

Appendix

Appendix A1: Timetable

Decree of state-level steering committee to conduct intra-party referendum:	June 5, 2015 ¹
Start survey wave 1:	June 21, 2015
Decree of provincial steering committee on question wording of referendum:	June 24, 2015 ²
Start referendum:	July 3, 2015 ³
Announcement of referendum results:	July 24, 2015 ⁴
Start survey wave 2:	September 3, 2015
Start catch up wave 2:	September 25, 2015

¹ <https://www.rbb-online.de/politik/beitrag/2015/06/ehe-fuer-alle-debatte-cdu-berlin.html>

² <http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article205419281/Eine-Homo-Ehe-aber-viele-Antworten.html>

³ <http://www.taz.de/!5206031/>

⁴ <http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article205419281/Eine-Homo-Ehe-aber-viele-Antworten.html>

Appendix A2: Question Wording and Coding

All variables are coded from 0 to 1 if not specified otherwise. The order of the items listed here does not reflect their order in the questionnaire. Items of wave 1 (W1) and wave 2 (W2) are marked accordingly. The original questionnaires can be obtained with the data sets, which are referenced in the main article.

Intro: Introductory Sentences
QT: Question Text
AO: Answer Options

POLITICAL EFFICACY (W1 & W2)

QT: *Nun möchten wir Ihnen einige Fragen zur Berliner CDU stellen.
Nach außen werben politische Parteien um Wähler. Nach innen organisieren Parteien die
Willensbildung ihrer Mitglieder. Wenn Sie an die innerparteiliche Kommunikation und
Willensbildung denken, inwieweit stimmen Sie folgenden Aussagen über die CDU Berlin zu?*

- (A) Ich habe als Mitglied viele Möglichkeiten, meiner Meinung Gehör zu verschaffen.

(B) Die Partei bemüht sich, immer wieder neue Wege zu gehen, um ihre Mitglieder zu
beteiligen.

AO: *(1) stimme überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) stimme teils/teils zu, (4), (5) stimme voll und
ganz zu; (.b) Ich finde das Thema nicht wichtig, (99) keine Angabe*

QT: Now we would like to ask you a few question about CDU Berlin.
Outwards, political parties try to attract voters. Inwards, parties organize processes of opinion
formation and consultation among party members. Thinking about the these processes, to what
degree do you agree with the following statements?

- (A) As a member I have many opportunities to make my opinions heard.

(B) The party makes efforts in finding new ways to consult their members.

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (.b)
I don't think the issue is important, (99) no comment

Attitudes referendum (W1 & W2)

QT: *Abschließend zu diesem Themenblock sehen Sie hier einige Aussagen zur
Mitgliederbefragung zur gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe.
Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit Sie diesen Aussagen zustimmen oder nicht zustimmen.*

- (A) Die Mitgliederbefragung war eine Bereicherung für die Diskussionskultur der CDU.
(B) Das Thema der Mitgliederbefragung war mir nicht besonders wichtig.
(C) Über die Mitgliederbefragung wurde ich ausreichend informiert.
(D) Die innerparteiliche Diskussion zur Mitgliederbefragung verlief ausgewogen.
(E) Mit dem Ausgang der Mitgliederbefragung bin ich zufrieden.

AO: *(1) stimme überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) stimme teils/teils zu, (4), (5) stimme voll und
ganz zu; (.b) Ich finde das Thema nicht wichtig, (99) keine Angabe*

QT: At the end of this segment you can see several statements about the issue-referendum
on same-sex marriage.

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with each of these statements.

- (A) The referendum was an enrichment for CDU's culture of debate.
- (B) The topic of the referendum was not very important to me.
- (C) I was sufficiently informed about the referendum.
- (D) The discussion about the referendum within the party was balanced.
- (E) I am satisfied with the outcome of the referendum.

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (.b) I don't think the issue is important, (99) no comment

EVALUATION OF POLITICIANS (W1)

QT: *Im Folgenden interessieren wir uns für Ihre Beurteilung von führenden Berliner Landespolitikerinnen und –politikern.*

Bitte geben Sie an, was Sie von diesen Politikerinnen und Politikern halten.

- (A) Frank Henkel
- (B) Udo Wolf
- (C) Ramona Pop
- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann
- (F) Michael Müller
- (G) Raed Saleh
- (H) Dilek Kolat
- (I) Sandra Scheeres
- (J) Günter B.J. Brinker

AO: (-5) halte überhaupt nichts von diesem Politiker (-4), (-3), (-2), (-1), (0), (+1), (+2), (+3), (+4); (+5) halte sehr viel von diesem Politiker; (-72) kann ich nicht einschätzen [im Datensatz gelabelt als „nicht einzuschätzen“]; (-99) keine Angabe

QT: In the following, we are interested in your evaluation of leading state politicians in Berlin.

Please specify your evaluation of the following politicians.

- (A) Frank Henkel
- (B) Udo Wolf
- (C) Ramona Pop
- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann
- (F) Michael Müller
- (G) Raed Saleh
- (H) Dilek Kolat
- (I) Sandra Scheeres
- (J) Günter B.J. Brinker

AO: (-5) strongly dislike this politician (-4), (-3), (-2), (-1), (0), (+1), (+2), (+3), (+4); (+5) strongly like this politician; (-72) cannot evaluate [labeled in data set as „unrateable“]; (-99) no comment

(W2)

QT: *Und nun ganz speziell zu einigen Politikern.*

Bitte geben Sie an, was Sie von diesen Politikerinnen und Politikern halten.

- (A) Frank Henkel
- (B) Udo Wolf
- (C) Ramona Pop
- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann

- (F) Michael Müller
- (G) Raed Saleh
- (H) Günter B.J. Brinker
- (I) Klaus Lederer

AO: (-5) halte überhaupt nichts von diesem Politiker (-4), (-3), (-2), (-1), (0), (+1), (+2), (+3), (+4); (+5) halte sehr viel von diesem Politiker; (-72) kann ich nicht einschätzen [im Datensatz gelabelt als „nicht einzuschätzen“]; (-99) keine Angabe

QT: And now on to some specific politicians

Please specify your evaluation of the following politicians

- (A) Frank Henkel
- (B) Udo Wolf
- (C) Ramona Pop
- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann
- (F) Michael Müller
- (G) Raed Saleh
- (H) Günter B.J. Brinker
- (I) Klaus Lederer

AO: (-5) strongly dislike this politician (-4), (-3), (-2), (-1), (0), (+1), (+2), (+3), (+4); (+5) strongly like this politician; (-72) cannot evaluate [labeled in data set as „unrateable“]; (-99) no comment

PERCEPTION OF POSITION

(W2)

QT: Im Zuge der Diskussion über die gleichgeschlechtliche Ehe haben auch einige Spitzenpolitiker öffentlich Position bezogen.

Wenn Sie an die Abstimmungsmöglichkeit auf dem Wahlzettel des Mitgliedervotums denken, welche Position haben Ihrer Einschätzung nach folgende Politiker zur gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe eingenommen?

- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann
- (A) Frank Henkel
- (K) Cornelia Seibeld

AO: (1) stimme überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) stimme teils/teils zu, (4), (5) stimme voll und ganz zu; (71) hat sich nicht dazu geäußert, (72) kann ich nicht einschätzen

QT: In the wake of discussions on same-sex marriage, several politicians took a public stand on the issue.

Thinking about the voting options on the referendum's ballot, in your opinion, which position did the following politicians take on same-sex marriage?

- (D) Mario Czaja
- (E) Thomas Heilmann
- (A) Frank Henkel
- (K) Cornelia Seibeld

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (71) no comment, (72) cannot evaluate

CERTAINTY OF PERCEPTION

(W2)

QT: Sie haben gerade die Positionen von Mario Czaja, Thomas Heilmann, Frank Henkel und Cornelia Seibeld zur gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe eingeschätzt.

Bitte geben Sie an, wie sicher Sie sich in Ihrer Einschätzung der Haltung der jeweiligen Politiker zur gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe sind.

- (D) Mario Czaja

(E) Thomas Heilmann
(A) Frank Henkel
(K) Cornelia Seibeld

AO: (1) überhaupt nicht sicher, (2), (3) mittelmäßig, (4), (5) sehr sicher

QT: You have just assessed the position of Mario Czaja, Thomas Heilmann, Frank Henkel and Cornelia Seibeld on same-sex marriage.
Please specify how certain you are in your perception of the position of the respective politicians on same-sex marriage.

(D) Mario Czaja
(E) Thomas Heilmann
(A) Frank Henkel
(K) Cornelia Seibeld

AO: (1) not at all certain, (2), (3) moderately certain, (4), (5) very certain

NEED FOR ORIENTATION (W1 & W2)

Intro: Und ganz generell zu Ihrer Mitgliedschaft in der CDU Berlin, inwieweit treffen diese Aussagen auf Sie zu?

QT: Ich verfolge immer genau, was gegenwärtig in meiner Partei diskutiert wird.
QT: Über aktuelle Diskussionen innerhalb meiner Partei bin ich in der Regel sehr gut informiert.

AO: (1) trifft überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) weder noch, (4), (5) trifft voll und ganz zu; (-99) keine Angabe

Intro: And generally on your membership in the CDU Berlin: To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

QT: I always monitor what is currently discussed in my party.
QT: I am well informed about current discussion in my party.

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (-99) no comment

GENERAL POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION (W2)

(open-ended; constructed from 2 variables: most important problem and second most important problem)

Most important problem

QT: Zunächst interessieren wir uns für Ihre Einstellung zu Entwicklungen der Berliner Landespolitik.

Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach gegenwärtig das wichtigste politische Problem in Berlin? Bitte nennen Sie nur das allerwichtigste Problem.

AO: Offene Antwortkategorie: Kleines Textfeld mit maximaler Möglichkeit von 100 Zeichen.

QT: First of all, we are interested in your attitude towards developments in the state politics of Berlin.

In your opinion, what is currently the most important political problem in Berlin? Please name only the utmost important problem.

AO: Open-ended answer category: small text field with max. 100 characters.

Second most important problem

QT: Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach gegenwärtig das zweitwichtigste politische Problem in Berlin? Bitte nennen Sie nur das allerwichtigste Problem.

AO: Offene Antwortkategorie: Kleines Textfeld mit maximaler Möglichkeit von 100 Zeichen.

QT: In your opinion, what is currently the second-most important political problem in Berlin? Please name only the second most important problem.

AO: Open-ended answer category: small text field with max. 100 characters.

HOURS OF PARTY ACTIVITY (W1 & W2)

Note: Gemeint ist jeglicher Zeitaufwand im Zusammenhang mit Ihrer Parteimitgliedschaft; also Vorbereitung und Besuch von Sitzungen und Parteiveranstaltungen, Wahlkampfaktivitäten, Verfassen von Pressemitteilungen usw.

QT: Wenn Sie an die vergangene Woche zurückdenken: Wie viele Stunden haben Sie in etwa für Aktivitäten für die CDU aufgewendet?

AO: (1) etwa __ Stunden, (2) Ich habe in der letzten Woche keine Zeit mit Parteiarbeit verbracht; (99) keine Angabe

Note: What is meant by this is every expenditure of time related to your party membership; this includes but is not limited to activities such as preparation and participation of hearings and party meetings, campaign activities, drafting of press releases,...

QT: Think back to last week: approximately how many hours have you spent on activities for the CDU?

AO: (1) approx. __ hour(s), (2) I did not spend any time on party activities last week; (99) no comment

INTENDED CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION (W1 & W2)

QT: Haben Sie vor, sich aktiv im Abgeordnetenhauswahlkampf im kommenden Jahr für die Berliner CDU zu beteiligen?

AO:

- (1) Ich werde mich sicher nicht am Wahlkampf aktive beteiligen.
- (2) Ich werde mich wahrscheinlich nicht am Wahlkampf beteiligen.
- (3) Ich werde mich vielleicht am Wahlkampf beteiligen.
- (4) Ich werde mich wahrscheinlich am Wahlkampf beteiligen.
- (5) Ich werde mich sicher am Wahlkampf aktiv beteiligen.
- (98) weiß ich noch nicht
- (99) keine Angabe

QT: Do you intend to participate in the upcoming parliamentary elections campaign for the CDU Berlin?

AO:

- (1) I will certainly not participate actively in the campaign.
- (2) I will likely not participate in the campaign.
- (3) I will maybe participate in the campaign.
- (4) I will likely participate in the campaign.
- (5) I will certainly participate actively in the campaign.
- (98) I don't know yet
- (99) no comment

RESPONDENT'S POSITION ON SAME-SEX MARRIAGE (W2)

QT: Nun möchten wir Sie nach Ihrer Meinung zum Thema der Mitgliederbefragung fragen:

„Sind Sie dafür, dass auch gleichgeschlechtliche Paare die Ehe eingehen dürfen?“

AO: (1) stimme überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) stimme teils/teils zu, (4), (5) stimme voll und ganz zu; (.b) Ich finde das Thema nicht wichtig, (99) keine Angabe

QT: Now we would like to ask you for your opinion on the topic of the referendum:

„Do you agree that same-sex couples should be allowed to marry?“

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (.b) I don't think the issue is important, (99) no comment

SALIENCY (W2)

QT: Sie haben gerade %**Politiker X**% bewertet. Wenn Sie an die zurückliegenden Wochen denken, kommt Ihnen eine Äußerung oder ein Ereignis in den Sinn, das Sie mit %**Politiker X**% in Verbindung bringen?

AO: Offene Antwortkategorie: Kleines Textfeld mit maximaler Möglichkeit von 75 Zeichen, (99) keine Angabe

QT: You just rated %**politician X**%. When you think back to the past weeks, do you recall a statement or an event that is associated with %**politician X**%?

AO: Open-ended answer category: small text field with max. 75 characters, (99) no comment

ATTITUDE ON MIGRATION (W1)

QT: Wir interessieren uns für Ihre Haltung zu politischen Fragen, die momentan kontrovers diskutiert werden.
Was halten Sie von folgenden Aussagen?

(C) Deutschland braucht mehr Zuwanderung.

AO: (1) stimme überhaupt nicht zu, (2), (3) stimme teils/teils zu, (4), (5) stimme voll und ganz zu; (99) keine Angabe

QT: We are interested in your opinion on political questions, which are subject of controversial debate.

What is your opinion on the following statement?

(C) Germany needs more immigration.

AO: (1) strongly disagree, (2), (3) partly agree/partly disagree, (4), (5) strongly agree; (99) no comment

Appendix A3: Distribution of key variables

Table 1: Perception of referendum process

	Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither / nor	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	N
Referendum was enrichment	42.2	31.9	15.0	6.6	4.0	301
I was sufficiently informed about referendum.	46.3	38.2	9.1	3.4	3.0	296
I am satisfied with the outcome of the referendum	25.6	23.6	13.3	19.5	18.1	293

Note: Entries are row percentages.

Table 2: Evaluations of politicians

	Neutral politician		Pro politician 1		Pro politician 2	
	W1	W2	W1	W2	W1	W2
Strongly dislike this politician	3.2	5.8	3.4	4.9	1.8	2.8
-4	5.9	9.9	2.4	2.7	2.2	1.7
-3	8.9	15.7	1.4	3.4	2.2	3.5
-2	13.5	18.9	1.7	2.7	1.9	3.5
-1	16.8	24.0	4.2	5.0	1.9	3.1
0	23.7	35.1	8.7	10.4	12.3	17.8
1	38.2	46.0	11.8	13.8	14.5	13.2
2	50.3	63.9	19.2	15.8	20.5	23.3
3	72.7	81.5	23	17.8	20.5	13.9
4	90.5	93.9	17.4	15.4	15.2	11.2
Strongly like this politician	9.5	6.1	5.6	7.1	5.6	4.9
N	304	313	287	298	269	287

Note: Entries are column percentages. Question wording: „Bitte geben Sie an, was Sie von diesen Politikerinnen und Politikern halten.“, „Please specify what you think of the following politicians“.

Appendix A4: Conditioning effects and panel attrition

Surveys are subject to several potential biases that may lead to a misrepresentation of the empirical reality. First, the administration of a survey itself may exert effects on attitudes of respondents. With regard to the research questions of this study, the first potential bias concerns conditioning effects. Since the online survey was conducted on behalf of the University of Mannheim in cooperation with CDU Berlin, participation in the survey itself might have stimulated the respondents' sense of party-specific political efficacy because it may have signaled the party's interest in what its members think. However, our research design considers intra-individual variation between survey wave 1 and survey wave 2. Therefore, if survey participation has any influence on party-specific efficacy it is already included in the pre-treatment measure from wave 1. Biases of our analyses could only occur if survey participation exerted an additional influence on political efficacy at the second instance of survey participation, which exceeds the influence it had on the measure in wave 1.

A second potential problem concerns issue-based leader appraisal because the administration of specific survey question might have increased the salience of related considerations in the minds of the respondents. This pertains to the questions on perceived issue positions of party elites. However, these questions were only administered in wave 2 and were placed in the questionnaire after the evaluation of party elites. Other questions on the issue-referendum were only administered in wave 2 as well. Therefore, order effects that might bias the outcome variable are unlikely to occur.

Next, longitudinal surveys are subject to panel attrition. Panel attrition may bias the results if the proclivity to participate in both surveys varies systematically with respondents' characteristics that are relevant for the research questions. Table 7 shows that respondents who participated in both survey waves do not differ from respondents who participated only in one wave on relevant characteristics. It is thus hard to make a case for the claim that systematic panel attrition occurred.

Table 3: Means for Wave 1 and Wave 2, by type of respondent

Variable	Participated only in W1	Participated only in W2	Participated in W1 & W2
Evaluation			
Frank Henkel (W1)	.68		.68
Frank Henkel (W2)		.63	.61
Mario Czaja (W1)	.68		.68
Mario Czaja (W2)		.65	.64
Thomas Heilmann (W1)	.65		.68
Thomas Heilmann (W2)		.60	.63
Activity			
Intended Campaign Participation (W1)	.64		.63
Intended Campaign Participation (W2)		.54	.60
Hours Party Activity (W1)	.26		.23
Hours Party Activity (W2)		.17	.23
Party-specific pol. efficacy			
Efficacy (W1)	.54		.53
Efficacy (W2)		.63	.62

Note: Entries are wave-specific mean values.

Finally, intra-individual changes in survey measures may not result from substantive effects, but could reflect the regression-to-the-mean phenomenon. Table 3 shows intra-individual dynamics of relevant variables, depending on the baseline in wave 1. The results demonstrate that low levels on party-specific political efficacy and politician appraisal in wave 1 are related to disproportionately large increases in these variables from the first to the second survey. Those respondents with the largest potential for increases thus exhibited the largest increases – a finding which is in line with the idea of regression to the mean. However, there is no reason to believe that evaluations of the referendum process (in case of the analysis of party-specific efficacy) and attitudes toward gay rights (in case of policy-based appraisal evaluations) are related to this tendency. We are thus confident that the findings presented in this paper reflect substantive effects, rather than differential inclinations to show regression-to-the-mean tendencies.

Table 4: Development over time (Difference W2-W1), by prior level of attitude

Variable	Level of respective variable in W1		
	Low	Middle	High
Frank Henkel	.04	-.07	-.09
Mario Czaja	.04	-.01	-.06
Thomas Heilmann	.07	-.00	-.08
Intended campaign participation	.06	-.00	-.07
Hours of party activity	.06	-.03	-.34
Party-specific efficacy	.24	.08	-.03

Note: Entries are W2-W1 differences in mean values.

Appendix A5: Saliency of referendum

Table 5: Saliency of referendum

	Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither / nor	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree	N
The topic of the member referendum was not of particular importance to me	14.3	17.7	11.2	17.0	39.8	294
I was sufficiently informed about referendum.	46.3	38.2	9.1	3.4	3.0	296

Note: Entries are row percentages.

Appendix A6: Knowledge of elite stances

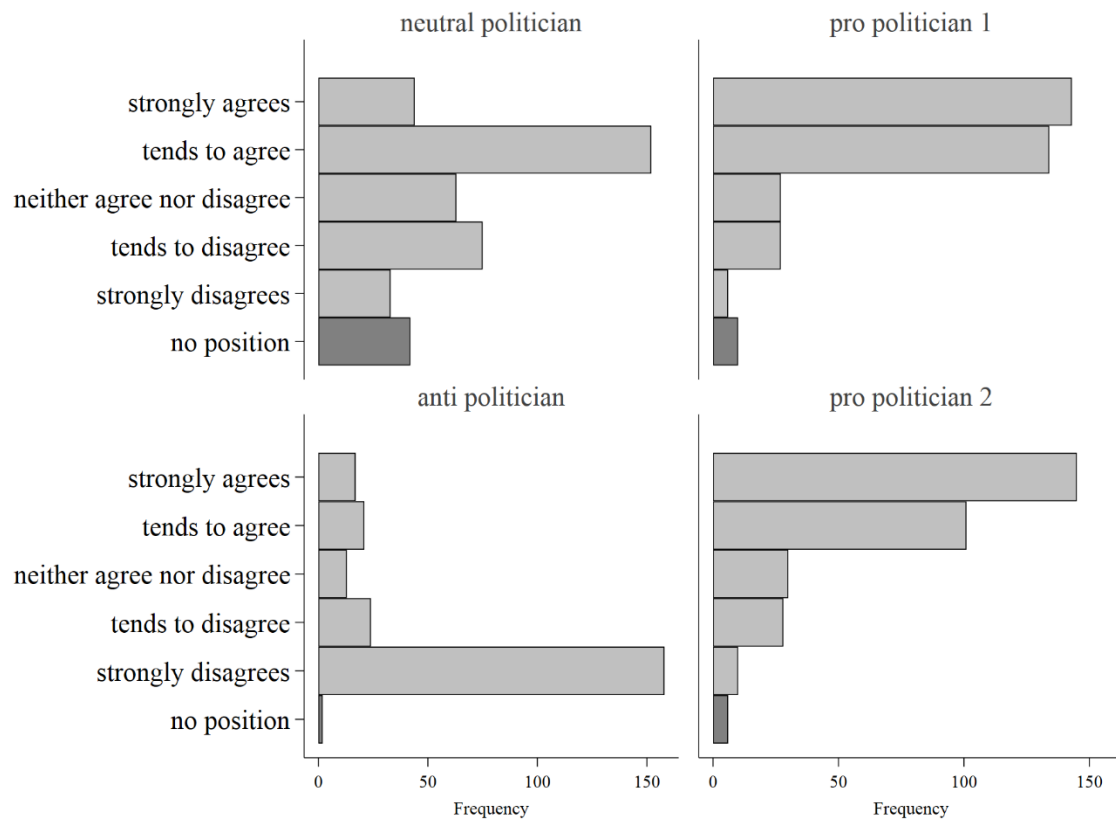
Accuracy of perceptions of politicians' issue stance

Party member surveys usually do not assess the amount of knowledge the rank-and-file has about intra-party politics. We queried *perceptions of elite positioning* (W2) by asking respondents about their guesses on the presumed vote choices of the four party politicians. In addition, we coded for each politician whether his or her position was accurately perceived by a respondent. A perception was coded as accurate if the *pro politicians* were located in the upper half and the *anti politician* in the lower half of the scale. The position of *neutral politician* was coded as accurately perceived if the respondent reported that he had not taken position or “tends to agree” (his actual voting behavior as he revealed later).

To examine how knowledge of intra-party processes is distributed among the rank-and-file, Figure 1 reports raw distributions of how respondents perceived the positions of the *neutral*, *pro* and *anti politicians* on the legalization of same-sex marriage. The discrepancies between the subgraphs are the plot's first key message. It means that party members differentiate between elite politicians. Are these differentiated elite perceptions grounded in reality and well informed? Party members attest more often than for the other politicians that the *neutral politician* did not take a clear stance on same-sex marriage (darker bar). The modal value of those who offered a guess on *neutral politician's* stance correctly guessed the voting behavior (“*tend to agree*”) which he had publicly revealed after the referendum. Further, Figure A1 reveals stark differences in how *anti politician* and *pro politicians* were perceived. The vast majority of respondents accurately classified the state politicians as opponents or supporters of the proposed law. So, respondents knew about the stances of party elites and this knowledge was not confined to a small minority but widely dispersed among the rank-and-file (also see the table on members' knowledge in Appendix A7). Since pre-treatment measures of elite perceptions are unavailable we assess the portion of knowledge that was acquired in the wake of the referendum campaign. Yet, we can conclude that in contrast to common depictions of party members as inattentive, after the referendum the majority of surveyed party members were aware of the diverging policy stances of intra-party elites. However, in interpreting these results we need to take the biased sample into account. Considering that the sample likely over-

represents party members who are more involved in party affairs, the reported results presumably over-estimate the actual knowledge of intra-party politics in the membership as a whole.

Figure 1: Distribution of perceived position on same-sex marriage



Note: Perceptions were surveyed in wave 2.

Appendix 7: Distribution of knowledge

Table 6 shows that the amount of knowledge about intra-party politics varies remarkably among the membership. The table reports the frequency of accurately classified politicians per respondent. The distribution approximates a normal distribution with some highly knowledgeable and some uninformed members and many in between.

Table 6: Distribution of accurate perceptions of the politicians' positions on same-sex marriage

Number of accurate perceptions	Share
0	13
1	21
2	25
3	27
4	14

Note: Entries are row percentages. Manual coding of open-ended question from wave 2 (N=434): "You just rated %politician X%. When you think back to the past weeks, do you recall a statement or an event associated with %politician X%?"