

## Online Appendix to

**Marco Meyer and Harald Schoen, 2015: Avoiding vote loss by changing policy positions: The Fukushima disaster, party responses, and the German electorate, *Party Politics*, doi: 10.1177/1354068815602145**

**Table B1.** Smallest distance to party positions for identifiers of different parties and non-identifiers

### Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for CDU/CSU identifiers, 2009-2011

	CDU closest	CDU + x closest	FDP closest	SPD closest	Greens closest	Left closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	38%	77%	9%	3%	3%	3%	5%	64
Dec 2009	23%	62%	15%	6%	3%	3%	11%	182
June/July 2010	28%	67%	11%	6%	4%	3%	10%	118
March 2011	16%	54%	8%	17%	3%	4%	14%	68
May/June 2011	20%	58%	7%	8%	11%	1%	15%	156
Aug/Sept 2011	21%	56%	10%	8%	10%	4%	12%	164
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2011 before policy shift)								
March 2011	0%	34%	0%	33%	3%	3%	27%	68
May/June 2011	0%	30%	0%	18%	15%	2%	35%	156
Aug/Sept 2011	0%	37%	0%	19%	13%	5%	28%	164

Notes: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey. The two columns on the left report the proportion of identifiers who perceived the CDU (or the CDU and some other party (CDU + x)) closest to them on the nuclear power issue. The right-hand columns include the proportions of CDU/CSU identifiers who were positioned closest to several parties simultaneously. To compare the simulation results with the actual results, hypothetical June/July 2011 positions were rounded to nearest whole number. Note that the comparison of all party positions implies that the analysis is confined to those respondents giving valid answers to all party perceptions.

### Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for FDP identifiers, 2009-2011

	FDP closest	FDP + x closest	CDU closest	SPD closest	Greens closest	Left closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	22%	75%	2%	0%	11%	11%	0%	16
Dec 2009	19%	71%	12%	6%	2%	2%	7%	65
June/July 2010	24%	59%	14%	15%	2%	4%	6%	33
March 2011	12%	39%	33%	12%	8%	0%	8%	10
May/June 2011	15%	50%	18%	3%	22%	3%	4%	26
Aug/Sept 2011	14%	60%	5%	7%	8%	11%	10%	27
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2010 before policy shift)								
March 2011	0%	48%	0%	18%	8%	0%	27%	10
May/June 2011	0%	38%	0%	7%	30%	3%	22%	26
Aug/Sept 2011	0%	45%	0%	15%	9%	12%	19%	27

Note: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey.

Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for SPD identifiers, 2009-2011

	SPD closest	SPD + x closest	CDU closest	FDP closest	Greens closest	Left closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	13%	40%	12%	8%	18%	10%	12%	78
Dec 2009	18%	50%	9%	3%	10%	11%	17%	161
June/July 2010	22%	57%	4%	2%	12%	12%	13%	210
March 2011	11%	68%	2%	3%	13%	4%	11%	87
May/June 2011	12%	60%	7%	2%	17%	5%	11%	181
Aug/Sept 2011	13%	58%	4%	4%	11%	6%	16%	199
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2010 before policy shift)								
March 2011	12%	68%	5%	5%	13%	4%	6%	87
May/June 2011	18%	60%	4%	6%	17%	6%	7%	181
Aug/Sept 2011	17%	57%	4%	7%	12%	8%	12%	199

Note: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey.

Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for Green identifiers, 2009-2011

	Greens closest	Greens + x closest	CDU closest	FDP closest	SPD closest	Left closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	36%	59%	0%	0%	15%	11%	15%	20
Dec 2009	36%	67%	0%	0%	10%	13%	11%	40
June/July 2010	29%	60%	2%	2%	11%	12%	13%	86
March 2011	38%	79%	3%	0%	6%	4%	10%	34
May/June 2011	40%	79%	4%	1%	5%	4%	6%	131
Aug/Sept 2011	37%	74%	3%	2%	8%	7%	6%	123
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2010 before policy shift)								
March 2011	38%	79%	0%	0%	10%	6%	6%	34
May/June 2011	41%	80%	0%	0%	9%	5%	7%	131
Aug/Sept 2011	37%	76%	0%	0%	11%	7%	6%	123

Note: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey.

Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for The Left identifiers, 2009-2011

	Left closest	Left + x closest	CDU closest	FDP closest	SPD closest	Greens closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	7%	43%	9%	2%	7%	10%	29%	24
Dec 2009	16%	50%	10%	3%	13%	9%	14%	105
June/July 2010	11%	61%	4%	1%	12%	16%	5%	95
March 2011	24%	62%	10%	0%	8%	14%	6%	29
May/June 2011	14%	58%	3%	3%	10%	14%	12%	98
Aug/Sept 2011	21%	58%	5%	0%	5%	27%	6%	72
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2010 before policy shift)								
March 2011	24%	62%	0%	0%	7%	14%	16%	29
May/June 2011	13%	56%	0%	0%	14%	14%	16%	98
Aug/Sept 2011	16%	55%	0%	0%	5%	28%	12%	72

Note: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey.

Smallest distance on nuclear power issue for partisan independents, 2009-2011

	CDU closest	FDP closest	SPD closest	Greens closest	Left closest	Other combination	N
Apr/May 2009	9%	5%	9%	11%	21%	45%	52
Dec 2009	12%	5%	5%	6%	9%	63%	168
June/July 2010	10%	3%	13%	9%	9%	56%	126
March 2011	8%	3%	10%	15%	7%	57%	84
May/June 2011	5%	4%	10%	19%	6%	55%	142
Aug/Sept 2011	9%	5%	8%	12%	9%	57%	142
Simulation (assuming CDU and FDP perception of June/July 2010 before policy shift)							
March 2011	5%	18%	13%	15%	3%	45%	84
May/June 2011	5%	9%	13%	20%	6%	47%	142
Aug/Sept 2011	13%	11%	8%	13%	9%	47%	142

Note: Cell entries are percentages with respect to all identifiers in the respective survey.

**Table B2.** Multinomial Logistic Regression Models of reported voting behavior in the 2013 federal election for different partisan subgroups (pre- and post-election Cross Section Survey, see GESIS ZA5702)

CDU/CSU identifiers					
	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	others
CDU/CSU PID	1.47 (0.79)	-3.22** (1.07)	-3.07** (0.98)	-2.43** (0.92)	-0.68 (1.25)
Evaluation nuclear power	-0.04 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.72*** (0.13)	-0.00 (0.10)	0.19 (0.12)
Eval. NC x CDU/CSU PID	0.35 (0.28)	0.51 (0.37)	1.13*** (0.32)	0.41 (0.27)	0.44 (0.39)
Merkel evaluation	0.55*** (0.07)	0.07 (0.04)	0.10* (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Constant	-4.89*** (0.62)	0.42 (0.29)	0.47 (0.42)	-0.38 (0.37)	-1.61*** (0.46)
N				1,652	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>				0.225	

Notes: Cell entries are logit coefficients; robust standard errors in parentheses; reference category: Abstention; significance levels: \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001.

SPD identifiers					
	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	others
SPD PID	-2.15* (0.93)	1.46* (0.59)	-0.56 (0.70)	-2.89* (1.19)	0.79 (0.85)
Evaluation nuclear power	0.15 (0.08)	-0.22 (0.13)	-0.58*** (0.13)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.33** (0.12)
Eval. NC x SPD PID	0.14 (0.39)	0.80** (0.25)	0.52 (0.34)	1.18** (0.40)	-0.20 (0.37)
Steinbrück evaluation	0.10** (0.04)	0.38*** (0.05)	0.29*** (0.06)	0.12* (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)
Constant	-0.15 (0.29)	-2.95*** (0.47)	-0.99* (0.43)	-1.32*** (0.39)	-1.19* (0.52)
N				1,626	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>				0.202	

Note: Cell entries are logit coefficients; robust standard errors in parentheses; reference category: Abstention; significance levels: \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001.

### Green identifiers

	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	others
Greens PID	-1.28 (1.33)	0.49 (1.24)	2.56* (1.05)	-2.56 (1.42)	1.40 (2.17)
Evaluation nuclear power	0.13 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.28 (0.14)	0.08 (0.10)	0.23 (0.12)
Eval. NC x Green PID	0.14 (0.60)	-0.81 (0.72)	0.16 (0.52)	0.28 (0.49)	-0.87 (1.09)
Trittin Evaluation	-0.12** (0.04)	0.11* (0.04)	0.32*** (0.08)	0.13* (0.05)	-0.11 (0.06)
Constant	1.15*** (0.31)	0.25 (0.34)	-2.21*** (0.59)	-1.53*** (0.45)	-0.55 (0.52)
N	1,596				
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.112				

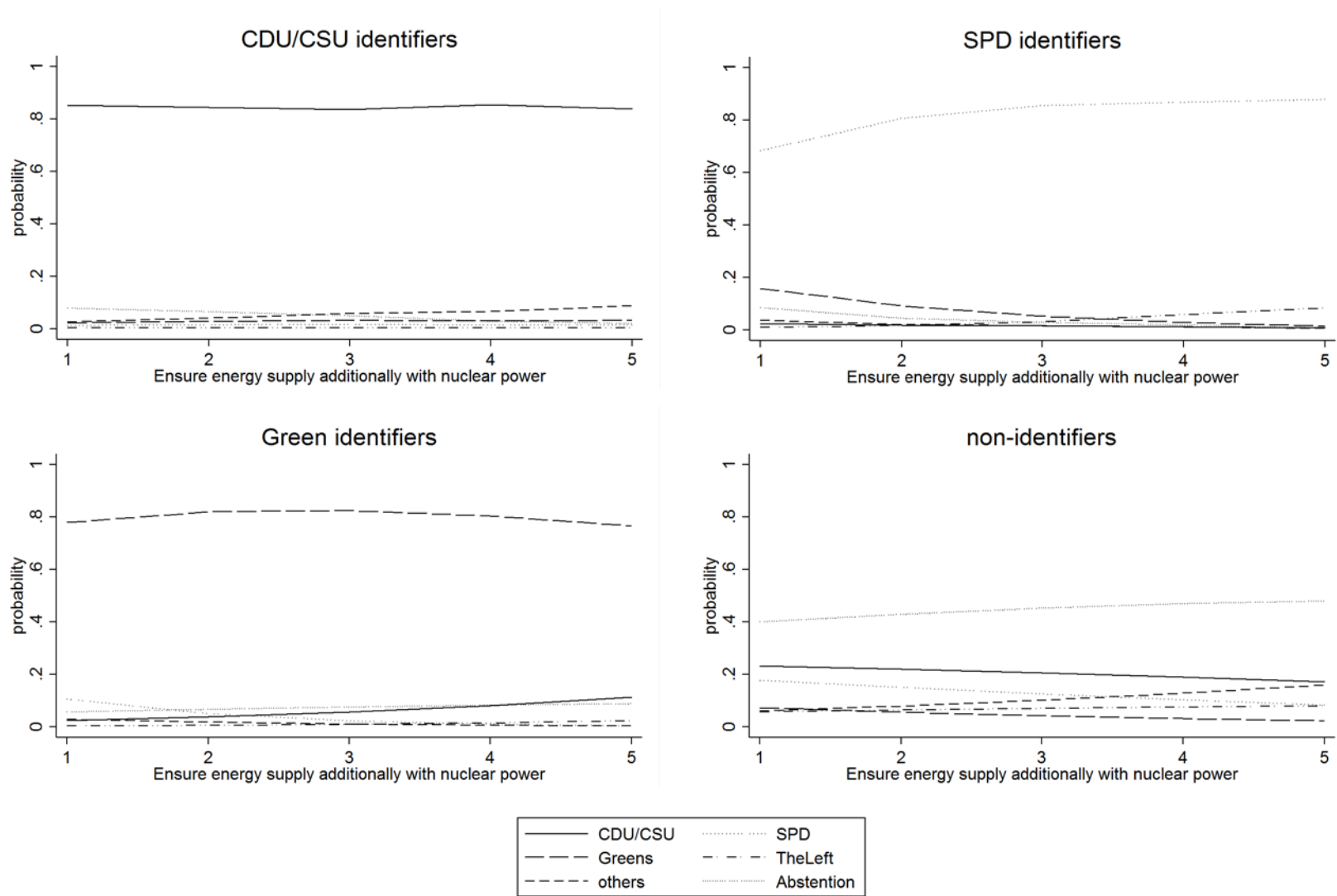
Note: Cell entries are logit coefficients; robust standard errors in parentheses; reference category: Abstention; significance levels: \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001.

### Non-identifiers

	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens	The Left	others
Partisan Independent	-0.68 (0.51)	-1.38** (0.51)	-2.42*** (0.66)	-1.29* (0.62)	-0.76 (0.79)
Evaluation nuclear power	0.58*** (0.14)	0.24 (0.14)	-0.27 (0.17)	0.32* (0.16)	0.61*** (0.17)
Eval. NC x Independent	-0.70*** (0.19)	-0.47* (0.20)	-0.07 (0.27)	-0.28 (0.22)	-0.41 (0.26)
Constant	0.25 (0.34)	0.80* (0.34)	1.05** (0.38)	-0.69 (0.41)	-1.32** (0.47)
N	1,667				
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0792				

Note: Cell entries are logit coefficients; robust standard errors in parentheses; reference category: Abstention; significance levels: \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001.

**Figure B1.** Impact of nuclear power attitudes on reported voting behavior ('Ensure energy supply with nuclear power'; 1= 'strongly disagree'; 5= 'strongly agree')



**Table B3.** Predicted choice probabilities for partisan subgroups with actual and simulated party positions

	Dec 2009	June/July 2010	March 2011	May/June 2011	Aug/Sept 2011
<b>CDU/CSU identifiers</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share	90.6 %	85.1 %	92.9 %	84.7 %	87.3 %
SPD vote share	3.8 %	10.0 %	1.7 %	7.3 %	5.3 %
Greens vote share	2.4 %	2.5 %	3.1 %	7.4 %	2.9 %
The Left vote share	3.1 %	2.4 %	2.3 %	0.6 %	4.9 %
<b>Simulation results (perceived party positions in June/July 2010)</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share			82.1 %	75.3 %	73.4 %
SPD vote share			3.8 %	10.5 %	9.7 %
Greens vote share			7.2 %	12.0 %	7.5 %
The Left vote share			7.0 %	2.2 %	9.8 %
<b>SPD identifiers</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share	4.8 %	1.1 %	0.0 %	0.3 %	0.0 %
SPD vote share	73.2 %	79.0 %	76.5 %	79.8 %	78.5 %
Greens vote share	12.6 %	11.4 %	13.8 %	17.3 %	20.2 %
The Left vote share	9.4 %	8.5 %	9.6 %	2.5 %	1.3 %
<b>Simulation results (perceived party positions in June/July 2010)</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share			0.0 %	0.4 %	0.0 %
SPD vote share			71.4 %	77.3 %	74.5 %
Greens vote share			15.8 %	18.6 %	23.0 %
The Left vote share			12.8 %	3.7 %	2.5 %
<b>Green identifiers</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share	3.7 %	0.1 %	0.0 %	0.1 %	0.0 %
SPD vote share	16.0 %	9.1 %	5.0 %	7.1 %	8.6 %
Greens vote share	74.1 %	80.2 %	88.7 %	89.9 %	88.6 %
The Left vote share	6.3 %	10.6 %	6.3 %	3.0 %	2.8 %
<b>Simulation results (perceived party positions in June/July 2010)</b>					
CDU/CSU vote share			0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
SPD vote share			4.9 %	7.0 %	10.3 %
Greens vote share			85.7 %	89.1 %	84.2 %
The Left vote share			9.4 %	4.0 %	5.5 %

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The Left identifiers					
CDU/CSU vote share	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.2 %
SPD vote share	4.3 %	2.2 %	0.9 %	2.8 %	0.5 %
Greens vote share	0.5 %	3.7 %	3.8 %	10.4 %	7.6 %
The Left vote share	93.6 %	94.1 %	95.3 %	86.8 %	91.7 %
Simulation results (perceived party positions in June/July 2010)					
CDU/CSU vote share			0.0 %	0.0 %	0.1 %
SPD vote share			2.0 %	4.0 %	1.1 %
Greens vote share			5.0 %	11.5 %	10.0 %
The Left vote share			93.0 %	84.5 %	88.8 %
Partisan independents					
CDU/CSU vote share	25.6 %	8.6 %	4.3 %	6.2 %	3.8 %
SPD vote share	24.8 %	28.0 %	23.0 %	28.9 %	33.1 %
Greens vote share	17.0 %	27.7 %	37.0 %	48.0 %	43.7 %
The Left vote share	32.6 %	35.7 %	35.7 %	16.9 %	19.3 %
Simulation results (perceived party positions in June/July 2010)					
CDU/CSU vote share			2.2 %	4.4 %	2.1 %
SPD vote share			23.2 %	29.1 %	29.6 %
Greens vote share			32.5 %	45.4 %	43.1 %
The Left vote share			42.1 %	21.1 %	25.1 %

Notes: Group-specific mean distances for nuclear power issue and ideological self-placement imputed.