THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Using a Distributional Semantic Model for Collecting

Co-Occurrence Information from Online Data Across Languages

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Introduction

International survey research on democracy has made significant efforts to map popular support for democracy across the world. Yet the concept of democracy can mean different things in different contexts; it can refer to an abstract ideal, a political procedure, a set of political outcomes, or a specific regime. When collecting survey data on the level of support for democracy, we do not know which of these meanings the support refers to. The literature on public support for democracy has revealed significant cross-country differences in people's attitudes towards democracy. While some scholars emphasize the procedural and institutional aspects that need to be present in a democracy, most theoretical definitions of democracy also include references to the values and principles associated with democracy. Could it be that differences in survey results are influenced by differences in the meaning of democracy?

Cross-cultural survey research rests upon the assumption that if survey features are kept constant to the maximum extent, data will remain comparable across languages, cultures and countries (Diamond 2010). Yet translating concepts across languages, cultures and political contexts is complicated by linguistic, cultural, normative, or institutional discrepancies. Further, even if it is possible to unambiguously translate lexical items across languages, there may be semantic differences between various languages and cultures in how these lexical items are used. Recognizing that language, culture and other socio-political aspects affect survey results has often times been equated with "giving up on comparative research", and consequently, the most commonly used solution has been for researchers to simply ignore the issue of comparability across languages, cultures and countries (King et al. 2004; Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Harkness 2005).
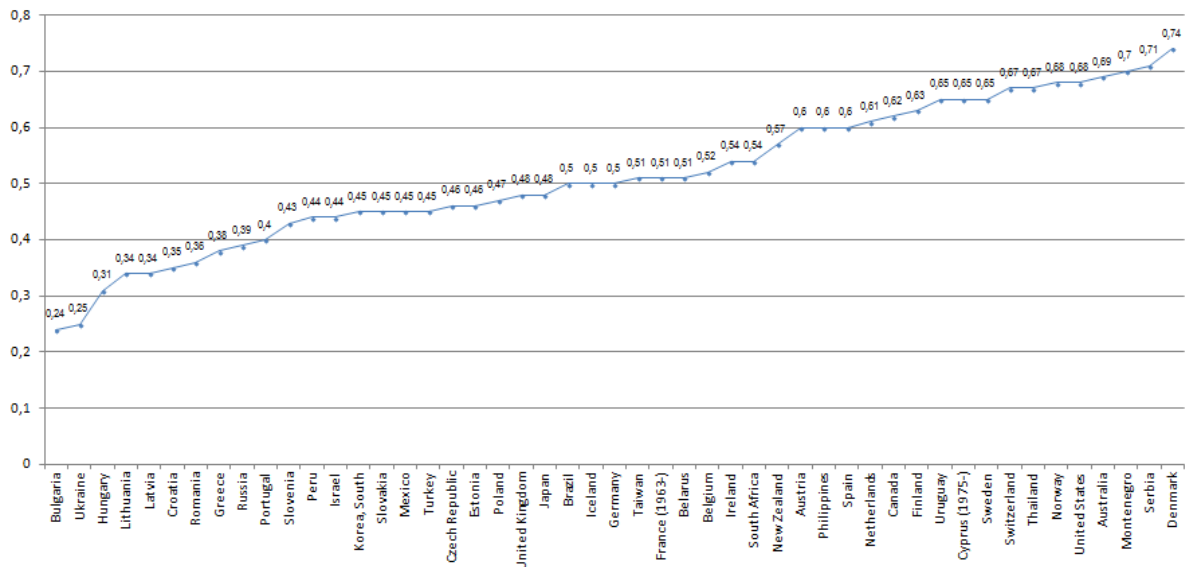
This paper contributes to the debate by using distributional semantics to account for language differences between lexical realizations of concepts across languages. Distributional semantics is a statistical approach for quantifying semantic similarities based on co-occurrence information collected from large text data (Turney & Pantel 2010). In this experiment, we have used geo-coded language data collected from online editorial and social media sources. The reason for using such data rather than balanced corpora is that it enables us to analyze word meanings in normal, uncontrolled, unsolicited, and contemporary language use. Compared to other methodological approaches aimed at identifying and

measuring cross-cultural and cross-lingual discrepancies, this approach has the advantage of enabling us to analyze how concepts are used in their "natural habitat" (Wittgenstein 1958). Our ambition is that using distributional semantics applied to such data will enable us to uncover potential meaning differences in the use of concepts across languages and countries. This paper represents our first step towards such an endeavor and is structured as follows: first, we present an overview of citizen's satisfaction with the way democracy works, along with different conceptual aspects of citizen's support for democracy. Second, we present our search towards the meaning(s) of democracy in a large – albeit restricted – sample of online text data, using a distributional lexicon to construct word-spaces, which contain a set of terms semantically similar to the term democracy, across a substantial amount of languages. Subsequently, we apply a manual classification schema to the word-space terms into a set of eight broad categories, pertaining to democracy at different levels of abstraction. Doing so, we take a step towards the inclusion of new variables, accounting for differences in meaning across languages, into existing survey datasets and thereby maximizing comparability across contexts.

Satisfaction with Democracy – Meaning and Measurements

There is a rich literature on both within and between country factors that affects citizens' satisfaction with democracy and the way democracy works (for an overview, see Cutler et. al. 2013). Still there is a lot of variation left to explain. A crucial point regarding our attempts to gain new knowledge in this subject relates to the question of what citizens actually are expressing their support for?

FIGURE 1. SATISFACTION WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS ACROSS 49 COUN-TRIES

Note: Data combined from the CSES and the EES. In both surveys, the question reads: "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?" In contrast to the CSES question where the response options range between 1(not at all satisfied) to 4 (very satisfied), the ESS response options are based on an 11-point scale, ranging from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). Differences in scale and time are not optimal for comparisons. However, for 23 countries, data were overlapping between CSES and EES and the correlation between the two survey measures was r=0.81, which makes them not identical but at least very close. Based on this correlation we have combined them into one dataset where country averages were rescaled into 0-1.

Figure 1 shows the aggregated levels of citizens' satisfaction with the way democracy works across 49 countries, and is based on data from two different survey sources, the Comparative Studies of Electoral Systems (CSES) Modules 3 and 4 (2006-2016) and the European Social Survey (ESS) Wave 3 (2008). The responses have been rescaled so as to range between 0 and 1, with higher scores indicating higher satisfaction. It is interesting to note that Denmark scores the highest level of satisfaction, closely followed by Serbia – two countries with many between-differences, not least in terms of level of democratization, design of the political system and other institutional and socio-political features. This begs the question of whether there might be other cultural – and possibly linguistic – aspects affecting citizens' understanding of the concept of democracy, and ultimately driving them to report high levels of satisfaction with the way democracy works.

Disentangling the Concept of Democracy

Some of the efforts to map people's conceptions of democracy across the world can be found within the literature on political, or public, support. Public support is crucial for the legitimacy of a democratic regime, yet citizens can be critical of the incumbent democratic regime or be dissatisfied with certain political institutions while still supporting democracy as the ideal form of government. One way to conceptualize the different levels of political support has been provided by Easton (1975). Easton's model differentiates between "diffuse support" for the political community and for democratic principles on the one hand, and "specific support" for the regime structure and political authorities on the other. The level of specific support is contingent upon the behavior of, and outcomes delivered by, authorities in relation to citizens' expectations of authorities' performance. Diffuse support captures "attachment to the political object for its own sake" (1975:445) and is generally associated with higher levels of popular support for democracy; it is accumulated through over-time socialization that gradually transforms into generalized attitudes towards political objects. In this sense, it is also contingent upon a history of specific support, in turn generated by a regime's capacity to deliver order, protect human rights and uphold the rule of law, and generate economic development.

In Critical Citizens (1999), Pippa Norris and others build upon Easton's definition and develop a five-level model for political support that includes support for the political community, regime principles, regime performance, regime institutions and regime actors. The different types of support are ordered along a continuum, ranging from diffuse support for the national community to specific support for political actors. Building upon those dimensions, the authors of Critical Citizens conclude that citizens in advanced industrial democratic societies are becoming increasingly sceptical towards political parties, parliaments and governments and their performance; yet popular support for democratic ideals, values and principles – part of what Easton conceived as diffuse support – remain high and widespread.

The Survey Approach

Another critical question is, more precisely, how political support for the different levels of democracy can be measured. One of the most commonly used indicators of democratic support, which can be found in the Comparative Studies of Electoral Systems (CSES) and

in the Euro and Latino Barometers reads: "On the whole are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in our country?" Another phrasing, used in the World Values Survey (WVS) and in the former Central and Eastern Barometers, ask about satisfaction with the way democracy is developing, implying that democracy is still in its earlier stages in the given country (Linde & Ekman 2003). The "satisfaction with the workings of democracy" (SWoD) item has been criticized for having validity problems, since it leaves room for interpretation and does not specify what aspect of democracy respondents are to express their opinion of (Canache, Mondak & Seligson 2001).

Linde and Ekman (2003) set out to explore what the SWoD item actually measures: support for democracy as an ideal or a principle (diffuse support), or the performance of a democratic regime (specific support). The authors build upon the five-level model of democratic support developed by Norris (1999) and correlate results from the WVS and CSES on the SWoD variable with different survey items measuring diffuse and specific support for democracy. Their study reveals that the SWoD variable correlates better with measures of democratic performance, such as satisfaction with the economic situation, than with indicators of diffuse support for democracy as a principle. Linde and Ekman conclude that the SWoD item should be used as an indicator of popular support for the way the democratic regime functions in practice, and not as an indicator of system legitimacy, even though satisfaction with the performance of democracy may result in increased diffuse support in the long run.

Another study by Holmberg (2014) has demonstrated that public support for democracy tends to be lower in new democracies (see also Aarts & Thomassen 2008), and that citizens in new democracies tend to base their evaluations of democracy on regime performance and economic outcomes rather than on conceptions of abstract democratic ideals (Bratton & Mattes 2001). In a similar vein, Dahlberg, Linde and Holmberg (2015), show that individual level determinants of support for democracy are interacting with institutional consolidation. In more newly democratized countries, perceptions of government performance and economical outcomes are more important for expressing support for democracy, while assessments of representation and procedures are more important in established democracies.

Dahlberg and Holmberg (2013) further investigate which democratic properties are most important for citizens' satisfaction with the workings of democracy: input-related factors, including electoral institutions and the degree of policy representation, or the output side of the system – the quality of government – which is conceived as the presence of effective, professional and impartial institutions and successful policy implementation. Drawing upon individual data on SWoD from the CSES, they find that government effectiveness proves to be more important for citizens' satisfaction with the way democracy works than input factors, such as ideological congruence and representational closeness. Their findings suggest that democratic procedures are less important to the public than the output performance of the regime.

Another method is to rely on several survey items that capture different levels of support, including both "diffuse" and "specific" properties. Most researchers agree that one survey item is not enough to capture people's attitudes towards the concept (Klingemann 1999; Linde & Ekman 2003). Furthermore, as noted by Norris (1999), there is often a trade-off between validity and reliability of attitudinal measures; maximalist indicators enhance validity since they capture more dimensions, but may also be more difficult to analyze, since they raise questions of the relative weight of each indicator, and how to separate them from one another. There are, however, arguments that those ideals are not present to the same degree in new democracies, where political support is expected to be more performance-oriented and instrumental in nature.

The assumption that political support is more performance-oriented in new democracies, as democratic ideals have not yet been rooted in society has, however, not remained unchallenged. Bratton and Mattes (2001) build upon data from their own surveys in three African democracies, Ghana, Zambia and South Africa, to test whether citizens' support for democracy is conceived of in economic and instrumental terms or as abstract ideals of political rights and liberties. Their results indicate that African support for democracy is intrinsic rather than instrumental; respondents were generally dissatisfied with their governments but stated that they felt an attachment to democratic norms and values. Although approval of democracy was partly contingent upon government performance, economic performance proved to matter less for citizens than the ability of governments to ensure respect for political rights and civil liberties. The findings suggest that despite dif-

ferences in the quality and performance of democracies, people express support for liberal democratic ideals, including civil liberties and political rights.

This connects to what Welzel (2013) refers to as the "paradox of democracy"; that is, widespread support for democracy paradoxically tends to coexist with a lack – or an "outright absence" – of democracy (Welzel & Kirsch 2017:2). Welzel analyzes the WVS battery of ten questions that pertain to the meaning of democracy, arguing that the battery captures four distinctive notions of democracy: a liberal notion, a social notion, a populist notion, and an authoritarian notion (2008:310). When applying these distinctions, the author finds that the paradox disappears; in places where democracy is deficient or simply absent, citizens' perceptions of what democracy means is distorted in favour of authoritarianism. Citizens thus lack the emancipative values that are required in order to go from desire for democracy to concrete action for democracy (2008:330). Hence, as Welzel and Hirsch (2017:3) explain, "authoritarian misunderstandings of democracy might be widespread and real … under false notions of democracy, people consider non-democratic regime characteristics as democratic".

The Ethnographic Approach

The literature on democratic support offers interesting insights into the notion of political legitimacy and what matters for citizens' satisfaction with their political leadership. Most surveys, however, only offer pre-determined definitions of democracy that either focus on its performance in political and economic terms, or on liberal ideals, rights and liberties. Neither of the above cited studies asks what democracy specifically means to respondents, nor if it means the same thing for people across linguistically, culturally and institutionally diverse societies.

In this respect, qualitative studies – and particularly those utilizing ethnographic methods – can provide us with in-depth data of the different meanings attributed to the concept of democracy in specific contexts. Schaffer (2000) offers such a study and takes on a semantic approach to investigate the issue of cross-national comparability. He argues that cross-cultural analyses of attitudes towards democracy must take into account whether the units of analysis in question share similar institutions along with comparable ideals, values and standards attributed to those institutions. This allows for an analysis of how the meaning people attribute to democratic institutions may vary across contexts. Schaffer suggests that

the meaning of democracy can be traced through language by using conceptual analysis, which looks at the structure of the concept, its associated meanings, ideals and standards, its use in everyday language and how the concept fits into a "semantic field" of related concepts. He emphasizes that the meaning of a concept is best captured by studying how it is used in its everyday context; in line with Wittgenstein (1958), we may argue that the meaning of a concept is its usage.

Schaffer applies this method across languages so as to detect similarities and differences in the meaning attributed to democracy in two seemingly very different countries: the United States and Senegal. Both countries nonetheless have a long tradition of competitive elections, which makes it possible to assume that Senegalese citizens have roughly similar ideas of democratic institutions even as the countries differ in terms of social organization, cultural and religious traditions as well as political practices. With this case selection, Schaffer controls for Dahl's (1956) proposition that new and old democracies differ in their conception of democracy. The semantic fields of the English democracy are compared to the French démocratie and Wolof demokaraasi by tracing the usage of the concept in the media and in the political arena. While in American English, democracy is associated with distributive equality, inclusive participation and choice, Schaffer finds that the Wolof concept of democracy is related to concerns about collective economic security and community loyalties. More specifically, demokaraasi as concept refers to collectivist ideals, welfare, and electoral institutions, while demokaraasi as practice refers to solidaristic and clientelist networks and voting behavior. In terms of institutional references, the Wolof concept thus resembles the American English concept, and to some extent they also share a similar ideal of equality. However, they largely differ in terms of references to social welfare and collective economic security.

Schaffer additionally compares the Senegalese understanding of democracy with results from similar studies conducted in other parts of the world. Previous studies (see Goodman 1981) of the concept minzhu in Chinese – commonly translated as democracy – reveal that minzhu implies popular participation under elite supervision, promotion of the common interest, and popular scrutiny of the work of bureaucracy – elements that are supposed to work in favor of national unity. Despite the seemingly authoritarian elements of minzhu, at least from a liberal democratic point of view, minzhu was also used in the student demonstrations of 1989 at the Tiananmen Square. Schaffer concludes that while

demokaraasi, minzhu and democracy carry different meanings, those meanings also partially overlap; minzhu and democracy share a notion of popular political participation while demokaraasi shares with minzhu the notion of unity. Following Wittgenstein, Schaffer concludes that we could conceive of these conceptual relations as family resemblances; "as the pattern of overlapping and crisscrossing similarities ... between the ways in which roughly equivalent words get used in different languages" (Shaffer 2000:145).

In Search of the Meaning of Democracy

The different methods available for studying how the meaning of democracy changes with the linguistic, cultural and political context can be summarized in two different approaches; first, the explorative approach, which allows respondents to describe what democracy means to them, and can be carried out either through surveys by utilizing open-ended questions (Dalton, Shin & Jou 2007) or using ethnographic methods (Schaffer 2000). The second approach is to use closed-ended questions in surveys and ask respondents to rate the relative importance of different democratic properties and then deduce the understanding of democracy from these results (Bratton 2010; Klingemann & Welzel 2008). The different approaches have their advantages, but also limitations and caveats; survey research using different batteries of closed-ended questions allows for global comparisons, but existing survey items suffer from validity issues as it has proved difficult to establish if democracy means the same to people across linguistically, culturally and socio-politically diverse societies.

Ethnographic studies, in contrast, allow for thick description and enhance our understanding of what democracy means for people in ordinary social, cultural and political context. This method also captures both political and non-political uses of democracy, which can be used as an indicator of to what extent the concept is anchored in society. However, the ethnographic method is by default limited in its scope, which many would argue undermines cross-country comparisons. The method used in this paper combines the explorative approach of ethnographic methods with the systematic analysis used in survey research. It potentially offers a solution both to the issue of validity and cross-cultural generalizations.

Aim and Research Questions

Our paper aims at disentangling some of the ways in which the word democracy is used in online text data, paying particular attention to factors such as language, country, and type of media the data is derived from. Using a distributional semantic model, we study differences and similarities in usages of the word democracy in large samples of geo-coded language data across a substantial amount of languages and countries. Doing so, we take a step towards a more extensive project for the near future: determining the extent to which different usages – and thereby understandings – of the word democracy is attributed to various linguistic and cultural factors. Such an undertaking ultimately involves comparing the findings derived from our distributional semantic method with previous findings from the body of literature on the meanings of democracy and measurements of democratic support. Hence, we ask, what is the level of congruence in the usages of the word democracy 1) between editorial media and social media; 2) between languages; 3) between countries?[1]

Distributional Semantics as Method

Distributional semantics is grounded in structural meaning theory and often summarized in the words of one of its founding fathers, John Rupert Firth: "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" (1957:11). Studying the meaning of a word requires us to "specify under which conditions two words can be said to have the same meaning or – if we regard the notion of synonymity too strong – to be semantically similar" (Lenci, 2008:2). According to Lenci (2008), the theoretical assumption of any distributional semantic model is the definition of semantic similarity as linguistic distributions. This has become widely recognized as the Distributional Hypothesis, which Lenci (2008:3) – albeit popularized by Firth (1957) – formulates in the following way: "The degree of semantic similarity between two linguistic expressions A and B is a function of the similarity of the linguistic contexts in which A and B appear." Put differently, if we observe two words that constantly occur in the same contexts, we are justified in assuming that they mean similar things (Sahlgren 2006; 2008).

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[1] It should be added that the data analysis is still ongoing and that the results presented below is somewhat reflective of this. The research questions are therefore presented in greater detail in the results section.

Distributional semantics models collect co-occurrence statistics from large dynamic text data – often referred to as Big Data – in order to produce a multidimensional vector space – also known as word- space – in which each word is assigned a corresponding vector. Word vectors are positioned in the word-space such that words that share a common context are located in close proximity to one another in the word-space. Relative similarity between word vectors, measured by cosine similarity ranging from -1 to 1, thus indicates similarity of usage between words. In this way, distributional semantic models can be used to find semantically similar terms to a given target term and, in effect, a distributional semantic model constitutes a statistically compiled lexicon. As an example, a distributional semantic model would likely return terms like "green", "yellow", "black", and "white" when probed with the term "red". In linguistic terms, this constitutes a paradigm, in which the members can often be substituted by each other in context.

The choice of model depends on the nature of the inquiry – the size of data or frequency range of terms – and is generally a question of performance versus efficiency (Sahlgren and Lenci 2016). For this study, a fixed number of distributional lexicon items corresponding to the term democracy have been collected using word2vec, a neural network. word2vec is one of the most widely applied neural networks, used to map a given term and its usage. The specific word2vec model applied in this analysis is the continuous bag of words (CBOW) model, which uses context to predict a target term, as opposed to a model in which a term is used to predict a target context. The model is based on several algorithms and is continuously learning, provided that there is enough training data, and is agnostic in the sense that it disregards a prescriptive perspective on linguistics, allowing variations of words in terms of spelling and slang (Sahlgren 2006). Recalling Wittgenstein's notion of "meaning as use" – emphasizing that formal relations between linguistic items are meaningless outside the context in which they are used – the method thus allows us to investigate how the word democracy is used in its "natural environment" (1958).

Data

Though natural language – generally defined as language that has naturally developed over time without any premeditation or conscious planning (Lyons 1991) – can take on a variety of forms including spoken language and signed language, the data analyzed herein is that of written language, more specifically, large text data from online web documents.

The data is retrieved from Gavagai[2], a language technology company and offspring of RISE SICS, which utilizes a number of large-scale commercial data providers such as TalkWalker[3], Twingly[4] and Gnip[5]. The data is constantly fluctuating – reflecting the every-day activity of internet users – and at peak periods, the flow can reach millions of web documents each day, amounting to more than a billion terms.

The word2vec model has been programmed to collect distributional semantic items – also referred to as words or terms (both are used interchangeably throughout the paper) – from large samples of text data that is coded by geographic location (henceforth, the term geo-coded data is used to denote geographically located data). The data was collected in December 2016, and the word-spaces are based on a random sample from the limited – but relatively large – text corpora. At this point, it is not possible to control for changes in text over time; however, given that the data presented herein is based on cumulative data, it is less susceptible to such changes.

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[2] https://www.gavagai.se
[3] https://www.talkwalker.com
[4] https://www.twingly.com
[5] https://gnip.com

TABLE 1, TOTAL AMOUNT OF WEB DOCUMENTS ACROSS GEO-CODED LANGUAGE DATA

Language	ISO 6391	Country	ISO 3166	Number of web documents (thousands)
German	de	Austria	at	30
German	de	Switzerland	ch	2700
German	de	Germany	de	56 000
Greek	el	Greece	gr	8100
English	en	Egypt (eg)	eg	100
English	en	Great Britain	gb	23 000
English	en	United States	us	301 000
Spanish	es	Brazil	br	300
Spanish	es	Spain	es	40 000
Spanish	es	United States	es	6100
French	fr	Belgium	be	1500
French	fr	Switzerland	ch	1200
French	fr	France	fr	54 000
Finnish	fi	Finnish	fi	2100
Hungarian	hu	Hungary	hu	4000
Italian	it	Switzerland	ch	50
Italian	it	Italy	it	20 000
Lithuanian	lt	Lithuania	lt	1300
Latvian	lv	Latvia	lv	40
Dutch	nl	Belgium	be	1800
Dutch	nl	Netherlands	nl	14 000
Norwegian	no	Norway	no	1600
Polish	pl	Poland	pl	11 000
Portuguese	pt	Brazil	br	27 000
Portuguese	pt	Portugal	pt	3200

Romanian	ro	Romania	ro	7100
Russian	ru	Russia	ru	50 000
Russian	ru	Ukraine	ua	10 000
Swedish	sv	Sweden	se	7400
Ukrainian	uk	Ukraine	ua	2000

Note: Data collected in December 2016.

The model further splits the data by type of media and for each geo-coded sample, it produces 15 rank ordered distributional lexicon items from editorial media and 15 from social media. The former contains all sorts of documents – primarily news media – edited by a publisher for an internet user to read while the latter contains documents published by internet users themselves in various public forums and blogs. We believe it is justified to assume that different forms of media may reflect different discourses of democracy, hence the reason for differentiating between the two. While a news editor or a journalist may certainly frame democracy in particular ways, and that such frames produced by news media may consciously or unconsciously be absorbed its readers, we cannot safely conclude that the consumers of editorial media and the producers of social media share the same perceptions of democracy. A bigger methodological issue is that of representativity which we by no means can guarantee when using this type of unstructured data that often is produced for commercial reasons by large data providers catering to private sector companies. However, as we are interested in the ways in which the word democracy is used in everyday language, online data seems like the most viable option, even considering the problems with using existing data providers.

Table 1 shows the languages and countries analyzed in this paper as well as the approximate amount of web documents per text corpus. The total sample consists of 18 languages and 24 countries, yielding a total of 30 geo-coded language units. The amount of data differs considerably between languages: English is by far the largest language, followed by Russian, German and French. All language data is geo-coded and mostly confined to the European continent with the exception of data from Brazil, Egypt and the United States. For official languages spoken in a wide variety of countries – English, Spanish, German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and Russian – more than one geo-coded

sample has been collected. The total sample was selected for practical reasons; building word-spaces is time consuming and requires a large amount of training data in order to perform well. The word-spaces are constructed at the RISE SICS (formerly the Swedish Institute of Computer Science), on a continent basis, and as a result of data scarcity in some regions, quite a few are yet to be constructed.
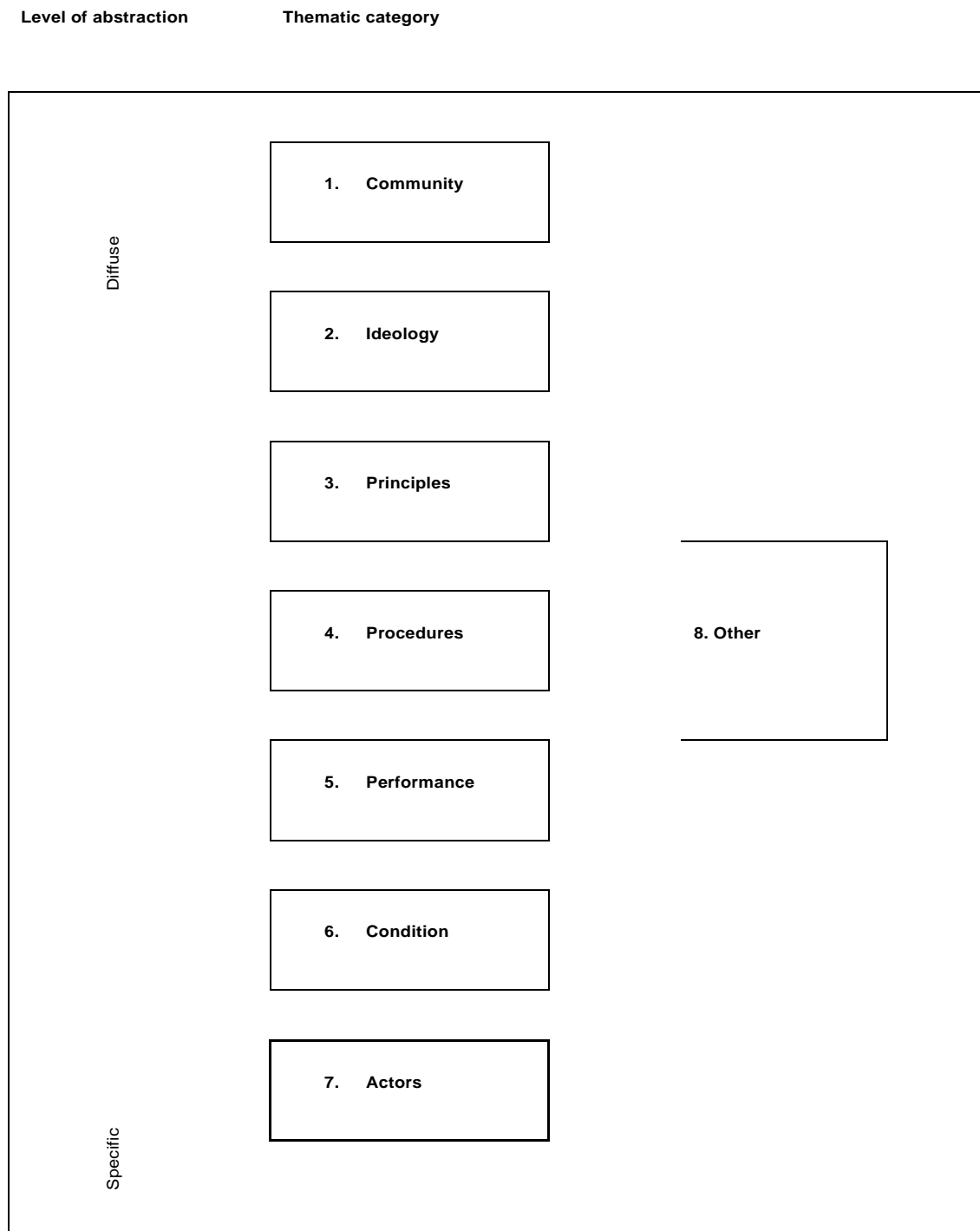
Thematic Classifications of Distributional Lexicon Items

The theoretical attempts to portray people's conceptions of democracy, as laid out by Easton and Norris, have gained some validity in a number of empirical correlational studies (see Bratton & Mattes 2001; Aarts & Thomassen 2008; Dahlberg, Linde & Holmberg 2014). Hence, for the empirical analysis, we have constructed a classification scheme that, drawing primarily on Norris (1999), is based on the separation between diffuse versus specific support for democracy. From this distinction follows that the separation not only is a matter of different levels of abstraction but also a difference in terms of input and output of the democratic system. If we are able to conceptualize language use for the term democracy into a smaller set of theoretically meaningful categories for different languages; we will also be able to incorporate the proportions of stances for each language within each category back to the survey-based data. These language-based variable constructs can then be used to correct for differences in meaning of the word democracy across languages.

Figure 2 displays the classification scheme with eight categories ranging from a more diffuse to a more specific level of abstraction. Category 1 (community) and 7 (actors) refers to the most diffuse vis-à-vis the most specific level of abstraction. While the former denotes the political community – or the collective society in which the political system is situated – the latter refers to specific actors – governments, oppositions, institutions, parties or individual agents – of the political community or system as such. Category 2 (ideology) contains references to democracy as ideologies – doctrines, beliefs or ideas – that exist in the political community, or make up the political system. Category 3 (principles) is an input category where we find democracy in terms of political principles; values and norms the political system is associated with. Category 4 (procedures) is treated as a throughput category and contain references to political procedures– or system-related features – around which the political system is organized. Category 5 (performance) is an

output category where we find democracy in terms of performance; products of the political system or properties associated with economic and social development. Category 6 (condition) refers to outcomes of the political system; a state of affairs or resulting from producing certain policies or products. In addition, we have included a separate category (8) for items not corresponding to any of the previous categories, for instance items that are simply noise.

Knowing that automatic machine learned translators cannot always guarantee the interpretive sophistication required for studies of this kind, translators are employed for each language to assist with the classification process. In view of the language agnostic approach of this paper, this is somewhat methodologically fragile given that human translators inevitably introduce bias to the material. However, the translation was conducted in a supervised environment, where the translators were tasked with not merely providing translation suggestions of the items analyzed but of describing the items, using an official dictionary to capture the lexical meaning of the items derived from the word2vec model. In addition, they were assigned to describe their views of the items in terms of "local semantics" (see Levisen 2014); how people within the specific language context generally comprehend of and make use of the items. While we know that some languages are more linguistically related than others – making direct translation of certain words easier – there might still be meaning discrepancies in the everyday word usage that would not be captured by an automatic translator. All in all, two translators were employed for each language translated so as to enhance the reliability of the translation process.

FIGURE 2, CLASSIFICATION SCHEME WITH 8 DIFFERENT THEMATIC CATEGORIES

Level of abstraction   **Thematic category**

Diffuse

1.   Community

2.   Ideology

3.   Principles

4.   Procedures   8. Other

5.   Performance

6.   Condition

7.   Actors

Specific

Having translated all lexical items retrieved from the word2vec model, classification of the items was subsequently conducted manually in a combined deductive-inductive manner using the classification scheme presented above (for an overview of the translated and classified items, see table A1).[6]

Results

This section presents some preliminary findings of the similarities and differences across the sampled online text data. Based on the sampled online text data for 30 geo-coded units, three concrete questions will be analyzed. First, what is the degree of congruence of democracy-related terms between editorial media and social media – on the detailed word level as well as on the thematic classification level? From a methodological perspective, high similarity scores across different types of media is desirable as it makes measurements and analyses easier to manage. Normatively, it could also be argued a high congruence in the use and understanding of democracy is positive for the democratic discourse as the "democratic square" may function better if people speak in the same tongue.

The second question concerns similarities between languages and countries when it comes to the use of democracy-related terms in online media – editorial as well as social. It could be argued that this question is of less normative importance than the former one, as democracy so far is largely based on nation states with (for most cases) common languages, and that democratic debates within countries are more essential than democratic debates across different countries and languages. However, with globalization, transnational institutions such as the EU are becoming new democratic arenas, emphasizing the need for common key concepts. Conceptual equivalence in the way people communicate across different languages are thus becoming increasingly vital, not least when communicating democratic matters.

The third question is more descriptive, but not less interesting. When people with different languages talk about things related to democracy online, what terms – or topics – are most common? Are there topics confined to a limited number of languages and/or countries or do we find a conceptual red thread across countries in our online data? In other

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[6] It should be noted that the findings presented in the following section are based on a preliminary coding of lexical items semantically similar to democracy. More rigorous evaluations of the classification scheme including the coding process and inter-coder reliability assessments are thus further required.

words, can we see signs pf an international discourse of democracy addressing common topics or using similar concepts or is the democratic debate still in essence nationalized; perhaps most units of analysis herein use their own language- and country-specific words, with the consequence that few words and topics travel across borders?

Results pertinent to the first question are presented in tables 2 and 3. The average similarity between online editorial and social media in mentionings of democracy-related terms is 46 percent on a scale running from 0 percent (no similarity) to 100 percent (perfect similarity). French from France top the ranking with 80 percent. Finnish from Finland as well as Swedish from Sweden are at the bottom among ten investigated languages with a score of about 30 percent similarity between editorial and social media. No doubt, the result for France is normatively very reassuring. The outcome for Sweden and Finland (and Brazil and Spain also at the bottom of the ranking) is less positive.

TABLE 2, RANKING OF AVERAGE DEGREE OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN EDITORIAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Rank	Language	Country	Average degree of similarity (%)
1	French	France	80
2	Russian	Russia	67
3	Norwegian	Norway	53
4	English	United States	47
5	German	Germany	47
6	English	Great Britain	40
7	Spanish	Spain	33
8	Portuguese	Brazil	33
9	Swedish	Sweden	33
10	Finnish	Finland	27
Average			46

Looking at overlaps between editorial and social media after all democracy-related terms have been thematically classified, the results indicate higher levels of similarity. If we translate the difference measure used into percent similarity as in table 2, the average result is 80 percent similarity, up from 46 percent for the similarity on the word level.[7] Once again the ranking is topped by French (from France) and with Finnish (from Finland) and Swedish (from Sweden) further down the list (see table 3). All 30 geo-coded language units are included in this analysis. At the absolute bottom with a 48 percent similarity rating we find the minority language Italian from Switzerland. Overall, a result of an average 80 percent similarity between editorial and social media in thematic democratic talk must clearly be judged as something positive. The democracy-related terms may differ between editorial media and social media, but the broader themes are more similar.

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[7] All 30 geo-coded language units are analyzed in table 3. The average difference between editorial and social media in mentionings of democracy-related words categorized into eight thematic groups is 6 percentage points, with 25 points as a maximum (74 percent similarity). For the ten languages present in table 2, the average difference is 5 points (80 percent similarity).

TABLE 3. RANKING OF AVERAGE DIFFERENCE IN THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION BE-TWEEN EDITORIAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA ACROSS 8 DIFFERENT THEMATIC CATE-GORIES

Rank	Language	Country	Average difference (%)
1	French	France	2
1	Norwegian	Norway	2
1	Spanish	Spain	2
4	German	Austria	3
4	Ukrainian	Ukraine	3
6	Russian	Ukraine	4
6	Polish	Poland	4
6	Greek	Greece	4
9	Spanish	Brazil	5
9	Portuguese	Brazil	5
9	Hungarian	Hungary	5
9	Russian	Russia	5
9	French	Switzerland	5
9	English	Great Britain	5
9	English	United States	5
9	Spanish	United States	5
17	French	Belgium	6
17	Dutch	Netherlands	6
19	English	Egypt	7
19	Italian	Italy	7
19	Lithuanian	Lithuania	7
19	Swedish	Sweden	7
23	Finnish	Finland	8
23	Latvian	Latvia	8

23	German	Switzerland	8
26	Dutch	Belgium	9
26	German	Germany	9
28	Portuguese	Portugal	10
29	Romanian	Romania	11
30	Italian	Switzerland	13
Average			6

Note: The measure for percent average difference can in theory reach 25 as a maximum and 0 as a minimum.

Turning to the second question, mentionings of democracy-related terms have been compared in editorial and social media for ten languages (see tables A2 and A3). Across the languages, the average degree of similarity in a low 14 percent for editorial media and an almost equally low 20 percent for social media; less impressive given a possible maximum result of 100 percent similarity. In editorial media and social media alike, the highest level of resemblance is found between English spoken in the Great Britain and in the United States (60 percent in editorial media and 53 percent in social media). Another high similarity score is found between Spanish from Spain and Portuguese from Brazil (53 percent). For the authors' mother tongue, Swedish, the closest language in editorial media is Finnish from Finland (33 percent) followed by German from Germany (27 percent). Swedish in social media is closest to Finnish and to US English (40 percent similarity in both cases).

As previously noted, the similarity scores between languages increase when comparing the thematically classified terms (see table 4). On average, the similarity between thematic categories in editorial media across ten languages now reaches 60 percent, from 14 percent on the detailed word level. Correspondingly, the result for social media is 64 percent, compared to 20 percent on the detailed word level. With regard to the thematic classification, the most similar languages in editorial as well as social media are English spoken in the Great Britain and the United States (93 and 88 percent, respectively), which resonates with the results yielded on the detailed word level. Swedish is thematically most similar to US English in editorial media (72 percent) and Norwegian in social media (76 percent).

TABLE 4, DEGREE OF SIMILARITY IN THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION BETWEEN 10 LANGUAGES

Editorial media	Sweden Swedish	US English	Germany German	France French	Spain Spanish	Russia Russian	GB English	Brazil Portuguese	Norway Norwegian	Finland Finnish
Sweden Swedish	-	7	**10**	10	12	15	9	12	8	12
US English	**7**	-	12	6	10	12	**2**	8	8	8
Germany German	10	12	-	14	14	20	12	15	15	18
France French	10	6	14	-	**5**	7	8	**3**	**5**	**7**
Spain Spanish	12	10	14	5	-	12	12	8	**5**	**7**
Russia Russian	15	12	20	7	12	-	13	5	10	9
GB English	9	**2**	12	8	12	13	-	10	10	10
Brazil Portuguese	12	8	15	**3**	8	**5**	10	-	9	8
Norway Norwegian	8	8	15	5	**5**	10	10	9	-	**7**
Finland Finnish	12	8	18	7	7	9	10	8	7	-
Average	11	8	14	7	9	11	10	9	9	10

Social media	Sweden Swedish	US English	Germany German	France French	Spain Spanish	Russia Russian	GB English	Brazil Portuguese	Norway Norwegian	Finland Finnish
Sweden Swedish	-	10	9	8	9	9	9	9	**6**	8
US	10	-	14	10	12	14	**3**	12	10	**7**

English									
Germany German	9	14	-	5	7	12	12	7	7	13
France French	8	10	**5**	-	**5**	8	12	**4**	5	10
Spain Spanish	9	12	7	5	-	12	15	5	7	12
Russia Russian	9	14	12	8	12	-	13	8	7	12
GB English	9	**3**	12	12	15	13	-	13	8	8
Brazil Portuguese	9	12	7	**4**	**5**	8	13	-	**5**	12
Norway Norwegian	**6**	10	7	5	7	**7**	8	5	-	8
Finland Finnish	8	7	13	10	12	12	8	12	8	-
Average	9	10	10	7	9	11	10	8	7	10

Note: In theory, the average difference measure can reach 25 as a maximum and 0 as a minimum. Lower values indicate stronger similarity. For each language, the lowest score (i.e. most similarity) in marked in bold.

Finally, results with relevance for the third question are presented in tables 5 and 6. Impressive or not, the most common words used related to democracy across our 30 geo-coded language units are occurring in a maximum of seven to nine languages (see table 5). Whether this is high or low is an empirical question that is difficult to determine at the time of writing as we lack previous results for comparison. Be it as it may, the most frequently used terms in relation to democracy are community (used in 7 geo-coded language units, in both editorial and social media), sovereignty (7 language units in editorial media and 9 in social media), religion (6 language units in editorial media and 3 in social media) and ideology (5 language units in editorial and social media both). Notably, the similarity

scores between editorial media and social media is great. The starkest contrast between media types is found for the more traditional – or perhaps old-fashioned – words dictatorship and/or tyranny. These words are more commonly used in social media (9 language units) than in editorial media (3 language units).

TABLE 5, MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURRING WORDS ACROSS 30 GEO-CODED LANGUAGE UNITS

Word	Editorial media	Social media	Difference
society; community	7	7	0
sovereignty	7	9	-2
freedom of religion; religion	6	3	3
ideology	5	5	0
secularism	5	4	1
islam; jihad	4	2	2
institutionality	4	4	0
freedom	4	1	3
rule of law; justice	3	4	-1
governability	3	2	1
nation	3	3	0
dictatorship; tyranny	3	9	-6
socialism	2	4	-2
capitalism; market economy	2	4	-2

Note: Words occurring in at least three languages among top three placed words are represented in the table.

When the terms are thematically classified, similarities between editorial media and social media are very high (see table 6). The category related to procedures tops the list when all geo-coded language units are analyzed together. Approximately 30 percent of all democracy-related terms from our online data – editorial and social media respectively – correspond to procedural aspects of democracy. The category relating to political principles is

ranked second with approximately 20 percent, followed by the category containing refer-
ences to ideology (approximately 15 percent). In contrast, the categories containing refer-
ences to actors in the political community or system (approximately 5 percent) and per-
formance of the political regime (approximately 3-4 percent), respectively, are rarer online
internationally. Given these results, the meaning of democracy – taking both editorial and
social media into account – are far more related to political principles and procedures than
to political performance and actors. It is additionally reassuring to discover that so few
democracy-related terms are placed in the eight, additional category (1 or less than 1 per-
cent). This indicates that there is little noise in the data and that most terms can be placed
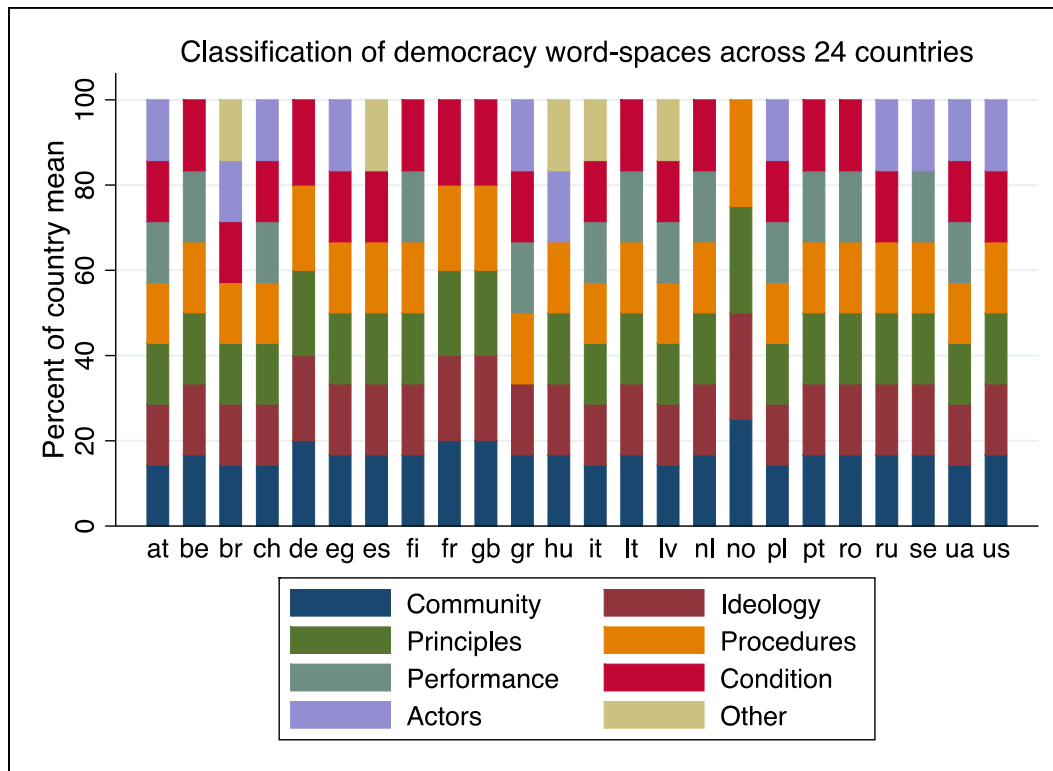in any of the remaining seven categories.

TABLE 6, DEGREE OF SIMILARITY IN THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION BETWEEN EDITORIAL
MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA ACROSS 8 DIFFERENT THEMATIC CATEGORIES AND 30
GEO-CODED LANGUAGE UNITS

Category	Editorial media (%)	Social media (%)	Difference (%)
Community	11	12	-1
Ideology	16	17	-1
Principles	24	22	2
Procedures	32	29	3
Performance	3	4	-1
Condition	10	10	0
Actors	4	5	-1
Other	0	1	-1
Total	100	100	

Taking a glance at figure 3 below allows us to broadly assess the distribution of categories
at a country basis, both media types combined. While it is beyond the scope of this paper
to disentangle the percentage of thematic categories across countries in greater detail, it is
nonetheless interesting to note that all countries contain online references to the first
(community), second (ideology), third (principles) – with the exception of Greece – and

fourth (procedures) category. Along the line of Norris (1999), this suggests that all countries – also less developed democracies such as Egypt as well as other post-communist countries – at least at an aggregated level, talk about democracy in diffuse terms.

FIGURE 3, COUNTRY CLASSIFICATION ACROSS 8 DIFFERENT THEMATIC CATEGORIES

The less frequent online references to either category 5 (performance) or category 6 (condition) – in other words, references to political outputs and outcomes – are found in all countries but Norway and Hungary. This somewhat contradicts some of the previous research arguing that the performance of the political system is of greater importance in new or less developed democracies. In addition, references to category 7 (actors) are present in 11 countries: three non-European countries (Brazil, Egypt and the United States) and eight European countries including four post-communist countries (Hungary, Poland, Russia and Ukraine). In other words, also highly developed democracies such as Sweden also contain highly specific references to democracy. Notably, Norway is the only country where such specific references are completely absent.

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APPENDIX

TABLE A1, CLASSIFICATION OF TRANSLATED WORDS SEMANTICALLY SIMILAR TO THE WORD DEMOCRACY

Country	Language	Term	Translation	Classification
Austria	**German**	**Editorial**		
at	de	freiheit	freedom	3
at	de	religionsfreiheit	freedom of religion	3
at	de	menschlichkeit	humanity	3
at	de	abschottung	seclusion; isolation	6
at	de	gerechtigkeit	justice; equitableness	6
at	de	rechtsstaat	legal state	4
at	de	gewaltenteilung	separation of power	3
at	de	neutralität	neutrality	3
at	de	diplomatie	diplomacy	4
at	de	gemeinschaft	community	1
at	de	rechtsstaatlichkeit	rule of law	3
at	de	grundrechte	basic rights	5
at	de	solidarität	solidarity	3
at	de	diktatur	dictatorship	4
at	de	asylpolitik	asylum politics	4
		Social		
at	de	religionsfreiheit	freedom of religion	3
at	de	gerechtigkeit	justice; equitableness	6
at	de	meinungsfreiheit	freedom of opinion	3
at	de	marktwirtschaft	market economy	4
at	de	politik	politics	4
at	de	diktatur	dictatorship	4
at	de	unterwanderung	infiltration	4
at	de	neutralität	neutrality	3
at	de	freiheit	freedom	3
at	de	religion	religion	2
at	de	nächstenliebe	altruism; to love one's other	3

at	de	solidarität	solidarity	3
at	de	menschenwürde	human dignity	3
at	de	nationalstaaten	nation states	7
at	de	gesellschaft	society	1

Belgium	**French**	**Editorial**		
be	fr	laïcité	secularism; laicism	3
be	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3
be	fr	social-démocratie	social democracy	2
be	fr	politique	politics	4
be	fr	mondialisation	globalisation	4
be	fr	monarchie	monarchy	4
be	fr	décentralisation	decentralisation	4
be	fr	paix	peace	6
be	fr	constitution	constitution	4
be	fr	crédibilité	credibility	4
be	fr	transparence	transparency	4
be	fr	dignité	dignity	3
be	fr	prospérité	prosperity	6
be	fr	nation	nation	1
be	fr	neutralité	neutrality; impartiality	3
		Social		
be	fr	politique	politics; political	4
be	fr	neutralité	neutrality; impartiality	3
be	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3
be	fr	doctrine	doctrine	2
be	fr	réconciliation	reconciliation	6
be	fr	tolérance	tolerance	3
be	fr	dignité	dignity	3
be	fr	désinformation	misinformation	4
be	fr	prospérité	prosperity	6
be	fr	charia	sharia	2
be	fr	monarchie	monarchy	4
be	fr	vérité	truth	3

be	fr	biodiversité	biodiversity	5
be	fr	laïcité	secularism	3
be	fr	fraternité	brotherhood; fraternity	1

Belgium	Dutch	Editorial		
be	nl	rechtsstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
be	nl	samenleving	society	1
be	nl	islam	islam	2
be	nl	rechtstaat	legal legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
be	nl	tolerantie	tolerance	3
be	nl	soevereiniteit	sovereignty	3
be	nl	maatschappij	society	1
be	nl	politiek	politics	4
be	nl	beschaving	civilisation	1
be	nl	religie	religion	2
be	nl	persvrijheid	freedom of press	3
be	nl	godsdienstvrijheid	freedom of religion	3
be	nl	neutraliteit	neutrality, impartiality	3
be	nl	ideologie	ideology	2
be	nl	onverschilligheid	indifference	6
		Social		
be	nl	rechtsstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
be	nl	rechtstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
be	nl	samenleving	society	1
be	nl	islam	islam	2
be	nl	dictatuur	dictatorship	4
be	nl	godsdienstvrijheid	freedom of religion	3
be	nl	religie	religion	2
be	nl	apartheid	apartheid	4
be	nl	maatschappij	society	1
be	nl	ideologie	ideology	2
be	nl	participatie	participation	1

be	nl	beschaving	civilisation	1
be	nl	indoctrinatie	indoctrination	4
be	nl	politiestaat	police state	5
be	nl	monarchie	monarchy	4

Brazil	**Spanish**	**Editorial**		
br	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
br	es	gobernabilidad	governability	4
br	es	impunidad	impunity	6
br	es	soberanía	sovereignty	3
br	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
br	es	ciudadanía	citizenship	1
br	es	militancia	militancy	4
br	es	credibilidad	credibility	4
br	es	revolución	revolution	4
br	es	igualdad	equality	3
br	es	sociedad	society	1
br	es	burocracia	bureaucracy	4
br	es	autodeterminación	self determination	3
br	es	lucha	fight	6
br	es	reconciliación	reconciliation	6
		Social		
br	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
br	es	lucha	fight	6
br	es	hegemonía	hegemony	6
br	es	revolución	revolution	4
br	es	soberanía	sovereignty	3
br	es	ideología	ideology	2
br	es	autodeterminación	self determination	3
br	es	sociedad	society	1
br	es	burguesía	bourgeoisie	7
br	es	impunidad	impunity	6
br	es	militancia	militancy	4
br	es	monarquía	monarchy	4

br	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
br	es	legalidad	legality	4
br	es	dominación	domination	6

Brazil	**Portuguese**	**Editorial**		
br	pt	soberania	sovereignty	3
br	pt	institucionalidade	institutionality	4
br	pt	sociedade	society	1
br	pt	burguesia	bourgeoisie	7
br	pt	ideologia	ideology	2
br	pt	humanidade	humanity	1
br	pt	nação	nation	1
br	pt	oligarquia	oligarchy	4
br	pt	monarquia	monarchy	4
br	pt	crença	belief	2
br	pt	doutrina	doctrine	2
br	pt	globalização	globalization	4
br	pt	impunidade	impunity	6
br	pt	ortodoxia	orthodoxy	3
br	pt	opressão	oppression	6

		Social		
br	pt	sociedade	society	1
br	pt	institucionalidade	institutionality	4
br	pt	soberania	sovereignty	3
br	pt	plutocracia	plutocracy	4
br	pt	governabilidade	governability	4
br	pt	monarquia	monarchy	4
br	pt	nação	nation	1
br	pt	social-democracia	social-democracy	2
br	pt	hegemonia	hegemony	6
br	pt	tirania	tyranny	6
br	pt	meritocracia	meritocracy	4
br	pt	tauromaquia	bullfighting	7

br	pt	globalização	globalization	4
br	pt	ortodoxia	orthodoxy	3
br	pt	ideologia	ideology	2

Switzerland	**German**	**Editorial**		
ch	de	freiheit	freedom	3
ch	de	religion	religion	2
ch	de	gemeinschaft	community	1
ch	de	gewaltenteilung	separation of powers	3
ch	de	versöhnung	reconciliation	6
ch	de	neutralität	neutrality	3
ch	de	marktwirtschaft	market economy	4
ch	de	meinungsfreiheit	freedom of opinion	3
ch	de	gleichheit	equality	3
ch	de	humanität	humanity	3
ch	de	vernunft	reason	3
ch	de	gerechtigkeit	justice; equitableness	6
ch	de	freiheitlichen	liberal	3
ch	de	aussenpolitik	foreign policy	4
ch	de	toleranz	tolerance	3
		Social		
ch	de	gewaltenteilung	separation of powers	3
ch	de	souveränität	sovereignty	3
ch	de	gesellschaft	society	1
ch	de	neutralität	neutrality	3
ch	de	religion	religion	2
ch	de	einwanderung	immigration	5
ch	de	abschottung	seclusion; isolation	6
ch	de	marktwirtschaft	market economy	4
ch	de	selbstbestimmung	autonomy	3
ch	de	verfassung	constitution	4
ch	de	zuwanderung	immigration	5
ch	de	diktatur	dictatorship	4
ch	de	politik	politics	4

ch	de	rechtsordnung	legal order	3
ch	de	asylpolitik	asylum politics	4

Switzerland	**French**	**Editorial**		
ch	fr	laïcité	secularism; laicism	3
ch	fr	cohésion	cohesion	1
ch	fr	réconciliation	reconciliation	6
ch	fr	citoyenneté	citizenship	1
ch	fr	neutralité	neutrality; impartiality	3
ch	fr	mondialisation	globalization	4
ch	fr	nation	nation	1
ch	fr	tolérance	tolerance	3
ch	fr	paix	peace	6
ch	fr	prospérité	prosperity	6
ch	fr	doctrine	doctrine	2
ch	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3
ch	fr	solidarité	solidarity	3
ch	fr	politique	politics	4
ch	fr	non-violence	nonviolence	3
		Social		
ch	fr	laïcité	secularism; laicism	3
ch	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3
ch	fr	civilisation	civilization	1
ch	fr	mondialisation	globalization	4
ch	fr	nation	nation	1
ch	fr	religion	religion	2
ch	fr	neutralité	neutrality; impartiality	3
ch	fr	croyance	belief	2
ch	fr	dictature	dictatorship	4
ch	fr	tolérance	tolerance	3
ch	fr	légitimité	legitimacy	4
ch	fr	soumission	submission	6
ch	fr	charia	sharia	2
ch	fr	prospérité	prosperity	6

ch	fr	citoyenneté	citizenship	1

Switzerland	**Italian**	**Editorial**		
ch	it	laicità	secularism	3
ch	it	minaccia	threat; danger	6
ch	it	contestazione	protest; objection	4
ch	it	controparte	counterpart, counterparty	7
ch	it	mobilitazione	mobilization	4
ch	it	retorica	rhetoric	4
ch	it	reciprocità	reciprocity; mutuality	6
ch	it	microcriminalità	small-scale crime	5
ch	it	recrudescenza	outbreak; recrudescence; upsurge	6
ch	it	xenofobia	xenophobia	6
ch	it	provocazione	provocation; incitement	4
ch	it	governance	governance	4
ch	it	sovranità	sovereignty	3
ch	it	legittimità	legitimacy	4
ch	it	legalità	legality	4
		Social		
ch	it	libertà	freedom	3
ch	it	sovranità	sovereignty	3
ch	it	religione	religion	2
ch	it	privacy	privacy	3
ch	it	dignità	dignity	3
ch	it	debolezza	weakness	6
ch	it	civiltà	civilization	1
ch	it	collettività	collectivity	1
ch	it	discriminazione	discrimination	6
ch	it	prosperità	prosperity	6
ch	it	logica	logic	3
ch	it	trasparenza	transparency	4
ch	it	nazione	nation	1
ch	it	comprensione	comprehension; understanding	6
ch	it	ricchezza	wealth; richness	6

Germany	German	Editorial		
de	de	freiheit	freedom	3
de	de	religionsfreiheit	freedom of religion	3
de	de	willkommenskultur	welcome culture	6
de	de	rechtsstaatlichkeit	rule of law	3
de	de	gerechtigkeit	justice; equitableness	6
de	de	humanität	humanity	3
de	de	menschlichkeit	humanity	3
de	de	toleranz	tolerance	3
de	de	gleichberechtigung	(gender) equality	3
de	de	grundordnung	fundamental order	4
de	de	solidarität	solidarity	3
de	de	leitkultur	dominant culture	6
de	de	gewaltenteilung	separation of power	3
de	de	vernunft	reason	3
de	de	religion	religion	2

		Social		
de	de	diktatur	dictatorship	2
de	de	humanität	humanity	3
de	de	gesellschaft	society	1
de	de	marktwirtschaft	market economy	4
de	de	gewaltenteilung	separation of powers	3
de	de	politik	politics	4
de	de	meinungsfreiheit	freedom of opinion	3
de	de	gerechtigkeit	justice	6
de	de	grundordnung	fundamental order	4
de	de	opposition	opposition	4
de	de	willkommenskultur	welcome culture	6
de	de	moral	ethics	3
de	de	abschottung	seclusion; isolation	6
de	de	religionsfreiheit	freedom of religion	3
de	de	gemeinschaft	community	1

Egypt	English	Editorial		
eg	en	freedoms	—	3
eg	en	politics	—	4
eg	en	islam	—	2
eg	en	religious	—	2
eg	en	reform	—	4
eg	en	instability	—	6
eg	en	justice	—	6
eg	en	uncertainty	—	6
eg	en	political	—	4
eg	en	conspiracy	—	4
eg	en	diplomacy	—	4
eg	en	arabs	—	7
eg	en	sovereignty	—	3
eg	en	palestine	—	7
eg	en	unity	—	1
		Social		
eg	en	democratic	—	4
eg	en	racism	—	6
eg	en	jihad	—	2
eg	en	equality	—	3
eg	en	terrorism	—	4
eg	en	humanity	—	3
eg	en	israel	—	7
eg	en	dignity	—	3
eg	en	legitimacy	—	4
eg	en	justice	—	6
eg	en	politics	—	4
eg	en	nation	—	1
eg	en	society	—	1
eg	en	extremism	—	3
eg	en	civilization	—	1
Spain	**Spanish**	**Editorial**		

es	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
es	es	monarquía	monarchy	4
es	es	socialdemocracia	social democracy	2
es	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
es	es	soberanía	sovereignty	3
es	es	reconciliación	reconciliation	6
es	es	patria	homeland	1
es	es	revolución	revolution	4
es	es	independencia	independence	3
es	es	radicalidad	radicalism	3
es	es	pluralidad	plurality	4
es	es	democratización	democratization	4
es	es	negación	denial	6
es	es	secesión	secession	4
es	es	transversalidad	transversal; intersectionality	8
		Social		
es	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
es	es	monarquía	monarchy	4
es	es	civilidad	civility; sociability	3
es	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
es	es	soberanía	sovereignty	3
es	es	emancipación	emancipation	4
es	es	sociedad	society	1
es	es	revolución	revolution	4
es	es	globalización	globalization	4
es	es	socialdemocracia	social democracy	2
es	es	tiranía	tyranny	6
es	es	disidencia	dissent	4
es	es	laicidad	secularism	3
es	es	hegemonía	hegemony	6
es	es	oposición	opposition	4
Finland	**Finnish**	**Editorial**		
fi	fi	hyvinvointivaltio	welfare state, welfare state society	

fi	fi	markkinatalous	market economy	4
fi	fi	kansanvalta	democracy	4
fi	fi	kommunismi	communism	2
fi	fi	kapitalismi	capitalism	2
fi	fi	sananvapaus	freedom of speech	3
fi	fi	valta	power; authority; rule	4
fi	fi	politiikka	politics; policy	4
fi	fi	yhteiskunta	society	1
fi	fi	sosialismi	socialism	2
fi	fi	talouspolitiikka	economic policy	4
fi	fi	populismi	populism	4
fi	fi	ulkopolitiikka	foreign policy	4
fi	fi	rasismi	racism	6
fi	fi	ideologia	ideology	2
		Social		
fi	fi	sosialismi	socialism	2
fi	fi	kapitalismi	capitalism	2
fi	fi	hyvinvointivaltio	welfare state, welfare state society	5
fi	fi	monikulttuurisuus	multiculturalism	3
fi	fi	markkinatalous	market economy	4
fi	fi	politiikka	politics; policy	4
fi	fi	kommunismi	communism	2
fi	fi	korruptio	corruption	5
fi	fi	terrorismi	terrorism	4
fi	fi	islam	islam	2
fi	fi	kansanvalta	democracy	4
fi	fi	isänmaallisuus	patriotism	3
fi	fi	suvaitsevaisuus	tolerance	3
fi	fi	liberalismi	liberalism	2
fi	fi	fasismi	fascism	2
France	**French**	**Editorial**		
fr	fr	laïcité	secularism; laicism	3
fr	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3

fr	fr	nation	nation	1
fr	fr	réconciliation	reconciliation	6
fr	fr	non-violence	nonviolence	3
fr	fr	mondialisation	globalization	4
fr	fr	monarchie	monarchy	4
fr	fr	religion	religion	2
fr	fr	doctrine	doctrine	2
fr	fr	bureaucratie	bureaucracy	4
fr	fr	politique	politics; political	4
fr	fr	citoyenneté	citizenship	1
fr	fr	colonisation	colonization	4
fr	fr	social-démocratie	social democracy	2
fr	fr	paix	peace	5
		Social		
fr	fr	laïcité	secularism; laicism	3
fr	fr	souveraineté	sovereignty	3
fr	fr	nation	nation	1
fr	fr	citoyenneté	citizenship	1
fr	fr	mondialisation	globalization	4
fr	fr	tyrannie	tyranny	6
fr	fr	non-violence	nonviolence	3
fr	fr	monarchie	monarchy	4
fr	fr	réconciliation	reconciliation	6
fr	fr	dictature	dictatorship	4
fr	fr	civilisation	civilization	1
fr	fr	religion	religion	2
fr	fr	politique	politics; political	4
fr	fr	doctrine	doctrine	2
fr	fr	bureaucratie	bureaucracy	4
United Kingdom	**English**	**Editorial**	—	
gb	en	sovereignty	—	3
gb	en	multiculturalism	—	3
gb	en	socialism	—	2

gb	en	capitalism	—	2
gb	en	humanity	—	3
gb	en	radicalism	—	3
gb	en	unity	—	1
gb	en	politics	—	4
gb	en	prosperity	—	6
gb	en	nationalism	—	2
gb	en	constitution	—	4
gb	en	ideology	—	2
gb	en	ideals	—	3
gb	en	conservatism	—	2
gb	en	ideology	—	2
		Social		
gb	en	socialism	—	2
gb	en	capitalism	—	2
gb	en	secularism	—	3
gb	en	sovereignty	—	3
gb	en	nationalism	—	2
gb	en	multiculturalism	—	3
gb	en	communism	—	2
gb	en	monarchy	—	4
gb	en	society	—	1
gb	en	liberalism	—	2
gb	en	individualism	—	3
gb	en	feminism	—	2
gb	en	neoliberalism	—	2
gb	en	fascism	—	2
gb	en	unity	—	1
Greece	**Greek**	**Editorial**		
gr	el	κυβέρνηση	government	7
gr	el	διαπλοκή	convolutedness; corruption	5
gr	el	διπλωματία	diplomacy	4
gr	el	συμμαχία	alliance	4

gr	el	κεντροδεξιά	center-right politics	2
gr	el	δικαιοσύνη	justice	6
gr	el	νεολαία	youth	7
gr	el	αντιπολίτευση	(political) opposition	7
gr	el	μεταπολίτευση	polity change; regime change	4
gr	el	παράταξη	political party; political wing	2
gr	el	κεντροαριστερά	center-left politics	2
gr	el	σοσιαλδημοκρατία	social democracy	2
gr	el	συγκυβέρνηση	(political) coalition	7
gr	el	μοναρχία	monarchy	4
gr	el	φοροεπιδρομή	tax invasion; tax raid	4
		Social		
gr	el	σοσιαλδημοκρατία	social democracy	2
gr	el	κυβέρνηση	government	7
gr	el	συμμαχία	alliance	4
gr	el	διπλωματία	diplomacy	4
gr	el	διαπλοκή	convolutedness; corruption	5
gr	el	κεντροαριστερά	center-left politics	2
gr	el	διαπλοκή	justice	6
gr	el	μειονότητα	minority	7
gr	el	νεολαία	youth	7
gr	el	μεταπολίτευση	polity change; regime change	4
gr	el	δικτατορία	dictatorship	4
gr	el	διανόηση	intelligentsia	7
gr	el	συγκυβέρνηση	coalition	4
gr	el	κοινωνία	society	1
gr	el	διακυβέρνηση	governance; governing	4
Hungary	**Hungarian**	**Editorial**		
hu	hu	jogállam	constitutional state, state, legal state,	4
hu	hu	sajtószabadság	freedom of the press, liberty of the press, freedom of media, freedom of expression	3
hu	hu	jogállamiság	rule of law	3
hu	hu	nacionalizmus	nationalism	2

hu	hu	szólásszabadság	freedom of expression, freedom of speech	3
hu	hu	liberalizmus	liberalism	2
hu	hu	kereszténység	christianity	2
hu	hu	diktatúra	dictatorship	4
hu	hu	politizálás	discussing/analyzing/mentioning politics; politicizing	4
hu	hu	vallásszabadság	freedom of religion, freedom of belief	3
hu	hu	kapitalizmus	capitalism	2
hu	hu	jobboldal	right wing	2
hu	hu	demokráciának	for/to/at democracy	8
hu	hu	hatalom	power	4
hu	hu	populizmus	populism	2
		Social		
hu	hu	jogállam	constitutional state, state, legal state,	4
hu	hu	kapitalizmus	capitalism	2
hu	hu	fasizmus	fascism	2
hu	hu	liberalizmus	liberalism	2
hu	hu	diktatúra	dictatorship	4
hu	hu	sajtószabadság	freedom of the press; freedom of expression	3
hu	hu	szólásszabadság	freedom of expression, freedom of speech	3
hu	hu	nacionalizmus	nationalism	2
hu	hu	jogállamiság	rule of law	3
hu	hu	nemzetállam	nation state	1
hu	hu	szocializmus	socialism	2
hu	hu	demokráciák	democracies	1
hu	hu	népakarat	will of the people, the wish of the people	7
hu	hu	piacgazdaság	market economy, capitalism	4
hu	hu	demokráciának	for/to/at democracy	8
Italy	**Italian**	**Editorial**		
it	it	laicità	secularism	3
it	it	politica	politics; policy	4

it	it	sovranità	sovereignty	3
it	it	meritocrazia	meritocracy	4
it	it	civiltà	civilization	1
it	it	fratellanza	brotherhood; fraternity	1
it	it	governabilità	governability	4
it	it	legalità	legality	4
it	it	globalizzazione	globalization	4
it	it	dittatura	dictatorship	4
it	it	menzogna	lie	5
it	it	religione	religion	2
it	it	legittimazione	legitimacy; validation	4
it	it	retorica	rhetoric	4
it	it	moralità	morality	3
		Social		
it	it	laicità	secularity	3
it	it	sovranità	sovereignty	3
it	it	nazione	nation	1
it	it	globalizzazione	globalization	4
it	it	politica	politics; policy	4
it	it	religione	religion	2
it	it	dittatura	dictatorship	4
it	it	menzogna	lie	5
it	it	neutralità	neutrality; impartiality	3
it	it	monarchia	monarchy	4
it	it	poligamia	polygamy	8
it	it	tirannia	tyranny	6
it	it	fratellanza	brotherhood; fraternity	1
it	it	gerarchia	hierarchy	4
it	it	giustizia	justice	6
Lithuania	**Lithuanian**	**Editorial**		
lt	lt	religija	religion	2
lt	lt	ideologija	ideology	2
lt	lt	diktatūra	dictatorship	4

lt	lt	krikščionybė	christianity	2
lt	lt	liberali	liberal	3
lt	lt	logika	logic; mind; intellect	3
lt	lt	propaganda	propaganda	4
lt	lt	tauta	nation; people of the same nation	1
lt	lt	homofobija	homophobia	6
lt	lt	biurokratija	bureaucracy; "paper work"	4
lt	lt	doktrina	doctrine	2
lt	lt	civilizacija	civilization	1
lt	lt	priespauda	oppression; limitation; restriction	6
lt	lt	islamas	islam	2
lt	lt	žurnalistika	journalism	5
		Social		
lt	lt	religija	religion	2
lt	lt	ideologija	ideology	2
lt	lt	propaganda	propaganda	4
lt	lt	krikščionybė	christianity	2
lt	lt	santvarka	regime; structure, order; system	4
lt	lt	iliuzija	illusion	6
lt	lt	retorika	rhetoric	4
lt	lt	tikrovė	reality; honesty; fairness	6
lt	lt	konstitucija	constitution	4
lt	lt	diskriminacija	discrimination	5
lt	lt	žurnalistika	journalism	5
lt	lt	filosofija	philosophy	2
lt	lt	sąvoka	notion; idea; concept	3
lt	lt	realybė	reality; truth	6
lt	lt	vertybė	worth; value; treasure	3
Latvia	**Latvian**	**Editorial**		
lv	lv	reliģija	religion	2
lv	lv	mentalitāte	mentality	1
lv	lv	islāms	islam	2
lv	lv	ideoloģija	ideology	2

lv	lv	loģika	logic	3
lv	lv	pagātne	the past	6
lv	lv	kristietība	christianity	2
lv	lv	tiesiskums	rule of law	3
lv	lv	propaganda	propaganda	4
lv	lv	solidaritāte	solidarity	3
lv	lv	neatkarība	independence	
lv	lv	ticība	faith	3
lv	lv	tolerance	tolerance	3
lv	lv	cenzūra	censorship	4
lv	lv	neitralitāte	neutrality	3
		Social		
lv	lv	ideoloģija	ideology	2
lv	lv	pašnāvība	suicide	8
lv	lv	kristietība	christianity	2
lv	lv	nodevība	betrayal	5
lv	lv	vienlīdzība	equality	3
lv	lv	netaisnība	injustice	4
lv	lv	nabadzība	poverty	4
lv	lv	seksualitāte	sexuality	8
lv	lv	identitāte	identity	1
lv	lv	neuzticība	faithlessness	6
lv	lv	stagnācija	stagnation	5
lv	lv	morāle	morality	3
lv	lv	solidaritāte	solidarity	3
lv	lv	tolerance	tolerance	3
lv	lv	domāšana	thinking	3
Netherlands	**Dutch**	**Editorial**		
nl	nl	rechtsstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
nl	nl	rechtstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
nl	nl	samenleving	society; community	1
nl	nl	islam	islam	2
nl	nl	tolerantie	tolerance	3

nl	nl	religie	religion	2
nl	nl	soevereiniteit	sovereignty	3
nl	nl	politiek	politics	4
nl	nl	onafhankelijkheid	independence	3
nl	nl	persvrijheid	freedom of the press	3
nl	nl	verzorgingsstaat	welfare state	5
nl	nl	mensenrechten	human rights	3
nl	nl	vrede	peace	6
nl	nl	godsdienst	religion	2
nl	nl	ideologie	ideology	2
		Social		
nl	nl	rechtsstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
nl	nl	rechtstaat	legal state; state of justice; rule of law	3
nl	nl	samenleving	society; community	1
nl	nl	politiek	politics	4
nl	nl	dictatuur	dictatorship	4
nl	nl	islam	islam	2
nl	nl	persvrijheid	freedom of the press	3
nl	nl	godsdienstvrijheid	freedom of religion	3
nl	nl	verzorgingsstaat	welfare state	5
nl	nl	maatschappij	society	1
nl	nl	natiestaat	nation state	1
nl	nl	tolerantie	tolerance	3
nl	nl	solidariteit	solidarity	3
nl	nl	mensenrechten	human rights	3
nl	nl	vrijhandel	free trade	5

Norway	Norwegian	Editorial		
no	no	folkestyre	rule of the people	4
no	no	samfunn	society	1
no	no	demokratiet	the democracy	4
no	no	lokaldemokrati	local democracy	4
no	no	diktatur	dictatorship	4
no	no	likestilling	gender equality	3

no	no	likeverd	equality; equivalence	3
no	no	monarki	monarchy	4
no	no	menneskesyn	view of humanity; view of human nature	2
no	no	fellesskap	community	1
no	no	menneskeverd	human worth; human dignity	3
no	no	livssyn	life stance	2
no	no	rettssystem	legal system	4
no	no	religionsfrihet	freedom of religion	3
no	no	styresett	forms of government	4
		Social		
no	no	diktatur	dictatorship	4
no	no	demokratiet	the democracy	1
no	no	samfunn	community	1
no	no	folkestyre	democracy	4
no	no	hierarki	hierarchy	4
no	no	sosialisme	socialism	2
no	no	likestilling	gender equality	3
no	no	styresett	forms of government	4
no	no	livssyn	life stance	2
no	no	religionsfrihet	freedom of religion	3
no	no	selvstyre	self-rule	3
no	no	prinsipp	principle	3
no	no	lederskap	leadership	4
no	no	demokratisk	democratic	4
no	no	menneskesyn	view of humanity; view of human nature	2

Poland	**Polish**	**Editorial**		
pl	pl	prawica	right wing	7
pl	pl	władza	authority; power	7
pl	pl	ideologia	ideology	2
pl	pl	propaganda	propaganda	4
pl	pl	religia	religion	2
pl	pl	lewica	left wing	7

pl	pl	konstytucja	constitution	4
pl	pl	dyktatura	dictatorship	4
pl	pl	agentura	agency	4
pl	pl	doktryna	doctrine	2
pl	pl	cywilizacja	civilization	1
pl	pl	imigracja	immigration	5
pl	pl	moralność	morality; ethics	3
pl	pl	opozycja	opposition; resistance	7
pl	pl	koalicja	coalition; alliance	4
		Social		
pl	pl	dyktatura	dictatorship	2
pl	pl	prawica	right wing	7
pl	pl	opozycja	opposition; resistance	4
pl	pl	lewica	left wing	7
pl	pl	targowica	betrayal	6
pl	pl	władza	authority; power	7
pl	pl	religia	religion	2
pl	pl	ideologia	ideology	2
pl	pl	sekta	sect	2
pl	pl	konstytucja	constitution	4
pl	pl	propaganda	propaganda	4
pl	pl	cywilizacja	civilization	1
pl	pl	biurokracja	bureaucracy	4
pl	pl	korupcja	corruption	5
pl	pl	anarchia	anarchy	2
Portugal	**Portuguese**	**Editorial**		
pt	pt	soberania	sovereignty	1
pt	pt	nação	nation	1
pt	pt	sociedade	society	1
pt	pt	intelectualidade	intellectuality, (an) intellectual	3
pt	pt	globalização	globalization	4
pt	pt	cidadania	citizenship	1
pt	pt	monarquia	monarchy	4

pt	pt	social-democracia	social-democracy	2
pt	pt	institucionalidade	institutionality	4
pt	pt	oligarquia	oligarchy	4
pt	pt	política	politics, policy	4
pt	pt	militância	militancy	4
pt	pt	pátria	homeland; fatherland	1
pt	pt	ditadura	dictatorship	4
pt	pt	regionalização	regionalization	4
		Social		
pt	pt	sociedade	society	1
pt	pt	soberania	sovereignty	3
pt	pt	maçonaria	freemasonry; masonry	2
pt	pt	ditadura	dictatorship	4
pt	pt	monarquia	monarchy	4
pt	pt	nação	nation	1
pt	pt	ideologia	ideology	2
pt	pt	social-democracia	social democracy	2
pt	pt	oligarquia	oligarchy	4
pt	pt	justiça	justice	6
pt	pt	política	politics; policy	4
pt	pt	religião	religion	2
pt	pt	doutrina	doctrine	2
pt	pt	economia	economy; economics	5
pt	pt	globalização	globalization	4
Romania	**Romanian**	**Editorial**		
ro	ro	democraţie	democracy	4
ro	ro	voinţă	will	3
ro	ro	motivaţie	motivation	3
ro	ro	tranziţie	transition	4
ro	ro	diplomaţie	diplomacy	4
ro	ro	democraţia	the democracy	4
ro	ro	ameninţare	threatening	4
ro	ro	coaliţie	coalition	4

ro	ro	bogăție	richness	5
ro	ro	catastrofă	catastrophe	5
ro	ro	doctrină	doctrine	2
ro	ro	renaștere	renaissance, rebirth	5
ro	ro	alianță	alliance	4
ro	ro	înțelegere	understanding, agreement	4
ro	ro	inegalitate	inequality	6
		Social		
ro	ro	națiune	nation	1
ro	ro	dictatură	dictatorship	4
ro	ro	democrația	the democracy	4
ro	ro	democrație	democracy	4
ro	ro	voință	will	3
ro	ro	rațiune	rationality, reasoning	3
ro	ro	civilizație	civilization	1
ro	ro	dogmă	dogma	2
ro	ro	europă	a europe	1
ro	ro	vocație	vocation	2
ro	ro	aroganță	arrogance	6
ro	ro	motivație	motivation	3
ro	ro	oligarhie	oligarchy	4
ro	ro	alianță	alliance	4
ro	ro	ideologie	ideology	2
Russia	**Russian**	**Editorial**		
ru	ru	агрессия	aggression	6
ru	ru	идеология	ideology	2
ru	ru	нация	nation	1
ru	ru	дипломатия	diplomacy	4
ru	ru	русофобия	Russophobia	2
ru	ru	секта	sect, cult	7
ru	ru	революция	revolution	4
ru	ru	монархия	monarchy	4
ru	ru	бюрократия	bureaucracy	4

ru	ru	держава	nation; state; country	1
ru	ru	элита	elite	7
ru	ru	диктатура	dictatorship; tyranny	4
ru	ru	доктрина	doctrine	2
ru	ru	цивилизация	civilization	1
ru	ru	сверхдержава	superpower	1
		Social		
ru	ru	диктатура	dictatorship; tyranny	4
ru	ru	идеология	ideology	2
ru	ru	этика	ethics	3
ru	ru	монархия	monarchy	4
ru	ru	русофобия	Russophobia	2
ru	ru	держава	nation; state; country	1
ru	ru	революция	revolution	4
ru	ru	олигархия	oligarchy	7
ru	ru	бюрократия	bureaucracy	4
ru	ru	дипломатия	diplomacy	4
ru	ru	элита	elite	7
ru	ru	доктрина	doctrine	2
ru	ru	буржуазия	bourgeoisie	7
ru	ru	интеллигенция	intelligentsia	7
ru	ru	нация	nation	1

Sweden	**Swedish**	**Editorial**		
sv	se	yttrandefrihet	freedom of speech	3
sv	se	neutralitet	neutrality	3
sv	se	öppenhet	openness	3
sv	se	tolerans	tolerance	3
sv	se	jämlikhet	equality	3
sv	se	frihet	freedom	3
sv	se	politik	politics	4
sv	se	rättsstat	state of law; state of justice; rule of law	3
sv	se	frihandel	free trade	5

sv	se	välfärd	welfare	5
sv	se	demokratin	the democracy	1
sv	se	demokratisk	democratic	4
sv	se	utrikespolitik	foreign politics	4
sv	se	ideologi	ideology	2
sv	se	kapitalism	capitalism	2
		Social		
sv	se	diktatur	dictatorship	4
sv	se	nationalism	nationalism	2
sv	se	socialism	socialism	2
sv	se	yttrandefrihet	freedom of speech	3
sv	se	rättsstat	state of law; state of justice; rule of law	3
sv	se	humanism	humanism	3
sv	se	mångkultur	multiculture	6
sv	se	kapitalism	capitalism	2
sv	se	stat	state	7
sv	se	välfärdsstat	welfare state	5
sv	se	marknadsekonomi	market economy	4
sv	se	planekonomi	planned economy	4
sv	se	ideologi	ideology	2
sv	se	kommunism	communism	2
sv	se	jämlikhet	equality	3

Ukraine	Russian	Editorial		
ua	ru	идеология	ideology	2
ua	ru	сверхдержава	superpower	1
ua	ru	религия	religion	2
ua	ru	бюрократия	bureaucracy	4
ua	ru	олигархия	oligarchy	7
ua	ru	элита	elite	7
ua	ru	диктатура	dictatorship; tyranny	4
ua	ru	автономия	autonomy; self-government	3
ua	ru	дипломатия	diplomacy	4

ua	ru	держава	nation; state; country	1
ua	ru	нация	nation	1
ua	ru	цивилизация	civilization	1
ua	ru	цензура	censorship	4
ua	ru	юстиция	justice	6
ua	ru	революция	revolution	4

Social

ua	ru	диктатура	dictatorship; tyranny	4
ua	ru	бюрократия	bureaucracy	4
ua	ru	идеология	ideology	2
ua	ru	цивилизация	civilization	1
ua	ru	элита	elite	7
ua	ru	религия	religion	2
ua	ru	журналистика	journalism	7
ua	ru	монархия	monarchy	4
ua	ru	олигархия	oligarchy	7
ua	ru	геополитика	geopolitics	4
ua	ru	держава	nation; state; country	1
ua	ru	сверхдержава	superpower	1
ua	ru	нация	nation	1
ua	ru	монополия	monopoly	4
ua	ru	культура	culture	5

Ukraine | **Ukrainian** | **Editorial**

ua	uk	ідеологія	ideology	2
ua	uk	диктатура	dictatorship	4
ua	uk	етика	ethics	3
ua	uk	журналістика	journalism	7
ua	uk	дипломатія	diplomacy	4
ua	uk	еліта	elite	7
ua	uk	автономія	autonomy	3
ua	uk	релігія	religion	2
ua	uk	цивілізація	civilization	1
ua	uk	доктрина	doctrine	2

ua	uk	олігархія	oligarchy	7
ua	uk	бюрократія	bureaucracy	4
ua	uk	нація	nation	1
ua	uk	інституція	institution	4
ua	uk	цензура	censorship	4
		Social		
ua	uk	олігархія	oligarchy	7
ua	uk	диктатура	dictatorship	4
ua	uk	ідеологія	ideology	2
ua	uk	релігія	religion	2
ua	uk	дипломатія	diplomacy	4
ua	uk	автономія	autonomy	3
ua	uk	журналістика	journalism	7
ua	uk	бюрократія	bureaucracy	4
ua	uk	цивілізація	civilization	1
ua	uk	еліта	elite	7
ua	uk	інституція	institutions	4
ua	uk	нація	nation	1
ua	uk	цензура	censorship	4
ua	uk	деолігархізація	deoligarchisation	4
ua	uk	монархія	monarchy	4

United States	**English**	**Editorial**		
us	en	unity	—	1
us	en	socialism	—	2
us	en	capitalism	—	2
us	en	ideals	—	3
us	en	federalism	—	4
us	en	secular	—	3
us	en	multiculturalism	—	3
us	en	monarchy	—	4
us	en	nationalism	—	2
us	en	sovereignty	—	3
us	en	patriotism	—	3

us	en	diplomacy	—	4
us	en	prosperity	—	6
us	en	islam	—	2
us	en	conservatism	—	2
		Social		
us	en	capitalism	—	2
us	en	socialism	—	2
us	en	tyranny	—	6
us	en	communism	—	2
us	en	conservatism	—	2
us	en	nationalism	—	2
us	en	fascism	—	2
us	en	liberalism	—	2
us	en	unity	—	1
us	en	federalism	—	4
us	en	dictatorship	—	4
us	en	individualism	—	3
us	en	multiculturalism	—	3
us	en	secularism	—	3
us	en	zionism	—	2

United States	Spanish	**Editorial**		
us	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
us	es	gobernabilidad	governability	4
us	es	soberanía	sovereingty	3
us	es	tiranía	tyranny	6
us	es	sociedad	society	1
us	es	reconciliación	reconcilitation	6
us	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
us	es	socialdemocracia	social democracy	2
us	es	emancipación	emancipation	4
us	es	revolución	revolution	4
us	es	patria	homeland	1
us	es	disidencia	dissent	4

us	es	política	politics; policy	4
us	es	pluralidad	plurality	4
us	es	impunidad	impunity	6
		Social		
us	es	institucionalidad	institutionality	4
us	es	soberanía	sovereignty	3
us	es	gobernabilidad	governability	4
us	es	oligarquía	oligarchy	4
us	es	alternancia	alternation	6
us	es	monarquía	monarchy	4
us	es	sociedad	society	1
us	es	refundación	re-foundation; re-founding	4
us	es	laicidad	secularism	3
us	es	tiranía	tyranny	6
us	es	revolución	revolution	4
us	es	emancipación	emancipation	4
us	es	dominación	domination	6
us	es	burguesía	bourgeoisie	7
us	es	ortodoxia	orthodoxy	3

TABLE A2. DEGREE OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN 10 LANGUAGES IN EDITORIAL MEDIA

	Sweden Swedish	US English	Germany German	France French	Spain Spanish	Russia Russian	GB English	Brazil Portuguese	Norway Norwegian	Finland Finnish
Sweden Swedish	-	7	**27**	7	0	7	20	7	13	**33**
US English	7	-	0	20	7	7	**60**	13	7	13
Germany German	27	0	-	0	0	0	7	7	**27**	0
France French	7	20	0	-	**33**	20	13	**33**	13	7
Spain Spanish	0	7	0	**33**	-	20	13	**33**	7	0
Russia Russian	7	7	0	20	20	-	7	**33**	7	0
GB English	20	**60**	7	13	13	7	-	13	7	27
Brazil Portuguese	7	13	7	**33**	**33**	**33**	13	-	20	20
Norway Norwegian	13	7	**27**	13	7	7	7	20	-	7
Finland Finnish	**33**	13	0	7	0	0	27	20	7	-
Average	13	15	8	16	13	11	19	20	12	12

Note: Mentionings of top fifteen democracy-related words compared in editorial media for ten languages. Average similarity between all ten languages is 14 percent. The highest similarity scores for each language are marked in bold.

TABLE A3, DEGREE OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN 10 LANGUAGES IN SOCIAL MEDIA

	Sweden Swedish	US English	Germany German	France French	Spain Spanish	Russia Russian	GB English	Brazil Portuguese	Norway Norwegian	Finland Finnish
Sweden Swedish	-	40	**27**	7	7	13	33	13	**27**	40
US English	**40**	-	7	13	13	7	**53**	7	13	40
Germany German	27	7	-	27	20	13	13	13	**27**	13
France French	0	13	**27**	-	33	**27**	20	33	20	7
Spain Spanish	0	13	20	**33**	-	20	27	**47**	13	0
Russia Russian	13	7	13	27	20	-	27	27	13	0
GB English	33	**53**	13	20	27	**27**	-	20	13	**47**
Brazil Portuguese	13	7	13	33	**47**	27	20	-	7	0
Norway Norwegian	27	13	**27**	20	13	13	13	7	-	7
Finland Finnish	**40**	40	13	7	0	0	47	0	7	-
Average	21	21	18	21	20	16	28	19	16	17

Note: Mentionings of top fifteen democracy-related words compared in social media for ten languages. Average similarity between all ten languages is 20 percent. The highest similarity scores for each language are marked in bold.