

Appendix A: Survey Questions

Table A1: Survey Questions (PCP)

Latent Variable	Indicator	Survey Question
Support	Democracy (best)	Do you believe that democracy is the best form of government or is there another form of government which is better? 1=Other better, 2=Undecided, 3=Best
	Elections (best)	Do you think that elections are the best way to choose the government and the authorities of the country or do you not think so? 1= No, not the best way, 2= Yes, the best way
	Parties (needed)	Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements: We need political parties if we want democratic development. 1= Disagree, 2= Agree
	Parliament (needed)	Looking at things from the point of view of utility, do you think that in order for things to go well, we need a parliament? Or are you among those who think that we can do without it? 1= Could do without it, 2= Need parliament
Satisfaction	Satisfied	Are you completely satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy works in (country) today? 1= Completely Dissatisfied; 10=Completely Satisfied
	Content	How content are you with the present state of democracy in (country)? 1=Not at all, 2=Little, 3=To a certain point, 4=Totally
	Best form of gov.	Do you believe that the democracy that we have in (country) is the best form of government or is there another form of government which is better? 1=Other better, 2=Undecided, 3=In (country) best

Table A2: Survey Questions (NEB)

Latent Variable	Indicator	Survey Question
Support	Democracy (prefer)	With which of the following statements do you agree most? 1=For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime, 2= Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one, 3=Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
	Communism (return)	We should return to Communist rule. 1= Definitely Agree, 3= Somewhat Agree, 2= Disagree Somewhat, 4= Definitely Disagree .
	Parliament & Parties (rank)	If Parliament was closed down and parties abolished, would you: Definitely approve, 2= Somewhat approve, 3= Somewhat disapprove, 4= Definitely disapprove.
	Dictatorship versus Democracy (rank)	Here is a scale ranging from a low of 1 to a high 10: 1 means complete dictatorship and 10 means complete democracy. Where would you like our political system to be?
Satisfaction	Satisfied with Democracy	On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in our country? 1= Not at all satisfied, 2= Not very satisfied, 3=Fairly Satisfied, 4=Very Satisfied
	Current System (rating)	Here is a scale for ranking how our system of government works. The top, plus 100, is the best; the bottom, minus 100, the worst. 0=negative, 1=zero, 2=positive
	Elections influence politicians	Do elections make politicians do what people want? 1= Not at all, 2= Not much, 3= Some, 4= A lot
	Equal Treatment by Government	Under our present system of government do you think people like yourself are treated equally and fairly by government? 1= Definitely Disagree, 2= Disagree Somewhat, 3= Somewhat Agree, 4= Definitely Agree.

Table A3: Survey Questions for Regression Analysis (PCP)

Covariate	Survey Question
Gender	1=Male, 2=Female
Income	Based on your own estimation, where would you put yourself on the following monthly income scale? 1=Poorest, 10=Richest
Education	What is the highest level of education that you have attained? 1=No formal education, 9=University-level education with degree
Size of community	What is the size of your community? 1=Under 2000 inhabitants, 8=Over 500,000 inhabitants
Religiosity	Of the following statements, which one do you think applies to you most closely? 1=I am not religious because the teachings of the church are wrong, 5=I am religious and follow the teachings of the church
Winner	And which party did you vote for? Recoded by authors to reflect 0=opposition party, 1=party in governing coalition
Minority	In what language did/do you and your mother communicate with each other? 35 options, recoded by authors: 0=majority language of country, 1=non-majority language
Newspaper	How often do you read about politics in the newspaper? 1=Often, 2=Sometimes, 3=Seldom, 4=Never
Personal econ situation	In comparison with the last five years of the communist regime, would you say that your personal economic situation has improved, gotten worse, or remained the same? 1=Gotten worse, 2= The same, 3=Improved
Future personal situation	And regarding the future, do you expect that in the next year your personal economic situation will improve, get worse, or remain the same? 1=Get worse, 2= The same, 3=Will improve
Country econ situation	In comparison with the last five years of the communist regime, would you say that the economic situation of the country has improved, gotten worse, or remained the same? 1=Gotten worse, 2= The same, 3=Improved
Future country situation	And regarding the future, do you expect that in the next year the economic situation of the country will improve, get worse, or remain the same? 1=Get worse, 2= The same, 3=Will improve

Table A4: Survey Questions for the Regression Analysis (NEB)

Covariate	Survey Question
Gender	1=Female, 2=Male
Income	Family income quartile? 1=Lowest, 4=Highest
Education	What is the highest level of education that you have attained? 1=Minimum, 5=Vocational, 3=Academic secondary, 4=Higher
Size of community	Town size? 1=Rural, 2=Smaller town, 3=Smaller city, 4=Big city, 5=Capital
Religiosity	How often do you go to church or religious services? 1=At least once per week, 6=Never go to church
Winner	In this envelope is a ballot with the names of political parties. Please put a cross by the name of the party that you are likely to vote for if a parliamentary election were held next week. (Slovenia and Lithuania: In this envelope is a ballot with the names of political parties in the parliamentary election on [date last month]. Please mark the ballot according to what you did.) Recoded by authors to reflect 0=opposition party, 1=party in governing coalition
Interest	How interested would you say you are in politics? 1=Very interested, 2=Somewhat interested, 3=A little interested, 4=Not at all interested
Personal econ situation	When you compare the overall economic situation of your household with what it was before the big transformation in the economy. Would you say that in the past it was: 1=Much better, 2=A little better, 3=About the same, 4=A little worse, 5=A lot worse
Future personal situation	What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time? 1=Much better, 2=A little better, 3=About the same, 4=A little worse, 5=A lot worse
Country econ situation	Here is a scale for ranking how the economic system works: the top, plus 100, is the best; the bottom, minus 100, the worst. Where on this scale would you put the Socialist economic system before the revolution of 1989? -100=Worst, 100=Best
Country future situation	Where would you put our economic system in five years time? -100=Worst, 100=Best

Appendix B: Results from the New Europe Barometer Survey

This section presents our analysis using the New Europe Barometer survey (NEB). The NEB tracks trends in public opinion across post-communist states. It includes questions on economic and political behavior that have been used to measure mass responses to the transformations in Eastern Europe since 1991. The survey explores both divergence among former socialist countries and convergence in attitudes with European Union members. The 2004 wave, conducted during the autumn/winter of 2004/2005, covered 15354 respondents in 13 societies: Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine. We include findings from all countries except Belarus.

The NEB survey features a variety of questions that link to normative support for democracy as a political regime and satisfaction with the way democracy works in practice. To measure democratic support, we rely on four items. The first one asks whether democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. The second and third questions inquire whether respondents think their country should return to communist rule and whether they would approve or disapprove if the parliament were to be closed down and parties abolished. Lastly, the fourth indicator invites respondents to rank how democratic they would like their political systems to be on a ten-point scale. The questions thus tap into respondents' general attitudes towards democracy and communism, orientation towards specific democratic institutions, and preferred position between dictatorship and democracy. The full wording of survey questions are included in Appendix A.

The first indicator we select to build our latent variable for satisfaction asks how satisfied citizens are with the way democracy works in their country. The second takes respondents' ranking of their current systems of government on a scale from -100 (worst)

to 100 (best) and collapses the scores into three categories: negative, neutral (score of zero), and positive. The third asks whether elections make politicians do what people want, which taps into democratic responsiveness, representation, and accountability. Finally, the fourth indicator captures citizens' perceptions about whether individuals are treated equally and fairly by the government, which can be considered a liberal element of democracy (e.g. Ferrín and Kriesi 2016, Introduction). While individually none of these items fully reflects one's commitment to democratic ideals or their evaluation of how well these ideals perform on the ground, together they provide a fuller picture of respondents' underlying political attitudes.

Tables A5 through A8 show the results from the measurement models. Table A5 indicates consistently good overall fit across countries for democratic support. Table A6 presents coefficient estimates and R^2 values, which are all positive and significant at the 0.000 level. In most cases, the latent variable explains the greatest amount of variation in the first two indicators, which ask about respondents' general preference for democracy and approval of a return to communist rule. In sum, the support for democracy measurement model from the NEB dataset bolsters our hypothesis that citizens across Eastern Europe have similar views about democratic ideals.

Tables A7 and A8 present the goodness of fit statistics and the coefficient estimates for the satisfaction measurement models. Our proposed model fits the data extremely well. The only unexpected result is the negative correlation between the first indicator used to scale the latent variable and the other survey items used to measure it in the case of Hungary. Despite this, the general fit statistics for this country are excellent. Inspecting the distribution of responses for the satisfaction variables, it appears that the negative relationship stems from Hungarians' greater satisfaction with the way democracy works in their country. 13% of respondents chose "completely satisfied" with the way democracy works, while only 3% of respondents in the total sample did so. A lower proportion of Hungarian respondents (1.5%) also expressed "complete

Table A5: Support for Democracy–Goodness of Fit (NEB)

	Bulgaria	Czechia	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Russia	Slovakia	Slovenia	Ukraine	Pooled
χ^2	6.37	6.47	3.82	12.54	0.87	1.10	3.66	10.74	5.22	5.07	2.75	12.41	27.33
p-value	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.15)	(0.00)	(0.65)	(0.58)	(0.16)	(0.00)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.25)	(0.00)	(0.00)
RMSEA	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.03
CFI	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.97	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.98	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00
TLI	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.92	1.00	1.01	0.99	0.95	0.98	0.99	1.00	0.96	0.99
BIC	-7.84	-7.28	-9.85	-1.20	-12.84	-2.95	-10.03	-3.25	-10.05	-8.80	-11.05	-2.77	8.20
N	1216	967	930	967	951	1111	941	1092	2066	1029	996	1987	14253

Table A6: Results for Support Measurement Models (NEB)

	Bulgaria			Czechia			Estonia			Hungary			Latvia			Lithuania		
	Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2	
Democracy (prefer)	1.00	0.55		1.00	0.65		1.00	0.41		1.00	0.41		1.00	0.50		1.00	0.60	
	(0.00)	(0.05)		(0.00)	(0.04)		(0.00)	(0.05)		(0.00)	(0.07)		(0.00)	(0.05)		(0.00)	(0.05)	
Communism (return)	1.02	0.57		0.90	0.52		0.94	0.36		1.07	0.47		0.91	0.42		0.69	0.29	
	(0.06)	(0.04)		(0.05)	(0.04)		(0.09)	(0.05)		(0.13)	(0.07)		(0.07)	(0.05)		(0.08)	(0.05)	
Parl. & Parties (abolish)	0.77	0.32		0.78	0.39		0.83	0.28		0.94	0.36		0.83	0.34		0.69	0.29	
	(0.05)	(0.04)		(0.05)	(0.04)		(0.09)	(0.05)		(0.11)	(0.06)		(0.07)	(0.04)		(0.08)	(0.04)	
Dictator v. Dem. (rank)	0.71	0.28		0.82	0.43		1.01	0.41		0.72	0.21		0.97	0.47		0.70	0.29	
	(0.05)	(0.03)		(0.05)	(0.04)		(0.10)	(0.05)		(0.10)	(0.04)		(0.07)	(0.04)		(0.07)	(0.04)	
	Poland			Romania			Russia			Slovakia			Slovenia			Ukraine		
	Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2		Coef.	R^2	
Democracy (prefer)	1.00	0.45		1.00	0.27		1.00	0.26		1.00	0.48		1.00	0.50		1.00	0.56	
	(0.00)	(0.06)		(0.00)	(0.05)		(0.00)	(0.04)		(0.00)	(0.05)		(0.00)	(0.06)		(0.00)	(0.05)	
Communism (return)	1.07	0.51		1.34	0.48		1.05	0.28		1.15	0.63		0.81	0.33		0.82	0.37	
	(0.10)	(0.06)		(0.15)	(0.06)		(0.12)	(0.04)		(0.09)	(0.06)		(0.08)	(0.05)		(0.06)	(0.04)	
Parl. & Parties (abolish)	0.84	0.32		1.27	0.43		0.59	0.09		0.85	0.34		0.95	0.46		0.50	0.14	
	(0.08)	(0.05)		(0.14)	(0.05)		(0.08)	(0.02)		(0.06)	(0.04)		(0.09)	(0.06)		(0.05)	(0.03)	
Dictator v. Dem. (rank)	0.69	0.21		0.91	0.22		0.85	0.19		0.70	0.23		0.72	0.26		0.80	0.36	
	(0.07)	(0.04)		(0.11)	(0.04)		(0.10)	(0.03)		(0.06)	(0.03)		(0.07)	(0.04)		(0.06)	(0.04)	

S.E. in parentheses

All estimates are significant at $p < 0.001$

dissatisfaction” on this indicator compared to 17% of respondents in the total sample. The distribution of the other variables in the Hungarian sample is similar to the total sample. This finding demonstrates the value of using confirmatory factor analysis to gain a more accurate understanding of complex concepts like satisfaction with democracy. That is, if we were to measure satisfaction through a single indicator, Hungarians would seem to be extremely satisfied with democracy on the ground, which would be misleading. Judging by the other three indicators, Hungarians indeed express skepticism toward their political system. If we instead combined all four survey items into an index, we would get a single score for satisfaction that might make us lose sight of whether these indicators relate and scale together in a linear fashion.

To provide further evidence that the two concepts are distinct, we also present single versus two factor models in Table A9. The substantially improved overall fit of the latter model in every country confirms that satisfaction and support are conceptually different. Table A10 then shows the correlation between the two latent variables. Apart from the Hungarian exception, all values are positive and statistically significant below the 0.001 level. They range from 0.15 to 0.52, which bolsters our confidence in our model specification, since we hypothesized that the two attitudes are related.

We proceed to replicate the two SEM models from the main text. The first model in table A11 regresses support on satisfaction, whereas the second explores the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between the two attitudes. We include a battery of exogenous covariates capturing the number of years a respondent lived under communism, her vote choice, age, gender, religiosity, education, income quartile, community size, interest in politics, trust in the incumbent parliament, and evaluations of her family’ and country’s current and future economic situation.¹⁵

¹⁵We did our best to replicate the model specification we used with the PCP survey. The only variable that we could not control for was minority status, as it was not asked in the same way across countries, and not asked at all in Poland and the Czech Republic in the 2004 wave of the NEB. In addition, winner is measured through vote intentions; in other words, it captures whether the respondent plans to vote for a party in the current governing coalition (except in Lithuania and Slovenia, where respondents were

Table A7: Satisfaction with Democracy–Goodness of Fit (NEB)

	Bulgaria	Czechia	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Russia	Slovakia	Slovenia	Ukraine	Pooled
χ^2	6.30	8.00	3.66	4.84	8.25	1.37	8.34	10.09	7.15	2.72	0.94	1.33	4.59
p-value	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.50)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.26)	(0.63)	(0.51)	(0.10)
RMSEA	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01
CFI	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.99	0.99	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
TLI	0.99	0.98	1.00	0.98	0.97	1.00	0.97	0.96	0.99	1.00	1.01	1.00	1.00
BIC	-7.92	-5.75	-10.02	-8.92	-5.48	-12.65	-5.36	-3.91	-8.12	-11.16	-12.87	-13.86	-9.56
N	1225	966	937	974	956	1111	941	1096	2067	1033	998	1988	14292

Table A8: Results for Satisfaction Measurement Models (NEB)

	Bulgaria			Czechia			Estonia			Hungary			Latvia			Lithuania		
Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	Coef.	R ²	
Satisfied with Democracy	1.00 (0.00)	0.70 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	0.56 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	0.57 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	0.30 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	0.50 (0.05)	1.00 (0.00)	0.30 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	0.50 (0.05)	1.00 (0.00)	0.30 (0.04)	1.00 (0.00)	
Current system (rating)	0.84 (0.07)	0.59 (0.04)	0.92 (0.06)	0.47 (0.05)	0.91 (0.06)	0.47 (0.05)	0.90 (0.11)	0.25 (0.05)	0.90 (0.08)	0.41 (0.05)	1.14 (0.12)	0.38 (0.06)	0.90 (0.08)	0.41 (0.05)	1.14 (0.12)	0.38 (0.06)	0.90 (0.08)	
Elections influence politicians	0.75 (0.06)	0.53 (0.03)	0.73 (0.05)	0.30 (0.03)	0.71 (0.05)	0.29 (0.03)	1.09 (0.10)	0.36 (0.04)	0.58 (0.06)	0.17 (0.03)	1.03 (0.10)	0.31 (0.04)	0.58 (0.06)	0.17 (0.03)	1.03 (0.10)	0.31 (0.04)	0.58 (0.06)	
Equal Treatment by Gov.	0.92 (0.07)	0.65 (0.04)	0.93 (0.06)	0.49 (0.04)	1.03 (0.06)	0.61 (0.04)	1.23 (0.12)	0.46 (0.05)	0.84 (0.08)	0.35 (0.04)	1.04 (0.11)	0.32 (0.05)	0.84 (0.08)	0.35 (0.04)	1.04 (0.11)	0.32 (0.05)	0.84 (0.08)	
	Poland			Romania			Russia			Slovakia			Slovenia			Ukraine		
	Coef.	R ²		Coef.	R ²		Coef.	R ²		Coef.	R ²		Coef.	R ²		Coef.	R ²	
Satisfied with Democracy	1.00 (0.00)	0.48 (0.05)		1.00 (0.00)	0.49 (0.05)		1.00 (0.00)	0.52 (0.03)		1.00 (0.00)	0.55 (0.04)		1.00 (0.00)	0.39 (0.05)		1.00 (0.00)	0.61 (0.06)	
Current system (rating)	0.82 (0.08)	0.33 (0.05)		0.70 (0.07)	0.24 (0.04)		0.75 (0.04)	0.29 (0.03)		0.86 (0.06)	0.41 (0.04)		0.84 (0.10)	0.28 (0.05)		0.69 (0.07)	0.29 (0.04)	
Elections influence politicians	0.84 (0.07)	0.34 (0.04)		0.57 (0.06)	0.16 (0.03)		0.89 (0.04)	0.41 (0.02)		0.73 (0.05)	0.29 (0.03)		0.90 (0.10)	0.32 (0.05)		0.50 (0.06)	0.15 (0.03)	
Equal Treatment by Gov.	0.86 (0.07)	0.36 (0.04)		1.02 (0.10)	0.51 (0.06)		0.98 (0.04)	0.50 (0.03)		1.03 (0.06)	0.58 (0.04)		0.87 (0.10)	0.30 (0.04)		0.49 (0.05)	0.14 (0.02)	

S.E. in parentheses

All estimates are significant at $p < 0.001$

Table A9: 1 versus 2 Factor Models (NEB)

		Bulgaria		Czech		Estonia		Hungary		Latvia		Lithuania	
Factors		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
χ^2		203.08	54.64	91.61	28.27	202.48	13.84	153.83	41.50	228.58	50.90	127.22	22.56
DF		20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13
P-value		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05
RMSEA		0.09	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.10	0.01	0.08	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.07	0.03
CFI		0.94	0.99	0.98	1.00	0.91	1.00	0.88	0.97	0.88	0.98	0.92	0.99
TLI		0.91	0.97	0.97	0.99	0.88	1.00	0.83	0.95	0.83	0.95	0.89	0.99
BIC		60.84	-37.82	-45.88	-61.09	65.58	-75.14	16.04	-48.06	91.33	-38.31	-13.07	-68.63
N		1227	1227	967	967	939	939	982	982	956	956	1113	1113

		Poland		Romania		Russia		Slovakia		Slovenia		Ukraine		Pooled	
Factors		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
χ^2		160.84	20.61	314.05	35.10	234.83	44.89	114.21	27.87	127.34	44.98	182.09	40.25	1754.88	83.51
DF		20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13	20	13
P-value		0.00	0.08	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
RMSEA		0.09	0.03	0.12	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.02	0.02
CFI		0.92	1.00	0.77	0.98	0.94	0.99	0.97	1.00	0.93	0.98	0.93	0.99	0.93	1.00
TLI		0.88	0.99	0.68	0.96	0.91	0.98	0.96	0.99	0.90	0.95	0.90	0.97	0.90	0.99
BIC		23.88	-68.42	174.01	-55.93	82.14	-54.35	-24.62	-62.37	-10.80	-44.81	30.09	-58.55	1563.49	-40.90
N		942	942	1099	1099	2068	2068	1034	1034	999	999	1998	1998	14324	14324

Table A10: Covariances between Support and Satisfaction Latent Variables (NEB)

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	IV	LT	PL	RO	RU	SK	SI	UA	Pooled
Covariance	0.40	0.52	0.31	-0.23	0.30	0.34	0.30	0.15	0.20	0.46	0.33	0.35	0.32
S. E.	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01

As Table A11 indicates, the NEB models are largely consistent with the conclusions drawn from the PCP survey. Satisfaction is the greatest determinant of support, as seen by the magnitude of the coefficient estimate. Model 1 shows that a one unit increase in satisfaction (measured on a four-point scale) leads to a 0.61 increase in support (measured on a 3 point scale). By contrast, communist socialization has a miniscule, negative effect on normative support of -0.01. As expected, support for the governing coalition (winner) positively affects support. Greater trust in the national parliament and more positive assessments of the national future economic situation are associated with higher support for democracy as a political regime and satisfaction with the way democracy is practiced. Similarly, citizens who view their family's future economic situation positively exhibit higher democratic satisfaction. Richer, highly educated and more politically interested respondents also report higher levels of support and satisfaction with democracy. Lastly, more religious participants tend to show higher support for and satisfaction with democracy. This is logical in the post-communist context, where the communist regime repressed the Church and sought to eliminate its influence in social and cultural life.

asked about their vote choice in the previous election. Because Ukrainian respondents were not asked about their vote choice, Ukraine was dropped from the regression.

Table A11: NEB-SEM with Latent Variables

General Fit	Model 1 Support ON Satisfaction	Model 2 Reciprocal
χ^2	1760.04	1550.62
p-value	0.00	0.00
df	103	102
RMSEA	0.05	0.04
CFI	0.85	0.87
TLI	0.81	0.83
BIC	844.81	644.28
N	7228	7228
Support ON Satisfaction (SE)	0.61*** (0.02)	0.85*** (0.03)
Satisfaction ON Support (SE)		-0.78*** (0.09)
Support ON		
Communism (SE)	-0.01*** (0.00)***	-0.01* (0.00)
Winner (SE)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.06* (0.03)
Gender (ref:female) (SE)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)
Religiosity (SE)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Education (SE)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.067*** (0.01)
Political Interest (SE)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
Age (SE)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Monthly Income (SE)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Community Size (SE)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Satisfaction ON		
Winner (SE)	0.25*** (0.02)	0.37*** (0.04)
Age (SE)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01** (0.00)
Education (SE)	0.01 (0.01)	0.07*** (0.02)
Gender (SE)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Monthly income (SE)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.12*** (0.02)
Community size (SE)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)
Political Interest (SE)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.11*** (0.02)
Family econ. (past) (SE)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Family econ. (future) (SE)	0.12*** (0.01)	0.19*** (0.02)
Econ. system (past) (SE)	0.00*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Econ. system (future) (SE)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
R^2 (Support)	0.61***	0.53***
R^2 (Satisfaction)	0.56***	0.28***

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Appendix C: Additional Validation Tests

Voting is often overreported in surveys. In an attempt to move beyond self-reported voting behavior, we conduct additional validation checks with two attitudes that capture respondents' views on political participation. The first one reflects agreement that participation in political activities constitutes a patriotic duty. The second is disagreement that it "is always better not to get involved in politics because sooner or later you'll get your fingers burned." Democratically-minded citizens are likely to see political participation as a civic duty. After all, representative government would be impossible without elections. Furthermore, since participation is at the root of democratic governance, individuals committed to democracy would be more inclined to see political engagement in a positive light, disagreeing that it brings harm.

The table below shows that respondents who are more committed to democracy tend to see political involvement as a patriotic duty. Similarly, they disagree that it is better not to get involved in politics. These results increase confidence in our latent construct. They also suggest that higher democratic commitment is associated with higher - or at least more favorable views on - political participation.

Table A12: Support for Democracy as a Determinant of Political Participation (PCP)

	Patriotic Duty	Better Not to Get Involved
Support	0.115***	0.181***
(SE)	(0.018)	(0.017)
N	9545	9589
χ^2	30.845	49.422
p-value	(0.00)	(0.00)
df	5	5
RMSEA	0.023	0.030
CFI	0.992	0.987
TLI	0.984	0.974
BIC	-14.97	3.58

Better Not to Get Involved is coded so that higher values indicate disagreement.

*** $p \leq 0.001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$

Appendix D: Objective Measures of Political and Economic Performance

Next, we include country-level variables as a measure of objective performance. Specifically, we regress satisfaction with democracy on the quality of government index (available through the Worldwide Governance Indicators) and on GDP growth (available from the World Development Indicators). The first variable combines and averages the control of corruption, rule of law, and government effectiveness indicators. The second reflects the annual growth of the real economy. Both covariates are lagged - measured in the year preceding the implementation of the PCP survey in each country. Our substantive findings remain largely unchanged.

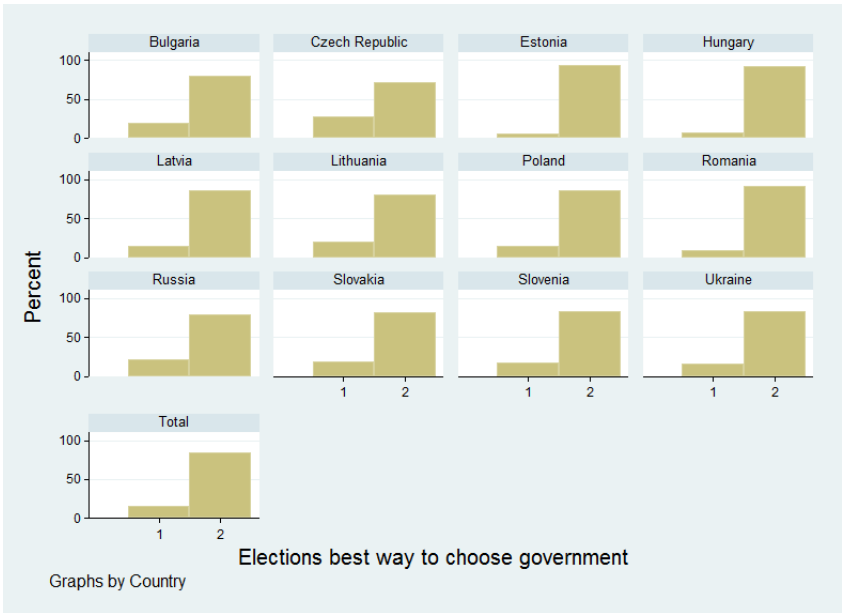
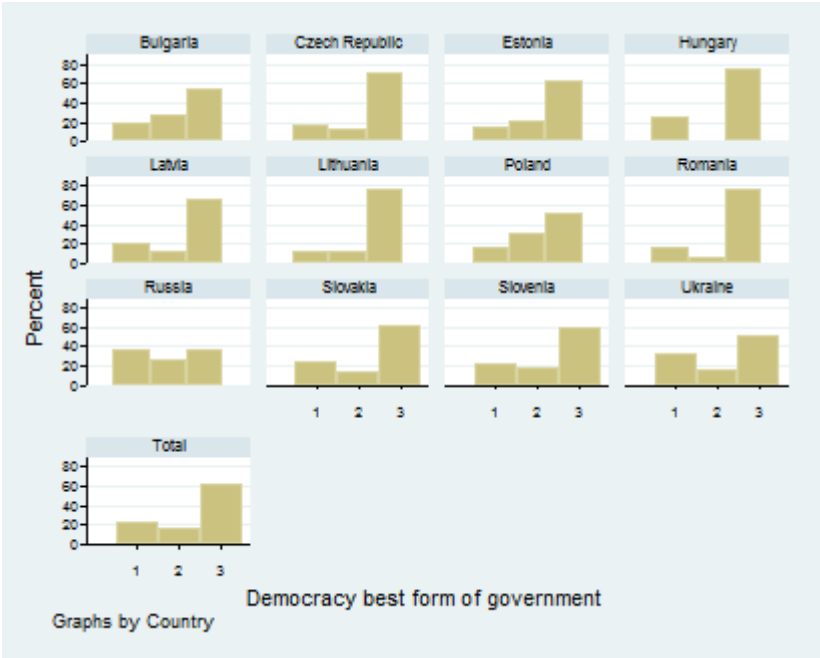
Table A13: SEM with Objective Performance (PCP survey)

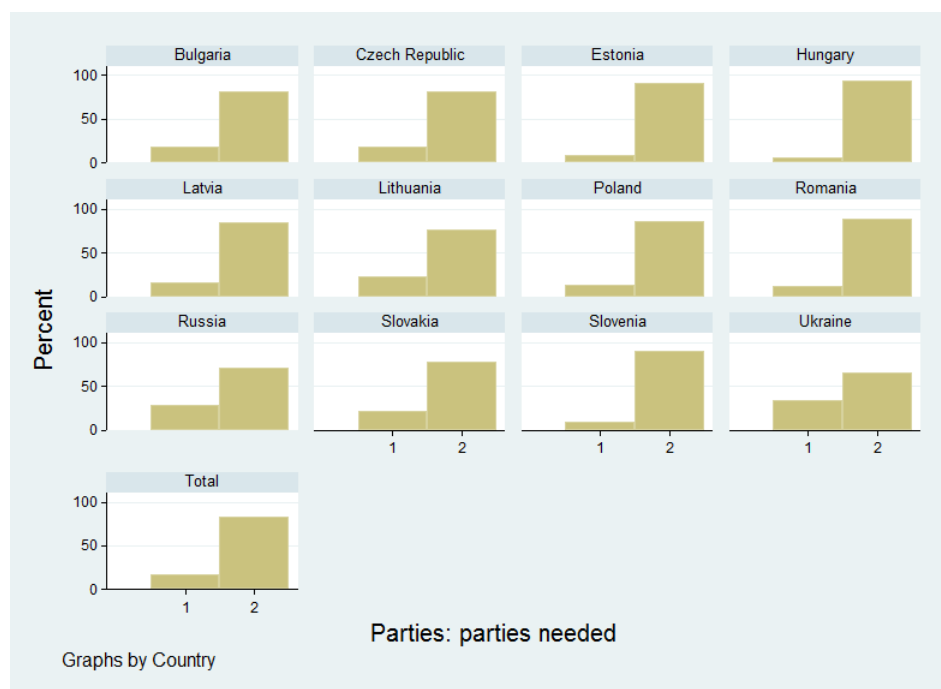
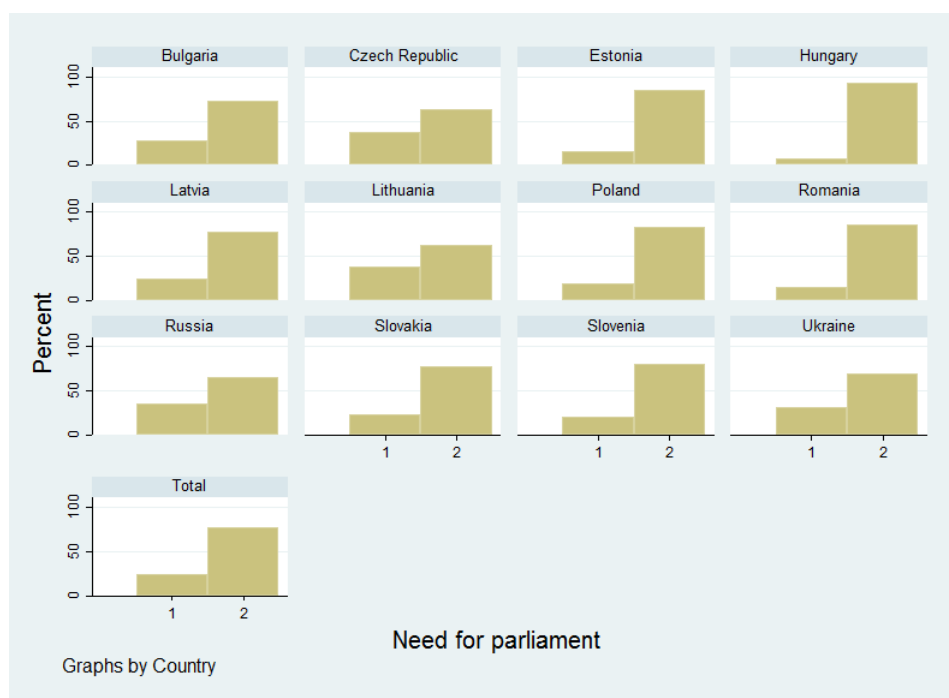
General Fit	Reciprocal
χ^2	539.032
p-value	0
df	101
RMSEA	0.027
CFI	0.950
TLI	0.934
BIC	-338.60
N	5940
Support ON Satisfaction (SE)	0.306*** 0.026
Satisfaction ON support (SE)	-0.214** 0.064
Support ON	
Communism (SE)	0.003** (0.001)
Winner (SE)	0.072** (0.025)
Gender (SE)	-0.087*** (0.021)
Religiosity (SE)	-0.064*** (0.010)
Education (SE)	0.097*** (0.017)
newspaper (SE)	-0.044*** (0.000)
Age (SE)	0.001 (0.001)
Monthly Income (SE)	-0.017** (0.007)
Size of Community (SE)	0.012 (0.007)
Minority (SE)	0.053 (0.030)
Satisfaction ON	
Winner (SE)	0.360*** (0.030)
Age (SE)	0.002** (0.001)
Education (SE)	-0.042* (0.020)
Gender (SE)	0.012 (0.024)
Monthly income (SE)	0.104*** (0.007)
Community size (SE)	-0.020** (0.008)
Newspaper (SE)	-0.053 *** (0.012)
Personal econ. (vs. communism) (SE)	0.172*** (0.018)
Personal econ. (future) (SE)	0.175*** (0.019)
Country econ. (vs. communism) (SE)	0.223*** (0.017)
Country econ. (future) (SE)	0.329*** (0.020)
Quality of Gov. (SE)	0.145*** (0.035)
GDP growth (SE)	0.010** (0.004)
R^2 (Support)	0.222***
R^2 (Satisfaction)	0.526***

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Appendix E: Descriptive Statistics

Histograms for Democratic Support (PCP)





Histograms for Satisfaction with Democracy (PCP)

