

**Supplementary Materials for
“CHES Canada”**

A Survey instrument

A.1 CHES Canada survey

Ideological positions

- Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for the government. Where do the political parties currently stand on ECONOMIC ISSUES? (0 = Extreme left; 5 = Center; 10 = Extreme right).
- Some parties may blur positions on ECONOMIC ISSUES, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. How BLURRY is each party's position currently on ECONOMIC ISSUES? (0 = Not at all blurred; 10 = Extremely blurred).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently on ECONOMIC ISSUES? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- We would now like you to think about the salience or importance of ECONOMIC ISSUES for a party. How important or SALIENT are ECONOMIC ISSUES currently to each of the parties in their public stance? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- Parties can be classified in terms of their views on social and cultural values. "LIBERTARIAN" or "POSTMATERIALIST" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, abortion rights, divorce, and same-sex marriage. "TRADITIONAL" or "AUTHORITARIAN" parties reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition, and stability, believing that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Where do the political parties currently stand on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues? (0 = Libertarian/postmaterialist; 5 = Center; 10 = Traditional/authoritarian).
- Some parties may BLUR positions, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances on libertarian/traditional issues. How BLURRY is each party's position currently on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues? (0 = Not at all blurred; 10 = Extremely blurred).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- How important or SALIENT are LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues currently to each of the parties in their public stance? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- And finally, please tick the box that best describes each party's OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0(extreme left) to 10 (extreme right). (0 = Extreme left; 5 = Center; 10 = Extreme right).

Specific policy areas

- And now we would like to ask about the positions of party leadership on some specific policy areas. Where do political parties currently stand on IMMIGRATION? (0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration; 10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration).
- How important or SALIENT is IMMIGRATION POLICY for each of the following parties? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently on IMMIGRATION POLICY? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- Next, what are the parties' current POSITIONS on the INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (multiculturalism vs. assimilation)? (0 = Strongly favors multiculturalism; 10 = Strongly favors assimilation).
- How important or SALIENT is the INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS for each of the parties? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently over the INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- Next, where do the parties currently stand on REDISTRIBUTION? (0 = Strongly opposes redistribution; 10 = Strongly favors redistribution).
- How important or SALIENT is REDISTRIBUTION for each of the parties? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- What are the parties' current positions on ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY? (0 = Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth; 10 = Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection).
- How important or SALIENT is ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY for each of the parties? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- Position on IMPROVING PUBLIC SERVICES VS. REDUCING TAXES. (0 = Strongly favors improving public services; 10 = Strongly favors reducing taxes).
- Position on DEREGULATION OF MARKETS. (0 = Strongly opposes deregulation of markets; 10 = Strongly favors deregulation of markets).
- Position on STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY. (0 = Strongly opposes state intervention; 10 = Strongly favors state intervention).
- Position on CIVIL LIBERTIES VS. LAW AND ORDER. (0 = Strongly favors civil liberties; 10 = Strongly favors tough measures to fight crime).
- Position on SOCIAL LIFESTYLE POLICY (e.g. rights for homosexuals, gender equality). (0 = Strongly opposes liberal policies; 10 = Strongly supports liberal policies).

- Position on the role of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES in politics. (0 = Strongly opposes religious principles in politics; 10 = Strongly supports religious principles in politics).
- Position towards ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS. (0 = Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities; 10 = Strongly favors more rights for ethnic minorities).
- Position towards COSMOPOLITANISM VS. NATIONALISM. (0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan conceptions of society; 10 = Strongly promotes nationalist conceptions of society).
- Position on URBAN VS. RURAL interests. (0 = Strongly supports urban interests; 10 = Strongly supports rural interests).
- Position towards TRADE LIBERALIZATION VS. PROTECTIONISM. (0 = Strongly favors trade liberalization; 10 = Strongly favors protection of domestic producers).
- Position on political DECENTRALISATION to provinces. (0 = Strongly opposes political decentralisation; 10 = Strongly favors political decentralisation).
- Position on reconciliation with INDIGENOUS PEOPLES. (0 = Strongly opposes reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples; 10 = Strongly favors reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples).
- Some parties believe that governments should enforce public health measures, while others think that individual citizens should be trusted to self-enforce public health guidelines. What are the parties' positions? (0 = Believes in government enforcement; 10 = Trusts citizen self-enforcement).

Party characteristics

- Some political parties take the position that 'THE PEOPLE' should have the final say on the most important issues, for example, by voting directly in referendums. At the opposite pole are political parties that believe that ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES should make the most important political decisions. Where do the parties currently fall on this dimension? (0 = Elected office holders should make the most important decisions; 10 = "The People", not politicians, should make the most important decisions).
- How important or SALIENT is ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT AND ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC for each of the parties? (0 = Not important at all; 10 = Extremely important).
- How important or SALIENT is REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUPTION for each of the parties? (0 = Not important at all; 10 = Extremely important).
- Could you please assess the power of the LEADERSHIP VS. MEMBERS/ ACTIVISTS to make party policy choices? (0 = Members/activists have complete control over policy choices; 10 = Leadership has complete control over policy choices).

A.2 CHES Provincial surveys (Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec)

- Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for the government. Where do the political parties currently stand on ECONOMIC ISSUES? (0 = Extreme left; 5 = Center; 10 = Extreme right).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently on ECONOMIC ISSUES? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- We would now like you to think about the salience or importance of ECONOMIC ISSUES for a party. How important or SALIENT are ECONOMIC ISSUES currently to each of the parties in their public stance? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- Parties can be classified in terms of their views on social and cultural values. “LIBERTARIAN” or “POSTMATERIALIST” parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, abortion rights, divorce, and same-sex marriage. “TRADITIONAL” or “AUTHORITARIAN” parties reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition, and stability, believing that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Where do the political parties currently stand on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues? (0 = Libertarian/postmaterialist; 5 = Center; 10 = Traditional/authoritarian).
- How DIVIDED is each party currently on LIBERTARIAN/ TRADITIONAL issues? (0 = Party is completely united; 10 = Party is extremely divided).
- How important or SALIENT are LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues currently to each of the parties in their public stance? (0 = No importance; 10 = Great importance).
- And finally, please tick the box that best describes each party’s OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0(extreme left) to 10 (extreme right). (0 = Extreme left; 5 = Center; 10 = Extreme right).

A.3 Deviations from CHES-Europe 2019 survey

To allow scholars to compare estimates of the positions of Canadian parties with those from CHES surveys covering other regions, we kept the wording and labels of the questions that we took from CHES-Europe as is. However, for a small number of items, we reversed the scales that were shown in order to ensure that labels that signalled the respondent was more in favor of something would correspond to higher values on the scale. This was the case for the following questions:

- Next, where do the parties currently stand on REDISTRIBUTION? (0 = Strongly opposes redistribution; 10 = Strongly favors redistribution).
- Position on STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY. (0 = Strongly opposes state intervention; 10 = Strongly favors state intervention).

- Position on SOCIAL LIFESTYLE POLICY (e.g. rights for homosexuals, gender equality). (0 = Strongly opposes liberal policies; 10 = Strongly supports liberal policies).

A.4 Recoding of scales

When processing the data, the values of the three scales mentioned in the previous section were reversed so higher values in the dataset correspond to more right-wing or conservative positions.

We also reversed the scales for positions on decentralisation and reconciliation with indigenous peoples, also to ensure that higher values correspond to more conservative positions.

B Matching CHES Canada and survey data

To demonstrate how researchers could combine CHES Canada data with individual survey data, we combine the CHES data with data from the 2021 Canadian Election Study (CES; Stephenson et al., 2022) to evaluate how well voters are ideologically sorted into the federal Canada parties.

For illustration, we focus on voters’ views on an economic issue and consider voters’ and parties’ positions on income redistribution. The CES includes a survey item asking respondents “How much do you think should be done to reduce the income gap between the rich and the poor?”. The answer options to this item were: Much more; Somewhat more; About the same as now; Somewhat less; and Much less. We coded answers to range between 1 (= much more) and 5 (= much less), so higher values correspond to more economically right-wing positions. The average score on this measure in the CES is 1.87 (standard deviation = 0.94), and the modal response is much more (i.e., a value of 1).

We then use information on respondents’ reported vote choice in the 2021 Canadian election to examine whether views on redistribution vary meaningfully between the different party electorates. Table B.1 lists the average score of the electorates of the six federal parties on the income redistribution item. The entries in Table B.1 show that the PPC has the electorate that is least in favor of income redistribution, followed by the Conservative Party. At the other end of the distribution is the NDP, whose voters on average score 1.45 on the redistribution item.

Party	Mean	Std. dev.
PPC	2.68	1.37
CPC	2.44	1.08
LPC	1.74	0.76
GPC	1.64	0.76
BQ	1.63	0.71
NDP	1.45	0.64

Table B.1: Average score on redistribution measure by electorate

To assess whether these differences in the views of the electorates of the parties match parties’ positions on income redistribution, we combine the public opinion estimates in Table B.1 with the expert estimates of parties’ positions on income redistribution from the CHES Canada dataset. This item is coded so 0 = strongly favors redistribution and 10 = strongly opposes redistribution. Figure B.1 visualizes the association between the positions of electorates and the positions of their parties on income redistribution. The graph shows a strong linear relationship between the views of voters and the positions of parties, resulting in a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.99.

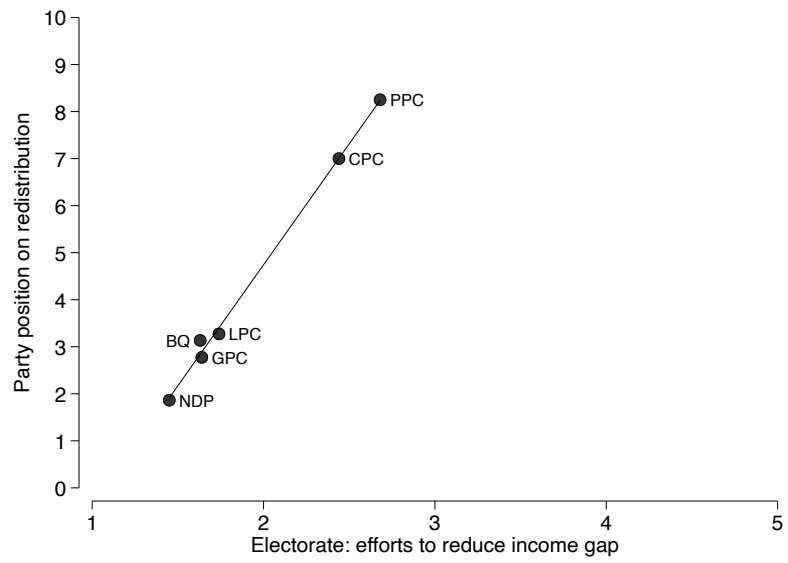


Figure B.1: Correlation between electorates' positions on income redistribution (CES 2021) and party positions on income redistribution (CHES Canada)

C Comparing CHES to alternative party position data

We can compare CHES party positions to estimates derived from alternative data sources. In particular, V-Party (Lindberg et al., 2022) and the Global Party Survey (GPS; Norris, 2019) allow us to evaluate the robustness of CHES Canada with comparable items from other studies fielded in Canada in recent years. Table C.1 presents the correlations between the different party estimates on five items: economic left-right, immigration, GAL-TAN, spending vs. taxation, and ethnic minorities (see Appendix A for question wording).¹¹

The correlations in party position estimates are high, both with V-Party and with GPS. This suggests that, despite some discrepancies in the wording of the questions and/or the fielding of the surveys, CHES Canada’s party position data are reliable.

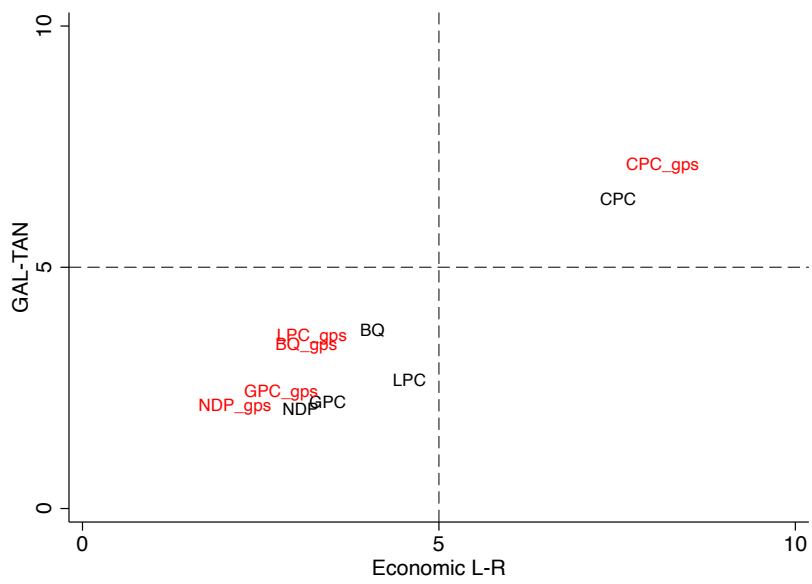
Table C.1: Correlations with alternative expert estimates

CHES	V-Party	GPS
Economic L-R	.818	.998
Immigration	.808	.959
GAL-TAN		.966
Spend vs. tax		.952
Ethnic minorities		.966

Because GPS also includes the two dimensional items, economic left-right and GAL-TAN, we can compare its positions of the Canadian parties in a two-dimensional map (similar to Figure 1). Figure C.1 confirms that the two data sources produce highly similar representations of the Canadian political landscape.

¹¹Note that the questionnaire items are either identically phrased (e.g., economic left-right, GPS), use slightly different labels (e.g., “liberal vs. conservative” instead of “libertarian/postmaterialist vs. traditional/authoritarian”, GAL-TAN, GPS), or are altogether quite distinct (e.g., immigration, V-Party). With regard to the latter, the immigration item asks about a party’s position towards immigration on a 5-point scale. We recoded the party positions to match CHES’s 11-point scale.

Figure C.1: Comparison of CHES vs. GPS party positions



Note: CHES in black; GPS in red.

D Expert agreement in party placements

An important consideration is to assess the extent to which experts show agreement when asked to position the Canadian parties on the different issues and dimensions. The most common approach is to look at the standard deviation in expert placements. Table D.1 lists the mean position and standard deviation by party and ideological dimension (all measured on an 11-point scale). On the whole, the standard deviations range from 0.7 to 1.3, with slightly higher expert disagreement on the GAL-TAN dimension, which may reflect this dimension’s more composite nature. The highest standard deviation, and a clear outlier, concerns the position of the PPC on GAL-TAN, at 3.39.

Table D.1: Mean and standard deviation of party positions

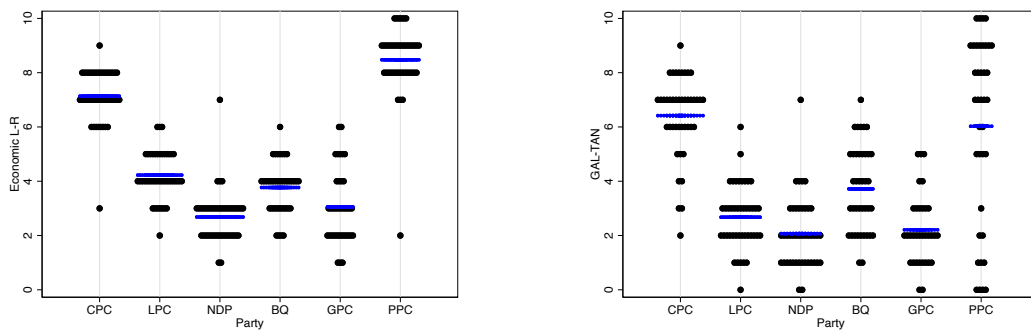
Party	Econ. L-R		GAL-TAN		Gen. L-R	
	(mean)	(sd)	(mean)	(sd)	(mean)	(sd)
CPC	7.14	1.00	6.42	1.50	7.14	0.77
LPC	4.23	0.89	2.67	1.19	4.02	0.88
NDP	2.68	0.96	2.07	1.30	2.61	0.75
BQ	3.77	0.96	3.72	1.59	4.00	1.05
GPC	3.05	1.35	2.21	1.32	2.86	1.24
PPC	8.48	1.31	6.03	3.39	8.81	0.70

Figure D.1 provides more in-depth information on expert agreement by going beyond the above standard deviations. It shows each individual expert’s placement of the six parties on the three ideological dimensions (the party’s mean position is displayed in blue). In general, the plots show a clear normal distribution around the average party position, which indicates substantial expert consensus and only minor deviations. As before, GAL-TAN shows relatively higher expert disagreement, with the distributions seemingly more drawn out. However, this is partially the result of individual observations, which are offset by our relatively large sample of experts.

We can also plot the standard deviations for the parties on each of the seventeen issue items (see Figure D.2). Here, we see remarkably consistent expert agreement across this diverse set of issues. Some issues tend to show lower standard deviations (e.g., on economic issues like deregulation or spending vs. taxation) while others score relatively higher (e.g., religious principles), but the overall pattern is one of agreement and consistency. If anything, the experts show higher disagreement around the platform of the PPC, which might be a product of the party’s limited electoral success and short history.

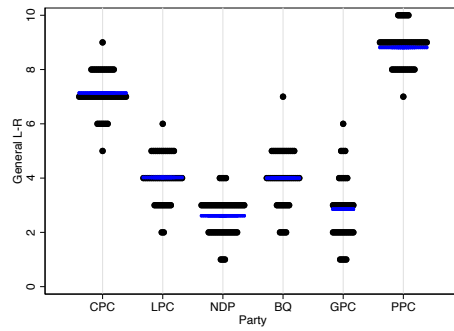
Finally, it may be informative to briefly probe a possible source of expert disagreement. Specifically, we can look at the placement of the Bloc Quebecois (BQ), a party whose electoral presence is limited to one of the Canadian provinces (Quebec), by expert location. Do we observe any differences in how different groups of experts place the BQ? While we do not have information on an individual expert’s geographic location, we can use their willingness to place the Quebec provincial parties as a proxy. Figure D.3 suggests that expert location, or familiarity with Quebec politics, does not meaningfully affect the placement of the BQ. Both the party’s median position and the interquartile range are similar across the two groups of experts. Again, expert disagreement is slightly higher for the GAL-TAN dimension, represented by the size of the box, but the differences are limited.

Figure D.1: Expert placements of parties by dimension



(a) Economic LR

(b) GAL-TAN



(c) General LR

Figure D.2: Expert standard deviation by party per issue

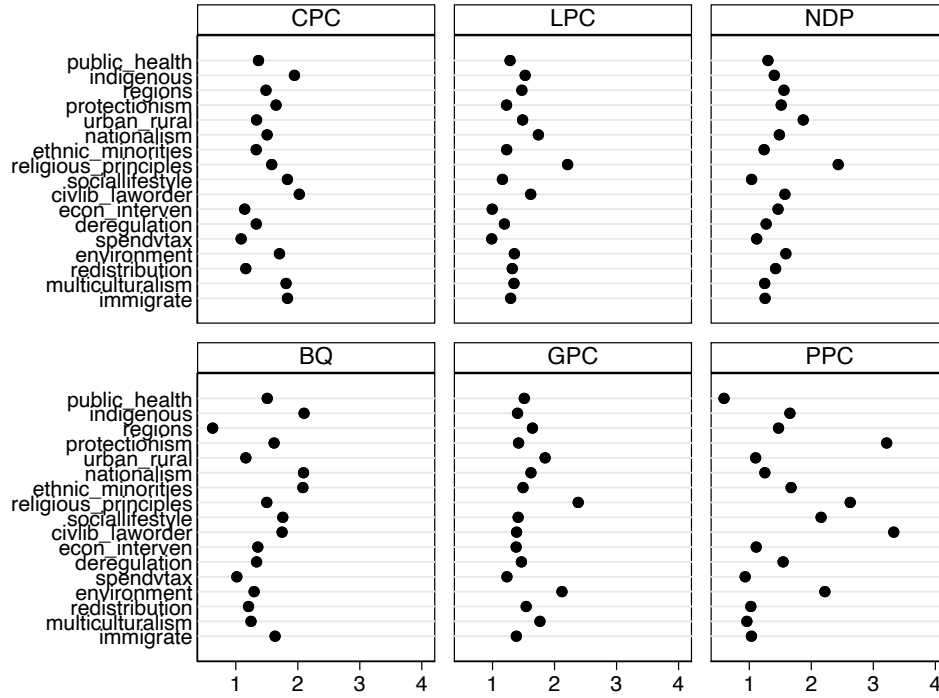
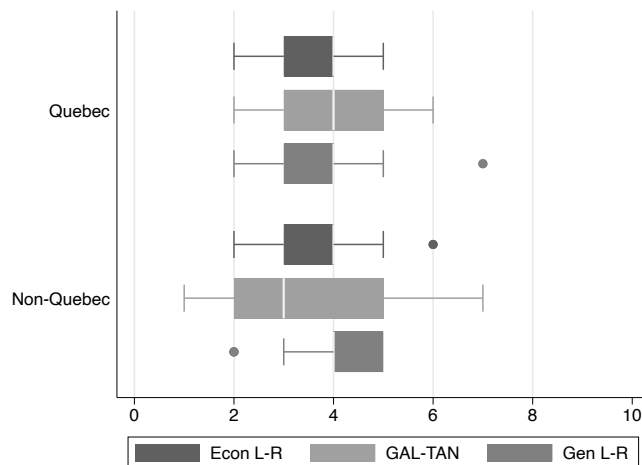


Figure D.3: Compare placement of BQ by expert region



Note: Experts grouped by home region