

## **Small winners and big losers. Strategic party behaviour in the 2017 Dutch general election**

Mathilde M. van Ditmars, Nicola Maggini and Joost van Spanje

### **Online Appendices**

#### **Appendix A**

##### Positional issues (2 opposing goals)

1. Require employers to give employees a permanent contract after two years / Do not require employers to give employees a permanent term contract after two years
2. Allow elderly who think their life is completed, to be assisted in ending their life / Do not allow elderly who think their life is completed, to be assisted in ending their life
3. Do not increase the tax on meat / Increase the tax on meat to the 21% tariff
4. Abolish the student loans and bring back the student scholarship / Maintain the student loans and do not bring back the student scholarship
5. Reduce income differences / Do not reduce income differences
6. Reduce the pension age to 65 / Keep the pension age at 67
7. Require foreigners in The Netherlands to fully adapt to Dutch culture / Allow foreigners in The Netherlands to preserve their own culture
8. Abolish the deductible in health insurance, even if this means higher fees / Do not abolish the deductible in health insurance
9. The Netherlands should stay in the EU / The Netherland should leave the EU
10. Increase defence spending, to come closer to the NATO norm (2% of national income) / Do not increase defence spending
11. Introduce possibilities for binding referenda / Only keep the current possibilities for non-binding referenda
12. Take in fewer refugees in The Netherlands / Maintain the current refugee policy in The Netherlands
13. Do not completely close the Dutch borders to immigrants / Completely close the Dutch borders to immigrants
14. Legalise the selling and growing of weed / Maintain the current weed policy
15. Restrict the right to social provisions to Dutch nationals only / Maintain the right to social provisions for Dutch residents without the Dutch nationality

### Valence issues

1. Protect the Netherlands against terrorist attacks
2. Keep the current economic growth
3. Further reduce unemployment
4. Fight environmental pollution
5. Improve care for the elderly and disabled

*Note:* The health insurance deductible issue regards the amount of costs (set by the government) that patients are to cover before the insurance starts covering subsequent costs. The government sets the height of the deductible every year. Some parties (SP, PVV) want to abolish the deductible all together, to reduce individual citizens' medical costs.

The permanent contract issue regards a recent law (July 2015) that requires employers to provide their employees with a permanent contract after having had temporary contracts for two years. Many parties (except for SP and PvdA, initiator of the law) want to abolish this rule.

The assisted end of life issue is a D66 bill that complements existing euthanasia law. It provides people who are not in severe physical or mental suffering (as required by euthanasia law) the opportunity to receive assistance in ending their life. Most culturally progressive parties favour it.

## Appendix B

Table B.1 Strategic behaviour vs. public opinion's priorities: effects of issue yield and systemic issue salience on issue emphasis by parties.

	Model (1)	Model (2)
<i>Issue yield</i>	0.56** (0.19)	0.13*** (0.01)
<i>Systemic Issue Salience (priority)</i>	0.22** (0.07)	0.13*** (0.04)
<i>CDA (reference category)</i>		0 (.)
<i>FvD</i>		-0.13*** (0.00)
<i>50Plus</i>		-0.09** (0.03)
<i>PvdA</i>		-0.22*** (0.01)
<i>GL</i>		0.06*** (0.01)
<i>D66</i>		-0.16*** (0.02)
<i>SP</i>		-0.16*** (0.01)
<i>PVV</i>		-0.41*** (0.05)
<i>FvD × Issue yield</i>		1.22*** (0.13)
<i>50Plus × Issue yield</i>		2.10*** (0.09)
<i>PvdA × Issue yield</i>		-0.09*** (0.01)
<i>GL × Issue yield</i>		0.38*** (0.06)
<i>D66 × Issue yield</i>		0.56*** (0.04)
<i>SP × Issue yield</i>		0.23*** (0.02)
<i>PVV × Issue yield</i>		0.54*** (0.06)
<i>FvD × Priority</i>		0.06*** (0.01)
<i>50Plus × Priority</i>		-0.31*** (0.01)
<i>PvdA × Priority</i>		0.35*** (0.02)

<i>GL</i> × <i>Priority</i>		-0.24*** (0.04)
<i>D66</i> × <i>Priority</i>		0.06*** (0.01)
<i>SP</i> × <i>Priority</i>		0.18*** (0.00)
<i>PVV</i> × <i>Priority</i>		0.30*** (0.04)
Constant	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.09*** (0.03)
Observations	160	160
AIC	10.43	-31.70
BIC	22.73	-28.62
Explained variance	0.21	0.41

*Note:* Table entries represent coefficients for the Tobit regression of issue emphasis on the hypothesized predictors (estimation based on robust standard errors, with observations clustered by party). Parties with fewer than 25 tweets on issues are excluded from the analysis. The dependent variable is censored at 0. Standard errors reported in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .