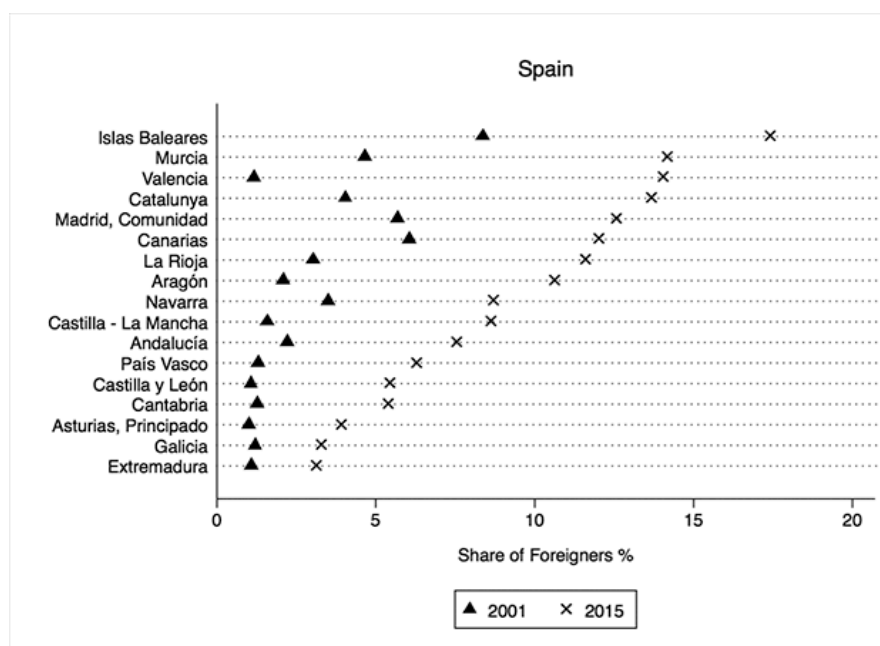
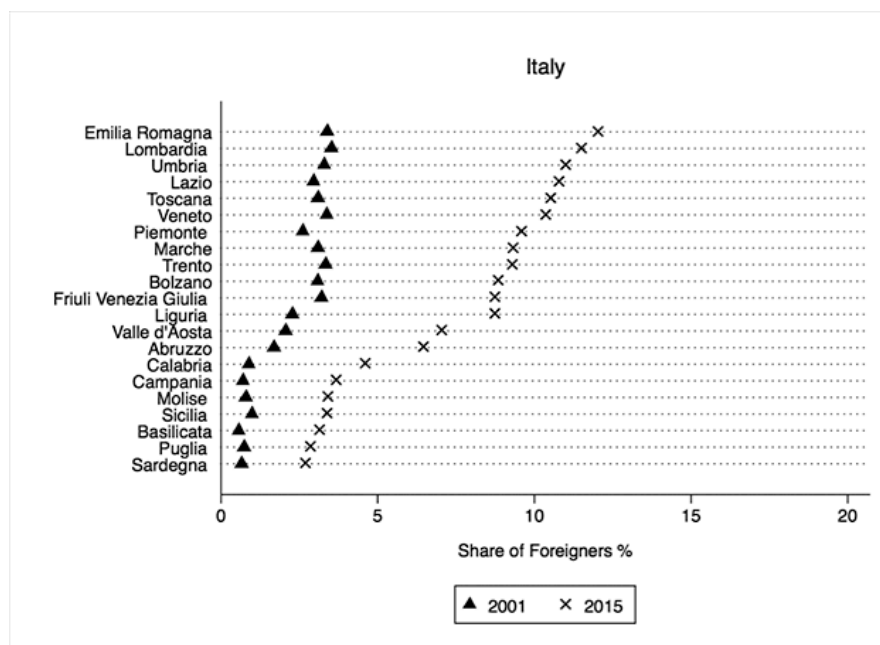
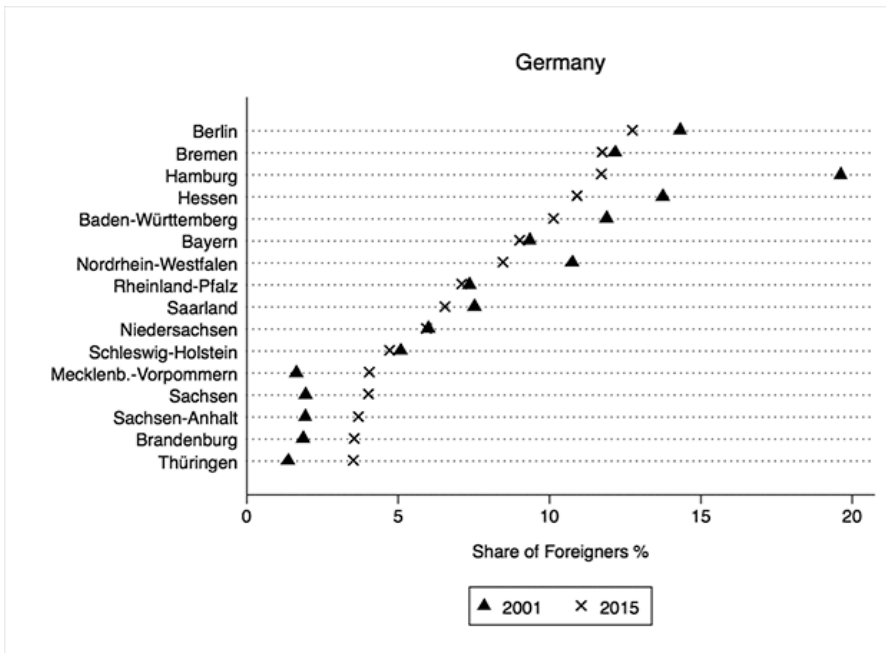


Appendix for ‘Explaining the immigrant integration laws of German, Italian and Spanish regions: Sub-state nationalism and multi-level party politics’

Christina Isabel Zuber

Appendix A. Figure A.1. Foreign-born residents in Italian, Spanish and German regions, 2001 and 2015





Sources:

Istituto nazionale di statistica (ISTAT) for Italy,

Instituto nacional de estadística (INE) for Spain,

Statistisches Bundesamt (DESTATIS) for Germany

Appendix B. Integration laws of Italian, Spanish and German regions

Table B.1. Integration laws of Italian regions 1975-2016.

Region	Date of law	Official title of law in Italian
Abruzzo 1	13 February 1990	Interventi a favore dei cittadini abruzzesi che vivono all'estero e dei cittadini extracomunitari che vivono in Abruzzo
Abruzzo 2	13 December 2004	Interventi a sostegno degli stranieri immigrati
Basilicata 1	13 April 1996	Interventi a sostegno dei lavoratori extracomunitari in Basilicata ed istituzione della commissione regionale dell'immigrazione
Basilicata 2	6 July 2016	Norme per l'accoglienza, la tutela e l'integrazione dei cittadini migranti e dei rifugiati
Bolzano*	28 October 2011	Integrazione delle cittadine e dei cittadini stranieri
Calabria	9 April 1990	Interventi regionali nel settore della emigrazione e della immigrazione.
Campania 1	10 March 1984	Interventi regionali nel settore della emigrazione e della immigrazione
Campania 2	3 November 1994	Interventi a sostegno dei diritti degli immigrati stranieri in Campania provenienti da paesi extracomunitari
Campania 3	8 February 2010	Norme per l'inclusione sociale, economica e culturale delle persone straniere presenti in Campania
Emilia-Romagna 1	21 February 1990	Iniziative regionali in favore dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione. Nuove norme per l'istituzione della consulta regionale dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione
Emilia-Romagna 2	24 March 2004	Norme per l'integrazione sociale dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
Friuli-Venezia Giulia 1	10 September 1990	Istituzione dell'Ente regionale per i problemi dei migranti
Friuli-Venezia Giulia 2	4 March 2005	Norme per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione sociale delle cittadine e dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
Friuli-Venezia Giulia 3	17 November 2015	Norme per l'integrazione sociale delle persone straniere immigrate
Lazio 1	24 November 1986	Interventi regionali nel settore dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione.
Lazio 2	16 February 1990	Provvidenze a favore degli immigrati extracomunitari
Lazio 3	14 July 2008	Disposizioni per la promozione e la tutela dell'esercizio dei diritti civili e sociali e la piena uguaglianza dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
Liguria	20 February 2007	Norme per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione sociale delle cittadine e dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
Lombardia	4 July 1988	Interventi a tutela degli immigrati extracomunitari in Lombardia e delle loro famiglie
Marche 1	27 February 1975	Provvidenze a favore dei lavoratori emigrati e immigrati e delle loro famiglie e costituzione della Consulta regionale dell'emigrazione e immigrazione
Marche 2	2 November 1988	Interventi a favore dei lavoratori emigrati ed immigrati e delle loro famiglie
Marche 3	2 March 1998	Interventi a sostegno dei diritti degli immigrati
Marche 4	5 January 1994	Interventi a favore degli emigrati, degli immigrati, dei rifugiati, degli apolidi, dei nomadi e delle loro famiglie.
Marche 5	26 May 2009	Disposizioni a sostegno dei diritti e dell'integrazione dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
Molise**		
Piemonte 1	6 July 1978	Interventi regionali in materia di movimenti migratori
Piemonte 2	9 January 1987	Interventi regionali in materia di movimenti migratori
Piemonte 3	08 November 1989	Interventi regionali a favore degli immigrati extra-comunitari residenti in Piemonte
Puglia 1	11 May 1990	Interventi a favore dei lavoratori extracomunitari in Puglia
Puglia 2	4 December 2009	Norme per l'accoglienza, la convivenza civile e l'integrazione degli immigrati in Puglia
Sardegna	24 December 1990	Norme di tutela di promozione delle condizioni di vita dei lavoratori extracomunitari in Sardegna
Sicilia**		
Toscana 1	22 March 1990	Interventi a sostegno dei diritti degli immigrati extracomunitari in Toscana
Toscana 2	8 June 2009	Norme per l'accoglienza, l'integrazione partecipe e la tutela dei cittadini stranieri nella Regione Toscana
Trento*	2 May 1990	Interventi nel settore dell'immigrazione straniera extracomunitaria
Umbria	10 April 1990	Interventi a favore degli immigrati extracomunitari
Valle d'Aosta	29 December 1995	Interventi per la promozione di servizi a favore di cittadini extracomunitari
Veneto 1	19 June 1984	Interventi regionali nel settore dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione
Veneto 2	30 January 1990	Interventi nel settore dell'immigrazione

Notes:

* denotes an autonomous province with the legislative power of a region;

** denotes a region that has so far not made a law addressing immigrant integration;

bold letters denote the document that was included in the analysis.

Source: own compilation triangulating between the following overviews:

http://www.forumcomunitastraniere.it/norme_regionali_immigrazione.htm

http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Normativa/normativa_regionale/Pagine/default.aspx

http://www.seiugl.it/documenti/diritti%20vs%20discriminazioni/C_3_Normativa%20regionale%20sugli%20stranieri.pdf

http://www.superabile.it/web/it/Inail_per_l_integrazione_delle_persone_straniere/Normativa/Leggi_e_Circolari_Regionali/index.html <http://www.issirfa.cnr.it>

Table B.2: Integration laws of Spanish autonomous communities 2008-2013.

C. A.	Date of law	Official title of law in Spanish
Castilla y León	28 May 2013	Ley 3/2013, de 28 de mayo, de integración de los inmigrantes en la sociedad de Castilla y León.
Catalunya	07 May 2010	Ley 10/2010, de 7 de mayo, de acogida de las personas inmigradas y de las regresadas a Cataluña.
Valencia	05 December 2008	Ley 15/2008, de 5 de diciembre, de integración de las personas inmigrantes en la Comunitat Valenciana.

Source: own compilation, verifying that none of the other CC. AA. had laws by contacting the department responsible for immigration via e-mail or phone.

Table B.3: Integration laws of German Länder 2010-2015.

Land	Date of law	Official title of law in German
Baden-Württemberg	25 November 2015	Gesetz vom 25. November 2015, zur Verbesserung von Chancengerechtigkeit und Teilhabe in Baden-Württemberg Drucksache 15 / 7784
Bayern	13 December 2016	Bayerisches Integrationsgesetz (BayIntG) vom 13. Dezember 2016 (GVBl. S. 335) BayRS 26-6-A
Berlin	28 December 2010	Gesetz zur Regelung von Partizipation und Integration in Berlin, verkündet im Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Berlin am 28. Dezember 2010
Nordrhein-Westfalen	14 February 2012	Gesetz zur Förderung der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe und Integration in Nordrhein-Westfalen (Teilhabe- und Integrationsgesetz) vom 14. Februar 2012

Source: own compilation, triangulated with Landtag Brandenburg (2016) and Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (2017).

Appendix C. Coding procedure and coding frame for regional immigrant integration laws¹

Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) argue that a continuum underlies outcomes in each of three domains of integration. I drew on their conceptual ideas to develop the individual categories operationalizing what inclusive and exclusive measures imply in each domain:

The **political-legal** domain refers to questions of residence, rights and status, as well as political participation. The poles of the political-legal continuum of integration outcomes are no rights, at one end of the spectrum, and full citizen rights at the other end.

Policies can thus intend to enable immigrants to achieve full political status, making them equal to citizens, or aim at restricting political rights and status. Regions in my cases do not have many competencies in this area. However, they can choose to help immigrants be more informed about the rights states award to them and they can establish institutions representing immigrants at the regional level. After the first round of coding, we added ‘anti-racism’ as an additional category in this domain. The addressees of anti-racism and anti-discrimination measures are not immigrants, but the autochthonous population, they therefore did not easily fit into the original categories that assume that integration policies target immigrants.

The **socio-economic** domain refers to questions of immigrants’ access to labour markets, education and the welfare state. The continuum of outcomes differentiates *equal access* to e.g. housing, labour, education and health (i.e. treating immigrants in the same way as residents of the region who are citizens) on the one hand from *differential* treatment of immigrants and citizens on the other hand. I added additional categories to account for the fact that differential treatment can be *unfavourable* (e.g. making access to social benefits conditional on the duration of residency within the region), or

¹ This description of the coding scheme draws on Zuber 2014. Coded documents are available from the author upon request.

favourable to immigrants, allowing them to compensate disadvantageous starting conditions (e.g. offering special vocational training). Differential favourable treatment counts as inclusive, whereas differential unfavourable counts as exclusive in this domain.

Finally, policies aiming to steer integration within the **cultural-religious** domain can fall between the extreme poles of *cultural-religious monism*, requiring immigrants to assimilate, and *cultural-religious pluralism*, fostering the diverse coexistence of cultures and religions on an equal basis. I additionally account for the fact that some of the regions included in my study are inhabited by a minority group with a cultural/linguistic identity that differs from the one propagated by the state (e.g. Valle d'Aosta or Bolzano). Cultural-religious monism can then either mean that immigrants should assimilate into the minority culture/religion (code: *monism, minority*), or the state-wide culture/religion (code: *monism, majority*). A further category of *dualism* was introduced to account for provisions that are monist in spirit, but conceive of the host culture itself as dualistic (e.g. Italian and German-speaking, and in fact also Ladin-speaking realities in the province of Bolzano). For example, the integration law of the province of Bolzano of 2011 defines 'knowledge of the official languages of the province' (article 1, para 3.b), rather than a single language, as a key goal.

Residual **neutral categories** were added in each domain, for measures that did not have a clearly interpretable direction. In addition, categories were added to code statements in the law that fit none of the integration categories this paper is substantively interested in, such as for example detailed provisions for how to coordinate the implementation of policies between different departments.

Each law was coded first independently by a student coder and myself. We then sat together and discussed all controversial codings with the goal of resolving most of them. The documents were segmented by grammatical sentence, respectively bullet point, if there were enumerations of measures separated by semi-colons. Using a *syntactical* coding unit has the advantage that identifying units to be coded can be done without engaging already with the meaning of the units. Meaning only comes into play when applying categories to the syntactically pre-defined units. We therefore do not have to worry about whether two coders identify the same units, but can focus our

reliability analysis on whether they apply the same categories to these units (Krippendorff 2004: 104-105). The coding was done in MAXQDA, a software designed to assist qualitative text analysis. Coders reduced the data through analytical categorization, applying the theoretical concepts from the same coding frame to all documents, thereby enabling cross-sectional retrieval of coded segments (see Spencer et al. 2009: 203-206).

Initial inter-coder reliability tests showed an average chance-corrected correspondence in the coding of individual segments of 0.65 for Italian laws, 0.53 for Spanish laws and 0.7 for German laws (Cohen's Kappa). The coders then sat together and discussed systematic discrepancies aiming to resolve controversies through re-coding and, where appropriate, the introduction of new codes (as in the case of anti-racism measures one coder had always coded under political-legal enabling, the other one under socio-economic, equal treatment). Through discussion and joint re-coding, most of the divergencies concerning the substantive policy categories could be resolved. After discussion and re-coding, Cohen's Kappa was 0.9 on average for Italian laws, 0.89 on average for Spanish laws and 0.91 for German laws. Where two interpretations remained equally plausible after discussion, divergent codings were kept. For the final dataset, the number of coded segments in each domain was therefore averaged across coders. A protocol of the coding discussions is available upon request.

Table C.1. Coding frame and coding manual as provided to coders

Coding frame immigrant integration laws	
<p>Conceptual basis: The coding frame is based on Penninx' and Garcés-Mascareñas' conceptualization of integration processes and integration policies. See: Penninx, R., & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016). The concept of integration as an analytical tool and as a policy concept. In R. Penninx & B. Garcés-Mascareñas (Eds.), <i>Integration Processes and Policies in Europe. Contexts, Levels and Actors</i> (pp. 11–29). IMISCOE, Cham: Springer.</p>	
<p>Coding unit: The default coding unit is a sentence. In case of enumerations, a coding unit is an enumerated item that has its own line, following a line-break. Preambles and headings are not to be coded.</p>	
Code	Memo²
Overarching codes	
Laws, residual	Statements that can not be coded under any of the integration categories, not even the integration generic one, since the statement has nothing to do with integration. Example: 'Adressaten der von diesem Gesetz vorgesehenen Maßnahmen sind:'
Destinatari	Statements that define the characteristics of individuals or groups targeted by the law (in Italian: <i>Destinatari</i>). Example: '(1) Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund sind: 1. alle zugewanderten und nicht zugewanderten Ausländerinnen oder Ausländer, ...'
Administration, coordination	Use this for statements about how to manage integration on the administrative level in a procedural sense, who needs to coordinate with whom, how can tasks be fulfilled and who is in charge. Example: 'Die mit der Koordinierung der Immigration zusammenhängenden Aufgaben und Tätigkeiten werden mit Durchführungsverordnung geregelt.'
Integration, generic	General references to integration and integration policy measures as such, that give no indication on which of the three sub-dimensions is at stake. Use only when there is no possibility to code into one of the three sub-dimensions of integration. Example: 'dass die Integration einen Prozess gegenseitigen Austausches und Dialogs darstellt ...'

² Since German was the shared language among all coders, all examples are from German laws. Translations of coding examples and MAXQDA project available upon request.

<p>Integration, political-legal domain</p>	<p>Statements in the laws that define modalities/conditions for processes of integration in the political-legal dimension. Note that regions do not dispose of the relevant competencies to establish immigrants' political rights, but that nonetheless, they might and do include statements in their integration laws that seek to help migrants know about and make use of their legal and political rights and help them or make it harder for them to use the rights awarded to them by state legislation.</p> <p>According to Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas (2016: 14), the political-legal dimension of integration is understood in the following way: ‘The legal-political dimension refers to residence and political rights and statuses. The basic question here is whether and to what extent immigrants are regarded as fully-fledged members of the political community. The position of an immigrant or the “degree of integration” has two extreme poles: on the one hand, there is the position of the irregular immigrant who is not part of the host society in the legal-political sense, though he may be integrated in the other two domains; on the other hand, there is the position of the immigrant who is (or has become) a national citizen. In between there is an enormous variation, which has increased in recent decades as a consequence of attempts of European states to “regulate” international migration and the new statuses and rights resulting from the European Union migration regime (among others, EU-nationals versus Third Country Nationals).’</p>
	<p>pol-leg, residual</p> <p>Residual category for statements that refer to the domain of political-legal integration, but that are neither clearly enabling nor restrictive with regard to migrants' legal status and political rights as regional citizens, nor do they call for anti-racism or non-discrimination. Use only if statement fits none of the more concrete subcategories in this domain.</p>
	<p>pol-leg, restrictive</p> <p>Use for statements that are aiming to restrict immigrants' political rights or make it harder for them to make use of the rights they have.</p> <p>Example: ‘Haftungsansprüche wegen fehlerhafter Übersetzung gegen die Körperschaft, deren Behörde den Dolmetscher oder Übersetzer herangezogen hat, sind ausgeschlossen.’</p>
	<p>pol-leg, enabling</p> <p>Use for statements that help immigrants become aware and make full use of the legal and political rights they are entitled to, e.g. inform them about their rights, include them in participatory practices at the regional level, ensure their representation in regional institutions.</p> <p>Example: ‘Die oder der Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration ist Ansprechpartnerin oder Ansprechpartner für Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund und unterstützt sie bei der Durchsetzung ihrer Rechte.’</p>
	<p>pol-leg, anti-racism</p> <p>Statements in the laws that define goals or measures targeting not the immigrants, but the host population, motivating the host population to not discriminate immigrants on the basis of their culture, ethnicity, race, or religion. Include here the establishment of anti-racism observatories and all anti-discrimination measures.</p> <p>Example: ‘Ziel dieses Gesetzes ist [...] 2. jede Form von Rassismus und Diskriminierung einzelner Bevölkerungsgruppen zu bekämpfen,’</p>
<p>Integration, socio-economic domain</p>	<p>Statements in the laws that define modalities/conditions for processes of integration in the socio-economic dimension.</p> <p>According to Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas (2016: 15), the socio-economic dimension of integration is understood in the following way: ‘The socio-economic dimension refers to the social and economic position of residents, irrespective of national citizenship. Under this dimension, the position of immigrants can be analysed by looking at their access to and participation in domains that are crucial for any resident: do immigrants have (equal) access to institutional facilities to find work, housing, education and health facilities? Do they use these facilities? What is the outcome of immigrants' participation as compared to natives (with the same or comparable qualifications)? Since needs and aspirations in these domains are relatively universal (basic needs which do not depend on cultural factors), access to and participation of immigrants and natives in these areas can be measured comparatively. The outcomes (particularly when they are unequal) can be used as input for policies.’</p>

	soc-eco, residual	Residual category for statements that refer to the domain of socio-economic integration but that imply neither an equalizing nor a differentiated approach to access to housing, employment, education, health and any other services that the region might offer. Use only if statement fits none of the more concrete subcategories in this domain. Example: ‘Zur schulischen Integration ausländischer Schülerinnen und Schüler sowie Studierender ergreift das Land über die Bildungsressorts folgende Maßnahmen.’
	soc-eco, equal treatment	For statements that speak of immigrants equal access to services provided by the regional government and administration, that see the newcomer as equal to the autochthonous population imposing no special conditions (neither positive nor negative) for accessing services. Include here statements about non-discrimination measures. Do not include positive discrimination, use ‘differential favourable’ for positive discrimination/affirmative action instead. Example: ‘der Zugang für die ausländischen Bürgerinnen und Bürger aus Nicht-Eu-Staaten zu den auf dem gesamten Staatsgebiet vorgesehenen Grundleistungen’
	soc-eco, differential unfavourable	Statements that define differential access of immigrants to social services employment, housing, education health, or in case differential services are needed / to be set up specifically for newcomers. Code unfavourable, if the intention of the statement in the law is to restrict access of immigrants to public services at regional level, making it harder for the immigrant than for other citizens to access services. Example: ‘Für den Zugang zu Leistungen finanzieller Art müssen ausländische Bürgerinnen und Bürger aus Nicht-Eu-Staaten einen mindestens fünfjährigen ununterbrochenen Wohnsitz und ständigen Aufenthalt in Südtirol nachweisen’
	soc-eco, differential favourable	Statements that define differential access of immigrants to social services employment, housing, education health, or in case differential services needed / to be set up. Code differential favourable if the policy aims at a differential treatment of the immigrant, but where the intention behind the policy is to enable the immigrant to ultimately achieve equal conditions e.g. special language support in schools, training courses about job market. Note that your interpretative skills as a coder are required to tell differential favourable from differential unfavourable. Example: ‘Das Land betreibt Informationskampagnen für die Zielgruppe dieses Gesetzes, um zu gewährleisten, dass dieser Personenkreis effektiv Zugang zu den Gesundheitsdiensten findet.’
Integration, cultural-religious domain		Statements in the laws that define modalities/conditions for processes of integration in the cultural-religious dimension. According to Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016: 15), the cultural-religious dimension of integration is understood in the following way: ‘The cultural-religious dimension pertains to the domain of perceptions and practices of immigrants and the receiving society as well as their reciprocal reactions to difference and diversity. If newcomers see themselves as different and are perceived by the receiving society as culturally or religiously different, they may aspire to acquire a recognized place in these respects. On their turn, the receiving society may or may not accept cultural or religious diversity. Here again we find two extremes: on the one hand, new diversity may be rejected and immigrants may be required to adapt and assimilate into mono-cultural/religious societies; on the other hand, there may be a practice of accepting ethnic identities, cultures and world views on an equal level in pluralistic societal systems. Between these two extremes there are many in-between-positions, such as accepting certain forms of diversity in the private realm but not, or only partly, in the public realm.’
	cul, residual	Residual category for statements that refer to the domain of cultural-religious integration but that do not fit into a clear model as specified in the other subcategories (pluralism, monism etc). Use only if statement fits none of the more concrete subcategories in this domain. Example: ‘Das Land fördert und realisiert Maßnahmen zur Unterstützung der sprachlichen und kulturellen Integration ausländischer Bürgerinnen und Bürger.’

	cul, pluralism	Statements indicating acceptance or even promotion of all identities, cultures, religions, and languages in a pluralistic society. Example: '(1) An jeweils einem Tag der religiösen Feiertage Opferfest, Fest des Fastenbrechens und Aschura haben Beschäftigte islamischen Glaubens das Recht, zum Besuch des Gottesdienstes vom Dienst oder von der Arbeit fernzubleiben.'
	cul, dualism	Statements that demand integration into a dual host culture and language, the minority and the majority one (i.e. Catalan and Spanish in Catalunya and German and Italian in South Tyrol, respectively) or allow free choice of whether to integrate into either of the two cultures and languages. So the model is culturally plural, but only with regard to the autochthonous cultures, therefore called dualism, not pluralism, which is its own category. Example: 'Neben der Förderung der Sprachkompetenz in den Landessprachen Deutsch, Italienisch und Ladinisch'
	cul, monism minority	Statements that demand integration into a single regional/minority host culture and language conceived of as monist. In the case of regions with a strong minority identity (i.e. Catalan) this refers to the minority culture and language (Catalan). Code if a model of integration into the minority/regional language and/or culture is mentioned. Example: 'El servei de primera acollida ha d'oferir la formació i els mitjans necessaris per a adquirir les competències bàsiques en llengua catalana a les persones titulars del dret d'accés al servei que no la coneguin'
	cul, monism majority	Statements that demand integration exclusively into a single host culture and language conceived as monist, in this case the majority one (i.e. Spanish and Italian respectively). Code if a model of integration into the majority language and/or culture is mentioned. Example: 'Der Staat fördert an der Leitkultur ausgerichtete Angebote, die Migrantinnen und Migranten in politischer Bildung, deutscher Geschichte einschließlich der Lehren aus den Verbrechen des Dritten Reiches und in der Rechtskunde unterweisen und ihnen die heimische Kultur, Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsordnung näherbringen.'

Appendix D. Robustness checks and summary statistics

Table D.1. Regression analyses exc. Bavaria to see if results for *minority nationalist* are robust to definition of the CSU as minority nationalist

	Political-legal		Socio-economic				Cultural-religious			
	enabling	enabling	favourable	favourable	unfavour.	unfavour.	pluralist	pluralist	monist	monist
Minority nationalist	-0.158** (0.04)	-0.152*** (0.03)	-0.324* (0.14)	-0.344** (0.11)	0.049* (0.02)	0.052* (0.02)	-0.190*** (0.04)	-0.184*** (0.04)	0.012 (0.03)	0.005 (0.02)
Anti-immigrant	0.176** (0.06)	0.092 (0.07)	0.354 (0.22)	0.229 (0.19)	0.052* (0.02)	0.054 [∞] (0.03)	0.090 (0.06)	0.027 (0.07)	0.027 (0.02)	0.032 (0.02)
Right wing government	-1.300 (1.6)	-1.517 (1.33)	8.731 (5.49)	2.462 (3.95)	1.606 [∞] (0.81)	2.152* (1.03)	-0.353 (1.39)	-0.230 (1.70)	-0.254 (0.95)	-1.489 [∞] (0.73)
Region left, nat. government right	2.828 (2.41)	4.023 [∞] (2.06)	1.734 (9.78)	4.692 (6.29)	-0.455 (0.56)	-0.586 (0.70)	-2.685 (2.78)	-1.854 (2.54)	-1.885 [∞] (0.99)	-1.706** (0.57)
Gdp per capita in 1000s	0.120 (0.13)	0.242* (0.11)	-0.019 (0.35)	0.603* (0.23)	-0.005 (0.03)	-0.047 (0.03)	0.264** (0.08)	0.334** (0.1)	-0.025 (0.05)	0.060 [∞] (0.03)
Foreign-born population	0.187 (0.12)	0.273 (0.20)	1.048 (0.63)	0.350 (0.74)	0.015 (0.07)	0.088 (0.08)	0.178 (0.18)	0.282 (0.18)	0.327* (0.11)	0.149 (0.10)
Spain		-2.506 (3.17)		10.334 (8.98)		-1.233 (1.35)		-2.531 (2.45)		3.092* (1.13)
Germany		-7.860* (3.67)		-22.398** (6.52)		1.132 (1.04)		-5.320 [∞] (2.84)		-1.794 [∞] (0.88)
Constant	4.840* (2.09)	3.694 [∞] (2.00)	13.854** (4.66)	7.290 [∞] (4.17)	-0.371 (0.51)	0.094 (0.49)	1.391 (1.33)	0.772 (1.5)	1.406* (0.64)	0.453 (0.52)
R ² adj.	0.516	0.566	0.255	0.471	0.662	0.684	0.583	0.619	0.499	0.671
N	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25

[∞] p<0.10, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

No models were estimated for "restrictive" in the political legal domain, since there are only two occurrences of "restrictive" codings across all laws

Table D.2. Regression analyses excluding cases identified as influential outliers

	Socio-economic		Cultural-religious					
	unfavour.	unfavour.	monist	monist	monist	monist	monist	monist
	excl. Bavaria	excl. Bavaria	excl. Bavaria	excl. Bavaria	excl. Bolzano	excl. Bolzano	excl. Bav. & Bol.	excl. Bav. & Bol.
Minority nationalist	0.049*	0.052*	0.012	0.005	0.058	0.047	0.024	-0.021
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Anti-immigrant	0.052*	0.054 [∞]	0.027	0.032	0.083**	0.102*	0.04	0.005
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Right wing government	1.606 [∞]	2.152 [∞]	-0.254	-1.489 [∞]	1.467	0.552	0.165	-2.678 [∞]
	(0.81)	(1.03)	(0.95)	(0.73)	(0.9)	(0.96)	(1.06)	(1.51)
Region left, nat. government right	-0.455	-0.586	-1.885 [∞]	-1.706**	-2.516*	-2.680*	-1.986 [∞]	-1.422*
	(0.56)	(0.7)	(0.99)	(0.57)	(0.93)	(1.09)	(0.95)	(0.65)
Gdp per capita in 1000s	-0.005	-0.047	-0.025	0.060 [∞]	0.037	0.055	-0.015	0.068 [∞]
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.03)
Foreign-born population	0.015	0.088	0.327*	0.149	0.223 [∞]	0.095	0.306*	0.142
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.1)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.09)
Spain		-1.233		3.092*		2.646		3.910*
		(1.35)		(1.13)		(1.73)		(1.67)
Germany		1.132		-1.794 [∞]		0.933		-2.533*
		(1.04)		(0.88)		(1.57)		(0.98)
Constant	-0.371	0.094	1.406*	0.453	-0.186	-0.362	1.086	0.778
	(0.51)	(0.49)	(0.64)	(0.52)	(0.74)	(0.78)	(0.75)	(0.51)
R ² adj.	0.662	0.684	0.499	0.671	0.714	0.702	0.472	0.686
N	25	25	25	25	25	25	24	24

[∞] p<0.10, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001, robust standard errors in parentheses

Table D.3. Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min (N for dummies)	Max (N for dummies)
<i>Dependent</i>					
enabling	26	9.808	6.351	1.5	30.5
favourable	26	22.462	13.906	0.5	49
unfavourable	26	1.308	3.181	0	13.5
pluralist	26	6.577	4.623	0	17
monist	26	2.846	3.152	0	14.5
<i>Independent</i>					
minatseat	26	10.243	20.929	0	74.3
antimseat	26	14.949	18.757	0	62.857
govright	26	0.192	0.402	0 (21)	1 (5)
regleftnatright	26	.308	.471	0 (18)	1 (8)
gdppct_l	26	22.589	10.341	6.237	42.950
foreign_l	26	5.375	4.943	0.15	16.89
spain	26	0.115	0.326	0 (23)	1 (3)
germany	26	0.154	0.368	0 (22)	1 (4)

Appendix E. Table E.1. Minority nationalist vote and seat shares

cntry	region	datelaw	election	minnat party	vote	seat	minatvote	minatseat
ES	Castilla y León	05/2013	2007	Unión del Pueblo Leonés	2.73	2.41	2.73	2.41
ES	Catalunya	05/2010	2006	Convergència i Unió	32.18	35.56	46.21	51.11
ES	Catalunya	05/2010	2006	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	14.03	15.56		
ES	Valencia	12/2008	2007	Unió Valenciana	0.95	0	0.95	0
IT	Abruzzo	12/2004	2000	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Basilicata	04/1996	1995	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	Südtiroler Volkspartei	48.10	51.43	69.60	74.30
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	Südtiroler Freiheit	4.90	5.71		
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	Union für Südtirol	2.3	2.86		
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	Die Freiheitlichen	14.3	14.3		
IT	Calabria	04/1990	1985	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Campania	02/2010	2005	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Emilia Romagna	03/2004	2000	Lega Nord	3.31	2	3.31	2
IT	Friuli Venezia Giulia	11/2015	2013	Lega Nord	8.27	6.12	8.27	6.12
IT	Lazio	07/2008	2005	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Liguria	02/2007	2005	Lega Nord	4.67	2.5	4.67	2.5
IT	Lombardia	07/1988	1985	Lega Lombarda-Liga Veneta	0.46	0	0.46	0
IT	Marche	05/2009	2005	Lega Nord	0.87	0	0.87	0
IT	Piemonte	11/1989	1985	Piemont-Liga Veneta	1.13	0	1.13	0
IT	Puglia	12/2009	2005	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Sardegna	12/1990	1989	Partito Sardo d'Azione	12.37	12.5	12.37	12.5
IT	Toscana	06/2009	2005	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Trento	05/1990	1988	Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese	9.85	8.57	9.85	8.57
IT	Umbria	04/1990	1985	Union Valdôtaine	0.4	0	0.4	0
IT	Valle d'Aosta	12/1995	1993	Union Valdôtaine	37.3	37.14	44.89	45.71
IT	Valle d'Aosta	12/1995	1993	Lega Nord	7.59	8.57		
IT	Veneto	01/1990	1985	Lega Nord-Liga Veneta	5.91	5	5.91	5
DE	Baden-Württemberg	11/2015	2011	.	0	0	0	0
DE	Bayern	12/2016	2013	Christlich-Soziale Union	47.7	56.11	49.8	56.11
DE	Bayern	12/2016	2013	Bayernpartei	2.1	0		
DE	Berlin	12/2010	2006	.	0	0	0	0
DE	Nordrhein-Westfalen	02/2012	2012	.	0	0	0	0

Note: Classification of parties following Massetti and Schakel (2016, Appendix A Table A1). Massetti and Schakel exclude CSU Bavaria because of its permanent electoral alliance with the state-wide Christian Conservatives. I include it because despite the alliance, it has a Bavarian minority nationalist profile (see Hepburn's 2008 analysis). Results for the effect of minority nationalism are robust to the exclusion of Bavaria (see C1). Regional election results and seat shares were kindly provided by Leonce Röth (Röth & Kaiser 2018).

Appendix F. Table F.1. Anti-immigrant vote and seat shares

cntry	region	datelaw	election	anti-immigrant parties	vote	seat	antimvote	antimseat
ES	Castilla y León	05/2013	2007	.	0	0	0	0
ES	Catalunya	05/2010	2006	.	0	0	0	0
ES	Valencia	12/2008	2007	.	0	0	0	0
IT	Abruzzo	12/2004	2000	MS-FT	1.29	0	1.29	0
IT	Basilicata	04/1996	1995	MSI / AN	12.04	13.33	12.60	13.11
IT	Basilicata	04/1996	1995	MS-FT	0.56	0		
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	Lega Nord	2.10	2.86	58.50	62.86
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	UDC / CCD	1.2	0		
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	PDL	8.30	8.57		
IT	Bolzano	10/2011	2008	SVP	48.10	51.43		
IT	Calabria	04/1990	1985	MSI / AN	6.38	5.00	6.38	5.00
IT	Campania	02/2010	2005	AN	10.58	13.33	29.27	38.33
IT	Campania	02/2010	2005	FI	11.94	13.33		
IT	Campania	02/2010	2005	UDC/CCD	6.75	6.67		
IT	Emilia Romagna	03/2004	2000	Lega Nord	3.31	2.00	3.31	2.00
IT	Friuli Venezia Giulia	11/2015	2015	Lega Nord	8.30	6.38	8.30	6.38
IT	Lazio	07/2008	2005	AN	16.93	15.71	40.13	34.29
IT	Lazio	07/2008	2005	FI	15.35	12.86		
IT	Lazio	07/2008	2005	UDC	7.85	5.71		
IT	Liguria	02/2007	2005	Lega Nord	4.67	2.50	34.78	27.50
IT	Liguria	02/2007	2005	AN	7.15	5.00		
IT	Liguria	02/2007	2005	FI	19.69	17.50		
IT	Liguria	02/2007	2005	UDC	3.27	2.50		
IT	Lombardia	07/1988	1985	MSI / AN	5.90	5.00	5.90	5.00
IT	Marche	05/2009	2005	Lega Nord	0.87	0	39.05	40.00
IT	Marche	05/2009	2005	AN	12.93	12.50		
IT	Marche	05/2009	2005	FI	17.99	20.00		
IT	Marche	05/2009	2005	UDC	7.26	7.50		
IT	Piemonte	11/1989	1985	MSI / AN	5.50	5.00	5.50	5.00
IT	Puglia	12/2009	2005	AN	12.10	10.00	37.69	31.43
IT	Puglia	12/2009	2005	FI	17.80	15.71		
IT	Puglia	12/2009	2005	UDC	7.79	5.71		
IT	Sardegna	12/1990	1989	MSI / AN	3.50	3.75	3.50	3.75
IT	Toscana	06/2009	2005	Lega Nord	1.27	0	31.73	32.31
IT	Toscana	06/2009	2005	AN	10.88	10.77		

IT	Toscana	06/2009	2005	FI	17.19	16.92		
IT	Toscana	06/2009	2005	UDC	3.66	4.62		
IT	Trento	05/1990	1988	MSI / AN	6.50	7.14	6.50	7.14
IT	Umbria	04/1990	1985	MSI / AN	6.30	6.70	6.30	6.70
IT	Valle d'Aosta	12/1995	1993	MSI / AN	1.71	0.00	9.31	8.57
IT	Valle d'Aosta	12/1995	1993	Lega Nord	7.60	8.57		
IT	Veneto	01/1990	1985	MSI / AN	4.50	3.30	4.50	3.30
DE	Baden-Württemberg	11/2015	2011	NPD	0,97	0	0.97	0.00
DE	Bayern	12/2016	2013	CSU	47.70	56.00	48.30	56.00
DE	Bayern	12/2016	2013	NPD	0.60	0		
DE	Berlin	12/2010	2006	.	0	0	0	0
DE	Nordrhein-Westfalen	02/2012	2012	NPD	0.70	0	0.70	0

Note: Classification of parties following van Spanje (2011) and the criterion that a party with a position larger than or equal to 8 on an immigration scale ranging from 0 (liberal) to 10 (restrictive immigration policy) is an anti-immigrant party. For 1990-2004 classification of parties is taken directly from van Spanje (2011). For 2004-2014, classification of parties was based on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey, expert answers to questions about immigration and multiculturalism versus assimilation, again using a position larger than or equal to 8 as the benchmark (Bakker et. al., 2015; Polk et. al., 2017). Regional election results and seat shares were kindly provided by Leonce Röth (Röth & Kaiser 2018).

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