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Bridging the Pond: Measuring Policy Positions in the United States and Europe

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Online Appendix

2017 CHES-US Pilot Study Details

We constructed the survey in the fall of 2016, drawing from previous Chapel Hill Expert Surveys and the recent US CHES expansion module. We selected a series of questions that captured a range of policy issues that have relevance across the US and Western Europe contexts. To avoid survey fatigue (which was particularly concerning for TA experts, who were asked to place vignettes, American stimuli, and European stimuli), we limited our survey questions to what we felt were the most pressing policy issues in 2016. The survey we sent to TA experts included four biographical questions, six vignette scales (one social and one economic scale for each of the three fictitious parties), and nine scales for stimuli in the US and in one European country (France, Germany, or the UK). The survey we sent to Americanists was equivalent, but limited to US stimuli only.

Questions in the CHES and US expansion module were similar, but did not match one another exactly (the US expansion module was tweaked for the US context). We pulled from both surveys, choosing language that minimized potential for confusion and maximized cross-continental comparability. For instance, we remove the CHES reference to 'libertarian views' from the general social scale because the US Libertarian Party and libertarian beliefs in the EU are not congruent, and included both the EU and NAFTA

as as examples on the integration scale. After creating the initial survey, we piloted the survey with several senior graduate students at the University of California, Davis. Below, we list the questions we include on our survey. All scales range between 0 and 10.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

expert_ID Unique ID for each expert

country Country abbreviation

vote Which candidate did you vote for in the 2016 election?

leftrightSelf In political matters people talk of the "left" and the "right". What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right". Which number best describes you?

VIGNETTES

partyAecon Party A advocates a social market economy with an emphasis on social justice, solidarity, and support for a welfare state. However, this party opposes state ownership, defends private property, and resists excessive intervention of the state in the economy. It believes there is a sharp trade-off between welfare spending and economic competitiveness. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme left and 10 being extreme right where would you place this party?

partyBecon Party B views the equalization of life chances for all citizens as an important goal of government. It favors active government in regulating domestic and international markets, and supports steeply progressive taxes to fund redistributive social programs. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme left and 10 being extreme right where would you place this party?

partyCecon Party C believes in small government. It favors minimal regulation of domestic and international markets, supports the privatization of many government operations, and opposes high taxes to fund redistributive social programs. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme left and 10 being extreme right where would you place this party?

partyAsocial Party A frames its policies around principles of social justice, grass-roots democracy, and multiculturalism. The party favors same-sex marriage, active euthanasia, and access to safe abortion. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme "libertarian/postmaterialist" and 10 being extreme "traditional/authoritarian" where would you place this party?

partyBsocial Party B favors non-discrimination legislation covering gender, race and sexual orientation, but opposes minority quotas. The party sees itself as a pragmatic party that is willing to compromise if this is necessary to achieve its broad goals. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme "libertarian/postmaterialist" and 10 being extreme "traditional/authoritarian" where would you place this party?

partyCsocial Party C emphasizes traditional family values, law and order, and the nation. It opposes the legalization of same-sex marriage and the right to die. It believes that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. On a 0-10 point scale with 0 being extreme "libertarian/postmaterialist" and 10 being extreme "traditional/authoritarian" where would you place this party?

POSITIONS

leftright Please check the box that best describes each party or figure's overall ideology on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

econ Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.

social Parties can be classified in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. Progressive/"Post-Materialist" views favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage. Traditional views often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.

imm Position on immigration policy.

cult Position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (multiculturalism vs. assimilation).

env Position on the environment vs. economic growth.

disc Position on positive discrimination, i.e., affirmative action, policies that support ethnic minorities.

health Position on healthcare.

intg Position on international economic integration and trade agreements, i.e., EU, NAFTA.

We chose to pilot the survey in German, French, and UK party systems because they represent a range of political systems in Europe, include a wide range of parties across general ideological and policy issue scales (including extreme right), and because of their

stability and leadership in the EU system. We ask experts to place 5-6 stimuli in each system (see table below), all of which have had representation in the legislature in the last decade. We conducted the survey in Qualtrics.

Country	Stimuli
US	Democratic Party, Republican Party, Bernie Sanders, Donald Trump
France	Socialist Party Rebublican Party, National Front, Left Party, Ecology Party
Germany	Christian Democratic Union, Christian Social Union, Social Democratic Party, Free Democratic Party, Green Party, Die Linke, Alternative for Germany
UK	Labour Party, Conservative Party, Liberal Party, UK Independent Party, Green Party

2017 CHES-US Pilot Additional Results and Robustness Checks

In Table 1 and Figures 1-3 below we present the results from alternate model specifications and robustness checks as referenced in the main text.

TABLE 1 *Mean stimuli placements by expert country of expertise.*

Stimuli	Scale	μ_{US}	μ_{UK}	μ_{FR}	μ_{DE}
Party A	Economic left-right	3.6	4.7	4.7	4.7
Party B	Economic left-right	2.5	2.0	1.9	1.8
Party C	Economic left-right	7.9	8.0	8.2	8.0
Party A	Social left-right	2.7	1.7	1.6	2.3
Party B	Social left-right	5.1	4.7	4.4	4.8
Party C	Social left-right	8.6	9.2	8.6	9.2
Self	General left-right	2.5	3.0	3.3	3.3

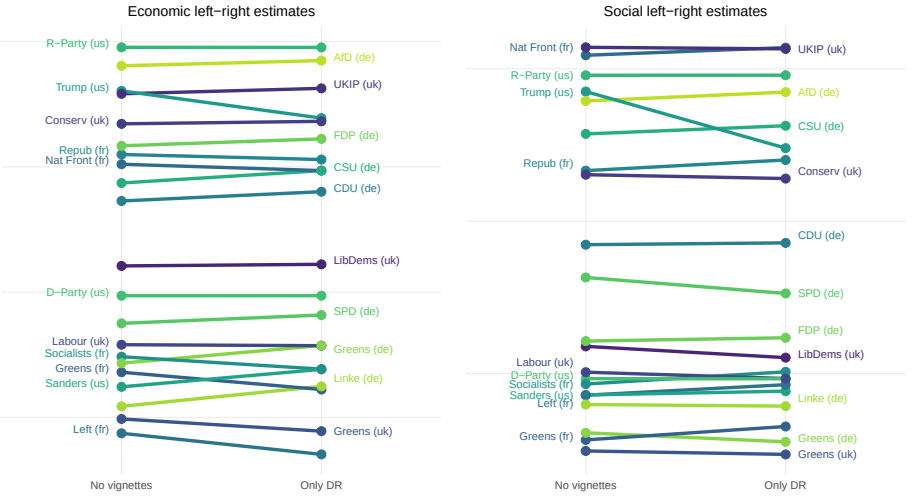

Figure 1. Stimuli point estimates from alternate specifications of the joint Bayesian Aldrich-McKelvey model.

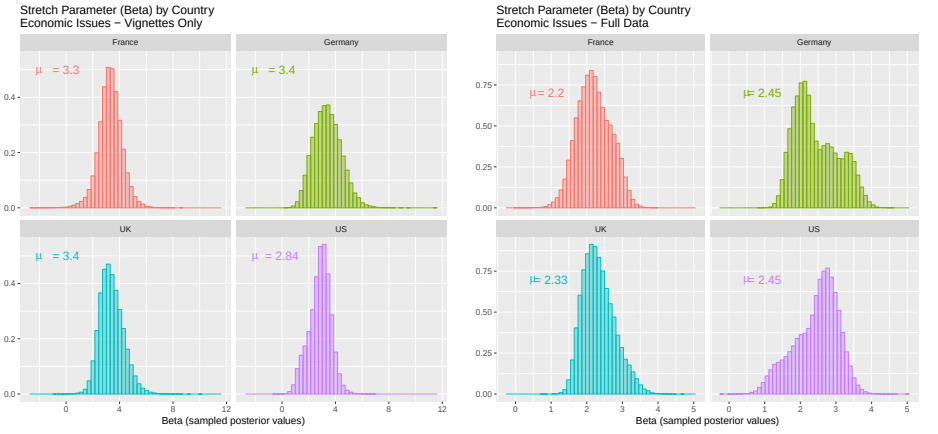

Figure 2. Samples from posterior distributions of expert β_i values by country of expertise for the general economic left-right scale. Results are from Bayesian Aldrich-McKelvey scaling of the 'vignettes only' and 'full data' specifications, using the 36 experts who provided at least four valid stimuli placements. County-specific means shown.

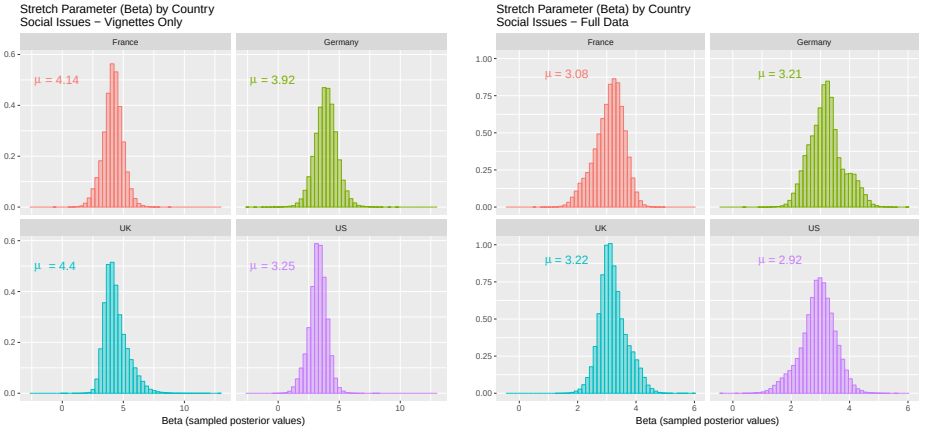

Figure 3. Samples from posterior distributions of expert β_i values by country of expertise for the general social left-right scale. Results are from Bayesian Aldrich-McKelvey scaling of the 'vignettes only' and 'full data' specifications, using the 35 experts who provided at least four valid stimuli placements. County-specific means shown.

We also perform the following simulation tests to assess how well we can detect differences between the US and transatlantic (TA) expert placements with our sample size. Results from difference of means tests between the US and TA expert placements across the 42 stimuli are presented in Figure 1 in the main text.

We begin by fitting separate normal distributions to the US and TA experts' placements of each stimuli, obtaining a mean and standard deviation estimate to model the distribution from which both sets of placements are drawn. We then randomly add or subtract a fixed value (0.5, 1.0, 1.5, and 2.0) from the means of the TA experts' distributions and use these new values to replace the means of US experts' distributions. Finally, we generate new expert placements by randomly drawing identically-sized samples from these distributions and performing a difference of means test.

In sum, we generate biases between the country experts at different magnitudes and assess whether our sample size provides sufficient statistical power to detect the differences. Table 2 below reports the proportion of instances (using 1,000 simulations) in which a difference of means test found significant differences ($p < 0.1$, two-tailed) between the country experts while varying the level of bias between the two sets of experts (0.5, 1, 1.0, or 2-point differences on the ten-point scales).

The results show that while the design is generally underpowered to detect minor differences between the two sets of experts, our sample size allows us to find differences of greater than a point for nearly all stimuli in at least 90% of simulations. We find that it is most difficult to detect differences between the country experts when they find the stimuli difficult to place (i.e., their placements have a larger standard deviation). Examples include President Trump (economic left-right) and Senator Sanders (international integration). However, with this qualification in mind, the design appears to be largely effective at detecting moderate-to-large differential-item functioning between experts.

TABLE 2 *Detection rate for varying levels of simulated difference in means between US and European country experts by stimuli. Values represent the proportion of the 1,000 trials in which a difference of means test found a significant difference between the country experts ($p < 0.1$, two-tailed).*

	Difference in Means			
Stimuli	0.5	1.0	1.5	2.0
Party A (econ)	0.47	0.924	0.998	1
Party B (econ)	0.245	0.595	0.898	1
Party C (econ)	0.627	0.987	1	1
Party A (social)	0.491	0.904	0.992	1
Party B (social)	0.252	0.622	0.911	0.988
Party C (social)	0.484	0.925	0.998	0.999
DParty (leftright)	0.322	0.768	0.975	1
RParty (leftright)	0.509	0.958	1	1
Sanders (leftright)	0.293	0.713	0.952	1
Trump (leftright)	0.303	0.728	0.962	0.998
DParty (econ)	0.266	0.635	0.922	0.995
RParty (econ)	0.429	0.91	0.996	1
Sanders (econ)	0.24	0.594	0.887	1
Trimp (econ)	0.218	0.407	0.647	0.688
DParty (social)	0.509	0.969	1	1
RParty (social)	0.564	0.982	1	1
Sanders (social)	0.382	0.855	0.99	1
Trump (social)	0.332	0.616	0.867	0.8
DParty (immig)	0.14	0.321	0.572	0.92
RParty (immig)	0.287	0.69	0.95	0.99
Sanders (immig)	0.209	0.542	0.845	0.991
Trump (immig)	0.887	1	1	0.989
DParty (cultural)	0.207	0.499	0.785	0.943
RParty (cultural)	0.289	0.714	0.965	1
Sanders (cultural)	0.173	0.421	0.721	0.951
Trump (cultural)	0.35	0.86	0.993	0.998
DParty (environ)	0.381	0.873	0.996	1
RParty (environ)	0.36	0.83	0.983	0.992
Sanders (environ)	0.221	0.538	0.824	0.975
Trump (environ)	0.556	0.955	1	0.983
DParty (discrim)	0.437	0.89	0.993	1
RParty (discrim)	0.257	0.654	0.93	0.996
Sanders (discrim)	0.403	0.812	0.976	0.998
Trump (discrim)	0.395	0.835	0.986	0.976
DParty (health)	0.38	0.851	0.991	1
RParty (health)	0.471	0.91	0.999	0.996
Sanders (health)	0.398	0.786	0.956	1
Trump (health)	0.254	0.569	0.852	0.875
DParty (ininteg)	0.282	0.661	0.935	0.998
RParty (ininteg)	0.141	0.309	0.52	0.787
Sanders (ininteg)	0.155	0.278	0.455	0.658
Trump (ininteg)	0.263	0.625	0.896	0.949