# Multidimensional spatial voting with non-separable preferences 

## Supplementary Materials

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## Contents

I Auxilliary Material: Monte Carlo experiment ..... 2
I. 1 Sampling distribution of non-separability parameter ..... 2
I. 2 Root Mean Square Error ..... 3
I. 3 Correctly Predicted Voting Decisions ..... 4
II Auxilliary Material: Data ..... 5
II. 1 Netherlands 1979 ..... 5
II. 2 United States Presidential Election 2008 ..... 8
II. 3 Germany 2009 ..... 10
III Auxilliary Material: Model covariate estimates ..... 14
III. 1 Netherlands 1979 ..... 14
III. 2 United States Presidential Election 2008 ..... 15
III. 3 Germany 2009 ..... 16

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## I. Auxilliary Material: Monte Carlo experiment

## SAMPLING DISTRIbUTION OF NON-SEPARABILITY PARAMETER



Figure 1: Monte Carlo Experiment: Dots indicate mean non-separability parameter estimates ( $a_{12}$ ). Vertical bars depict $90 \%$ range of all estimates from Monte Carlo samples. (1) Platform positions randomly drawn from bivariate normal with positive covariance terms ( $\rho=.8$ ), (2) Platform positions randomly drawn from bivariate normal with zero covariance terms ( $\rho=0$ ), (3) Platform positions randomly drawn from bivariate normal with negative covariance terms ( $\rho=-.8$ ). Voter ideal points are drawn from a bivariate standard normal distribution.

## Root Mean Square Error



Figure 2: Monte Carlo Experiment: Root mean square error (RMSE) in salience parameter estimates. Dots indicate RMSE of salience parameters $a_{11}$ (Dark gray) and $a_{22}$ (Light gray).

## Correctly Predicted Voting Decisions



Figure 3: Monte Carlo Experiment: Difference in correctly predicted voting decisions between non-separable model to separable model. Dots indicate median difference. Vertical bars depict $90 \%$ range over Monte Carlo samples.

## II. Auxilliary Material: Data

Netherlands 1979


Figure 4: Distribution of voter ideal points and party positions

| Issue | Euro-Barometer | Question EPPMLE Question |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Public Control of Private Enterprise | public ownership of private industry should be expanded control over private industry | reduce the capacity of public control over private insustry |
| Abortion | women should be free to decide for themselves in manners conncerning abortion | women should be allowed to decide matters concerning abortion |
| Terrorism | more severe penalties should be introduced for acts of terrorism | the most severe penalties should be introduced for acts of terrorism |
| Nuclear Energy | nuclear energy should be developed to meet future energy needs | nuclear energy should be developed in order to meet our future energy needs |
| Control of Multinational Corporations | stronger public control should be exercised over the activities of multinational corporations | there should be far more activecontrol over activities of multinational corporations |
| Environmental Protection | stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution | greater effort should be made to protect the environment |
| Income Redistribution | greater efforts should be made o reduce inequality of income | educe income differences |

Table 1: Overview of the items used for the factor analysis and their exact wording in the surveys.

|  | Dimension 1 | Dimension 2 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Public Control of Private Enterprise | 0.297 | 0 |
| Abortion | -0.612 | 0.229 |
| Terrorism | -0.51 | 0.148 |
| Nuclear Energy | 0.232 | 0.253 |
| Control of Multinational Corporation | -0.327 | -0.39 |
| Environmental Protection | -0.526 | 0 |
| Income Redistribution | -0.306 | 0 |

Table 2: Factor loadings as reported by Quinn el al. (1999)

United States Presidential Election 2008


Figure 5: Distribution of voter ideal points and candidate positions

|  | Dimension 1 | Dimension 2 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| raising taxes on incomes over 200k/yr | 1.02 | 0.66 |
| govt pay drugs for low income seniors | 1.27 |  |
| govt payment for all health care | 1.59 | 0.53 |
| const. amendment to ban gay marriages |  | -0.97 |
| suspend habeas for terror suspects |  | -1.12 |
| court order to wiretap terror suspect |  | 1.26 |
| 3 year work for illegal immigrants |  | 0.7 |
| illegal immigrants become citizens |  | 1.11 |
| RMSEA | $0.09 ; 95 \%$ c.i. $=[0.08,0.1]$ |  |

Table 3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

|  | CDU | SPD | FDP | B90/Gru | Linke |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Extent of public service | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| State intervention on economy | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Redistribution of wealth | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Punishment for crime | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Homosexuality | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Immigration:extent | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Immigration:assimilation | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

Table 4: CHES party scores
Germany 2009


Figure 6: Distribution of voter ideal points and candidate positions

European Election Studies (EES)
1 Q56. Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Britain.

2 Q67. Immigration to Britain should be decreased significantly.

3 Q59. Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership.

Chapel/Hill (CHESS)
short code
Q27. position on integration of immigrants immigration: and asylum seekers ( $0=$ strongly favors mul- assimilaticulturalism; $10=$ strongly favors assimila- tion tion)
Q25. position on immigration policy $(0=$ immigration: strongly opposes tough policy; $10=$ strongly extent favors tough policy)
Q13. position on improving public services extent of vs. reducing taxes ( $0=$ strongly favors im- public proving public services; $10=$ strongly favors services reducing taxes)

4 Q61. Politics should abstain from intervening in the economy.

5 Q63. Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people.

6 Q62. People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than they are these days.

7 Q58. Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.

Q15. position on deregulation ( $0=$ strongly opposes deregulation of markets; $10=$ strongly supports deregulation of markets) Q17. position on redistribution from the rich to the poor $(0=$ strongly favors redistribution; $10=$ strongly opposes redistribution)
Q19. position on civil liberties vs. law and order ( $0=$ strongly promotes civil liberties; 10 $=$ strongly supports tough measures to fight crime)
Q21. position on social lifestyle (e.g. homo- homosexuality sexuality) ( $0=$ strongly supports liberal policies; $10=$ strongly opposes liberal policies)
for all items: ( $1=$ strongly agree, $5=$ strongly disagree)

Table 5: Overview of the items used for the factor analysis and their exact wording in the surveys.

|  | Dimension 1 | Dimension 2 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| extent ofpublic services | 0.57 |  |
| state intervention in economy | 0.36 |  |
| redistribution of wealth | 0.63 | 0.72 |
| immigration: assimilation |  | 0.51 |
| homosexuality | 0.63 |  |
| punishment for crime | 0.82 |  |
| immigration: extent |  | $0.07 ; 95 \%$ c.i. $=[0.05,0.09]$ |
| RMSEA |  |  |

## III. Auxilliary Material: Model covariate estimates

Netherlands 1979

Table 7: Parameter estimates: Netherlands 1979

| DV: Vote choice | Sep. |  |  | Non-sep. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PvdA | D'66 | CDA | PvdA | D'66 | CDA |
| Cons. | $\begin{gathered} 1.02 \\ (0.74) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.45 \\ (0.19) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.64 \\ & (0.27) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ (0.75) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.32 \\ & (0.19) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.6 \\ & (0.28) \end{aligned}$ |
| Manual Labor | $\begin{gathered} 2.87 \\ (0.57) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.47 \\ & (0.14) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.28 \\ & (0.19) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.83 \\ (0.58) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.34 \\ & (0.14) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.24 \\ & (0.19) \end{aligned}$ |
| Religion | $\begin{gathered} 1.07 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.37 \\ & (0.16) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.51 \\ & (0.22) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.09 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.29 \\ & (0.15) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.42 \\ & (0.22) \end{aligned}$ |
| Income | $\begin{aligned} & -1.58 \\ & (0.69) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.19 \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.27 \\ & (0.69) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.17 \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ |
| Town Size | $\begin{gathered} 0.09 \\ (0.35) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.05 \\ & (0.04) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.04 \\ & (0.05) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.19 \\ (0.37) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.07 \\ & (0.04) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.06 \\ & (0.05) \end{aligned}$ |
| Education | $\begin{gathered} -1.55 \\ (0.6) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.1 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.13 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.49 \\ & (0.61) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.09 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |

Note: Table reports point estimates and standard errors in parenthesis. Baseline Vote Choice: VVD

## United States Presidential Election 2008

Table 8: Parameter estimates: United States Presidential Election 2008

| DV: Vote choice | Sep. |  | Non-sep. |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Obama | McCain | Obama | McCain |
| 0.85 |  |  |  |  |
| PID | 0.85 |  |  |  |
|  | $(0.06)$ |  | $(0.06)$ |  |
| Cons. | 1.71 | 0.22 | 1.45 | 0.25 |
|  | $(0.82)$ | $(0.16)$ | $(0.82)$ | $(0.16)$ |
| Women | -0.2 | 0.5 | -0.49 | 0.47 |
|  | $(0.8)$ | $(0.4)$ | $(0.79)$ | $(0.4)$ |
| Age | -0.12 | 0.44 | -0.08 | 0.41 |
|  | $(0.31)$ | $(0.4)$ | $(0.31)$ | $(0.4)$ |
| Education | 0.06 | -0.02 | 0.08 | -0.02 |
|  | $(0.31)$ | $(0.04)$ | $(0.31)$ | $(0.04)$ |
| Religion | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 |
|  | $(0.01)$ | $(0.04)$ | $(0.01)$ | $(0.04)$ |
| Income | 0.02 | -1.47 | 0.02 | -1.52 |
|  | $(0.01)$ | $(0.65)$ | $(0.01)$ | $(0.65)$ |
| Black | -0.13 | 0.42 | -0.1 | 0.42 |
|  | $(0.16)$ | $(0.53)$ | $(0.16)$ | $(0.53)$ |

Note: Table reports point estimates, standard errors in parenthesis.
Baseline Vote Choice: Independent Candidate

## Germany 2009

Table 9: Parameter estimates: Germany 2009

| DV: Vote choice | Sep. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CDU | SPD | FDP | Greens | CDU | SPD | FDP | Greens |  |  |
| 3.17 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| PID | 3.15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | $(0.17)$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cons. | 2.04 | -0.12 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 2.19 | -0.09 | 1.07 | 0.53 |  |  |
|  | $(1.09)$ | $(0.12)$ | $(0.57)$ | $(0.49)$ | $(1.1)$ | $(0.12)$ | $(0.57)$ | $(0.49)$ |  |  |
| Education | 1.52 | 0.09 | 0.34 | 0.83 | 1.54 | 0.1 | 0.31 | 0.83 |  |  |
|  | $(1.12)$ | $(0.12)$ | $(0.6)$ | $(0.5)$ | $(1.12)$ | $(0.12)$ | $(0.6)$ | $(0.49)$ |  |  |
| Class | 2.12 | 0.08 | 0.98 | -0.02 | 1.98 | 0.09 | 0.95 | -0.03 |  |  |
|  | $(1.21)$ | $(0.25)$ | $(0.6)$ | $(0.01)$ | $(1.22)$ | $(0.25)$ | $(0.6)$ | $(0.01)$ |  |  |
| Religion | -0.15 | -0.23 | 0.15 | -0.01 | -0.21 | -0.24 | 0.14 | -0.01 |  |  |
|  | $(1.25)$ | $(0.26)$ | $(0.65)$ | $(0.01)$ | $(1.24)$ | $(0.26)$ | $(0.65)$ | $(0.01)$ |  |  |
| Female | -0.03 | 0.13 | 0.83 | -0.02 | -0.02 | 0.18 | 0.85 | -0.03 |  |  |
|  | $(0.11)$ | $(0.28)$ | $(0.45)$ | $(0.01)$ | $(0.11)$ | $(0.28)$ | $(0.45)$ | $(0.01)$ |  |  |
| Age | -0.02 | 0.06 | 0.97 | -0.01 | -0.02 | 0.1 | 0.98 | -0.01 |  |  |
|  | $(0.11)$ | $(0.29)$ | $(0.46)$ | $(0.02)$ | $(0.11)$ | $(0.29)$ | $(0.46)$ | $(0.02)$ |  |  |

Note: Table reports point estimates and standard errors in parenthesis.
Baseline Vote Choice: LEFT


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