Appendix

Gender Equality as Foundational to Democracy?

Theory and Evidence of Gendered Political Culture(s)

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I. Supplementary Tables and Figures

Table A1. Focus group composition

Group G#	Nº of participants (#female/#male)	Age	Education	Political Preference
FG1	7 (3/4)	18-40	High ed	FPÖ (2), ÖVP. SPÖ (2), Greens, NEOS
FG2	5 (2/3	18-40	Low ed	FPÖ, ÖVP, Greens, SPÖ (2)
FG3	6 (3/3)	41-65	High ed	FPÖ, NEOS (2), ÖVP (2), Greens
FG4	5 (2/3)	41-65	Low ed	ÖVP (2), SPÖ (2), KPÖ

Table A2a. Description of Measures and Variables

Variable name	Question wording / item label	Original response scale	Data treatment and coding notes
Feminist_ident [PBL_1_1-3] (manifest variable)	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [PBL_1_1] I feel a bond with feminists; [PBL_1_2] I feel solidarity with feminists; [PBL_1_3] I feel committed to feminism. (Adaptation of Leach et al., 2008)	Likert Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree 7 = Strongly agree	An additive scale collapsed into 3 categories: (1) no identification ≤ 3, (2) respondents who neither strongly identify nor strongly disidentify >3 & ≤ 5, (3) identification > 5.
Feminism_threat [PBL_1e_6] (manifest variable)	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? ... Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world (Schnabel et al., 2022)	Likert Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree 5 = Strongly agree	Item reverse-coded, so higher values mean that a respondent disagrees that feminism is a threat. Collapsed into 3 categories: (1-2) Agreement (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4-5) Disagreement.
Gender_quota [PBL_5b]	Imagine that the Austrian parliament is discussing gender quotas. Some parties propose that all party lists should include	Likert Scale: 1 = Very unlikely to	Reverse-coded so higher values mean greater support for quotas (more likely to sign a petition). Collapsed into 3

(manifest variable)	equal numbers of women and men candidates. Other parties are against this proposal. The proposal could pass if citizens signal their preferences to parliament. How likely is it that you would join an online petition _in support_ of the gender quota?	5 = Very likely	categories: (1-2) Unlikely to join online petition, (3) Neither likely nor unlikely (no opinion) and (4-5) Likely to join an online petition.
equal_pay_policies (GE_equal_pay) [PBL_13_1] Workplace_harassment_policies (GE_SH_workplace)[PBL_13_2] Political_parity_policies (GE_polit_parity) [PBL_13_3] Gender_based_violence_policies (GE_anti_GBV) [PBL_13_4] Equal_careload_policies (GE_hh_childcare)[PBL_13_5] Pregnancy_interruption_policies (GE_inter_pregnancy) [PBL_13_6] (manifest variables)	Do you think that each of the following measures has gone too far or not far enough in your country? -[PBL_13_1] Measures that ensure equal pay for men and women -[PBL_13_2] Measures against sexual harassment in the workplace -[PBL_13_3] Measures to ensure parity between men and women in politics -[PBL_13_4] Measures that target gender-based violence -[PBL_13_5] Measures that target the distribution of household chores and childcare (e.g., paternal leave) -[PBL_13_6] Measures that ensure access to the voluntary interruption of pregnancy (Reinl et al., 2025)	Likert Scale: 1 = Gone too far 10 = Not far enough, 999 = Don't Know	Collapsed into 3 levels: policies have gone too far (1-3), neutral position (4-6), policies are not going far enough (7-10).

Against_government_censoring_media (Censor_media) [PBL_3a_1] not_preferring_one_party_system (One_party)[PBL_3a_2] against_question_universal_right_to_vote (voting_rights) [PBL_3a_3] against_government_bending_electoral_rules (Bend_elect_rules) [PBL_3a_4] against_government_ignoring_court (ignore_court) [PBL_3a_5] against_government_ignoring_parliament (ignore_parliament) [PBL_3a_6] against_government_banding_law (bend_law) [PBL_3a_7] (manifest variables)	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements: -[PBL_3a_1] The government should be able to censor media sources that are too critical -[PBL_3a_2] This country would be better off if there were only one political party -[PBL_3a_3] The universal right to vote must be questioned when so many voters are poorly informed and easily misled -[PBL_3a_4] Governments are justified in bending electoral rules in their favor when their opponents have also done so in the past -[PBL_3a_5] The government should be able to ignore court rulings that are regarded as politically biased -[PBL_3a_6] If national parliament hinders the work of the government, it should be ignored -[PBL_3a_7] The government should be able to bend the law to solve pressing social and political problems. (Claassen et al., 2024)	Likert Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree 5 = Strongly agree 6 = Don't know	All items reverse-coded, so higher values mean stronger disagreement with each statement (higher support for a democratic institution/process). Collapsed into 3 categories: (1-2) Agreement (less support for democratic institution), (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4-5) Disagreement (support for democratic institution).
supporting_pluralism (pluralism) [PBL_4d_1] (manifest variable)	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements ... People who hate my way of life should still have a chance to talk in a public forum (Kingzette et al. 2021).	Likert Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree 5 = Strongly agree 6 = Don't Know	Collapsed into 3 categories: (1-2) Disagreement, (3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4-5) Agreement

Favouring_compromise (compromise)[PBL_3c_2] (manifest variable)	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? "What people call 'compromise' in politics is really just selling out on one's principles" (Van Hauwaert et al., 2021).	Likert Scale: 1 = Strongly disagree 5 = Strongly agree 6 = Don't know	Reverse-coded; collapsed into 3 categories: (1-2) Agreement, (3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4-5) Disagreement.
education_cat (inactive covariate)	Educational levels	1= I did not complete any formal education 2= Early childhood education 3= Primary education 4= Lower secondary education (GCSEs or equivalent level) 5= Upper secondary education (A-Levels or baccalaureate) 6= Post-secondary, non-tertiary education 7= Short-cycle tertiary education (vocational education and training, studying towards a non-academic degree, e.g. nursing) 8= Bachelors or equivalent level degree 9= Masters or equivalent level degree 10= Doctoral or equivalent level degree	Collapsed into 3 groups according to ESS harmonization (Schneider 2020): (1–4) no education to lower secondary education (low), (5–7) Upper secondary to post-secondary vocational (medium), (8–10) Tertiary education (high).
FPÖ_voting [AT_partyvoted_2024] (inactive covariate)	Which party have you voted for in the 2024 national council election	1=Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP) 2=Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ) 3=Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) 4= Die Grünen 5= NEOS - Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum 997=Other 9999=Don'tknow	Created binary variable: Coded as 1 if a respondent chose 3 (FPÖ) on 'AT_partyvoted_2024' 0=otherwise.

		9998=Skipped 9999=Not asked	
gender (inactive covariate)	Respondent's gender	1 = Male, 2 = Female, 8 = Skipped, 9 = Not asked	Recoded to binary (0 = Male, 1 = Female).
age (inactive covariate)	How old are you?	Continuous (18–85)	Used as continuous covariate; also grouped for descriptives (18–32, 33–44, 45–55, 56–64, 65+).
Methodological note: The direction of some variables was reversed, so that all variables followed a consistent coding direction, where larger values represent greater support for democratic institutions and pluralism in public speech, identification with feminism, and thinking that gender equality policies have not gone far enough. The scales on all manifest variables were collapsed into three categories because several of the original 5-point scales produced response options containing very few observations (often less than 5% of respondents). Collapsing categories reduces the risk of estimation instability, as latent class models are sensitive to sparse cells and small response groups (Sinha et al., 2021). Manifest covariates are covariates that are used to estimate latent classes. Inactive covariates are used to build demographic class profiles, but do not contribute to latent class estimation.			

Table A2b. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	**Category**	**Weighted n**	**Share (%)**
Age group	15–24	90.02	8.5
	25–34	165.20	15.6
	35–44	169.44	16.0
	45–54	175.79	16.6
	55–64	261.68	24.7
	65–74	152.44	14.4
	75+	44.42	4.2
Gender	Male	513.62	48.5
	Female	545.38	51.5
Education (Austria)	No formal education	20.96	2.3
	Early childhood education	5.34	0.6
	Primary education	18.47	2.0
	Lower secondary education (GCSEs or equivalent level)	127.60	14.1
	Upper secondary education (A-Levels or baccalaureate)	382.39	42.4

	Post-secondary, non-tertiary education (generally vocational)	69.64	7.7
	Short-cycle tertiary education (vocational education and training, e.g. nursing)	46.71	5.2
	Bachelor's or equivalent degree	109.87	12.2
	Master's or equivalent degree	98.82	10.9
	Doctoral or equivalent degree	23.12	2.6
Party voted for in 2024 (Austria)	Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)	238.93	28.3
	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ)	190.62	22.5
	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ)	260.51	30.8
	Die Grünen	74.13	8.8
	NEOS – Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum	81.54	9.6
Note: The descriptive statistics are based on the weighted data for the total study sample, which includes 1,059 observations.			

Table A3. Model Fit Statistics for Models with One to Six Classes, Using Policy Items to Measure Gender Equality

		LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	AIC3(LL)	Npar	L^2	df	p-value	Max. BVR	VLMR	p-value	Class.Err.	Entropy R^2
Model1	1-Cluster	-12427.3900	25093.4049	24926.7799	24962.7799	36	15095.0337	720	3.0e-2649	253.5079			0.0000	1.0000
Model2	2-Cluster	-11546.8102	23458.1862	23203.6203	23258.6203	55	13333.8741	701	2.9e-2298	156.0373	1761.1596	0.0000	0.0355	0.8708
Model3	3-Cluster	-11157.8036	22806.1140	22463.6072	22537.6072	74	12555.8609	682	2.0e-2150	57.1832	778.0132	0.0000	0.0602	0.8626
Model4	4-Cluster	-10987.2109	22590.8696	22160.4219	22253.4219	93	12214.6756	663	2.3e-2092	29.3459	341.1853	0.0000	0.0787	0.8500
Model5	5-Cluster	-10843.5390	22429.4666	21911.0780	22023.0780	112	11927.3317	644	2.2e-2045	34.4191	287.3439	0.0000	0.0711	0.8725
Model6	6-Cluster	-10715.7291	22299.7878	21693.4582	21824.4582	131	11671.7119	625	6.5e-2005	23.6794	255.6198	0.0000	0.0825	0.8652

Table A4. Conditional Item Response Probabilities by Latent Class, Weighted Estimates

Indicator	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
Cluster size	0.349	0.320	0.206	0.125
Feminism_ident				
No identification (1)	0.682	0.164	0.356	0.350
Neutral (2)	0.267	0.388	0.412	0.413
Identification (3)	0.051	0.447	0.233	0.237
Mean	**1.37**	**2.28**	**1.88**	**1.89**
Feminism_threat (PBL_1e_6)				
Perceive as threat (1)	0.217	0.010	0.225	0.261
Neutral/no opinion (2)	0.328	0.097	0.330	0.337
Do not perceive as a threat (3)	0.455	0.893	0.446	0.402
Mean	**2.24**	**2.88**	**2.22**	**2.14**
Gender_quota (PBL_5b)				
Unlikely to support (1)	0.662	0.214	0.348	0.418
No opinion (2)	0.207	0.240	0.259	0.258
Likely to support (3)	0.132	0.547	0.393	0.324
Mean	**1.47**	**2.33**	**2.05**	**1.91**
GE_equal_pay (PBL_13_1)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.151	0.001	0.037	0.604
Neutral (2)	0.515	0.058	0.345	0.356
Not going far enough (3)	0.335	0.941	0.619	0.040
Mean	**2.18**	**2.94**	**2.58**	**1.44**
GE_SH_workplace (PBL_13_2)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.217	0.008	0.049	0.710
Neutral (2)	0.547	0.196	0.397	0.273
Not going far enough (3)	0.236	0.796	0.555	0.018
Mean	**2.02**	**2.79**	**2.51**	**1.31**
GE_polit_parity (PBL_13_3)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.279	0.004	0.105	0.694
Neutral (2)	0.601	0.182	0.589	0.294
Not going far enough (3)	0.120	0.814	0.306	0.012
Mean	**1.84**	**2.81**	**2.20**	**1.32**
GE_anti_GBV (PBL_13_4)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.147	0.001	0.064	0.602

Neutral (2)	0.526	0.082	0.432	0.361
Not going far enough (3)	0.327	0.917	0.503	0.038
Mean	**2.18**	**2.92**	**2.44**	**1.44**
GE_hh_childcare (PBL_13_5)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.208	0.012	0.081	0.641
Neutral (2)	0.600	0.279	0.532	0.339
Not going far enough (3)	0.192	0.709	0.388	0.020
Mean	**1.98**	**2.70**	**2.31**	**1.38**
GE_inter_pregnancy (PBL_13_6)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.155	0.006	0.111	0.489
Neutral (2)	0.548	0.184	0.518	0.448
Not going far enough (3)	0.297	0.810	0.370	0.063
Mean	**2.14**	**2.80**	**2.26**	**1.57**
Censor_media (PBL_3a_1)				
Agree/support (1)	0.007	0.015	0.420	0.406
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.036	0.051	0.177	0.177
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.956	0.933	0.404	0.417
Mean	**2.95**	**2.92**	**1.98**	**2.01**
One_party (PBL_3a_2)				
Agree/support (1)	0.060	0.035	0.475	0.264
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.093	0.073	0.170	0.162
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.847	0.892	0.355	0.575
Mean	**2.79**	**2.86**	**1.88**	**2.31**
Voting_rights (PBL_3a_3)				
Agree/support (1)	0.091	0.089	0.662	0.476
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.117	0.116	0.153	0.178
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.792	0.795	0.185	0.347
Mean	**2.70**	**2.71**	**1.52**	**1.87**
Bend_elect_rules (PBL_3a_4)				
Agree/support (1)	0.006	0.005	0.293	0.146
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.052	0.046	0.249	0.209
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.942	0.949	0.458	0.646

Mean	**2.94**	**2.94**	**2.17**	**2.50**
Ignore_court (PBL_3a_5)				
Agree/support (1)	0.029	0.033	0.521	0.268
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.103	0.109	0.232	0.236
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.868	0.859	0.247	0.496
Mean	**2.84**	**2.83**	**1.73**	**2.23**
Ignore_parliament (PBL_3a_6)				
Agree/support (1)	0.037	0.013	0.409	0.161
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.147	0.092	0.296	0.260
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.816	0.895	0.295	0.578
Mean	**2.78**	**2.88**	**1.89**	**2.42**
Bend_law (PBL_3a_7)				
Agree/support (1)	0.075	0.071	0.621	0.393
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.118	0.116	0.172	0.194
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.806	0.813	0.207	0.413
Mean	**2.73**	**2.74**	**1.59**	**2.02**
Pluralism (PBL_4d_1)				
Disagree (1)	0.077	0.046	0.103	0.065
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.162	0.131	0.182	0.152
Agree (support pluralism) (3)	0.761	0.823	0.715	0.783
Mean	**2.68**	**2.78**	**2.61**	**2.72**
Compromise (PBL_3c_2)				
Agree (anti compromise) (1)	0.561	0.251	0.633	0.532
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.214	0.220	0.197	0.219
Disagree (anti compromise) (3)	0.225	0.529	0.170	0.249
Mean	**1.66**	**2.28**	**1.54**	**1.72**

Note: Entries reflect item-response probabilities conditional on latent class membership. Larger probabilities indicate that the corresponding response category is more characteristic of individuals in that latent class.

Table A5. Descriptive Demographic and Sociopolitical Characteristics of Each Latent Class

Covariate / Category	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
FPÖ voting				
No	0.633	0.874	0.724	0.696
Yes	0.336	0.110	0.261	0.303
Gender				
Male	0.640	0.469	0.406	0.520
Female	0.360	0.531	0.594	0.480
Age group				
18–32 yrs	0.116	0.183	0.242	0.369
33–44 yrs	0.237	0.172	0.203	0.220
45–55 yrs	0.207	0.171	0.229	0.163
56–64 yrs	0.266	0.197	0.181	0.162
65–85 yrs	0.174	0.278	0.145	0.086
Mean age (yrs)	50.7	51.1	46.3	41.7
Education level				
No / lower secondary	0.152	0.112	0.290	0.212
Upper secondary / vocational	0.621	0.530	0.548	0.377
Tertiary	0.226	0.358	0.161	0.411

Note: Cell entries indicate the proportion of inactive covariates within each latent class, based on posterior probabilities of class membership.

Table A6. Conditional Item Response Probabilities by Latent Class, Unweighted Estimates

Indicator	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4
Cluster Size	0.3571	0.3255	0.1925	0.1248
fem_identification				
No identification (1)	0.7038	0.1694	0.4035	0.3600
Neutral (2)	0.2528	0.3937	0.4037	0.4134
Identification (3)	0.0433	0.4369	0.1928	0.2266
Mean	1.3395	2.2675	1.7893	1.8666
Feminism_threat (PBL_1e_6)				
Perceive as threat (1)	0.2043	0.0080	0.2050	0.2351
Neutral/no opinion (2)	0.3416	0.0950	0.3419	0.3502
Do not perceive as a threat (3)	0.4541	0.8970	0.4532	0.4147
Mean	2.2498	2.8891	2.2482	2.1797

Gender_quota (PBL_5b)				
Unlikely to support (1)	0.6626	0.2245	0.3534	0.4009
No opinion (2)	0.2046	0.2394	0.2563	0.2559
Likely to support (3)	0.1327	0.5361	0.3903	0.3432
Mean	1.4701	2.3116	2.0369	1.9423
GE_equal_pay (PBL_13_1)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.1506	0.0006	0.0365	0.5939
Neutral (2)	0.5000	0.0527	0.3313	0.3602
Not going far enough (3)	0.3494	0.9467	0.6322	0.0460
Mean	2.1988	2.9461	2.5956	1.4521
GE_SH_workplace (PBL_13_2)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.2035	0.0083	0.0489	0.6873
Neutral (2)	0.5502	0.1992	0.4027	0.2922
Not going far enough (3)	0.2463	0.7926	0.5484	0.0206
Mean	2.0428	2.7843	2.4995	1.3333
GE_polit_parity (PBL_13_3)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.2859	0.0037	0.1055	0.6704
Neutral (2)	0.5940	0.1774	0.5820	0.3151
Not going far enough (3)	0.1201	0.8189	0.3125	0.0144
Mean	1.8342	2.8151	2.2069	1.3440
GE_anti_GBV (PBL_13_4)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.1407	0.0017	0.0621	0.5801
Neutral (2)	0.5112	0.0897	0.4158	0.3746
Not going far enough (3)	0.3481	0.9087	0.5221	0.0453
Mean	2.2074	2.9070	2.4600	1.4652
GE_hh_childcare (PBL_13_5)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.2032	0.0120	0.0809	0.6291
Neutral (2)	0.5982	0.2757	0.5290	0.3491
Not going far enough (3)	0.1986	0.7122	0.3901	0.0218
Mean	1.9954	2.7002	2.3092	1.3927
GE_inter_pregnancy (PBL_13_6)				
Measure gone too far (1)	0.1549	0.0068	0.1136	0.4781
Neutral (2)	0.5503	0.1898	0.5232	0.4563

Not going far enough (3)	0.2947	0.8034	0.3632	0.0657
Mean	2.1398	2.7966	2.2496	1.5876
Censor_media (PBL_3a_1)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0046	0.0156	0.3806	0.4000
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0280	0.0505	0.1728	0.1732
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.9674	0.9339	0.4466	0.4268
Mean	2.9627	2.9183	2.0660	2.0269
One_party (PBL_3a_2)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0616	0.0406	0.4804	0.2701
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0927	0.0769	0.1672	0.1595
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.8457	0.8826	0.3524	0.5705
Mean	2.7841	2.8420	1.8719	2.3004
Voting_rights (PBL_3a_3)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0765	0.0908	0.6622	0.4890
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1091	0.1172	0.1529	0.1767
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.8145	0.7919	0.1849	0.3343
Mean	2.7380	2.7011	1.5228	1.8453
Bend_elect_rules (PBL_3a_4)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0031	0.0049	0.2678	0.1435
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0360	0.0447	0.2385	0.2011
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.9609	0.9504	0.4937	0.6554
Mean	2.9577	2.9456	2.2259	2.5120
Ignore_court (PBL_3a_5)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0259	0.0333	0.5462	0.2476
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0973	0.1092	0.2273	0.2320
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.8768	0.8574	0.2265	0.5204
Mean	2.8509	2.8241	1.6803	2.2727
Ignore_parliament (PBL_3a_6)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0365	0.0157	0.4084	0.1496
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1452	0.0991	0.2931	0.2513
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.8183	0.8852	0.2984	0.5991

Mean	2.7817	2.8694	1.8900	2.4495
Bend_law (PBL_3a_7)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0685	0.0724	0.6156	0.4109
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1117	0.1144	0.1709	0.1908
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.8198	0.8132	0.2134	0.3983
Mean	2.7514	2.7407	1.5978	1.9874
Pluralism (PBL_4d_1)				
Disagree (1)	0.0833	0.0401	0.1064	0.0607
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1674	0.1228	0.1841	0.1469
Agree (support pluralism) (3)	0.7492	0.8371	0.7096	0.7924
Mean	2.6659	2.7970	2.6032	2.7318
Compromise (PBL_3c_2)				
Agree (anti compromise) (1)	0.5727	0.2636	0.6727	0.5265
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.2094	0.2190	0.1840	0.2176
Disagree (anti compromise) (3)	0.2179	0.5175	0.1433	0.2559
Mean	1.6452	2.2539	1.4706	1.7295
Note: Entries reflect item-response probabilities conditional on latent class membership. Larger probabilities indicate that the corresponding response category is more characteristic of individuals in that latent class.				

Table A7. Model Fit Statistics for One to Six Classes, Unweighted Estimates, Using Policy Items to Measure Gender Equality

		LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	AIC3(LL)	Npar	L^2	df	p-value	Max. BVR	VLMR	p-value	Class.Err.	Entropy R^2
Model1	1-Cluster	-12364.5048	24967.9037	24801.0096	24837.0096	36	14822.6529	726	3.2e-2589	246.4967			0.0000	1.0000
Model2	2-Cluster	-11503.5466	23372.0702	23117.0931	23172.0931	55	13100.7364	707	1.0e-2246	157.1361	1721.9165	0.0000	0.0384	0.8613
Model3	3-Cluster	-11111.0086	22713.0773	22370.0172	22444.0172	74	12315.6605	688	1.5e-2097	59.8381	785.0759	0.0000	0.0611	0.8608
Model4	4-Cluster	-10940.6197	22498.3825	22067.2395	22160.2395	93	11974.8827	669	1.4e-2039	34.3257	340.7778	0.0000	0.0817	0.8461
Model5	5-Cluster	-10806.0019	22355.2297	21836.0037	21948.0037	112	11705.6470	650	2.8e-1996	38.4325	269.2358	0.0000	0.0724	0.8685
Model6	6-Cluster	-10677.3176	22223.9442	21616.6352	21747.6352	131	11448.2784	631	2.0e-1955	22.2497	257.3685	0.0000	0.0850	0.8607

Table A8. Conditional Item Response Probabilities by Latent Class Using Attitudinal Measures of Gender Equality Support, Weighted Estimates

Indicator	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4
Cluster Size	0.3858	0.2894	0.2150	0.1099
fem_identification				
No identification (1)	0.6990	0.2148	0.3922	0.0842
Neutral (2)	0.2619	0.4345	0.4245	0.3465

Identification (3)	0.0391	0.3507	0.1833	0.5693
Mean	1.3401	2.1358	1.7912	2.4852
Feminism_threat (PBL_1e_6)				
Perceive as threat (1)	0.2283	0.0014	0.2912	0.0000
Neutral/no opinion (2)	0.4303	0.0550	0.4351	0.0033
Do not perceive as a threat (3)	0.3414	0.9436	0.2737	0.9967
Mean	2.1131	2.9423	1.9824	2.9967
Gender_quota (PBL_5b)				
Unlikely to support (1)	0.6389	0.2870	0.4722	0.1107
No opinion (2)	0.2208	0.2645	0.2614	0.2032
Likely to support (3)	0.1404	0.4485	0.2664	0.6861
Mean	1.5015	2.1615	1.7942	2.5754
Censor_media (PBL_3a_1)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0101	0.0000	0.4445	0.3800
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0568	0.0005	0.2243	0.2262
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.9331	0.9995	0.3312	0.3938
Mean	2.9230	2.9995	1.8867	2.0139
One_party (PBL_3a_2)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0808	0.0000	0.4643	0.1739
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1439	0.0009	0.2201	0.1911
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.7752	0.9991	0.3156	0.6351
Mean	2.6944	2.9991	1.8514	2.4612
Voting_rights (PBL_3a_3)				
Agree/support (1)	0.1650	0.0413	0.6094	0.5099
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1429	0.0806	0.1589	0.1707
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.6921	0.8781	0.2316	0.3194
Mean	2.5271	2.8367	1.6222	1.8095
Bend_elect_rules (PBL_3a_4)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0027	0.0021	0.2918	0.1136
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.0463	0.0414	0.3120	0.2473
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.9511	0.9564	0.3961	0.6391
Mean	2.9484	2.9543	2.1043	2.5256

Ignore_court (PBL_3a_5)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0658	0.0215	0.5565	0.1797
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1413	0.0857	0.2188	0.2056
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.7929	0.8927	0.2248	0.6148
Mean	2.7272	2.8712	1.6683	2.4351
Ignore_parliament (PBL_3a_6)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0310	0.0030	0.4666	0.0435
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1936	0.0664	0.3575	0.2229
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.7754	0.9305	0.1759	0.7336
Mean	2.7444	2.9275	1.7093	2.6902
Bend_law (PBL_3a_7)				
Agree/support (1)	0.0909	0.0268	0.6047	0.5073
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.1406	0.0822	0.1882	0.2037
Disagree/Don't support (3)	0.7686	0.8909	0.2071	0.2891
Mean	2.6777	2.8641	1.6024	1.7818
Pluralism (PBL_4d_1)				
Disagree (1)	0.0999	0.0210	0.0901	0.0703
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.2036	0.1045	0.1958	0.1776
Agree (support pluralism) (3)	0.6964	0.8745	0.7141	0.7521
Mean	2.5965	2.8536	2.6240	2.6818
Compromise (PBL_3c_2)				
Agree (anti compromise) (1)	0.6742	0.1436	0.6667	0.2962
Neither agree nor disagree (2)	0.2090	0.2245	0.2119	0.2678
Disagree (anti compromise) (3)	0.1167	0.6319	0.1213	0.4360
Mean	1.4425	2.4882	1.4546	2.1399
women_stay_home (PBL_1c_1)				
No agreement (1)	0.4571	0.0834	0.4804	0.0869
Neutral (2)	0.2882	0.2057	0.2841	0.2089
Agreement (3)	0.2547	0.7109	0.2355	0.7042
Mean	1.7977	2.6275	1.7552	2.6174
political_positions (PBL_1f_1)				
No agreement (1)	0.1922	0.0128	0.2882	0.0023
Neutral (2)	0.1464	0.0450	0.1633	0.0196
Agreement (3)	0.6614	0.9422	0.5486	0.9781

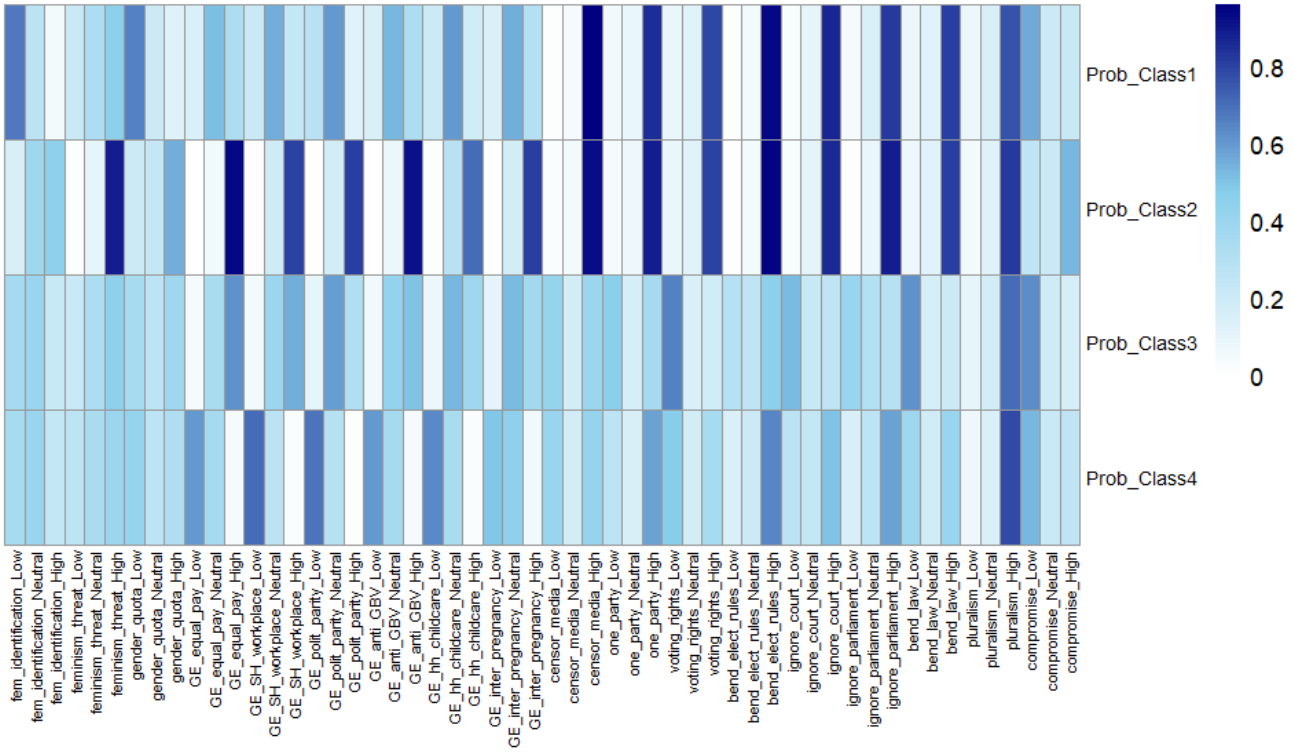
Mean	2.4692	2.9295	2.2604	2.9757

Note: Entries reflect item-response probabilities conditional on latent class membership. Larger probabilities indicate that the corresponding response category is more characteristic of individuals in that latent class.

Table A9. Model Fit Statistics for Models with One to Six Classes, Using Attitudinal Items to Measure Gender Equality

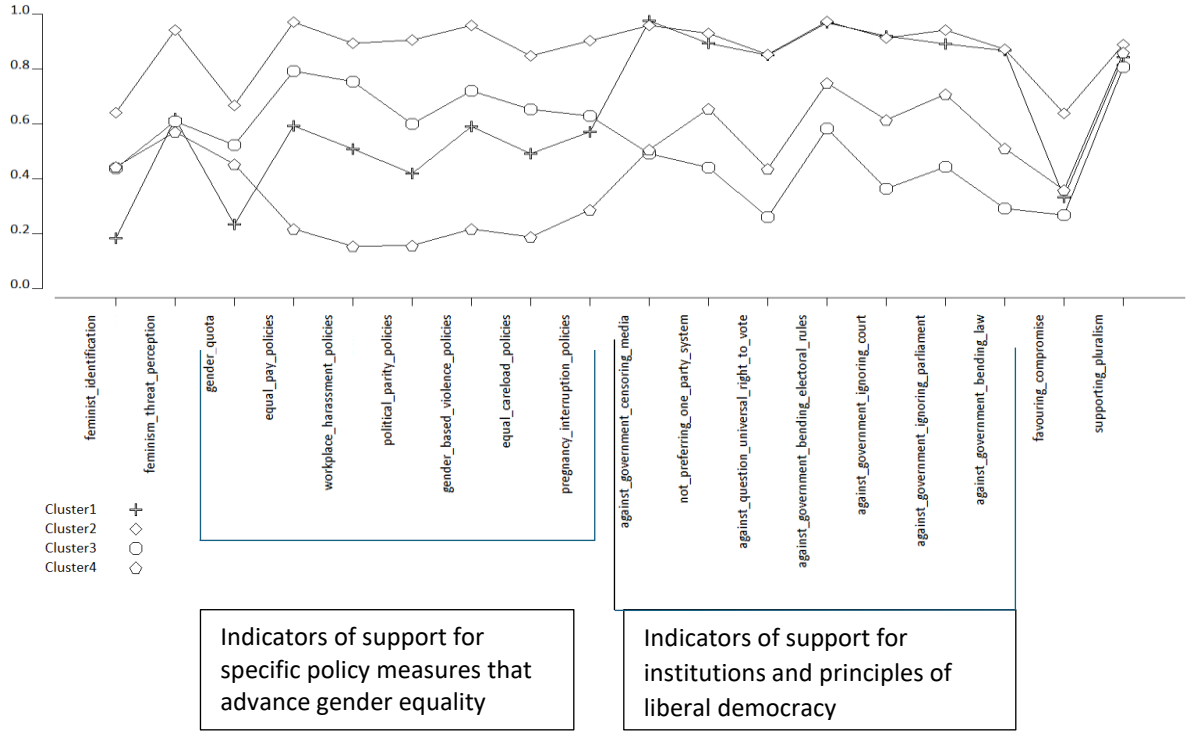
	LL	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	AIC3(LL)	Npar	L^2	df	p-value	Max. BVR	VLMR	p-value	Class.Err.	Entropy R^2
1-Cluster	-10832.3062	21854.5594	21720.6125	21748.6125	28	10449.8783	855	5.3e-1622	255.1256			0.0000	1.0000
2-Cluster	-10162.4317	20616.5675	20410.8633	20453.8633	43	9110.1292	840	3.1e-1364	121.8895	1339.7492	0.0000	0.0513	0.8100
3-Cluster	-9882.1264	20157.7142	19880.2527	19938.2527	58	8549.5186	825	1.2e-1261	35.7666	560.6106	0.0000	0.0923	0.7938
4-Cluster	-9750.7825	19996.7837	19647.5650	19720.5650	73	8286.8308	810	9.8e-1218	31.8731	262.6878	0.0000	0.0888	0.8183
5-Cluster	-9642.4846	19881.9453	19460.9693	19548.9693	88	8070.2351	795	7.1e-1183	29.9304	216.5957	0.0000	0.0972	0.8194
6-Cluster	-9582.5040	19863.7413	19371.0080	19474.0080	103	7950.2739	780	6.1e-1167	25.4426	119.9613	0.0007	0.1246	0.7987

Figure A1: Heatmap Displaying the Conditional Response Probabilities per Category per Manifest Variable for Each Class



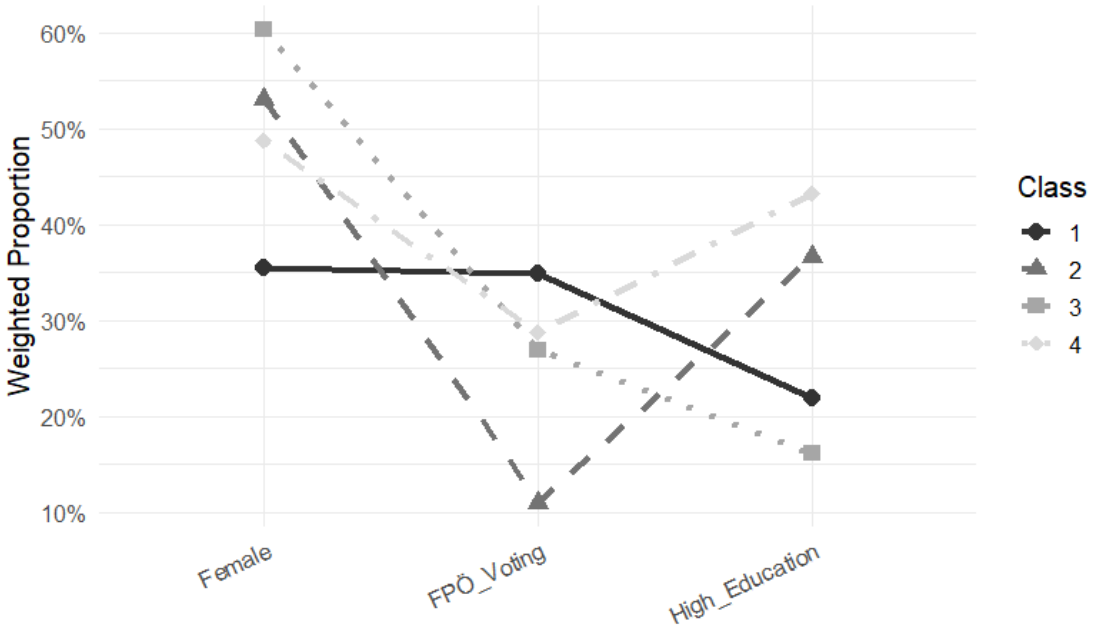
Note: for **the fem_identification variable**, the suffix 'low' means no identification with feminists, 'neutral' means neither identify, nor disidentify, and 'high' means identification with feminists. 'Low' **feminism_threat** means thinking that feminists are a menace, 'neutral' means neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 'high' means not thinking that feminists are a threat. For **variables starting with 'GE'**, 'low' means thinking that gender equality measure has gone too far, 'neutral' category means neither thinking it has gone too far nor thinking it has not gone far enough, and 'high' means thinking the measure is not going far enough. For the variables from '**censor_media' to 'bend_law'** and for 'compromise', the suffix 'low' means agreeing with the authoritarian/anti-compromise statements, 'neutral' means neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 'high' means disagreeing with the authoritarian/anti-compromise statement. The suffix 'low' for pluralism means disagreeing that "people with differing views should be allowed free speech in a public forum", 'neutral' means neither agreeing nor disagreeing/no opinion and 'high' means agreeing with the statement.

Figure A2: Model-estimated Conditional Response Probabilities for Gender Equality Policies (Frame 1), Democratic Principles (Frame 2), Pluralism, Feminist Identification, and Perceptions of Feminism as a Threat by Latent Class



Note: Higher values indicate stronger support for democracy and gender equality. The figure highlights a clear alignment between democratic commitment and gender equality in Class 2 and alignment of authoritarian-leaning attitudes with fragmentation in Class 3.

Figure A3: Descriptive Demographic and Socio-political profiles by Latent Class Based on Inactive Covariates



Note: The figure shows weighted proportions of class members who are female, who voted for FPÖ in the 2024 national election, and who hold a university degree.

II. Latent Class Analysis: Methodological Details

II.1. Model Specification and Estimation

We conducted latent class analysis in LatentGOLD (Vermunt & Magidson, 2025) following a standard three-step approach consisting of (1) identifying the optimal latent class model based on fit indices and theoretical interpretability; (2) assigning respondents to their most likely class based on posterior probabilities; and (3) examining associations between class membership and demographic covariates using multinomial logistic regression (Vermunt, 2017), and, additionally, a binomial regression. We chose to use LatentGOLD for steps 1 and 2 as this software allows for weighted data analysis. The regression models were estimated in STATA.

II.2. Preparatory Steps

Before running the latent class analysis, we investigated the conceptual coherence and pairwise correlation of the manifest variables, which is one of the key foundational steps when defining an LCA (Sinha et al., 2021). With Cronbach's Alpha of 0.8, the selected manifest variables show high internal coherence, while the pairwise correlations showed no correlations above p=0.7, which are the desired outcomes (Sinha et al., 2021). None of the manifest variables had true missing data. However, we coded 'Don't know' responses as missing. Missing data imputation was not necessary, due to a very low percentage (<3%) of missing item responses in the dataset (Sinha et al., 2021).

II.3. Model Selection

To choose the best fitting model, we ran the LCA six times, with one to six latent classes and compared the model fit statistics (Table A3 above). Even though the BIC, AIC and entropy values suggested a six-class solution (Vermunt & Magidson, 2002), we decided to limit our model to 4 classes, because the additional classes were small (<5%) and therefore unstable as well as conceptually overlapping (Nylund-Gibson & Choi, 2018).

II.4. Sensitivity Analyses and Robustness Checks

To ensure the stability and robustness of the latent class solution, we conducted several sensitivity analyses. First, we tested alternative treatments of 'Don't know' responses, which can influence class enumeration or item response probabilities if handled inconsistently (Collins & Lanza, 2009). Specifically, we compared three approaches: (1) treating 'Don't Know' responses as missing and imputing these values using multiple imputation in R; (2) treating them as missing but not imputing (as established earlier with missing cells <3% imputation is not necessary); and (3) using a conceptual approach and treating 'Don't know' responses as the middle (neutral) category on the response scale of each item. Across all three versions, the latent class structure remained virtually identical with the same 4 classes established and only minimal (±0.05–0.10) variation in the estimated item-response probabilities and class sizes (2-4 percentage points).

This shows that the identified patterns (latent classes) are not dependent on the way missing responses were handled.

Second, we assessed whether the weighting procedure we implemented in R package that does not have an automatic way to weigh survey data influenced the results by comparing models estimated with LatentGOLD's internal weighting option and a maximum-likelihood approach using a row-replication weighting procedure in R, using the poLCA package (Linzer & Lewis, 2011), following the suggestions of Vermunt and Magidson (2007). Both approaches yielded almost identical results. Based on these tests, we procedeed with the weighted, unimputed dataset using LatentGOLD's internal weight specification as our main model as this approach most accurately accounts for adjustments required in the setting of survey data analysis. We also ran the same analysis in LatentGOLD without applying weights which resulted in the same 4-class solution with only minimal differences in the exact item responses and class sizes (compare Table A4 and A6 in the Appendix).

As a final robustness check, we re-estimated the LCA excluding all policy-related gender equality variables, except support for gender quotas, and instead including attitudinal measures of gender equality support that we also had in our survey (PBL_1c_1 and PBL_1f_1). In this specification, Classes 1, 2, and 3 remain substantively unchanged in size and attitudinal profile (Table A7). However, model fit statistics (Table A8) indicate that a three-class solution is statistically preferred, with entropy lowest for three classes. In this specification, the fourth class identified in the model is absorbed into the broader fragmented authoritarian cluster (Class 3).

Below we provide precise question wording for the attitudinal items we used to conduct this robustness check.

1. [PBL_1c] Issues related to equality between men and women invoke different feelings. On the one hand, there are those who think that there is more to be done for gender equality. On the other hand, there are also people who think that enough has been done. I see myself as a person that…

-[PBL_1c_1] ...believes that it is better for children if women stay at home

2. [PBL_1f] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

-[PBL_1f_1] Women do not have the necessary qualities and skills to fill positions of responsibility in politics

III. Binomial Regression Analysis of Latent Class Membership

After identifying the four latent classes, we examined how socio-demographic characteristics and voting behavior are systematically associated with these attitudinal profiles. Due to our particular interest in the integrated political culture and to ease interpretations, we estimated a binary logistic regression model contrasting respondents who belong to the class that embodies integrated democratic political culture (Class 2) with those who do not (Class 1, 3 and 4). While methodologically multinominal regression would be a more appropriate approach, this specification provides a more intuitive summary of the main socio-demographic correlates of integrated democratic political culture. Results from the full multinomial regression with Class 2 serving as a reference category are also reported in Section IV of this Appendix. The results from binomial and multinomial regression analyses are consistent.

The regression results (Table A9) largely substantiate the descriptive patterns reported in Table 1 of the study (see main article) and visible in Figure A3. Voting for the FPÖ in the 2024 elections is the strongest predictor of not belonging to the class that embodies integrated democratic political culture. Compared to non-FPÖ voters, respondents who reported voting for the FPÖ in 2024 have lower odds of belonging to Class 2 (OR = 0.31, $p<0.001$).

Moreover, older respondents are significantly more likely to belong to the integrated democratic political culture class, with each additional year of age increasing the odds of belonging to Class 2 by about two percent. Looking at education levels reveals that compared to respondents with low educational attainment those with upper secondary or vocational education are almost twice as likely to belong to Class 2, while respondents with tertiary education show more than three times higher odds of Class 2 membership.

Table A10. Predictors of Latent Class Membership: Binary Logistic Regression with an Interaction Term between Gender and Age

Variable	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	z	p-value	95% CI
Gender (ref. = Male)					
Female	1.73	1.01	0.94	0.345	[0.55, 5.43]
Age (years)					
	1.02**	0.01	2.72	0.006	[1.01, 1.04]
Gender × Age					
Female × Age	0.99	0.01	−0.89	0.374	[0.97, 1.01]
Education (ref. = Low)					

Upper secondary / vocational	1.95*	0.62	2.09	0.036	[1.04, 3.64]
Tertiary education	3.42***	1.15	3.65	<0.001	[1.77, 6.62]
FPÖ vote (ref. = No)					
FPÖ voter	0.31***	0.07	−5.36	<0.001	[0.20, 0.47]
Constant	0.06***	0.03	−5.19	<0.001	[0.02, 0.17]
Observations	1,028				
Pseudo R^2	0.069				
Log pseudolikelihood	-516,93				

Note: Odds ratios from a binary logistic regression predicting membership in the integrated democratic political culture class 2 (1 = integrated democratic political culture Class 2, 0 = all other classes). Odds ratios above 1 indicate an increase in the odds of belonging to the integrated democratic political culture class (Class 2), while odds ratios below 1 indicate a decrease, holding other variables constant. Reference categories are male (gender), low education, and non-FPÖ voter. 95% confidence intervals in brackets. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. Overall, the model explains a limited share of the variance in class membership (pseudo-R^2 ≈ 0.07), which is expected in this context, as latent class membership is primarily structured by attitudinal patterns rather than socio-demographic characteristics. Please note that pseudo-R-squared is not directly comparable to R-squared in the OLS regression.

IV. Multinomial Regression Analysis of Latent Class Membership

To examine how socio-demographic characteristics and political behavior are systematically associated with latent class membership, we also estimated a multinomial regression with Class 2 representing integrated democratic political culture as our reference group. Diagnostic tests indicated that the Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives assumption was not violated (χ^2 = 2.50, p = 0.93). The model includes age, gender, education; FPÖ vote in the previous election, and an interaction between gender and age.

The regression results (Table A10) largely substantiate the descriptive class profiles presented in Table 1 in the article. Compared to respondents in Class 2, FPÖ voters are more likely to belong to Class 1, 3, or 4. These classes embody fragmented democratic, fragmented authoritarian, and integrated authoritarian political cultures. Gender, age, and education level further differentiate class membership. Women are more likely to be in Class 2 (integrated democratic political culture) than in Class 1 (fragmented democratic political culture). At the same time, younger respondents are less likely to be in Class 2 than in other classes. Overall, younger, less educated, male respondents, and FPÖ voters are less likely to hold beliefs consistent with the integrated democratic political culture of Class 2.

Table A11. Predictors of Latent Class Membership: Multinomial Logistic Regression with an Interaction Term between Gender and Age

Variable	**Class 1 vs 2**	**Class 3 vs 2**	**Class 4 vs 2**
Age	0.98 (0.01) **	0.96 (0.01) ***	0.97 (0.01) ***
Gender (Female)	0.15 (0.11) ***	0.42 (0.36)	1.73 (1.53)
Gender X Age	1.02 (0.01)	1.02 (0.02)	0.98 (0.02)
Medium Education (Upper secondary to vocational)	0.69 (0.26)	0.38 (0.14) ***	0.40 (0.20) *
High Education (Tertiary)	0.43 (0.17) **	0.15 (0.06) ***	0.64 (0.33)
FPÖ voted	4.27 (1.05) ***	2.78 (0.81) ***	4.96 (1.74) ***
Observations	745		
Pseudo R^2	0.082		
Log pseudolikelihood	-890.95		

Note: The regression models are estimated using weighted data. Relative Risk Ratios (RRR) are reported. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The pseudo-R^2 (≈ .08) indicates that socio-economic predictors explain a limited portion of variation in class membership probabilities, which is expected given that the classes are defined by attitudinal response patterns. Please note that pseudo-R-squared is not directly comparable to R-squared in the OLS regression.

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