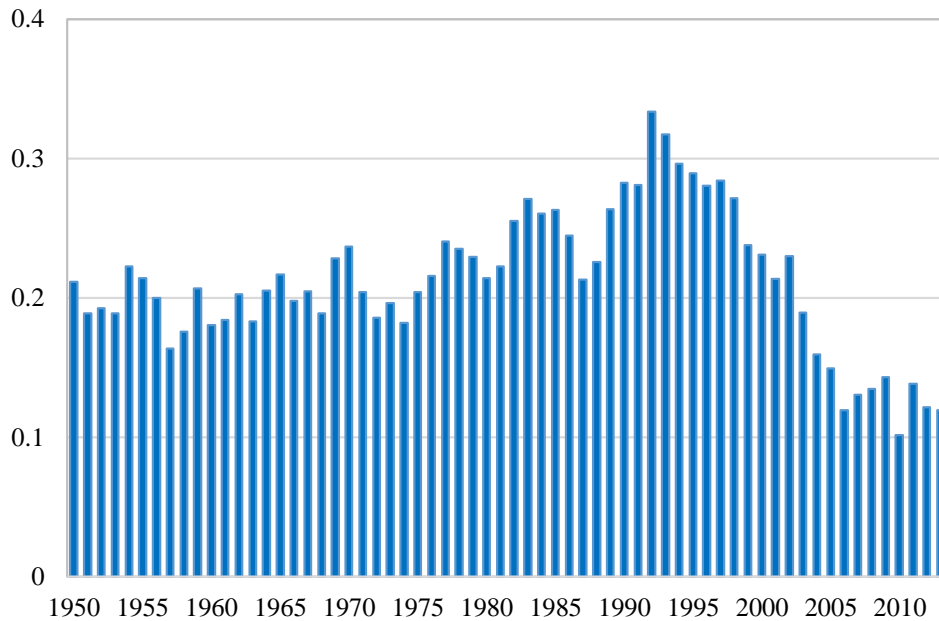


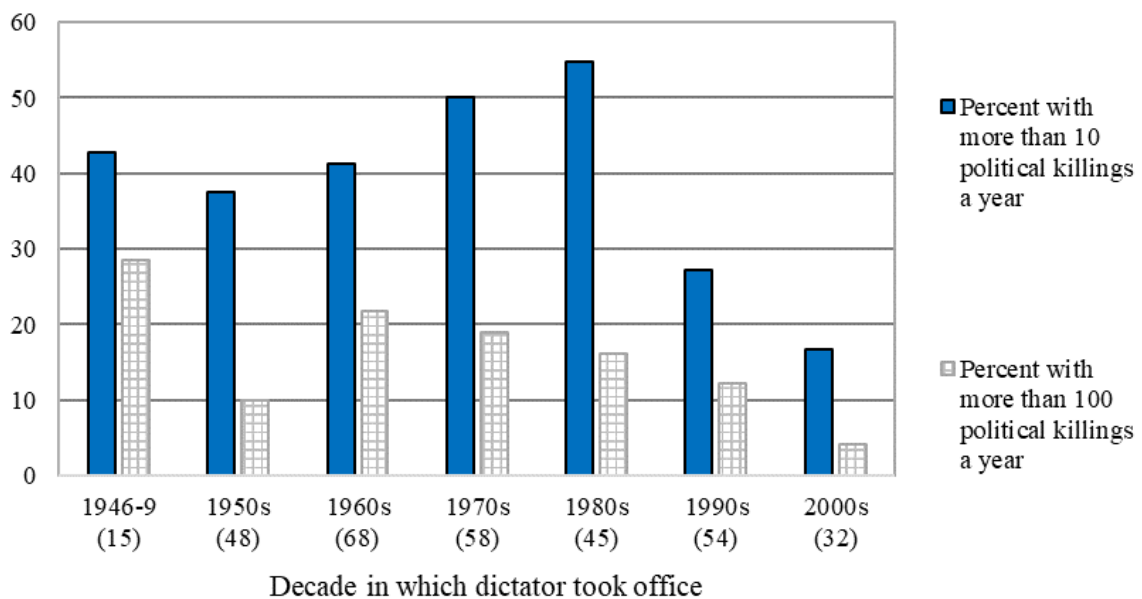
## Online Appendix A

**Figure A1: Proportion of non-democracies with ongoing mass killings.**



*Sources:* Polity IV; Mass Killings Database (see Ulfelder and Valentino 2008, and updated data at <https://dartthrowingchimp.wordpress.com/2013/07/25/trends-over-time-in-state-sponsored-mass-killing>).  
*Notes:* “Non-democracies” are states with Polity2 scores of less than 6. A “mass killing” is “any event in which the actions of state agents result in the intentional death of at least 1,000 noncombatants from a discrete group in a period of sustained violence.”

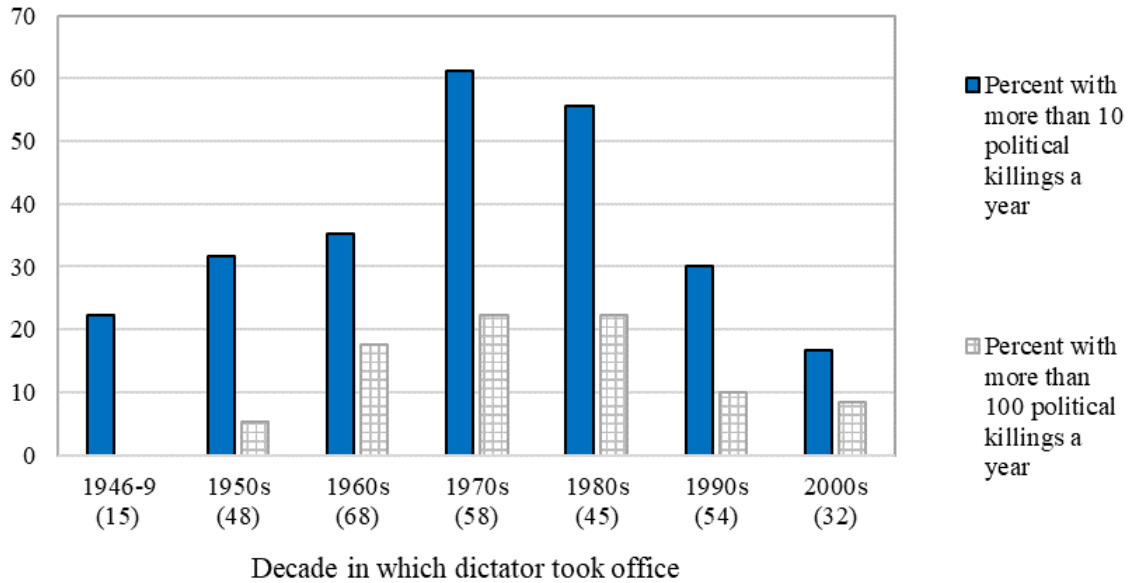
**Figure A2: Political killings per year in non-democracies: cases with no civil war or major insurgency.**



*Source:* Guriev and Treisman (2017).

*Note:* Only leaders who served at least five years in a non-democracy (Polity2 score below 6) included.

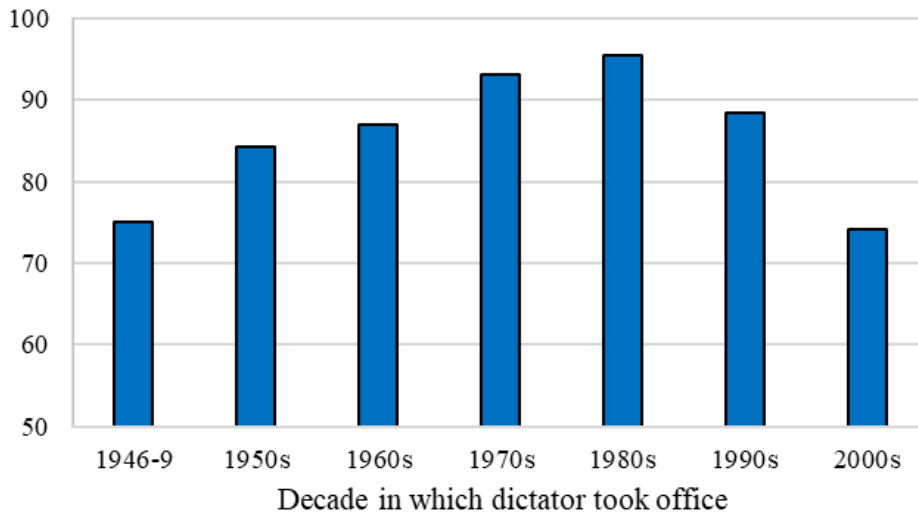
**Figure A3: Political killings per year in non-democracies: cases with no civil war or major insurgency, just leaders in office 5-10 years.**



Source: Guriev and Treisman (2017).

Note: Only leaders who served at least five years in a non-democracy (Polity2 score below 6) included.

**Figure A4: Percentage of dictators under whom torture of political prisoners or detainees alleged**

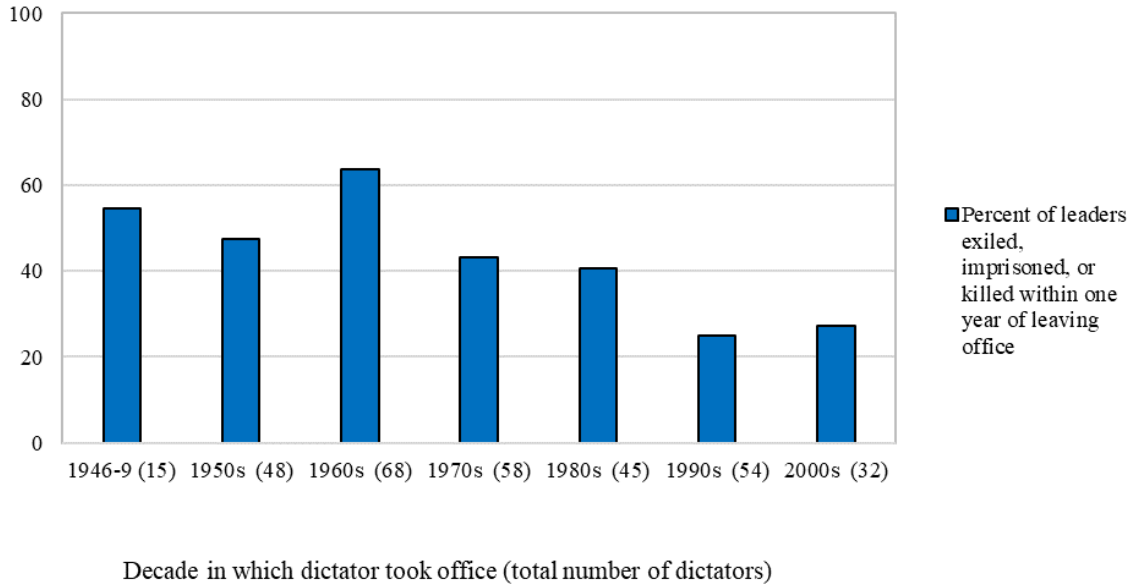


Source: Guriev and Treisman (2017).

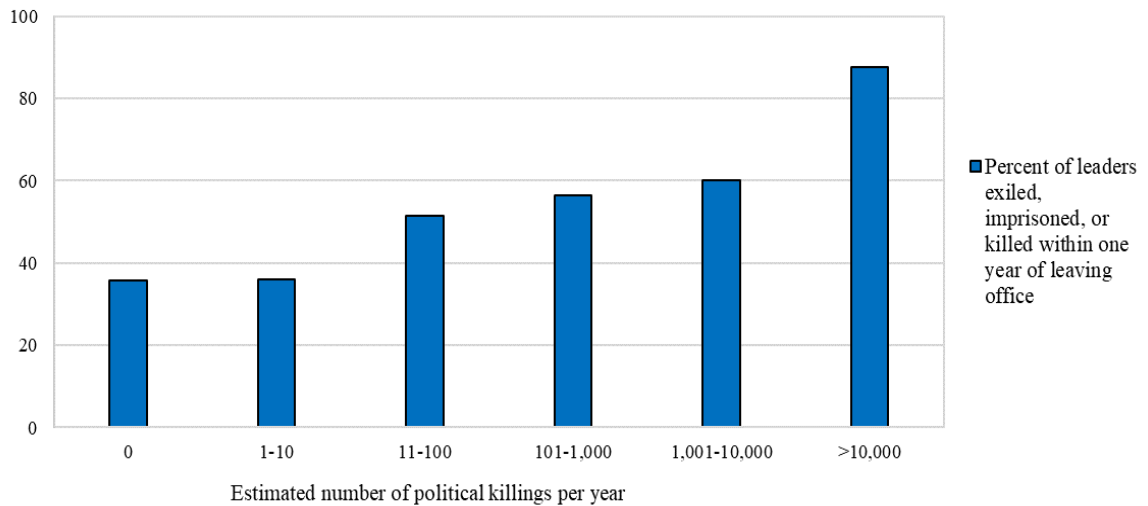
Note: Only leaders who served at least five years in a non-democracy (Polity2 score below 6) included.

**Figure A5: Violent repression and post-tenure fate of authoritarian leaders**

**A) By leader cohort.**



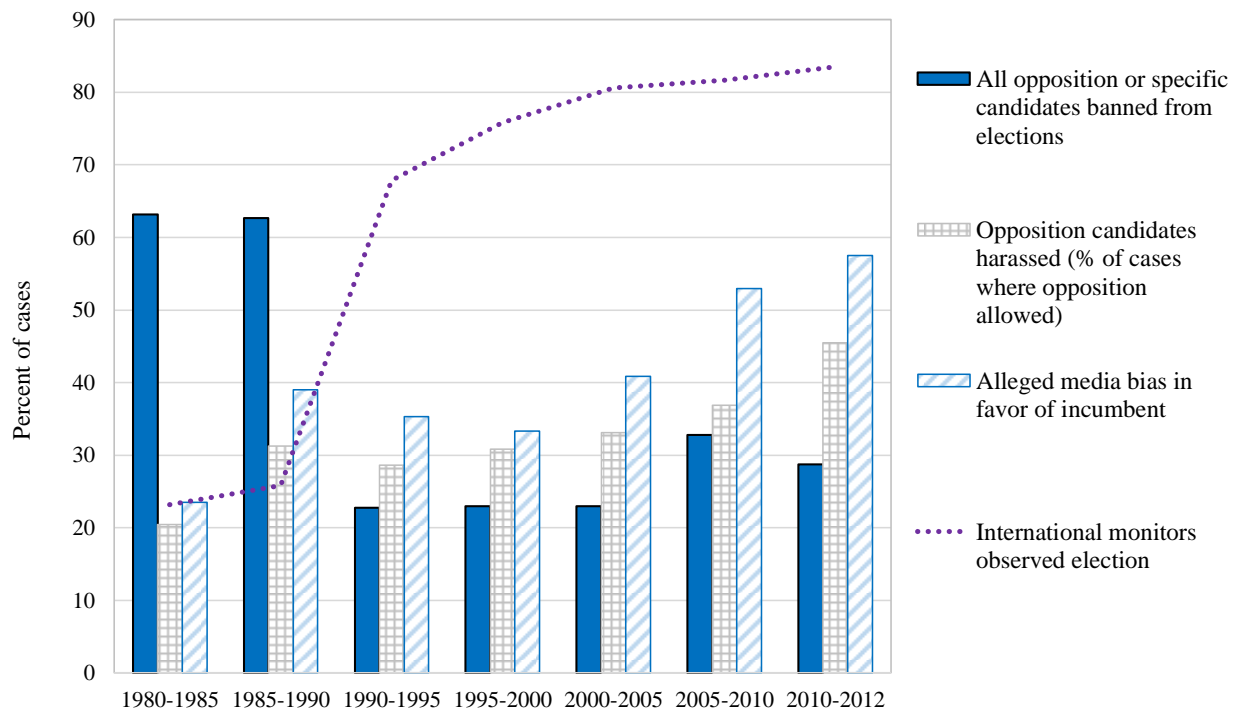
**B) By level of political killing while in office.**



Sources: Guriev and Treisman (2017), Goemans et al. (2009).

Note: Only leaders who served at least five years in a non-democracy (i.e. country with Polity2 score below 6), who had left office by the end of 2013, and who did not die a natural death within six months of stepping down included. Categories rounded (e.g., “1-10” = 0.51-10.49).

**Figure A6: How authoritarian regimes manipulate elections, 1980-2015**

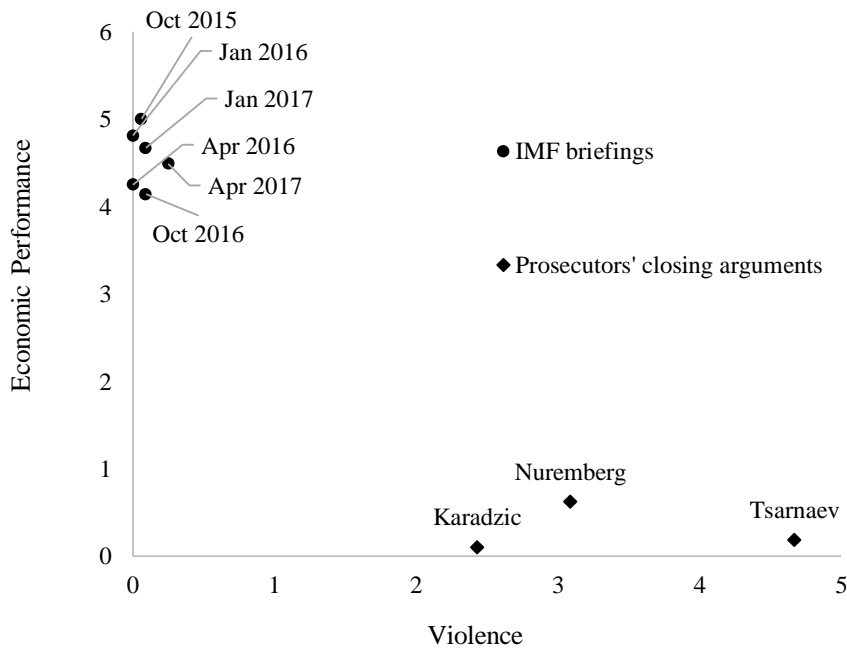


Sources: Hyde and Marinov (2012).

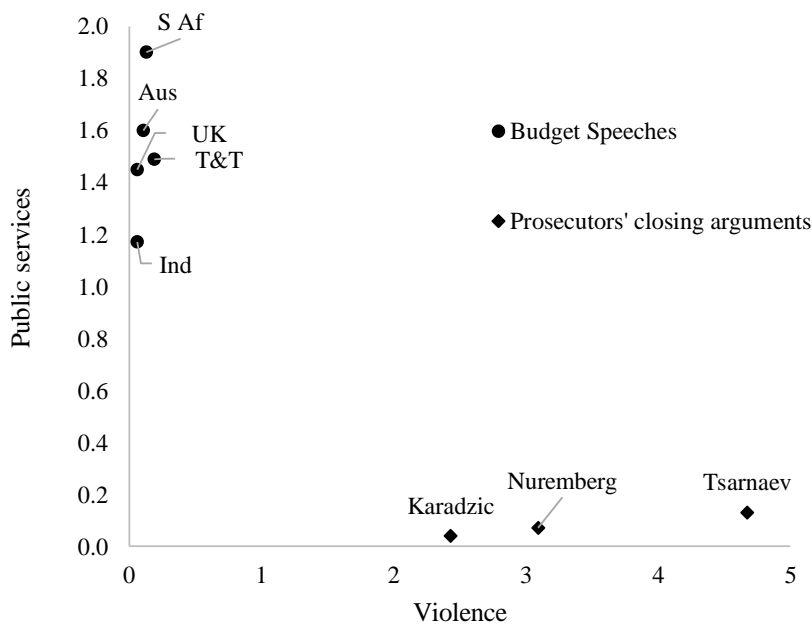
Note: Based on elections in countries that in previous year had Polity2 score less than 6.

**Figure A7: Validating the dictionaries**

**A) Violence and economic performance**



**B) Violence and public service provision**



Source: Authors.

Note: Graphs show the percentage of words in the validation texts that correspond to words in our respective dictionaries. For instance, 5 percent of words in the October 2015 IMF briefing overlap with those in our “economic performance” dictionary, 0.2 percent overlap with words in our “public service” dictionary, and 0.1 percent overlap with those in our “violence” dictionary. By contrast, 4.7 percent of words in the prosecutor’s closing argument in the Tsarnaev case corresponded to words in our “violence” dictionary, while 0.2 percent corresponded to those in our “economic performance” dictionary and 0.1 percent to those in our “public service” dictionary.

**Table A1: Dictators who publicized their political violence: selected examples**

Benito Mussolini (Italy, 1922-43)	Advocated violence to “transform the Italians from a bunch of undisciplined, chattering ‘mandolin players’ into fearsome, conquering warriors.” They needed “ <i>bastone, bastone, bastone</i> [the club, the club, the club]” (Ebner 2011, pp.13-14). “By the time of Italy’s involvement in the Second World War, there were concentration camps, political prisons, work houses, confinement colonies, and sites of internment scattered throughout the entire Italian peninsula” (Ebner 2011, p.2).
Josef Stalin (USSR, 1923-53)	Show trials used to deter and intimidate in the 1930s. In 1937, Stalin ordered the security service to organize “two to three open show trials in each district” and to publish reports of the executions in the local press (McLoughlin and McDermott 2003, p.42).
Rafael Trujillo (Dominican Republic, 1930-61)	“[A]bductions under Trujillo were typically public affairs, as official spies patrolling the capital in their black Volkswagen beetles created the sensation that Trujillo was always watching.” The corpse of one executed rebel “was paraded in a chair throughout the province and his peasant supporters were forced to dance with his remains” (Derby 2009, pp.2-3).
Antonio Salazar (Portugal, 1932-68)	“[P]assersby on the street in front of police headquarters were allowed to hear the screams of detainees subjected to both bluntly crude and exquisitely refined forms of torture” (Birmingham 1993, p.162).
Adolf Hitler (Germany, 1933-45)	Violence deliberately public. On <i>Kristallnacht</i> in 1938, 191 synagogues set on fire by Storm Troopers and 91 murdered in the streets (Gilbert 1986).
Francisco Franco (Spain, 1939-75)	Used a special sentence <i>garotte y prensa</i> (“strangulation by garotte with press coverage”) to punish political enemies, intensify their families’ suffering, and deter others (Preston 2003, p.42).
Boleslaw Bierut (Poland, 1944-56)	“The dates of some [political] trials were fixed to coincide with various elections so that the propaganda effect was maximized” (Paczkowski 1999, p.378).
Ahmad bin Yahya (Yemen, 1948-62)	Had 40 rebels “beheaded by swords on the football field in Taiz.” Had the heads of executed “traitors” “hung on the branches of trees as a warning” (Roucek 1962, pp.312-3).
Mao Zedong (China, 1949-76)	During the Cultural Revolution, political victims were humiliated and tortured before crowds. “10,000 are said to have watched as Ba Jin, China’s most famous contemporary novelist, was forced to kneel on broken glass. Thousands watched, too, at the execution of 28-year-old Yu Luoke” (Thurston 1990, p.154). As Mao said: “One cannot not kill; one cannot kill too many; kill a few, scare them. Why should we fear a bit of shock? We want to be shocking. Also, if we kill wrongly, the dead cannot come back to life” (Mao 1964).
Francois Duvalier (Haiti, 1957-71)	In August 1964, for three days a headless corpse was propped up in a chair at a busy downtown intersection in Port au Prince, with a sign hung on the mutilated body identifying it as a “renegade” (Natanson 1966).
Fidel Castro (Cuba, 1959-2008)	Public executions of political opponents by firing squad (Clark 2011).
Modibo Keita (Mali, 1960-68)	Tuareg population forced to attend executions and applaud (Boilley 2012, p.341).
Ferdinand Marcos (Philippines, 1965-86)	“The roughly 2,500 ‘salvagings’ [extrajudicial executions] committed by Marcos’s security forces had a purposefully public character: victims’ corpses—mutilated from torture—were commonly displayed as an example for others not to follow” (Hutchcroft 2011, p.565).
Mobutu Seso Seke (1965-97)	“Challengers, both imagined and real, often paid with their lives, like the four former Cabinet ministers whom Mr Mobutu had publicly hanged before 50,000 spectators six months after he took office” (French 1997).
Macias Nguema (Equatorial Guinea, 1968-79)	Macias “celebrated Christmas Eve in 1977 by ordering the shooting and hanging of 150 prisoners in the national soccer stadium. During the spectacle, loudspeakers blared a recording of ‘Those Were the Days’” (Lamb 1987, p.106).
Siad Barre (Somalia, 1969-91)	Obligatory attendance at public executions (Africa Watch 1990, p.122).
Muammar Gaddafi (Libya, 1969-2011)	Addressing the General People’s Congress in Tripoli, Colonel Gaddafi was quoted deriding those who run over their political enemies with cars or poison them. “We do not do that. He whom we have executed we have executed on television” (Amnesty International 1988, pp.247-8).
Idi Amin (Uganda, 1971-79)	Executed a crosssection of the Ugandan elite, from government ministers and judges to diplomats, church leaders, university rectors, and business executives. “Their killings were public affairs carried out in ways that were meant to attract attention, terrorize the living and convey the message that it was Mr. Amin who wanted them killed” (Kaufman 2003)
Juan Bordaberry, Aparicio Méndez, Gregorio Álvarez (Uruguay, 1973-1985)	“In Uruguay, interrogation sessions were devised not only to physically and psychologically degrade each prisoner but to send a chilling signal to all... political opposition... [Torture victims] were returned to society so they could exhibit to others the horrors of their ordeals” (Pion-Berlin 1995, p.85).
Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (Pakistan, 1977-88).	Political prisoners were “publicly flogged... by bare-chested wrestlers” (Talbot 2009, p.250), “with loudspeakers relaying the cry of the person being whipped” (International Commission of Jurists 1987, p.84). President Zia: “Martial Law should be based on fear” (quoted in Noman 1989, p.33).
Saddam Hussein (Iraq, 1979-2003)	“In a 1992 attempt to control market forces, Saddam Husain detained 550 of Baghdad’s leading merchants on charges of profiteering; 42 of them were executed, their bodies tied to telephone poles in front of their shops with signs around their necks that read ‘Greedy Merchant’” (Makiya 1998, p.xvi). Army deserters were branded on the forehead.
Kim Jong-il (North Korea, 1994-2011)	Public executions. “In October 2007, a factory boss in South Pyongon Province was reportedly executed by firing squad in front of a stadium crowd of 150,000; he was condemned for making international phone calls on 13 phones he had installed in a factory basement” (Johnson and Zimring 2009, p.362).

**Table A2: Non-political Offenses with which opposition members have been charged (selected cases)**

Russia under Vladimir Putin	-defrauding companies (MacFarquhar and Nechepurenko 2017). -stealing street art (MacFarquhar and Nechepurenko 2017). -illegal elk hunting (MacFarquhar and Nechepurenko 2017).
Venezuela under Hugo Chávez	-corruption (Reuters 2008)
Turkey under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	-using a fake health report to avoid military service (Gokoluk 2007).
Malaysia under Mohathir Mohamad and Najib Razak	-sodomy (Doherty 2015).
South Korea under Chun	-disrupting traffic (Greitens 2016, pp.225-6). -interfering with police investigations (Greitens 2016, pp.225-6).
Morocco under Mohammad VI	-adultery (Amnesty International 2016, p.257-8). -public drunkenness (Amnesty International 2016, p.257-8). -robbery (Amnesty International 2016, p.257-8). -forming a criminal gang (Amnesty International 2016, p.257-8).
China since 1978	-swindling (Woodman and Ping 1999, p.225). -hooliganism (Woodman and Ping 1999, p.225). -soliciting prostitutes (Roberts 2018, p.70).

### Additional References for Tables A1 and A2

**Africa Watch.** 1990. Somalia: A Government at War with its Own People. New York: Africa Watch Committee.

**Amnesty International.** 2016. Amnesty International Report: The State of the World's Human Rights 2015, London: Amnesty International.

**Birmingham, David.** 1993. Portugal: A concise history. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Boilley, Pierre.** 2012. Les Touaregs Kel Adagh. Paris: Karthala.

**Clark, Juan.** 2011. "Executions and Political Prisoners," in Cubans: An Epic Journey: The Struggle of Exiles for Truth and Freedom, eds., Sam Verdea and Guillemno Martinez, Miami: Facts About Cuban Exiles.

**Corner, Paul.** 2002. "Whatever Happened to Dictatorship?" Journal of Modern History, Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 325-351.

**Doherty, Ben.** 2015. "Anwar Ibrahim guilty in sodomy case," The Guardian, February 10, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/10/anwar-ibrahim-guilty-in-sodomy-case>.

**French, Howard W.** 1997. "An Anatomy of Autocracy: Mobutu's Era," New York Times, May 17, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/17/world/an-anatomy-of-autocracy-mobutu-s-era.html>.

**Gilbert, Martin.** 1986. The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy. London: Collins.

**Gokoluk, Selcuk.** 2007. "Turkey arrests pro-Kurdish party leader." Reuters, December 18, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-kurdish-arrest-idUSL1873279620071218>.

**Greitens, Sheila.** 2016. Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence under Authoritarianism. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Hutchcroft, Paul.** 2011. "Reflections on a Reverse Image: South Korea under Park Chung Hee and the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos," In Byung-Kook Kim, Ezra F. Vogel, eds., *The Park Chung Hee Era*, Harvard University Press, 543-72.

**International Commission of Jurists.** 1987. *Pakistan: human rights after martial law, report of a mission*. ICJ, April 1, <https://www.icj.org/pakistan-human-rights-after-martial-law-report-of-a-mission/>.

**Johnson, David T., and Franklin E. Zimring.** 2009. *The next frontier: national development, political change, and the death penalty in Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Kaufman, Michael.** 2003. "Idi Amin, Murderous and Erratic Ruler of Uganda in the 70's, Dies in Exile." *The New York Times*, August 17, p.32.

**MacFarquhar, Neil, and Ivan Nechepurenko.** 2017. "Aleksei Navalny, a viable Putin rival, is barred from a presidential run," *New York Times*, February 8, [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/08/world/europe/russia-aleksei-navalny-putin.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/08/world/europe/russia-aleksei-navalny-putin.html?_r=0).

**Makiya, Kanan.** 1998. *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*, Updated Edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

**McLoughlin, Barry and Kevin McDermott.** 2003. *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

**Natanson, George.** 1966. "Duvalier, Terror Rule Haiti, Island of Fear: 'President-for-Life' and His Private Army Bogeymen Exact Hard Vengeance on Foes," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 January, p.17.

**Paczkowski, Andrzej.** 1999. "Poland, the 'Enemy Nation'." In Courtois, Stephane, ed., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 363-93.

**Pion-Berlin, David.** 1995. "To Prosecute or to Pardon? Human Rights Decisions in the Latin American Southern Cone", in Neil J. Kritz, ed., *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*, Volume 1, Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, pp.82-103.

**Reuters.** 2008. "Venezuela indicts opposition leader on corruption," December 11, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-venezuela-opposition-rosales-idUSTRE4BA7HB20081211>.

**Shim, Elizabeth.** 2016. "Public executions on the rise in North Korea as Kim Jong Un worries about safety," UPI, October 20, [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/World-News/2016/10/20/Public-executions-on-the-rise-in-North-Korea-as-Kim-Jong-Un-worries-about-safety/5961476970354/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2016/10/20/Public-executions-on-the-rise-in-North-Korea-as-Kim-Jong-Un-worries-about-safety/5961476970354/).

**Talbot, Ian.** 2009. *Pakistan: A Modern History*. London: Hurst & Company.

**Thurston, Anne F.** 1990. "Urban violence during the Cultural Revolution: Who is to blame?" In Lipman, Jonathan Neaman, and Stevan Harrell, eds. *Violence in China: essays in culture and counterculture*. SUNY Press, 149-174.

**Woodman, Sofia and Yu Ping.** 1999. "China," in Sandra Coliver, ed., *Secrecy and Liberty: National Security, Freedom of Expression, and Access to Information*, Martinus Nijhoff, pp.223-50.



**Table A3: Speeches analyzed**

<b>Overt Dictators</b>			
<b>Leader</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Words</b>
Adolf Hitler	<p><i>Speeches broadcast by radio:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Berlin, October 14, 1933.</li> <li>-Hamburg (Blohm and Voss Shipyard), August 17, 1934.</li> <li>-Berchtesgarden Post Office, January 15, 1935.</li> <li>-Berlin, April 19, 1937.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Adolf Hitler: Collection of Speeches, 1922-1945.</i></p> <p><a href="https://archive.org/details/AdolfHitlerCollectionOfSpeeches19221945">https://archive.org/details/AdolfHitlerCollectionOfSpeeches19221945</a></p> <p>Domarus, Max. <i>Hitler: Speeches &amp; Proclamations, 1932-1945: The Chronicle Of A Dictatorship.</i> Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1988, P.887. Domarus translation</p>	7,187
Josef Stalin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Speech Delivered by Comrade J. Stalin at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area, Moscow, December 11, 1937.</li> <li>-Speech Delivered by J.V. Stalin at a Meeting of the Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow, February 9, 1946.</li> </ul>	<p>Josef Stalin, <i>Works</i>, Vol. 14, Red Star Press Ltd., London, 1978. J. Stalin, <i>Speeches Delivered at Meetings of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow</i>, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950.</p>	6,995
Francisco Franco	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-New Year's Eve Speeches, broadcast to the nation, each December from 1946-1974, translated from Spanish by Google Translate.</li> </ul>	<p><a href="http://www.generalisimofranco.com/Discursos/mensajes/00000.htm">http://www.generalisimofranco.com/Discursos/mensajes/00000.htm</a>.</p>	100,733
Benito Mussolini	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Speech to Workers of Milan," October 6, 1934, translation by Italian Consulate in New York, <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, 12/31/34, Vol. 1 Issue 7, pp.208-9.</li> <li>- "The Absurdity of Eternal Peace," before 20,000 soldiers, fascists, and peasants at the Annual War-Games, Avellino, Italy, and by radio to all parts of the nation, August 30, 1936, <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, 10/1/36, Vol. 2 Issue 26, p.824.</li> <li>- "Armed Peace! With Glimpses of Things to Come," November 1, 1936, <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, 11/15/36, Vol. 3 Issue 3, pp.76-7.</li> <li>- "Fascists, Nazis, Bolsheviks," English resume transcribed from the air over NBC, from Rome, August 20, 1937, <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, 9/15/37, Vol. 3 Issue 23, pp.714-15.</li> <li>- "Italy's Position Today" Plebiscites for All is the Answer," Trieste, September 18, 1938, <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, 10/1/38, Vol. 4 Issue 24, pp.745-6.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>, various issues.</p>	6,356
Saddam Hussein	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1996.</li> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1995.</li> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1994.</li> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1993.</li> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1992.</li> <li>-Revolution Day Speech, July 1989</li> </ul>	<p><i>Baghdad Iraq Television Network</i>, texts translated in FBIS Daily Report.</p>	35,788
Kim Jong Un	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-New Year's Address, 2013.</li> <li>-New Year's Address, 2014.</li> <li>-New Year's Address, 2015.</li> <li>-New Year's Address, 2016.</li> </ul>	<p><a href="http://www.ncnk.org/resources/news-items/">http://www.ncnk.org/resources/news-items/</a>.</p>	17,934
Fidel Castro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-May Day Speeches, 1966, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1980, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 (all available after 1965).</li> </ul>	<p><a href="http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1966/19660502.html">http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1966/19660502.html</a>;</p> <p><a href="http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos">http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos</a>.</p>	100,739
<b>Informational Autocrats</b>			
Lee Kuan Yew	<p>Prime Minister's National Day Television Addresses, 1980-1990.</p>	<p><a href="http://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/speeches/">http://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/speeches/</a>.</p>	15,236
Vladimir Putin	<p>Direct Line call in shows with President (or PM) Putin, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015 (only Putin's speech).</p>	<p><a href="http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts">http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts</a>;</p> <p><a href="http://archive.premier.gov.ru/eng/events/news/">http://archive.premier.gov.ru/eng/events/news/</a>.</p>	136,182
Hugo Chávez	<p>Six randomly selected episodes of "Aló Presidente," (out of 378), just Chávez's parts: 8 (01/08/1999), 44 (24/09/2000), 47 (15/10/2000), 296 (30/09/2007), 307 (16/03/2008), 347 (10/01/2010); Google translated.</p>	<p>TodoChávez .gov.ve</p>	192,503
Rafael Correa	<p>12 recent transcripts (2016-17) of Correa's TV show "Citizen's Link," (<i>Enlace Ciudadano</i>) from among recent episodes for which transcripts are published by <i>El Comercio</i>. Episodes 496, 502, 503, 504, 506, 508, 509, 511, 512, 513, 517, 519. Only Correa's directly quoted parts.</p>	<p><a href="http://www.elcomercio.com">http://www.elcomercio.com</a></p>	36,431
Nursultan Nazarbayev	<p>State of the Nation Addresses 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 20011, 2012, 2014, 2015.</p>	<p><a href="http://www.akorda.kz/en/addresses/addresses_of_president/">http://www.akorda.kz/en/addresses/addresses_of_president/</a></p>	57,660

<b>Democrats</b>			
<b>Leader</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Words</b>
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	First 13 "Fireside Chats," 1933-1938. All that were broadcast before the outbreak of WWII.	<a href="http://millercenter.org/president/speeches">http://millercenter.org/president/speeches</a>	39,461
Dwight D. Eisenhower	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Radio and Television Address to the American People Following Decision on a Second Term, February 29, 1956.</li> <li>- Radio and Television Address Opening the President's Campaign for Re-Election September 19, 1956.</li> <li>-Television Broadcast: "The People Ask the President." October 12, 1956 (only Eisenhower's words).</li> <li>-Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East October 31, 1956.</li> <li>-Second Inaugural Address, January 1957.</li> <li>-Address on Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957.</li> <li>-Radio and Television Address to the American People on Science in National Security, November 7, 1957.</li> <li>-Radio and Television Report to the American People on the NATO Conference in Paris. December 23, 1957.</li> <li>-Remarks at the National Food Conference, February 24, 1958.</li> <li>-Statement by the President following the Landing of United States Marines at Beirut. July 15, 1958.</li> <li>-Remarks Upon Signing the Proclamation Admitting Alaska to the Union and the Executive Order Changing the Flag of the United States, January 3, 1959.</li> <li>-Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World, March 16, 1959.</li> <li>-Remarks Upon Signing the Proclamation Admitting Hawaii to the Union and the Executive Order Changing the Flag of the United States, August 21, 1959.</li> <li>-Remarks Upon Arrival at Andrews Air Force Base, May 20, 1960.</li> <li>-"Farewell Address," January 1961.</li> </ul>	<a href="http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/dwightdeisenhowerfarewell.html">http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/dwightdeisenhowerfarewell.html</a> ; <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu</a> ; <a href="http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6335/">http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6335/</a> .	29,155
Jawaharlal Nehru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-"A Historic Day." Message to the Nation, January 26, 1950.</li> <li>-"The General Elections." Speech broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, November 22, 1951.</li> <li>-"Hopeful Prospects." Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, June 14, 1952.</li> <li>-"Laying the Foundations." Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, December 31, 1952.</li> <li>-"A Great Challenge." Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, January 24, 1951.</li> <li>-"To Our Services." Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, December 7, 1949.</li> <li>-"A Half-Century Ends." Broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, December 31, 1950.</li> <li>-"The S.R.C. Report." Broadcast of the nation, October 9, 1955.</li> <li>-"Appeal for Good Will." Broadcast from New Delhi, January 16, 1956.</li> </ul>	Jawaharlal Nehru. <i>Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches</i> , Vol. 2 (1949-53), and Vol. 3 (March 1953-1957), Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1954 and 1958. All from 1949 to ?? 1957 that were broadcast to the public.	13,531
Barack Obama	-Weekly radio addresses (40 randomly selected from out of c.400)	<a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/weekly-address">https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/weekly-address</a>	24,480
David Cameron	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Scottish Independence Speech in Aberdeen, 15 September 2014.</li> <li>-JCB Staffordshire: Prime Minister's speech, 28 November, 2014.</li> <li>-Campaign Manifesto Speech, April 14, 2015.</li> <li>-"Rebalancing the Economy," 20 April, 2015.</li> <li>-"Making Work Pay," 22 April, 2015.</li> <li>-Chatham House Speech on Europe, 10 November 2015.</li> </ul>	<a href="http://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2015/04/14/david-cameron-manifesto-speech-in-full">http://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2015/04/14/david-cameron-manifesto-speech-in-full</a> ; <a href="https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/economy/news/63341/david-cameron-speech-rebalancing-economy">https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/economy/news/63341/david-cameron-speech-rebalancing-economy</a> ; <a href="https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/economy/news/63265/david-cameron-speech-making-work-pay">https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/economy/news/63265/david-cameron-speech-making-work-pay</a> ; <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/">https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/</a> ; <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-independence/scottish-independence-full-text-of-david-camerons-no-going-back-speech-9735902.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-independence/scottish-independence-full-text-of-david-camerons-no-going-back-speech-9735902.html</a> .	22,805
Nicolas Sarkozy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>President Sarkozy's New Year's Greetings for 2009 to 2013.</li> <li>-January 2, 2009.</li> <li>-January 5, 2010.</li> <li>-December 31, 2010.</li> <li>-January 3, 2013</li> </ul>	<a href="http://www.ambafrance-uk.org">http://www.ambafrance-uk.org</a> ; <a href="http://franceintheus.org/spip.php?article3103">http://franceintheus.org/spip.php?article3103</a> .	4,418

**Table A4: Dictionaries used in speech analysis**

<b>Violence</b>
dead, death*, deadly, casual*, die, died, dies, dying, exterminat*, annihilat*, fatal*, funeral*, holocaust*, kill*, massacre*, mourn*, murder*, slaughter*, war, warfare*, wars, warring, smash*, rout, routed, routs, routing, strike, struck, harass*, conflict*, hostile*, weapon*, gun, guns, gunned, battle, battles, armed, , hurt, hurts, harm, harmed, harms, assault*, fight*, fought, aggress*, attack*, clash*, oppress*, destroy*, destruct*, prison*, jail*, punish*, enslave*, slave*, prey, blood*, bleed*, bled, martyr, martyrs, martyred, armies, army, pain, painful, pains, invade*, invasion, violence, violent, explode*, explos*, bomb*, crush*, wound*, injur*, combat*, persecut*, tyranniz*, eradicat*, skirmish*, soldier*, conquer*, cannon*, terror, terrorism, terrorist*, atrocity, atrocities, brutal*, cruel*, torment*, bayonet*, starv*, siege*, surrender*, shatter*, armament*, tanks, artillery, mortar*, armor*, conquest, militar*, crusade*, criminal*, crime*, arrest*, prosecut*, navy, enemy, enemies, enmity, captive, scourge, mutilat*, perish*, ravage*, barbar*, police*, vanquish*, victim*, hostage*, bullet*, weapon*, butcher*, demise, troops, plunder*, hatred*, suffer*, brigade*, detention, liquidation, mistreat*, imprison*, incarcerat*, hostage*
<b>Economic performance</b>
affordable, auditor, auditors, borrow*, bought, budget*, buy*, cheap, cheaper, currenc*, customer*, debt*, deposit*, discount*, dollar, dollars, earnings, econ*, recession*, rent*, retail*, revenue*, richer, riches, richest, salar*, sale, sales, saving*, sell, selling, shop, sold, store, trade*, trading , wage, wages, wealth, wealthier, wealthiest, wealthy, exchange*, expenses, expensive, financ*, fund, income*, insurance, invest, investment*, invested, invests, lease*, lend, lending, loan*, market*, merchant*, money*, monopol*, mortg*, pension*, pesetas, poverty*, price*, prici*, profit*, purchas*, salary, stock, commerc*, growth, job, jobs, product*, industry, industries, industrial, industrializing, industrialization, manufactur*, labour*, labor, labored, laboring, labors, produce*, consum*, factory, factories, remunerat*, goods, employ*, unemploy*, inflation, agricultur*, agrarian, tariff, ration, rationing, export*, import, imports, imported, output, entrepreneur*, efficien*, prosper*, deficit, farming, cultivation
<b>Public service provision</b>
expenditure*, medical, medicine*, education*, housing, school, schools, universities, university, classroom*, childcare, hospital, hospitals, doctor*, maternity, infrastructure, literacy, administration, transportation, retirement, funding, disabled, revenue*, budget*, fees, fund, insurance, pension*

Source: Authors.

**Table A5: Texts used for dictionary validation**

Text	Source
Australia 2016-17 Budget Speech	<a href="http://budget.gov.au/2016-17/content/speech/html/speech.htm">http://budget.gov.au/2016-17/content/speech/html/speech.htm</a>
India 2017-18 Budget Speech	<a href="http://indiabudget.nic.in/bspeecha.asp">http://indiabudget.nic.in/bspeecha.asp</a>
South Africa 2017 Budget Speech	<a href="https://www.oldmutual.co.za/docs/default-source/markets/budget-for-south-africans/budgetspeech2017.pdf?sfvrsn=0">https://www.oldmutual.co.za/docs/default-source/markets/budget-for-south-africans/budgetspeech2017.pdf?sfvrsn=0</a>
Trinidad and Tobago 2017 Budget Statement	<a href="http://www.finance.gov.tt/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Budget-Statement-2017-for-web-r1.pdf">http://www.finance.gov.tt/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Budget-Statement-2017-for-web-r1.pdf</a>
UK 2017 Budget Speech	<a href="https://www.ft.com/content/0b0dfdde-03fb-11e7-aa5b-6bb07f5c8e12">https://www.ft.com/content/0b0dfdde-03fb-11e7-aa5b-6bb07f5c8e12</a>
Transcripts of the Press Conferences on the Release of the World Economic Outlook (Oct 2015, Jan 2016, Apr 2016, Oct 2016, Jan 2017, Apr 2017)	<a href="http://www.imf.org/en/news/articles">www.imf.org/en/news/articles</a>
Prosecution Closing Statement, Trial of Radovan Karadzic	<a href="http://www.icty.org/case/karadzic/4#trans">http://www.icty.org/case/karadzic/4#trans</a>
Robert J. Jackson, <i>Closing Arguments for Convictions of Nazi War Criminals</i> (Nuremberg)	<a href="https://www.roberthjackson.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Closing_Argument_for_Conviction_of_Nazi_War_Criminals.pdf">https://www.roberthjackson.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Closing_Argument_for_Conviction_of_Nazi_War_Criminals.pdf</a>
Closing Argument, Trial of Dzhokhar Tsarnayev	<a href="http://thebostonmarathonbombings.weebly.com/uploads/2/4/2/6/24264849/day_59_trial_day_closing_argument_may_13_2015_unfiled.pdf">http://thebostonmarathonbombings.weebly.com/uploads/2/4/2/6/24264849/day_59_trial_day_closing_argument_may_13_2015_unfiled.pdf</a>

**Table A6: Perceived media freedom by subsamples.**

	Dependent variable: Perceived media freedom				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Freedom House Press Freedom score				
	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80-100
Elite	-0.063*** (0.007)	-0.051*** (0.006)	-0.037*** (0.005)	-0.020*** (0.004)	0.006** (0.003)
Female	0.050*** (0.005)	0.024*** (0.003)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)
Age/100	-0.514*** (0.106)	-0.219*** (0.040)	-0.250*** (0.031)	-0.202*** (0.038)	-0.058* (0.033)
AgeSq/10000	0.737*** (0.124)	0.328*** (0.045)	0.353*** (0.034)	0.335*** (0.039)	0.131*** (0.031)
Small Town	-0.022* (0.011)	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.011*** (0.004)
Suburb of Large City	0.002 (0.021)	-0.053*** (0.009)	-0.039*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.015*** (0.004)
Large City	-0.057*** (0.010)	-0.055*** (0.007)	-0.042*** (0.005)	-0.022*** (0.006)	-0.024*** (0.007)
Observations	76717	228024	324371	245119	134359

Standard errors in parentheses  
\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Freedom House, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Country-year fixed effects are included but not reported. Elite: dummy for tertiary education. Freedom House Press Freedom score is normalized to 0-100 with 0 corresponding to perfect censorship and 100 to perfect media freedom

**Table A7: Perceived media freedom, full sample, interaction terms.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Elite * Censorship	-0.045*** (0.003)	-0.046*** (0.004)	-0.059*** (0.005)	-0.044*** (0.006)	-0.075*** (0.005)	-0.111*** (0.009)	-0.111*** (0.007)	-0.108*** (0.010)
Elite		0.001 (0.003)		-0.016*** (0.002)		0.020*** (0.004)		-0.002 (0.003)
Observations	991750	991750	991750	991750	991750	991750	991750	991750

Standard errors in parentheses  
\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Freedom House, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Controls for individual characteristics (age, age squared, gender, size of the settlement), country-year fixed effects are included but not reported. Elite: dummy for tertiary education. Measures of censorship: columns (1)-(2) — dummy for non-free or partially free press, columns (3)-(4) — dummy for non-free press, columns (5)-(6) — Freedom House Press Freedom score normalized to 0-1, columns (7)-(8) — Freedom House Press Freedom score normalized to 0-1 squared. See Appendix B for the microfoundations of the relationship between true media freedom and the gap in perceived media freedom between elites and masses.

**Table A8: Approval of country's leadership by subsamples.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Polity2<-5	-5≤Polity2≤0	0<Polity2≤5	Polity2=6	Polity2=7	Polity2=8	Polity2=9	Polity2=10
Elite	-0.020** (0.009)	-0.018** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.008)	-0.040*** (0.010)	-0.036*** (0.013)	-0.020*** (0.007)	0.013** (0.006)	0.023*** (0.004)
Female	0.028*** (0.005)	0.031*** (0.005)	0.024*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.005)	0.021*** (0.005)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)
Age/100	-0.610*** (0.107)	-0.169*** (0.048)	-0.196*** (0.052)	-0.359*** (0.062)	-0.383*** (0.054)	-0.560*** (0.052)	-0.446*** (0.051)	-0.684*** (0.045)
AgeSq/10000	0.845*** (0.119)	0.281*** (0.059)	0.294*** (0.055)	0.484*** (0.071)	0.534*** (0.059)	0.730*** (0.057)	0.547*** (0.059)	0.800*** (0.045)
Small Town	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.007)	-0.029*** (0.010)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.019*** (0.006)	-0.026*** (0.010)	-0.006 (0.005)
Suburb of Large City	-0.037** (0.018)	-0.051*** (0.016)	-0.054*** (0.011)	-0.094*** (0.014)	-0.031*** (0.012)	-0.055*** (0.010)	-0.015 (0.012)	-0.012** (0.005)
Large City	-0.024** (0.012)	-0.064*** (0.010)	-0.070*** (0.008)	-0.072*** (0.013)	-0.080*** (0.009)	-0.053*** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.014** (0.006)
Observations	48181	137244	172086	97192	104360	152794	193445	273834

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Polity IV, authors' calculations.

**Table A9: Approval of country's leadership, full sample, interaction terms.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Elite	-0.026***	-0.017***	-0.027***	-0.023***	-0.041***	-0.067***
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Elite * Polity2	0.003***					
	(0.001)					
Elite * Polity2=10		0.043***				
		(0.005)				
Elite * Polity2>5			0.031***			
			(0.006)			
Elite * Fully Free Press				0.052***		
				(0.005)		
Elite * Free Press					0.033***	
					(0.003)	
Elite * Press Freedom Score/100						0.112***
						(0.012)
Observations	1179136	1179136	1179136	1179305	1179305	1179305

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Polity IV, Freedom House, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Controls for individual characteristics (age, age squared, gender, size of the settlement), country-year fixed effects are included but not reported. Elite: dummy for tertiary education. Measures of press freedom: column (4) — dummy for fully free press, column (5) — dummy for fully or partially free press, column (6) — Freedom House Press Freedom score normalized to 0-1 with 0 corresponding to full censorship and 1 corresponding to full media freedom.

**Table A10: Mincer equation.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log Income	Log Income	Top 10% Income	Top 10% Income
Tertiary Education	0.812*** (0.011)	0.654*** (0.014)	0.225*** (0.005)	0.202*** (0.007)
Secondary Education	0.423*** (0.008)	0.372*** (0.009)	0.088*** (0.003)	0.084*** (0.004)
Female	-0.085*** (0.004)	-0.088*** (0.006)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.027*** (0.002)
Age/100	0.109* (0.064)	-0.314*** (0.112)	0.088*** (0.019)	-0.288*** (0.033)
AgeSq/10000	0.339*** (0.068)	0.758*** (0.144)	-0.002 (0.022)	0.446*** (0.037)
Small Town	0.194*** (0.011)	0.133*** (0.013)	0.035*** (0.002)	0.034*** (0.004)
Suburb of Large City	0.378*** (0.015)	0.284*** (0.019)	0.077*** (0.004)	0.080*** (0.006)
Large City	0.429*** (0.015)	0.345*** (0.018)	0.104*** (0.004)	0.112*** (0.006)
Occupational dummies	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1386883	385323	1410964	386115

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Country-year fixed effects are included but not reported.

In columns (3) and (4) the dependent variable is the dummy for belonging to top 10 percent of income distribution within a given country-year. In columns (2) and (4) dummies for 12 occupations are included (but not reported).

**Table A11: Mincer Equation by Subsamples.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Polity2<-5	-5≤Polity2≤0	0<Polity2≤5	6≤Polity2≤8	Polity2=9	Polity2=10
Tertiary Education	0.754***	0.875***	0.760***	0.917***	0.842***	0.681***
	(0.044)	(0.024)	(0.031)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.019)
Secondary Education	0.397***	0.460***	0.387***	0.473***	0.396***	0.314***
	(0.034)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Female	-0.030***	-0.060***	-0.078***	-0.116***	-0.087***	-0.117***
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.005)
Age/100	-0.639***	0.355**	0.273**	0.328***	0.089	1.157***
	(0.172)	(0.177)	(0.133)	(0.098)	(0.134)	(0.175)
AgeSq/10000	0.687***	-0.117	-0.100	0.133	0.420***	-0.452**
	(0.200)	(0.248)	(0.149)	(0.122)	(0.152)	(0.181)
Small Town	0.300***	0.167***	0.205***	0.216***	0.177***	0.058***
	(0.040)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.008)
Suburb of Large City	0.582***	0.398***	0.458***	0.447***	0.436***	0.131***
	(0.061)	(0.026)	(0.042)	(0.018)	(0.035)	(0.010)
Large City	0.595***	0.498***	0.482***	0.479***	0.417***	0.177***
	(0.063)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.012)
Observations	-5.933***	-7.762***	-7.217***	-7.014***	-6.606***	-5.279***
	(0.058)	(0.035)	(0.041)	(0.023)	(0.037)	(0.034)

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Polity IV, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Country-year fixed effects are included but not reported. The dependent variable is logarithm of income.



**Table A12: Life Satisfaction by subsamples.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Polity2<-5	-5≤Polity2≤0	0<Polity2≤5	6≤Polity2≤8	Polity2=9	Polity2=10
Tertiary Education	0.461***	0.604***	0.612***	0.670***	0.757***	0.562***
	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.027)	(0.019)	(0.021)	(0.017)
Female	0.130***	0.058**	0.028*	0.045***	0.021	0.094***
	(0.019)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Age/100	-3.658***	-2.425***	-2.232***	-4.337***	-3.409***	-4.063***
	(0.360)	(0.308)	(0.253)	(0.226)	(0.427)	(0.214)
AgeSq/10000	3.364***	1.816***	0.872***	3.138***	1.826***	3.238***
	(0.405)	(0.331)	(0.283)	(0.238)	(0.384)	(0.212)
Small Town	0.177***	0.178***	0.156***	0.177***	0.139***	-0.071***
	(0.043)	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.024)	(0.041)	(0.014)
Suburb of Large City	0.289***	0.333***	0.335***	0.352***	0.448***	-0.074***
	(0.052)	(0.048)	(0.042)	(0.030)	(0.070)	(0.020)
Large City	0.421***	0.378***	0.409***	0.414***	0.421***	-0.029
	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.021)
Observations	218737	199945	201871	401474	220889	364399

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Polity IV, authors' calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Country-year fixed effects are included but not reported.

The dependent variable is self-reported life satisfaction on a 10-point scale.

**Table A13: Approval of country's leadership by subsamples controlling for education and income.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Polity2<-5	-5≤Polity2≤0	0<Polity2≤5	6≤Polity2≤8	Polity2=9	Polity2=10
Tertiary Education	-0.012	-0.019**	-0.030***	-0.025***	0.003	0.020***
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Log Income	0.003	0.001	0.000	-0.011***	0.021***	0.016***
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Female	0.026***	0.034***	0.026***	0.016***	0.003	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Age/100	-0.599***	-0.199***	-0.213***	-0.511***	-0.441***	-0.672***
	(0.130)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.049)
AgeSq/10000	0.804***	0.332***	0.316***	0.677***	0.531***	0.785***
	(0.142)	(0.064)	(0.058)	(0.039)	(0.062)	(0.049)
Small Town	-0.010	-0.003	-0.025***	-0.012**	-0.029***	-0.006
	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)
Suburb of Large City	-0.010	-0.057***	-0.064***	-0.052***	-0.022*	-0.014**
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.006)
Large City	-0.022**	-0.063***	-0.074***	-0.059***	-0.041***	-0.015**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.006)
Observations	35782	118215	151355	284944	170488	230816

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Source: Gallup World Poll, Polity IV, author's calculations.

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the level of country-year. Country-year fixed effects are included but not reported.

## Online Appendix B

### Censorship and Perceptions of Media Freedom

By definition, censorship blocks information about the true state of media freedom as well. Therefore, the relationship between the observed values of true media freedom (as measured by Freedom House) and the public's perceptions of media freedom is not trivial.

Consider a country,  $c$ , at time  $t$ , where the true level of media freedom is  $TMF_{ct}$ . For simplicity, we will normalize  $TMF_{ct}$  to vary between 0 and 1 and to be metrized in terms of the probability that the messages about the true state of nature reach the public. Perceived media freedom,  $PMF_{ict}$ , is individual  $i$ 's perception of the true level of media freedom in country  $c$  in year  $t$ . Naturally,  $PMF_{ict}$  also ranges from 0 to 1. As the government tries to censor information on censorship as well, the probability of true information (on censorship) getting through government filters depends on whether the recipient is in the informed elite and on the level of censorship.

If the individual belongs to the informed elite ( $ELITE_{ict}=1$ ), she directly observes  $TMF_{ct}$  so for her  $PMF_{ict}=TMF_{ct}$ . The general public ( $ELITE_{ict}=0$ ), observes the true state ( $PMF_{ict}=TMF_{ct}$ ), with probability  $TMF_{ct}$  and observes the government's signal "media is free" ( $PMF_{ict}=1$ ), with probability  $1-TMF_{ct}$ . Therefore, for the general public  $PMF_{ict} = (TMF_{ct})^2 + (1-TMF_{ct})$ . Hence

$$PMF_{ict} = ELITE_{ict} TMF_{ct} + (1 - ELITE_{ict}) [(TMF_{ct})^2 + (1 - TMF_{ct})] = [1 - TMF_{ct} + (TMF_{ct})^2] - ELITE_{ict} (1 - TMF_{ct})^2$$

The first term (in brackets) is absorbed by the country-year dummy but the second term represents within-country-year variation. We therefore should estimate the following regression

$$PMF_{ict} = D_{ct} + b ELITE_{ict} (1 - TMF_{ct})^2 + a X_{ict} + \epsilon_{ict}$$

where  $D_{ct}$  is the dummy for country-year, which captures all country-level and country-year-level variation (including the levels of democracy and economic growth), and  $X_{ict}$  is the vector of individual controls (age, gender, city size); in some specifications we also include education, which may also have a direct effect on perceptions. The model predicts a negative coefficient at  $ELITE_{ict} (1 - TMF_{ct})^2$ , i.e.  $b < 0$ .

This prediction is taken to the data in the Table A7. In columns (7)-(8) we proxy censorship ( $1 - TMF_{ct}$ ) by the continuous Freedom House Press Freedom score and interact its square with the tertiary education dummy as a proxy for  $ELITE_{ict}$ . The model rules out the direct impact of  $ELITE_{ict}$  on the perceived media freedom. However, as there may be additional channels through  $ELITE_{ict}$  affects perceived media freedom—other than those discussed in the simple model above—we run specifications with and without controlling for  $ELITE_{ict}$ . In columns (1)-(4) we proxy censorship with a dummy for nonfree or partially free press (columns (1)-(2)) and with a dummy for nonfree press (columns (3)-(4)). As these are dummies, the linear term is equivalent to the squared term. Finally, as we are agnostic whether Freedom House's Press Freedom score is metrized in the same way as the measure of censorship  $1 - TMF_{ct}$  in the model (share of blocked messages), in columns (5)-(6) we also present a specification with a linear term ( $1 - TMF_{ct}$ ). In all specifications, the results are consistent with the predictions of the simple model above.