

Supplementary Material for “Gender and LGBT Affinity:  
The Case of Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne”

February 5, 2022

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## Section A: Pooling of Respondents Across Invitation and Exit Surveys

We pool the invitation and exit surveys for each year to generate one dataset (2011 and 2014). We only include each respondent once. We identify respondents using the identifiers provided by IPSOS and then merge the invitation and exit surveys based on these identifiers into one dataset. Table A1 displays the number of respondents who appear only in the invitation survey, only in the exit survey, or in both surveys separately for all respondents, LGBT men respondents, and LGBT women respondents.

**Table A1: Data Sources, Number of Unique Respondents, Number of Unique LGBT Men, and Number of Unique LGBT Women Included in Pooled 2011–2014 Dataset**

Year	Data Source	Respondents (N)	LGBT Men (N)	LGBT Women (N)
2011	Invitation Only (October 3–6)	7,938	122	100
	Exit Only (October 6)	1,514	27	19
	Both	7,366	79	79
	Total	16,818	317	198
2014	Invitation Only (June 6–11)	4,925	112	81
	Exit Only (June 12)	1,699	32	41
	Both	6,476	188	82
	Total	13,100	332	204

Note: The 2011 IPSOS Invitation Survey includes a small number of respondents who completed the survey on the morning of election day (October 6).

**Section B: Question Wording and Variable Coding, 2011 and 2014 ISPOS  
Ontario Exit Surveys**

**Table B1: Variable Coding**

Variable	Coding
Best Premier	1 = Liberal leader (Dalton McGuinty in 2011, Kathleen Wynne in 2014) 2 = PC leader (Tim Hudak in 2011 and 2014) 3 = NDP leader (Andrea Horwath in 2011 and 2014)
Vote Intention (Invitation Only)	1 = Liberal 2 = PC 3 = NDP 4 = Green/Other
Vote Choice (Exit Only)	1 = Liberal 2 = PC 3 = NDP 4 = Green/Other
Gender	1 = Woman 2 = Man
LGBT Identity	0 = Non-LGBT 1 = LGBT
Gender and Sexual Identity	1 = Non-LGBT Men 2 = Non-LGBT Women 3 = LGBT Men 4 = LGBT Women
Age	1 = 18-24 2 = 25-34 3 = 35-44 4 = 45-54 5 = 55-64 6 = 65+
Age by Gender	1 = Women, 18-24 2 = Women, 25-34 3 = Women, 35-44 4 = Women, 45-54 5 = Women, 55-64 6 = Women, 65+ 7 = Men, 18-24 8 = Men, 25-34 9 = Men, 35-44 10 = Men, 45-54 11 = Men, 55-64 12 = Men, 65+
Visible Minority	0 = Not a Visible Minority

	1 = Visible Minority
Indigenous	0 = Not Indigenous 1 = Indigenous
Country of Birth	0 = Canada 1 = Another Country
Provincial Electoral District	A string indicating the name and/or ID number of the provincial electoral district
Federal Electoral District	A string indicating the name and/or ID number of the federal electoral district
Region	1 = City of Toronto (416) 2 = Greater Toronto Area (905) 3 = Southwestern Ontario 4 = Hamilton-Niagara 5 = Eastern Ontario 6 = Northern Ontario
University Education	0 = No University Degree 1 = Bachelor's Degree or Higher
Urban/Rural	1 = Rural 2 = Small Town 3 = Large City 4 = Metropolitan Area
Past Vote Choice	1 = Liberal 2 = PC 3 = NDP 4 = Green/Other
Turnout	1 = Definitely Will Turn Out / Already Turned Out 2 = Likely to Turn Out 3 = Unlikely to Turn Out
Income	1 = <\$30,000 2 = \$30,000-<\$60,000 3 = \$60,000-<\$100,000 4 = \$100,000+
Religious Identity	1 = No Religion 2 = Roman Catholic 3 = Protestant/Other Christian 4 = Non-Christian
Religion Important	1 = Not At All Important 2 = Not Very Important 3 = Somewhat Important 4 = Very Important
Gun Household	0 = No Gun in Household 1 = At Least One Gun in Household

**Table B2: Variables by Wave**

Variable	2011 Invitation	2011 Exit	2014 Invitation	2014 Exit
Best Premier	X	X	X	X
Vote Intention	X		X	
Vote Choice		X		X
Gender	X	X	X	X
LGBT Identity	X	X	X	X
Gender and Sexual Identity	X	X	X	X
Age	X	X	X	X
Age by Gender	X	X	X	X
Visible Minority	X	X	X	X
Indigenous	X	X	X	X
Country of Birth	X	X	X	X
Provincial Electoral District	X	X		
Federal Electoral District			X	X
Region	X	X	X	X
University Education	X	X		X
Urban/Rural	X		X	
Past Vote Choice	X	X	X	X
Turnout	X	X	X	X
Income		X		X
Religious Identity	X	X	X	X
Religion Important	X	X	X	X
Gun Household	X	X	X	X

**Table B3: Variables by Use in the Analysis**

Variable	Main Analysis	Weights	Multiple Imputation	Regression Controls
Best Premier	X		X	
Vote Intention	X		X	
Vote Choice	X		X	
Gender and Sexual Identity	X		X	
Age			X	X
Age by Gender		X		
Visible Minority		X	X	X
Indigenous			X	X
Country of Birth		X	X	X
Region		X	X	X
University Education			X	X
Urban/Rural			X	X
Past Vote Choice			X	X
Income			X	X
Religious Identity			X	X
Religion Important			X	X
Gun Household			X	X



**Table B4: Question Wording, by Variable**

<p>Best Premier</p>	<p><u>2011 Invitation Survey:</u> Which of the provincial party leaders do you think would make the best Premier of Ontario?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE] Dalton McGuinty -&gt; 1 Tim Hudak -&gt; 2 Andrea Horwath -&gt; 3</p> <p><u>2011 Exit Survey:</u> Which of the party leaders do you think would make the best Premier of Ontario?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE] Dalton McGuinty -&gt; 1 Tim Hudak -&gt; 2 Andrea Horwath -&gt; 3 Don't know/ Not sure [ALWAYS LAST]</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation Survey and 2014 Exit Survey:</u> Which of the party leaders do you think would make the best Premier of Ontario?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE] Tim Hudak -&gt; 2 Andrea Horwath -&gt; 3 Kathleen Wynne -&gt; 1</p>
<p>Vote Intention (Invitation Only)</p>	<p><u>2011 Invitation Survey:</u> [IF ALREADY VOTED, CONTINUE, OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q2]</p> <p>1A. Which candidate did you vote for today? Was it your local...</p> <p>Conservative Party candidate -&gt; 2 Liberal Party candidate -&gt; 1 New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate -&gt; 3 Green Party candidate -&gt; 4 A candidate from another party/Independent -&gt; 4 Spoiled ballot -&gt; Missing Don't know/ Refuse -&gt; Missing</p> <p>2a. Thinking of how you feel right now, if a PROVINCIAL election were held tomorrow, which of the following parties' candidates would you, yourself, be most likely to support?</p>

	<p>[RANDOMIZE]  The Ontario Progressive Conservative Party (PC), led by Tim Hudak -&gt; 2  The Ontario Liberal Party, led by Dalton McGuinty -&gt; 1  The Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP), led by Andrea Horwath -&gt; 3  [show third last] Other: [SPECIFY] -&gt; 4  [show second last] Would not vote/None/Would spoil ballot -&gt; Coded based on next question  [SHOW LAST] Don't Know/Not sure -&gt; Coded based on next question</p> <p>[IF 'would not vote' OR 'Don't know' TO Q2, ASK Q3. ALL OTHERS TO Q4]</p> <p>3. Well, which party would you say you would lean towards?</p> <p>[SAME ORDER AS Q2]  [RANDOMIZE]  The Ontario Progressive Conservative Party (PC), led by Tim Hudak -&gt; 2  The Ontario Liberal Party, led by Dalton McGuinty -&gt; 1  The Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP), led by Andrea Horwath -&gt; 3  [show last] Other: [SPECIFY] -&gt; 4</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation Survey:</u></p>
Vote Choice (Exit Only)	<p><u>2011 Exit Survey:</u>  Which candidate did you vote for? Was it your local...</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE First 4]  Progressive Conservative Party candidate -&gt; 2  Liberal Party candidate -&gt; 1  New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate -&gt; 3  Green Party candidate -&gt; 4  A candidate from another party/Independent -&gt; 4  Spoiled ballot -&gt; Missing  Don't know/ Refuse -&gt; Excluded  [IF DK/NS THANK AND TERMINATE]</p> <p><u>2014 Exit Survey:</u>  Which candidate did you vote for? Was it your local...</p>

	<p>[RANDOMIZE First 3]</p> <p>Progressive Conservative Party candidate - &gt; 2</p> <p>Liberal Party candidate -&gt; 1</p> <p>New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate -&gt; 3</p> <p>A candidate from another party/Independent -&gt; 4</p> <p>Spoiled ballot -&gt; Missing</p> <p>Don't know/ Refuse -&gt; Excluded</p>
Gender	<p><u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (Recorded from panel information)</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> What is your gender? Male -&gt; 2 Female -&gt; 1</p>
LGBT Identity	<p><u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> Are you a member of the gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender community?</p> <p>Yes -&gt; 1 No -&gt; 0 Don't know/ Not specified -&gt; Missing</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> Do you consider yourself to be gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender?</p> <p>Yes -&gt; 1 No -&gt; 0 Don't know/ Not specified -&gt; Missing</p>
Gender and Sexual Identity	<p><u>All Four Surveys:</u> (Coded from Gender and LGBT Identity)</p>
Age	<p><u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (Coded from responses to prior IPSOS surveys into categories outlined in Table A1)</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> Please answer the following for each of the people who live with you: Enter 0 if the child in your household is under 1 year old. [Text Entry Boxes for Age for Each Person in Household]</p> <p>[Edit AGE so that it is a two digit field (but allow single digit entry); max entry = 99;</p>

	Error message should read: Please enter a valid age no greater than 99 years.]
Age by Gender	<u>All Four Surveys:</u> (Coded from Age and Gender)
Visible Minority	<u>All Four Surveys:</u> Are you a member of a visible minority?  Yes -> 1 No -> 0
Indigenous	<u>2011 and 2014 Invitation Surveys:</u> Are you an Aboriginal person?  Yes -> 1 No -> 0
Country of Birth	<u>All Four Surveys:</u> Were you born in Canada or did you move to Canada from another country?  Born in Canada -> 0 Moved to Canada from another country -> 1
Provincial Electoral District (2011 Only)	<u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (An ID or string indicating the provincial electoral district)
Federal Electoral District (2014 Only)	<u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (An ID or string indicating the federal electoral district)
Region	<u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (Coded from Provincial Electoral District)  <u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> (Coded from Federal Electoral District)
University Education (Not Included in 2014 Invitation Survey Dataset)	<u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u> What is the highest degree or level of school have completed? (If currently enrolled, select previous grade or highest degree received.) (Select one)  Primary school or less -> 0 Some high school -> 0 Graduated high school -> 0 Some college / CEGEP / Trade School -> 0 Graduated from college / CEGEP / Trade School -> 0 Some university, but did not finish -> 0 University undergraduate degree, such as a Bachelor's Degree -> 1

	<p>University graduate degree, such as a Master's or PhD -&gt; 1</p> <p><u>2014 Exit Survey:</u>  What is the highest degree or level of school have completed? (If currently enrolled, select previous grade or highest degree received.) (Select one)</p> <p>Primary school or less -&gt; 0  Some high school -&gt; 0  Graduated high school -&gt; 0  Some college / CEGEP / Trade School -&gt; 0  Graduated from college / CEGEP / Trade School -&gt; 0  Some university, but did not finish -&gt; 0  University undergraduate degree, such as a Bachelor's Degree -&gt; 1  University graduate degree, such as a Master's or PhD -&gt; 1</p>
<p>Urban/Rural (Invitation Only)</p>	<p><u>2011 and 2014 Invitation Survey:</u>  Which of the following descriptions best defines where you live?</p> <p>Rural (population of less than 50 thousand) -&gt; 1  Small Town (Population from 50 thousand to just under 250 thousand) -&gt; 2  Large City (Population from 250 thousand to just under 1 million) -&gt; 3  Metropolitan (Population of one million or greater) -&gt; 4</p>
<p>Past Vote Choice</p>	<p><u>2011 Invitation Survey:</u>  Which party's candidate did you support in the last provincial election? Was it the candidate for...?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE CODES 1-4]  The Progressive Conservative Party -&gt; 2  The Liberals -&gt; 1  The New Democratic Party (NDP) -&gt; 3  The Green Party -&gt; 4  [SHOW SECOND TO LAST]: Some other party -&gt; 4  [SHOW LAST] Don't know/ Not sure -&gt; Missing</p> <p><u>2011 Exit Survey:</u>  And do you remember which party you voted for in the last provincial election?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE]</p>

	<p>The Progressive Conservative Party -&gt; 2  The Liberals -&gt; 1  The New Democratic Party (NDP) -&gt; 3  Green Party -&gt; 4  [ALWAYS SECOND TO LAST] Or some other party -&gt; 4  [ALWAYS LAST] Don't Know -&gt; Missing</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u>  And do you remember which party you voted for in the last provincial election?</p> <p>[RANDOMIZE – SINGLE PUNCH]  The Progressive Conservative Party -&gt; 2  The New Democratic Party -&gt; 3  The Ontario Liberal Party -&gt; 1  Some other party [ANCHOR] -&gt; 4  Don't Know/Not sure/Can't remember [ANCHOR] -&gt; Missing  I didn't vote in the last election [ANCHOR LAST] -&gt; Missing</p>
Turnout	<p><u>2011 Invitation Survey:</u>  1. As you may know, a provincial election will happen in Ontario on October 6, 2011. How likely are you to vote in this election? Are you...?</p> <p>Absolutely certain -&gt; 1  Very likely -&gt; 2  Somewhat likely -&gt; 3  Not very likely -&gt; 3  Not at all likely -&gt; 3  Already voted -&gt; 1</p> <p><u>2011 Exit Survey:</u>  1. Did you vote in today's provincial election?</p> <p>Yes -&gt; 1  I already voted (in an advance poll or via mail, etc) -&gt; 1  No, not yet -&gt; 1  No, and I don't plan to vote [ASK Q4 - 6, THEN TERMINATE] -&gt; Excluded  Don't know/ Not sure [ALWAYS LAST] -&gt; Excluded</p> <p>[IF YES, SKIP TO Q2, OTHERWISE, CONTINUE]</p> <p>1a. Do you plan to vote today?</p>

	<p>Yes, I plan to vote today but have not yet [SHOW MESSAGE: "Please return to this survey after you have voted."] -&gt; 1  No, I do not plan to vote today [ASK Q4 - 6, THEN TERMINATE] -&gt; Excluded  Don't know/ Not sure [ASK Q4 - 6, THEN TERMINATE] -&gt; Excluded</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation Survey:</u>  As you may know, a provincial election will happen in Ontario on June 12, 2014. Which of the following best describes how committed you are to actually go out and vote?</p> <p>Nothing short of an unforeseen emergency could stop me from getting to the voting booth and casting my vote -&gt; 1  I would do my best to vote, but sometimes things get in the way -&gt; 2  I might vote, but I won't make a special effort to do so -&gt; 3  I probably won't vote -&gt; 3  I definitely won't vote -&gt; 3  Already voted (in an advance poll or via mail etc.) -&gt; 1</p> <p><u>2014 Exit Survey:</u>  1. Did you vote in today's provincial election?</p> <p>Yes -&gt; 1  I already voted (in an advance poll or via mail, etc) -&gt; 1  No, not yet -&gt; Excluded  No, and I don't plan to vote -&gt; Excluded  Don't know/ Not sure -&gt; Excluded</p> <p>[IF YES OR ALREADY VOTED, SKIP TO Q3, OTHERWISE, CONTINUE]</p> <p>2. Do you plan to vote today?</p> <p>Yes, I plan to vote today but have not yet [SHOW MESSAGE: "Please return to this survey after you have voted."] -&gt; Excluded  No, I do not plan to vote today -&gt; Excluded  Don't know/ Not sure -&gt; Excluded</p>
Income (Exit Only)	<p><u>2011 and 2014 Exit Surveys:</u></p> <p>Please indicate your annual household income before taxes.  Less than \$5,000 -&gt; 1</p>

	<p>\$5,000-\$9,999 -&gt; 1  \$10,000-\$14,999 -&gt; 1  \$15,000-\$19,999 -&gt; 1  \$20,000-\$24,999 -&gt; 1  \$25,000-\$29,999 -&gt; 1  \$30,000-\$34,999 -&gt; 2  \$35,000-\$39,999 -&gt; 2  \$40,000-\$44,999 -&gt; 2  \$45,000-\$49,999 -&gt; 2  \$50,000-\$54,999 -&gt; 2  \$55,000-\$59,999 -&gt; 2  \$60,000-\$64,999 -&gt; 3  \$65,000-\$69,999 -&gt; 3  \$70,000-\$74,999 -&gt; 3  \$75,000-\$79,999 -&gt; 3  \$80,000-\$89,999 -&gt; 3  \$90,000-\$99,999 -&gt; 3  \$100,000-\$124,999 -&gt; 4  \$125,000-\$149,999 -&gt; 4  \$150,000-\$199,999 -&gt; 4  \$200,000-\$249,999 -&gt; 4  \$250,000 or more -&gt; 4  Prefer not to answer -&gt; Missing</p>
<p>Religious Identity</p>	<p><u>2011 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u>  Which of the following best describes your religious identity?</p> <p>Roman Catholic -&gt; 2  Protestant or other Christian -&gt; 3  Muslim -&gt; 4  Jewish -&gt; 4  Hindu -&gt; 4  Sikh -&gt; 4  Other -&gt; 4  No Religious Identity -&gt; 1  Don't know/Refused -&gt; Missing</p> <p><u>2014 Invitation and Exit Surveys:</u>  Which of the following best describes your religious identity?</p> <p>[SINGLE PUNCH; ALPHABETIZE RESPONSES]  Roman Catholic -&gt; 2  Protestant or other Christian -&gt; 3  Muslim -&gt; 4  Jewish -&gt; 4  Hindu -&gt; 4  Sikh -&gt; 4  Buddhist -&gt; 4  Other [ANCHOR] -&gt; 4  No Religious Identity [ANCHOR] -&gt; 1  Don't know/Refused [ANCHOR] -&gt; Missing</p>



<p>Religion Important</p>	<p><u>All Four Surveys:</u>  In your life, would you say religion is VERY important, SOMEWHAT important, NOT VERY important, or NOT IMPORTANT at all?</p> <p>Very important -&gt; 4  Somewhat important -&gt; 3  Not very important -&gt; 2  Not important at all -&gt; 1  Don't know -&gt; Missing</p>
<p>Gun Household</p>	<p><u>All Four Surveys:</u>  Do you or does anyone in your household own a gun?</p> <p>Yes -&gt; 1  No -&gt; 0  Don't know/ Not specified -&gt; Missing</p>

## Section C: Correspondence Table for Regions, Ontario Provincial Electoral Districts, and Federal Electoral Districts

The IPSOS surveys use different regions between 2011 and 2014. However, IPSOS collects information on provincial electoral districts (in 2011) and federal electoral districts (in 2014). We use provincial and federal electoral districts to assign respondents to regions. We can use either provincial or federal electoral districts because provincial and federal districts in Ontario during this period are nearly identical, except in northern Ontario.<sup>1</sup> Table C1 displays the provincial and federal electoral districts assigned to each region. We generally use regions that correspond to the regions used by IPSOS in 2011. However, we include Toronto suburbs east of Toronto in the 905 (the area code covering the Greater Toronto Area), such as Pickering, Ajax, Oshawa, and Whitby, in our 905 region, rather than in Eastern Ontario.

**Table C1: Provincial Electoral Districts and Federal Electoral Districts Assigned to Each Region**

Region	Provincial Electoral Districts	Federal Electoral Districts
City of Toronto (416)	Beaches–East York, Davenport, Don Valley East, Don Valley West, Eglinton–Lawrence, Etobicoke Centre, Etobicoke–Lakeshore, Etobicoke North, Parkdale–High Park, Pickering–Scarborough East, St. Paul's, Scarborough–Agincourt, Scarborough Centre, Scarborough–Guildwood, Scarborough–Rouge River, Scarborough Southwest, Toronto Centre, Toronto–Danforth, Trinity–Spadina, Willowdale, York Centre, York South–Weston, York West	(Same)
Greater Toronto Area (905)	Ajax–Pickering, Bramalea–Gore–Malton, Brampton–Springdale, Brampton West,	(Same)

<sup>1</sup> In Ontario, the Harris Government (Progressive-Conservative, 1995-2002) made provincial and federal electoral districts the same under the *Representation Act* (1996). After that date, the federal electoral boundary commission would draw the electoral boundaries used in provincial elections. The federal electoral boundary commission developed a plan for the 2003 federal electoral boundaries that would remove a provincial electoral district from the part of Ontario north of the French River, which is often taken as northern Ontario (which would go from 11 to 10 districts). In the 2003 provincial election, Ontario Liberal leader Dalton McGuinty campaigned on maintaining the 11 districts in northern Ontario instead of using the 10 drawn up by the federal electoral boundary commission. After the Liberals won the 2003 election, the McGuinty Government (Liberal, 2003-2013) passed the *Representation Act* (2005), which mandated that the same district boundaries used before 2003 in northern Ontario be used after 2003. This law meant that district boundaries in northern Ontario would no longer be the same for provincial and federal elections in northern Ontario. However, the two maps are close enough that it is possible to code the same regions using either provincial or federal electoral district identifiers.

	<p>Markham–Unionville,  Mississauga–Brampton South,  Mississauga East–Cooksville,  Mississauga–Erindale,  Mississauga South,  Mississauga–Streetsville,  Newmarket–Aurora, Oak  Ridges–Markham, Oakville,  Oshawa, Richmond Hill,  Thornhill, Vaughan, Whitby–  Oshawa</p>	
Southwestern Ontario	<p>Barrie, Brant, Bruce–Grey–  Owen Sound, Cambridge,  Chatham-Kent–Essex,  Dufferin–Caledon, Elgin–  Middlesex–London, Essex,  Guelph, Haldimand–Norfolk,  Halton, Huron–Bruce,  Kitchener Centre, Kitchener–  Conestoga, Kitchener–  Waterloo, Lambton–Kent–  Middlesex, London–  Fanshawe, London North  Centre, London West, Oxford,  Perth–Wellington, Sarnia–  Lambton, Simcoe–Grey,  Simcoe North, Wellington–  Halton Hills, Windsor–  Tecumseh, Windsor West,  York–Simcoe</p>	(Same)
Hamilton-Niagara	<p>Ancaster–Dundas–  Flamborough–Westdale,  Burlington, Hamilton Centre,  Hamilton East–Stoney Creek,  Hamilton Mountain, Niagara  Falls, Niagara West–  Glanbrook, St. Catharines,  Welland</p>	(Same)
Eastern Ontario	<p>Carleton–Mississippi Mills,  Durham, Glengarry–Prescott–  Russell, Haliburton–Kawartha  Lakes–Brock, Kingston and  the Islands, Lanark–  Frontenac–Lennox and  Addington, Leeds–Grenville,  Nepean–Carleton,  Northumberland–Quinte West,  Ottawa Centre, Ottawa–  Orléans, Ottawa South,  Ottawa–Vanier, Ottawa West–  Nepean, Peterborough, Prince</p>	(Same)

	Edward–Hastings, Renfrew– Nipissing–Pembroke, Stormont–Dundas–South Glengarry	
Northern Ontario	Algoma—Manitoulin, Kenora— Rainy River, Nickel Belt, Nipissing, Parry Sound— Muskoka, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Thunder Bay— Atikokan, Thunder Bay— Superior North, Timiskaming— Cochrane, Timmins—James Bay	Algoma–Manitoulin– Kapusksing, Kenora, Nickel Belt, Nipissing– Timiskaming, Parry Sound– Muskoka, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Thunder Bay– Rainy River, Thunder Bay– Superior North, Timmins– James Bay

## Section D: Multiple Imputation Models

In the main analysis, we use multiple imputation with chained equations (MICE) to handle missing data. Instead of imputing a single value for the missing data (single imputation), MICE allows each respondent to take on multiple values on the missing data by including each respondent in a series of imputation datasets. Multiple imputation generally outperforms single imputation methods, and it also tends to produce better estimates than only including respondents who have complete data on the variables included in the analysis. In this case, we construct ten imputation datasets for each year. That is, we construct ten counterfactual versions of each respondent that have imputed data modelled instead of missing data. The same respondent can take on different values on the same variable across imputation datasets, which captures the uncertainty around the “true” underlying value behind the missing data.

MICE addresses four main methodological issues in using these pooled datasets. First, the LGBT identity questions include a “Don’t Know” option. We treat “Don’t Know” as missing data, then we impute LGBT identity for these respondents. MICE constructs different counterfactual scenarios where these respondents are or are not LGBT. Second, the best premier choice question is a forced-choice question that requires respondents to pick one of the three major party leaders in every survey except for the 2011 Exit Survey, which adds an explicit “Don’t Know” option. We use invitation survey responses on the best premier question for respondents who participated in both surveys, then we use MICE to estimate how the 2011 exit survey respondents who selected “Don’t Know” would have responded to the forced-choice question. Third, the invitation and exit surveys do not always include relevant control variables. For example, the 2014 invitation survey does not include education, and the exit surveys do not include Indigenous identity. We use MICE to estimate how respondents in each year who did not receive these questions would have responded if they had received them. Fourth, we pool data from pre-election and election day surveys. The pre-election surveys have vote intentions, whereas the election day surveys have vote choice. We impute vote choice for respondents who did not participate in the exit survey. Since we have many respondents who answered both the vote intention and vote choice questions, we can include vote intention—a very strong predictor of vote choice—in the MICE models.

Our approach to using MICE to deal with bridging the surveys draws on recent work in statistics and survey methodology that uses cross-survey multiple imputation to construct counterfactual estimates of how respondents would have responded if they had responded to a different survey. For example, many researchers have used this approach to simulate how respondents would have responded differently if they had received a different survey mode (Kolenikov and Kennedy, 2014; Park et al., 2016; Peytchev, 2012; Powers et al., 2005). Eckman (2022) uses multiple imputation to estimate under-reporting of purchases in the U.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey. There is reason to suspect under-reporting because survey respondents learn through taking surveys how to save their own time in answer questions, and the purchases questions appear later in the survey. Eckman (2020) pools together the U.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey with a web survey that randomized where the purchases questions appeared, then uses multiple imputation to simulate how the U.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey respondents would have responded if they had received the web survey questionnaire.

Our approach borrows on the ideas in these studies to simulate how the invitation survey respondent who did not participate in the exit survey would have responded if they

had participated in the exit survey. As in these other cases, the surveys we pool have many similar variables, and we have measures of many variables for a large subset of respondents at both points in time. As a result, we are confident that these data are appropriate for MICE. In fact, this approach is better than simply using the invitation survey responses for respondents who only answered the invitation survey because our MICE results account for uncertainty around whether respondents' vote intentions in the days before election day will actually translate to vote choice on election day. It also allows us to use questions that are missing entirely in one survey or use slightly different response categories across surveys, which we could not do without MICE.

We run separate MICE models on each survey year (2011 and 2014). We construct ten multiply imputed datasets. We include variables that use either the same questions (or similar enough questions that they can have a common variable coding) across the two surveys. Table D1 displays the variables included in each model. We estimate the models in Stata using `-ice-`. We then stack the two datasets on top of each other so that they will run as if they are both from the same imputation model.

**Table D1: Variables Included in MICE Models, 2011 and 2014 IPSOS Exit Surveys**

	2011 Pooled Data	2014 Pooled Data
Imputed Variables (Missing Data)	Best Premier (246), Vote Choice (7,963), Gender and Sexual Identity (113), Vote Intention (3,608), Indigenous (1,514), Religion Important Invitation (1,662), Religious Identity Invitation (1,788), Income Invitation (5,610), Urban (1,514), Gun Household Invitation (1,705), Past Vote Choice Invitation (5,045), Religion Important Exit (8,016), Religious Identity Exit (8,061), Religious Attendance Exit (7,963), Income Exit (7,963), Gun Household Exit (8,027), Past Vote Choice Exit (8,973), Reason for Vote (8,140), University Education (58)	Gender and Sexual Identity (145), Vote Choice (5,203), Vote Intention (2,723), Turnout (1,701), Indigenous (1,699), Past Vote Choice Invitation (3,497), Religion Important Invitation (1,842), Religious Identity Invitation (1,933), Urban (1,699), Gun Household Invitation (1,846), Turnout Exit (4,925), Anti-Wynne (7,907), Income (6,231), Reason for Vote (5,254), Past Vote Choice Exit (5,847), Religion Important Exit (4,997), Religious Identity Exit (6,836), Religious Attendance Exit (4,925), Gun Household (5,011), University Education (4,925)
Auxiliary Variables (No Missing Data)	Age, Region, Visible Minority, Country of Birth, Turnout	Best Premier, Age, Region, Visible Minority, Country of Birth

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Peytchev, Andy. 2012. "Multiple Imputation for Unit Nonresponse and Measurement Error." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (2): 214–37.

Powers, Jennifer Robyn, G Mishra, and Anne F Young. 2005. "Differences in Mail and Telephone Responses to Self-Rated Health: Use of Multiple Imputation in Correcting for Response Bias." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 29 (2): 149–54.

## **Section E: Construction of Post-Stratification Weights**

The IPSOS surveys are unrepresentative of the voting-age citizen population on several demographic variables, including age, gender, education, Visible Minority identity, country of birth, and region. We exclude respondents who have missing data on these variables (61 in 2011 and 13 in 2014), which yield  $N = 16,818$  in 2011 and  $N = 13,100$  in 2014. After excluding these respondents, we construct post-stratification weights separately for each year on age by gender, Visible Minority background, country of birth, and region using raking (or “iterative proportional fitting”). We use Statistics Canada’s 2011 National Household Survey public use microdata file to obtain targets for the voting-age citizen population of Ontario on age by gender, Visible Minority identity, and country of birth. Since the region variable corresponds to provincial electoral district boundaries, we use Elections Ontario data on registered voters in each provincial electoral district in each election as targets for region.

The weights generally make the sample more pro-NDP and less pro-Liberal. They also tend to make our models generate smaller estimates of the swings among LGBT men and LGBT women.

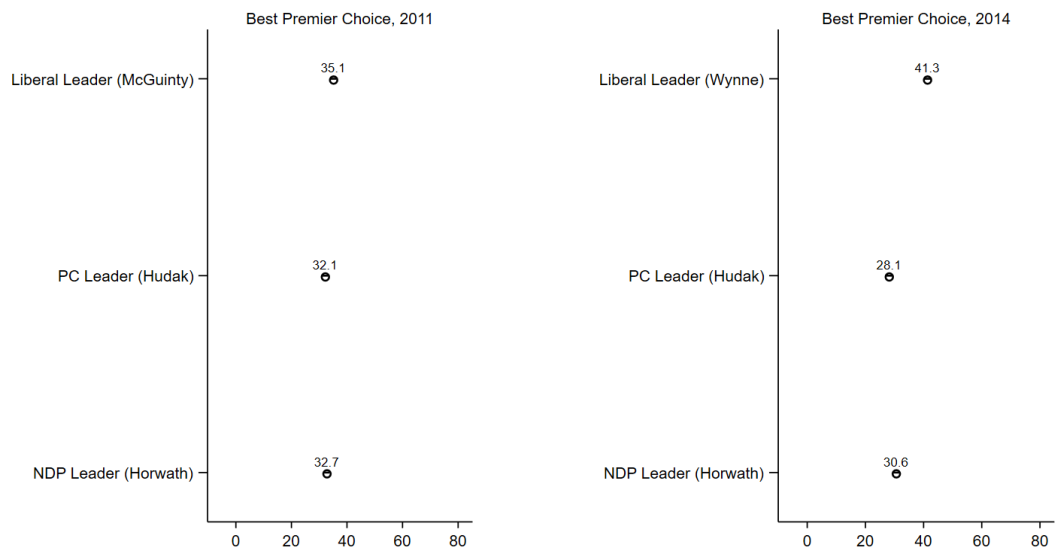


## Section F: Descriptive Statistics

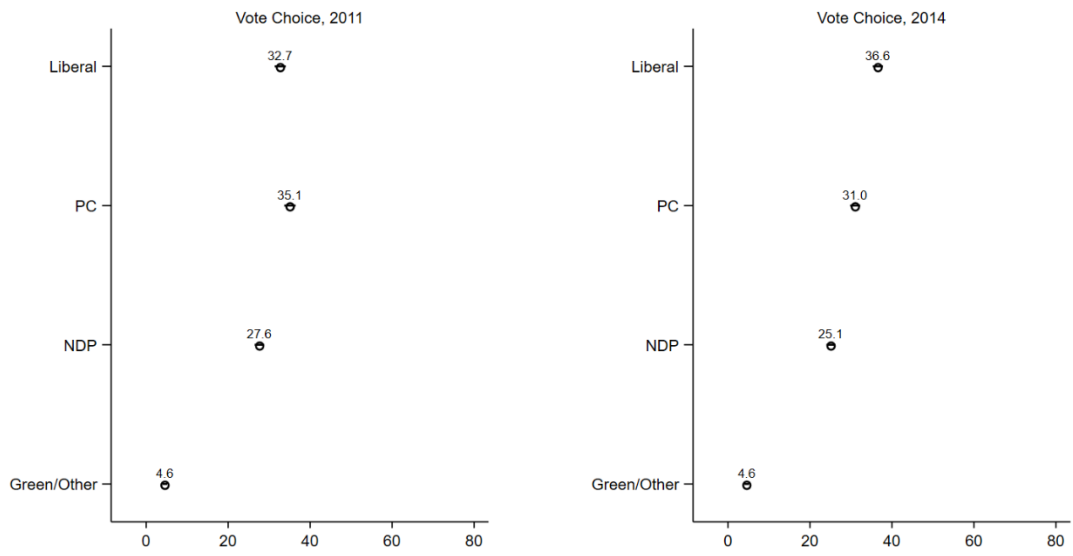
**Table F1: Unweighted and Weighted Percentage of Non-LGBT Men, Non-LGBT Women, LGBT Men, and LGBT Women, by Year**

	2011 (Unweighted)	2011 (Weighted)	2014 (Unweighted)	2014 (Weighted)
Non-LGBT Men	37.3	45.4	39.6	43.6
Non-LGBT Women	59.6	50.7	56.3	50.9
LGBT Men	1.9	2.6	2.6	3.6
LGBT Women	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.9

**Figure F1: Percentage Seng Each Leader as Best Premier (Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



**Figure 2: Vote Choice (Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



## Section G: Regression Tables for Models Used in Main Analyses

Table G1: Weighted Logit Regression Table, Best Premier Choice (Models 1-3)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Non-LGBT Women	-0.11 (0.05)	-0.13 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.05)
LGBT Men	0.15 (0.17)	0.17 (0.17)	0.19 (0.18)
LGBT Women	-0.63 (0.23)	-0.50 (0.23)	-0.30 (0.26)
2014	0.02 (0.06)	0.33 (0.19)	1.14 (0.37)
Non-LGBT Women * 2014	0.37 (0.07)	0.39 (0.07)	0.50 (0.09)
LGBT Men * 2014	0.98 (0.25)	1.01 (0.25)	0.86 (0.29)
LGBT Women * 2014	1.20 (0.30)	1.12 (0.30)	0.93 (0.36)
Age: 25-34		0.32 (0.14)	0.24 (0.16)
Age: 35-44		0.35 (0.13)	0.16 (0.15)
Age: 45-54		0.29 (0.13)	0.18 (0.15)
Age: 55-64		0.37 (0.13)	0.18 (0.14)
Age: 65+		0.58 (0.13)	0.43 (0.14)
Age: 25-34 * 2014		-0.46 (0.20)	-0.62 (0.26)
Age: 35-44 * 2014		-0.44 (0.19)	-0.52 (0.25)
Age: 45-54 * 2014		-0.37 (0.18)	-0.26 (0.26)
Age: 55-64 * 2014		-0.38 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.25)
Age: 65+ * 2014		-0.52 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.25)
Born outside Canada		-0.08 (0.06)	-0.14 (0.06)
Born outside Canada * 2014		0.18 (0.08)	0.09 (0.10)

Visible Minority	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
Visible Minority * 2014	0.15 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.14)
Indigenous	-0.32 (0.23)	-0.18 (0.25)
Indigenous * 2014	-0.20 (0.35)	-0.15 (0.39)
University		0.19 (0.05)
University * 2014		0.39 (0.11)
Greater Toronto Area (905)		0.12 (0.11)
Southwestern Ontario		-0.00 (0.12)
Hamilton-Niagara		-0.01 (0.13)
Eastern Ontario		0.02 (0.11)
Northern Ontario		-0.18 (0.14)
Greater Toronto Area (905) * 2014		-0.27 (0.19)
Southwestern Ontario * 2014		-0.32 (0.20)
Hamilton-Niagara * 2014		-0.47 (0.22)
Eastern Ontario * 2014		-0.22 (0.19)
Northern Ontario * 2014		-0.19 (0.24)
Catholic		0.06 (0.12)
Protestant/Other Christian		0.06 (0.12)
Non-Christian/Other		-0.02 (0.15)
Catholic * 2014		-0.03 (0.22)

Protestant/Other Christian * 2014	-0.19 (0.19)
Non-Christian/Other * 2014	-0.02 (0.26)
Religion Not Very Important	0.02 (0.11)
Religion Somewhat Important	-0.00 (0.09)
Religion Very Important	0.09 (0.10)
Religion Not Very Important * 2014	0.05 (0.16)
Religion Somewhat Important * 2014	0.04 (0.13)
Religion Very Important * 2014	-0.19 (0.13)
Income: 30-<60K	0.12 (0.08)
Income: 60K-<100K	0.15 (0.08)
Income: 100K+	0.25 (0.09)
Income: 30-<60K * 2014	-0.09 (0.14)
Income: 60K-<100K * 2014	-0.01 (0.15)
Income: 100K+ * 2014	0.24 (0.17)
Small Town	-0.02 (0.07)
Large City	-0.13 (0.07)
Metropolitan	0.00 (0.11)
Small Town * 2014	-0.10 (0.12)
Large City * 2014	-0.05 (0.13)
Metropolitan * 2014	-0.07 (0.19)
Guns in Household	0.01 (0.09)

Guns in Household * 2014				-0.34 (0.14)
Past Vote: PC				-0.63 (0.07)
Past Vote: NDP				-1.48 (0.11)
Past Vote: Other				-1.02 (0.15)
Past Vote: PC * 2014				-2.23 (0.11)
Past Vote: NDP * 2014				-0.28 (0.15)
Past Vote: Other * 2014				0.04 (0.22)
Intercept	-0.55 (0.04)	-0.88 (0.13)	-0.46 (0.20)	
Imputations	10	10	10	
Observations	29918	29918	29918	

**Table G2: Weighted Logistic Regression Table, Vote Choice (Models 1-3)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Non-LGBT Women	0.02 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.08)
LGBT Men	0.29 (0.17)	0.27 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.24)
LGBT Women	-0.01 (0.28)	0.08 (0.28)	0.02 (0.39)
2014	0.08 (0.07)	0.34 (0.23)	0.48 (0.42)
Non-LGBT Women * 2014	0.13 (0.09)	0.15 (0.09)	0.32 (0.11)
LGBT Men * 2014	0.44 (0.26)	0.50 (0.26)	0.59 (0.36)
LGBT Women * 2014	0.10 (0.36)	0.08 (0.37)	0.25 (0.53)
Age: 25-34		0.40 (0.17)	0.29 (0.28)
Age: 35-44		0.45 (0.16)	0.31 (0.26)
Age: 45-54		0.40	0.49

	(0.15)	(0.23)
Age: 55-64	0.48	0.44
	(0.16)	(0.24)
Age: 65+	0.47	0.59
	(0.16)	(0.24)
Age: 25-34 * 2014	-0.39	-0.43
	(0.25)	(0.35)
Age: 35-44 * 2014	-0.39	-0.46
	(0.22)	(0.33)
Age: 45-54 * 2014	-0.33	-0.40
	(0.21)	(0.31)
Age: 55-64 * 2014	-0.37	-0.30
	(0.22)	(0.31)
Age: 65+ * 2014	-0.31	-0.20
	(0.22)	(0.35)
Born outside Canada	-0.03	-0.21
	(0.08)	(0.10)
Born outside Canada * 2014	0.14	0.17
	(0.12)	(0.16)
Visible Minority	0.23	-0.21
	(0.10)	(0.13)
Visible Minority * 2014	0.09	0.26
	(0.13)	(0.20)
Indigenous	0.12	0.24
	(0.30)	(0.41)
Indigenous * 2014	-0.86	-0.84
	(0.59)	(0.71)
University		0.45
		(0.08)
University * 2014		-0.07
		(0.13)
Greater Toronto Area (905)		-0.06
		(0.16)
Southwestern Ontario		-0.20
		(0.20)
Hamilton-Niagara		-0.11
		(0.20)
Eastern Ontario		-0.09
		(0.19)
Northern Ontario		-0.11

	(0.20)
Greater Toronto Area (905) * 2014	-0.14 (0.25)
Southwestern Ontario * 2014	-0.28 (0.30)
Hamilton-Niagara * 2014	-0.55 (0.26)
Eastern Ontario * 2014	-0.11 (0.30)
Northern Ontario * 2014	-0.45 (0.32)
Catholic	-0.02 (0.13)
Protestant/Other Christian	-0.13 (0.14)
Non-Christian/Other	0.07 (0.19)
Catholic * 2014	0.26 (0.31)
Protestant/Other Christian * 2014	0.19 (0.29)
Non-Christian/Other * 2014	-0.14 (0.32)
Religion Not Very Important	0.11 (0.12)
Religion Somewhat Important	0.10 (0.12)
Religion Very Important	0.11 (0.13)
Religion Not Very Important * 2014	-0.09 (0.17)
Religion Somewhat Important * 2014	0.02 (0.17)
Religion Very Important * 2014	-0.08 (0.17)
Income: 30-<60K	0.08 (0.11)
Income: 60K-<100K	0.18 (0.10)
Income: 100K+	0.22 (0.11)
Income: 30-<60K * 2014	0.06 (0.17)

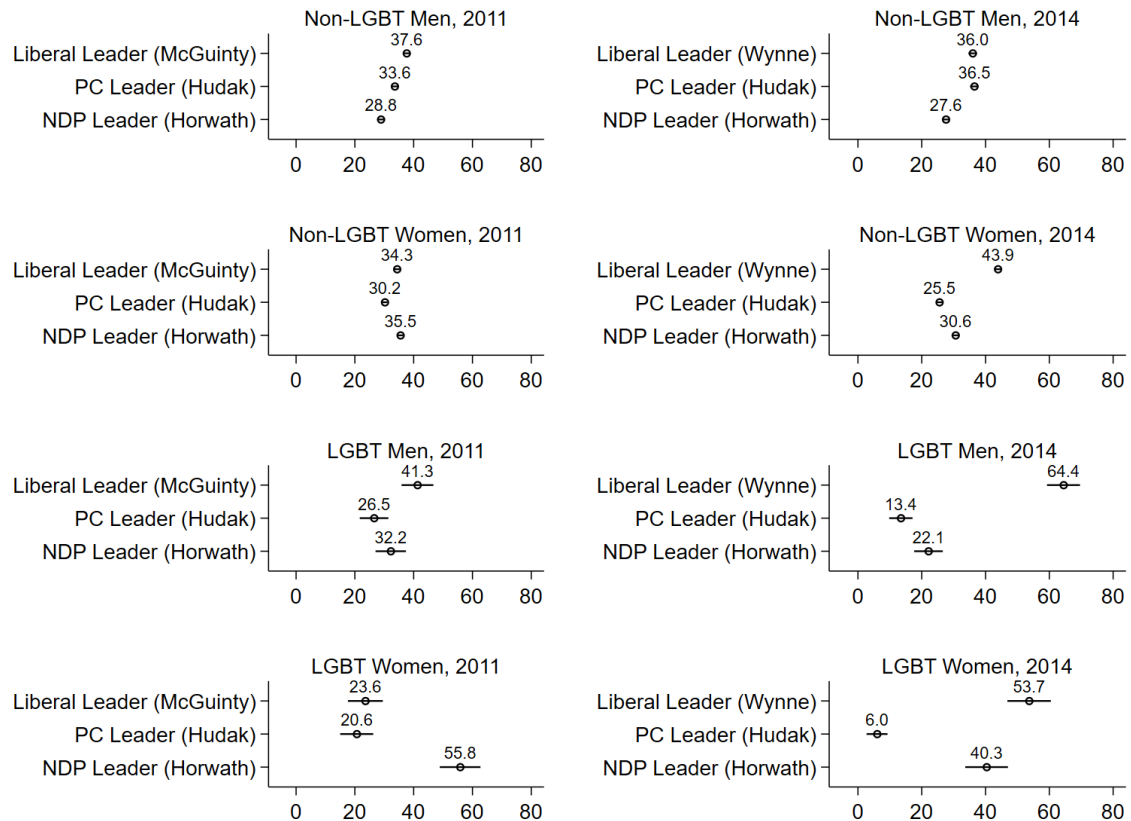


Income: 60K-<100K * 2014				0.02 (0.15)
Income: 100K+ * 2014				0.31 (0.16)
Small Town				0.22 (0.14)
Large City				0.20 (0.13)
Metropolitan				0.29 (0.20)
Small Town * 2014				-0.20 (0.16)
Large City * 2014				-0.18 (0.17)
Metropolitan * 2014				-0.27 (0.34)
Guns in Household				-0.21 (0.12)
Guns in Household * 2014				-0.06 (0.14)
Past Vote: PC				-2.80 (0.14)
Past Vote: NDP				-2.36 (0.14)
Past Vote: Other				-2.02 (0.17)
Past Vote: PC * 2014				-0.40 (0.18)
Past Vote: NDP * 2014				0.29 (0.17)
Past Vote: Other * 2014				-0.04 (0.25)
Intercept	-0.74 (0.06)	-1.18 (0.17)	-0.12 (0.27)	
Imputations	10	10	10	
Observations	29918	29918	29918	

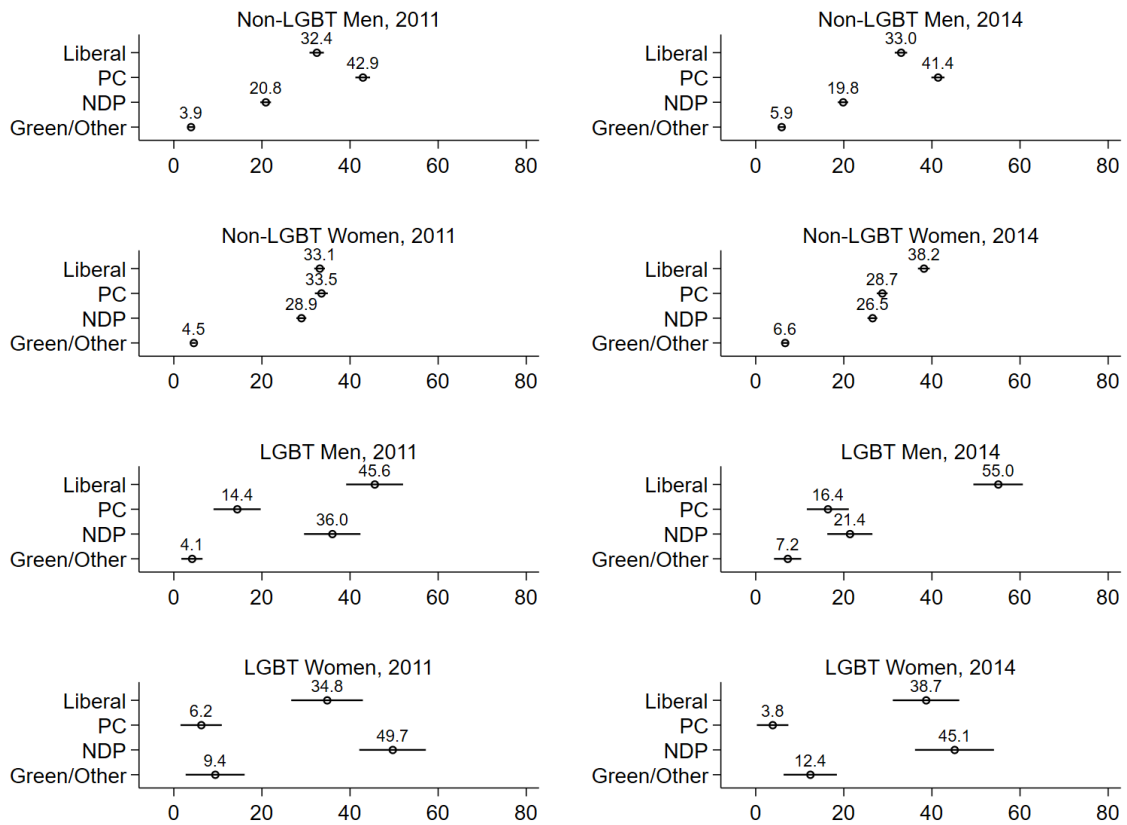
## Section H: Replication without Post-Stratification Weights

In this section, we replicate Figures 1-6 from the main analysis, but we do not include the post-stratification weights.

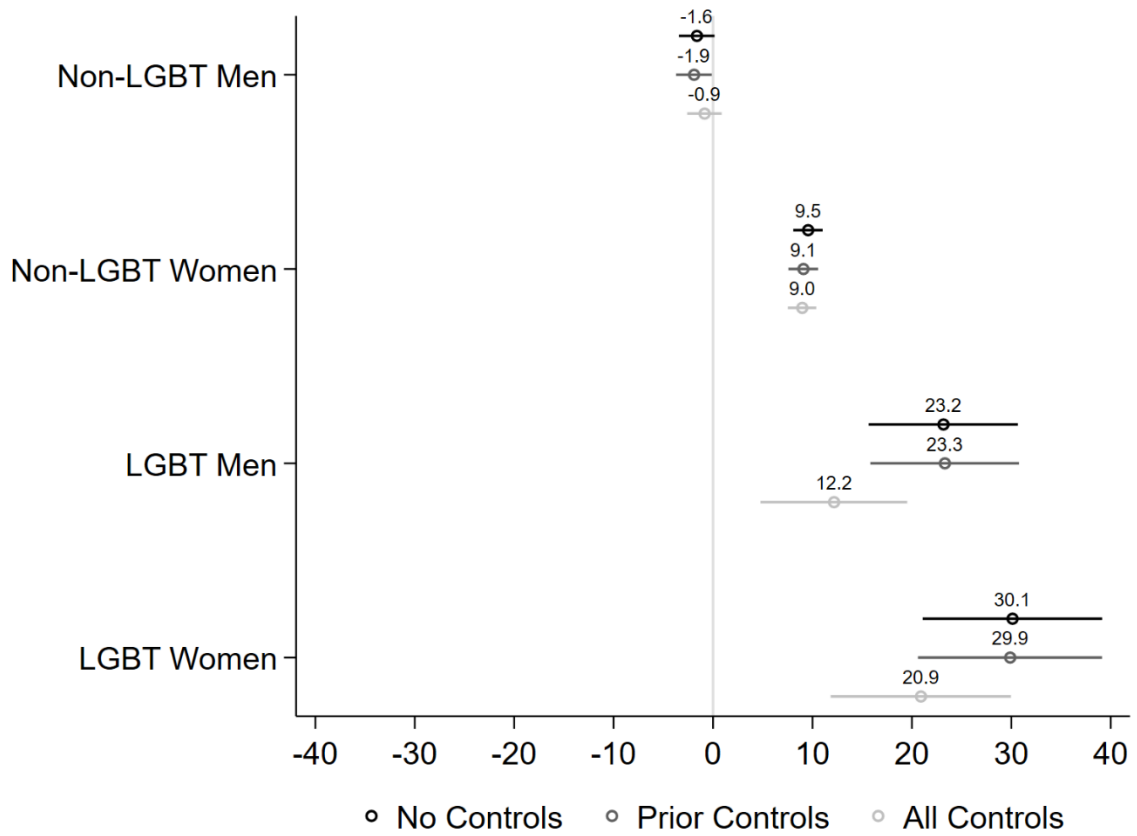
**Figure H1: Estimated Percentage Selecting Each Party Leader as Best Premier, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



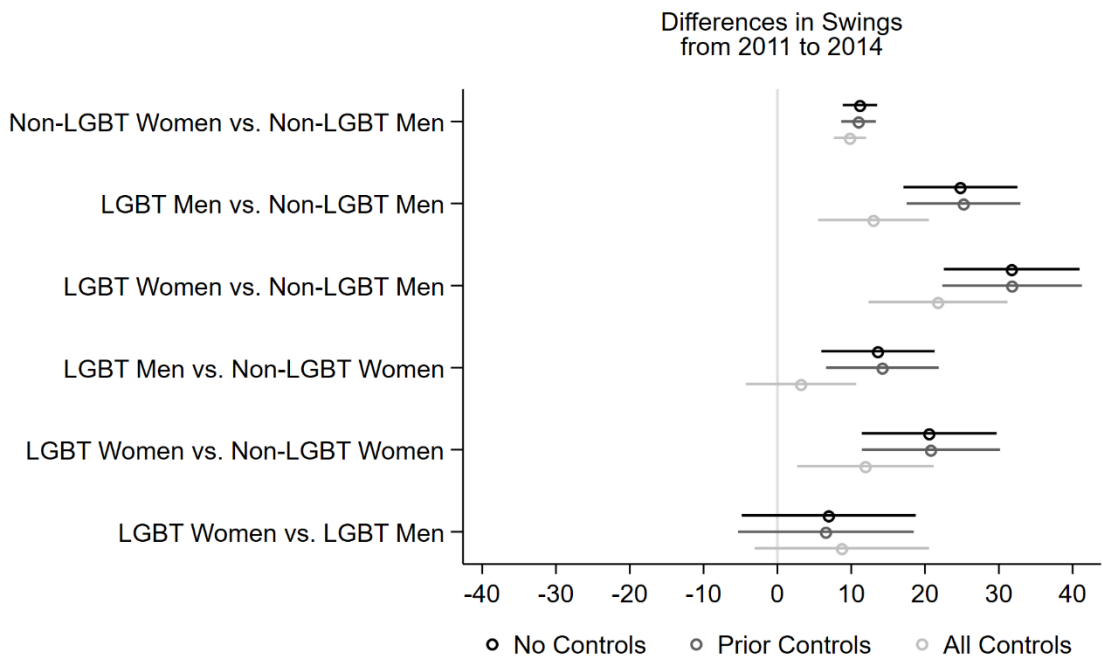
**Figure H2: Estimated Percentage Voting for Each Party, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



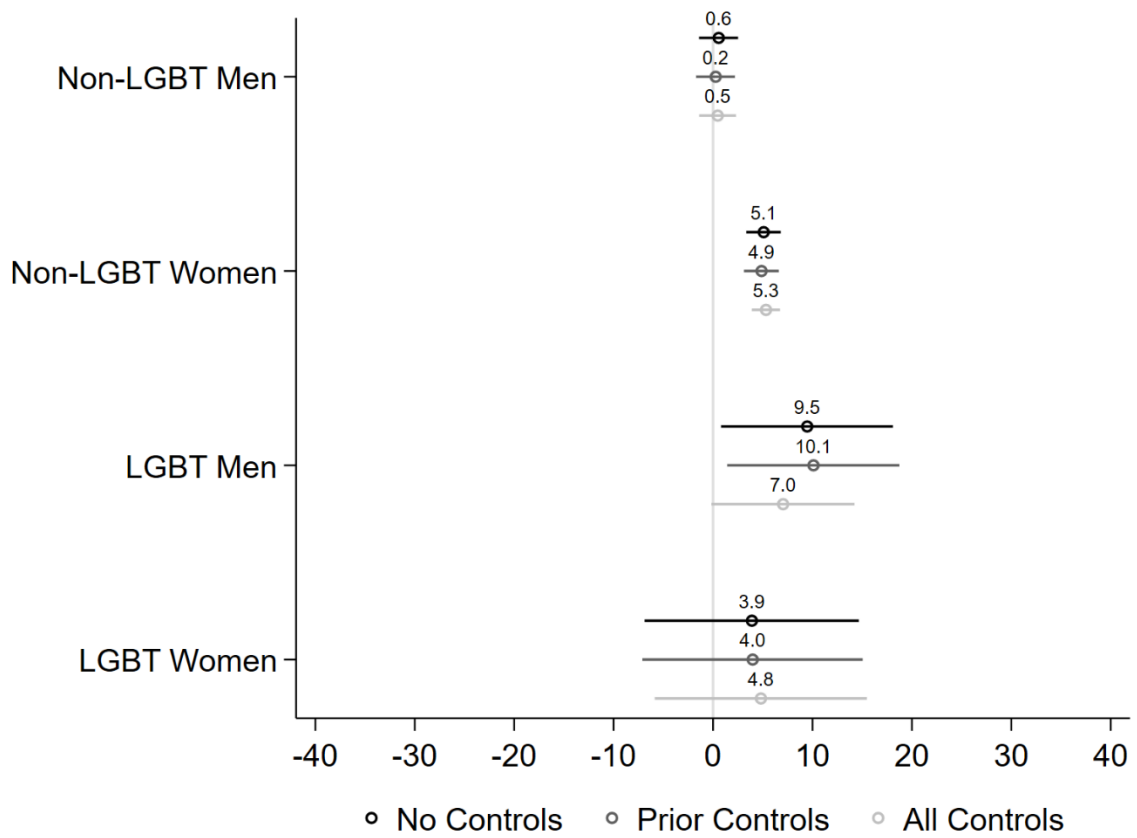
**Figure H3: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



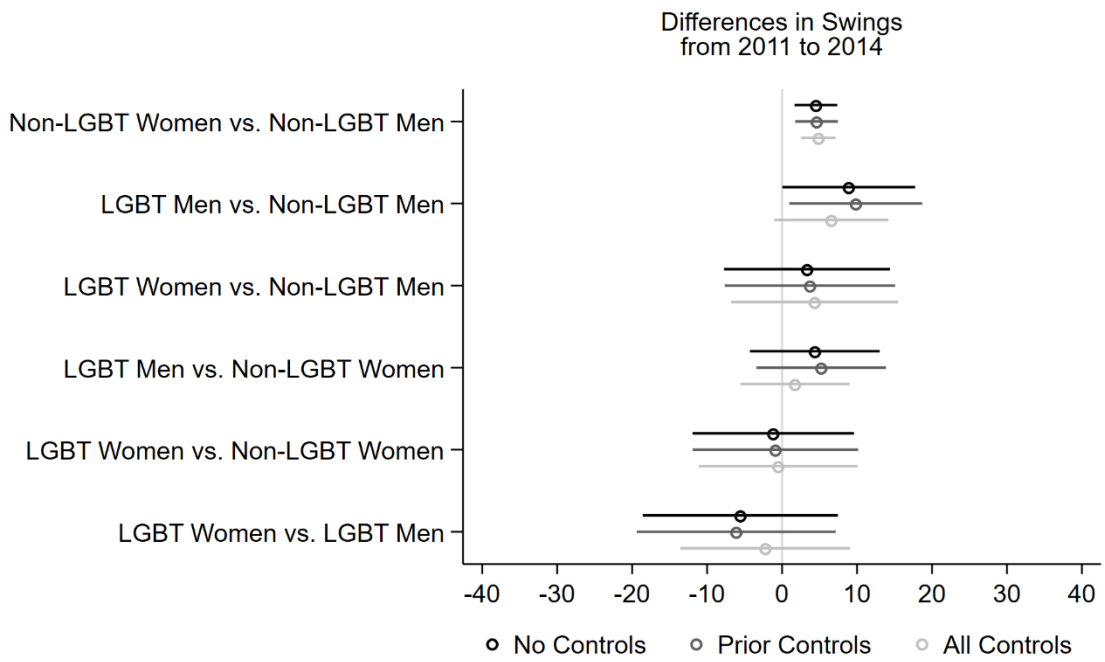
**Figure H4: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing the Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



**Figure H5: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



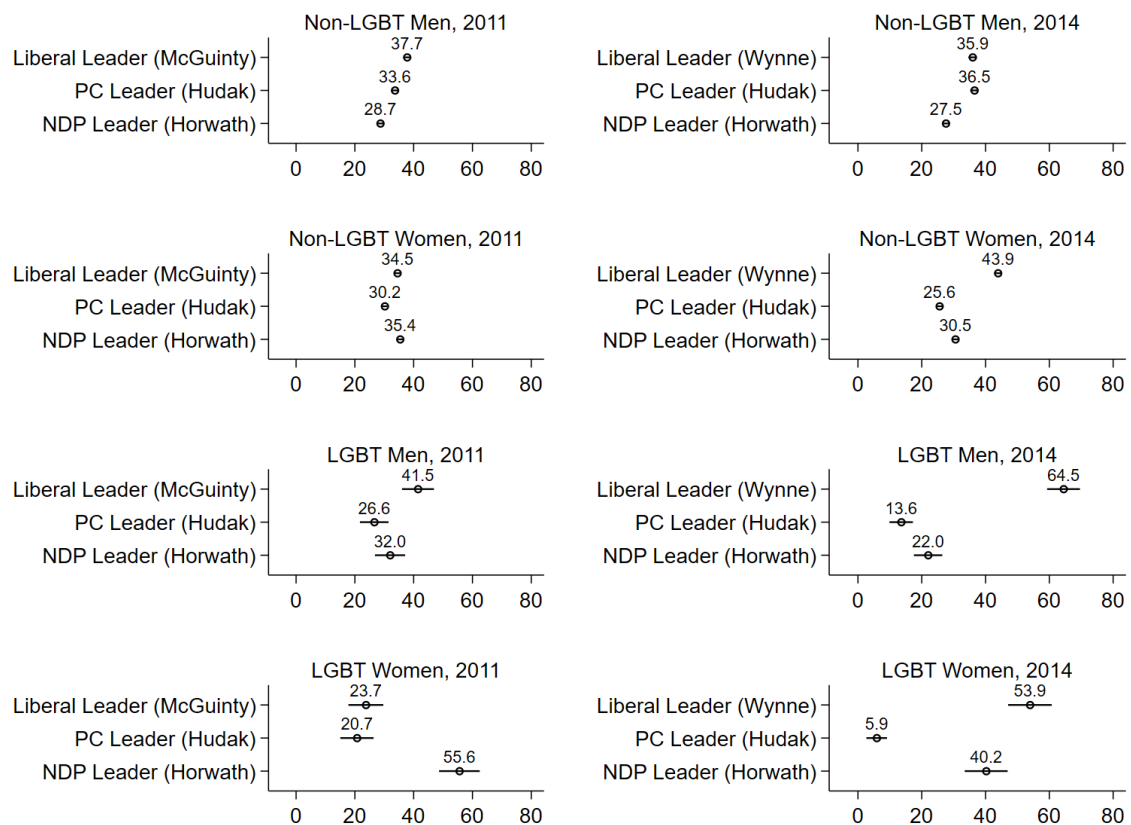
**Figure H6: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



## Section I: Replication without Multiple Imputation or Post-Stratification Weights

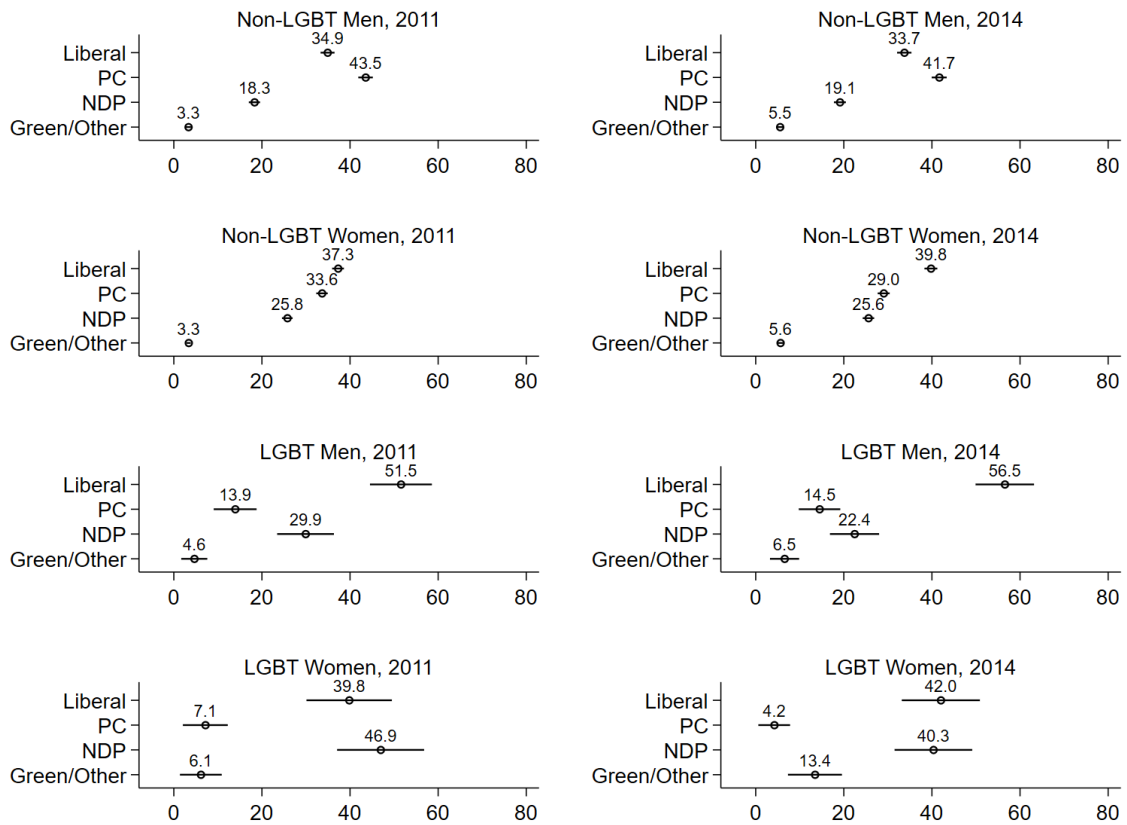
In this section, we replicate the analysis as closely as possible but with no multiple imputation or post-stratification weights. In this replication, we cannot run Model 3, which relies on several variables that have substantial missing data if we do not use multiple imputation.

**Figure I1: Estimated Percentage Selecting Each Party Leader as Best Premier, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (No Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**

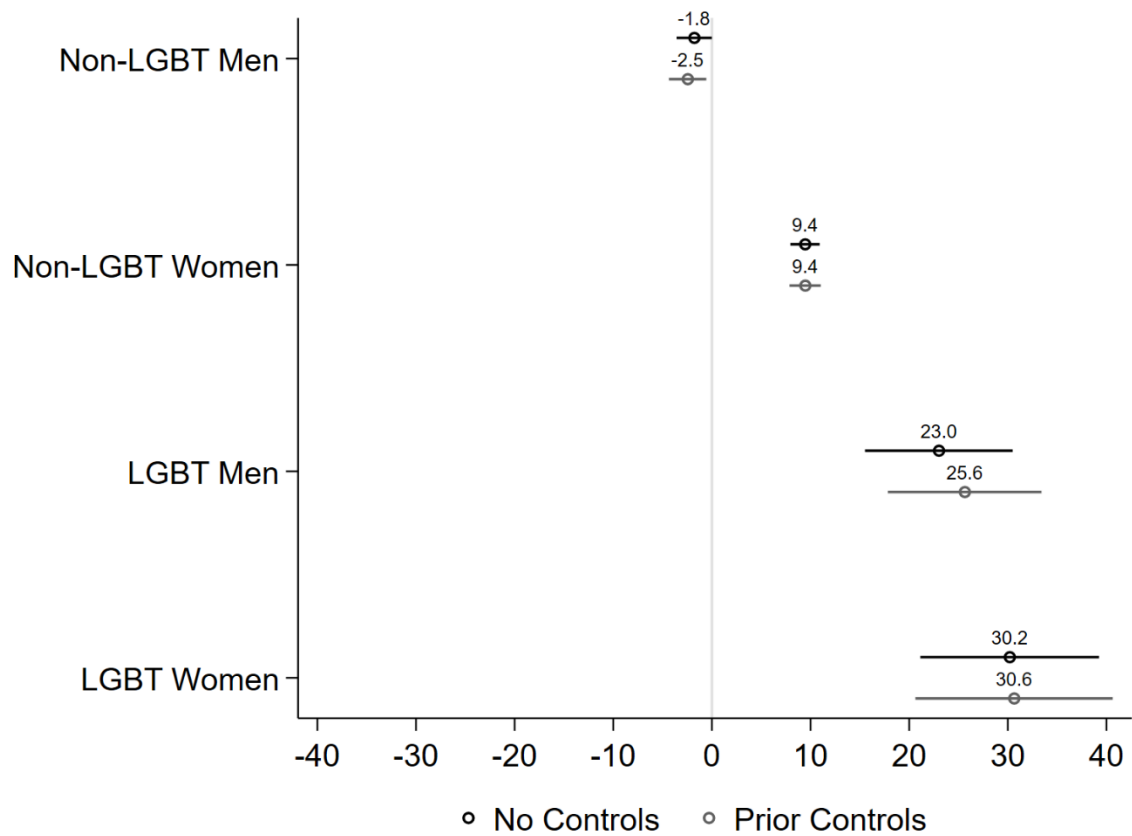




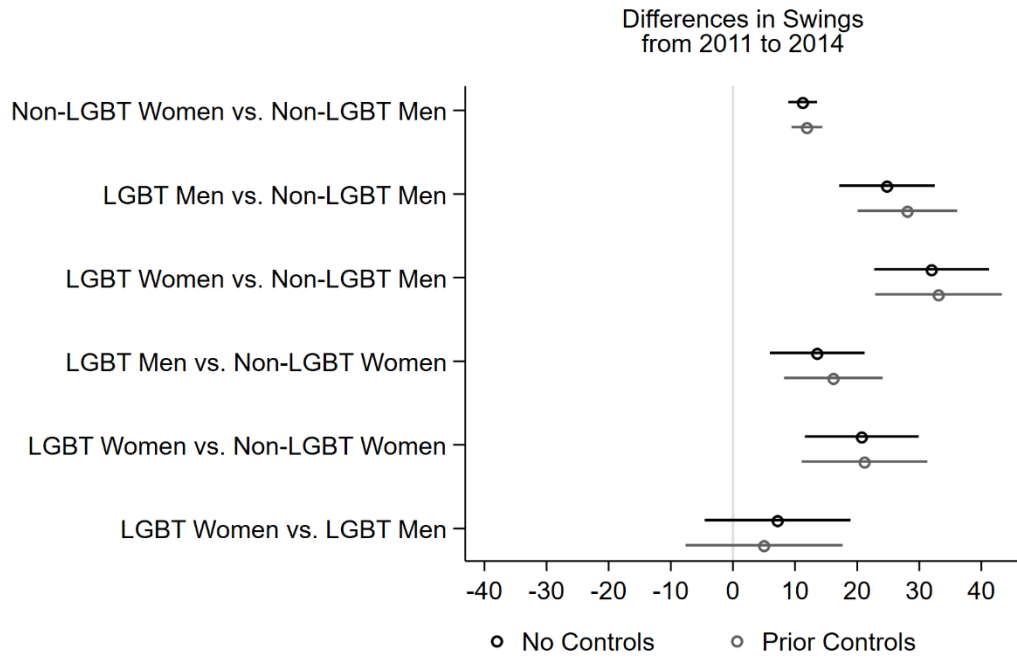
**Figure I2: Estimated Percentage Voting for Each Party, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (No Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



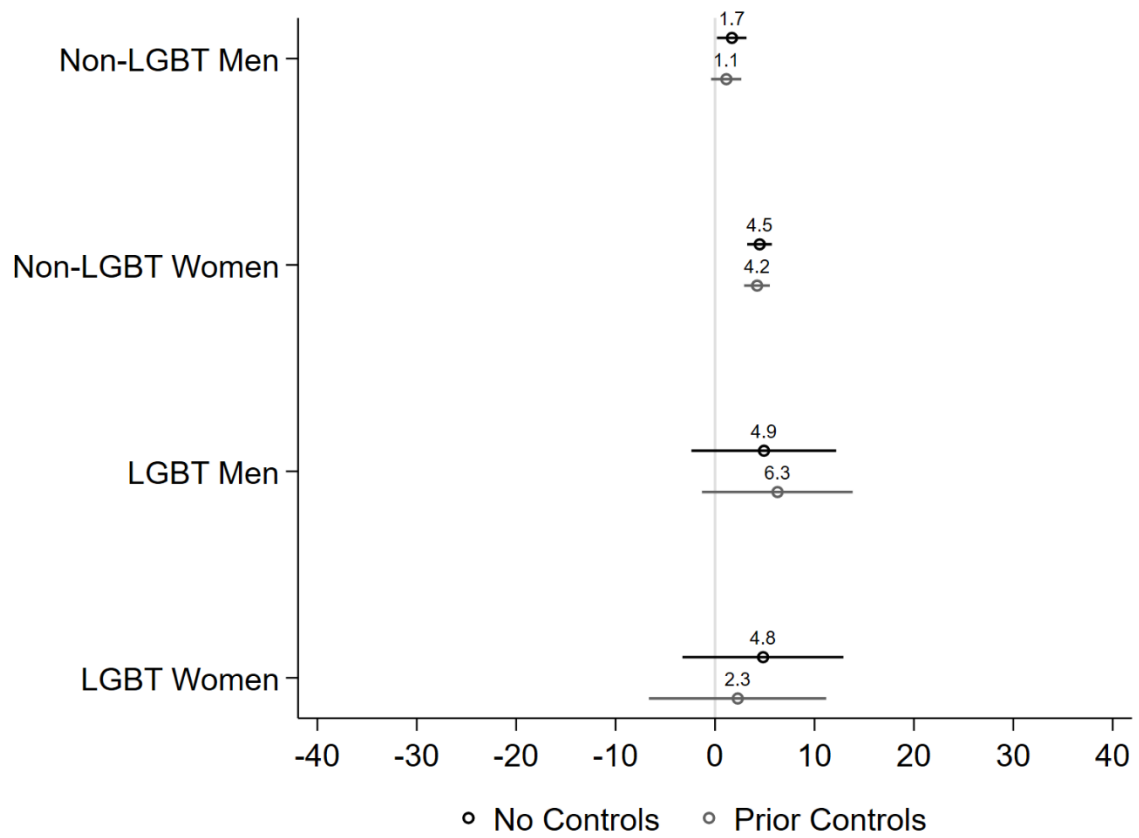
**Figure I3: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (No Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



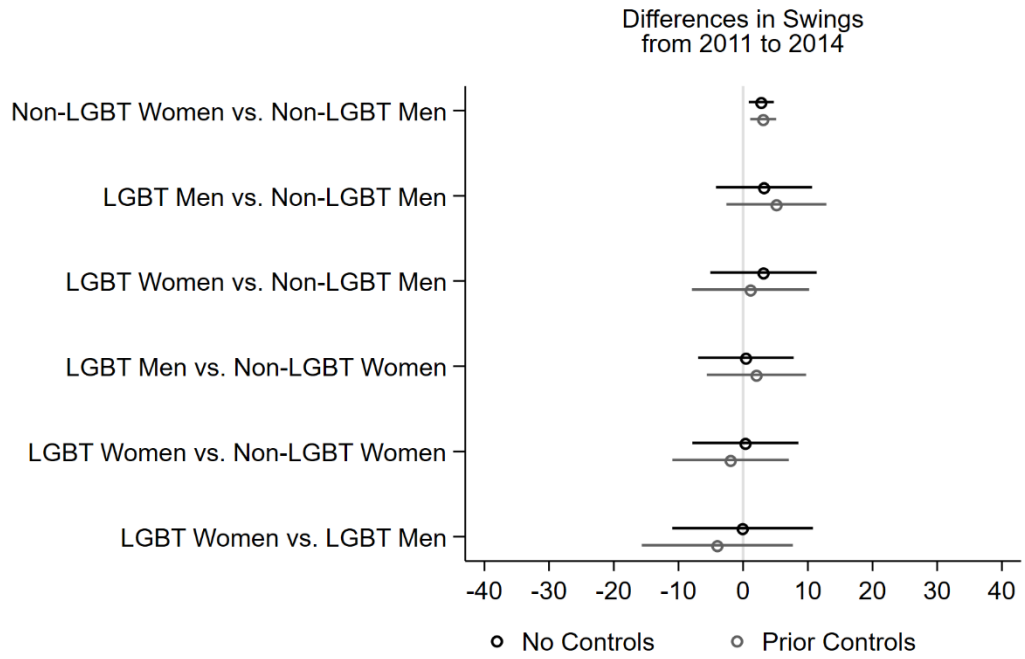
**Figure I4: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing the Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (No Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



**Figure I5: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (No Multiple Imputation, Unweighted)**



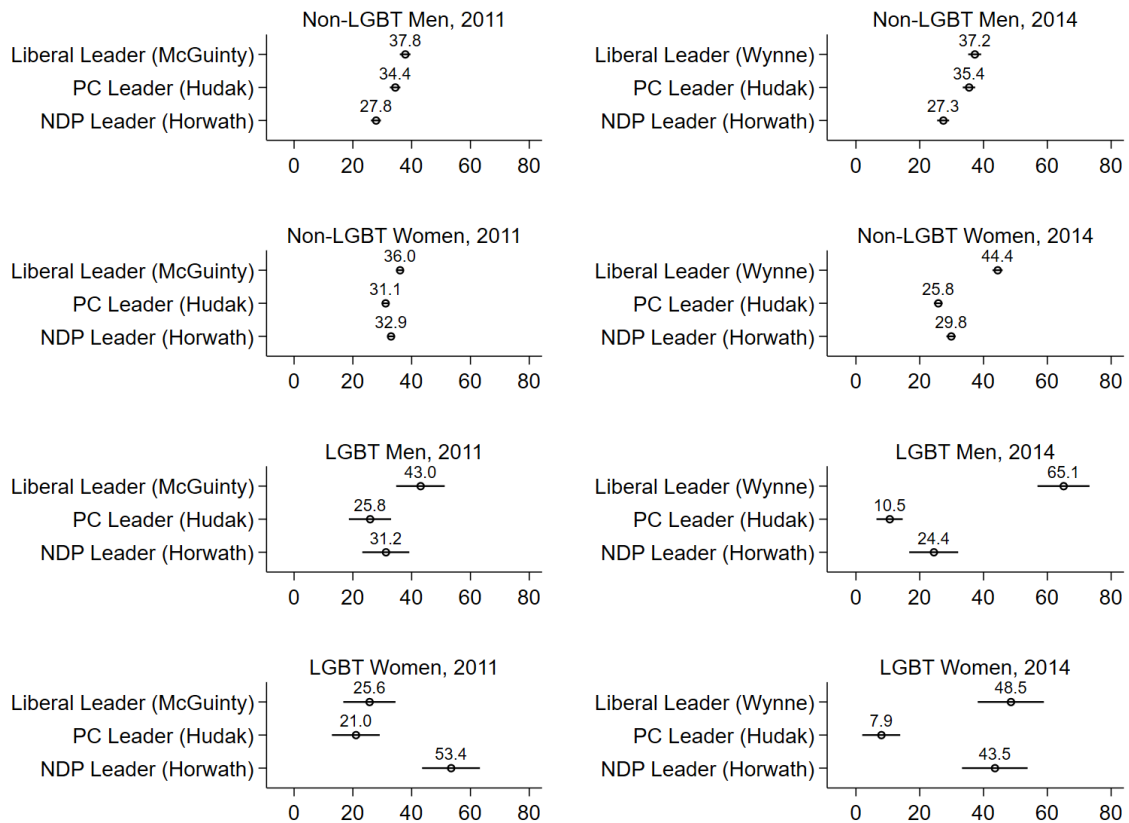
**Figure I6: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (No Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



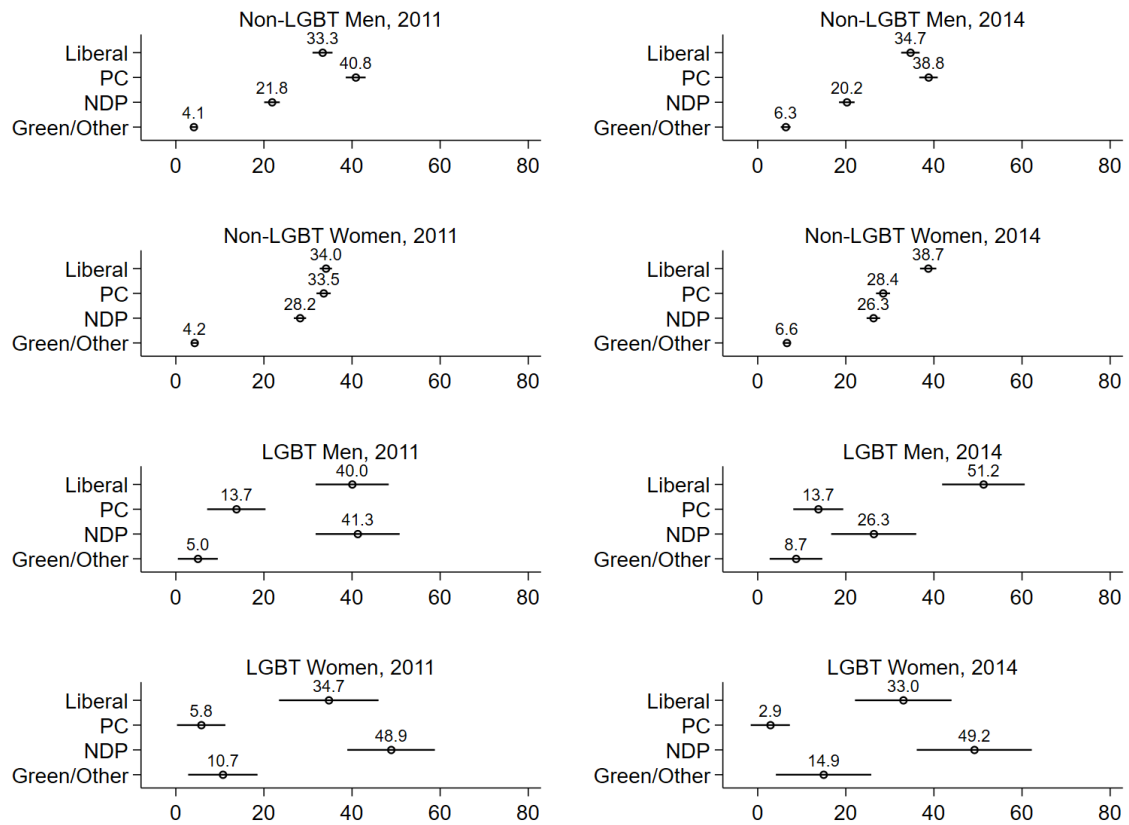
## Section J: Replication on Restricted Sample of “Likely Voters”

In this section, we replicate Figure 1-6 of the main analysis, but we restrict the sample to include only to “likely voters.” This includes all exit survey respondents, who were screened for whether they voted, along with the invitation survey respondents who indicated they had already voted, definitely will vote, or likely will vote. We still use the same multiple imputation models and weights as the main analysis.

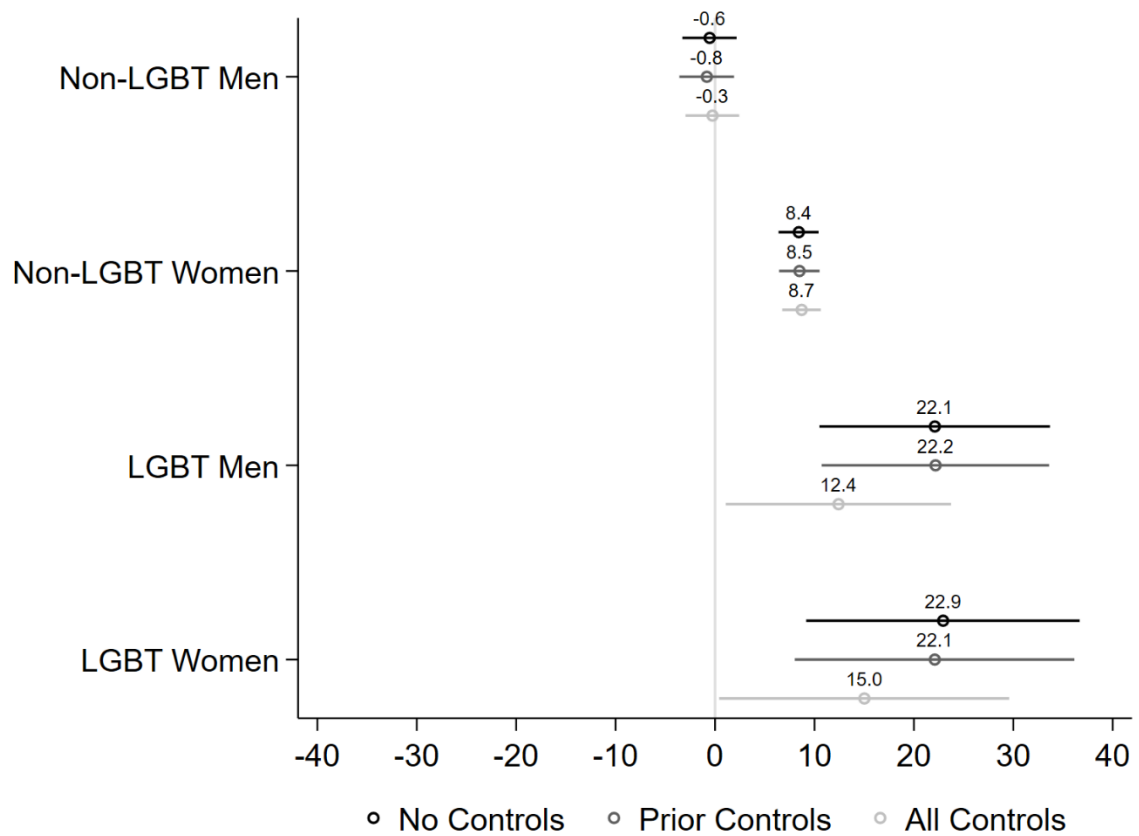
**Figure J1: Estimated Percentage Selecting Each Party Leader as Best Premier, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**



**Figure J2: Estimated Percentage Voting for Each Party, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**

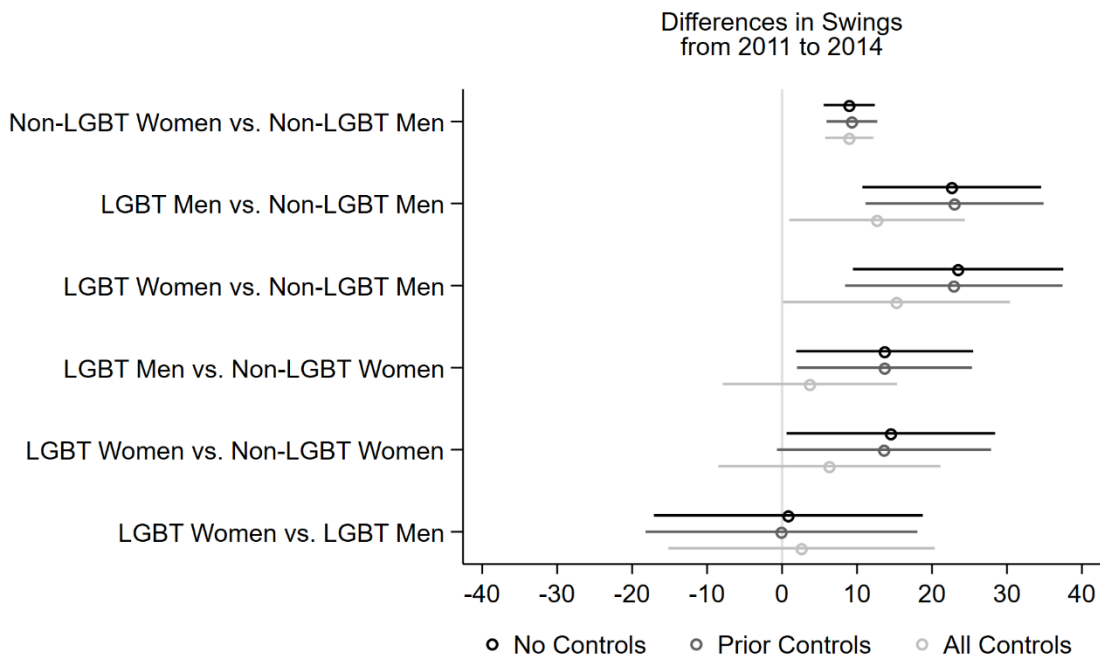


**Figure J3: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**

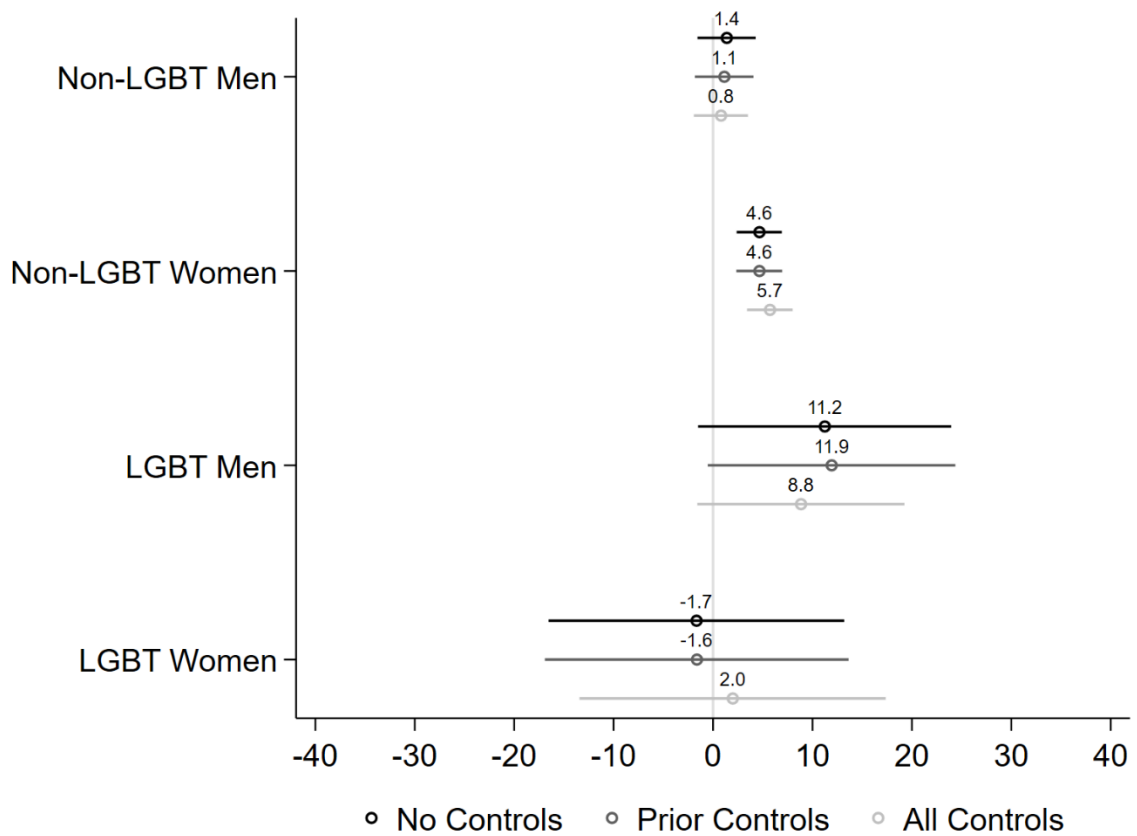




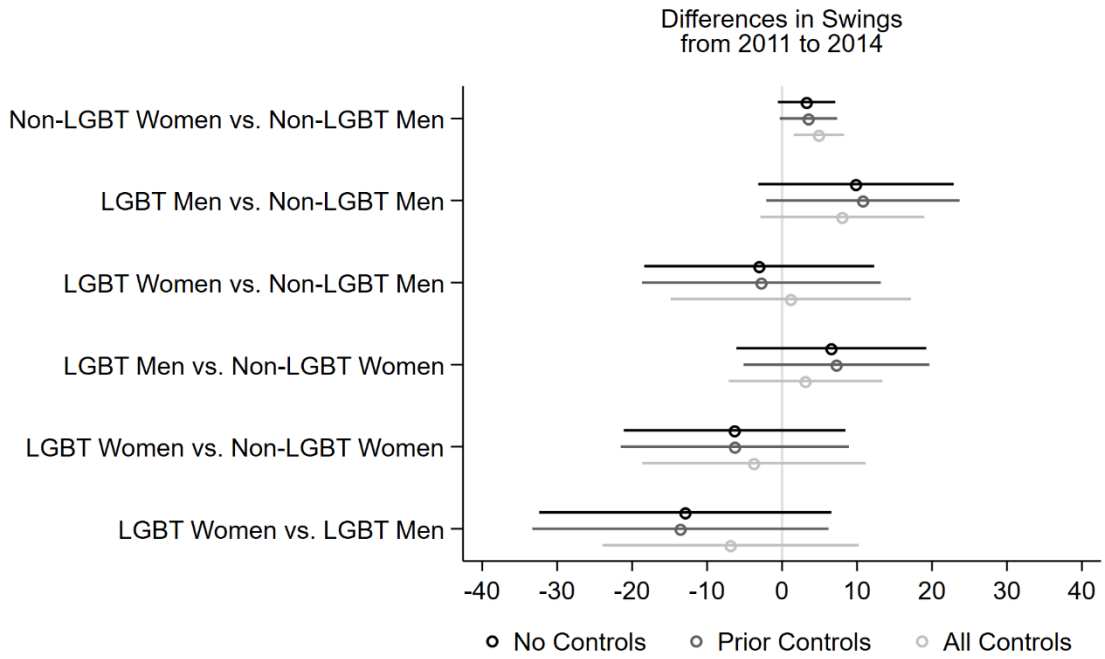
**Figure J4: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing the Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**



**Figure J5: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**



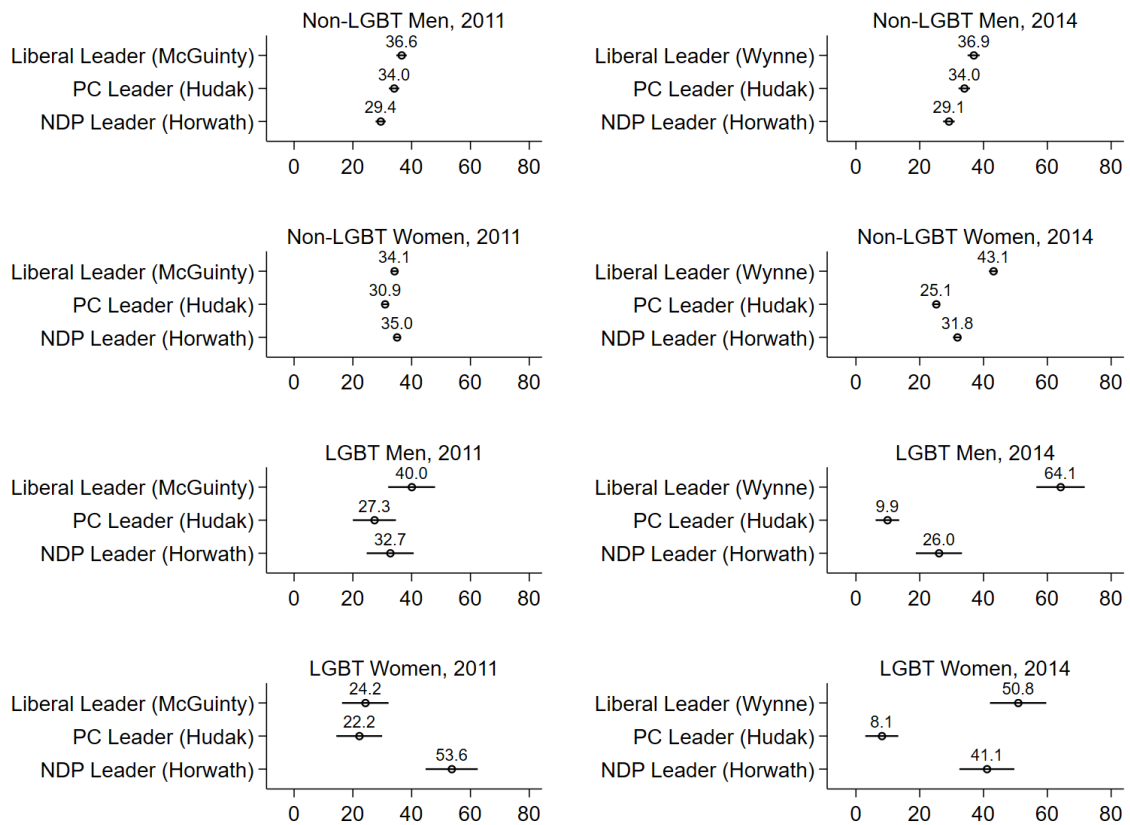
**Figure J6: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Multiple Imputation, Weighted, Likely Voters Only)**



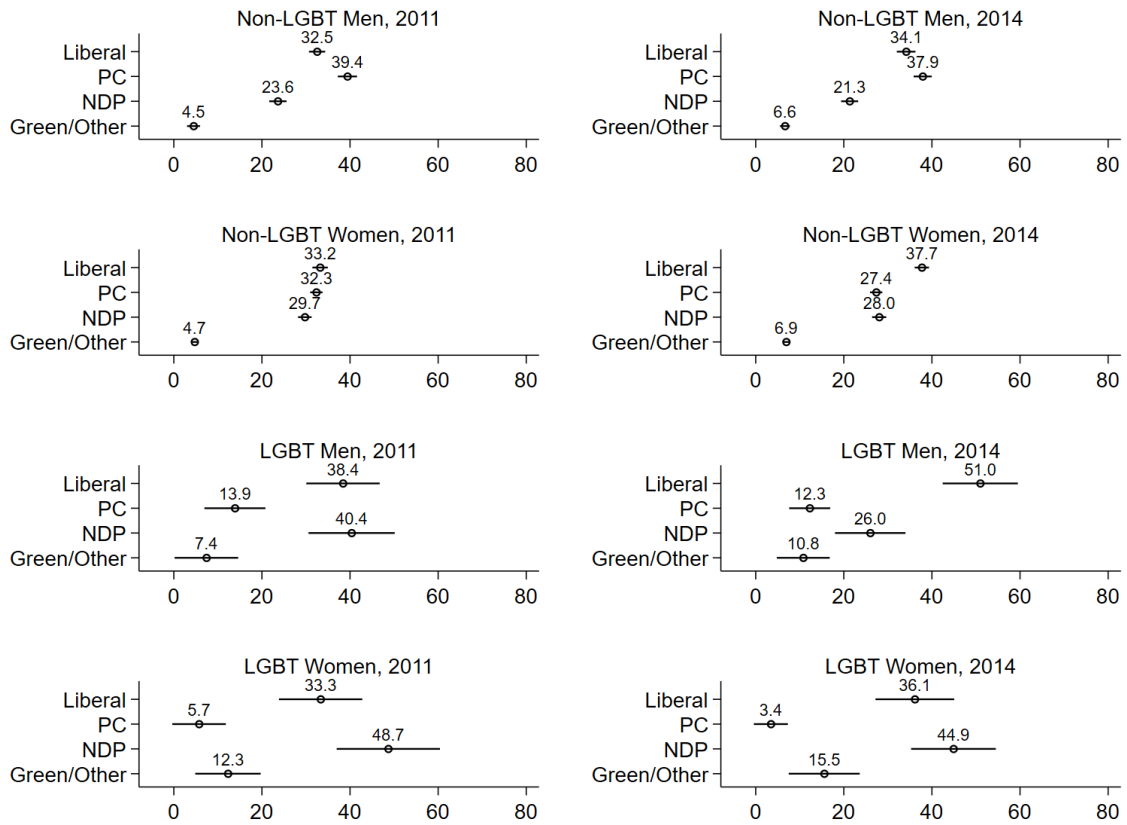
## Section K: Replication with No Imputation of LGBT Identity

In this section, we replicate Figures 1-6, but we change our approach to the multiple imputation. We drop all respondents who had missing data (such as “Don’t Know”) on the LGBT identity variable. We then construct survey weights on this new group, then we use similar MICE models but without imputing LGBT identities.

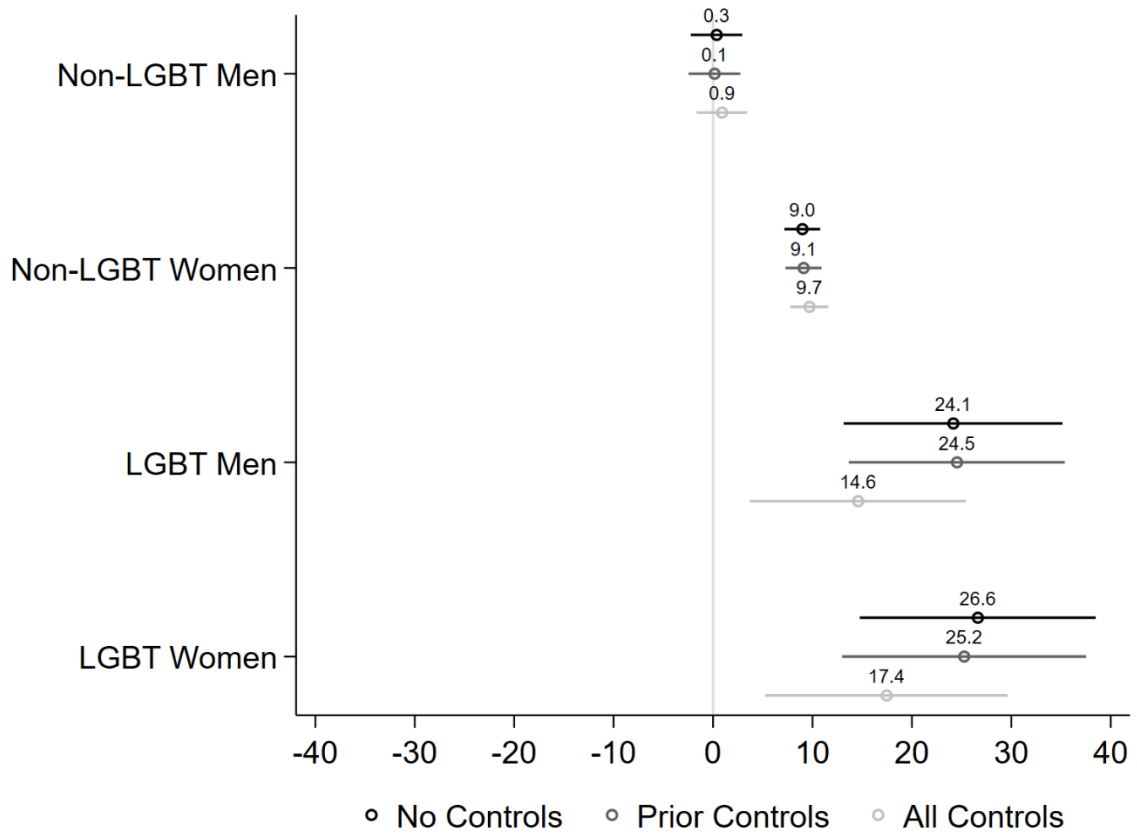
**Figure K1: Estimated Percentage Selecting Each Party Leader as Best Premier, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



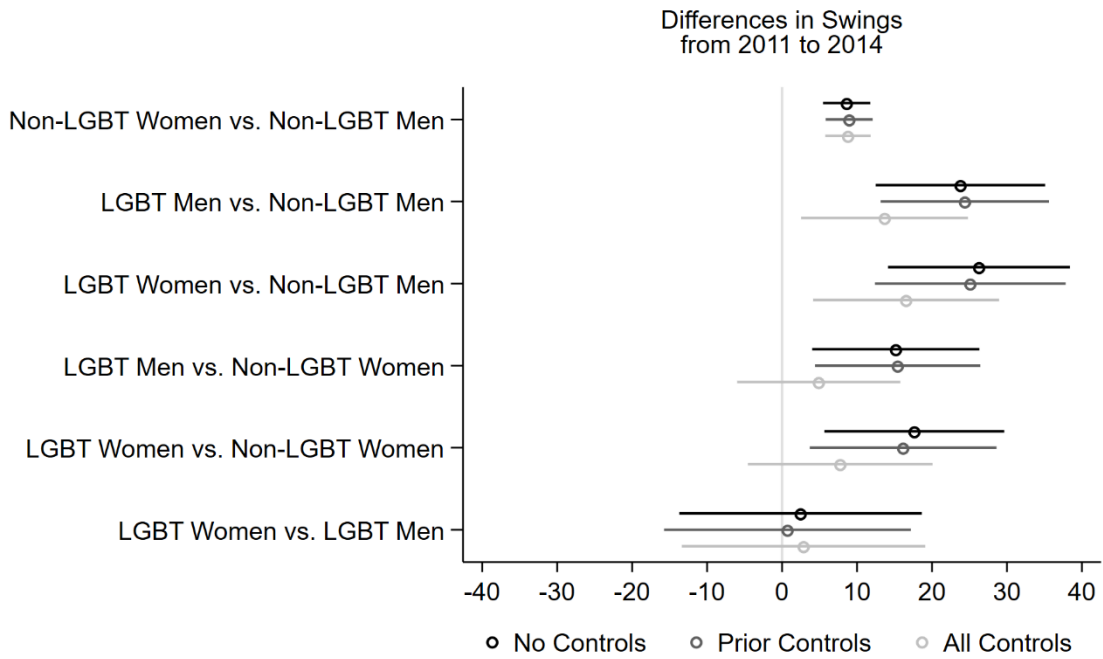
**Figure K2: Estimated Percentage Voting for Each Party, by Gender and Sexual Identity and Year (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



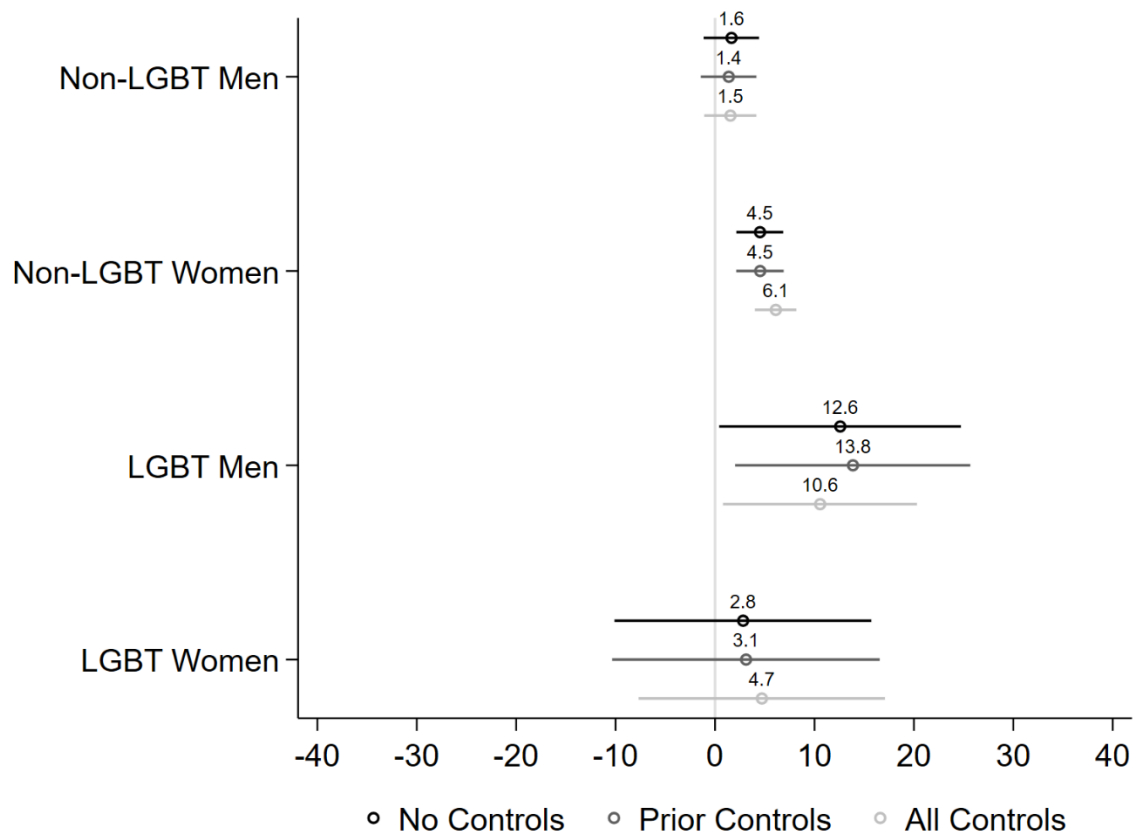
**Figure K3: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



**Figure K4: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Choosing the Liberal Leader as Best Premier with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**



**Figure K5: Estimated Percentage Point Change from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals, by Gender and Sexual Identity (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**





**Figure K6: Pairwise Differences in Estimated Percentage Point Swings from 2011 to 2014 in Liberal Vote Choice with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals (Dropping Respondents with Missing Data on LGBT Identity, Multiple Imputation, Weighted)**

