

Online Appendix

Table A1: Populism items by Akkerman et al. (2014)

The politicians in the British parliament need to follow the will of the people	Populism
The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions	Populism
The political differences between the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the people	Populism
I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialized politician	Populism
Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	Populism
Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil	Populism
What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles	Populism
Interest groups have too much influence over political decisions	Populism
In a democracy it is important to make compromises among differing viewpoints	Pluralism
It is important to listen to the opinion of other groups	Pluralism
Diversity limits my freedom (reversed)	Pluralism
Politicians should lead rather than follow the people	Elitism
Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to successful business people	Elitism
Our country would be governed better if important decisions were left up to independent experts	Elitism

Table A2: New populism (and anti-populism) related items designed for the survey in parentheses the Factor in which they loaded, for those finally included in the MPAS (order in which they appeared in the survey).

The elites are enemies of the people (F1)
The powerful will never be on the side of the people (F1)
The elites are also part of the people
The current system is broken and it must be radically replaced (F1)
The system is rotten, we need a completely different new one (F1)
The system may have problems but these can be fixed without breaking it
It is better to reform the system we have than to destroy it (F2)
In politics, like in war, trying to reach compromises with our political opponents is a mistake
Making compromises and agreements with political opponents is worthy (F2)
We must recognise the legitimacy of our political competitors, even if we don't agree with them
The will of the people must prevail over laws
Policy decisions should be made directly by the people, and not by politicians.
The people are honest and should make their own decisions directly without the interference of the corrupt political class
The people must remain united and speak with a single voice (F1)
The people are wise and don't need to be told what is good for them
It is good that the people display a variety of voices and interests
Great leaders should be able to act without interference of parties or other political institutions (F3)
A strong leader is more important than political parties (F3)
Political parties are more important for democracy than strong leaders
It is not good to concentrate too much power in the hands of a single leader
It is important to recognise the legitimacy of our political opponents and listen to them (F2)
Moderation and consensus building are key to the success of democracy (F2)
Referendums are better to make political decisions than parliamentary votes (F3)
Referendums express the will of the people and their results must be respected at all costs (F3)
The people must remain united against the elites (F1)
The people must remain united against those who threaten our values and way of life (F3)
Society is not divided into opposing blocs and therefore politics requires moderation and consensus building (F2)
You can tell if a person is good or bad if you know the party they vote for
Political parties and parliaments are necessary institutions for democracy
Politicians are immoral and unfair (F1)
Policies fail because politicians are dishonest and ill-intentioned
Most politicians are not corrupt
A good political leader should always listen to other politicians, even if they belong to other parties (F2)
Leaders who defend ideas that are opposed to mine can be also right (F2 reversed)
Our singular identity and way of life must be preserved at all costs (F3)
Changes in our identity, culture and way of life are natural and should not be feared (F3)
The rights of minorities should be always respected even if it goes against the will of the majority

Table A3: Conspiracy beliefs items

The spread of certain viruses and/or diseases is the result of the deliberate, concealed efforts of some organization	Brotherton et al. (2013)
Technology with mind-control capacities is used on people without their knowledge	Brotherton et al. (2013)
Experiments involving new drugs or technologies are routinely carried out on the public without their knowledge or consent	Brotherton et al. (2013)
Many very important things happen in the world, which the public is never informed about.	Bruder et al. (2013)
Politicians usually do not tell us the true motives for their decisions.	Bruder et al. (2013)
Government agencies closely monitor all citizens.	Bruder et al. (2013)
Events which superficially seem to lack a connection are often the result of secret activities.	Bruder et al. (2013)
There are secret organizations that greatly influence political decisions.	Bruder et al. (2013)

Table A4: Items from other psychology scales

I avoid social gatherings and activities associated with the British society.	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I refuse to be part of the British society.	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I strive to be distant from the average British person.	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I fit in well with British values and beliefs. (R)	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I have stable and positive interactions with others from the British society. (R)	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I identify strongly with British culture and values. (R)	Social alienation	Bélenger et al. (2019)
When using violence to further a just cause, everybody is fair game.	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
Violence is necessary for social change.	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
It is acceptable to retaliate against someone who insults my values and beliefs.	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
I would never consider physical violence to further a just cause. (R)	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
We should never use violence as a way to try to change society. (R)	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
There are effective ways of changing society in Britain other than resorting to violence. (R)	Justification of violence	Bélenger et al. (2019)
People around me say it is appropriate to use violence for an ideology.	Radicalised network	Moyano (2011)
The people that I know would fight for a cause that is dear to them.	Radicalised network	Moyano (2011)
I personally know someone that supports violence for political change.	Radicalised network	Moyano (2011)
I understand my life's meaning	Meaning in life (presence)	Steger et al. (2006)
My life has a clear sense of purpose	Meaning in life (presence)	Steger et al. (2006)
I am always searching for something that makes my life feel significant	Meaning in life (search)	Steger et al. (2006)
I am searching for meaning in my life	Meaning in life (search)	Steger et al. (2006)

Table A5: Bordering attitudes items

Our country should better control flow of people coming from abroad
Border controls should be reinforced for more security
Foreign workers contribute to the prosperity of our country (reversed)
Too much control of borders can create obstacles for traveling (reversed)
Our country is threatened by immigrant workers
Allowing people to come into our country represents an opportunity for everyone (reversed)

Table A6: Items related to Brexit and other political attitudes

I feel left-behind
Cities are doing well while towns are left-behind
There are places that don't matter to the government
Experts are out-of-touch
Politicians are out-of-touch
Brexit will allow people to take back control of their future
The UK will benefit from leaving the European Union
I feel that my identity is threatened
Globalisation is good for me
I trust the current government
I feel European
Living in a democracy is essential (items for European Social Survey, ESS)
I am satisfied with the way democracy works (ESS)
When jobs are scarce men should have more rights to a job than women (ESS)
Gay male and lesbian couples should have the same rights to adopt children as straight ESS)

Table A7: Psychometric properties tests for new populism measurement tool MPAS

MODEL FIT INFORMATION		PARALLEL ANALYSIS		
Number of Free Parameters	67		Eigenvalues	Sim data
Chi-Square Test of Model Fit		F1	5.39	1.30
Value 733.202*		F2	3.54	1.26
Degrees of Freedom 150		F3	2.82	1.22
P-Value 0.0000		F4	1.09	1.19
* The chi-square value for MLM, MLMV, MLR, ULSMV, WLSM and WLSMV cannot be used for chi-square difference testing in the regular way. MLM, MLR and WLSM chi-square difference testing is described on the Mplus website. MLMV, WLSMV, and ULSMV difference testing is done using the DIFFTEST option.		F5	1.01	1.15
		F6	0.77	1.12
		F7	0.71	1.09
		F8	0.61	1.07
RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)		F9	0.58	1.04
Estimate 0.072		F10	0.55	1.02
90 Percent C.I. 0.067 0.077		F11	0.53	0.99
Probability RMSEA <= .05 0.000		F12	0.50	0.97
CFI/TLI		F13	0.47	0.95
CFI 0.930		F14	0.44	0.92
TLI 0.902		F15	0.38	0.89
Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model		F16	0.33	0.87
Value 8516.453		F17	0.33	0.84
Degrees of Freedom 210		F18	0.30	0.82
P-Value 0.0000		F19	0.25	0.79
SRMR (Standardised Root Mean Square Residual)		F20	0.22	0.77
Value 0.045		F21	0.20	0.73
MINIMUM ROTATION FUNCTION VALUE	0.06456			

Table A8: Confirmatory Factor Analysis MPAS items in survey in Italy, Greece and Spain (approximately 1000 responses in each of the countries).*

	Loadings		
	F1	F2	F3
1. The elites are enemies of the people	0.573		
2. The current system is broken and must be radically replaced	0.795		
3. The powerful will never be on the side of the people	0.757		
4. The system is rotten, we need a completely new one	0.888		
5. The people must remain united against the elites	0.714		
6. Politicians are immoral and unfair	0.748		
7. Making compromises and agreements with political opponents is worthy		0.443	
8. It is better to reform the system that we have than to destroy it		0.480	
9. Society is not divided into opposing blocs and therefore politics requires moderation and consensus building		0.476	
10. It is important to recognise the legitimacy of our political opponents and listen to them		0.616	
11. A good political leader should always listen to other politicians, even if they belong to other parties		0.590	
12. Moderation and consensus building are key to the success of democracy		0.616	
13. Leaders who defend ideas that are opposed to mine can be also right		0.594	
14. You can tell if a person is good or bad if you know the party they vote for (reversed)		-0.343	
15. A strong leader is more important than political parties			0.603
16. Great leaders should be able to act without interference of parties or other political institutions			0.561
17. The people must remain united against those who threaten our values and way of life			0.727
18. Our identity and way of life must be preserved at all costs			0.613

Note: CFI = 0.842, TLI = 0.816, RMSEA = 0.061 [0.058,0.063], SRMR = 0.061, n = 3,246. Survey conducted by Qualtrics Research to a representative sample in terms of age and gender in each of the three countries.

Table A9: Party identification regarding aspirational/subversive populist attitudes (F1)

				BP	C	G	L	
BP	<i>M</i>	3.32	BP	difference				
	<i>SD</i>	1.00		<i>p</i> -adjusted				
C	<i>M</i>	2.74	C	difference	-0.58			
	<i>SD</i>	0.81		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.008			
G	<i>M</i>	3.38	G	difference	0.06	0.64		
	<i>SD</i>	0.73		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.998	0.000		
L	<i>M</i>	3.42	L	difference	0.10	0.68	0.04	
	<i>SD</i>	0.72		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.979	0.000	0.993	
LD	<i>M</i>	3.01	LD	difference	-0.31	0.27	-0.37	-0.41
	<i>SD</i>	0.74		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.428	0.039	0.009	0.000

Note: Bold values correspond to statistically significant differences, *p*-adjusted < 0.05.

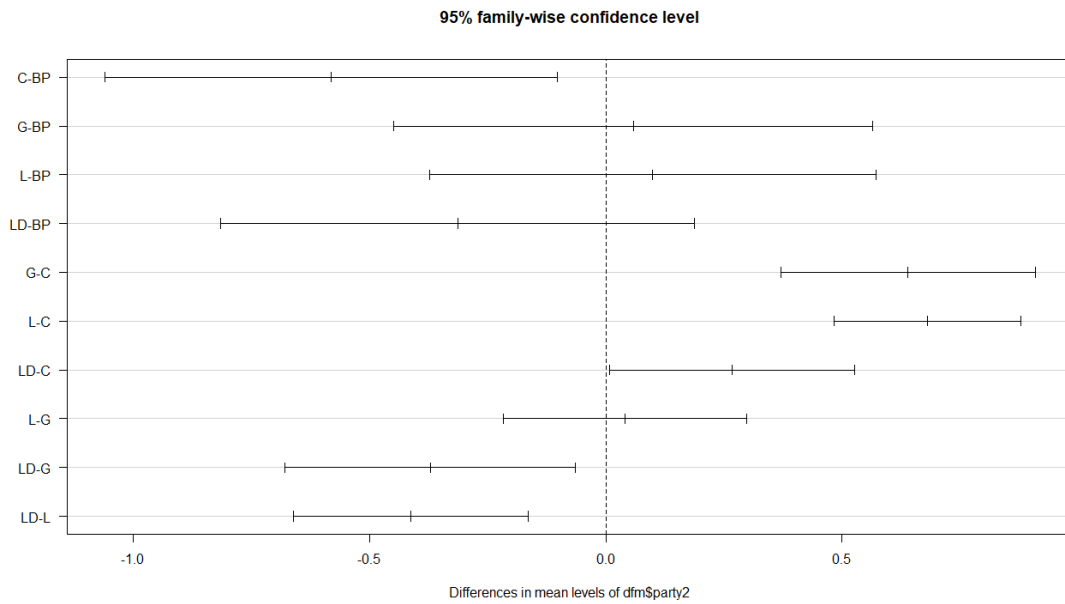


Figure A1: Differences in mean levels identification between 2 different parties aspirational/subversive populist score (F1)

Table A10: Party identification regarding identitarian/protective populist attitudes (F3)

				BP	C	G	L	
BP	<i>M</i>	3.78	BP	difference				
	<i>SD</i>	0.64		<i>p</i> -adjusted				
C	<i>M</i>	3.47	C	difference	-0.31			
	<i>SD</i>	0.58		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.244			
G	<i>M</i>	2.70	G	difference	-1.08	-0.77		
	<i>SD</i>	0.70		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000		
L	<i>M</i>	2.86	L	difference	-0.92	-0.61	0.16	
	<i>SD</i>	0.71		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000	0.265	
LD	<i>M</i>	2.96	LD	difference	-0.83	-0.52	0.26	0.09
	<i>SD</i>	0.63		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000	0.065	0.756

Note: Bold values correspond to statistically significant differences, *p*-adjusted < 0.05.

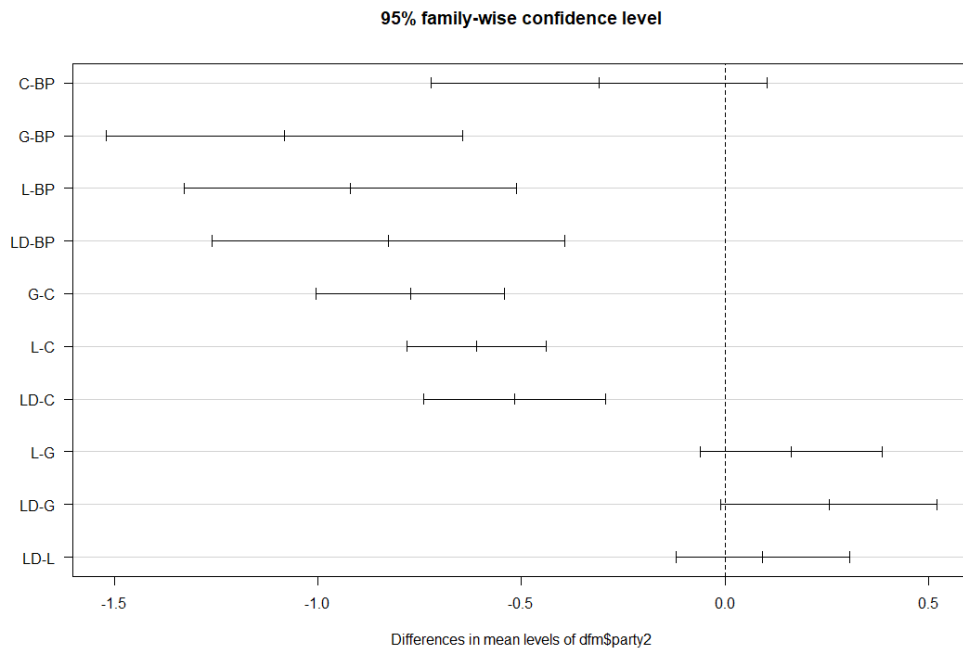


Figure A3: Differences in mean levels identification between 2 different parties identitarian/protective populist attitudes (F3)

Table A11: Party identification regarding moderate/pluralist anti-populist score (F2)

				BP	C	G	L	
BP	<i>M</i>	3.80	BP	difference				
	<i>SD</i>	0.81		<i>p</i> -adjusted				
C	<i>M</i>	4.00	C	difference	0.20			
	<i>SD</i>	0.53		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.518			
G	<i>M</i>	4.08	G	difference	0.27	0.07		
	<i>SD</i>	0.56		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.261	0.856		
L	<i>M</i>	4.05	L	difference	0.25	0.05	-0.02	
	<i>SD</i>	0.55		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.284	0.897	0.997	
LD	<i>M</i>	4.22	LD	difference	0.42	0.22	0.15	0.17
	<i>SD</i>	0.57		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.015	0.014	0.374	0.071

Note: Bold values correspond to statistically significant differences, *p*-adjusted < 0.05.

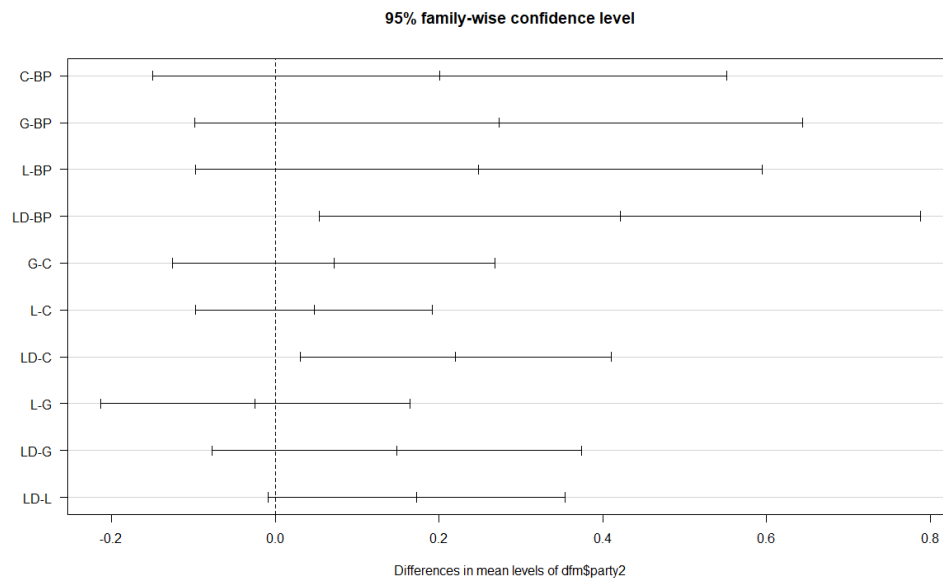


Figure A3: Differences in mean levels identification between 2 different parties moderate/pluralist anti-populist score (F2)

Table A12: Party identification regarding Akkerman et al.'s (2014) populism score (POP)

				BP	C	G	L	
BP	<i>M</i>	3.67	BP	difference				
	<i>SD</i>	0.63		<i>p</i> -adjusted				
C	<i>M</i>	3.12	C	difference	-0.55			
	<i>SD</i>	0.59		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.001			
G	<i>M</i>	3.25	G	difference	-0.42	0.13		
	<i>SD</i>	0.68		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.039	0.459		
L	<i>M</i>	3.32	L	difference	-0.35	0.20	0.07	
	<i>SD</i>	0.59		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.085	0.005	0.895	
LD	<i>M</i>	3.15	LD	difference	-0.51	0.04	-0.09	-0.16
	<i>SD</i>	0.61		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.005	0.989	0.835	0.167

Note: Bold values correspond to statistically significant differences, *p*-adjusted < 0.05.

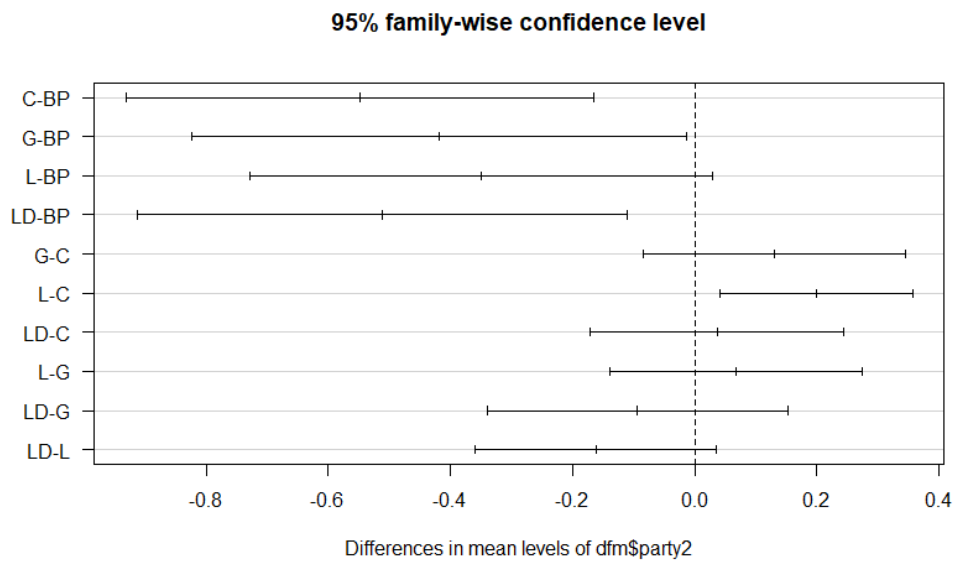


Figure A4: Differences in mean levels identification between 2 different parties Akkerman et al.'s (2014) populism score (POP)

Table A13: Party identification regarding Akkerman et al.'s (2014) pluralism score (PLU)

				BP	C	G	L	
BP	<i>M</i>	3.67	BP	difference				
	<i>SD</i>	0.75		<i>p</i> -adjusted				
C	<i>M</i>	4.02	C	difference	0.35			
	<i>SD</i>	0.59		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.060			
G	<i>M</i>	4.43	G	difference	0.76	0.41		
	<i>SD</i>	0.53		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000		
L	<i>M</i>	4.30	L	difference	0.63	0.28	-0.13	
	<i>SD</i>	0.55		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000	0.377	
LD	<i>M</i>	4.34	LD	difference	0.68	0.33	-0.08	0.04
	<i>SD</i>	0.56		<i>p</i> -adjusted	0.000	0.000	0.868	0.965

Note: Bold values correspond to statistically significant differences, *p*-adjusted < 0.05.

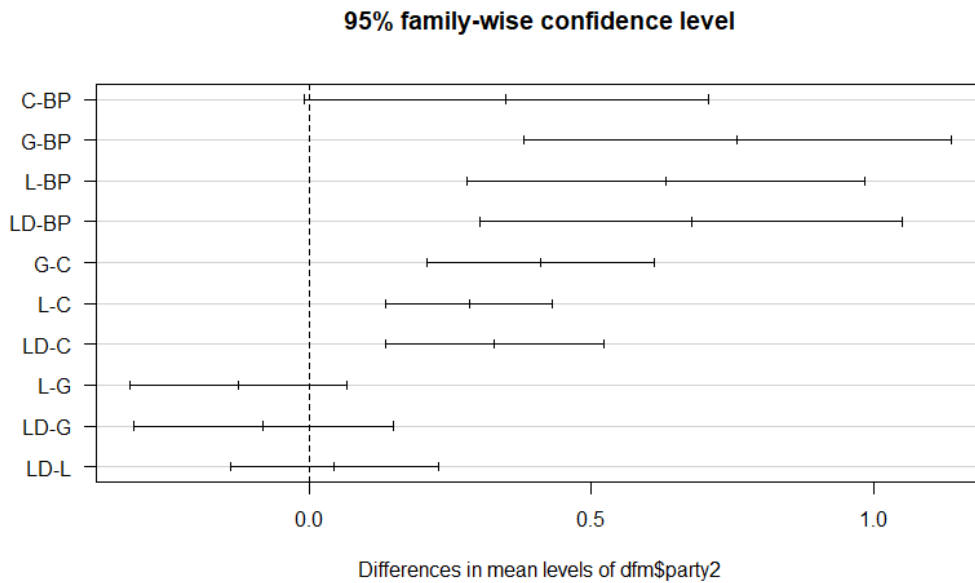


Figure A4: Differences in mean levels identification between 2 different parties Akkerman et al.'s (2014) pluralism score (PLU)