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Is Self-interest at the Root of Political Behavior? An Examination of the Effects of Dark Personality and Demographics on Political Beliefs and Actions

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IS SELF-INTEREST AT THE ROOT OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR? AN
EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF DARK PERSONALITY AND
DEMOGRAPHICS ON POLITICAL BELIEFS AND ACTIONS

A dissertation submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

IS SELF-INTEREST AT THE ROOT OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR? AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF DARK PERSONALITY AND DEMOGRAPHICS ON POLITICAL BELIEFS AND ACTIONS

Nathan Frishberg

Prediction of political behavior is of interest to scientists in the fields of psychology, sociology, and politics, as well as to the lay public. Previous research has connected personality to broad political leanings, but little if any published research has examined how personality relates to voting behavior. The current study built on earlier work by examining the connections among the Dark Triad of personality (psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism), demographics, specific political beliefs, and political behaviors. We hypothesized that dark personality would relate to political beliefs such that those higher on the Dark Triad would show stronger support for policies that benefit their demographic groups, because the Dark Triad represents self-interested personality. We expected that self-interested political beliefs would in turn predict voting behavior. In a diverse community sample acquired online, our hypotheses were not broadly supported, in that the Dark Triad and demographics did not interact to predict political beliefs or behaviors. Rather, we found that the Dark Triad and political beliefs interacted to predict voting behavior in the 2016 presidential election such that among those with liberal beliefs, the Dark Triad had little effect, but among conservatives the effect was stronger. Specifically, conservatives higher on the Dark Triad were less likely to have voted for Donald Trump than those lower on the Dark Triad. We speculated that this result is due to the conformity component of the Dark Triad.

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I. Introduction

Predictors of political beliefs and behaviors are of interest to scientists in the fields of psychology, sociology, and politics, as well as to the lay public. Psychologists and other social scientists are interested in the structure and function of political beliefs and actions—what exactly are they, and how do they come to be? Meanwhile, knowing what shapes people’s political behavior is also of great interest to politicians, who are motivated to gain a better understanding of how to appeal to the public, meet the needs of the people they serve, and convince voters to put them in positions of power.

As the 2016 election has shown, however, existing prediction models can be inaccurate and may fail to account for important and relevant constructs. Even self-proclaimed “data journalist” Nate Silver and his colleagues, well known for their accuracy in predicting elections, made early, subjective, and rather famously incorrect predictions that Donald Trump would fail in his bid for the Republican presidential nomination (Silver, 2016). In mainstream news media, pundits often make speculative predictions using their own beliefs about what will or will not appeal to voters, as well as broad generalizations along demographic lines such as black versus white, college educated versus not, and younger adults versus older adults. Data-driven approaches to predicting voting have used polling and many of these same demographic indicators.

Researchers in the field of psychology have taken an interest in, among other predictors, whether people’s personality traits have anything to do with their political beliefs and behaviors. This body of work dates back to Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford’s (1950) post-World War II creation of a theoretical model explaining the development of authoritarian personality characteristics and how they can

contribute to the rise of fascist governments. Since then, much of the research in this area has been conducted using the Big Five traits of personality. Most consistently, the trait of Openness has been found to correlate negatively with right wing ideology (e.g., Saucier, 2000; Heaven & Bucci, 2001; Van Hiel, Mervielde, & De Fruyt, 2004). In addition, Conscientiousness has been found to positively relate to political conservatism (e.g., Heaven & Bucci, 2001; Van Hiel et al., 2004; Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2012).

Recent research has examined other personality characteristics, including the so-called Dark Triad, comprised of psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). A pair of studies by Arvan (2013; 2013b) identified a pattern of zero-order correlations between the Dark Triad and conservative moral judgments about political issues; however, Odgaard (2013) raised substantial methodological concerns with this study, and his reanalysis of the data suggested no such broad pattern. A recent study by Forscher and Kteily (2017) found higher levels of Dark Triad traits among members of the alt-right than among a comparison sample. Similarly, Duspara and Greitemeyer (2017) found associations between dark personality and political beliefs and behavior in an Austrian sample. In particular, they found that Machiavellianism was predictive of right wing political orientation and having voted for the right wing candidate in a recent election. They also found that narcissism and psychopathy were related to political extremism, regardless of political orientation. Hodson, Hogg, and MacInnis (2009) found support for a model (Fig. 1) predicting anti-immigrant prejudice from the Dark Triad, Openness, and specific ideological constructs (Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and Right Wing Authoritarianism (Altemeyer,

1996)). However, little published research has sought to more deeply examine the relations among personality, sociopolitical ideology, and specific political beliefs, affiliations, or behaviors in an American sample.

In a replication and extension of the Hodson et al. (2009) model, we (Frishberg, 2016) found that a very similar model is useful in predicting political party preference (Fig. 2). This study extended the model in two noteworthy ways. First, that the same overall model predicted prejudice and also predicted political party suggests that the two outcomes may have similar structural composition. Second, gender moderated the direct relation between the Dark Triad and political party preference, with higher Dark Triad men preferring Republicans and higher Dark Triad women preferring Democrats.

This unexpected gender finding is both puzzling and intriguing. We had hypothesized that endorsing higher levels of Dark Triad traits would make one more likely to prefer the Republican Party, regardless of gender. Modern American conservatism is characterized by a strong belief in a capitalist system in which citizens must fend for themselves; meanwhile, members of the political left tend to believe that government should have a role in assisting disadvantaged citizens through social service programs. The self-over-other nature of right wing ideology guided our hypotheses. And indeed, our hypothesis about the relation of the Dark Triad with political party affiliation was supported in men, but the opposite relation was found for women. We speculated that this gender difference might have to do with self-interest. Indeed, the Dark Triad as a construct can be seen in part as a measure of trait self-interest. People who score high on measures of the Dark Triad tend to prioritize their own individual benefits and gains over those of others; high Dark Triad individuals may even harm others for their own

individual gain. Presumably, those who are more self-interested would be more likely to prefer political parties whose platforms they perceive to be beneficial to them.

The purpose of the research reported here is to more completely evaluate the self-interest explanation of the gender finding. In particular, rather than using gender as a broad proxy for self-interest associated with more liberal policies (women) or more conservative policies (men), we sought to measure self-interest directly. In addition, we included several additional demographic variables to examine the generality of the findings beyond gender.

Self-Interest and Political Beliefs

A reasonable argument can be made that, within the mainstream American political landscape, the modern platform of the Republican Party aligns with men's self-interests on average, whereas the Democratic platform is more favorable for women. In general, as the progressive party, Democrats advocate for changes to current systems with the aim of greater equality. Conservatives, represented in the Republican Party, value preservation of traditional systems of society. Traditional American gender roles ascribe greater power and freedom to men than to women. In the traditional American family, for example, men are allowed to pursue careers and personal gratification, whereas women are expected to serve others by raising children and taking care of the home. Clearly, this system serves the interests of men more so than women. In its emphasis on preserving tradition, the Republican platform implicitly endorses this patriarchal system. More explicitly, the modern Republican Party has tended to oppose legislation that would benefit women. For example, Republicans stood against the Equal Rights Amendment

when it was last proposed in the early 1980s. More recently, Republican leaders have sought to defund Planned Parenthood and have opposed policies that would afford women greater control over their reproductive health. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, favors such policies, and has generally defended Planned Parenthood. If self-interest factors more heavily into political beliefs among people who endorse higher levels of the Dark Triad, it could explain the tendency for higher Dark Triad women to favor Democrats and for higher Dark Triad men to prefer Republicans.

In their book about self-interest and political beliefs and affiliations, Weeden & Kurzban (2014) assert that self-interest is indeed a substantial determinant of people's specific policy preferences, even if they lack conscious awareness of this connection. The authors dispel with the notion that "group interests" are separate from individual interests, suggesting that instead, policies that benefit the group to which one belongs are in that person's self-interest. In addition, they counter assertions made by other political scientists and pundits that individuals do not tend to disproportionately support policies that would be personally beneficial to them. Rather, they point to a plethora of data from the United States General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Marsden, Hout, & Kim, 2015) indicating that Americans do, in general, tend to prefer policies that are in the interests of their identified demographic groups. In addition, they point out that political party affiliations can arise from differing sets of policy views and self-interests. For example, the authors mention that as groups, white Americans with no religious affiliation and black Americans both overwhelmingly vote for Democrats. However, they have differing policy views that may lead them to support Democrats. More than two thirds of atheist Whites support a ban on school prayer compared to only about a quarter of

African Americans. Meanwhile, nearly three quarters of black Americans believe there should be more government spending on African Americans compared to less than a third of atheist white Americans. Although these two demographic groups generally disagree on these two policy proposals, they nonetheless both support the Democratic Party, since both issues are, in general, supported by the Democrats. This demonstrates two points: first, that people tend to hold political beliefs that adhere to their own self-interests; and second, that there are many specific routes to an outcome so broad as political party affiliation.

If the moderating effect that we found (Frishberg, 2016) of gender on the relationship between Dark Triad and sociopolitical beliefs were indeed due to differing self-interests of women and men, we would expect other demographic characteristics to show similar effects. That is, people's "selves" are comprised of more than just gender; therefore, their self-interests should involve more than just gender-related concepts. For example, Dark Triad should predict preference for Democrats in low-income individuals but Republicans in high-income individuals, because Democrats generally advocate for higher taxes on the wealthy to protect the poor and middle class, whereas Republicans generally propose tax cuts on the wealthy with the aim of stimulating the economy. As another example, among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals, Dark Triad should predict preference for Democrats, who generally defend LGBT rights, whereas among straight people Dark Triad should predict preference for Republicans, who generally promote maintaining a system of privilege for heterosexuals, opposing actions that benefit the LGBT community, such as marriage equality.

The Current Study—Purpose and Hypotheses

The current study sought to answer the following overarching research question: is differential self-interest at the heart of gender differences we found in the relation of Dark Triad with political party preference? Our inference about the self-interests of men and women as they relate to political parties relies upon using political party preference as a proxy for specific policy beliefs. However, political party platforms are multifaceted and complex, and address many more issues than gender equality. For example, although the Democratic platform may be favorable for a given woman in terms of gender issues, it may work against her self-interest on other issues such as taxes or healthcare. She may ultimately value these issues more strongly, and vote Republican. Competing self-interests, as well as different individual evaluation of their respective importance, may affect whether people high on the Dark Triad vote according to the interest of their gender. As Weeden & Kurzban (2014) point out, people's specific political beliefs often do not break down clearly along party lines, and as many as 40% of Americans demonstrate no clear "liberal" or "conservative" consistency in their political views, instead evaluating different policies more on a one-by-one basis. The nonspecific nature of political party preference is reflected in the relatively small magnitude of the relations of Dark Triad and political party (Frishberg, 2016).

To answer the research question, therefore, we examined whether the Dark Triad is predictive of more specific sociopolitical beliefs, moderated similarly by an array of demographic variables including gender, race, immigrant status, income, and sexuality. These variables were chosen because variation on them is likely to confer variation in self-interest. The targeted outcome variables were sets of beliefs expected to reflect these

differences in self-interest—that is, preferences for specific policies that would benefit specific groups of people and cost others. By examining targeted sociopolitical beliefs that more directly relate to each demographic construct rather than using political party preference as a proxy, we hoped to develop a clearer sense of whether self-interest is involved. That is, the Dark Triad should relate more strongly to more singular constructs that directly reflect people’s demographically conferred interests, such as beliefs about tax increases, school prayer, or affirmative action, than to political party. By using targeted beliefs that reflect specific self-interests, we expected to reduce the potential impact of competing self-interests of varying demographic traits within individuals that are reflected by broad political party platforms.

Because our ultimate goal is to predict political behavior, we set out to explore whether people’s policy beliefs—predicted by the interaction of demographics and Dark Triad—in turn predict political party preference and other political behavior such as party membership and voting. That is, we intended to answer the following questions: “Does self-interest shape people’s political beliefs?” and, if so, “Is this the reason self-interest relates to people’s political party preference?” This eliminates the problem of using political party as a proxy for policy beliefs. To truly investigate whether the relation between Dark Triad and political party preference is due to self-interest, we must explore whether holding self-interested beliefs is both predicted by Dark Triad and predictive of political party preference.

By structuring the present study in this manner, our goal was to expand on our own work as well as that of Weeden and Kurzban (2014). Weeden & Kurzban (2014) reasonably inferred that self-interest was the reason people support policies that benefit

their demographic groups. By incorporating into our model a measure of trait self-interest in the Dark Triad and examining whether this trait strengthens one's preference for policies that benefit them, we hoped to shed light on whether the authors' inference is accurate. In addition, we intended to build on our own work by parsing specific policy beliefs from political party preference to further elucidate the process by which dark personality affects political party. Furthermore, by exploring not just political party preference, but other political behaviors such as voting, party membership, campaign donations, and so on, we can gain a more complete picture of how self-interest helps shape our sociopolitical landscape.

Our hypotheses were as follows: Part one of the model: we predicted that the relation of Dark Triad and the various specific policy beliefs would be moderated by demographic characteristics relevant to the specific policy of interest. That is, beliefs about immigration policy would be predicted by Dark Triad, moderated by immigration status; beliefs about gender policy would be predicted by Dark Triad, moderated by gender; and so on. Specifically, we expected that the Dark Triad would be positively related with support for policies among those who stand to benefit, but negatively related among those who stand to incur costs. Part two of the model: we hypothesized that specific policy beliefs would in turn predict political behavior. In total, we expected that people would support policies that benefit themselves and other members of their demographic groups and oppose policies that favor others; that more self-interested people (those higher on the Dark Triad) would be even more likely to prefer such policies; and that preference for such policies would explain why Dark Triad predicts political party differently for members of different demographic groups.

II. Method

Sample Acquisition

Participants for this study were recruited through Qualtrics, an online data collection service. Qualtrics is compliant with regulations outlined in the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) and was chosen for its ease of use and ability to rapidly acquire a diverse community sample. At our direction, Qualtrics staff conducted their recruitment with the following goals: an even balance (roughly half and half) of Democrats and Republicans; an even balance of people who identify as white and those who do not; an even balance of men and women; and at least 20% immigrants.

In order to participate in the study, respondents were required to attest that they were aged 18 years or older and to provide informed consent using an online consent form. Participants were screened out of the initial sample if they did not pass one of the following validity checks, provided by Qualtrics: 1) commitment to providing one's "best" answers; and 2) sufficient time spent answering survey questions (defined as at least one third of the median survey completion time of the initial 29 participants, resulting in a cutoff of 454 seconds). We then conducted an additional set of validity checks on the data. Specifically, we sought to identify participants who responded inconsistently or who demonstrated a high degree of fixed responding. To identify inconsistency, participants' answers to nine pairs of contradictory items (e.g., "Men make better leaders than women" and "Women make better leaders than men") were examined. Within-subjects correlations were computed for these item pairs, and anyone with a high positive correlation (defined as $r > .40$) was removed from the final sample. To identify fixed responding, we calculated each participant's variance on the five survey blocks that

employed Likert scale response options. Any participant who evidenced zero variance (i.e., the same response to every item) for at least one complete block was removed from the sample. This process of sample acquisition is summarized in Figure 3.

Participants

The final sample consisted of 531 participants. The demographic characteristics of the sample are summarized in Table 1. Of the 531 participants, complete data were gathered on 514. Due to a programming error in the survey as initially released, some demographic information was not gathered for 17 participants. Participants with missing data on specific demographic characteristics were dropped from analyses involving those variables, but were retained in other analyses.

Procedure

Participants completed an online survey through Qualtrics. The survey included a detailed demographic questionnaire (Appendix A); measures of psychopathy (Appendix B), narcissism (Appendix C), and Machiavellianism (Appendix D); and a questionnaire of specific sociopolitical views and beliefs, including questions about political party affiliation and voting behavior (Appendix E).

Measures

Psychopathy: The Self-Report Psychopathy Scale-III (SRP-III; Paulhus, Neumann, & Hare, 2009) is a 64-item scale. Each item is a statement that corresponds to an aspect of psychopathy (e.g., “People cry way too much at funerals.”). Participants

respond using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree.” From these responses, four factor scales are generated: Interpersonal Manipulation (IPM), Callous Affect (CA), Erratic Lifestyle (ELS), and Antisocial Behavior (ASB). These four factors have been found to be analogous to the factors that comprise the most popular instrument for assessing clinical psychopathy, the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R; Hare, 1999), in both student samples (Williams, Paulhus, & Hare, 2007) and community samples (Mahmut, Menictas, Stevenson, & Homewood, 2011). An overall Psychopathy score is calculated from all of the items.

Narcissism: The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-40; Raskin & Terry, 1988) is a 40-item, forced choice, self-report measure in which respondents are presented with opposing self-statements endorsing or denying narcissistic traits (e.g., “People always seem to recognize my authority.”). The NPI-40 was converted to a Likert-type measure for use in this study. Specifically, all of the self-statements coded positive for narcissism were used as items, and participants were asked to rate how much they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree.” The purpose for modifying the scale was to maintain consistency with the method employed by the Eugene Springfield Community Sample survey (Goldberg, 2008), which was the data source for our previous study (Frishberg, 2016). Seven factor scales are generated on the NPI-40: Authority, Self-Sufficiency, Superiority, Exhibitionism, Exploitativeness, Vanity, and Entitlement. In addition, a total Narcissism score is calculated from all of the items.

Machiavellianism: The MACH-IV (Christie & Geis, 1970) is a 20-item self-report scale. The measure consists of items endorsing viewpoints either consistent or

inconsistent with Machiavellianism (e.g., “Most people forget more easily the death of their parents than the loss of their property.”). Participants rate how much they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree.” A total Machiavellianism score is calculated from all of the items.

Dark Triad Composite: Using the same method employed in our previous study (Frishberg, 2016), the Dark Triad composite variable was calculated by standardizing scores for the SRP-III, NPI, and MACH-IV, then calculating the mean standard score across all three measures.

III. Results

The Dark Triad and its Relations

The NPI-40, MACH-IV, and SRP-III were all scored as the mean item score such that possible outcomes ranged from one to five. Although participants endorsed overall moderate levels of narcissism ($M = 3.04$, $SD = .67$, median = 3.00), they reported considerably lower levels of Machiavellianism ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .45$, median = 2.70) and psychopathy ($M = 2.21$, $SD = .52$, median = 2.16). Because the Dark Triad composite ($M = 0$, $SD = .80$, median = -.04) is based on standardized values of the original scales, values on this variable are meaningful only in relation to the present sample and should not be considered in absolute terms.

In our sample, the pattern of relations among Dark Triad components was consistent with a recent meta-analysis conducted by Muris, Merckelbach, Otgaar, and Meijer (2017). We found correlations of $r = .471$ for the SRP-III and NPI-40, $r = .658$ for the SRP-III and MACH-IV, and $r = .219$ for the NPI-40 and MACH-IV (all $p < .001$). Similarly, Muris et al. (2017) found the strongest relation for psychopathy and Machiavellianism ($r = .58$), with weaker relations for narcissism with psychopathy ($r = .38$) and Machiavellianism ($r = .34$), respectively. When examining only studies that used the same measures we used in the current study, Muris et al. (2017) found a pattern of results even more similar to ours (SRP-III and NPI-40: $r = .42$; SRP-III and MACH-IV: $r = .59$; NPI-40 and MACH-IV: $r = .26$).

Consistent with the literature, men were higher on all three Dark Triad constructs than women. Mean gender differences on the Dark Triad measures are displayed in Table 2. Gender correlated $r = .303$ with the SRP-III, $r = .138$ with the MACH-IV, and r

= .154 with the NPI-40 (with women coded 0 and men coded 1). These findings closely mirrored those of the Muris et al. (2017) meta-analysis, which found corresponding correlations of .29, .16, and .15, respectively. On our Dark Triad composite variable, we found a correlation with gender of $r = .25$. In addition, although we found no significant correlation between Dark Triad and religious devotion, we found significant correlations between religious devotion and each Dark Triad construct, respectively. Specifically, we found that psychopathy ($r = -.09, p = .042$) and Machiavellianism ($r = -.18, p < .001$) were related to lower self-reported religious devotion, whereas narcissism ($r = .10, p = .022$) was related to higher religious devotion. This is similar to prior research (Lowicki and Zajenkowski, 2017) that found negative relations of psychopathy and Machiavellianism with religiosity, but no significant relation of narcissism. Overall, these results suggest that the Dark Triad construct as observed in our sample was consistent with the construct as observed in the literature.

Grouping the Issues

Sets of thematically related belief items were grouped together to form several “issues” scales. Scales were created to reflect people’s views on the following broad groupings: immigration, gender, income/wealth, healthcare, LGBT issues, race, police, education, language, gun control, the military, and age-related issues. The items were initially grouped according to face validity. For example, the Gender Issues scale included items such as support or opposition for legal abortion, affirmative action for women, and the belief that men make better leaders than women. The items used for each issues scale are detailed in Appendix F. The internal consistencies of the scales

were measured, and are summarized in Table 3. All scales except for Age, Military, and Language issues demonstrated acceptable or better reliability ($\alpha > .70$). Thus, the primary issues scales used in our analyses were Immigration, Gender, Wealth, Healthcare, LGBT, Race, Police, Education, and Gun Control. Scales were coded such that higher numbers corresponded with more liberal beliefs.

In addition to the individual issues scales, the entire group of political belief items was examined to create a general liberal/conservative scale. Any items that had a corrected item total correlation $< .1$ were removed from the scale, leaving 67 issues. The scale was coded such that higher scores indicated more liberal political beliefs. The scale correlated $r = .588$ ($p < .001$) with reported political party registration (coded 0 for Republicans and 1 for Democrats), and $r = .675$ ($p < .001$) with a continuous political party preference variable (with higher numbers indicating preference for Democrats). These correlations suggest that the Total Issues scale is a suitable measure of overall liberal versus conservative leaning.

Demographics and Policy Beliefs

Based on Weeden & Kurzban's (2014) research, we expected to find a broad pattern of correlations between demographics and issues, with demographic groups who stand to benefit from specific policy proposals being more likely to support them. We examined the relations between demographic variables and their associated issues scales and indeed found such a pattern of preferential support for issues along demographic lines. We tested group differences using independent samples t-tests comparing demographic groups on relevant issues scales; these are summarized in Table 4. We

found that immigrants held more pro-immigration beliefs than native-born Americans; people of color held more progressive views on race than white people; women held more feminist beliefs than men; LGBT-identified people held more pro-LGBT beliefs than straight, cisgender people; non-gun owners favor gun control more than gun owners; and people who have neither worked in law enforcement nor had a family member in law enforcement favored stricter scrutiny for police than those who have.

Examination of Primary Hypotheses

We initially tested a series of regression models to replicate and extend our prior findings (Frishberg, 2016). In these models, we regressed issue scale scores on their relevant demographics, Dark Triad, and the interaction of demographics and Dark Triad. We expected that demographic variables would moderate the relation of Dark Triad with issues such that the Dark Triad and policy beliefs would be correlated in opposite directions for differing demographic groups. In the regression predicting gender-related issues from gender, Dark Triad, and their interaction, the interaction term approached conventional standards of statistical significance ($B = .196$, $t = 1.784$, $p = .075$). We then examined correlations between Dark Triad and views on gender-related issues separately for men and women. Although the correlations were in the expected directions, with Dark Triad being associated with more feminist beliefs among women ($r = .083$, $p = .177$) and less feminist beliefs among men ($r = -.073$, $p = .232$), these effects are small.

In the regression predicting healthcare beliefs from whether one reports that they or a family member has a “major medical condition,” Dark Triad, and the interaction of Dark Triad with report of a medical condition, there was a trend-level interaction ($B =$

.312, $t = 1.95$, $p = .052$). To interpret this effect, we ran separate correlations between Dark Triad and healthcare views for those endorsing self or family medical conditions and those denying. Among those without a major medical condition or one in their family, higher Dark Triad was associated with less support for government involvement in healthcare ($r = -.148$, $p = .023$); among those with a medical condition or with one in their family, Dark Triad was not significantly related with healthcare views ($r = .027$, $p = .642$). In order to more pointedly target self-interest, we looked instead at those who either reported having a medical condition themselves or having a “family history of major medical conditions that are known or suspected to be heritable” versus those who had neither, since such a history would put the participant at greater personal risk for illness. We ran the regression predicting healthcare views from this medical condition variable, Dark Triad, and their interaction. The interaction was statistically significant ($B = .645$, $t = 3.734$, $p < .001$). Among those who denied either having a major medical condition or being at risk for one based on family history, Dark Triad was significantly correlated with opposition to government involvement in healthcare ($r = -.307$, $p < .001$). Among those who endorsed a medical condition or genetic risk for one, Dark Triad was weakly and not statistically significantly ($r = .075$, $p = .232$) correlated with support for government involvement in healthcare.

Despite these findings, however, other regression models that predicted issues scales from demographics, Dark Triad, and their interaction did not turn up the broad pattern of demographic-based moderation we expected. Interactions of Dark Triad with immigrant status, race, LGBT identification, whether or not participants or their family

members have worked in law enforcement, and gun ownership did not statistically significantly predict their respective issues scales.

In a set of analyses more directly analogous to our previous study (Frishberg, 2016), we tested regression models predicting political party preference (using the continuous scale variable) from various demographics, Dark Triad, and their interaction. We found a similar pattern with these models. Specifically, the interaction of Dark Triad and gender significantly predicted political party preference ($B = .396, t = 2.33, p = .02$), with Dark Triad relating with preference for democrats among women ($r = .147, p = .017$), while showing a weak and nonsignificant—but opposite—relation among men ($r = -.052, p = .395$). In addition, the interaction of Dark Triad and whether or not participants had a medical condition or a family history of a heritable condition approached statistical significance ($B = .354, t = 1.876, p = .061$), with Dark Triad weakly predicting more support for Republicans among those with no reported medical issues ($r = -.106, p = .159$) and Democrats among those endorsing medical issues ($r = .080, p = .201$). Again, however, no broad pattern of support was found for our primary hypotheses that Dark Triad and political beliefs would be related in opposite directions depending on demographic groups.

Because a primary reason for this research was to predict people's political behavior above and beyond simply the beliefs they endorse, we fit a series of logistic regression models predicting whether people voted for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump in 2016 based on issues scales, the Dark Triad, and their interaction. That is, rather than considering people's beliefs on issues as a dependent variable, we instead considered them as an independent variable. Using beliefs as a predictor may provide a better

indication of self-interested voting behavior than demographics. Parsing people into demographic groups may be insufficient to capture self-interest as it relates to voting behavior; indeed, demographic-based self-interests may conflict with one another (e.g., a wealthy woman may hold liberal views on gender but conservative financial views). By using people's views rather than demographics, we better account for these potential demographic-based conflicts and instead examine whether people are voting in the interest of their beliefs. In addition, since beliefs tend to be strongly related to demographics, we are fairly confident that beliefs are in fact a better measure of self-interest, as they capture both the effect of demographics and exceptions to those effects.

Of our sample, 206 participants (38.8%) reported having voted for Hillary Clinton and 208 (39.2%) reported having voted for Donald Trump; this left 28 participants (5.3%) who voted for another candidate, 30 (5.6%) who were ineligible to vote, and 59 (11.1%) who chose not to vote. Thus, the regression models predicting 2016 voting behavior involve only the 414 participants who voted for either Trump or Clinton.

Overall, these logistic regression models revealed a pattern of significant interactions between political beliefs and Dark Triad in predicting how likely one was to vote for each candidate. The main effects of Dark Triad and each issue scale on 2016 voting are summarized in Table 5, and the interactions examined in these models are summarized in Table 6. To interpret the interaction effects, we fit a series of linear probability models using the same predictors and outcome. We then simplified both Dark Triad and political beliefs into the resulting regression equations by dichotomizing the scales into 1 and -1 as high and low values. In the case of political beliefs, these were interpreted as generally leaning in the liberal direction (1) or the conservative direction (-

1). This generated predicted probabilities of voting for Trump versus Clinton based on political leanings and Dark Triad, which are summarized in Table 7.

In the logistic regression predicting 2016 vote from the overall issues scale, Dark Triad, and their interaction, both main effects and the interaction effect were significant. Overall, the effect of Dark Triad on voting behavior was stronger for conservatives than for liberals. There was a strong main effect of beliefs such that people holding conservative beliefs were much more likely to have voted for Trump and liberals were much more likely to have voted for Clinton, regardless of their level of endorsement of dark personality traits. Among both liberals and conservatives, being lower on the Dark Triad was predictive of having voted for Trump. However, this effect was notably stronger the more conservative one's beliefs were.

We then examined various issues scales separately and found generally similar results. We found statistically significant ($p < .05$) interactions between Dark Triad and the following issues scales, respectively: Gender, Race, Wealth, Healthcare, and LGBT. In addition, we observed trend-level interactions ($p < .1$) between the Dark Triad and people's views on guns and police, respectively. The only primary issues scales of interest that did not significantly interact with Dark Triad to predict 2016 voting were Immigration and Education.

Across all statistically significant and trend-level interactions, the pattern was generally consistent. Among people holding conservative beliefs, lower Dark Triad was associated with stronger support and higher Dark Triad was associated with weaker support for Trump. Among people holding liberal beliefs, the relation was almost always in the same direction, but much weaker, and in many cases effectively zero.

IV. Discussion

The present study sought to examine whether endorsing self-interested personality traits strengthens a person's propensity to engage in political behavior that is self-serving. We examined this by considering the Dark Triad as a measure of trait self-interest. We tested whether the Dark Triad interacted with demographic variables to make people more likely to favor policies that would be to the benefit of their demographic groups. Although there were some results hinting at this possibility, we did not find a robust or consistent pattern of findings supporting this hypothesis across different demographics and sets of issues.

We initially anticipated that the Dark Triad and people's demographic groups would interact to predict demographically relevant issues such that Dark Triad would predict stronger support for issues that favored one's own demographic group. This was based on our prior work, which found that Dark Triad predicted stronger support for Democrats among women, but for Republicans among men (Frishberg, 2016). In the present study, not only did we expect to reproduce that finding with specific policy beliefs as the outcome variables rather than political party; we expected that the relations would be even stronger, given the more direct link between the content of the issues and the demographic groups. There are several possible reasons we failed to find such a pattern.

Perhaps the most obvious possibility is that our hypothesis was simply wrong, and that there is no meaningful interaction between the Dark Triad and demographic characteristics in predicting political beliefs. Under this assumption, our prior findings regarding gender (Frishberg, 2016) were either an aberrant characteristic of that sample

or explained by a construct not included in either study. Perhaps, for example, there is something unique about gender as opposed to other demographic characteristics that makes it more susceptible to the influence of self-interest. That might explain why we partially replicated the gender finding in the present study while failing to extend it to most other demographics. Alternatively, perhaps there is another element of dark personality that we have not considered that would interact with gender, but not other demographic variables.

A second possibility is the issue of statistical power. Splitting people into their demographic groups often meant making comparisons involving groups of varying sizes—some of which were quite small. For example, our sample consisted of just 47 LGBT-identified participants, 97 immigrants, and several relatively small groups of people of color, leading the majority of our examinations of race to be grouped as white versus non-white. Because we are examining relations that tend to have fairly small effect sizes, it is conceivable that for at least some of the comparisons we attempted to make, certain demographic groups were too small to detect effects. Were it solely an issue of sample size, however, we likely would have seen more consistent results in comparisons that involved larger groups. Furthermore, we did not see a broad pattern of correlations between Dark Triad and issues in opposing directions depending on demographic group. Had we found such a pattern while failing to detect significant interaction effects, there would be more evidence to attribute our lack of findings to insufficient power.

Perhaps more likely is that our demographic groups were not parsed too narrowly, but rather not narrowly enough. That is, it may be that looking at demographic variables

one by one does not sufficiently capture people's self-interests. For example, consider a hypothetical wealthy black woman. Although it may appear demographically in her interest to support the Black Lives Matter movement or affirmative action for women, she may personally view financial issues as having much greater bearing on her individual situation. If so, her trait self-interest would have less impact on her views on race and gender than on financial issues. That is, self-interest could still be an important factor in shaping people's beliefs on groups of issues, but only insofar as those issues are seen as particularly important or relevant. Rather than using demographic groups to assume people's self-interests, this led us to consider whether people's beliefs, themselves, might be a better way of considering interests. Thus, after part one of our model was not broadly supported, we instead began to wonder whether Dark Triad played a role in part two of the model, instead.

When we turned our focus to examining the interaction of people's beliefs on policy issues and their level of Dark Triad in predicting voting behavior, we found an unexpected—but broadly consistent—pattern of results. On a variety of issues, holding conservative beliefs was associated with a stronger effect of Dark Triad on voting behavior. In general, when controlling for people's political views, Dark Triad was associated with a slightly increased likelihood of voting for Clinton and decreased likelihood of voting for Trump. However, among conservatives, this effect tended to be much stronger. Those who endorsed low levels of Dark Triad traits in conjunction with conservative views consistently demonstrated the highest likelihood of voting for Trump. Meanwhile, those who endorsed higher levels of Dark Triad traits in conjunction with liberal views consistently demonstrated the lowest likelihood of voting for Trump.

Based on our initial hypotheses regarding self-interest, we would expect that Dark Triad would make people on both sides of the aisle *more* likely to support the candidate that aligns with their views. There is some support for that pattern among liberals, but among liberals the association between Dark Triad and voting was generally weak, and variable across issues. However, among conservatives, higher Dark Triad reliably made voters *less* likely to support their candidate. This result is particularly surprising given the historically low favorability ratings and frequent public scandals that surrounded both candidates. That is, in an election in which neither candidate is widely seen as morally decent, or particularly popular on his or her own merits, people often make a pragmatic choice of the one whose policies better align with their own, discounting moral judgments. One would expect that in such an election, the Dark Triad might be particularly powerful in enhancing the effect of beliefs on voting behavior; i.e., those who are better at looking past morality to further their own agenda ought to have an easier time sticking with their candidate.

Instead, the Dark Triad made conservatives more likely to break party lines. One possibility for this result may have to do with social desirability. Certain scales involved some items for which support or opposition would represent a view that would be considered taboo or “politically incorrect” in most social circles. For example, on the gender issues scale, opposition to equal pay for men and women is coded in the conservative direction. As another example, on the LGBT scale, the belief that same-sex couples should not show physical affection in public is coded in the conservative direction. It is conceivable, therefore, that issues are related to social desirability such that those who endorsed more conservative items cared less about social desirability.

Because the Dark Triad also has a strong social desirability component, it is plausible that high Dark Triad conservatives may simply be more willing to admit to socially undesirable beliefs without the beliefs strongly influencing their behavior. By contrast, those who describe themselves as particularly scrupulous and ethical (i.e., low on the Dark Triad) but are also willing to earnestly state sexist or homophobic beliefs may hold stronger moral conviction in those beliefs, which may in turn more strongly influence their voting.

Although this explanation is theoretically possible, there are a number of reasons to suggest that it is unlikely. For one, the vast majority of political belief items seem to have no particular social desirability confound. Although our political society is highly polarized, it is nonetheless widely accepted that people hold beliefs across the political spectrum. Even if it were the case that people's political "echo chambers" caused opposing beliefs to be seen as particularly undesirable, there is no reason to think that these would affect conservative beliefs more than liberal ones. Furthermore, if there were a significant loading of social desirability on the political beliefs scales, one would expect a significant zero order correlation between Dark Triad and political beliefs. Although Dark Triad was related to more conservative views on gun control and police-related issues, no other issues scales showed such a relation. This undermines the plausibility of our findings being driven by social desirability.

A more compelling explanation has to do with conformity. In addition to being a measure of self-interest, one may also consider the Dark Triad a measure of one's tendency to conform to or reject social norms and mores. Items such as, "I am a rebellious person" (SRP-III), "It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and

there” (MACH-IV), and “I like to be the center of attention” (NPI-40) all indicate some degree of separating oneself from the herd. In a study of personal values as they relate to both normal personality and the Dark Triad, Kajonius, Persson, and Jonason (2015) found that the Dark Triad constructs were negatively related to the self-reported value of conformity. Other research has identified negative relations between Dark Triad traits and Right Wing Authoritarianism (e.g., Hodson et al., 2009; Jones, 2013; Frishberg, 2016), a construct with a strong conformity component (Tarr & Lorr, 1991). The Dark Triad as a measure of conformity may be particularly applicable in our sample given the low levels of Dark Triad traits endorsed overall. That is, it is conceivable that we have more variance in the conformity component of Dark Triad than in the self-interest component, which may be more represented in the moderate-to-high end of the scales.

Conformity is also related to political conservatism (Tar & Lorr, 1991), and from a conceptual standpoint, conformity appears to be at odds with Openness to Experience, which relates to political liberalism. If we see the Dark Triad as reflecting one’s trait-level of conformity, the implications of our findings become clear. Through this lens, high conformity conservatives voted most overwhelmingly for the Republican candidate, and low conformity liberals voted most frequently for the Democratic candidate. Low conformity conservatives were more likely than their high conformity counterparts to break from the party line. Conformity mattered less, in general, for liberal voters, presumably because their voting behavior was likely already less bound by conformist values. However, high conformity liberals were a bit more likely to vote Republican than their low conformity counterparts.

Limitations of the Present Research and Directions for Future Study

The present study was designed to maximize the breadth, generality, and size of our sample and, as such, has certain limitations. For one, we have relied entirely on self-report data, which may lead to some degree of inaccuracy in the data. People may have been hesitant to disclose certain characteristics about themselves or their behavior. Indeed, this can be a challenge in assessing both socially undesirable personality characteristics and voting behaviors.

Further, data were collected online. Although this allowed for a wide distribution of our survey and provided access to demographic groups we may not have had otherwise, online participant acquisition nonetheless comes with certain trade-offs. Perhaps the most important is participants' effort levels. Although we implemented various validity checks and filters to address this issue, the nature of online data collection may lead to somewhat lower effort and investment by participants overall.

Another limitation of the current research is that the data were cross-sectional and correlational. Therefore, it is important to state that inferences made about causal directions of effects are driven by theory rather than data. Longitudinal designs may better elucidate which variables have causal effects on which.

Perhaps the most substantial limitation of this research has to do with the low levels of Dark Triad traits endorsed by our sample. In general, one would expect relatively low levels of Dark Triad in the general public, which was the population of interest for this research. In some ways this is a reflection of generally successful sample recruitment. However, the particularly low levels of Machiavellianism and psychopathy in this sample may have affected our ability to effectively consider the full construct of

the Dark Triad—particularly given Muris et al.'s (2017) suggestion that psychopathy may reflect the most central trait of the Dark Triad. In our sample, one standard deviation above the mean on psychopathy was still below the midpoint of the scale, and for Machiavellianism, it was minimally above the midpoint. This issue may dovetail with that of sample size. That is, if we consider the current study to be an accurate representation of the Dark Triad in the general population, a larger sample would likely provide sufficient representation at the high end of the Dark Triad.

Future research is warranted to contextualize the current study. For one, continued investigation of the self-interest hypothesis would be worthwhile. Different ways of exploring people's self-interests could include asking participants which demographic characteristics or political issues are most important to them. This would help sort out the potential issue of conflicting demographics and beliefs. Using the survey in the current study as an example, one way to measure this could be to include a question for each item that asks participants to rate how much they care about that particular issue. There may also be other ways of identifying the role of self-interest, such as asking people whether they are generally more motivated by policies that would affect them or others. Although there is a significant social desirability confound with this approach, it could be useful in identifying voters who are especially self-interested.

In addition, it would be useful for future research to include replication studies of our primary findings—specifically, the interaction of political beliefs and Dark Triad in predicting voting behavior. To examine whether our proposed explanation for these findings is accurate, replication studies would benefit from including other measures of conformity. Relevant constructs that may be worth studying include other broad

personality characteristics, Right Wing Authoritarianism, and individual values including conformity.

Finally, a course of future studies could be to consider the components of the Dark Triad separately in their relations to sociopolitical beliefs. Indeed, although there is a great deal of shared variance among the three constructs, they nonetheless each have unique characteristics that may relate differently to political beliefs and behaviors. The present study focused on the shared characteristics of the Dark Triad. However, the NPI-40 was somewhat related to liberalism on the total issues scale ($r = .117, p = .007$), whereas the MACH-IV ($r = -.131, p = .002$) and SRP-III ($r = -.077, p = .077$) were somewhat more related to conservatism. This suggests that relations between political beliefs and Dark Triad traits may be substantially more complex than we initially hypothesized, and that looking at the traits individually could be worthwhile.

The nature of studying political beliefs and behaviors is that they are highly complex, multifaceted, and involve both multifinality and equifinality. People with the same apparent sets of characteristics may end up with differing political views and voting histories, while people who appear to be incredibly different from one another may vote for the same candidates as one another in every election. In this burgeoning area of research, therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that the current study raised more questions than it answered. Given the consequential nature of political behavior, the future of study in this sector appears rife with possibilities.

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Appendix A. Demographics Questionnaire

Start of Block: Demographics

Q261 This questionnaire covers a variety of topics, including questions about you and your background. For some questions you may choose multiple answers; for others, you can only choose one. Please answer each question truthfully and to the best of your ability.

Page Break

Q1 How would you describe your race/ethnicity? Select all that apply.

White/Caucasian (1)

Black/African American (2)

Asian or Pacific Islander (3)

Hispanic or Latino/a (4)

Native American (5)

Biracial or multiracial (6)

Other (7)

Q2 How would you describe your gender?

Male (1)

Female (2)

Transgender (3)

Other (4)

Q28 Are you a citizen of the United States?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q29 If Are you a citizen of the United States? = Yes

Q32 Which of the following best describes your residency status?

- Permanent resident (1)
 - Immigrant visa (2)
 - Nonimmigrant visa (3)
 - Other permit (4)
 - Undocumented (5)
-

Q29 Are you a citizen of any other country?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
-

Q30 Were you born in the United States?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q275 If Were you born in the United States? = Yes

Q31 How old were you when you first came to the United States?

Q275 In general, how would you describe your political party affiliation?

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- No/other party (3)

Q3 How would you describe your sexual orientation?

- Straight/Heterosexual (1)
- Gay/Homosexual (2)
- Bisexual (3)
- Other (4)

Q4 What is your age?



Q5 What is your marital status?

- Single, never married (1)
- Partnered, never married (2)
- Married (3)
- Divorced (4)
- Widowed (5)
- Remarried (6)

Skip To: Q7 If What is your marital status? = Married

Skip To: Q7 If What is your marital status? = Remarried

Q6 Do you intend to marry in the future?

- Definitely yes (1)
 - Probably yes (2)
 - Might or might not (3)
 - Probably not (4)
 - Definitely not (5)
-

Q7 Do you have children?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q9 If Do you have children? = Yes

Q8 Do you intend to have children in the future?

- Definitely yes (1)
 - Probably yes (2)
 - Might or might not (3)
 - Probably not (4)
 - Definitely not (5)
-

Q9 Do you have medical insurance?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
-

Q10 Do you have any major medical conditions?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q12 If Do you have any major medical conditions? = No

Q11 Do you have insurance coverage for treatment of your medical condition?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - Partially (3)
-

Q12 Do any of your loved ones currently (or did they in the past) have any major medical conditions?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q13 Do you have a family history of major medical conditions that are known or suspected to be heritable?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Don't know (3)

Q14 How would you describe your religious affiliation? Select all that apply.

Agnostic (1)

Atheist (2)

Buddhist (3)

Catholic (4)

Muslim (5)

Hindu (6)

Jewish (7)

Mormon (8)

Protestant (9)

Spiritual but not religious (10)

Other (11)

Q15 How strong is your religious devotion?

- Very Strong (1)
- Strong (2)
- Moderate (3)
- Weak (4)
- Very Weak (5)
-

Q16 How often do you attend religious services?

- Never (1)
- A few times per year (2)
- About once per month (3)
- About once per week (4)
- More than once per week (5)
-

Q18 What was the highest level of education you completed? Enter 12 for high school graduate or GED; 14 for associate's degree; 16 for bachelor's degree; 18 for master's degree; 20 for doctorate or equivalent professional degree.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Years of Education (1)



Q19 What was the highest level of education completed by your mother (if known)? Enter 12 for high school graduate or GED; 14 for associate's degree; 16 for bachelor's degree; 18 for master's degree; 20 for doctorate or equivalent professional degree.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Years of Education (1)	
------------------------	--

Q21 What was the highest level of education completed by your father (if known)? Enter 12 for high school graduate or GED; 14 for associate's degree; 16 for bachelor's degree; 18 for master's degree; 20 for doctorate or equivalent professional degree.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Years of Education (1)	
------------------------	--

Q273 What type of school do (or did, if no longer in school) your children attend? Select all that apply.

I do not have children (1)

Public school (2)

Private school (secular) (3)

Parochial school (4)

Home school (5)

Q22 Are you currently employed?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Skip To: Q24 If Are you currently employed? = No

Q23 How satisfied are you with your job?

- Very satisfied (1)
 - Satisfied (2)
 - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (3)
 - Dissatisfied (4)
 - Very dissatisfied (5)
-

Q24 If unemployed, how likely do you think it is that you will become employed within the next year?

- Very Likely (1)
 - Likely (2)
 - Neither likely nor unlikely (3)
 - Unlikely (4)
 - Very unlikely (5)
 - I am currently employed (6)
-

Q25 What is your current **individual** annual income?

- \$0 - \$20,000 (1)
 - \$20,001 - \$40,000 (2)
 - \$40,001 - \$60,000 (3)
 - \$60,001 - \$80,000 (4)
 - \$80,001 - \$100,000 (5)
 - \$100,001 - \$400,000 (6)
 - Greater than \$400,000 (7)
-

Q266 What is your current **household** annual income?

- \$0 - \$20,000 (1)
 - \$20,001 - \$40,000 (2)
 - \$40,001 - \$60,000 (3)
 - \$60,001 - \$80,000 (4)
 - \$80,001 - \$100,000 (5)
 - \$100,001 - \$400,000 (6)
 - Greater than \$400,000 (7)
-

Q27 Are you or a family member currently serving in the United States Armed Forces?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
-

Q267 Are you or a family member a veteran of the United States Armed Forces?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q34 What language(s) do you speak? Please select all that apply.

English (1)

Spanish (2)

Chinese (3)

French (4)

Tagalog (5)

Vietnamese (6)

Korean (7)

German (8)

Arabic (9)

Other (10)

Q35 Would you consider English to be your primary language?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q272 Have you or a family member ever worked as a law enforcement officer?

- Yes, I have (1)
 - Yes, a family member has (2)
 - No (3)
-

Q37 Do you own a firearm?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

End of Block: Demographics

Appendix B. SRP-III

Please rate the degree to which you agree with the following statements about you. You can be honest because your name will be detached from the answers as soon as they are submitted.

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree Strongly

1. I'm a rebellious person.
2. I'm more tough-minded than other people.
3. I think I could "beat" a lie detector.
4. I have taken illegal drugs (e.g., marijuana, ecstasy).
5. I have never been involved in delinquent gang activity.
6. I have never stolen a truck, car or motorcycle.
7. Most people are wimps.
8. I purposely flatter people to get them on my side.
9. I've often done something dangerous just for the thrill of it.
10. I have tricked someone into giving me money.
11. It tortures me to see an injured animal.
12. I have assaulted a law enforcement official or social worker.
13. I have pretended to be someone else in order to get something.
14. I always plan out my weekly activities.
15. I like to see fist-fights.
16. I'm not tricky or sly.
17. I'd be good at a dangerous job because I make fast decisions.
18. I have never tried to force someone to have sex.
19. My friends would say that I am a warm person.
20. I would get a kick out of 'scamming' someone.
21. I have never attacked someone with the idea of injuring them.
22. I never miss appointments.
23. I avoid horror movies.
24. I trust other people to be honest.

25. I hate high speed driving.
26. I feel so sorry when I see a homeless person.
27. It's fun to see how far you can push people before they get upset.
28. I enjoy doing wild things.
29. I have broken into a building or vehicle in order to steal something or vandalize.
30. I don't bother to keep in touch with my family any more.
31. I find it difficult to manipulate people.
32. I rarely follow the rules.
33. I never cry at movies.
34. I have never been arrested.
35. You should take advantage of other people before they do it to you.
36. I don't enjoy gambling for real money.
37. People sometimes say that I'm cold-hearted.
38. People can usually tell if I am lying.
39. I like to have sex with people I barely know.
40. I love violent sports and movies.
41. Sometimes you have to pretend you like people to get something out of them.
42. I am an impulsive person.
43. I have taken hard drugs (e.g., heroin, cocaine).
44. I'm a soft-hearted person.
45. I can talk people into anything.
46. I never shoplifted from a store.
47. I don't enjoy taking risks.
48. People are too sensitive when I tell them the truth about themselves.
49. I was convicted of a serious crime.
50. Most people tell lies everyday.
51. I keep getting in trouble for the same things over and over.
52. Every now and then I carry a weapon (knife or gun) for protection.
53. People cry way too much at funerals.
54. You can get what you want by telling people what they want to hear.
55. I easily get bored.

56. I never feel guilty over hurting others.
57. I have threatened people into giving me money, clothes, or makeup.
58. A lot of people are “suckers” and can easily be fooled.
59. I admit that I often “mouth off” without thinking.
60. I sometimes dump friends that I don’t need any more.
61. I would never step on others to get what I want.
62. I have close friends who served time in prison.
63. I purposely tried to hit someone with the vehicle I was driving.
64. I have violated my parole from prison.

Appendix C. NPI-40

This inventory consists of a number of pairs of statements with which you may or may not identify.

Consider this example:

A. I like having authority over people

B. I don't mind following orders

Which of these two statements is closer to your own feelings about yourself? If you identify more with "likeing to have authority over people" than with "not minding following orders", then you would choose option A.

You may identify with both A and B. In this case you should choose the statement which seems closer to yourself. Or, if you do not identify with either statement, select the one which is least objectionable or remote. In other words, read each pair of statements and then choose the one that is closer to your own feelings. Please do not skip any items.

1. A. I have a natural talent for influencing people.
 B. I am not good at influencing people. 1.

2. A. Modesty doesn't become me.
 B. I am essentially a modest person. 2.

3. A. I would do almost anything on a dare.
 B. I tend to be a fairly cautious person. 3.

4. A. When people compliment me I sometimes get embarrassed.
 B. I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so. 4.

5. A. The thought of ruling the world frightens the hell out of me.
 B. If I ruled the world it would be a better place. 5.

6. A. I can usually talk my way out of anything.
 B. I try to accept the consequences of my behavior. 6.

7. A. I prefer to blend in with the crowd.
 B. I like to be the center of attention. 7.

8. A. I will be a success.

- _____
- B. I am not too concerned about success. 8.
9. A. I am no better or worse than most people.
B. I think I am a special person. 9.
- _____
10. A. I am not sure if I would make a good leader.
B. I see myself as a good leader. 10.
- _____
11. A. I am assertive.
B. I wish I were more assertive. 11.
- _____
12. A. I like to have authority over other people.
B. I don't mind following orders. 12.
- _____
13. A. I find it easy to manipulate people.
B. I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people. 13.
- _____
14. A. I insist upon getting the respect that is due me.
B. I usually get the respect that I deserve. 14.
- _____
15. A. I don't particularly like to show off my body.
B. I like to show off my body. 15.
- _____
16. A. I can read people like a book.
B. People are sometimes hard to understand. 16.
- _____
17. A. If I feel competent I am willing to take responsibility for making decisions.
B. I like to take responsibility for making decisions. 17.
- _____

18. A. I just want to be reasonably happy.
B. I want to amount to something in the eyes of the world. 18
· _____
19. A. My body is nothing special.
B. I like to look at my body. 19
· _____
20. A. I try not to be a show off.
B. I will usually show off if I get the chance. 20
· _____
21. A. I always know what I am doing.
B. Sometimes I am not sure of what I am doing. 21
· _____
22. A. I sometimes depend on people to get things done.
B. I rarely depend on anyone else to get things done. 22
· _____
23. A. Sometimes I tell good stories.
B. Everybody likes to hear my stories. 23
· _____
24. A. I expect a great deal from other people.
B. I like to do things for other people. 24
· _____
25. A. I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve.
B. I take my satisfactions as they come. 25
· _____
26. A. Compliments embarrass me.
B. I like to be complimented. 26
· _____

27. A. I have a strong will to power.
B. Power for its own sake doesn't interest me. 27
· _____
28. A. I don't care about new fads and fashions.
B. I like to start new fads and fashions. 28
· _____
29. A. I like to look at myself in the mirror.
B. I am not particularly interested in looking at myself in the mirror. 29
· _____
30. A. I really like to be the center of attention.
B. It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention. 30
· _____
31. A. I can live my life in any way I want to.
B. People can't always live their lives in terms of what they want. 31
· _____
32. A. Being an authority doesn't mean that much to me.
B. People always seem to recognize my authority. 32
· _____
33. A. I would prefer to be a leader.
B. It makes little difference to me whether I am a leader or not. 33
· _____
34. A. I am going to be a great person.
B. I hope I am going to be successful. 34
· _____
35. A. People sometimes believe what I tell them.
B. I can make anybody believe anything I want them to. 35
· _____
36. A. I am a born leader.

B. Leadership is a quality that takes a long time to develop.

36

. _____

37. A. I wish somebody would someday write my biography.

B. I don't like people to pry into my life for any reason.

37

. _____

38. A. I get upset when people don't notice how I look when I go out in public.

B. I don't mind blending into the crowd when I go out in public.

38

. _____

39. A. I am more capable than other people.

B. There is a lot that I can learn from other people.

39

. _____

40. A. I am much like everybody else.

B. I am an extraordinary person.

40

. _____

Appendix D. MACH-IV

To what extent do each of the following statements accurately describe you? Please indicate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing a number from the scale below that reflects your opinion.

1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree

1) Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

1 2 3 4 5

2) The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

1 2 3 4 5

3) One should take action only when sure it is morally right.

1 2 3 4 5

4) Most people are basically good and kind.

1 2 3 4 5

5) It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.

1 2 3 4 5

6) Honesty is the best policy in all cases.

1 2 3 4 5

7) There is no excuse for lying to someone else.

1 2 3 4 5

8) Generally speaking, people won't work hard unless they're forced to do so.

1 2 3 4 5

9) All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

1 2 3 4 5

10) When you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons which carry more weight.

1 2 3 4 5

11) Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

1 2 3 4 5

12) Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.

1 2 3 4 5

13) The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that the criminals are stupid enough to get caught.

1 2 3 4 5

14) Most people are brave.

1 2 3 4 5

15) It is wise to flatter important people.

1 2 3 4 5

16) It is possible to be good in all respects.

1 2 3 4 5

17) P.T. Barnum was wrong when he said that there's a sucker born every minute.

1 2 3 4 5

18) It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.

1 2 3 4 5

19) People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death.

1 2 3 4 5

20) Most people forget more easily the death of their parents than the loss of their property.

1 2 3 4 5

Appendix E. Political Views and Behaviors**Start of Block: Politics**

Q262 In this section, you will be asked a number of questions about specific political behaviors and actions. Please answer each question truthfully and to the best of your ability.

Page Break

Q46 Who did you vote for in the 2000 presidential election?

- George W. Bush (1)
 - Al Gore (2)
 - Other (3)
 - I was not eligible to vote (4)
 - I chose not to vote (5)
-

Q127 Who did you vote for in the 2004 presidential election?

- George W. Bush (1)
 - John Kerry (2)
 - Other (3)
 - I was not eligible to vote (4)
 - I chose not to vote (5)
-

Q45 Who did you vote for in the 2008 presidential election?

- Barack Obama (1)
 - John McCain (2)
 - Other (3)
 - I was not eligible to vote (4)
 - I chose not to vote (5)
-

Q40 Who did you vote for in the 2012 presidential election?

- Barack Obama (1)
 - Mitt Romney (2)
 - Other (3)
 - I was not eligible to vote (4)
 - I chose not to vote (5)
-

Q41 Who did you vote for in the 2016 presidential election?

- Hillary Clinton (1)
 - Donald Trump (2)
 - Other (3)
 - I was not eligible to vote (4)
 - I chose not to vote (5)
-

Q42 Have you ever donated to a political campaign?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
-

Q43 Have you ever volunteered for a political campaign?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
-

Q44 Which political party, if any, are you registered with?

- Democratic (1)
 - Republican (2)
 - Green (3)
 - Libertarian (4)
 - Other (5)
 - None (6)
-

Q128 Have you ever donated to a political party? If so, which party?

- Democratic Party (1)
 - Republican Party (2)
 - Green Party (3)
 - Libertarian Party (4)
 - Other party (5)
 - I have never donated to a political party. (6)
-

Q129 Do you vote in local and state elections?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - Sometimes (3)
-

Q130 How often do you take part in political protests or demonstrations?

- Never (1)
 - Rarely (1-2 times per year or less) (2)
 - Sometimes (3-6 times per year) (3)
 - Often (more than 6 times per year) (4)
-

Q38

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Politically, I prefer the Democratic Party.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Somewhat disagree (2)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (3)
 - Somewhat agree (4)
 - Strongly agree (5)
-

Q39 Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Politically, I prefer the Republican Party.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Somewhat disagree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Somewhat agree (4)
- Strongly agree (5)

End of Block: Politics

Start of Block: Issues Part 1

Q263 In this section, you will be presented with a series of proposed or existing policies, statements, and ideas. Please indicate how strongly you support or oppose each item.

Page Break

Q47 Construction of a wall along the Mexican border to keep out undocumented immigrants

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q46 A ban on Muslims entering the United States

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q47 A ban on refugees entering the United States

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q48 Policies that encourage and welcome immigration to the United States

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q49 Tightening of restrictions to immigration to the United States

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q50 Policies that make it easier for immigrants to gain employment

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q51 Policies that provide immigrants with opportunities for education

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q52 A path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q53 Increased deportation of immigrants currently in the United States illegally

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q54 “Sanctuary cities”, whose law enforcement do not actively assist immigration enforcement activities

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q55 Legal abortion

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q56 Allowing transgender people to use whichever public bathroom matches the gender with which they identify

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q57 Paying women as much as men for the same work

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q58 Reserving some positions of employment for women in male-dominated fields

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q59 Affirmative action for women in hiring

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q60 Increased paid family leave time

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q61 Exempting feminine hygiene products from sales tax

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q62 Increasing income taxes on the wealthy

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q63 Reducing income taxes on the wealthy

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q64 Increasing the minimum wage

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q65 Increased investment in social service programs

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q66 Using taxes on the wealthy to fund public programs that help those living in poverty

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q67 Affordable housing initiatives

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q68 Universal government healthcare

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q69 Legal marriage for same-sex couples

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q70 Allowing gay people to serve openly in the military

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q71 Anti-sodomy laws

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q72 Increased legal protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q73 Freedom of institutions and individuals to refuse service to same-sex couples on religious grounds

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q74 Hiring quotas to ensure that people of color are adequately represented in workplaces

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q75 The Black Lives Matter movement

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q76 Increased government investment in improving the lives of racial and ethnic minorities

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q77 Stricter penalties for police who use deadly force

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q78 Freedom for police to use whatever means they need when someone is resisting arrest

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q79 Laws that protect religious freedom

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q80 A ban on school prayer

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q81 Increased government spending on public schools

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q82 Forgiving student loan debt for college graduates

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q83 Free tuition for two-year college

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q84 Free tuition for four-year college

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q85 Increased government subsidies for private schools

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q86 Tax breaks for families providing home schooling

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q87 Cutting foreign language education if necessary for other programs

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q88 Government spending for bilingual accessibility, such as Spanish translations on public signs

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q89 Background checks for people seeking to purchase firearms

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q90 Requiring permits for people seeking to purchase firearms

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q91 A ban on assault weapons for civilians

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q92 A ban on semiautomatic weapons for civilians

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q93 A ban on all firearms for civilians

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q94 Increased spending on the military

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q95 Decreased spending on the military

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q96 Increasing the retirement age

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q97 Transit discounts for the elderly

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q98 Increased job creation in science and technology

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q99 Increased investment in social security

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q100 Repeal of the Affordable Care Act (also known as “Obamacare”)

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q101 Expansion of Medicare

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q102 Increased investment in programs that provide aid to senior citizens

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q103 Increased investment in job creation for young adults

- Strongly Oppose (1)
 - Oppose (2)
 - Slightly Oppose (3)
 - Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
 - Slightly Support (5)
 - Support (6)
 - Strongly Support (7)
-

Q131 Increased penalties for protesters who violate laws

- Strongly Oppose (1)
- Oppose (2)
- Slightly Oppose (3)
- Neither Oppose nor Support (4)
- Slightly Support (5)
- Support (6)
- Strongly Support (7)

End of Block: Issues Part 1

Start of Block: Issues Part 2

Q264 In this section you will see a series of statements. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each item.

Page Break

Q104 All things being equal, I would rather vote for a woman than a man in a presidential election.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q105 All things being equal, I would rather vote for a man than a woman in a presidential election.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q106 More women should occupy positions of power in business and politics.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q107 Men make better leaders than women.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q108 Women make better leaders than men.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q109 The government has a responsibility to provide unemployed people with a decent standard of living.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q110 The government should play a role in narrowing the income gap between rich and poor.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q111 I would be in favor of having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q112 I oppose having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q113 Same-sex couples should not show physical affection in public.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q114 Same-sex couples should be free to show physical affection in public.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q116 Police who use deadly force should generally be given the benefit of the doubt.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q117 Police who use deadly force should be given the strictest scrutiny.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q118 Laws that inhibit religious expression may be necessary to halt the spread of religious extremism.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q119 Immigrants to the United States should have to assimilate to American culture if they want to stay here.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q120 Radical Islam poses a great danger to American society.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q121 White supremacy poses a great danger to American society.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q122 I believe English should be the only official language of the United States.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q123 I believe the government should spend more on improving the lives of military veterans.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Slightly disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Slightly agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Q124 I believe the government should spend less on improving the lives of military veterans.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Slightly disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Slightly agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: Issues Part 2

Appendix F. Issues Scales

Below is a guide to the composition of each issues scale. Items marked with a (-) were reverse coded.

Immigration Issues

1. Construction of a wall along the Mexican border to keep out undocumented immigrants (-)
2. A ban on Muslims entering the United States (-)
3. A ban on refugees entering the United States (-)
4. Policies that encourage and welcome immigration to the United States
5. Tightening of restrictions to immigration to the United States (-)
6. Policies that make it easier for immigrants to gain employment
7. Policies that provide immigrants with opportunities for education
8. A path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States
9. Increased deportation of immigrants currently in the United States illegally (-)
10. "Sanctuary cities", whose law enforcement do not actively assist immigration enforcement activities
11. Immigrants to the United States should have to assimilate to American culture if they want to stay here. (-)

Gender Issues

1. Legal abortion
2. Allowing transgender people to use whichever public bathroom matches the gender with which they identify
3. Paying women as much as men for the same work
4. Reserving some positions of employment for women in male-dominated fields
5. Affirmative action for women in hiring
6. Increased paid family leave time
7. Exempting feminine hygiene products from sales tax
8. All things being equal, I would rather vote for a woman than a man in a presidential election.
9. All things being equal, I would rather vote for a man than a woman in a presidential election. (-)
10. More women should occupy positions of power in business and politics.
11. Men make better leaders than women. (-)
12. Women make better leaders than men.

Wealth Issues

1. Increasing income taxes on the wealthy
2. Reducing income taxes on the wealthy (-)
3. Increasing the minimum wage
4. Increased investment in social service programs
5. Using taxes on the wealthy to fund public programs that help those living in poverty
6. Affordable housing initiatives
7. The government has a responsibility to provide unemployed people with a decent standard of living.
8. The government should play a role in narrowing the income gap between rich and poor.

Healthcare Issues

1. Universal government healthcare
2. Repeal of the Affordable Care Act (also known as "Obamacare") (-)
3. Expansion of Medicare
4. I would be in favor of having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare.
5. I oppose having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare. (-)

LGBT Issues

1. Legal marriage for same-sex couples
2. Allowing gay people to serve openly in the military
3. Anti-sodomy laws (-)
4. Increased legal protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people
5. Freedom of institutions and individuals to refuse service to same-sex couples on religious grounds (-)
6. Same-sex couples should not show physical affection in public. (-)
7. Same-sex couples should be free to show physical affection in public.
8. Allowing transgender people to use whichever public bathroom matches the gender with which they identify

Race Issues

1. Hiring quotas to ensure that people of color are adequately represented in workplaces
2. The Black Lives Matter movement
3. Increased government investment in improving the lives of racial and ethnic minorities
4. White supremacy poses a great danger to American society.

Police Issues

1. Stricter penalties for police who use deadly force
2. Freedom for police to use whatever means they need when someone is resisting arrest (-)
3. Police who use deadly force should generally be given the benefit of the doubt. (-)
4. Police who use deadly force should be given the strictest scrutiny.

Education Issues

1. Increased government spending on public schools
2. Forgiving student loan debt for college graduates
3. Free tuition for two-year college
4. Free tuition for four-year college

Language Issues

1. Cutting foreign language education if necessary for other programs (-)
2. Government spending for bilingual accessibility, such as Spanish translations on public signs
3. I believe English should be the only official language of the United States. (-)

Gun Issues

1. Background checks for people seeking to purchase firearms
2. Requiring permits for people seeking to purchase firearms
3. A ban on assault weapons for civilians
4. A ban on semiautomatic weapons for civilians
5. A ban on all firearms for civilians

Military Issues

1. Increased spending on the military (-)
2. Decreased spending on the military
3. I believe the government should spend more on improving the lives of military veterans.
(-)
4. I believe the government should spend less on improving the lives of military veterans.

Age Issues

1. Increasing the retirement age (-)
2. Transit discounts for the elderly
3. Increased job creation in science and technology (-)
4. Increased investment in social security
5. Increased investment in programs that provide aid to senior citizens
6. Increased investment in job creation for young adults (-)

Total Issues

1. Construction of a wall along the Mexican border to keep out undocumented immigrants
(-)
2. A ban on Muslims entering the United States (-)
3. A ban on refugees entering the United States (-)
4. Policies that encourage and welcome immigration to the United States
5. Tightening of restrictions to immigration to the United States (-)
6. Policies that make it easier for immigrants to gain employment
7. Policies that provide immigrants with opportunities for education
8. A path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States
9. Increased deportation of immigrants currently in the United States illegally (-)
10. "Sanctuary cities", whose law enforcement do not actively assist immigration enforcement activities
11. Immigrants to the United States should have to assimilate to American culture if they want to stay here. (-)
12. Legal abortion
13. Allowing transgender people to use whichever public bathroom matches the gender with which they identify
14. Paying women as much as men for the same work
15. Reserving some positions of employment for women in male-dominated fields
16. Affirmative action for women in hiring
17. Increased paid family leave time
18. Exempting feminine hygiene products from sales tax
19. All things being equal, I would rather vote for a woman than a man in a presidential election.
20. All things being equal, I would rather vote for a man than a woman in a presidential election. (-)
21. More women should occupy positions of power in business and politics.
22. Men make better leaders than women. (-)
23. Women make better leaders than men.
24. Increasing income taxes on the wealthy
25. Reducing income taxes on the wealthy (-)
26. Increasing the minimum wage
27. Increased investment in social service programs
28. Using taxes on the wealthy to fund public programs that help those living in poverty
29. Affordable housing initiatives

30. The government has a responsibility to provide unemployed people with a decent standard of living.
31. The government should play a role in narrowing the income gap between rich and poor.
32. Universal government healthcare
33. Repeal of the Affordable Care Act (also known as "Obamacare") (-)
34. Expansion of Medicare
35. I would be in favor of having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare.
36. I oppose having my tax dollars pay for universal healthcare. (-)
37. Legal marriage for same-sex couples
38. Allowing gay people to serve openly in the military
39. Increased legal protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people
40. Freedom of institutions and individuals to refuse service to same-sex couples on religious grounds (-)
41. Same-sex couples should not show physical affection in public. (-)
42. Same-sex couples should be free to show physical affection in public.
43. Hiring quotas to ensure that people of color are adequately represented in workplaces
44. The Black Lives Matter movement
45. Increased government investment in improving the lives of racial and ethnic minorities
46. White supremacy poses a great danger to American society.
47. Stricter penalties for police who use deadly force
48. Freedom for police to use whatever means they need when someone is resisting arrest (-)
49. Police who use deadly force should generally be given the benefit of the doubt. (-)
50. Police who use deadly force should be given the strictest scrutiny.
51. A ban on school prayer
52. Increased government spending on public schools
53. Forgiving student loan debt for college graduates
54. Free tuition for two-year college
55. Free tuition for four-year college
56. Cutting foreign language education if necessary for other programs (-)
57. Government spending for bilingual accessibility, such as Spanish translations on public signs
58. I believe English should be the only official language of the United States. (-)
59. Background checks for people seeking to purchase firearms
60. Requiring permits for people seeking to purchase firearms
61. A ban on assault weapons for civilians
62. A ban on semiautomatic weapons for civilians
63. A ban on all firearms for civilians
64. Transit discounts for the elderly
65. Increased investment in social security
66. Increased investment in programs that provide aid to senior citizens
67. Increased penalties for protesters who violate laws

Table 1
Sample Demographics

	N	%	Missing N (%)
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>			0
White/Caucasian	258	48.6	
Black/African American	114	21.5	
Asian or Pacific Islander	73	13.7	
Hispanic or Latino	39	7.3	
Native American	9	1.7	
Biracial or multiracial	34	6.4	
Other	4	.8	
<i>Gender</i>			0
Male	266	50.1	
Female	264	49.7	
Transgender	1	.2	
<i>Immigrant vs. Native Born</i>			0
US Born	434	81.7	
Immigrant	97	18.3	
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>			17 (3.2)
Straight/Heterosexual	467	87.9	
Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	20	3.8	
Bisexual	23	4.3	
Other	4	.8	
<i>Household Income</i>			17 (3.2)
\$0 - \$20,000	94	17.7	
\$20,001 - \$40,000	133	25.0	
\$40,001 - \$60,000	106	20.0	
\$60,001 - \$80,000	63	11.9	
\$80,001 - \$100,000	45	8.5	
\$100,001 - \$400,000	65	12.2	
Greater than \$400,000	8	1.5	
<i>Marital Status</i>			17 (3.2)
Single, never married	176	33.1	
Partnered, never married	38	7.2	
Married	233	43.9	
Divorced	47	8.9	
Widowed	17	3.2	
Remarried	3	.6	
<i>Language</i>			0
English only	410	77.2	
Multiple languages	121	22.8	

Table 2
Mean Differences on Dark Triad Measures by Gender

	Mean for men (SD)	Mean for women (SD)	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)
SRP-III	2.36 (.52)	2.05 (.47)	7.31 (<.001)
MACH-IV	2.71 (.45)	2.58 (.44)	3.20 (.001)
NPI-40	3.14 (.66)	2.94 (.64)	3.59 (<.001)
Dark Triad Composite	.20 (.78)	-.20 (.76)	5.92 (<.001)

Table 3
Reliability of Issues Scales

	Number of Items	Cronbach's α
Total Issues	67	.961
Immigration Issues	11	.908
Gender Issues	12	.818
Wealth Issues	8	.858
Healthcare Issues	5	.794
LGBT Issues	8	.871
Race Issues	4	.802
Police Issues	4	.793
Education Issues	4	.853
Language Issues	3	.631
Gun Issues	5	.794
Military Issues	4	.662
Age Issues	6	.051

Table 4
Issues by Demographic Group

Issue Scale	Demographics	Scale Mean (SD)	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)
	<i>Immigration Status</i>		3.97 (< .001)
Immigration Views	Immigrants	4.40 (1.12)	
	Native-born	3.87 (1.47)	
	<i>Race</i>		9.62 (< .001)
Race Views	White	4.04 (1.57)	
	Non-white	5.23 (1.28)	
	<i>Gender</i>		-5.59 (< .001)
Gender Views	Male	4.42 (1.06)	
	Female	4.92 (.88)	
	<i>LGBT Identity</i>		-6.93 (< .001)
LGBT Views	LGBT-identified	5.55 (1.39)	
	Straight/cisgender	4.22 (1.45)	
	<i>Gun Owner</i>		7.60 (< .001)
Gun Views	Yes	4.22 (1.42)	
	No	5.19 (1.31)	
	<i>Self or family member has served in law enforcement</i>		3.51 (< .001)
Police Views	No	4.82 (1.37)	
	Yes	4.22 (1.66)	

Table 5
Zero-Order Correlations Among Dark Triad, 2016 Vote, and Issues Scales

	2016 Vote	Dark Triad
Dark Triad	-.077	
Total Issues	-.635***	-.038
Gender Views	-.516***	-.066
Immigration Views	-.588***	-.030
Race Views	-.546***	.067
Wealth Views	-.447***	-.049
Healthcare Views	-.545***	-.039
Education Views	-.412***	.052
LGBT Views	-.443***	.014
Gun Views	-.390***	-.113**
Police Views	-.447***	-.096*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 6
Results of Logistic Regression Models Predicting 2016 Vote

Interaction Term	OR	95% CI
Dark Triad x Overall Issues	1.75	1.02, 3.00
Dark Triad x Gender Issues	1.70	1.19, 2.41
Dark Triad x Immigration Issues	1.07	.795, 1.45
Dark Triad x Race Issues	1.30	1.05, 1.61
Dark Triad x Wealth Issues	1.38	1.04, 1.86
Dark Triad x Healthcare Issues	1.48	1.08, 2.02
Dark Triad x Education Issues	1.12	.93, 1.36
Dark Triad x LGBT Issues	1.27	1.04, 1.56
Dark Triad x Gun Issues	1.21	.99, 1.49
Dark Triad x Police Issues	1.24	.99, 1.55

Table 7
Predicted Voting Percentage by Issues and Dark Triad

Issue Scale		Trump %	
		Low Dark Triad	High Dark Triad
Overall Issues	Liberal	21.6%	15.0%
	Conservative	86.8%	73.0%
Gender Issues	Liberal	25.9%	23.9%
	Conservative	87.7%	64.1%
Race Issues	Liberal	30.4%	33.4%
	Conservative	71.4%	61.6%
LGBT Issues	Liberal	36.8%	35.2%
	Conservative	70.6%	63.4%
Gun Issues*	Liberal	40.5%	32.1%
	Conservative	74.0%	54.3%
Police Issues*	Liberal	38.4%	30.2%
	Conservative	74.2%	55.6%
Wealth Issues	Liberal	35.1%	29.7%
	Conservative	76.3%	60.1%
Healthcare Issues	Liberal	33.7%	28.5%
	Conservative	74.3%	65.1%

*Trend-level interaction

Figure 1

Hodson et al.'s (2009) structural equation model showing indirect effects of personality, ideology, and intergroup threat on prejudice

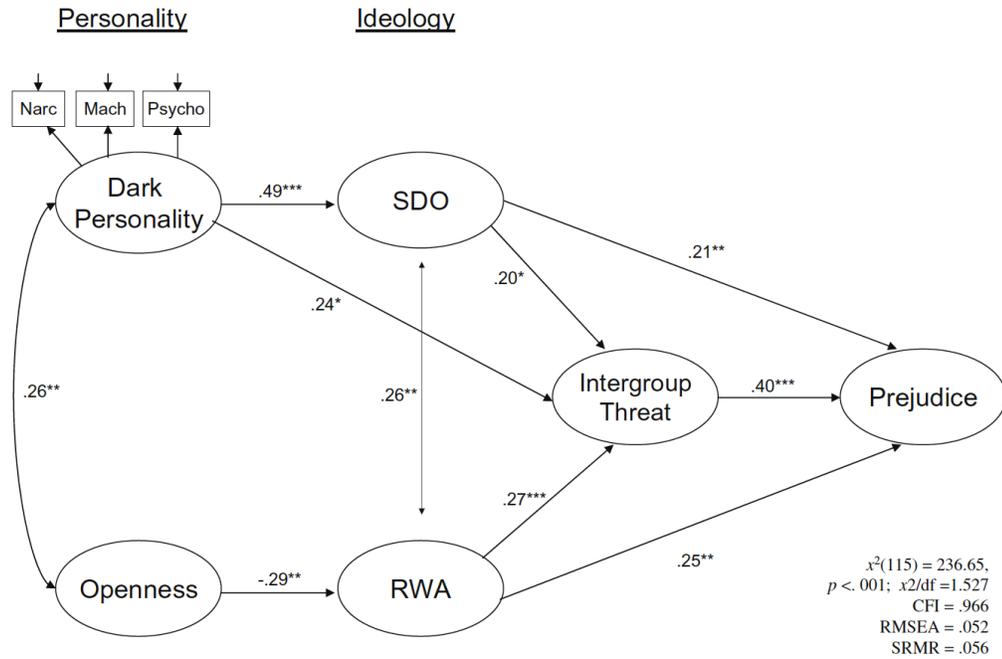
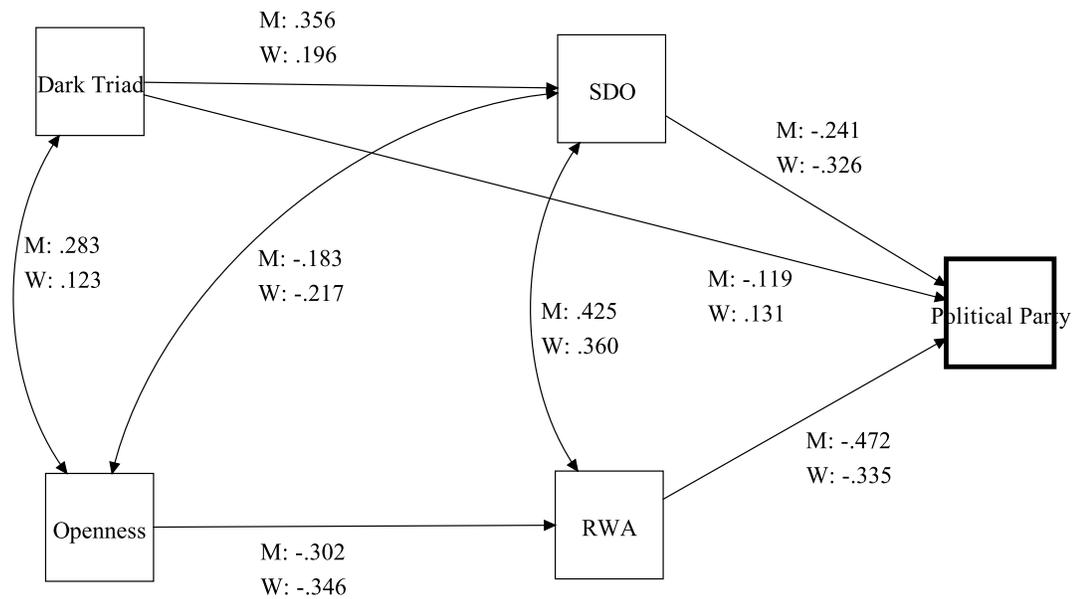


Figure 2

Structural path model testing proposed model of dark and normal personality, SDO, and RWA predicting political party affiliation



Note. All path coefficients and correlations significant at $p < .05$ level. CFI: .985, RMSEA: .078

Figure 3

Sample acquisition flow chart