# Appendix: Freedom for All? Populism and the Instrumental Support of Freedom of Speech

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All materials required to replicate the figures and the tables presented in the text (i.e., R scripts) are accessible through Alberto Stefanelli's public GitHub profile. We used R version 4.2.1 (R Core Team 2022) and the following R packages: emmeans v. 1.10.5 (Lenth 2024), fastDummies v. 1.6.3 (Kaplan 2020), flextable v. 0.7.3 (Gohel 2022), ggeffects v. 1.5.0 (Lüdecke 2018), ggrepel v. 0.9.1 (Slowikowski 2021), gtsummary v. 1.6.1 (Sjoberg *et al.* 2021), here v. 1.0.1 (Müller 2020), latex2exp v. 0.9.4 (Meschiari 2022), lavaan v. 0.6.19 (Rosseel 2012), patchwork v. 1.1.1 (Pedersen 2020), performance v. 0.10.2 (Lüdecke *et al.* 2021), scales v. 1.2.1 (Wickham and Seidel 2022), semTools v. 0.5.6.933 (Jorgensen *et al.* 2024), tidyverse v. 2.0.0 (Wickham *et al.* 2019).

## REGRESSION TABLES FOR THE MODELS PRESENTED IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The nested models are reported with the purpose of showing that the uncertainty of the coefficient of populist attitudes does not substantially change when control variables are added to the model. The presented coefficients are expressed in terms of probabilities (and not on the original probit scale) but are not directly comparable across different nested models due to the nature of probit estimation (Long 1997). The probit model assumes that there is a continuous (unobserved) latent random variable $y^*$ that underlies the binomial distribution of the dependent variable. Since the variance of the latent variable $y^*$ changes when new variables are added to the model, the magnitudes of the estimates will change even if the added variable is uncorrelated with the original variables[1].

### Normative support for unrestricted freedom of speech: nested SEM models

The estimates reported in Figure 1 are obtained from the model with the complete set of control variables (3rd column). The estimates are derived from a SEM model using the entire sample. In line with previous research (Grossman *et al.* 2022), the results reveal that, regardless of their ideological collocation, partisans are less likely to support freedom of speech in its abstract and unconstrained form. Efficacy is also linked to a higher propensity to endorse freedom of speech. On the contrary, high levels of educational attainment are linked to lower levels of support for freedom of speech.

[1] Lavaan does not currently support other link functions (i.e., logit) when using the Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimator required to model binary dependent variables (Yves Rosseel 2020).

*Table 1: Regression table for normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech (Figure 1). Estimates are from a SEM model.*

| | Unconstrained free speech (y=1, 56%) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.098 | ≤0.001 | 0.088 | ≤0.001 | 0.061 | 0.003 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | 0.091 | 0.053 | 0.088 | 0.077 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.033 | 0.491 | -0.046 | 0.349 |
| Age | | | -0.043 | 0.088 | -0.036 | 0.161 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | -0.128 | 0.064 | -0.128 | 0.066 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | -0.179 | 0.009 | -0.175 | 0.011 |
| Party Membership (Ref: No) | | | | | -0.276 | 0.007 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Centre) | | | | | -0.003 | 0.960 |
| Right-wing (Ref: Centre) | | | | | -0.034 | 0.569 |
| Internal Efficacy | | | | | 0.068 | 0.007 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.03 | | 0.043 | | 0.065 |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

**Instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (split-ballot experiment): nested SEM multi-group models**

Regression tables for the SEM multi-group model. The estimates reported in Figure 2 in the main text are obtained from the 3rd column of each table with the complete set of control variables.

***Immigrants: Right-wing***

*Table 2: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.067 | 0.015 | 0.106 | ≤0.001 | 0.144 | 0.002 |

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | -0.023 | 0.841 | -0.147 | 0.603 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.645 | ≤0.001 | -1.210 | ≤0.001 |
| Age | | | -0.033 | 0.608 | -0.053 | 0.708 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | -0.137 | 0.472 | -0.348 | 0.396 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | -0.171 | 0.378 | -0.414 | 0.327 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | -0.732 | 0.072 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | -0.288 | 0.016 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.031 | | 0.294 | | 0.364 |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

***Immigrants: Left-wing***

*Table 3: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | -0.073 | ≤0.001 | -0.053 | 0.012 | -0.073 | 0.013 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | -0.031 | 0.738 | -0.100 | 0.750 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.197 | 0.044 | -0.585 | 0.048 |
| Age | | | -0.051 | 0.206 | -0.192 | 0.200 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | 0.038 | 0.789 | 0.131 | 0.801 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | 0.141 | 0.159 | 0.690 | 0.165 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | 0.101 | 0.842 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | 0.187 | 0.168 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.069 | | 0.22 | | 0.243 |

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

***Immigrants: Center***

*Table 4: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.048 | 0.311 | 0.048 | 0.004 | 0.029 | 0.198 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | -0.016 | 0.776 | -0.051 | 0.757 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.048 | 0.400 | -0.129 | 0.415 |
| Age | | | -0.061 | 0.026 | -0.187 | 0.019 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | 0.025 | 0.707 | 0.091 | 0.645 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | -0.071 | 0.334 | -0.198 | 0.323 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | 0.320 | 0.336 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | 0.188 | 0.018 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.02 | | 0.067 | | 0.103 |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

***Multinationals: Right-wing***

*Table 5: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | -0.075 | 0.046 | -0.058 | 0.059 | -0.107 | 0.027 |

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | 0.032 | 0.785 | 0.043 | 0.859 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | 0.044 | 0.696 | 0.055 | 0.817 |
| Age | | | 0.031 | 0.546 | 0.081 | 0.482 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | 0.270 | 0.051 | 0.656 | 0.055 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | 0.230 | 0.093 | 0.549 | 0.095 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | -0.480 | 0.457 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | 0.267 | 0.063 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.02 | | 0.072 | | 0.131 |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

***Multinationals: Left-wing***

*Table 6: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.048 | 0.002 | 0.105 | 0.012 | 0.227 | ≤0.001 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | 0.108 | 0.443 | 0.205 | 0.430 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.098 | 0.525 | -0.174 | 0.507 |
| Age | | | -0.061 | 0.409 | -0.111 | 0.413 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | 0.061 | 0.772 | 0.097 | 0.799 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | 0.240 | 0.189 | 0.465 | 0.198 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | -0.146 | 0.740 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | -0.485 | 0.002 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.006 | | 0.102 | | 0.272 |

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

***Multinationals: Center***

*Table 7: Regression table for instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (Figure 2)*

| | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value | Pr | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.021 | 0.47 | 0.026 | 0.391 | 0.064 | 0.114 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | | | 0.051 | 0.611 | 0.126 | 0.490 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | | | -0.044 | 0.654 | -0.066 | 0.696 |
| Age | | | -0.142 | 0.010 | -0.252 | 0.007 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | | | -0.108 | 0.440 | -0.213 | 0.365 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | | | 0.008 | 0.955 | 0.028 | 0.907 |
| Party membership (Ref: No) | | | | | 0.571 | 0.108 |
| Internal efficacy | | | | | -0.176 | 0.046 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.001 | | 0.068 | | 0.109 |
| Sample Size | | 988 | | 988 | | 988 |

Notes: Coefficients are not directly comparable since the variance of y* changes when new variables are added to the model.

## CFA AND INVARIANCE

*Table 8: Standardized (Std.) factor loadings for populist attitudes and political efficacy*

| | **Std. factor loadings** | **p-value** |
|---|---|---|
| **Populist attitudes** | | |
| q67_1 | 0.71 | $\leq .001$ |
| q67_2 | 0.76 | $\leq .001$ |

| | Std. factor loadings | p-value |
|---|---|---|
| q67_3 | 0.81 | ≤ .001 |
| q67_4 | 0.66 | ≤ .001 |
| q67_5 | 0.67 | ≤ .001 |
| **Political Efficacy** | | |
| q41_1 | 0.75 | ≤ .001 |
| q41_2 | 0.86 | ≤ .001 |
| q41_3 | 0.55 | ≤ .001 |
| | | CFI=0.977; RMSE=0.059; SRMR=0.040 |

**Invariance testing**

All the estimated latent constructs reach scalar invariance allowing us to compare the coefficients of populism across the different ideological groups (i.e., Left, Right, Center) and experimental conditions (Chen 2007).

*Table 9: Invariance testing for the Left, Right, Centre identifiers*

| Model | df | Δ df | CFI | Δ CFI | RMSEA | Δ RMSEA | SRMR | Δ SRMR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Configural | 30 | | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Metric | 50 | 20 | 0.996 | 0.000 | 0.028 | -0.009 | 0.046 | 0.022 |
| Scalar | 70 | 20 | 0.999 | 0.003 | 0.013 | -0.016 | 0.050 | 0.004 |

## ROBUSTNESS

**Unconstrained support for freedom of speech**

***Unconstrained freedom of speech as continuous instead of categorical***

Treating the measure of universal freedom of speech as continuous does not change any of the results presented in the manuscript. The probit model's coefficient for populism closely aligns with the results obtained from the linear model ($\beta = 0.103, \sigma = 0.034$). In addition to confirming the validity of the presented results, this suggests that the value selected for the dichotomization of the variable is appropriate.

*Table 10: Regression of the continuous measure of normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech on populist attitudes, controlling for all the other variables included in the model. The dependent variable is the original 5-point question asking to what extent people agree with the fact that every individual should say what he/she wants, even if this hurts others. Estimates are from a SEM model.*

| | Unconstrained free speech (y=1, 56%) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Beta | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.104 (0.042) | 0.012 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | 0.108 (0.070) | 0.121 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | -0.096 (0.068) | 0.156 |
| Age | -0.039 (0.034) | 0.242 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | -0.208 (0.092) | 0.024 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | -0.164 (0.095) | 0.085 |
| Party Membership (Ref: No) | -0.260 (0.140) | 0.064 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Centre) | -0.019 (0.084) | 0.821 |
| Right-wing (Ref: Centre) | 0.039 (0.083) | 0.640 |
| Internal Efficacy | 0.071 (0.044) | 0.105 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.037 |
| Sample Size | | 988 |

Notes: Std. errors in parenthesis.

***Normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech model using an ordered probit model instead of linear model***

An ordered probit model is used to treat the unconstrained freedom of speech measure as ordered instead of continuous. The results are virtually unchanged from the linear model, indicating the presence of a linear relationship between populism and support for freedom of speech.

*Table 11: Regression of the (ordered) measure of normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech on populist attitudes, controlling for all the other variables included in the model. The dependent variable is the original 5-point question asking to what extent people agree with the*

*fact that every individual should say what he/she wants, even if this hurts others. Estimates are from a SEM model.*

| | Unconstrained free speech (y=1, 56%) | |
|---|---|---|
| | Beta | p-value |
| Populist attitudes | 0.095 (0.041) | 0.019 |
| French speaking Belgium (Ref: Flanders) | 0.136 (0.070) | 0.053 |
| Female (Ref: Male) | -0.056 (0.068) | 0.409 |
| Age | -0.037 (0.034) | 0.272 |
| Education: Medium (Ref: Low) | -0.242 (0.092) | 0.009 |
| Education: High (Ref: Low) | -0.285 (0.091) | 0.002 |
| Party Membership (Ref: No) | -0.304 (0.142) | 0.032 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Centre) | -0.006 (0.085) | 0.946 |
| Right-wing (Ref: Centre) | 0.031 (0.084) | 0.713 |
| Internal Efficacy | 0.064 (0.043) | 0.131 |
| $R^2$ | | 0.039 |
| Sample Size | | 986 |

Notes: Std. errors in parenthesis.

***Interaction between unconstrained free speech and (Left-Right) ideological groups***

As an additional robustness check, we interacted the categorical measure of LR self-placement with populist attitudes. This approach allows us to test whether our measure of normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech resonates particularly strongly among right-wing populist respondents, leading this particular ideological group to drive the relationship between populist attitudes and freedom of speech observed in the manuscript.

The results show that there are no strong differences in the coefficient of populism across left-wing, centrist, and right-wing respondents, with overlapping confidence intervals and an insignificant interaction between the LR measure and populism. This indicates that the relationship between populism and freedom of speech holds across different ideological groups and that populist individuals support an unconstrained form of freedom of speech regardless of their ideological position on the LR scale.

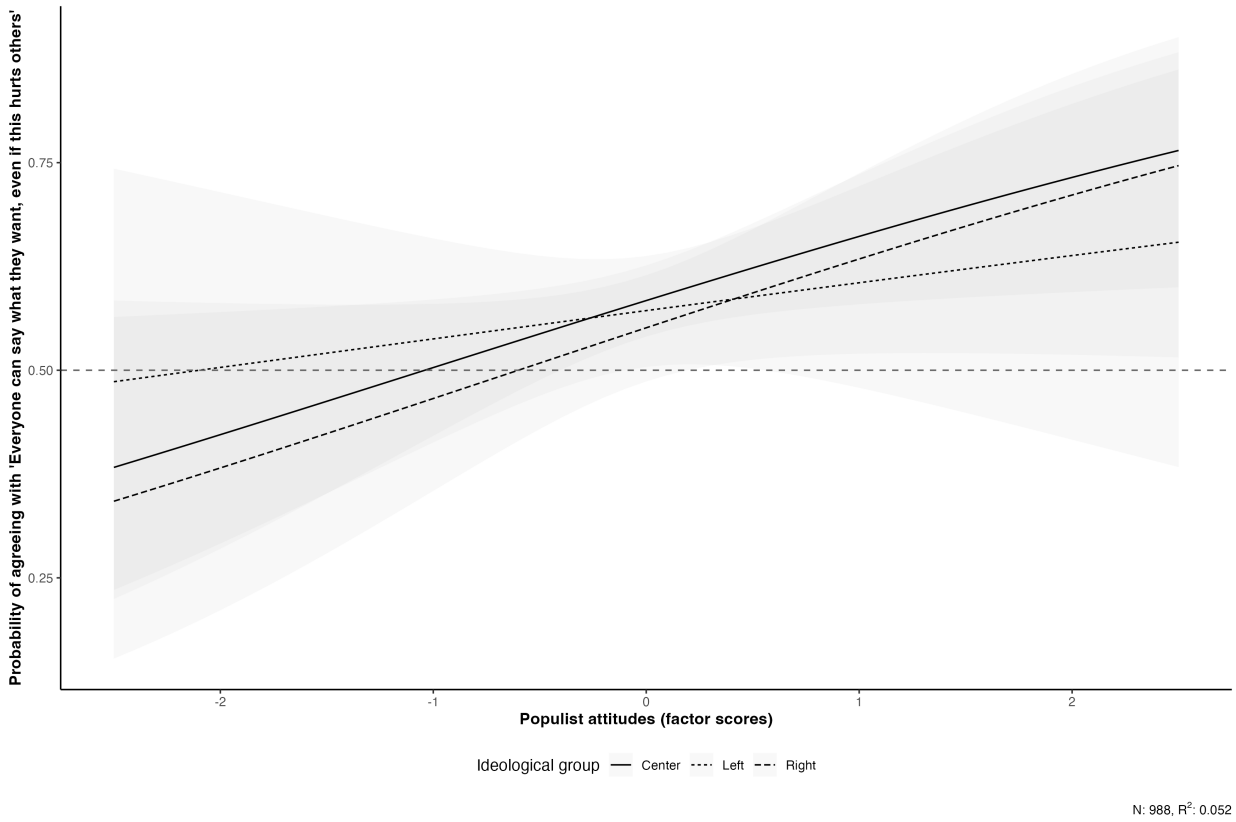


*Figure 1: Regression of normative support for unconstrained freedom of speech on populist attitudes by left-wing, centrist, and right-wing ideological groups, controlling for all the other variables included in the model. Estimates are from a GLM probit model with an interaction between populist attitudes and the ideological group measure. The dependent variable is the dichotomized question asking to what extent people agree with the fact that every individual should say what he/she wants, even if this hurts others. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the estimates.*

## Instrumental (ideologically motivated) support for freedom of speech (split-ballot experiment)

### *Speech acceptance across different ideological groups*

It may be left-right ideology, rather than populism, that influences whether a respondent allows or opposes a speech against a group they disagree with. To address this concern, we calculated the probability of permitting speech about immigrants and multinational corporations across various ideological groups (Left, Centre, Right). Although we observe some differences across the different ideological groups, these remain relatively small. This further suggests that it is the interaction between populism and ideological interests that explains the instrumental tendency of protecting or rejecting certain speech acts.

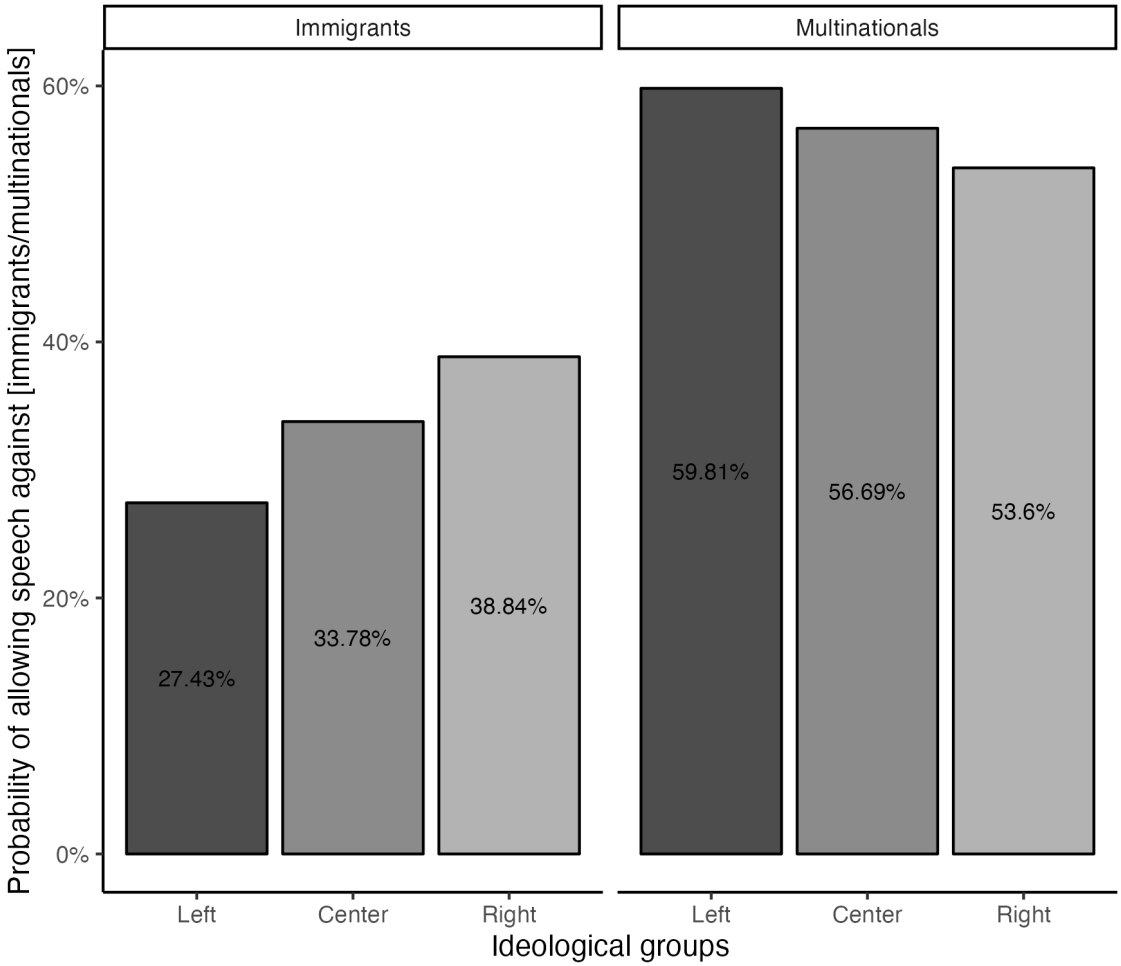


*Figure 2: Proportion of respondents who said that a speech against immigrants or multinational corporations should be allowed (split-ballot experiment) across different ideological groups.*

***Probability of allowing a speech across different ideological groups and categorical levels of affinity with populism (GLM probit)***

To ease the interpretation of the results and ensure that our results are robust to different modeling approaches, we also fit a GLM probit model incorporating an interaction between populist attitudes, the categorical measure of ideological preferences (i.e., left-, right-wing, and centrist respondents), and a variable indicating whether the speech was against multinationals or immigrants. This approach allows us to estimate the probability of allowing free speech across different ideological groups (Left, Centre, Right) and varying levels of affinity with populism (Low, Average, High). The categorical measure of populism is obtained by taking the standard deviation (-1/+1 SD) from the average of the populist attitudes scale. For instance, an individual who scores 1 standard deviation below the mean (-1 SD) of the populist attitudes scale is considered to have a low affinity with populist ideas.

Although not directly comparable, the difference in probability between the categorical measures of populism within each ideological group corresponds to the marginal coefficients of populism reported in the main article. The results presented in the manuscript are confirmed, confirming the validity of both our modeling strategy and the presented results.

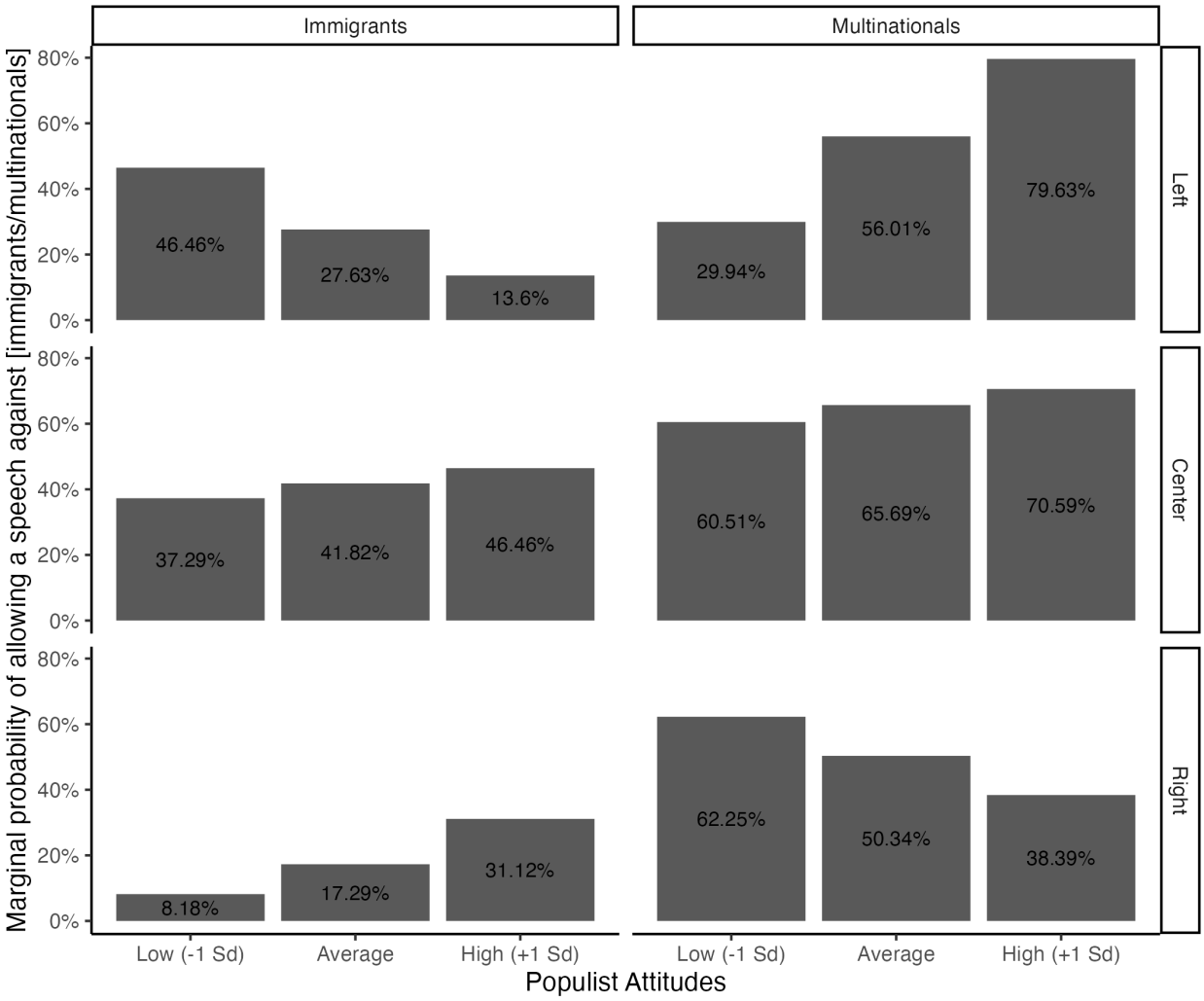


*Figure 3: Probability of allowing a speech against immigrants or multinational corporations (split-ballot experiment) across different ideological groups (Left, Centre, Right) and levels of affinity with populism (Low, Average, High). Estimates obtained from a GLM probit model, controlling for all the other variables included in the model.*

***Inclusion of strength of Left-Right ideological extremity***

As robustness, we fit a SEM model adding a measure of ideological extremity obtained by folding in half the L-R self-placement measure (Mason 2018). This rules out the possibility that the results are driven by those ideologically extreme respondents that place themselves at both ends of the scale (i.e., 0 and 10). Results are unchanged.

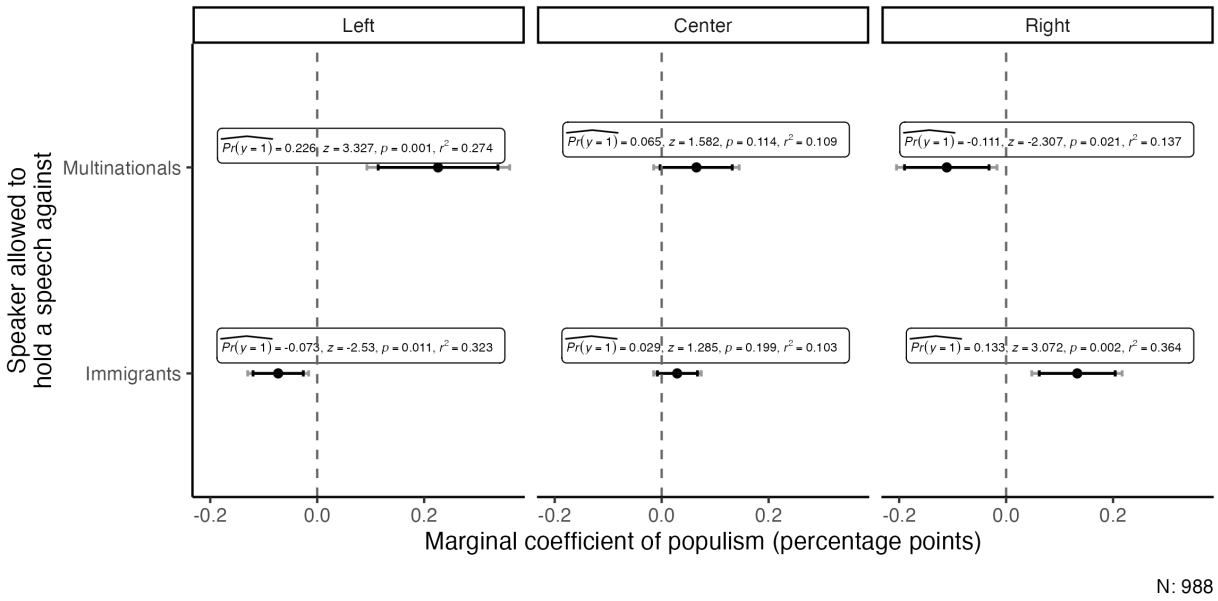


*Figure 4: Coefficient of populist attitudes on allowing ideologically motivated speeches controlling for strength of Left-Right ideological identity and all the other variables included in the model. Estimates are from a SEM multi-group model. The dependent variable is the split-ballot experiment in which the object of criticism varied (i.e., immigrants and corporations). Error bars represent 90% and 95% confidence intervals around the estimates.*

***Alternative measure of ideological preferences (anti-immigration and economic egalitarianism)***

As an additional robustness test, we measure ideological preferences using, instead of the categorical measure of Left-Right (LR) self-orientation, an index measuring anti-immigration attitudes and one measuring support for economic egalitarianism.

Anti-immigration attitudes are measured using the following items: (1) In general, migrants cannot be trusted; (2) Migrants are a threat to our culture and customs; (3) The presence of different cultures enriches our society (reverse coded); (4) Migrants impose their norms and values to the Belgians. Attitudes towards economic egalitarianism are measured using the following items: (1) The government should reduce income differentials; (2) Private capital above 1 million euros should be taxed. The CFA model yields satisfactory fit indices, with standardized factor loadings above .6.

We fit two MG-SEM models with a latent interaction between populist attitudes and the index of interest (i.e., egalitarianism and anti-immigration) (Marsh *et al.* 2004). The results confirm that the more populist an individual is, the stronger the impact of ideological interests on the probability of allowing a fellow citizen to hold a speech against immigrants or multinational corporations.

Regarding the multinationals treatment (left-wing speech target) we observe that higher levels of populist attitudes correspond to a stronger impact of economic egalitarianism on the probability of allowing a speech against multinationals. Similarly, for the treatment concerning immigrants (right-wing speech target), the slope of populism on the probability of allowing a speech against immigrants is steeper the more anti-immigration respondents are. In line with our findings using the LR scale, populist individuals appear more likely to instrumentally apply or deny freedom of speech depending on whether the target speech aligns with their ideological preferences.

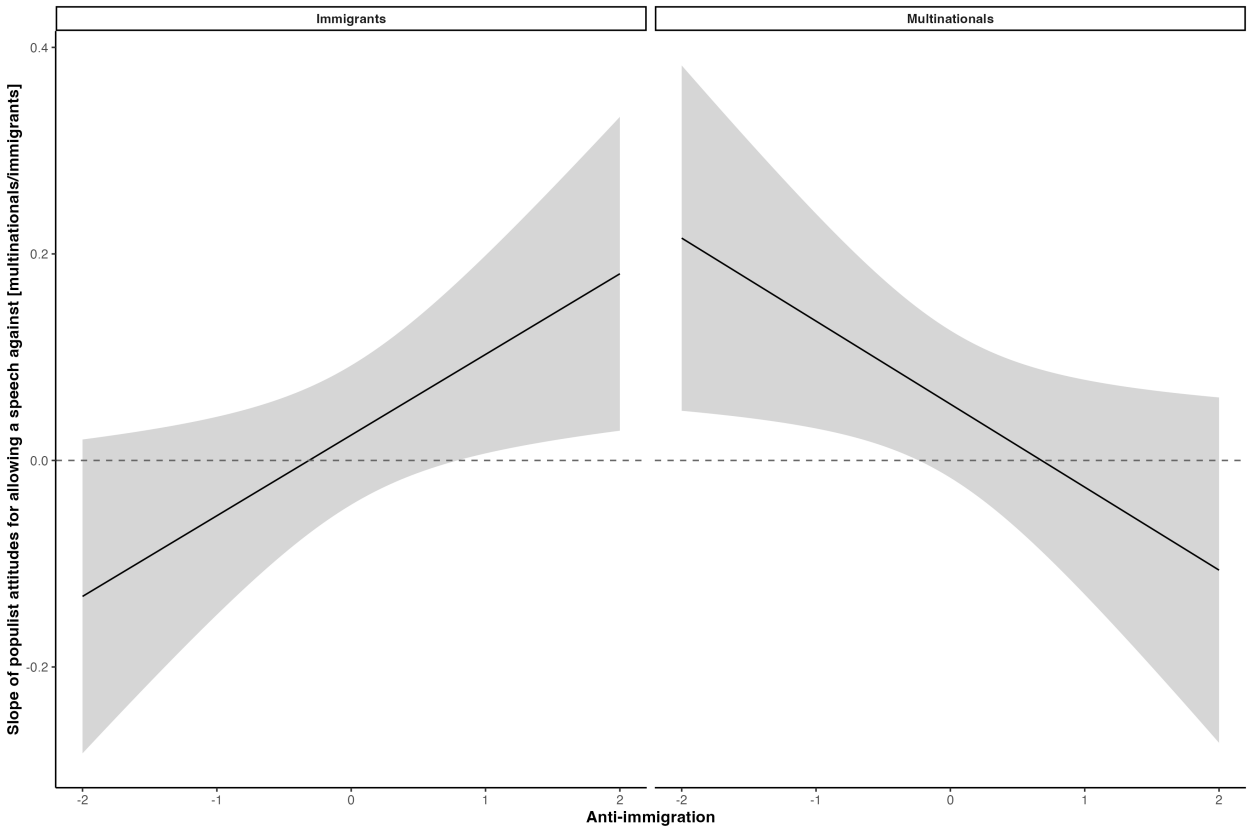


*Figure 5: Coefficient of populist attitudes on allowing ideologically motivated speeches by respondent's level of anti-immigration attitudes, controlling for all the other variables included in the model. Estimates are from a GLM probit model. The dependent variable is the split-ballot experiment in which the object of criticism varied (i.e., immigrants and corporations). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the estimates.*

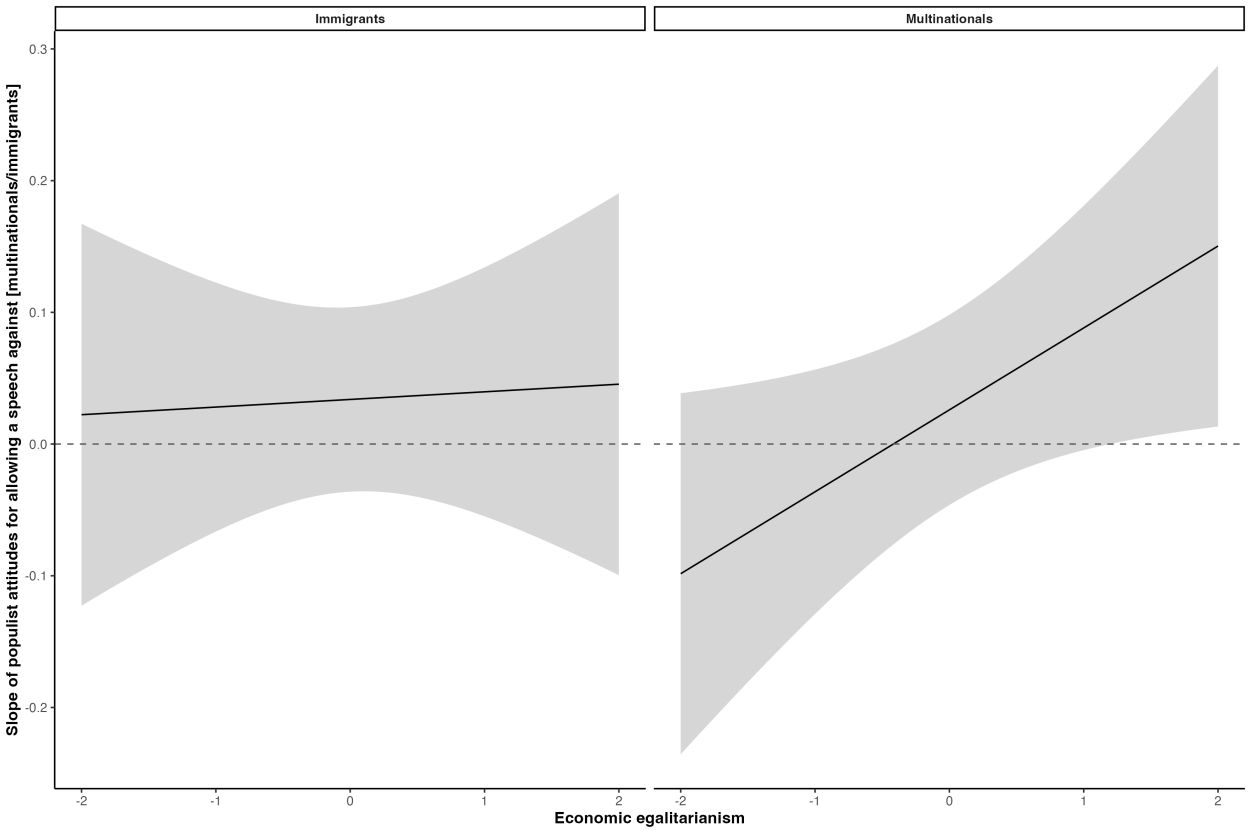


*Figure 6: Coefficient of populist attitudes on allowing ideologically motivated speeches by respondent's level of attitudes towards economic egalitarianism, controlling for all the other variables included in the model. Estimates are from a GLM probit model. The dependent variable is the split-ballot experiment in which the object of criticism varied (i.e., immigrants and corporations). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals around the estimates.*

## INSTRUMENTS

*Table 12: Dependent variables (freedom of speech)*

| Item Ref. | Label | Question |
|---|---|---|
| q78_1 | Unconstrained freedom of speech | Every individual should say what he/she wants, even if this hurts others. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q80 | Ideologically motivated (instrumental) speech (split-ballot) | A speaker at a public gathering, on television, or on the internet holds a speech against [RANDOMIZED: immigrants/multinational corporations]. (1. Should not be stopped, 2. Should be stopped) |

*Table 13: Populism*

| Item Ref. | Label | Question |
|---|---|---|
| q67_1 | Populism | People and not the politicians should take decisions (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q67_2 | Populism | People would be better represented by ordinary citizens (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q67_3 | Populism | Power should be returned to the people (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q67_4 | Populism | Better if politicians just followed the will of the people (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q67_5 | Populism | Ordinary people know better than politicians (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |

*Table 11: Control variables*

| Item Ref. | Label | Question |
|---|---|---|
| age6 | Age | Respondent age (6 categories, continuous) |
| edu3 | Education | Respondent's highest level of education (Low, Middle, High) |
| q81 | PID | Respondent identify with any political party (No, Yes) |
| q2 | Gender | Respondent assigned sex at birth (1. Man, 2. Woman) |
| region | Place of residence | Respondent place of residence (1. French speaking Belgium, 2. Flanders) |
| q41_1 | Efficacy | Nowadays I don't understand what is happening any more (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q41_2 | Efficacy | These days, things are so complicated I don't know what to do (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |

| Item Ref. | Label | Question |
|---|---|---|
| q41_5 | Efficacy | I feel like I am completely powerless over the current changes (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |

*Table 14: Robustness*

| Item Ref. | Label | Question |
|---|---|---|
| q40_3 | Economic Egalitarianism | The government should reduce income differentials. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q75_7 | Economic Egalitarianism | Private capital above 1 million euros should be taxed. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q49_1 | Anti-immigration | In general, migrants cannot be trusted. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q49_2 | Anti-immigration | Migrants come here to take advantage of our social security system. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q49_3 | Anti-immigration | Migrants are a threat to our culture and customs. (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |
| q49_4 | Anti-immigration | The presence of different cultures enriches our society (1. Completely disagree – 5. Completely Agree) |

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

*Table 15: Descriptive statistics for the main analysis sample*

| Variable | Missing | N = 1,110 |
|---|---|---|
| **Unconstrained free speech (Normative, q78_1d)** | 3 (0.3%) | |
| In favour | | 416 / 1,107 (38%) |
| Not in favour | | 691 / 1,107 (62%) |
| **Ideologically motivated speech (Instrumental, DV Experiment, q80)** | 33 (3.0%) | |
| Allowed | | 476 / 1,077 (44%) |

| Variable | Missing | N = 1,110 |
|---|---|---|
| Stopped | | 601 / 1,077 (56%) |
| **Speech target (split-ballot condition, expq80cond)** | 0 (0%) | |
| Immigrants | | 585 / 1,110 (53%) |
| Multinationals | | 525 / 1,110 (47%) |
| **Sex assigned at birth (q2)** | 0 (0%) | |
| Female | | 531 / 1,110 (48%) |
| Male | | 579 / 1,110 (52%) |
| **Educational level (edu3)** | 18 (1.6%) | |
| Low | | 261 / 1,092 (24%) |
| Medium | | 376 / 1,092 (34%) |
| High | | 455 / 1,092 (42%) |
| **Age (age6)** | 8 (0.7%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 4.10 (1.64) |
| Median (IQR) | | 4.00 (3.00, 6.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 6.00 |
| **Left-Right self-placement (q57)** | 47 (4.2%) | |
| Left | | 231 / 1,063 (22%) |
| Center | | 580 / 1,063 (55%) |
| Right | | 252 / 1,063 (24%) |
| **Identify with any political party (q81)** | 7 (0.6%) | |
| No ID | | 1,034 / 1,103 (94%) |
| Yes | | 69 / 1,103 (6.3%) |
| **Region of residence (region)** | 0 (0%) | |
| Flanders | | 692 / 1,110 (62%) |
| French-speaking Belgium | | 418 / 1,110 (38%) |
| **Internal efficacy (q41_1)** | 6 (0.5%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.32 (1.11) |

| Variable | Missing | N = 1,110 |
|---|---|---|
| Median (IQR) | | 4.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Internal efficacy (q41_2)** | 6 (0.5%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.06 (1.12) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Internal efficacy (q41_5)** | 6 (0.5%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.27 (1.07) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Populism (q67_1)** | 10 (0.9%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.96 (1.02) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Populism (q67_2)** | 8 (0.7%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.02 (0.99) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Populism (q67_3)** | 9 (0.8%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.67 (0.98) |
| Median (IQR) | | 2.00 (2.00, 3.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Populism (q67_4)** | 13 (1.2%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.89 (1.01) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Populism (q67_5)** | 10 (0.9%) | |

| Variable | Missing | N = 1,110 |
|---|---|---|
| Mean (SD) | | 2.54 (0.97) |
| Median (IQR) | | 2.00 (2.00, 3.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Abstract free speech (Robustness, continuous q78_1)** | 3 (0.3%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.93 (1.07) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Ideological Extremity (Robustness, folded q57)** | 47 (4.2%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 0.85 (1.18) |
| Median (IQR) | | 0.00 (0.00, 1.00) |
| Range | | 0.00 - 4.00 |
| **Egalitarianism (Robustness, q75_7)** | 13 (1.2%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.75 (1.06) |
| Median (IQR) | | 4.00 (3.00, 5.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Egalitarianism (Robustness, q40_3)** | 10 (0.9%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.63 (1.04) |
| Median (IQR) | | 4.00 (3.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Anti-immigration (Robustness, q49_1)** | 58 (5.2%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.49 (1.00) |
| Median (IQR) | | 2.00 (2.00, 3.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Anti-immigration (Robustness, q49_2)** | 59 (5.3%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.96 (1.06) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |

| Variable | Missing | N = 1,110 |
|---|---|---|
| **Anti-immigration (Robustness, q49_3)** | 61 (5.5%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 2.86 (1.12) |
| Median (IQR) | | 3.00 (2.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |
| **Anti-immigration (Robustness, q49_4)** | 59 (5.3%) | |
| Mean (SD) | | 3.57 (0.95) |
| Median (IQR) | | 4.00 (3.00, 4.00) |
| Range | | 1.00 - 5.00 |

[1]n / N (%)

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