Supplemental Materials for: The "Need for Chaos" and Motivations to Share Hostile Political Rumors

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Supplemental Materials

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SM1. Study Overview, Sample Characteristics, & Research Integrity

Our data come from eight studies conducted in the United States (see the main text for in-depth discussions). Table S1 gives an overview of how we sampled participants, the sample sizes of the surveys, and the period of data collection. The data consist of two nationally representative samples (Study #3 and # 8) and six convenience samples. We preregistered one of the studies (Study #7). In total, 10,925 respondents participated in our studies, although the number of respondents used for analysis in some of the studies is slightly lower due to failed (preregistered) attention checks and missing values on key variables. We collected the data between February 2018-February 2022. Table S2 shows basic sociodemographic characteristics of the samples.

The studies were conducted in accordance with the Code of Conduct for Research Integrity of the primary investigator's university and associated policies of the National Committee for Health Research Ethics. All studies were conducted online and involved voluntary and informed consent with the possibility of ending participation at any time. Participants were compensated for study participation according to standard pay rates (e.g., participants recruited through CloudResearch were paid $1 for completing 15-minutes surveys; YouGov participants recived 500 YouGov points ($\approx$ $5-7) for completing the 15-minutes surveys). For studies conducted via a survey company, consent for participation and data processing was obtained by the company on the author's behalf. For studies conducted via a crowd-sourcing platform, we obtained consent for participation and data processing ourselves. Given the potential sensitive nature of the topic of hostile political rumors, no studies reported in the main text used deception. [1] The presentation of rumors was prefaced with the following information: "It is possible to find many different stories on the Internet. Some of the stories are true and others are not. [Our next questions] concern a number of news story headlines that you may find on the Internet." In line with this, the headlines had been crafted on the basis of actual online information.

Study #	Sampling Protocol	Sample Size	Time of Study
1	Socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch (formerly MTurk)	1,004	February 2018
2	Socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch	1,011	September 2018
3	Nationally representative sample (approx.): Quota-sampled by YouGov to match population on gender, age, education, and region	1,529	June-Aug 2018
4	Socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch	1,105	September 2018
5	Socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch	1,088	March 2018
6	Socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch	1,533	April 2018
7	Preregistered, socially diverse sample of Americans recruited through CloudResearch	1,508	February 2020
8a	Nationally representative sample of Americans identifying as "white": Quota-sampled by YouGov to match population on gender, age, education, and region	1,006	Jan-Feb 2022
8b	Socially diverse sample of Americans identifying as "black": Sampled by YouGov	1,157	Jan-Feb 2022

Table S1. Overview of Studies.

	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8a[b]	S8b[c]
Gender (%)									
Women	52	52	54	59	55	51	50	50	59
Men	48	48	46	41	45	49	50	50	41
Age, mean (SD)									
Age (years)	39,0 (12)	37,9 (12)	45,7 (14)	39,9 (14)	NA[d] NA[d]	37,4 (12)	39,7 (12)	45-64[a]	45-64[a]
Education (%)									
Less than high school	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	3	5
High school graduates	10	10	26	8	10	9	10	28	32
Some college, no degree	20	22	27	21	23	20	21	24	27
2 year college	13	13	9	14	14	11	12	9	13
4 year college	40	41	21	40	37	42	39	23	15
Graduate or professional degree	16	13	11	16	16	18	17	13	9
Ethnicity (%)									
White/Caucasian	81	78	69	77	77	75	79	100	0
Non-white (e.g., Black, hispanic)	19	22	31	23	23	25	21	0	100

Table S2. Sample Characteristics. [a]Respondents were asked to place themselves in age brackets rather than reporting their age in years. [b-c] We excluded 130 [/245] respondents with failed attention checks; the characteristics of these samples reflect the remaining respondents.[d] Survey did not ask about respondent age.

SM2. Test 1. Developing the Need for Chaos scale

Need for Chaos ($\mathbf{NFC_{Chaos}}$). As explained in the main text, we use survey data from Study 1 to conduct an exploratory factor analysis ("principal component analysis") to decide if *Need for Chaos* is a unidimensional construct. We display the results of the exploratory factor analysis in Table S3 below. Here, the "Statement" column displays all the original 11 items, while the rightmost columns give the factor loadings from a two-dimensional solution as well at the loadings from our preferred one-dimensional solution – the final seven-item $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$ scale. The lower rows display the Eigenvalues, the proportion of explained variance of the factors, and Cronbach's α for the final scale. See the main text for the distribution of the scale.

Need for Chaos-Revised ($\mathbf{NFC_{Chaos\text{-}R}}$). To guard against acquiescence bias in the original Need for Chaos, Study 2 developed the alternative $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$ scale. Contrary to the original scale, $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$ contains reversed items. We piloted six reversed items – items #8-#13 in Table S4 – and found that two of these showed sufficiently high levels of validity and reliability (i.e., #8 and #11). Table S4 shows the first principal component extracted from the full list of potential items (*Initial Item Pool*) and from the final list of items making up the $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$, which includes the two reversed items. While Table S4 indicates that several of the new items had satisfactory loadings, Table S5 qualifies how well each item taps the one-dimensional Need for Chaos construct. Table S5 shows item-level correlations between all the reversed items and the original items. It shows how all the reversed items except for the two chosen for the final scale display fluctuating item-item correlations. Only our two preferred items reach consistent double-digit correlations in the expected direction.

We also explored one likely reason why some of the item-item correlations (and loadings, in Table S4) for our two preferred items are slightly below satisfactory levels. Like other measures of antisocial individual differences, all the $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$-items are right-skewed towards the low end of the continuum. As such, Pearson's r correlations (on which both the item-item and the principal component analyses are based) attenuate the relationship. Accordingly, the final columns of Table S3 and Table S6 report the principal components analysis and the item-item analysis, respectively, for our two preferred reversed items using polychoric

correlations. Under these conditions, the test statistics for the $NFC_{Chaos\text{-}Revised}$ scale are fully acceptable.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Table S7 reports fit statistics from confirmatory factor analyses of the Need for Chaos scale for the remaining studies. Fit statistics reveal models that fit the data well. In all studies, the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA) is below or at the recommended 0.10 cutoff for a good fitting model. Similarly, the comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) display values that are greater than the recommended 0.90 cutoff for good model fit.

How does the Need for Chaos compare to other measures of anti-social individual differences? To examine this question, we first rely on data from Study 6 to assess the divergent validity of NFC_{Chaos} and to demonstrate that it is distinct from measures of dominance-related traits that have a prominent place in the psychological literature: Psychopathy, Social Dominance Orientation, and the Competitive Jungle Worldview.

Competitive Jungle Worldview: We measured competitive jungle worldview using the 13-item scale from Duckitt (2001) (e.g., "Winning is not the first thing; it's the only thing," response on seven-point scale: 0 = Strongly Disagree; 1 = Strongly Agree. α= .86, M = .34, SD = 18). Using confirmatory factor analysis, we find that a one-factor solution that allows all items from NFC_{Chaos} and the Competitive Jungle Worldview (CJW) to load on the same latent trait revealed a poor fit for the factor structure (χ^2 = 5534, CFI = .72, RMSEA = .15, TLI = .68) compared to a two-factor solution with a latent NFC_{Chaos} factor and a latent CJW factor χ^2 = 3494, CFI = .83, RMSEA = .12, TLI = .80, $|\chi^2{}_{\text{one factor}} - \chi^2{}_{\text{two factor}}|$ = 2040, $p < .001$).

Social Dominance Orientation: We measured social dominance orientation using the eight-item scale from Ho et al. (2015) (e.g., "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups," response on seven-point scale: 0 = Strongly Disagree; 1 = Strongly Agree. α = .90, M = .29, SD = .23). Using confirmatory factor analysis, we find that a one-factor solution that allows all items from NFC_{Chaos} and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) to load on the same latent trait revealed a poorer fit for the factor structure (χ^2 = 4510, CFI = .75, RMSEA = .19, TLI = .69) than a two-factor solution with a latent NFC_{Chaos} factor and a

latent SDO factor ($\chi^2 = 1146$, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .09, TLI = .92, $|\chi^2_{\text{one factor}} - \chi^2_{\text{two factor}}| = 3363$, $p < .001$).

Psychopathy: We measured psychopathy using the nine-item scale from Jonason et al. (2009) (e.g., "People who mess with me always regret it," response on seven-point scale: 0 = Strongly Disagree; 1 = Strongly Agree. $\alpha = .86$, M = .31, SD = .24). Using confirmatory factor analysis, we find that a one-factor solution that allowed all items from $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$ and the psychopathy scale to load on the same latent trait revealed a poorer fit for the factor structure ($\chi^2 = 1782$, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .11, TLI = .89) than a two-factor solution with a latent $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$ factor and a latent psychopathy factor ($\chi^2 = 671$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .06, TLI = .96, $|\chi^2_{\text{one factor}} - \chi^2_{\text{two factor}}| = 1110$, $p < .001$). In addition, we emphasize that the two-factor solution reveals only a moderately good fit to the data primarily because the items reflecting psychopathy do not load well on the proposed underlying psychopathy trait. Still, the results reveal that $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$ displays good divergent validity and clearly differs from a related maladaptive trait.

Second, relying on data from Study 8, we examine how the Need for Chaos correlates with three well-established measures: Dominance, prestige and status-driven risk-taking (see question wordings below).

Need for Chaos. Need for Chaos-Revised ($\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$).

Dominance. Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you using a scale where "1" means that a statement "not at all" describes you, while "7" means that the statement describes you "very much". (8 = Don't know)

- I enjoy having control over others
- I often try to get my own way regardless of what others may want.
- I am willing to use aggressive tactics to get my way.
- I try to control others rather than permit them to control me.
- I do not have a forceful or dominant personality. (R)
- Others know it is better to let me have my way.

- I do not enjoy having authority over other people. (R)
- Some people are afraid of me.

Prestige. Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you using a scale where "1" means that a statement "not at all" describes you, while "7" means that the statement describes you "very much". (8 = Don't know)

- People I know respect and admire me.
- People I know do not want to be like me. (R)
- I have gained distinction and social prestige among people I know.
- I am held in high esteem by those I know.
- My unique talents and abilities are recognized by others.
- I like to help others.
- Others seek my advice on a variety of matters.
- Others do not enjoy hanging out with me. (R)
- Others do not like to do favors for me or help me. (R)

Status-Driven Risk-Taking: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Response: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

- I would rather live as an average person in a safe place than live as a rich and powerful person in a dangerous place.
- I would enjoy being a famous and powerful person, even if it meant a high risk of assassination.
- If the pay was really high, I would be willing to work with extremely explosive materials.
- I would risk my life for a good chance of finding a huge amount of buried treasure.
- If I could become rich and famous by winning a major competition, I would put my life on the line to win it.
- I would like to live in a country where people who take huge risks have the chance to gain superior social status.
- No matter how good the pay of "perks"; I would not want to be a spy who takes very dangerous assignments.
- I would rather live a secure life as an ordinary person than risk everything to be "at the top".

- For a very high-status job, I would be willing to live in a place that had an extremely high crime rate.
- I would take a very high-status job even if I had to live in a place where there are many deadly diseases.
- I would volunteer for a risky medical experiment if it paid me enough to retire early.
- Being an organized crime boss would be far too dangerous for me.
- To become a billionaire, I would be willing to trade 10 years from my life expectancy.
- I would not go to a war zone even if the business opportunities were extremely profitable.

Figure S1 display the correlations between the measures. The figure makes clear that while the Need for Chaos is positively correlated with Dominance orientations and Status-Driven Risk-Taking, the correlations are only moderately strong (Pearson's r $\approx$ .5). In addition, the Need for Chaos is negatively associated with our measure of Prestige (Pearson's r $\approx$ -.2). This finding suggests that the Need for Chaos is more closely linked to dominance- rather than prestige-based paths for obtaining status.

Item #	Statement	Initial Item Pool		Final Items
		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1
1	I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries	.75	-.34	.80
2	Our social institutions are rotten to the core	.45	.61	-
3	I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over	.80	-.20	.84
4	I think society should be burned to the ground	.84	-.10	.87
5	When I think about our political and social I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn"	.80	.15	.80
6	We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over	.76	.41	.70
7	We need to tear down the current political institutions and start all over	.65	.57	-
8	I prepare for a time when the military, police and the state no longer can protect me	.64	.29	-
9	I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on	.77	-.33	.81
10	Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things	.76	-.39	.81
11	There is no right and wrong in the world	.64	-.31	-
Eigenvalue		5.76	1.49	4.53
Proportion of Explained Variance		.52	.14	.65
Cronbach's α				.90

Table S3. Exploratory Factor Analysis of Items for the "Need for Chaos" ($\mathbf{NFC_{Chaos}}$) scale. Principal Components Analysis used as extraction method. Unrotated factors. The final items are selected to achieve a unidimensional scale with high factor loadings and high face validity. For each statement, participants were asked, "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?" (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer).

Item #	Statement	Initial Item Pool	Final Items for Need for Chaos-Revised	
		Factor 1	Factor 1	Polychoric corr.
1	I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries	.61	.72	.83
2	I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over	.71	.76	.82
3	I think society should be burned to the ground	.81	.85	.90
4	When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn"	.80	.78	.83
5	We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over	.72	.67	.72
6	I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on	.58	.68	.73
7	Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things	.69	.80	.87
8 (New)	We need to uphold order by doing what is right, not what is wrong	.45	.40	.48
9 (New)	Keeping the political system we have is better than starting from scratch	-.50	-	-
10 (New)	Incremental change is better than tearing everything down	-.49	-	-
11 (New)	It's better to live in a society where there is order and clear rules than one where everything goes	.52	.42	.50
12 (New)	Even though our social institutions are imperfect, they deserve our respect	-.54	-	-
13 (New)	We need to keep our social and political institutions just they way they are	-.16	-	-
Eigenvalue		4.79	4.31	5.17
Proportion of Explained Variance		.37	.48	.57
Cronbachs				.85

Table S4. Factor Analysis of Items for Updated Need for Chaos scale ($NFC_{Chaos\text{-}R}$) Scale With Reversed Items. Each column reports entries are loadings from separate principal component analyses with only the first factor retained. Factors are unrotated. Analyses of the final item-set are based on pearson's and polychoric correlations, respectively.

Item #	Statement	Existing NFC Items							New Potential NFC-Revised Items				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
8	**We need to uphold order by doing what is right not what is wrong**	**-.23**	**-.17**	**-.24**	**-.22**	**-.21**	**-.22**	**-.21**	**1**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**
9	Keeping the political system we have is better than starting from scratch	-.02	-.18	-.27	-.36	-.42	.00	-.08	.25	1	-	-	-
10	Incremental change is better than tearing everything down	-.09	-.18	–24	-.30	-.39	-.08	-.06	.23	.52	1	-	-
11	**It's better to live in a society where there is order and clear rules than one where everything goes**	**-.14**	**-.18**	**-.27**	**-.36**	**-.27**	**-.20**	**-.17**	**.49**	**.31**	**.34**	**1**	**-**
12	Even though our social institutions are imperfect, they deserve our respect	-.06	-.23	-.27	-.35	-.35	-.06	-.11	.29	.57	.50	.45	1
13	We need to keep our social and political institutions just they way they are	.23	.01	.01	-.14	-.18	.14	.15	.05	.45	.24	.17	.48

Table S5. Item-item Analyses of New Potential Items for NFC-Revised Using Pearson's Correlations. Entries are Pearson's correlations. Entries in bold are from the final set of items for the NFC-Revised scale.

Item #	Statement	Existing NFC Items						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	We need to uphold order by doing what is right not what is wrong	-.38	-.26	-.32	-.28	-.26	-.32	-.32
11	It's better to live in a society where there is order and clear rules than one where everything goes	-.28	-.27	-.36	-.42	-.33	-.29	-.29

Table S6. Item-item Analyses of New Items for NFC-Revised Using Polychoric Correlations. Entries are bivariate polychoric correlations.

Study #	Measure	χ^2	CFI	RMSEA	TLI
S2	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$	102	.96	.08	.94
S3	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$	115	.98	.08	.97
S4	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$	112	.98	.09	.97
S5	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$	276	.96	.11	.92
S6	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos}}$	105	.99	.07	.98
S7	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$	381	.94	.11	.90
S8	$\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$	525	.92	.11	.87

Table S7. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Need for Chaos scales. CFI: Comparative Fit Index. RMSEA: Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation. TLI: Tucker-Lews Index.

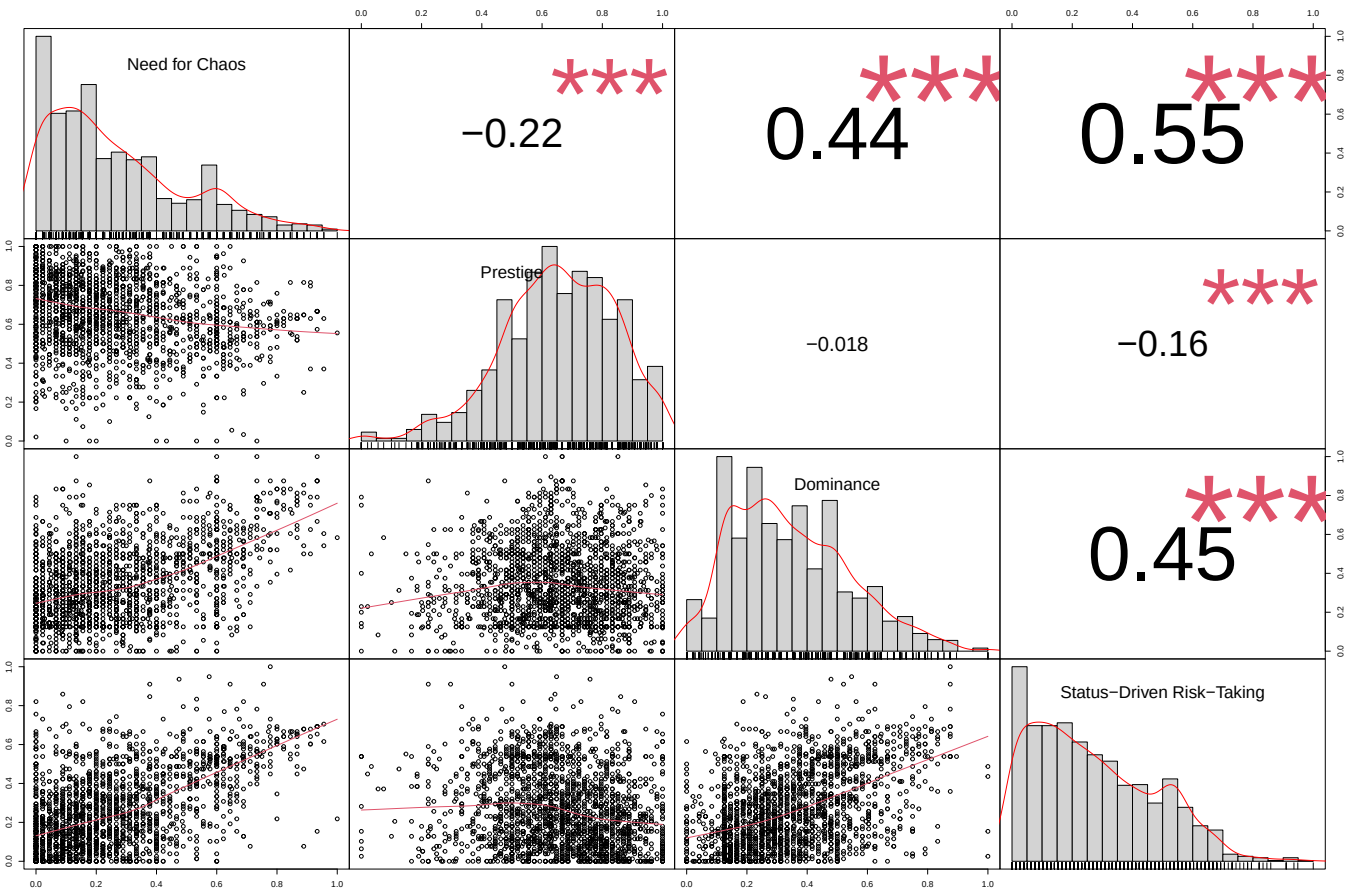

Fig S1. Correlation Matrix. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

SM3. Test 2. The Need for Chaos and Hostile Political Rumors

Key survey measures.

Need for Chaos ($\mathbf{NFC_{Chaos}}$): To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer).

- I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries
- I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over
- I think society should be burned to the ground
- When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking ´´just let them all burn"
- We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over
- I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on
- Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things

Need for Chaos ($\mathbf{NFC_{Chaos\text{-}Revised}}$): To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer).

- I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries
- I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over
- I think society should be burned to the ground
- When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking ´´just let them all burn"
- We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over
- I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on
- Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things
- We need to uphold order by doing what is right, not what is wrong (R)

- It's better to live in a society where there is order and clear rules than one where anything goes (R)

Hostile Political Rumors: [Intro text] It is possible to find many different stories on the Internet. Some of the stories are true and others are not. Our next questions concern a number of news story headlines that you may find on the Internet. For each headline, we would like you to consider the following statements. (**Statement I**: "I think the story is true"; **Statement II**: "I might share the story on a social media platform (e.g., Facebook, Twitter)," 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree. **DEM** = Rumors targeting Democrats, **REP** = Rumors targeting Republicans)

Rumors used in Study #1, #5

- Former President Barack Obama was born outside of the United States (DEM)
- The Democratic Health Care Law passed in 2010 authorized the use of death panels to make end-of-life decisions for people on Medicare (DEM)
- High-profile Democratic members of Congress want to cut benefits for veterans by $2.6 billion to give the money to Syrian refugees (DEM)
- Former President Obama has been creating a "shadow-government" through his non-government organization Organizing for Action to take down President Trump (DEM)
- Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's approval of a deal to transfer U.S. uranium deposits to a Russian company was a quid pro quo exchange for donations to the Clinton Foundation (DEM)
- Individuals within the US government, including former president George W. Bush, had knowledge of the 9/11 terrorist attacks before they occurred (REP)
- The US invasion of Iraq was not part of a campaign to fight terrorism, but was driven by oil companies in the US and Israel (REP)
- The federal government intentionally breached flood levees in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina so that poor neighborhoods would be flooded and middle-class neighborhoods would be spared (REP)
- Under the Republican tax bill passed in December 2017, Medicare will stop covering cancer treatment (REP)

- In a number of recent U.S. Senate elections, Republicans have had illegal voters bused into their home states in order to swing the election in their favor (REP)

Rumors used in Study #2, #3, #4, #6

- Evidence Shows that Obama was Born in Kenya (DEM)
- Obama Trying to Take Down President Trump through a Shadow Government He Created as President (DEM)
- Hillary Clinton Approved Deal to Transfer US Uranium Deposits to Russian Company for Donations to Clinton Foundation (DEM)
- President Bush Invaded Iraq to Please Oil Companies and Israel, Used 9/11 as a Pretext (REP)
- Republican Tax Bill Passed in December Stops Medicare from Covering Cancer Treatment (REP)
- Republican National Committee Paid People to Vote Illegally in US Senate Elections (REP)

Partisanship. We used the familiar two-step branching measure from the American National Election Studies to measure partisanship. The final measure was coded 0 for respondents identifying with the Republican Party or leaning towards the Republicans and 1 for respondents identifying with the Democratic Party Democrats or leaning that direction.

Analyses

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	True - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.115***	0.118***	0.093***	0.102***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.124***	0.008	−0.217***	0.057***
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Gender (1 = Women)	0.013	0.006	0.048***	0.051***
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Education	−0.007	−0.0005	−0.016***	−0.017***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Age (std.)	−0.023***	−0.026***	−0.022***	−0.039***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.037**	0.067***	0.017	0.060***
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Intercept	0.252***	0.179***	0.368***	0.183***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.020)
Observations	873	873	873	873
Residual Std. Error (df = 866)	0.196	0.189	0.182	0.169

Table S8 - Study 1. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	True - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos - R (std.)	0.092***	0.093***	0.064***	0.080***
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.129***	0.033	−0.314***	0.137***
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Gender (1 = Women)	−0.030*	−0.016	0.029	0.024
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Education	−0.006	−0.0002	−0.015	−0.028***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age (std.)	0.008	−0.014	−0.002	−0.049***
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.004	0.014	0.004	0.006
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Intercept	0.212***	0.110***	0.433***	0.235***
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.034)
Observations	416	416	416	416
Residual Std. Error (df = 409)	0.176	0.193	0.197	0.206

Table S9 - Study 2. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	True - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.041***	0.077***	0.043***	0.078***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.224***	0.080***	−0.481***	0.230***
	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Gender (1 = Women)	−0.034**	−0.001	0.003	0.036**
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Education	−0.013	−0.020**	−0.030***	−0.019**
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Age (std.)	0.008	0.008	0.013	−0.0003
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	−0.054***	−0.054***	−0.036*	−0.075***
	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Intercept	0.382***	0.188***	0.637***	0.228***
	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Observations	779	760	738	706
Residual Std. Error	0.232	0.211	0.209	0.201

Table S10 - Study 3. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	Share - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.046***	0.048***	0.025**	0.025**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.105***	0.016	−0.184***	0.022
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.020)
Gender (1 = Women)	0.008	0.004	0.038*	0.016
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Education	−0.028***	−0.037***	−0.028***	−0.025**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age (std.)	−0.004	0.0001	0.003	−0.011
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.019	0.027	0.019	0.013
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.024)
Intercept	−0.720***	−0.770***	−0.611***	−0.688***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.036)
Observations	463	463	463	463
Residual Std. Error (df = 456)	0.228	0.228	0.215	0.205

Table S11 - Study 4. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	True - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.054***	0.061***	0.044***	0.066***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Gender (1 = Women)	−0.022*	0.022*	−0.017	0.039***
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.013)
Education	−0.123***	−0.140***	−0.175***	−0.128***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.031)	(0.026)
Age (std.)	−0.024	−0.076***	0.026	−0.075***
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.016)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.229***	0.294***	0.364***	0.451***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.023)
Observations	1,034	1,034	1,034	1,034
Residual Std. Error (df = 1029)	0.197	0.195	0.255	0.211

Table S12 - Study 5. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Dependent variable:			
	Share - Dem	Share - Rep	True - Dem	True - Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.187***	0.191***	0.141***	0.147***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.157***	−0.003	−0.268***	0.087***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Gender (1 = Women)	−0.010	−0.005	0.011	0.006
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Education	−0.007	−0.012**	−0.019***	−0.021***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Age (std.)	−0.012**	−0.020***	0.001	−0.035***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	−0.012*	−0.005	−0.008	−0.004
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Intercept	0.336***	0.262***	0.475***	0.338***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Observations	1,296	1,296	1,296	1,296
Residual Std. Error (df = 1289)	0.203	0.211	0.207	0.211

Table S13 - Study 6. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats and Republicans (columns 1-2) and beliefs that the rumors are true (columns 3-4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Need for Chaos and Rumor Endorsement among Independents. The figure below shows the association between the Need for Chaos and rumor endorsement among participants who identify as Independents. The overall picture that emerges from the figure is that, for most studies, a higher Need for Chaos is associated with stronger endorsement of both Republican and Democratic rumors.

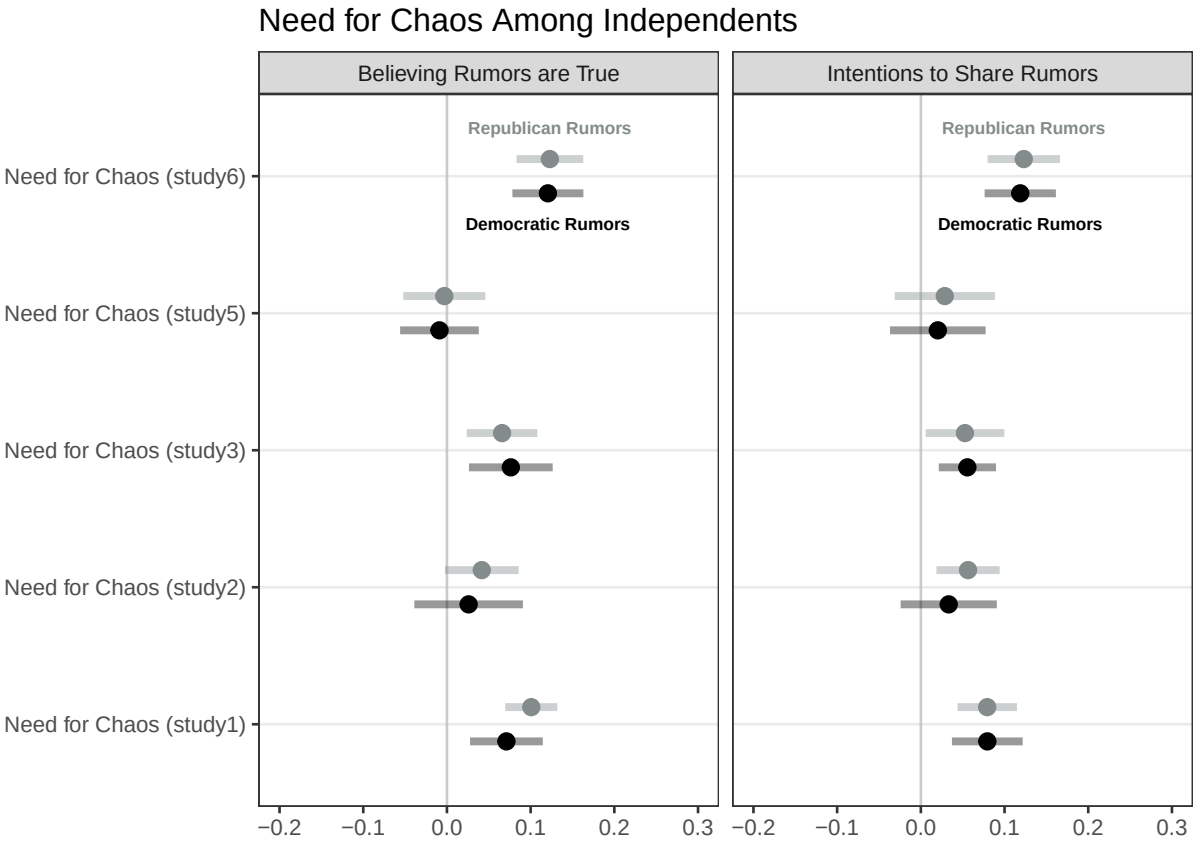

Fig S2. Association between the Need for Chaos and rumor endorsement among respondents who identify as Independents. See Test 2 of the main text for details on the analysis.

Panel Study: the Need for Chaos and Rumor Endorsement

Respondents who completed the survey in Study 2 were re-contacted and asked if they wanted to participate in two follow-up studies.

Survey wave 2. We started data collection for the second wave on September 14, 2018 and completed it on September 29, 2018. Thus, the minimum gap between participating in study wave 1 and 2 is five and a half weeks (in the rare scenario where a participant completed the first survey on the last day and the second survey on the first day). The maximum gap is a little more than 10 weeks. We were able to recontact 91% of the original sample (n = 1,394). Among these, 53% of participants were women, and the average age was 46,4 years old (SD=14, min = 18, max = 65). In terms of education, 5% reported "Less than high school" as their highest completed degree, 25% said "High school graduate[s]," 27% had "Some college, but no degree," 10% had a "2 year college degree," 22% selected a "4 year college degree," and 12% belonged to the "Graduate or professional degree" category. 70% of participants were white/Caucasian.

In the second survey, respondents were asked again to report their Need for Chaos and their endorsement of political rumors. In this way, we can take advantage of the panel structure of the data to examine if *changes* in the Need for Chaos predicts *changes* in rumor endorsement while keeping time-invariant factors constant (using unit fixed effects models).

Survey wave 3. We started data collection of the third round on March 28, 2019 and completed it on May 2, 2019. Thus, the minimum gap between participating in round 1 and 3 is 7 months. The maximum gap is 10 months. In round 3, we were able to recontact 89 % of the original sample (n = 1,367). Among these, 53% of participants were women, and the average age was 46,7 years old (SD=13, min = 18, max = 65). In terms of education, 5% reported "Less than high school" as their highest completed degree, 25% said "High school graduate[s]," 27% had "Some college, but no degree," 10% had a "2 year college degree," 22% selected a "4 year college degree," and 1% belonged to the "Graduate or professional degree" category. 70% of participants were white/Caucasian.

In the third survey, respondents only reported their Need for Chaos. As a result, by com-

bining data from the three waves, we can examine the test-retest validity of the Need for Chaos.

Analyses - The Need for Chaos and Rumor Endorsement Across Two Waves

Did changes in Need for Chaos predict changes in rumor endorsement from survey wave 1 to survey wave 2? Yes. The table below presents results from regression models that regress individual-level changes in rumor endorsement (scaled from 0 to 1) on the Need for Chaos (standardized). As the model is based on within-unit changes, all time-invariant factors are kept constant. The models show that changes in the Need for Chaos from survey wave 1 to wave 2 are associated with increases in rumor endorsement: As the Need for Chaos increases with one standard deviation, the intentions to share and believe rumors about both Democrats and Republicans increase by around 1-1.3 percentage points (all p's $< .01$). While these results do not definitely prove that rumor endorsement is *caused* by the Need for Chaos, they do suggest that the relationship is not confounded by time-invariant factors (e.g., family background, genetics).

	Dependent variable:			
	Share Dem	Share Rep	True Dem	True Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Change in NFC (std.)	0.013***	0.011***	0.012***	0.011***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Intercept	0.484***	0.483***	0.516***	0.488***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Observations	1,214	1,195	1,159	1,113

Table S14. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. The variables express changes in rumor endorsement and the Need for Chaos from survey wave 1 to wave 2. Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos is standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Analyses - The Stability of The Need for Chaos Across Three Waves

Was Need for Chaos stable across the three survey waves? Yes, relatively stable. Figure S3 shows respondents' levels of Need for Chaos across the three survey waves. Pearson's r correlations reveal that the Need for Chaos had a test-retest stability of .69 between wave 1 and 2, which matches the stability of shorter Big Five personality inventories measured at similar time intervals (Gosling, Rentfrow and Swann Jr 2003). Importantly, the test-retest stability is equally high between waves 1 and 3 (r = .72). At the same time, individuals only temporarily maintain very high levels of Need for Chaos (i.e., greater than top 10^{th} percentile). These findings suggest that during this time period characterized by a relatively peaceful social and political context, Need for Chaos remained relatively stable.

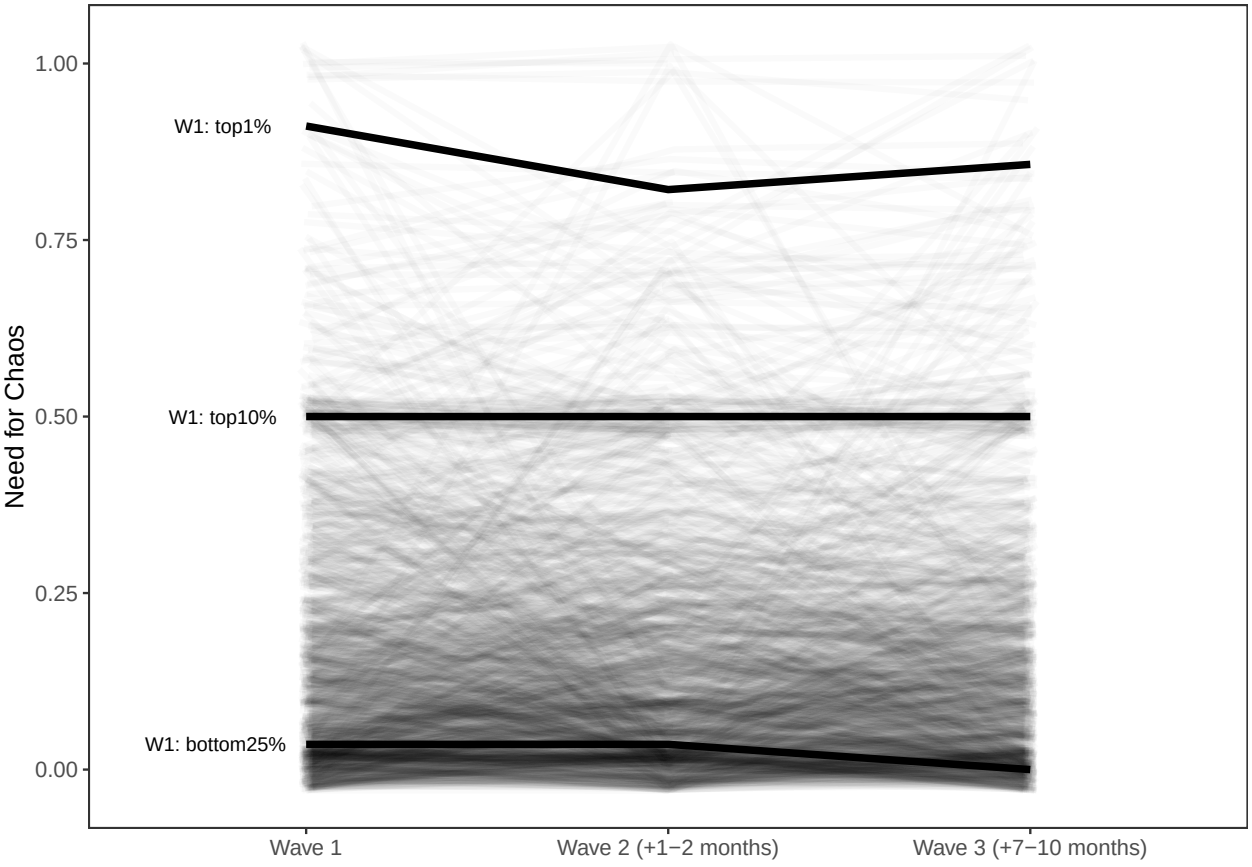

Fig S3. Levels of Need for Chaos among respondents in the three survey waves. Grey lines give individual trajectories for panelists who completed all three survey waves. Black lines give average values across the three surveys for respondents with the 1%/10%/75% highest values of Need for Chaos in Wave 1 (W1). Pearson's $R_{\text{Wave1-Wave2}} = .71$, Pearson's $R_{\text{Wave1-Wave3}} = .74$.

SM4. Test 3. Why is Need for Chaos associated with rumor endorsement?

We rely on data from Study 4 and 7 to examine this question. Study 4 tests whether the Need for Chaos is associated with four motives for endorsing hostile political rumors (i.e., to mobilize against out-group, believing story is true, amusing or have important consequences). Study 7 tests whether the Need for Chaos is associated with a different set of political motivations for rumor endorsement (i.e., to mobilize against Democrats and Republicans, respectively). In addition, Study 7 examines whether the Need for Chaos is associated with negative perceptions of Republicans and Democrats and feelings of abandonment by the two parties. These latter questions help identify whether people with a Need for Chaos dislike their political in-party because they feel abandoned by their fellow partisans (both rank-and-file members and party elites).

Study 4: Key survey measures

Need for Chaos: We used the $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-Revised}}$ scale.

Partisanship: See Test 1.

Motivations for sharing hostile political rumors: Participants read a list with five rumors targeting Democrats and a list with five rumors targeting Republicans. The rumors on both lists were from Study 1. The two lists were presented to the participants in a random order. For each list, participants were then asked to choose which rumor they would be most likely to share on social media (they also had the option of not sharing any of the rumors). For each of the two rumors they chose, they were then asked a series of questions:

Q1a-d: Please indicate how accurately each of the statements below describe your motivations for sharing this particular news story (Response: 1 = Very inaccurate; 7 = Very accurate)

- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing people against political groups

that I oppose (*mobilize*)

- This story was the story that I believe comes closest to the truth of the different stories (*true*)
- This story was the story that I believe my network would find most amusing (*amuse*)
- This story contains the most important consequences, if it happens to be true (*consequences*)

Study 7: Key survey measures

Need for Chaos: We used the $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-Revised}}$ scale.

Partisanship: See Test 1

Motivations for sharing hostile political rumors: Participants read a list with five rumors targeting Democrats and a list the five rumors targeting Republicans. The rumors were all from Study 1. The two lists were presented to the participants in a random order. For each list, participants were then asked to choose which rumor they would be most likely to share on social media. For the rumor about Democrats [/Republicans], they were then asked how accurately two statements described their motives for sharing the particular rumors (Response: 0 = Very inaccurate; 1 = Very accurate,):

- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing people against the corrupt Democratic [/Republican] elites.
- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing against lying Republicans [/Democrats]. It shows what ridiculous stuff they post.

Emotions towards partisan actors: How strongly do you feel the following emotions when you think about candidates and elected officials [/voters] of the Democratic Party [/Republican Party]? (Response: 1 = Not at all; 6 = Very Strongly)

- Anger
- Disgust
- Anxiety
- Contempt

- Enthusiasm
- Happiness

Based on their responses, we created four scales where higher values indicated stronger negative emotions towards: (1) Democratic voters (α = .79, M = .41, SD = .24), (2) Republican voters (α = .79, M = .53, SD = .27), (3) Democratic elites (α = .79, M = .45, SD = .24), Republican elites (α = .79, M = .58, SD = .28).

Abandonment by in-party: Participants who identified as Democrats [/Republicans] were asked if they disagreed or agreed with four statements (Response: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

- Voters of the Democratic Party [/Republican Party] care about people like me
- I feel abandoned by the other Democrats [/Republicans]
- I feel that Democratic [/Republican] politicians try to address the problems I have
- I feel I am recognized as an equal by other Democratic [/Republican] voters

Based on the items, we created a scale measuring perceptions of abandonment by the Democratic Party among participants' self-identifying as Democrats, and a scale measuring perceived abandonment by the Republican Party among Republican Identifiers. The scales were rescaled to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating stronger perceptions of abandonment.

Analyses - Motivations for Sharing Rumors

	Mobilize	Amuse	Conseq.	True
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.040***	0.052***	0.010	−0.027***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Party Id (1 = Dem)	−0.037	−0.060**	−0.068***	−0.058***
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.021)
Gender (1 = female)	0.027	0.035	−0.001	−0.005
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.021)
Education	−0.004	−0.006	−0.028**	0.0002
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Age	0.002	−0.045***	0.007	0.028***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.036	0.052*	0.056**	0.015
	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.025)
Intercept	0.505***	0.471***	0.686***	0.748***
	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.035)
Observations	518	518	518	518
Residual Std. Error (df = 511)	0.272	0.290	0.257	0.230

Table S15 - Study 4. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share hostile rumors to mobilize against disliked groups (column 1), to amuse friends (2), because story is true (3), because story has big consequences if true (4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Mob. Dem	Mob. Rep	Amuse Dem	Amuse Rep	Consq. Dem	Consq. Rep	True Dem	True Rep
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Need for Chaos	0.042***	0.049***	0.031**	0.067***	0.024*	0.003	−0.010	−0.018
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Party Id (1 = Dem)	−0.117***	0.087***	−0.038	0.008	−0.119***	−0.041	−0.171***	0.026
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.027)
Gender (1 = female)	0.007	0.048	0.044	0.014	−0.013	0.008	−0.007	−0.005
	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.026)
Education	−0.0004	−0.001	0.013	−0.016	−0.005	−0.031**	0.009	0.0005
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Age	0.009	−0.010	−0.031**	−0.051***	0.018	−0.00001	0.031**	0.027**
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.001	0.064*	0.051	0.067*	0.009	0.072**	0.004	0.018
	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.029)
Intercept	0.578***	0.379***	0.497***	0.423***	0.707***	0.670***	0.766***	0.686***
	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Observations	341	393	341	393	341	393	341	393

Table S16 - Study 4. Dependent variables: Intentions to share hostile rumors about Democrats and Republicans to mobilize against them (column 1), to amuse friends (2), because story is true (3), because story has big consequences if true (4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Hurt Dem	Expose Rep	Hurt Rep	Expose Dem
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	−0.067	0.156**	0.137**	0.083
	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.057)	(0.057)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.253***	0.201***	0.183***	−0.211***
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Gender (1 = Female)	−0.028	0.013	0.029*	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Age	−0.001	0.001	−0.002***	−0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Race	−0.014	−0.012	−0.016	0.004
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Education	−0.004	0.007	−0.004	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)
NFC X PID	0.060***	−0.109***	−0.102***	0.033*
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)
NFC X Gender	0.011	−0.005	−0.015	0.028
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)
NFC X Age	0.0002	−0.002	−0.0003	−0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
NFC X Race	−0.005	−0.014	−0.010	−0.013
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
NFC X Education	0.014*	0.015*	0.006	0.020***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Intercept	0.754***	0.219***	0.510***	0.465***
	(0.056)	(0.059)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Observations	1,176	1,176	1,176	1,176
Residual Std. Error (df = 1164)	0.292	0.311	0.274	0.275

Table S17 - Study 7. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables: Intentions to share rumors about Democrats to hurt Democratic elites (column 1) and to expose lying Republicans (2); intentions share rumors about Republicans to hurt Republican elites (3) and to expose lying Democrats (4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, education, and the interactions between the covariates and the Need for Chaos. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Analyses - Emotions towards partisan actors

The findings of the main text suggest that chaos-seekers' motivations to share hostile political rumors about both parties - even the party they ostensibly identify with - reflect a genuine disdain for both parties. To directly assess this, we use the emotion scales from Study 7 and regress these measures on Need for Chaos, partisanship, and their interaction. Figure 5 displays the substantive results by plotting the predicted feelings towards the four groups across Need for Chaos for Democratic and Republican identifiers, respectively. Table S17 reports the regression models.

In each model of Figure S2, we found a statistically significant interaction between partisanship and Need for Chaos (all p's $< .03$). In line with our earlier findings, partisans with a low Need for Chaos view in-party actors positively, voters and elites alike, and out-party actors negatively. Partisans with strong chaotic motivations, however, view party elites and voters through very different lenses. These partisans evaluate in-party actors, both voters and elites, just as negatively as they evaluate out-party actors. Those with strong chaotic motivations certainly feel hostility towards political elites, but on top of that, they also harbor negative sentiments towards rank-and-file voters from both parties.

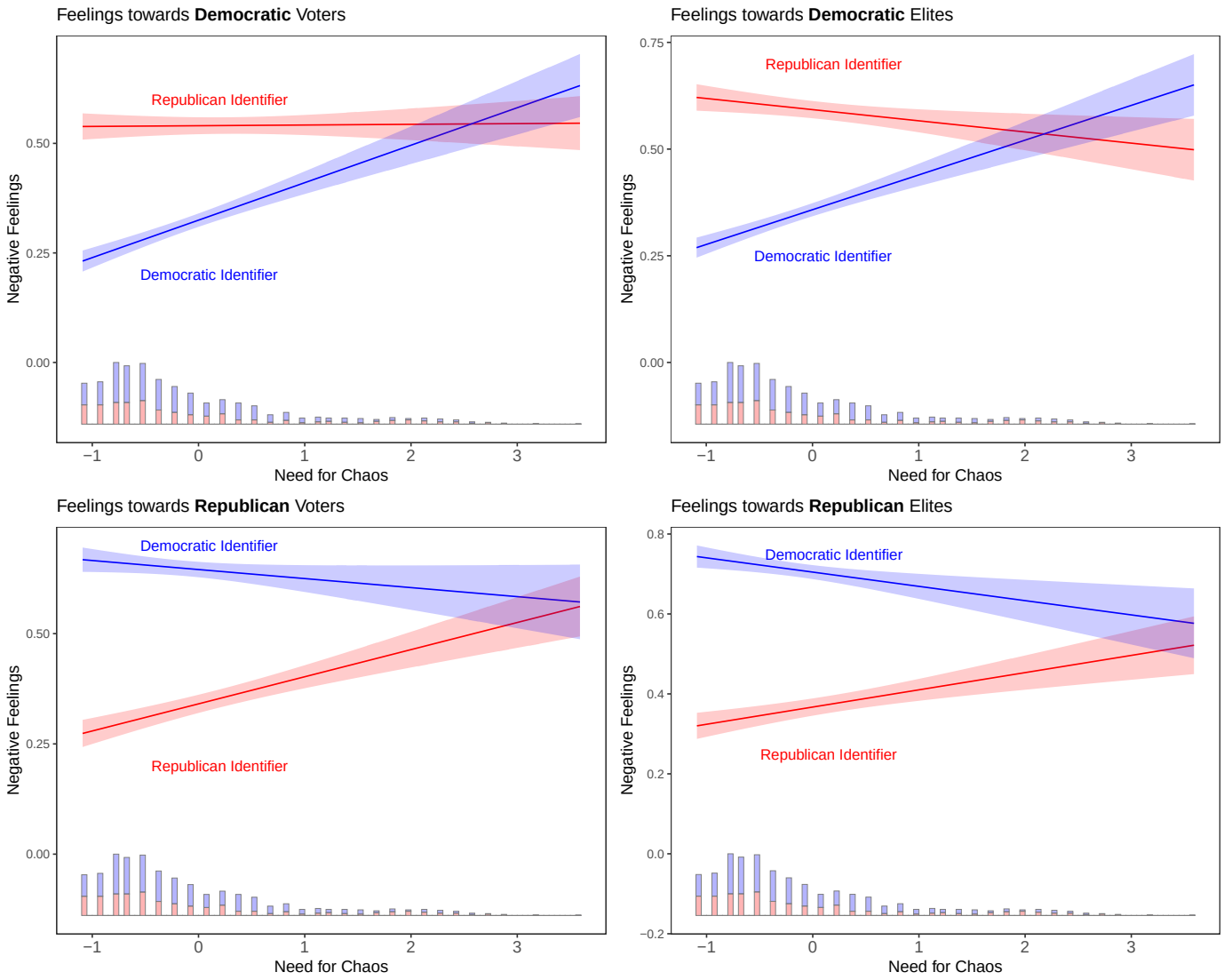

Figure S4. Predicted values with 95% confidence intervals for negative emotions towards partisan elites and voters among Democratic identifiers (blue) and Republican identifiers (red) across levels of $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-R}}$ (x-axis). Predicted values are based on OLS regression models. The vertical and horizontal lines to the left and at the bottom present the jittered distribution of the dependent variables and Need for Chaos, respectively. All variables range 0-1. All models adjust for gender, age, ethnicity, education and the interactions between the covariates and the Need for Chaos (see Table S18 for regression tables). All predictions are made by setting covariates equal to their mean (continuous covariate) or median (categorical covariate) value.

	Dem. Voters	Dem. Elites	Rep. Voters	Rep. Elites
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.013	−0.017	0.064	0.047
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.049)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	−0.216***	−0.236***	0.303***	0.338***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Gender (1 = Female)	−0.028**	−0.030**	0.015	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Age	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Race	−0.005	−0.001	−0.005	0.004
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Education	0.004	−0.011**	0.011**	0.014**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
NFC X PID	0.085***	0.108***	−0.082***	−0.077***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)
NFC X Gender	−0.003	−0.005	−0.017	−0.023
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
NFC X Age	0.001	0.001	0.002**	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
NFC X Race	−0.006	−0.004	0.003	−0.0002
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
NFC X Education	−0.003	−0.007	−0.009	−0.002
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Intercept	0.556***	0.665***	0.252***	0.262***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.045)
Observations	1,176	1,176	1,176	1,176
Residual Std. Error (df = 1164)	0.211	0.212	0.233	0.236

Table S18 - Study 7. Estimated regression coefficients. Dependent variables: Negative feelings towards Democratic voters (column 1) and elites (2), and negative feelings towards Republican voters (3) and elites (4). Dependent variables are scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. Party ID is a binary indicator variable, 1 = Democratic identifier, 0 = Republican identifier. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, education, and the interactions between the covariates and the Need for Chaos. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Analyses - Abandonment by Political Parties

Do people with a strong Need for Chaos feel abandoned by their political party? Yes. The table below presents results from a regression models that examines if the Need for Chaos predicts perceptions of being abandoned by the participant's in-party (i.e., whether Democratic [/Republican] identifiers feel abandoned by the Democratic [/Republican party]) The model adjusts for age, gender, ethnicity and education, while the Need for Chaos measure has been standardized and the measure of abandonment has been scaled to range from 0 to 1 with greater values indicating stronger feelings of abandonment. The results show that Need for Chaos significantly predicts feeling abandoned by one's in-party: a one standard deviation increase in the Need for Chaos is associated with a 1.5 percentage points increase in perceptions of feeling abandoned by the in-party.

	Abandonment by In-Party
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.015***
	(0.005)
Gender	−0.003
	(0.008)
Age	0.0003
	(0.0003)
Ethnicity	0.004
	(0.003)
Education	0.510***
	(0.025)
Observations	1,176
Residual Std. Error	0.135 (df = 1166)

Table S19 - Study 7. Estimated regression coefficients. Dependent variable: Feelings of abandonment by In-party. Dependent variable is scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the Need for Chaos has been standardized. The model adjusts for age, gender, ethnicity, and education. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

SM5. Test 4. Who Needs Chaos?

Test 4 relies on data from Study 6 to test whether perceived social status and social marginalization predict the Need for Chaos. The key measures of the study are:

Need for Chaos: See Study 1.

Loneliness: How often do you feel that the following statements apply to you? (Response: 1 = Never; 2 = Rarely; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Always)

- I lack companionship.
- There is no one I can turn to.
- I feel left out.
- I feel isolated from others.
- I can find companionship when I want it.
- I am unhappy being so withdrawn.
- People are around me, but not with me.

Perceived Social Status: Think of a ladder with 10 steps representing where people stand in your country. At step 10 are people who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At step 1 are the people who are worst off - those who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. Where would you place yourself on this ladder? (Response: Step 1 = Bottom of ladder; Step 10 = Top of ladder)

Status-Driven Risk-Taking: See "SM1. Test 1."

Main Analyses

	Dependent variable: Need for Chaos	
	(1)	(2)
Status-Driven Risk-Taking (SDRT)	0.101***	0.124***
	(0.006)	(0.008)
Loneliness	0.091***	0.077***
	(0.006)	(0.007)
Perceived Status	−0.067***	−0.034***
	(0.006)	(0.008)
Gender (1 = Female)	−0.030***	−0.019*
	(0.011)	(0.010)
Education	0.0003	0.010*
	(0.006)	(0.005)
Age	−0.025***	−0.027***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
SDRT X Loneliness		0.055***
		(0.005)
SDRT X Perceived Status		−0.047***
		(0.006)
SDRT X Female		−0.035***
		(0.011)
SDRT X Education		0.006
		(0.006)
SDRT X Age		−0.018***
		(0.006)
Loneliness X Female		−0.013
		(0.011)
Loneliness X Education		0.005
		(0.005)
Loneliness X Age		−0.005
		(0.006)
Perceived Status X Female		0.009
		(0.010)
Perceived Status X Education		−0.006
		(0.005)
Perceived Status X Age		−0.006
		(0.005)
Intercept	0.227***	0.177***
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Observations	1,296	1,296
Residual Std. Error	0.187 (df = 1289)	0.168 (df = 1278)

Table S20 - Study 6. Estimated regression coefficients. Dependent variable is the Need for Chaos, scaled to range from 0 to 1. All independent variables have been standardized. All models adjust for age, gender, education, and, in column 2, the two-way interactions between Status-Driven Risk-Taking, loneliness, and perceived social status, on the one hand, and the covariates, on the other hand. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Additional Analyses - Social Marginalization Experiment

The data used in Study 5 came from a larger survey experiment in which a group of respondents were randomly assigned to take part in the *Cyberball* game (Williams and Jarvis 2006). Cyberball is an "[...] online ball-tossing game that participants believe they are playing with two or three others" (Williams and Jarvis 2006, 174), but where the "other players" are controlled by the programmer to either socially exclude (i.e., avoid throwing the ball to the human player) or socially include (i.e., throw the ball to the human player) the human participant. We randomly assigned participants to the "social inclusion" or the "social exclusion" condition. After completing the game, which was programmed to last for three minutes, participants reported their Need for Chaos. This setup allows us to examine whether experimentally induced social marginalization increases the Need for Chaos among participants. Before playing the game, participants completed a pre-treatment questionnaire including sociodemographic questions and the measure of status-driven risk-taking.

Key survey measures.

Need for Chaos: See Study 1.

Status-Driven Risk-Taking: See Study 6.

Cyberball: Participants completed a 3-minute version of Cyberball. For details, see Williams and Jarvis (2006).

Results

Did experimentally induced social marginalization increase the Need for Chaos? Yes, but not substantially so. Table S21 reports results from two regression models that regress the Need for Chaos (0-1 coded) on social exclusion in the Cyberball game, without (column 1) and with (column 2) covariates (to increase the precision of the estimates). In both models, we find that the Need for Chaos is about 1.2 percentage points higher among participants who were socially excluded in the Cyberball game compared to participants who played the socially inclusive version. The association, however, is only statistically significant at the

.05-level in the model with covariates (p = .048). Taken as a whole, while we find some experimental support for the notion that the Need for Chaos is caused by social marginalization, the effect sizes from this experiment are relatively small. This finding, we believe, is consistent with the short duration of the manipulation as well as the relative stability of the Need for Chaos (see Test 2).

	NFC	NFC
	(1)	(2)
Social Exclusion (1 = Yes)	0.012	0.014**
	(0.008)	(0.007)
Status-Driven Risk-Taking		0.390***
		(0.019)
Gender (1 = Women)		−0.027***
		(0.008)
Ethnicity (1 = White)		−0.017**
		(0.009)
Education		−0.027*
		(0.014)
Intercept	0.132***	0.082***
	(0.006)	(0.015)
Observations	2,060	2,060
Residual Std. Error	0.186 (df = 2058)	0.166 (df = 2054)

Table S21 - Study 5. Estimated regression coefficients. Dependent variable is the Need for Chaos, scaled to range from 0 to 1. Social Exclusion is an indicator variable for whether participants were socially included (=0) or excluded (=1) in the Cyberball game. Status-Driven Risk-Taking has been standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

SM6. Test 5. The Need for Chaos and Distinct Types of Marginalization

Test 5 relies on data from Study 8 to test whether distinct forms of status considerations/types of marginalization predict the Need for Chaos. The key measures of the study are:

Need for Chaos: We used the $\text{NFC}_{\text{Chaos-Revised}}$ scale.

Status Concerns: Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes your feelings using a scale where "1" means that a statement "not at all" describes you, while "11" means that the statement describes you "very much". Some of the statements refer to "my group". By your group, we mean the political, religious, or social group that you identify with the most.

- I feel that I am kept back from gaining the place in society I deserve.
- I feel that my group is kept back from gaining the place in society they deserve.
- I feel that my deserved place in society is being taken away from me.
- I feel that my group's deserved place in society is being taken away from them.

Analyses

	Dependent variable: Need for Chaos				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Personal Status: Gain (std.)	0.025***	0.051***			
	(0.007)	(0.005)			
Group Status: Gain (std.)	−0.001		0.035***		
	(0.008)		(0.005)		
Personal Status: Loss (std.)	0.054***			0.057***	
	(0.007)			(0.005)	
Group Status: Loss (std.)	−0.020**				0.030***
	(0.008)				(0.005)
High school graduate (ref: No HS)	0.061**	0.056**	0.055**	0.061**	0.058**
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)
Some College	0.009	0.006	0.003	0.010	0.008
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
2-year	0.065**	0.061**	0.064**	0.068**	0.067**
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
4-year	0.027	0.022	0.023	0.031	0.030
	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Post-Grad	0.035	0.027	0.025	0.038	0.034
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Age	−0.076***	−0.077***	−0.083***	−0.079***	−0.084***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Black Women (ref: Black Men)	−0.020	−0.022*	−0.024*	−0.021	−0.025*
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
White Men (ref: Black Men)	0.020	0.025*	0.028*	0.021	0.015
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)
White Women Women (ref: Black Men)	−0.047***	−0.043***	−0.041***	−0.046***	−0.054***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)
HH Income: $10,000-19,999$ (ref: $< 10,000$)	−0.035*	−0.038*	−0.046**	−0.037*	−0.043*
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.022)
HH Income: $20,000-29,999$	−0.039*	−0.039*	−0.050**	−0.042**	−0.048**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
HH Income: $30,000-39,999$	−0.035	−0.045**	−0.053**	−0.037*	−0.052**
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
HH Income: $40,000-49,999$	−0.052**	−0.053**	−0.062***	−0.057**	−0.065***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)
HH Income: $50,000-59,999$	−0.056**	−0.059***	−0.066***	−0.059***	−0.066***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)
HH Income: $60,000-69,999$	−0.072***	−0.074***	−0.088***	−0.079***	−0.089***
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)
HH Income: $70,000-79,999$	−0.024	−0.023	−0.034	−0.028	−0.032
	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.025)
HH Income: $80,000-99,999$	−0.059**	−0.062***	−0.077***	−0.067***	−0.078***
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.024)
HH Income: $100,000-119,999$	−0.065**	−0.072***	−0.089***	−0.071***	−0.088***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.028)
HH Income: $120,000-149,999$	−0.034	−0.038	−0.050*	−0.037	−0.047
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.029)
HH Income: $150,000-199,999$	−0.053*	−0.058**	−0.077***	−0.058**	−0.074**
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.030)
HH Income: $200,000-249,999$	0.043	0.051	0.037	0.036	0.036
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.048)	(0.049)
HH Income: $250,000-349,999$	−0.085	−0.075	−0.085	−0.085	−0.077
	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.061)
HH Income: $350,000-499,999$	−0.018	−0.024	−0.032	−0.027	−0.041
	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.071)	(0.069)	(0.071)
HH Income: $500,000 or more$	0.098	0.101	0.106	0.099	0.097
	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.068)
HH Income: Prefer not to say	−0.032	−0.035*	−0.052**	−0.039*	−0.051**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Intercept	0.480***	0.487***	0.511***	0.490***	0.516***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Observations	1,751	1,751	1,751	1,751	1,751

Table S22 - Study 8. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions of Need for Chaos on four measures of status concerns. The Need for Chaos is scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the status measures have been standardized. All models adjust for age, gender, ethnicity, education and, and income. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

SM7. Test 6. Historically Privileged Groups and the Need for Chaos

Test 6 relies on data from Study 8 to test whether a series of sociodemographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, income, gender) predict levels of the Need for Chaos. The key measures of the study are:

Need for Chaos: We used the $NFC_{Chaos\text{-}Revised}$ scale.

Age

- 18-29 years
- 30-44 years
- 45-64 years
- 65+ years

Gender

- Male
- Female

Household Income

- Less than $10,000
- $10,000 - $19,999
- $20,000 - $29,999
- ...
- $80,000 - $99,999
- $100,000 - $119,999
- $120,000 - $149,999
- $150,000 - $199,999
- $200,000 - $249,999
- $250,000 - $349,999
- $350,000 - $499,999
- $500,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

Ethnicity (in the analysis, we focus on respondents identifying as either "White" or "Black")

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Two or more races
- Other
- Middle Eastern

Main Analysis - Data Behind Figure 8 in Main Text

	Dependent variable: Need for Chaos		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Women	0.282		
	(0.268,0.297)		
Men	0.257		
	(0.243,0.270)		
Black		0.288	
		(0.274,0.303)	
White		0.238	
		(0.223,0.252)	
Black Men			0.304
			(0.282,0.327)
Black Women			0.277
			(0.258,0.296)
White Men			0.253
			(0.232,0.273)
White Women			0.223
			(0.202,0.243)
Observations	1,950	1,774	1,774

Table S23 - Study 8. Data used to create left-hand panel of Fig. 8 in the main text. Average levels of Need for Chaos across sociodemographic groups. 95% Confidence Intervals in parentheses.

	Personal Gain	Group Gain	Personal Loss	Group Loss
Black Men	0.489	0.629	0.458	0.552
	(0.457,0.521)	(0.596,0.662)	(0.425,0.491)	(0.518,0.586)
Black Women	0.473	0.628	0.438	0.560
	(0.446,0.500)	(0.600,0.655)	(0.410,0.466)	(0.531,0.589)
White Men	0.266	0.296	0.282	0.322
	(0.236,0.296)	(0.266,0.327)	(0.251,0.312)	(0.290,0.354)
White Women	0.264	0.275	0.275	0.299
	(0.235,0.294)	(0.245,0.305)	(0.245,0.306)	(0.267,0.330)
Observations	1,788	1,788	1,788	1,788

Table S24 - Study 8. Data used to create right-hand panel of Fig. 8 in the main text. Average levels of Status Concerns across sociodemographic groups. 95% Confidence Intervals in parentheses.

How does the effect of status considerations on the Need for Chaos vary across sociodemographic groups? Based on data from Study 8, Fig S5 (and Table S25) shows the predicted Need for Chaos (y-axis) among specific sociodemographic strata and across levels of "status considerations" (x-axis).

As discussed in the main text, Figure S7 and Table S25 make clear that there is a stronger relationship between the status concerns and the Need for Chaos among white males compared to other gender and racial groups. This may explain why white males are so high in Need for Chaos, despite their historically privileged position in society.

	Dependent variable: Need for Chaos			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Personal Gain (PG)	0.089***	0.046***	0.046***	0.046***
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Group Gain (GG)	−0.009	0.040***	−0.009	−0.008
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Personal Loss (PL)	0.060***	0.056***	0.081***	0.058***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Group Loss (GL)	−0.033***	−0.031***	−0.032***	0.004
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.013)
Black Men (ref. White Men)	0.009	0.004	0.014	0.012
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Black Women (ref. White Men)	−0.015	−0.009	−0.007	−0.007
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
White Women (ref. White Men)	−0.051***	−0.047***	−0.042***	−0.040***
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)
PG X Black Men	−0.059***			
	(0.016)			
PG X Black Women	−0.049***			
	(0.015)			
PG X White Women	−0.053***			
	(0.016)			
GG X Black Men		−0.062***		
		(0.016)		
GG X Black Women		−0.080***		
		(0.015)		
GG X White Women		−0.036**		
		(0.016)		
PL X Black Men			−0.026*	
			(0.016)	
PL X Black Women			−0.022	
			(0.014)	
PL X White Women			−0.035**	
			(0.016)	
GL X Black Men				−0.051***
				(0.016)
GL X Black Women				−0.058***
				(0.014)
GL X White Women				−0.028*
				(0.015)
Intercept	0.288***	0.294***	0.278***	0.284***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Observations	1,774	1,774	1,774	1,774

Table S25 - Study 8. Data used to create Fig. 9 in the main text. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions of Status Concerns on the Need for Chaos across sociodemographic groups. The Need for Chaos is scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the status measures have been standardized. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

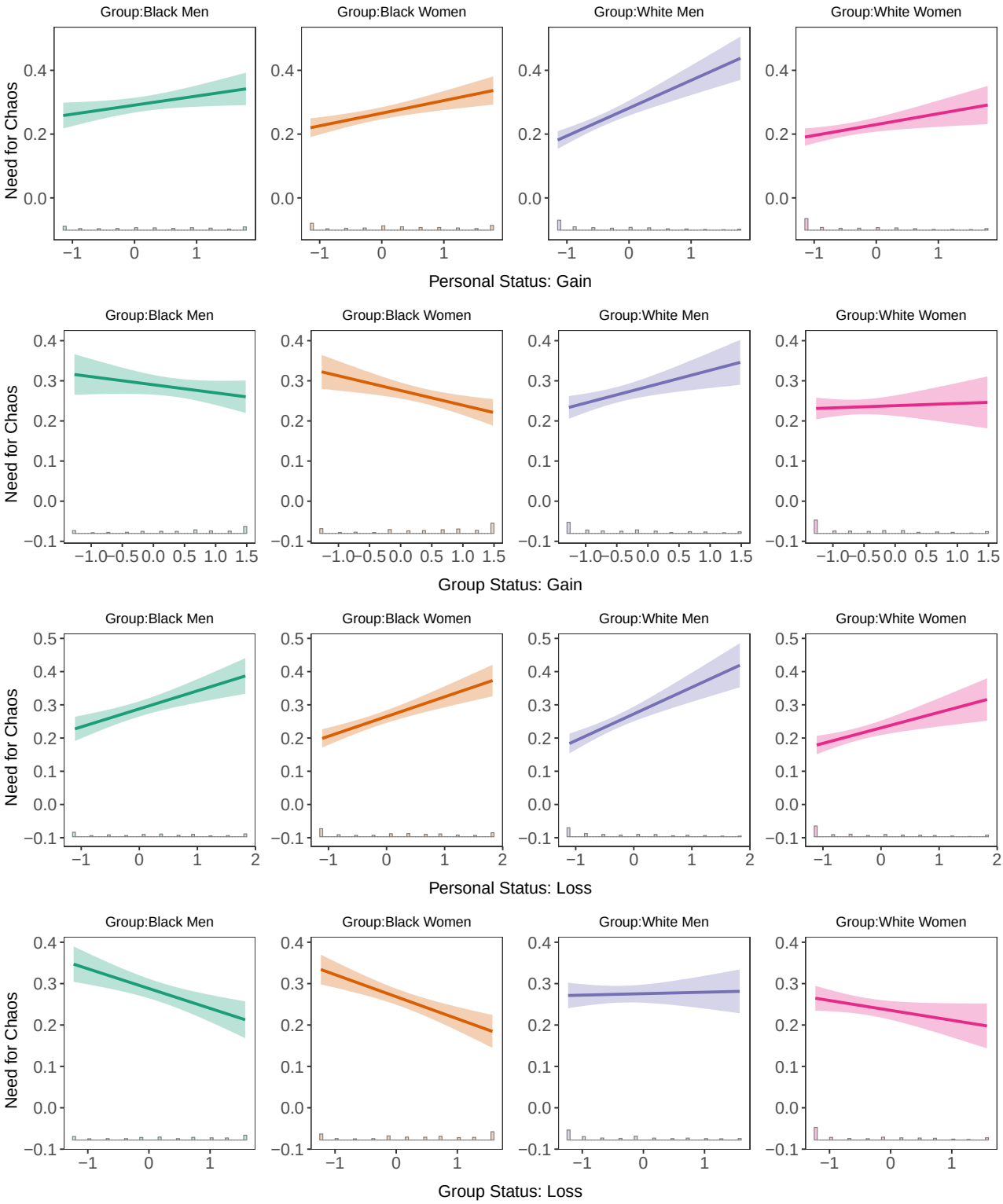

Fig S5. Predicted value of the Need for Chaos (y-axis) across levels of the four measures of status concerns (x-axes), among four demographic subgroups. Results are based on regression estimates from Table S25. The Need for Chaos is scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the status measures have been standardized. The histograms show the distribution of "status considerations".

Additional Analysis - Sociodemographic Groups and Fear of System

Based on data from Study 8, Figure S6 examines how sociodemographic characteristics (for simplicity, we focus on the nexus between gender and ethnicity) map onto fear of opposing the current political system. To measure fear of opposing the system, we use a scale constructed on the basis of three items:

Fear of opposing system. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly disagree; 4 = Neither agree nor disagree; 7 = Strongly agree)

- Rebelling against the system can be dangerous for people like me.
- If I take on those in power, I will most likely face punishment.
- For people like me it is costly to engage in political activism.

The results show that Blacks – both men and women – are significantly more likely than whites to express fear about challenging the political system.

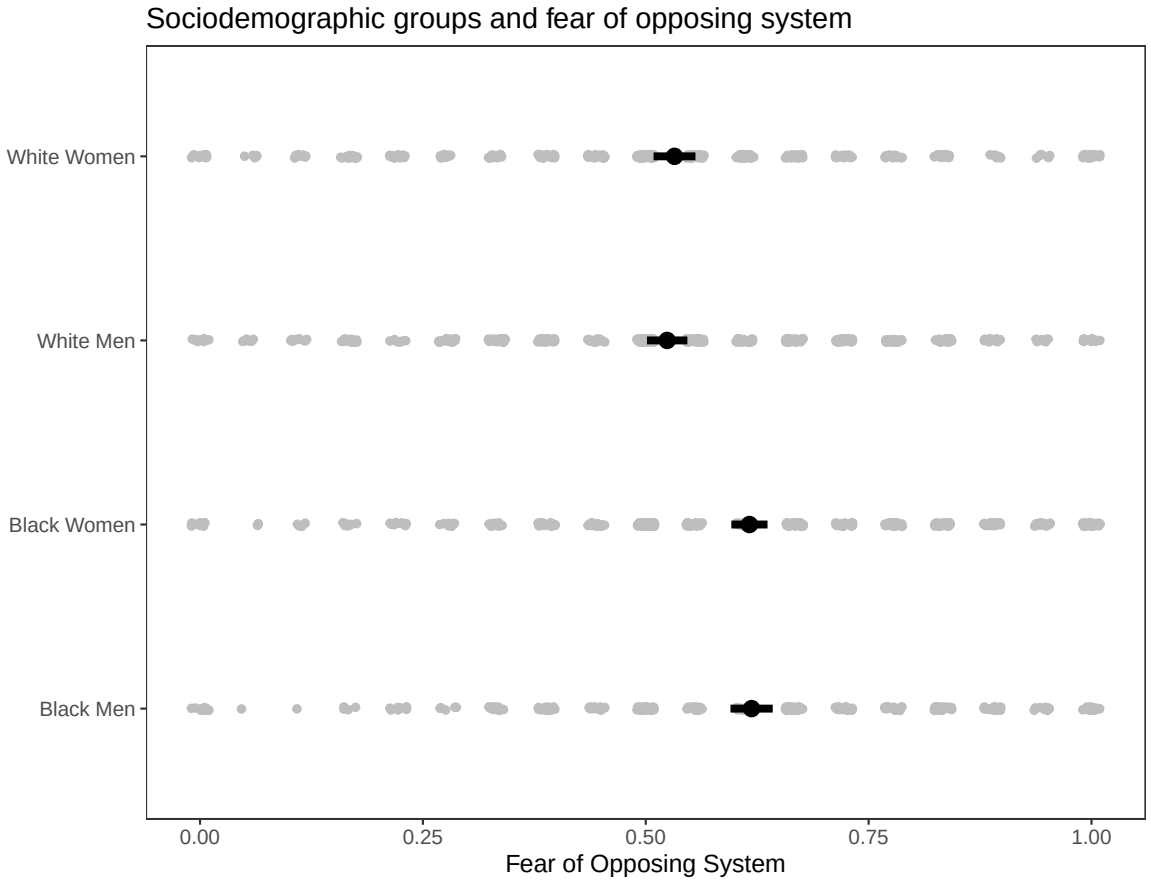

Fig S6. Average fear of opposing the political system at intersection of different sociodemographic groups. Horizontal bandf represent 95% Confidence Intervals.

Is there a link between fear of opposing the system and the Need for Chaos? Results from a regression of the Need for Chaos (0-1) on Fear of Opposing the System (0-1) and sociodemographic covariates reveal that the two variables are only weakly related ($\beta = .04$, p = .02). Further, as we show in Table S26, the association between Fear of Opposing the System and the Need for Chaos does not differ markedly across sociodemographic groups. The only exception is that, compared to Black men, fear of opposing the system is associated with significantly lower levels of the Need for Chaos among Black women.

	Need for Chaos
Fear of Opposing System (0-1)	0.021
	(0.082)
Black Women (ref.: Black Men)	0.049
	(0.038)
White Women (ref.: Black Men)	−0.048
	(0.038)
White Men (ref.: Black Men)	−0.034
	(0.037)
Education	−0.026***
	(0.008)
Age	−0.070***
	(0.012)
Income	0.00005
	(0.0004)
Fear of Opposing System X Black Women	−0.114**
	(0.058)
Fear of Opposing System X White Men	0.087
	(0.061)
Fear of Opposing System X White Women	−0.061
	(0.059)
Fear of Opposing System X Education	0.039***
	(0.014)
Fear of Opposing System X Age	−0.029
	(0.020)
Fear of Opposing System X Income	−0.0002
	(0.001)
Intercept	0.513***
	(0.052)
Observations	1,751

Table S26 - Study 8. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions that examine the marginal effect of sociodemographic groups on the Need for Chaos (0-1 coded) across levels of fear of opposing the system (0-1 coded). The model adjusts for age, education, income and the interactions between the covariates and status considerations. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

SM8. Discussion: Additional Analyses

Need for Chaos and Political Violence Intentions

Is the Need for Chaos associated with violent activism? To examine this question, we use data from three studies (#1, #3, #5) in which we, in addition to asking about participants' Need for Chaos, included measures of intentions to engage in political violence; see questions used for constructing the *political violence intentions* scale below.

Political Violence Intentions: [Intro text] In this section, you are presented with a series of possible actions that you can carry out to promote your group's political rights and interests. By "your group," we mean the political, religious, or social group that you identify with the most. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer)

- I would participate in a public protest against oppression of my group even if I thought the protest might turn violent
- I would attack police or security forces if I saw them beating members of my group
- I would encourage others to join violent protests against oppression of my group, even if I knew it was illegal
- I would go to war to protect the rights of my group
- I would retaliate against members of a group that had attacked my group, even if I couldn't be sure I was retaliating against the guilty party.

Analyses

	Political Violence Intentions
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.154***
	(0.006)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	0.031**
	(0.013)
Women	−0.064***
	(0.012)
Education	0.020***
	(0.006)
Age (std.)	−0.016**
	(0.006)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.025
	(0.016)
Intercept	0.290***
	(0.022)
Observations	872
Residual Std. Error	0.181 (df = 865)

Table S27 - Study 1. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables measures intentions to engage in political violence and are coded from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Political Violence Intentions
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.088***
	(0.009)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	0.092***
	(0.013)
Female	−0.040***
	(0.012)
Education	0.018***
	(0.006)
Age (std.)	−0.004
	(0.006)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.020
	(0.015)
Intercept	0.184***
	(0.016)
Observations	784
Residual Std. Error	0.167 (df = 777)

Table S28 - Study 3. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables measures intentions to engage in political violence and are coded from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

	Political Violence Intentions
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.169***
	(0.006)
Party ID (1 = Dem.)	0.014
	(0.011)
Women	−0.055***
	(0.011)
Education	−0.015***
	(0.006)
Age (std.)	−0.007
	(0.005)
Ethnicity (1 = non-white)	0.033**
	(0.013)
Intercept	0.283***
	(0.020)
Observations	938
Residual Std. Error	0.165 (df = 931)

Table S29 - Study 4. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variables measures intentions to engage in political violence and are coded from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Need for Chaos and Hawkish behavior

In addition to the measures discussed previously, Study 6 also included an economic-behavioral game: The hawk-dove game (also known as "Chicken"). The hawk-dove game presents respondents with a scenario in which there is a conflict over resources and asks them to decide between a strategy of conciliation ("doves") or conflict ("hawks"). Respondents were told that, based on their strategy, they had the chance of winning an actual monetary prize (see more below). In this way, the game allowed us to explore whether the Need for Chaos predicts conflict-oriented decisions in a behavioral game with monetary incentives.

Key survey measures.

Need for Chaos: See Study 1.

Hawk-dove game: Respondents read the following text:

"We want to investigate how people make economic decisions. Especially, we want to explore how economic choices are made between people who don't know each other. Therefore, you are asked to carefully read the text below. Your choice can potentially be translated into real money that will be paid to you and a fellow participant.

In this part of the survey you are randomly paired with another participant. You will not get to know who this other participant is, and, likewise, the other participant will not get to know who you are.

Imagine that both of you receive $50. This money belongs to each of you, respectively. But you can attempt to claim some of the money of the other participant. The same applies to the other participant. He or she can also attempt to claim some of your money.

Hence, you have two possibilities:

Possibility A: You decide to leave the other participant alone and do not claim the player's money.

Possibility B: You decide to claim the other participant's money.

The actual outcome will depend jointly on the decisions made by you and the other partici-

pant.

If none of you choose to claim each other's money (i.e. you both choose Possibility A), then there will be no change and both of you will receive $50.

If you choose Possibility A and leave the participant alone but the other participant chooses Possibility B and tries to claim your money, you will lose half of your money. This means that you in the end will receive 1/2 * 50 =25. The other participant, in contrast, will get his or her money doubled and will receive 2 * $50 = $100.

In reverse, if you choose Possibility B and claim the other participant's money but the other participant chooses to leave you alone, you will double your money. This means that you in the end will receive 2 * $50 = $100. The other participant, in contrast, will lose half of his or her money and will receive 1/2 * $50 = $25.

Finally, if both you and the other participant choose Possibility B and try to claim each other's money, then both of you will lose all you money. This means that no one receives any money at all.

When the survey is finished, we will randomly draw one pair of participants. These two participants will be paid in accordance with their choices between Possibility A and Possibility B. Your decision will therefore potentially affect the real amount of money that you will receive for participating in this survey. Therefore, consider carefully which possibility you follow!

Which possibility do you choose?"

- Possibility A: I decide not to claim the other participant's $50.
- Possibility B: I decide to claim the other participant's $50.

In this game, participants who opted for "Possibility B" are characterized as "hawks" because it is associated with conflict. In contrast, participants are doves if they choose "Possibility A" because it is the conciliatory strategy. It is also important to emphasize that the participants had the possibility of actually winning money.

Analyses

Did Need for Chaos predict hawkish behavior in an economic hawk-dove game? Yes. The table below presents results from a (linear probability) regression model that regresses Hawk-Dove strategies (0 = Dove; 1 = Hawk) on Need for Chaos and a series of covariates (gender, age, ethnicity, and education). The model shows that the Need for Chaos is a statistically significant predictor of "hawkish" behavior: As the Need for Chaos increases by one standard deviation, the probability of playing "Hawk" increases by around 3-4 percentage points. This shows that the Need for Chaos predicts aggressive behaviors in an economic game where actual money is at stake.

	Dependent variable:
Need for Chaos (std.)	0.034^{***}
	(0.013)
Gender	-0.048^{*}
	(0.025)
Education	0.004
	(0.012)
Age	-0.047^{***}
	(0.013)
Ethnicity	0.007
	(0.014)
Intercept	0.269^{***}
	(0.034)
Observations	1,295
Residual Std. Error	0.434 (df = 1290)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table S30. Estimated coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variable is a binary variable measuring "hawkish" behavior in the Hawk-Dove game (0 = dovish; 1 = hawkish). The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Main Results after removing outliers

To ensure that the main results of the paper are not driven by outliers, this section reproduces the main figures of the main text after having removed the 5 % of respondents highest in Need for Chaos.

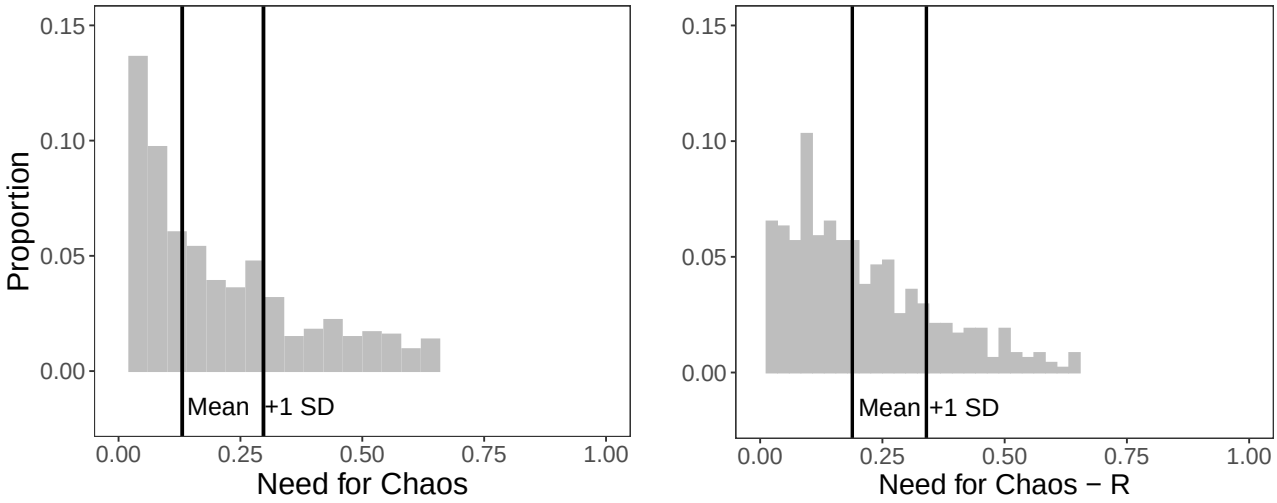

Fig S7. Replication of Figure 2 without outliers. Distributions of Need for Chaos and alternative measure. The figure displays histograms of Need for Chaos (left) and alternative NFCChaos-R measure with two-reverse coded items (right).

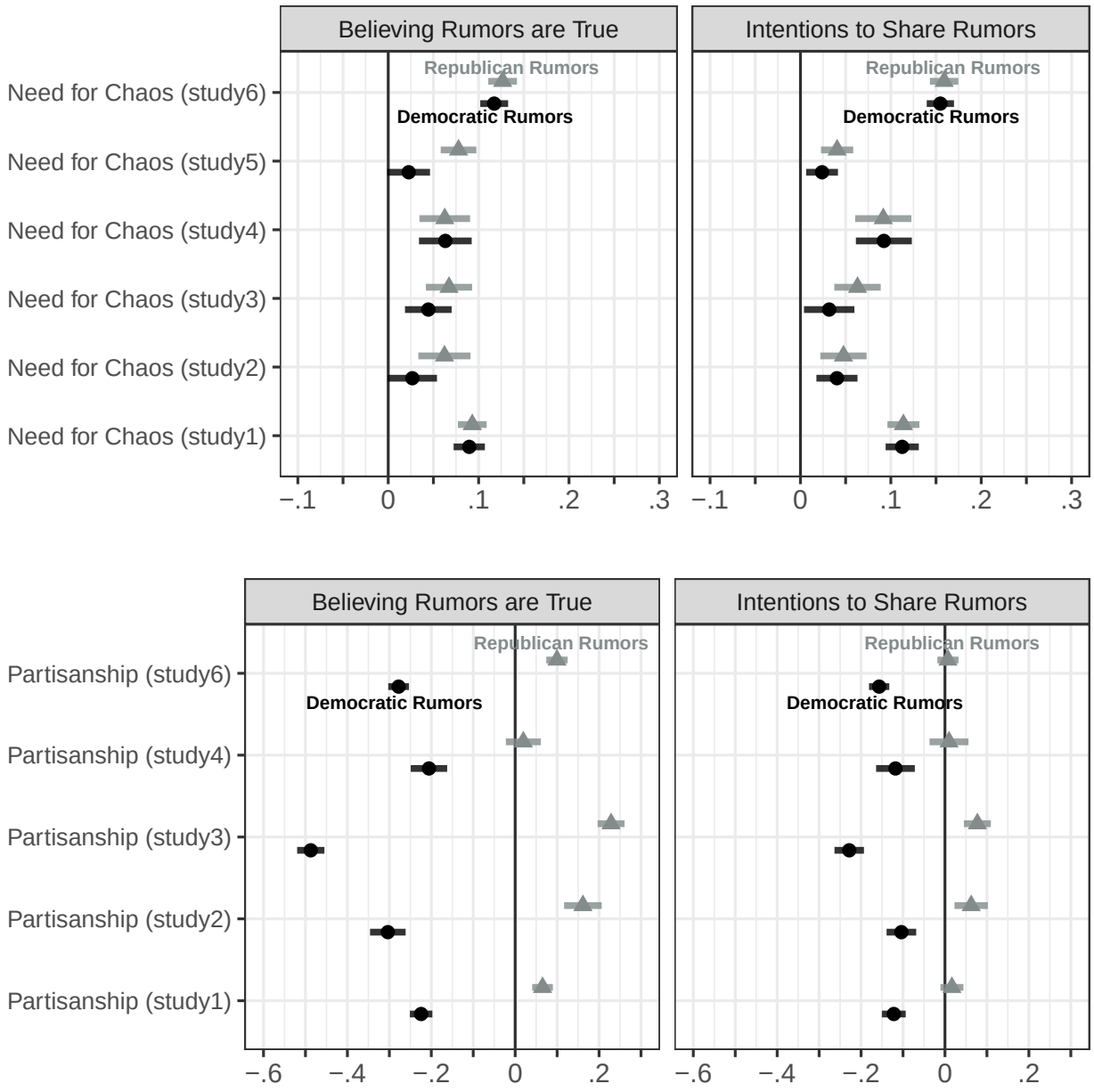

Fig S8. Replication of Figure 3 without outliers. Estimated regression coefficients for association between Need for Chaos (top) and partisanship (bottom) and the motivation to believe (left) and share (right) hostile political rumors about Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) elites. Horizontal bands give 95% confidence intervals. Dependent variables scaled to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating greater belief and intention to share the rumors. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Partisanship is a dichotomous variable (0 = Republican Identifier; 1 = Democratic Identifier). All models adjust for education, gender, income, age, and race.

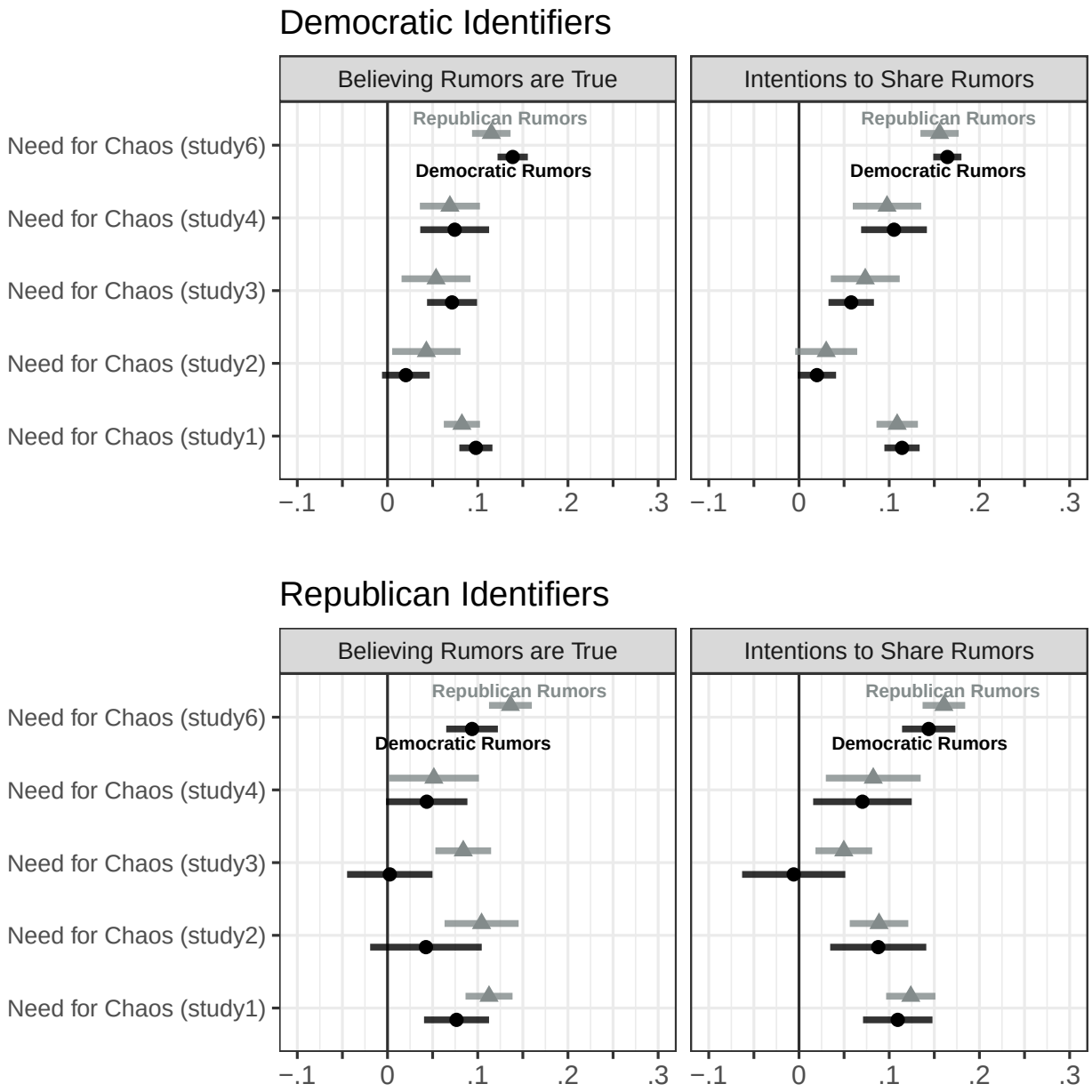

Fig S9. Replication of Figure 4 without outliers. Estimated regression coefficients for association between Need for Chaos and the motivation to believe (left) and share (right) hostile political rumors about Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) elites among Democratic (top) and Republican identifiers (bottom). Horizontal bands give 95% confidence intervals. Dependent variables scaled to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating greater belief and intention to share the rumors. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. All models adjust for education, gender, income, age, and race.

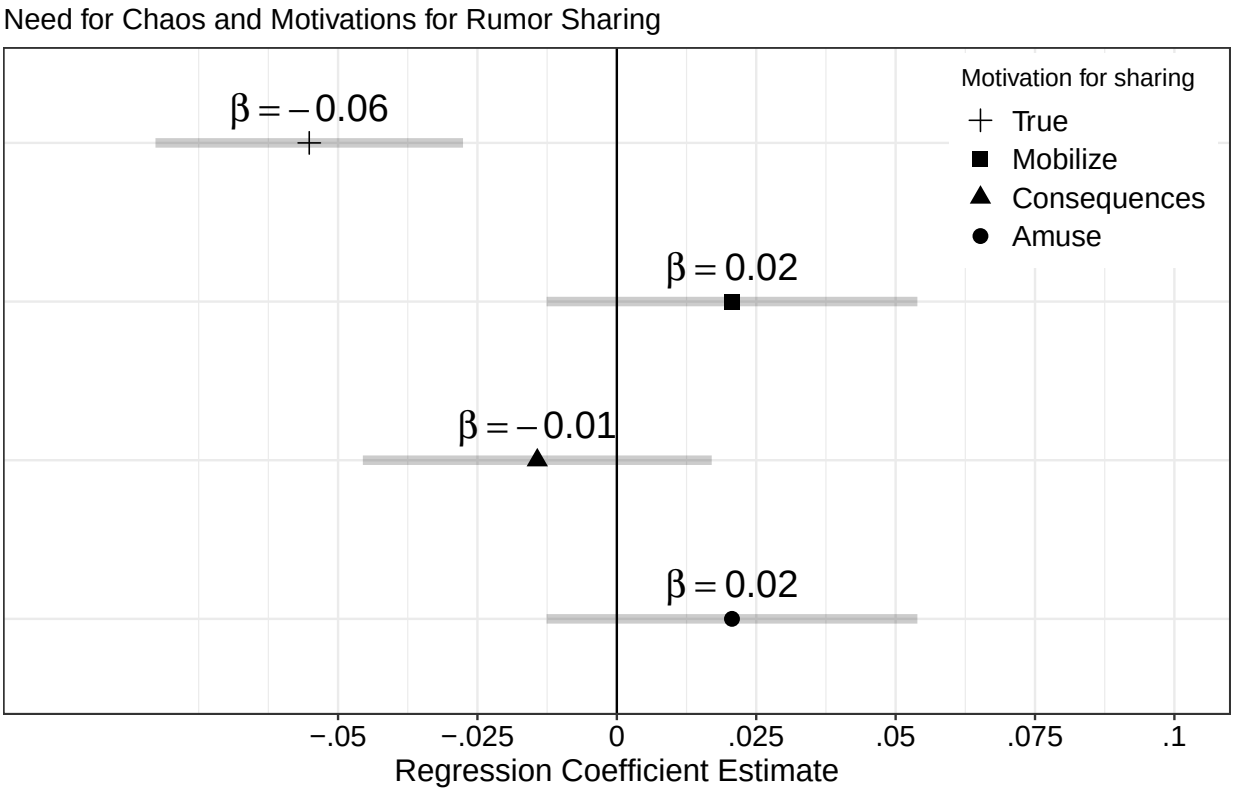

Fig S10. Replication of Figure 5 without outliers. Estimated regression coefficients for association between Need for Chaos and four motivations for sharing hostile political rumors: (1) because the story is true, (2) to mobilize against disliked groups, (3) because the story has major consequences if true, (4) to amuse friends. Horizontal bands give 95% confidence intervals. Dependent variables scaled to range from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. All models adjust for gender, age, education, and race.

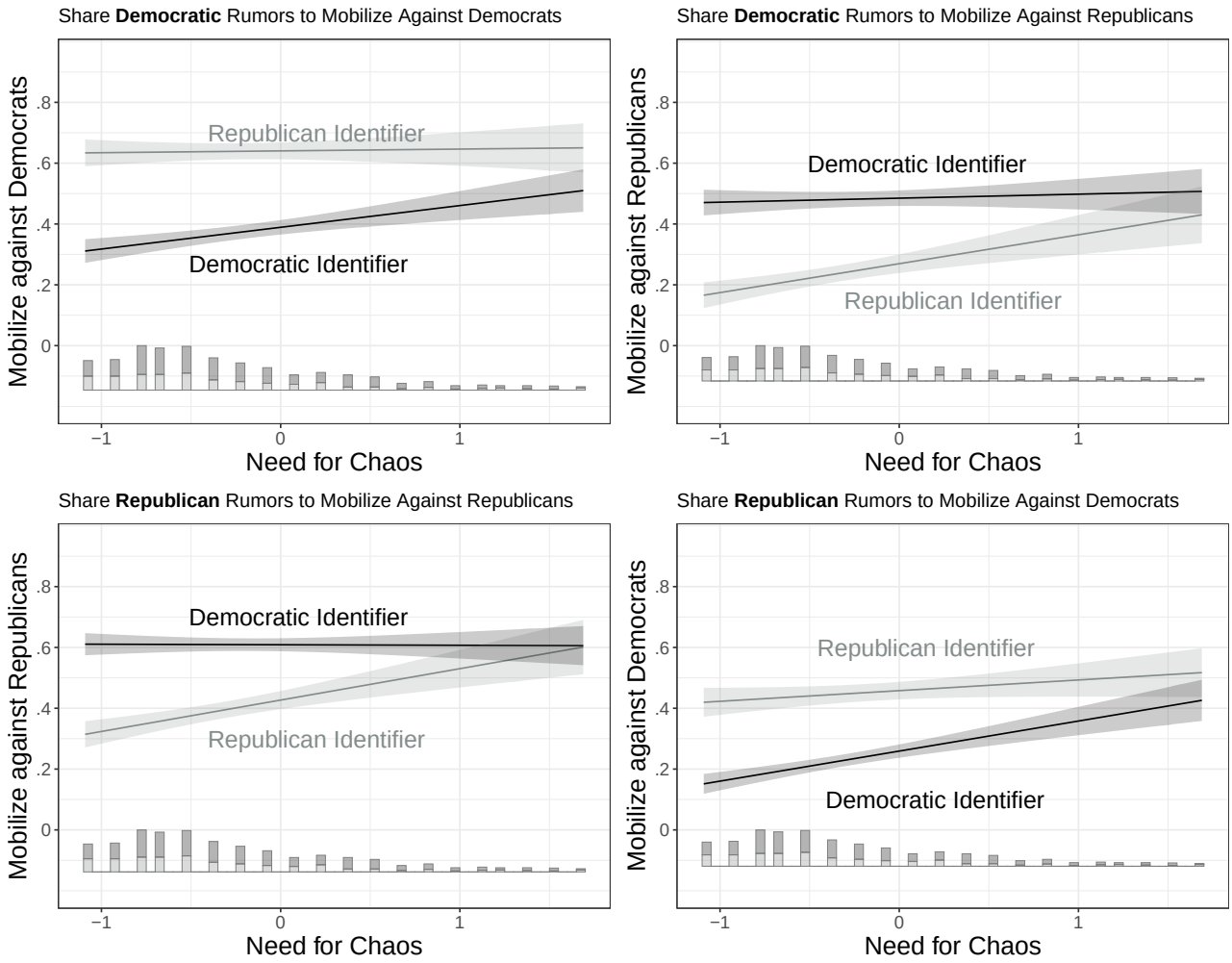

Fig S11. Replication of Figure 6 without outliers. Predicted values from regression models that regress motivations for sharing rumors about Democrats (upper panels) and Republicans (lower panels) on the Need for Chaos (x-axis) among Republican (red) and Democratic (blue) identifiers. Dependent variables have been scaled to range from 0 to 1. The Need for Chaos has been standardized. Histograms show the distribution of the Need for Chaos and the number of Democratic and Republican identifiers at each bin. All models adjust for gender, age, education, race, and the interactions between the covariates and the Need for Chaos.

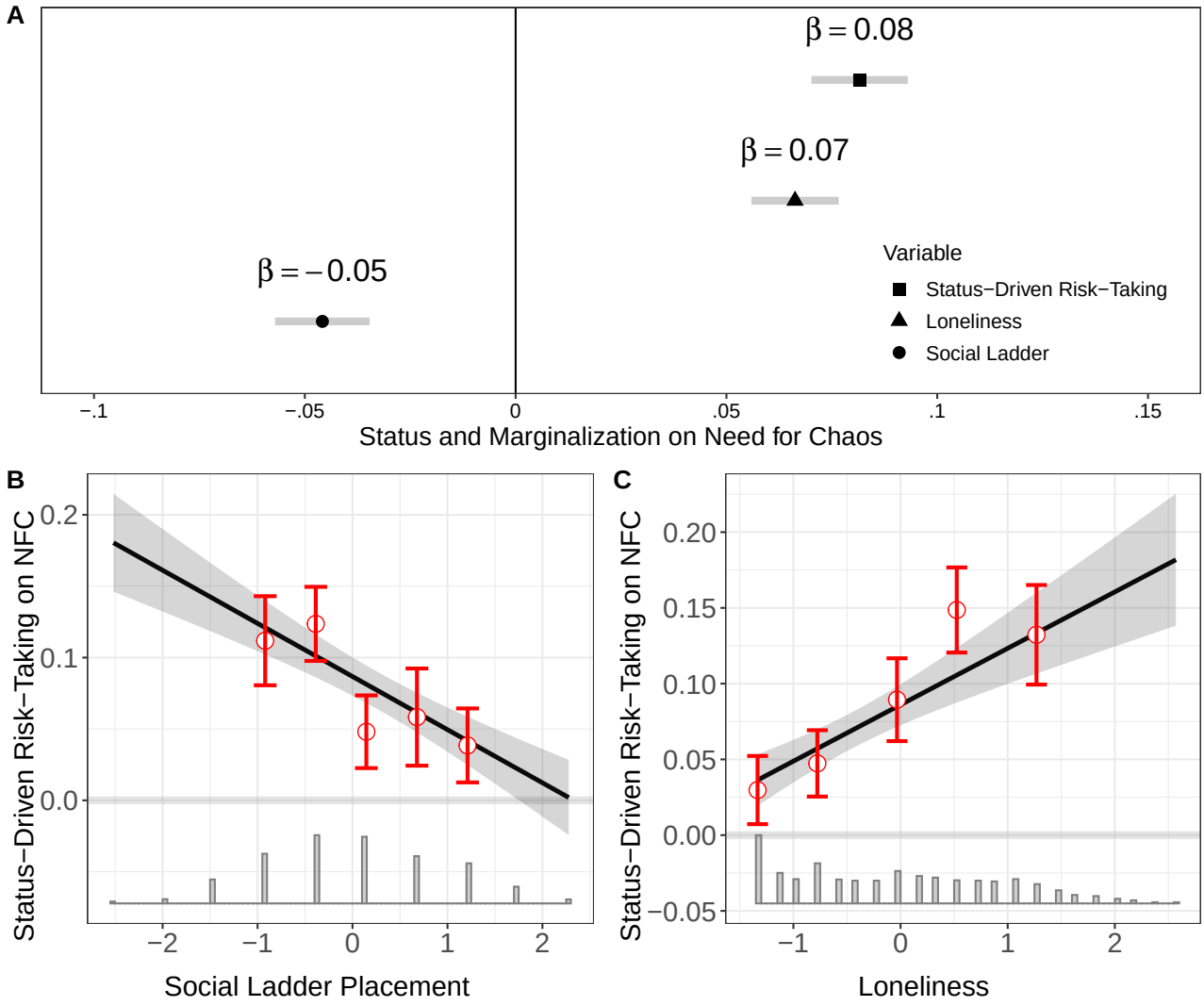

Fig S12. Replication of Figure 7 without outliers. Panel A: Estimated regression coefficients with 95% confidence intervals from models that regress Need for Chaos on Status-Driven Risk-Taking, loneliness and perceived social status without interaction terms. Panels B-C: Marginal effect of Status-Driven Risk-Taking on Need for Chaos, conditional on perceived social status and loneliness. Red hollow circles give marginal effects from a binning estimator that discretizes the data into five equally-sized bins (Hainmueller, Mummulo, Xu 2019). The models adjust for gender, age, educational level and race. In all panels, the Need for Chaos has been scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the independent variables have been standardized.

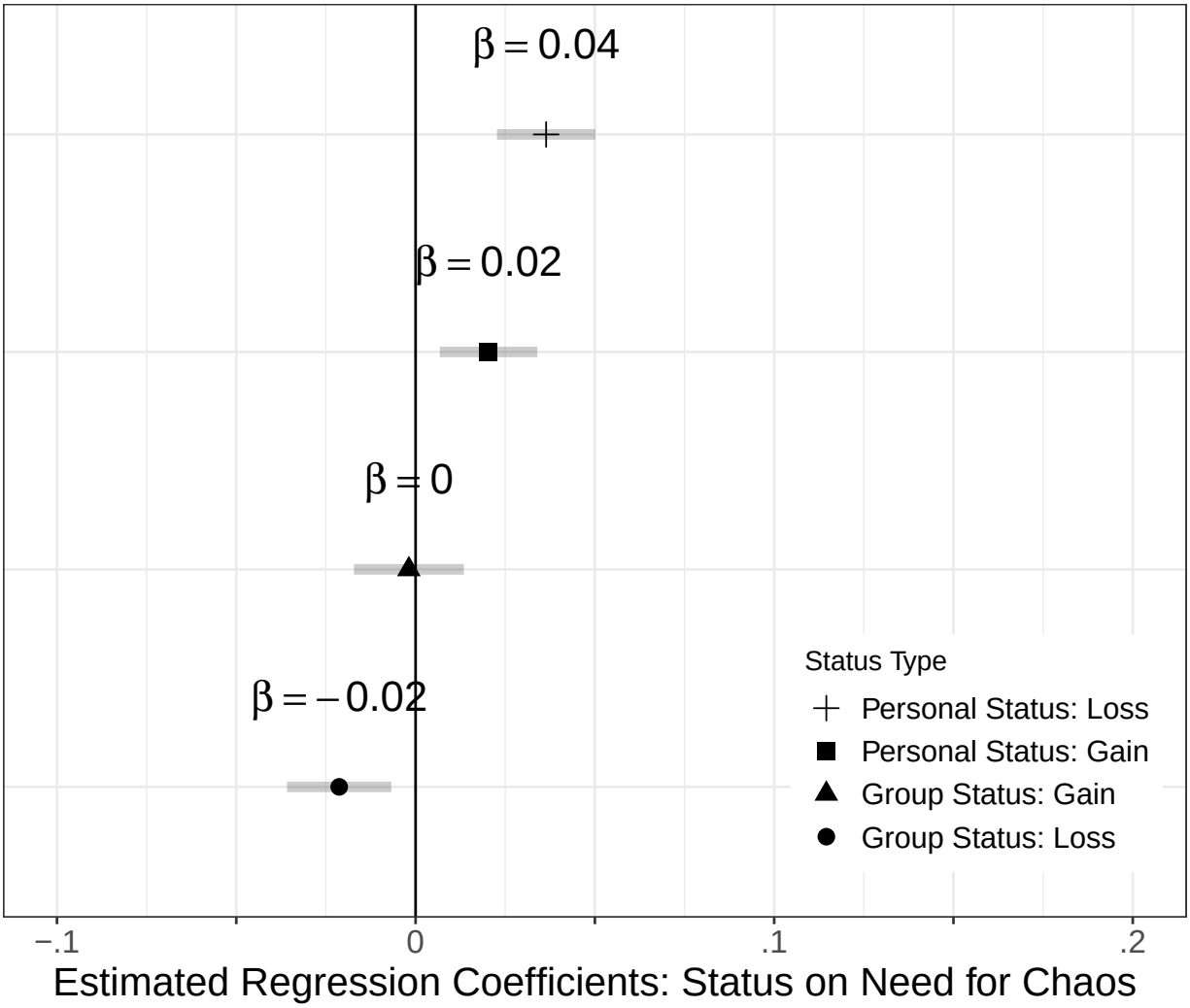

Fig S13. Replication of Figure 8 without outliers. Estimated regression coefficients with 95% confidence intervals from the model that regress Need for Chaos on four measures of status. The models adjust for gender, age, educational level and race. Need for Chaos has been scaled to range from 0 to 1 while the status measures have been standardized.

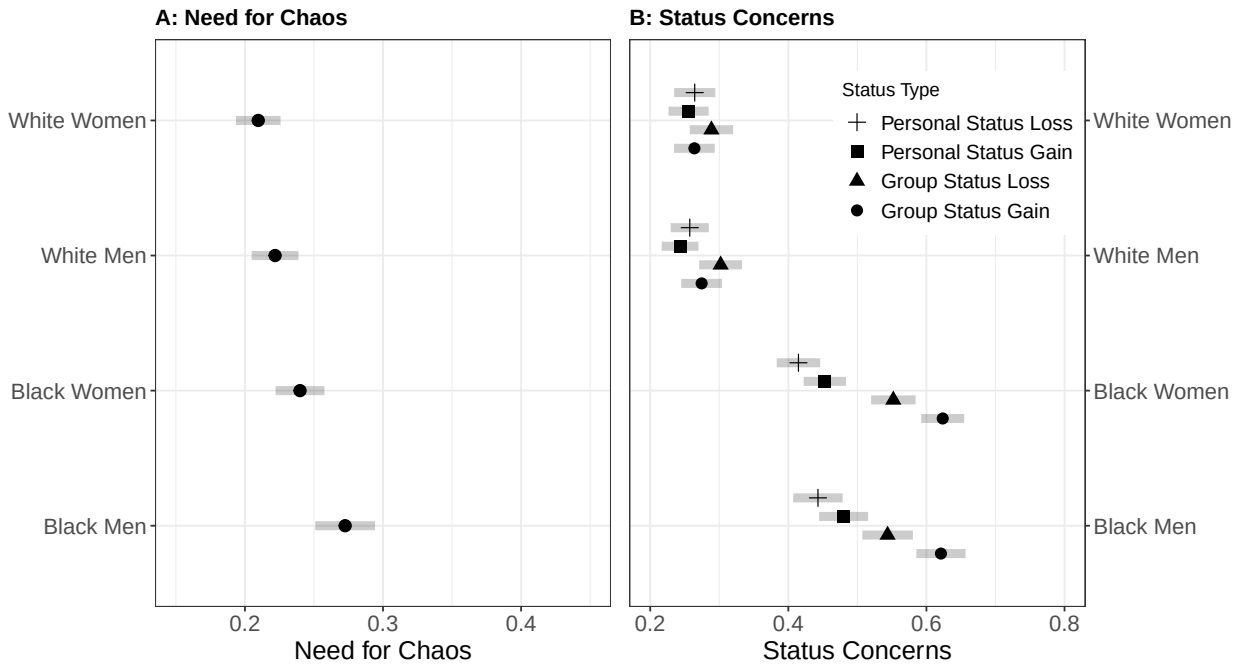

Fig S14. Replication of Figure 9 without outliers. Average level of the Need for Chaos (left) and status concerns (right) among demographic subgroups. Status Concerns and the Need for Chaos have been scaled to range from 0 to 1. Horizontal bands give 95% confidence intervals.

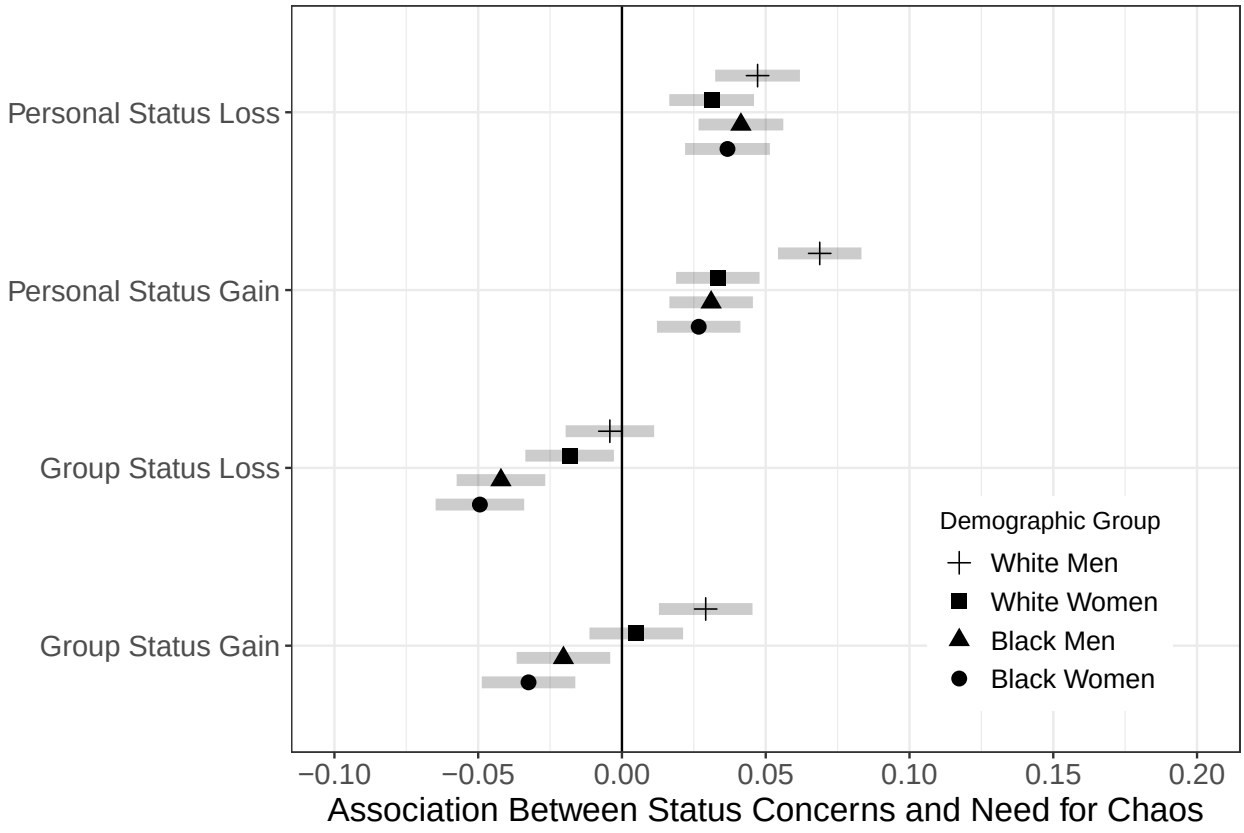

Fig S15. Replication of Figure 10 without outliers. Association between Status Concerns and the Need for Chaos among demographic subgroups. Status Concerns and the Need for Chaos have been scaled to range from 0 to 1. Horizontal bands give 95% confidence intervals.

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