

## APPENDICES

<b>APPENDIX 3 – FURTHER TABLES AND FIGURES .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1: insights from the polling station observation.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1.a: Coming to the polling station .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1.b: Time of voting .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1.c: Polling station emotions .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1.d: Polling station conversations.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.1.e: Relating to polling station personnel.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Table X3.2: mapping polling booth feelings.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Table X3.3: Comparing polling booth thoughts – general dimensions .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Table X3.4: Correlations of polling booth thoughts with age, gender, and electoral identity .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Table X3.5: Voting thoughts for in person and remote voters .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Table X3.6: Evolution of polling booth thoughts with age – correlation table.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Table X4.1.a: Personality and turnout.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Table X4.1.b: Personality and left-vote right .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Table X4.1.c: Personality and extremism .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Table X4.2: Political colors .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Table X4.3.a: Morality and turnout .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Table X4.3.b: Morality and left-right vote.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Table X4.3.c: Morality and Extremism .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Table X4.4.a: Egocentric and sociotropic attitudes, turnout and the vote in the US .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Table X4.4.b: Egocentric and sociotropic attitudes, turnout and the vote in the UK.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Table X4.5: Stage 1: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators to social and demographic controls .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Table X4.6: Stage 1: Explaining electoral experience - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators to social and demographic controls .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Table X4.7: Stage 1: Explaining electoral resolution - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators beyond social and demographic controls .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Figure X4.1: Favourite flower and voting propensities in France .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Figure X4.2: From mainstream to extreme: Republican voters in the US and Extreme right voters in Germany by fruit preference.....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Table X5.1 What elections do citizens remember?.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Table X5.2: Feelings reported during the first vote .....</b>	<b>21</b>

<b>Table X5.3: What do citizens remember from past elections? .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Table X5.4: Electoral memory and turnout.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Table X5.5: Stage 2: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral behaviour.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Table X5.6: Stage 2: Explaining electoral experience - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral experience .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Table X5.7: Stage 2: Explaining electoral resolution - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral resolution.....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Table X6.1: Electoral identity and personality traits.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Table X6.2: Consequences of electoral identity .....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Table X6.3: Stage 3: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral behaviour.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Table X6.4: Stage 3: Explaining electoral experience - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral experience .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Table X6.5: Stage 3: Explaining electoral resolution - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral resolution.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Table X7.1: Electoral emotions and gender .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Table X7.2: Electoral emotions and age .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Figure X7.1.a-X7.1k .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Figure X7.2: Overall emotional reaction in the polling booth.....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Figure X7.3: Average emotional intensity for the three valence-type emotions</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>Table X8.1: Temporal remote voting and late decision.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Table X8.2: Thinking time and ballot paper type .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Table X9.1: Mirror perceptions of hostility in society .....</b>	<b>49</b>

## **APPENDIX 3 – FURTHER TABLES AND FIGURES**

**Table X3.1: insights from the polling station observation**

**Table X3.1.a: Coming to the polling station**

Entered station %	France (polling station observers)
Alone	43.8 (17.7)
With partner	32.1 (14.9)
With children	17.1 (9.9)
With older relatives	16.8 (8.8)
With friends/neighbours	6.2 (5.4)

*Note: Totals exceed 100 as voters could arrive with different categories of people*

**Table X3.1.b: Time of voting**

	France (poll. station observers)
Morning	35.5 (14.7)
Lunchtime	25.9 (17.4)
Afternoon	22.8 (13.1)
Evening	15.8 (15.9)

*Note: results have been weighted to total 100%*

**Table X3.1.c: Polling station emotions**

Emotion displayed %	France (polling station observers)
Happy	29.3 (22.1)
Thoughtful	18.5 (19.8)
Proud	17.4 (23.7)
Ill at ease	13.1 (12.6)
Excited	12.0 (20.8)
Feeling important	11.5 (21.9)
Worried	11.2 (13.2)
Emotional	8.1 (16.9)
Nervous	7.9 (10.5)
Angry	6.9 (9.1)
Suspicious	1.5 (2.9)

*Note: Totals exceed 100 as voters could display multiple emotions in the view of the station personnel*

**Table X3.1.d: Polling station conversations**

Conversations %	France (polling station observers)
Remained silent	48.5 (24.0)
Talked to people who came to vote with them	29.1 (26.7)
Talked to polling station personnel	23.0 (23.1)
Talked to people who arrived separately	12.9 (13.5)

*Note: Totals exceed 100 as voters could have conversations with multiple types of people*

**Table X3.1.e: Relating to polling station personnel**

	France (polling station observers)
Greeted polling staff personnel	59.9 (32.0)
Asked questions about process (ballots, rules, etc.)	23.6 (19.8)
Asked non tech. questions (atmosphere, turnout, etc.)	18.0 (16.0)

*Note: totals may exceed 100 as people could ask multiple things*

**Table X3.2: mapping polling booth feelings**

	<b>Personal</b>	<b>Systemic reference</b>	<b>Societal reference</b>	<b>Projective reference</b>
<b>Positive</b>	Happiness Excitement Emotion First time	Hope Prayer Power Pride Relief	Sense of history Privilege Responsibility	Projected efficacy
<b>Neutral</b>	Expression	Doubt Ergonomics Atmosphere Technical refs Accountability	Duty Sociotropism	Family reference Societal projection
<b>Negative</b>	Worry Negativity Hopelessness Despair	Inefficacy Frustration Impatience	Anger Alienation	Hatred Hostility

**Table X3.3: Comparing polling booth thoughts – general dimensions**

		<b>USA</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>France</b>
<b>Positivity</b>	Positive	<b>0.51 (0.50)</b>	0.35 (0.48)	<b>0.47 (0.50)</b>
	Negative	0.31 (0.46)	0.32 (0.47)	0.28 (0.45)
<b>Electoral identity</b>	Referee	0.13 (0.34)	0.16 (0.36)	0.23 (0.42)
	Supporter	<b>0.36 (0.48)</b>	<b>0.34 (0.47)</b>	0.29 (0.46)
<b>Sociotropism</b>	Egocentric	0.17 (0.37)	<b>0.15 (0.35)</b>	0.10 (0.30)
	Sociotropic	<b>0.20 (0.40)</b>	0.09 (0.29)	<b>0.25 (0.44)</b>
<b>Emotionality</b>	Emotional	<b>0.44 (0.50)</b>	0.36 (0.48)	<b>0.42 (0.49)</b>
	Detached	0.35 (0.48)	<b>0.50 (0.50)</b>	0.36 (0.48)
<b>Temporal outlook</b>	Retrospective	0.12 (0.32)	0.09 (0.28)	0.08 (0.28)
	Prospective	<b>0.37 (0.48)</b>	<b>0.35 (0.48)</b>	<b>0.37 (0.48)</b>

**Table X3.4: Correlations of polling booth thoughts with age, gender, and electoral identity**

		USA			UK			France		
		G	A	EI	G	A	EI	G	A	EI
<b>Positivity</b>	Positive	0.13**	-	0.10**	-	-	0.08*	-	-	-
	Negative	-0.07*	-	-	0.08*	-	-0.08*	0.06*	-	-
<b>Electoral identity</b>	Referee	-0.08*	-	-0.17**	-	-	-0.10*	-	-	-
	Supporter	-	0.08*	0.15**	0.11**	0.13**	0.08*	-	0.09**	-
<b>Sociotrop.</b>	Egocentric	-	-0.07*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sociotropic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Emotional</b>	Emotional	0.16**	-	-	0.18**	-	0.08*	-	-	-
	Detached	-0.08**	-	-0.08**	-0.15**	0.09*	-	-	-	-
<b>Direction of outlook</b>	Retrospect.	-	0.11**	-	-	-	-	-0.07*	-	-
	Prospect.	-	-	-	0.11**	-	-	-	-	-

**Table X3.5: Voting thoughts for in person and remote voters**

	US		UK		FR		DE		SA
	Polling Stat	Remote	Polling Stat	Remote	Polling Stat	Remote	Polling Stat	Remote	Polling Stat
<b>Responsibility</b>	2.49 (0.80) 1	2.57 (0.76) 1	2.06 (1.01) 1	2.25 (0.87) 1	2.35 (0.90) 1	2.26 (1.07) 1	1.85 (1.04) 1	1.94 (1.00) 1	2.42 (0.89) 1
<b>How rest of the country will vote</b>	1.82 (1.07) 3	1.81 (1.07) 4	1.59 (1.08) 4	1.66 (1.03) 4	1.79 (1.10) 2	1.64 (1.17) 2	1.56 (1.07) 2=	1.59 (1.02) 3	1.95 (1.02) 3=
<b>The candidates</b>	2.20 (1.02) 2	2.32 (0.98) 2	1.74 (1.11) 3	1.76 (1.07) 3	1.60 (1.16) 3	1.53 (1.19) 3	1.27 (1.13) 5	1.40 (1.12) 5	1.65 (1.13) 6
<b>Family</b>	1.62 (1.14) 4	1.95 (1.07) 3	1.11 (1.11) 6	1.53 (1.13) 6	1.35 (1.17) 5	1.40 (1.20) 5	0.95 (1.06) 8	1.10 (1.05) 9	1.95 (1.08) 3=
<b>Who may be in Government</b>	1.18 (1.10) 9	1.40 (1.18) 12	1.81 (1.14) 2	2.08 (1.00) 2	0.89 (1.02) 13	0.95 (1.09) 12	1.43 (1.14) 4	1.60 (1.10) 2	1.97 (1.08) 2
<b>That election may be historical</b>	1.59 (1.14) 5	1.62 (1.11) 6	1.44 (1.11) 5	1.56 (1.07) 5	1.46 (1.15) 4	1.44 (1.26) 4	0.84 (0.95) 11	0.87 (0.92) 13	1.61 (1.11) 7
<b>Some happy thought</b>	1.43 (1.10) 7	1.52 (1.08) 10	0.97 (1.03) 8	1.11 (1.02) 12	1.13 (1.10) 7	1.26 (1.13) 7	1.56 (1.09) 2=	1.53 (1.04) 4	1.71 (1.07) 5
<b>Discussion with someone</b>	1.22 (1.06) 8	1.60 (1.04) 7	1.07 (1.06) 7	1.27 (1.01) 7	1.14 (1.06) 6	1.31 (1.22) 6	1.02 (1.03) 7	1.11 (1.01) 8	1.42 (1.11) 10
<b>Some emotional thought</b>	1.52 (1.11) 6	1.65 (1.08) 5	0.96 (1.03) 9	1.16 (1.03) 10	0.96 (1.04) 12	1.06 (1.14) 8	1.13 (1.00) 6	1.14 (0.98) 7	1.45 (1.07) 9
<b>Some previous election</b>	1.16 (1.03) 10	1.55 (1.09) 8	0.88 (0.97) 10=	1.15 (0.98) 11	1.08 (1.12) 8	0.93 (1.06) 13=	0.91 (1.02) 9	1.15 (1.05) 6	1.46 (1.05) 8
<b>Something heard during campaign</b>	1.12 (1.03) 11	1.54 (1.08) 9	0.88 (0.99) 10=	1.24 (1.03) 8	0.97 (1.02) 11	1.05 (1.08) 9	0.82 (0.96) 12=	0.98 (0.94) 11	1.23 (1.07) 13
<b>Something heard during debates</b>	1.08 (1.06) 12	1.49 (1.13) 11	0.87 (1.02) 12	1.20 (1.05) 9	1.07 (1.08) 9	1.00 (1.04) 10	0.82 (0.97) 12=	1.00 (0.97) 10	1.20 (1.08) 14
<b>Some angry thought</b>	0.91 (1.02) 13	1.30 (1.06) 13	0.83 (1.01) 13	1.10 (1.05) 13	1.06 (1.08) 10	0.98 (1.04) 11	0.85 (0.95) 10	0.96 (0.96) 12	1.28 (1.10) 11
<b>Something campaign image</b>	0.73 (0.89) 14=	0.97 (1.02) 14	0.56 (0.83) 14	0.75 (0.87) 14	0.85 (0.97) 14=	0.84 (1.02) 15	0.76 (0.96) 14	0.80 (0.92) 14	1.24 (1.08) 12
<b>Argument with someone</b>	0.73 (0.94) 14=	0.96 (1.05) 15	0.51 (0.83) 15	0.67 (0.90) 15	0.85 (1.00) 14=	0.93 (1.09) 13=	0.54 (0.85) 15	0.60 (0.84) 15	1.07 (1.08) 15

**Table X3.6: Evolution of polling booth thoughts with age – correlation table**

USA		UK		France		Germany		South Africa	
Argument	-0.16**	Argument	-0.21**	Argument	-0.13**	Argument	-0.21**	Campaign element	-0.15**
Campaign image	-0.13**	Discussion	-0.16**	Discussion	-0.12**	Angry thought	-0.19**	Argument	-0.13**
Discussion	-0.12**	Campaign image	-0.14**	Candidate	-0.10**	Previous election	-0.15**	Campaign image	-0.13**
Previous election	-0.12**	Campaign element	-0.14**	Previous election	-0.07**	Campaign image	-0.15**	Debate element	-0.11**
Campaign element	-0.10**	Happy thought	-0.13**	Campaign element	-0.06*	Discussion	-0.14**	Discussion	-0.10**
Happy thought	-0.09**	Debate element	-0.11**	Campaign image	-0.06*	Campaign element	-0.13**		
Angry thought	-0.09**	Emotional thought	-0.09**	Possible ministers	0.06*	Family	-0.12**		
Responsibility	0.10**	Previous election	-0.09**	Historical election	0.07**	Candidates	-0.07**		
		Family	-0.08**	Family	0.08**	Debate element	-0.07**		
		Angry thought	-0.06*						

**Table X4.1.a: Personality and turnout**

	<b>US2012</b>	<b>US2014</b>	<b>UKRef</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>South Af</b>
<b>Sensitivity</b>	-0.05	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	-0.06*
<b>Anxiety</b>	-0.07**	-0.07	-0.02	-0.07**	-0.06**	-0.06
<b>Freedom</b>	0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	0.05
<b>Extroversion</b>	-0.01	0.01	0.03	0.04	-0.02	-0.03
<b>Risk aversion</b>	-0.03	-0.01	-0.06**	-0.04	-0.04	0.01
<b>Care</b>	0.02	-0.07	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	0.02
<b>Alienation</b>	0.05	0.09*	0.04	0.09**	0.03	0.09**
<b>Confrontation</b>	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	0.01

**Table X4.1.b: Personality and left-vote right**

	<b>US2012</b>	<b>US2014</b>	<b>UKRef</b>	<b>France</b>		<b>Germany</b>		<b>South Af</b>
	REP	REP	REM	PS	LR	SPD	CDU	ANC
<b>Sensitivity</b>	-0.02	-0.03	0.08**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	-0.05*	-0.00
<b>Anxiety</b>	-0.03	-0.03	0.11**	0.02	-0.05	0.00	-0.03	-0.13**
<b>Freedom</b>	-0.09**	-0.14**	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.05*	0.01
<b>Extroversion</b>	0.01	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02	0.02	-0.09**	-0.05
<b>Risk aversion</b>	-0.08**	-0.11*	0.09**	0.08**	-0.10**	-0.00	-0.06**	0.02
<b>Care</b>	-0.08**	-0.06	-0.02	0.02	-0.06*	-0.03	0.03	0.02
<b>Alienation</b>	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.10**	-0.02
<b>Confrontation</b>	0.06*	-0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	0.04	-0.08*

Notes: USA= Republican Vote, UK=Remain, Germany CDU also includes CSU

**Table X4.1.c: Personality and extremism**

	<b>Germany</b>			<b>France</b>			<b>UK</b>
	<b>Extr</b>	<b>Extr R</b>	<b>Extr L</b>	<b>Extr</b>	<b>Extr R</b>	<b>Extr L</b>	<b>Extr R</b>
<b>Sensitivity</b>	0.06**	0.08** Af,Np,Dv,Rp	0.04	0.04*	0.05*	0.00	-0.07*
<b>Anxiety</b>	0.05*	0.04* Np	0.04	-0.01	-0.00	-0.02	-0.08**
<b>Freedom</b>	-0.00	-0.05** Np,Dv,Rp	0.02	-0.01	-0.03	0.04	0.04
<b>Extroversion</b>	0.03	-0.04* Np,Dv,Rp	0.06**	0.00	0.03	-0.03	-0.04
<b>Risk aversion</b>	0.04*	0.03 Rp	0.03	-0.03	-0.09**	0.08** Fi,Pc,Ac	-0.05
<b>Care</b>	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.03	-0.02	-0.07** Fi,Pc,Ac	0.01
<b>Alienation</b>	-0.09**	-0.03 Af	-0.09**	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	0.01
<b>Confrontation</b>	-0.04*	-0.00	-0.05**	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04 Pc	-0.03

Notes: Correlations are for propensity to vote indices for extremist parties, populist right parties, and populist left parties respectively. In France and Germany, letters represent individual parties with statistically significant correlations (France left: Fi=France Insoumise, Pc=Parti Communiste, Ac=Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste; Germany right: Af=AfD, Np=NPD, Dv=DVU, Rp=Republikaner)

**Table X4.2: Political colors**

	US Rep	UK Lab	UK Con	FR PS	FR LR	DE SPD	DE CDU
Black	43.3	22.6	33.9	21.6	30.2	26.2	<b>43.9</b>
Grey	52.2	33.3	27.8	<b>41.7</b>	30.6	17.9	38.5
White	41.7	17.2	<b>48.3</b>	30.2	27.9	22.6	34.5
Red	<b>57.0</b>	<b>33.7</b>	28.5	30.5	21.4	34.7	34.0
Pink	43.0	28.7	32.8	29.6	<b>32.4</b>	29.2	40.7
Purple	32.0	20.3	32.3	23.8	20.0	26.4	39.8
Blue	51.0	24.6	41.2	36.5	20.8	30.0	39.8
Green	49.4	21.4	33.5	25.0	20.0	28.0	36.6
Yellow	47.5	22.2	31.9	24.2	19.7	<b>37.9</b>	29.7
Orange	46.4	32.6	23.9	27.2	27.5	32.6	36.6

**Table X4.3.a: Morality and turnout**

Country	USA		UK		France		Germany	South Af
	2012	2014	2010	2015	2012	2013	2017	
<b>Deprivation (C)</b>	-0.13**	-0.09*	-0.03	-0.05	0.03	-0.01	-0.02	
<b>Family (C)</b>	0.12**	0.12**	0.03	0.02	0.00	-0.00	0.04	
<b>Truth (C)</b>	-0.05	-0.10*	0.01	0.05	-0.05	-0.02	-0.01	
<b>Aggression (S)</b>	-0.07**	-0.07	-0.04	0.01	0.10**	0.00	0.01	
<b>Laziness (S)</b>	-0.04	-0.11**	-0.01	0.08	-0.06	-0.03	0.01	
<b>Narcissism (S)</b>	0.07**	0.10*	0.07*	-0.06	-0.07*	0.03	-0.01	
<b>Sexuality (S)</b>	0.00	0.03	-0.08*	-0.04	-0.03	0.01	-0.01	
<b>Self-Indulge (S)</b>	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.07*	-0.02	0.01	

Notes: morality prioritization is based on rank order, so a positive correlation represents a lower likelihood to turnout when a specific moral concern is seen as most important (ie ranked 1 or 2)

**Table X4.3.b: Morality and left-right vote**

Country	USA		UK				France		Germany	S.Af	
	2012R	2014R	2010L	2015L	2010C	2015C	PS	LR	SPD	CDU	ANC
<b>Deprivation (C)</b>	0.09**	0.12*	-0.07	-0.01	0.05	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	0.01	0.07**	0.13**
<b>Family (C)</b>	-0.10**	-0.21**	0.01	-0.07	-0.03	0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.00	-0.09**	-0.14**
<b>Truth (C)</b>	0.07**	0.17**	0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.02	0.02
<b>Aggression (S)</b>	0.21**	0.21**	-0.06	0.00	0.08*	0.05	-0.08*	0.08*	-0.02	-0.02	0.12**
<b>Laziness (S)</b>	-0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	-0.06	-0.05	0.11**	-0.17**	0.02	-0.07	-0.04
<b>Narcissism (S)</b>	-0.08**	-0.03	0.02	-0.06	0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.03	-0.03
<b>Sexuality (S)</b>	-0.22**	-0.27**	0.00	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	0.01	-0.03	0.03	-0.02	-0.09**
<b>Self-Indulge (S)</b>	0.11**	0.09	0.03	0.08	-0.03	-0.08	-0.02	0.07	-0.01	0.09	0.03

Notes: morality prioritization is based on rank order, so a positive correlation represents a lower likelihood to support a given party when a specific moral concern is seen as most important (ie ranked 1 or 2)

**Table X4.3.c: Morality and Extremism**

Country	Germany				France			UK
	XR	NPD	DVU	Linke	FN	FI	Total X	2010 ED
<b>Deprivation (C)</b>	0.09**	0.09**	0.09**	-0.06**	0.05	-0.01	0.07	-0.07*
<b>Family (C)</b>	-0.08**	-0.09**	-0.09**	0.05**	-0.02	0.01	-0.04	0.07*
<b>Truth (C)</b>	0.03	0.04*	0.02	0.00	-0.04	0.03	0.01	-0.02
<b>Aggression (S)</b>	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.01	0.07*	-0.08**	0.02	-0.07*
<b>Laziness (S)</b>	-0.06**	-0.07**	-0.06**	0.04	-0.01	0.10**	0.04	0.08**
<b>Narcissism (S)</b>	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04*	0.01	0.04	-0.06*	0.00	-0.03
<b>Sexuality (S)</b>	0.03	0.02	0.04*	0.02	-0.05	0.11**	0.02	0.01
<b>Self-Indulge (S)</b>	0.08**	0.08**	0.09**	-0.07**	-0.09*	-0.04	-0.11**	0.03

**Table X4.4.a: Egocentric and sociotropic attitudes, turnout and the vote in the US**

	Turnout 2012	Turnout 2014	Rep 2012	Rep 2014
Short term self-sacrifice for long term benefit	-	0.09*	-	-
Children focus	-	-	-	-0.13**
Middle age focus	-	-	-	0.17**
Egocentric (no tension)	-0.15**	-0.12**	-	-
Sociotropic (no tension)	0.10**	0.12**	-	-
Economic egocentric vs status quo	-	-	0.23**	0.19**
Economic sociotropic vs status quo	0.12**	0.16**	-0.11**	-0.12**
Economic egocentric full scale	-	-0.10**	0.20**	0.22**
Pension sociotropic vs status quo	-	0.14**	-	-
Pension egocentric vs status quo	-	-	-	-
Pension sociotropic full scale	-	-	-0.10*	-
Policing sociotropic full scale	0.13**	0.09**	-	-0.11**
Policing egocentric full scale	0.09*	-	-	-
Social housing egocentric full scale	-	-0.11**	0.31**	0.34**
Social housing sociotropic full scale	-	0.12**	-0.26**	-0.30**
Protect middle age vs elderly	-	-	0.22**	0.27**
Protect middle age vs children	-	-	0.32**	0.38**
Protect elderly vs children	-	-	0.14**	0.16**

**Table X4.4.b: Egocentric and sociotropic attitudes, turnout and the vote in the UK**

	Turnt 2010	Turnt 2015	Lab 2010	Lab 2015	Con 2010	Con 2015	UKIP	BNP	ED
Non projective	-0.07*	-	0.14**	0.19**	- 0.17**	-0.22**	-	-	-
Mid projective	0.08*	0.07*	-	- 0.11**	0.07*	0.17**	-	-	-
High projective	-	-	- 0.11**	- 0.09**	0.12**	0.07*	-	-	-
Children focus	-	-	0.08*	0.07*	-	-	-	-	-
Middle age focus	-	-	0.07*	-	-	0.09*	-	-	-
Elderly focus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Egocentric	-0.08*	-0.07*	-	-	-	-	0.10**	0.09**	-
Mid sociotropic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociotropic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economic egocentric vs status quo	-	-	-0.07*	- 0.09**	-	-	-	-	-
Economic sociotropic vs status quo	0.09**	-	-	-	-	-	-0.07*	-0.07*	-
Economic egocentric full scale	-0.07*	-0.12**	-	-0.07*	-	-	0.07*	0.09**	-
Pension sociotropic vs status quo	0.07*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.09**
Pension egocentric vs status quo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.11**
Pension sociotropic full scale	0.08*	-	0.10**	0.09**	-0.08*	-	-0.07*	-	-
Policing sociotropic full scale	0.09**	0.10**	-	-	-0.07*	-	-	-	0.13**
Policing egocentric full scale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social housing egocentric full scale	-	-	- 0.14**	- 0.19**	0.20**	0.22**	-	-	-
Social housing sociotropic full scale	0.07*	0.10**	0.13**	0.15**	- 0.19**	-0.11**	-	-	0.10**
Protect middle age vs elderly	-0.09**	-0.08*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Protect middle age vs children	-	-0.07*	- 0.10**	- 0.15**	0.14**	0.17**	-	0.07*	-
Protect elderly vs children	-	-	-0.08*	- 0.10**	-	0.08*	-	-	-

**Table X4.5: Stage 1: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators to social and demographic controls**

	USA			UK/Scot			Germany						FRA	SAF
	Republican			Scot Ref		CDU		SPD		AfD		L-R	ANC	
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All	
R <sup>2</sup> ST0	0.19	0.26	0.20	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.25	
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.46	0.68	0.59	0.26	0.13	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.33	
Δ	+0.27	+0.42	+0.39	+0.20	+0.11	+0.05	+0.12	+0.02	+0.10	+0.04	+0.05	+0.05	+0.08	
	Turnout			Turnout			Turnout						C Tnt	Turnt
R <sup>2</sup> ST0	0.12			0.09			0.01						0.01	0.05
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.21			0.23			0.13						0.06	0.11
Δ	+0.09			+0.14			+0.12						+0.05	+0.06

Notes: For electoral choice, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> for all countries using logistic regression except for France where the voting variable is continuous and analysis uses OLS regression. Standard R<sup>2</sup> is used in that case.

For turnout, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> except for France where continuous turnout is used.

Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

**Table X4.6: Stage 1: Explaining electoral experience - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators to social and demographic controls**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
Emotionality									
R <sup>2</sup> ST0	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.17	0.30	0.35	0.20	0.15	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05
Δ	+0.14	+0.25	+0.32	+0.17	+0.11	+0.04	+0.05	+0.02	+0.05
Happiness									
R <sup>2</sup> ST0	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.18	0.28	0.34	0.22	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.05	0.13
Δ	+0.13	+0.21	+0.26	+0.15	+0.08	+0.03	+0.07	+0.04	+0.13

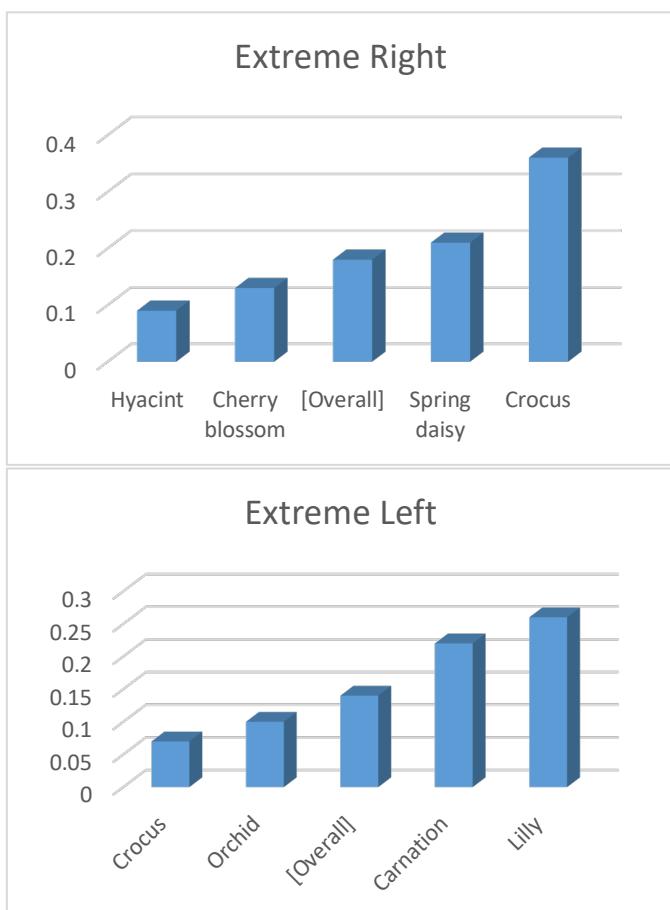
All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

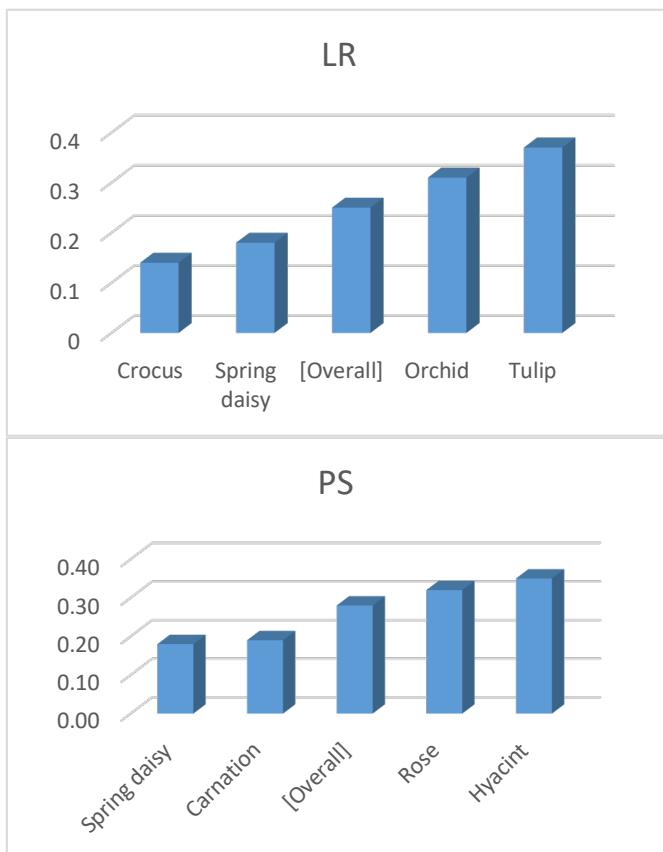
**Table X4.7: Stage 1: Explaining electoral resolution - adding personality, morality and sociotropism indicators beyond social and demographic controls**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
R <sup>2</sup> ST0	0.01	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.07	0.40	0.31	0.29	0.13	0.08	0.14	0.06	0.09
Δ	+0.06	+0.34	+0.24	+0.26	+0.11	+0.08	+0.14	+0.06	+0.08

All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

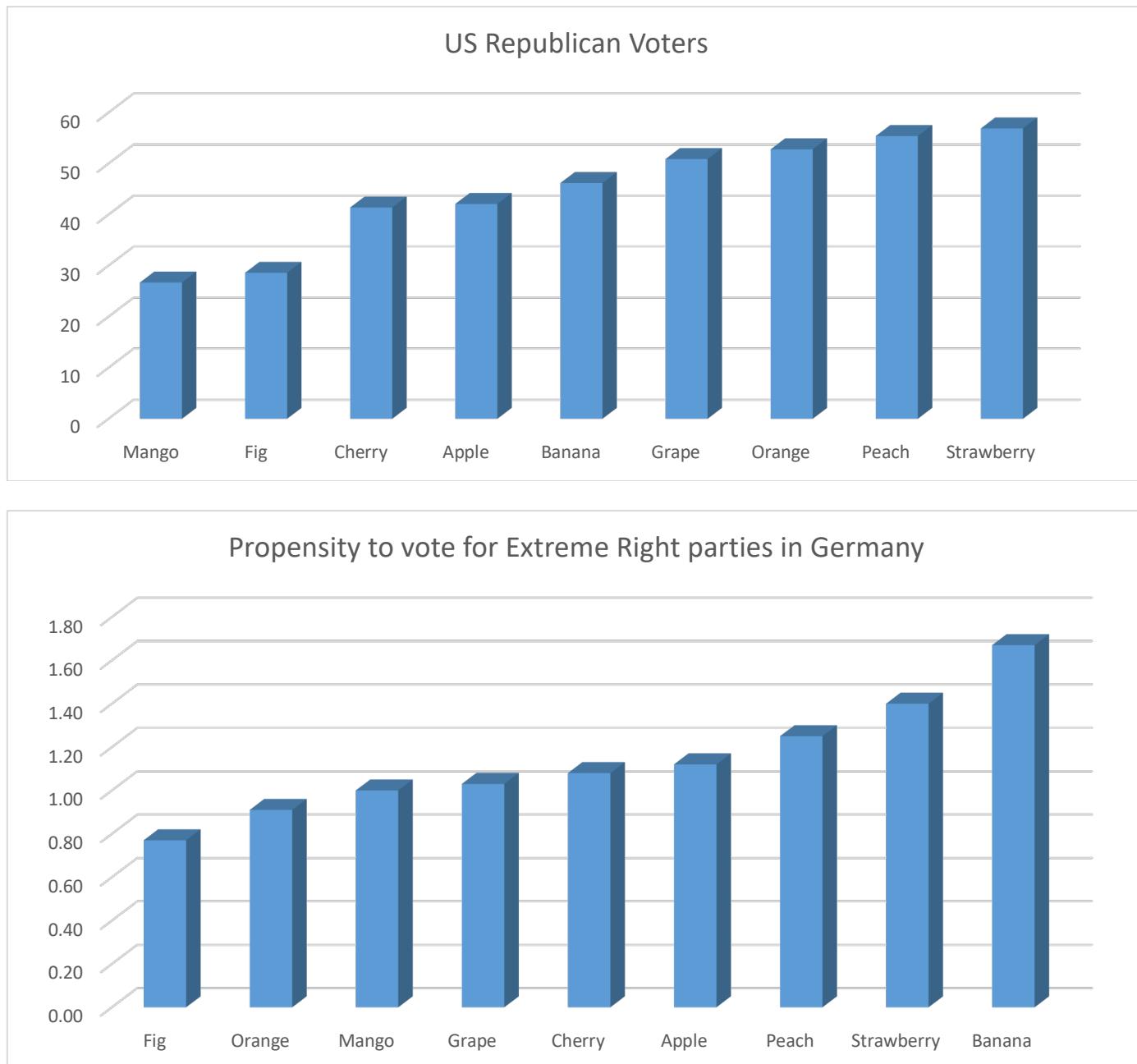
**Figure X4.1: Favourite flower and voting propensities in France**





*Notes: Figures represent the average propensity to vote for each of the four party/party families according to the respondents' favourite flower. Each graph includes the two lowest supporting groups, the party/party family's propensity to vote for the whole sample, and the two highest supporting groups.*

**Figure X4.2: From mainstream to extreme: Republican voters in the US and Extreme right voters in Germany by fruit preference**



*Notes: Numbers in the US graph represent the average proportion of voters for the Republican Presidential candidate in the 2012 Election. Numbers in the German graph represent the overall propensity to vote for the countries' three extreme right parties on a scale from 0 to 10*

**Table X5.1 What elections do citizens remember?**

	<b>USA</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Georgia</b>
1	2008 Pres 2.36 (0.85)	2005 General 1.57 (0.99)	2007 Pres 2.54 (0.72)	Federal 2009 1.64 (1.08)	2009 General 2.00 (0.97)	2012 ParlUns 2.44 (0.67)
2	2000 Pres 1.77 (0.99)	1997 General 1.45 (1.08)	2002 Pres 2.21 (0.93)	First Election 1.39 (1.07)	First Election 1.99 (1.00)	2008 Pres 1.98 (0.83)
3	2010 Cong 1.57 (1.07)	First Election 1.21 (0.98)	First Election 1.84 (1.01)	1998 Federal 1.18 (1.06)	1994 General 1.82 (1.11)	Georgia first el 1.42 (0.99)
4	First Election 1.52 (1.01)	2009 European 1.18 (1.00)	2005 Ref EU 1.81 (1.00)	2009 European 1.10 (1.00)	Childhood Elec 1.45 (1.24)	First Election 1.39 (0.92)
5	Childhood Elec 1.14 (0.95)	1979 General 0.83 (1.02)	2010 Regional 1.77 (1.02)	1990 Federal 0.95 (1.03)	1992 Ref Cons 1.10 (1.09)	Childhood Elec 0.97 (0.92)
6	1980 Pres 1.06 (1.03)	Childhood Elec 0.82 (0.90)	1981 Pres 1.72 (1.24)	Childhood Elec 0.86 (1.00)	1989 General 0.74 (0.99)	USSR Elect 0.87 (0.94)
7			Childhood Elec 1.33 (1.03)			

*Notes: Red: Childhood election and first election*

*Blue: Recent first order national election*

*Green: Recent second order national election*

*Orange: Major realignment election*

**Table X5.2: Feelings reported during the first vote**

	Overall	Including "A lot"
Feeling part of something important for country	81.3	25.1
Feeling part of something important for self	77.2	22.4
Pride	70.8	19.7
Excitement	64.4	14.7
Feeling closer to other citizens	64.1	12.1
Emotional	59.7	10.2
Happiness	53.3	9.6
Feeling closer to one's family	48.8	7.6
Fear	47.5	6.8
Boredom	42.2	8.1
Empathy	39.2	5.8
Anger	34.0	5.7
Disgust	33.4	5.9
Feeling out of place	33.1	5.5

**Table X5.3: What do citizens remember from past elections?**

	USA	UK	France	Germany	South Africa	Georgia
1	Who voted for 2.26 (0.87)	Who voted for 1.91 (1.00)	Who voted for 2.24 (0.78)	Who voted for 2.03 (1.01)	Who voted for 2.30 (0.88)	Who won 2.20 (0.62)
2	Who won 2.23 (0.82)	Who won 1.74 (0.98)	Who won 2.19 (0.78)	Who won 1.86 (1.03)	Who won 2.28 (0.82)	Who voted for 2.17 (0.69)
3	Who lost 1.69 (0.93)	Who lost 1.33 (1.00)	Who lost 1.84 (0.87)	Hesit. Turnout 1.47 (1.12)	Who lost 1.78 (1.00)	Who lost 2.09 (0.69)
4	Image Elec night 1.38 (0.96)	Pers Experience 1.23 (1.03)	Image Elec night 1.62 (0.96)	Who lost 1.43 (1.06)	Pers Experience 1.76 (1.00)	Pers Experience 1.59 (0.88)
5	Dis. Fam/friend 1.36 (0.92)	Image Elec night 1.14 (1.00)	Hesit. Turnout 1.59 (1.04)	Hesit choice 1.41 (1.08)	Dis. Fam/friend 1.66 (0.93)	Camp. Element 1.57 (0.81)
6	Pers Experience 1.29 (0.99)	Dis. Fam/friend 1.01 (0.92)	Dis. Fam/friend 1.58 (0.81)	Pers Experience 1.22 (1.04)	Hesit. Turnout 1.58 (1.12)	Image Elec night 1.50 (0.91)
7	Camp. Element 1.28 (0.88)	Hesit choice 1.00 (1.03)	Pers Experience 1.41 (0.97)	Dis. Fam/friend 1.12 (0.96)	Camp. Poster 1.58 (0.99)	Dis. Fam/friend 1.42 (0.94)
8	Hesit choice 1.14 (1.06)	Hesit. Turnout 0.97 (1.03)	Hesit choice 1.29 (0.93)	Image Elec night 0.94 (0.95)	Camp. Element 1.55 (0.97)	Camp. Poster 1.40 (0.83)
9	Hesit. Turnout 1.02 (1.11)	Camp. Element 0.90 (0.88)	Camp. Element 1.25 (0.90)	Camp. Element 0.90 (0.92)	Hesit choice 1.54 (1.13)	Debate 1.29 (0.86)
10	Camp. Poster 0.98 (0.90)	Camp. Poster 0.79 (0.87)	Argument fam/fd 1.05 (0.97)	Argument fam/fd 0.84 (0.93)	Image Elec night 1.50 (1.01)	Argument fam/fd 1.25 (0.99)
11	Argument fam/fd 0.97 (0.97)	Argument fam/fd 0.63 (0.88)	Camp. Poster 0.95 (0.85)	Camp. Poster 0.71 (0.89)	Argument fam/fd 1.25 (1.06)	Hesit choice 0.95 (1.05)
12	Debate 0.90 (0.88)	*	*	Debate 0.68 (0.85)	Debate 1.18 (0.96)	Hesit. Turnout 0.90 (1.05)

\*Note that debate option was not offered in the UK and France.

**Table X5.4: Electoral memory and turnout**

	USA		UK		France		Germany		South Africa	
	Non-voter	Voter								
Which election?										
Childhood	0.72 (0.87)	1.18 (0.95)	0.53 (0.82)	0.85 (0.91)	1.32 (1.01)	1.33 (1.02)	0.55 (0.83)	0.90 (1.00)	1.51 (1.24)	1.43 (1.23)
First vote	0.84 (0.96)	1.58 (0.99)	0.79 (0.95)	1.27 (0.97)	1.51 (1.04)	1.83 (1.02)	0.90 (0.99)	1.45 (1.07)	1.55 (1.18)	2.09 (0.93)

Realignment	0.78 (0.94)	1.91 (0.95)	0.73 (0.88)	1.56 (1.06)	1.64 (1.03)	2.27 (0.89)	0.55 (0.85)	1.27 (1.06)	1.55 (1.15)	1.90 (1.09)
Last 1 <sup>st</sup> order	1.22 (1.06)	2.49 (0.73)	0.77 (0.86)	1.69 (0.95)	2.01 (0.95)	2.59 (0.67)	0.82 (0.96)	1.74 (1.05)	1.63 (1.10)	2.09 (0.91)
<b>What is remembered?</b>										
Discussions	0.88 (0.92)	1.41 (0.91)	0.52 (0.76)	1.07 (0.92)	1.21 (0.87)	1.61 (0.79)	0.69 (0.90)	1.17 (0.94)	1.53 (0.95)	1.70 (0.93)
Arguments	0.63 (0.91)	0.99 (0.96)	0.33 (0.70)	0.66 (0.89)	0.95 (0.91)	1.03 (0.96)	0.45 (0.76)	0.88 (0.94)	1.19 (1.08)	1.29 (1.07)
Haptic	0.77 (1.00)	1.36 (0.97)	0.62 (0.89)	1.32 (1.02)	1.14 (1.00)	1.43 (0.96)	0.54 (0.82)	1.29 (1.03)	1.38 (1.05)	1.87 (0.96)
Hesit choice	0.88 (1.05)	1.13 (1.06)	0.58 (0.88)	1.06 (1.03)	1.01 (0.92)	1.30 (0.92)	0.85 (0.99)	1.47 (1.07)	1.29 (1.08)	1.61 (1.14)
Hesit turnout	0.80 (0.98)	1.01 (1.14)	0.62 (0.86)	1.02 (1.04)	1.54 (0.97)	1.58 (1.03)	1.04 (1.12)	1.51 (1.11)	1.45 (1.09)	1.63 (1.12)
Who voted for	1.43 (1.19)	2.36 (0.75)	0.99 (1.07)	2.04 (0.92)	1.75 (1.00)	2.27 (0.73)	1.16 (1.14)	2.15 (0.93)	1.72 (1.15)	2.43 (0.75)
Who won	1.50 (1.12)	2.30 (0.75)	1.02 (0.99)	1.84 (0.94)	1.88 (0.99)	2.21 (0.74)	1.14 (1.13)	1.95 (0.97)	2.12 (0.95)	2.32 (0.78)

Notes: In the US, the voters' category includes the citizens who reported to cast a vote in both the Presidential and Congressional elections in 2012. In France, the voters' category includes respondents who claimed to have voted in both rounds of the Presidential election.

**Table X5.5: Stage 2: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral behaviour**

	USA			UK/Scot			Germany						FRA	SAF
	Republican			Scot Ref		CDU		SPD		AfD		L-R	ANC	
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All	
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.46	0.68	0.59	0.26	0.13	0.07	0.14	0.03	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.33	
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.53	0.69	0.61	0.27	0.18	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.14	0.05	0.09	0.07	0.37	
Δ	+0.07	+0.01	+0.02	+0.01	+0.05	+0.01	+0.01	+0.01	+0.01	0.00	+0.02	+0.01	+0.04	
	Turnout			Turnout			Turnout						C Tnt	Turnt
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.21			0.23			0.13						0.06	0.11
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.27			0.26			0.16						0.07	0.18
Δ	+0.06			+0.03			+0.03						+0.01	+0.07

*Notes: For electoral choice, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> for all countries using logistic regression except for France where the voting variable is continuous and analysis uses OLS regression. Standard R<sup>2</sup> is used in that case.*

*For turnout, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> except for France where continuous turnout is used.*

*Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.*

**Table X5.6: Stage 2: Explaining electoral experience - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral experience**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
Emotionality									
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.17	0.30	0.35	0.20	0.15	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.18	0.32	0.42	0.24	0.22	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08
Δ	+0.01	+0.02	+0.07	+0.04	+0.07	+0.02	+0.02	+0.02	+0.03
Happiness									
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.18	0.28	0.34	0.22	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.05	0.13
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.19	0.30	0.40	0.23	0.18	0.06	0.10	0.06	0.15
Δ	+0.01	+0.02	+0.06	+0.01	+0.10	+0.02	+0.02	+0.01	+0.02

All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

**Table X5.7: Stage 2: Explaining electoral resolution - adding electoral memory to personality and control predictors of electoral resolution**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
R <sup>2</sup> ST1	0.07	0.40	0.31	0.29	0.13	0.08	0.14	0.06	0.09
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.08	0.51	0.33	0.30	0.16	0.10	0.15	0.08	0.11
Δ	+0.01	+0.11	+0.02	+0.01	+0.03	+0.02	+0.01	+0.02	+0.02

All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

**Table X6.1: Electoral identity and personality traits**

	Sensitivity	Anxiety	Freedom	Extraversion	Risk Aversion	Care	Alienation	Confrontation
<b>UK Referendum</b>	-0.13*	0.05*	-0.14**	0.03	-0.18**	-0.08**	-0.03	-0.03
<b>Scotland Referendum</b>	-0.11*	0.07	-0.08	0.10*	-0.17**	-0.02	-0.03	0.05
<b>US Presid. Elect</b>	-0.02	0.02	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	0.04	0.07*	0.06*
<b>US Midterm Elect</b>	-0.05	0.10*	-0.02	0.06	0.01	-0.03	-0.02	-0.00
<b>Germany Fed. Elect</b>	0.00	0.05*	-0.05	0.03	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	0.03
<b>South Africa Gen.El.</b>	0.07*	0.07*	-0.00	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.07	0.10**
<b>Georgia Pres. El</b>	0.00	0.03	-0.07**	0.02	-0.07**	0.08**	0.01	0.11**

**Table X6.2: Consequences of electoral identity**

	US 2012	US 2014	UK	South Africa	Germany	Georgia
Changed mind on election day	--	--	-0.09*	-0.09**	-0.05*	-0.02
Social projection	-0.02	0.01	0.07	-0.03	0.02	0.08**
Sense of responsibility	0.09**	0.02	0.12**	-0.02	-0.03	0.16**
Always vote	0.14**	0.05	0.12**	0.06	0.02	0.14**
Always same party	0.04	0.15**	0.18**	0.00	0.05*	0.00
Like polling station	0.01	-0.04	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	0.13**
Like election night	0.11**	0.19**	0.17**	-0.08*	0.06*	0.12**
Cried	0.09**	0.07	-0.04	-0.08*	-0.00	0.09**
Guilty if doesn't vote	0.15**	0.06	0.13**	0.06	0.03	0.12**
Sincere voting	0.10**	0.14**	0.08*	0.02	0.01	0.14**
Protest voting	-0.09**	-0.13**	-0.11**	-0.03	-0.08**	-0.03
Strategic voting	-0.10**	-0.12**	-0.07	-0.07*	-0.04	-0.04
Sociotropic (self-declared)	0.09**	0.08	0.09*	0.03	0.01	0.17**
Efficacy	0.09**	0.05	0.10*	0.01	0.02	0.08**
Projected efficacy	0.13**	0.04	0.08*	0.04	-0.03	0.11**
Sociotropic (implicit)	-0.11*	0.01	--	--	--	--
Trust Parliament technical	-0.01	0.13**	0.03	--	--	--
Trust Parliament moral	-0.01	0.07	0.04	--	--	--
Trust Parliament ideological	0.01	0.04	-0.03	--	--	--
Trust pref. party technical	0.16**	0.21**	0.11**	--	--	--
Trust pref. party moral	0.16**	0.21**	0.12**	--	--	--
Trust pref. party ideological	0.16**	0.19**	0.14**	--	--	--
Turnout election 1	0.12**	0.09	0.04	0.06	0.01	--
Turnout election 2	0.12*	0.08	0.08*	--	--	--
Main left election 1	--	--	0.16**	-0.14**	0.08**	--
Main right election 1	--	--	0.08	--	--	--
Main left election 2	--	--	0.12**	--	0.08**	--
Main right election 2	--	--	0.13**	--	--	--

**Table X6.3: Stage 3: Explaining electoral behaviour - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral behaviour**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany						FRA	SAF
	Republican			Scot Ref		CDU		SPD		AfD		L-R	ANC
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.53	0.69	0.61	0.27	0.18	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.14	0.05	0.09	0.07	0.37
R <sup>2</sup> ST3	0.57	0.73	0.62	0.31	0.28	0.09	0.18	0.05	0.22	0.10	0.15	0.07	0.38
Δ	+0.04	+0.04	+0.01	+0.04	+0.10	+0.01	+0.03	+0.01	+0.08	+0.05	+0.06	0.00	+0.01
	Turnout			Turnout		Turnout						C Tnt	Turnt
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.27			0.26		0.16						0.07	0.18
R <sup>2</sup> ST3	0.43			0.35		0.16						0.09	0.21
Δ	+0.16			+0.09		0.00						+0.02	+0.03

*Notes: For electoral choice, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> for all countries using logistic regression except for France where the voting variable is continuous and analysis uses OLS regression. Standard R<sup>2</sup> is used in that case.*

*For turnout, entries are Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup> except for France where continuous turnout is used.*

*Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.*

**Table X6.4: Stage 3: Explaining electoral experience - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral experience**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
Emotionality									
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.18	0.32	0.42	0.24	0.22	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.08
R <sup>2</sup> ST3	0.22	0.42	0.47	0.30	0.27	0.10	0.14	0.08	0.09
Δ	+0.04	+0.10	+0.05	+0.06	+0.05	+0.03	+0.06	+0.02	+0.01
Happiness									
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.19	0.30	0.40	0.23	0.18	0.06	0.10	0.06	0.15
R <sup>2</sup> ST3	0.24	0.37	0.46	0.29	0.24	0.06	0.16	0.09	0.16
Δ	+0.05	+0.07	+0.06	+0.06	+0.06	0.00	+0.06	+0.03	+0.01

All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

**Table X6.5: Stage 3: Explaining electoral resolution - adding electoral identity and projection to memory, personality and control predictors of electoral resolution**

	USA			UK/Scot		Germany		France	South Africa
	STA	ADV	ABS	STA	POS	STA	POS	All	All
R <sup>2</sup> ST2	0.08	0.51	0.33	0.30	0.16	0.10	0.15	0.08	0.11
R <sup>2</sup> ST3	0.13	0.57	0.37	0.36	0.22	0.10	0.19	0.11	0.13
Δ	+0.05	+0.06	+0.04	+0.06	+0.06	0.00	+0.04	+0.03	+0.02

All entries are R<sup>2</sup> from OLS regressions. Δ measures the improvement in R<sup>2</sup> since the previous stage.

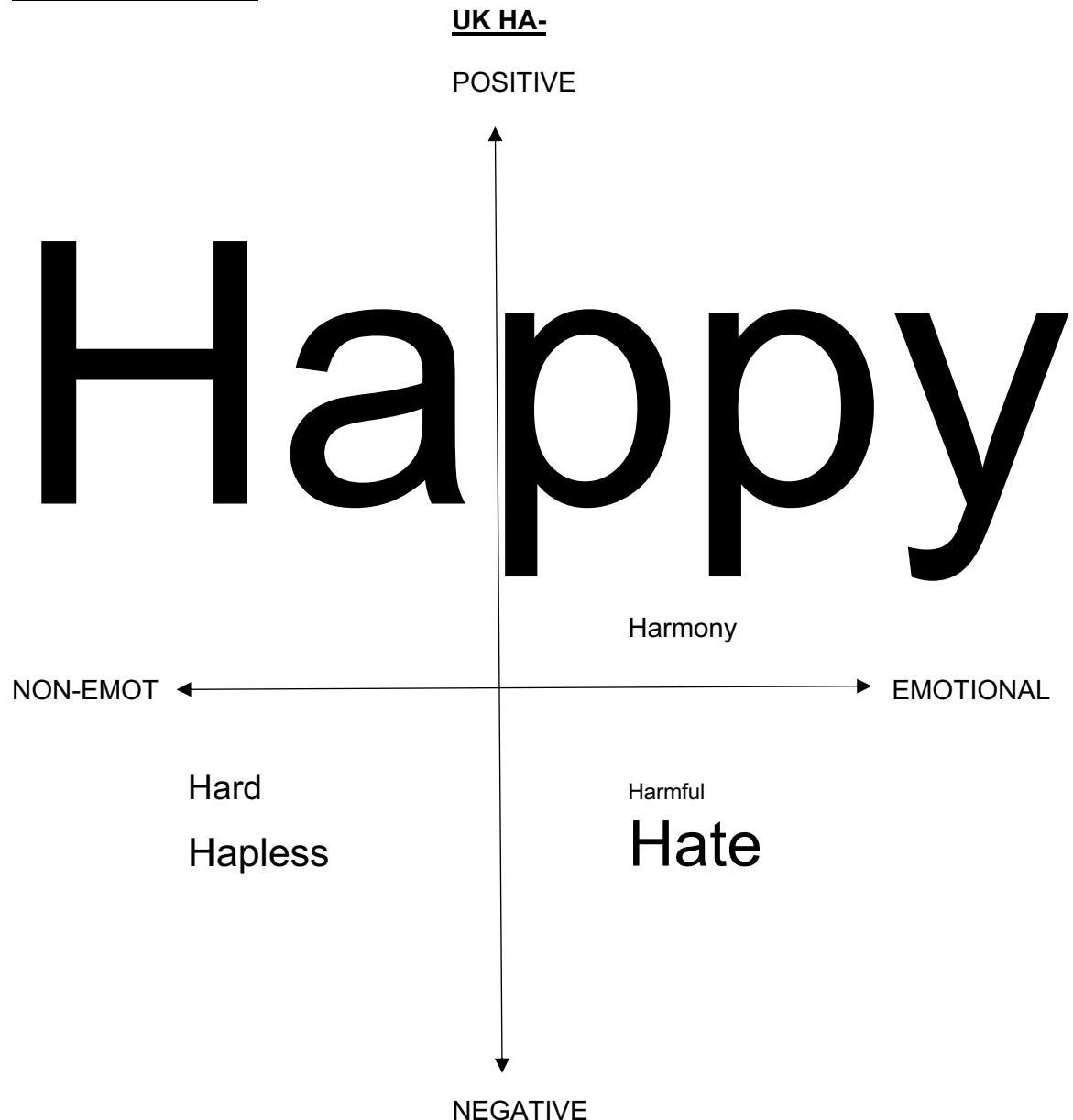
**Table X7.1: Electoral emotions and gender**

		USA		UK		France		Germany		South Africa		Georgia	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Excitement	Bored	3.2	5.8	7.4	12.7	12.1	10.4	9.5	12.2	7.5	7.6	1.6	1.6
	Neutral	25.6	38.1	39.9	44.6	60.4	60.0	52.3	57.5	29.1	30.2	6.0	4.8
	Excited	71.2	56.1	52.8	42.7	27.5	29.6	38.2	30.3	63.4	62.2	92.5	93.7
Happiness	Unhappy	8.0	9.4	8.9	8.5	14.4	11.4	8.4	7.3	5.6	7.1	41.7	43.0
	Neutral	28.3	39.9	50.9	51.5	52.2	51.9	65.3	61.8	28.7	31.0	32.9	27.1
	Happy	63.8	50.8	40.2	40.0	33.4	36.6	26.3	30.9	65.7	61.9	25.4	29.8
Emotionality	Unmove d	6.2	10.2	14.9	20.4	12.9	18.6	13.5	17.9	18.6	19.9	11.9	13.3
	Neutral	37.3	45.4	48.1	53.6	56.4	52.6	43.5	43.8	47.8	45.7	10.4	10.1
	Emotion	56.5	44.3	37.0	26.0	30.7	28.8	43.0	38.3	33.6	34.4	77.7	76.6
Resolution	Distant	7.2	8.5	8.0	12.2	7.1	9.0	10.1	10.8	7.5	7.3	6.7	6.1
	Neutral	38.5	44.5	54.4	59.2	56.7	49.9	48.7	49.8	36.1	31.0	3.8	3.3
	Close	54.2	47.0	37.5	28.6	36.2	41.1	41.1	39.4	56.4	61.7	89.5	90.6
Worry	Worried	60.6	52.3	41.9	32.4	60.2	50.4	34.8	29.0	34.3	28.3	33.2	28.6
	Neutral	24.9	34.5	46.9	49.9	30.1	37.1	47.4	47.4	45.2	41.2	24.3	22.0
	Reassur.	14.5	13.1	11.2	17.7	9.7	12.5	17.8	23.6	20.5	30.4	42.5	49.5
Nervousnes s	Nervous	47.3	27.2	30.3	18.5	22.2	17.1	21.5	17.3	21.4	17.1	48.4	50.9
	Neutral	30.7	39.2	35.8	42.9	52.3	50.0	45.7	43.3	37.3	33.1	25.5	19.6
	Relaxed	21.9	33.6	33.8	38.7	25.4	32.9	32.8	39.4	41.3	49.9	26.0	29.5
Optimism	Pessim.	26.7	32.1	38.5	38.2	40.8	38.0	25.1	21.8	25.6	25.5	19.5	21.8
	Neutral	27.9	30.7	31.8	32.4	34.5	34.4	41.4	39.3	37.1	27.6	20.4	19.8
	Optimist.	45.4	37.2	29.6	29.4	24.7	27.6	33.5	38.9	37.3	47.0	60.0	58.4

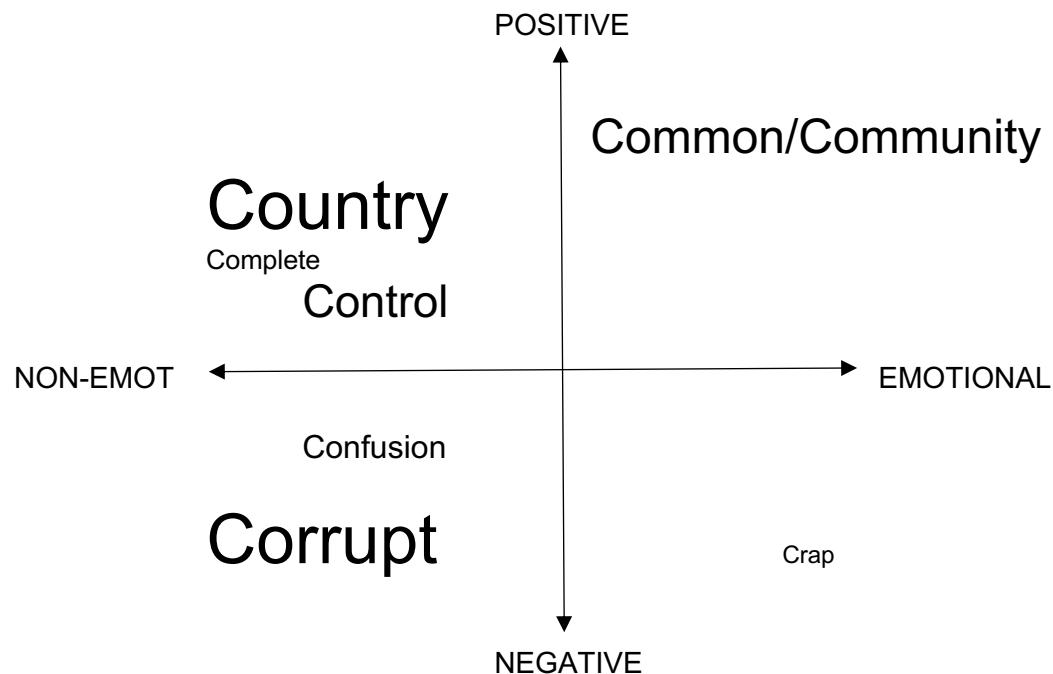
**Table X7.2: Electoral emotions and age**

	<b>USA</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Sth Africa</b>	<b>Georgia</b>
Excitement	-0.11**	-0.16**	-0.14**	-0.16**	-0.08*	0.01
Happiness	-0.05	-0.08**	-0.04	-0.09**	-0.01	0.04
Emotionality	-0.01	-0.06*	0.08**	-0.00	-0.02	-0.01
Intensity	-0.02	-0.08**	0.08**	-0.14**	-0.00	0.01
Resolution	-0.01	-0.04	0.04	0.06*	-0.02	0.02
Reassured (Worry)	-0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.02	0.07	-0.04
Relaxed (Nervous)	0.13**	0.22**	0.12**	0.24**	0.17**	0.00
Optimism	-0.03	-0.04	0.01	0.08**	0.05	0.02

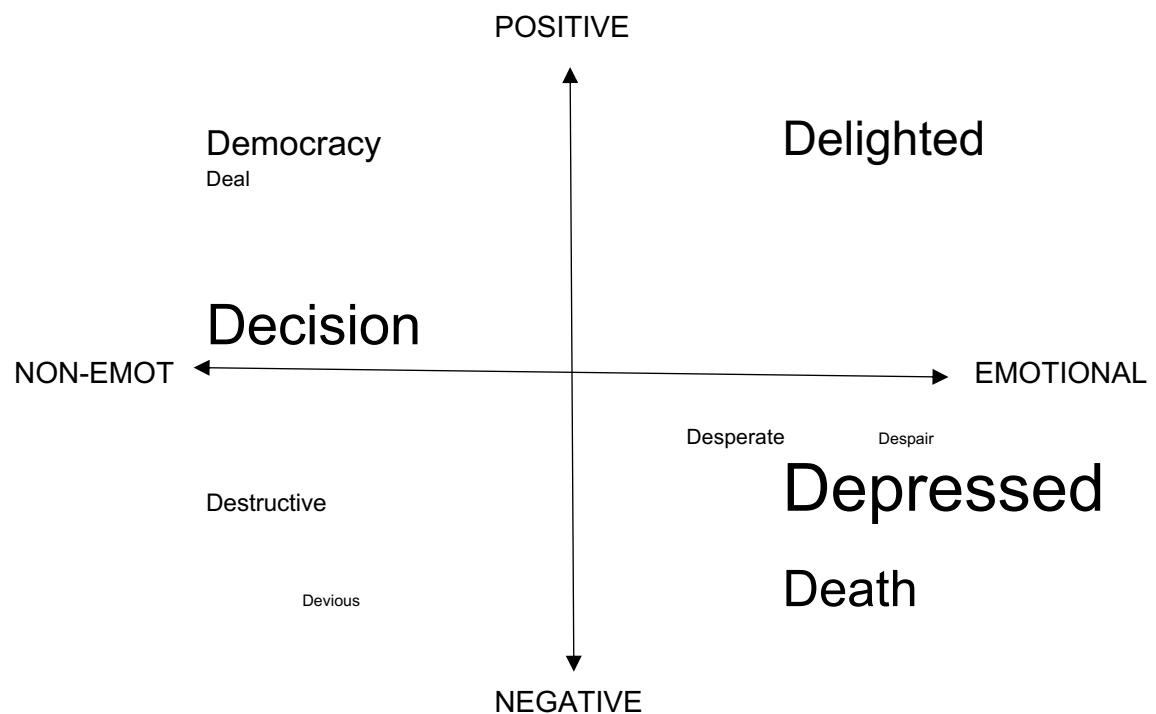
Figure X7.1.a-X7.1k



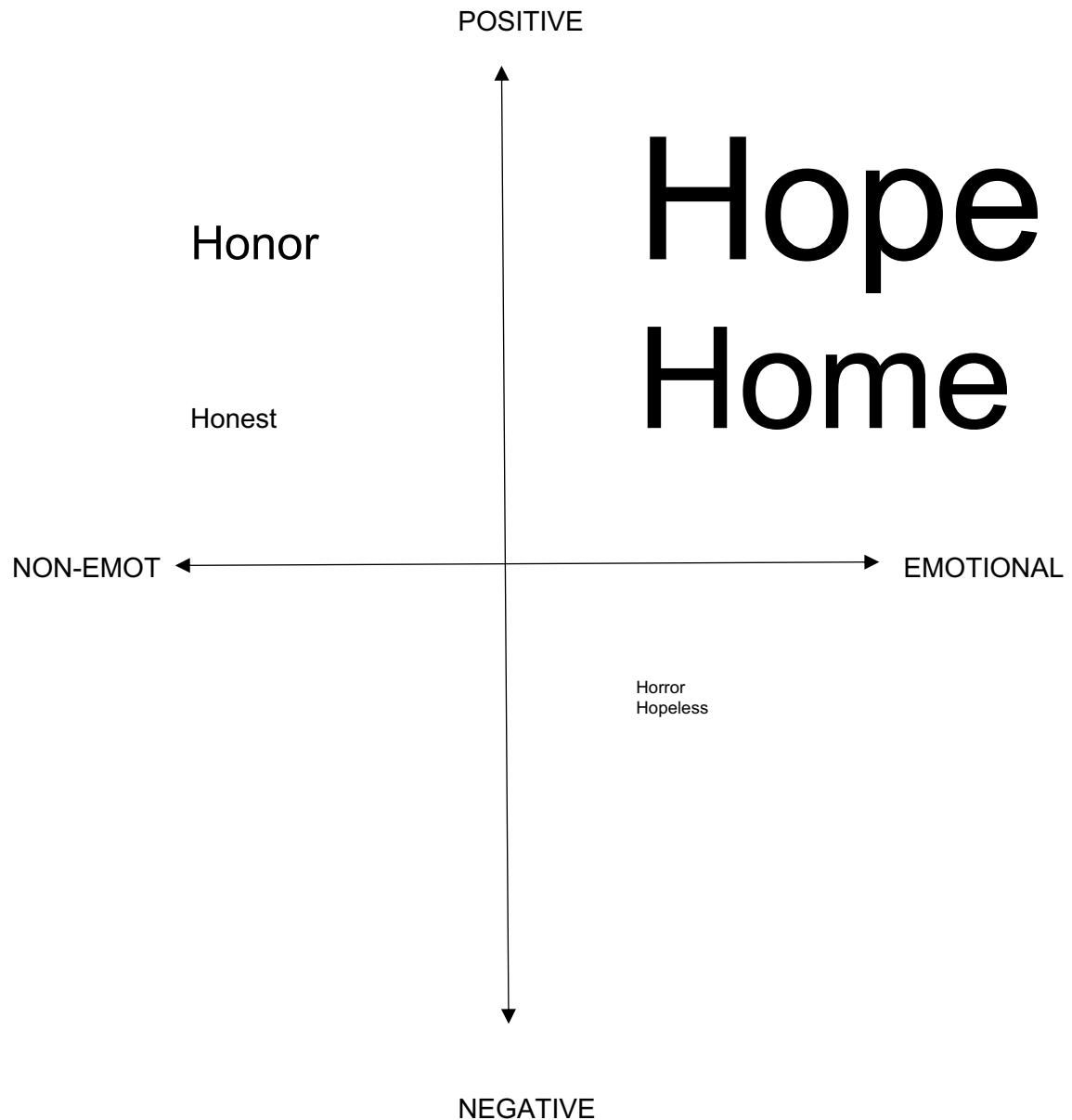
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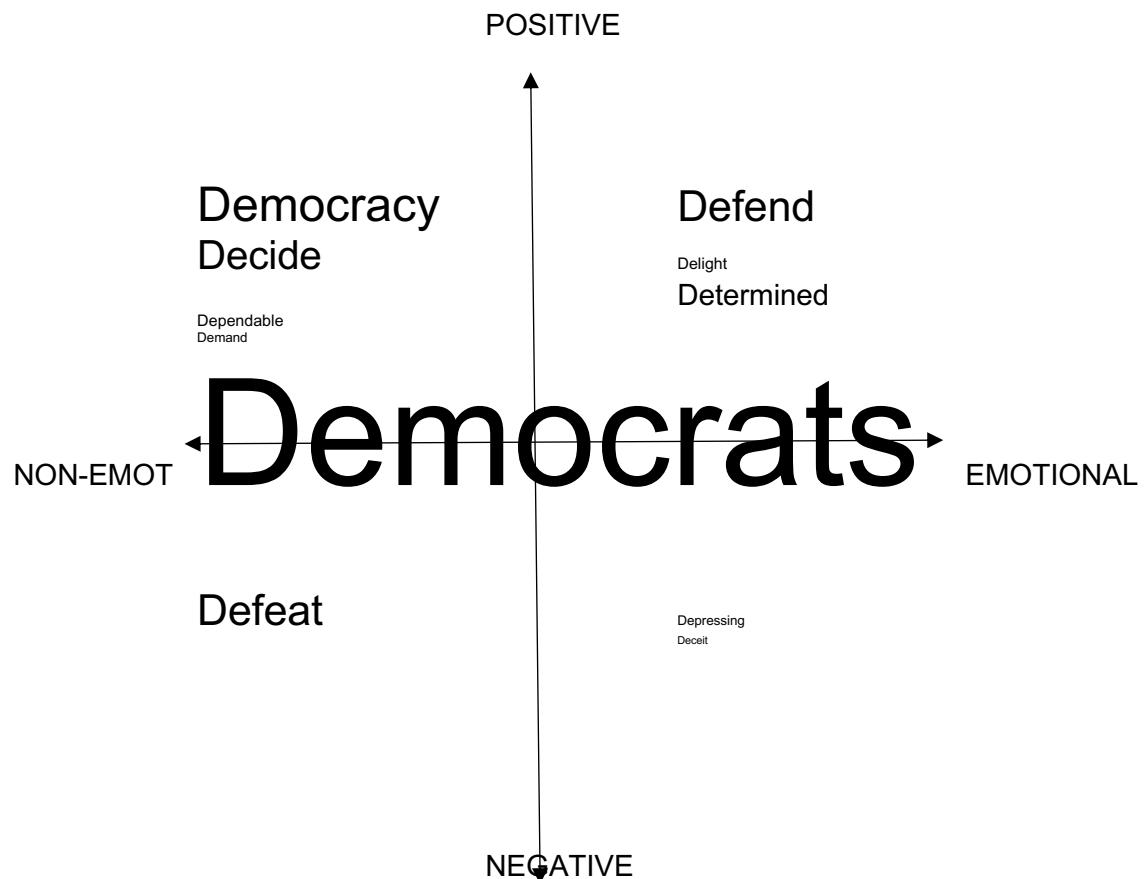
UK – DE-



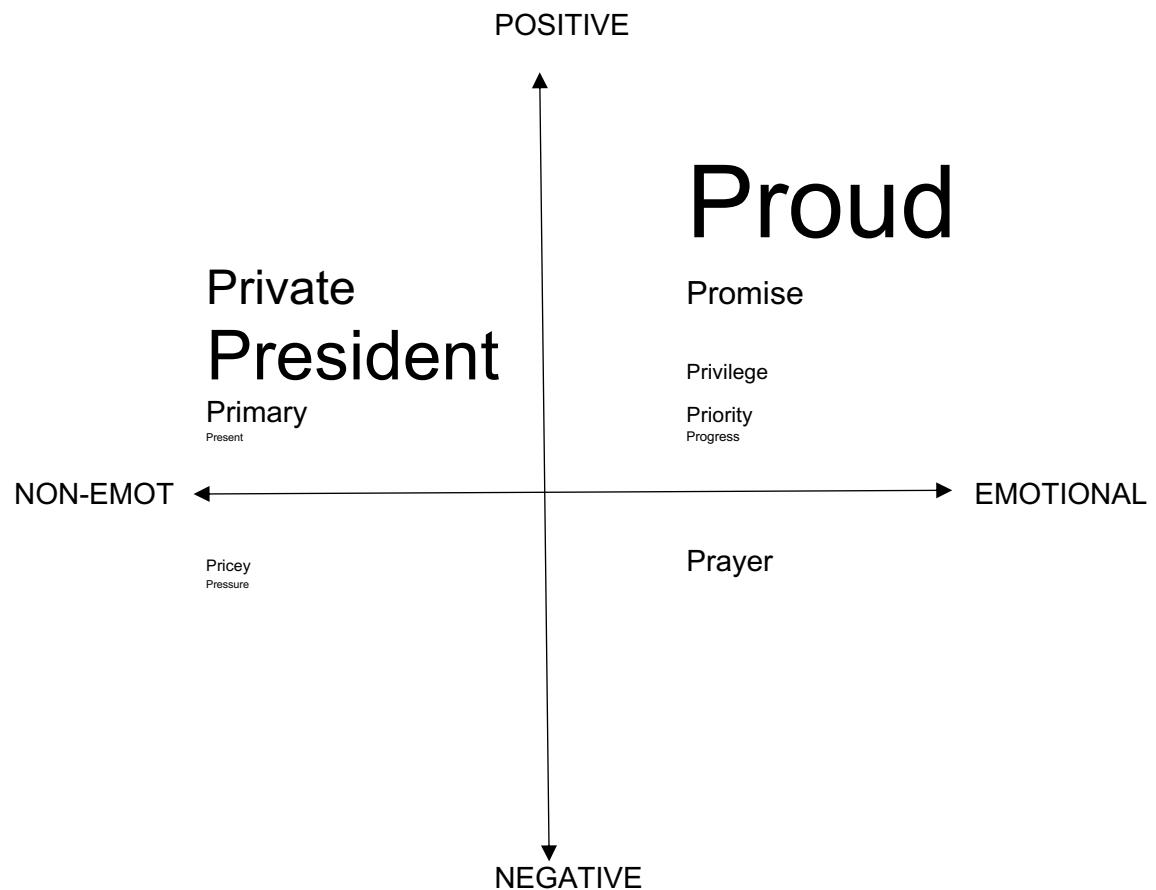
US – HO –



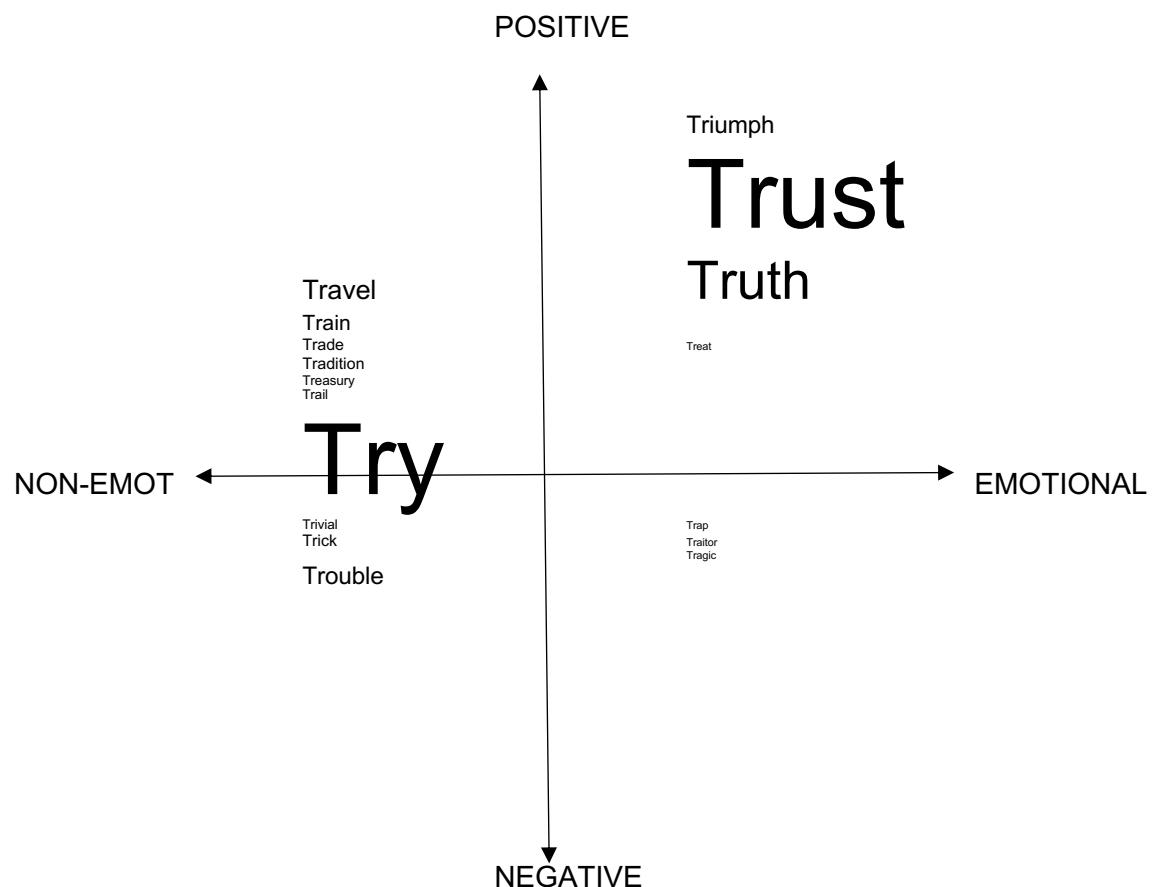
US – DE-



US – PR-

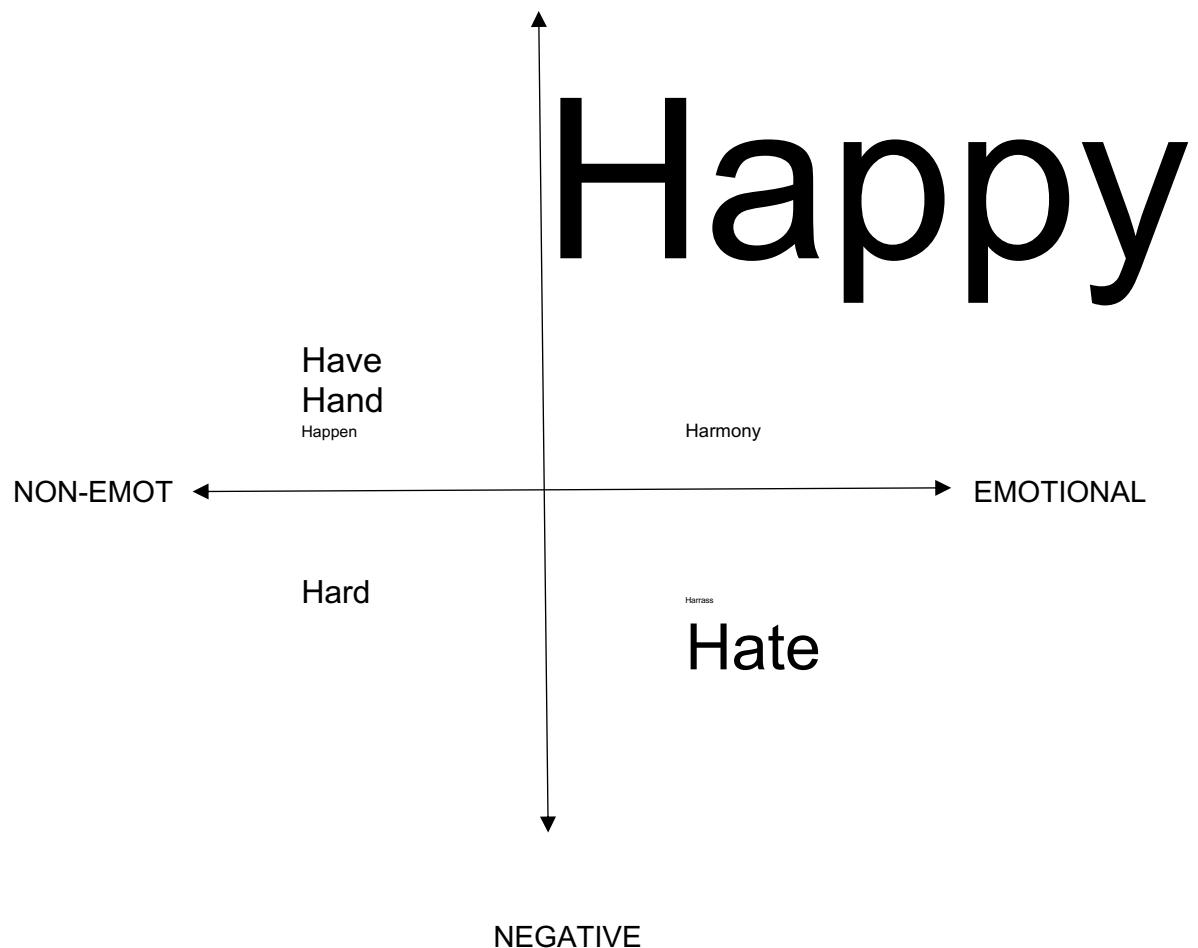


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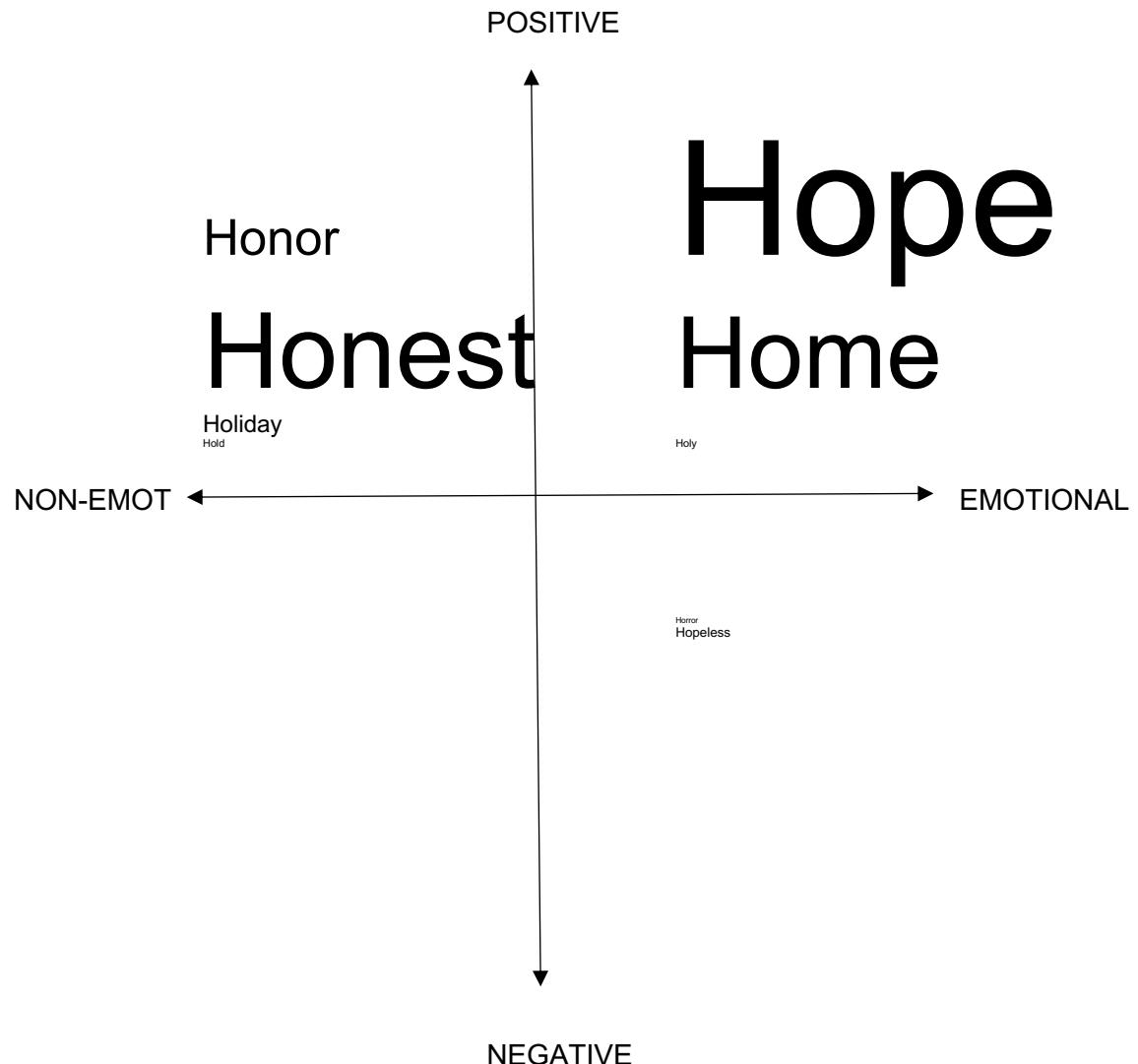


SA – HA-

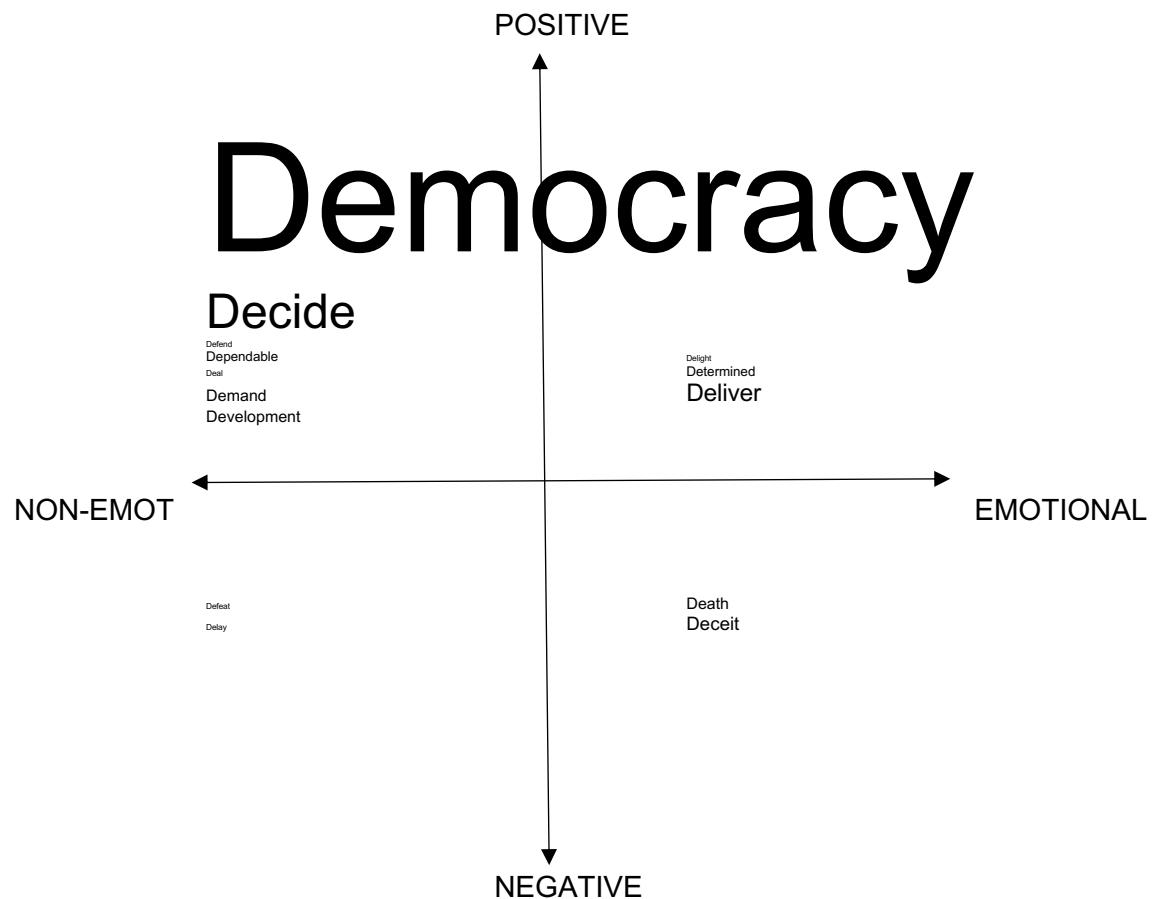
POSITIVE



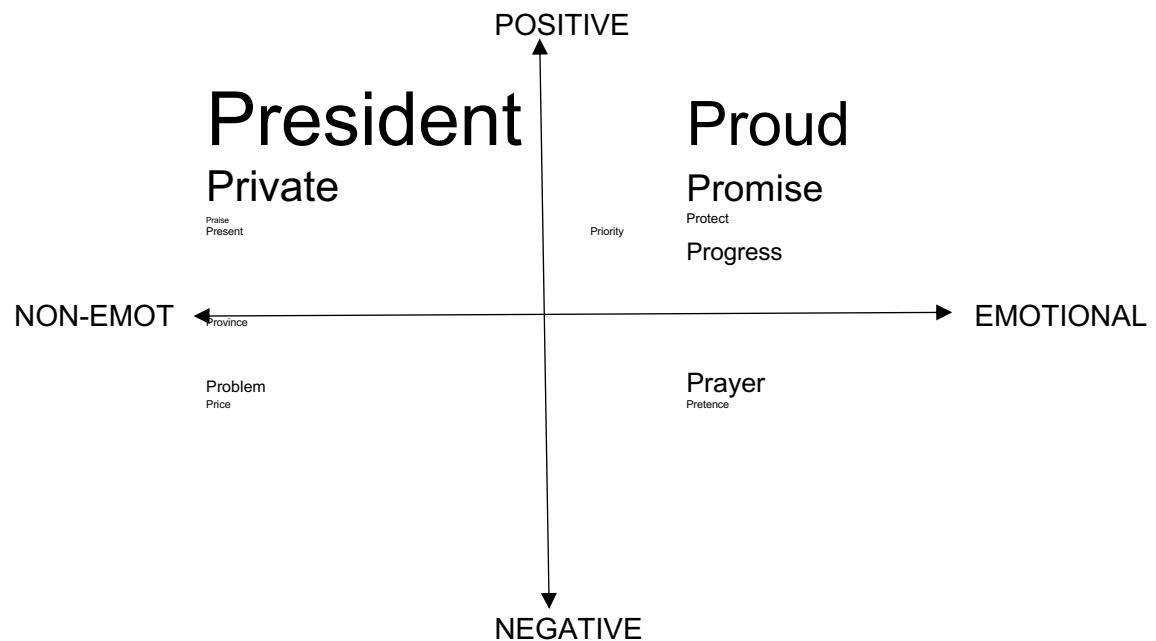
SA – HO –



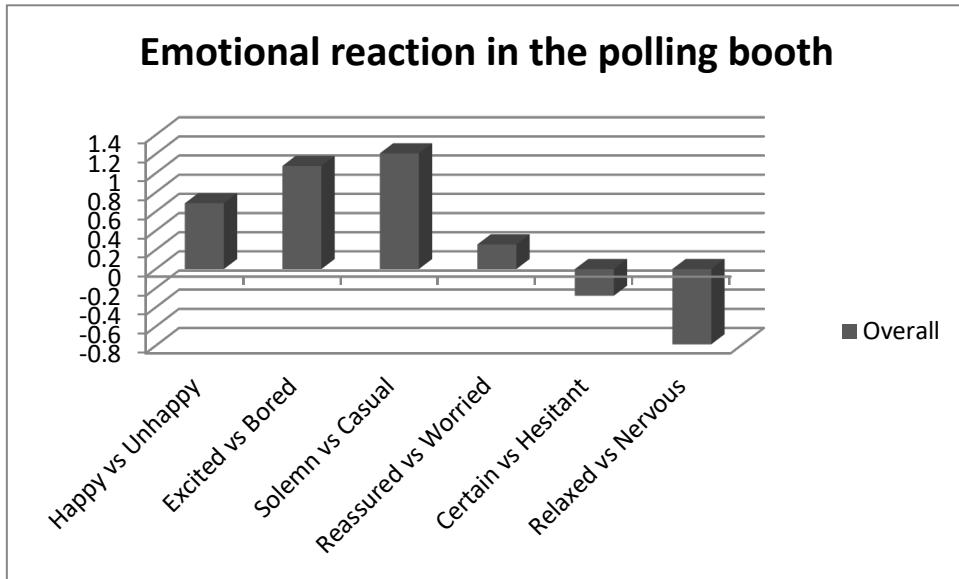
SA - DE-



SA – PR-

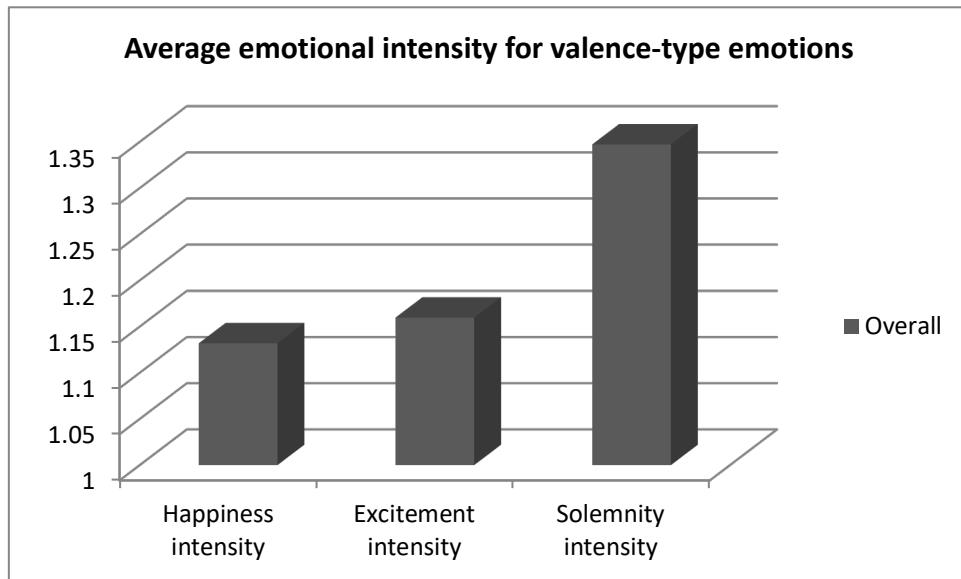


**Figure X7.2: Overall emotional reaction in the polling booth**



*Notes: All emotional reactions coded on a -2 to 2 scale (0 = no visible emotion). For each variable, positive scores correspond to the first (generally more “positive”) emotion, and negative scores to the second (generally more “negative”) emotion.*

**Figure X7.3: Average emotional intensity for the three valence-type emotions**



Note: emotional intensity is the absolute value of the deviation between the coded emotional response of a participant and the zero 'neutral' (or non-emotional) point. Note that scores are calculated based on the average of all the coders' ascribed scores for a given individual, so if participant x received a coding of -1 from two coders and a coding of 1 for the other 2, his/her average score (and his/her emotional intensity score on that variable) is 0.

**Table X8.1: Temporal remote voting and late decision**

	2012 Presidential		2012 Congressional		2014 Congressional	
	Temporal Remote	Election Day	Temporal Remote	Election Day	Temporal Remote	Election Day
Early decision	94.1	91.3	86.6	77.5	76.5	72.7
Decided or changed within a week	4.9	7.2	11.0	16.3	18.8	22.7
Decided or changed on the day	1.0	2.5	2.3	6.2	2.6	4.5

**Table X8.2: Thinking time and ballot paper type**

	b (s.e.)	Beta
Paper	10.69 (1.95)	0.20***
Polyballot	26.77 (1.69)	0.57***
Gender	-1.54 (1.39)	-0.03
Age group	0.29 (0.99)	0.01
Constant	23.27 (3.24)	
R <sup>2</sup>		0.50

**Table X9.1: Mirror perceptions of hostility in society**

	<b>Mean (s.d.)</b>	<b>Net agree</b>
Each side seem to blame opposite voters in addition to politicians	6.35 (2.58)	+ 46.8
People seem to dislike those who voted the other way	5.90 (2.70)	+ 32.9
People “unfriend” those who disagree with them on social media	5.51 (2.81)	+ 20.0
People pick on citizens who disagree with them where they used to only blame politicians and the media before	5.41 (2.71)	+ 22.1
People are likely to fight within family or with close friends because of political disagreements	4.99 (2.74)	+ 7.3
I have personally felt hostility from some people after we have disagreed politically	4.13 (3.21)	- 14.1
I am more worried now than before about people becoming angry, unhappy or aggressive when they realise we disagree politically	4.04 (3.02)	- 17.8
I am worried about people becoming angry, unhappy or aggressive when they realise we disagree politically	3.86 (3.01)	- 24.4
Each side seems to respect the other	3.47 (2.68)	- 41.1
The two sides seem to be coming together	3.39 (2.70)	- 39.0

*Notes: Means on a 0-10 scale where 10 is complete agreement. Net scores are calculated as all positive values (6-10) minus all negative values (0-4) excluding the neutral point (5).*

**Figure X10.1: Dynamic model contributions**

US 2014 Dynamic models:  
Additional variance from inter-related dependent  
variables at t-1

