

Appendix

Table 1 – Party codes

T1

Belgium: *Parti socialiste belge /Belgische Socialistische Partij* (socialist) [coded PSB 1], *Parti de la Liberté et du Progrès/Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang* (liberal) [PLP 1], *Christelijke Volkspartij* (Flemish Christian-democratic) [CVP 1], *Volksunie* (Flemish centrist nationalist) [VU 1], *Parti social chrétien* (French-speaking Christian-democratic) [PSC 1], *Rassemblement wallon* (Walloon centre-left regionalist) [RW 1].

Italy: *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian-democratic) [DC 1 for the national party and DC-S 1 for the Sicilian party], *Partito Comunista Italiano* (Communist) [PCI 1 for the national party and PCI-S 1 for the Sicilian party].

T2

Belgium: *Christelijke Volkspartij* (Flemish Christian-democratic) [CVP 2], *Socialistische Partij* (Flemish socialist) [SP 2], *Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang* (Flemish liberal) [PVV 2], *Volksunie* (Flemish centrist nationalist) [VU 2], *Parti socialiste* (French-speaking socialist) [PS 2], *Parti social chrétien* (French-speaking Christian-democratic) [PSC 2], *Parti réformateur libéral* (French-speaking liberal) [PRL 2], *Rassemblement wallon* (Walloon centre-left regionalist) [RW 2].

Italy: *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian-democratic) [DC-L 2 for the Lombard party and DC-S 2 for the Sicilian party], *Partito Comunista Italiano* (communist) [PCI-L 2 for the Lombard party and PCI-S 2 for the Sicilian party].

UK: Conservative Party (conservative) [CON-S 2 for Scotland and CON-W 2 for Wales], Labour Party (socialist) [LAB-S 2 for Scotland and LAB-W 2 for Wales], Scottish National Party (Scottish centre-left nationalist) [SNP 2], *Plaid Cymru* (Welsh left-wing nationalist) [PC 2].

T3

Belgium: *Christelijke Volkspartij* (Flemish Christian-democratic) [CVP 3], *Socialistische Partij* (Flemish socialist) [SP 3], *Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang/Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten*¹ (Flemish liberal) [PVV 3], *Volksunie* (Flemish centre-left nationalist) [VU 3], *Vlaams Blok* (Flemish right-wing nationalist) [VB 3], *Parti socialiste* (French-speaking

socialist) [PS 3], *Parti réformateur libéral* (French-speaking liberal) [PRL 3], *Parti social chrétien* (French-speaking Christian-democratic) [PSC 3].

Italy: *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian-democratic) [DC 3 for the national party and DC-S 3 for the Sicilian party], *Partito Comunista Italiano/Partito Democratico della Sinistra*² (communist/socialist) [PDS 3 for the national party and PDS-S 3 for the Sicilian party], *Lega Nord* (Northern centrist regionalists) [LN 3].

Spain: *Convergència i Unió* (Catalan centre-right nationalist) [CiU 3], *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Catalan socialist) [PS-C 3], *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Catalan left-wing nationalist) [ERC 3], *Partido Popular* (conservative) [PP-C 3 for Catalonia and PP-A 3 for Andalusia], *Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Andalucía* (socialist) [PSOE-A 3], *Partido Andalucista* (Andalusian left-wing regionalist) [PA 3].

UK: Conservative Party (conservative) [CON-S 3 for Scotland and CON-W 3 for Wales], Labour Party (socialist) [LAB-S 3 for Scotland and LAB-W 3 for Wales], Scottish National Party (Scottish centre-left nationalist) [SNP 3], *Plaid Cymru* (Welsh centre-left nationalist) [PC 3].

T4

Belgium: *Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams* (Flemish Christian-democrat) [CD&V 4], *Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten* (Flemish liberal) [O_VLD 4], *Socialisten en Progressieven – Anders* (Flemish socialist) [SP.A 4], *Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie* (Flemish centre-right nationalist) [N-VA 4], *Vlaams Belang* (Flemish right-wing nationalist) [VB 4], Parti socialiste [PS 4], Mouvement réformateur (French-speaking liberal) [MR 4], *Centre démocrate humaniste* (French-speaking centrist) [CDH 4].

Italy: *Popolo della Libertà* (conservative) [PDL-L 4 for the Lombard party and PDL-S 4 for the Sicilian party], *Partito Democratico* (social-democratic) [PD-L 4 for the Lombard party and PD-S 4 for the Sicilian party], *Lega Nord* (Northern right-wing regionalists) [LN 4].

Spain: *Convergència i Unió* (Catalan centre-right nationalist) [CiU 4], *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Catalan socialist) [PSC 4], *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Catalan left-wing nationalist) [ERC 4], *Partido Popular* (conservative) [PP-C 4 for Catalonia and PP-A 4 for Andalusia], *Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Andalucía* (socialist) [PSOE-A 4], *Partido Andalucista* (Andalusian centre-left regionalist) [PA 4].

UK: Conservative Party (conservative) [CON-S 4 for Scotland and CON-W 4 for Wales], Labour Party (socialist) [LAB-S 4 for Scotland and LAB-W 4 for Wales], Scottish National Party (Scottish centre-left nationalist) [SNP 4], *Plaid Cymru* (Welsh centre-left nationalist) [PC 4].

Table 2 – Fuzzy-set coding

Outcomes

O1: *Europeanization – intensity* (europ-i):

0=no use of the European dimension in relation to state reform; 0.2=some marginal use; 0.4=moderate use; 0.6=significant use; 0.8= intense use; 1=European dimension ‘placed at centre stage’.

O2: *Europeanization – direction* (europ-d):

0=European dimension used against state reform; 0.5=balanced use; 1=European dimension used in favour of state reform.

Conditions

C1: *Party system status* (sysstat):

0=no chance of gaining governmental office; 0.2=very unlikely to gain governmental office; 0.4=unlikely to gain governmental office; 0.6=likely to gain governmental office; 0.8=very likely to gain governmental office; 1=virtually certain to gain governmental office.

C2: *Constitutional position* (cospos):

0=full centralisation; 0.2=some autonomy; 0.4=stronger autonomy/regionalisation; 0.6=federalism; 0.8=confederalism; 1=fully independent statehood.

C3: *Saliency of constitutional question* (cossal):

0=not important; 0.2=marginally important; 0.4=moderately important; 0.6=quite important; 0.8=very important; 1= the most important.

C4: *Regional economic status* (regest)

0=less than 50% of state average; 0.2=between 50% and 75% of state average; 0.4=between 76% and 100% of state average; 0.5=same as state average³; 0.6=between 100% and 125% of state average; 0.8=between 126% and 150% of state average; 1=above 150% of state average.

C5: *Depth of integration* (integ):

0=no integration; 0.2=Paris and Rome treaties, completion of customs union; 0.4=EMS and direct election of the EP; 0.6=Single European Act; 0.8=Maastricht treaty; 1=Lisbon treaty.

C6: *Attitudes to integration* (attint):

0=total rejection of integration; 0.2=strong opposition to integration; 0.4=mostly critical of integration; 0.6=supportive of integration with some reservations; 0.8=strong support for integration; 1=enthusiastic support for integration.

C7: *Attitudes to the EU* (atteu):

0=support for withdrawal from the EU; 0.2=opposition to ratification of a treaty; 0.4=mostly critical; 0.6=mostly positive with some reservations; 0.8=strongly positive; 1=enthusiastic.

Table 3 – Sources

Europeanization – intensity and direction

T1

Manifestos for the Belgian general election of 1968 and documents on the constitutional negotiations 1968-70: PSB (1968), PLP (1968a,b), CVP (1968), VU (1968a,b, 1970a,b,c), PSC (1968), RW (1968, 1969), Menu (1994a,b,c,d).

Manifestos for the Italian general election of 1968: estimated from reports in *La Stampa* and *L'Unità*.

Manifestos for the Sicilian regional election of 1971: estimated from reports in *Giornale di Sicilia*.

T2

Manifestos for the Belgian general election of 1978 and documents on the constitutional negotiations 1978-80: CVP (1978), SP (1978), PVV (1978), VU (1978), PS (1978), PSC (1978), PRL (1978), RW (1978), Menu (1994a,b,c,d).

Manifestos for the Lombard regional election of 1980: estimated from reports in *Corriere della Sera*.

Manifestos for the Sicilian regional election of 1981: estimated from reports in *Giornale di Sicilia*.

Campaign for the 1979 devolution referendum in Scotland: Bochel *et al.* (1981), Dardanelli (2005).

Campaign for the 1979 devolution referendum in Wales: Foulkes *et al.* (1983).

T3

Manifestos for the Belgian general election of 1991 and documents on the constitutional negotiations 1991-93: CVP (1991), SP (1991), PVV (1991), VLD (1992), VU (1991, 1993), VB (1991, 1993), PS (1991), PRL (1991), PSC (1991), Menu (1994a,b,c,d).

Manifestos for the Italian general election of 1992: DC (1992), PDS (1992), LN (1992).

Manifestos for the Sicilian regional election of 1991: estimated from reports in *Giornale di Sicilia*.

Manifestos for the Catalan election 1992: estimated from campaign documents kept in the archive of CEDOC, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Manifestos for the Andalusian election 1994: estimated from campaign documents kept in the archive of CEDOC, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Manifestos for the UK general election of 1992: CON-S (1992), LAB-S (1992), SNP (1992), CON-W (1992), LAB-W (1992), PC (1992).

T4

Manifestos for the Belgian general election of 2010: CD&V (2010), O_VLD (2010), SP.A (2010), N-VA (2010), VB (2010), PS (2010), MR (2010), CDH (2010).

Manifestos for the Lombard regional election of 2010: PDL (2010), PD (2010), LN (2010).

Manifestos for the Sicilian regional election of 2008: estimated from reports in *Giornale di Sicilia*.

Manifestos for the Catalan election of 2010: CiU (2010), PS-C (2010), ERC (2010), PP-C (2010).

Manifestos for the Andalusian election of 2004: estimated from campaign documents kept in the archive of CEDOC, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Manifestos for the Scottish regional election of 2011: SNP (2011), LAB-S (2011), CON-S (2011).

Manifestos for the Welsh regional election of 2011: LAB-W (2011), PC (2011), CON-W (2011).

The manifestos for the Belgian general elections of 1968, 1978, 1991 and the Italian general election of 1992 were collected by the Manifesto Research Group (Budge *et al.* 2001) and supplied by GESIS⁴; the manifestos for the Belgian general election 2010; Italian general election 1968, Sicilian regional elections 1971, 1981, 1991, 2008; Lombard regional election 1980, 2010; Catalan regional election 1992, 2010; Andalusian regional election 1994, 2004; UK general election 1992; Scottish and Welsh regional elections 2011, and the other documents were collected/accessed by the author.

Party system status

T1: Fraeys (1969) for Belgium, Cotta and Verzichelli (2007: 35-66) for Italy, GdS (1971) for Sicily.

T2: Fraeys (1979) for Belgium, CdS (1980) for Lombardy, GdS (1981) for Sicily, Bochel *et al.* (1981) for Scotland, Foulkes *et al.* (1983) for Wales.

T3: Fraeys (1992) for Belgium, Cotta and Verzichelli (2007: 35-66) for Italy, GdS (1991) for Sicily, Baras and Matas Dalmases (1998a,b) for Catalonia, Lacomba Abellán (2004) for Andalusia, Butler and Kavanagh (1992) for the UK.

T4: Media reports.

Constitutional position

Same as *Europeanization*.

Salience of constitutional question

Same as *Europeanization*.

Regional economic status

T1: CEC (1971); T2: CEC (1981); T3: EC (1994); T4: Eurostat (2011).

Depth of integration

Dinan (2010).

Attitudes to integration

Same as *Europeanization*.

Attitudes to the EU

Same as *Europeanization*.

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Table 4 – Truth table for 'europ-i' outcome

sysstat	cospos	cossal	regist	integ	attint	atteu	No	Raw const.	Europ-i
0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0.648774	1
0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0.644476	1
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.59394	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.589404	0
0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	0.569768	0
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0.564357	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0.561916	0
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.552001	0
0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.54641	0
0	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	0.54333	0
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.540798	0
1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0.516095	0
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.515888	0
0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0.491014	0
0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0.474376	0
0	1	1	0	1	1	1	4	0.472664	0
0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.400873	0
0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0.382098	0
1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0.37732	0
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0.373737	0
1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0.364486	0
1	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0.360277	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	0.351149	0
1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0.346591	0
0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0.345518	0
1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0.334189	0
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	5	0.332377	0
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0.330247	0
0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0.323993	0
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	4	0.295378	0
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	0.286096	0
1	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0.274652	0
1	1	0	0	1	1	1	7	0.253012	0

Table 5 – fsQCA 2.5 output for 'europ-i' outcome

TRUTH TABLE ANALYSIS

File: F:/Seattle 11/Seattle fuzzy data Int v2.1 .csv
 Model: europ-i = f(sysstat, cospos, cossal, regest, integ, attint, atteu)

Rows: 33

Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey
 True: 1

--- COMPLEX SOLUTION ---
 frequency cutoff: 1.000000
 consistency cutoff: 0.644476

	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
	-----	-----	-----
~sysstat*cospos*cossal*~integ*attint*~atteu	0.372036	0.372036	0.616531
solution coverage:	0.372036		
solution consistency:	0.616531		

TRUTH TABLE ANALYSIS

File: F:/Seattle 11/Seattle fuzzy data Int v2.1 .csv
 Model: europ-i = f(sysstat, cospos, cossal, regest, integ, attint, atteu)

Rows: 33

Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey
 True: 1-L

--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION ---
 frequency cutoff: 1.000000
 consistency cutoff: 0.644476

	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency
	-----	-----	-----
cospos*~integ*attint*~atteu	0.372036	-0.000000	0.565921
cossal*~integ*attint*~atteu	0.372036	-0.000000	0.550848
solution coverage:	0.372036		
solution consistency:	0.522988		

TRUTH TABLE ANALYSIS

File: F:/Seattle 11/Seattle fuzzy data Int v2.1 .csv

Model: europ-i = f(ateu, attint, integ, regest, cossal, cospos, sysstat)

Rows: 4

Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey

True: 1

0 Matrix: 0L

Don't Care: -

--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION ---

frequency cutoff: 1.000000

consistency cutoff: 0.644476

Assumptions:

attint (present)

cossal (present)

cospos (present)

~sysstat (absent)

	raw coverage -----	unique coverage -----	consistency -----
~ateu*attint*~integ*cossal*cospos*~sysstat	0.372036	0.372036	0.616531

solution coverage: 0.372036
solution consistency: 0.616531

¹ The party changed its name in 1992.

² The party changed its name in 1991.

³ Only used for a few cases of state-wide parties (PSB 1, PLP 1, DC 1, PCI 1, DC 3, PDS 3) not linked to a particular region.

⁴ <http://www.gesis.org/en/services/>. The Party Manifestos were made available in electronic form through a joint effort between the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung (ZA), Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB), the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU) and the Party Manifestoes Project. MS Word transcription were made available by Paul Pennings and Hans Keman, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Comparative Electronic Manifestos Project, in cooperation with the Social Science Reserach Centre Berlin (Andrea Volkens, Hans-Dieter Klingemann) the Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung, GESIS, Universität zu Köln, and the Manifesto Research Group (chairman: Ian Budge). Financed by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO project 480-42-005).