

DATA APPENDIX

This online appendix details how we arrived at our dataset of 77 regionalist parties which we analyse in the following article

Masseti, Emanuele and Schakel, Arjan H. (2013) Ideology Matters: Why Decentralization Has a Differentiated Effect on Regionalist Parties' Fortunes in Western Democracies, *European Journal of Political Research*, first published online, February 27, 2013.

Label, definition and internal classification

We label these parties as 'regionalist' following previous authoritative studies (De Winter and Tursan, 1998; Jolly, 2007; Deschouwer, 2009). Since the scholarship is characterised by extensive terminological profusion and lack of consensus,¹ it is very important to clearly define the underline concept and, when relevant for the interpretations of results, discuss definitional differences. Following De Winter, we define regionalist parties on the basis of their ideology, as those parties whose primary concern is the achievement of some kind of territorial self-government (De Winter, 1998, p. 204-205). As pointed out by other scholars, although the definition is based on ideology, it also entails a territorial characterisation: regionalist parties are only present, as organizations or in terms of electoral activity, in a specific territory of the state (Tursan, 1998, p. 5; Gomez-Reino, 2008). In other words, 'regionalist' parties are also 'regional' ('non state-wide') or, more precisely, they are a sub-set of regional parties.² In common with most regional parties they also have an ambition to administer regional powers and resources in the exclusive interest the region (Gomez-Reino et al., 2006, p. 258).

Our dataset contains two innovative elements. First, we code regionalist parties' level of ideological radicalism in respect to their self-government claim, distinguishing between moderate (autonomist) and radical (secessionist) ones. We choose this classification precisely because it refers exclusively to the level of institutional self-government demanded by the party without tapping into identity questions.³

¹ Many different alternative labels have been used to refer to largely similar sets of parties. Just to mention some examples: 'ethno-regionalist' (e.g. Tronconi, 2009), 'regional' (e.g. Brancati, 2008), 'ethno-regional' (e.g. Levi and Hechter, 1985), 'ethnonationalist' (e.g. Connor, 1977), 'peripheral nationalist' (e.g. Gourevitch, 1979), 'peripheral' (Rokkan and Urwin, 1983), 'regional nationalist' (e.g. Van Atta, 2003), 'minority nationalist' (e.g. Lynch, 1996), 'stateless nationalist' (e.g. Guibernau, 1999), 'non state wide' (e.g. Pallares et al. 1997), 'stateless nationalist and regionalist' (e.g. Hepburn, 2009), 'ethnoterritorial' (e.g. Rudolph and Thompson, 1985), 'autonomist' (e.g. Elias and Tronconi, 2011), 'secessionist' (e.g. Sorens, 2005).

² For instance, while all Belgian parties are 'regional', Deschouwer distinguishes 'regionalist' parties from all the others using the same definition and terminology as those used in this article (Deschouwer, 2009).

³ Some authors highlight the distinction between parties insisting on the recognition of the multi-national character of the state as opposed to other regionalist parties that do not have nationality claims (Lancaster and Lewis-Beck, 1989; Hepburn, 2009). However, this classification overlaps with ours (secessionists vs. autonomists) only to some extent, as the claim for recognition of a separate national identity does not necessarily entail a claim for secession.

How we gathered the data

In order to identify regionalist parties and to be able to classify them according to their ideology we proceeded in several steps. First, we collected regional vote shares for regional and national elections in 19 West European and OECD-countries (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

Second, we consulted the literature and looked at party labels and the territorial concentration of the vote to create an initial dataset. In case of electoral coalitions whereby the regionalist party is a junior party we used the seat allocation within the coalition to assign vote shares to the different coalition partners. When regionalist parties coalesce for elections and we could not use the seat allocation as a mechanism to allocate vote share (for example in the case when the electoral coalition obtains one seat) we allocated the total vote share to the senior party.

Third, we applied a relevance criterion; we include in our dataset each regionalist party which obtained at least 1% of the vote and/or one seat in one national *or* regional election. This has led to a dataset of 234 regionalist parties in 17 countries. Greece and Japan have also regionalist parties, but they do not reach the 1% or one seat criterion.

Subsequently, we made use of secondary sources, party internet sites and party manifestoes and documents (see bibliography) to determine whether a party can be considered as regionalist and whether it can be classified as autonomist or secessionist. The discriminatory criterion is whether a party claims various degrees of self-government without putting into question the unity of the current state or it demands its region to break away from the current state. For a significant number of parties we were not able to identify their ideology. Although they constitute less than 10% of the total variation in vote shares for national and 16% for regional elections, it nevertheless has led to the exclusion of six countries (Australia, Austria, Finland, Norway, Portugal, and the United States). In addition, it has led to the exclusion of 12 ethnic parties (see below). In the next and final step we excluded controversial cases and vote shares obtained beyond the core region (see below). The end result is a core dataset of 77 regionalist parties participating in regional and/or national elections in 11 countries. Table A1 lists these parties, their ideology and their core region.

Ethnic parties

Some parties do not demand decentralization for a particular region but rather claim specific (ethnic) group rights, for example, the right to communicate in one's native language which is not recognised as an official state language. We prefer to label these parties as 'ethnic' and we do not consider them to be regionalist. For completeness sake we list the parties we have identified as ethnic. For Austria, they are the *Karnter Wahlgemeinschaft* (KWG) and the *Karntner Einheitsliste* (KEL) (*Kärnten*); for Denmark the *Slesvigske parti - Schleswigsche Partei* (SP; *Sonderjyllands*); for Finland the *Svenska Folkepartiet* (SFP; several Finish mainland regions and *Åland*); for Germany the *Südschleswigher Wählerverband* (SSW; Schleswig-Holstein); for Italy, the *Unione Slovena* (US; Friuli-Venezia Giulia) and the Ladin parties in South Tyrol: *Ladins* (Ladins), *Moviment Politich Ladins* (MPL), and *Unione Autonomista Ladina* (UAL); for New Zealand the Maori Party (MP; country-wide); for Norway, the *Saami people's list* (SPL; Finnmark); for the United States, the *Partido Nacional de la Raza Unida* (PNRU; Texas).

Controversial cases

The classification of parties according to their ideology may provoke some discussion and this is probably also the case for some regionalist parties. For three parties it is not clear in how far they act separately from state-wide parties. These are the *Christlich-Soziale Union* (CSU) in Bavaria, Germany, the *Union del Pueblo Navarro* (UPN) in Navarre, Spain, and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) in Northern Ireland. The inclusion of these parties is highly problematic as it would open the way to the inclusion of regional branches of state-wide parties which are rather autonomous from the central party and put forward regionalist claims, such as the Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSC). In this case the distinction between regionalist and state-wide parties would disappear.

Other problematic cases concern the regionalist parties competing in the ethnically divided regions of Northern Ireland and Navarre. For these parties it is not clear whether their demands are directed to the central state (i.e. an autonomy claim) or serve to compete with alternative border-drawing claims. These parties are for Northern Ireland (UK) the Democratic Unionist Party (DPU), the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), *Sinn Fein* (SF), and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). For Navarre (SP), it applies to *Unión del Pueblo Navarro* (UPN), *Convergencia Democrática de Navarra* (CDN), and the Basque parties of the coalition *Nafarroa Bai*.

We prefer to exclude the vote shares of the problematic cases but in the main text we report on the robustness of the results when these vote shares are included.

Electoral participation beyond the core region

Some regionalist parties listed in table A1 compete in more than one institutional region but we exclude the electoral scores beyond their core region. As explained in the main text, some of these regionalist parties look for territorial boundary change rather than for more autonomy for the region they compete in. The vote shares concerned are: for Belgium, the Flemish parties in Brussels (N-VA, VB, and VU), the FDF beyond Brussels, and the RW beyond the Walloon region; for Italy the vote shares for PSD'Az and MpA beyond Sardinia and Sicily, respectively; for Spain the Basque regionalist parties (AR, EA, EE, HB and PNV) participating in Navarra elections and the ERC beyond Catalonia.

We also exclude the vote shares of pan-regionalist parties obtained beyond their core region which consists of multiple institutional regions. This concerns the *Lega Nord* beyond Padania and the PDS beyond Eastern Germany (see notes below table A1). The decision to participate in elections beyond the core region may be induced by electoral rules –e.g. only state-wide electoral lists are allowed– or by the electoral strategy of the regionalist party –e.g. the regionalist party needs a couple of hundreds vote more to obtain a national seat. This results in a wide discrepancy in vote shares for the same regionalist party across different regions. We prefer to exclude the vote shares obtained beyond the core region but in the main text we report on the robustness of the results when these vote shares are included.

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Table A1. Dataset on regionalist parties

Country	Core region	Party	Ideology on Self-Government
Belgium	Brussels	<i>Front Démocratique des Francophones (FDF)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Nieuw Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA)</i>	Secessionist
	Flanders	<i>Vlaams Belang (VB)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Volksunie (VU)</i>	Autonomist (1950s-1980s)
			Secessionist (1990s)
Walloon region (German Community)	<i>Rassemblement Wallon (RW)</i>	Autonomist	
	<i>Pro Duetschsprachige Gemeinschaft (ProDG)</i>	Autonomist	
Canada	Quebec	<i>Bloc Québécois (BQ)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Action Démocratique (AD)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Parti Nationalist du Quebec (PNQ)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Parti Québécois (PQ)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Quebec Solidaire (QS)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Union Nationale (UN)</i>	Autonomist
	Western Canada*	Western Canada Concept (WCC)	Secessionist
Denmark	Faroe Islands	<i>Fólkaflokkurin (FF)</i>	Autonomist (1940s-90s)
			Secessionist (2000s)
		<i>Sjálvstýrisflokkurin (SSF)</i>	Autonomist (1940s-90s)
			Secessionist (2000s)
	Greenland	<i>Tjóðveldi (TV)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA)</i>	Secessionist

France	Alsace	<i>Alsace d'Abord (AdA)</i>	Autonomist
	Corsica	<i>Accolta Naziunale Corsa (ANC)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Unione di u Populu Corsu-Partitu di a nazione Corsa (UPC-PNC)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Corsica Nazione (CN)</i>	Secessionist
	Rhone-Alpes (Savoy and High Savoy)	<i>Ligue Savoisiene (LS)</i>	Secessionist
Brittany	<i>Union Democratique Bretonne (UDB)</i>	Autonomist	
Germany	Bavaria	<i>Bayernpartei (BP)</i>	Secessionist
	Eastern Germany**	<i>Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (PDS)</i>	Autonomist
Italy	Aosta Valley	<i>Union Valdôtaine (UVA)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Union Valdôtaine Progressiste (UVP)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Rassemblement Valdôtaine (RV)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Vallée d'Aoste Vive (VAV)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Fédération Autonomiste (FA)</i>	Autonomist
	Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol)	<i>Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Tiroler Heimatpartei (THP)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Süd-tiroler Freiheit (S-TF)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Union für Südtirol (UfS)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Die Freiheitlichen (DF)</i>	Secessionist
	Trentino-Alto Adige (Trentino)	<i>Partito Popolare Trentino Tirolese- Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese (PPTT-PATT)</i>	Autonomist
	Sardinia	<i>Partito Sardo D'Azione (PSd'Az)</i>	Autonomist (1940s-70s and 1990s) Secessionist (1980s and 2000s)
		<i>Sardigna Nazione (SN)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Partito del Popolo Sardo - Fortza Paris (PPS-FP)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Independentia Republica de Sardigna (IRS)</i>	Secessionist

		<i>Lega Sarda (LSar)</i>	Secessionist
	Sicily	<i>Movimento per le Autonomie (MpA)</i>	Autonomist
	Northern Italy – Padania***	<i>Lega Nord (LN)</i>	Autonomist (1980s-95 and 2000s) Secessionist (1996-99)
Netherlands	Friesland	<i>Fryske Nasjonale Partij (FNP)</i>	Autonomist
Spain	Basque Country	<i>Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)</i>	Secessionist (1970s and 2000s) Autonomist (1980s-1990s)
		<i>Eusko Alkartasuna (EA)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Euskadiko Ezkerra (EE)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Herri Batasuna-Heusakal Herritarrok-Batasuna (HB-HH-Ba)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Aralar (AR)</i>	Secessionist
		<i>Partido Comunista de las Tierras Vascas (EHAK)</i>	Secessionist
	Catalonia	<i>Convergència i Unió (CiU)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)</i>	Secessionist
	Galicia	<i>Bloque Nacionalista Gallego (BNG)</i>	Secessionist
	Andalusia	<i>Partido Andalucista (PA)</i>	Autonomist
	Aragon	<i>Partido Aragonés (PAR)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Chunta Aragonesista (CHA)</i>	Autonomist
	Cantabria	<i>Partido Regionalista de Cantabria (PRC)</i>	Autonomist
	Valencia	<i>Unió Valencia (UV)</i>	Autonomist
	Asturias	<i>Partiu Asturianista (PAS)</i>	Autonomist
		<i>Unión Renovadora Asturiana (URAS)</i>	Autonomist
	Rioja	<i>Partido Riojano (PR)</i>	Autonomist

	Extremadura	<i>Partido Regionalista Extremeño</i> (PREX) <i>Coalición Extremena</i> (CEX) <i>Extremadura Unida</i> (EU)	Autonomist Autonomist Autonomist
	Balearic Islands	<i>Unió Mallorquina</i> (UM) <i>Partit Socialista de Mallorca-EN</i> (PSM-EN) <i>Partit Socialista de Menorca</i> (PS-Me)	Autonomist Autonomist Autonomist
	Canary Islands	<i>Coalición Canaria</i> (CC) <i>Coalición Agrupaciones Independientes de Canarias</i> (AIC) <i>Centro Canario</i> (CCN)	Autonomist Autonomist Autonomist
Sweden	Scania	<i>Skånepartiet</i> (SP)	Autonomist
Switzerland	Ticino	<i>Lega dei Ticinesi</i> (LT)	Autonomist
UK	Scotland	Scottish National Party (SNP) Scottish Greens (SG) Scottish Socialist Party (SSP)	Secessionist Secessionist Secessionist
	Wales	<i>Plaid Cymru</i> -The Party of Wales (PC)	Secessionist (1940s-70s; 1990s-2000s) Autonomist (1980s)

Notes:

* Western Canada includes the provinces: Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

** The current *Länder* of the former DDR are: Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, Berlin (which includes former Western Berlin), Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, and Thuringia. The PDS is considered as a regionalist party only up to 2007 (when *Die Linke* was created).

*** According to the latest version of the *Lega Nord*'s statute, Padania is formed by the following (institutional) regions: Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trentino Alto-Adige, Aosta Valley, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, Marche, and Umbria. However, in the first formulation of Padania by party ideologist Gianfranco Miglio (1990) it included neither the Northern special status regions (Trentino-Alto Adige, Aosta Valley and Friuli-Venezia Giulio) nor the Central regions (Tuscany, Marche and Umbria). We prefer to adopt the first territorial definition of Padania as the LN's 'core region' as we believe that it is here that the votes given to the LN are more strictly related to Northern Italian (or Padanian) identity and to claims for self-government. We, therefore, consider the party's electoral scores only in Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, Liguria and Emilia-Romagna.

Table A2. Descriptive statistics of the dependent and independent variables.

	National elections				Regional elections			
	Mean	St. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	St. dev.	Min	Max
Vote share (%)	11.67	11.95	0.00	56.43	12.94	11.91	0.00	51.80
Natural log vote share (%)	1.96	1.21	0.00	4.05	2.18	1.07	0.00	4.00
Cumulative change in regional authority index (RAI)	7.34	6.69	-1.00	20.00	1.21	2.24	-3.50	11.00
Ideology dummy (secessionist = 1)	0.37	0.48	0.00	1.00	0.34	0.47	0.00	1.00
Interaction ideology dummy and cumulative change RAI	2.87	5.83	0.00	20.00	0.40	1.28	-0.50	7.00
Vote share previous regional election	10.19	11.00	0.00	47.23	—	—	—	—
Vote share previous national election	—	—	—	—	8.39	11.54	0.00	56.43
Regionalist party competition	10.10	15.54	0.00	59.99	15.65	18.13	0.00	62.08
State-wide party competition	2.19	1.30	0.00	7.79	2.22	1.35	0.00	6.42

Notes: Number of observations is 508 for national elections and 499 for national elections.