# Multidimensional spatial voting with non-separable preferences

# Supplementary Materials

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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 Pri- vate Enterprise	public ownership of private in- dustry should be expanded con- trol over private industry	reduce the capacity of public control over private insustry		
Abortion	women should be free to decide for themselves in manners con- ncerning abortion	women should be allowed to decide matters concerning abor- tion		
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 de- veloped to meet future energy needs	nuclear energy should be devel- oped in order to meet our future energy needs		
Control of Multina-	stronger public control should	there should be far more active		
tional Corporations	be exercised over the activities of multinational corporations	control over activities of multi- national corporations		
Environmental Pro- tection	stronger measures should be taken to protect the environ-	greater effort should be made to protect the environment		
	ment against pollution	1		
Income Redistribu- tion	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
	Dimension	Differision 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	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)	Chapel/Hill (CHESS)	short code
1	Q56. Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Britain.	Q27. position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (0 = strongly favors mul- ticulturalism; 10 = strongly favors assimila- tion)	immigration: assimila- tion
2	Q67. Immigration to Britain should be decreased significantly.	Q25. position on immigration policy (0 = strongly opposes tough policy; 10 = strongly favors tough policy)	immigration: extent
3	Q59. Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership.	Q13. position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes (0 = strongly favors im- proving public services; 10 = strongly favors reducing taxes)	extent of public services
4	Q61. Politics should abstain from intervening in the economy.	Q15. position on deregulation (0 = strongly opposes deregulation of markets; 10 = strongly supports deregulation of markets)	state inter- vention on economy
5	Q63. Income and wealth should be redis- tributed towards ordinary people.	Q17. position on redistribution from the rich to the poor ( $0 =$ strongly favors redistribution; 10 = strongly opposes redistribution)	redistribution of wealth
6	Q62. People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than they are these days.	Q19. position on civil liberties vs. law and order (0 = strongly promotes civil liberties; 10 = strongly supports tough measures to fight crime)	punishment for crime
7	Q58. Same-sex marriages should be prohib- ited by law.	Q21. position on social lifestyle (e.g. homo- sexuality) (0 = strongly supports liberal poli- cies; 10 = strongly opposes liberal policies)	homosexuality
	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.* 

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

Table 6: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

#### III. AUXILLIARY MATERIAL: MODEL COVARIATE ESTIMATES

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

#### Netherlands 1979

Table 7: Parameter estimates: Netherlands 1979

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

#### **UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2008**

DV: Vote choice	Sep.			Non-sep.	
	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain	
PID	0. (0.	85 06)	0.85 (0.06)		
Cons.	1.71	0.22	1.45	0.25	
Women	(0.02) -0.2	0.5	(0.02) -0.49 (0.70)	0.47	
Age	(0.8) -0.12	(0.4) 0.44	(0.79) -0.08	(0.4) 0.41 (0.4)	
Education	(0.31) 0.06	(0.4) -0.02	(0.31) 0.08	(0.4) -0.02	
Religion	(0.31) 0.03	(0.04) 0.03	(0.31) 0.03	(0.04) 0.03	
Income	(0.01) 0.02	(0.04) -1.47	(0.01) 0.02	(0.04) -1.52	
Black	(0.01) -0.13	(0.65) 0.42	(0.01) -0.1	(0.65) 0.42	
	(0.16)	(0.53)	(0.16)	(0.53)	

Table 8: Parameter estimates: United States Presidential Election 2008

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

#### Germany 2009

DV: Vote choice	Sep.				Non-sep.			
	CDU	SPD	FDP	Greens	CDU	SPD	FDP	Greens
PID		3. (0.	17 17)		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)

#### Table 9: Parameter estimates: Germany 2009

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