Table 1: Table for the multilevel model in Figure 1

	Dependent variable:
	Satisfaction with Democracy
Liberal	-0.424^{***}
	(0.034)
Social	-0.662***
	(0.034)
Direct	-1.018^{***}
	(0.034)
Populist	-1.149***
_	(0.042)
Age	0.435***
	(0.049)
Income	0.733***
	(0.042)
Education	0.097
	(0.078)
Gender	-0.032
	(0.023)
Constant	5.143***
	(0.207)
Observations	43,763
Log Likelihood	-100,095.500
Akaike Inf. Crit.	200,213.000
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	200,308.500
Note:	*n<0.1. **n<0.05. ***n<0.01

Note: p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2: Conventional participation model

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD					
Social	-1.284	0.225	-5.699	0.000	-0.189
Liberal	-0.729	0.141	-5.165	0.000	-0.104
Direct	-1.383	0.236	-5.853	0.000	-0.197
Populist	-1.622	0.212	-7.639	0.000	-0.181
Convention	onal				
SWD	0.006	0.002	3.496	0.000	0.075
Social	-0.039	0.007	-5.938	0.000	-0.070
Liberal	-0.020	0.006	-3.560	0.000	-0.035
Direct	-0.015	0.005	-2.749	0.006	-0.026
Populist	-0.029	0.005	-5.509	0.000	-0.039
Age	0.001	0.000	5.681	0.000	0.095
Income	0.007	0.001	7.268	0.000	0.087
Education	0.011	0.001	9.300	0.000	0.201
Gender	-0.018	0.003	-5.925	0.000	-0.042

Table 3: Intercepts (Conventional participation model)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.076	0.268	22.713	0.000	2.275
Conventional	0.083	0.026	3.189	0.001	0.383

Table 4: Variances (Conventional participation model)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.731	0.379	17.741	0.000	0.944
Conventional	0.044	0.002	23.100	0.000	0.921

Table 5: Indirect effects for conventional participation model

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
Social	-0.008	0.003	-2.704	0.007	-0.014
Liberal	-0.004	0.002	-2.659	0.008	-0.008
Direct	-0.009	0.003	-3.101	0.002	-0.015
Populist	-0.010	0.003	-3.042	0.002	-0.014

In mediation models, indirect effects are products of multiple coefficients, which can result in non-normal sampling distributions. Bootstrapping is particularly useful for mediation analysis because it directly estimates the sampling distribution of indirect effects. We estimate bootstrapped standard errors as robustness check. Estimates with 1000 bootstrap draws yield identical results.

Table 6: Conventional participation model with bootstrapped standard errors

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD					
Social	-1.284	0.225	-5.699	0.000	-0.189
Liberal	-0.729	0.141	-5.165	0.000	-0.104
Direct	-1.383	0.236	-5.853	0.000	-0.197
Populist	-1.622	0.212	-7.639	0.000	-0.181
Convention	onal				
SWD	0.006	0.002	3.496	0.000	0.075
Social	-0.039	0.007	-5.938	0.000	-0.070
Liberal	-0.020	0.006	-3.560	0.000	-0.035
Direct	-0.015	0.005	-2.749	0.006	-0.026
Populist	-0.029	0.005	-5.509	0.000	-0.039
Age	0.001	0.000	5.681	0.000	0.095
Income	0.007	0.001	7.268	0.000	0.087
Education	0.011	0.001	9.300	0.000	0.201
Gender	-0.018	0.003	-5.925	0.000	-0.042

Table 7: Intercepts (Conventional participation model with bootstrapped standard errors)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.076	0.02	296.669	0.000	2.275
Conventional	0.083	0.008	10.478	0.001	0.383

Table 8: Variances (Conventional participation model with bootstrapped standard errors)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.731	0.039	172.823	0.000	0.944
Conventional	0.044	0.000	113.691	0.000	0.921

Table 9: Indirect effects on conventional participation with bootstrapped standard errors

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
Social	-0.008	0.003	-2.704	0.007	-0.014
Liberal	-0.004	0.002	-2.659	0.008	-0.008
Direct	-0.009	0.003	-3.101	0.002	-0.015
Populist	-0.010	0.003	-3.042	0.002	-0.014

Table 10: Unconventional participation model

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD					
Social	-1.243	0.216	-5.745	0.000	-0.183
Liberal	-0.707	0.137	-5.141	0.000	-0.102
Direct	-1.362	0.231	-5.905	0.000	-0.193
Populist	-1.603	0.198	-8.093	0.000	-0.178
Convention	nal				
SWD	-0.005	0.002	-2.006	0.045	-0.050
Social	-0.006	0.008	-7.109	0.000	-0.092
Liberal	-0.031	0.006	-5.137	0.000	-0.045
Direct	-0.016	0.007	-2.310	0.021	-0.023
Populist	-0.037	0.009	-4.208	0.000	-0.043
Age	-0.002	0.000	-7.318	0.000	-0.113
Income	0.005	0.001	5.216	0.000	0.050
Education	0.012	0.001	9.793	0.000	0.197
Gender	0.001	0.006	0.145	0.885	0.002

Table 11: Intercepts (Unconventional participation model)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.105	0.261	23.370	0.000	2.286
Unconventional	0.123	0.026	4.708	0.000	0.473

Table 12: Variances (Unconventional participation model)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.747	0.379	17.814	0.000	0.946
Conventional	0.061	0.004	17.323	0.000	0.914

Table 13: Indirect effects on unconventional participation

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
Social	0.006	0.003	2.296	0.022	0.009
Liberal	0.003	0.002	1.968	0.049	0.005
Direct	0.007	0.003	1.955	0.051	0.010
Populist	0.008	0.004	2.159	0.031	0.009

Table 14: Unconventional participation model with bootstrapped errors

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate			
SWD								
Social	-1.243	0.216	-5.745	0.000	-0.183			
Liberal	-0.707	0.137	-5.141	0.000	-0.102			
Direct	-1.362	0.231	-5.905	0.000	-0.193			
Populist	-1.603	0.198	-8.093	0.000	-0.178			
Convention	Conventional							
SWD	-0.005	0.002	-2.006	0.045	-0.050			
Social	-0.006	0.008	-7.109	0.000	-0.092			
Liberal	-0.031	0.006	-5.137	0.000	-0.045			
Direct	-0.016	0.007	-2.310	0.021	-0.023			
Populist	-0.037	0.009	-4.208	0.000	-0.043			
Age	-0.002	0.000	-7.318	0.000	-0.113			
Income	0.005	0.001	5.216	0.000	0.050			
Education	0.012	0.001	9.793	0.000	0.197			
Gender	0.001	0.006	0.145	0.885	0.002			

Table 15: Intercepts (Unconventional participation model with bootstrapped errors)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.105	0.02	306.378	0.000	2.286
Unconventional	0.123	0.008	14.624	0.000	0.473

Table 16: Variances (Unconventional participation model with bootstrapped errors)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
SWD	6.747	0.379	17.814	0.000	0.946
Conventional	0.061	0.004	17.323	0.000	0.914

Table 17: Indirect effects on unconventional participation (with bootstrapped errors)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-value	p-value	Std. Estimate
Social	0.006	0.003	2.296	0.022	0.009
Liberal	0.003	0.002	1.968	0.049	0.005
Direct	0.007	0.003	1.955	0.051	0.010
Populist	0.008	0.004	2.159	0.031	0.009