

Supplementary Material for The Underlying Structure of Political Support

Data Description

Table A1: GLES Field Dates

Wave	Field Dates
Wave 1	2016-10-06 – 2016-11-10
Wave 2	2017-02-16 – 2017-03-03
Wave 3	2017-05-11 – 2017-05-23
Wave 4	2017-07-06 – 2017-07-17
Wave A1	2017-07-20 – 2017-08-09
Wave 5	2017-08-17 – 2017-08-28
Wave 6	2017-09-04 – 2017-09-13
Wave 7	2017-09-18 – 2017-09-23
Wave 8	2017-09-27 – 2017-10-09
Wave 9	2018-03-15 – 2018-03-26
Wave 10	2018-11-06 – 2018-11-21
Wave 11	2019-05-27 – 2019-06-26
Wave 12	2019-11-04 – 2019-12-17
Wave 13	2020-04-20 – 2020-06-01
Wave A2	2020-09-21 – 2020-11-02
Wave 14	2020-11-03 – 2020-12-17
Wave 15	2021-02-25 – 2021-03-12
Wave 16	2021-05-06 – 2021-05-19
Wave 17	2021-07-07 – 2021-07-20
Wave 18	2021-08-11 – 2021-08-24
Wave 19	2021-09-15 – 2021-09-25
Wave 20	2021-09-29 – 2021-10-12
Wave 21	2021-12-09 – 2021-12-21
Wave 22	2022-05-18 – 2022-06-28
Wave 23	2022-10-12 – 2022-11-22
Wave 24	2023-05-03 – 2023-05-16
Wave 25	2023-10-11 – 2023-11-21
Wave 26	2024-06-12 – 2024-06-25
Wave 27	2024-09-24 – 2024-10-08

Note: Waves A1 & A2 are refresher samples and not part of the consecutive numbering.

Figure A1: GLES Item Availability over Waves

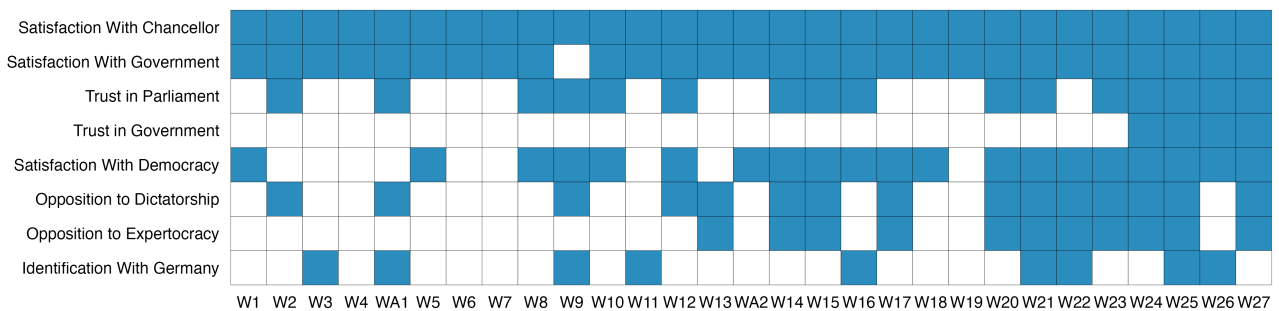


Table A2: GLES Item Wordings

Items	GLES Code	Original Scale	Wording
Satisfaction With Chancellor	650a/650o1	Numerical (-5 to +5): I think very negatively/ positively of this politician	Now, please indicate what you think of some leading politicians. Angela Merkel / Olaf Scholz
Satisfaction With Government	730	Numerical (-5 to +5): Completely Dissatisfied / Completely Satisfied	Are you rather satisfied or rather dissatisfied with the performance of the federal government formed by [government parties]?
Trust in Parliament	160a	Categorical: I trust ...	Please indicate for each case whether you trust the institution or not. – The Bundestag
Trust in Government	160c	Not at all, Rather Not, Partly, Largely, Completely	– The federal government
Satisfaction With Democracy	020	Categorical: Very Sat., Satisfied, Partly, Dissatisfied, Very Dissat.	All in all, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in Germany?
Opposition to Dictatorship	060e	Categorical: I agree ... Not at all, Rather Not, Partly, Rather, Completely	Here you will find a number of statements that some people agree with and others disagree with. What about you personally? – Under certain circumstances, a dictatorship can be the better form of government.
Opposition to Expertocracy	060l	Categorical: I agree ... Not at all, Rather Not, Partly, Rather, Completely	– It would be better if decisions were made by non-elected, independent experts rather than by politicians or citizens.
Identification With Germany	2200c	Categorical: ... connected Not at all, Slightly, Moderately, Rather, Strongly	People feel varying degrees of attachment to Germany, Europe, their federal state, and their local community. How about you? How strongly do you feel attached to ... Germany?

Note: Originally captured in German. Own Translation

Table A3: GLES Item Transformations

Items	Recoding
Satisfaction With Chancellor	As Numerical: (1 – 11) <i>Combined Ratings of Merkel (until Wave 20) and Scholz (from Wave 21 on)</i>
Satisfaction With Government	As Numerical: (1 – 11)
Trust in Parliament	To Numerical: (0 – 5)
Trust in Government	To Numerical: (0 – 5)
Satisfaction With Democracy	To Numerical: (0 – 5) <i>Reversed, so that high values indicate more satisfaction</i>
Opposition to Dictatorship	To Numerical: (0 – 5) <i>Reversed, so that high values indicate more opposition</i>
Opposition to Expertocracy	To Numerical: (0 – 5) <i>Reversed, so that high values indicate more opposition</i>
Identification With Germany	To Numerical: (0 – 5)

Table A4: ESS Item Description

Label	Name	Scale	Wording
Satisfaction With Government	stfgov	0 (Extremely Dissatisfied) – 10 (Extremely Satisfied)	How satisfied with national government
Satisfaction With Democracy	stfdem	0 (Extremely Dissatisfied) – 10 (Extremely Satisfied)	How satisfied with the way democracy works in country
Trust in Politicians	trstplt	0 (No trust at all) – 10 (Complete trust)	Trust in politicians
Trust in Parliament	trstpl	0 (No trust at all) – 10 (Complete trust)	Trust in country's parliament
Trust in Parties	trstprt	0 (No trust at all) – 10 (Complete trust)	Trust in political parties
Importance Living in Dem	implvdm	0 (Not at all important) – 10 (Extremely important)	How important for you to live in democratically governed country
Acceptance of Strong Leader	accalaw	0 (Not at all acceptable) – 10 (Completely acceptable)	Acceptable for country to have a strong leader above the law
Emotional Attachment to Country	atchctr	0 (Not at all emotionally attached) – 10 (Very emotionally attached)	How emotionally attached to [country]?

Note: Originally captured in countries' native language. Data from wave 10 (ESS ERIC, 2023, 2025b).

Table A5: GLES Item Descriptives

Wave	Min	Q ₁	Mean	Q ₃	SD	Max	Wave	Min	Q ₁	Mean	Q ₃	SD	Max
							Trust in Government						
W1	1	2	5.4	9	3.5	11	W1						
W2	1	2	5.8	9	3.4	11	W2	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5
W3	1	3	6.0	9	3.5	11	W3						
W4	1	3	6.0	9	3.5	11	W4						
WA1	1	3	6.1	9	3.4	11	WA1	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W5	1	3	5.9	9	3.4	11	W5						
W6	1	3	6.0	9	3.4	11	W6						
W7	1	3	5.8	9	3.4	11	W7						
W8	1	2	5.7	9	3.4	11	W8						
W9	1	2	5.4	8	3.4	11	W9	1	3	4.2	5	1.0	5
W10	1	2	5.2	8	3.3	11	W10						
W11	1	2	5.3	8	3.3	11	W11						
W12	1	2	5.4	8	3.3	11	W12	1	4	4.2	5	1.0	5
W13	1	4	6.7	10	3.4	11	W13	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
WA2	1	3	6.6	10	3.5	11	WA2						
W14	1	3	6.7	10	3.5	11	W14	1	4	4.2	5	1.0	5
W15	1	3	6.4	9	3.5	11	W15	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W16	1	3	6.3	9	3.5	11	W16						
W17	1	3	6.7	10	3.5	11	W17	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W18	1	3	6.7	10	3.5	11	W18						
W19	1	3	6.6	10	3.5	11	W19						
W20	1	3	6.5	9	3.4	11	W20	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W21	1	5	6.7	9	3.0	11	W21	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W22	1	3	5.6	8	3.1	11	W22	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
W23	1	2	5.2	8	3.1	11	W23	1	3	4.2	5	1.0	5
W24	1	2	4.9	7	3.0	11	W24	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5
W25	1	1	4.5	7	3.0	11	W25	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5
W26	1	1	4.1	6	2.9	11	W26						
W27	1	1	4.1	6	2.9	11	W27	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5
							Trust in Parliament						
W1							W1						
W2	1	2	3.0	4	1.0	5	W2						
W3							W3						
W4							W4						
WA1	1	2	3.0	4	1.0	5	WA1						
W5							W5						
W6							W6						
W7							W7						
W8	1	2	3.0	4	1.0	5	W8						
W9	1	2	2.7	3	1.1	5	W9						
W10	1	2	2.8	4	1.0	5	W10						
W11							W11						
W12	1	2	2.8	4	1.0	5	W12						
W13							W13	1	3	3.3	4	1.0	5
WA2							WA2						
W14	1	3	3.1	4	1.1	5	W14	1	3	3.4	4	1.0	5
W15	1	2	3.0	4	1.1	5	W15	1	3	3.4	4	1.0	5
W16	1	2	2.9	4	1.1	5	W16						
W17							W17	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5
W18							W18						
W19							W19						
W20	1	2	3.0	4	1.1	5	W20	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5
W21	1	3	3.1	4	1.1	5	W21	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5
W22							W22	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5
W23	1	2	2.8	4	1.1	5	W23	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5
W24	1	2	2.8	4	1.1	5	W24	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5
W25	1	2	2.8	4	1.1	5	W25	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5
W26	1	2	2.8	4	1.1	5	W26						
W27	1	2	2.8	4	1.1	5	W27	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5
							Satisfaction With Democracy						
W1	1	2	3.0	4	1.0	5	W1						
W2							W2						
W3							W3	1	3	3.9	5	1.0	5
W4							W4						
WA1							WA1	1	3	3.9	5	1.0	5
W5	1	3	3.2	4	1.0	5	W5						
W6							W6						
W7							W7						
W8	1	3	3.3	4	1.0	5	W8						
W9	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5	W9	1	3	3.8	5	1.0	5
W10	1	3	3.2	4	1.0	5	W10						
W11							W11	1	3	3.9	5	0.9	5
W12	1	3	3.1	4	1.0	5	W12						
W13							W13						
WA2	1	3	3.2	4	1.0	5	WA2						
W14	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5	W14						
W15	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5	W15						
W16	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5	W16	1	3	3.8	4	1.0	5
W17	1	3	3.2	4	1.0	5	W17						
W18	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5	W18						
W19							W19						
W20	1	3	3.3	4	1.0	5	W20						
W21	1	3	3.3	4	1.1	5	W21	1	3	3.8	4	1.0	5
W22	1	3	3.2	4	1.1	5	W22	1	3	3.7	4	1.0	5
W23	1	2	3.0	4	1.1	5	W23						
W24	1	2	3.0	4	1.1	5	W24						
W25	1	2	2.9	4	1.2	5	W25	1	3	3.7	4	1.0	5
W26	1	2	3.0	4	1.2	5	W26	1	3	3.8	5	1.0	5
W27	1	2	3.0	4	1.1	5	W27						
							Opposition to Dictatorship						
W1							W1						
W2	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5	W2						
W3							W3						
W4							W4						
WA1	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	WA1						
W5							W5						
W6							W6						
W7							W7						
W8							W8						
W9	1	3	4.2	5	1.0	5	W9						
W10							W10						
W11							W11						
W12	1	4	4.2	5	1.0	5	W12						
W13	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W13						
WA2							WA2						
W14	1	4	4.2	5	1.0	5	W14						
W15	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W15						
W16							W16						
W17	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W17						
W18							W18						
W19							W19						
W20	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W20						
W21	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W21						
W22	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W22						
W23	1	3	4.2	5	1.0	5	W23						
W24	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5	W24						
W25	1	3	4.2	5	1.1	5	W25						
W26							W26						
W27	1	4	4.3	5	1.0	5	W27						
							Opposition to Expertocracy						
W1							W1						
W2							W2						
W3							W3						
W4							W4						
WA1	1	2	3.0	4									

Factor Analysis

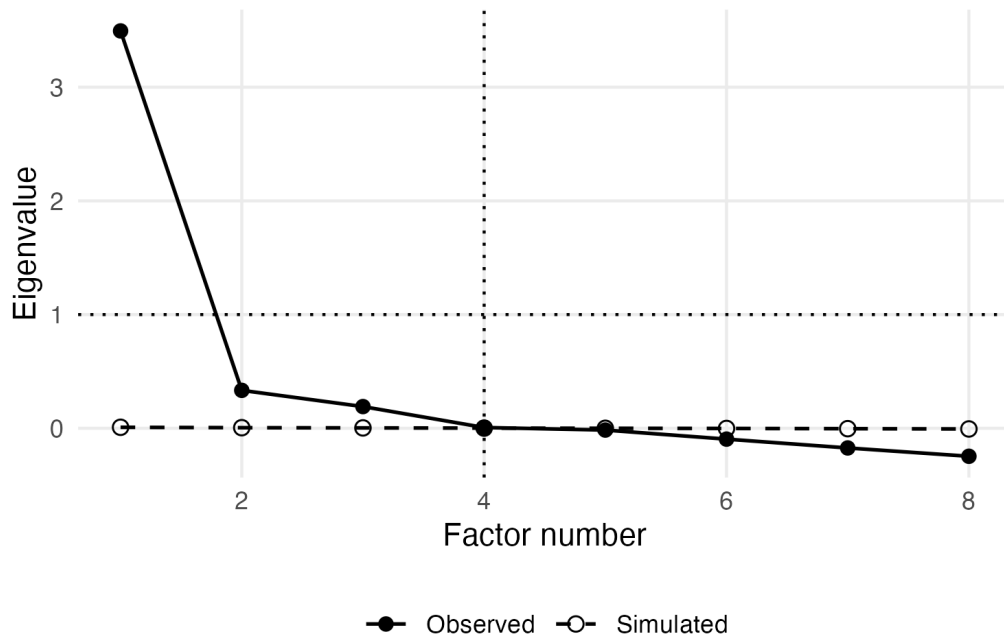


Figure A2: Parallel Analysis

Note: Items used: Trust in Government / Parliament; Satisfaction with Chancellor / Government / Democracy; Identification with Germany; Opposition to Dictatorship / Expertocracy

Table A6: Factor Loadings

Variable	1-Factor	2-Factor	
		1st	2nd
Trust in Government	0.89	0.83	0.29
Trust in Parliament	0.85	0.79	0.30
Satisfaction With Democracy	0.77	0.70	0.31
Satisfaction With Government	0.76	0.80	
Satisfaction With Chancellor	0.76	0.80	
Identification With Germany	0.31	0.28	
Opposition to Dictatorship	0.27		0.57
Opposition to Expertocracy	0.24		0.45
Variance Exp.	44%	40%	10%
Cum. Variance Exp.	44%	50%	
RMSEA Index	0.159	0.172	

Note: Extracted 1- and 2-Factor solutions. Factor loadings between ± 0.2 not displayed.

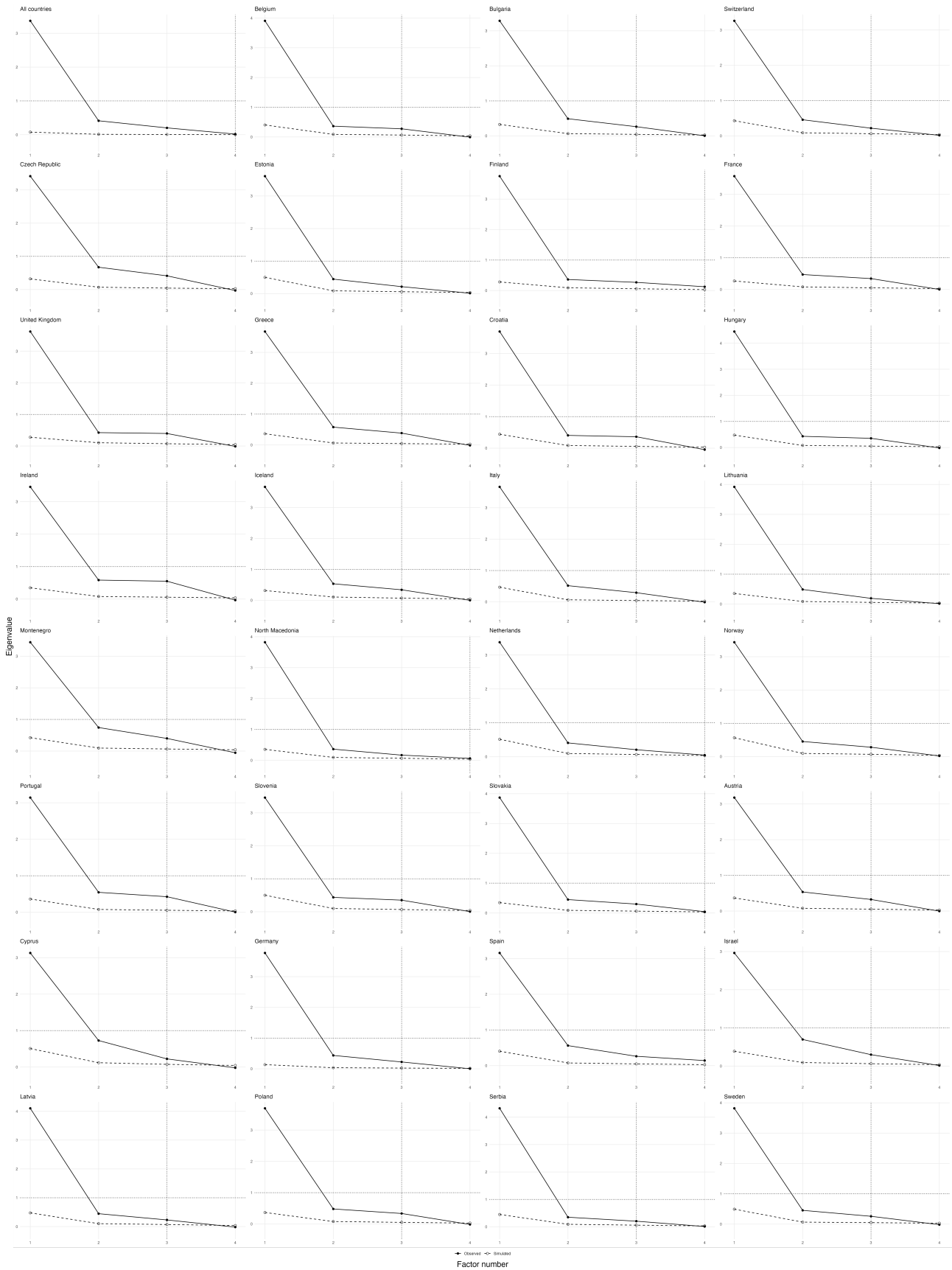


Figure A3: Parallel Analysis – European Social Survey

Note: For items, see tab. A4. Run pooled (top left) and split by country.

Table A7: Factor Loadings – European Social Survey

Item	ALL	BE	BG	CH	CZ	EE	FI	FR	GB	GR	HR	HU	IE	IS	IT	LT
Satisfaction With Government	0.74	0.82	0.59	0.72	0.61	0.74	0.72	0.73	0.69	0.71	0.78	0.85	0.69	0.75	0.73	0.79
Satisfaction With Democracy	0.75	0.74	0.61	0.67	0.59	0.70	0.70	0.76	0.68	0.71	0.70	0.81	0.63	0.71	0.66	0.77
Trust in Politicians	0.88	0.88	0.89	0.83	0.93	0.84	0.88	0.82	0.85	0.85	0.85	0.86	0.89	0.87	0.89	0.83
Trust in Parliament	0.84	0.82	0.79	0.81	0.80	0.81	0.85	0.77	0.85	0.79	0.82	0.83	0.83	0.84	0.81	0.84
Trust in Parties	0.84	0.84	0.86	0.78	0.89	0.79	0.84	0.77	0.83	0.85	0.82	0.84	0.86	0.83	0.88	0.77
Importance Living in Democracy		0.31		0.26		0.38	0.37	0.33								0.34
Acceptance of Strong Leader					0.22	-0.21				0.21		0.48			0.22	
Emotional Attachment to Country	0.20	0.32		0.23		0.23		0.25	0.31		0.25			0.21		0.22
Item	ME	MK	NL	NO	PT	SI	SK	AT	CY	DE	ES	IL	LV	PL	RS	SE
Satisfaction With Government	0.66	0.80	0.71	0.59	0.60	0.72	0.72	0.64	0.67	0.75	0.62	0.62	0.81	0.78	0.87	0.74
Satisfaction With Democracy	0.68	0.75	0.71	0.72	0.61	0.70	0.72	0.66	0.71	0.73	0.63	0.63	0.79	0.75	0.86	0.76
Trust in Politicians	0.85	0.83	0.84	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.91	0.89	0.83	0.87	0.85	0.83	0.85	0.82	0.82	0.87
Trust in Parliament	0.63	0.78	0.76	0.81	0.72	0.78	0.85	0.75	0.70	0.84	0.74	0.78	0.88	0.80	0.87	0.82
Trust in Parties	0.82	0.79	0.81	0.85	0.83	0.81	0.89	0.82	0.77	0.82	0.81	0.75	0.75	0.76	0.70	0.83
Importance Living in Democracy	-0.25		0.32	0.33	0.30	0.27				0.31	0.21		0.34			0.31
Acceptance of Strong Leader	0.41	0.26											-0.24		0.33	
Emotional Attachment to Country		0.32	0.24	0.21		0.20				0.30	0.20		0.31	0.34	0.39	0.25

Note: Extracted 1-Factor solutions. Factor loadings between ± 0.2 not displayed.

Item Response Model

Table A8: Item Response Model – Estimated Parameters

	a	b ₁	b ₂	b ₃	b ₄	b ₅	b ₆	b ₇	b ₈	b ₉	b ₁₀
Satisfaction With Chancellor	3.18	-0.97	-0.75	-0.51	-0.34	-0.20	0.15	0.38	0.67	1.04	1.50
Satisfaction With Government	3.37	-1.12	-0.78	-0.42	-0.17	0.02	0.44	0.72	1.13	1.77	2.42
Trust in Government	4.82	-1.07	-0.50	0.34	1.43						
Trust in Parliament	2.40	-1.40	-0.66	0.54	2.06						
Satisfaction With Democracy	2.05	-1.77	-0.90	0.29	1.85						
Opposition to Dictatorship	0.46	-8.88	-5.75	-2.54	-0.79						
Opposition to Expertocracy	0.41	-7.33	-3.50	1.55	4.15						
Identification With Germany	0.56	-6.49	-4.31	-1.24	1.89						

Note: Graded item response model estimated using the *mirt*-package in *R* (Chalmers, 2012). All items are treated as ordinal: a is the item's discrimination parameter and b_k is the value of θ for which the probability of selecting category $\geq k$ is 50%.

Random Intercept Cross-Lagged Models

Table A9: RI-CLPM – Robustness: Listwise Deletion

DV	Lagged IV	Est. (SE)	p-Value	No. Respondents & Waves
Satisfaction With Chancellor	Trust in Government	0.052 (0.012)	0.00	5740
Trust in Government	Satisfaction With Chancellor	0.087 (0.011)	0.00	24, 25, 26, 27
Satisfaction With Chancellor	Trust in Parliament	0.031 (0.006)	0.00	2240
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Chancellor	0.141 (0.005)	0.00	2, 8-10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.031 (0.004)	0.00	2133
Satisfaction With Democracy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	0.131 (0.005)	0.00	1, 5, 8-10, 12, 14-18, 20-27
Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Government	0.021 (0.013)	0.10	5879
Trust in Government	Satisfaction With Government	0.059 (0.009)	0.00	24, 25, 26, 27
Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	0.090 (0.007)	0.00	2391
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Government	0.133 (0.005)	0.00	2, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
Satisfaction With Government	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.074 (0.006)	0.00	2271
Satisfaction With Democracy	Satisfaction With Government	0.125 (0.004)	0.00	1, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14-18, 20-27
Trust in Government	Trust in Parliament	0.026 (0.013)	0.04	5868
Trust in Parliament	Trust in Government	0.012 (0.013)	0.36	24, 25, 26, 27
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.095 (0.005)	0.00	2822
Satisfaction With Democracy	Trust in Parliament	0.099 (0.006)	0.00	8-10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
Trust in Government	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.042 (0.010)	0.00	5864
Satisfaction With Democracy	Trust in Government	0.029 (0.013)	0.02	24, 25, 26, 27
Satisfaction With Democracy	Identification With Germany	0.016 (0.008)	0.05	3825
Identification With Germany	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.021 (0.009)	0.02	9, 16, 21, 22, 25, 26
Satisfaction With Democracy	Opposition to Dictatorship	0.014 (0.005)	0.01	3076
Opposition to Dictatorship	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.017 (0.006)	0.00	9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20-25, 27
Satisfaction With Democracy	Opposition to Expertocracy	0.015 (0.005)	0.00	3329
Opposition to Expertocracy	Satisfaction With Democracy	0.037 (0.009)	0.00	14, 15, 17, 20-25, 27

Note: Cross-lagged regression coefficients from maximum likelihood structural equation models (RI-CLPM) obtained using the *lavaan*-package in *R* (Rosseel, 2012). Model set-up follows the recommendations laid out by Mulder (2025). Balanced panel created through listwise deletion of respondents if they have any missing value in any wave. All variables scaled & centered prior to estimation, which makes coefficients comparable across models and indicative of the within-respondent impact of a 1 SD deviation in the lagged independent variable.

Table A10: RI-CLPM – Robustness: Unconstrained

DV	Lagged IV	Time-Period	Est. (SE)	p-Value	No. Respondents & Waves
Satisfaction With Chancellor	Trust in Parliament	Merkel	0.042 (0.004)	0.00	21384
		Switch	0.140 (0.015)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.012 (0.006)	0.03	
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Merkel	0.200 (0.004)	0.00	2, 8-10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
		Switch	0.161 (0.008)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.065 (0.005)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.039 (0.003)	0.00	23013
		Switch	0.120 (0.016)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.014 (0.004)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Merkel	0.166 (0.004)	0.00	1, 5, 8-10, 12, 14-18, 20-27
		Switch	0.112 (0.011)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.080 (0.005)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Merkel	0.090 (0.005)	0.00	20812
		Switch	0.144 (0.016)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.073 (0.007)	0.00	
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Government	Merkel	0.127 (0.004)	0.00	2, 8, 10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
		Switch	0.075 (0.009)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.124 (0.004)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Government	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.066 (0.004)	0.00	22884
		Switch	0.176 (0.017)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.069 (0.005)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Satisfaction With Government	Merkel	0.087 (0.003)	0.00	1, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14-18, 20-27
		Switch	-0.011 (0.011)	0.32	
		Scholz	0.150 (0.004)	0.00	
Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.091 (0.004)	0.00	20370
		Switch	0.094 (0.012)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.121 (0.005)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Trust in Parliament	Merkel	0.094 (0.005)	0.00	8-10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21, 23-27
		Switch	0.082 (0.013)	0.00	
		Scholz	0.130 (0.007)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Identification With Germany	Merkel	-0.038 (0.015)	0.01	14613
		Switch	0.009 (0.014)	0.52	
		Scholz	0.052 (0.008)	0.00	
Identification With Germany	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.006 (0.017)	0.73	9, 16, 21, 22, 25, 26
		Switch	-0.025 (0.016)	0.13	
		Scholz	0.094 (0.009)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Opposition to Dictatorship	Merkel	0.005 (0.005)	0.33	17526
		Switch	0.021 (0.011)	0.05	
		Scholz	0.023 (0.006)	0.00	
Opposition to Dictatorship	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.004 (0.006)	0.55	9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20-25, 27
		Switch	-0.024 (0.014)	0.07	
		Scholz	0.048 (0.006)	0.00	
Satisfaction With Democracy	Opposition to Expertocracy	Merkel	0.020 (0.005)	0.00	16085
		Switch	0.020 (0.008)	0.01	
		Scholz	0.009 (0.004)	0.03	
Opposition to Expertocracy	Satisfaction With Democracy	Merkel	0.053 (0.010)	0.00	14, 15, 17, 20-25, 27
		Switch	0.015 (0.017)	0.40	
		Scholz	0.032 (0.008)	0.00	

Note: Cross-lagged regression coefficients from maximum likelihood structural equation models (RI-CLPM) obtained using the *lavaan*-package in *R* (Rosseel, 2012). Model set-up follows the recommendations laid out by Mulder (2025). Unbalanced panel, meaning each individuals' likelihood function is computed only based on the waves they actually participated in. All variables scaled & centered prior to estimation, which makes coefficients comparable across models and indicative of the within-respondent impact of a 1 SD deviation in the lagged independent variable.

Instead of constraining regression coefficients to be the same across the full time period (tab. 1), three sets of coefficients are estimated: Once for waves during the Merkel chancellorship (waves 1 - 20), once for the switch from Merkel to Scholz (wave 20 to 21), and finally for waves during the Scholz chancellorship (waves 21 - 27).

First-Difference Models

Table A11: Δ Models

Δ Trust in Parliament					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government		
Δ IV	0.076*** (0.005)	0.161*** (0.004)	0.154*** (0.005)		
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.004 (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)		
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.019*** (0.004)	-0.011* (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.005)		
Constant	0.445*** (0.014)	0.154*** (0.013)	-0.068*** (0.013)		
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓		
Unique Respondents	14,624	16,304	15,483		
Observations	83,412	101,022	93,602		
R ²	0.033	0.049	0.047		

Δ Satisfaction with Democracy				
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament
Δ IV	0.100*** (0.004)	0.132*** (0.004)	0.144*** (0.004)	0.157*** (0.005)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.005*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	-0.005** (0.002)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.005 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.005)
Constant	-0.127*** (0.012)	-0.053*** (0.011)	-0.068*** (0.012)	0.027* (0.011)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	17,599	18,542	17,656	15,516
Observations	141,001	149,781	142,106	94,484
R ²	0.027	0.033	0.036	0.050

Δ Opposition to Dictatorship					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	-0.0003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)	0.024*** (0.005)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.014*** (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.011*** (0.002)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.001 (0.005)	0.011* (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.006 (0.006)	0.011* (0.005)
Constant	0.024* (0.012)	0.119*** (0.014)	-0.088*** (0.014)	0.001 (0.015)	0.031* (0.012)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	14,134	14,994	14,647	13,523	14,193
Observations	79,275	93,850	87,263	63,185	79,802
R ²	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.002

Δ Opposition to Expertocracy					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	0.014** (0.005)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.023*** (0.005)	0.023*** (0.006)	0.013* (0.005)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.002 (0.002)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.010** (0.003)	-0.007** (0.002)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.001 (0.005)	0.011* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	0.0005 (0.007)	0.009 (0.005)
Constant	-0.076*** (0.013)	-0.078*** (0.013)	-0.073*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.012)	-0.014 (0.012)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	13,752	13,600	13,788	11,883	13,441
Observations	71,390	70,290	71,990	40,902	64,309
R ²	0.003	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.003

Note: *, **, *** = $p < 0.05, 0.01, 0.001$. Results from pooled linear regression models with respondent-clustered standard errors and wave fixed effects. In all models, the dependent variable is the change ($t - t^{-1}$) in the outcome written in bold above the table. Model names then indicate the independent variable. \overline{IV} is respondents' average of the previous three measures of the independent variable. Observations, where any of the three previous IV measures is missing are excluded. All variables are scaled before estimation to make coefficients across models comparable.

Table A12: Δ Models under Merkel Chancellorship

Δ Trust in Parliament				
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	
Δ IV	0.059*** (0.008)	0.184*** (0.006)	0.169*** (0.007)	
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.0002 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.005 (0.003)	
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.012 (0.007)	-0.015* (0.007)	-0.022** (0.008)	
Constant	0.356*** (0.015)	0.120*** (0.012)	-0.111*** (0.013)	
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	
Unique Respondents	8,909	10,856	9,853	
Observations	29,054	46,262	37,306	
R ²	0.045	0.063	0.063	

Δ Satisfaction with Democracy				
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament
Δ IV	0.100*** (0.005)	0.131*** (0.005)	0.132*** (0.005)	0.192*** (0.007)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.005 (0.003)	-0.0001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.015*** (0.003)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.011 (0.006)	-0.016* (0.008)
Constant	-0.164*** (0.012)	-0.072*** (0.012)	-0.104*** (0.012)	-0.030** (0.011)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	16,672	17,656	16,760	9,888
Observations	72,635	82,459	73,155	38,388
R ²	0.023	0.028	0.030	0.052

Δ Opposition to Dictatorship					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.014 (0.010)	0.028** (0.009)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.022*** (0.005)	0.004 (0.003)	0.006 (0.004)	0.009 (0.005)	0.022*** (0.005)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.005 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)	-0.0003 (0.009)	0.011 (0.010)	0.001 (0.009)
Constant	-0.005 (0.013)	0.110*** (0.014)	-0.087*** (0.014)	-0.011 (0.014)	0.007 (0.012)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	8,035	9,362	8,763	8,511	8,054
Observations	20,827	35,925	27,996	20,329	20,682
R ²	0.001	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.001

Δ Opposition to Expertocracy					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	0.007 (0.011)	0.001 (0.010)	0.013 (0.012)		0.013 (0.015)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.022** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.033*** (0.007)		-0.008 (0.014)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.006 (0.010)	0.009 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.013)		0.004 (0.013)
Constant	-0.032* (0.013)	-0.035** (0.013)	-0.036** (0.013)		0.0005 (0.013)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	-	One Wave Only
Unique Respondents	7,308	7,223	7,355	0	6,243
Observations	13,318	13,150	13,410	1	6,243
R ²	0.001	0.002	0.002		0.0002

Note: *, **, *** = $p < 0.05, 0.01, 0.001$. Results from pooled linear regression models with respondent-clustered standard errors and wave fixed effects. In all models, the dependent variable is the change ($t - t^{-1}$) in the outcome written in bold above the table. Model names then indicate the independent variable. \overline{IV} is respondents' average of the previous three measures of the independent variable. Observations, where any of the three previous IV measures is missing are excluded. All variables are scaled before estimation to make coefficients across models comparable. Data restricted to time of Merkel chancellorship (GLES Waves 1 – 20).

Table A13: Δ Models under Scholz Chancellorship

Δ Trust in Parliament				
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	
Δ IV	0.067*** (0.009)	0.078*** (0.011)	0.059*** (0.010)	
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.011* (0.005)	
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.024** (0.009)	0.005 (0.012)	0.002 (0.009)	
Constant	-0.039*** (0.012)	-0.044*** (0.012)	-0.038** (0.012)	
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	
Unique Respondents	8,774	8,730	8,927	
Observations	20,249	20,947	21,516	
R ²	0.006	0.008	0.006	

Δ Satisfaction with Democracy				
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament
Δ IV	0.088*** (0.008)	0.101*** (0.008)	0.107*** (0.009)	0.081*** (0.009)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.011** (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.004)	-0.009* (0.005)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.008 (0.008)	0.005 (0.009)	0.002 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.010)
Constant	-0.039*** (0.011)	-0.006 (0.011)	0.0003 (0.011)	-0.135*** (0.012)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	9,947	9,805	9,990	8,903
Observations	30,636	30,149	30,889	21,436
R ²	0.022	0.025	0.026	0.025

Δ Opposition to Dictatorship					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	0.010 (0.008)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.0004 (0.010)	0.010 (0.012)	0.022** (0.008)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.007 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.005 (0.005)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.0003 (0.009)	0.009 (0.011)	0.005 (0.011)	0.001 (0.012)	0.011 (0.009)
Constant	-0.015 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.024* (0.012)	-0.011 (0.011)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	9,571	9,424	9,637	8,254	9,671
Observations	23,015	22,652	23,229	14,016	23,270
R ²	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001

Δ Opposition to Expertocracy					
	Evaluation of Economy	Satisfaction With Chancellor	Satisfaction With Government	Trust in Parliament	Satisfaction With Democracy
Δ IV	0.029*** (0.008)	0.011 (0.008)	0.023** (0.008)	0.018 (0.010)	0.014 (0.008)
$\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	0.001 (0.005)	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.016* (0.007)	-0.002 (0.005)
Δ IV \times $\overline{IV}_{t-1 \text{ to } -3}$	-0.008 (0.008)	0.015 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.009)	0.010 (0.011)	0.014 (0.009)
Constant	0.012 (0.012)	0.026* (0.012)	0.022 (0.012)	-0.027* (0.012)	0.025* (0.012)
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unique Respondents	9,570	9,424	9,637	8,254	9,669
Observations	23,035	22,667	23,247	14,027	23,287
R ²	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001

Note: *, **, *** = $p < 0.05, 0.01, 0.001$. Results from pooled linear regression models with respondent-clustered standard errors and wave fixed effects. In all models, the dependent variable is the change ($t - t^{-1}$) in the outcome written in bold above the table. Model names then indicate the independent variable. \overline{IV} is respondents' average of the previous three measures of the independent variable. Observations, where any of the three previous IV measures is missing are excluded. All variables are scaled before estimation to make coefficients across models comparable. Data restricted to time of Scholz chancellorship (GLES Waves 21 – 27). For ‘ Δ Opposition to Expertocracy’, data availability does not allow to estimate models predicting with changes in parliamentary trust, and for SWD only without wave fixed effects.