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CHOOSING POLICY OVER VALENCE

- A conjoint experiment on vote choice

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Abstract

In a representative democracy elections constitute the main channel for individuals to express their will. In each election voters are typically asked to make a single choice on the basis of multiple political preferences. The nature of this process entails that some voters need to choose between preferences. This choice process is suggested to have become more complicated due to recent years changes, with large structural transformations, proposing both an increased division in policy preferences and increased importance of short-term, consensually based, and personality related aspects of vote choice (valence voting). Earlier research remains inconclusive about the relative importance of positional and valence issues, and presents challenges both in determining the causal relationship of vote choice determinants and eliciting voters' true preferences. This thesis contributes to filling this gap by conducting an original conjoint survey experiment. The study finds that individuals prefer parties with political positions close to their own as well as high valence party leaders. More interestingly though, participants seem to prioritise immigration issues and to be ready to trade-off their position on redistribution and gender equality. Last in the vote calculus rank participants valence issues. The results indicate that we, in a Swedish context, are not witnessing a strong influence of valence politics on vote choice but a shift in the main conflict dimensions that structure political competition. Pointing towards an increased importance for political parties to position themselves on the cultural dimension to attract voters.

Keywords: vote choice, trade-offs, valence politics, spatial politics, conjoint experiment.

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Preface

Let me start by thanking the people who have supported me and encouraged me to write and finish this thesis.

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1. Introduction

In a representative democracy elections constitute the main channel for individuals to express their will, and in each election voters are typically asked to make a single choice for a party or candidate on the basis of multiple political preferences. One of the key functions of elections is thus to function as a preference aggregator, to avoid the both time-consuming and complicated process of direct democracy (Powell 2007). However, the process of making a single choice on the basis of multiple preferences also means that some voters will need to trade-off between different preferences if no alternative match all requirements. Understanding how voters trade-off between different preferences can provide important insight into how vote choice is made and what issues are the most salient for voters.

Recent years changes of the political landscape in many advanced industrial societies has illuminated the need to account for the multidimensional preferences held by voters. Large structural transformation has promoted a multidimensional political system with more complex divisions in the political preferences held by the population. A development that arguably has critical implications for how preferences are related to vote choice (Beramendi, Häusermann, Kitschelt & Kriesi 2015). Sweden has, alike many other European countries, experienced this changing landscape of electoral competition, most visible through the rise of the nationalistic and anti-immigration party the Sweden democrats and the divisions of the right and centre-right alliance.

Understanding how and what preferences drive vote choice is not only interesting in the context of changing political conflict structure. Simultaneously, there is an ongoing debate about a growing importance of short-term, evaluative, consensually based and personalistic characteristics for vote choice. The idea that valence issues (issues where there is broad agreement among voters) are important is not new but have been revitalized in recent years. Technological advancements, particularly in the field of media communications, and a increased importance of media for politics have made political leaders more central and visible to the population. Once again lifting the question of how important leader characteristics are for vote choice (King 2002; Thomassen 2005), and how strong influence it has compared to other vote choice determinants.

Most research on preferences and ranking so far have been conducted on cross-sectional survey data. This poses at least two challenges. First, previous research has emphasize the difficulties in separating and determining the causal effect of different vote determinants, especially the effect of valence traits such as leader characteristics. Leader traits are likely not immune towards external influences which complicates the task in separating its effect (Bittner 2011; Dassonneville 2016). Secondly, it has opened up for concerns regarding its validity, as it has been debated how well standard questions aimed at measuring preferences and priority rankings do this without putting it in the context of vote choice (Horiuchi, Smith & Yamamoto 2018). This thesis contributes to filling this gap by studying the multidimensional vote choice and the trade-offs voters face in a Swedish context between 1) different positional issues and 2) between positional and valence issue. To answer these questions the thesis employs a comparatively novel research design called “paired-conjoint” survey experiment. Conjoint experiment has long been used within marketing research but has recently grown popular in the field of political science as it more closely mimics a real choice task compared to other survey experiments (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014; Horiuchi, Smith & Yamamoto 2018). A conjoint survey experiment is a “stated preference experiment that typically asks the participants to choose and/or rate multiple hypothetical descriptions of objects that vary along different attributes that are presumed to be important determinants of the choice or rating” (Hainmueller, Hangartner & Yamamoto 2015 pp. 2395). As the researcher decides which hypothetical descriptions the (randomly selected) participants will see is it also possible for the researcher to state both the strength of the relationship and in what direction that relationship goes. Shortly, the design enables a determining of the *causal* relationship. This thesis asks over 1 000 participants from the Citizens Panel at Gothenburg University to choose and rate four sets of fictional political parties with varied attribute values on three policy positions and three valence/leader characteristics.

The findings indicate that the average participant, in a trade-off between different policy dimensions, prefer a party with a position close to their own, first, on immigration issue, followed by the parties position on economic policy and last gender equality. It is thus possible that we are witnessing a change in the structure of political competition in Sweden, from primarily competing on economic issues as redistribution and tax to a competition on cultural values such as immigration. The second main finding is that although most voters prefer parties

with competent and high integrity party leaders they still seem to value position over valence. Indicating that valence issues has a significant influence on vote choice but that it is smaller than the influence of policy position, a result that gets support by previous findings.

The thesis structure is as follows. Section 2 will provide a review over theory and previous research related to positional and valence issues. Sweden is then presented as a case, followed by the identification of the research gap and a presentation of its hypotheses. Section 3 centre on research design and introduce the experiment. Section 4 and 5 presents and discusses the result of the analysis. The thesis ends with section 6 consisting of conclusions and suggestions for future research.

2. Theory

This thesis study multidimensional vote choice, and in particular, the trade-offs voters do when casting their votes for fixed party manifestos. Voters hold several different preferences and considerations that influence their vote, and since no party is likely to fulfil all of them, voters are forced to rank these preferences in their choice. The purpose of this study is to provide a deeper understanding of trade-offs voters do in their choice. As vote choice is a rich and well-developed research field, it is not feasible to account for all potential influences. Rather this thesis will focus on two: spatial issues and valence issues. Thus, this section will first introduce spatial vote theory, and the ongoing debate about a multidimensional policy space and then turn to valence theory and the potential trade-off between positional and valence issues. It will then address Sweden as a case and the research gap. The section ends with a presentation of the hypotheses.

2.1 Spatial theory

The spatial theory of vote choice is an analytical model over voting behaviour, and part of a larger integrated model including the behaviour of political parties and development of political party systems (Hinich & Munger 1997). The theory originates from economic theory and was adapted for analysing politics by Anthony Downs (1957) and Duncan Black. The fundamental idea of the theory is that the policy positions of political actors can be meaningfully perceived as points in a political “space”. A political “space” can consist of one or several issues. Voters are furthermore perceived as rational beings that cast their votes for the party they believe will provide them with more benefit (utility) than any other party. In extension this includes that

voters, at least in the short run, have a fixed political preference and conception of the good society. These preferences comprises the voters ideal position in the political space. In the vote choice the individual will thus take into account their ideal policy position relative to the position of all available parties and vote for the party closest to their ideal position. To find the party closest to the voters ideal point the voter can account for policy positions but also make use of different shortcut like for example ideology or party labels to decrease the cost of gathering sufficient information (Downs 1957). This choice-based model thus differs from many other explanatory models in that it emphasizes preferences as determining vote choice rather than the voters' social-structural groupings or partisan predisposition (Campbell, Converse, Miller & Stokes 1960; Downs 1957; Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet 1968).

Although the importance of political attitudes for the vote, and even the sheer presence of cohesive attitudes has been questioned in the literature (see Campbell et al. 1960; Converse 2006), much suggest that it does both exist and matter. Evidence of rational and calculating voters holding cohesive attitudes that shape vote behaviour has been found in experimental and cross-national research alike (Jou & Dalton 2017; Krosnick & Berent 1993). There are also reasons to believe that political attitudes are more important now for vote choice. Van der Eijk, Schmitt & Binder (2007) illustrate that the political realm, and in particular the electoral domain, have become quite autonomous from other social domains. Efforts aimed at mobilizing voters on social-structural foundations are thus likely to result in little mileage (Van der Eijk, Schmitt & Binder 2007). Enyedi (2008) comes to a similar conclusion and argues that contemporary political behaviour are increasingly shaped by our values and preferences rather than social belonging (Enyedi 2008).

This stand of literature has traditionally focused on one main unidimensional policy space that structure vote choice. This space is often structured by the left-right continuum, where left-right constitute a "super-issue" that encapsulates and structure a wide variety of more specific political orientations and preferences (Benoit & Laver 2006; Van der Eijk, Schmitt & Binder 2007). The conventional usage of a single left-right dimension is increasingly criticized within research as a growing amount of both empirical and theoretical work suggest that individuals hold unbundled attitudes that purposefully cannot be placed along only one dimension (Gidron 2016; Kriesi 2008). One reason for now expecting a more complex political space in Western democracies is, furthermore, the two larger societal changes, 'the silent revolution' of cultural

change and globalization, that have occurred (Kriesi & Hutter 2019). The former is a consequence of individuals increased economic security in Western democracies which has created a change in values and needs, and the latter to the opening of economic, cultural, and political national borders (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart 2018; Kitschelt 2004; Kriesi, Grande, Lachat, Dolezal, Bornschieer & Frey 2006).

Both of these processes have had profound effects on the political realm, creating at least one, potentially two, new political conflict divisions, including issues of gender, multiculturalism, ecology, immigration, European integration, and national identity (Kitschelt & Rehm 2014). Almost equal to the issues it includes is the labels it has received in research - from the materialist-postmaterialist (Inglehart 1990), authoritarian-libertarian (Kitschelt 2004), integration-demarcation (Hutter & Kriesi 2019), universalism-communitarianism (Bornschieer 2010), to the GAL-TAN divide (Hooghe, Marks & Wilson 2002). Over the last decade this new divide has, above all, been concerned with immigration, European integration, and nationality. Immigration was in 2016, the top-two issue in all European countries except Romania, surpassed only by unemployment (Hooghe & Marks 2018). Hooghe & Marks (2018) even propose that this division constitutes a new transnational cleavage, emerged as a result of the critical juncture following the euro crisis and the migration crisis. These crises have had such a profound effect on the European party system that they hold the potential to be as consequential for political development as the industrial revolution (Hooghe & Marks 2018).

Empirical evidence illustrates equally a factual change among European party systems and voters. Cultural issues are suggested to have surpassed economic issues as the most important for voters (Lachat 2008), and to be an increasingly important foundation for electoral competition among parties (Benoit & Laver 2006). Benoit & Laver (2006) find that even though the economic policy dimensions remain the most significant explanatory factor of party position, other competing underlying dimensions have grown important in Western European democracies, with the most significant including immigration and EU authority issues. The upsurge of populist and anti-immigrant parties in Western European party systems also illustrate this change. Votes on these parties have often been treated as protest votes, while empirical evidence shows that the same ideological and pragmatic considerations are in play here as for the established parties (Van der Brug, Fennema & Tillie 2000).

In summary, there are several reasons for assuming a multidimensional policy space and fewer to advocate the unidimensional approach. Further, these changed voter preferences has on a whole been met by new parties, with distinct profiles on these new issues, making it less likely that this new potential transnational divide is to be subsumed by the left-right dimension (Hooghe and Marks 2018). The question then becomes how these new issue dimensions will change the dynamic of vote choice determinants and their relative importance. How will a voter trade-off between the arising issues of importance and old political issues when attitudes are not aligned along a single dimension? As will be illustrated further down has these new salient political issues posed a tangible challenged for Swedish political parties and the structuration of political competition.

However, the challenges pointed towards the picturing of a unidimensional political space origins not only for the proposed rise of new conflict dimensions. Another strand of literature proposes a growing importance of short-term, evaluative, consensually based vote choice determinants (Clarke, Sanders, Stewart & Whiteley 2004; Thomassen 2005).

2.2 Valence theory

The spatial models have dominated the electoral research for over half a century, and it is just recently that the valence models have gained a prominent position (McAllister, Sheppard & Bean 2015). Particularly in Britain has the valence model been very influential in the last couple of years, with several empirical studies illustrating the superiority of valence judgments in explaining vote choice (Clarke et al. 2004; Green 2007; Sanders, Clarke, Stewart & Whiteley 2011; Whiteley, Clarke, Sanders & Stewart 2016).

The term 'valence' was first conceptualized by Stokes (1963) in his critique against Downs' spatial model of voting. Stokes argued that the spatial model alone could not explain voting behaviour since it does not account for valence, which "the people's choice too often depend upon" (Stokes 1963, p. 373). Valence issues constitute issues that voters have identical preferences for and want more off. Voters will maximize their utility by voting for parties that they deem best able to deliver on issues that concern them the most, which are issues of valence such as crime, security, and delivery of public service. Important to note is that the theory does not deny that both individuals and parties can be placed spatially in a policy

space, what it argues is that these spatial differences are much less critical for vote choice compared to parties perceived ability to deliver (Sanders et al. 2011; Stokes 1963).

The rationale behind why valence issues are so important for vote choice lies in what political psychology refers to as low-information rationality. The argument is that voters are aware of that the cost of gathering sufficient information about political parties' policy platforms is too high, so instead of incurring the relatively high cost of trying, they will make use of cognitive shortcuts, like performance evaluations or leader characteristics, to make their choice (Sanders et al. 2011). What is included in valence models vary but most contain leadership evaluations and past performance evaluations, while others also add issue salience and issue ownership (Green 2007) and ability to deliver on most important problems facing a country and party identification¹ (Clarke et al. 2004; Sanders et al. 2011).

Mutual for almost all models are the inclusion of leader characteristics. Particularly politically relevant and performance-oriented characteristics have been highlighted as an important influence of vote choice, and central part of valence models (Mondak 1995; Ohr & Oscarsson 2013; Sanders et al. 2011). Mondak proposes that the "maximization of institutional quality may be the single objective shared by all [...] voters. He may prefer Republicans and she may prefer Democrats, but they both should favour the able over the incompetent, and the trustworthy over the ethically dubious" (Mondak 1995, pp. 1043). The rest of this thesis will focus on leader characteristics. For simplicity will the term leader be used when discussing leader evaluations, the term thus includes both presidential candidates, party leaders and other politicians seeking office.

Leader characteristics are not only interesting from a valence perspective but also from a general debate about the growing personalization of politics. Technological advancements, especially in media communications, and a strong focus on political leaders in media is proposed to have created an environment where leaders matter more (King 2002; Thomassen 2005). The centrality of candidates and party leaders rather than parties, institutions, or issues is even proposed to be the central feature of democratic politics in the twenty-first century

¹ Party identification is in this theory viewed as a product of continually updated performance capabilities of competing parties, and thus to be a very dynamic variable. This is different from the theoretical understanding of the Michigan theory of vote choice which view party identification as a representation of the long-term political self-identity of voters, or the standing vote argued by spatial theory (Sanders et al. 2011).

(McAllister 2007). Some emphasize this as hazardous development, while others emphasize it as being only rational for voters to account for characteristics of leaders as a cue to their ability to deliver. For leaders to succeed in handling urgent challenges, achieve change, and tend to the voters' interests, they arguably need to possess the proper skills and knowledge, as well as integrity (Bittner 2011; Funk 1996; McCurley & Mondak 1995; Mondak 1995).

The general development seen in most contemporary societies indeed points towards increased importance of leader characteristics (McAllister 2016). Modernization theory suggests that as the old structural explanations for vote choice decline, short-term factors such as voter's confidence with leaders will become more critical for vote choice (Thomassen 2005). Social structures have been found less influential for vote choice, as has traditional party attachment. Mass membership in political parties is declining, and the overall technological development has facilitated a closer relationship between politicians and voters' outside the old party structure (McAllister 2016). Empirical studies find moreover a factual effect of leader characteristics. Both Clarke et al. (2004) and Green (2007) find a significant concern of valence issues among British voters. A similar result is found in the US, where perceived competence and integrity matters for both leaders' probability of becoming elected and for how long they remain in office (Funk 1996; McCurley & Mondak 1995; Mondak 1995). Most studies on this subject are on two-party systems, but findings from parliamentary systems with representative party systems support an effect there as well. Bittner (2011) conducts a cross-national², longitudinal study and find that leader characteristics affect vote choice, primarily through competence and integrity (Bittner 2011). Studies in Sweden and Norway find similarly a sizable and robust effect of leadership qualities over time (Jenssen & Aalberg 2006; Ohr & Oscarsson 2013).

However, scholars have also voiced concerns both of the relative importance of valence issues such as leader traits, and the influential position held by valence models. One critique concerns data quality and methodological issues. Evans & Chzhen (2016a) point to that the data used to formulate one of the most influential valence model, the British Election Study valence model (see Clarke et al. 2004), are likely to be heavily primed, causing amplified correlations among valence issues and vote choice. Dassonneville (2016) points further to the

² Included countries are Canada, The United States, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Germany and Sweden.

difficulties of separating the causal effect of vote choice determinants, especially that of leader effects. Trait perceptions are likely not immune toward external influences in line with partisan stereotypes and ideological biases, which complicate the task of estimating their separate effects (Bittner 2011). More research is needed in order to disentangle the causal impact of leader traits on vote choice, and in particular experimental research (Dassonneville 2016). A third critique is that several studies find valence issues to have rather modest effects in comparison to spatial issues. McAllister, Sheppard & Bean (2015) compare valence and spatial explanations in Australia and find that the integrity of party leaders has a significant influence on vote choice, more so than economic evaluations, but that in the end is the spatial explanations that matter most. Franchino & Zucchini (2015) focus on leader effects and find a similar subordinated effect of valence in their conjoint experiment. Their result shows that Italian voters indeed prefer competent and high integrity leaders, but when forced to choose policy trumps valence. Evans & Chzhen (2016a; 2016b) find similarly that party performance evaluations seem to express rather than explain party choice in Britain.

The review above shows a mixed research field concerning valence models with both strong advocates and stern sceptics. Overall seem valence issues have an impact on vote choice, leader traits like competence and integrity have been found significant. The relative importance of these aspects in comparison to other variables and the direction of this relationship has, however, proven more difficult to disentangle.

2.3 Sweden as a case

This section provides a brief description over the political system in Sweden and why it constitute an interesting context to study multidimensional vote choice in. Sweden is a parliamentary monarchy, with a strictly proportional electoral system. Swedish democracy is party-centred, and the party discipline within the parliament is strong. Voters have since 1998 been able to express preferences for party candidates but due to the high threshold remains it relatively rare for a candidate to be elected this way. Most individuals still vote for party lists composed by the party (Strömbäck & Nord 2008). Another feature of the Swedish party system is that it, at least historically, been one of the most unidimensional political systems in the world. The left-right dimension, structured around issues of the private-public conflict and the welfare state, has been influencing party competition and voting behaviour since the 1880s (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015). However, like many other European countries, Sweden has

experienced changes in the electoral behaviour of voters. Since the 1990s, there has been a weakening of party identification and decreased importance of social-structural variables like class, which has been accompanied by increased electoral volatility (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015; Oscarsson 2019).

One of the more tangible changes has been the increased salience of the immigration issue and the electoral success of the nationalistic and anti-immigration party the Sweden democrats. Immigration has been found to constitute the core issue of a second underlying dimension, separate from the economic dimension, influencing vote choice (Benoit & Laver 2006), and was in the election 2018 deemed the second most important issue for Swedish voters (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2020). Historically has competing issue dimensions, like the nuclear energy or the environmental issue, been immersed and subordinated in the left-right dimension (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015), but this transnational divide has proven less malleable and is now argued to be a stable part of the Swedish party system (Oscarsson 2017; Oskarson & Demker 2015). Its influence is, for one, visible in the last electoral election where the previously stable right alliance was dissolved after disagreements among the centre-right and right parties over how to deal with the Sweden democrats and the immigration issue.

It is also proposed, in the wake of weakening party identifications and decreased importance of social-structural factors, that valence issues have become more important for vote choice in Sweden. Aspects such as voter perception of issue ownership, leader evaluations, and retrospective evaluations of government performance and economic development have been suggested influential (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015). Together with a debate about politics becoming more personalized with a sharper focus on politicians instead of parties (Madestam 2014; Ohr & Oscarsson 2013). This development is suggested to be primarily driven by the media, which tend to focus more on personal characteristics in their political coverage (Johansson 2008). Although leader effects have not been as researched in parliamentary systems, such as Sweden, empirical studies find both a robust and significant effect of performance-related leader traits such as reliability, empathy, and trustworthiness on vote choice (Ohr & Oscarsson 2013).

In summary so constitute Sweden a case that previously has had a very stable party system with a strong structuration of political competition around economic issues that now is challenged

by the increased salience of other political divisions. It is also a setting where valence issues are suggested to become increasingly important, despite the strong party-centred system. Sweden thus constitutes an interesting case to study how voters trade-off between both different policy issues and between valence and policy issues.

2.4 Research gap

The literature review concludes that there are reasons to believe an expansion of the salient issues or dimensions held by voters but also an influence of valence issues when deciding whom to vote for. Developments that will have important implications for how preferences are related to vote choice. However, research suggests that asking about individuals' opinions without putting them in the relevant context may change how they mentally process and provide answers. The process of ranking and stating one's preferences in an artificially separated context is a widely different task compared to the implicit utility calculus behind a vote choice (Horiuchi, Smith & Yamamoto 2018). Therefore, to truly understand if and how voters trade-off between different preferences and how these preferences matter for vote choice we need to study it in the context of a vote choice. This poses some concerns regarding the validity of results previously found in traditional cross-sectional survey research, most commonly used in this field, as it generally asks about preferences and priority ranking separately. As the literature review also showed include other challenges determining the causal effect and disentangling the separate effect of different vote choice determinants (Dassonneville 2016).

Considering the limitations of previous research this thesis aims to provide a deeper understanding of multidimensional vote choice and the trade-offs made by voters. More concretely this entails that the thesis will focus on how voters rank different policy positions to each other, how they value valence, and the relative importance of the two different categories of explanatory variables. To accomplish this the thesis will test several of these vote choice determinants simultaneously in an experimental setting, using a method called conjoint analysis. Conjoint experiments are argued to create a setting more like a real vote choice where different variables of interest have to be weighted simultaneously (Horiuchi, Smith & Yamamoto 2018). The chosen method thus addresses some of the concerns voiced towards traditional survey research above as well as offer the possibility to determine that it is the included vote choice determinants that affect the vote choice. A third contribution of the thesis is that the chosen method allows an investigation of the effect of more sensitive factors on vote

choice were social desirability bias may hinder individuals from being honest. Evidence from several studies has shown that the validity of surveys measuring immigration attitudes is significantly challenged due to social desirability bias (Janus 2010).

The thesis is guided by two research questions:

(1) How do voters trade-off between different positional issues?

(2) How do voters trade-off between different positional- and valence issues?

2.5 Hypotheses

When focusing on the influence of positional issues, previous research suggested at least a two-dimensional policy space with one left-right dimension structured around economic issues of private-public and the welfare state, and a second transnational division that in Sweden is structured around immigration issues (Benoit & Laver 2006; Hutter & Kriesi 2019; Oscarsson 2017; Oskarson & Demker 2015). The question then becomes how voters trade-off between these two dimensions? Although the transnational divide has become more important, it is still suggested that the economic divide remains more important in a Swedish context (Benoit & Laver 2006; Oscarsson 2017; Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015). It is thus hypothesized that:

H1: Immigration policy poses a significant, but subordinated, effect on vote choice in comparison with economic policy.

In the literature review above we also saw a suggestion about a three-dimensional political space that separate the cultural dimension into two distinct types of preferences (Kitschelt & Rehm 2014). Beside the transnational divide, which Kitschelt & Rehm (2014) argue centers on polity membership and how exclusionary or inclusionary a polity should be, they distinguish a second set of preferences relating to views on polity governance and moral topics. This dimension includes for example preferences on gender issues and law and relates more to what in research has been labeled the libertarian-authoritarian or materialist-postmaterialist divide. This thesis will test this as separate dimension and it is here operationalized through attitudes towards gender equality. As Sweden is a postmodern society with comparably high gender equality (Inglehart & Norris 2003) these issues are thus likely to be less controversial and also less salient for voters. The second hypothesis is that:

H2: Gender equality policy poses a significant, but subordinated, effect on vote choice in comparison with immigration policy and economic policy.

With regard to valence issues is a similar relationship hypothesized. This thesis has found little previous research that compares the influence of valence issues in relation to positional issues in a Swedish context and uses research from other contexts. This literature suggests that valence will matter for vote choice, but that positional and ideological issues will matter more (Franchino & Zucchini 2015; McAllister, Sheppard & Bean 2015). The third hypothesis, therefore, states that:

H3: Valence issues pose a significant, but subordinated, effect on vote choice in comparison with policy positions.

3. Method

Sweden can in many ways be considered a least likely case for testing the importance of both competing spatial dimensions and valence issues for voters, as the Swedish political system is both party-centered and strongly structured by the economic dimension (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2015). Although generalization is difficult, we can, if we see that voters in their choice value competing explanatory variables such as valence issues or immigration issues over the economic divide, anticipate a similar trade-off in other parliamentary democracies with a similar context to Sweden. Making Sweden both an interesting and suitable context to analyze these topics. To test for these trade-offs and answer the thesis' hypotheses an original survey experiment is conducted. Survey experiments are increasingly used within social sciences as it ensures that the systematic differences of a participant's post-treatment attitudes and behavior is a result of the experimental manipulations, making it realistic to draw causal inferences (Mullinix, Leeper, Druckman & Freese 2015). For this thesis an experimental design called "paired-conjoint" survey experiment is used. Conjoint analysis is an experimental technique suited for handling multidimensional choice making (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014; Teele, Kalla & Rosenbluth 2018). Unlike most survey experiments conjoint analysis is not restricted to either capturing the whole treatment effect of a manipulation (which often contain "aliased" attributes) or to only operationalize truly unidimensional treatments. Rather, this method is designed to enable the inclusion of several treatments at once *and* to non-

parametrically³ identify and estimate their causal effect (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014). The method thus makes it possible to measure and compare the effect of several vote choice determinants in one experiment.

A typical conjoint experiment will present the participant with two alternatives, for example two political candidates, with different attributes, and then ask the participant to grade and/or choose between the alternatives (Agerberg 2020). A conjoint experiment is thus argued to create a more realistic choice setting as it entails making a single choice based on several preferences, similar to a real vote choice. The design also limits the influence of social desirability bias as the multiple treatment is estimated through a single outcome variable and participants are not directly asked to state their attitudes towards sensitive issues. This is relevant for my thesis, particularly in relation to my operationalization of the transnational dimension as surveys on immigration attitudes have been shown to suffer from social desirability bias (Janus 2010). This format is thus more likely to elicit the true preferences of my participants. Furthermore, it is common to ask participants to complete multiple conjoint tasks after one another (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014), making it possible for this thesis to gather many observations from relatively few participants which is need for testing the hypotheses.

While there are many perks with survey experiments such as conjoint experiments, there are still concerns. Survey self-reports have been shown to lead to several response bias, including hypothetical bias, acquiescence bias and satisficing, that might undermine the validity of the results (Bertrand & Mullainathan 2001; Bansak, Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2018). Scholars have tried to empirically measure the presence of these biases, and their results indicate that conjoint experiments match real-life rather well. Hainmueller, Hangartner & Yamamoto (2015) compares the result of two types of survey experiments, conjoint and vignette⁴, to that of an actual referendum in Switzerland. Their results show that the survey experiments performed very well in relation to the behavioral benchmark from the referendum. Closest came the paired conjoint design, where participants are asked to choose between two alternatives, with its estimates being on average within 2 % percentage points of the benchmark

³ Non-parametric methods do not assume a normal distribution of the data and are better suited for handling nominal or ordered variables.

⁴ Vignettes are very similar to conjoint but is typically presented in a text rather than a table, as is most common for conjoint.

(Hainmueller, Hangartner & Yamamoto 2015). Likewise, conjoint designs have proven remarkably impervious to satisficing⁵ strategies, even when participants are asked to complete as many tasks as 30 after one another (Bansak et al. 2018). In this study are participants asked to complete a total of four tasks, and the risk of satisficing is thus perceived as rather small.

All in all, conjoint analysis is deemed a very suitable choice as the design both allows the testing of several hypothesis simultaneously and can capture the trade-offs individuals do between different domains of importance for their vote choice. The design of the experiment is discussed in more detail below.

3.1 Survey design

The experiment was designed to assess how parties' policy positions and party leader characteristics affect voters' choice. The experiment was programmed in HTML and JavaScript⁶ and was then inserted into Qualtrics, which is an online survey tool. The survey consists of three parts and can be found in English and Swedish in appendix II and appendix III. The survey starts with a set of question measuring political attitudes, included as control variables. These are placed early on to ensure that the participants' answer was not influenced by the treatments in the experiment (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson, Towns & Wängnerud 2017). Next, the participants are presented with an intro text to the conjoint part:

"For this next part, we are going to ask you to vote in a fictional election. You will receive information about two fictional parties, about the parties political opinions and their party leader. You will thereafter be asked to state which of the two parties you would vote for and then grade how likely it is that you would vote for either party. If no party suits you, please choose the party you like the most.

We will in total ask you to answer four tasks, were you each time is asked to choose between two parties. The information will change between the different tasks so please read carefully before you answer"

⁵ Satisficing means that respondents will try to ease the strain of taking the survey by adopting different cognitive shortcuts that can degrade response quality. These shortcuts can include always choosing the same option, skip questions, ignore information or rush through surveys (Krosnick 1999).

⁶ The code can be provided upon request.

The participants were then presented with two generically labeled party profiles with six attributes each; three of them are policy attributes and three are valence/leader attributes. The order of attributes and their levels are all randomized, meaning that chance will decide which attribute levels each party will have and in which order all attributes appears in the table for that task. The attribute order is randomized to avoid recency and primacy effects⁷ (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014). The study employs complete randomization, meaning that all levels of an attribute has an equal chance of being displayed each time. To make the survey easier to read is it programed so that policy attributes will be displayed together and valence/leader attributes together.

At the end of the table are the participants first asked to make a choice of either voting for one of the presented candidates or opt-out through a don't know option⁸. This choice task has a forced design, meaning that the participant can only choose one of the options. The participants are then asked to rate the probability of them voting on each of the two parties. The design will thus provide two outcome variables, one choice outcome and one rating outcome. As an example, say that one participant prefers party B over the all other options, party B would thus constitute the choice variable. The same participant deem it very likely that he would vote for party B and thus assigns it a seven, while he has a weaker preference for party A and assigns it a four. These ratings will constitute the two rating outcomes for that participant. The choice to include both these measurements are common in the conjoint literature as they have different strengths. The choice-based design matches the choice made in real life better, while the rating variable offer more precise information about preferences (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014).

Lastly the participants are directed to a concluding section, asked to all participants/respondents in the Citizen panel, containing background questions about the individual and their political interests (see appendix I).

⁷ Individuals have been shown to pay more attention to alternatives that comes either in the beginning or in the end of a survey question, these are called primacy and recency effects (Persson 2016).

⁸ The opt-out option is included even though it is not of a particular analytical interest in the thesis. First, it provides a setting closer to real life, as voters in real elections have the opportunity to abstain for voting (Agerberg 2020). Secondly, the data was collected for several purposes, not only for the benefit of this study, and the inclusion of the don't know option was a prerequisite for the study being able to run in the Citizen panel. In the analysis of the choice outcome will all observations that has chosen the don't know option be removed.

3.2 Attributes and levels in the experiment

The fictional parties have six different attributes that all could vary. The three policy attributes included economic policy, immigration policy and gender equality policy, and the three other attributes include two valence attributes; competence and integrity of party leader, and one party leader specific; gender. Operationalizations of each attribute and its different levels is presented in more detail below, and can be seen in full in Table 1.

Table 1. Attribute levels for the conjoint experiment

Attributes	Levels
Socio-economic position	“Cut taxes but also fewer social services”, “Maintain level of provision of social welfare and taxation”, “More social welfare but also higher taxes”
Immigration policy	”Accept more refugees”, “Accept the same number of refugees”, “Accept less refugees”
Gender Equality policy	”Work towards higher gender equality”, “Not prioritized, already gender equality”, “Safeguard traditional gender roles”
Gender	“Male”, “Female”
Integrity	”No political scandals”, “Hired unreported workers”, “Drunk driving”
Competence	“Compulsory school”, ”Upper Secondary school”, “Municipal Adult education”, ”University”

Policy positions

The decision is made to follow the approach of Franchino & Zucchini (2015) and derive policy positions from well-established conflict dimensions. In total three conflict dimensions have been selected, an economic dimension, a transnational divide and a libertarian-authoritarian dimension. Other political dimensions that could be of interest is the environmental dimension. This was not included because, first, although a conjoint analysis allows you to include more

treatments than a usual experiment would, there are still limitations for how much information a person can digest. Secondly, the environmental dimension has to a large extent been absorbed by the left-right dimensions in Swedish politics (Benoit & Laver 2006), making it less interesting to investigate as a separate dimension. Thirdly, as I wanted to control for participants' prior attitudes have the selection of policy attitudes been restricted to the control questions that could be included in the Citizen panel survey.

Economic policy

To capture the economic dimension, I follow the approach of Benoit and Laver (2006) and Franchino and Zucchini (2015), and focus on the conflict between lower taxes and higher public spending. This measurement is not unproblematic, one could for example argue that the provision of welfare does not depend on tax levels but on efficiency and direction of welfare. However, it is a well-used measurement to capture attitudes on the economic dimension, and pledges of this nature is common among Swedish parties. The Social democrats often make "expand" pledges in areas of social welfare while pledges in line with cutting taxes is common among parties to the right (Naurin 2019). The dimension can take three different levels in the experiment: "cut taxes but also less social welfare", "keep current levels of social welfare provision and taxation", and last "more social welfare but also higher taxes".

Immigration policy

The transnational conflict is here captured by immigration policy, and more specifically the number of refugees Sweden should accept. Alternative approaches could include a focus on European integration or labor immigration but since European integration dimension is not that politicized in Sweden (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2020), and empirical studies suggest that it is a cultural value threat rather than material or economic insecurities that drives support for anti-immigration parties (Bornschiefer & Kriesi 2013), is asylum immigration deemed suitable. The cultural value threat denote that it is the difference of immigrants that are threatening, as they are perceived to be too dissimilar from the in-group to be integrated. The value-based threat rhetoric thus most often target "culturally distant" immigrants that wear visible signs of culturally or religious affiliation (Green & Staerklé 2013), which often is the case for refugees seeking asylum in Sweden. Furthermore, the refugee question is one of the most important issues in Sweden today (Oscarsson & Holmberg 2020), and will most likely capture this

division best. This dimension can take three different levels in the experiment: "accept more refugees", "accept the same number of refugees" and "accept less refugees". The three levels are formulated so to match the frequently used question "What are your opinion about the following suggestion: accept more (less) refugees in country"⁹, which also is the used control question (see appendix II).

Gender Equality policy

The third conflict encompasses that between traditional authoritarian values and open libertarian values (Inglehart 1990). This conflict is operationalized by a measurement of gender equality. Gender issues are described as very central, if not the single most central element, of value change in postindustrial societies (Inglehart & Norris 2003). Sweden is one of the most gender-equal countries in the world, and the issue remains politicized. Especially after the #metoo-movement in 2017, which has been called a revolution (Askanius & Møller Hartley 2019). The formulation in the experiment is based on the question "What are your opinion towards the following suggestion: work towards a more gender equal society", which has been used in survey research to tap into broader attitudes of gender equality (Ahlbom 2019; Göteborgs Universitet, SOM-institutet 2020). The dimension can take three levels in the experiment; "work towards higher gender equality", "not prioritized, already gender equal", and "safeguard traditional gender roles". The formulation aims to capture both the group that might feel that we have gone far enough and those that feel we have gone too far and favor more traditional roles. Although this group is likely to be comparably small there are developments in the society pointing towards that this could be a growing group. The socially conservative and nationalistic party, Sweden Democrats, has a gender equality policy that addresses the 'ordinary women' who want to live according to traditional gender roles (Jungar 2015), and they were in the last election the third-largest party with 17,5 % (Valmyndigheten 2018).

Valence traits

Valence issues often include issues that are context-specific, like economic evaluations, incumbency or issue ownership, and that are not particularly meaningful to study in an experimental setting using generically labeled parties (Franchino & Zucchini 2015). Therefore,

⁹ The question is used by, for example, the Society Media Opinion Institute in Sweden and the Swedish National Election Study.

the thesis focus on leader specific and character-based valence attributes. Additionally, the experiment is centered on party leaders, and thus on national elections. Local and regional politicians are in general not well known among Swedish voters (Holmberg 2013), and might, therefore, matter less in their vote calculus compared to party leaders. The thesis will follow previous literature and include two types of characteristics: competence and integrity. Competence and integrity are the most commonly used traits within this research (see Bittner 2011), and work nicely to operationalize in a conjoint setting.

Competence

Competence is thought to matter for voters as it provides a cue of the leader's ability to deliver on important issues (Bittner 2011). However, directly attributing a level of competence to a candidate is thought less fruitful, the choice between a competent and an incompetent candidate is rather banal and would make the exercise less realistic. Instead I use education as a proxy for competence. Education has been used as a proxy for competence in several recent studies (Galasso & Nannicini 2011; Franchino & Zucchini 2015), and is reasonably related to perceived competence by signaling both higher problem-solving and cognitive skills. Alternative operationalization seen in research includes pre-election income (Franchino & Zucchini 2015; Caselli & Morelli), and years of political experience (Agerberg 2020; Galasso & Nannicini 2011). Education was nonetheless thought more appropriate as it has been shown to influence judgements of both voters (Franchini & Zucchini 2015) and parties (Galasso & Nannicini 2011; Madestam 2014). While income and political experience was deemed less suitable in a Swedish context. Party leaders has often been active members of the party for a long time, and had important positions before their appointment, making it rare that they have little previous political experience (Madestam 2014), and although income may still hold some influence is the relationship less straight forward (Franchino & Zucchini 2015). The competence variable can take four different levels: "Compulsory school", "Upper secondary education", "Municipal adult education", and "University".

Integrity

The second valence attribute is integrity. Integrity has been found important in several studies and is thought to affect the perceived ability of a leader to handle responsibilities connected to being a public official (Funk 1996). In a similar conduct is a proxy for integrity used to make

the information more realistic. The provided information is given in a media context, as Swedish citizens mainly experience politics through the media (Strömbäck & Nord 2008), and focus on politician's involvement in personal or political scandals. The usage of scandals to capture integrity is common and has been used in several previous studies (Franchino & Zucchini 2015; Funk 1996). The operationalizations often include different corruption scandals but this was held to be less appropriate in a Swedish context where corruption scandals on a national level are relatively rare. More common scandals include hiring unreported workers, having not paid the TV license and alcohol misuse (Bromander 2012). This dimension takes three different levels; "no political scandals", "hired unreported workers" and "drove drunk".

Party leader gender

Lastly, the experiment includes a dimension for party leader gender that can vary between "male" and "female". The purpose of this dimension is primarily to provide the participants with information they would usually obtain about party leaders and create a more realistic setting. However, the dimension could also be of substantial analytical interest even if it is not of particular interest for the thesis. Still today, it is relatively rare for women to lead governments, and it remains likely that the treatment of party leaders is not gender-neutral (O'Neill & Stewart, 2009).

Several trade-offs have been made during the design. The first concerns the choice of generically labeled parties. The inclusion of party labels would have been problematic as randomization could have caused implausible combinations, such as right parties proposing higher taxes or an anti-immigration party proposing high intake of refugees. The downside is that the thesis cannot account for party affiliation. Party affiliation is one of the main explanatory variables for vote choice put forth in research and would thus pose an interesting dimension to include in the experiment. However, as it is not of particular interest for this thesis and similar choices have been made by other scholars conducting similar studies (see Franchino & Zucchini 2015; Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014) it is deemed the best solution.

Another concern has been how extensive the provided information in the conjoint table should be. A large share of the Citizen Panel participants answer surveys on their

smartphones so the content needed to be modified to fit all device sizes to confine observed risks following answering behavior on smartphones. Research show that smartphones generally result in more dropouts and longer answering time (De Bruijne & Wijnant 2014). To mitigate this answer scales were chosen to be somewhat shorter (seven scales) and coded to be vertical for smartphones and horizontal for computers in accordance with recommendations in the literature (De Bruijne & Wijnant 2014).

The provided information was in addition kept as short as possible so that the conjoint tables fitted as a whole on the device screen. This may have produced a less realistic setting since political party's policy descriptions are like to be more extensive but it was considered more important that participants saw the whole experiment and actually finished the survey. Lastly, the choice of having full randomization in the experiment could lead to that some participants are asked to evaluate awkward and improbable profiles. Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014) solves this by imposing restrictions on possible combinations in their experiment to avoid profiles that are too unrealistic. However, this renders a more complicated interpretation of the result, and as no combinations was deemed too improbable were all combinations allowed. The study was piloted among the employees at LORE on different devices to make sure that the survey looked good and made sense. An example of how the conjoint table could look is found in table 2.

Table 2. Example of conjoint table

	Party A	Party B					
Politics: Welfare and taxation	Maintain level of provision of social welfare and taxation	More social welfare but also higher taxes					
Politics: Immigration	Accept the same number of refugees	Accept less refugees					
Politics: Gender Equality	Safeguard traditional gender roles	Work towards higher gender equality					
Gender of party leader	Female	Male					
Party leader in the media	Hired unreported workers	No political scandals					
Education of party leader	Upper Secondary School	Upper Secondary school					
<hr/>							
Based on the information above, which party would you vote for if there was an election today?	Party A	Party B	Don't know				
<hr/>							
How likely is it that you would vote for party A?	1 – not likely at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 – very likely
How likely is it that you would vote for party B?	1 – not likely at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 – very likely

3.3 Sample

The data was collected in collaboration with The Laboratory Opinion Research (LORE)¹⁰, at the University of Gothenburg. My survey was sent out as part of a larger study to the Citizen Panel, which is an E-panel consisting of both an self-recruited sample and a representative sample. The survey was conducted February 24 through Mars 19¹¹, hence during a total of 25 days. A total of 7 000 stratified individuals were invited via mail to participate in the larger survey, were mine was one out of four. Two reminders were sent out, one Mars 3 and another Mars 11. The participants were after entering the survey randomly assigned to one of the four tracks. A total of 4 343 participants finished the survey, giving the larger survey a response rate

¹⁰ For more information about LORE and the Citizen panel, visit <https://lore.gu.se/>

¹¹ The survey was thus fielded in the early days of the corona pandemic, and although Sweden initially had a relative relaxed approach this could still affect the results. WHO declared Covid-19 to be an pandemic the 11th of Mars and the Swedish public health organization declared there to be a high risk of social infection the 13th of mars.

of 62 %. For my survey was thus approximately 1 750 individuals invited and 1 100 completed at least one conjoint task, providing a response rate of 63 %. The sample was stratified by age, gender and education, and extracted from the opt-in sample. The opt-in samples consist of individuals who have self-recruited to the panel. While a population-based sample is preferable for the validity and generalizability of a study, as they more accurately represent the population (Aneshensel 2013), opt-in samples have been shown to produce comparable results (Mullinix et al. 2015). Mullinix et al. (2015) show that the causal effect estimates obtained from opt-in samples generally do not statistically differ from the estimates obtained from population-based samples. An opt-in sample is deemed a reasonable alternative for the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, using an opt-in panel, like the Citizen Panel, provide a more representative and diverse sample than other student or convenience samples typically used in experimental research (Berinsky, Huber & Lenz 2012), which will strengthen the results obtained from the study.

Descriptive statistics of the participants are presented in appendix I, with distributions over variables such as age, education, gender, income, political interest, political affiliation, and left-right placement. Since the sample is stratified is some variation guaranteed but there are some issues with overrepresentation. Like most opt-in samples contain the Citizen panel a higher rate of politically interested people (Andreasson, Johansson & Martinsson 2018) and in my sample we see especially an overrepresentation of individuals voting for the left party (see appendix I). The risk with overrepresentation is that the external validity of the results decrease if the attitudes or behaviour of studied group significantly differ from the population as a whole (Esaiasson et al. 2017).

In order to draw valid conclusions, we need to consider the statistical power of the experiment. For conjoint experiments is this procedure not as straight forward as for other designs. In total, my design includes 17 different experimental treatments, creating a total of 648 possible profiles. In a pairwise comparison, the full list grows to $\binom{648}{2} = 209\,628$ possible combinations, making it close to impossible to obtain sufficient observations for the necessary statistical power. However, Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014) show that full enumeration of all possible profiles are not necessary when levels are assigned randomly, enabling that a significantly smaller group can be surveyed for sufficient statistical power. My survey experiment contains over 6 968 observations by 1 100 unique participants (see table 3) which

compares to the number of observations used in other conjoint studies (see for example Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014), and should thus provide sufficient power.

Table 3: Distribution over the choice outcome variable

	Frequency	Percent
Voted for a party	6968	80
Don't know	1714	20
Total observations	8682	100
Numbers of unique participants	1100	

3.4 Statistical technique

To test the hypotheses the thesis follows the empirical strategy of Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014) and use their estimation of the average marginal component effect (AMCE). AMCE illustrates the marginal effect of one attribute over the joint distribution of all other attributes. In simpler terms, it estimates the degree to which a given level of a conjoint profile attribute increases or decreases participants’ support for the overall profile relative to a baseline¹², averaging across all participants and all other profile attributes (Leeper, Hobolt & Tilley 2019). AMCE is identified non-parametrically when the following set of conditions hold. First, all attribute combinations need to be statistical independent, which is confirmed by the experimental design as all attributes are independently randomized every time a participant sees a conjoint question. Secondly, all choices need to be independent to attribute order, which as well is addressed by the experimental design by randomizing attribute order between tasks and participants. Thirdly, choices are independent across different pairs of candidates (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014). This last assumption is likely violated if participants base later choices on their assessments of candidates made in the previous conjoint question. This will be controlled for by re-analyzing the data using only participant's evaluations in the first task. If the result remains principally the same, choices should be independent of each other. To correct

¹² The baseline or reference category is often arbitrarily chosen by the researcher and has important implications for the results obtained in the analysis. The retrieved AMCE will be relative towards the chosen baseline as it signifies the causal effect of moving from the baseline to another level on the profiles probability of being chosen (Leeper, Hobolt & Tilley 2019).

for the within-participant clustering the thesis follows the approach of Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2014) and uses cluster-robust standard errors. Since each attribute level was randomly assigned independently of other attributes, AMCE can be estimated without bias using simple linear regression.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are important for all research within social science that study people. For experiments is it of extra importance as the researchers typically uses manipulation to capture the effects between the variables of interest. Empirical studies find that most individuals consider survey experiments aimed at measuring citizen attitudes to be rather unproblematic (Naurin & Öberg 2019). Still, research should try to mitigating any potential violations of ethical considerations. The survey was distributed as part of a larger study by LORE, and was thus also included in their ethic approval. The participants received information about consent, the purpose of the surveys, who is responsible for the survey, and that they at any time can drop out and contact LORE to have their data removed, which has been highlighted as important for ethics (Esaiasson et al. 2017). Participants are further not forced to answer any part of the survey, and was thus allowed to click past any question they did not want to answer. By using fictional parties and informing the participants that it is a hypothetical vote, should the experiment neither hold any impact on the participants' view of real parties.

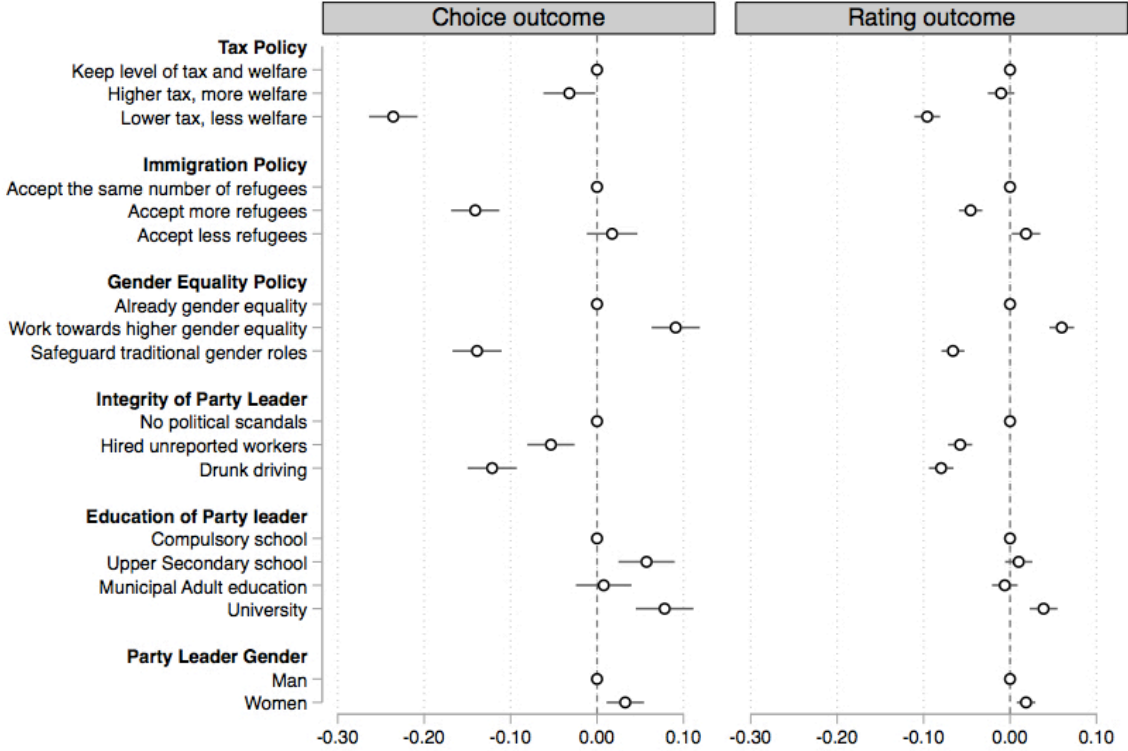
4. Results

This section will primarily present a descriptive presentation of the findings, whereas the discussion section will elaborate more and discuss limitations. Furthermore, before analysing the data some adjustments are needed. First, all observations that contain a don't know option is removed, as it is not of interest for this thesis' hypotheses. Second, all choice tasks that involved a participant evaluating identical profiles is removed. Although, the chance is comparably small that these observations would in any way influence the result they could still create noise in the data. The choices in these tasks are made by random (as the profiles are exactly the same), and thus say nothing about the participant's preference. A total of 5 profile sets were removed from the analysis.

Figure 1 provides a descriptive presentation of the average participant's preferences (the regression table can be found in appendix IIII). The two plots show the AMCEs and 95 %

confidence intervals for each attribute value on the two different outcome variables, the choice variable and the rating variable. The plot to the left shows the effect estimates of the randomly assigned party attributes when the participant is forced to choose between two parties, and the plot to the right when participants rate how likely it is that they would vote for each party. The points with confidence intervals that transcend the centre line signifies attribute levels that are not significant. As all attributes are on the same scale (0 to 1) can they be compared to each other.

Figure 1. Preferences of the average voter



Comments: The choice outcome model has a total n of 6,968 observations, and the dependent choice variable can take two values: 0 – party not chosen and 1 – party chosen. The rating outcome model has a higher n-total of 8,747 as it did not contain a don't know option. The rating variable is rescaled to range between 0 – not at all likely to vote for party to 1 – very likely to vote for party. The points without horizontal bars represents the attribute level that is the reference point, these are chosen either in accordance with theory (the valence issues) or a mid-alternative that represents the current situation.

As the figure illustrates produce the two models similar outcomes, although the rating model produce slightly smaller effects. In both models the average voter prefers parties that want to work towards higher gender equality and that have a party leader that is female and with higher competence. What the average voter does not prefer are parties that want to lower taxes and provide less welfare, accept more refugees, safeguard traditional gender roles, and that have

party leaders with low integrity. Particularly wanting to lower taxes and provide less welfare have a negative effect on a party being chosen (-0,24), although the effect size of the same policy is more moderate in the rating model (-0.096). However, note that the sample has an overrepresentation of individuals voting for the left party. Note also that all effects are in relation to the chosen reference point. This means that the effect size of any chosen attribute level (except the reference category) signifies the change in probability of a party being chosen if the party would switch from the reference attribute level to any other level of that same attribute. To exemplify, the probability of a party being chosen would be 0,24 lower if that party switched their economic policy from wanting to keep current tax/spending levels (reference category) to wanting to cut taxes/spending. Similarly would a switch from keeping current tax and spending levels to implementing higher tax and more welfare result in a decrease in probability of being chosen by 0,03.

The valence attributes behave mostly as expected. Having a low integrity party leader has a negative effect on a party's probability of being selected. Particularly severe do the voters view offenses like drunk driving (-0,12), while having hired unreported workers "only" makes a party's chances of being selected lower by 0.06 compared to the reference category no scandal. Having a party leader with a perceived higher competence do in most aspects increases a party's chances of being selected. Higher competence is operationalized through a higher educational degree and that seems also to be the most preferred among voters, the largest effect comes from having a university degree. A party's chance of being chosen increases by 0,07 if they change from a party leader with a compulsory education to a university education. Having a high school education (compared to junior high school) is only significant in the choice model and having a municipal adult education is not significant in any of the models. However, the municipal adult education degree also constitutes a special case which is reviewed more under the discussion section.

Another difference between the two models is that having an immigration policy that want to accept less refugees becomes in the rating model, although small, significant and positive. Indicating this position is a preference in the sample but not a very strong one or a very frequent one, as it disappears when the cruder measurement is used.

However, to gain more insight into the trade-offs made by voters between different policy positions (H1, H2), and between policy and valence issues (H3) we need to account for the participant's own policy position in relation to the party's position. Figure 2 illustrates again the AMCE of each attribute but here all policy attitudes have been matched with the question on political attitudes asked prior the experiment. For example, if an participant has answered that it is a good or a very good suggestion to accept less refugees and the attribute level "accept less refugees" appears in the experiment, then the variable gets the value matched. All policy variables can thus take two values, either the participant have seen an attribute level that match their pre-existing attitudes and the variable gets the value matched, or the participant has not seen an attribute level in the experiment that match their previously stated attitude and it takes the value no match. The purpose here is to see how much weight the three different policy dimension is assigned by the average voter when the party has a spatial position closer to their own. Here we focus on the choice outcome model as it better captures the trade-offs a voter faces in a real election.

Figure 2. Preferences of the average voter with matched policy positions.



As expected, all voters in the experiment prefer a party with a policy position close to their own (figure 2). Having a matching tax policy position increases the probability of a party being chosen by 0,19 (compared to no match), and a matching policy position on gender equality increases the chance by 0,18. The largest effect on the probability of party being chosen has a match on immigration policy, which increases the probability by 0,24 compared to having no match. Indicating that it is a match on immigration issues that elicit the strongest preferences among participants, followed by the economic policy dimension and then gender equality issues. The first hypothesis receives thus only partial support, the immigration issue holds a significant effect on the probability of a party being chosen but it is not subordinated by the economic policy dimension. Rather, matching positions on immigration policy is here found to matter more for voters when casting their votes compared to the other dimensions. The gender equality dimension is, furthermore, surprisingly salient for the voters and holds almost an equal influence to the tax/spend dimension. Although the effect size is slightly smaller the difference is not statistically significant and the second hypothesis receives only partial support. The results indicate that the historically so strong structuration of economic policy position on the Swedish political system may be challenged by new issues.

The valence attributes remain the same as in the choice model in figure 1 and here the focus is solely on the trade-off between valence issues and the matched policy issues. Valence issues impact, just as before, the probability of a party being selected. Low integrity has a negative effect and higher competence a positive effect on the probability of a party being chosen. However, in comparison to the three policy positions the effect sizes of the valence attributes are rather small. Only the integrity-attribute drunk driving comes close (although negative) from the weakest policy position, having a match on gender equality. H3 is thus supported as valence issues hold a significant but subordinated effect on party's probability of being selected in comparison to the policy positions. Voters prefer parties with clean and competent party leaders but they care more about the policies put forth by parties. Hence, the average voter is likely to punish a party less for having a party leader with low integrity and low competence compared to if the party takes a policy position that the voter disagrees with, particularly on immigration issues. Following the same logic, voters are more likely to accept a low integrity and low competence party leader if the party takes policy positions that are similar to the position held by the voter. We see also a small but significant effect of gender (0.03), suggesting

that most voters prefer female party leaders as a party, although marginally, increases its chances of being selected by changing from a male to a female party leader.

4.1 Diagnostics

To ensure that all assumptions holds for the calculation of AMCE we need to do some additional test. The two first conditions, attribute combinations are statistically independent and all choices are independent of attribute order are confirmed by the design of the experiment (see the method section for a more through discussion). However, the last assumption that choices are independent across different pairs of candidates need to be controlled for. To check for this the same analysis is conducted again using only the two profiles seen in the first conjoint. The results remains principally the same, indicating that the choices made by participants are independent of previous choices. The standard errors becomes somewhat larger but this is expected given the smaller sample (all figures are found in appendix X). All assumptions thus hold (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014). Furthermore, to correct for the within-participant clustering (since participants are asked to complete several tasks) cluster-robust standard errors are used.

5. Discussion

This study has discussed the potential trade-offs that voters face in an election when making a single choice on the basis of several, sometimes diverging, preferences. By conducting an original conjoint survey experiment the thesis tests how much weight voters assign different policy and valence positions when asked to make a choice between two generically labelled party-profiles with randomly assigned positions. The thesis reaches two main findings, 1) immigration issues are deemed the most important for the average participants, and 2) policy position matter more than valence issues.

The first main finding is that participants seem willing to trade a match on economic policy for a match on immigration policy. Indicating that it is immigration issues that matter the most for vote choice in the experiment. This is surprising, even though previous research points towards this development (Lachat 2008). As discussed under the literature section the economic dimension has been stable and very important for political competition in Sweden. The results found here suggest that this has now changed. The result imply that we are witnessing a redrawing of political competition in Sweden with an increased importance for parties to

position themselves on cultural issues like immigration to attract votes. However, some caution is necessary when interpreting these results. The economic dimension is operationalized through a single issues position, and although the position is frequently used it might still not fully capture the influence of the economic dimension.

The second main finding is that policy matter more than valence. Although the result is supported by previous research there are still some aspects of the used sample that should be considered. The sample has an overrepresentation of politically interested people which may cause valence issues to matter less for the sample compared to the real Swedish population. One of the arguments behind why valence should matter is that it functions as a cognitive shortcut for voters to make an informed vote choice without gathering information about political positions (Sanders et al. 2011). Politically interested people is likely to have less use of these shortcuts as they are likely to have greater political knowledge, and it is thus possible that the used sample in their vote calculus assigns less importance to valence compared to the actual average voter. However, previous literature has found little support for that individuals with lower political sophistication make more use of leader characteristics when deciding whom to vote for compare to individuals with higher political sophistication (Bittner 2011), making this a minor limitation.

Another result worth discussing in more depth is that the competence attribute has a smaller and more mixed effect in the experiment than we expect from previous research. A university education has a clear and positive effect on a party's probability of being chosen while the other attribute levels "upper secondary school" and "municipal adult education" has a more mixed result. One potential reason for this result is that the operationalization is too weak and that the participants do not view the other educational attribute levels as a sufficiently strong indicators of competence. Municipal adult education (komvux) is, furthermore, a broad education format including studies equivalent to both compulsory school and upper secondary school, as well as vocational study programs. What the participants interpreted from this operationalization in relation to competence could therefore vary a lot and in retrospective this level should perhaps not have been included.

The choice of conducting an experiment, and more specifically a conjoint survey experiment needs also be considered in a discussion of the results. One feature is what we actually capture

in the experiment. The primary objection of conjoint experiments is to capture the causal effect of all included attributes on a choice between (often) two alternative. As such, the obtained estimates can tell us about the preferences of the participants, thus both the number of individuals holding a certain preference as well as the *strength* of the preference held by each individual. This is interesting from a perspective of wanting to understand voter preferences and the trade-offs between preferences but could also create a discrepancy between preferences elicited in research and the actual outcomes in elections. A large share of votes could hold a weak preference that in a conjoint potentially could be obscured or surpassed by a smaller share of voters with very strong preferences. Another limitation with the study comes from the plausibility of the experiment, particularly in a Swedish setting where vote choice is not binary and post-election coalitions is an important consideration for vote choice. This has mainly two consequences for this thesis. First, the conjoint setting was perhaps not perceived as that realistic and did, therefore, not create the context of a vote choice that was aimed for. Second, in a real vote choice individuals have many more aspects to consider than those included here. The weight assigned to policy positions and valence issues in the experiment is in reality likely to vary significantly depending on for example the source of the information, prior evaluations of the political actors, coalition possibilities and the political actor's chances of winning. However, these issues are present for most experiments and illustrates that most methods have its downsides. Still, conjoint experiments constitute an both interesting and promising design that can help bring both survey research and experimental research forward and serve as an important complement.

Another consequence of the chosen method is the limited generalizability of the results. First, the used sample is not a representative sample, and although the sample is more representative than other convenience sample using students or likewise, there still is a high possibility that the individuals who self-recruit to these E-panels differ from the population as a whole. We know for example that they tend to have a higher political interest, and that the used sample here has an overrepresentation of left-party voters. Secondly, the experiment is conducted in a Swedish context which makes a generalization outside of Sweden complex. However, as Sweden constitute a least likely case to test the influence of new conflict dimensions and valence issues, as Sweden historically has had both a strong focus on the economic dimension and the class-cleavage as well as a strong focus om parties and not leaders, some findings can

still be applicable to other settings. If valence issues, like party leader integrity and competence, matter in Sweden it is also likely to matter in other countries with similar or weaker party-centricity. Furthermore, the results align with the results found in a similar conjoint study conducted in Italy, increasing the likelihood that this pattern could be found in other contexts as well.

Lastly, some attention needs to be directed towards the extraordinary times we find ourselves in during this global pandemic. The experiment was conducted between the 24th of February and the 19th of March, and although this was in the early days of COVID-19 there still is a possibility that it has affected how the participants think and trade-off between the dimensions included in the experiment. The experimental design ensures that it is the dimensions included in the experiment that affect the results but it could be the case that certain issues are more salient to the voters given the extraordinary situation and that another result would be obtained if the survey was replicated at a different time.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the trade-offs made by individuals in a voting process where voters are forced to make a single choice on the basis of several, sometimes diverging, preferences. In particular, the thesis has focused on the trade-off's voter face between different positional issues and valence issues. Positional issues constitute issues that voters generally hold different opinions about, such as if and how the state should redistribute income or if and how immigration should be controlled, while valence issues constitute consensual issues that most voters agree on. Most individuals want for example lower crime rates, less corruption and more competent leaders (Sanders et al. 2011). To test for these trade-offs two research questions were formulated to guide the analysis (1) how do voters trade-off between different positional issues and (2) how do voters trade-off between different positional- and valence issues.

One challenge faced by previous research has been how to determine causality and separate the effects of different positional and valence issues. It is very likely that the preferences towards a party leader is influenced by one's preferences towards a party, and vice versa. This thesis provides some answers to this problem. Another issue has been how well previous research, using standard survey questions aimed at measuring preferences and priority ranks, have been at capturing trade-offs without putting it in a context of a vote choice. By conducting a paired-

conjoint survey experiment this thesis has contributed to filling this gap by studying trade-offs and political preference in a setting more like a real vote choice and drawing causal conclusions on the separate effect of different spatial and valence issues on vote choice.

The findings from the experiment follows previous research and show that voters prefer both parties that has a position close to their own, and a party leader that is both competent and has integrity. In a trade-off between different positional issues is immigration issues the most important for the average voter, thus giving only partial support for the first hypothesis. In a Swedish context it was hypothesized that immigration would have a significant impact on vote choice but that economic policy would matter more. The conjoint experiment showed that the participants are more likely to vote for a party with a matching position to theirs on immigration issues than for a party with matching position on economic policy. Indicating that we might be witnessing a shift in the conflict divides that structure political competition in Sweden. The third policy dimension was gender equality, and in accordance with what was expected preferred the average participant parties with policy positions close to their own but in a trade-off emerged the other dimensions as more salient. However, the difference in importance between the gender equality dimension and the second most important policy dimension, tax/spending policy, was only 0,01.

The included valence dimensions, competence and integrity, had overall the expected influence on vote choice. Low integrity had a negative effect on a party's probability of being chosen while the measurement of higher competence overall had a positive effect on the probability of being chosen. This illustrates that the leader characteristics tested for in the experiment indeed has an effect on vote choice, separate from sentiments on party affiliation or party performance. In comparison to the effect of policy position is it, however, rather modest. Parties with a policy position close to a voter is much more likely to be selected compared to a party that has a competent party leader with high integrity, although voters prefer both. This is in line with similar studies conducted in Italy, indicating that the finding hold outside of Sweden as well. In summary indicate this study that we, at least in a Swedish context, are not witnessing a strong influence of valence politics on vote choice.

However, to provide a more definite answer to the question of how important valence issues are for vote choice are more research required. Future studies would benefit from extending

their analysis to include other types of valence issues than leader characteristics. Although leader characteristics have been emphasized as one of the more important types of valence issues could there be others that matter more, particularly in party-centred systems as Sweden. Green (2007) argue in addition that valence becomes the most important for vote choice when political systems becomes more centralized, leading parties to compete over performance instead of competing over position. Future studies would thus benefit from considering both the conflict level of party systems and to pay more attention to the distinction between valence politics and positional/spatial politics, as their nature may change over time. Furthermore, the results found should be re-tested using a representative sample to strengthen the findings.

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Appendix I : Descriptive statistics

Table 4. Descriptive statistics (part 1).

		Frequency	Percent
Age	Under 30 years	123	11
	30-39	167	15
	40-49	179	16
	50-59	220	20
	60-69	218	19
	70 years or older	216	19
Total		1 123	100
Gender	Female	544	48
	Male	581	52
	Other	1	0
Total		1 126	100
Education	Compulsory school	45	4
	Upper Secondary school	267	24
	Tertiary education	172	16
	College/university or higher	619	56
Total		1 103	100
Political interest	Very interested	402	36
	Quite interested	586	53
	Hardly interested	105	10
	Not at all interested	11	1
Total		1 104	100

Table 5. Descriptive statistics (part 2)

		Frequency	Percent
Political trust	Very high political trust	35	3
	High political trust	508	46
	Low political trust	384	35
	Very low political trust	177	16
Total		1 104	100
Left-right placement	0 Far to the left	59	5
	1	54	5
	2	127	12
	3	142	13
	4	107	10
	5 neither to the left nor the right	165	15
	6	133	12
	7	166	15
	8	106	10
	9	20	2
	10 Far to the right	25	2
Total		1 104	100
Party affiliation	Left party	211	22.49
	Social Democrats	164	17.48
	Center party	75	8.00
	Liberal party	64	6.82
	Moderate party	115	12.26
	Christian Democrats	56	5.97
	Green party	55	5.86
	Sweden Democrats	177	18.87
	Other party	21	2.24
Total		938	100.00

Appendix II : Survey in English

What are your opinion about the following suggestions?

	Very good suggestion (1)	Rather good suggestion (2)	Neither good nor bad suggestion (3)	Rather bad suggestion (4)	Very bad suggestion (5)
Lower taxes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decrease income differences in society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accept fewer refugees in Sweden	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work towards a society with increased equality between women and men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

For this next part, we are going to ask you to vote in a fictional election. You will receive information about two fictional parties, about the parties political opinions and their party leader. You will thereafter be asked to state which of the two parties you would vote for and then grade how likely it is that you would vote for either party. If no party suits you, please choose the party you like the most. We will in total ask you to answer four tasks, were you each time is asked to choose between two parties. The information will change between the different tasks so please read carefully before you answer.

Conjoint part- The content in this part is randomized in the experiment, examples of how the a conjoint task could look and all of its potential levels can be found in the method section.

Background questions

Generally speaking, how interested in politics are you?

- Not at all interested (1)
- Not very interested (2)
- Fairly interested (3)
- Very interested (4)

Generally speaking, how much confidence do you have in Swedish politicians?

- Very great confidence (1)
- Fairly great confidence (2)
- Fairly little confidence (3)
- Very little confidence (4)

We sometimes talk about that political views can be placed on a left-right scale according to political views. Where would you place yourself on such a left-right scale?

- 0 Far to the left (0)
- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- Neither to the left nor right (5)
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 Far to the right (10)

Are you:

- Women
- Man
- Other

How old are you?

Year:

What type of education do you have? *Choose the option that best represents you*

- Not completed primary school (1)
- Primary school (2)
- Upper secondary school or equivalent, less than three years (3)
- Upper secondary school or equivalent, three years or more (4)
- Post-secondary education, not college, less than 3 years (5)
- Post-secondary education, not college, 3 years or more (6)
- College/University, less than 3 years (7)
- College/University, 3 years or more (8)
- Degree at the postgraduate education (9)

What is the rough estimate, normally speaking, of your own monthly income before tax including any benefits?

▼ Less than 4 000 kronor (1) ... Other (15)

Appendix III : Survey in Swedish

Vilken är din åsikt om följande förslag?

	Mycket bra förslag (1)	Ganska bra förslag (2)	Varken bra eller dåligt förslag (3)	Ganska dåligt förslag (4)	Mycket dåligt förslag (5)
Sänka skatterna	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minska inkomstskillnaderna i samhället	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ta emot färre flyktingar i Sverige	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Satsa på ett samhälle med ökad jämsällldhet mellan kvinnor och män	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I denna del kommer vi be dig rösta i ett påhittat val. Du kommer att få information om två påhittade partier, om deras politiska åsiker samt om deras partiledare. DU kommer därefter få ange vilket av de två partierna du skulle rösta på och sedan gradera hur troligt det är att du skulle rösta på respektive parti. Om inget parti passar dig, välj då det parti som du föredrar.

Vi kommer totalt be dig svara på fyra omgångar där du i varje omgång får välja mellan två partier. Informationen kommer att skilja sig åt mellan de olika omgångarna så vänligen läs noggrant innan du svara.

Conjoint-del - Innehåller i denna del slumpas fram, exempel på hur en conjoint kan se ut och alla möjliga nivåer återfinns på engelska i metodavsnittet.

Bakgrundsfrågor

Hur intresserad är du i allmänhet av politik?

- Inte alls intresserad (1)
- Inte särskilt intresserad (2)
- Ganska intresserad (3)
- Mycket intresserad (4)

Allmänt sett, hur stort förtroende har du för svenska politiker?

- Mycket stort förtroende (1)
- Ganska stort förtroende (2)
- Ganska litet förtroende (3)
- Mycket litet förtroende (4)

Det talas ibland om att politiska åsikter kan placeras in på en vänster-högerskala. Var någonstans skulle du placera in dig själv på en sådan vänster-högerskala?

- 0 Långt till vänster (0)
- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- Varken till vänster eller till höger (5)
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- (9)
- Långt till höger (10)

Är du:

- Kvinna
- Man
- Annat

Hur gammal är du?

Årtal:

Vilken skolutbildning har du? *Markera det svar som bäst stämmer in på dig.*

- Ej fullgjort grundskola (1)
- Grundskola (2)
- Gymnasium eller motsvarande, kortare än 3 år (3)
- Gymnasium eller motsvarande, 3 år eller längre (4)
- Eftergymnasial utbildning, ej högskola, kortare än 3 år (5)
- Eftergymnasial utbildning, ej högskola, 3 år eller längre (6)
- Högskola/universitet, kortare än 3 år (7)
- Högskola/universitet, 3 år eller längre (8)
- Examen från forskarutbildning (9)

Ungefär hur stor, normalt sett, är din egen månadsinkomst före skatt inklusive eventuella bidrag?

▼ Mindre än 4 000 kronor (1) ... Annan (15)

Appendix III: Regression tables

Table 6: Regression table for figure 1

	Choice outcome	Rating outcome
<i>Ref.</i>		
Higher tax, more welfare	-0.0320* (0.02)	-0.0104 (0.01)
Lower tax, less welfare	-0.236*** (0.01)	-0.0957*** (0.01)
<i>Ref.</i>		
Accept more refugees	-0.141*** (0.01)	-0.0456*** (0.01)
Accept less refugees	0.0174 (0.01)	0.0185* (0.01)
<i>Ref.</i>		
Work towards higher gender equality	0.0910*** (0.01)	0.0599*** (0.01)
Safeguard traditional gender roles	-0.139*** (0.01)	-0.0660*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. No political scandal</i>		
Hired unreported workers	-0.0533*** (0.01)	-0.0577*** (0.01)
Drunk driving	-0.121*** (0.01)	-0.0797*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. Compulsory school</i>		
Upper Secondary school	0.0573*** (0.02)	0.0101 (0.01)
Municipal Adult education	0.00772 (0.02)	-0.00606 (0.01)
University	0.0782*** (0.02)	0.0388*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. Man</i>		
Women	0.0326** (0.01)	0.0185*** (0.01)
Constant	0.647*** (0.02)	0.385*** (0.01)
Adjusted R2	0.11	0.09
Observations	6968	8747

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7 Regression table for figure 2

	Matched choice outcome
<i>Ref. no match on tax policy</i>	
Tax policy matched	0.190*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. no match on immigration policy</i>	
Immigration policy matched	0.241*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. no match on gender equality policy</i>	
Gender equality policy matched	0.177*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. No political scandal</i>	
Hired unreported workers	-0.0580*** (0.01)
Drunk driving	-0.119*** (0.01)
<i>Ref. Compulsory school</i>	
Upper Secondary school	0.0543** (0.02)
Municipal Adult education	0.0150 (0.02)
University	0.0680*** (0.02)
<i>Ref. Man</i>	
Women	0.0302** (0.01)
Constant	0.303*** (0.02)
Adjusted R2	0.13
Observations	6968
Standard errors in parentheses	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix X: Diagnostics

To test for the independence across conjoint pairs is the same analysis as in the result section run again but this time using only the two profiles seen in the first conjoint. If the results significantly differ from the results found in the full analysis then we can assume that the answers provided by the participant have been influenced by the first task. However, this is not the case here and we can thus assume that all conditions for AMCE holds (Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto 2014).

Figure 3. Control for figure 1 (using only the first choice task)

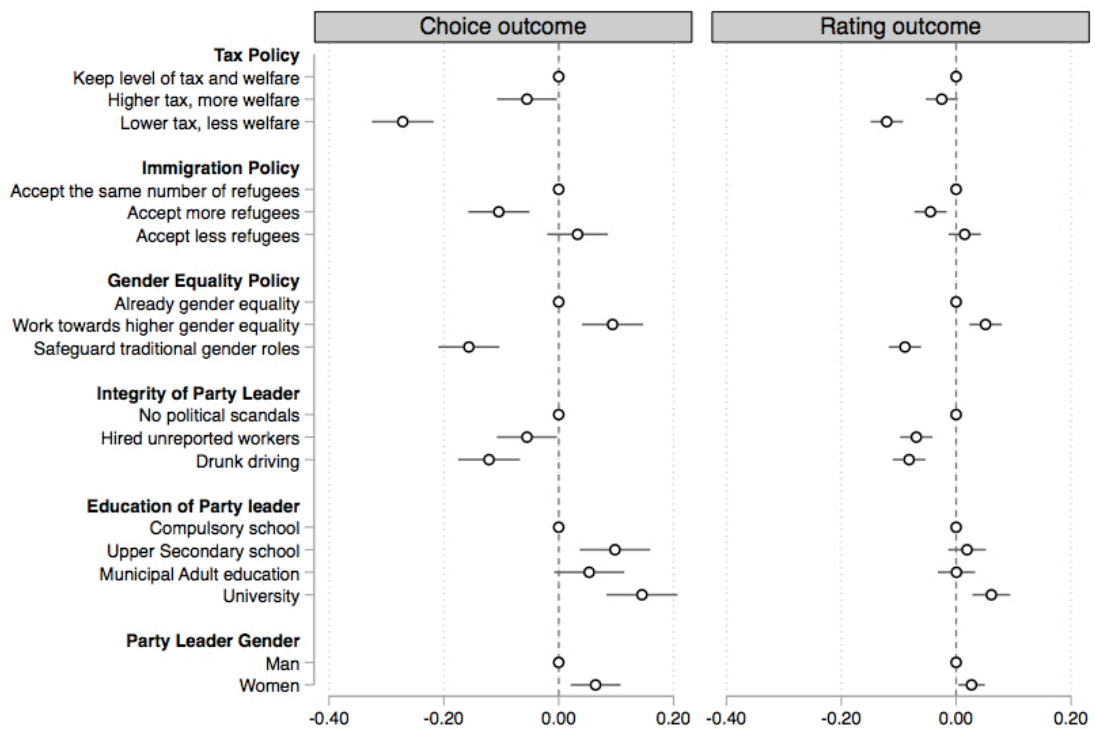


Figure 4. Control for figure 2 (using only the first choice task).

