

Supplementary Material

The Relationship between Economic Populist Sovereignism, Globalization and Populist Radical Right Politics: Voter Attitudes in Western Europe and the United States, *Government and Opposition*

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A1. Survey items of economic populist, sovereignist and globalization

Economic Populism

- The overall economic well-being of this country has declined compared to the past
- Today in our country, many economic decisions are made without considering the interests of the people
- In this country, one does not really care about people who work hard
- In our country, politicians don't really care about the people's living standard
- Citizens should have more say in the economic decisions of our country

Economic Sovereignism

- Our country must regain control of its economic destiny
- To guarantee its well-being, our country should be able to close its economic borders
- We must strengthen our national sovereignty to ensure more social justice

Globalization

- To ensure economic prosperity, our country should work more together with other countries
- Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth in our country
- Globalization increases inequalities in our country
- International trade leads to jobs creation in our country

All items were a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 'Strongly disagree' to 7 'Strongly agree'

A2. Descriptive statistics for economic populist, sovereignist and globalization items by country

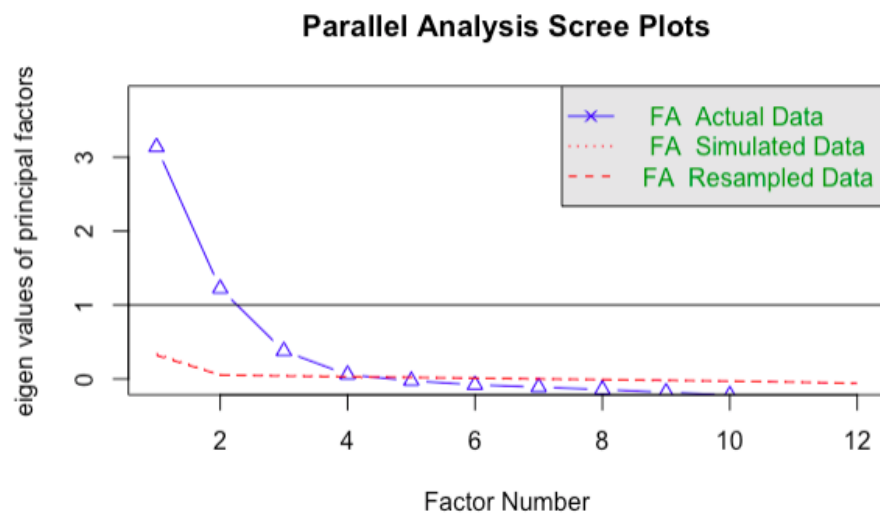
Item	Country	n	mean	sd	min	max
WellBeingCountryDecline	France	1739	5.55	1.48	1	7
WellBeingCountryDecline	Germany	1742	4.71	1.76	1	7
WellBeingCountryDecline	Italy	1762	5.84	1.36	1	7
WellBeingCountryDecline	Switzerland	1652	4.61	1.68	1	7
WellBeingCountryDecline	United States	2273	5.11	1.92	1	7
NoInterestofPeople	France	1819	5.78	1.46	1	7
NoInterestofPeople	Germany	1803	5.26	1.54	1	7
NoInterestofPeople	Italy	1762	5.69	1.46	1	7
NoInterestofPeople	Switzerland	1716	5.05	1.62	1	7
NoInterestofPeople	United States	2331	5.81	1.45	1	7
NoCareWorkHard	France	1831	5.61	1.54	1	7
NoCareWorkHard	Germany	1796	4.93	1.73	1	7
NoCareWorkHard	Italy	1754	5.64	1.44	1	7
NoCareWorkHard	Switzerland	1750	4.70	1.72	1	7
NoCareWorkHard	United States	2251	4.22	1.94	1	7
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	France	1836	5.87	1.47	1	7
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	Germany	1820	5.06	1.68	1	7
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	Italy	1779	5.91	1.41	1	7
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	Switzerland	1760	4.90	1.73	1	7
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	United States	2361	5.69	1.50	1	7
CitizenHaveMoreSay	France	1818	5.48	1.48	1	7
CitizenHaveMoreSay	Germany	1786	4.82	1.59	1	7
CitizenHaveMoreSay	Italy	1753	5.31	1.60	1	7
CitizenHaveMoreSay	Switzerland	1758	4.95	1.50	1	7
CitizenHaveMoreSay	United States	2293	5.53	1.44	1	7
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	France	1813	5.92	1.22	1	7
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	Germany	1748	5.32	1.47	1	7
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	Italy	1766	5.81	1.39	1	7
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	Switzerland	1694	5.06	1.49	1	7
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	United States	2253	5.69	1.42	1	7
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	France	1678	4.42	1.63	1	7
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	Germany	1744	4.95	1.47	1	7
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	Italy	1706	4.97	1.62	1	7
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	Switzerland	1713	4.79	1.63	1	7
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	United States	2241	5.03	1.67	1	7
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	France	1692	4.05	1.99	1	7
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	Germany	1651	3.97	1.85	1	7
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	Italy	1666	3.62	2.04	1	7
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	Switzerland	1678	3.47	1.94	1	7
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	United States	2108	4.11	2.08	1	7
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	France	1637	5.07	1.63	1	7
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	Germany	1715	4.85	1.65	1	7
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	Italy	1645	4.61	1.94	1	7
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	Switzerland	1587	4.71	1.60	1	7
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	United States	1929	4.70	1.86	1	7
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	France	1692	3.90	1.72	1	7
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	Germany	1745	4.76	1.52	1	7
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	Italy	1698	4.46	1.76	1	7
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	Switzerland	1680	4.36	1.60	1	7
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	United States	2050	4.40	1.96	1	7
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	France	1710	5.41	1.58	1	7
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	Germany	1687	4.58	1.66	1	7
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	Italy	1672	4.63	1.79	1	7
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	Switzerland	1670	4.57	1.70	1	7
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	United States	1905	4.16	1.95	1	7

InternationalTradeJobCreation	France	1704	4.46	1.62	1	7
InternationalTradeJobCreation	Germany	1742	5.03	1.41	1	7
InternationalTradeJobCreation	Italy	1710	5.07	1.52	1	7
InternationalTradeJobCreation	Switzerland	1680	4.89	1.40	1	7
InternationalTradeJobCreation	United States	2129	4.84	1.66	1	7

A3. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) – Pooled data

EFA is a method that reduces data to a smaller set of summary variables and allows to explore and interpret the underlying theoretical structure of the data. EFA is appropriate when the goal of the research is to create a measurement instrument that reflects meaningful underlying latent dimensions or constructs represented in the observed variables. In such context, researchers want to identify groups of variables, each of which has high correlations with only one factor, and to interpret and label each factor (Fabrigar et al. 1999).

For the purpose of the analysis, we pool all five countries together and run a preliminary parallel analysis to determine the number of factors that should be retained from EFA to correctly represent the data. Parallel analysis advises retaining a number of factors equal to the number of eigenvalues obtained for random data that are smaller than the eigenvalues in the observed data (Fabrigar et al. 1999). Preliminary parallel analysis suggests that 3 factors should be retained.



Consequently, we run EFA retaining the proposed 3-factor solution. EFA is performed using oblique rotation (*oblimin*) and polychoric correlation matrix for ordinal data. Oblique rotation assumes that there is a correlation between the factors, which is the most likely situation as regards our data.

We use Ordinary Least Squared/Minres factoring which is known to provide results similar to Maximum Likelihood without assuming multivariate normal distribution, and which derives solutions through iterative eigendecomposition (Harman and Wayne 1966).

Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix

	MR1	MR2	MR3
SS loadings	2.41	1.62	1.37
Proportion Var	0.20	0.13	0.11
Cumulative Var	0.20	0.34	0.45

Factor Loadings (pooled data)

	MR1	MR2	MR3
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.587	0.063	0.039
NoInterestofPeople	0.771	0.013	-0.009
NoCareWorkHard	0.582	-0.012	0.026
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	0.770	-0.067	-0.042
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.513	0.072	0.190
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	0.271	0.051	0.491
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.109	0.648	-0.126
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	-0.019	-0.251	0.565
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.015	0.056	0.711
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	-0.036	0.714	-0.038
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	0.239	-0.293	0.250
InternationalTradeJobCreation	-0.057	0.691	0.133

A4. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) – Individual countries

EFA France

(Analytical sample N=1334)

The root mean square of the residuals (RMSA) is 0.03
 The df corrected root mean square of the residuals is 0.04

Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability = 0.94
 RMSEA index = 0.057 and the 10 % confidence intervals are 0.049 0.065
 BIC = -62.6

With factor correlations of

	MR1	MR2	MR3
MR1	1.00	-0.25	0.58
MR2	-0.25	1.00	-0.25
MR3	0.58	-0.25	1.00

France

	MR1	MR2	MR3
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.450	0.047	0.283
NoInterestofPeople	0.811	-0.012	-0.064
NoCareWorkHard	0.536	0.048	0.146
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	0.789	-0.018	-0.022
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.579	-0.008	0.082
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	0.239	0.094	0.461
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.114	0.627	-0.124
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	0.024	-0.250	0.526
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.026	0.030	0.663
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	-0.051	0.681	-0.017
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	0.424	-0.198	0.213
InternationalTradeJobCreation	-0.070	0.690	0.102

EFA Italy

(Analytical sample N=1444)

The root mean square of the residuals (RMSA) is 0.03

The df corrected root mean square of the residuals is 0.04

Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability = 0.934

RMSEA index = 0.06 and the 10 % confidence intervals are 0.052 0.068

BIC = -35.6

With factor correlations of

	MR1	MR2	MR3
MR1	1.00	-0.14	0.57
MR2	-0.14	1.00	-0.26
MR3	0.57	-0.26	1.00

Italy

	MR1	MR2	MR3
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.629	0.009	-0.029
NoInterestofPeople	0.755	-0.036	0.066
NoCareWorkHard	0.595	0.037	0.092
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	0.757	-0.053	-0.102
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.396	0.056	0.377
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	0.472	0.062	0.328
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.134	0.547	-0.247
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	-0.001	-0.207	0.601
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.075	0.042	0.735
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	-0.110	0.751	0.045
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	0.229	-0.307	0.184
InternationalTradeJobCreation	0.064	0.582	0.047

EFA Germany

(Analytical sample N=1375)

The root mean square of the residuals (RMSA) is 0.02

The df corrected root mean square of the residuals is 0.03

Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability = 0.965

RMSEA index = 0.046 and the 10 % confidence intervals are 0.038 0.054

BIC = -110

With factor correlations of

	MR1	MR2	MR3
MR1	1.00	-0.14	0.63
MR2	-0.14	1.00	-0.15
MR3	0.63	-0.15	1.00

Germany

	MR1	MR2	MR3
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.333	-0.088	0.346
NoInterestofPeople	0.837	0.015	-0.026
NoCareWorkHard	0.557	-0.042	0.121
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	0.697	-0.080	0.096
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.572	0.082	0.117
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	0.191	0.151	0.591
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.221	0.668	-0.206
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	0.034	-0.194	0.584
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.056	0.040	0.707
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	-0.180	0.700	0.035
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	0.406	-0.204	0.129
InternationalTradeJobCreation	-0.058	0.748	0.119

EFA Switzerland

(Analytical sample N=1319)

The root mean square of the residuals (RMSA) is 0.02

The df corrected root mean square of the residuals is 0.03

Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability = 0.954

RMSEA index = 0.048 and the 10 % confidence intervals are 0.039 0.056

BIC = -105

With factor correlations of

	MR1	MR3	MR2
MR1	1.00	0.56	-0.17
MR3	0.56	1.00	-0.19
MR2	-0.17	-0.19	1.00

Switzerland

	MR1	MR3	MR2
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.307	0.341	-0.067
NoInterestofPeople	0.790	-0.018	0.044
NoCareWorkHard	0.595	0.066	-0.078
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	0.787	-0.020	-0.049
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.505	0.185	0.111
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	0.115	0.656	0.065
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.099	-0.138	0.618
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	-0.058	0.628	-0.221
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.035	0.684	0.096
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	-0.057	0.011	0.653
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	0.318	0.208	-0.283
InternationalTradeJobCreation	-0.078	0.138	0.613

EFA United States

(Analytical sample N=1441)

The root mean square of the residuals (RMSA) is 0.03

The df corrected root mean square of the residuals is 0.04

Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability = 0.923

RMSEA index = 0.057 and the 10 % confidence intervals are 0.049 0.065

BIC = -51.1

With factor correlations of

	MR1	MR2	MR3
MR1	1.00	0.36	-0.32
MR2	0.36	1.00	0.00
MR3	-0.32	0.00	1.00

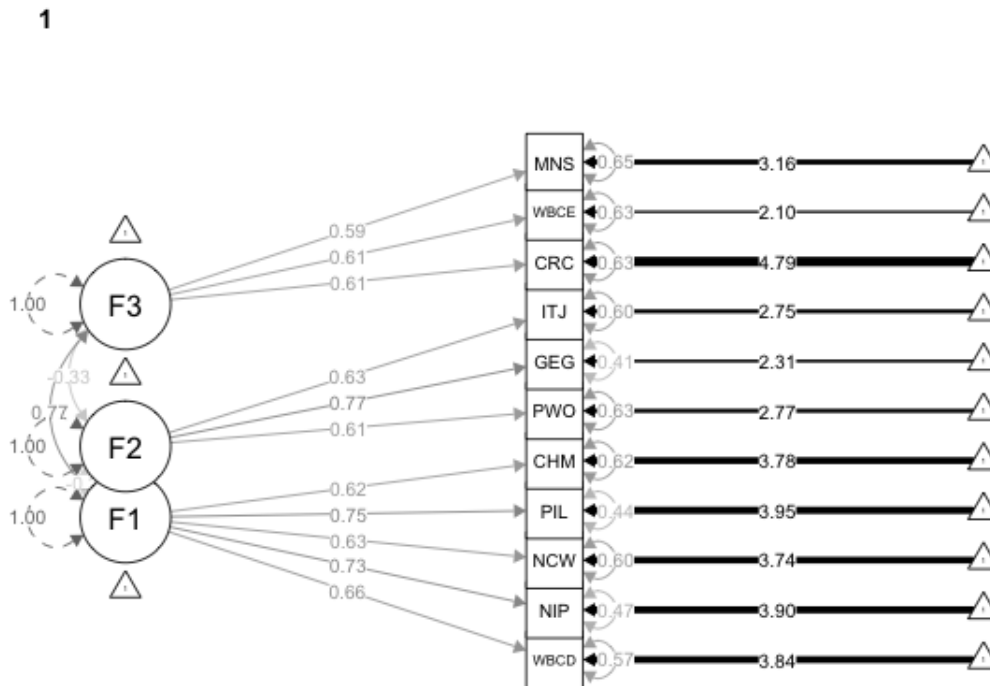
United States

	MR1	MR2	MR3
WellBeingCountryDecline	0.210	0.503	-0.094
NoInterestofPeople	0.010	0.718	-0.022
NoCareWorkHard	-0.002	0.452	-0.022
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	-0.114	0.636	0.025
CitizenHaveMoreSay	0.169	0.468	0.222
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	-0.018	0.140	0.546
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	0.748	0.122	-0.017
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	-0.359	-0.048	0.505
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	0.115	-0.065	0.627
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	0.717	0.025	-0.117
GlobalizationIncreaseInequalities	-0.291	0.081	0.336
InternationalTradeJobCreation	0.722	-0.086	0.124

A5. Multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA)

CFA is typically used to test the fit of a model obtained from exploratory factor analysis or a previously existing theoretical model with the data in the sample. CFA allows the researcher to test the hypothesis that a relationship between the observed variables and their underlying latent constructs exists in their data (Harrington 2009).

Group 1 [France]:



Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 =~						
WllBngCntryDcl	0.949	0.030	31.987	0.000	0.949	0.655
NoInterestfPpl	1.077	0.032	33.600	0.000	1.077	0.731
NoCareWorkHard	0.951	0.031	30.304	0.000	0.951	0.632
PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.107	0.032	34.571	0.000	1.107	0.748
CitizenHavMrSy	0.895	0.028	31.855	0.000	0.895	0.617
F2 =~						
PrsprtyWrkOthC	0.960	0.049	19.581	0.000	0.960	0.606
GlblztnEcGrwth	1.300	0.061	21.350	0.000	1.300	0.769
IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.023	0.051	19.975	0.000	1.023	0.634
F3 =~						
CntryRgnCntrED	0.754	0.028	26.614	0.000	0.754	0.611
WllBngClsEcBrd	1.188	0.044	27.302	0.000	1.188	0.610
MrNtSvMrSclJst	0.947	0.036	26.203	0.000	0.947	0.591

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 ~~						
F2	-0.271	0.017	-15.702	0.000	-0.271	-0.271
F3	0.769	0.027	28.099	0.000	0.769	0.769
F2 ~~						
F3	-0.334	0.027	-12.358	0.000	-0.334	-0.334

Intercepts:

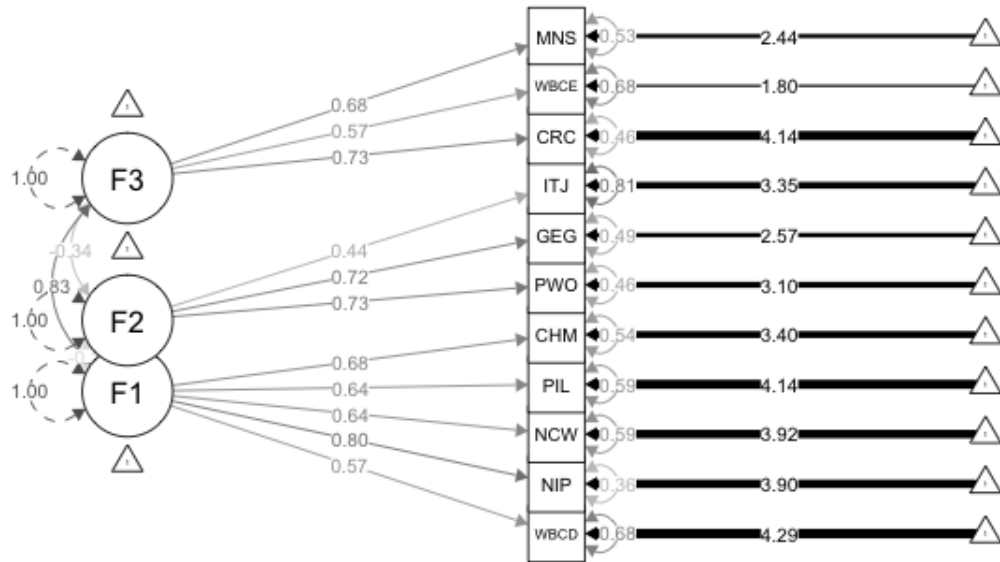
	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	5.552	0.039	141.131	0.000	5.552	3.835
.NoInterestfPpl	5.747	0.040	143.578	0.000	5.747	3.902
.NoCareWorkHard	5.623	0.041	137.596	0.000	5.623	3.739
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	5.838	0.040	145.172	0.000	5.838	3.945
.CitizenHavMrSy	5.495	0.039	139.254	0.000	5.495	3.784
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	4.388	0.043	101.993	0.000	4.388	2.772
.GlblztnEcGrwth	3.908	0.046	85.027	0.000	3.908	2.311
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	4.434	0.044	101.037	0.000	4.434	2.746
.CntryRgnCntrED	5.908	0.034	176.200	0.000	5.908	4.788
.WllBngClsEcBrd	4.089	0.053	77.278	0.000	4.089	2.100
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	5.063	0.044	116.301	0.000	5.063	3.161
F1	0.000				0.000	0.000
F2	0.000				0.000	0.000
F3	0.000				0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	1.195	0.106	11.279	0.000	1.195	0.571
.NoInterestfPpl	1.010	0.120	8.424	0.000	1.010	0.465
.NoCareWorkHard	1.357	0.114	11.953	0.000	1.357	0.600
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	0.963	0.122	7.906	0.000	0.963	0.440
.CitizenHavMrSy	1.307	0.096	13.560	0.000	1.307	0.620
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.585	0.132	12.050	0.000	1.585	0.632
.GlblztnEcGrwth	1.170	0.183	6.406	0.000	1.170	0.409
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.561	0.141	11.109	0.000	1.561	0.599
.CntryRgnCntrED	0.954	0.085	11.167	0.000	0.954	0.627
.WllBngClsEcBrd	2.380	0.145	16.470	0.000	2.380	0.628
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.669	0.115	14.559	0.000	1.669	0.650
F1	1.000				1.000	1.000
F2	1.000				1.000	1.000
F3	1.000				1.000	1.000

Group 2 [Italy]:

2



Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 =~						
WllBngCntryDcl	0.773	0.024	32.125	0.000	0.773	0.568
NoInterestfPpl	1.163	0.030	39.017	0.000	1.163	0.797
NoCareWorkHard	0.926	0.027	33.846	0.000	0.926	0.644
PltcnsIgnrLvnS	0.915	0.027	33.787	0.000	0.915	0.643
CitizenHavMrSy	1.064	0.029	37.301	0.000	1.064	0.678
F2 =~						
PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.176	0.061	19.274	0.000	1.176	0.733
GlblztnEcGrwth	1.246	0.065	19.143	0.000	1.246	0.716
IntrntnlTrdJbC	0.664	0.043	15.434	0.000	0.664	0.440
F3 =~						
CntryRgnCntrED	1.028	0.031	33.212	0.000	1.028	0.735
WllBngClsEcBrd	1.154	0.036	31.653	0.000	1.154	0.567
MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.297	0.039	33.109	0.000	1.297	0.683

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 ~~						
F2	-0.187	0.017	-11.179	0.000	-0.187	-0.187
F3	0.832	0.025	33.840	0.000	0.832	0.832
F2 ~~						
F3	-0.337	0.024	-14.001	0.000	-0.337	-0.337

Intercepts:

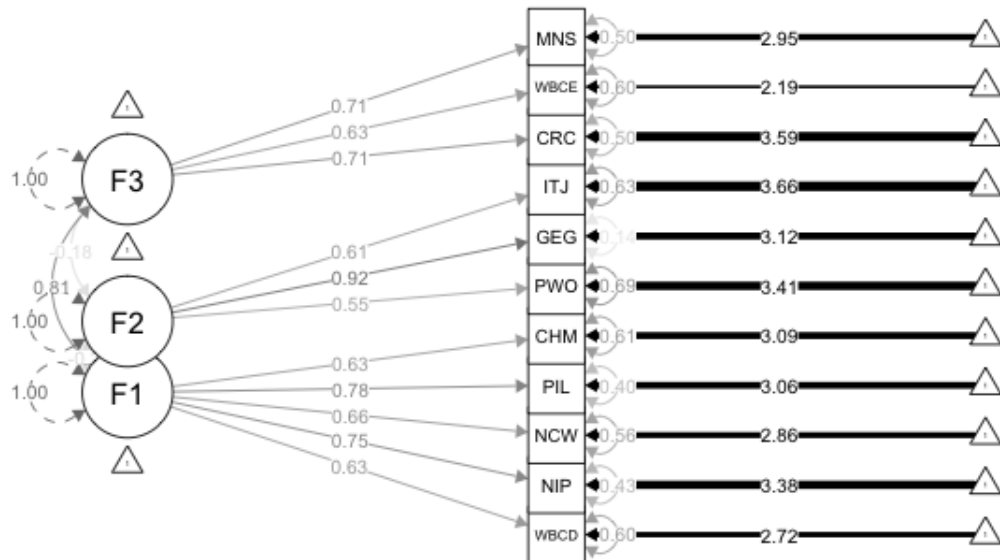
	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	5.830	0.036	163.522	0.000	5.830	4.285
.NoInterestfPpl	5.685	0.038	148.722	0.000	5.685	3.898
.NoCareWorkHard	5.644	0.038	149.570	0.000	5.644	3.920
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	5.888	0.037	157.873	0.000	5.888	4.137
.CitizenHavMrSy	5.329	0.041	129.642	0.000	5.329	3.398
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	4.964	0.042	118.115	0.000	4.964	3.095
.GlblztnEcGrwth	4.478	0.046	98.110	0.000	4.478	2.571
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	5.062	0.040	127.854	0.000	5.062	3.351
.CntryRgnCntrED	5.789	0.037	157.826	0.000	5.789	4.136
.WllBngClsEcBrd	3.661	0.053	68.601	0.000	3.661	1.798
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	4.635	0.050	93.189	0.000	4.635	2.442
F1	0.000				0.000	0.000
F2	0.000				0.000	0.000
F3	0.000				0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	1.254	0.088	14.172	0.000	1.254	0.678
.NoInterestfPpl	0.776	0.110	7.049	0.000	0.776	0.365
.NoCareWorkHard	1.214	0.103	11.769	0.000	1.214	0.586
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.189	0.110	10.814	0.000	1.189	0.587
.CitizenHavMrSy	1.329	0.107	12.432	0.000	1.329	0.540
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.190	0.173	6.888	0.000	1.190	0.463
.GlblztnEcGrwth	1.480	0.189	7.825	0.000	1.480	0.488
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.841	0.105	17.523	0.000	1.841	0.807
.CntryRgnCntrED	0.902	0.110	8.163	0.000	0.902	0.460
.WllBngClsEcBrd	2.815	0.129	21.817	0.000	2.815	0.679
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.920	0.145	13.264	0.000	1.920	0.533
F1	1.000				1.000	1.000
F2	1.000				1.000	1.000
F3	1.000				1.000	1.000

Group 3 [Germany]:

3



Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 =~						
WllBngCntryDcl	1.100	0.031	35.048	0.000	1.100	0.632
NoInterestfPpl	1.167	0.030	39.377	0.000	1.167	0.752
NoCareWorkHard	1.139	0.032	35.997	0.000	1.139	0.661
PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.291	0.032	40.546	0.000	1.291	0.777
CitizenHavMrSy	0.985	0.027	35.982	0.000	0.985	0.627
F2 =~						
PrsprtyWrkOthC	0.807	0.047	17.268	0.000	0.807	0.554
GlblztnEcGrwth	1.411	0.073	19.226	0.000	1.411	0.925
IntrntnlTrdJbC	0.840	0.047	17.834	0.000	0.840	0.609
F3 =~						
CntryRgnCntrED	1.046	0.033	32.131	0.000	1.046	0.710
WllBngClsEcBrd	1.150	0.037	31.087	0.000	1.150	0.629
MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.164	0.036	32.024	0.000	1.164	0.708

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 ~~						
F2	-0.226	0.017	-13.358	0.000	-0.226	-0.226
F3	0.806	0.024	33.834	0.000	0.806	0.806
F2 ~~						
F3	-0.184	0.022	-8.362	0.000	-0.184	-0.184

Intercepts:

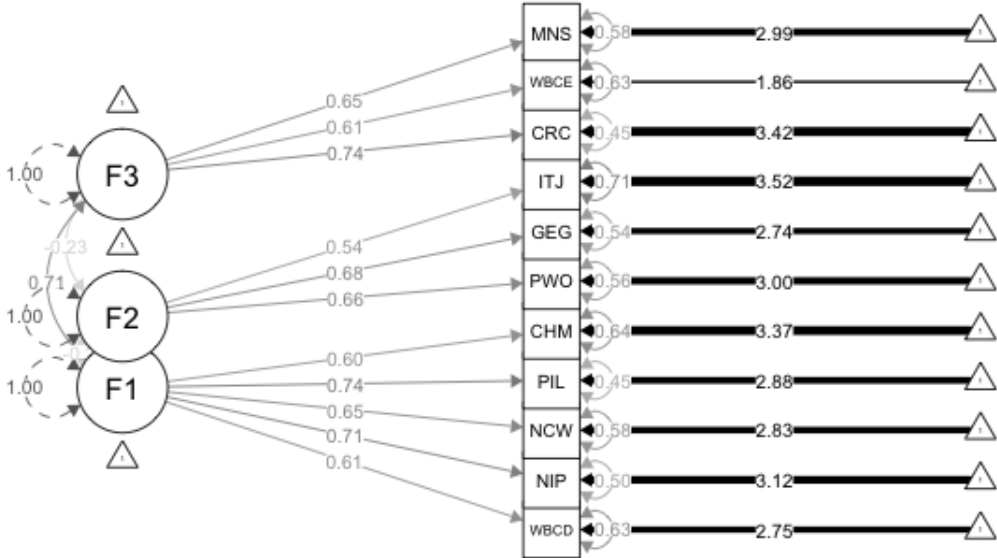
	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	4.731	0.046	101.775	0.000	4.731	2.720
.NoInterestfPpl	5.239	0.041	126.405	0.000	5.239	3.378
.NoCareWorkHard	4.922	0.046	106.899	0.000	4.922	2.857
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	5.087	0.044	114.483	0.000	5.087	3.060
.CitizenHavMrSy	4.851	0.042	115.575	0.000	4.851	3.089
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	4.979	0.039	127.778	0.000	4.979	3.415
.GlblztnEcGrwth	4.756	0.041	116.632	0.000	4.756	3.117
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	5.056	0.037	137.094	0.000	5.056	3.664
.CntryRgnCntrED	5.293	0.039	134.348	0.000	5.293	3.591
.WllBngClsEcBrd	4.000	0.049	81.847	0.000	4.000	2.187
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	4.850	0.044	110.305	0.000	4.850	2.948
F1	0.000				0.000	0.000
F2	0.000				0.000	0.000
F3	0.000				0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	1.816	0.114	15.968	0.000	1.816	0.600
.NoInterestfPpl	1.044	0.111	9.416	0.000	1.044	0.434
.NoCareWorkHard	1.671	0.119	14.055	0.000	1.671	0.563
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.098	0.121	9.101	0.000	1.098	0.397
.CitizenHavMrSy	1.497	0.095	15.755	0.000	1.497	0.607
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.473	0.111	13.279	0.000	1.473	0.693
.GlblztnEcGrwth	0.337	0.225	1.498	0.134	0.337	0.145
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.199	0.109	11.029	0.000	1.199	0.630
.CntryRgnCntrED	1.078	0.110	9.794	0.000	1.078	0.496
.WllBngClsEcBrd	2.020	0.127	15.908	0.000	2.020	0.604
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.351	0.127	10.668	0.000	1.351	0.499
F1	1.000				1.000	1.000
F2	1.000				1.000	1.000
F3	1.000				1.000	1.000

Group 4 [Switzerland]:

4



Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 =~						
WllBngCntryDcl	1.020	0.033	30.610	0.000	1.020	0.609
NoInterestfPpl	1.151	0.034	34.004	0.000	1.151	0.710
NoCareWorkHard	1.083	0.033	32.384	0.000	1.083	0.648
PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.271	0.035	36.062	0.000	1.271	0.744
CitizenHavMrSy	0.892	0.029	30.768	0.000	0.892	0.603
F2 =~						
PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.066	0.064	16.535	0.000	1.066	0.663
GlblztnEcGrwth	1.077	0.065	16.597	0.000	1.077	0.677
IntrntnlTrdJbC	0.752	0.048	15.561	0.000	0.752	0.542
F3 =~						
CntryRgnCntrED	1.093	0.037	29.277	0.000	1.093	0.740
WllBngClsEcBrd	1.166	0.043	27.241	0.000	1.166	0.605
MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.026	0.038	27.305	0.000	1.026	0.652

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 ~~						
F2	-0.211	0.020	-10.587	0.000	-0.211	-0.211
F3	0.706	0.024	29.479	0.000	0.706	0.706
F2 ~~						
F3	-0.233	0.027	-8.777	0.000	-0.233	-0.233

Intercepts:

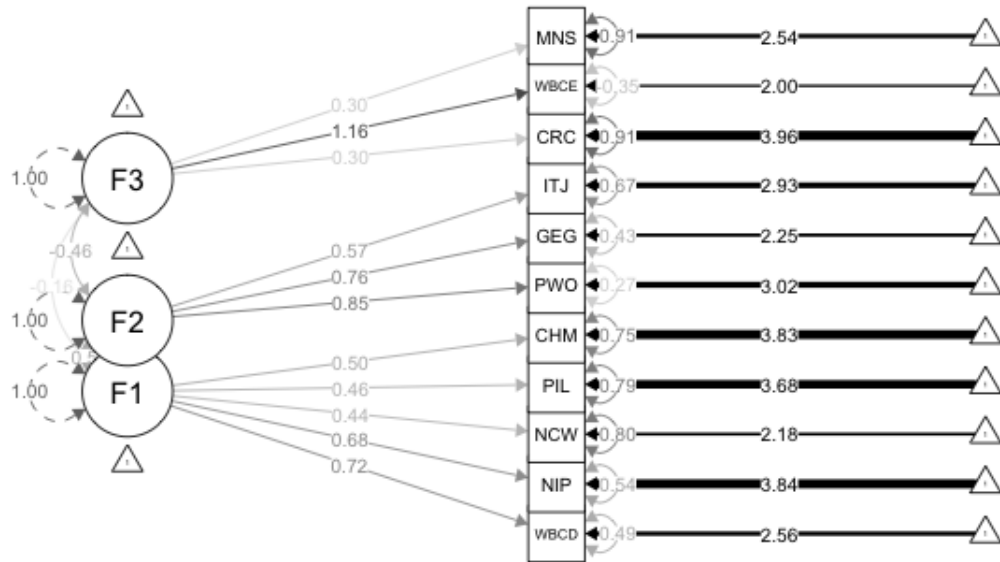
	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	4.599	0.046	100.131	0.000	4.599	2.747
.NoInterestfPpl	5.051	0.044	113.584	0.000	5.051	3.116
.NoCareWorkHard	4.728	0.046	103.124	0.000	4.728	2.829
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	4.929	0.047	105.169	0.000	4.929	2.885
.CitizenHavMrSy	4.977	0.041	122.724	0.000	4.977	3.366
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	4.833	0.044	109.521	0.000	4.833	3.004
.GlblztnEcGrwth	4.351	0.044	99.777	0.000	4.351	2.737
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	4.879	0.038	128.319	0.000	4.879	3.520
.CntryRgnCntrED	5.049	0.041	124.647	0.000	5.049	3.419
.WllBngClsEcBrd	3.590	0.053	67.956	0.000	3.590	1.864
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	4.706	0.043	108.962	0.000	4.706	2.989
F1	0.000				0.000	0.000
F2	0.000				0.000	0.000
F3	0.000				0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	1.764	0.113	15.624	0.000	1.764	0.629
.NoInterestfPpl	1.304	0.120	10.874	0.000	1.304	0.496
.NoCareWorkHard	1.620	0.115	14.109	0.000	1.620	0.580
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.305	0.125	10.402	0.000	1.305	0.447
.CitizenHavMrSy	1.391	0.093	14.992	0.000	1.391	0.636
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.451	0.167	8.667	0.000	1.451	0.561
.GlblztnEcGrwth	1.368	0.165	8.269	0.000	1.368	0.541
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.356	0.106	12.782	0.000	1.356	0.706
.CntryRgnCntrED	0.986	0.116	8.467	0.000	0.986	0.452
.WllBngClsEcBrd	2.350	0.142	16.583	0.000	2.350	0.634
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	1.427	0.118	12.099	0.000	1.427	0.576
F1	1.000				1.000	1.000
F2	1.000				1.000	1.000
F3	1.000				1.000	1.000

Group 5 [United States]:

5



Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 =~						
WllBngCntryDcl	1.396	0.049	28.613	0.000	1.396	0.716
NoInterestfPpl	1.016	0.037	27.612	0.000	1.016	0.682
NoCareWorkHard	0.853	0.041	21.007	0.000	0.853	0.443
PltcnsIgnrLvnS	0.696	0.033	21.064	0.000	0.696	0.456
CitizenHavMrSy	0.719	0.031	23.415	0.000	0.719	0.505
F2 =~						
PrsprtyWrkOthC	1.414	0.043	32.928	0.000	1.414	0.852
GlblztnEcGrwth	1.473	0.046	32.165	0.000	1.473	0.756
IntrntnlTrdJbC	0.948	0.035	26.935	0.000	0.948	0.572
F3 =~						
CntryRgnCntrED	0.435	0.032	13.546	0.000	0.435	0.305
WllBngClsEcBrd	2.400	0.145	16.588	0.000	2.400	1.164
MrNtSvMrSclJst	0.557	0.043	12.952	0.000	0.557	0.304

Covariances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
F1 ~~						
F2	0.495	0.020	24.472	0.000	0.495	0.495
F3	-0.163	0.019	-8.582	0.000	-0.163	-0.163
F2 ~~						
F3	-0.463	0.030	-15.544	0.000	-0.463	-0.463

Intercepts:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	4.987	0.050	99.346	0.000	4.987	2.558
.NoInterestfPpl	5.728	0.038	149.341	0.000	5.728	3.845
.NoCareWorkHard	4.186	0.050	84.492	0.000	4.186	2.175
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	5.617	0.039	143.126	0.000	5.617	3.685
.CitizenHavMrSy	5.459	0.037	148.884	0.000	5.459	3.833
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	5.015	0.043	117.284	0.000	5.015	3.019
.GlblztnEcGrwth	4.389	0.050	87.504	0.000	4.389	2.253
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	4.859	0.043	113.926	0.000	4.859	2.933
.CntryRgnCntrED	5.653	0.037	153.970	0.000	5.653	3.964
.WllBngClsEcBrd	4.121	0.053	77.600	0.000	4.121	1.998
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	4.655	0.047	98.695	0.000	4.655	2.541
F1	0.000				0.000	0.000
F2	0.000				0.000	0.000
F3	0.000				0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv	Std.all
.WllBngCntryDcl	1.854	0.176	10.527	0.000	1.854	0.487
.NoInterestfPpl	1.188	0.119	9.981	0.000	1.188	0.535
.NoCareWorkHard	2.975	0.115	25.810	0.000	2.975	0.803
.PltcnsIgnrLvnS	1.840	0.103	17.815	0.000	1.840	0.792
.CitizenHavMrSy	1.512	0.090	16.814	0.000	1.512	0.745
.PrsprtyWrkOthC	0.758	0.152	4.993	0.000	0.758	0.275
.GlblztnEcGrwth	1.625	0.169	9.603	0.000	1.625	0.428
.IntrntnlTrdJbC	1.847	0.115	16.016	0.000	1.847	0.673
.CntryRgnCntrED	1.845	0.093	19.901	0.000	1.845	0.907
.WllBngClsEcBrd	-1.505	0.701	-2.146	0.032	-1.505	-0.354
.MrNtSvMrSclJst	3.047	0.109	27.997	0.000	3.047	0.908
F1	1.000				1.000	1.000
F2	1.000				1.000	1.000
F3	1.000				1.000	1.000

Let us note that the standardized loading for the item on ‘closing economic borders’ is above 1 and that it has negative variance, which is typical of a ‘Heywood case’. Such problem is primarily due

to non-normality of that particular item in American sample, however not significantly affecting the overall quality of the model's fit.

A6. Mokken scales of economic populist, sovereignist and globalization attitudes

We first test a scale of Economic Populism (EcoPop) from the 5 items retained in the first factor of CFA. The coefficient of homogeneity for the scale in the pooled data is 0.44 (s.e.=0.006), which suggests a 'moderate' Mokken scale. Standard errors are very small due to the large sample size and the 95% confidence intervals around the value of H_i do not include the lower bound cut-off. The second Mokken scale refers to Positive Views of Globalization (Global). It has a coefficient of 0.49 (s.e.=0.005) which is just below the conventional threshold for a 'strong' scale. Finally, the third scale refers to Economic Sovereignism (EcoSov). The coefficient of homogeneity is 0.43 (s.e.=0.006) which again suggests a moderate scale.

All three scales have high internal coherence and they meet the classic IRT assumptions of unidimensionality, local independence of items and monotonicity. We test all three scales for unidimensionality, local independence and monotonicity. The internal consistency reliability of our scales is estimated by the reliability coefficient Rho (a.k.a. Molenaar Sijtsma statistic), values of which should exceed 0.70. We also provide the Cronbach's alpha. In order to assess inter-item and item-to-total correlations, we use bootstrapped polychoric correlations. This method is a suitable tool to (i) evaluate the strength of inter-item relationships between normally distributed continuous latent variables when these are ordinal; (ii) consider the appropriateness of scoring them together on a single scale, and (iii) investigate local dependency (Van Hauwaert et al. 2019).

All details of the three Mokken scales of economic populist, sovereignist and globalization attitudes are provided below. All inter-item correlation coefficients are significant (at $p < 0.05$) and below 0.80, which indicates they are positively, yet not too highly, correlated, thus confirming conditional association –i.e. local independence– of items across the three scales. Values of the Rho coefficient are all above 0.7, showing good internal consistency reliability. We find no significant deviation from monotonicity with all Crit values below the conventional 0.4 threshold –with just one exception of the Crit index for the item concerning national sovereignty as a means to ensure social justice, which is 0.4, thus suggesting only moderate violation of monotonicity in the Economic Sovereignism scale.

Summary Table of Mokken scales of economic populist, sovereignist and globalization attitudes

Indicator	Eco. Populism	Eco. Sovereignism	Positive Globalization
H	0.44	0.43	0.49
Range of H_i	0.40-0.50	0.42-0.44	0.48-0.50
Reliability (Rho)	0.8	0.7	0.7
Cronbach's Alpha	0.8	0.7	0.7
Inter-items correlations	0.4 to 0.7 All $p < 0.05$	0.4 to 0.5 All $p < 0.05$	0.5 All $p < 0.05$
Monotonicity	All crit < 0.4	All crit ≤ 0.4	All crit < 0.4

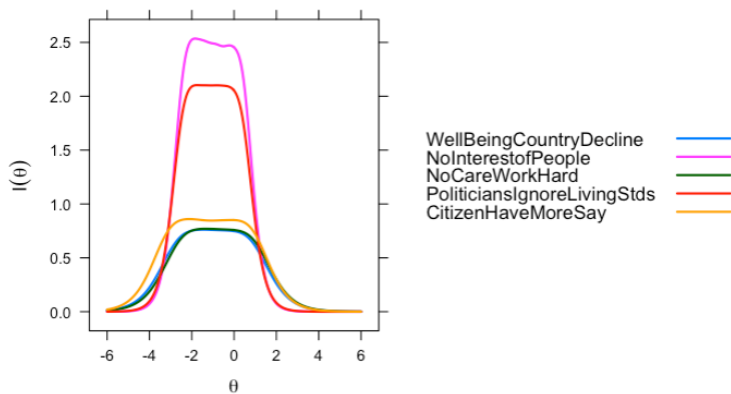
A7. Graded Response Model for polytomous items

Tables below show item parameters for each of the three Mokken scales constructed from IRT analysis. Item information trace lines are shown in the corresponding figures. We also show the distribution of the IRT scores calculated from the GRM.

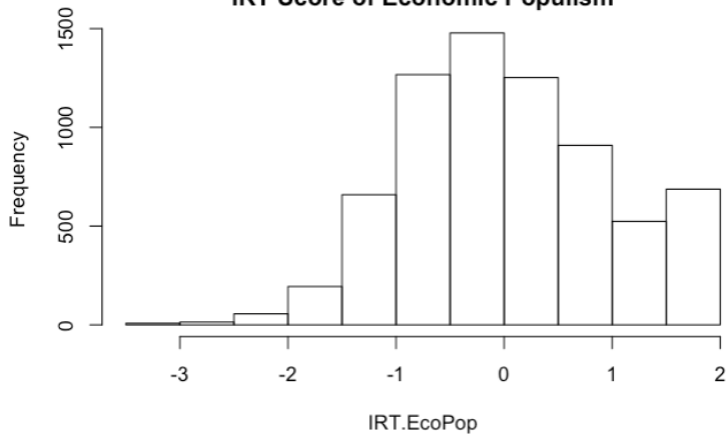
Economic Populism

	a	b1	b2	b3	b4	b5	b6
WellBeingCountryDecline	1.54	-2.62	-2.02	-1.44	-0.745	0.027	0.737
NoInterestofPeople	2.85	-2.35	-1.92	-1.40	-0.833	-0.218	0.364
NoCareWorkHard	1.55	-2.47	-1.92	-1.33	-0.636	0.123	0.856
PoliticiansIgnoreLivingStds	2.59	-2.38	-1.91	-1.35	-0.801	-0.252	0.313
CitizenHaveMoreSay	1.65	-3.03	-2.39	-1.67	-0.750	0.095	0.820

Item information trace lines



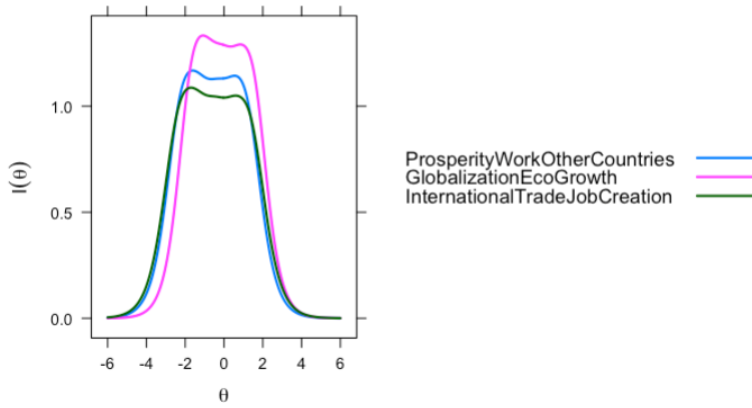
IRT Score of Economic Populism



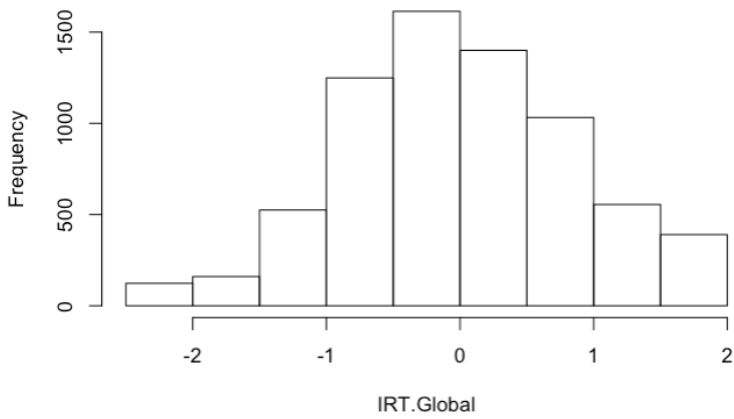
Globalization positive

	a	b1	b2	b3	b4	b5	b6
ProsperityWorkOtherCountries	1.93	-2.23	-1.87	-1.266	-0.361	0.514	1.17
GlobalizationEcoGrowth	2.05	-1.68	-1.35	-0.833	-0.057	0.788	1.50
InternationalTradeJobCreation	1.85	-2.37	-1.93	-1.346	-0.429	0.523	1.34

Item information trace lines

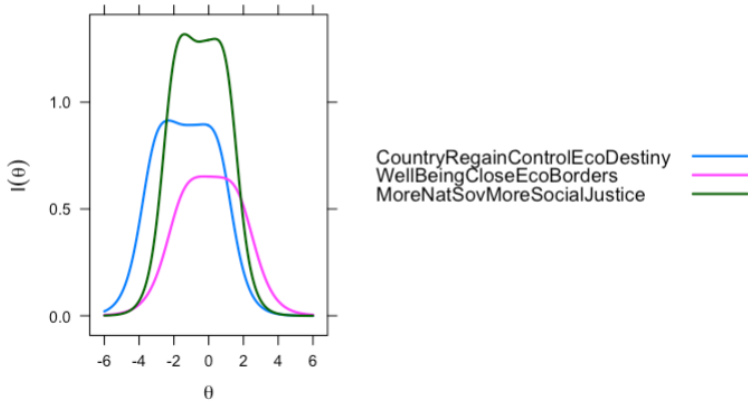


IRT Score of Globalization

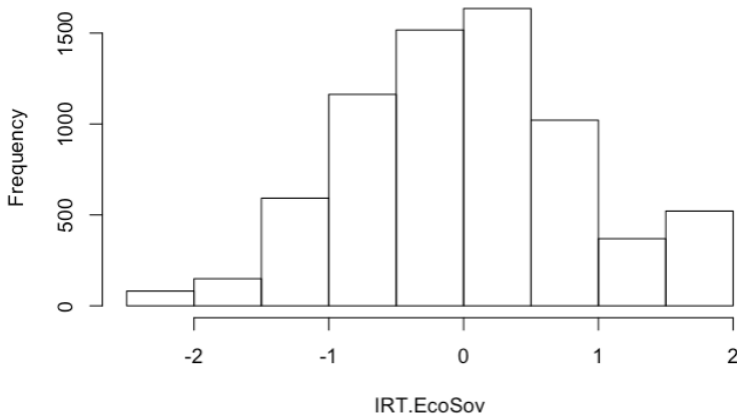


Economic Sovereignism

	a	b1	b2	b3	b4	b5	b6
CountryRegainControlEcoDestiny	1.70	-3.10	-2.583	-1.974	-1.065	-0.182	0.553
WellBeingCloseEcoBorders	1.42	-1.48	-0.942	-0.396	0.365	1.090	1.677
MoreNatSovMoreSocialJustice	2.04	-2.01	-1.611	-1.092	-0.293	0.439	1.023



IRT Score of Economic Sovereignism



A8. Binary logistic regressions of radical right populist voting in Europe and the United States

Here we show the details for the binary logistic regressions of RRP voting in Europe and the United States. We first present the model for the pooled European countries, then the results for similar analyses conducted for each country individually.

Pooled European countries (France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland)

Model 1. Radical right populist voting European countries

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	VoteRRP
GenderFemale	-0.215** (0.094)
AgeContinuous	-0.012*** (0.003)
EducationRMiddle	-0.027 (0.121)
EducationRHigh	-0.285** (0.134)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.335*** (0.027)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.164*** (0.025)
MoreLawOrder	0.233*** (0.029)
EcoPop	0.274*** (0.068)
Global	-0.600*** (0.061)
EcoSov	0.692*** (0.078)
countrygermany	-0.284* (0.150)
countryitaly	1.530*** (0.137)
countryswiss	1.320*** (0.146)
Constant	-0.378 (0.311)
Observations	3,880
Log Likelihood	-1,484.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,995.000
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

United States

Model 2. Trump versus Biden in the United States

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	VoteRRP
GenderFemale	-0.504** (0.198)
AgeContinuous	-0.005 (0.006)
EducationRMiddle	-0.071 (0.236)
EducationRHigh	0.259 (0.254)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.222*** (0.068)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.423*** (0.054)
MoreLawOrder	0.547*** (0.055)
EcoPop	-0.711*** (0.149)
Global	-1.050*** (0.142)
EcoSov	1.040*** (0.175)
Constant	0.249 (0.577)
Observations	1,350
Log Likelihood	-346.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	714.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Similar models for individual European countries are shown below.

France

Radical right populist voting in France

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	VoteRRP
GenderFemale	0.113 (0.199)
AgeContinuous	-0.028*** (0.007)
EducationRMiddle	-0.456* (0.243)
EducationRHigh	-0.700*** (0.247)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.348*** (0.057)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.074 (0.056)
MoreLawOrder	0.345*** (0.067)
EcoPop	0.574*** (0.155)
Global	-0.600*** (0.123)
EcoSov	0.287* (0.168)
Constant	-0.336 (0.681)
Observations	884
Log Likelihood	-333.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	687.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Italy

Radical right populist voting in Italy

Dependent variable:

	VoteRRP
GenderFemale	0.028 (0.163)
AgeContinuous	0.001 (0.006)
EducationRMiddle	0.434** (0.212)
EducationRHigh	0.162 (0.232)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.266*** (0.047)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.251*** (0.047)
MoreLawOrder	0.264*** (0.048)
EcoPop	0.203* (0.122)
Global	-0.629*** (0.113)
EcoSov	0.889*** (0.146)
Constant	0.063 (0.469)
Observations	1,039
Log Likelihood	-472.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	966.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Germany

Radical right populist voting in Germany

Dependent variable:

VoteRRP

GenderFemale	-0.695*** (0.253)
AgeContinuous	-0.018** (0.009)
EducationRMiddle	-0.030 (0.374)
EducationRHigh	-0.076 (0.401)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.496*** (0.085)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.222*** (0.063)
MoreLawOrder	0.079 (0.071)
EcoPop	0.642*** (0.176)
Global	-0.749*** (0.164)
EcoSov	0.713*** (0.205)
Constant	1.110 (0.805)

Observations	1,085
Log Likelihood	-244.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	511.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Switzerland

Radical right populist voting in Switzerland

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	VoteRRP
GenderFemale	-0.548*** (0.187)
AgeContinuous	-0.007 (0.006)
EducationRMiddle	-0.076 (0.236)
EducationRHigh	-0.516* (0.296)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	-0.310*** (0.052)
TakeRichGivePoor	-0.122** (0.050)
MoreLawOrder	0.253*** (0.058)
EcoPop	-0.191 (0.132)
Global	-0.500*** (0.120)
EcoSov	0.775*** (0.145)
Constant	0.438 (0.557)
Observations	872
Log Likelihood	-389.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	800.000
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A9. Binary logistic regression of radical left populist voting in France, Germany and Italy

Here we show the details for the binary logistic regressions of radical left populist voting in France, Germany and Italy, which all have a relevant radical left populist party i.e. La France Insoumise (LFI) in France, Die Linke in Germany and the Five Star Movement (M5S) in Italy. In model 3 below, we contrast radical left-wing populist voters with all other voters in the pooled dataset for all three countries, with country fixed effects. Radical left populist voters are selected based on the same voting intention question as previously, as follows: LFI in France (n=76 voters against 854 for other parties), Die Linke in Germany (n=100 / 1005), and the M5S in Italy (n=182 / 878).

We use again the IRT scores of economic populism (EcoPop), economic sovereigntism (EcoSov) and pro-globalization (Global) attitudes as our main independent variables, controlling for standard socio-demographic variables –i.e. gender, age, education– as well as immigration, law and order, and pro-redistribution attitudes.

We first present the model for the pooled three countries, then the results for similar analyses conducted for each country individually.

Model 3. Radical left populist voting in France, Germany and Italy (pooled)

	VoteLWP
GenderFemale	-0.240* (0.123)
AgeContinuous	-0.002 (0.004)
EducationRMiddle	0.102 (0.168)
EducationRHigh	-0.137 (0.180)
ImmigrantsEnrichCulture	0.188*** (0.036)
TakeRichGivePoor	0.272*** (0.040)
MoreLawOrder	-0.181*** (0.034)
EcoPop	0.235*** (0.088)
Global	-0.253*** (0.078)
EcoSov	0.042 (0.094)
countrygermany	0.167 (0.180)
countryitaly	0.946*** (0.167)
Constant	-3.680*** (0.433)
Observations	3,008
Log Likelihood	-958.000
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,943.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01