Appendix: Government Preferences, Vote Choice, and Strategic Voting in Canada

Included:

Leadership Feeling Thermometer Models inside and outside Quebec

Party Leader Feeling Thermometer Models inside and outside Quebec

Party Identification Only Models inside and outside Quebec

Multinomial models

Replication using 2011 CES

Alternate specifications for party preference

In this section, we include three additional specifications for the voter’s preferred party to highlight the importance of preference over government type: feelings towards the party leaders, feelings towards the parties, and party identification. We run models inside and outside of Quebec to show that the results are substantively similar regardless of how party preference is operationalized.

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| **Table A1. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice outside of Quebec using feelings towards leaders as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.620\*\*\* | 0.642\*\*\* | -0.023 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.012) | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.600\*\*\* | -0.0003 | 0.600\*\*\* |
|  | (0.015) | (0.011) | (0.014) |
|  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.096\*\*\* | 0.021\*\* | 0.075\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.008) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.605\*\*\* | 0.612\*\*\* | -0.007 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.013) | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.565\*\*\* | 0.006 | 0.559\*\*\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.014) | (0.018) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.721\*\*\* | 0.108\*\*\* | 0.171\*\*\* |
|  | (0.026) | (0.019) | (0.025) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 5,125 | 5,125 | 5,125 |
| R2 | 0.783 | 0.884 | 0.699 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.782 | 0.883 | 0.697 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

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| **Table A2. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice in Quebec using feelings towards leaders as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote | BQ Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.472\*\*\* | 0.493\*\*\* | 0.049 | -0.070\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.031) | (0.030) | (0.035) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.409\*\*\* | -0.033 | 0.431\*\*\* | 0.011 |
|  | (0.036) | (0.031) | (0.030) | (0.035) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.213\*\*\* | 0.033\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.088\*\*\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.020) | (0.019) | (0.022) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.396\*\*\* | 0.230\*\*\* | 0.062\*\* | 0.104\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.030) | (0.029) | (0.033) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.405\*\*\* | 0.066\* | 0.261\*\*\* | 0.079\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.037) | (0.036) | (0.041) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.469\*\*\* | 0.185\*\*\* | 0.168\*\*\* | 0.178\*\*\* |
|  | (0.061) | (0.053) | (0.052) | (0.059) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 1,173 | 1,173 | 1,173 | 1,173 |
| R2 | 0.728 | 0.701 | 0.601 | 0.661 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.723 | 0.695 | 0.593 | 0.655 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

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| **Table A3. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice outside of Quebec using feelings towards parties as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.601\*\*\* | 0.612\*\*\* | -0.011 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.012) | (0.015) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.579\*\*\* | -0.003 | 0.582\*\*\* |
|  | (0.015) | (0.011) | (0.014) |
|  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.105\*\*\* | 0.023\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.008) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.590\*\*\* | 0.589\*\*\* | 0.001 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.013) | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.549\*\*\* | 0.004 | 0.545\*\*\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.013) | (0.017) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.687\*\*\* | 0.138\*\*\* | 0.176\*\*\* |
|  | (0.027) | (0.020) | (0.025) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 5,187 | 5,187 | 5,187 |
| R2 | 0.780 | 0.885 | 0.708 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.779 | 0.884 | 0.706 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

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| **Table A4. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice in Quebec using feelings towards parties as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote | BQ Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.438\*\*\* | 0.464\*\*\* | 0.018 | -0.044 |
|  | (0.036) | (0.030) | (0.031) | (0.034) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.406\*\*\* | -0.018 | 0.413\*\*\* | 0.012 |
|  | (0.034) | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.033) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.211\*\*\* | 0.032\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.090\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.019) | (0.019) | (0.021) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.386\*\*\* | 0.232\*\*\* | 0.038 | 0.115\*\*\* |
|  | (0.033) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.032) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.415\*\*\* | 0.077\*\* | 0.287\*\*\* | 0.050 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.035) | (0.035) | (0.039) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.474\*\*\* | 0.204\*\*\* | 0.189\*\*\* | 0.134\*\* |
|  | (0.061) | (0.052) | (0.052) | (0.058) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 1,214 | 1,214 | 1,214 | 1,214 |
| R2 | 0.732 | 0.726 | 0.599 | 0.666 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.727 | 0.721 | 0.591 | 0.660 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

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| **Table A5. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice outside of Quebec using party identification as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.726\*\*\* | 0.733\*\*\* | -0.008 |
|  | (0.014) | (0.010) | (0.013) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.667\*\*\* | 0.026\*\* | 0.641\*\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.010) | (0.013) |
|  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.128\*\*\* | 0.043\*\*\* | 0.084\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.008) | (0.010) |
|  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.688\*\*\* | 0.676\*\*\* | 0.011 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.012) | (0.014) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.633\*\*\* | 0.038\*\*\* | 0.596\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.013) | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.796\*\*\* | 0.048\*\*\* | 0.156\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.017) | (0.021) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 5,600 | 5,600 | 5,600 |
| R2 | 0.771 | 0.873 | 0.692 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.770 | 0.872 | 0.690 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

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| **Table A6. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice in Quebec using party identification as a measure of party preference.** Control variables are omitted from the table. |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote | BQ Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.760\*\*\* | 0.785\*\*\* | -0.025 | -0.026 |
|  | (0.030) | (0.023) | (0.027) | (0.029) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | -0.591\*\*\* | 0.004 | 0.587\*\*\* | 0.018 |
|  | (0.033) | (0.025) | (0.029) | (0.033) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.159\*\*\* | 0.022 | 0.137\*\*\* | 0.126\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.017) | (0.020) | (0.021) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.673\*\*\* | 0.691\*\*\* | -0.018 | 0.171\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.026) | (0.031) | (0.029) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | -0.606\*\*\* | 0.121\*\*\* | 0.485\*\*\* | 0.084\*\* |
|  | (0.045) | (0.034) | (0.040) | (0.040) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.667\*\*\* | 0.036 | 0.149\*\*\* | 0.148\*\*\* |
|  | (0.051) | (0.044) | (0.042) | (0.052) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 1,364 | 1,364 | 1,364 | 1,364 |
| R2 | 0.712 | 0.690 | 0.581 | 0.603 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.709 | 0.686 | 0.575 | 0.598 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

Multinomial Models

To supplement the linear probability models, we include here multinomial logistic regression results. This model accounts for the categorical nature of vote choice in Canadian elections; voters are not making binary decisions between two parties. Multinomial models of the main models from Tables 2 and 3 are presented.

Table A7. Multinomial model of vote choice in 2019 following Table 3. Liberal is the omitted category for vote choice; LPC Majority is the omitted category for preferred government type. Control variables are omitted from the table.

|  |
| --- |
| **Multinomial regression results.** |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | Conservative | NDP |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  |
| CPC Majority | 5.725\*\*\* | 2.450\*\*\* |
|  | (0.338) | (0.396) |
|  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | 2.357\*\*\* | 4.242\*\*\* |
|  | (0.410) | (0.232) |
|  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | 1.351\*\*\* | 1.393\*\*\* |
|  | (0.300) | (0.204) |
|  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | 4.793\*\*\* | 2.421\*\*\* |
|  | (0.336) | (0.380) |
|  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | 2.185\*\*\* | 4.014\*\*\* |
|  | (0.493) | (0.283) |
|  |  |  |
| Constant | -3.607\*\*\* | -1.567\*\* |
|  | (0.803) | (0.610) |
|  |  |  |
|  |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 2,397.097 | 2,397.097 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

Table A8. Multinomial model of vote choice in 2019 following Table 5. Liberal is the omitted category for vote choice; LPC Majority is the omitted category for preferred government type. Control variables are omitted from the table.

|  |
| --- |
| **Multinomial regression results.** |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | Conservative | NDP | Bloc |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|  |
| CPC Majority | 6.506\*\*\* | -16.850\*\*\* | 4.809\*\*\* |
|  | (0.853) | (0.000) | (0.921) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Majority | 0.940 | 5.365\*\*\* | 2.970\*\*\* |
|  | (1.227) | (0.648) | (0.712) |
|  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | 0.579 | 2.659\*\*\* | 2.215\*\*\* |
|  | (0.646) | (0.523) | (0.449) |
|  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | 4.162\*\*\* | 3.492\*\*\* | 4.068\*\*\* |
|  | (0.690) | (0.867) | (0.700) |
|  |  |  |  |
| NDP Minority | 2.725\*\* | 4.909\*\*\* | 3.045\*\*\* |
|  | (1.063) | (0.807) | (0.963) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.985\*\* | -3.544\*\* | -1.309 |
|  | (1.514) | (1.434) | (1.340) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 930.184 | 930.184 | 930.184 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

Replication using 2011 CES data

The only other Canadian Election Study to ask about preferred government type was the 2011 study. We replicate our main findings here to show that they extend beyond the 2019 context.

Table A9. Vote by Government Preference in 2011. Columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 2011 | LPC | CPC | NDP | BQ |
| LPC Majority | 57.1% | 0.7% | 21.1% | 20.5% |
| CPC Majority | 1.8% | 88.9% | 9.9% | 12.2% |
| NDP Government | 0.6% | 0% | 15% | 2.2% |
| LPC Minority | 26.0% | 0.7% | 31.1% | 42.8% |
| CPC Minority | 14.5% | 9.7% | 22.7% | 22.2% |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Total % (N) | 100% (709) | 100% (1092) | 100% (453) | 100% (180) |

Table A10. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice outside of Québec in 2011. Control variables are omitted from the table.

|  |
| --- |
|  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.515\*\*\* | 0.664\*\*\* | -0.117\*\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.025) | (0.029) |
|  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.388\*\*\* | 0.283\*\*\* | 0.059\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.025) | (0.030) |
|  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.123\*\*\* | 0.036\* | 0.056\*\* |
|  | (0.025) | (0.021) | (0.025) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Other | -0.346\*\*\* | 0.047 | 0.236\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.031) | (0.036) |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.490\*\*\* | 0.286\*\*\* | 0.171\*\*\* |
|  | (0.059) | (0.051) | (0.060) |
|  |
| Observations | 1,256 | 1,256 | 1,256 |
| R2 | 0.677 | 0.804 | 0.532 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.670 | 0.799 | 0.522 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |

Table A11. Relationship between expectations, preference over government type, and vote choice in Québec in 2011. Control variables are omitted from the table.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | LPC Vote | CPC Vote | NDP Vote | BQ Vote |
|  |
| CPC Majority | -0.370\*\*\* | 0.454\*\*\* | -0.065 | -0.028 |
|  | (0.046) | (0.037) | (0.057) | (0.047) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| CPC Minority | -0.210\*\*\* | 0.130\*\*\* | 0.087 | -0.051 |
|  | (0.043) | (0.034) | (0.053) | (0.044) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| LPC Minority | -0.156\*\*\* | 0.059\* | 0.054 | 0.010 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.031) | (0.047) | (0.039) |
| Other | -0.322\*\*\* | 0.063 | 0.325\*\*\* | -0.073 |
|  | (0.051) | (0.042) | (0.064) | (0.053) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.238\*\*\* | -0.097\* | 0.017 | 0.808\*\*\* |
|  | (0.068) | (0.055) | (0.084) | (0.070) |
| Observations | 507 | 507 | 507 | 507 |
| R2 | 0.495 | 0.690 | 0.415 | 0.616 |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.475 | 0.678 | 0.392 | 0.601 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.1 \*\*p<0.05 \*\*\*p<0.01 |