Supplementary Materials

on

Vote Choices and Valence: Intercepts and Alternate Specifications

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A Intercepts as Valences in Published Work

Numerous works use intercepts of vote choice models to measure valence empirically. These articles and books are broadly published in top journals and publishing houses, widely cited, and enjoy a great impact on current empirical practice. To demonstrate this, below is a list of references and applications; numbers in parentheses give Google Scholar Citations (search results obtained in May 2023).

We do not claim that this list is exhaustive.

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 [1]
- Schofield, Norman, Maria Gallego, Jee Seon Jeon and Marina Muskhelishvili. 2012. Modelling elections in the Caucasus. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* Volume 22(2): 187-214. [13]
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B Application: 1998 German Parliamentary Election

B.1 Data Set

The data is the same as in Mauerer (2019). It is a subset of the 1998 German national election study (Falter, Gabriel, and Rattinger 2012) that contains vote choices for the five major parties in the 1998 German parliamentary election: Christian Democrats (CDU), Social Democratic Party (SPD), Liberal Party (FDP), Greens, PDS (Left). The choice-specific variables z_{ij} represent the policy considerations: spatial proximities on the issues of immigration, nuclear energy, European integration, and the Left-Right dimension (11-point scales). Spatial proximity is defined as the absolute negative distance between voter-specific self-placements voter-specific party placement perceptions.

The chooser-specific variables x_i are age (centered around the sample mean) and

- Worker or working class (1: worker, 2: otherwise)
- Union membership (1: union member, 2: otherwise)
- Religious denomination (1: catholic, 2: otherwise)
- Gender (1: female, 2: male)
- Region (1: former West Germany, 2: former East Germany)

We added the chooser-specific variables in effect coding to the data set. Table A1 gives the coding. The variable names in italics are the ones that appear in the replication files. See also Supplementary Materials in Mauerer (2019).

| (0 | Coding | Effect Coding | | | |
|-----------|--------|---------------|------------|----|--------------|
| auonla | 1 | worker | montroa | 1 | worker |
| WOIK | 0 | otherwise | workee | -1 | otherwise |
| work9 | 1 | otherwise | work lec | 1 | otherwise |
| w01 h2 | 0 | worker | W01122C | -1 | worker |
| | 1 | union member | | 1 | union member |
| union | 0 | otherwise | unionec | -1 | otherwise |
| union 0 | 1 | otherwise | union lee | 1 | otherwise |
| union2 | 0 | union member | unionzec | -1 | union member |
| rolia | 1 | catholic | roliaco | 1 | catholic |
| Telly | 0 | otherwise | Tenyec | -1 | otherwise |
| relia | 1 | otherwise | religer | 1 | otherwise |
| TCuyz | 0 | catholic | Teng2ce | -1 | catholic |
| acadom | 1 | female | a on donoe | 1 | female |
| genaer | 0 | male | genaerec | -1 | male |
| aon dor 0 | 1 | male | anderlee | 1 | male |
| yenuer 2 | 0 | female | yenuerzec | -1 | female |
| auget | 1 | West Ger. | maataa | 1 | West Ger. |
| west | 0 | East Ger. | westec | -1 | East Ger. |
| | 1 | East Ger. | | 1 | East Ger. |
| wesiz | 0 | West Ger. | wesizec | -1 | West Ger. |

Table A1: Coding of Categorical Chooser-Specific Covariates

B.2 Estimation Tables

B.2.1 (0-1) Coding

| | coef | SP | t_val | evp(coef) |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| Lutaneant CDD | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.04 |
| Intercept SPD Intercept FDP | -0.00 | 0.20 0.57 | -0.21 | 0.94 |
| Intercept FDF | -1.73 | 0.57 | -3.03 / 18 | 0.18 |
| Intercept Left | -2.44 | 0.38 | -4.18 | 0.09 |
| Intercept Leit | -0.57 | 0.00 | -0.90 | 0.03 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.09 | 0.05 | 1.90 | 1.09 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.06 | 3.65 | 1.22 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.31 | 0.04 | 7.17 | 1.36 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.39 | 0.03 | 11.21 | 1.47 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.91 | 0.38 | 2.36 | 2.48 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.55 | 0.64 | 0.86 | 1.74 |
| Union Member Greens | 1.13 | 0.51 | 2.21 | 3.10 |
| Union Member Left | 1.47 | 0.54 | 2.69 | 4.33 |
| Worker SPD | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.87 | 1.24 |
| Worker FDP | -1.45 | 0.65 | -2.23 | 0.24 |
| Worker Greens | -0.98 | 0.47 | -2.07 | 0.38 |
| Worker Left | -0.53 | 0.42 | -1.26 | 0.59 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.64 | 0.25 | -2.57 | 0.53 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.98 | 0.48 | -2.02 | 0.38 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.61 | 0.38 | -1.62 | 0.54 |
| Catholic Left | -0.85 | 0.63 | -1.35 | 0.43 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.05 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.34 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.29 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.86 | 0.98 |
| Female SPD | -0.19 | 0.22 | -0.84 | 0.83 |
| Female FDP | -1.53 | 0.49 | -3.11 | 0.22 |
| Female Greens | -0.50 | 0.34 | -1.45 | 0.61 |
| Female Left | 0.07 | 0.38 | 0.19 | 1.08 |
| West Ger. SPD | 0.18 | 0.28 | 0.65 | 1.20 |
| West Ger. FDP | 0.67 | 0.60 | 1.11 | 1.95 |
| West Ger. Greens | 1.16 | 0.56 | 2.06 | 3.18 |
| West Ger. Left | -2.19 | 0.45 | -4.86 | 0.11 |

Note: CDU is reference alternative. Age is centered around the sample mean. *Source:* 1998 German election study (Falter, Gabriel, and Rattinger 2012).

Table A2: Vote Choice Model with (0-1) Coding for Categorical Voter Attributes, Model 1 in Table 4

| | coef. | s.e. | t-val. | $\exp(\text{coef.})$ |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Intercept SPD | -0.25 | 0.28 | -0.90 | 0.78 |
| Intercept FDP | -3.26 | 0.67 | -4.88 | 0.04 |
| Intercept Greens | -2.94 | 0.58 | -5.06 | 0.05 |
| Intercept Left | -0.30 | 0.35 | -0.85 | 0.74 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.09 | 0.05 | 1.90 | 1.09 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.06 | 3.65 | 1.22 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.31 | 0.04 | 7.17 | 1.36 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.39 | 0.03 | 11.21 | 1.47 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.91 | 0.38 | 2.36 | 2.48 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.55 | 0.64 | 0.86 | 1.74 |
| Union Member Greens | 1.13 | 0.51 | 2.21 | 3.10 |
| Union Member Left | 1.47 | 0.54 | 2.69 | 4.33 |
| Worker SPD | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.87 | 1.24 |
| Worker FDP | -1.45 | 0.65 | -2.23 | 0.24 |
| Worker Greens | -0.98 | 0.47 | -2.07 | 0.38 |
| Worker Left | -0.53 | 0.42 | -1.26 | 0.59 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.64 | 0.25 | -2.57 | 0.53 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.98 | 0.48 | -2.02 | 0.38 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.61 | 0.38 | -1.62 | 0.54 |
| Catholic Left | -0.85 | 0.63 | -1.35 | 0.43 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.05 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.34 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.29 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.86 | 0.98 |
| Male SPD | 0.19 | 0.22 | 0.84 | 1.21 |
| Male FDP | 1.53 | 0.49 | 3.11 | 4.62 |
| Male Greens | 0.50 | 0.34 | 1.45 | 1.64 |
| Male Left | -0.07 | 0.38 | -0.19 | 0.93 |
| West Ger. SPD | 0.18 | 0.28 | 0.65 | 1.20 |
| West Ger. FDP | 0.67 | 0.60 | 1.11 | 1.95 |
| West Ger. Greens | 1.16 | 0.56 | 2.06 | 3.18 |
| West Ger. Left | -2.19 | 0.45 | -4.86 | 0.11 |

Table A3: Vote Choice Model with (0-1) Coding for Categorical Voter Attributes (Gender reversed), Model 2 in Table 4

| | coef. | s.e. | t-val. | $\exp(\text{coef.})$ |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Intercept SPD | 0.05 | 0.20 | 0.25 | 1.05 |
| Intercept FDP | -1.21 | 0.29 | -4.22 | 0.30 |
| Intercept Greens | -1.46 | 0.32 | -4.52 | 0.23 |
| Intercept Left | -1.22 | 0.31 | -3.97 | 0.29 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.08 | 0.05 | 1.68 | 1.08 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.05 | 3.89 | 1.23 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.32 | 0.04 | 7.42 | 1.37 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.40 | 0.03 | 11.73 | 1.49 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.95 | 0.38 | 2.49 | 2.58 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.60 | 0.65 | 0.93 | 1.83 |
| Union Member Greens | 1.29 | 0.50 | 2.56 | 3.64 |
| Union Member Left | 1.02 | 0.51 | 2.01 | 2.78 |
| Worker SPD | 0.19 | 0.24 | 0.78 | 1.21 |
| Worker FDP | -1.51 | 0.65 | -2.34 | 0.22 |
| Worker Greens | -1.21 | 0.47 | -2.59 | 0.30 |
| Worker Left | -0.17 | 0.40 | -0.42 | 0.85 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.58 | 0.24 | -2.45 | 0.56 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.83 | 0.47 | -1.77 | 0.44 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.48 | 0.37 | -1.31 | 0.62 |
| Catholic Left | -1.77 | 0.56 | -3.13 | 0.17 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.08 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.33 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.43 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.94 | 0.98 |
| Female SPD | -0.20 | 0.23 | -0.89 | 0.82 |
| Female FDP | -1.53 | 0.49 | -3.12 | 0.22 |
| Female Greens | -0.54 | 0.34 | -1.60 | 0.58 |
| Female Left | 0.09 | 0.35 | 0.27 | 1.10 |

Table A4: Vote Choice Model with (0-1) Coding for Categorical Voter Attributes (Region omitted), Model 3 in Table 4

| | coef. | s.e. | t-val. | $\exp(\text{coef.})$ |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Intercept SPD | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.77 | 1.19 |
| Intercept FDP | -3.10 | 0.51 | -6.02 | 0.05 |
| Intercept Greens | -2.34 | 0.40 | -5.81 | 0.10 |
| Intercept Left | -1.39 | 0.39 | -3.60 | 0.25 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.09 | 0.05 | 1.90 | 1.09 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.06 | 3.65 | 1.22 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.31 | 0.04 | 7.17 | 1.36 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.39 | 0.03 | 11.21 | 1.47 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.45 | 0.19 | 2.36 | 1.57 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.28 | 0.32 | 0.86 | 1.32 |
| Union Member Greens | 0.57 | 0.26 | 2.21 | 1.76 |
| Union Member Left | 0.73 | 0.27 | 2.69 | 2.08 |
| Worker SPD | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.87 | 1.11 |
| Worker FDP | -0.72 | 0.32 | -2.23 | 0.49 |
| Worker Greens | -0.49 | 0.24 | -2.07 | 0.61 |
| Worker Left | -0.27 | 0.21 | -1.26 | 0.77 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.32 | 0.12 | -2.57 | 0.73 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.49 | 0.24 | -2.02 | 0.61 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.31 | 0.19 | -1.62 | 0.74 |
| Catholic Left | -0.43 | 0.31 | -1.35 | 0.65 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.05 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.34 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.29 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.86 | 0.98 |
| Female SPD | -0.09 | 0.11 | -0.84 | 0.91 |
| Female FDP | -0.77 | 0.25 | -3.11 | 0.47 |
| Female Greens | -0.25 | 0.17 | -1.45 | 0.78 |
| Female Left | 0.04 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 1.04 |
| West Ger. SPD | 0.09 | 0.14 | 0.65 | 1.10 |
| West Ger. FDP | 0.33 | 0.30 | 1.11 | 1.40 |
| West Ger. Greens | 0.58 | 0.28 | 2.06 | 1.78 |
| West Ger. Left | -1.09 | 0.22 | -4.86 | 0.33 |

Table A5: Vote Choice Model with Effect Coding for Categorical Voter Attributes, Model 1 in Table 4

| | coef. | s.e. | t-val. | $\exp(\text{coef.})$ |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Intercept SPD | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.77 | 1.19 |
| Intercept FDP | -3.10 | 0.51 | -6.02 | 0.05 |
| Intercept Greens | -2.34 | 0.40 | -5.81 | 0.10 |
| Intercept Left | -1.39 | 0.39 | -3.60 | 0.25 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.09 | 0.05 | 1.90 | 1.09 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.06 | 3.65 | 1.22 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.31 | 0.04 | 7.17 | 1.36 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.39 | 0.03 | 11.21 | 1.47 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.45 | 0.19 | 2.36 | 1.57 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.28 | 0.32 | 0.86 | 1.32 |
| Union Member Greens | 0.57 | 0.26 | 2.21 | 1.76 |
| Union Member Left | 0.73 | 0.27 | 2.69 | 2.08 |
| Worker SPD | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.87 | 1.11 |
| Worker FDP | -0.72 | 0.32 | -2.23 | 0.49 |
| Worker Greens | -0.49 | 0.24 | -2.07 | 0.61 |
| Worker Left | -0.27 | 0.21 | -1.26 | 0.77 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.32 | 0.12 | -2.57 | 0.73 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.49 | 0.24 | -2.02 | 0.61 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.31 | 0.19 | -1.62 | 0.74 |
| Catholic Left | -0.43 | 0.31 | -1.35 | 0.65 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.05 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.34 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.29 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.86 | 0.98 |
| Male SPD | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.84 | 1.10 |
| Male FDP | 0.77 | 0.25 | 3.11 | 2.15 |
| Male Greens | 0.25 | 0.17 | 1.45 | 1.28 |
| Male Left | -0.04 | 0.19 | -0.19 | 0.96 |
| West Ger. SPD | 0.09 | 0.14 | 0.65 | 1.10 |
| West Ger. FDP | 0.33 | 0.30 | 1.11 | 1.40 |
| West Ger. Greens | 0.58 | 0.28 | 2.06 | 1.78 |
| West Ger. Left | -1.09 | 0.22 | -4.86 | 0.33 |

Table A6: Vote Choice Model with Effect Coding for Categorical Voter Attributes (Gender reversed), Model 2 in Table 4

| | coef. | s.e. | t-val. | $\exp(\text{coef.})$ |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Intercept SPD | 0.23 | 0.21 | 1.12 | 1.26 |
| Intercept FDP | -2.85 | 0.45 | -6.28 | 0.06 |
| Intercept Greens | -1.93 | 0.33 | -5.77 | 0.15 |
| Intercept Left | -1.63 | 0.35 | -4.60 | 0.20 |
| Proximity on Immigration | 0.08 | 0.05 | 1.68 | 1.08 |
| Proximity on European Integration | 0.20 | 0.05 | 3.89 | 1.23 |
| Proximity on Nuclear Energy | 0.32 | 0.04 | 7.42 | 1.37 |
| Proximity on Left-Right | 0.40 | 0.03 | 11.73 | 1.49 |
| Union Member SPD | 0.47 | 0.19 | 2.49 | 1.61 |
| Union Member FDP | 0.30 | 0.32 | 0.93 | 1.35 |
| Union Member Greens | 0.65 | 0.25 | 2.56 | 1.91 |
| Union Member Left | 0.51 | 0.25 | 2.01 | 1.67 |
| Worker SPD | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.78 | 1.10 |
| Worker FDP | -0.76 | 0.32 | -2.34 | 0.47 |
| Worker Greens | -0.61 | 0.23 | -2.59 | 0.55 |
| Worker Left | -0.08 | 0.20 | -0.42 | 0.92 |
| Catholic SPD | -0.29 | 0.12 | -2.45 | 0.75 |
| Catholic FDP | -0.42 | 0.24 | -1.77 | 0.66 |
| Catholic Greens | -0.24 | 0.18 | -1.31 | 0.79 |
| Catholic Left | -0.88 | 0.28 | -3.13 | 0.41 |
| Age SPD | -0.02 | 0.01 | -3.08 | 0.98 |
| Age FDP | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.33 | 0.98 |
| Age Greens | -0.09 | 0.01 | -6.43 | 0.92 |
| Age Left | -0.02 | 0.01 | -1.94 | 0.98 |
| Female SPD | -0.10 | 0.11 | -0.89 | 0.90 |
| Female FDP | -0.77 | 0.25 | -3.12 | 0.46 |
| Female Greens | -0.27 | 0.17 | -1.60 | 0.76 |
| Female Left | 0.05 | 0.18 | 0.27 | 1.05 |
| | | | | |

| Table A7: | Vote | Choice | Model | with | Effect | Coding f | for | Categorical | Voter | Attributes | (Region |
|-------------|-------|---------|--------|------|--------|----------|-----|-------------|-------|------------|---------|
| omitted), i | Model | 3 in Ta | able 4 | | | | | | | | |

C Application: 2016 US Presidential Election

C.1 Data Set

The data comes from the American National Election Study (ANES) and contains vote choices between the Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2016 US presidential election. The operationalization of the candidates' valence qualities relies on voters' assessments of six personality traits (strong leadership, really cares, knowledgeable, honest, speaks mind, and even-tempered), measured on five-point scales from "not well at all" to "extremely well". For each candidate, we generated an overall assessment of character traits by adding all trait evaluations and dividing it by the number of traits. The policy component of the vote choice model includes spatial proximities between respondents and candidates (defined as the absolute negative distance between respondent-specific candidate placement perceptions and self-placements) on the traditional liberal-conservative scale and the issues of Spending and Services, Defense Spending, and Health Insurance. The issue scales have the following endpoints:

- Public spending and services: (1) "Government should provide many more services", (7) "Government should provide many fewer services".
- Budget spent on defense: (1) "Government should decrease defense spending", (7) "Government should increase defense spending".
- Public versus private medical support: (1) "Government insurance plan", (7) "Private insurance plan".
- Liberal-conservative scale: (1) "extremely liberal", (7) "extremely conservative".

The chooser-specific variables are age (centered about the sample mean), gender (1 female, 2 male), and self-identifications as Black (1 self-reported as Black, 2 otherwise) or Latino (1 self-reported as Latino, 2 otherwise). The data set contains the dichotomous voter attributes in (0-1) and effect coding.

D Application: 2010 British General Election

D.1 Data Set

The data comes from the 2010 British Election Study (Whiteley and Sanders 2014) and includes vote choices for the three major parties in the 2010 British General Election: Labour Party (Lab), Conservative Party (Cons), and Liberal Democrats (LD). The operationalization of valence qualities relies on party leader images (or ratings) for Gordan Brown (Lab), David Cameron (Cons), and Nick Clegg (LD). Survey question: "Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about [name of party leader]?". The policy component of the vote choice models contains voterparty proximities (defined as the absolute negative distance between respondent-specific party placement perceptions and self-placements) on the issues of crime and taxes. The issue scales have the following endpoints:

- Crime: (1) "Protect rights of accused people, regardless of whether they have been convicted of committing a crime, is more important than reducing crime", (11) "Reduce crime is more important than protecting the rights of people accused of committing crimes".
- Taxes vs Spending: (1) "Cut taxes and spend much less on health and social services, (11) "Put up taxes and spend much more on health and social services".

The socioeconomic voter attributes are union member (1 union member, 2 otherwise), worker (1 blue collar or working class, 2 otherwise), gender (1 female, 2 male), income (standardized annual household income), homeowner (1 homeowner, 2 otherwise) and age (centered around the sample mean). Dichotomous variables are in effect coding.

D.2 Estimation Tables

D.2.1 Valence as Chooser Attributes

| | β | s.e. | t-val. | e^{β} |
|-------------------------|---------|------|--------|-------------|
| Intercept Cons | -0.95 | 0.58 | -1.62 | 0.39 |
| Intercept LD | -0.65 | 0.48 | -1.36 | 0.52 |
| Proximity on Crime | 0.28 | 0.05 | 5.91 | 1.32 |
| Proximity on Taxes | 0.19 | 0.05 | 4.19 | 1.21 |
| Union Member Cons | -0.36 | 0.13 | -2.75 | 0.70 |
| Union Member LD | -0.15 | 0.11 | -1.39 | 0.86 |
| Worker Cons | -0.38 | 0.13 | -3.03 | 0.68 |
| Worker LD | -0.32 | 0.11 | -2.90 | 0.73 |
| Age Cons | 0.01 | 0.01 | 1.41 | 1.01 |
| Age LD | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.69 | 1.00 |
| Female Cons | 0.12 | 0.11 | 1.08 | 1.13 |
| Female LD | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.57 | 1.06 |
| Income Cons | 0.27 | 0.13 | 2.12 | 1.31 |
| Income LD | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.95 | 1.12 |
| Homeowner Cons | -0.02 | 0.15 | -0.13 | 0.98 |
| Homeowner LD | 0.03 | 0.13 | 0.25 | 1.03 |
| Lab Leader Image: Cons | -0.72 | 0.06 | -12.40 | 0.49 |
| Lab Leader Image: LD | -0.49 | 0.05 | -9.66 | 0.61 |
| Cons Leader Image: Cons | 0.90 | 0.09 | 10.59 | 2.46 |
| Cons Leader Image: LD | -0.23 | 0.06 | -4.20 | 0.79 |
| LD Leader Image: Cons | -0.21 | 0.08 | -2.67 | 0.81 |
| LD Leader Image: LD | 0.73 | 0.07 | 10.86 | 2.07 |

 $\it Note:$ Categorical voter attributes in effect coding, age is centered around the sample mean.

Source: 2010 British Election Study (BES). N=1262.

Table A8: Vote Choice Model with Party Leader Images as Chooser Attribute (Labour Ref.), Table 6a

| | eta | s.e. | t-val. | e^{β} |
|------------------------|-------|------|--------|-------------|
| Intercept Lab | 0.95 | 0.58 | 1.62 | 2.57 |
| Intercept LD | 0.30 | 0.57 | 0.53 | 1.35 |
| Proximity on Crime | 0.28 | 0.05 | 5.91 | 1.32 |
| Proximity on Taxes | 0.19 | 0.05 | 4.19 | 1.21 |
| Union Member Lab | 0.36 | 0.13 | 2.75 | 1.43 |
| Union Member LD | 0.20 | 0.12 | 1.71 | 1.23 |
| Worker Lab | 0.38 | 0.13 | 3.03 | 1.47 |
| Worker LD | 0.07 | 0.12 | 0.54 | 1.07 |
| Age Lab | -0.01 | 0.01 | -1.41 | 0.99 |
| Age LD | -0.01 | 0.01 | -0.88 | 0.99 |
| Female Lab | -0.12 | 0.11 | -1.08 | 0.89 |
| Female LD | -0.07 | 0.10 | -0.64 | 0.94 |
| Income Lab | -0.27 | 0.13 | -2.12 | 0.76 |
| Income LD | -0.16 | 0.12 | -1.42 | 0.85 |
| Homeowner Lab | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.13 | 1.02 |
| Homeowner LD | 0.05 | 0.15 | 0.35 | 1.05 |
| Lab Leader Image: Lab | 0.72 | 0.06 | 12.40 | 2.05 |
| Lab Leader Image: LD | 0.22 | 0.05 | 4.58 | 1.25 |
| Cons Leader Image: Lab | -0.90 | 0.09 | -10.59 | 0.41 |
| Cons Leader Image: LD | -1.13 | 0.09 | -13.30 | 0.32 |
| LD Leader Image: Lab | 0.21 | 0.08 | 2.67 | 1.24 |
| LD Leader Image: LD | 0.94 | 0.08 | 11.61 | 2.56 |

 $\it Note:$ Categorical voter attributes in effect coding, age is centered around the sample mean.

Source: 2010 British Election Study (BES). N=1262.

Table A9: Vote Choice Model with Party Leader Images as Chooser Attribute (Conservatives Ref.), Table 6a

| | β | s.e. | t-val. | e^{β} |
|-------------------------|---------|------|--------|-------------|
| Intercept Lab | 0.65 | 0.48 | 1.36 | 1.91 |
| Intercept Cons | -0.30 | 0.57 | -0.53 | 0.74 |
| Proximity on Crime | 0.28 | 0.05 | 5.91 | 1.32 |
| Proximity on Taxes | 0.19 | 0.05 | 4.19 | 1.21 |
| Union Member Lab | 0.15 | 0.11 | 1.39 | 1.16 |
| Union Member Cons | -0.20 | 0.12 | -1.71 | 0.82 |
| Worker Lab | 0.32 | 0.11 | 2.90 | 1.37 |
| Worker Cons | -0.07 | 0.12 | -0.54 | 0.94 |
| Age Lab | -0.00 | 0.01 | -0.69 | 1.00 |
| Age Cons | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.88 | 1.01 |
| Female Lab | -0.06 | 0.10 | -0.57 | 0.95 |
| Female Cons | 0.07 | 0.10 | 0.64 | 1.07 |
| Income Lab | -0.11 | 0.11 | -0.95 | 0.90 |
| Income Cons | 0.16 | 0.12 | 1.42 | 1.18 |
| Homeowner Lab | -0.03 | 0.13 | -0.25 | 0.97 |
| Homeowner Cons | -0.05 | 0.15 | -0.35 | 0.95 |
| Lab Leader Image: Lab | 0.49 | 0.05 | 9.66 | 1.64 |
| Lab Leader Image: Cons | -0.22 | 0.05 | -4.58 | 0.80 |
| Cons Leader Image: Lab | 0.23 | 0.06 | 4.20 | 1.26 |
| Cons Leader Image: Cons | 1.13 | 0.09 | 13.30 | 3.11 |
| LD Leader Image: Lab | -0.73 | 0.07 | -10.86 | 0.48 |
| LD Leader Image: Cons | -0.94 | 0.08 | -11.61 | 0.39 |

Note: Categorical voter attributes in effect coding, age is centered around the sample mean.

Source: 2010 British Election Study (BES). N=1262.

Table A10: Vote Choice Model with Party Leader Images as Chooser Attribute (Liberal Democrats Ref.), Table 6a

| | coef | s.e. | t-val. | e(coef) |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------|--------|---------|
| Intercept Cons | -2.85 | 0.53 | -5.36 | 0.06 |
| Intercept LD | -1.27 | 0.44 | -2.87 | 0.28 |
| Proximity on Crime | 0.26 | 0.05 | 5.62 | 1.30 |
| Proximity on Taxes | 0.19 | 0.04 | 4.25 | 1.21 |
| Union Member Cons | -0.35 | 0.13 | -2.71 | 0.71 |
| Union Member LD | -0.13 | 0.11 | -1.17 | 0.87 |
| Worker Cons | -0.36 | 0.12 | -2.92 | 0.70 |
| Worker LD | -0.29 | 0.11 | -2.55 | 0.75 |
| Age Cons | 0.01 | 0.01 | 1.65 | 1.01 |
| Age LD | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.35 | 1.00 |
| Female Cons | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.98 | 1.12 |
| Female LD | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.85 | 1.09 |
| Income Cons | 0.22 | 0.13 | 1.74 | 1.25 |
| Income LD | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.76 | 1.10 |
| Homeowner Cons | -0.06 | 0.15 | -0.39 | 0.94 |
| Homeowner LD | -0.08 | 0.13 | -0.59 | 0.93 |
| Lab Leader Image | 0.58 | 0.05 | 11.98 | 1.79 |
| Cons Leader Image | 0.92 | 0.06 | 14.81 | 2.51 |
| LD Leader Image | 0.71 | 0.05 | 13.65 | 2.03 |

D.2.2 Valence as Choice Attribute

Note: Categorical voter attributes in effect coding, age is centered around the sample mean. Labour is reference alternative. *Source:* 2010 British Election Study (BES). N=1262.

Table A11: Vote Choice Model with Party Leader Images as Choice Attribute (Labour Ref.), Table 6b

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