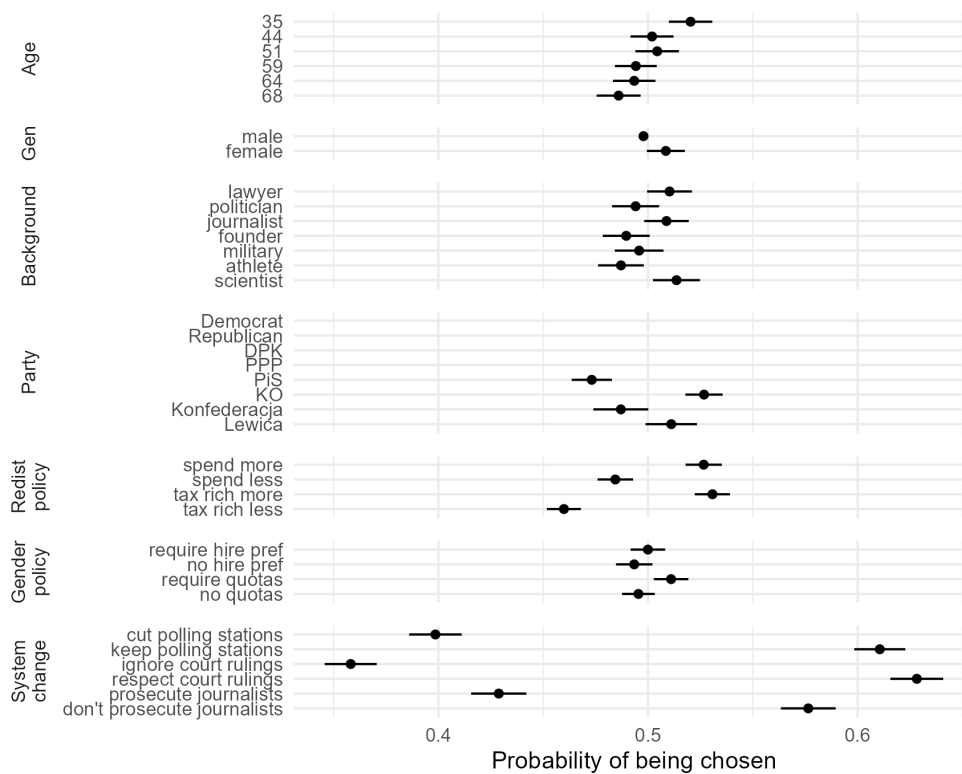


Figure S2. Conjoint results, US (marginal means)

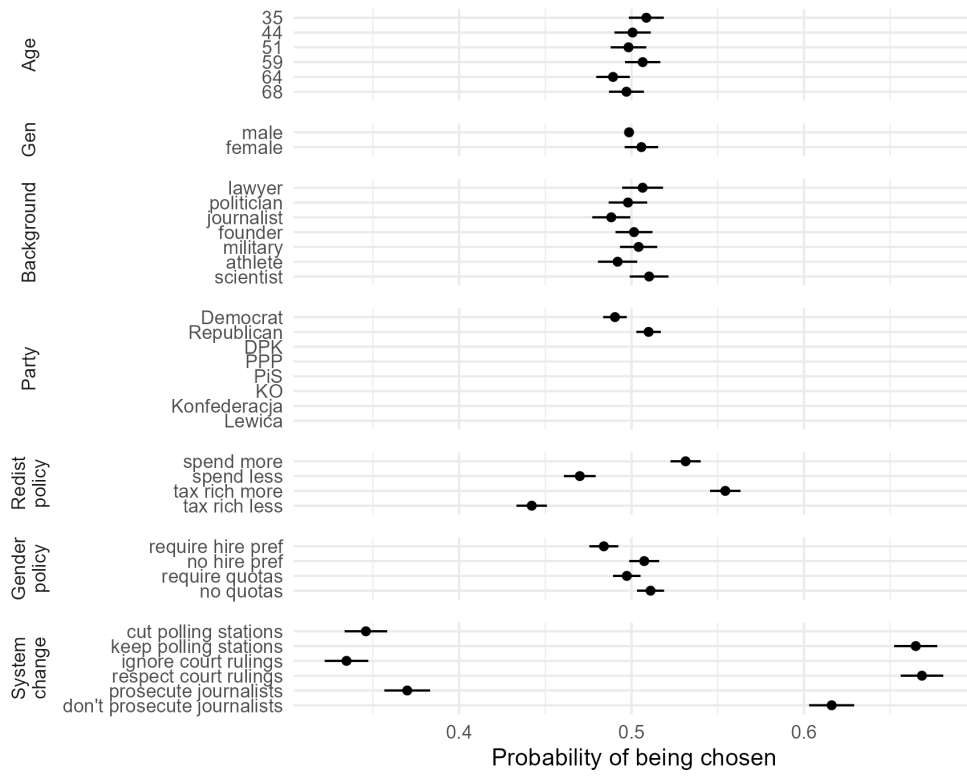
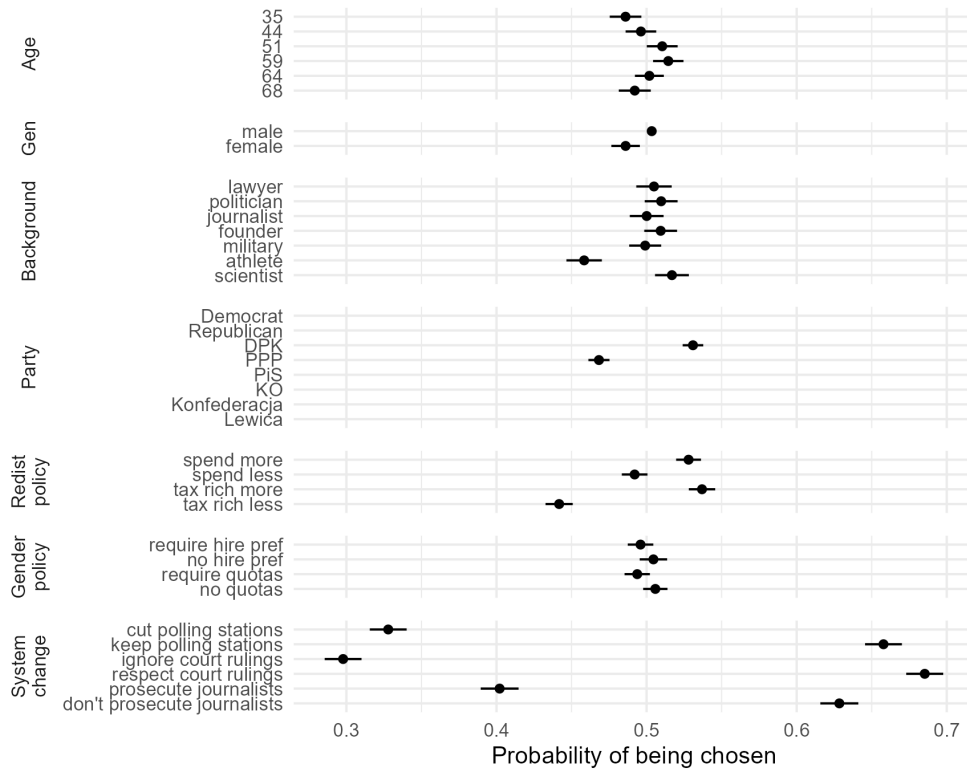


Figure S3. Conjoint results, South Korea (marginal means)



10. ATME Results

Table S9. ATME results, full controls, exact vs. FDR corrected p-values.

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H1	Overall	0.001	0.007	0.882	0.882	1967
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.046	0.019	0.013	0.080	1271
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.011	0.015	0.470	0.523	1486
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.039	0.015	0.007	0.080	1656
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H1	Overall	-0.010	0.006	0.120	0.240	2001
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H2	Cross-party	-0.016	0.019	0.401	0.523	874
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.013	0.014	0.354	0.523	1543
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.008	0.011	0.479	0.523	1783
Auth. values (rev)	US	H1	Overall	0.012	0.007	0.075	0.214	1983
Auth. values (rev)	US	H2	Cross-party	0.037	0.018	0.042	0.170	1077
Auth. values (rev)	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.010	0.013	0.447	0.523	1609
Auth. values (rev)	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.024	0.014	0.089	0.214	1802
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.001	0.004	0.884		5951
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.024	0.011	0.025		3222
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.005	0.008	0.537		4638
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.001	0.008	0.870		5241
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H1	Overall	0.000	0.008	0.992	0.992	1967
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.009	0.019	0.627	0.753	1271
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.029	0.016	0.066	0.133	1486
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.004	0.016	0.776	0.847	1656
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H1	Overall	0.033	0.007	0.000	0.000	2001
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.026	0.022	0.240	0.320	874
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.033	0.014	0.021	0.051	1543
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.019	0.013	0.138	0.207	1783
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H1	Overall	0.053	0.009	0.000	0.000	1983
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.091	0.021	0.000	0.000	1077
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.048	0.017	0.004	0.011	1609
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.028	0.016	0.084	0.144	1802
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.029	0.004	0.000		5951
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.042	0.012	0.000		3222
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.003	0.009	0.712		4638
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.008	0.133		5241
Emancipative val.	PL	H1	Overall	-0.003	0.008	0.746	0.814	1967
Emancipative val.	PL	H2	Cross-party	-0.027	0.020	0.162	0.295	1271
Emancipative val.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.001	0.016	0.930	0.930	1486
Emancipative val.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.006	0.015	0.712	0.814	1656
Emancipative val.	SK	H1	Overall	0.039	0.007	0.000	0.000	2001
Emancipative val.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.029	0.021	0.172	0.295	874
Emancipative val.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.012	0.015	0.437	0.655	1543
Emancipative val.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.043	0.014	0.002	0.005	1783
Emancipative val.	US	H1	Overall	0.040	0.008	0.000	0.000	1983
Emancipative val.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.061	0.022	0.006	0.014	1077
Emancipative val.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.065	0.015	0.000	0.000	1609
Emancipative val.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.009	0.015	0.559	0.746	1802
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.028	0.004	0.000		5951
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.020	0.012	0.093		3222
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.014	0.009	0.115		4638

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Table S9 – continued from previous page

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.018	0.008	0.028		5241
Institutional trust	PL	H1	Overall	0.010	0.008	0.174	0.536	1967
Institutional trust	PL	H2	Cross-party	−0.006	0.018	0.725	0.791	1271
Institutional trust	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.020	0.014	0.157	0.536	1486
Institutional trust	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	−0.010	0.014	0.495	0.593	1656
Institutional trust	SK	H1	Overall	0.007	0.007	0.266	0.536	2001
Institutional trust	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.022	0.021	0.307	0.536	874
Institutional trust	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.003	0.014	0.814	0.814	1543
Institutional trust	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.014	0.012	0.244	0.536	1783
Institutional trust	US	H1	Overall	−0.005	0.007	0.438	0.583	1983
Institutional trust	US	H2	Cross-party	−0.029	0.018	0.109	0.536	1077
Institutional trust	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.012	0.013	0.357	0.536	1609
Institutional trust	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.013	0.013	0.323	0.536	1802
Institutional trust	Pooled	H1	Overall	−0.004	0.004	0.262		5951
Institutional trust	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	−0.019	0.011	0.090		3222
Institutional trust	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.000	0.007	0.987		4638
Institutional trust	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.008	0.007	0.286		5241
Political tolerance	PL	H1	Overall	0.020	0.006	0.002	0.005	1967
Political tolerance	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.043	0.016	0.006	0.011	1271
Political tolerance	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.035	0.013	0.006	0.011	1486
Political tolerance	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.005	0.013	0.699	0.699	1656
Political tolerance	SK	H1	Overall	0.006	0.007	0.399	0.479	2001
Political tolerance	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.029	0.020	0.151	0.201	874
Political tolerance	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.039	0.014	0.004	0.009	1543
Political tolerance	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.007	0.012	0.557	0.608	1783
Political tolerance	US	H1	Overall	0.030	0.006	0.000	0.000	1983
Political tolerance	US	H2	Cross-party	0.056	0.017	0.001	0.005	1077
Political tolerance	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.023	0.012	0.045	0.067	1609
Political tolerance	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.054	0.012	0.000	0.000	1802
Political tolerance	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.019	0.004	0.000		5951
Political tolerance	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.044	0.010	0.000		3222
Political tolerance	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.027	0.007	0.000		4638
Political tolerance	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.024	0.007	0.000		5241
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H1	Overall	0.100	0.008	0.000	0.000	1967
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.084	0.019	0.000	0.000	1271
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.047	0.015	0.002	0.002	1486
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.072	0.015	0.000	0.000	1656
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H1	Overall	0.045	0.008	0.000	0.000	2001
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.038	0.023	0.110	0.110	874
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.073	0.015	0.000	0.000	1543
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.035	0.014	0.009	0.010	1783
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H1	Overall	0.089	0.008	0.000	0.000	1983
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.115	0.022	0.000	0.000	1077
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.098	0.016	0.000	0.000	1609
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.048	0.017	0.004	0.005	1802
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.081	0.004	0.000		5951
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.087	0.012	0.000		3222
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.081	0.009	0.000		4638

Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.053	0.008	0.000	5241
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Note: Average treatment moderation effects. “Overall” = pro-democratic vs. anti-democratic candidate choice; “Cross-party” = pro-democratic out-party vs. anti-democratic in-party; “Cross-ideology” = pro-democratic ideologically distal vs. anti-democratic ideologically proximate. Models include full controls. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Q-values = Benjamini-Hochberg q-values, adjusted p-values that controls the false discovery rate (FDR); these are implemented within each political-culture measure across the 12 preregistered country-by-scenario ATME tests.

11. ATME Results, Basic Controls

Table S10. ATME results, basic controls, exact vs. FDR corrected p-values.

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H1	Overall	0.014	0.007	0.037	0.063	1967
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.047	0.017	0.007	0.021	1271
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.004	0.014	0.747	0.838	1486
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.031	0.014	0.023	0.046	1656
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H1	Overall	0.001	0.006	0.867	0.867	2001
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H2	Cross-party	-0.006	0.019	0.768	0.838	874
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.007	0.013	0.592	0.789	1543
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.018	0.011	0.119	0.179	1783
Auth. values (rev)	US	H1	Overall	0.048	0.007	0.000	0.000	1983
Auth. values (rev)	US	H2	Cross-party	0.077	0.018	0.000	0.000	1077
Auth. values (rev)	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.030	0.012	0.017	0.041	1609
Auth. values (rev)	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.041	0.013	0.002	0.008	1802
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.023	0.004	0.000		5951
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.044	0.010	0.000		3222
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.011	0.008	0.134		4638
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.007	0.095		5241
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H1	Overall	0.051	0.007	0.000	0.000	1967
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.055	0.017	0.001	0.001	1271
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.058	0.014	0.000	0.000	1486
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.023	0.014	0.102	0.102	1656
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H1	Overall	0.065	0.006	0.000	0.000	2001
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.050	0.020	0.012	0.015	874
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.065	0.013	0.000	0.000	1543
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.047	0.011	0.000	0.000	1783
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H1	Overall	0.119	0.008	0.000	0.000	1983
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.179	0.018	0.000	0.000	1077
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.029	0.014	0.034	0.037	1609
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.068	0.014	0.000	0.000	1802
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.078	0.004	0.000		5951
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.094	0.011	0.000		3222
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.049	0.008	0.000		4638
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.046	0.007	0.000		5241
Emancipative val.	PL	H1	Overall	0.031	0.007	0.000	0.000	1967
Emancipative val.	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.026	0.018	0.146	0.175	1271
Emancipative val.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.018	0.014	0.172	0.188	1486
Emancipative val.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.003	0.014	0.804	0.804	1656
Emancipative val.	SK	H1	Overall	0.062	0.007	0.000	0.000	2001
Emancipative val.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.047	0.020	0.021	0.031	874
Emancipative val.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.027	0.013	0.040	0.053	1543
Emancipative val.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.062	0.013	0.000	0.000	1783
Emancipative val.	US	H1	Overall	0.095	0.007	0.000	0.000	1983
Emancipative val.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.147	0.019	0.000	0.000	1077
Emancipative val.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.088	0.013	0.000	0.000	1609
Emancipative val.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.053	0.013	0.000	0.000	1802
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.066	0.004	0.000		5951
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.075	0.011	0.000		3222
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.045	0.007	0.000		4638

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Table S10 – continued from previous page

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.043	0.007	0.000		5241
Institutional trust	PL	H1	Overall	0.013	0.008	0.084	0.168	1967
Institutional trust	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.002	0.018	0.919	0.919	1271
Institutional trust	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.030	0.014	0.032	0.095	1486
Institutional trust	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.007	0.014	0.611	0.733	1656
Institutional trust	SK	H1	Overall	0.012	0.007	0.070	0.167	2001
Institutional trust	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.030	0.021	0.151	0.226	874
Institutional trust	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.012	0.013	0.390	0.520	1543
Institutional trust	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.019	0.012	0.110	0.188	1783
Institutional trust	US	H1	Overall	-0.021	0.007	0.002	0.018	1983
Institutional trust	US	H2	Cross-party	-0.054	0.018	0.003	0.018	1077
Institutional trust	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.029	0.012	0.019	0.077	1609
Institutional trust	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.002	0.013	0.850	0.919	1802
Institutional trust	Pooled	H1	Overall	-0.008	0.004	0.037		5951
Institutional trust	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	-0.020	0.011	0.062		3222
Institutional trust	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.002	0.007	0.737		4638
Institutional trust	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.006	0.007	0.364		5241
Political tolerance	PL	H1	Overall	0.045	0.006	0.000	0.000	1967
Political tolerance	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.061	0.015	0.000	0.000	1271
Political tolerance	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.053	0.012	0.000	0.000	1486
Political tolerance	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.020	0.012	0.102	0.102	1656
Political tolerance	SK	H1	Overall	0.022	0.006	0.001	0.001	2001
Political tolerance	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.041	0.019	0.034	0.041	874
Political tolerance	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.052	0.013	0.000	0.000	1543
Political tolerance	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.024	0.011	0.039	0.042	1783
Political tolerance	US	H1	Overall	0.058	0.006	0.000	0.000	1983
Political tolerance	US	H2	Cross-party	0.105	0.017	0.000	0.000	1077
Political tolerance	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.044	0.011	0.000	0.000	1609
Political tolerance	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.070	0.011	0.000	0.000	1802
Political tolerance	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.043	0.004	0.000		5951
Political tolerance	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.070	0.010	0.000		3222
Political tolerance	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.046	0.007	0.000		4638
Political tolerance	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.040	0.007	0.000		5241
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H1	Overall	0.105	0.007	0.000	0.000	1967
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H2	Cross-party	0.098	0.017	0.000	0.000	1271
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.065	0.013	0.000	0.000	1486
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.065	0.013	0.000	0.000	1656
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H1	Overall	0.074	0.006	0.000	0.000	2001
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H2	Cross-party	0.063	0.020	0.002	0.002	874
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.092	0.013	0.000	0.000	1543
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.059	0.012	0.000	0.000	1783
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H1	Overall	0.144	0.007	0.000	0.000	1983
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H2	Cross-party	0.210	0.018	0.000	0.000	1077
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.099	0.013	0.000	0.000	1609
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.084	0.013	0.000	0.000	1802
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H1	Overall	0.109	0.004	0.000		5951
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H2	Cross-party	0.127	0.011	0.000		3222
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., gender	0.093	0.007	0.000		4638

Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H3	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.070	0.007	0.000	5241
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Note: Average treatment moderation effects. “Overall” = pro-democratic vs. anti-democratic candidate choice; “Cross-party” = pro-democratic out-party vs. anti-democratic in-party; “Cross-ideology” = pro-democratic ideologically distal vs. anti-democratic ideologically proximate. Models include basic controls, i.e., they don’t control for other political culture measures. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Q-values = Benjamini-Hochberg q-values, adjusted p-values that controls the false discovery rate (FDR); these are implemented within each political-culture measure across the 12 preregistered country-by-scenario ATME tests.

12. Linear Probability Model Results

Table S11. LPM results, full controls, exact vs. FDR corrected p-values.

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	Estimate	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H4	Overall	0.001	0.005	0.917	0.917	1967
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.023	0.013	0.080	0.482	1271
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.005	0.011	0.610	0.673	1486
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.020	0.010	0.057	0.482	1656
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H4	Overall	-0.005	0.004	0.272	0.544	2001
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H5	Cross-party	-0.008	0.013	0.553	0.673	874
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.006	0.010	0.512	0.673	1543
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.004	0.008	0.617	0.673	1783
Auth. values (rev)	US	H4	Overall	0.006	0.005	0.209	0.544	1983
Auth. values (rev)	US	H5	Cross-party	0.019	0.013	0.151	0.544	1077
Auth. values (rev)	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.005	0.010	0.591	0.673	1609
Auth. values (rev)	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.010	0.230	0.544	1802
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.000	0.003	0.917		5951
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.012	0.008	0.112		3222
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.003	0.006	0.662		4638
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.001	0.005	0.908		5241
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H4	Overall	0.000	0.006	0.994	0.994	1967
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.005	0.014	0.731	0.877	1271
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.014	0.011	0.194	0.381	1486
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.002	0.011	0.841	0.917	1656
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H4	Overall	0.017	0.005	0.001	0.004	2001
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.013	0.015	0.406	0.541	874
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.017	0.010	0.104	0.249	1543
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.009	0.009	0.294	0.441	1783
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H4	Overall	0.026	0.006	0.000	0.000	1983
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.046	0.015	0.003	0.010	1077
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.024	0.012	0.040	0.120	1609
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.014	0.012	0.222	0.381	1802
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.014	0.003	0.000		5951
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.021	0.008	0.011		3222
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.002	0.006	0.794		4638
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.006	0.006	0.288		5241
Emancipative val.	PL	H4	Overall	-0.001	0.006	0.819	0.893	1967
Emancipative val.	PL	H5	Cross-party	-0.014	0.014	0.323	0.573	1271
Emancipative val.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.001	0.011	0.951	0.951	1486
Emancipative val.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.003	0.011	0.794	0.893	1656
Emancipative val.	SK	H4	Overall	0.020	0.005	0.000	0.001	2001
Emancipative val.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.015	0.015	0.334	0.573	874
Emancipative val.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.006	0.010	0.583	0.874	1543
Emancipative val.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.021	0.010	0.027	0.080	1783
Emancipative val.	US	H4	Overall	0.020	0.005	0.000	0.001	1983
Emancipative val.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.031	0.016	0.051	0.123	1077
Emancipative val.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.033	0.011	0.002	0.008	1609
Emancipative val.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.004	0.011	0.680	0.893	1802
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.014	0.003	0.000		5951
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.010	0.009	0.234		3222
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.007	0.006	0.265		4638

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Table S11 – continued from previous page

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	Estimate	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.009	0.006	0.120		5241
Institutional trust	PL	H4	Overall	0.005	0.005	0.337	0.755	1967
Institutional trust	PL	H5	Cross-party	−0.003	0.013	0.804	0.868	1271
Institutional trust	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.010	0.010	0.318	0.755	1486
Institutional trust	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	−0.005	0.010	0.629	0.755	1656
Institutional trust	SK	H4	Overall	0.004	0.005	0.431	0.755	2001
Institutional trust	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.011	0.015	0.470	0.755	874
Institutional trust	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.002	0.010	0.868	0.868	1543
Institutional trust	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.007	0.009	0.410	0.755	1783
Institutional trust	US	H4	Overall	−0.003	0.005	0.583	0.755	1983
Institutional trust	US	H5	Cross-party	−0.014	0.013	0.257	0.755	1077
Institutional trust	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.006	0.009	0.515	0.755	1609
Institutional trust	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.006	0.009	0.485	0.755	1802
Institutional trust	Pooled	H4	Overall	−0.002	0.003	0.428		5951
Institutional trust	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	−0.009	0.008	0.230		3222
Institutional trust	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.000	0.005	0.991		4638
Institutional trust	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.004	0.005	0.450		5241
Political tolerance	PL	H4	Overall	0.010	0.005	0.027	0.080	1967
Political tolerance	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.021	0.011	0.053	0.091	1271
Political tolerance	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.017	0.009	0.053	0.091	1486
Political tolerance	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.002	0.009	0.785	0.785	1656
Political tolerance	SK	H4	Overall	0.003	0.005	0.551	0.661	2001
Political tolerance	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.014	0.014	0.310	0.413	874
Political tolerance	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.020	0.010	0.040	0.091	1543
Political tolerance	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.003	0.008	0.678	0.740	1783
Political tolerance	US	H4	Overall	0.015	0.004	0.000	0.005	1983
Political tolerance	US	H5	Cross-party	0.028	0.012	0.024	0.080	1077
Political tolerance	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.012	0.008	0.156	0.234	1609
Political tolerance	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.027	0.008	0.001	0.007	1802
Political tolerance	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.010	0.003	0.000		5951
Political tolerance	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.022	0.007	0.003		3222
Political tolerance	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.013	0.005	0.009		4638
Political tolerance	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.005	0.014		5241
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H4	Overall	0.050	0.005	0.000	0.000	1967
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.042	0.014	0.002	0.003	1271
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.023	0.010	0.026	0.034	1486
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.036	0.011	0.001	0.001	1656
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H4	Overall	0.023	0.005	0.000	0.000	2001
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.019	0.017	0.258	0.258	874
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.037	0.011	0.001	0.001	1543
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.018	0.010	0.065	0.071	1783
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H4	Overall	0.045	0.006	0.000	0.000	1983
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.057	0.016	0.000	0.001	1077
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.049	0.012	0.000	0.000	1609
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.024	0.012	0.041	0.049	1802
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.041	0.003	0.000		5951
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.044	0.009	0.000		3222
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.041	0.006	0.000		4638

Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.027	0.006	0.000	5241
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Note: Coefficient estimates from linear probability models (outcome = 1 if the respondent chose the pro-democratic over the anti-democratic candidate) estimated on 12 conjoint tasks per respondent. "Overall" = pro-democratic vs. undemocratic candidate choice; "Cross-party" = pro-democratic out-party vs. undemocratic in-party; "Cross-ideology" = pro-democratic ideologically distal vs. undemocratic ideologically proximate. Models include full controls. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Q-values = Benjamini-Hochberg q-values, adjusted p-values that controls the false discovery rate (FDR), implemented within each political-culture measure across the 12 preregistered country-by-scenario tests.

13. Linear Probability Model Results, Basic Controls

Table S12. LPM results, basic controls, exact vs. FDR corrected p-values.

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	Estimate	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H4	Overall	0.007	0.005	0.140	0.240	1967
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.024	0.012	0.056	0.169	1271
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.002	0.010	0.819	0.906	1486
Auth. values (rev)	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	-0.015	0.010	0.108	0.216	1656
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H4	Overall	0.001	0.005	0.906	0.906	2001
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H5	Cross-party	-0.003	0.013	0.835	0.906	874
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	-0.004	0.009	0.705	0.906	1543
Auth. values (rev)	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.009	0.008	0.270	0.406	1783
Auth. values (rev)	US	H4	Overall	0.024	0.005	0.000	0.000	1983
Auth. values (rev)	US	H5	Cross-party	0.039	0.012	0.002	0.012	1077
Auth. values (rev)	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.015	0.009	0.091	0.216	1609
Auth. values (rev)	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.020	0.009	0.030	0.119	1802
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.012	0.003	0.000		5951
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.022	0.007	0.003		3222
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.006	0.005	0.290		4638
Auth. values (rev)	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.006	0.005	0.238		5241
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H4	Overall	0.026	0.005	0.000	0.000	1967
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.027	0.012	0.021	0.028	1271
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.029	0.010	0.003	0.004	1486
Democ-autoc pref.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.010	0.248	0.248	1656
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H4	Overall	0.032	0.004	0.000	0.000	2001
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.025	0.014	0.077	0.092	874
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.032	0.009	0.000	0.001	1543
Democ-autoc pref.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.024	0.008	0.003	0.005	1783
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H4	Overall	0.060	0.005	0.000	0.000	1983
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.090	0.013	0.000	0.000	1077
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.015	0.010	0.134	0.146	1609
Democ-autoc pref.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.034	0.010	0.000	0.001	1802
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.039	0.003	0.000		5951
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.047	0.007	0.000		3222
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.025	0.005	0.000		4638
Democ-autoc pref.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.023	0.005	0.000		5241
Emancipative val.	PL	H4	Overall	0.015	0.005	0.002	0.004	1967
Emancipative val.	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.013	0.012	0.304	0.364	1271
Emancipative val.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.009	0.010	0.334	0.365	1486
Emancipative val.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.002	0.010	0.860	0.860	1656
Emancipative val.	SK	H4	Overall	0.031	0.005	0.000	0.000	2001
Emancipative val.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.024	0.014	0.102	0.152	874
Emancipative val.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.014	0.009	0.146	0.194	1543
Emancipative val.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.031	0.009	0.000	0.001	1783
Emancipative val.	US	H4	Overall	0.047	0.005	0.000	0.000	1983
Emancipative val.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.073	0.014	0.000	0.000	1077
Emancipative val.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.044	0.009	0.000	0.000	1609
Emancipative val.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.026	0.009	0.005	0.009	1802
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.033	0.003	0.000		5951
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.038	0.008	0.000		3222
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.022	0.005	0.000		4638

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Table S12 – continued from previous page

Pol. Cult. Measure	Sample	Hyp.	Scenario	Estimate	SE	P-val.	Q-val.	N
Emancipative val.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.021	0.005	0.000		5241
Institutional trust	PL	H4	Overall	0.007	0.005	0.222	0.443	1967
Institutional trust	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.001	0.013	0.942	0.942	1271
Institutional trust	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.015	0.010	0.129	0.387	1486
Institutional trust	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	−0.004	0.010	0.719	0.863	1656
Institutional trust	SK	H4	Overall	0.006	0.005	0.199	0.443	2001
Institutional trust	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.015	0.015	0.309	0.464	874
Institutional trust	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.006	0.009	0.543	0.725	1543
Institutional trust	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.010	0.009	0.258	0.443	1783
Institutional trust	US	H4	Overall	−0.011	0.005	0.027	0.213	1983
Institutional trust	US	H5	Cross-party	−0.027	0.013	0.035	0.213	1077
Institutional trust	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.015	0.009	0.098	0.387	1609
Institutional trust	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.001	0.009	0.894	0.942	1802
Institutional trust	Pooled	H4	Overall	−0.004	0.003	0.140		5951
Institutional trust	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	−0.010	0.008	0.187		3222
Institutional trust	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	−0.001	0.005	0.812		4638
Institutional trust	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.003	0.005	0.521		5241
Political tolerance	PL	H4	Overall	0.022	0.004	0.000	0.000	1967
Political tolerance	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.030	0.011	0.004	0.008	1271
Political tolerance	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.026	0.009	0.002	0.005	1486
Political tolerance	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.010	0.009	0.247	0.247	1656
Political tolerance	SK	H4	Overall	0.011	0.004	0.016	0.021	2001
Political tolerance	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.021	0.014	0.134	0.157	874
Political tolerance	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.026	0.009	0.005	0.008	1543
Political tolerance	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.012	0.008	0.144	0.157	1783
Political tolerance	US	H4	Overall	0.029	0.004	0.000	0.000	1983
Political tolerance	US	H5	Cross-party	0.052	0.012	0.000	0.000	1077
Political tolerance	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.022	0.008	0.006	0.009	1609
Political tolerance	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.035	0.008	0.000	0.000	1802
Political tolerance	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.021	0.003	0.000		5951
Political tolerance	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.035	0.007	0.000		3222
Political tolerance	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.023	0.005	0.000		4638
Political tolerance	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.020	0.005	0.000		5241
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H4	Overall	0.052	0.005	0.000	0.000	1967
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H5	Cross-party	0.049	0.012	0.000	0.000	1271
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.032	0.009	0.000	0.000	1486
Sup. liberal democ.	PL	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.033	0.009	0.000	0.000	1656
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H4	Overall	0.037	0.004	0.000	0.000	2001
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H5	Cross-party	0.032	0.014	0.030	0.030	874
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.046	0.009	0.000	0.000	1543
Sup. liberal democ.	SK	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.030	0.008	0.000	0.000	1783
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H4	Overall	0.072	0.005	0.000	0.000	1983
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H5	Cross-party	0.105	0.013	0.000	0.000	1077
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.050	0.009	0.000	0.000	1609
Sup. liberal democ.	US	H6	Cross-ideo., redist.	0.042	0.009	0.000	0.000	1802
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H4	Overall	0.054	0.003	0.000		5951
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H5	Cross-party	0.064	0.007	0.000		3222
Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., gender	0.046	0.005	0.000		4638

Sup. liberal democ.	Pooled	H6	Cross-ideo., redistrib.	0.035	0.005	0.000	5241
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Note: Coefficient estimates from linear probability models estimated on 12 conjoint tasks per respondent. “Overall” = pro-democratic vs. undemocratic candidate choice; “Cross-party” = pro-democratic out-party vs. undemocratic in-party; “Cross-ideology” = pro-democratic ideologically distal vs. undemocratic ideologically proximate. Models include basic controls, i.e., excluding the other political culture measures. Standard errors are clustered by respondent. Q-values = Benjamini-Hochberg q-values, adjusted p-values that controls the false discovery rate (FDR), implemented within each political-culture measure across the 12 preregistered country-by-scenario tests.

14. Overlapping Item Robustness Analyses

Table S13. Potentially overlapping items in the liberal-democracy battery and the conjoint democracy treatments

Overlapping domain	Dropped support for liberal democracy item	Corresponding conjoint democracy contrast
Judicial independence	The [executive] should be able to ignore court rulings from judges appointed by opposing political parties.	<i>Anti-democratic:</i> Ignore court rulings by judges who were appointed by opposing parties. <i>Pro-democratic:</i> Respect all court rulings, even if judges were appointed by opposing parties.
Media freedom	The [executive] should be able to censor media outlets that are too critical.	<i>Anti-democratic:</i> Prosecute journalists who accuse the [executive] of misconduct without revealing their sources. <i>Pro-democratic:</i> Do not prosecute journalists who accuse the [executive] of misconduct, even if they do not reveal their sources.
Voting rights	We should rethink the universal right to vote since so many voters are poorly informed and easily misled.	<i>Anti-democratic:</i> Cut the number of polling stations in areas that support opposing parties. <i>Pro-democratic:</i> Keep all polling stations, even in areas that support opposing parties.

Table S14. ATMEs for support for liberal democracy, leaving out judicial item

Sample	Control Spec	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val	N
Poland	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.067	0.013	0.000	1486
Poland	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.049	0.015	0.001	1486
Poland	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.058	0.013	0.000	1656
Poland	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.063	0.015	0.000	1656
Poland	Basic	Cross-party	0.087	0.017	0.000	1271
Poland	Full	Cross-party	0.069	0.020	0.001	1271
Poland	Basic	Overall	0.098	0.007	0.000	1967
Poland	Full	Overall	0.091	0.008	0.000	1967
South Korea	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.085	0.013	0.000	1543
South Korea	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.063	0.015	0.000	1543
South Korea	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.048	0.012	0.000	1783
South Korea	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.020	0.013	0.147	1783
South Korea	Basic	Cross-party	0.057	0.020	0.005	874
South Korea	Full	Cross-party	0.030	0.024	0.208	874
South Korea	Basic	Overall	0.067	0.006	0.000	2001
South Korea	Full	Overall	0.036	0.008	0.000	2001
United States	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.094	0.013	0.000	1609
United States	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.089	0.016	0.000	1609
United States	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.081	0.013	0.000	1802
United States	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.043	0.016	0.009	1802
United States	Basic	Cross-party	0.197	0.018	0.000	1077
United States	Full	Cross-party	0.097	0.022	0.000	1077
United States	Basic	Overall	0.137	0.007	0.000	1983
United States	Full	Overall	0.079	0.008	0.000	1983
Pooled	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.089	0.007	0.000	4638
Pooled	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.076	0.009	0.000	4638
Pooled	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.063	0.007	0.000	5241
Pooled	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.043	0.008	0.000	5241
Pooled	Basic	Cross-party	0.118	0.011	0.000	3222
Pooled	Full	Cross-party	0.074	0.012	0.000	3222
Pooled	Basic	Overall	0.102	0.004	0.000	5951
Pooled	Full	Overall	0.072	0.004	0.000	5951

Note: Average treatment moderation effects (ATMEs) for support for liberal democracy, when leaving out the overlapping judicial item from support for liberal democracy scale. Full-control models adjust for the other political-culture measures. Standard errors clustered by respondent.

Table S15. ATMEs for support for liberal democracy, leaving out three overlapping items

Sample	Control Spec	Scenario	ATME	SE	P-val	N
Poland	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.050	0.013	0.000	1486
Poland	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.029	0.015	0.057	1486
Poland	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.034	0.013	0.011	1656
Poland	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.030	0.015	0.051	1656
Poland	Basic	Cross-party	0.078	0.017	0.000	1271
Poland	Full	Cross-party	0.059	0.019	0.003	1271
Poland	Basic	Overall	0.085	0.007	0.000	1967
Poland	Full	Overall	0.074	0.008	0.000	1967
South Korea	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.072	0.012	0.000	1543
South Korea	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.050	0.014	0.001	1543
South Korea	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.036	0.011	0.002	1783
South Korea	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.008	0.013	0.539	1783
South Korea	Basic	Cross-party	0.052	0.021	0.011	874
South Korea	Full	Cross-party	0.027	0.023	0.232	874
South Korea	Basic	Overall	0.059	0.006	0.000	2001
South Korea	Full	Overall	0.029	0.007	0.000	2001
United States	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.098	0.013	0.000	1609
United States	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.097	0.015	0.000	1609
United States	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.081	0.013	0.000	1802
United States	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.051	0.015	0.001	1802
United States	Basic	Cross-party	0.169	0.017	0.000	1077
United States	Full	Cross-party	0.075	0.021	0.000	1077
United States	Basic	Overall	0.122	0.007	0.000	1983
United States	Full	Overall	0.067	0.008	0.000	1983
Pooled	Basic	Cross-ideology, gender	0.081	0.007	0.000	4638
Pooled	Full	Cross-ideology, gender	0.065	0.008	0.000	4638
Pooled	Basic	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.052	0.007	0.000	5241
Pooled	Full	Cross-ideology, redistribution	0.031	0.008	0.000	5241
Pooled	Basic	Cross-party	0.104	0.011	0.000	3222
Pooled	Full	Cross-party	0.060	0.012	0.000	3222
Pooled	Basic	Overall	0.091	0.004	0.000	5951
Pooled	Full	Overall	0.059	0.004	0.000	5951

Note: Average treatment moderation effects (ATMEs) for support for liberal democracy, when leaving out the three overlapping items. Full-control models adjust for the other political-culture measures. Standard errors clustered by respondent.

15. Predicted Effects

Table S16. Predicted effects of 1 SD change in support for liberal democracy

Sample	Scenario	Control Spec	Δ 1 SD	CI low	CI upp	P-val	N
Poland	Cross-ideology, gender	Basic	0.032	0.015	0.050	0.000	1486
Poland	Cross-ideology, gender	Full	0.023	0.003	0.044	0.026	1486
Poland	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Basic	0.033	0.014	0.051	0.000	1656
Poland	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Full	0.036	0.015	0.058	0.001	1656
Poland	Cross-party	Basic	0.054	0.022	0.086	0.000	1271
Poland	Cross-party	Full	0.047	0.010	0.084	0.002	1271
Poland	Overall	Basic	0.051	0.041	0.061	0.000	1967
Poland	Overall	Full	0.049	0.038	0.060	0.000	1967
South Korea	Cross-ideology, gender	Basic	0.046	0.028	0.064	0.000	1543
South Korea	Cross-ideology, gender	Full	0.037	0.015	0.058	0.001	1543
South Korea	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Basic	0.030	0.013	0.046	0.000	1783
South Korea	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Full	0.018	−0.002	0.037	0.065	1783
South Korea	Cross-party	Basic	0.032	0.001	0.063	0.031	874
South Korea	Cross-party	Full	0.019	−0.016	0.055	0.250	874
South Korea	Overall	Basic	0.036	0.026	0.046	0.000	2001
South Korea	Overall	Full	0.022	0.011	0.034	0.000	2001
United States	Cross-ideology, gender	Basic	0.049	0.030	0.068	0.000	1609
United States	Cross-ideology, gender	Full	0.048	0.025	0.072	0.000	1609
United States	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Basic	0.042	0.023	0.061	0.000	1802
United States	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Full	0.024	0.001	0.048	0.041	1802
United States	Cross-party	Basic	0.118	0.088	0.147	0.000	1077
United States	Cross-party	Full	0.063	0.026	0.099	0.000	1077
United States	Overall	Basic	0.068	0.057	0.078	0.000	1983
United States	Overall	Full	0.042	0.029	0.055	0.000	1983
Pooled	Cross-ideology, gender	Basic	0.046	0.036	0.057	0.000	4638
Pooled	Cross-ideology, gender	Full	0.040	0.028	0.053	0.000	4638
Pooled	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Basic	0.035	0.025	0.045	0.000	5241
Pooled	Cross-ideology, redistribution	Full	0.027	0.015	0.039	0.000	5241
Pooled	Cross-party	Basic	0.069	0.051	0.087	0.000	3222
Pooled	Cross-party	Full	0.047	0.027	0.068	0.000	3222
Pooled	Overall	Basic	0.052	0.047	0.058	0.000	5951
Pooled	Overall	Full	0.039	0.033	0.046	0.000	5951

Note: Predicted increases in the probability of supporting the pro-democratic candidate in various samples and choice scenarios when support for liberal democracy is increased by one standard deviation, from zero, the sample mean, to one. Estimates based on logit models with control variable specifications as listed in Controls column.

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