Online Appendix to "Do Self-Identified Tactical Voters Actually Vote Tactically? Evidence from the 2010 British Elections"

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1 Pre-Campaign Party Preference Metrics

I identify the questions or sets of questions in the BES pre-campaign internet survey that implicate the voter's party preference. From each of these sets of related questions, I derive a metric that yields an estimate of the voter's preferred party. The ten metrics I derive from the BES pre-campaign internet survey are described below. Further clarifications of how each metric estimate was calculated are provided in Appendix A.

- Metric 1: Explicit Self-Identification. The pre-campaign wave asks, "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat or what?" The voter's response to the question is coded as the metric 1 estimate of preferred party. There are nine possible responses - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, Scottish National Party (SNP), Plaid Cymru, Green Party, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), British Natioanl Party (BNP), and unknown/none.[1]

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[1]In coding the final choice as "unknown/none" for all these metrics, I group together those whose

- Metric 2: Strength-of-Feeling, Parties. The pre-campaign wave asks, "On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about X?" There were eight questions in the BES that followed this format, one each for Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green, UKIP, and BNP. The metric 2 estimate of preferred party is the party that received the respondent's highest rating. The metric has a menu of nine choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party, UKIP, BNP, and unknown/none. If two or more parties tied for the respondent's highest rating, the metric's estimate of preferred party is "unknown/none." If the respondent answered "don't know" to all eight questions or skipped them, the metric's estimate of party preference is "unknown/none." If the respondent answered only for one party, the metric will estimate that the respondent prefers that party only if the respondent rates the party above an 8; otherwise, the metric's estimate for that respondent will be "unknown/none."

- Metric 3: Most Important Issue. The BES asks, "Which party is best able to handle [what you think is the single most important issue facing the country at the present time]?" The voter's response to the question is coded as the metric's estimate of preferred party. Again, there are nine possible responses – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party, UKIP, BNP, and unknown/none.

preferred party is not known - voters whose preferred party cannot be determined based on voter responses to the question(s), or voters who preferred a party other than the eight listed parties - with those who legitimately have no party preference. Unfortunately, the survey offers no way to distinguish those who do not have any party preference. Grouping voters who have no party preference with voters who have a party preference but whose preference cannot be determined from the BES is mildly problematic since it disrespects the preferences of those who prefer a minor party, like Respect, that is not given as an option in the question. But these minor parties that are not listed among the choices in the BES received less than 3% of the vote in the 2010 election, so their exclusion will not have much of a substantive effect on the result. The careful reader would do well, though, to bear in mind that minor parties like Respect are not considered in subsequent analyses.

- Metric 4: Tax/Spend Dimension Proximity. The pre-campaign wave asks, "Using the 0 to 10 scale below, where the end marked 0 means that government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services, and the end marked 10 means that government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services, where would you place X on this scale?" The BES asks six questions in this format – the first of these questions asks respondents to place themselves on that scale, and the next five ask the respondent to place Labour, Conservatives, Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru and the SNP on the scale. The metric 4 estimate of preferred party is the party that is the closest (in absolute distance) to the voter's self-identified position on the 0 to 10 scale. This metric has a menu of six choices – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru and unknown/none. If there is a tie between two or more parties in lowest absolute distance, the metric preference will be recorded as "unknown/none." If the voter does not respond to any of the six questions, or responds only to the first question but not the subsequent five questions, then the metric preference will also be recorded as "unknown/none." If the respondent places herself on the 0 to 10 scale and answers for only one other party, then that party will be the metric's estimate of party preference only when the absolute difference between the respondent and the party is less than 2. If greater than 2, the metric estimate of party preference will be "unknown/none."

- Metric 5: Strength-of-Feeling, Party Leaders. The pre-campaign wave asks, "Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about X?" Five BES questions followed this format, one each for Gordon Brown (Labour), David Cameron (Conservative), Nick Clegg (Liberal Democrat), Alex Salmond (SNP), and Ieuan Wyn Jones (Plaid Cymru). The metric 5 estimate of preferred party is the party affiliation

of the leader whose rating was highest on the 0 to 10 scale. Thus, the metric has a menu of six choices – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru and unknown/none. In the case of a tie for the highest rating among two or more leaders, the metric's estimate of party preference is "none/other." If the respondent answered "don't know" to all five questions or skipped them, the metric's estimate of party preference is "none/other." If the respondent answered only for one leader, the metric will estimate that the respondent prefers the party of that leader only if the respondent rates the leader above an 8; otherwise, the estimate for that respondent will be "none/other."

- Metric 6: Party Leader Competence. The pre-campaign wave asks, "Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means a very incompetent leader and 10 means a very competent leader, how would you describe X?" Five BES questions followed this format, one each for Brown, Cameron, Clegg, Salmond, and Jones. The metric's estimate of preferred party is the party affiliation of the leader whose rating was highest on the 0 to 10 scale. This metric had a menu of six possible choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru and unknown/none. This metric follows the same procedures for estimating party preference as Metric 5.

- Metric 7: Party Leader Knowledge. The pre-campaign wave asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think that in general he knows what he is talking about, or that he doesn't know? Please use the following scale where 0 means that X really doesn't know what he is talking about and 10 means he knows very much what he is talking about." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 7 estimate is recorded as the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu

of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and unknown/none. If there is a tie for the highest rating, then the metric estimate is "none/other." If a respondent does not answer any of the questions, then the metric estimate is "none/other." If a respondent answers for only one leader, then the metric estimate is the party affiliation of that leader only when that leader receives above an 8; if not, then the metric estimate is recorded as "none/other."

- Metric 8: Party Leader Best Interests. The BES asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think he has your best interests in mind, or that he does not think about your best interests? Please use the following scale where 0 means that X never has your best interests in mind, and 10 means that he always does." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 8 estimate is recorded as the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and unknown/none. This metric follows the same procedures for estimating party preference as Metric 5.

- Metric 9: Party Leader Truthful. The BES asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think generally that he tells the truth, or that he does not tell the truth? Please use the following scale where 0 means that he never tells the truth and 10 means that he always tells the truth." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 9 estimate is recorded as the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and none/other. This metric follows the same procedures for estimating party preference as Metric 5.

- Metric 10: Economic Competence, Party Leaders. The BES asks, "Which of the party leaders do you think would do the best job of managing Britain's economy?" The metric's estimate of party preference is the respondent's answer to the question. Respondents are given four choices – Gordon Brown, David Cameron, Nick Clegg, and "don't know." Therefore, the metric has a menu of four choices – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat and unknown/none.

2 Post-Campaign Party Preference Metrics

Next, I impute party preference from the sets of BES questions that relate to party preference. From the BES post-election internet survey, I derive nine metrics. 7 of these 9 metrics were also featured in the pre-campaign imputation of party preference.[2] Where necessary, Appendix A offers additional information on the calculation of these metrics.

- Metric 1: Explicit Self-Identification. The post-election wave asks, "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat or what?" The voter's response is coded as the metric 1 estimate of preferred party. There are nine possible responses - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party, UKIP, BNP, and unknown/none.

- Metric 2: Strength-of-Feeling, Parties. The post-election wave asks, "On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about X?" There were five questions in the BES that followed this format, one each for Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, and Plaid Cymru. The metric 2 estimate of preferred party is the party that received the respondent's highest rating. The metric has a menu of

[2]Only metrics 4 (Tax/Spend Dimension Proximity) and 6 (Party Leader Competence) from the pre-campaign imputation cannot also be constructed from the post-election survey.

six choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, and unknown/none. Same procedures as metric 2, pre-campaign wave.

- Metric 3: Most Important Issue. The post-election wave asks, "Which party is best able to handle [what you think is the single most important issue facing the country at the present time]?" The voter's response is coded as the metric 3 estimate of preferred party. There are nine possible responses – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Green Party, UKIP, BNP, and unknown/none.

- Metric 4: Criminal Justice Dimension Proximity.[3] The post-election survey asks, "Some people think that reducing crime is more important than protecting the rights of people accused of committing crimes. Other people think that protecting the rights of accused people, regardless of whether they have been convicted of committing a crime, is more important than reducing crime. On the 0-10 scale below [where 0 prioritizes reducing crime and 10 prioritizes the rights of the accused], where would you place X's view?" The BES asks six questions in this format – the first of these questions asks respondents to place themselves on that scale, and the next five ask the respondent to place Labour, Conservatives, Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru and the SNP on the scale. The metric's estimate of preferred party is the party that is the closest (in absolute distance) to the voter's self-identified position on the 0 to 10 scale. This metric has a menu of six choices – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru and unknown/none. Same procedures as metric 4, pre-campaign wave.

- Metric 5: Strength-of-Feeling, Party Leaders. The post-election wave asks, "Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and

[3]Unfortunately, the post-election survey does not ask about the tax/spend dimension. The criminal justice/rights-of-accused dimension is hardly the traditional dimension on which Downsian theory of party preference is considered. But in the absence of post-election information on the tax/spend dimension, this is the best I can do.

10 means strongly like, how do you feel about X?" Five questions follow this format, one each for Gordon Brown (Labour), David Cameron (Conservative), Nick Clegg (Liberal Democrat), Alex Salmond (SNP), and Ieuan Wyn Jones (Plaid Cymru). The metric 5 estimate of party preference is the party affiliation of the leader whose rating was highest on the 0 to 10 scale. The metric has a menu of six choices – Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, SNP, Plaid Cymru and unknown/none. Same procedures as metric 5, pre-campaign wave.

- Metric 6: Party Leader Knowledge. The post-election wave asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think that in general he knows what he is talking about, or that he doesn't know? Please use the following scale where 0 means that X really doesn't know what he is talking about and 10 means he knows very much what he is talking about." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 6 estimate is the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and unknown/none. Same procedures as metric 7, pre-campaign wave.

- Metric 7: Party Leader Best Interests. The post-election survey asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think he has your best interests in mind, or that he does not think about your best interests? Please use the following scale where 0 means that X never has your best interests in mind, and 10 means that he always does." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 7 estimate is the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and unknown/none. Same procedures

as metric 8, pre-campaign wave.

- Metric 8: Party Leader Truthful. The post-election survey asks the following question pattern: "When you listen to what X has to say, do you think generally that he tells the truth, or that he does not tell the truth? Please use the following scale where 0 means that he never tells the truth and 10 means that he always tells the truth." The question is asked three times, once each about Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg. The metric 8 estimate is the party affiliation of the leader who receives the highest rating from the respondent. This metric has a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, and none/other.

- Metric 9: Best Prime Minister. The post-election wave asks, "Who would make the best Prime Minister?" The voter is asked to choose between Gordon Brown, David Cameron, and Nick Clegg. The metric 9 estimate is the voter's response. There is a menu of four choices - Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat and unknown/none.

3 Alternate Estimation of Party Preference

Here, I use an alternate party preference estimation strategy - namely, using voters' self-identification of party preference - to calculate the extent of disjointness between the set of voters who satisfy the political science definition of tactical voting and the set of voters who self-identify tactical motivations. I follow Fisher's protocol from his 2004 Note: when the voter's self-identification of party preference disagrees with his or her relative strength-of-feeling scores for the parties, I drop the voter from subsequent analyses.

Using the **EAP** estimation, I identified 504 voters who satisfied the three tactical voting criteria. Using the **EPI** estimation, I identified 447 voters who satisfied the

three tactical voting criteria. And under the **PPCE** estimation, I identified 270 voters who satisfied the three tactical voting criteria.

Under this alternate party preference estimation, 1276 of the 2074 voters who self-identified tactical motivations could have been picked up by at least one estimation methods. Based on the bootstrapping procedure used in the main article, I estimate that 54.5% of voters who said their preferred party stood no chance of winning and who could have been picked up by at least one of the three estimation methods were not picked up by any of the three estimation methods; the confidence interval for that estimate ranges from 38.0% to 51.5%. Meanwhile, 64.7% of voters who explicitly said that they voted tactically were not picked up by any of the three estimation methods; the confidence interval for that estimate ranges from 58.2% to 71.3%.

21.9% (with a confidence interval from 15.2% to 28.7%) of voters who could have been picked up by the **EAP** estimation actually thought their preferred party would finish first in the constituency in the pre-campaign wave. 13.7% (with a confidence interval from 7.5% to 20.5%) of voters who could have been picked up by the **PPCE** estimation actually thought their preferred party would finish first in the constituency in the campaign wave.

Among voters who said they voted the way they did because their preferred party stood no chance in the constituency and who could have been picked up by at least one estimation method, I estimate that 24.6% would not be recorded as voting for a party other than their preferred party under any estimation method; the confidence interval for this estimate ranges from 18.9% to 30.5%. Meanwhile, among voters who explicitly said that they voted tactically and who could have been picked up by at least one estimation method, I estimate that 39.0% would not be recorded as voting for a party other than their preferred party under any estimation method; the confidence interval for this estimate ranges from 32.2% to 45.7%.