

Democratic support and citizens' left-right self-placement in former left- and right- authoritarian countries

Supplementary File

Contents

A Additional Information	2
A.1 Regime Start- and End Dates	2
A.1.1 Overview Start- and End Dates	2
A.1.2 Validation Start- and End Dates	5
A.2 Distribution Year of Birth by Country	6
A.3 Democratic Support and Ideological Extremism	7
A.4 Correlates of the Left-Right Dimension	8
B Robustness Tests	9
B.1 Leave-One-Out Tests	9
B.2 Directional Analyses	10
B.3 Analyses by Country	11
B.4 Prodemocratic vs. Antidemocratic Citizens	12
C Explanatory Mechanisms	13
C.1 Country-Level Legacy Effects	13
C.2 Generational Differences	15

A Additional Information

A.1 Regime Start- and End Dates

A.1.1 Overview Start- and End Dates

1. Left-Wing

Albania from the establishment of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1946 to the first elections in 1991.

Armenia from the establishment of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1920 to the first democratic parliamentary elections in 1990.

Belarus from the establishment of the Russian Soviet Federative Republic in 1917 to the first democratic presidential elections in 1994.

Bosnia from the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945 to the first democratic general elections of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina held in 1990.

Bulgaria from the establishment of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1946 to the first democratic elections of the Constitutional Assembly held in 1990 in the Republic of Bulgaria.

Croatia from the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945 to the first (not fully democratic) elections of the Republic of Croatia held in 1990.

Czechia from the establishment of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1948 to the first democratic federal elections held in 1990.

E. Germ. from the establishment of the German Democratic Republic in 1949 to the first democratic elections in 1990.

Estonia from the establishment of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 to the first democratic parliamentary elections in 1992. Period does not include the Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1944.

Georgia from the establishment of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1921 to the first parliamentary elections in Georgia in 1990.

Hungary from the establishment of Hungarian People's Republic in 1949 to the first democratic parliamentary elections held in the Third Hungarian Republic in 1990.

- Latvia from the establishment of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 to the first democratic elections in 1990. Period does not include the Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1944.
- Lithuania Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 to the first democratic elections held in 1992. Period does not include the Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1944.
- Macedonia from the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945 to the first democratic elections in 1990.
- Moldova from the establishment of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 to the first democratic parliamentary elections in 1990.
- Poland from the establishment of the Polish People's Republic in 1947 to the first parliamentary elections in 1989.
- Romania from the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1947 to the first democratic general elections in 1990 in Romania.
- Russia from the establishment of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to the first democratic presidential elections in 1991.
- Serbia from the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945 to the general elections in 1992.
- Slovakia from the establishment of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1948 to the first democratic parliamentary elections held in 1990.
- Slovenia from the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945, to the first democratic parliamentary elections in 1990 in the Republic of Slovenia in 1990.
- Ukraine from the establishment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1919 to the first democratic parliamentary elections in 1990.

2. Right-Wing

- Austria from 1932 when Austro-fascist dictator Engelbert Dolfuss assumed his office as Chancellor to the first democratic Austrian legislative elections in 1945.
- Greece from the military *coup d'état* in 1967 to the first parliamentary democratic elections held in 1974 in the Third Hellenic Republic.
- Italy from the year Benito Mussolini entered office as prime-minister in 1922 to the first democratic general elections held in 1946.

Portugal from the *coup d'état* by Antonio Carmona in 1926 to the first democratic constituent assembly elections held in 1975.

Spain from the year Francisco Franco entered office as president in 1936 to the first democratic general elections in 1977.

W. Germ. from the year Adolf Hitler assumed office as Chancellor in 1933 and dictator to the first democratic federal elections in West Germany in 1949.

A.1.2 Validation Start- and End Dates

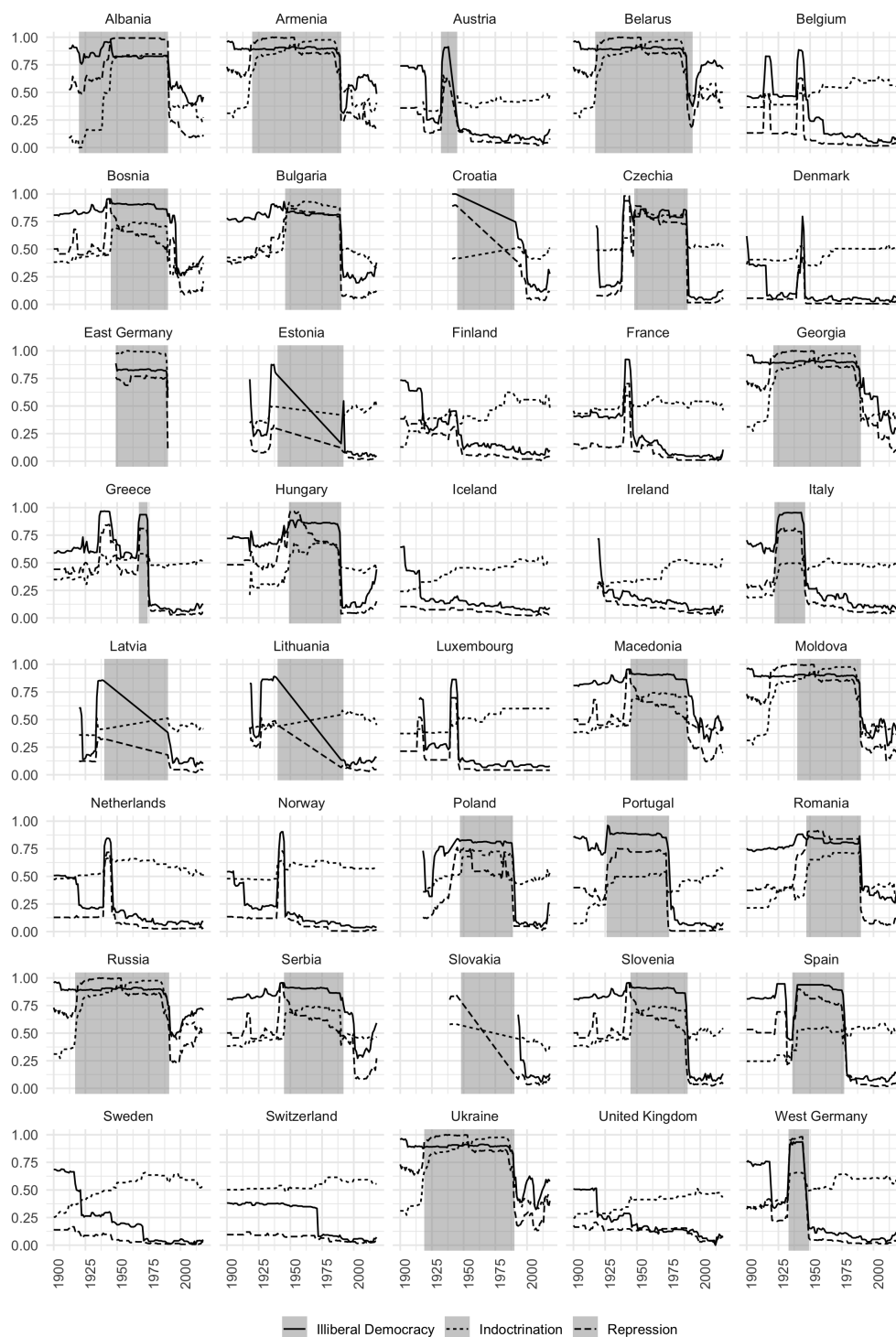


FIGURE A.1.2: Regime date validation. *Source:* V-Dem (2019) *Notes:* Figure represents the level of indoctrination and repression (indices produced by Dinas & Northmore-Ball, 2019 using V-Dem data) and the absence of electoral democracy (i.e., illiberal democracy). All indices were rescaled to a scale ranging between 0 and 1. The grey areas denote the period of time coded as authoritarian rule.

A.2 Distribution Year of Birth by Country

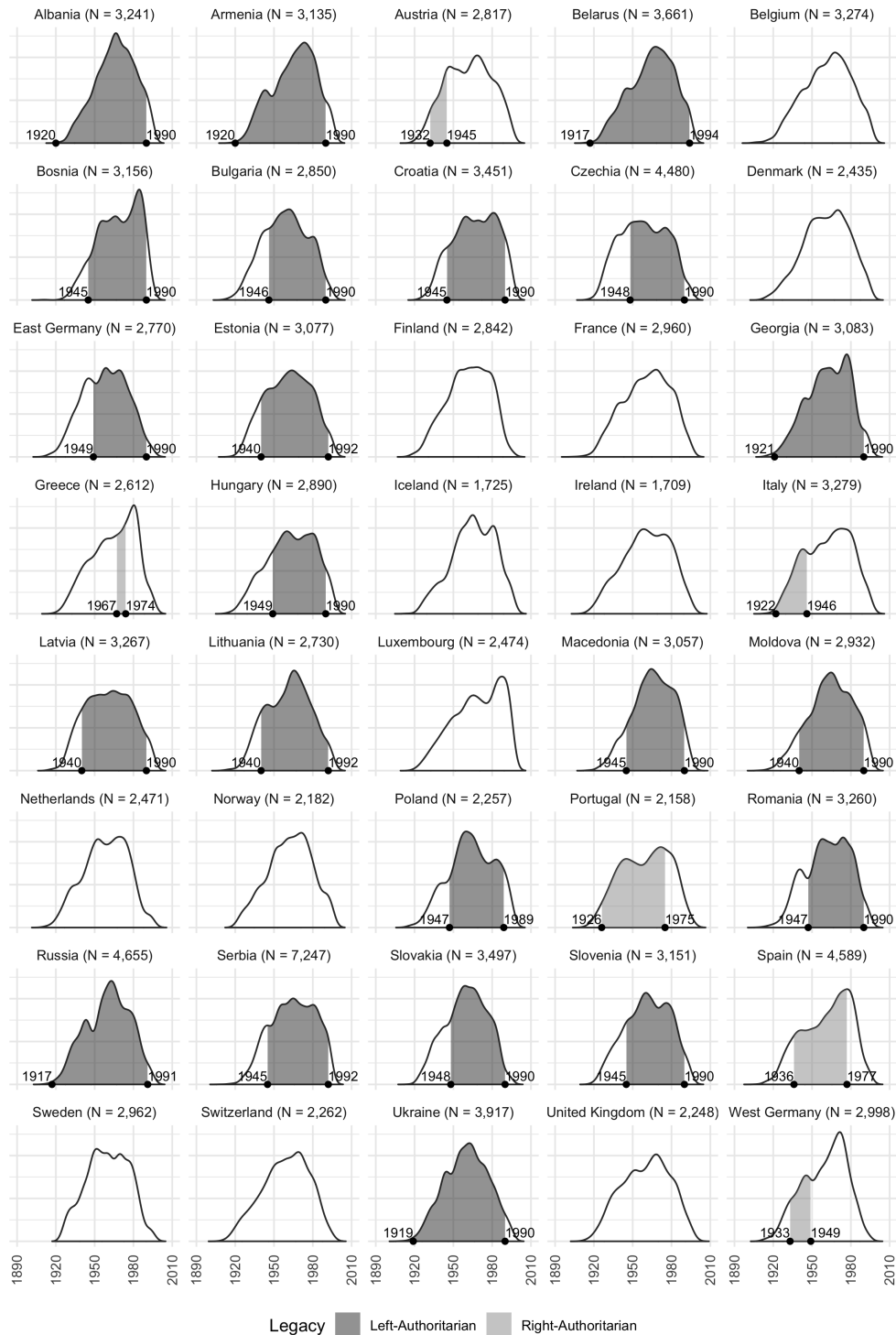


FIGURE A.2: Year of birth distribution. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure depicts a density function of respondents' birth year by country. The grey areas denote the periods of time coded as authoritarian rule.

A.3 Democratic Support and Ideological Extremism

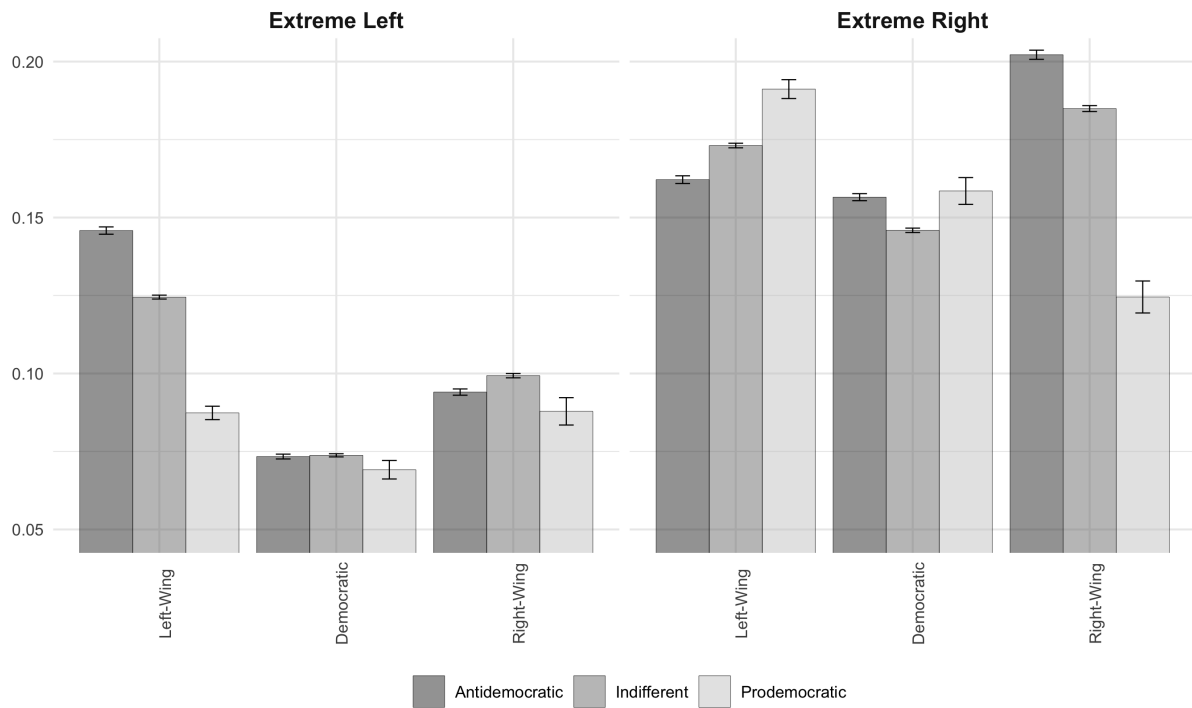


FIGURE A.3: Democratic support and ideological extremism. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure depicts the percentage of antidemocratic (DAP < 0), neutral (DAP = 0) and prodemocratic (DAP > 0) respondents identifying as extreme left (i.e., 0-1 on the left-right scale) and extreme right (i.e., 9-10 on the left-right scale) by legacy. The vertical whiskers represent a 95% confidence interval around the predicted percentage.

A.4 Correlates of the Left-Right Dimension

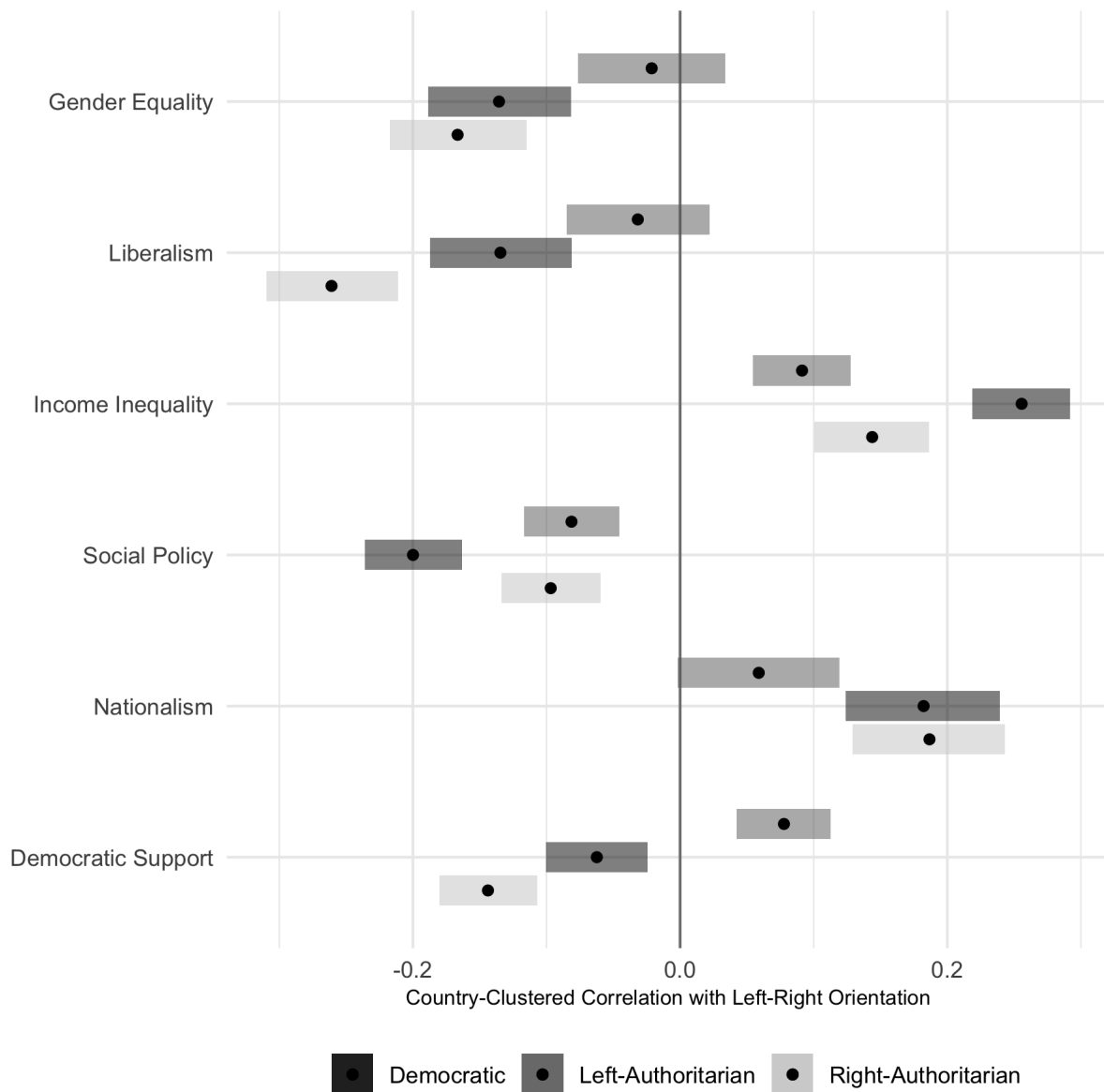


FIGURE A.4: Correlates of the left-right dimension. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure depicts the country-clustered correlates of democratic support by legacy. The horizontal bar represents a 95% confidence interval around the predicted correlation. The points represent the point estimates.

B Robustness Tests

B.1 Leave-One-Out Tests

Removed	M1a	M1b	M1c	M1d	M2a	M2b	M3a	M3b	M4a	M4c
Austria	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
Greece	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
Italy	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
Portugal	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
Spain	✓			✓	✓		ns		✓	
West Germany	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
Albania		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Armenia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Belarus		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Bosnia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Bulgaria		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Croatia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Czechia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
East Germany		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Estonia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Georgia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Hungary		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Latvia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Lithuania		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Macedonia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Moldova		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Poland		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Romania		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Russia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Serbia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Slovakia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Slovenia		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Ukraine		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Belgium			✓	✓						
Denmark			✓	✓						
Finland			✓	✓						
France			✓	✓						
Iceland			✓	✓						
Ireland			✓	✓						
Luxembourg			✓	✓						
Netherlands			✓	✓						
Norway			✓	✓						
Sweden			✓	✓						
Switzerland			✓	✓						
United Kingdom			✓	✓						

TABLE B.1.: Leave-one-out tests. *Source:* WVS – EVS (1994-2008). *Notes:* A ✓ indicates that the substantive conclusion of the analysis has remained the same after removing one country from the sample.

B.2 Directional Analyses

Model	Key Term	DV: Dem. Support						DV: LR Orientation						Robust?
		Gender	Education	Religiosity	Pol. Interest	Native	All	Gender	Education	Religiosity	Pol. Interest	Native	All	
M1a	Indep. Var.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
M1b	Indep. Var.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓
M1c	Indep. Var.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
M1d	Indep. Var. × Legacy: Left	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓
M1d	Indep. Var. × Legacy: Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
M2a	Indep. Var. × Experience	+	ns	+	+	+	+	ns	ns	+	ns	+	+	±
M2b	Indep. Var. × Experience	+	ns	+	+	ns	ns	+	+	+	+	+	ns	±
M3a	Indep. Var. × Exposure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ns	-	-	±
M3b	Indep. Var. × Exposure	+	+	+	+	ns	ns	+	+	+	+	ns	ns	±
M4a	Indep. Var. × Early Exposure	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	✓
M4b	Indep. Var. × Early Exposure	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	✓

TABLE B.2: DIRECTIONAL ANALYSES. *Source:* WVS – EVS (1994-2008). *Notes:* – indicates a significant negative effect, + a significant positive effect and ns an insignificant effect. A ✓ indicates that all analyses yield the same conclusions as the original analysis ± that they only partially yields the same results.

B.3 Analyses by Country

Country	Left-Right	Left-Right × Experience	Left-Right × Exposure	Left-Right × Early Exposure
Austria	-0.045***	-0.001ns	0.001ns	0.003ns
Greece	-0.036***	0.061***	0.008*	0.055**
Italy	-0.094***	0.001ns	0.000ns	0.009ns
Portugal	-0.034***	-0.046*	-0.001*	-0.030ns
Spain	-0.098***	0.006ns	-0.000ns	0.016ns
West Germany	-0.073***	0.004ns	0.000ns	-0.005ns
Albania	0.055***	0.056†	0.002**	0.023ns
Armenia	0.032***	0.079**	0.001**	0.006ns
Belarus	-0.003ns	-0.255ns	0.000ns	-0.290ns
Bosnia	-0.026ns	-0.005ns	-0.002**	0.031ns
Bulgaria	0.132***	-0.099ns	0.001†	-0.132†
Croatia	-0.029***	-0.0159***	0.000ns	-0.006ns
Czechia	0.116***	0.020ns	0.002***	-0.027ns
East Germany	-0.091***	0.079ns	0.002*	-0.109*
Estonia	0.071***	0.167**	0.001*	0.136*
Georgia	-0.011ns	0.021ns	0.000ns	0.034ns
Hungary	0.011ns	0.001ns	-0.001ns	0.024ns
Latvia	0.035***	0.020ns	0.000ns	0.053ns
Lithuania	0.027**	-0.005ns	-0.000ns	0.006ns
Macedonia	-0.003ns	-0.048ns	-0.001**	-0.026ns
Moldova	0.048***	0.014ns	0.001ns	0.000ns
Poland	0.027***	-0.020ns	-0.000ns	-0.019ns
Romania	0.038***	-0.092ns	0.000ns	-0.096ns
Russia	0.105***	0.092ns	0.000ns	0.076ns
Serbia	0.025***	0.002ns	0.000ns	0.004ns
Slovakia	0.053***	0.109†	-0.001ns	0.048ns
Slovenia	-0.009ns	0.040ns	0.001ns	0.094ns
Ukraine	0.089***	0.019ns	0.000ns	0.015ns
Belgium	-0.058***			
Denmark	-0.036***			
Finland	-0.037***			
France	-0.068***			
Iceland	-0.007ns			
Ireland	0.042**			
Luxembourg	0.001ns			
Netherlands	-0.076***			
Norway	-0.021*			
Sweden	-0.029***			
Switzerland	-0.047***			
United Kingdom	0.012ns			

TABLE B.3: Analyses by country. *Source:* WVS – EVS (1994-2008). *Notes:* *** p<0.001
** p<0.010 * p <0.050 † p<0.100

B.4 Prodemocratic vs. Antidemocratic Citizens

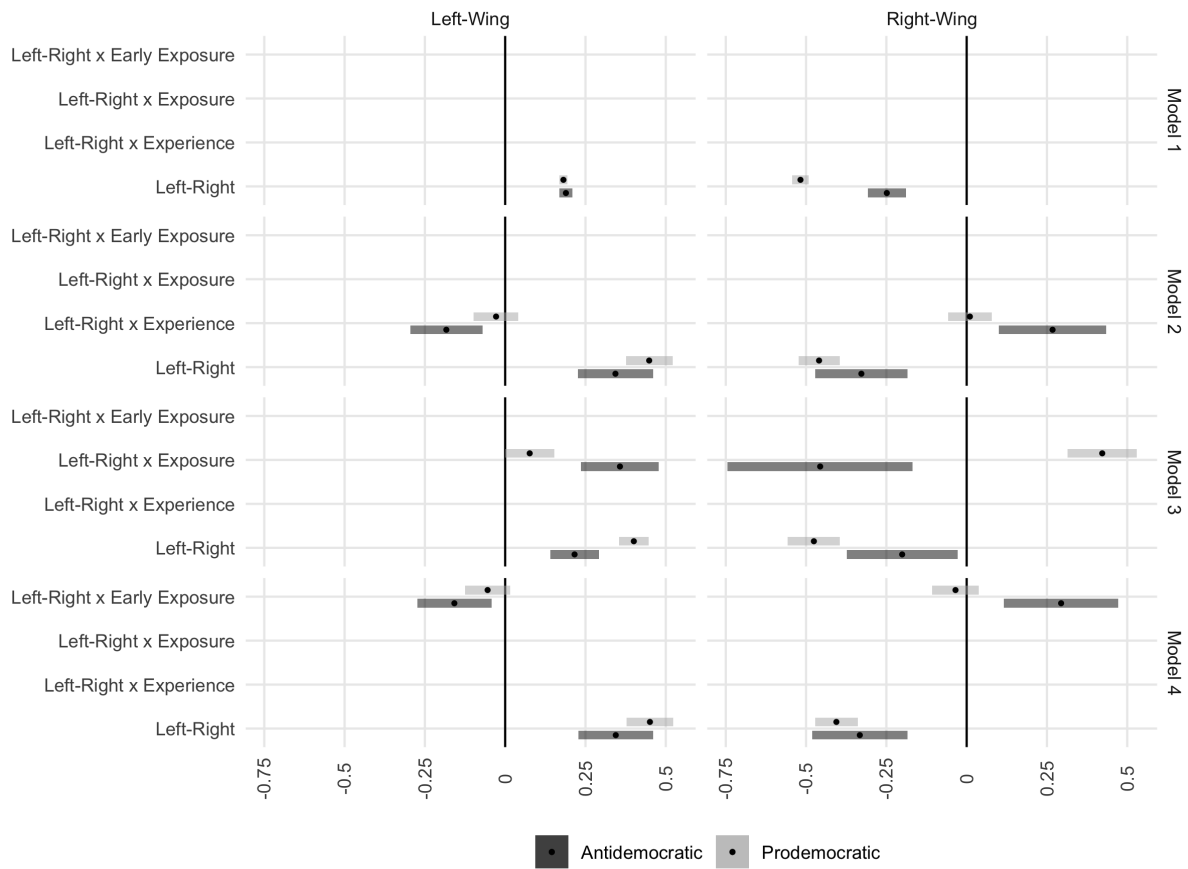


FIGURE B.4.: Effects for pro- and antidemocratic citizens. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure shows the results of analyses with the same specification as those presented in Table 2 and Table 3 in the main document, but with separate estimations for prodemocratic citizens ($DAP > 0$) and antidemocratic citizens ($DAP < 0$). The horizontal bars represent a 95% confidence interval around the predicted effect. The points represent the point estimates.

C Explanatory Mechanisms

C.1 Country-Level Legacy Effects

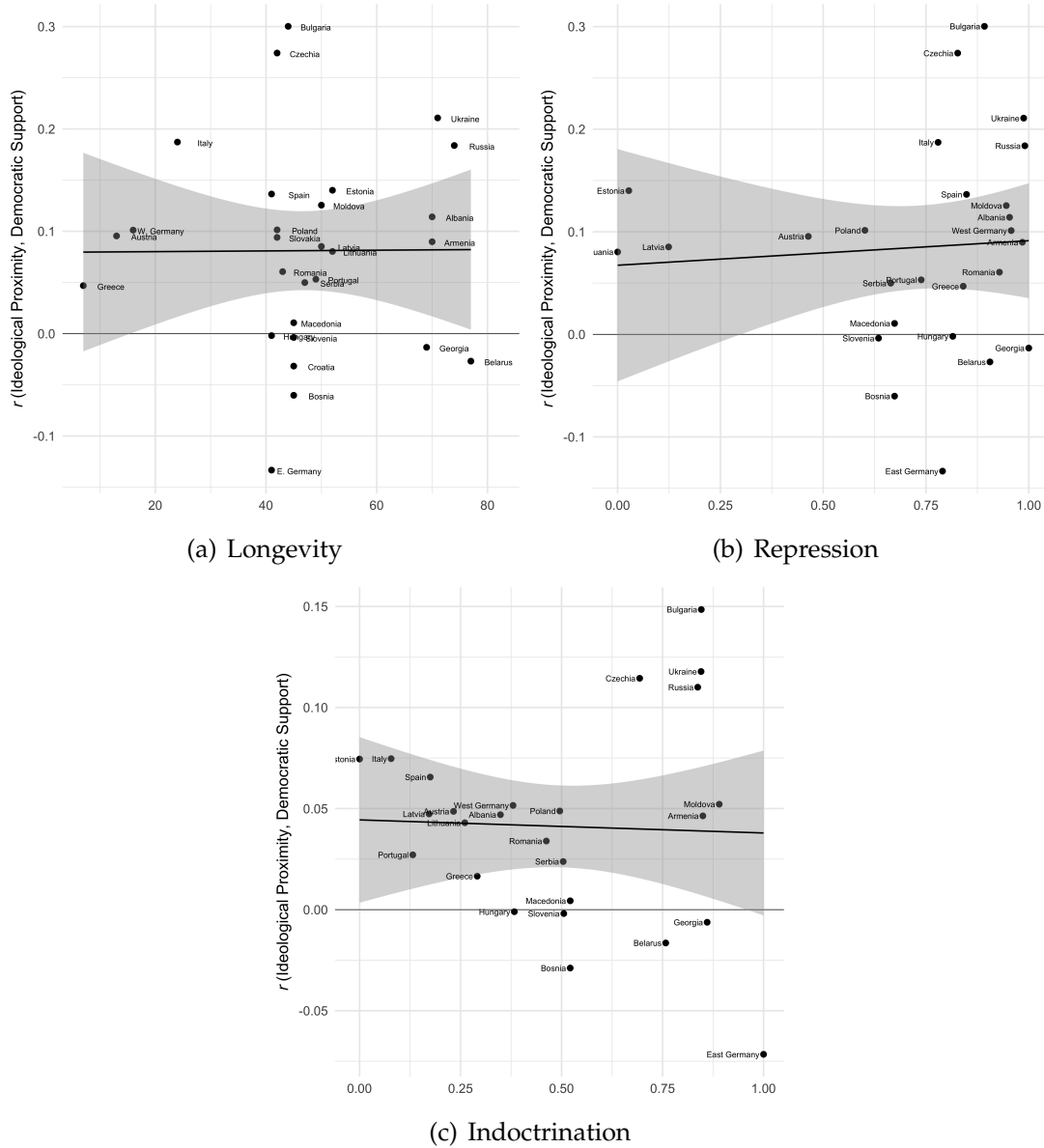


FIGURE C.1.1: The moderation effect of regime characteristics. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* The represents the relation between regime characteristics and the strength of the correlation between citizens' ideological proximity to the authoritarian predecessor and democratic support. The level of indoctrination and repression are indices produced by Dinas & Northmore-Ball (2019) using V-Dem data. All indices were rescaled on a scale from 0 to 1.

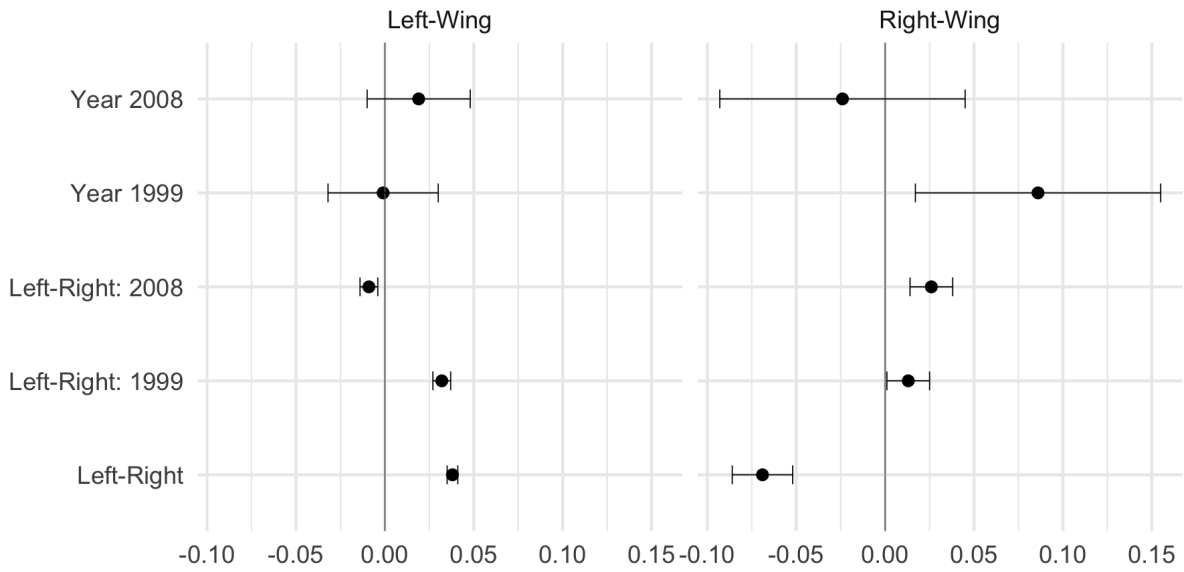


FIGURE C.1.2: The moderation effect of time. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure shows the results of a multilevel analysis with democratic support as the dependent variable. The interactions between left-right orientation and year can be interpreted as the effect of the distance of experiences with authoritarianism.

C.2 Generational Differences

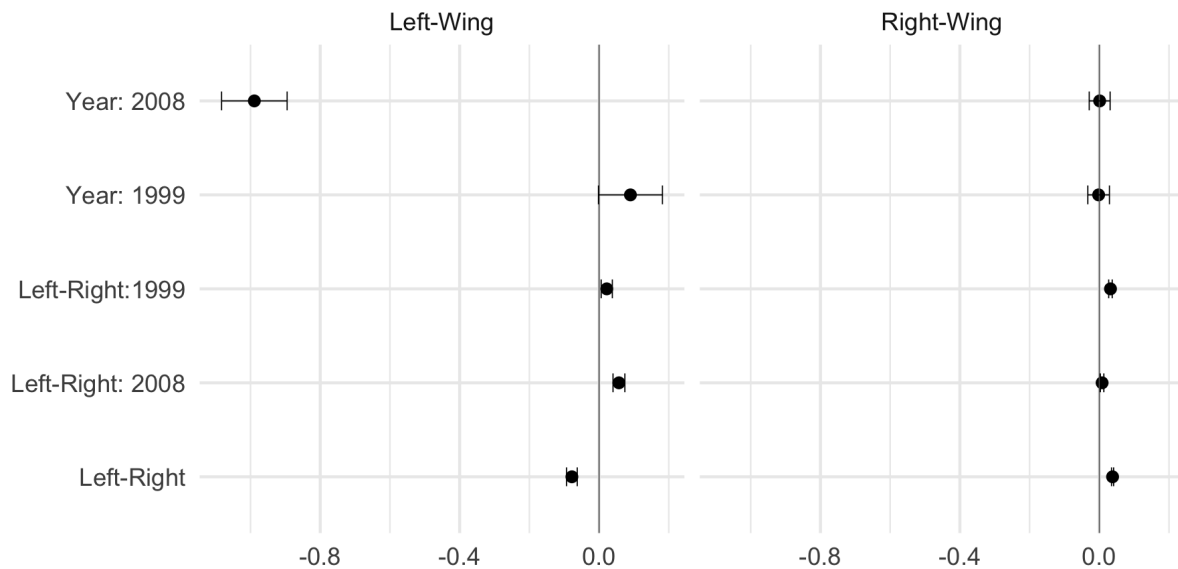


FIGURE C.2.1: Democratic learning effects. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure shows the results of a multilevel analysis among citizens with direct experiences with authoritarianism with democratic support as the dependent variable. The interactions between left-right orientation and year can be interpreted as "democratic learning effects"

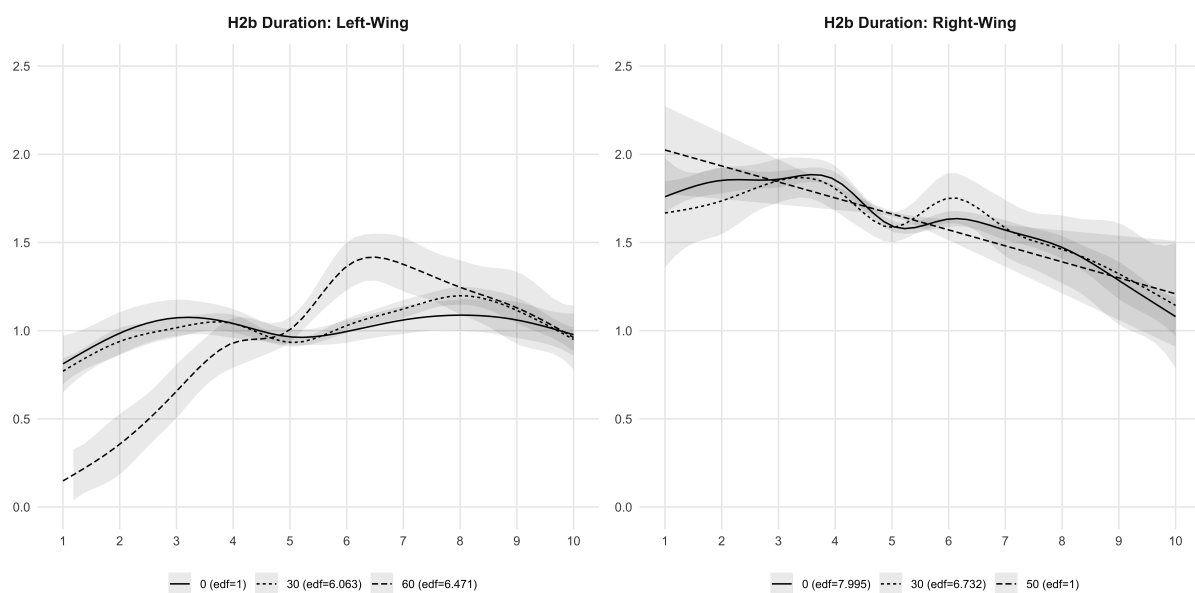


FIGURE C.2.2: Duration of exposure. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure presents a robustness test of a multilevel analysis using age of exposure as the main explanatory variable. The results show that the hypothesised legacy effect persists no matter the duration of citizens' exposure to authoritarian rule.

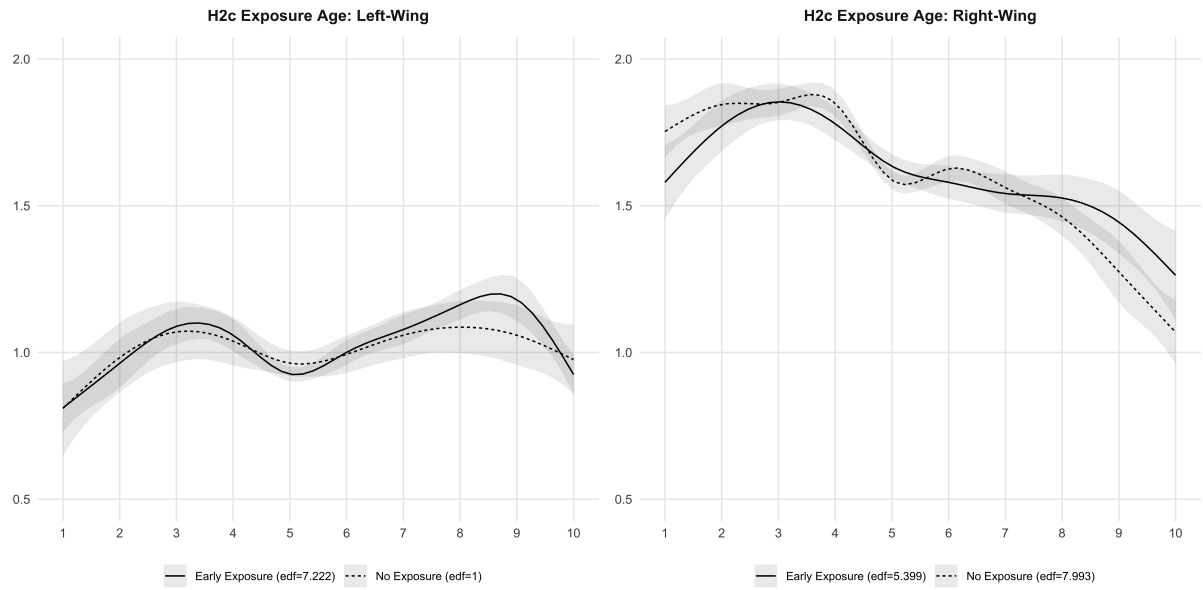


FIGURE C.2.3: Age of exposure. *Source:* EVS WVS (1994-2008) *Notes:* Figure presents a robustness test of a multilevel analysis using age of exposure as the main explanatory variable. The results show that the hypothesised legacy effect persists no matter the age at which citizens experience authoritarian rule