**Appendix A: Summary Statistics**

**Table A1** Summary statistics for variables included in the multivariate models

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***N*** | ***M*** | ***SD*** | **Min** | **Max** |
| **Dependent variable** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Vote | 42,408 | 0.483 | 0.5L | 0 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Independent variables** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 40,590 | 0.447 | 0.287 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 46,864 | 0.395 | 0.202 | 0 | 1 |
| Education | 46,523 | 0.526 | 0.223 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 46,824 | 0.518 | 0.499 | 0 | 1 |
| Attached to main rightist party | 46,864 | 0.187 | 0.389 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology | 38,764 | 0.547 | 0.251 | 0 | 1 |
| Economy valence | 45,618 | 0.379 | 0.363 | 0 | 1 |
| Economy positional | 42,110 | 0.292 | 0.289 | 0 | 1 |
| Dalton Polarisation Index | 46,864 | 0.451 | 0.213 | 0 | 1 |
| Liberal Welfare State | 46,864 | 0.256 | 0.436 | 0 | 1 |
| Tax system: incentives to invest/work | 46,864 | 0.497 | 0.279 | 0 | 1 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* The base for summary statistics are the cases included in the full dataset.

**Table A2** Vote Choice and Attachment to Rightist Party by Country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***Voted Right*** | ***Voted Other*** | ***Total*** | **N** | **Total N** |
| Peru | 31.58 | 68.42 | 100 | 342 | 1194 |
| Latvia | 95.54 | 4.46 | 100 | 224 | 599 |
| Argentina | 100 | 0 | 100 | 4 | 456 |
| Czech Republic | 97.14 | 2.86 | 100 | 210 | 749 |
| Sweden | 95.71 | 4.29 | 100 | 280 | 672 |
| South Korea | 98.82 | 1.18 | 100 | 170 | 468 |
| South Africa | 90 | 10 | 100 | 10 | 399 |
| Slovenia | 100 | 0 | 100 | 48 | 393 |
| Slovakia | 93 | 7 | 100 | 186 | 531 |
| Romania | 93.75 | 6.25 | 100 | 32 | 785 |
| Portugal | 98.31 | 1.69 | 100 | 178 | 673 |
| Norway | 98.04 | 1.96 | 100 | 358 | 1404 |
| Montenegro | 90.91 | 9.09 | 100 | 11 | 270 |
| Israel | 91.01 | 8.99 | 100 | 89 | 656 |
| Finland | 96.88 | 3.13 | 100 | 224 | 454 |
| Turkey | 96.82 | 3.18 | 100 | 409 | 776 |
| Canada | 81.55 | 18.45 | 100 | 233 | 978 |
| Bulgaria | 98.96 | 1.04 | 100 | 192 | 484 |
| Brazil | 79.33 | 20.67 | 100 | 150 | 1545 |
| Switzerland | 94.89 | 5.11 | 100 | 548 | 1206 |
| Serbia | 93.71 | 6.29 | 100 | 318 | 659 |
| Poland | 96.90 | 3.10 | 100 | 548 | 863 |
| New Zealand | 97.81 | 2.19 | 100 | 320 | 570 |
| United States | 94.92 | 5.08 | 100 | 295 | 1130 |
| Mexico | 91.61 | 8.39 | 100 | 155 | 591 |
| Japan | 93.03 | 6.97 | 100 | 617 | 1212 |
| Ireland | 69.59 | 30.41 | 100 | 171 | 1187 |
| Iceland | 97.03 | 2.97 | 100 | 269 | 783 |
| Great Britain | 95.26 | 4.74 | 100 | 359 | 998 |
| Greece | 92.95 | 7.05 | 100 | 156 | 592 |
| Germany | 96.23 | 3.77 | 100 | 424 | 1247 |
| France | 94.99 | 5.01 | 100 | 519 | 1557 |
| Austria | 94.30 | 5.70 | 100 | 193 | 635 |
| Australia | 97.40 | 2.96 | 100 | 1114 | 2567 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

**Appendix B: Variable classifications and survey questions**

*Please note:* all variables included in our multilevel models are standardized to run from 0-1.

**Vote for a right-wing party or candidate**

This variable measures whether or not a respondent voted for a right-wing party. This is ascertained from variable D3006 in the CSES dataset which probes which party a respondent voted for in the election. Our classification of parties left, and right-wing positioning is detailed in Appendix C.

**Patrimony**

This variable measures the number of assets a respondent reported owning. This was an additive index created from the answers to variable D3027 in the CSES dataset which asked respondents about their ownership of the following assets:

* *Do you or a member of your household own a residence - for example, a home or an apartment?*
* *Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock?*
* *Do you or a member of your household own stocks or bonds?*
* *Do you or a member of your household have any savings?*

Respondents who answered yes to any of the above questions were coded 1. Those who answered No were coded 0. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis. The original additive index was created by summing the responses to each individual question and runs from 0 to 4.

**Age**

This variable measures a respondent’s age in years. This is ascertained from variable D2001 in the CSES dataset.

**Education**

This variable measures a respondent’s education according to the ISCED-2011 (UNESCO 2012). It is a ten-category variable running from 0 capturing respondents who said they had ‘no education’ to 9 capturing respondents who gave an answer which correspondents to ISCED-9.

**Female**

This variable measures whether a respondent was female or not. This is ascertained from variable D2002 in the CSES dataset. Female respondents were coded as 1 while male/others were coded as 0.

**Ideology**

This variable measures a respondent’s self-placement on the left-right ideological scale. This is ascertained from variable D3014 in the CSES dataset which asked respondents to place themselves on an 11-point scale with the following question:

*“Where would you place yourself on this scale? 0=Left; 10=Right.”*

This is a categorical variable, originally running from 0 to 10. Respondents who answered ‘Never Heard of’, ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Economy valence**

This variable measures a respondent’s perception of the national economy at the time of their country’s election. This was ascertained from variable D3003-1 in the CSES dataset, based on the following question posed to respondents:

*“Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the economy in [COUNTRY] has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?”*

This is a categorical variable, originally running from -1 to 1. Respondents who answered ‘gotten better’ are coded as 1 while respondents who said ‘gotten worse’ are coded -1. Respondents who said ‘stayed the same’ are coded 0. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Economy positional**

This variable measures a respondent’s attitude as to how much the government should focus on reducing differences in income levels. It was ascertained from variable D3003-1 in the CSES dataset, based on the following question posed to *respondents:*

*“Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?”*

This is a categorical variable originally coded 1 for Respondents who said ‘strongly agree’ and 5 for respondents who said ‘strongly disagree’. Respondents who answered ‘Don’t Know’, ‘Refused’, and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Dalton Polarisation Index**

This variable measures polarisation in a country on the left-right scale. It is a macro level variable based on Dalton’s Polarization Index which measures the spread of parties along the left-right scale, based on Dalton (2008). The polarisation index uses the public’s mean perception of a party’s left-right position in each nation, weighted by the vote share for each party. The resulting index has a range from 0 when all parties are located at the same position to 10 when all parties are located at the extreme positions (i.e., high levels of polarisation).

**Liberal Welfare State**

This variable measures the type of welfare state system a country operates. It is a macro level variable based on Epsing-Anderson’s (1990) classification of the welfare state. It is a dichotomous variable with a value of 1 indicating the country is a ‘Liberal Welfare State’ and values of 0 that it is not.

**Tax system: incentives to invest and work**

This variable measures the extent to which the tax system limits incentives to invest and work. It is a macro level variable based on the World Economic Forum data. In its original form, it is a seven-point variable with a value of 1 indicating the country has a tax system which does limit investment and work and 7 indicating the tax system has no effect.

**Attached to rightist party**

This variable measures whether a respondent is close to the main rightist party in the said country. This was ascertained from a combination of variables D3018\_1, D3018\_3, and D3018\_4 in the CSES dataset.

The following questions were posed to respondents:

* *“Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party? 1) Yes; 2) No; 8) Don’t Know”*
* *“Which party do you feel closest to?”*
* *Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?*

Respondents who answered ‘yes’ to identifying with a party and then named a rightist party and said they were very close or somewhat close to this party are coded 1. All others, including those who said they did not identify with a party or those who identified with a non-rightist party, are coded 0. Refused and missing cases are excluded from the analysis.

**Appendix C: Classification of political parties into left and rightist parties**

|  |
| --- |
| **Australia (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Liberal Party  | Right | Conservative | 6 | 6,68 |
| Labour Party | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 4,06 |
| Green Party  | Left | Ecology | 1 | 2,88 |
| Palmer United Party  | Right | Right Liberal |  |  |
| National/Country Party | Right | Nationalist | 7 | 6,39 |
| Australian Democrats  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Christian Democratic Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Citizens Electoral Council | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Family First | Right |  |  |  |
| One Nation | Right |  |  |  |
| Australian Shooters Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Fishing Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Katers Australia Party  | Right |  |  |  |
| Liberal Democratic Party  | Right |  |  |  |
| Motoring Enthusiasts Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Australian Sex Party  | Left |  |  |  |
| Wikileaks Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Australia Christians | Right |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Austria (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Social Democratic Party | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,87 |
| Austrian People's Party | Right | Christian Democr. | 6 | 5,7 |
| Freedom Party | Right | Nationalist |  |  |
| Greens | Left | Ecology |  |  |
| Team Stronach | Right | Right Liberal |  |  |
| The New Austria | Right | Liberal | 6 | 4,42 |
| Alliance for Future of Aus. | Right | Right Liberal | 7 | 5,42 |
| Communist | Left | Communist |  |  |
| Pirate Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Citizens Forum Austria | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Liberal Forum  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Freedom Party in Carinthia | Right |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **France (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Workers Struggle | Left |  |  |  |
| New Anti-Capitalist Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Left Front  | Left | Communist | 1 |  |
| Greens | Left | Ecology | 2 |  |
| Socialist Party  | Left | Socialist | 3 |  |
| Democratic Movement  | Not classified | Other | 5 |  |
| Union Popular Movement | Right | Conservative | 7 |  |
| Arise the Republic | Right |  |  |  |
| National Front | Right | Nationalist | 10 |  |
| Movement LaRouche | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Germany (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Christian Democratic Union | Right | Christian Democr. | 6 | 6,14 |
| Christian Social Union  | Right | Christian Democr. | 7 | 6,91 |
| Social Democratic Party  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,7 |
| Left Party | Left | Socialist | 2 | 1,22 |
| Greens | Left | Ecology | 3 | 3,44 |
| Free Democratic Party | Right | Liberal | 6 | 5,92 |
| Alternative for Germany  | Right | Other | 8 | 6,07 |
| Pirate Party (Piraten) | Left | Other | 3 | 3,57 |
| National Democratic Party  | Right |  |  |  |
| Free Wahler  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Animal Protection Party  | Left |  |  |  |
| Ecological Democratic Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Republicans | Right |  |  |  |
| Pensioners Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Bavarian Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Party of Literal Exegesis | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Civil Movement for Society | Not classified |  |  |  |
| The Violet Spiritual Politics | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Die Partei | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Panthers | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Greece (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| New Democracy  | Right | Conservative | 7 | 7,65 |
| SYRIZA | Left | Communist | 2 | 2,86 |
| PASOK | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 6,13 |
| Independnet Greeks | Right | Conservative | 8 | 7,13 |
| Golden Dawn | Right | Other | 10 | 9,36 |
| Democratic Left  | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 4,06 |
| Communist Party | Left | Communist | 7 | 1,06 |
| Recreate Greece  | Right |  |  |  |
| Popular Orthodox Rally | Right |  |  |  |
| Ecologist Greens | Left |  |  |  |
| Anti-capitalist Lef | Left |  |  |  |
| Pirate Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Action | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Democratic Revival | Right |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Great Britain (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Conservative | Right | Conservative | 7 | 7,63 |
| Labour  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,37 |
| United Kingdom Ind Party | Right | Nationalist | 9 | 6,91 |
| Liberal Democrat | Left | Liberal | 5 | 4,83 |
| Scottish Nationalists | Left | Nationalist | 3 | 4,36 |
| Green Party | Left | Ecology | 2 | 4,21 |
| Plaid Cymru | Left | Nationalist | 3 | 3,02 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Iceland (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Independence Party  | Right | Conservative | 8 | 8,34 |
| Progressive Party | Right | Agrarian | 5 | 6,3 |
| Social Democratic Alliance  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 4,19 |
| Left-Green Movement | Left | Socialist | 2 | 2,24 |
| Bright Future (BF) | Left | Liberal | 5 | 4,51 |
| Priate Party | Left | Other | 6 | 4,11 |
| Dawn | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Iceland Democratic Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Right Green People's Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Rural Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Household Party | Right |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Ireland (2011)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Fine Gael | Right | Christian Democr. | 6 | 6,81 |
| Labour | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 4,52 |
| Fianna Fail | Right | Conservative | 6 | 5,95 |
| Sinn Fein | Left | Nationalist | 3 | 2,83 |
| United Left Alliance | Left | Socialist | 2 |  |
| Green Party | Left | Ecology | 4 | 4,16 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Japan (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Liberal Democratic Party  | Right | Conservative | 8 | 6,88 |
| Democratic Party | Left | Liberal | 5 | 4,72 |
| Communist Party | Left | Communist | 1 | 2,91 |
| Your Party | Right | Liberal | 7 | 5,02 |
| Japan Restoration Party | Right | Conservative | 9 | 5,71 |
| New Komeito | Right | Other | 6 | 5,26 |
| People's Life Party | Left | Liberal | 4 | 4,32 |
| New Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Social Democratic Party | Left | Social Democratic | 2 | 3,18 |
| Green Wind | Left | Ecology | 3 | 3,71 |
| Greens Japan | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **New Zealand (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Labour Party | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 3,25 |
| National Party | Right | Conservative | 7 | 7,35 |
| Green Party | Left | Ecology | 2 | 3,09 |
| New Zealand First | Right | Other | 6 | 5,12 |
| ACT | Right | Right Liberal | 9 | 7,44 |
| United Future | Right | Liberal | 6 | 5,84 |
| Maori Party (MAOR) | Not classified | Ethnic | 6 | 3,75 |
| Conservative Party (CN) | Right | Christian Democr. | 7 |  |
| MANA (MANA) | Left | Socialist | 1 | 2,07 |
| Aoteroa Legalise Cannabis | Left |  |  |  |
| Alliance (ALL) | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Poland (2011)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Civic Platform | Right | Right Liberal | 6 | 5,99 |
| Law and Justice | Right | National | 8 | 7 |
| Palikots Movement | Left | Other | 1 | 2,86 |
| Polish Peoples' Party | Right | Agrarian | 5 | 5 |
| Democratic Left Alliance  | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 2,08 |
| Poland Comes First | Right | Conservative | 8 |  |
| Congress of New Right | Right | National | 10 |  |
| Polish Labour Party | Left |  |  |  |
| German Minority | Not classified | Ethnic | 5 |  |
| Our Home Poland | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Serbia (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Serbian Progressive Party | Right | Nationalist | 6 | 5,55 |
| Democratic Party | Left | Social Democratic | 5 | 4,61 |
| Socialist Party | Left | Socialist | 3 | 3,64 |
| Democratic Party | Right | Conservative | 7 | 4,9 |
| Liberal Democratic Party  | Left | Liberal | 6 | 4,18 |
| United Regions of Serbia  | Right | Other | 5 | 4,32 |
| Serbian Radical Party | Right | Nationalist | 8 | 5,33 |
| Alliance of Vojv. Hungarians  | Right | Ethnic | 7 |  |
| Dveri for Life of Serbia | Right |  |  |  |
| Communist Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Party of Democratic Action  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Reformist Party | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Switzerland (2011)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| The Liberals | Right | Liberal | 7 | 6,46 |
| Christian Democratic Party | Right | Christian Democr | 6 | 5,43 |
| Social Democratic Party | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 2,59 |
| Swiss Peoples' Party  | Right | Nationalist | 9 | 8,51 |
| Liberal Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Evangelical Peoples' Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Christian Social Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Swiss Labour Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Conservative Democratic | Right | Conservative | 7 | 6,17 |
| Green Liberal Party | Left | Ecologist | 5 | 4,82 |
| Green Party | Left | Ecologist | 2 | 3,18 |
| Swiss Democrats | Right |  |  |  |
| Federal Democratic Union | Right |  |  |  |
| Freedom Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Ticiono League | Right |  |  |  |
| Geneva Citizens Movement | Right |  |  |  |
| Left Parties | Left |  |  |  |
| Right Parties | Right |  |  |  |
| Centre Parties | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Brazil (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Brazilian Democr. Movemen | Right | Liberal | 5 | 5,66 |
| Brazilian Labour Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Democratic Labour Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Workers' Party | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 4,31 |
| Democrats | Right | Conservative | 8 | 4,49 |
| Communist Party of Brazil | Left |  |  |  |
| Brazilian Socialist Party  | Left | Socialist | 4 | 4,28 |
| Brazilian Social Democratic | Right | Social Democratic | 5 | 5,74 |
| Christian Labour Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Social Christian Party  | Right |  |  |  |
|  National Mobilization | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Progressive Republican | Right | Conservative | 7 |  |
| Socialist Popular Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Green Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Labour Party of Brazil | Left |  |  |  |
| Progressive Party  | Right | Conservative | 8 |  |
| Humanist Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Brazilian Republican Party | Right |  |  |  |
| Socialism and Freedom  | Left |  |  |  |
| Republic Party | Right | Liberal |  | 4,15 |
| Social Democratic Party  | Conservative | Conservative |  | 4,16 |
| Repub Party of Social Order | Right |  |  |  |
| Solidarity  | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Bulgaria (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Dvizhenie 21  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 |  |
| Bulgarian Social Democracy | Left |  |  |  |
| PP New Time | Not classified |  |  |  |
| United Bulgaria | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Social Democratic Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Reformist Bloc | Right | Other | 7 | 8,05 |
| Citizens for European Develop. | Right | Christian Democr. | 6 | 7,53 |
| Ataka Attack | Right | Nationalist | 10 | 5,02 |
| National Movement for Stab | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Bulgaria without Censorship  | Right | Other | 6 | 5,36 |
| Alternative for Bulg Revival | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 2,27 |
| New Alternative | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Movement for Rig Freedoms  | Left | Ethnic | 5 | 4,3 |
| New Force | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Left Bulgaria  | Left | Socialist | 3 | 1,11 |
| Greens  | Left |  |  |  |
| Patriotric Front | Right | Nationalist | 9 | 6,39 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Canada (2011)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Conservative Party  | Right | Conservative | 7 | 7,09 |
| New Democratic Party  | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 3,42 |
| Liberal Party  | Left | Liberal | 5 | 5,05 |
| Bloc Quebecois | Left | Regional | 3 | 3,7 |
| Green Party | Left | Ecologist | 3 | 3,31 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Turkey (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Justice and Development | Right | Conservative | 8 | 8,44 |
| Republican Peoples' Party  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 2,02 |
| Nationalist Action Party  | Right | Nationalist | 9 | 7,22 |
| Peoples' Democratic Party | Left | Ethnic | 2 | 1,48 |
| Felicity Party  | Right | Conservative | 8 | 7,13 |
| Patriotic Party  | Left | Other | 3 | 2,68 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Finland (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Center Party of Finland | Right | Agrarian Parties | 7 | 6,5 |
| National Coalition Party | Right | Conservative | 8 | 8,04 |
| The Finns Party | Right | National Parties | 6 | 6,15 |
| Social Democratic Party | Left | Social Democratic  | 3 | 4,35 |
| Green League | Left | Ecology Parties | 4 | 4,82 |
| Left Alliance | Left | Left Liberal | 2 | 2,2 |
| Swedish People's Party | Right | Ethnic  | 7 | 6,9 |
| Christian Democrats | Right | Conservative | 6 | 6,25 |
| Pirate Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Independence Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Communist Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Change 2011 | Right |  |  |  |
| Communist Workers' Party  | Left |  |  |  |
| Finnish Workers' Party | Left |  |  |  |
| For the Poor | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Israel (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| National Liberal Party | Right | National | 7 | 7,53 |
| There is a Future | Not classified | Liberal | 5 | 5,05 |
| Israeli Labor Party | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,71 |
| The Jewish Home | Right | National Parties | 9 | 7,53 |
| Keepers of the Torah | Not classified | Other | 7 | 6,71 |
| United Torah Judaism | Right | Other | 6 |  |
| The Movement | Left | Liberal  | 4 | 4,55 |
| Energy | Left | Left Liberal  | 2 |  |
| United Arab List | Left | Ethnic | 1 |  |
| Democratic Front for Peace | Left |  |  |  |
| National Democratic Assembly | Left |  |  |  |
| Forward | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Whole Nation | Right |  |  |  |
| Strength to Israel | Right |  |  |  |
| The Israelis | Not classified |  |  |  |
| The Green Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Green Leaf | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Social Justice | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Respectful Life | Not classified |  |  |  |
| New Country | Left |  |  |  |
| Workers' Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Hope for Change | Right |  |  |  |
| The Generation of State Builders | Not classified |  |  |  |
| We Are All Friends | Right |  |  |  |
| Power to Influence | Right |  |  |  |
| Economy Party | Left |  |  |  |
| We Are Brothers | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Progressive Liberal Dem | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Party of Light | Not classified |  |  |  |
| The Pirates | Left |  |  |  |
| Hapiratim | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Ancestors Heritage | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Mexico (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Institutional Revolutionary Party | Left | Social Democratic Parties | 5 | 7,21 |
| National Action Party | Right | Christian Democratic Parties | 7 | 6,69 |
| Party of the Democratic Revolution | Left | Social Democratic Parties | 3 | 3,27 |
| Ecological Green Party of Mexico | Right | Ecology Parties | 6 | 5,61 |
| Labor Party | Left | Social Democratic Parties | 2 | 3,05 |
| Nueva Alianza | Right | Right Liberal Parties | 6 | 4,24 |
| Citizens' Movement | Left | Social Democratic Parties | 2 | 2,98 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Montenegro (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Youth Alliance of Albanians | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Serbian Unity | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Croatian Civic Initiative | Left | National Parties | 4 | 4,36 |
| Positive Montenegro | Left | Social Democratic Parties | 2 | 4,41 |
| Socialist People's Party | Left | Ecology Parties | 1 | 4,35 |
| Democratic Union of Albanians | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Albanian Coalition | Not classified |  |  | 4,84 |
| Democratic Front | Left | Other | 4 | 4,8 |
| Force for Unity | Right | National Parties | 6 | 4,94 |
| Bosniak Party | Right | National Parties | 6 | 5,17 |
| Coalition "For a European Montenegro" | Right | Right Liberal Parties | 9 | 5,79 |
| Zajedno | Left |  |  |  |
| Serbian People's Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| New Serb Democracy | Right |  |  |  |
| Movement for Changes | Right |  |  |  |
| People's Coalition | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Coalition LP and DC | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Party of Pensionists and Disabled | Left |  |  |  |
| Forca | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Albanian List | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Albanian Coalition - Perspective | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Montenegrin Communists | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Serbian List | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Democratic Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Liberal Party | Centre |  |  |  |
| Democratic Party of Socialists | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Norway (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Labour  | Left | Social Democratic  | 3 | 4,09 |
| Conservative | Right | Conservative | 8 | 8,11 |
| Progress Party | Right | Right Liberal | 9 | 8,54 |
| Christian Peoples' Party  | Right | Christian Democr- | 5 | 5,76 |
| Center Party  | Left | Agrarian Parties | 4 | 4,49 |
| Liberals | Right | Liberal Parties | 6 | 4,85 |
| Socialist Left Party  | Left | Socialist Parties | 2 | 2,5 |
| The Greens  | Left | Ecology Parties | 4 | 3,7 |
| Red Party  | Left | Socialist Parties | 1 | 1,33 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Portugal (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| PORTUGAL AHEAD  | Right | Right Liberal | 7 | 7,99 |
| Socialist Party  | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,89 |
| Left Bloc  | Left | Left Liberal | 2 | 1,44 |
| Unitary Democratic Coalit | Left | Ecology | 2 | 1,34 |
| Party for People, Animals | Left | Ecology | 4 |  |
| Democratic Republican | Left | Independent | 3 | 3,83 |
| Workers' Communist Party | Left | Communist |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Romania (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Social Liberal Union (USL) | Left | Left Liberal | 5 | 3,79 |
| The Alliance for a Just Romania (ARD) | Right | Christian Democratic | 8 | 6,63 |
| People's Party (PP-DD) | Left | Other | 1 | 4,04 |
| Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) | Left | Ethnic | 5 | 4,44 |
| Greater Romania Party (PRM) | Left | Nationalist | 3 | 3,66 |
| Social Democratic Party (PSD) |  |  |  |  |
| National Liberal Party (PNL) |  |  |  |  |
| Liberal Democratic Party (PDL) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Slovakia (2016)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Social Democracy (Smer) | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 2,37 |
| Freedom and Solidarity  | Right | Liberal | 7 | 7,32 |
| Ordinary people | Right | Independent | 5 | 7,23 |
| Slovak National Party ( | Right | Nationalist | 8 | 4,85 |
| People's Party Our Slovakia  | Right | Other | 10 | 5,9 |
| We are Family  | Right | Nationalist | 9 | 6,54 |
| Most-Hid  | Right | Regional | 5 | 5,94 |
| Siet | Right | Liberal | 6 | 6,15 |
| Christian Democratic Move | Right | Christian Democr. | 8 |  |
| Hungarian Coalition  | Right |  |  |  |
| Strana TIP | Right |  |  |  |
| Party of Modern Slovakia  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Democrats of Slovakia (DS) | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Chance (SANCA) | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Green Party (SZS) | Left |  |  |  |
| Coalition Together  | Not classified |  |  |  |
| People's Party Our Slovakia | Right |  |  |  |
| Communist Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Slovak Democratic and Christian Union | Right |  |  |  |
| Slovak Citizens' Coalition | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Slovenia (2011)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Positive Slovenia | Left | Left Liberal | 2 | 2,83 |
| Slovenian Democratic Party | Right | Conservative | 5 | 7,6 |
| Social Democrats | Left | Social Democratic | 2 | 2,88 |
| Gregor Virant's Civic List | Right | Independent | 5 | 5,72 |
| Democratic Party of Retired | Not classified | Other | 5 | 4,61 |
| Slovenian People's Party  | Right | Agrarian | 8 | 6,44 |
| New Slovenia  | Right | Christian Democr. | 8 | 7,38 |
| Slovenian National Party | Right | Nationalist | 10 | 5,03 |
| Liberal Democracy | Left |  |  |  |
| Zares | Left |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **South Africa (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| African National Congress | Left | Social Democratic | 3 | 5,67 |
| Democratic Alliance | Not classified | Liberal | 6 | 4,96 |
| Economic Freedom Fights | Left | Socialist | 2 | 3,34 |
| Inkatha Freedom Party  | Right | Ethnic | 7 | 3,77 |
| National Freedom Party  | Not classified | Ethnic | 6 | 3,41 |
| United Democrat Movement | Left | Regional | 4 | 3,25 |
| Freedom Front Plus | Right | Ethnic | 8 | 3,43 |
| Congress of the People | Left | Social Democratic | 1 | 3,46 |
| African Christ Democratic | Right | Christian Democr. | 8 | 3,28 |
| Anang South Africa | Left |  |  |  |
| Pan Africanist Congress | Left |  |  |  |
| Africa Muslim Party | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Afrikaner Unity Movement | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Minority Front | Not classified |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **South Korea (2012)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| New Frontier Party (NFP) | Right | Conservative | 8 | 7,79 |
| Democratic United Party (DUP) | Left | Liberal | 4 | 3,65 |
| Unified Progressive Party (UPP) | Left | Left Liberal | 1 | 2,93 |
| Liberty Forward Party (LFP) | Right | Conservative | 7 | 5,9 |
| New Progressive Party (NPP) | Left | Social Democratic | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Sweden (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Left Party (V) | Left | Socialist | 1 | 1,43 |
| Social Democrats (S) | Left | Social Democratic | 4 | 3,72 |
| Centre Party (CP) | Right | Agrarian | 6 | 6,28 |
| Liberal People's Party (FP) | Right | Liberal | 7 | 6,61 |
| Moderates (M) | Right | Conservative | 8 | 8,18 |
| Christian Democrats (KD) | Right | Christian Democr. | 7 | 6,92 |
| Green Party (MP) | Left | Ecologist | 4 | 3,85 |
| Sweden Democrats (SD) | Right | Nationalist | 7 | 7,19 |
| Feminist Initiative (FI) | Left | Other | 2 | 2,35 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Czech Republic (2013)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Czech Social Democratic Party | Left | Socialist Parties | 3 | 2,46 |
| Action of Dissatisfied Citizens | Right | Liberal Parties | 5 | 6,13 |
| Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia | Left | Communist Parties | 0 | 1,06 |
| Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity 09 | Right | Conservative Parties | 9 | 8,19 |
| Civic Democratic Party | Right | Conservative Parties | 9 | 8,44 |
| Dawn of Direct Democracy | Right | Other | 6 | 5,73 |
| Christian and Democratic Union-Czech People's Party | Right | Christian Democratic Parties | 6 | 4,88 |
| Party of Greens | Left | Ecology Parties | 3 |  |
| Czech Pirate Party | Not classified | Other | 6 |  |
| Party of Free Citizens | Right |  |  |  |
| Cheer Up - Voting Bloc | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Roma Democratic Social Party | Left |  |  |  |
| Club of Committed Non-Party Members | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Political Change Movement | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Freeholders Party of the Czech Repbulic | Right |  |  |  |
| Vote for the Right Bloc | Right |  |  |  |
| Czech Sovereignty | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Active Independent Citizens | Right |  |  |  |
| Party of Civic Rights - Zeman's people | Left |  |  |  |
| Citizens of the Czech Republic | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Workers' Party of Social Justice | Left |  |  |  |
| Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia | Left |  |  |  |
| National Socialists - Left of the 21st century | Left |  |  |  |
| The Crown of Czechs | Right |  |  |  |
| **Argentina (2015)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Front For Victory | Left | Left-Liberal | 4 | 5.23 |
| Cambiemos | Right | Right Liberal | 6 | 7.40[[1]](#footnote-1) |
| United for a New Alternative | Right | Other | 6 | 4.81 |
| Workers’ Left Front | Left | Socialist | 1 | Unavail. |
| Progressives | Left | Liberal | 3 | 4.31 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Latvia (2014)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Harmony Social Democrats | Left | Ethnic | 3 | 2.89 |
| Unity | Right | Right Liberal | 7 | 6.55 |
| Union of Greens and Farmers  | Right | Agrarian | 5 | 6.29 |
| National Alliance  | Right | Conservative | 7 | 7 |
| For Latvia from the Heart | Left | Left Liberal | 3 | 4.89 |
| Latvia Association of Regions  | Right | Regional | 9 | 5.71 |
| Latvian Russian Club | Right |  |  |  |
| United for Latvia | Not classified |  |  |  |
| Latvian Development | Right |  |  |  |
| New Conservative Party | Right |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Peru (2016)** |
| Party | Our Ideological classification | CSES expert: party family | CSES expert left-right | Average voters left-right |
| Popular Force  | Right | Conservative | 9 | 6,77 |
| Peruvians for Change | Right | Right Liberal | 8 | 6.69 |
| Justice, Life & Liberty  | Left | Socialist | 2 | 2.81 |
| Alliance for Progress of Peru  | Right | Conservative | 8 | Unavail. |
| Peoples’ Action  | Right | Other | 6 | 5.06 |
| Direct Democracy | Left | Socialist | 1 | 2.50 |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Appendix D: Additional analyses**

**Table D1** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a center-right-wing party in 34 countries

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a centre rightist party or candidate |
|  | I | II | III | IV |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -1.280\*\*\* | -1.312\*\*\* | -4.006\*\*\* | -3.126\*\*\* |
|  | (0.323) | (0.326) | (0.387) | (0.194) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.982\*\*\* | 0.995\*\*\* | 0.846\*\*\* | 0.710\*\*\* |
|  | (0.050) | (0.051) | (0.057) | (0.058) |
| Age |  | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.348\*\*\* | 0.426\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.072) | (0.079) | (0.080) |
| Education |  | -0.243\*\*\* | 0.105 | 0.018 |
|  |  | (0.067) | (0.075) | (0.076) |
| Female |  | -0.020 |  0.062 | 0.086 |
|  |  | (0.026) | (0.029) | (0.029) |
| Ideology |  |  | 4.402\*\*\* | 4.206\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.071) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence |  |  |  | -0.058 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.044) |
| Economy positional |  |  |  | 1.151\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.055) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 3.526 | 3.501 | 4.997 | 5.084 |
|  | (1.007) | (1.001) | (1.375) | (01.396) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,381/34 | 29,381/34 | 29,381/34 | 29,381/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -17,290.5 | -17,264.78 | -14,730.82 | -14,507.09 |
| AIC | 34,587.01 | 34,541.29 | 29,475.64 | 29,032.17 |
| BIC | 34,611.87 | 34,591.29 | 29,533.66 | 29,106.76 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D2** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a center-right-wing party in 34 countries: cross-level interactions

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a center-right party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -5.677\*\* | -4.186\*\*\* | -4.457\*\*\* |
|  | (0.837) | (0.428) | (0.843) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.905\*\*\* | 0.571\*\*\* | 0.353\* |
|  | (0.151) | (0.072) | (0.131) |
| Age | 0.426\*\*\* | 0.421\*\*\* | 0.423\*\*\* |
|  | (0.080) | (0.080) | (0.080) |
| Education | 0.016 | 0.014 | 0.019 |
|  | (0.076) | (0.076) | (0.076) |
| Female | 0.086\*\* | 0.085\*\* | 0.085\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.029) |
| Ideology | 4.211\*\*\* | 4.210\*\*\* | 4.204\*\*\* |
|  | (0.072) | (0.072) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence | -0.057 | -0.061 | -0.058 |
|  | (0.045) | (0.044) | (0.044) |
| Economy positional | 1.149\*\*\* | 1.139\*\*\* | 1.144\*\*\* |
|  | (0.055) | (0.055) | (0.055) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | 3.271\* |  |  |
|  | (1.610) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | 0.368 |  |
|  |  | (1.014) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type |  |  | 1.299 |
|  |  |  | (1.453) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | -0.406 |  |  |
|  | (0.290) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.420\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.120) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.688\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.225) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 4.556 | 5.083 | 4.977 |
|  | (1.262) | (1.396) | (1.368) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,381/34 | 29,381/34 | 29,381/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -14504.372 | -14,500.75 | -14,501.84 |
| AIC | 29,030.74 | 29,023.49 | 29,025.67 |
| BIC | 29,121.91 | 29,114.66 | 29,116.84 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D3** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of high-risk asset ownership on the probability of voting for a right-wing party in 34 countries

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | I | II | III | IV |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.221 | -0.134 | -2.897\*\*\* | -3.019\*\*\* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.144) | (0.191) | (0.195) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |  |
| High Risk Patrimony | 0.607\*\*\* | 0.627\*\*\* | 0.475\*\*\* | 0.388\*\*\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.039) | (0.044) | (0.045) |
| Age |  | 0.256\*\*\* | 0.211\*\* | 0.261\*\* |
|  |  | (0.067) | (0.076) | (0.077) |
| Education |  | -0.318\*\*\* | 0.001 | -0.078 |
|  |  | (0.064) | (0.072) | (0.072) |
| Female |  | -0.050\* | -0.032 | -0.018 |
|  |  | (0.024) | (0.027) | (0.028) |
| Ideology |  |  | 4.730\*\*\* | 4.562\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.070) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence |  |  |  | -0.155\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.042) |
| Economy positional |  |  |  | 1.096\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.053) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.616 | 0.618 | 1.071 | 1.108 |
|  | (0.157) | (0.157) | (0.269) | (0.278) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -18,956.30 | -18,928.96 | -15,784.61 | -15,562.35 |
| AIC | 37,918.61 | 37,869.91 | 31,583.22 | 31,142.7 |
| BIC | 37,943.47 | 37,919.62 | 31,641.22 | 31,217.26 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D4** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of high-risk asset ownership on the probability of voting for a right-wing party in 34 countries: cross-level interactions

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -3.701\*\* | -2.936\*\*\* | -2.729\*\*\* |
|  | (0.405) | (0.212) | (0.378) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| High-Risk Patrimony | 0.573\*\*\* | 0.262\*\*\* | 0.098 |
|  | (0.126) | (0.055) | (0.110) |
| Age | 0.259\*\* | 0.254\*\* | 0.258\*\* |
|  | (0.076) | (0.077) | (0.077) |
| Education | -0.078 | -0.083 | -0.076 |
|  | (0.072) | (0.073) | (0.073) |
| Female | -0.018 | -0.019 | -0.019 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| Ideology | 4.566\*\*\* | 4.566\*\*\* | 4.563\*\*\* |
|  | (0.071) | (0.071) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence | -0.155\*\*\* | -0.157\*\*\* | -0.156\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.042) | (0.043) |
| Economy positional | 1.094\*\*\* | 1.086\*\*\* | 1.091\*\*\* |
|  | (0.054) | (0.054) | (0.054) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | 1.460 |  |  |
|  | (0.766) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | -0.389 |  |
|  |  | (0.476) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type |  |  | -0.613 |
|  |  |  | (0.691) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | -0.384 |  |  |
|  | (0.244) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.368\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.093) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.530\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.185) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.000 | 1.109 | 1.089 |
|  | (0.252) | (0.278) | (0.273) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -15,559.53 | -15,554.42 | -15,557.96 |
| AIC | 31,141.07 | 31,130.85 | 31,137.93 |
| BIC | 31,232.20 | 31,221.98 | 31,229.06 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D5** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of low-risk asset ownership on the probability of voting for a right-wing party in 34 countries

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | I | II | III | IV |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.383 | -0.275 | -3.044\*\*\* | -3.019\*\*\* |
|  | (0.138) | (0.145) | (0.191) | (0.195) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |  |
| Low Risk Patrimony | 0.476\*\*\* | 0.487\*\*\* | 0.429\*\*\* | 0.362\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.040) | (0.044) | (0.045) |
| Age |  | 0.189\*\* | 0.146 | 0.205\*\* |
|  |  | (0.068) | (0.076) | (0.077) |
| Education |  | -0.305\*\*\* | -0.004 | -0.087 |
|  |  | (0.064) | (0.072) | (0.073) |
| Female |  | -0.060\* | -0.037 | -0.022 |
|  |  | (0.025) | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| Ideology |  |  | 4.755\*\*\* | 4.580\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.071) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence |  |  |  | -0.158\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.042) |
| Economy positional |  |  |  | 1.107\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.053) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.618 | 0.621 | 1.059 | 1.099 |
|  | (0.157) | (0.158) | (0.266) | (0.275) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -19002.34 | -18,979.79 | -15,795.79 | -15,567.34 |
| AIC | 38,010.69 | 37,971.57 | 31,605.59 | 31,152.69 |
| BIC | 38,035.54 | 38,021.28 | 31,663.58 | 31,227.25 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D6** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of low-risk asset ownership on the probability of voting for a right-wing party in 34 countries: cross-level interactions

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -3.868\*\*\* | -3.018\*\*\* | -2.778\*\*\* |
|  | (0.407) | (0.212) | (0.377) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Low-Risk Patrimony | 0.508\*\*\* | 0.246\*\*\* | 0.138 |
|  | (0.109) | (0.052) | (0.090) |
| Age | 0.207\*\* | 0.201\* | 0.201\* |
|  | (0.078) | (0.078) | (0.077) |
| Education | -0.088 | -0.087 | -0.084 |
|  | (0.073) | (0.073) | (0.073) |
| Female | -0.021 | -0.022 | -0.022 |
|  | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| Ideology | 4.586\*\*\* | 4.585\*\*\* | 4.578\*\*\* |
|  | (0.071) | (0.071) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence | -0.157\*\*\* | -0.164\*\*\* | -0.158\*\*\* |
|  | (0.043) | (0.043) | (0.043) |
| Economy positional | 1.107\*\*\* | 1.094\*\*\* | 1.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.053) | (0.053) | (0.053) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | 1.548 |  |  |
|  | (0.771) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | -0.624 |  |
|  |  | (0.479) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type |  |  | -0.806 |
|  |  |  | (0.693) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | -0.316 |  |  |
|  | (0.213) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.452\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.101) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.491\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.172) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.999 | 1.097 | 1.071 |
|  | (0.250) | (0.275) | (0.268) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -15,564.67 | -15,557.06 | -15,563.07 |
| AIC | 31,151.34 | 31,136.12 | 31,148.01 |
| BIC | 31,242.47 | 31,227.25 | 31,239.14 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D7** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a center-right-wing party in 33 countries with income covariate included

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | I | II | III |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.362\* | -3.312\*\*\* | -3.179\*\*\* |
|  | (0.149) | (0.326) | (0.201) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.689\*\*\* | 0.532\*\*\* | 0.443\*\*\* |
|  | (0.056) | (0.063) | (0.064) |
| Age | 0.249\*\*\* | 0.225\*\*\* | 0.271\*\* |
|  | (0.076) | (0.085) | (0.086) |
| Education | -0.650\*\*\* | -0.301\*\*\* | -0.334\*\*\* |
|  | (0.074) | (0.084) | (0.084) |
| Female | -0.049 | -0.025 | -0.013 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.031) | (0.031) |
| Income Quintiles | 0.453\*\*\* | 0.453\*\*\* | 0.375\*\*\* |
|  | (0.044) | (0.044) | (0.050) |
| Ideology |  | 4.740\*\*\* | 4.572\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.077) | (0.078) |
| Economy valence |  |  | -0.204\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.047) |
| Economy positional |  |  | 1.075\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.058) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.620 | 1.073 | 1.104 |
|  | (0.162) | (0.278) | (0.284) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
|  |  |  |  |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 24,486/33 | 24,486/33 | 24,486/33 |
| Log Likelihood | -15,836.18 | -13,233.62 | -13,048.48 |
| AIC | 31,686.36 | 26,483.23 | 26,116.96 |
| BIC | 31,743.10 | 26,548.08 | 26,198.02 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001. South Korea not included as no income data available.

**Table D8** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a right-wing party in 33 countries with income covariate included: cross-level interactions

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -3.915\*\*\*\*\* | -3.047\*\*\*\*\* | -2.848\*\*\*\*\* |
|  | (0.409) | (0.219) | (0.384) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.699\*\*\* | 0.266\*\*\* | 0.071 |
|  | (0.160) | (0.076) | (0.138) |
| Age | 0.271\*\* | 0.265\*\* | 0.268\*\* |
|  | (0.086) | (0.086) | (0.086) |
| Education | -0.338\*\*\* | -0.337\*\*\* | -0.330\*\*\* |
|  | (0.084) | (0.084) | (0.084) |
| Female | -0.013 | -0.014 | -0.014 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.031) | (0.031) |
| Income Quintiles | 0.376\*\*\* | 0.372\*\*\* | 0.372\*\*\* |
|  | (0.050) | (0.050) | (0.050) |
| Ideology | 4.579\*\*\* | 4.578\*\*\* | 4.569\*\*\* |
|  | (0.078) | (0.078) | (0.078) |
| Economy valence | -0.203\*\*\* | -0.208\*\*\* | -0.204\*\*\* |
|  | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.047) |
| Economy positional | 1.107\*\*\* | 1.106\*\*\* | 1.107\*\*\* |
|  | (0.058) | (0.058) | (0.058) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | 1.586\* |  |  |
|  | (0.775) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | -0.574 |  |
|  |  | (0.482) |  |
| Tax Incentives  |  |  | -0.694 |
|  |  |  | (0.697) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | -0.549 |  |  |
|  | (0.313) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.544\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.127) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.723\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.237) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.998 | 1.110 | 1.086 |
|  | (0.257) | (0.285) | (0.279) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 24,486/33 | 24,486/33 | 24,486/33 |
| Log Likelihood | -13,045.36 | -13,039.05 | -13,043.67 |
| AIC | 26,114.72 | 26,102.10 | 26,111.34 |
| BIC | 26,211.99 | 26,199.37 | 26,208.61 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001. South Korea not included as no income data available.

**Table D9** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a -right-wing party in 34 countries with partisanship with rightist party as a covariate instead of ideology

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a rightist party or candidate |
|  | I | II | III | IV |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.442\*\*\* | -0.296\* | -0.851\*\*\* | -1.068\*\*\* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.143) | (0.146) | (0.152) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.826\*\*\* | 0.864\*\*\* | 0.416\*\*\* | 0.310\*\*\* |
|  | (0.048) | (0.05) | (0.061) | (0.062) |
| Age |  | 0.165\* | -0.024\*\* | -0.173\* |
|  |  | (0.068) | (0.083) | (0.084) |
| Education |  | -0.393\*\*\* | -0.351\*\*\* | -0.380\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.065) | (0.080) | (0.080) |
| Female |  | -0.046 | 0.017 | 0.030 |
|  |  | (0.024) | (0.030) | (0.030) |
| Close to a rightist party |  |  | 3.492\*\*\* | 4.566\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.045) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence |  |  |  | -0.136\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.047) |
| Economy positional |  |  |  | 1.105\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.058) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.607 | 0.610 | 0.588 | 0.637 |
|  | (0.154) | (0.156) | (0.150) | (0.162) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -18929.61 | -18901.31 | -13,719.42 | -13,350.72 |
| AIC | 37,865.22 | 37,814.62 | 27,452.85 | 27,079.43 |
| BIC | 37,890.07 | 37,864.33 | 27,510.84 | 27,153.99 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4.

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D10** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a -right-wing party in 34 countries with partisanship with rightist party as a covariate instead of ideology – cross-level interactions

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a right party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.990\*\* | -0.969\*\*\* | -0.605\* |
|  | (0.328) | (0.328) | (0.286) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.161 | 0.256\*\*\* | -0.054 |
|  | (0.153) | (0.072) | (0.132) |
| Age | -0.173\* | -0.174\* | -0.175\* |
|  | (0.084) | (0.084) | (0.084) |
| Education | -0.379\*\*\* | -0.379\*\*\* | -0.374\*\*\* |
|  | (0.080) | (0.080) | (0.080) |
| Female | 0.029 | 0.029 | 0.029 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.031) | (0.031) |
| Close to a rightist party | 3.424\*\*\* | 3.423\*\*\* | 3.424\*\*\* |
|  | (0.045) | (0.045) | (0.045) |
| Economy valence | -0.136\*\* | -0.137\*\* | -0.136\*\* |
|  | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.047) |
| Economy positional | 1.105\*\*\* | 1.103\*\*\* | 1.099\*\*\* |
|  | (0.055) | (0.058) | (0.058) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | -0.173 |  |  |
|  | (0.621) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | -0.525 |  |
|  |  | (0.361) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type |  |  | -0.999 |
|  |  |  | (0.525) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | 0.316 |  |  |
|  | (0.298) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.198 |  |
|  |  | (0.133) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.736\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.235) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.638 | 0.612 | 0.600 |
|  | (0.163) | (0.156) | (0.152) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -13,530.15 | -13,528.92 | -13,524.93 |
| AIC | 27,082.30 | 27,079.84 | 27,071.85 |
| BIC | 27,173.43 | 27,170.97 | 27,162.98 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D11** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a center-right-wing party in 34 countries with macro controls

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a centre rightist party or candidate |
|  | IV |
| **Fixed effects** |  |
| Intercept | -2.358\*\*\* |
|  | (0.416) |
| *Micro* |  |
| Patrimony | 0.582\*\*\* |
|  | (0.056) |
| Age | 0.193\* |
|  | (0.078) |
| Education | -0.138 |
|  | (0.073) |
| Female | -0.014 |
|  | (0.028) |
| Ideology | 4.569\*\*\* |
|  | (0.071) |
| Economy valence | -0.162\*\*\* |
|  | (0.043) |
| Economy positional | 1.079\*\*\* |
|  | (0.053) |
| *Macro* |  |
| Proportional Electoral System | 0.162 |
|  | (0.266) |
| Freedom House Score (High values=nonDem) | 0.808 |
|  | (0.557) |
| Wealth: GINI (High values=High inequality) | -4.239\*\*\* |
|  | (0.733) |
| **Random effects** |  |
| Intercept | 0.491 |
|  | (1.007) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 |
|  |  |
| **Model information** |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34-15,531.9131,089.8131,197.51 |
| Log Likelihood |
| AIC |
| BIC |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Table D12** Multilevel logit model examining the impact of asset ownership on the probability of voting for a -right-wing party in 34 countries – cross-level interactions with additional macro level covariates

|  |
| --- |
| *Dependent variable:* Vote for a right party or candidate |
|  | V | VI | VII |
| **Fixed effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -2.667\*\*\* | -2.298\*\*\* | -2.218\*\*\* |
|  | (0.587) | (0.463) | (0.600) |
| *Micro* |  |  |  |
| Patrimony | 0.838\*\*\* | 0.402\*\*\* | 0.226 |
|  | (0.145) | (0.067) | (0.124) |
| Age | 0.193\*\*\* | 0.187\* | 0.190 |
|  | (0.077) | (0.077) | (0.078) |
| Education | -0.139 | -0.140 | -0.134 |
|  | (0.074) | (0.073) | (0.073) |
| Female | -0.014 | -0.016 | -0.015 |
|  | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.032) |
| Ideology | 4.574\*\*\* | 4.575\*\*\* | 4.567\*\*\* |
|  | (0.070) | (0.071) | (0.071) |
| Economy valence | -0.161\*\*\* | -0.167\*\* | -0.162\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.042) | (0.042) |
| Economy positional | 1.077\*\*\* | 1.062\*\*\* | 1.072\*\*\* |
|  | (0.053) | (0.053) | (0.053) |
| *Macro* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index | 0.489 |  |  |
|  | (0.593) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type |  | -0.223 |  |
|  |  | (0.407) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type |  |  | -0.293 |
|  |  |  | (0.567) |
| Proportional Electoral System | 0.177 | 0.196 | 0.165 |
|  | (0.263) | (0.303) | (0.270) |
| Freedom House Score (High values=nonDem) | 0.778 | 0.809 | 0.802 |
|  | (0.552) | (0.605) | (0.589) |
| Wealth: GINI (High values=High inequality) | -4.128\*\*\* | -4.302\*\*\* | -4.196\*\*\* |
|  | (0.754) | (0.756) | (0.771) |
| *Cross-level interactions* |  |  |  |
| Dalton Polarization Index \*Patrimony | -0.543 |  |  |
|  | (0.283) |  |  |
| Liberal Welfare Type \*Patrimony |  | 0.572\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.118) |  |
| Tax Incentives Type \*Patrimony |  |  | 0.700\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.217) |
| **Random effects** |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.481 | 0.492 | 0.492 |
|  | (0.120) | (0.123) | (0.122) |
| Residual (π2/3) | 3.29 | 3.29 | 3.29 |
| **Model information** |  |  |  |
| Observations (micro/macro) | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 | 29,276/34 |
| Log Likelihood | -15,529.95 | -15,520.08 | -15,526.71 |
| AIC | 31,089.90 | 31,070.16 | 31,083.41 |
| BIC | 31,214.16 | 31,194.42 | 31,207.68 |

*Source of data:* CSES Module 4 (2018).

*Please note:* Variables are all standardized from 0-1. \* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01. \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Appendix E: Figures mentioned within text**

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**Figure E1** Reported vote for rightist party or candidate by the extent of patrimony (%).

*Source of data:* CSES 2018. *Please note:* Voters only. N=29,276.



**Figure E2** Predictedprobability of voting for rightists by the extent of patrimony

. *Source of data:* CSES 2018.

*Note:* Voters only. Predicted probabilities based on Table 1, Model II and holding all other variables constant. Estimated using STATA margins command.

****

**Figure E3** Predictedprobability of voting for rightists by the extent of patrimony

. *Source of data:* CSES 2018.

*Note:* Voters only. Predicted probabilities based on Table 1, Model IV and holding all other variables constant. Estimated using STATA margins command.

 b

  

   

**Figure E4** Predictedprobability of voting for rightists by the extent of patrimony in countries

where direct effects of patrimony on the vote are detected. *Source of data:* CSES 2018.

*Note:* Voters only. Predicted probabilities based on country-level models

1. Data for the Republican Proposal Party, a constituent part of the Cambiemos alliance. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)