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### Daring to vote right: Why men are more likely than women to vote for the radical right

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# APPENDICES

## CHAPTER 1

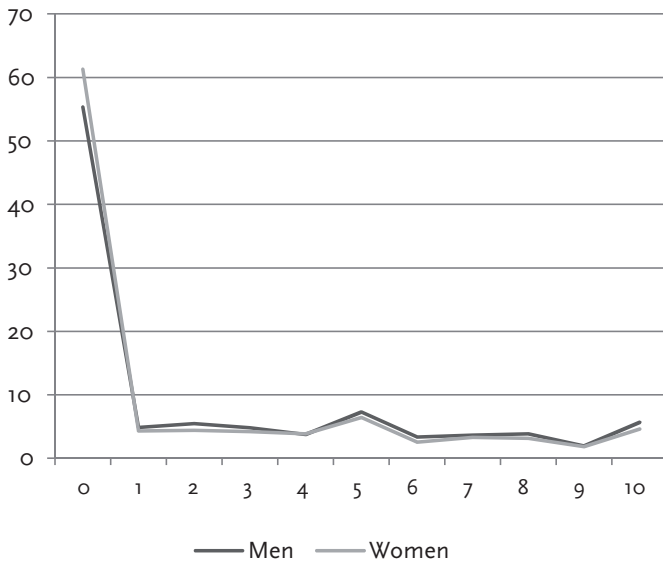
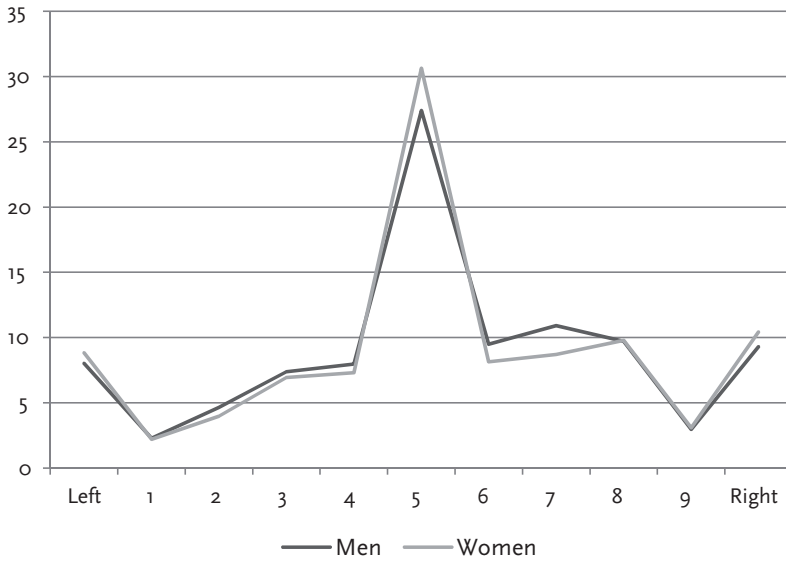
## Appendix A Variable overview

**Graph 1 Descriptives of variables**

Variable	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Age	26763	50.29	16.91	18	99
Church visiting	26549	0.55	0.50	0	1
Low educated	26206	0.27	0.44	0	1
Working or lower middle class	26128	0.40	0.49	0	1
Unemployed	26902	0.07	0.25	0	1
Unskilled worker	27069	0.07	0.25	0	1
Semi-skilled worker	27069	0.08	0.27	0	1
Self-employed	26902	0.08	0.27	0	1
Public sector worker	22550	0.28	0.45	0	1
Discontent	24191	0.54	0.33	0	1
Nativism	25490	0.68	0.24	0	1
Authoritarianism	26018	0.75	0.23	0	1
Pro-Redistribution	25670	0.64	0.30	0	1
Left-Right position	47567	0.51	0.27	0	1
Left-Right distance to party	12669	0.40	0.28	0	1

Source: EES 2009

**Graph 2** Distribution of (a) LR position and (b) propensity to vote (in %)



## Appendix B Replication on CSES data

**Table 1** Mediation

<b>Model</b>	<b>Size of female coefficient</b>
Gender only	-0.32
Economic variables (education, unemployment, public sector worker)	-0.32
Satisfaction with democracy	-0.32
Left-Right position	-0.27
Left-Right distance	-0.21

Note: dependent variable is party sympathy

Source: CSES

**Table 2** Moderation

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Size of effect</b>		
	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Education	-0.20	-0.25	significant
Unemployment	0.17 ns	0.28 ns	significant
Public sector	-0.37	-0.32	ns
Satisfaction democracy	-0.12	-0.04 ns	ns
Left-Right position	0.38	0.34	significant

Note: dependent variable is party sympathy

Source: CSES

Appendix C Replication on actual vote intention

**Table 1 Mediation**

	Gender only		Age and Religion		Socio-economic characteristics		Discontent model		Policy preference		Left-Right position	
Gender	-0.46	0.10	-0.43	0.10	-0.42	0.09	-0.48	0.11	-0.49	0.11	-0.43	0.10
Age			0.00	0.00								
Church attendance			-0.25	0.08								
Lower education					0.43	0.10						
Working or lower middle class					0.28	0.09						
Unemployed					0.34	0.14						
Unskilled worker					0.17	0.16						
Semi-skilled worker					0.17	0.14						
Self-employed					0.19	0.13						
Public sector worker					-0.32	0.10						
Discontent							1.49	0.13				
Nativism									3.05	0.22		
Authoritarianism									0.89	0.24		
Pro-Intervention in Economy									0.19	0.14		
Left-Right position											0.85	0.17
Left-Right distance											-3.65	0.21
Intercept	-2.55	0.23			-2.75	0.23	-3.41	0.25	-5.65	0.32	-1.95	0.22

Note: the dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether the respondent would vote for a Radical Right party if there were elections tomorrow.

Source: EES 2009

**Table 2 Moderation**

	Effect among men	Effect among women	p-value of difference
Age	0.00	0.00	0.70
Church attendance	-0.20	-0.31	0.51
Lower educated	0.55	0.24	0.05
Lower classes	0.34	0.18	0.58
Unemployed	0.31	0.37	0.64
Public Sector	-0.34	-0.32	0.53
Discontent	1.48	1.49	0.82
Nativism	3.07	2.98	0.78
Authoritarianism	0.87	0.91	0.64
Left-Right position	0.93	0.79	0.47
Left-Right distance	-3.89	-3.36	0.19

Source: EES 2009

## CHAPTER 3

## Appendix D Full regression tables

**Table 1 Regression (random effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2
Acceptability (primary groups)	0.256*** (0.012)	
Gender (female)	-0.949*** (0.217)	-0.227 (0.154)
Acceptability (primary groups) X Gender (female)	0.101*** (0.024)	
Controls (Y-hat)	10.658*** (0.600)	
Acceptability (in general)		0.115*** (0.010)
Acceptability (in general) X Gender (female)		0.020 (0.018)
Constant	-4.207*** (0.104)	-3.090*** (0.085)
N	20951	20719

Source: Citizen Panel Sweden

**Table 2 Regression (fixed effects)**

	Model 1	Model 2
Acceptability (primary groups)	0.397*** (0.017)	
Acceptability (primary groups) X Gender (female)	0.144*** (0.036)	
Acceptability (in general)		0.204*** (0.015)
Acceptability (in general) X Gender (female)		0.026 (0.026)
N	17803	17444

Source: Citizen Panel Sweden

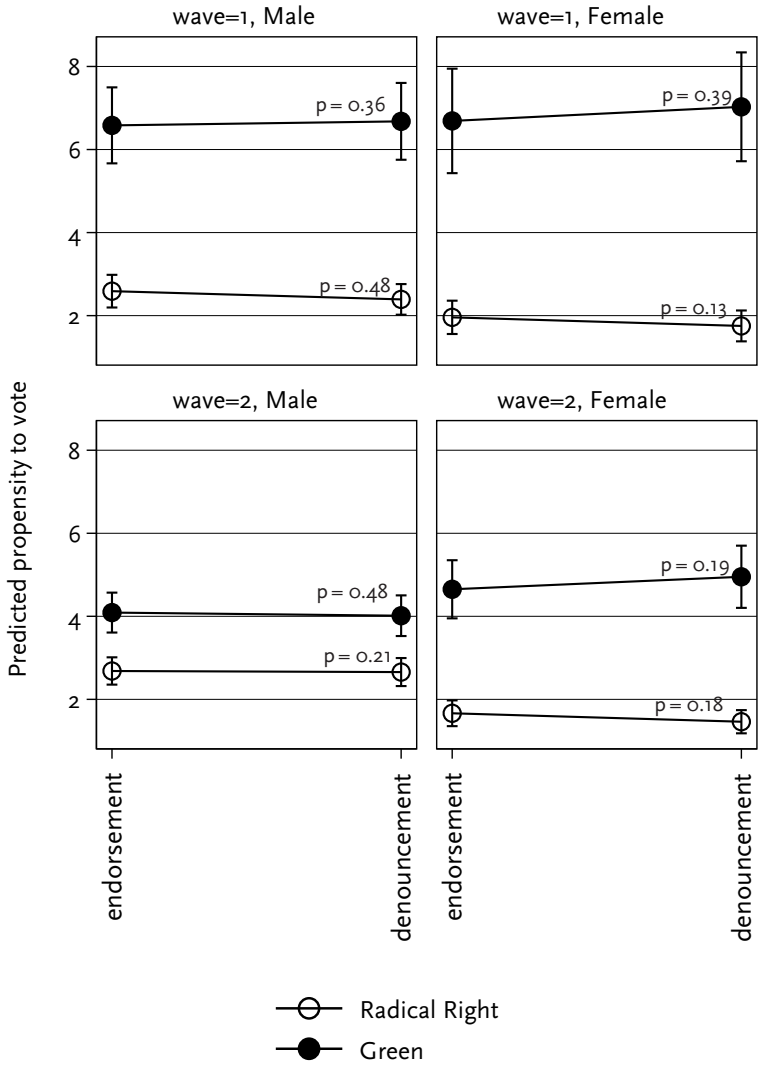
Appendix E Description of experiment

Party	Policy proposals (English)	Likes	Neutrals	Dislikes
A	1. Income differences in Sweden are too high. To decrease these differences, the poorest citizens should pay fewer taxes.			
	2. To provide young people with a better future, the state should invest more money in education.	30% (326)	50% (544)	20% (217)
	3. Military expenditure should be decreased.			
B	1. The state budget can be reduced by being tougher on fraud with social benefits.			
	2. A larger part of the Swedish health care should be produced in the private sector.	30% (315)	45% (489)	25% (282)
	3. Employer contributions should be lowered in order to reduce youth unemployment.			
C (Radical Right)	1. The European Union is currently way too intrusive in our society. Powers should return from Brussels to Sweden.	4% (43)	6% (65)	90% (979)
	2. More money should be made available for care for the elderly.	or 20% (217)	or 55% (598)	or 25% (272)
	3. Immigration from non-Western countries should be halted.			
C (Green)	1. The environment should be protected by raising taxes on polluting firms, products and cars.	4% (43)	6% (65)	90% (979)
	2. The state should do more to assure full freedom of the internet.	or 20% (217)	or 55% (598)	or 25% (272)
	3. Referendums should be held about important legislation.			

Note: actual number of likes, neutrals and dislikes between brackets

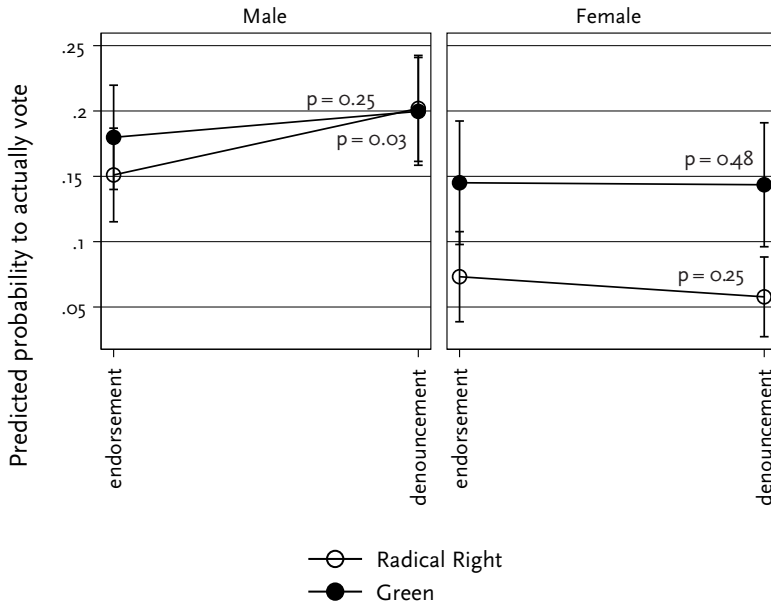


Appendix F Results per wave



Source: Citizen Panel Sweden

Appendix G Results with actual vote



Source: Citizen Panel Sweden

## CHAPTER 4

## Appendix H Operationalization of measure of restrictive immigration preferences

**Sweden** (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.79$ )

1. Immigrants have been disadvantaged in Sweden these last years. (\*Reverse)
2. Immigration contributes to the Swedish economy's competitiveness. (\*Reverse)
3. Most Muslims in Sweden have respect for other cultures and how other people live their lives. (\*Reverse)

Scale: Don't agree (1) to Totally Agree (5)

**UK** (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.70$ )

1. Immigration contributes to the competitiveness of the British economy. (\*Reverse)
2. We should restrict and control entry of people into our country more than we do now.

Scale: Strongly Agree (1) to Strongly Disagree (5)

**Norway** (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.82$ )

1. Refugees should be entitled to social services. (\*Reverse)
2. Norway will lose its identity if more Muslims come to live here.
3. Norwegian Muslims are more loyal to other Muslims in the world than to the people of this country.
4. It is better for a country if nearly everyone shares the same traditions and customs.

Scale: Strongly Agree (1) to Strongly Disagree (7)

Note: in Norway, the question 'Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others' was skipped to prevent a strong triggering of the prejudice norm.

## Appendix I CFA of MCP and restrictive immigration preferences

	Correlation between scales	Confirmatory Factor Analysis (nested comparison Chi2 test)	
		One latent factor	Two latent factors
United Kingdom	$r = -0.48$	$\text{Chi}^2(20) = 730.38$	$\text{Chi}^2(19) = 523.94$
		Test of difference: $\text{Chi}^2(1) = 206.44; p < 0.001$	
Sweden	$r = -0.52$	$\text{Chi}^2(\text{df}) = 1014.00$	$\text{Chi}^2(\text{df}) = 801.29$
		Test of difference: $\text{Chi}^2(1) = 212.71; p < 0.001$	
Norway	$r = -0.48$	$\text{Chi}^2(\text{df}) = 738.11$	$\text{Chi}^2(\text{df}) = 118.19$
		Test of difference: $\text{Chi}^2(1) = 619.92; p < 0.001$	

Source: B/CCAP; Citizen Panel Sweden; Citizen Panel Norway

Appendix J Main models without y-standardization

<b>United Kingdom (BNP)</b>	<b>Model I</b>		<b>Model II</b>		<b>Model III</b>		<b>Model IV</b>	
	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>
Gender (male)	0.37	0.07	0.41	0.05	0.17	0.42	0.27	0.22
Restrictive immigration pref.			0.69	0.00			0.50	0.00
MCP					-0.66	0.00	-0.41	0.00
Intercept	-2.62	0.00	-5.43	0.00	-1.15	0.00	-3.76	0.00
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.5%		5.4%		4.6%		6.6%	

logistic regression; dependent variable: voted for BNP in any of the waves

N=1253; number of BNP voters is 101

<b>Sweden (SD)</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>
Gender (male)	0.81	0.00	0.52	0.00	0.16	0.27	0.22	0.08
Restrictive immigration pref.			1.29	0.00			0.95	0.00
MCP					-1.47	0.00	-0.82	0.00
Intercept	1.64	0.00	6.23	0.00	7.61	0.00	8.40	0.00
(adjusted) R <sup>2</sup>	2.0%		28.0%		22.3%		32.5%	

OLS regression; dependent variable: reported propensity to vote for SD (0-to-10 scale)

N=1381

<b>Norway (FrP)</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>p</b>
Gender (male)	0.79	0.00	0.68	0.00	0.69	0.00	0.86	0.00
Restrictive immigration pref.			1.13	0.00			1.13	0.00
MCP					-0.78	0.00	-0.37	0.00
Intercept	-2.36	0.00	-2.75	0.00	-2.54	0.00	-3.05	0.00
(adjusted) R <sup>2</sup>	2.2%		17.1%		11.2%		22.8%	

logistic regression; dependent variable: voted for FrP

N=965; number of FrP voters is 125

Source: B/CCAP; Citizen Panel Sweden; Citizen Panel Norway

## Appendix K Main models with control variables

**Table 1 Operationalisation**

	United Kingdom	Sweden	Norway
Education	Dummies: 1. No qualification 2. GSCE 3. Degree 4. Other qualification	Dummies: No answer Not completed elementary school Elementary school High school (not graduated) High school (graduated) Studies after high school University/college (without degree) University/college (with degree) PhD	Dummies: No education or elementary school Upper secondary education University / college No answer
Income	Continuous variable (in pounds sterling)	N.A.	Continuous variable (gross household income in NOK)
Left-Right self-placement	Continuous variable (between 0 and 10)	Continuous variable (between 0 and 10)	Continuous variable (between 0 and 10)
Work		Unskilled, semiskilled or professional/technical	
Age	Continuous	Continuous	Continuous

**Table 2 Results**

Sweden				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender	0.407**	0.405**	0.053	0.195
Education (ref: no schooling):				
elementary school	-2.681	-1.099	-1.670	-0.844
high school	-3.464*	-1.512	-2.203	-1.190
high school: graduated	-3.290*	-1.411	-2.031	-1.074
studies after high school	-3.882*	-1.862	-2.429	-1.439
university/college: without a degree	-4.746**	-2.148	-3.000*	-1.678
university/college: with a degree	-4.718**	-2.087	-2.878*	-1.568
PhD	-4.416**	-1.616	-2.454	-1.061
Age	0.413***	0.106*	0.186***	0.038
	-0.007	-0.014**	-0.006	-0.012**
Anti-immigrant scale		1.182***		0.923***
MCP			-1.256***	-0.748***
Constant	5.359***	8.212***	9.306***	9.936***
N	1299	1299	1299	1299

**United Kingdom**

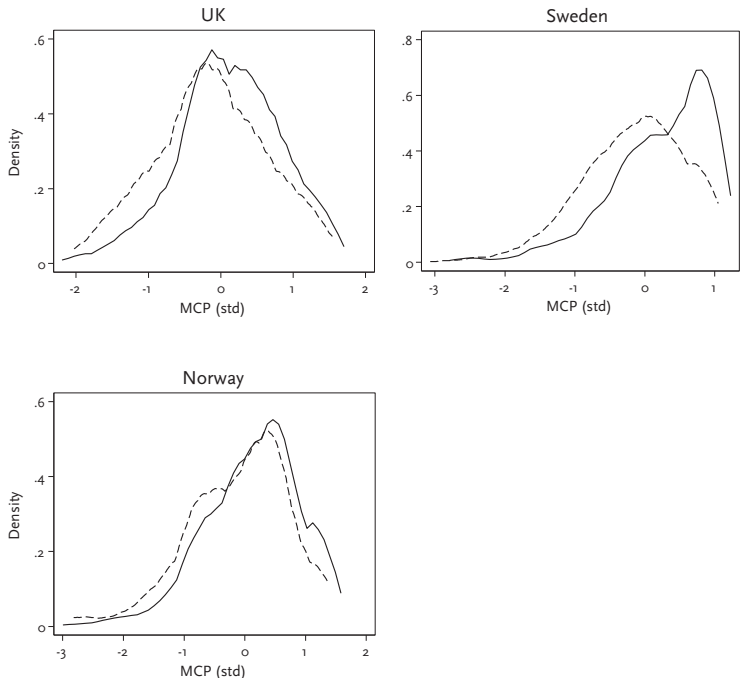
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender	0.179	0.185	0.005	0.062
Education (ref: a level)				
No qualification	0.267	0.320	0.311	0.334
GSCE	-0.288	-0.103	-0.198	-0.097
Degree	0.421	0.358	0.361	0.328
Other	0.841	0.800	0.619	0.651
Income	-0.100*	-0.089*	-0.092*	-0.086*
Left-Right	0.147*	0.083	0.079	0.051
Age	0.020*	0.016	0.021*	0.018
Work (ref: unskilled)				
Semi-skilled	-0.319	-0.322	-0.255	-0.266
Professional or technical	0.014	0.011	0.109	0.082
Anti-immigrant scale		0.509***		0.372*
MCP			-0.508***	-0.364*
Constant	-3.672***	-5.295***	-2.328**	-3.900***
N	938	938	938	938

**Norway**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender	0.953***	0.923***	0.869**	0.876**
Education (ref: no education or elementary)				
Upper secondary	-0.479	-0.432	-0.328	-0.311
University	-1.261***	-0.999**	-1.210**	-1.006**
Income	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Left-Right	0.594***	0.461***	0.554***	0.463***
Age	0.052	0.012	0.125	0.078
Anti-immigrant scale		0.696***		0.545***
MCP			-0.584***	-0.364**
Constant	-5.825***	-4.086***	-7.970***	-5.852***
N	895	895	895	895

Sources: B/CCAP; Citizen Panel Sweden; Citizen Panel Norway

Appendix L Distributions



Sources: B/CCAP; Citizen Panel Sweden; Citizen Panel Norway

Appendix M Descriptive statistics

<b>Sweden</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Gender (male)	1415	0.61	0.49	0	1
Propensity to vote SD	1598	2.12	2.78	1	11
MCP scale (5 items)	1420	19.00	4.38	5	25
Anti-immigrant scale (3 items)	1293	10.34	3.28	3	15
<b>Norway</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Gender (male)	2247	0.50	0.50	0	1
Would vote for FrP	1943	0.13	0.33	0	1
MCP scale (4 items)	2189	20.02	4.72	4	28
Anti-immigrant scale (4 items)	1089	16.84	3.98	4	28
<b>UK</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Sd</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Gender (male)	1302	0.46	0.50	0	1
Would vote for BNP (any wave)	1266	0.08	0.27	0	1
MCP scale (4 items)	1222	19.74	5.14	6	30
Anti-immigrant scale (2 items)	1215	7.51	2.12	2	10

Note: descriptives of those respondents who actually received and answered the MCP questions, but before listwise deletion. Scales have been standardized for the main analyses; unstandardized values are presented here.