

Supplementary Information belonging to: “Rethinking the Relationship Between Self-Reported Personality Traits and Political Preferences”

Note: An Online Appendix with additional results as reported in the main text of the paper can be found on the website of the APSR

June 9, 2021

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1 Panel Study the Netherlands (LISS)

1.1 Data access

Following the terms and conditions of the LISS Panel, the data from the LISS panel reported in this paper cannot be publicly shared with reviewers or put in a public repository. The data is publicly available for research purposes from the LISS panel website. To acquire a copy of the data, go to www.lissdata.nl and sign the LISS panel Data Statement (here: <https://statements.centerdata.nl/liss-panel-data-statement>). Once you have received an account, you can download the data needed to replicate the results belonging to the Dutch LISS Panel. To do so, please download the following datasets:

For the personality variables, download the datasets belonging too: Das, Prof.dr. J.W.M. (CentERdata - Institute for data collection and research - Tilburg University); Marchand, Dr. M. (CentERdata - Institute for data collection and research - Tilburg University) (2008): Personality (LISS Core Study). DANS. <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-x5h-4cxd>

- Dataset: cp08a_1p_EN.dta, version 1.0: <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-x5h-4cxd>
- Dataset: cp13f_EN_1.0p.dta, version 1.0: <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-x5h-4cxd>
- Dataset: cp19k_EN_1.0p.dta, version 1.0: <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-x5h-4cxd>

For the ideology variables, download the following waves belonging too: Das, Prof.dr. J.W.M. (CentERdata - Institute for data collection and research - Tilburg University); Elshout, M.Sc. S. (CentERdata - Institute for data collection and research - Tilburg University) (2007): Politics and Values (LISS Core Study). DANS. <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zms-r5rz>

- cv08a_1.1p_EN.sav
- cv13f_EN_1.0p.sav
- cv19k_EN_1.0p

For the background variables, download the following waves belonging too:

- avars_200805_EN_2.0p.sav
- avars_201305_EN_1.0p.sav
- avars_201911_EN_1.0p.sav

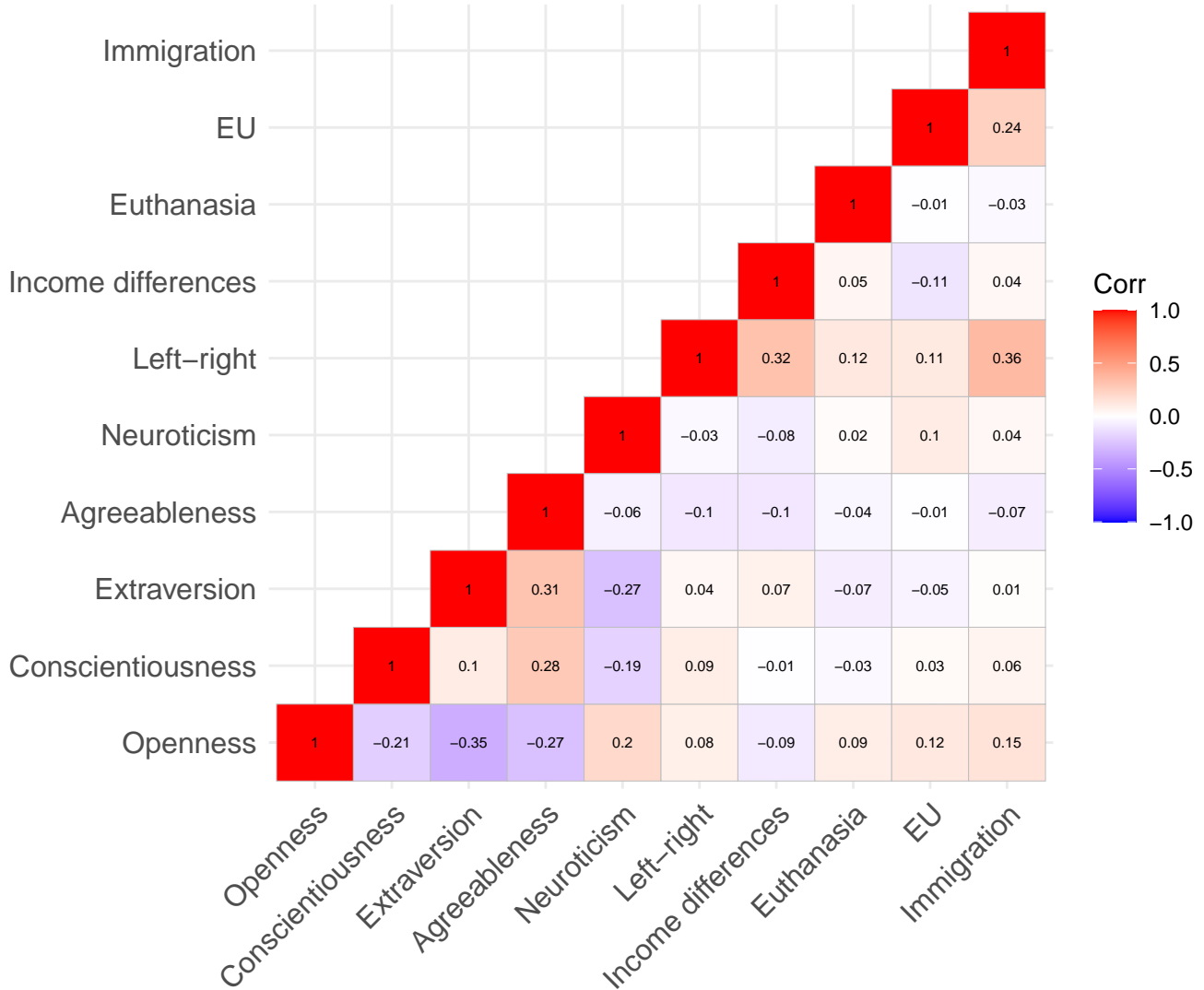
1.2 Psychometric Properties of Measures and Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: Sample size for each policy attitude-wave combination

	Wave 2–Wave 1	Wave 3–Wave 2
EU	2294	2403
Euthanasia	2472	2527
Immigration	2523	2572
Income Differences	2454	2518
Left-Right	2142	2251

Figure 1: Correlation between Measures: **Wave 1**

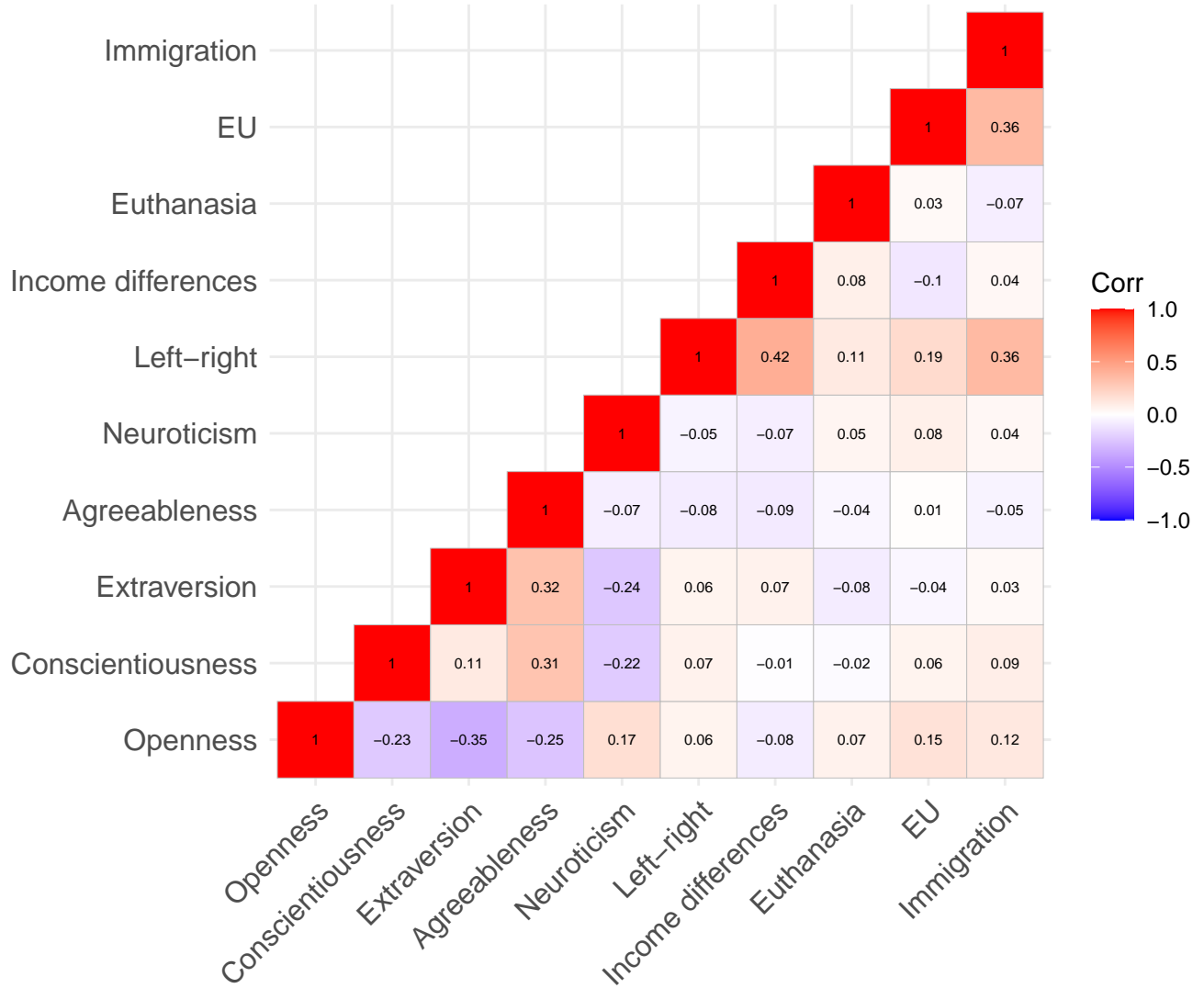
A. Measures from Wave 1



Note: Openness is reversed coded here ranging from the most open-minded (0) to the most closed-minded.

Figure 2: Correlation between Measures: **Wave 2**

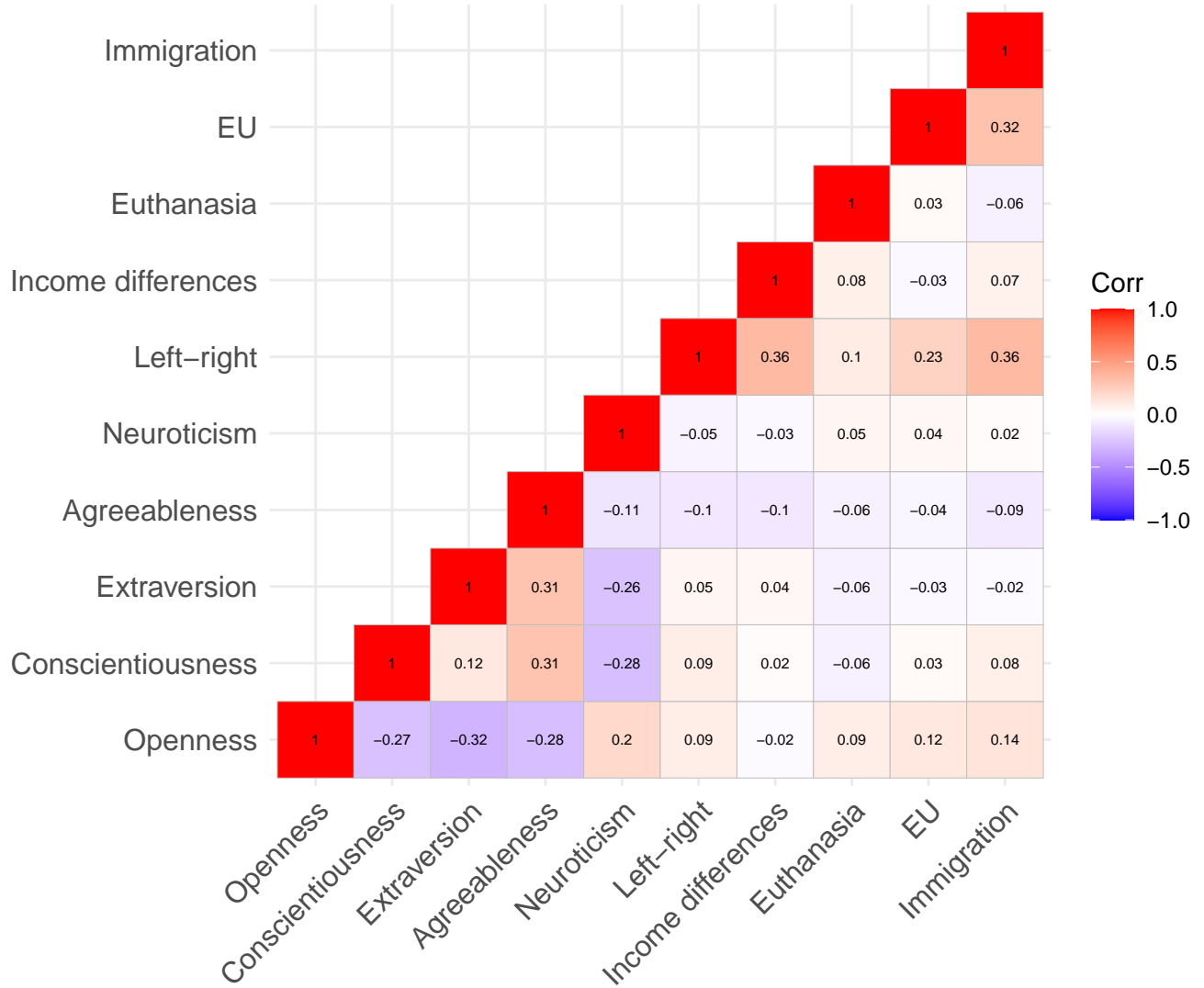
B. Measures from Wave 1



Note: Openness is reversed coded here ranging from the most open-minded (0) to the most closed-minded.

Figure 3: Correlation between Measures: **Wave 3**

C. Measures from Wave 1



Note: Openness is reversed coded here ranging from the most open-minded (0) to the most closed-minded.

Table 2: Reliability of Personality Measures by Wave

Wave	Trait	Alpha	Average r
1.00	Openness	0.77	0.25
1.00	Conscientiousness	0.77	0.25
1.00	Extraversion	0.86	0.39
1.00	Agreeableness	0.81	0.30
1.00	Neuroticism	0.88	0.41
2.00	Openness	0.77	0.25
2.00	Conscientiousness	0.77	0.25
2.00	Extraversion	0.86	0.39
2.00	Agreeableness	0.81	0.30
2.00	Neuroticism	0.88	0.41
3.00	Openness	0.78	0.26
3.00	Conscientiousness	0.78	0.27
3.00	Extraversion	0.88	0.42
3.00	Agreeableness	0.83	0.33
3.00	Neuroticism	0.90	0.47

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Measures by Wave

wave	variable	mean	sd	n
1.00	EU	0.60	0.28	5641
2.00	EU	0.66	0.29	5134
3.00	EU	0.59	0.29	4846
1.00	Euthanasia	0.17	0.26	5960
2.00	Euthanasia	0.15	0.25	5394
3.00	Euthanasia	0.15	0.25	5096
1.00	Immigration	0.68	0.24	6040
2.00	Immigration	0.68	0.24	5466
3.00	Immigration	0.65	0.23	5135
1.00	Income Differences	0.69	0.25	5922
2.00	Income Differences	0.69	0.25	5386
3.00	Income Differences	0.71	0.24	5065
1.00	Liberal-Conservative	0.52	0.21	5341
2.00	Liberal-Conservative	0.52	0.22	4924
3.00	Liberal-Conservative	0.51	0.22	4586

1.3 Results for Openness and Conscientiousness

Results for openness are presented in Figure 4 and for conscientiousness in Figure 5. Complete output, including model fit indices, can be derived using the replication materials.

Figure 4: Cross-lagged Relationship between **openness** and politics. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. The complete output of the cross-lagged models, including model fit, can be derived from the replication file.

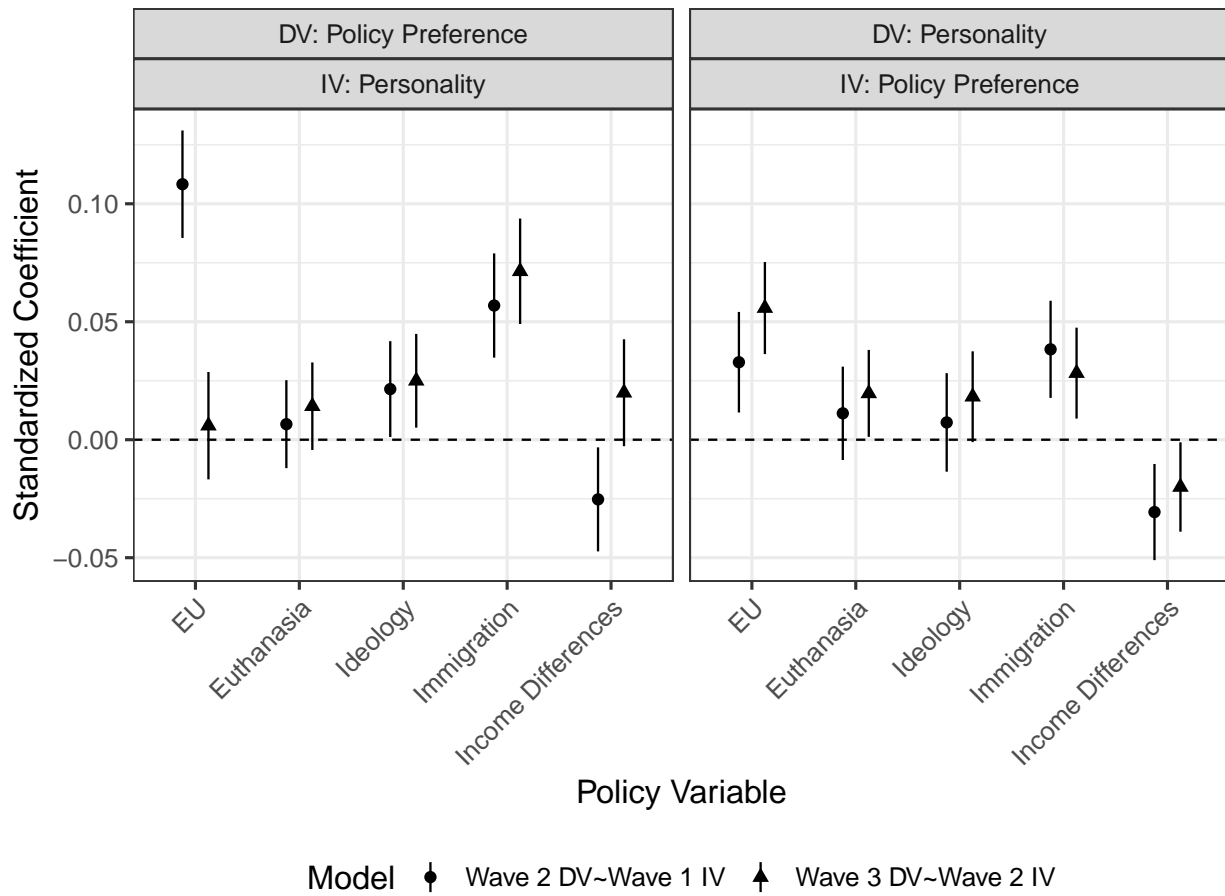
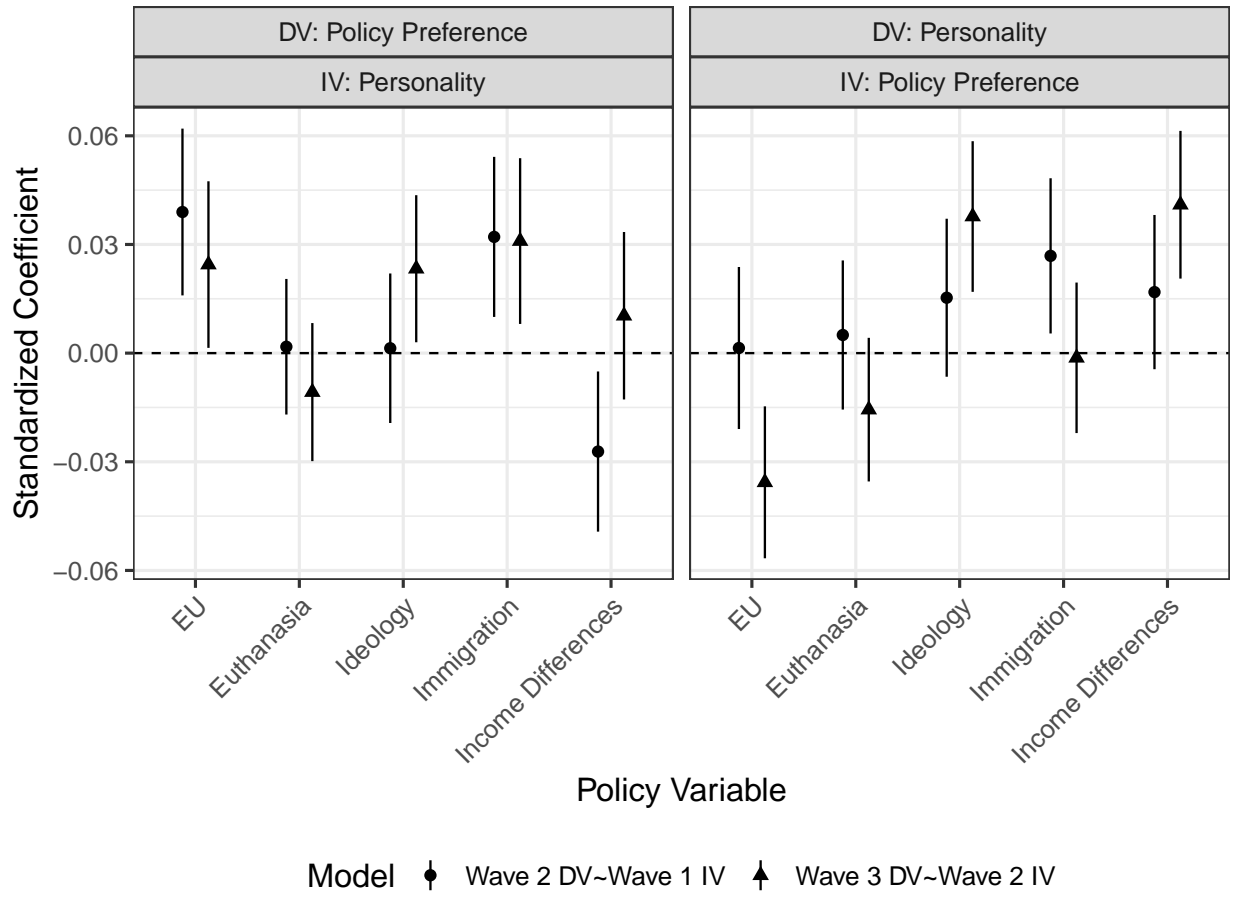


Figure 5: Cross-lagged Relationship between **conscientiousness** and politics. The complete output of the cross-lagged models, including model fit, can be derived from the replication file.



1.4 Exploratory results for Neuroticism, Extraversion and Agreeableness

Results for neuroticism are presented in Figure 6, agreeableness in Figure 16 and extraversion in Figure 7. Complete output, including model fit indices, can be derived using the replication materials.

Figure 6: Cross-lagged Relationship between **neuroticism** and politics. The complete output of the cross-lagged models, including model fit, can be derived from the replication file.

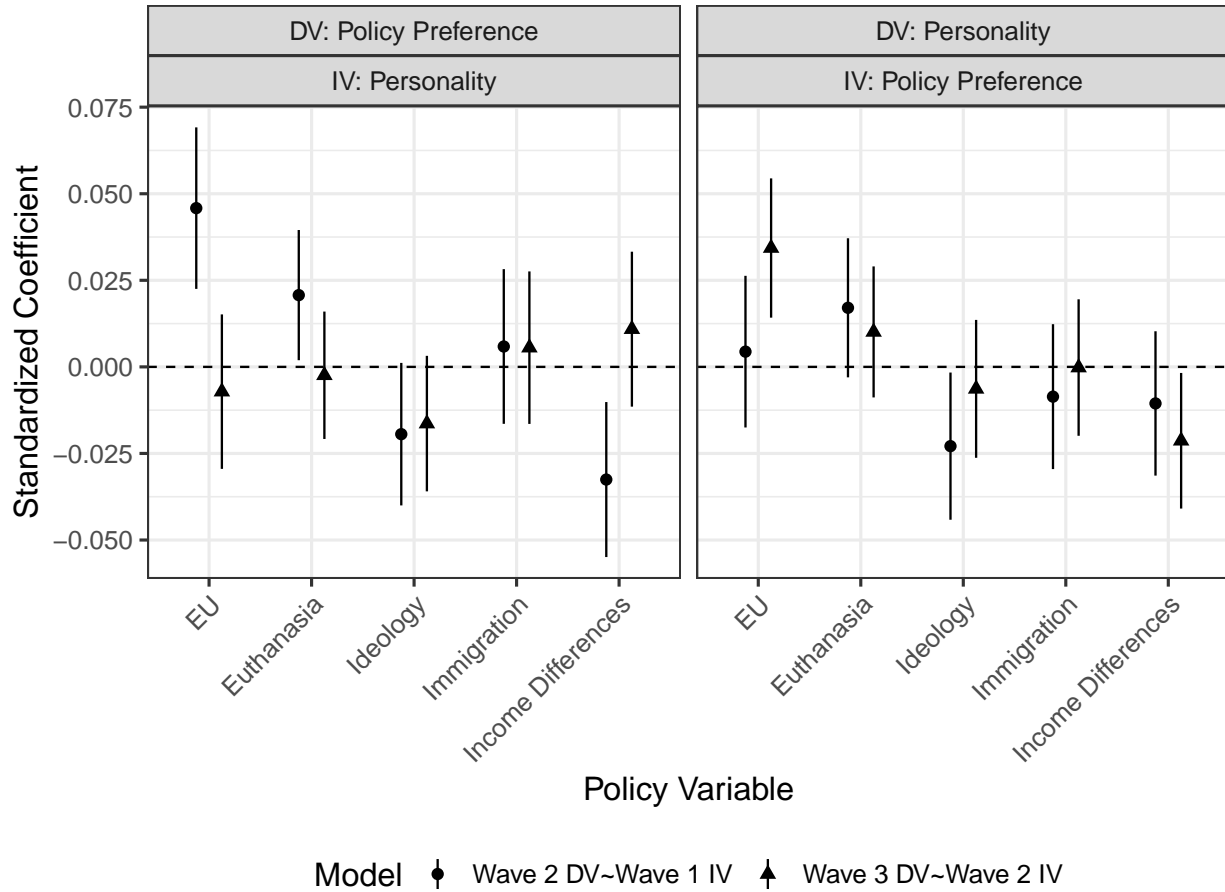


Figure 7: Cross-lagged Relationship between **extraversion** and politics. The complete output of the cross-lagged models, including model fit, can be derived from the replication file.

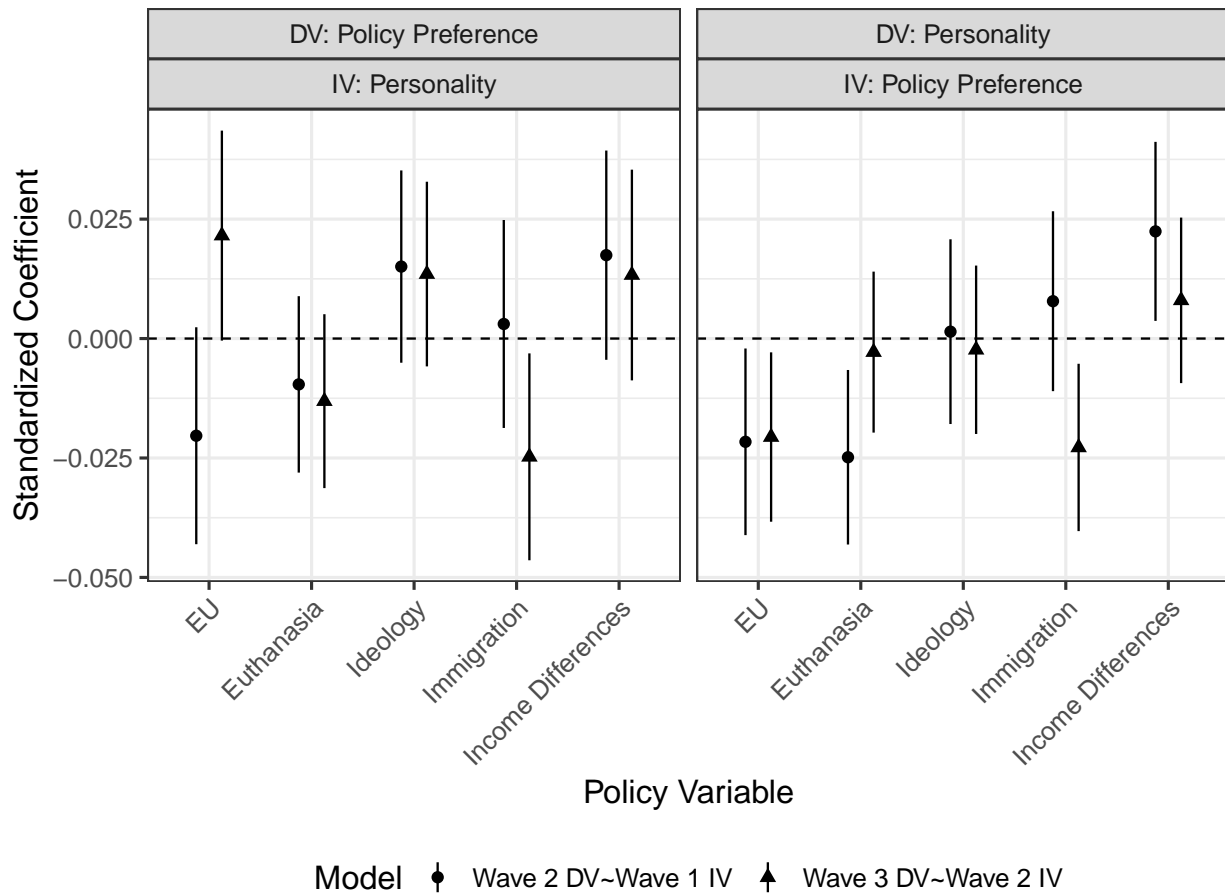
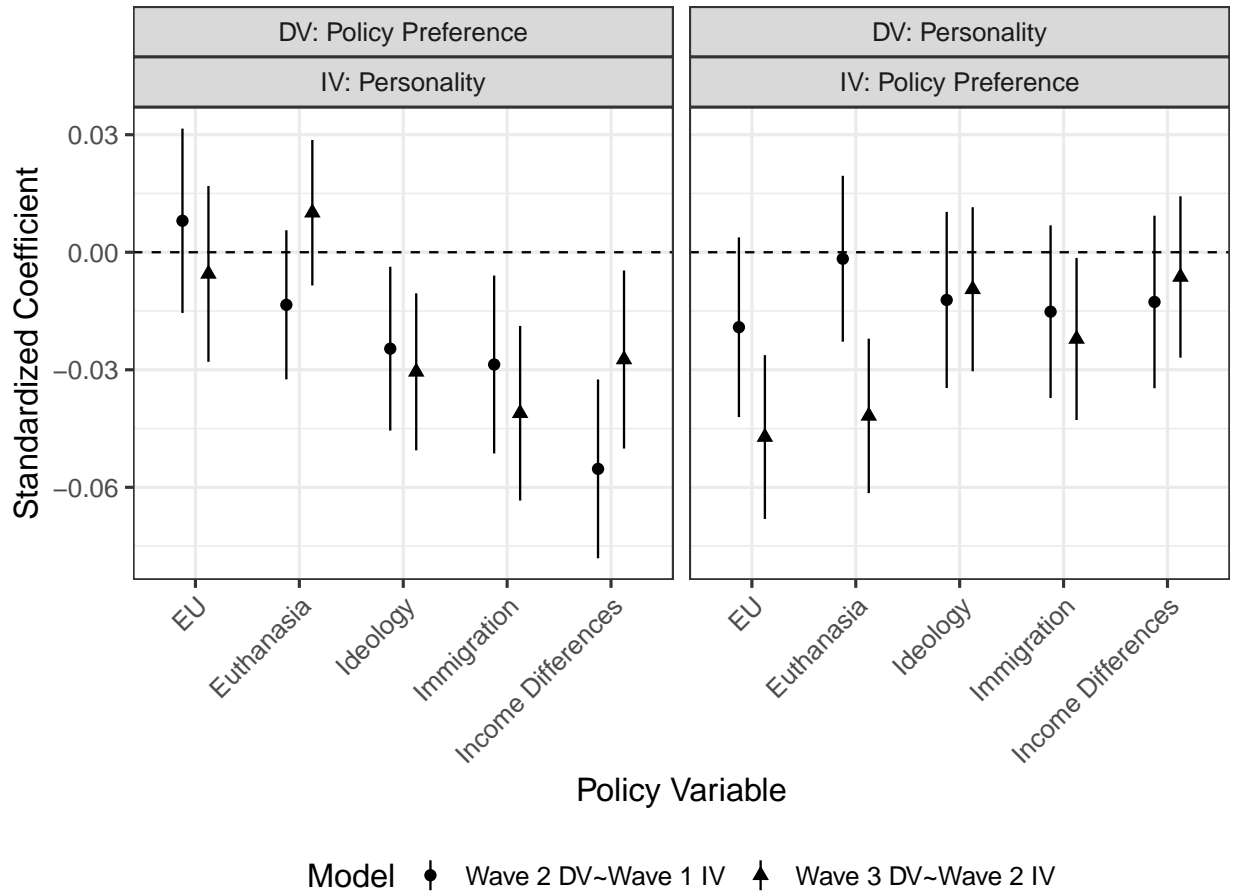
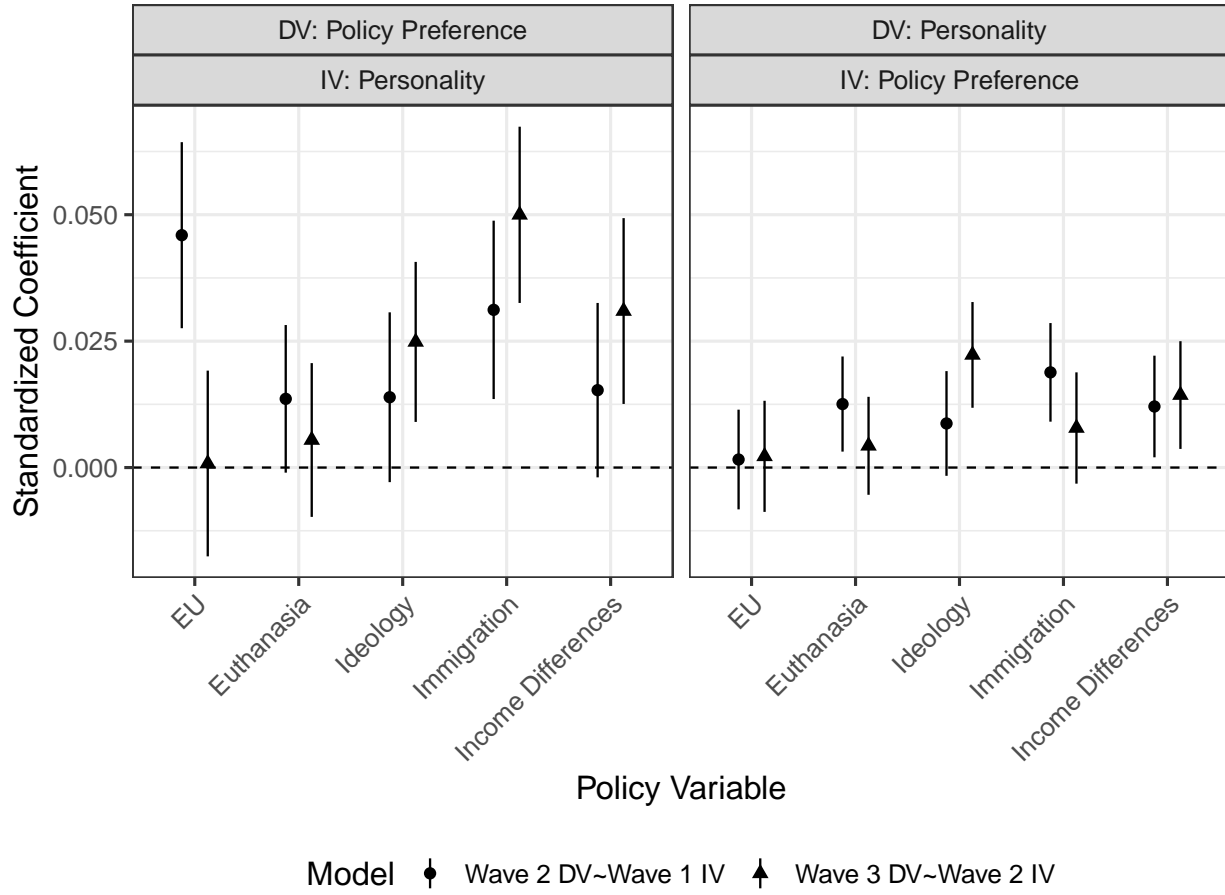


Figure 8: Cross-lagged Relationship between **agreeableness** and politics. The complete output of the cross-lagged models, including model fit, can be derived from the replication file.



1.5 Main results including demographic controls

Figure 9: Replicates Figure 2, but controls for age, gender, education, income.



2 GESIS panel (Germany)

2.1 Data access

Following the terms and conditions of the GESIS Panel, the data from Germany reported in this paper cannot be publicly shared on Dataverse. The data is publicly available for research purposes from GESIS. To acquire a copy of the data, go to <https://www.gesis.org/en/gesis-panel/data> and fill out the Data Use Agreement to acquire dataset: “GESIS Panel – Standard Edition: ZA5665”, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.13436>. Once you have acquired the data, compile the full panel with the R-script provided by the GESIS panel. The R-scripts to replicate our results will be provided on our OSF page upon publication of the paper. Note that our results are based on the following dataset version:

- GESIS (2020): GESIS Panel - Standard Edition. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5665 Datenfile Version 35.0.0, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.13436>

2.2 Psychometric Properties of Measures

The table below provides the standardized Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for each personality trait in each wave and the correlation coefficient between the two items (average r).

Table 4: Reliability of Personality Measures by Wave

Wave	Trait	Alpha	Average r
2015	Openness	0.43	0.27
2015	Conscientiousness	0.37	0.23
2015	Extraversion	0.66	0.49
2015	Agreeableness	0.20	0.11
2015	Neuroticism	0.47	0.31
2017	Openness	0.47	0.31
2017	Conscientiousness	0.45	0.29
2017	Extraversion	0.66	0.50
2017	Agreeableness	0.15	0.08
2017	Neuroticism	0.52	0.35
2019	Openness	0.51	0.35
2019	Conscientiousness	0.40	0.25
2019	Extraversion	0.65	0.48
2019	Agreeableness	0.16	0.09
2019	Neuroticism	0.58	0.41

2.3 Descriptive Statistics of Measures

The table below provides the mean, standard deviations, and number of observations for each measure in each wave.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of Measures by Wave

wave	variable	mean	sd	N
2015	Liberal-Conservative	0.47	0.20	1702
2015	EU	0.51	0.33	1769
2015	Openness	0.41	0.22	1492
2015	Conscientiousness	0.72	0.18	2606
2015	Extraversion	0.54	0.22	1951
2015	Agreeableness	0.53	0.18	1895
2015	Neuroticism	0.47	0.20	1698
2017	Liberal-Conservative	0.47	0.19	2006
2017	Openness	0.41	0.22	1752
2017	Conscientiousness	0.73	0.18	3124
2017	Extraversion	0.54	0.22	2344
2017	Agreeableness	0.54	0.18	2326
2017	Neuroticism	0.45	0.20	1946
2019	Liberal-Conservative	0.47	0.19	1724
2019	EU	0.42	0.33	1522
2019	Openness	0.40	0.22	1474
2019	Conscientiousness	0.72	0.18	2643
2019	Extraversion	0.54	0.22	1968
2019	Agreeableness	0.54	0.18	1988
2019	Neuroticism	0.45	0.21	1659

2.4 Correlation between Measures

We plot the correlation coefficients of the measures we use use, per wave, in Figure 10.

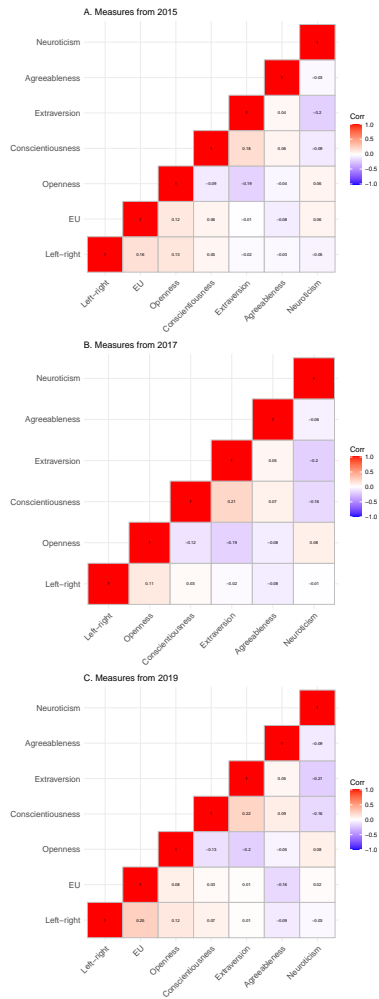


Figure 10: Correlation matrices with the Pearson correlation coefficients between the personality measures and ideology measures in 2015 (panel A), 2017 (panel B) and 2019 (panel C). Darker red background means that the correlation is strongly positive, darker blue strongly negative and white means that the correlation is close to zero. In all three panels, Openness is reversed coded here ranging from the most open-minded (0) to the most closed-minded.

2.5 Results for Openness and Conscientiousness separately

The results for Openness (Figure 11) and Conscientiousness (Figure 12) are conceptually similar to the preregistered models we present in the main text. Complete output, including model fit indices, can be derived using the replication materials.

Figure 11: Regression Coefficients from Preregistered Cross-Lagged Panel Model with **Openness** in Germany. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. Complete output, including model fit indices, can be derived using the replication materials.

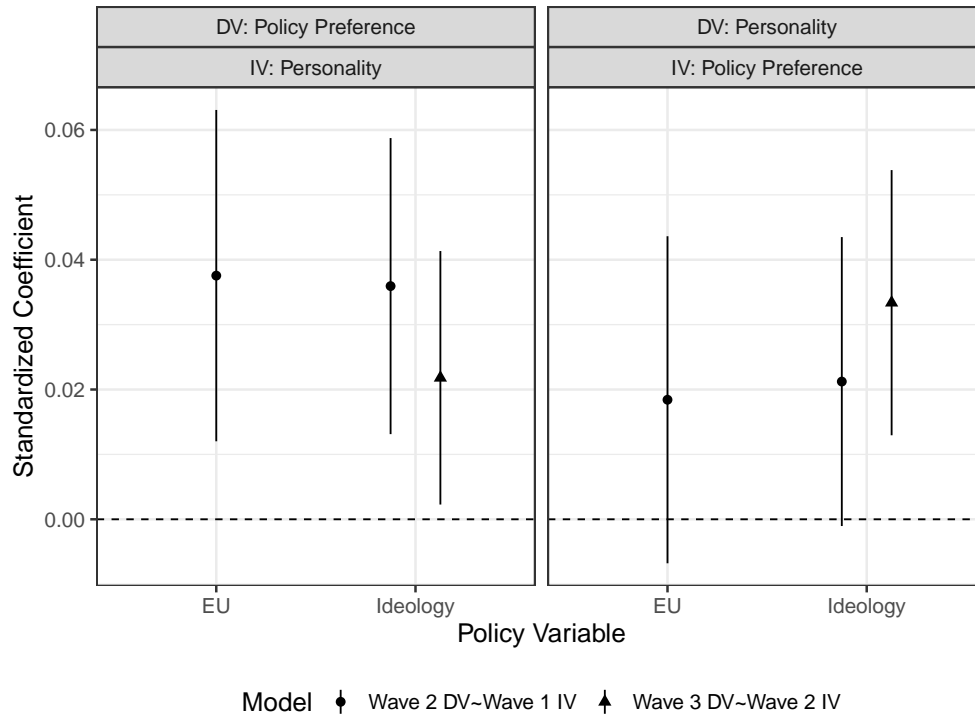
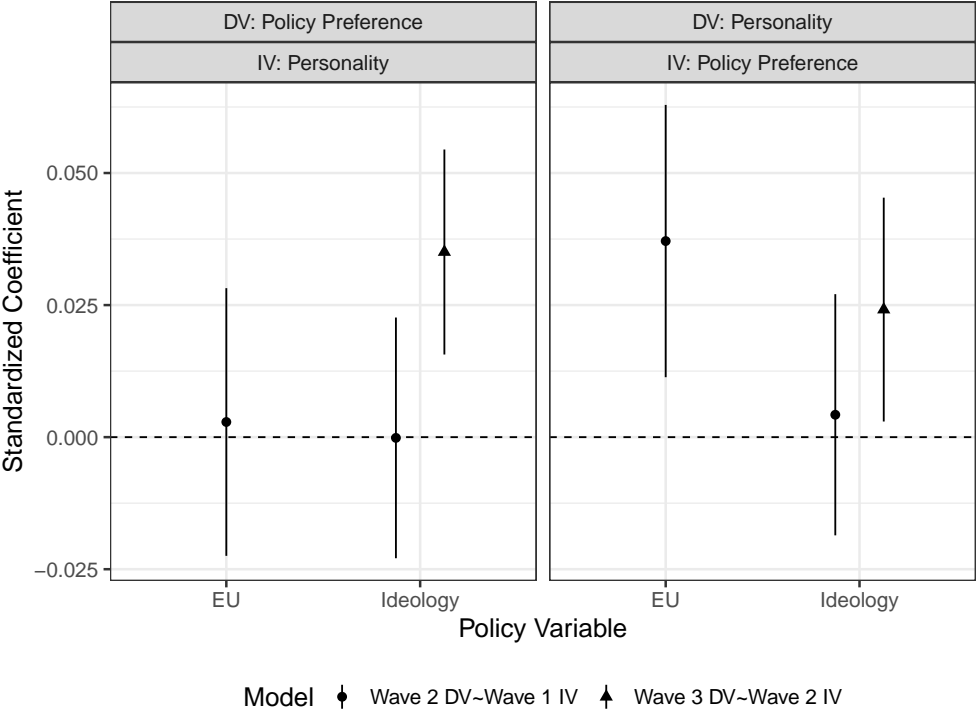


Figure 12: Regression Coefficients from Preregistered Cross-Lagged Panel Model with **Conscientiousness** in Germany. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. Complete output, including model fit indices, can be derived using the replication materials.



2.6 Exploratory results for Neuroticism, Extraversion and Neuroticism

The results for Neuroticism (Figure 13) and Extraversion (Figure 14) show there is not much evidence that these traits cause political preferences or that political preference cause changes in these traits.

For agreeableness (Figure 15), there is evidence that increases in Agreeableness lead to more left-wing attitudes on the left-right dimension and the EU attitudes as can be seen from the negative coefficients in the left-hand panel of Figure 15. We also find suggestive evidence that lagged left-right placement and EU attitudes cause a decrease in agreeableness.

Figure 13: Regression Coefficients from Preregistered Cross-Lagged Panel Model with **Neuroticism** in Germany. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

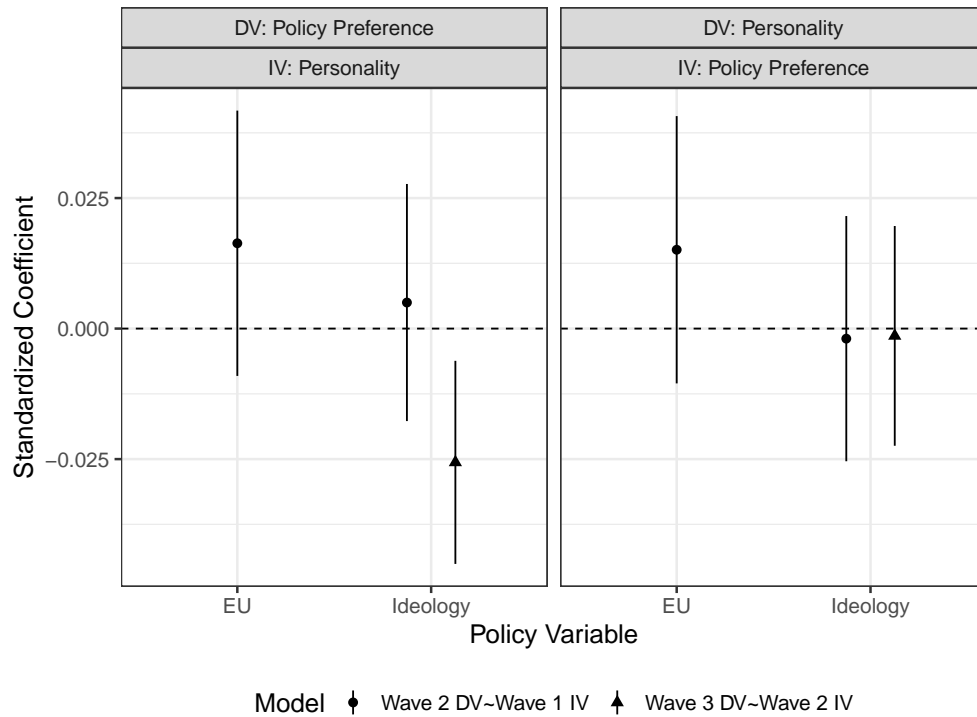


Figure 14: Regression Coefficients from Preregistered Cross-Lagged Panel Model with **Extraversion** in Germany. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

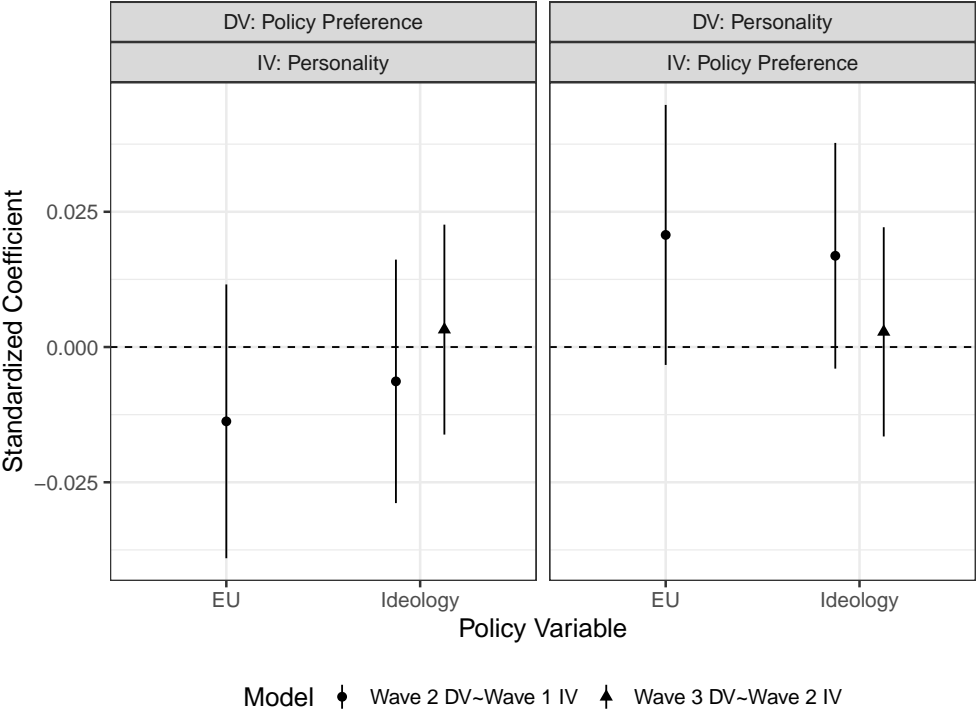
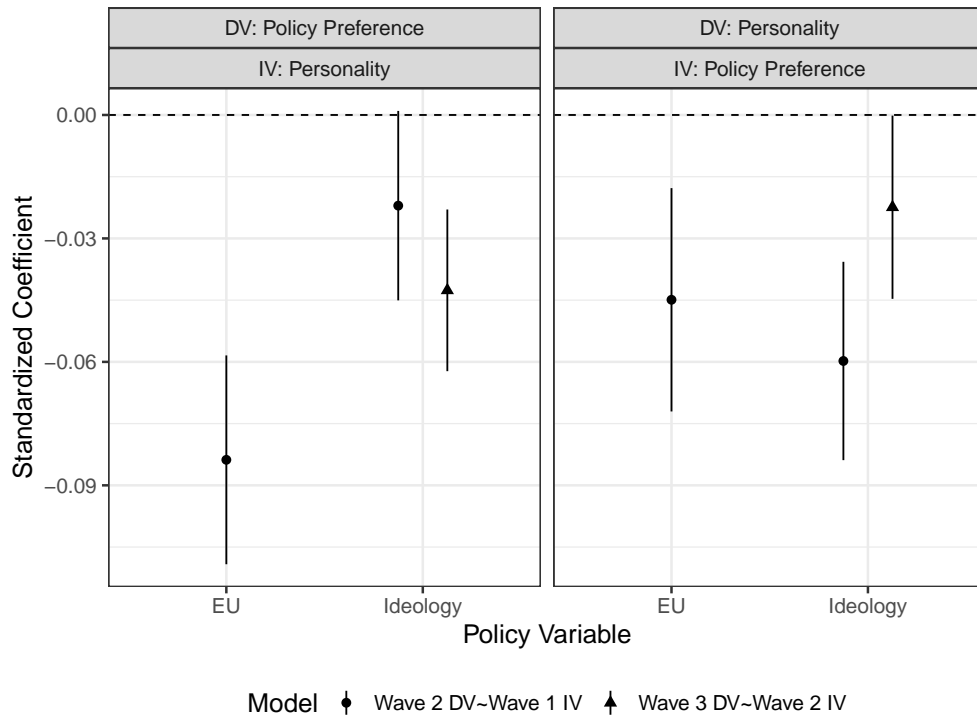
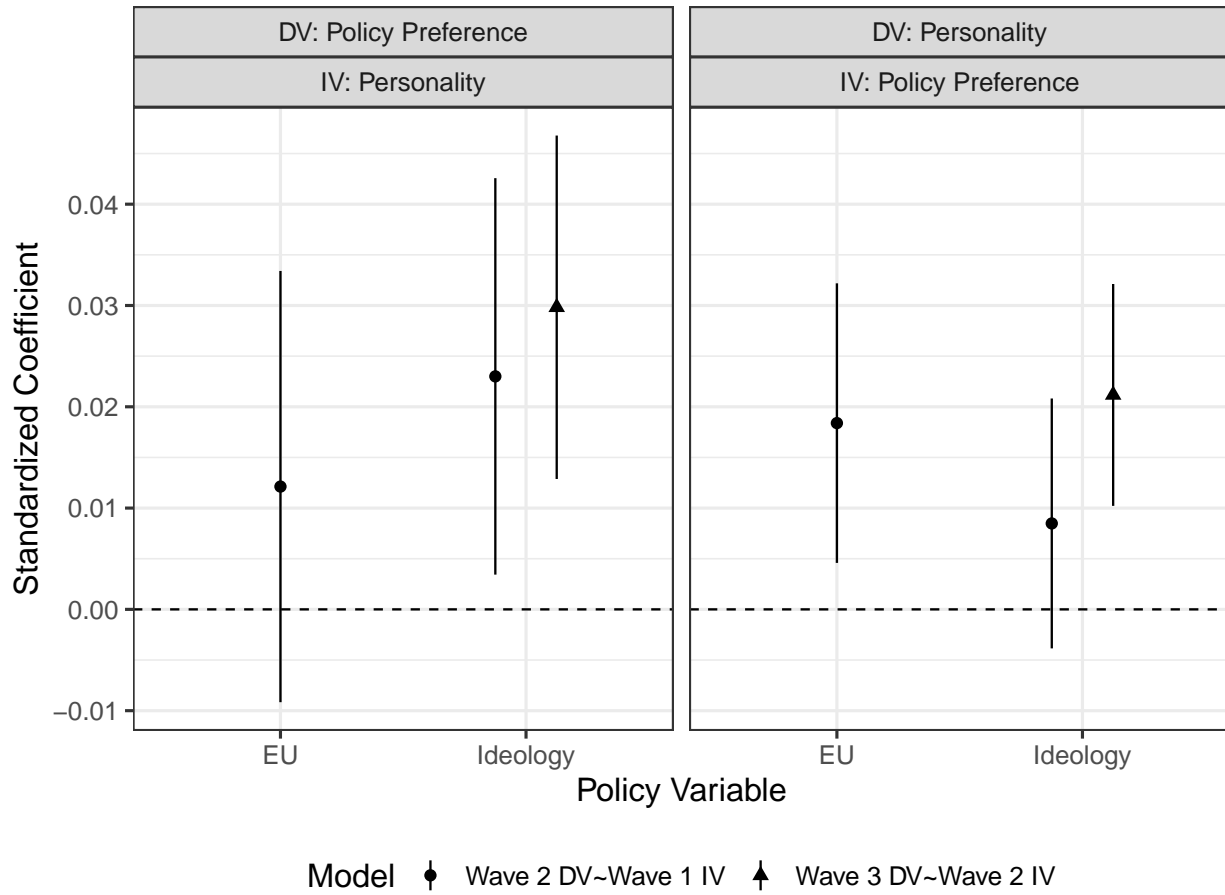


Figure 15: Regression Coefficients from Preregistered Cross-Lagged Panel Model with **Agreeableness** in Germany. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.



2.7 Main results including demographic controls

Figure 16: Replicates Figure 3, but controls for age, gender, education and income.



3 GSS panel (United States)

3.1 Descriptive statistics of measures

The table below provides the mean, standard deviations and number of observations for each measure in each wave.

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics of Measures by Wave

Wave	Variable	M	SD	N
Wave 1	Authoritarianism	0.35	0.27	748
Wave 1	Abortion	0.38	0.36	845
Wave 1	LGBT	0.17	0.31	419
Wave 1	Conservatism	0.51	0.24	1922
Wave 1	Partisanship	0.39	0.30	1521
Wave 1	Welfare	0.36	0.21	946
Wave 2	Authoritarianism	0.33	0.27	861
Wave 2	Abortion	0.38	0.36	851
Wave 2	LGBT	0.16	0.30	384
Wave 2	Conservatism	0.51	0.24	1939
Wave 2	Partisanship	0.39	0.30	1508
Wave 2	Welfare	0.45	0.24	1162
Wave 3	Authoritarianism	0.34	0.27	867
Wave 3	Abortion	0.37	0.36	840
Wave 3	LGBT	0.14	0.29	357
Wave 3	Conservatism	0.52	0.24	1949
Wave 3	Partisanship	0.40	0.30	1522
Wave 3	Welfare	0.40	0.23	1191

3.2 Psychometric properties of measures

The table below provides the standardized Cronbach's alpha coefficients for authoritarianism and the latent policy preferences and the average correlation between the items in the latent dimension

Table 7: Reliability of Measures by Wave

Wave	Trait	Alpha	Average r
Wave 1	Authoritarianism	0.67	0.50
Wave 1	Abortion	0.90	0.55
Wave 1	LGBT	0.78	0.55
Wave 1	Welfare	0.72	0.39
Wave 2	Authoritarianism	0.67	0.50
Wave 2	Abortion	0.89	0.54
Wave 2	LGBT	0.81	0.59
Wave 2	Welfare	0.76	0.44
Wave 3	Authoritarianism	0.66	0.50
Wave 3	Abortion	0.89	0.54
Wave 3	LGBT	0.80	0.57
Wave 3	Welfare	0.80	0.50

3.3 Correlation between measures

We plot the correlation coefficients of the measures we use use, per wave, in Figure 17.

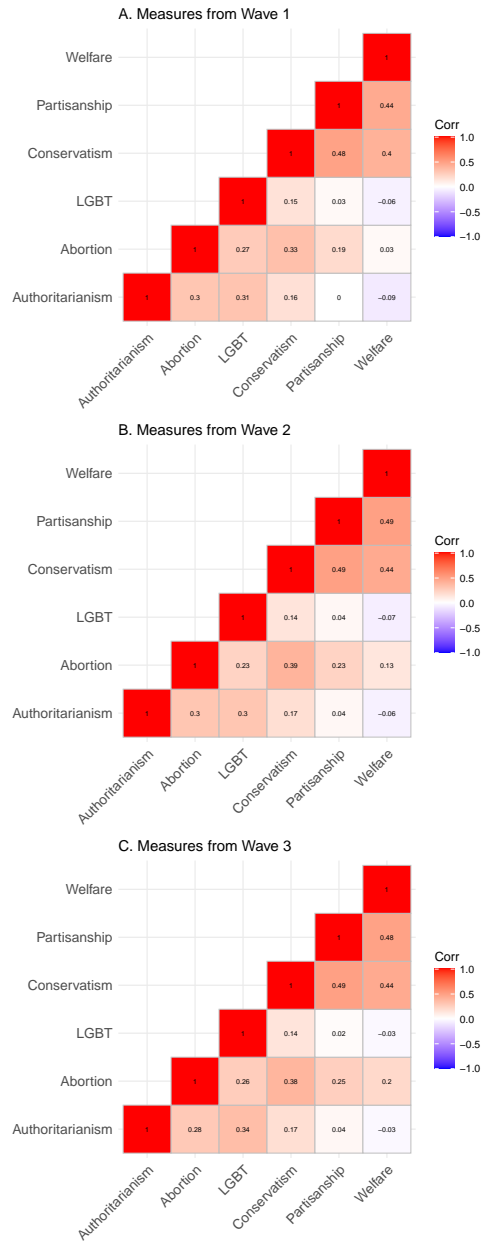


Figure 17: Correlation matrices with the Pearson correlation coefficients between the personality measures and ideology measures in wave 1 (panel A), wave 2 (panel B) and wave 3 (panel C). Darker red background means that the correlation is strongly positive, darker blue strongly negative and white means that the correlation is close to zero. Frequentist inferential statistics can be derived from the replication files.

3.4 Analysis of three different panels separately

In the main text we presented, as preregistered, the results of the three GSS panels pooled together. Here we present the results separately for each panel. We present the results in five graphs for abortion attitude (Figure 18), LGBT attitude (Figure 19), ideology (Figure 20), party identity (Figure 21), and social welfare attitude (Figure 22). In each graph we present the results of our key hypotheses for the panels that started in 2006, 2008, and 2010 separately. A visual inspection of the results leads us to conclude that there is some, but not much, heterogeneity in the estimates across the three panels: the point estimates across the panels are similar and their confidence intervals overlap a great deal.

Figure 18: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States: **abortion-effects when analysing the three panels separately**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

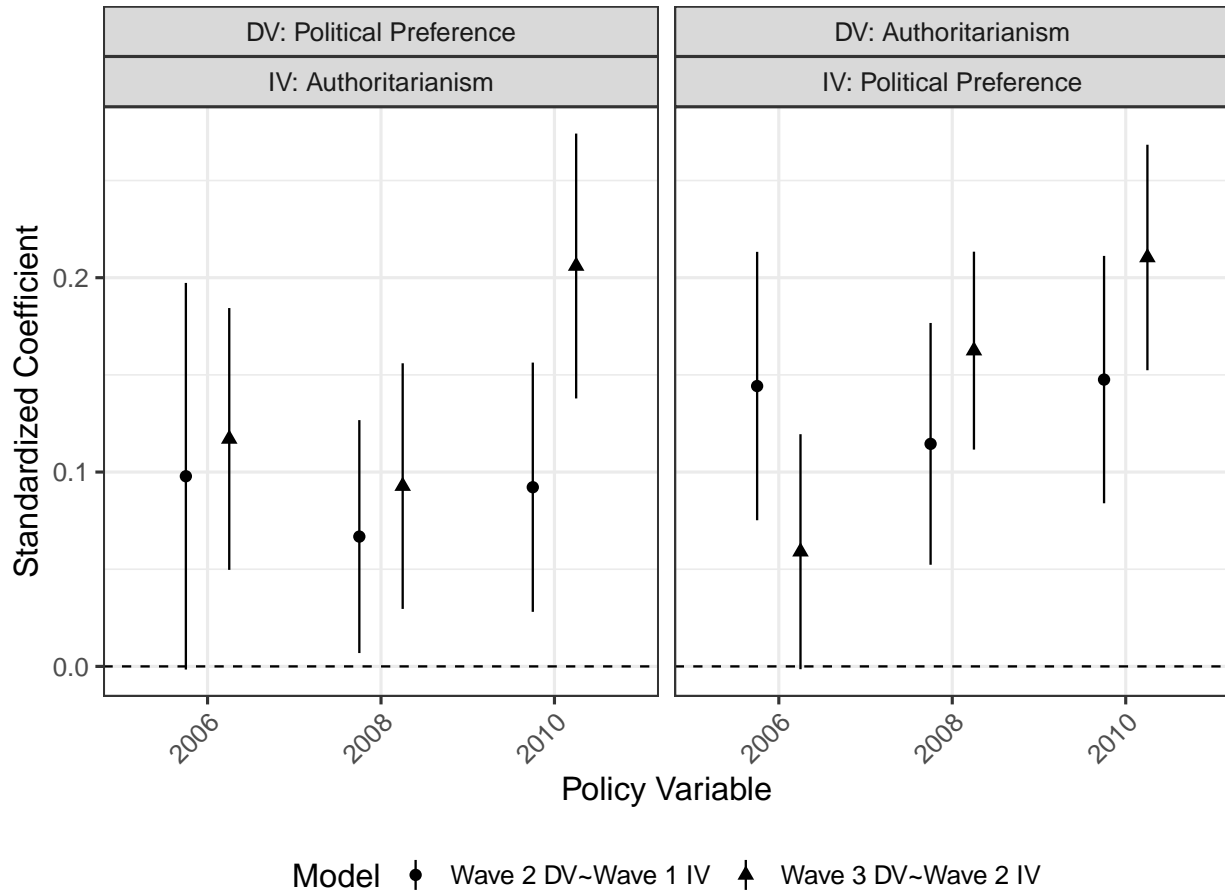


Figure 19: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States: **lbgt-effects when analysing the three panels separately**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

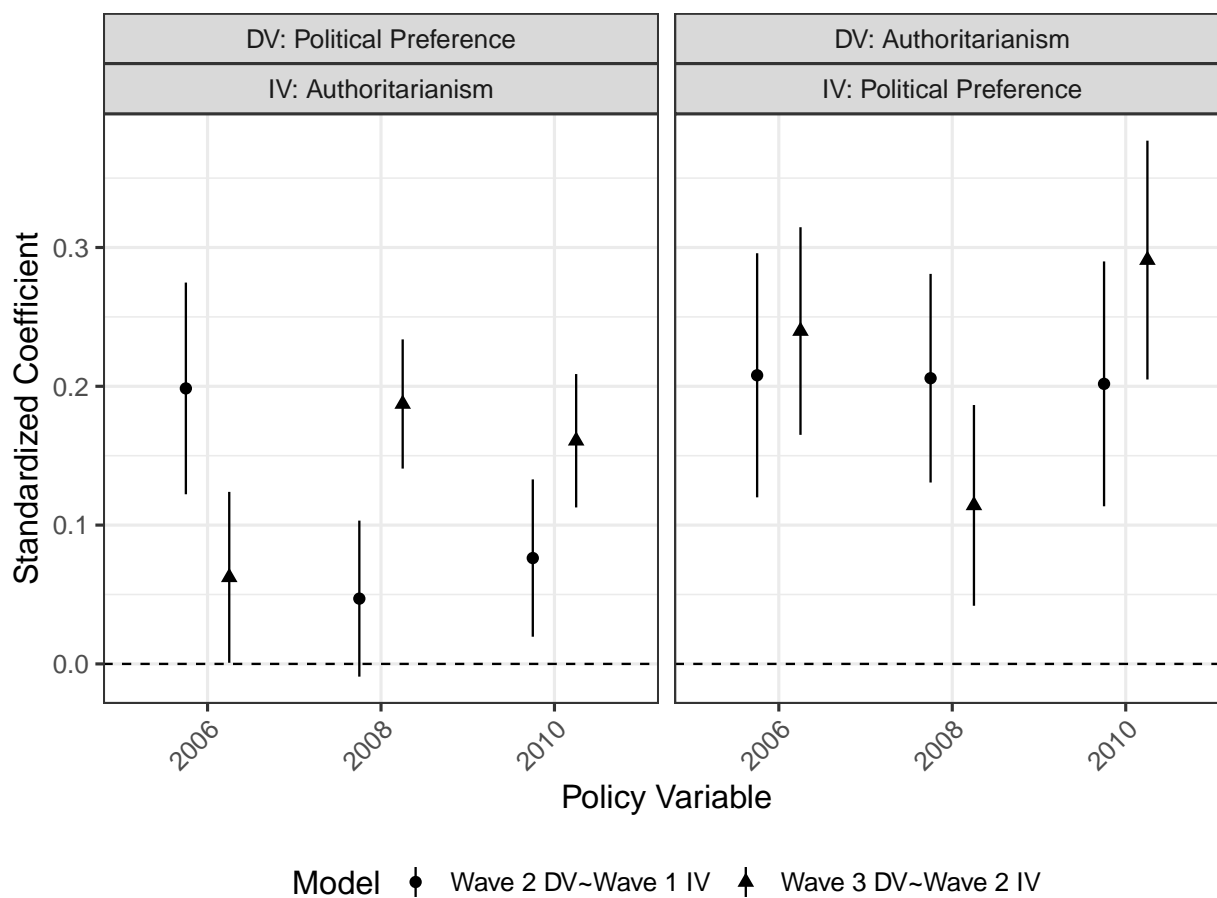


Figure 20: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States: **Ideology-effects when analysing the three panels separately**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

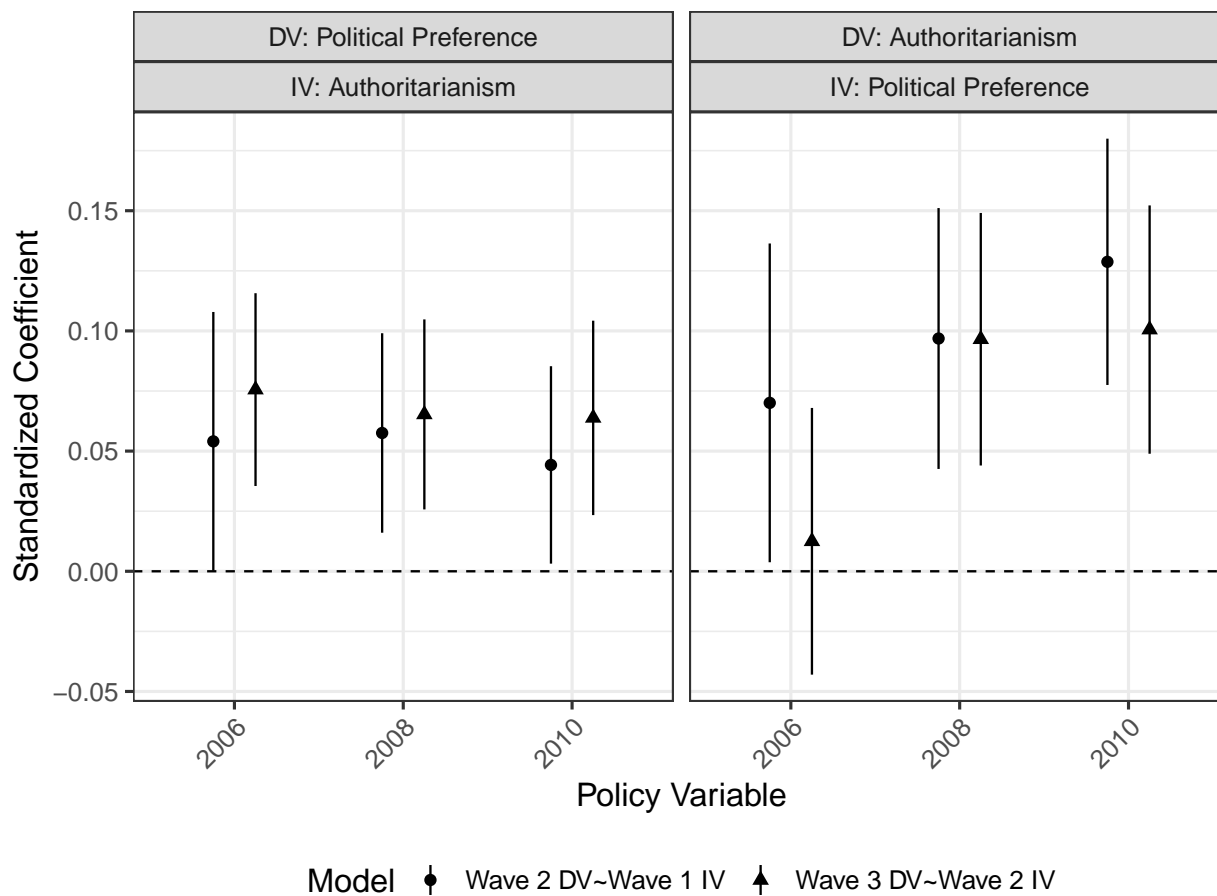


Figure 21: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States: **PID-effects when analysing the three panels separately**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

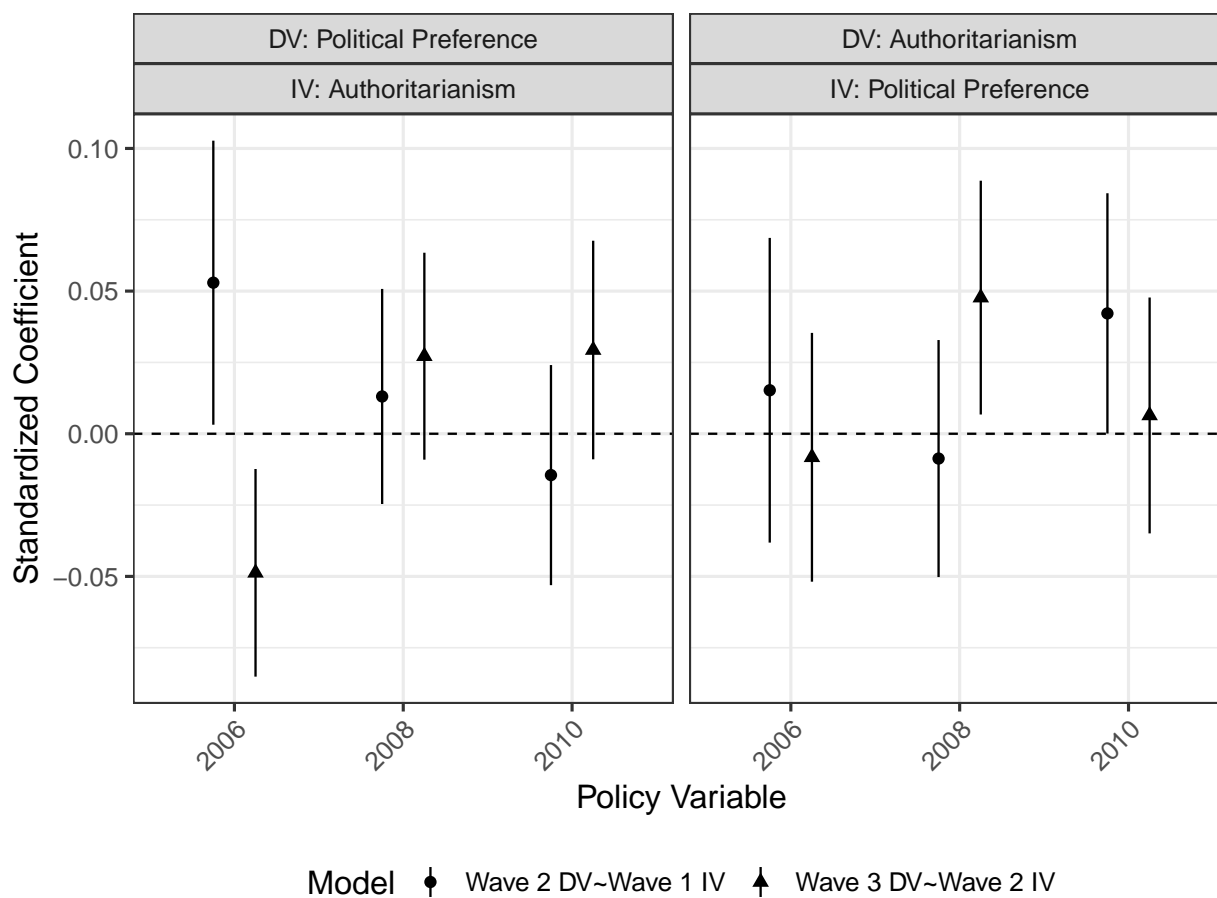
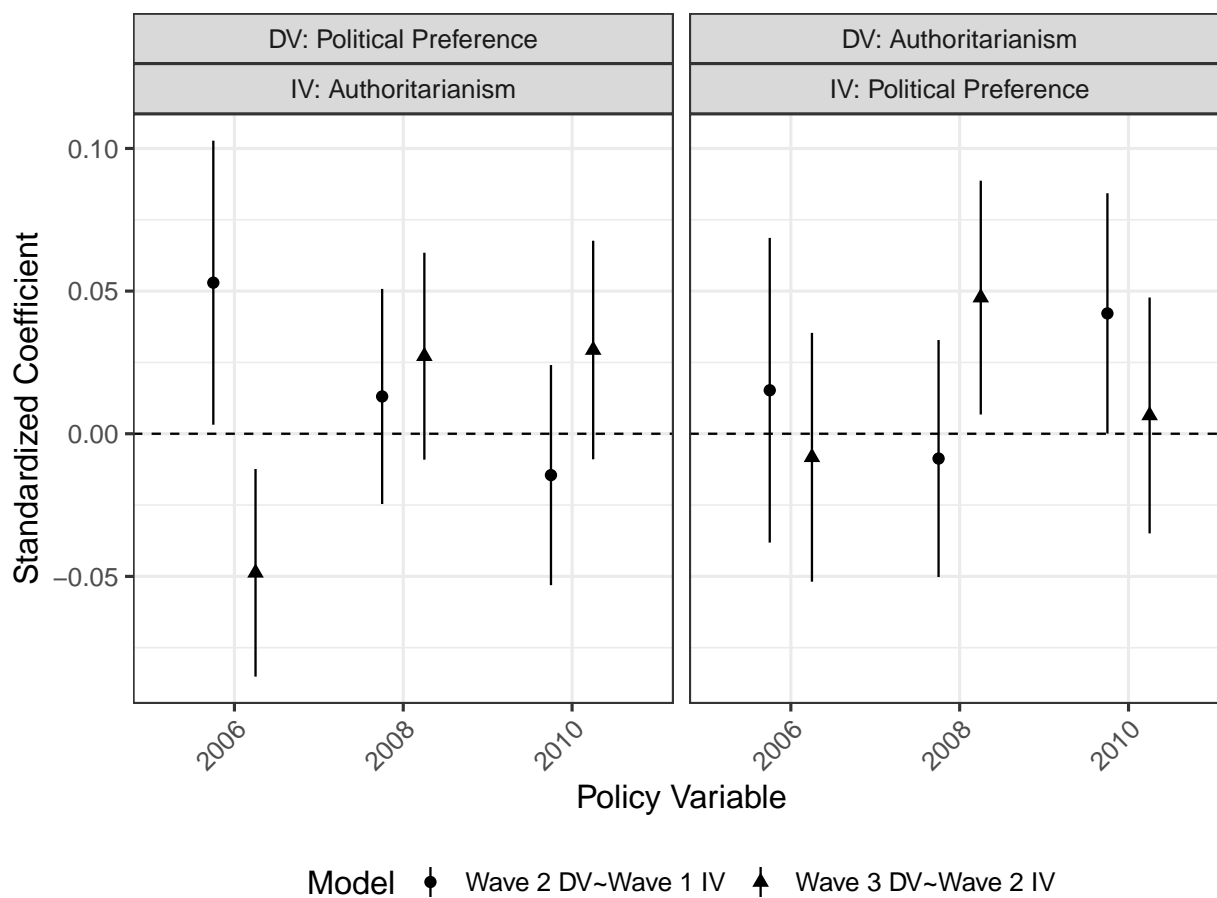


Figure 22: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States: **Welfare-effects when analysing the three panels separately**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.



3.5 Main results including demographic controls

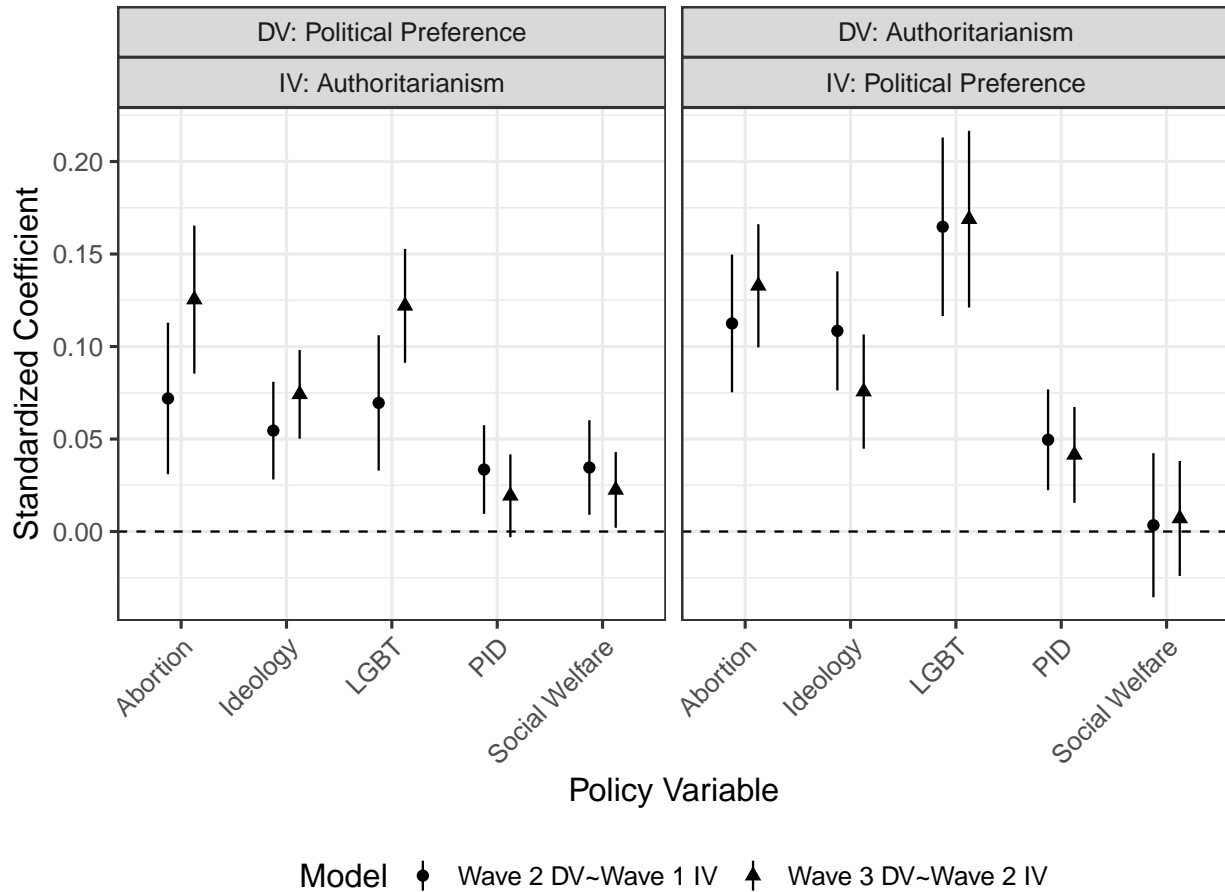


Figure 23: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the United States in models controlling for sex, age, education, income and race. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. The left panel presents the path from lagged personality on political preference in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1. The right panel presents the path from lagged political preference on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in Figure 1. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be derived from the replication files.

4 CLPM and RI-CLPM

All results are presented in the Online Appendix posted on the website of the APSR.

5 Big Five Experiment

5.1 Descriptive statistics

Our sample was diverse when it comes to age ($M=38.23$, $SD=12.52$, $Min=18$, $Max=78$) and 48.76% female, 50.65% male and 0.58% other or non-binary. The majority of the respondents had completed college (59.53%) and identified as White (67.53). The descriptive statistics for the personality traits and ideology measure are provided in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics of Measures in the Experiment

	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
Openness	0.29	0.21	1543
Conscientiousness	0.67	0.24	1543
Extraversion	0.45	0.24	1543
Agreeableness	0.69	0.20	1543
Neuroticism	0.43	0.27	1543
Global conservatism	0.37	0.25	1543
Symbolic	0.38	0.32	1543
Ideology	0.42	0.29	1543
Party Identity	0.40	0.36	1543
Trump approval	0.34	0.38	1542
Cultural	0.38	0.25	1543
Economic	0.34	0.29	1543

5.2 Psychometric Properties of Measures and Descriptive Statistics

Table 9 provides the Cronbach's alpha values and average inter-item correlations per Big Five trait and for the four ideology dimensions. Figure 24 provides the correlation coefficients between the personality traits (panel A) and the ideology dimensions (panel B).

Table 9: Reliability of Personality and Ideology Measures

	Alpha	Average r
Openness	0.59	0.32
Conscientiousness	0.71	0.45
Extraversion	0.64	0.38
Agreeableness	0.53	0.28
Neuroticism	0.75	0.50
General conservatism	0.90	0.50
Symbolic	0.90	0.75
Cultural	0.88	0.51
Economic	0.82	0.69

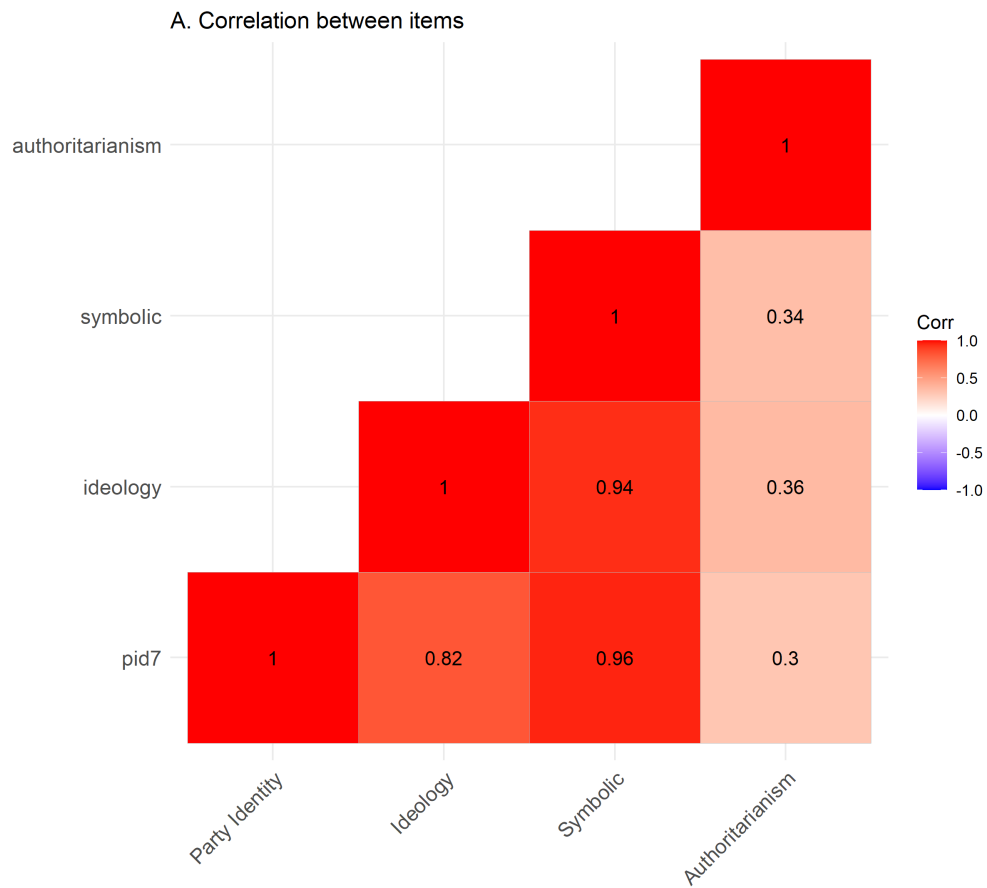


Figure 24: Correlation matrices with the Pearson correlation coefficients between the personality traits (panel A) and ideology measures (panel B). Darker red background means that the correlation is strongly positive, darker blue strongly negative and white means that the correlation is close to zero. Openness is coded from the most open-minded (0) to the most closed-minded (1). Frequentist inferential statistics can be derived from the replication files.

5.3 Randomization checks

We test whether the four ideological variables differ between the politics first and the internet first condition using a null hypothesis test and a equivalence test, see [Lakens, 2017]. For the TOST equivalence tests described below we set the bounds to a small effect $d=.2$ (bounds of $d=-0.2$ and $d=0.2$), use the default $\alpha = 0.05$ and assume equal variances.

General conservatism Comparing general conservatism dimension between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test is significant, $t(1540.52) = -3.520$, $p = 0.000222$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0504 and 0.0504 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . We can reject effects larger than $d=.2$. The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.52) = 0.408$, $p = 0.683$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the general conservatism dimension is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Symbolic ideology Comparing the symbolic ideology dimension between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1540.96) = -3.030$, $p = 0.00125$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0631 and 0.0631 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . We can reject effects larger than $d=.2$. The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.96) = 0.899$, $p = 0.369$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that symbolic ideology dimension is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Cultural Comparing the symbolic ideology dimension between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1540.23) = 3.514$, $p = 0.000227$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0506 and 0.0506 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . We can reject effects larger than $d=.2$. The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.23) = -0.414$, $p = 0.679$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the cultural ideology dimension is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Economic Comparing the economic ideology dimension between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1541) = -3.059$, $p = 0.00113$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0581 and 0.0581 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . We can reject effects larger than $d=.2$. The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1541) = 0.869$, $p = 0.385$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the economic ideology dimension is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Conservatism Comparing the ideology dimension between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1540.72) = -3.791$, $p = 0.0000779$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0587 and 0.0587 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.72) = 0.137$, $p = 0.891$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that ideology is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Party identity Comparing the party identity measure between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1540.96) = -2.965$, $p = 0.00153$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0727 and 0.0727 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.96) = 0.963$, $p = 0.336$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that party identity is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Trump approval Comparing the Trump approval measure between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test was significant, $t(1540.04) = -2.676$, $p = 0.00376$, given equivalence bounds of -0.0762 and 0.0762 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05. The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(1540.04) = 1.251$, $p = 0.211$, given an alpha of 0.05. Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that Trump approval is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

>

5.4 Outcome neutral quality checks

We conduct outcome neutral quality checks for ideology, our key independent variable of interest. We regressed each of our ideology dimensions on gender, age, education and race. We present the results of these OLS regression models in Table 10. As expected, we find that men, compared to woman, are more conservative on most of the ideology dimensions, while the coefficient is positive but not statistically significant for the symbolic ideology, ideological identity, and Trump approval dimensions. We also find consistent evidence across the models that older respondents report more right-wing positions. When it comes to educational background, we don't see consistent differences between those that completed college (reference category) and those that completed some college or high school or less. Finally, turning to race, we find that Whites, compared to Blacks (Reference category) are more conservative on most dimensions.

Table 10: Outcome neutral quality checks

	Outcome neutral quality checks						
	General	Symbolic	Ideology	Party	Approval	Cultural	Economic
Gender: Male	0.03* (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 ⁺ (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03* (0.01)	0.04* (0.01)
Gender: Other	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.15 ⁺ (0.08)	-0.02 (0.10)
Age	0.003* (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)	0.004* (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)	0.004* (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)
Race: Hispanic	0.05 ⁺ (0.03)	0.15* (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)	0.19* (0.04)	0.17* (0.04)	-0.003 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Race: Other	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.07 ⁺ (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Race: White	0.07* (0.02)	0.10* (0.03)	0.05 ⁺ (0.03)	0.15* (0.03)	0.11* (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.08* (0.03)
Edu: High school	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Edu: Some college	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.03 ⁺ (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Constant	0.17* (0.03)	0.16* (0.04)	0.21* (0.03)	0.13* (0.04)	0.13* (0.05)	0.18* (0.03)	0.15* (0.03)
Observations	1,542	1,542	1,542	1,542	1,542	1,542	1,542
R ²	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.04

Note:

+ $p < .1$; * $p < 0.05$

5.5 Non-linearity in the Big Five Experiment

Figure 25 plots the Average Marginal Effect of the politics prime by the tertile of the self-reported ideology scales. Figure 25 shows that the politics prime had symmetric effects on upper and lower tertiles of each key variable. Note that we follow the same modelling strategy here as discussed in the main text of the paper.

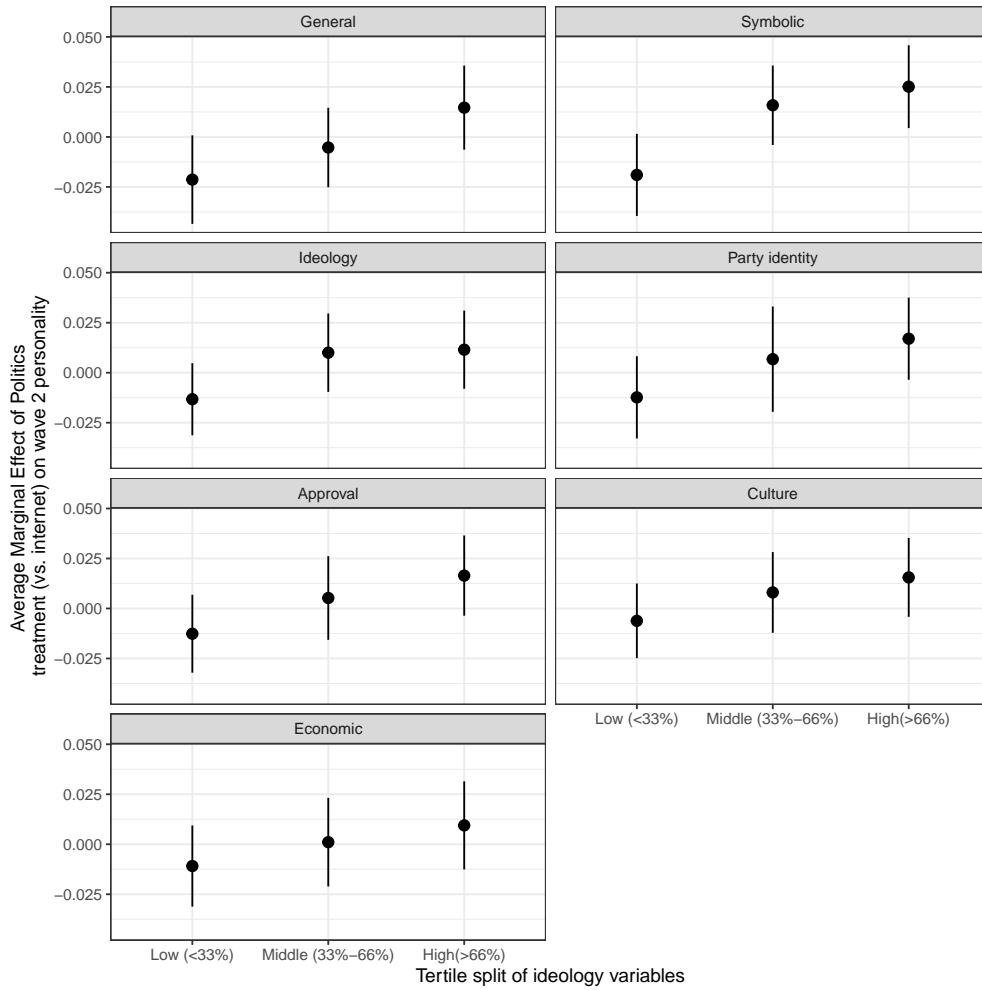


Figure 25: Big Five experiment: linearity test. Average Marginal Effect of the politics prime by the tertile of the self-reported cultural, economic general, pooled and symbolic ideology scales

5.6 Results for Openness and Conscientiousness separately

Results for the analyses of Openness (reverse coded) (Figure 26) and Conscientiousness (Figure 27) are provided below.

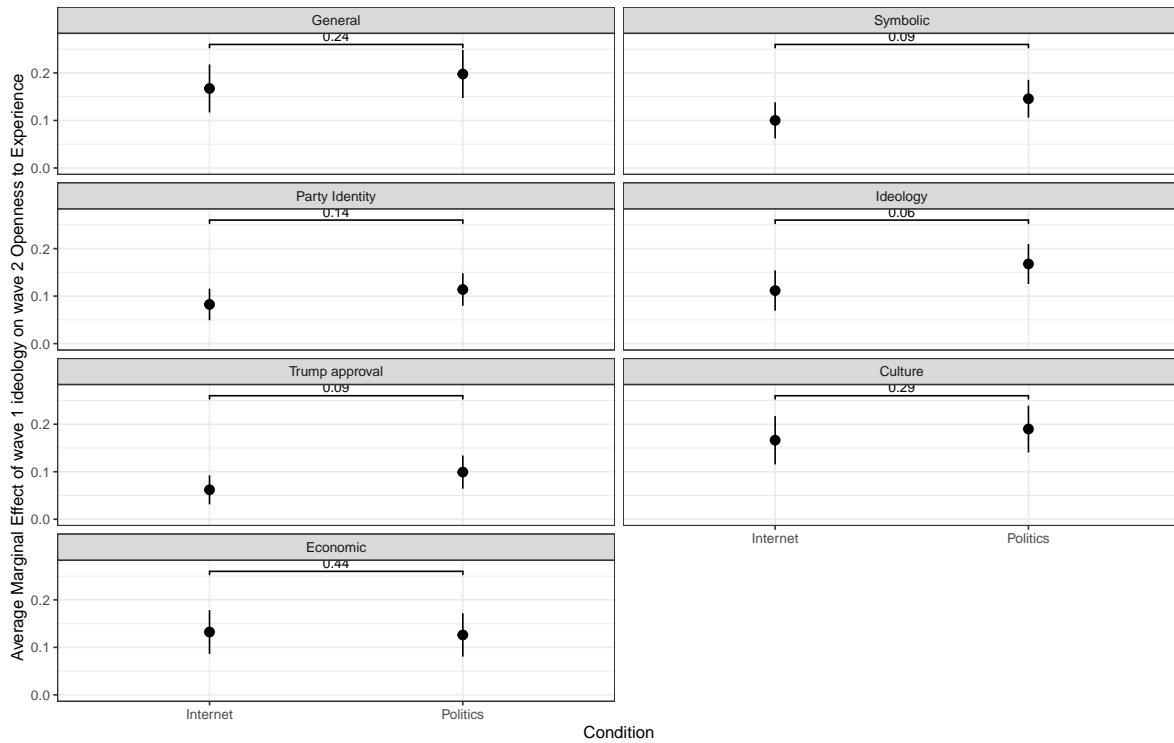


Figure 26: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 **Openness to Experience** in the politics and internet conditions. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication materials.

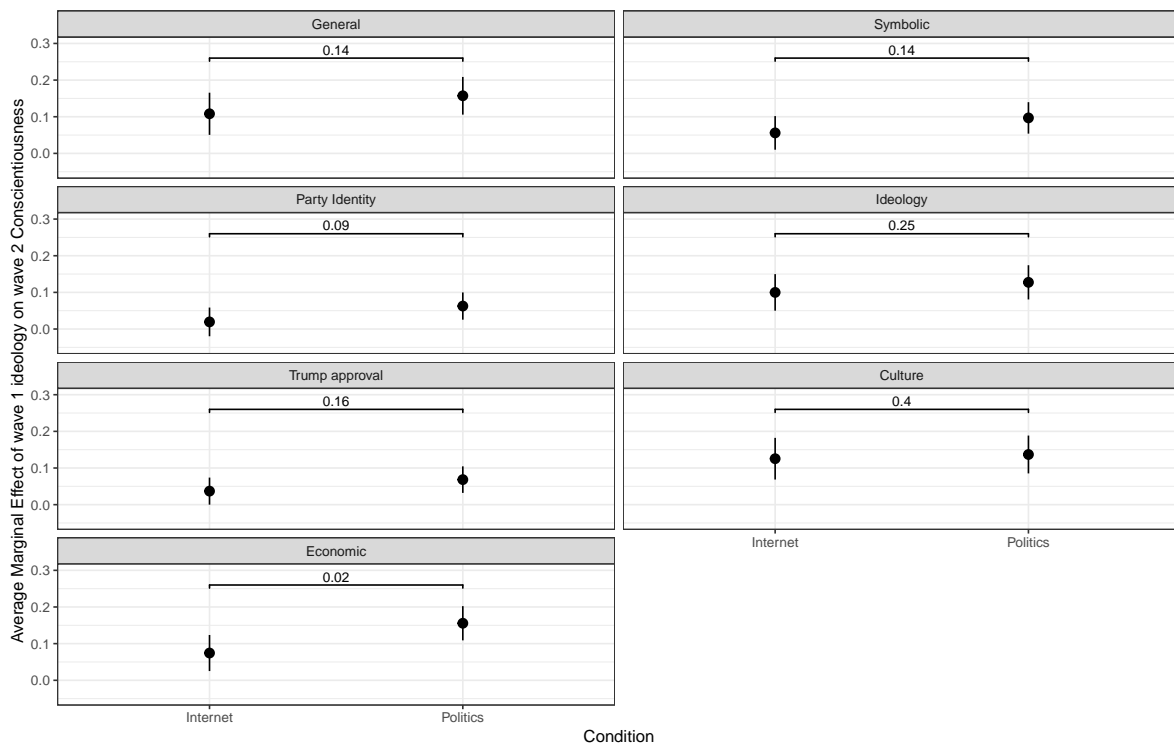


Figure 27: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 **Conscientiousness** in the politics and internet conditions. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication materials.

5.7 Results for Neuroticism, Agreeableness, Extraversion

Here we briefly discuss the results for neuroticism, agreeableness and extraversion. We reverse coded neuroticism and agreeableness. We do this because, although inconsistently, evidence seems to suggest that low levels of neuroticism (emotional stability) low levels of agreeableness are positively correlated with conservatism.

Starting with neuroticism (see Figure 28), we find that the association between ideology and neuroticism do not become significantly stronger in the politics condition compared to the control (internet) condition. Turning to agreeableness (see Figure 29), we find, if anything, the opposite pattern where the association between ideology and agreeableness is weaker in the politics compared to the internet condition. Finally, for extraversion (see Figure 30) we find no indications that the association between ideology and the trait is conditioned by our experimental treatment.

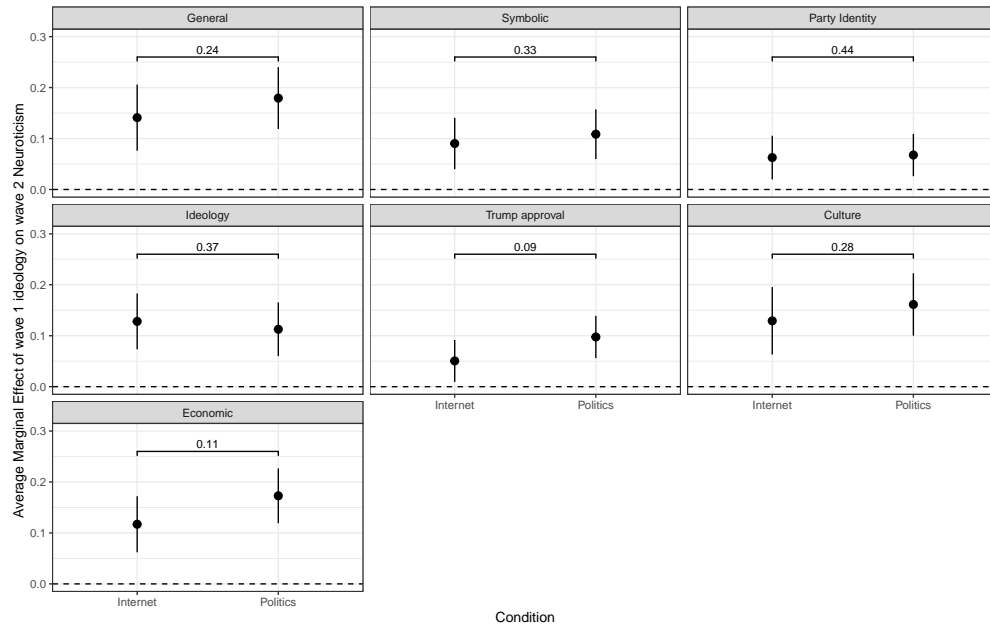


Figure 28: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 **Neuroticism** in the politics and internet conditions. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication materials.

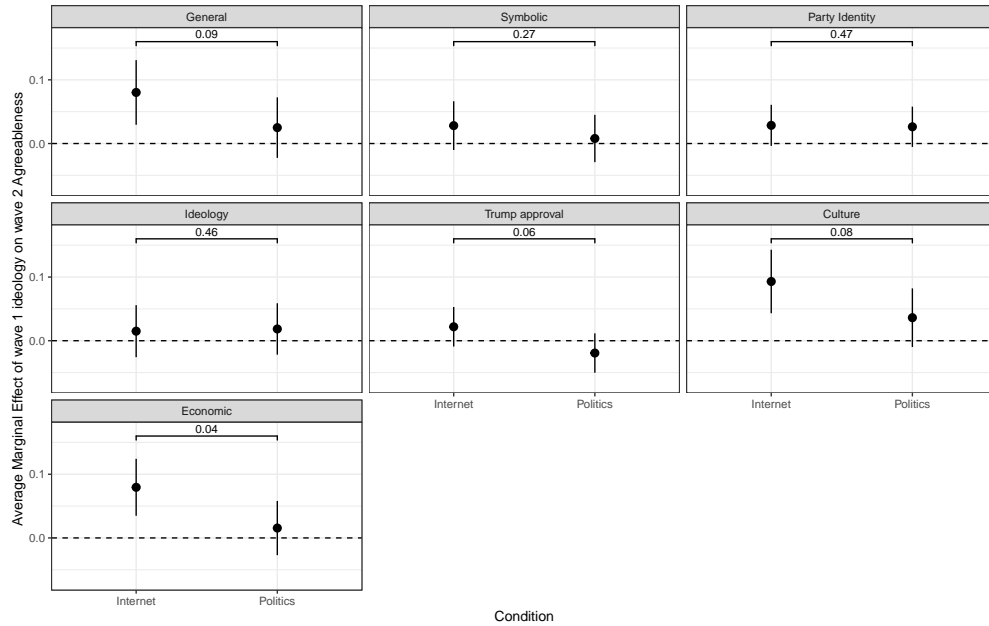


Figure 29: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 **Agreeableness** in the politics and internet conditions. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication materials.

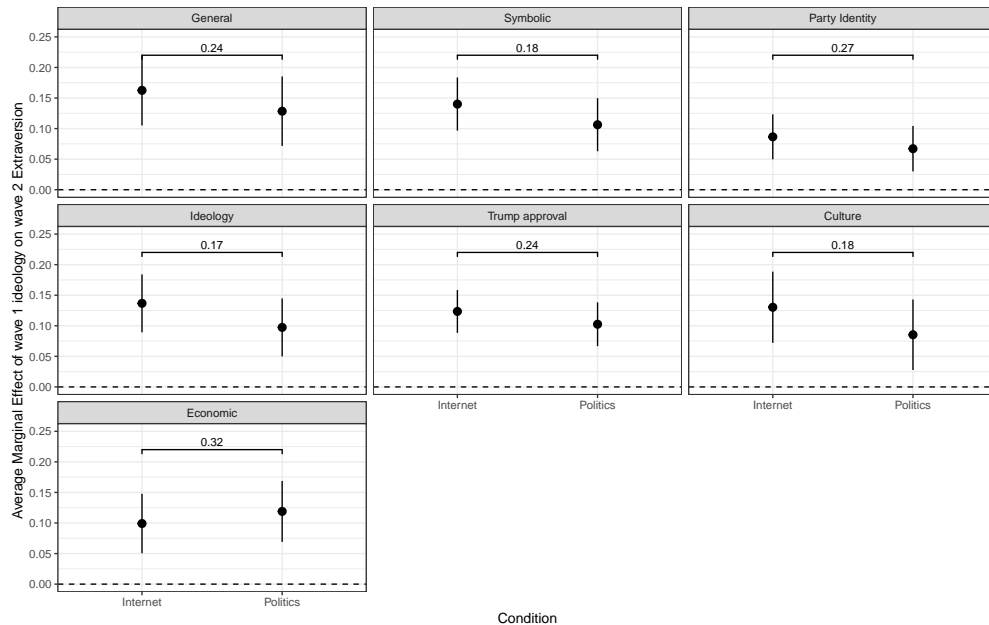


Figure 30: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 **Extraversion** in the politics and internet conditions. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication materials.

5.8 Results *including* the people who failed the attention check

In wave 1, respondents were told that conditional upon the quality of their response, they would be re-invited to participate in a second wave. We preregistered to re-invite only those who passed an attention check. We accidentally invited both the people who passed the attention check and those that did not pass the attention check. Our wave 2 sample thereby consisted of people who passed the manipulation check (N=1543; 88%) as well as those that did not pass the attention check (N=213; 12%). Following our pre-analysis plan, we presented the results from the people who passed the attention check in the main text. Rerunning our models with the people that failed the attention check, does not substantially change the conclusions we draw in this experiment. Results *including* those participants that failed the attention check following the modelling strategy employed in the main text of the paper are provided Figure 31.

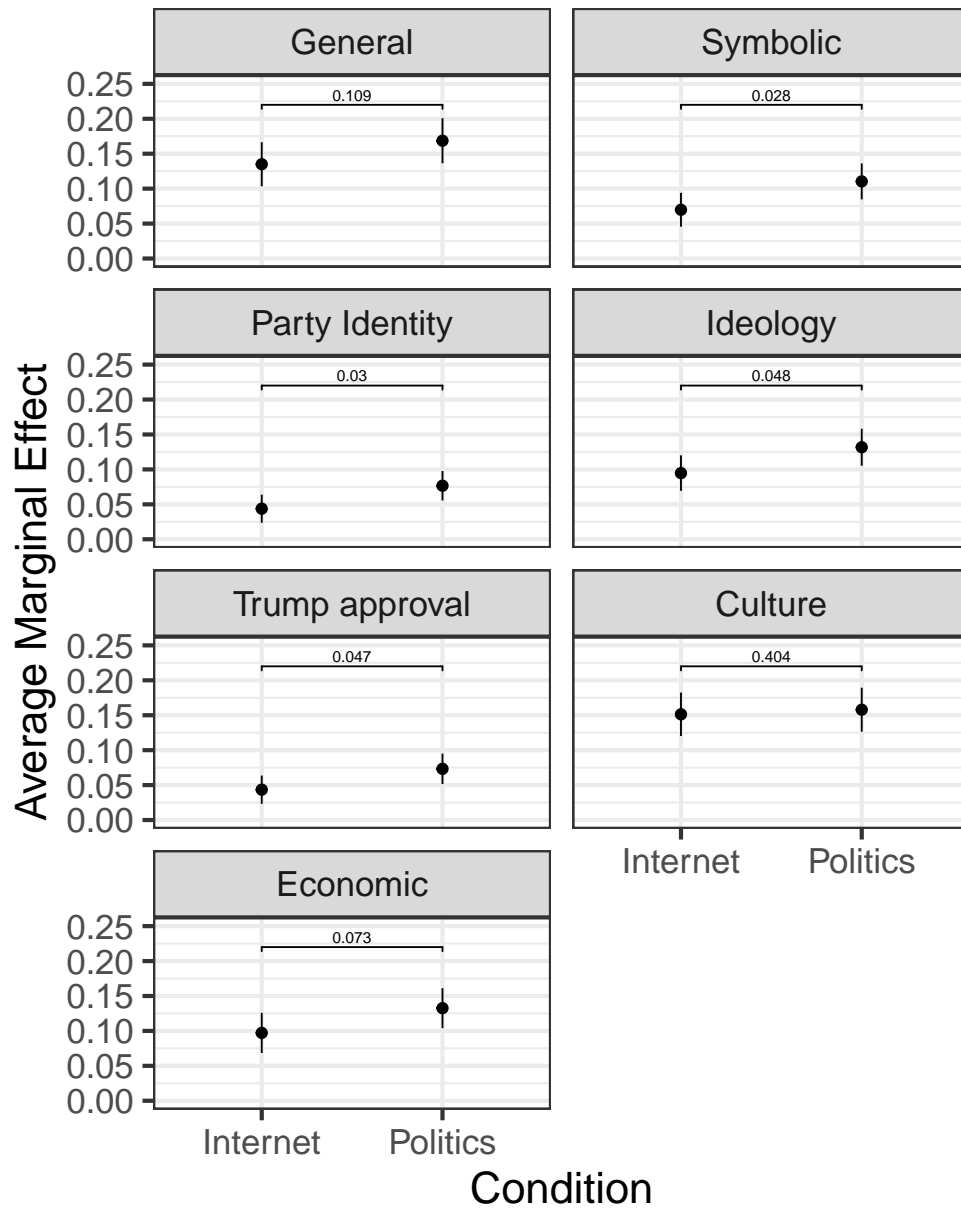


Figure 31: Average marginal effect of wave 1 ideology on wave 2 personality in the politics and internet conditions **including the people that failed the attention check**. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. In each panel, we indicate the one-sided p-value belonging to the test of the difference in the strength of the association between the politics condition and the control (internet) condition (i.e., the interaction effect in the regression model). Full regression output can be derived from the replication files.

6 Authoritarianism experiment

6.1 Descriptive Statistics

The average age of the our respondents was 40.97 (SD=13.02, Min=19, Max=87). Forty-nine percent of respondents identified as female, and the majority had a college education or higher.

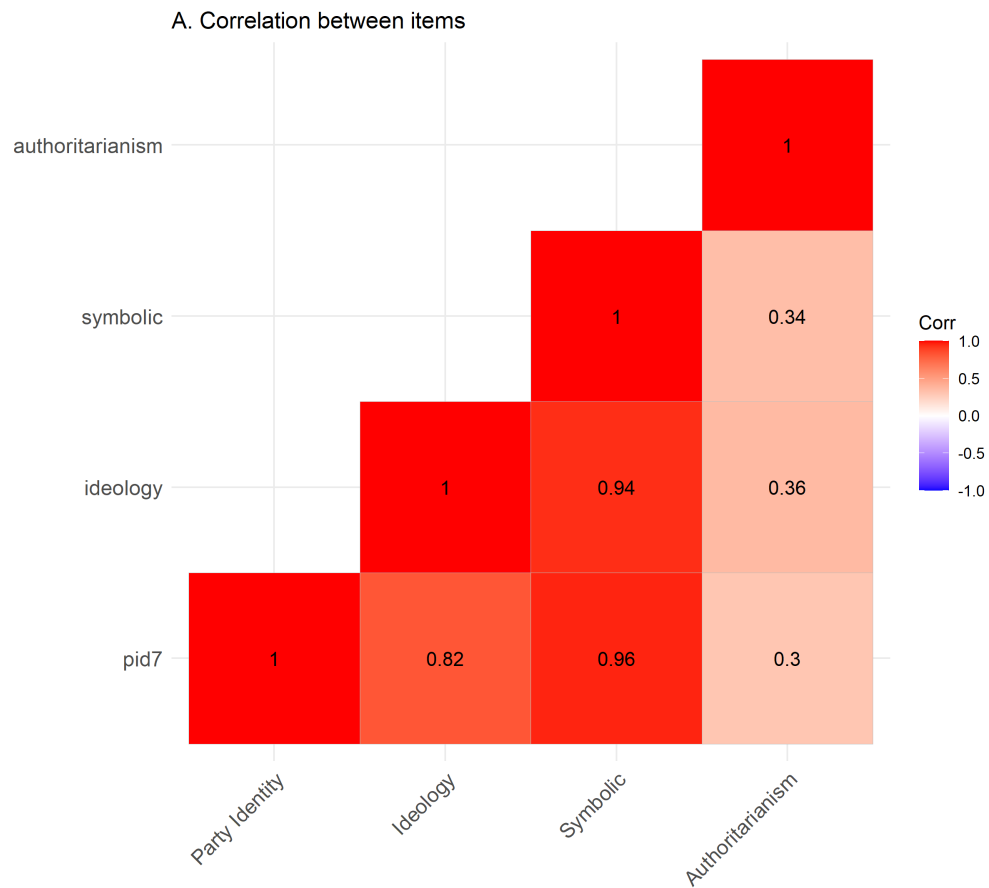
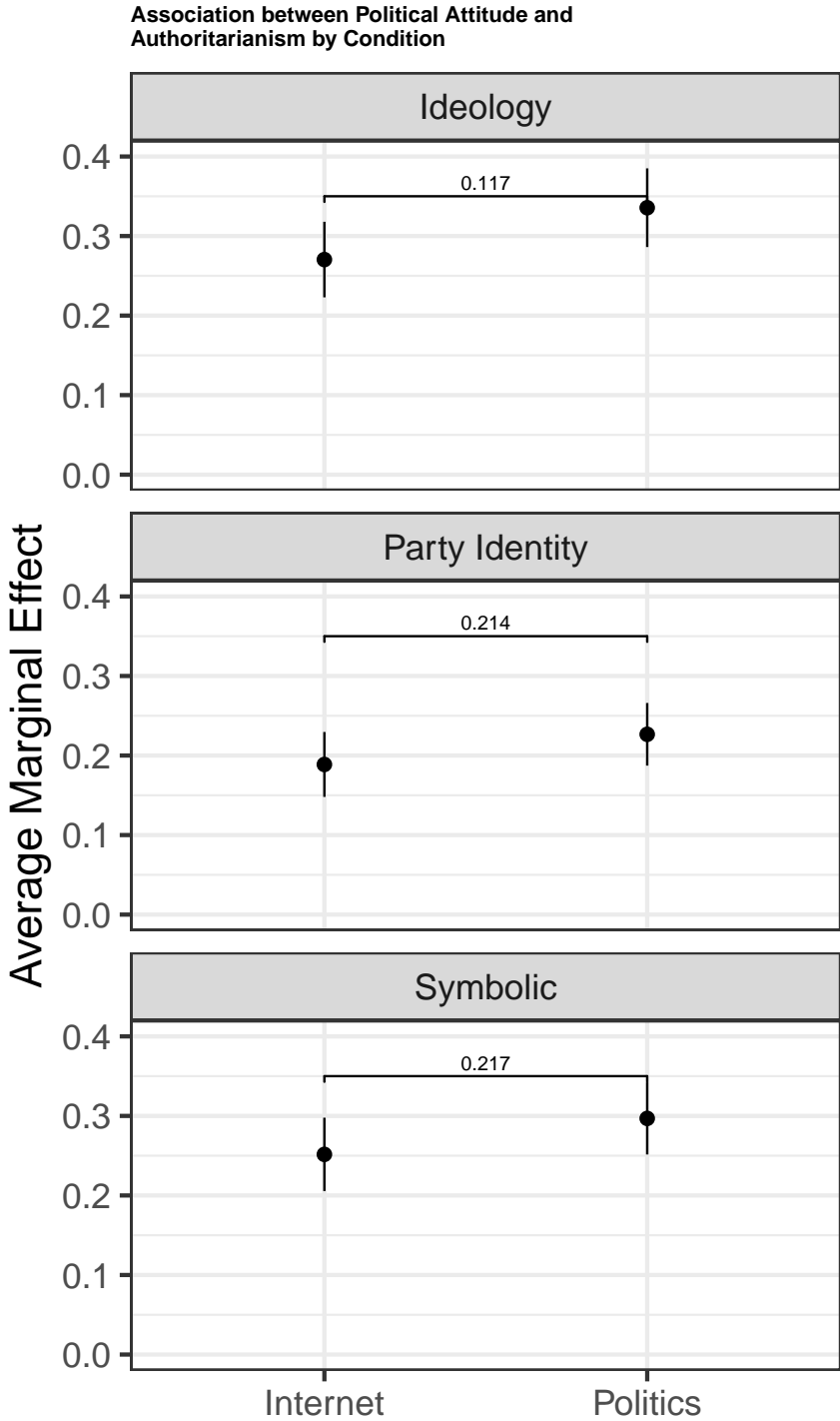


Figure 32: Correlation matrices with the Pearson correlation coefficients between authoritarianism and ideology measures. Darker red background means that the correlation is strongly positive, darker blue strongly negative and white means that the correlation is close to zero. Frequentist inferential statistics can be derived from the replication files.

6.2 Results excluding those that participated in Big 5 experiment



6.3 Randomization checks

We test whether the four ideological variables differ between the politics first and the internet first condition using a null hypothesis test and an equivalence test, see [Lakens, 2017]. For the TOST equivalence tests described below we set the bounds to a small effect $d=.2$ (bounds of $d=-0.2$ and $d=0.02$), use the default $\alpha = 0.05$ and assume equal variances.

Party Identity TOST equivalence test is significant, $t(2013.5) = -3.957$, $p = 0.0000393$, given equivalence bounds of -0.145 and 0.145 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(2013.5) = 0.537$, $p = 0.592$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the partisanship measure is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Ideology Comparing ideology between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test is significant, $t(2016.61) = -3.958$, $p = 0.0000391$, given equivalence bounds of -0.120 and 0.120 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(2016.61) = 0.536$, $p = 0.592$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the ideology measure is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

Symbolic Identity Comparing symbolic identity between the politics and internet conditions, the TOST equivalence test is significant, $t(2013.49) = -3.927$, $p = 0.0000445$, given equivalence bounds of -0.127 and 0.127 (on a raw scale) and an alpha of 0.05 . The null hypothesis test was non-significant, $t(2013.49) = 0.567$, $p = 0.571$, given an alpha of 0.05 . Based on the equivalence test and the null-hypothesis test combined, we can conclude that the observed effect is statistically not different from zero and statistically equivalent to zero. This means that the symbolic identity dimension is balanced across the politics and internet condition.

7 Statement on Principles and Ethics

All results are presented in the Online Appendix posted on the website of the APSR.

8 Individual Level Meta-Analysis

All results are presented in the Online Appendix posted on the website of the APSR.

9 Conditional effects of politics on political preferences

9.1 Age of the respondent

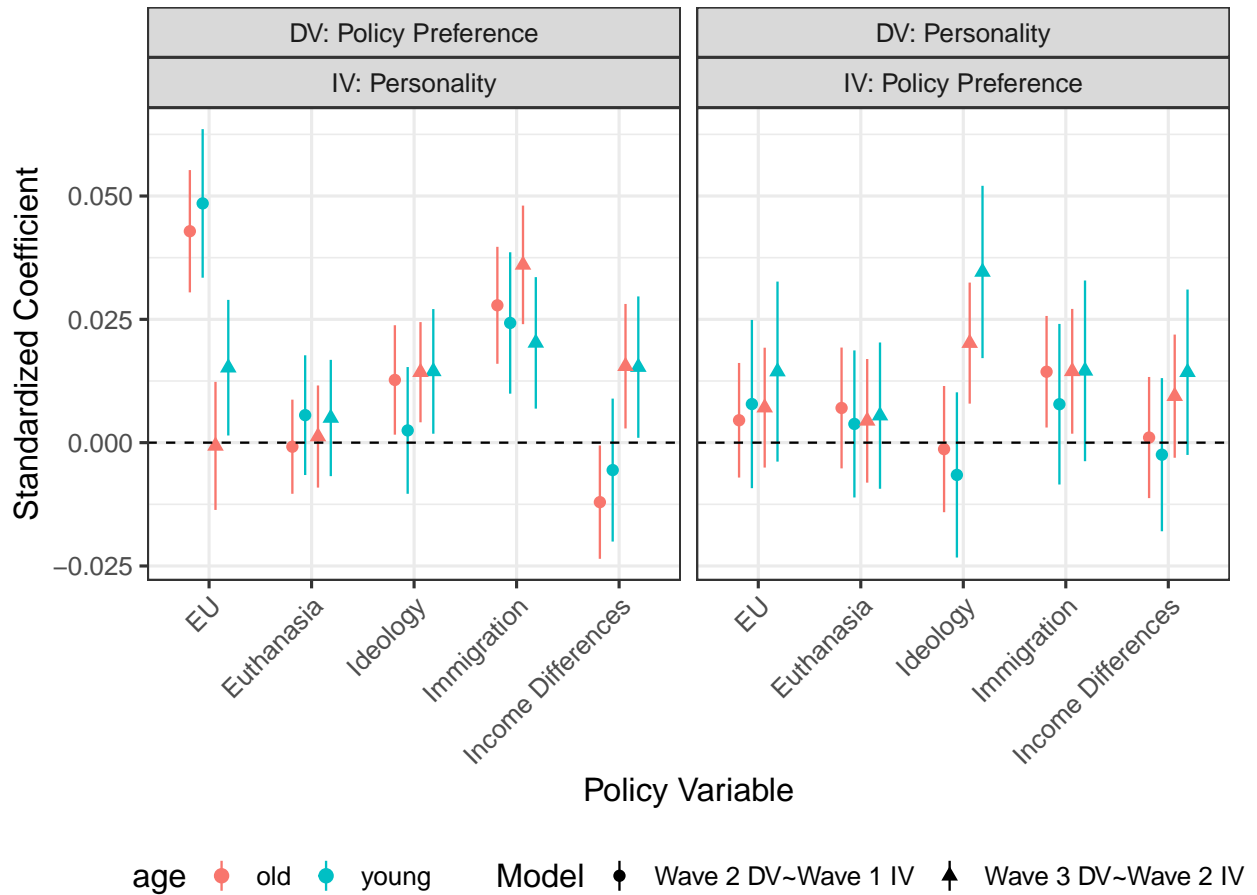
9.1.1 Crossed-lagged panel studies: effects conditional upon age

In Figure 33 we plot the effects of closed personality on policy preferences and the effects of policy preferences on closed personality among those that have an age below the median (in red) and those that have an age above the median (in green) using the Dutch LISS panel. If the results would be conditional upon age, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But as can be seen by the point estimates that are relatively similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is not much evidence that the results are conditional upon age in the Dutch sample.

In Figure 34 we plot the effects of closed personality on policy preferences and the effects of policy preferences on closed personality among those that have an age below the median (in red) and those that have an age above the median (in green) using the German GESIS panel. If the results would be conditional upon age, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But as can be seen by the point estimates that are relatively similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is not much evidence that the results are conditional upon age in the German sample.

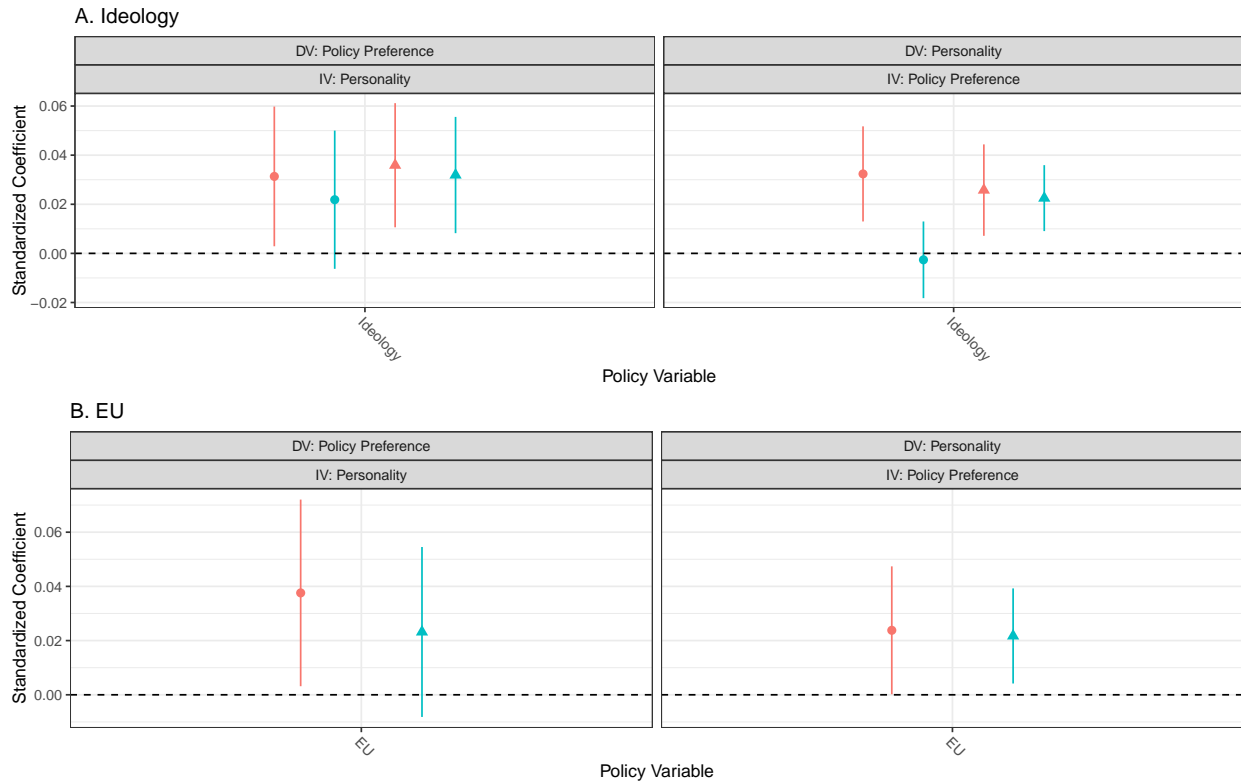
In Figure 35 we plot the effects of authoritarianism on policy preferences and the effects of policy preferences on authoritarianism among those that have an age below the median (in red) and those that have an age above the median (in green) using the GSS panels. If the results would be conditional upon age, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But as can be seen by the point estimates that are very similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is no evidence that the results are conditional upon age in the US sample.

Figure 33: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon age in **the Dutch LISS panel**



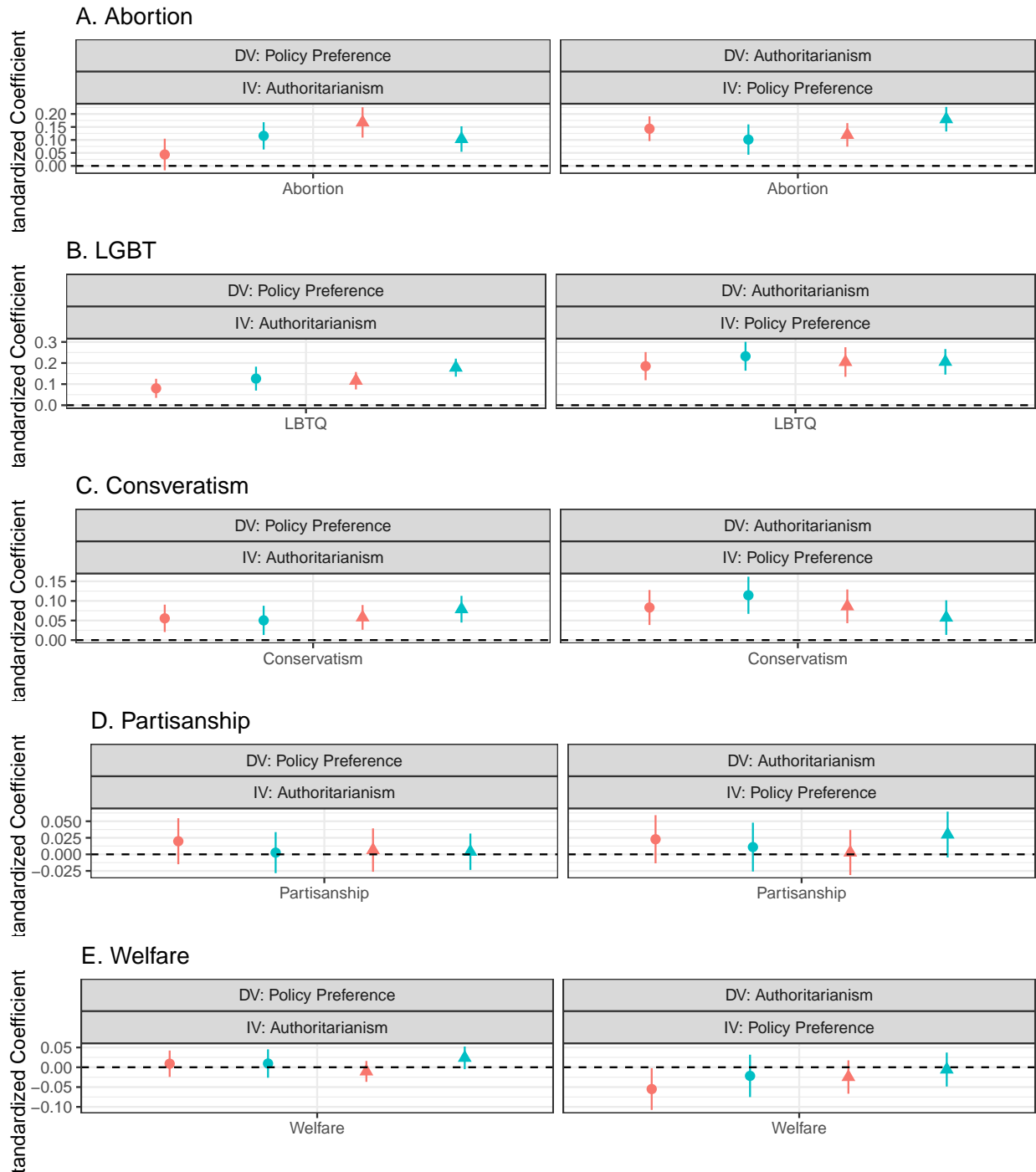
Note: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in **The Netherlands** among young (in red) and older (in green) participants in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The red coefficients and error bar are the effects among the younger people in our sample (those below the median) and the green coefficients are the effects among the older people in our sample (those above the median). In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

Figure 34: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon age in **the German GESIS panel**



Note: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in **Germany** among young (in red) and older (in green) participants in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The red coefficients and error bar are the effects among the younger people in our sample (those below the median) and the green coefficients are the effects among the older people in our sample (those above the median). In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

Figure 35: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon age in the **German GESIS panel**



Note: Standardized regression coefficients from preregistered cross-lagged panel models in the **United States** among young (in red) and older (in green) participants in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are preregistered 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The red coefficients and error bar are the effects among the younger people in our sample (those below the median) and the green coefficients are the effects among the older people in our sample (those above the median). In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

9.1.2 Survey experiments: effects conditional upon age

To explore whether the effects of personality on political preferences varies by age, we turn to the experiments. In the Big Five Experiment, we rerun the model to test our main hypothesis but include interactions between personality and age, the treatment and age and a three-way interaction between personality, the treatment and age. Our coefficient of interest is the three-way interaction.

Starting with the Big Five experiment, we find generally now evidence that the effect of personality on political preferences is conditional upon age as can be seen from the coefficient of the three-way interaction effect that is always near zero and not statistically significant. Note that the full regression output belonging to all models can be derived from the replication files.

- **General:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.000$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.99$).
- **Symbolic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.000$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.72$).
- **Party Identity:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.000$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.99$).
- **Ideology:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.001$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.46$).
- **Trump Approval:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.000$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.79$).
- **Culture:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.000$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.97$).
- **Economic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.001$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.65$).

Turning to the Authoritarianism experiment, we test the conditional effect using the same modelling strategy. Again, the three-way interaction effects between authoritarianism, the treatment and age, fail to show any evidence that the results are conditional upon the age of the respondent.

- **Ideology:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.001$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.63$).
- **Party identity:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.00$, $se=.002$, two-sided $p=.89$).
- **Symbolic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.00$, $se=.02$, two-sided $p=.69$).

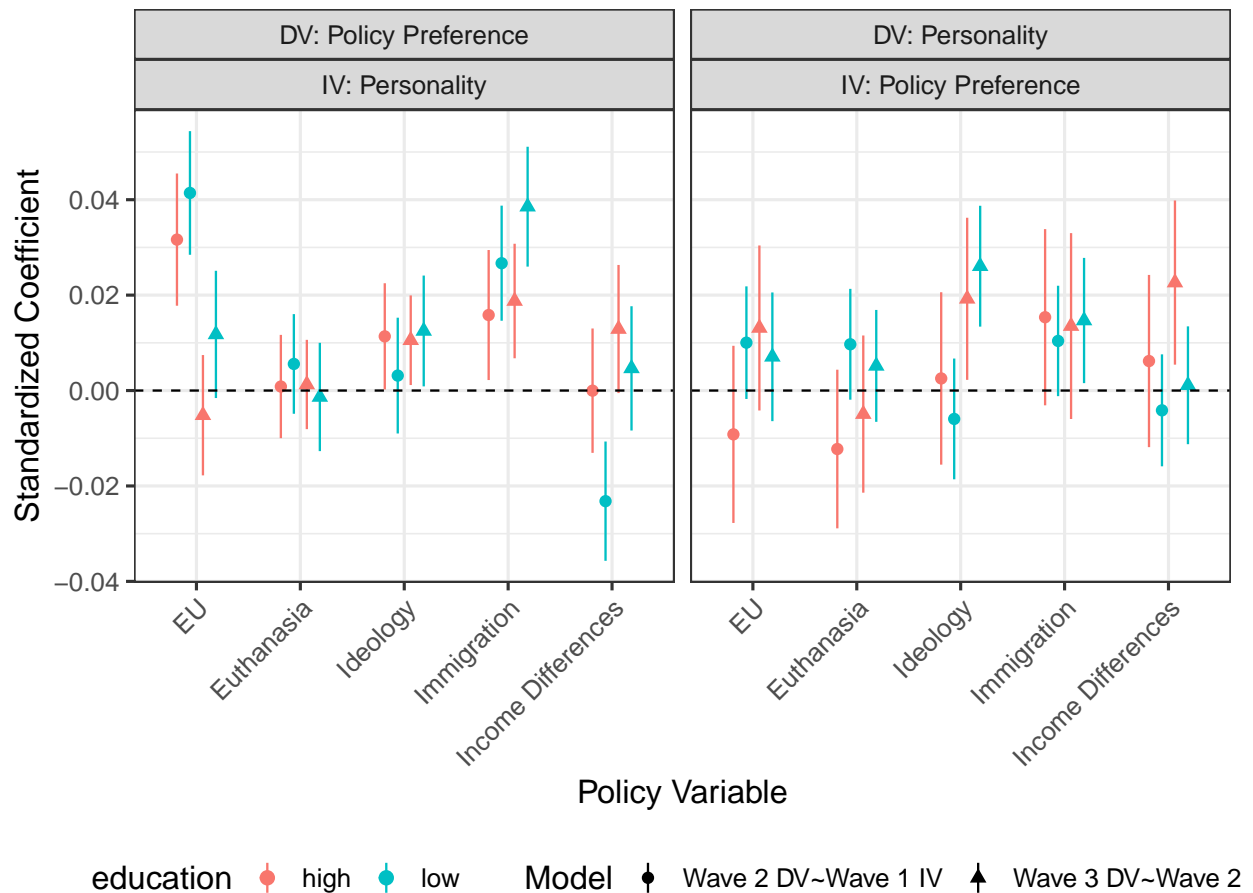
In the individual level meta-analysis we also test if the effects are conditional upon age. We find that the effect of personality on political preferences in the politics versus placebo-control condition is not conditional upon the age of the respondents as can be seen by coefficient of the three-way interaction effect that is near zero and not statistically significant ($b=.00$, $se=.00$, two-sided $p=.91$).

9.2 Education

9.2.1 Crossed-lagged panel studies: effects conditional upon education

In Figure 36 we plot the effects of personality on policy preferences and the effects of policy preferences on personality among those that have completed vocational education (HBO) or university vs. a lower educational degree (in red). If the results would be conditional upon education, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But in a majority of the cases the point estimates that are very similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is no evidence that the results are conditional upon education in the German sample.

Figure 36: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon education in the Dutch LISS panel

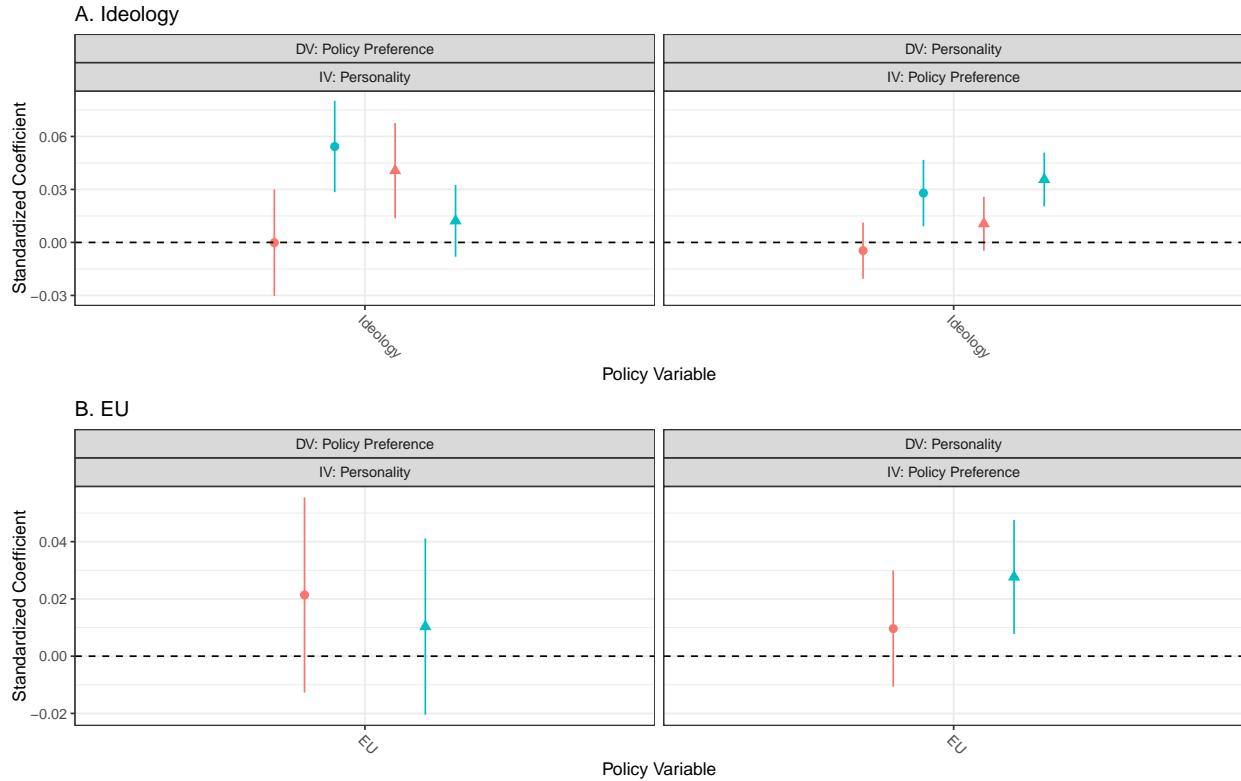


Note: Standardized regression coefficients from cross-lagged panel models in the Netherlands among those with lower (in red) and higher (in green) levels of education in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The green coefficients and error bar are the effects among the people in our sample with lower levels of education (less than a bachelor) and the red coefficients are the effects among people in our sample with higher levels of education. In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

In Figure 37 we plot the effects of closed personality on policy preferences and the effects of policy

preferences on closed personality among those that have completed an advanced technical degree, general university or are currently a student (in green) vs. a lower educational degree (in red). If the results would be conditional upon education, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But in a majority of the cases the point estimates that are very similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is no evidence that the results are conditional upon education in the German sample.

Figure 37: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon education in **the German GESIS panel**



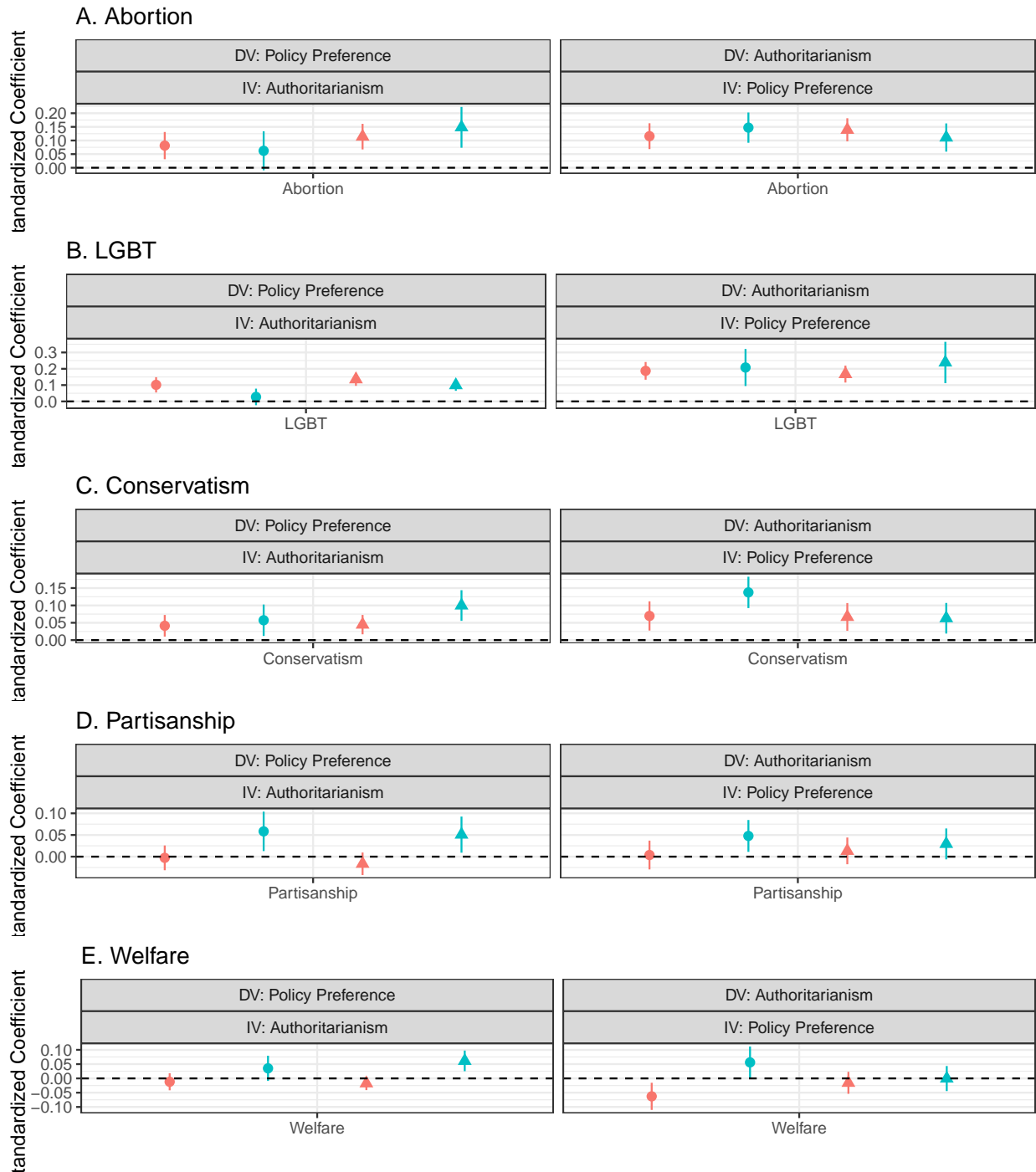
Note: Standardized regression coefficients from cross-lagged panel models in Germany among those with lower (in red) and higher (in green) levels of education in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The green coefficients and error bar are the effects among the people in our sample with lower levels of education (less than a bachelor) and the red coefficients are the effects among people in our sample with higher levels of education. In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

In Figure 38 we plot the effects of authoritarianism on policy preferences and the effects of policy preferences on authoritarianism among those that have completed a bachelor or graduate degree (in green) vs. a lower educational degree (in red). If the results would be conditional upon education, we would expect to see some degree of heterogeneity. But in a majority of the cases the point estimates that are very similar and the overlapping confidence intervals, there is no evidence that the results are conditional upon education in the US sample.

9.2.2 Survey-experiments: effects conditional upon education

To explore whether the effects of personality on political preferences is conditional upon education, we turn to the experiments. In the Big Five Experiment, we rerun the model to test our main hypothesis but include

Figure 38: Effects of personality on political preferences and political preferences on personality conditional upon education in the US GSS panel



Note: Standardized regression coefficients from cross-lagged panel models in the United States among those with lower (in red) and higher (in green) levels of education in our sample. Dots are point estimates, error bars are 90% confidence intervals. Circles are the effects from wave 1 on wave 2. Triangles are the effects from wave 2 on wave 3. The green coefficients and error bar are the effects among the people in our sample with lower levels of education (less than a bachelor) and the red coefficients are the effects among people in our sample with higher levels of education. In each row, the left-hand panels presents the path from lagged personality on ideology in a subsequent wave – see path T in Figure 1 in the main text. The right-hand panels presents the path from lagged ideology on personality in a subsequent wave, path H in in Figure 1 in the main text. The complete output of the cross-lagged models can be acquired using the replication materials.

interactions between personality and education, the treatment and education and a three-way interaction between personality, the treatment and education. Note that education is a dummy variable with college education coded as 1 and all lower levels of education as 0. Our coefficient of interest is the three-way interaction.

Starting with the Big Five experiment, we find no evidence that the effect of personality on political preferences is conditional upon education as can be seen from the coefficient of the three-way interaction effect that is always near zero and not statistically significant. Note that the full regression output can be derived from the replication files.

- **General:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.10$, $se=.06$, two-sided $p=.11$).
- **Symbolic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.07$, $se=.05$, two-sided $p=.13$).
- **Party Identity:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.06$, $se=.04$, two-sided $p=.15$).
- **Ideology:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.08$, $se=.05$, two-sided $p=.11$).
- **Trump Approval:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.05$, $se=.04$, two-sided $p=.25$).
- **Culture:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.09$, $se=.06$, two-sided $p=.13$).
- **Economic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.08$, $se=.05$, two-sided $p=.16$).

Turning to the Authoritarianism experiment, we find no evidence that the effect of personality on political preferences varies by education as can be seen from the coefficient of the three-way interaction effect that is always near zero and not statistically significant. Like the Big Five experiment, education is scored as college education (1) versus all other educational levels (0). Note that the full regression output can be derived from the replication files.

- **Ideology:** three-way interaction effect ($b=.02$, $se=.06$, two-sided $p=.78$).
- **Party identity:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.05$, $se=.05$, two-sided $p=.31$).
- **Symbolic:** three-way interaction effect ($b=-.04$, $se=.06$, two-sided $p=.50$).

In the individual level meta-analysis we find that the effect of personality on political preferences in the politics versus placebo-control condition does not vary by education as can be seen by the three-way interaction effect between personality, the treatment and education that is near zero and not statistically significant in a two-sided test – which we think is appropriate given the exploratory nature of this test ($b=-.06$, $se=.03$, two-sided $p=.08$).

References

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