Twitter Thread by Nils Steiner



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In this paper, we study vote choices of voters who are left-wing on economic issues and authoritarian/nationalist on cultural issues, especially immigration. For these voters, there is no often party combining positions in this way.

> Vol 70 Apr | '#Vote choices of left-#authoritarians: Misperceived congruence and issue #salience' by @NilsSteiner and Sven Hillen is now available @ches_data @german_gles #Germany https://t.co/pmCoP5t7CL pic.twitter.com/Vl8rCahcZL
>
> — Electoral Studies (@ElectoralStdies) January 30, 2021

In the data from the Campaign Panel of the German Election Study 2017, many voters prefer higher social benefits and taxes and want to restrict immigration. @ches_data show that no party bundles issue positions in this way.

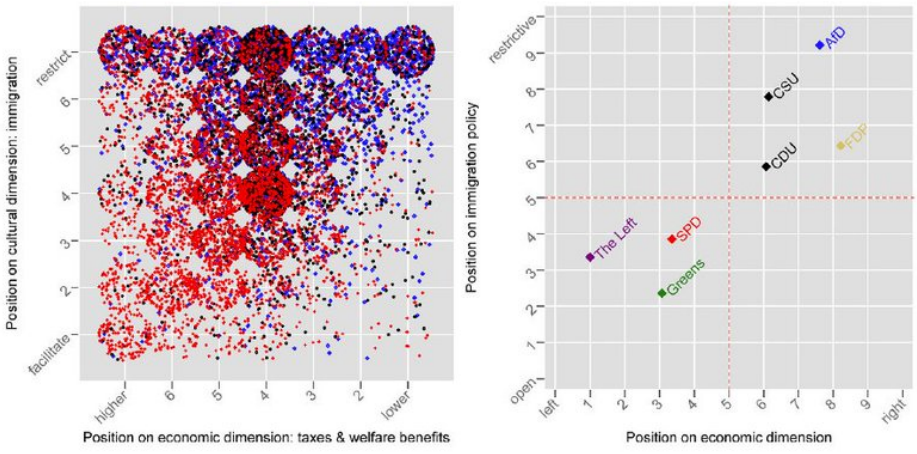


Fig. 1. Citizens' and parties' positions in the two-dimensional policy space.
Note for left-hand panel: Individuals are marked by different symbols (and, in the electronic version, colors) depending on their left-right position (left: +, center: ◦, right: ◊). Note for right-hand panel: Mean of expert placements. (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the Web version of this article.)

In the article, we show that many such "left-authoritarians" perceive the party they voted for to also hold a left-authoritarian position. Interestingly, this includes many AfD voters who report a perceived left-wing economic position of the party.

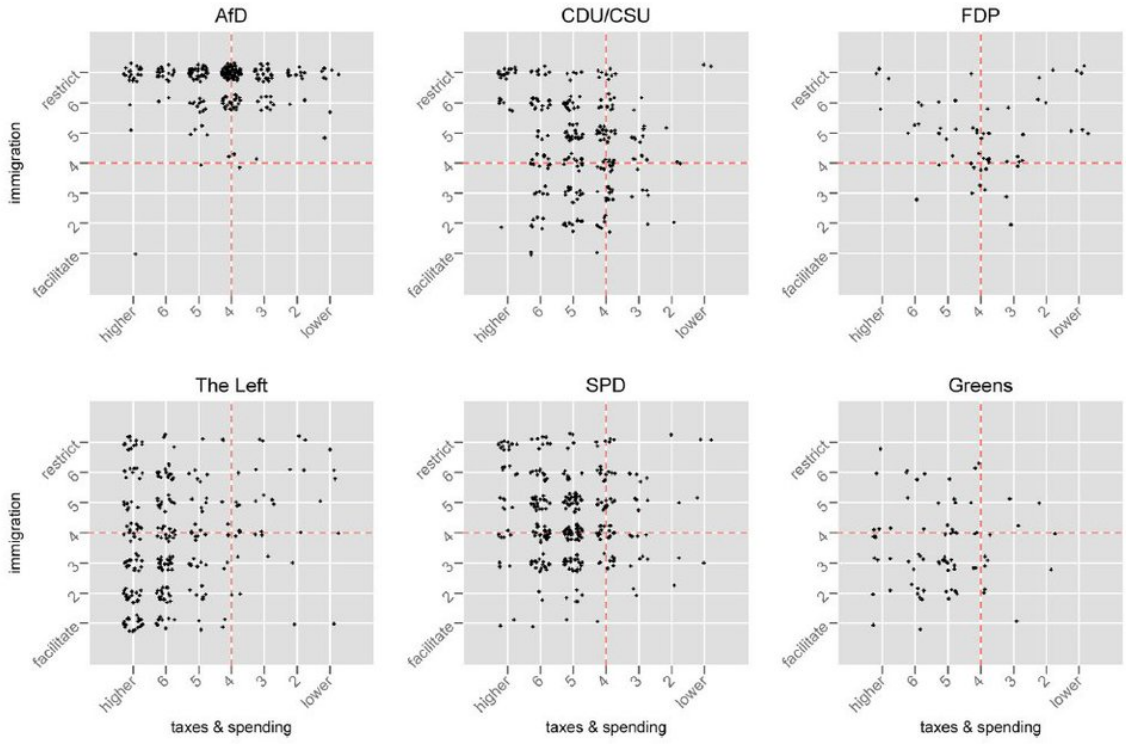
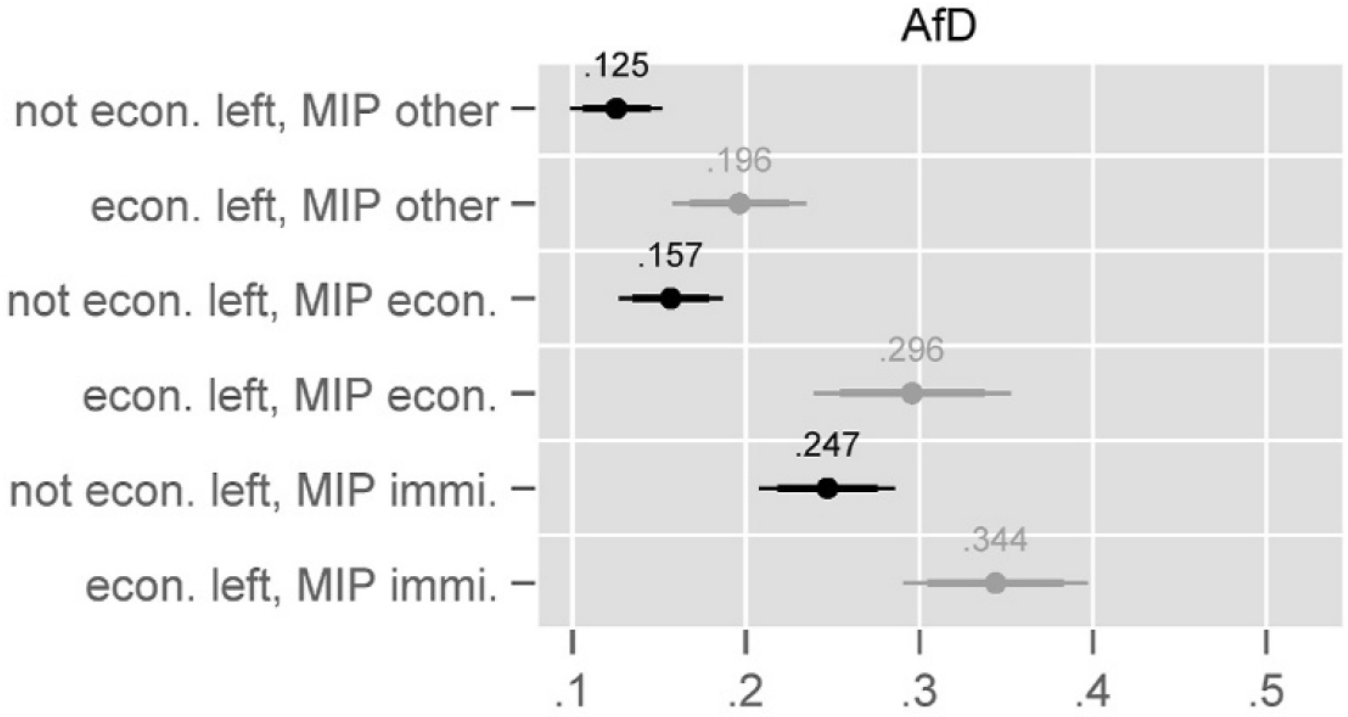


Fig. 3. Where left-authoritarians located the party they voted for.
Note: Shown are perceived party positions on taxes & welfare benefits (horizontal axis) and on immigration (vertical axis) by voters of the respective parties.

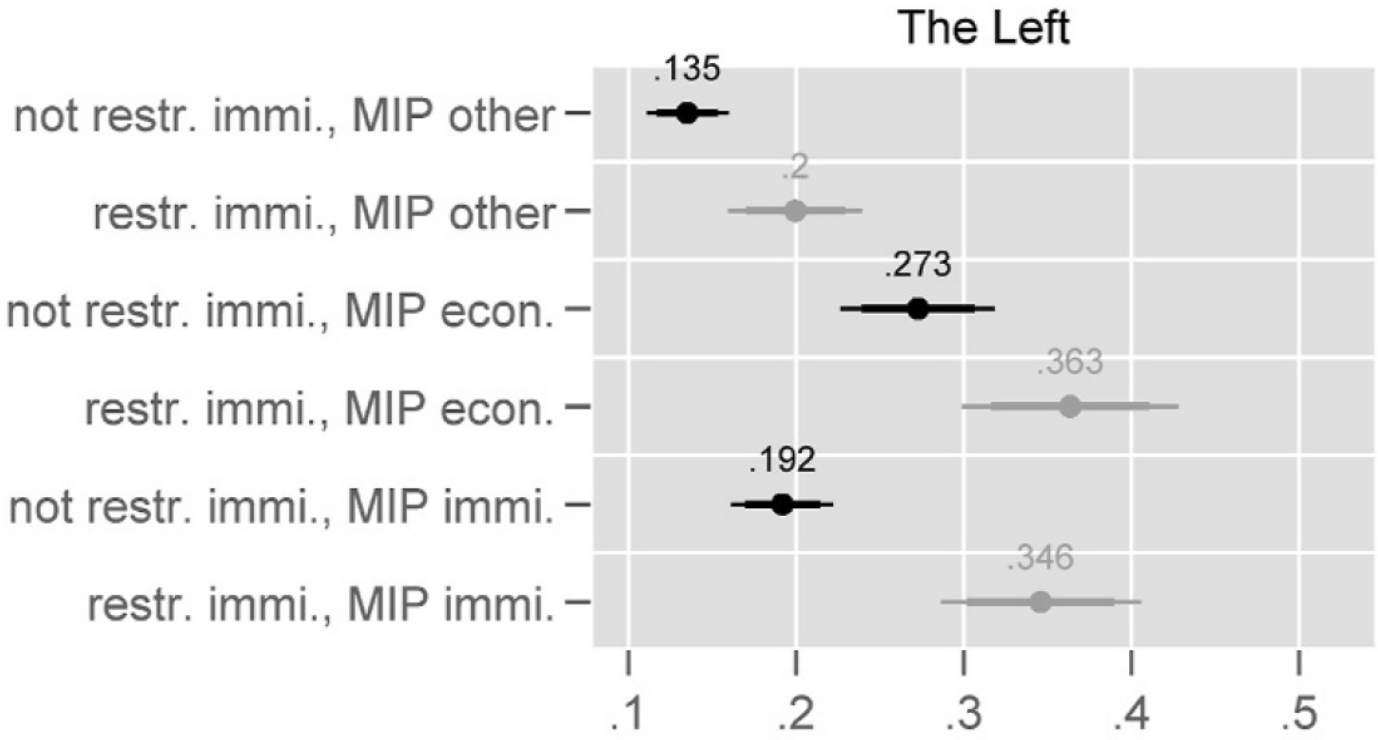
Our statistical models study the interplay between this (mis-)perceived congruence and issue importance, using an open-ended question on the most important political problem in Germany.

We find that (mis-)perceived congruence and issue importance interactively shape the left-authoritarian vote. Simply, perceived congruence matters more on an important issue—and issue salience matters most if voters accurately perceive incongruent party supply.

Left-authoritarians who care most about immigration have a relatively high probability to vote for the AfD, largely no matter what its perceived economic position is. Left-authoritarians who care most about the economy (only) if they misperceive the party to favor higher taxes.



Similarly, caring most about the economy makes left-authoritarians (more) likely to vote for Die Linke. Yet, the combination of caring most about immigration and misperceiving the party to be restrictive on immigration also results in a high probability to vote for the party.



Free copies to the article are available (for a limited time) to the kind people who made it to the end of this thread: https://t.co/RNZnMqwFW4.

One last note: This article was finished for submission during very sad times for us and at our institution. We felt the need to bring this up and dedicated this article to the memory of our former boss, Edeltraud Roller.

Acknowledgements

Previous versions of this manuscript were presented at the "AK Wahlen" meeting 2018, the EPSA 2018 and the ECPR 2018 and 2020 conferences, and the "3-Länder-Tagung" 2019. We are grateful for the many thoughtful comments we received at these occasions, especially from our discussants Alexander Pacek, Arndt Leininger, Evelyn Bytzek and Wouter van der Brug. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments. Lukas Bernhard contributed exellent research assistance. Most of this article was written while we were both employed at the Chair of Comparative Politics at the University of Mainz, held by Edeltraud Roller from 2005 to 2020. In June 2020, while we were about to submit this manuscript to Electoral Studies, Edeltraud Roller—who had hired us both, and had guided and supported us ever since—passed away far too early. We finished this article striving to meet her high academic standards. This article is dedicated to her memory.