

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

for

The Psychological Roots of Populist Voting: Evidence from the United States, the Netherlands and Germany

Bert N. Bakker

Matthijs Rooduijn

Gijs Schumacher

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Supporting Information A – Study 1: ANES 2012

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Table A.1 Item wording

Agreeableness	I see myself as sympathetic, warm. ¹ I see myself as critical, quarrelsome. ¹ (R)
Openness	I see myself as open to new experiences, complex. ¹ I see myself as conventional, uncreative. ¹ (R)
Conscientiousness	I see myself as dependable, self-disciplined ¹ I see myself as disorganized, careless. ¹ (R)
Extraversion	I see myself as extraverted, enthusiastic. ¹ I see myself as reserved, quit. ¹ (R)
Neuroticism	I see myself as anxious, easily upset. ¹ I see myself as calm, emotionally stable. ¹ (R)
Economic Attitudes	Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? Government should provide many fewer services: reducing spending a lot. Versus. Government should provide many more services: Increase spending a lot. ²
Social Attitudes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The world is changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.³ 2. The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.³ 3. We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.³ 4. This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.³
Authoritarianism	Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Independence or Respect for elders 2. Curiosity or Good manners 3. Obedience or Self-reliance 4. Being considerate or Well behaved

Note: (R) signals reversed scored items.

¹“Extremely poorly” (1) through “Extremely well” (7)

² Seven point horizontal scale

³ “Agree strongly” through “Disagree strongly”

Table A.2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	M	SD	%	N	Min.	Max.	#Items	<i>r</i>	Alpha
Agreeableness	0.69	0.18		5,490	0	1	2	0.17	0.28
Openness	0.64	0.19		5,490	0	1	2	0.24	0.38
Conscientiousness	0.77	0.19		5,492	0	1	2	0.37	0.52
Extraversion	0.52	0.21		5,487	0	1	2	0.29	0.45
Neuroticism	0.34	0.20		5,487	0	1	2	0.36	0.52
Age	0.54	0.28		5,854	0	1			
Age-squared	0.36	0.36		5,854	0	1			
Gender				5,914					
Male			48.11						
Female			51.89						
Ethnicity				5,885					
White			59.39						
Black			17.26						
Hispanic			17.08						
Other			6.27						
Education				5,864					
Less than high school			10.61	622					
High School			24.59	1,442					
Some post-high school			33.63	1,972					
Bachelor			19.10	1,120					
Graduate			12.07	708					
Economic Attitudes ¹	0.52	0.27		5,241	0	1	1		
Social Attitudes ¹	0.56	0.23		5,470	0	1	4		0.70
Authoritarianism ²	0.62	0.31		5,041	0	1	4		0.61

¹Attitudes are scored to range from left to right.

²Authoritarianism is scored to range from the lowest to the highest level of authoritarianism.

Table A.3 Correlation between independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Openness	-						
2 Conscientiousness	0.28*	-					
3 Extraversion	0.29*	0.13*	-				
4 Agreeableness	0.18*	0.26*	0.01	-			
5 Neuroticism	-0.24*	-0.33*	-0.11*	-0.36*	-		
6 Economic Attitudes	-0.09*	0.10*	-0.01	-0.02	-0.06*	-	
7 Social Attitudes	-0.16*	0.11*	-0.00	0.07	-0.05*	0.37*	-
8 Authoritarianism	-0.13*	-0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.06*	0.01	0.29*

*p<0.05

Supporting Information B – Study 1: CCES 2010

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Table B.1 Item wording

Tea Party support	What is your view of the Tea Party movement—would you say it is very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative, or don't you know enough about the Tea Party movement to say? ¹
Agreeableness	I see myself as sympathetic, warm. ² I see myself as critical, quarrelsome. ² ®
Openness	I see myself as open to new experiences, complex. ² I see myself as conventional, uncreative. ² ®
Conscientiousness	I see myself as dependable, self-disciplined ² I see myself as disorganized, careless. ² ®
Extraversion	I see myself as extraverted, enthusiastic. ² I see myself as reserved, quit. ² ®
Neuroticism	I see myself as anxious, easily upset. ² I see myself as calm, emotionally stable. ² ®
Economic Attitudes	If your state were to have a budget deficit this year it would have to raise taxes on income and sales or cut spending, such as on education, health care, welfare, and road construction. What would you prefer more raising taxes or cutting spending? Choose a point along the scale from 100% tax increases (and no spending cuts) to 100% spending cuts (and no tax increases). The point in the middle means that the budget should be balanced with equal amounts of spending cuts and tax increases. If you are not sure, or don't know, please check here:
Social Attitudes	Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. By law, abortion should never be permitted. 2. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger. 3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established. 4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.
Authoritarianism	Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Independence or Respect for elders 2. Curiosity or Good manners 3. Obedience or Self-reliance

Note: ® signals reversed scored items.

¹ “Very positive” (1) through “Very negative” (5)

² “Extremely poorly” (1) through “Extremely well” (7)

³ Seven point horizontal scale

⁴ “Agree strongly” through “Disagree strongly”

Table B.2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	M	SD	%	N	Min.	Max.	#Items	<i>r</i>	Alpha
Agreeableness	0.71	0.19		1,308	0	1	2	0.24	0.36
Openness	0.70	0.19		1,318	0	1	2	0.29	0.45
Conscientiousness	0.80	0.18		1,311	0	1	2	0.36	0.51
Extraversion	0.55	0.24		1,318	0	1	2	0.43	0.60
Neuroticism	0.30	0.22		1,292	0	1	2	0.50	0.65
Age	0.51	0.22		1,600	0	1			
Age-squared	0.30	0.21		1,600	0	1			
Gender									
Male			46.50	744					
Female			53.50	856					
Ethnicity									
White			76	1,216					
Black			11.88	190					
Hispanic			6.81	109					
Other			5.31	85					
Education									
Less than high school			1.56	25					
High School			19.44	311					
Some college			27.13	434					
2-year college			9.50	152					
4-year college			29.94	479					
Post-grad			12.44	199					
Economic Attitudes ¹	0.64	0.27			0	1	1		
Social Attitudes ¹	0.37	0.36			0	1	1		
Authoritarianism ²	0.61	0.35			0	1	3		0.62

¹Attitudes are scored to range from left to right.

²Authoritarianism is scored to range from the lowest to the highest level of authoritarianism.

Table B.3 Correlation between independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Openness	-						
2 Conscientiousness	0.23*	-					
3 Extraversion	0.32*	0.22*	-				
4 Agreeableness	0.20*	0.24*	0.00	-			
5 Neuroticism	-0.24*	-0.39*	-0.17*	-0.41*	-		
6 Economic Attitudes	-0.09*	0.13*	-0.01	-0.06*	-0.02	-	
7 Social Attitudes	-0.18*	0.02	-0.04	-0.03	0.01	0.37*	-
8 Authoritarianism	-0.15	0.10*	-0.01	0.06*	-0.01	0.24*	0.27*

*p<0.05

Supplementary Material C – Discriminant Validity

Citizens with low levels of Agreeableness could, for unknown reason, be more supportive of all political parties. If this is the case, we should find a strong connection between low levels of Agreeableness and support for the Democrats and Republicans. If we do not find this pattern, then we provide additional evidence that those low on Agreeableness are particularly likely to support the Tea Party. We test this alternative explanation by (1) analyzing the self-reported vote choice in the 2012 Presidential election and (2) the degree to which participants like or dislike the Democratic and Republican party reported in the ANES 2012.

First, using a multinomial regression we compare the extent to which Agreeableness is associated with the vote choice for Obama, Romney, an alternative candidate, or abstention. We set a vote for Obama as the base category but fail to find any association between Agreeableness and vote choice for either of the Presidential candidates. The results presented in Table C.1 illustrate that there are no differences in Agreeableness among voters who cast a vote for Obama and the vote for Romney, another candidate or abstain from voting. Thereby we fail to find support for the alternative explanation that the low agreeable will generally be attracted to politics.

In the second step we performed a series of OLS regression analyses using the favorability of the Democrats and the Republicans. Specifically, two separate items asks respondents to rate the extent to which they dislike (0) or like (1) the Democratic (or Republican) party. The results are presented in Table C.2. There is no positive association between low levels of Agreeableness and the support for the Republican party. Yet, we observe in line with others studies (Gerber et al., 2011; Mondak & Halperin, 2008) that high scorers on Agreeableness are more likely to support the Democratic party.

To summarize, in this study we have isolated support for the Tea Party and not a general association between low levels of Agreeableness and support for political parties.

Table C.1 Multinomial regression analyses of vote choice in the 2012 presidential elections (ANES 2012)

	Romney	Other	Abstention
Agreeableness	0.71 (0.19)	1.01 (0.65)	0.63 (0.17)
Openness	0.37* (0.10)	0.91 (0.48)	0.80 (0.18)
Conscientiousness	1.25 (0.40)	0.40 (0.26)	0.48* (0.12)
Extraversion	1.60* (0.37)	0.36 (0.19)	1.13 (0.26)
Neuroticism	0.91 (0.17)	1.11 (0.80)	1.07 (0.24)
Female	0.99 (0.12)	0.54* (0.12)	0.86* (0.07)
Age	0.56 (0.36)	0.39 (0.56)	0.09* (0.06)
Age ²	1.05 (0.56)	0.43 (0.63)	1.20 (0.88)
Race			
Black	0.03* (0.01)	0.12* (0.05)	0.21* (0.03)
Hispanic	0.34* (0.05)	0.49* (0.15)	0.68* (0.12)
Other	0.47* (0.10)	1.23 (0.33)	0.95 (0.23)
Education	0.97 (0.05)	0.98 (0.12)	0.61* (0.03)
Economic Attitudes	96.01* (26.15)	25.98* (13.25)	4.22* (0.79)
Social Attitudes	218.05* (49.04)	12.81* (6.03)	12.49* (3.12)
Authoritarianism	1.29 (0.19)	0.43* (0.13)	1.55* (0.32)
Constant	0.01* (0.00)	0.07* (0.08)	2.40* (1.07)
N	4,382		
Wald Chi ²	30,340		
Log pseudolikelihood	-3,446		
Pseudo R ²	0.30		

Relative Risk Ratios reported with observations clustered at the state level. Vote for Obama is the base category. * $p < 0.05$

Table C.2 Agreeableness and the likability of the Democratic and Republican party (*ANES 2012*)

	Democratic party	Republican party
Agreeableness	0.09* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)
Openness	0.08* (0.02)	-0.09* (0.02)
Conscientiousness	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Extraversion	0.02 (0.02)	0.10* (0.02)
Neuroticism	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age	0.02* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age ²	0.09 (0.05)	-0.17* (0.06)
Female	0.01 (0.05)	0.10 (0.05)
Race		
Black	0.21* (0.02)	-0.13* (0.01)
Hispanic	0.11* (0.01)	-0.04* (0.01)
Other	0.06* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Education	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)
Economic Attitudes	-0.46* (0.02)	0.30* (0.02)
Social Attitudes	-0.43* (0.02)	0.33* (0.02)
Authoritarianism	0.02* (0.01)	0.08* (0.01)
Constant	0.76* (0.03)	0.14* (0.03)
N	4,380	4,382
R ²	0.47	0.31

In all models we run OLS regression models with standard errors clustered at the state level. Regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses are reported. *p < 0.05

Supporting Information D – Study 2: Voting for the PVV

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Table D.1 Item wording

Agreeableness	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Insult people ®2. Have a soft heart3. Sympathize with others' feelings4. Feel little concern for others ®5. Am not interested in other people's problems ®6. Take time out for others7. Make people feel at ease8. Am interested in people9. Am not really interested in others ®10. Feel others' emotions
Extraversion	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Am the life of the party2. Don't talk a lot ®3. Feel comfortable around people4. Keep in the background ®5. Start conversations ®6. Have little to say ®7. Talk to a lot of different people at parties8. Don't like to draw attention to myself ®9. Am quiet around strangers ®10. Don't mind being in the center of attention
Conscientiousness	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Am always prepared2. Leave my belongings around ®3. Pay attention to details4. Make a mess of things ®5. Get chores done right away6. Often forget to put things back in proper place ®7. Like order8. Shirk my duties ®9. Follow a schedule10. Am exact in my work
Neuroticism	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Get stressed out easily2. Am relaxed most of the time ®3. Worry about things4. Seldom feel blue ®5. Am easily disturbed6. Get upset easily7. Change my mood a lot ®8. Have frequent mood swings9. Get irritated easily10. Often feel blue

Openness

1. Have a rich vocabulary
2. Have difficulty understanding abstract ideas ®
3. Have a vivid imagination
4. Am not interested in abstract ideas ®
5. Have excellent ideas
6. Do not have a good imagination ®
7. Am full of ideas
8. Spend time reflecting about things
9. Use difficult words
10. Am quick to understand things

Economic Attitudes Differences in income should increase” (1) through “Differences in income should decrease (5)

Social Attitudes It should be made easier to obtain asylum in the Netherlands^a

Note: ® signals reversed scored items.

All personality items are scored on a scale ranging from “very inaccurate” (1) through “very accurate” (5)

^a “fully disagree” (1) through “fully agree” (5)

Table D.2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	M	SD	%	N	Min.	Max.	#Items	Alpha
Agreeableness	0.66	0.15		4,870	0	1	10	0.81
Openness	0.53	0.15		4,870	0	1	10	0.77
Conscientiousness	0.64	0.15		4,870	0	1	10	0.79
Extraversion	0.56	0.16		4,870	0	1	10	0.87
Neuroticism	0.38	0.17		4,870	0	1	10	0.88
Age	0.41	0.21		5,062	0	1	1	
Age-squared	0.21	0.18		5,062	0	1	1	
Gender				5,062			1	
Male			48.40					
Female			51.60					
Education								
Primary school			8.16				1	
Intermediary secondary			26.92					
Higher secondary			11.09					
Intermediate vocational			22.24					
Higher vocational			23.23					
University			8.36					
Economic Attitudes ¹	0.30	0.25		4,869	0	1	1	
Social Attitudes ¹	0.72	0.22		5,053	0	1	1	

¹Attitudes are scored to range from left to right.

Table D.3 Correlation between independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Openness	-					
2 Conscientiousness	0.20*	-				
3 Extraversion	0.34*	0.10*	-			
4 Agreeableness	0.27*	0.30*	0.31*	-		
5 Neuroticism	-0.19*	-0.23*	-0.26*	-0.07*	-	
6 Economic Attitudes	0.10*	0.00	0.10*	-0.10*	-0.09*	-
7 Social Attitudes	-0.04*	0.09*	0.02	-0.07*	-0.02	0.12*

* $p < 0.05$

Supporting Information E – Study 3: Voting for Die Linke

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Table E.1 Item wording

Vote for Die Linke	You were entitled to vote twice in the Bundestag election. First for a candidate from your constituency and second for a party. This is an example ballot paper which is similar to the one you were given for the federal election. Where did you place your crosses on your ballot paper? Please tell me the applicable number for your first and for your second vote.
<i>Personality</i>	Please tell me to what extent you think the statements in the following list accurately describe you
Agreeableness	I easily trust other people and see the good in others. ¹
Openness	I have an active imagination and am inventive. ¹
Conscientiousness	I perform tasks very thoroughly. ¹
Extraversion	I tend to be somewhat shy and reserved. ® ¹
Neuroticism	I easily get nervous and uneasy. ¹
Economic Attitudes	And what is your view about taxes and government spending on health, education and social benefits? Which of the positions on the scale from 1 to 11 reflects your own view. (1) “Lower taxes/Less government spending on health, education and social benefits” through (11) “More government spending on health, education and social benefits/Higher taxes” and “don’t know”
Social Attitudes	And what is your view on the immigration of foreigners. Please use the following scale. (1) “Laws on immigration should be relaxed” through (11) “Laws on immigration should be tougher”

Note: ® signals reversed scored items.

¹ “Not true at all” (1) through “Definitely true” (5)

Table E.2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	M	SD	%	N	Min.	Max.	#Items
Agreeableness	0.55	0.25		2,088	0	1	1
Openness	0.65	0.25		2,072	0	1	1
Conscientiousness	0.83	0.20		2,081	0	1	1
Extraversion	0.52	0.39		2,089	0	1	1
Neuroticism	0.34	0.26		2,079	0	1	1
Age	0.43	0.24		2,095	0	1	1
Age-squared	0.24	0.21		2,095	0	1	1
Gender							
Male			47.11	987			
Female			52.89	2,108			
Education							
No schooling			1.58	33			
Lowest formal qualification			40.14	841			
Intermediary secondary qualification			36.56	766			
Certificate fulfilling entrance to university			4.06	85			
Higher qualification			16.66	349			
Post-graduate			1.01	21			
Economic Attitudes ¹	0.52	0.27		1,903	0	1	1
Social Attitudes ¹	0.68	0.27		1,999	0	1	1

¹Attitudes are scored to range from left to right.

Table E.3 Correlation between independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Openness	-					
2 Conscientiousness	0.31*	-				
3 Extraversion	0.19*	0.04	-			
4 Agreeableness	0.17*	0.11*	0.08*	-		
5 Neuroticism	-0.16*	-0.26	-0.42*	-0.01	-	
6 Economic Attitudes	-0.02	0.05*	-0.01	-0.06*	-0.01	-
7 Social Attitudes	-0.14*	0.08*	0.00	-0.17*	-0.00	0.09*

*p<0.05

Supporting Information F – Populist Parties vs. Progressive and Conservative Parties

In this SI we test whether the influence of Agreeableness on populist voting is more akin to its influence on conservative vs. progressive voting. We can only test this in the Netherlands and Germany as these are multiparty systems in which we measure vote intention, while in the US samples we do not have indicators of vote intention for Tea Party candidates (see discussion in the paper). We first discuss the results for the Netherlands followed by the results for Germany.

The Netherlands

First, we created a variable in the Netherlands that operationalizes the vote intention for the PVV, progressive parties (Labour, Greens, Socialist Party, Animal Party), the conservative parties (CDA; VVD; SGP; CU; List Rita Verdonk), and other intentions (abstention, etc.). Table F.1 presents the results of a multinomial logistic regression model where we set the vote intention for the PVV at the base category.

We confirm that Agreeableness is higher among respondents that intent to vote for the progressive and conservative parties compared with respondents that have the intention to vote for the populist party. Turning to the alternative explanations, we observe that vote intention with a progressive party is associated with higher levels of Openness but lower levels of Conscientiousness as well as left wing social and economic ideology. Likewise, voters of conservative parties tend to not differ from voters of the PVV when it comes to Openness and Conscientiousness. This is not surprising as they share the same host ideology.

In sum, the results in the Netherlands strongly support that PVV supporters tend to score lower on Agreeableness compared to voters for progressive and conservative parties. Next, we turn to the results of the German sample.

Germany

Again, we create a variable which captures support for Die Linke, the progressive parties (Labour party; Greens) and the conservative parties (CDU; FDP; others). Next, we ran a multinomial regression model which we present in Table F.2. Again, we find that voters of conservative parties score higher on Agreeableness compared to voters for Die Linke. Yet, there is no difference between voters for Die Linke and the progressive parties. The coefficient is in the expected direction but does not cross the threshold of statistical significance ($p=0.162$).

Turning to the alternative explanations, we observe that supporters of Die Linke do not differ from supporters of progressive parties on the traits Openness, Conscientiousness and Neuroticism. Yet, and as expected, we find that supports of the conservative parties score lower on Openness but, unexpectedly, do not differ on their level of Conscientiousness.

The unexpected findings when it comes to Agreeableness and Conscientiousness could have two explanations. First, the coefficients are in the expected direction, which could mean that the null findings is due to chance. Second, the brief measures of personality might lead to some underestimation of the association between personality traits and the dependent variables of interest. Future research could benefit from including larger personality inventories (Credé et al., 2012).

Conclusion

In these analyses, we provide additional support that support for a populist party is associated with lower levels of Agreeableness compared to support for progressive and conservative parties.

Table F.1 Vote intention for the PVV compared to vote intentions for Progressive and Conservative parties in the Netherlands

	Progressive	Conservatives	Other
Agreeableness	3.19* (1.35)	2.98* (1.26)	1.15 (0.57)
Openness	4.52* (1.72)	0.63 (0.23)	0.40* (0.18)
Conscientiousness	0.40* (0.15)	1.25 (0.48)	0.75 (0.34)
Extraversion	0.32* (0.12)	0.40* (0.15)	0.48 (0.20)
Neuroticism	0.90 (0.30)	0.50* (0.16)	1.05 (0.40)
Female	1.59* (0.16)	1.49* (0.15)	1.73* (0.21)
Age	9.07* (8.80)	0.21 (0.19)	0.26 (0.28)
Age ²	0.19 (0.22)	33.85* (35.85)	0.57 (0.82)
Education	1.47* (0.06)	1.35* (0.05)	1.08 (0.05)
Economic Attitudes	0.28* (0.07)	3.73* (0.87)	0.39* (0.11)
Social Attitudes	0.00* (0.00)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01* (0.00)
Constant	26.59* (14.49)	8.50* (4.59)	98.22* (60.90)
N	4,655		
Wald Chi ²	1050.41		
Log pseudolikelihood	-5171.39		
R ²	0.12		

Relative risk ratio's reported with standard errors reported in parentheses. Observations are clustered at the household level. *p<0.05.

Table F.2 Vote intention for the PVV compared to vote intentions for Progressive and Conservative parties in the German sample

	Progressive	Conservative
Agreeableness	1.70 (0.64)	2.31* (0.86)
Openness	0.48 (0.22)	0.28* (0.12)
Conscientiousness	1.32 (0.70)	2.14 (1.13)
Extraversion	0.40* (0.15)	0.55 (0.20)
Neuroticism	0.70 (0.29)	0.76 (0.31)
Female	1.31 (0.24)	1.23 (0.22)
Age	0.13 (0.21)	0.15 (0.24)
Age ²	6.90 (12.41)	8.84 (15.72)
Education	1.04 (0.10)	1.24* (0.12)
Economic Attitudes	1.51 (0.58)	28.20* (10.89)
Social Attitudes	0.34* (0.13)	2.22* (0.83)
Constant	7.31* (6.15)	0.25 (0.21)
N	1,348	
LR Chi ²	267.20	
Log pseudolikelihood	-1175.87	
R ²	0.10	

Relative risk ratio's reported with standard errors reported in parentheses. *p<0.05.

Supporting Information G – Interactions between personality traits

Agreeableness is positively correlated with both Openness and Conscientiousness in all four samples (see Supplementary Materials Table A.3 [ANES], Table B.3 [CCES], Table D3 [Netherlands] and Table E.3 [Germany]). Openness and Conscientiousness are also the two most consistent predictors of political ideology. One might wonder whether the effect of Agreeableness is conditional upon the level of Openness and/or Conscientiousness. In order to test this expectation, we run regression models where we have interacted Agreeableness with Openness and Conscientiousness. We present the results in Table G.1 (ANES 2012 & CCES 2010) and G.2 (Dutch and German sample). In order to further interpret the results of these interaction effects, we have calculated the marginal effect of Agreeableness over the range of Openness and Conscientiousness. Yet, not one of the interaction effects indicated that the effect of Agreeableness is conditional upon the level of Openness or Conscientiousness. We do not present the plots of the marginal effects here, but these are available from the authors upon request.

Table G.1 Agreeableness X Openness and Conscientiousness in ANES 2012 and CCES 2010

	ANES 2012	CCES 2010
Agreeableness	0.18* (0.15)	0.54 (0.93)
Openness	0.77 (0.57)	0.48 (0.71)
Conscientiousness	0.37 (0.23)	2.14 (3.54)
Extraversion	1.14 (0.18)	1.43 (0.48)
Neuroticism	0.78 (0.13)	0.44* (0.18)
Age	0.67 (0.29)	0.20 (0.32)
Age ²	0.72 (0.29)	12.80 (22.04)
Female	1.06 (0.07)	0.92 (0.15)
Race		
Black	0.39* (0.06)	0.28* (0.08)
Hispanic	1.05 (0.09)	0.87 (0.24)
Other	1.16 (0.17)	1.26 (0.29)
Education	0.81* (0.02)	0.93 (0.05)
Authoritarianism	1.70* (0.18)	1.33 (0.27)
Economic Attitudes	16.00* (2.18)	302.61* (104.73)
Social Attitudes	24.06* (3.27)	8.71* (1.94)
Agreeableness X Openness	1.02 (1.00)	1.83 (3.68)
Agreeableness X Conscientiousness	4.43 (3.90)	0.49 (1.18)
N	4,210	987
Pseudo R ²	0.13	0.28
Wald Chi ²	1,943	1,400
Log pseudolikelihood	-6,040	-1,028
Δ Chi ²	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>

In all models we run ordered logistic regression models with standard errors clustered at the state level. Proportional odds ratios with standard errors in parentheses are reported. *p < 0.05

Table G.2 Agreeableness X Openness and Conscientiousness in the Dutch and German samples

	Dutch Sample	German Sample
Agreeableness	0.85 (1.19)	0.05 (0.08)
Openness	1.37 (1.69)	1.26 (1.21)
Conscientiousness	1.87 (2.31)	0.28 (0.29)
Extraversion	2.67* (0.88)	2.07* (0.70)
Neuroticism	1.35 (0.40)	1.44 (0.55)
Female	0.63* (0.06)	0.80 (0.14)
Age	1.53 (1.28)	6.83 (10.52)
Age ²	0.27 (0.27)	0.14 (0.23)
Education	0.74* (0.03)	0.88 (0.08)
Economic Attitudes	1.07 (0.22)	0.14* (0.05)
Social Attitudes	136.96* (45.86)	1.20 (0.41)
Agreeableness X Openness	0.39 (0.72)	3.96 (6.08)
Agreeableness X Conscientiousness	0.65 (1.19)	4.31 (7.63)
Constant	0.01* (0.01)	1.13 (1.18)
N	4,655	1,348
Pseudo R ²	0.15	0.05
Wald Chi ²	390	55
Log likelihood	-1,565	-487
ΔChi ²	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>

Logistic regression models, odds ratios reported with standard errors in the parentheses. Observations are clustered at the household level. *p < 0.05

Supporting Information H – Interactions: Agreeableness X Social and Economic Ideology

We argue in this study that Agreeableness is a predictor of voting for populist parties irrespective of the ‘host’ ideology. Yet, one could argue that the effects of Agreeableness on support for populist parties is especially strong when the ‘host’ ideology is incongruent. In other words, when voters have left-wing social attitudes the effect of Agreeableness on support for the Tea Party might be more profound. Likewise, we could expect that the effect of Agreeableness on support for Die Linke is more profound when voters have right-wing economic attitudes. To summarize, one might put forward that the effect of Agreeableness is the most profound once there is incongruence between the ideology of voters and the ‘host’ ideology of the voters.

In order to test these expectations, we estimated an additional regression model for each sample, whereby we have interacted Agreeableness with social and economic attitudes. We present the results in Table H.1 (ANES 2012 & CCES 2010) and H.2 (Dutch and German sample). In order to further interpret the results of these interaction effects, we have calculated the marginal effect of Agreeableness over the range of social and economic attitudes. Yet, in none of the US samples we find proof that the effects of Agreeableness are conditional upon the ideology of voters (Table H.1). We do not present plots of the marginal effects here but these are available from the authors upon request.

Next, we turn to the interaction effects between Agreeableness and ideology in the Dutch and German sample (Table H.2). Here, we observe a different pattern. In both samples, there is an interaction effect between Agreeableness and social ideology (Netherlands: $p = 0.05$; Germany: $p < 0.05$). In order to interpret the interaction effect, we present plots of the predicted probability to vote for the populist party over the range of the social attitude dimension (ranging from left to right) among low (2 standard deviations below the mean) and high scorers (2 standard deviations above the mean) on Agreeableness. Starting with the

results from the Dutch sample, we observe that among voters with a right wing attitudes, there is larger probability to vote for the PVV among the low agreeable compared to the high agreeable (see Figure H.1). A similar pattern is observed in the German sample (see Figure H.2). Again, there is higher probability to support Die Linke among right-wing voters that score low on Agreeableness compared to right-wing voters that are agreeable.

Conclusion

These results partly support the notion that personality and ideology interact in shaping the likelihood to vote for populist parties. First, the results indicate that the prediction that Agreeableness increases the probability to vote for populist parties once the political attitudes of the voter differ from the ‘host’ ideology of the populist party is not correct. Instead, there seems to be a more diffuse pattern. First, in the US there is no interaction between personality and political ideology. Second, in the Netherlands and Germany there is an interaction between Agreeableness and ideology. Specifically, in both samples, the low agreeable voters are more likely to support the populist party when they also hold right-wing social attitudes. Interestingly, right-wing social attitudes are congruent with the ‘host’ ideology of the PVV in the Netherlands but not of Die Linke in Germany.

The here documented results could have various explanations. First, the differences between the different political contexts could be driven by unique country specific effects. Yet, the results might also be driven by the measurement of Agreeableness and/or ideology. Therefore, future research using truly equivalent measures of Agreeableness and ideology should be used to replicate and further elaborate on these findings. The results presented here should be seen as preliminary explorations of the interaction between Agreeableness and political ideology.

Table H.1 Agreeableness X Ideology in 2012 (ANES) and 2010 (CCES)

	ANES 2012	CCES 2010
Agreeableness	0.56 (0.27)	1.53 (1.69)
Openness	0.79 (0.12)	0.71 (0.31)
Conscientiousness	1.00 (0.17)	1.29 (0.53)
Extraversion	1.15 (0.18)	1.44 (0.48)
Neuroticism	0.78 (0.12)	0.43* (0.18)
Age	0.67 (0.29)	0.20 (0.33)
Age ²	0.72 (0.29)	12.48 (21.49)
Female	1.07 (0.07)	0.92 (0.15)
Race		
Black	0.39* (0.06)	0.28* (0.08)
Hispanic	1.05 (0.09)	0.86 (0.23)
Other	1.17 (0.16)	1.29 (0.30)
Education	0.81* (0.02)	0.93 (0.05)
Authoritarianism	1.71* (0.19)	1.35 (0.27)
Economic Attitudes	12.40* (6.23)	1,549.06* (1,713.08)
Social Attitudes	28.48* (13.73)	4.40* (3.15)
Agreeableness X Economic Attitudes	1.44 (0.93)	0.10 (0.15)
Agreeableness X Social Attitudes	0.78 (0.55)	2.67 (2.57)
N	4,210	987
Pseudo R ²	1,858	1,798
Wald Chi ²	0.13	0.28
Log pseudolikelihood	-6,042	-1,027
Δ Chi ²	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>

In all models we run ordered logistic regression models with standard errors clustered at the state level. Proportional odds ratios with standard errors in parentheses are reported. *p < 0.05

Table H.2 Agreeableness X Ideology in the Dutch and German samples

	Dutch Sample	German Sample
Agreeableness	0.01* (0.02)	4.75 (5.19)
Openness	0.75 (0.25)	2.50* (1.04)
Conscientiousness	1.46 (0.51)	0.52 (0.26)
Extraversion	2.64* (0.87)	2.12* (0.72)
Neuroticism	1.34 (0.40)	1.40 (0.54)
Female	0.64* (0.06)	0.82 (0.14)
Age	1.55 (1.29)	7.74 (11.93)
Age ²	0.27 (0.27)	0.12 (0.20)
Education	0.74* (0.03)	0.87 (0.08)
Economic Attitudes	1.02 (0.84)	0.21 (0.17)
Social Attitudes	8.69 (12.58)	6.47* (5.52)
Agreeableness X Economic Attitudes	1.08 (1.35)	0.52 (0.67)
Agreeableness X Social Attitudes	74.35# (163.13)	0.06* (0.07)
Constant	0.17 (0.22)	0.09* (0.10)
N	4,655	1,348
Pseudo R ²	0.16	0.06
Wald Chi ²	381	58
Log likelihood	-1,563	-485
Δ Chi ²	<i>ns</i>	5.33 (df = 2)

In both models we present the results of logistic regression models. Odds ratios reported with standard errors in the parentheses. Observations are clustered at the household level in the Dutch sample. *p < 0.05; #p < 0.1

Figure H.1 Predicted support for the PVV among voters with low (5th percentile) and high (95th percentile) levels of Agreeableness conditional upon their social attitudes

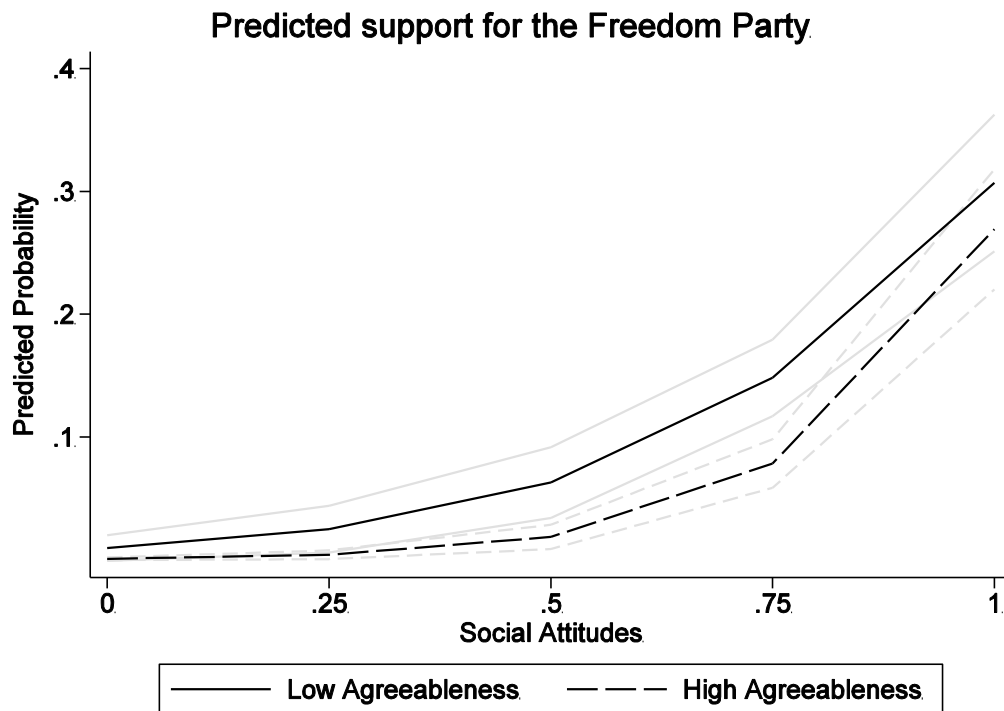
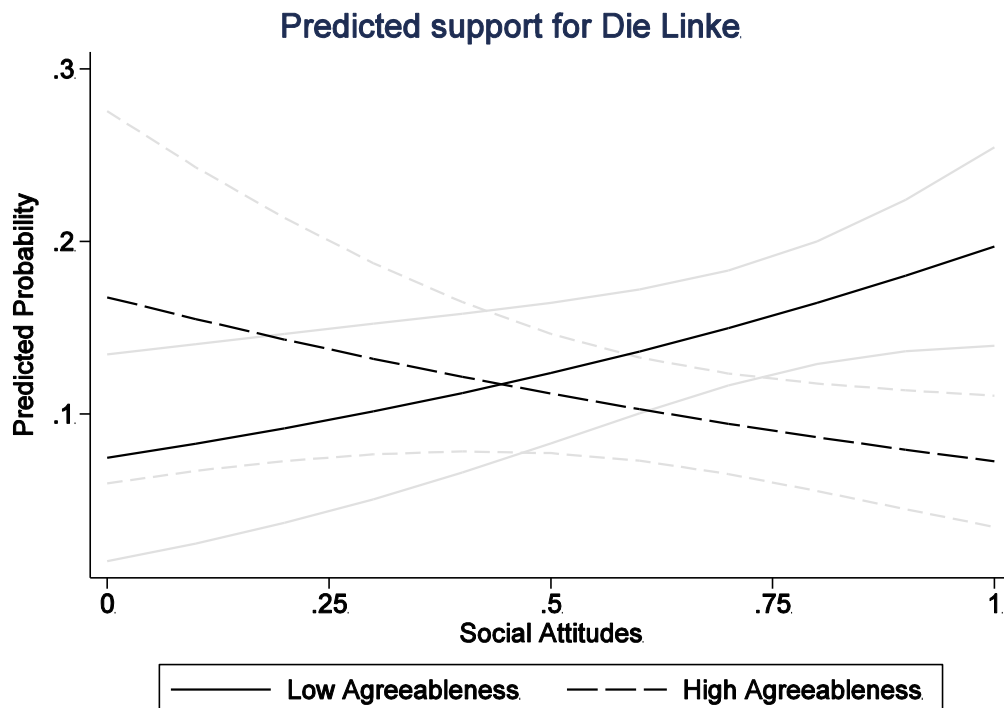


Figure H.2 Predicted support for Die Linke among voters with low (5th percentile) and high (95th percentile) levels of Agreeableness conditional upon their social attitudes



I – Government vs opposition dynamics in the Netherlands and Germany

In order to test whether agreeable voters are not generally more likely to vote for parties that are part of the establishment, we provide additional analyses for study 2 (Netherlands) and study 3 (Germany). In these multiparty system, we test whether low agreeable voters are indeed less likely to support both parties that are part of the coalition as well as opposition parties who are not part of the establishment when it comes to the coalition.

Study 2: the Netherlands

In the Netherlands there was a three party coalition at time of the survey (Christian Democrats, Labour Party and the Christian Union). We recode the dependent variable into a categorical party which captures the vote intention for the PVV (0), the government parties (1), the opposition parties (2) and abstention (3). We ran a multinomial regression model with support for the populist party at the base category. We find that, expected, the vote intention for government and opposition parties is associated with higher levels of Agreeableness compared to the Agreeableness levels of voters for the PVV. Importantly, there is no distinction between voters for the PVV and abstention.

Table I.1. Multinomial regression models (study 2)

	Government	Opposition parties	Abstention / blank
Agreeableness	3.76* (1.62)	2.84* (1.16)	1.13 (0.56)
Openness	0.44* (0.17)	3.81* (1.38)	0.31* (0.14)
Conscientiousness	1.14 (0.45)	0.53 (0.19)	0.86 (0.39)
Extraversion	0.38* (0.14)	0.34* (0.12)	0.50 (0.21)
Neuroticism	0.53 (0.18)	0.81 (0.26)	0.99 (0.38)
Female	1.58* (0.16)	1.53* (0.15)	1.73* (0.21)
Age	0.27 (0.26)	3.68 (3.36)	0.18 (0.20)
Age ²	36.39* (40.78)	0.52 (0.57)	0.84 (1.21)
Education	1.40* (0.06)	1.42* (0.05)	1.06 (0.05)
Economic Attitudes	1.11 (0.25)	1.06 (0.24)	0.50* (0.13)
Social Attitudes	0.00* (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)
Constant	24.76* (13.71)	12.17* (6.34)	95.44* (58.75)
N	4,655		
R ²	0.09		

Multinomial regression models with vote intention for the PVV at the base. Relative Risk Ratios reported with standard errors in parentheses. *p<.05

Study 3: Germany

Germany is also a multi-party system. We created a categorical indicator which captures the extent to which voters voted for Die Linke, government parties (i.e. CDU/CSU or the SPD) or opposition parties (FDP and Die Linke). Unlike study 2 we could not create an indicator for abstention as this was not measured. The results of the multinomial regression analyses confirm that voters for the government party and the opposition party ($p = 0.084$) score higher on Agreeableness compared to voters for Die Linke.

Table I.2 Multinomial regression models (Study 2)

	Government parties	Opposition parties
Agreeableness	2.04* (0.73)	2.06# (0.86)
Openness	0.37* (0.16)	0.38* (0.18)
Conscientiousness	1.78 (0.90)	1.64 (0.97)
Extraversion	0.44* (0.15)	0.62 (0.25)
Neuroticism	0.79 (0.30)	0.55 (0.25)
Female	1.29 (0.22)	1.14 (0.23)
Age	0.25 (0.40)	0.11 (0.19)
Age ²	6.30 (10.79)	1.96 (3.98)
Education	1.13 (0.10)	1.19 (0.12)
Economic Attitudes	7.52* (2.64)	6.31* (2.55)
Social Attitudes	0.93 (0.32)	0.67 (0.27)
Constant	1.51 (1.19)	1.19 (1.08)
N	1,348	
R ²	0.0480	

Multinomial regression models with vote intention for Die Linke at the base. Relative Risk Ratios reported with standard errors in parentheses. *p<.05, #p<.1