

## Supplementary File for Article “Closer or More Distant? The Congruence between Elites and Voters on Swiss-EU Relations”

### 1. Many-to-many congruence

The many-to-many congruence measure relies on the cumulative distribution functions of citizen and elite opinions and compares the areas under these functions (see Golder & Stramski, 2010):

$$\text{Congruence (many-to-many)} = \sum_x |F_1(x) - F_2(x)|$$

Many-to-many congruence is defined as the absolute difference between the two cumulative distribution functions for the voters' ( $F_1(x)$ ) and candidates' preferences ( $F_2(x)$ ) and can range between 0 (in case the distributions are exactly congruent) and 1 (maximal incongruence). The many-to-many congruence values are presented in the final column of Table A1 and provide additional insight into the quality of representation across parties.

**Table A1.** Comparison between voters and candidates on closer relations with the EU – extension of Table 1

<i>Groups</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean support for closer relationship with EU (0-3)</i>	<i>Difference (voters-candidates)</i>	<i>T-statistic</i>	<i>Elites more integrationist than voters?</i>	<i>Many-to-many congruence</i>
SVP voters	916	0.92	0.50	7.67***	no	0.39
SVP candidates	187	0.42				
FDP voters	583	1.91	-0.38	-5.91***	yes	0.32
FDP candidates	258	2.29				
The Centre voters	667	1.90	-0.19	-3.99***	yes	0.10
The Centre candidates	467	2.09				
GLP voters	442	2.22	-0.60	-13.93***	yes	0.57
GLP candidates	378	2.82				
SP voters	1037	2.28	-0.34	-7.88***	yes	0.28
SP candidates	337	2.62				
GPS voters	459	2.25	-0.49	-10.70***	yes	0.45
GPS candidates	333	2.75				
All voters	4437	1.72	-0.32	-12.65***	yes	0.53
All candidates	2394	2.05				

Notes: Negative values for the difference between voters and candidates indicate weaker mean support among voters than candidates; significance levels: \*\*\*= $p < 0.001$ , \*\*= $p < 0.01$ , \*= $p < 0.05$ ; weighted results for the groups “all voters” and “all candidates.” Lower many-to-many congruence values (last column) stand for greater voter-candidate congruence.

Lower values indicate greater voter-candidate congruence, with The Centre displaying the highest congruence (0.10) and the Green Liberals showing the lowest (0.57). Interestingly, the Green Liberals as the most Europhile party, i.e., the one that mobilizes its supporters the most using pro-European slogans, have the largest elite-voter incongruence when it comes to the distribution of opinions. Note that, on the contrary, the SVP as the party that mobilizes voters on the issue of European integration the most – but with a very pronounced *anti*-European stance – displays an intermediate congruence level (0.39). The values obtained for the many-to-many congruence

substantiate our findings regarding the difference between mean positions (fourth columns) as the ranking of parties, i.e., from the highest to the lowest voter-candidate congruence is almost exactly the same. Only in the case of the GPS and SVP, we observe a small change in the ranking when comparing the differences between the mean positions and many-to-many congruence: While the difference between voters and party elites is slightly lower for the GPS than the SVP, the candidates from the SVP do a better job in representing the distribution of opinions in their electorate than the GPS candidates. In sum, the many-to-many congruence levels serve well as a robustness check for the findings on the differences between the mean positions.

## 2. Restricted sample of elected candidates (MPs)

**Table A2.** Comparison between voters and elected candidates (MPs) on closer relations with the EU

<i>Groups</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean support for closer relationship with EU (0-3)</i>	<i>Difference (voters-candidates)</i>	<i>T-statistic</i>	<i>Elites more integrationist than voters?</i>
SVP voters	916	0.92	0.86	4.12***	no
SVP MPs	16	0.06			
FDP voters	583	1.91	-0.87	-3.08**	yes
FDP MPs	9	2.78			
The Centre voters	667	1.90	-0.25	-1.09	yes (tendency)
The Centre MPs	13	2.15			
GLP voters	442	2.22	-0.78	-2.19*	yes
GLP MPs	4	3.00			
SP voters	1037	2.28	-0.48	-3.06**	yes
SP MPs	21	2.76			
GPS voters	459	2.25	-0.66	-3.34***	yes
GPS MPs	12	2.92			
All voters	4437	1.72	-0.17	-1.52	yes (tendency)
All MPs	78	1.89			

Notes: Negative values for the difference between voters and MPs indicate weaker mean support among voters than MPs; significance levels: \*\*\*=p<0.001, \*\*=p<0.01, \*=p<0.05; weighted results for the groups “all voters” and “all MPs.”

## References

Golder, M., & Stramski, J. (2010). Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(1), 90-106.