

Supplementary File

for the article: Metz, Rudolf and Bendegúz Plesz (2025) - The Irresistible Allure of Charismatic Leaders? Populism, Social Identity, and Polarisation, *Politics and Governance Volume 13, Article 9017*

Descriptive results

1. Table: Leader's Behavioral Charisma by partisanship

	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Viktor Orbán					
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	4.48	1.449	1	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	4.11	1.299	1	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	5.87	0.895	1	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	3.80	1.232	1	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	3.97	1.438	1	7
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	4.10	1.255	1.75	6.23
Péter Márki-Zay					
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	3.68	1.611	1	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	3.52	1.399	1	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	2.90	1.675	1	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	4.95	1.186	1	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	3.10	1.614	1	7
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	3.73	1.185	1.25	6.23

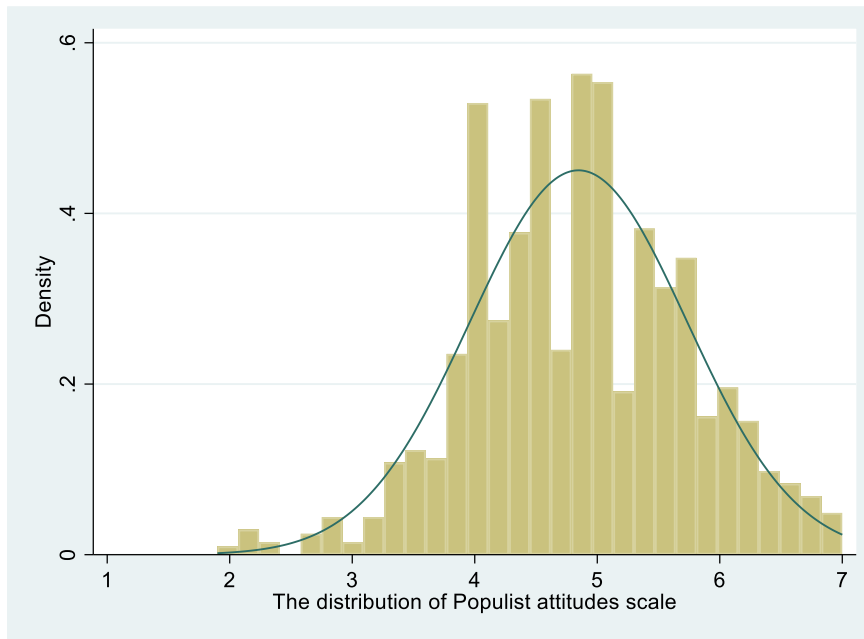
2. Table: Leader's Emotional Charisma Scales by partisanship

	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Viktor Orbán					
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	3.21	2.105	1	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	2.78	1.574	1	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	5.76	1.276	1.75	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	1.47	1.056	1	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	2.53	1.825	1	7
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	2.09	1.306	1	6
Péter Márki-Zay					
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	2.82	1.938	1	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	2.46	1.510	1	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	1.53	1.208	1	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	5.05	1.511	1	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	1.98	1.652	1	7
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	2.94	1.732	1	6.23

3. Table: Populist Worldview Scale by partisanship

	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	4.85	0.886	1.9	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	4.81	0.853	2.2	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	4.53	0.863	1.9	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	5.16	0.848	2.4	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	5.38	0.848	3.5	6.8
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	5.13	0.767	3.4	6.8

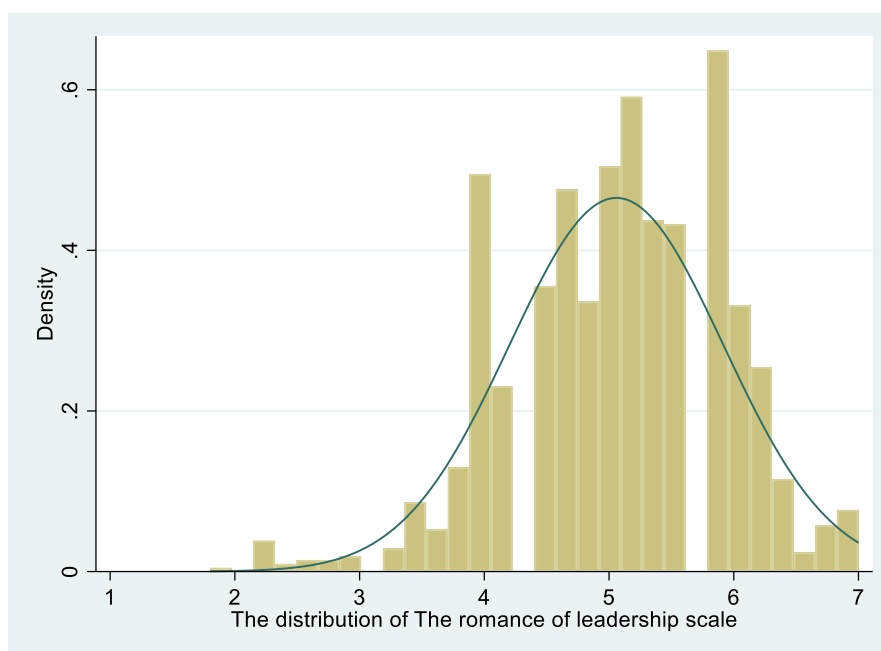
1. Figure: The distribution of the Populist Worldview Scale



4. Table: Romance of Leadership Scale by partisanship

	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	5.06	0.857	1.8	7
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	4.89	0.882	2.2	7
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	5.23	0.783	1.8	7
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	5.17	0.817	2.6	7
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	5.16	0.969	2.2	7
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	5.16	0.818	3.4	7

2. Figure: The distribution of the Romance of Leadership Scale



5. Table: Leader Affective Polarization index by partisanship

	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Total Sample	1200 (100%)	2.71	2.064	0	6
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Non- or Undecided voters	544 (45.33%)	1.53	1.576	0	6
Fidesz-KDNP voters	304 (25.33%)	4.27	1.691	0	6
United Opposition voters	278 (23.17%)	3.68	1.716	0	6
Mi Hazánk voters	42 (3.5%)	1.26	1.525	0	5.13
MKKP voters	32 (2.67%)	1.44	1.645	0	5.25

6. Table: Correlation table of RLS and Charisma scales

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) Behavioral Charisma OV	1.000				
(2) Behavioral Charisma MZP	-0.002 (0.957)	1.000			
(3) Emotional MZP	-0.254 (0.000)	0.682 (0.000)	1.000		
(4) Emotional OV	0.699 (0.000)	-0.271 (0.000)	-0.400 (0.000)	1.000	
(5) Romance of Leadership Scale	0.206 (0.000)	0.066 (0.021)	-0.016 (0.578)	0.048 (0.099)	1.000

A correlation matrix is provided for each measurement scale. In all cases, the number of observations is 1,200, and the p values are provided in parentheses beneath the coefficients.

Ordinary Least Squared regression models

7. Table: OLS regression models predicting Leader Affective Polarisation

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)
RLS	0.638*** (0.067)				0.494*** (0.065)
Populist worldview		0.095 (0.067)			
Political interest			0.799*** (0.063)		0.510*** (0.084)
Political news consumption				0.590*** (0.054)	0.246*** (0.070)
_cons	-0.52 (0.344)	2.245*** (0.332)	0.593*** (0.177)	1.269*** (0.144)	-1.739*** (0.342)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	1200	1200
R-squared	0.070	0.002	0.117	0.090	0.167

*Standard errors are in parentheses *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1*

8. Table: OLS regression models predicting the Romance of Leadership scale

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)
	Total sample			among Fidesz- KDNP voters	among United Opposition voters	among Non- or Undecided voters
Populist worldview	0.428*** (0.026)	0.400*** (0.025)		0.132** (0.052)	0.391*** (0.053)	0.600*** (0.036)
Partisanship						
Fidesz-KDNP voters	0.335*** (0.062)		0.338*** (0.060)			
United Opposition voters	0.070 (0.064)		0.282*** (0.062)			
Mi Hazánk voters	-0.059 (0.122)		0.270** (0.135)			
MKKP voters	0.113 (0.137)		0.271* (0.154)			
Gender	-0.205*** (0.046)					
Education	0.028 (0.018)					
Type of residence	0.006 (0.021)					
Political interest	0.143*** (0.028)					
Left-right scale	0.036** (0.017)					
_cons	2.304*** (0.175)	3.121*** (0.126)	4.892*** (0.036)	4.629*** (0.238)	3.156*** (0.277)	2.007*** (0.177)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	304	278	544
R-squared	0.248	0.171	0.032	0.021	0.165	0.337

*Partisanship [Reference category: Non- or Undecided voters], Standard errors are in parentheses, *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$*

9. Table: OLS regression models predicting Viktor Orbán's Behavioral Charisma

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)	Model (7)	Model (8)
	Total sample				Among own partisans	Among rival partisans	Among non- or undecided voters	
Partisanship								
Fidesz-KDNP voters	1.641*** (0.087)	1.760*** (0.086)						
United Opposition voters	-0.368*** (0.088)	-0.310*** (0.088)						
Mi Hazánk voters	-0.175 (0.190)	-0.135 (0.192)						
MKKP voters	-0.065 (0.214)	-0.007 (0.218)						
Populist worldview	-0.070 (0.044)		-0.157*** (0.047)					0.132** (0.065)
RLS	0.296*** (0.045)			0.348*** (0.048)			0.287*** (0.062)	
Closeness					0.371*** (0.034)	-0.081 (0.059)		
_cons	2.997*** (0.235)	4.109*** (0.051)	5.239*** (0.232)	2.717*** (0.245)	3.781*** (0.194)	4.223*** (0.316)	2.705*** (0.308)	3.473*** (0.318)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	1200	304	278	544	544
R-squared	0.345	0.320	0.009	0.042	0.287	0.007	0.038	0.008

*Partisanship [Reference category: Non- or Undecided voters], Standard errors are in parentheses, *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$*

10. Table: OLS regression models predicting Péter Márki-Zay's Behavioral Charisma

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)	Model (7)	Model (8)
	Total sample				Among own partisans	Among rival partisans	Among non- or undecided voters	
Partisanship								
Fidesz-KDNP voters	-0.608*** (0.106)	-0.612*** (0.103)						
United Opposition voters	1.379*** (0.107)	1.434*** (0.106)						
Mi Hazánk voters	-0.495** (0.230)	-0.418* (0.229)						
MKKP voters	0.159 (0.260)	0.210 (0.261)						
Populist worldview	0.102* (0.054)		0.308*** (0.052)					0.165** (0.070)
RLS	0.069 (0.054)			0.125** (0.054)			0.213*** (0.067)	
Closeness					0.075 (0.075)	0.303*** (0.054)		
_cons	2.689*** (0.285)	3.516*** (0.061)	2.19*** (0.255)	3.052*** (0.278)	2.483*** (0.430)	3.368*** (0.289)	2.472*** (0.335)	2.725*** (0.342)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	1200	304	278	544	544
R-squared	0.218	0.212	0.029	0.004	0.003	0.103	0.018	0.010

*Partisanship [Reference category: Non- or Undecided voters], Standard errors are in parentheses, *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$*

11. Table: OLS regression models predicting Viktor Orbán's Emotional Charisma

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)	Model (7)	Model (8)
	Total sample				Among own partisans	Among rival partisans	Among non- or undecided voters	
Partisanship								
Fidesz-KDNP voters	2.851*** (0.103)	2.975*** (0.100)						
United Opposition voters	-1.241*** (0.103)	-1.312*** (0.103)						
Mi Hazánk voters	-0.112 (0.223)	-0.251 (0.224)						
MKKP voters	-0.632** (0.252)	-0.694*** (0.254)						
Populist worldview	-0.302*** (0.052)		-0.664*** (0.066)					-0.380*** (0.078)
RLS	0.126** (0.053)			0.117* (0.071)			-0.174** (0.076)	
Closeness					0.690*** (0.041)	0.031 (0.051)		
_cons	3.617*** (0.276)	2.784*** (0.060)	6.426*** (0.325)	2.614*** (0.364)	1.884*** (0.235)	1.311*** (0.272)	3.634*** (0.379)	4.609*** (0.379)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	1200	304	278	544	544
R-squared	0.572	0.560	0.078	0.002	0.486	0.001	0.009	0.042

*Partisanship [Reference category: Non- or Undecided voters], Standard errors are in parentheses, *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$*

12. Table: OLS regression models predicting Péter Márki-Zay's Emotional Charisma

	Model (1)	Model (2)	Model (3)	Model (4)	Model (5)	Model (6)	Model (7)	Model (8)
	Total sample				Among own partisans	Among rival partisans	Among non- or undecided voters	
Partisanship								
Fidesz-KDNP voters	2.851*** (0.103)	2.975*** (0.100)						
United Opposition voters	-1.241*** (0.103)	-1.312*** (0.103)						
Mi Hazánk voters	-0.112 (0.223)	-0.251 (0.224)						
MKKP voters	-0.632** (0.252)	-0.694*** (0.254)						
Populist worldview	-0.302*** (0.052)		-0.664*** (0.066)					-0.380*** (0.078)
RLS	0.126** (0.053)			0.117* (0.071)			-0.174** (0.076)	
Closeness					0.690*** (0.041)	0.031 (0.051)		
_cons	3.617*** (0.276)	2.784*** (0.060)	6.426*** (0.325)	2.614*** (0.364)	1.884*** (0.235)	1.311*** (0.272)	3.634*** (0.379)	4.609*** (0.379)
Observations	1200	1200	1200	1200	304	278	544	544
R-squared	0.572	0.560	0.078	0.002	0.486	0.001	0.009	0.042

*Partisanship [Reference category: Non- or Undecided voters], Standard errors are in parentheses, *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$*

Survey questions and scales

13. Table: Measurements of populist attitudes (populist attitudes scale)

		Descriptive Statistics				Factors			Uniqueness (1-h ²)
		Mean	SD	Skew.	Kurt.	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	
Q1	I do not consider the people whom I disagree with my political enemies [Negative]	2.564	1.620	0.863	2.972	-0.869	0.360	0.234	0.399
Q2	The top ten thousand do not really interested in what people like me think	5.829	1.484	-1.233	3.955	0.752	-0.012	0.215	0.329
Q3	We must not tolerate elected politicians selling out to international corporations.	5.681	1.436	-0.938	3.375	0.730	0.069	-0.057	0.432
Q4	Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.	5.276	1.498	-0.569	2.778	0.529	0.210	0.348	0.356
Q5	There is a silent majority who is too busy making an honest living to get involved in politics.	4.973	1.555	-0.427	2.746	0.403	0.242	0.255	0.565
Q6	Politics is a struggle between good and evil	3.962	1.909	0.003	2.084	-0.188	0.836	-0.388	0.329
Q7	What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles.	4.060	1.69	-0.024	2.494	-0.053	0.733	-0.015	0.498
Q8	The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	4.777	1.633	-0.330	2.471	0.112	0.567	0.292	0.458
Q9	The best politicians are those who come from the common people.	4.875	1.584	-0.479	2.738	0.287	0.489	-0.041	0.563
Q10	Leading politicians work for the welfare of the whole nation. [Negative]	4.422	2.004	-0.235	1.886	0.011	-0.164	0.797	0.377
Q11	The opinion of experts and politicians is worth more than that of ordinary people [Negative]	4.617	1.698	-0.179	2.241	0.034	-0.091	0.584	0.661
Q12	Hungary's survival depends on us making the right choice in the next election.	5.366	1.691	-0.813	2.863	0.420	0.326	-0.434	0.527

Note: Q1, Q3, Q5, Q9, Q11, Q12 adapted from (Castanho Silva et al., 2019); Q4, Q7, Q8 adapted from (Akkerman et al., 2014); Q6 (Hawkins et al., 2012) Q2 adapted from (Schulz et al., 2018); Q10 adapted from (American National Election Study – ANES)

14. Table: Measurements of three levels of charisma attribution

<i>Idealization of leadership</i>	<i>Perceived charismatic behaviour</i>	<i>Emotional charismatic bond scale</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The fate of the country is determined primarily by the actions of its political leaders (adapted from Shamir 1994, Schyns et al., 2007) 2. The life of the country is influenced by a myriad of factors that not even the best leader can control (negative statement) (adapted from Shamir 1994, Schyns et al., 2007) 3. A community cannot prosper without a good leader (Shamir, 1994) 4. Bad political leadership can make my personal life worse (original) 5. The most important aspect for me when choosing a political party is the person and the actions of the political leaders (adapted from Shamir 1994) 	<p>Regardless of whether you would vote for Viktor Orbán/Peter Marki-Zay, how typical do you think the following statements are of him?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His speeches and public statements inspire others to action (inspiration) (original) 2. He has a strong sense of mission (vision) (Shamir, 1994) 3. Usually comes up with new ideas for the future of the country (innovation)(adapted from Conger and Kanungo 1994) 4. He is more concerned with achieving the goals he has set than with following the rules (unconventional behaviour) (adapted from Shamir 1994, Conger and Kanungo 1994) 5. He sacrifices a lot for what he believes in (self-sacrifice) (adapted from Shamir 1994) 6. He always knows what his voters need (sensitivity to the needs of his followers) (adapted from Shamir 1994, Conger and Kanungo 1994) 7. He is able to compete successfully with rivals in order to achieve the goals he has set (exceptional skills) (adapted from Shamir 1994) 8. He successfully detects and exploits new opportunities in the changing world (environmental sensitivity) (adapted from Conger and Kanungo 1994) 	<p>How typical do you think the following statements are of Viktor Orbán/Peter Marki-Zay?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I trust him completely (Shamir, 1994) 2. His leadership gives me a sense of security (Shamir, 1994) 3. I can identify with him and what he stands for (Shamir, 1994) 4. His actions give me optimism about the future of the country (adapted from Shamir 1994) 5. He cares about the well-being of the people (adapted from Shamir 1994) 6. I am sure of the correctness of his political opinions and ideas (adapted from Shamir 1994) 7. His presence and politics reinforce my feeling that the country can overcome difficulties (adapted from Shamir 1994) 8. It would make me proud if he leads the country. (adapted from Shamir 1994)