Annex

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Conceptualizing and Measuring Citizens' Preferences for Democracy – Taking Stock of Three Decades of Research in a Fragmented Field

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Annex A2: Overview of sources and sampling steps for the included studies

Source	Included in sampling step	Source
(Ackermann et al., 2019)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Akkerman et al., 2014)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Allen and Birch, 2015)	1: Database search	WebofScience
(Anderson and Goodyear-Grant, 2010)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Atkinson et al., 2016)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Avery et al., 2012)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Baviskar and Malone, 2004)	2: Backward citation	Zhai (2018)
(Bedock and Panel, 2017)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Bengtsson and Christensen, 2016)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Bengtsson and Mattila, 2009)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Bengtsson 2012)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Bernhard and Hänggli, 2018)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Bertsou and Pastorella, 2017)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Boscán et al., 2018)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Bowler et al., 2007)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Bowler et al., 2017)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Bratton et al., 2005)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Canache, 2012a)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Canache, 2012b)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Carlin and Singer, 2011)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Castanho Silva et al., 2017)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Chang, 2012)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Cho, 2015)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Chu et al., 2008)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Coffé and Michels, 2014)	2: Backward citation	Landwehr, Steiner (2017)
(Dalton et al., 2001)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Dalton et al., 2007)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(de Regt, 2013)	2: Backward citation	Bedock & panel (2017)
(Donovan and Karp, 2006)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Doorenspleet, 2015)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Dunn and Thornton, 2018)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Dyck and Baldassare, 2009)	3: Forward citation	Donovan, Karp (2006) via Sage
(Elchardus and Spruyt, 2016)	2: Backward citation	Tsatsanis et al (2018)
(Evans and Stoker, 2016)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Fatke, 2019)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Fernández-Martínez and Font, 2018)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Ferrín and Kriesi, 2016)	2: Backward citation	Landwehr, Steiner (2017)
(Font et al., 2015)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Fuchs and Roller, 2006)	2: Backward citation	Landwehr, Steiner (2017)
(Gerber and Chapman, 2018)	3: Forward citation	Miller et al. (1997) via Cambridge UP
(Geurkink et al., 2020)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Gherghina and Geissel, 2017)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)

(Gibson, 2001)	3: Forward citation	Miller et al. (1997) via Cambridge UP
(Grotz and Lewandowsky, 2019)	3: Forward citation	Donovan, Karp (2006) via Sage
(Hameleers and de Vreese, 2020)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Hansen and Goenaga, 2019)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Hawkins et al., 2018)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Heyne, 2019)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 2002)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Hieda et al., 2019)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Hu, 2018)	3: Forward citation	Miller et al. (1997) via Cambridge UP
(Huang et al., 2013)	2: Backward citation	Zhai (2018)
(Huang, 2017)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Jacobs et al., 2018)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Jamal and Tessler, 2008)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Kirsch and Welzel, 2019)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Kornberg and Clarke, 1994)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Lagos, 2008)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Landwehr and Steiner, 2017)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Lavezzolo and Ramiro, 2018)	1: Database search	WebofScience
(Lu, 2013)	2: Backward citation	Zhai (2018)
(Marcos-Marne et al., 2020)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Medvic, 2019)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Miller et al., 1997)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Mohrenberg et al., 2019)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Neblo et al., 2010)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Nikolayenko, 2011)	3: Forward citation	Miller et al. (1997) via Cambridge UP
(Oliver and Rahn, 2016)	2: Backward citation	Rico & Anduiza (2017)
(Oser and Hooghe, 2018)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Quaranta, 2018)	1: Database search	WebofScience
(Rapeli, 2016)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Rico and Anduiza, 2017)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Rico et al., 2017)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Roccato et al., 2019)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Rovira Kaltwasser and Van Hauwaert, 2020)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Sack, 2016)	1: Database search	WebofScience
(Schedler and Sarsfield, 2007)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Schuck and De Vreese, 2011)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Schulz et al., 2018)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Schulz et al., 2020)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(Shi and Lu, 2010)	2: Backward citation	Zhai (2018)
(Shi, 2008)	2: Backward citation	Zhai (2018)
(Shin and Cho, 2010)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Smith et al., 2010)	3: Forward citation	Donovan, Karp (2006) via Sage

(Spierings and Zaslove, 2017)	2: Backward citation	Bernhard & Hängli (2018)
(Spruyt et al., 2016)	2: Backward citation	Landwehr, Steiner (2017)
(Stoker and Hay, 2017)	2: Backward citation	Mohrenberg (2019)
(Tezcür et al., 2012)	3: Forward citation	Miller et al. (1997) via Cambridge UP
(Thomassen, 1995)	2: Backward citation	Quaranta (2018)
(Tsatsanis et al., 2018)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Ulbricht, 2018)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Van Hauwaert and Van Kessel, 2018)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Van Hauwaert et al., 2019)	3: Forward citation	Akkerman et al. (2014) via Sage
(VanderMolen, 2017)	2: Backward citation	Medvic (2019)
(Webb, 2013)	1: Database search	Scopus
(Welzel and Alvarez, 2014)	3: Forward citation	Dalton et al. (2007) via Google scholar
(Wojcieszak, 2014)	3: Forward citation	Donovan, Karp (2006) via Sage
(Zhai, 2019)	1: Database search	Scopus

Annex A3: Codebook

Study

Identifier of the study based on author surnames and year.

Year

Year of the publication. In some cases, the print publication is after the registered year (online version in that case).

Conceptions

Short enumeration of the studied conceptions of democracy.

Empirical Scope

Short description of the number of countries included in a study and their geographic scope.

Summary of measures and measurement strategy

Brief summary of the measures used and the chosen measurement approach.

A01 Liberal democracy

Is a liberal-democratic conception predefined on the conceptual level?
Also includes liberal democracy as representative democracy (as opposed to other models, such as direct democracy or stealth democracy), electoral/procedural democracy, liberalism, and pluralism. If a study further distinguishes between a liberal and an electoral dimension of liberal democracy, this is counted as one conception falling under A01.

1 = yes

0 = no

A02 Substantive democracy

Is a substantive conception of democracy predefined on the conceptual level?
Includes conceptions that refer to outcomes of governing, such as economic welfare and economic equality and sees democracy as instrumental for these outcomes.

1 = yes

0 = no

A03 Direct democracy

Is a direct democratic conception of democracy predefined on the conceptual level?
Includes conceptions that refer to direct participation of citizens in political decision-making.

1 = yes

0 = no

A04 Authoritarian democracy

Is a conception of democracy with authoritarian traits predefined on the conceptual level?

1 = yes

0 = no

A05 Stealth / Expert democracy

Is a stealth-democratic or similarly elitist / expert democratic conception predefined on the conceptual level?

1 = yes

0 = no

A06 Populist conception of democracy

Is a populist attitude that expresses a preference for organizing democratic politics along populist ideas predefined on the conceptual level?

1 = yes

0 = no

A07 None

Coded yes if no conception of democracy is predefined.

1 = yes

0 = no

A08 Number of concepts predefined

Numeric value, representing how many of the categories A01 to A06 have been predefined.

A09 Ex-ante conceptualization

Are distinctive conceptions of democracy defined on the conceptual level, i.e. before measurement and analysis.

(1) yes

(2) no

A10 Explicit concept specification done?

Only coded for studies that introduce the studied conceptions of democracy before the part on measures and findings. Are the measured constructs explicitly defined (before the empirical part)? Coded "yes" if there is a clear definition and some discussion on attributes of the construct. "Mixed" represents cases in which there is at least a general definition provided but no concept specification.

(1) yes

(2) no

(3) mixed

A11 What is stated on concept specification?

Short description regarding how extensively the measured constructs are predefined and specified.

B01 inductive dimension creation

Are survey items linked to conceptions of democracy or attributes of democracy only after the measurement and empirical analysis. Note that this may even be the case if a notion of democracy has explicitly be defined ex-ante, for instance, where an open-ended question is then used to see how people understand democracy.

1 = yes

0 = no

Notes on special cases:

Carlin and Singer (2011) and Schedler and Sarsfield (2007) use cluster analysis to arrive at different types that prefer different realizations of democracy, which partly represent authoritarian conceptions. However, they do formulate sets of indicators as attributes specifically of liberal democracy over which the cluster analysis is then performed. Given this anchoring of items in the liberal democratic conception, the study is categorized as 0 = "no".

The studies by Huang (2013, 2017) and Lu (2013) do not define and specify the measured conceptions of democracy ex-ante, but they do use indicators that – as becomes evident in the parts describing the data – have been formulated with such conceptions in mind. For a consistent coding, these studies have been categorized as using the inductive approach.

The contributions by Gibson (2013), Hansen & Goenaga (2019), and Nikolayenko (2010) derive attributes of democracy from the literature, but only provide evidence for these individual attributes, i.e. without linking them to e.g. models of democracy. These studies have been coded as "yes" (inductive approach) because if they were used to create larger dimensions or types from the attributes, this would have to occur post-hoc.

B02 # conceptions measured (including as a result of structure-identifying technique = inductive approach)

Numeric value representing the number of conceptions that are obtained in the analysis.

Coded as "Only features of democracy" if only attributes of democracy are examined, such as free and fair elections, but no larger conceptions of democracy.

B03 # items Liberal democracy

to

B07# items Populist conception of democracy

The number of items used to measure the studied conceptions of democracy for those studies that have linked indicators to conceptions of democracy ex-ante.

B08 # items None or open-ended

Number of items used in studies that do not link items to conceptions of democracy ex-ante, i.e. before measurement and analysis.

B09 Average # items

The average number of items used for those conceptions of democracy that are predefined and measured in a given contribution or when following the deductive approach (see B01 and B08).

B10 Aggregation strategy and resulting measures

Describes which aggregation approach has been chosen by means of the result of this measurement step: What minds of measure does a study obtain for the empirical part?

1) Separate preference dimensions:
Individual additive scales for conceptions of democracy. This comprises cases in which a single additive scale, such as a for populist attitude is created (e.g. Rico et al. 2017) or in which at least two dimensions – such as stealth and sunset democracy (Neblo 2020) or liberal and socialist democracy (Sack 2016) – are created but not combined into types. Studies that only look at attributes of certain democracy conceptions individually are also grouped under this category.

2) Reported associations with democracy:
Measured responses capture distinctive associations that people have with democracy (e.g. free elections or economic equality).

Example: The Categorization of responses to open-ended question under a liberal, participatory, and substantive notion of democracy (Canache 2012). In other cases, people have to select from a set of attributes the one they deem most important for democracy and these responses are linked to different conceptions of democracy (e.g. Baviskar/Malone 2004). If such associations are combined into types, the study is coded as (4) “Distinct types”.

3) Preference trade-offs:
Explicit measure as trade-off between conceptions of e.g. decision-making:

Example: preference for stealth democracy versus participatory democracy (e.g. Coffé/Michels 2014; Wojcieszak 2014)

4) Distinct types:
Generated mutually exclusive types based on combination of measures (i.e. multiplicative).

Example: Demand for liberal democracy AND for social democracy are combined into one type (Kriesi et al. 2016).

Notes on special cases:

The study by Mohrenberg et al. (2019) generates a multiplicative populist attitude based on two subdimensions – thus following a combinatorial approach – but measures stealth democracy as an additive index. As the study does not use the same dimensions to construct the two studied attitudinal types, it is grouped under the category “Separate preference dimensions”.

The study by Huang (2017) uses four questions from which respondents had to choose the most important feature. These responses are, however, linked to specific conceptions of democracy and added up to generate index variables. The study is thus coded as (1) “Separate

preference dimensions" even though the indicators themselves yield separate associations with democracy.

The study by Shi (2008) uses and open-ended question to probe what citizens associate with democracy and additionally uses six items to examine how much citizens endorse liberalism. As the main analysis capturing different conceptions of democracy is based on the open-ended question, the study is categorized as (2) "Reported associations with democracy".

C01 # countries

The number of countries studied.

C02 # countries coded

Categorized version of C01.

C03 Empirical scope (including C03a to C03e)

Coverage of world regions based on UN category scheme: Africa, Americas, Asia, Europa, Oceania.

C04 Scaling techniques used

Does the study use scaling methods, such as principal component analysis, exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, item response theory model, Mokken scaling.

1 = yes

0 = no

C05 Which scaling technique

Specification of C03: Which scaling technique does the study use?

C06 Combinatorial approach

> Does the study combine items or generated dimension into types for which these attributes are jointly necessary? This step can be data-driven, using e.g. cluster analysis or latent class analysis, or entirely guided by theory ("conceptually guided").

1 = yes

0 = no

C07 Which combinatorial approach

Specification of C05: Which combinatorial technique does the study use?

C08 Main findings on prevalence of attitudinal constructs

Short description of the main descriptive evidence regarding the prevalence of the examined conceptions of democracy.

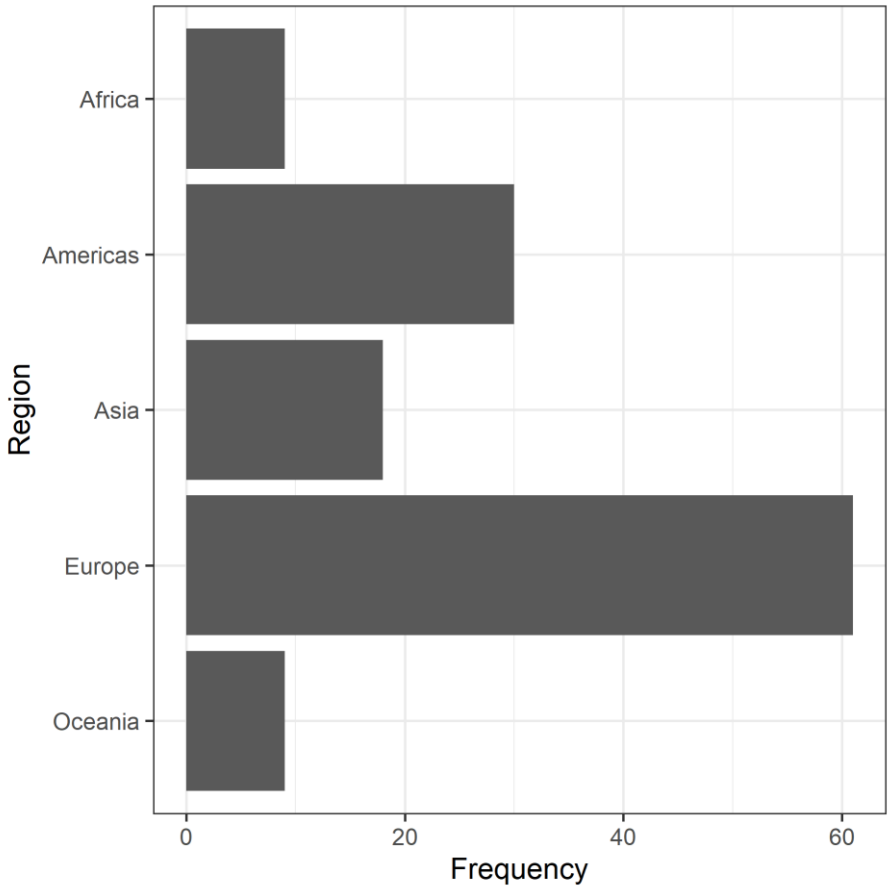
C09 Data sources

Origin of survey data (names of data sources/data sets, including custom surveys).

Annex A4: Trends in the coverage of concepts

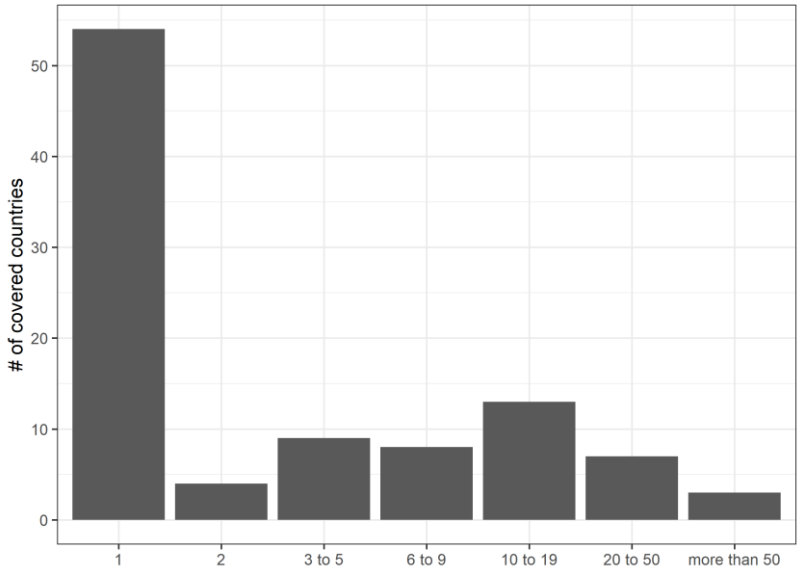
	1990s	2000s	2010s
Liberal democracy	2 (40%)	7 (29%)	33 (25%)
Substantive democracy	2 (40%)	3 (13%)	13 (10%)
Direct democracy	0 (0%)	6 (25%)	21 (16%)
Authoritarian democracy	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	6 (5%)
Stealth democracy	0 (0%)	2 (8%)	20 (16%)
Populist democracy	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	26 (20%)
None predefined	1 (20%)	5 (21%)	11 (8%)
Number of studies	3	16	79
Concepts per study	1.7	1.5	1.6

Annex A5: Geographic scope



Notes: Categories are based on the United Nations area codes. Frequency represents the number of studies in which a given region is covered.

Annex A6: Number of countries covered



Annex A7: Overview of data sources used in the reviewed studies

Survey	Frequency
International Social Survey Programme	2
European Social Survey	8
World/European Values Survey	8
Barometer series (Afrobarometer, Arab Barometer, Asia Barometer, Latinobarómetro, East Asia Barometer)	19
Election/referendum studies	19
Custom survey	38
Other	11

Annex A8: Most frequent items

Construct	# of unique items used	Five most frequent items
Liberal democracy	59	• People choose their leaders in free elections (9) • Civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression (6) • Women have the same rights as men (5) • that the media provide citizens with reliable information to judge the government (5) • On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 = worst, 10 = best), how would you rate the following approaches to political decision-making: Letting elected politicians make the decisions (4) & It is important for elected politicians to discuss and debate things thoroughly before making major policy changes (4) & In a democracy like ours, there are some important differences between how government should be run and how a business should be managed (4) & Openness to other people's views, and willingness to compromise are important for politics in a country like ours. (4) & It is important for the people and their elected representatives to have the final say in running government, rather than leaving it up to unelected experts (4) & That the media provide citizens with reliable information to judge the government? (4)
Direct democracy	31	• Important national issues should more often be decided in a referendum / How frequently use referendums (10) • Are referendums a good way to decide important political questions? (6) • Citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums (5) • On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0= worst, 10 = best), how would you rate the following approaches to political decision-making: Regular investigation of public opinion. (2) • On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0= worst, 10 = best), how would you rate the following approaches to political decision-making: Promoting citizen participation in and discussion on important political decisions (2)
Substantive democracy	6	• Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor (4) • People receive state aid for unemployment (4) • That the government protects all citizens against poverty (3) • That the government takes measures to reduce differences in income levels (3) • The economy is prospering (2) & Criminals are severely punished (2)
Populist attitude/Populist democracy	73	• The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions. (23) • The politicians in the Dutch parliament need to follow the will of the people. (18) • The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people. (18) • Elected officials would help the country more if they would stop talking and just take action on important problems (17) • I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician. (16)
Stealth/Elite democracy	12	• Our government would run better if decisions were left up to non-elected independent experts rather than politicians or the people (19) • Our government would run better if decisions were left up to successful business people (15) • Elected officials would help the country more if they would stop talking and just take action on important problems (12) • What people call 'compromise' in politics is really just selling out one's principles (11)

		• Politicians should lead rather than follow the people (4)
Authoritarian democracy	3	• Religious interpretation of the law an essential characteristic of democracy (6) • The army takes over when government is incompetent (6) • People obey their rulers (1)
None predefined	104	• People choose their leaders in free elections (7) • That the rights of minority groups are protected (6) • That the courts treat everyone the same [equality before the law (5); that the media provide citizens with reliable information to judge the government (5) ; that the government takes measures to reduce differences in income levels (5) ; that opposition parties are free to criticize the government (5)
Items for measuring trade-offs	9	• Some people say that what we need in this country is for ordinary people to make political decisions for themselves about what needs to be done and how. Others say ordinary people are too busy and should instead allow elected politicians and officials to make all political decisions. Still others say a combination would be best. Imagine a seven-point scale with 1 being ordinary people making all decisions on their own and 7 being elected politicians and officials making all the decisions on their own, while 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6 indicate in-between opinions on the two extremes. Which number from 1 to 7 represents how you think the system of governing Britain should work? (9, specific wording from Allen/Birch 2015) • Support for representative democracy compared with stealth democracy: "(A) Political decisions are best taken by nonelected, independent experts versus (B) Political decisions are best taken by elected politicians". (4, specific wording from Coffé/Michels 2014) • Support for direct democracy compared with stealth democracy was measured by one item: ""(A) This country would run better if decisions were left up to nonelected, independent experts versus (B) This country would run better if decisions were left up to the people." (3, specific wording from Coffé/Michels 2014)
Total (in all 98 studies)	263	

Notes: Number of studies using the item in the same or similar wording in parenthesis. Based on the list of items included in the supplementary material.

Annex A9: Ratio of items with unique ID to all items by construct

Construct	# Studies covering concept	# of items w. unique ID	# of items with redundancies	Ratio # unique / # with redundancies
Liberal democracy	42	59	119	0.5
Direct democracy	27	30	47	0.6
Substantive democracy	26	6	18	0.3
Populist attitude/Populist democracy	22	73	209	0.3
Stealth democracy	18	12	69	0.2
Authoritarian democracy	8	3	13	0.2
None predefined	17	104	148	0.8
Total (in all 98 studies)	98	263	660	0.4

Notes: A lower ratio means a higher concentration on a few items that are used in many studies.

Annex A10: Items with overlap between conceptions of democracy

Item ID	Item	Constructs
1	Elected officials would help the country more if they would stop talking and just take action on important problems	Stealth/elite democracy; populist democracy
2	What people call ‘compromise’ in politics is really just selling out one’s principles	Stealth/elite democracy; populist democracy
17	Important national issues should more often be decided in a referendum.	Direct democracy; populist democracy
19	Citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums	Direct democracy; liberal democracy; populist democracy
76	People can change the laws in referendums	Direct democracy; liberal democracy
80	The economy is prospering	Substantive democracy; populist democracy
81	Criminals are severely punished	Substantive democracy; populist democracy

Annex A11: Trends in the operationalization and aggregation methods

		1990s	2000s	2010s
Separate associations with democracy		1	8	6
Separate preference dimensions		2	6	57
Preference trade-offs		0	1	7
Distinctive preference types		0	1	9
Scaling method	yes	2	2	42
	no	1	14	37
Combinatorial approach	yes	0	1	10
	no	3	15	69
Both	yes	0	0	4
	no	3	16	75
Number of studies		3	16	79