

**Does decentralisation turn minority parties into secessionists?
Insights from Eastern and Western Europe**

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APPENDIX A. MEASUREMENT AND SOURCES OF VARIABLES

| Variable | Measurement | Source |
|--|--|--|
| <i>secessionism</i> (<i>sec2</i>)* | Dummy variable: 1 if a majority of experts consulted agreed that the party had a secessionist or irredentist position; 0 otherwise | EPAC 2017 (Zuber & Szöcsik 2019) |
| <i>secessionist shift</i> (<i>sec_shift</i>) | Dummy variable: 1 if a party identified as non-secessionist in 2011 was identified as secessionist in 2017 or if a secessionist party split from a non-secessionist party between 2011 and 2017 | EPAC 2011 & 2017 |
| <i>party system accommodation</i> (<i>ps_ter2011</i>) | Weighted mean position of non-ethnonational parties on the issue of territorial autonomy for national minorities, taking parties' seat shares in the national parliament as weights, scale ranges from 0 (completely opposed to territorial autonomy) to 10 (completely in favour of territorial autonomy) | EPAC 2011 (Szöcsik & Zuber 2015) |
| Δ <i>party system accommodation</i> (<i>difps_ter</i>) | Change in party system accommodation measured as: <i>party system accommodation 2017</i> minus <i>party system accommodation 2011</i> | EPAC 2011 & 2017 |
| <i>government accommodation</i> (<i>gov_ter2011</i>) | Weighted mean position of governing parties on the issue of territorial autonomy for national minorities, taking parties' seat shares in the national government as weights, Scale ranges from 0 (completely opposed to territorial autonomy) to 10 (completely in favour of territorial autonomy) | EPAC 2011 |
| Δ <i>government accommodation</i> (<i>difgov_ter</i>) | Change in government accommodation measured as: <i>government accommodation 2017</i> minus <i>government accommodation 2011</i> | EPAC 2011 & 2017 |
| <i>regional self-rule</i> (<i>self_reg2010</i>) | Self-Rule Index measured at the regional level, from the Regional Authority Index (RAI) Dataset | Hooghe et al. (2016) |
| <i>coinciding</i> (<i>coinciding</i>) | Dummy variable: takes the value 1 if two conditions are jointly met: 1) more than 50 per cent of an institutionalized region's population identifies as belonging to the minority group (<i>gr_inreg_over50</i>); 2) at least 50% of the total number of people identifying with that national minority group in a given country live in that same institutionalized region (<i>gr_outreg_under50</i>) | See Appendix B |
| <i>electability</i> (<i>inelectability</i>) | Index of electability developed by Bochsler, Grofman and Hänni (2018). See Appendix C for details on calculation. | Bochsler et al. (2018) |
| <i>government participation</i> (<i>gov</i>) | Dummy variable. Takes the value of 1 if the minority party was a member of the national governing coalition in 2017 when its secessionism is measured. | Döring & Manow (2018); own research |
| <i>kin state</i> (<i>kin</i>) | Dummy variable 'kin state' takes the value 1 if the group a given minority party appeals to has a kindred group that has a dominant position in a government coalition in another state. | Minorities at Risk Project (2009); own research. |

Δ democratic quality (demworse) Dummy variable: 1 for countries whose Polity Index value fell below 6 between 2011 and 2017 (Ukraine and Turkey); 0 (2016) otherwise Marshall et al.

*variable names used in replication files provided in brackets

Data and replication files are available in the Harvard Dataverse at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VIK7OQ>, reference number UNF:6:NpgjwZLzjvKjod4Fu4716A== [fileUNF].

More information and documentation on the EPAC expert survey is available on <https://christinazuber.com/data/epac/>

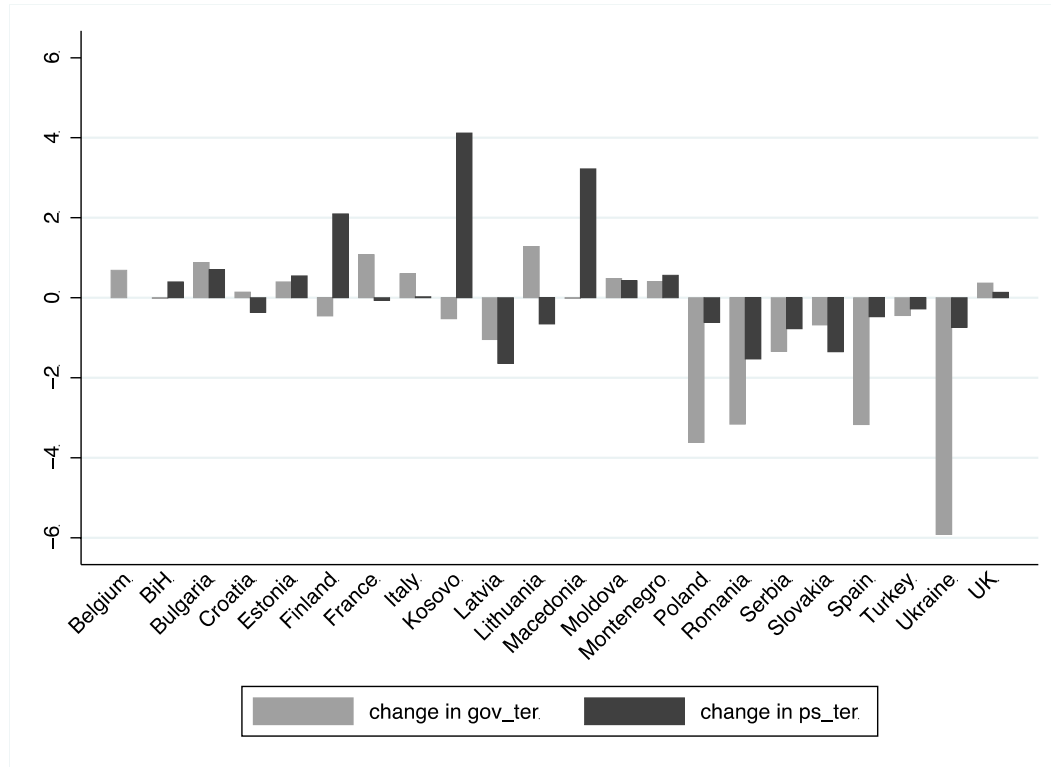
APPENDIX B. CODING COINCIDING REGIONS

| Country | Group name (EPR-ETH Project) | Institutional region (as in RAI, if RAI available) | Over 50% in region | Source demogr. data in region | Variable | Year | Less than 50% outside region | Source demogr. data out region | Variable | Year |
|------------|------------------------------|---|--------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|---------|
| Belgium | Flemings | Vlaamse Gemeenschap | 1 | Survey | Identification | 2014 | 1 | Expert | Voting | 2014 |
| Belgium | Germans | Deutsche Gemeinschaft | 1 | Expert | Voting | 2014 | 1 | Expert | Voting | 2014 |
| Bosnia | Serbs | Republika Srpska | 1 | Census | Identification | 2013 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2013 |
| Bosnia | Croats | Kantoni | 1 | Census | Identification | 2013 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2013 |
| Bulgaria | Turkish | Oblasti | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Croatia | Serbs | Županije | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Croatia | Bosniaks | Županije | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Estonia | Russians | <i>no regions in RAI</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | . |
| Finland | Swedes | Maakuntien | 1 | Census | Language use | 2016 | 0 | Census | Language use | 2016 |
| France | Corsicans | Corse | 0 | Expert | Language use | 2004 | . | <i>No data found</i> | | |
| Italy | German speakers (Austrians) | Südtirol-Alto Adige | 1 | Census | Language use | 2001 | 1 | Expert | | |
| Italy | Aostans (French speakers) | Valle d'Aosta | 0 | Survey | Identification | 2001 | 1 | Minority rights group | unclear | unclear |
| Kosovo | Bosniaks/Muslims | Okruzi | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Kosovo | Gorani | Okruzi | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Kosovo | Turks | Okruzi | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Kosovo | Serbs | Okrug Mitrovica | 1 | ECMI Estimate | unclear | 2013 | 1 | ECMI Estimate | | 2013 |
| Latvia | Russians | Plānošanas reģioni | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Lithuania | Poles | Regionų plėtros tarybos | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Lithuania | Russians | Regionų plėtros tarybos | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Macedonia | Serbs | Planski ryegioni | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 |
| Macedonia | Albanians | Planski ryegioni | 1 | Census | Identification | 2002 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 |
| Macedonia | Turks | Planski ryegioni | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 |
| Moldova | Russian speakers | <i>Gagausia, but no party found. Transnistria de facto independent.</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | |
| Montenegro | Albanians | <i>no regions in RAI</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------|----------------|---------|---|-----------------------|----------------|---------|
| Montenegro | Bosniaks/ Muslims | <i>no regions in RAI</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | |
| Montenegro | Croats | <i>no regions in RAI</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | |
| Montenegro | Serbs | <i>no regions in RAI</i> | 0 | | | | 0 | | | |
| Poland | Germans | Województwa | 0 | Census | Identification | 2002 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2002 |
| Romania | Germans | Judete | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Romania | Hungarians | Judete | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Serbia | Croats | Vojvodina | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Serbia | Hungarians | Vojvodina | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Serbia | Albanians | Okruzi | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Serbia | Bosniaks/ Muslims | Okruzi | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Slovakia | Hungarians | Samosprávne kraje | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 0 | Census | Identification | 2011 |
| Spain | Galicians | Galiza/Galicia | 1 | Survey | Identification | 2016 | 1 | Wikipedia | Language use | 2013 |
| Spain | Catalans | Catalunya/Cataluña | 1 | Survey | Identification | 2016 | 1 | BBC | Language use | 2017 |
| Spain | Basques | Euskadi/País Vasco | 1 | Survey | Identification | 2016 | . | <i>No data found</i> | | |
| Turkey | Kurds | Iller | 1 | Wikipedia | Unclear | Unclear | 0 | Wikipedia | | |
| Ukraine | Russians | Oblasti | 0 | Wikipedia | Identification | 2001 | 0 | Wikipedia | Identification | 2001 |
| UK | Welsh | Wales | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Wikipedia | Family name | 2016 |
| UK | Catholics in N. Ireland | Northern Ireland | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 | . | <i>No data found</i> | | |
| UK | Scots | Scotland | 1 | Census | Identification | 2011 | 1 | Migration observatory | unclear | unclear |

APPENDIX C. CHANGE IN PROGRAMMATIC ACCOMMODATION

Figure C1. Change in programmatic accommodation (party system and governing parties) between 2011 and 2017 by country.



Note:

Change in gov_ter = change in the position of governing parties between 2011 and 2017

Change in ps_ter = change in the positions of non-ethnonationalist parties between 2011 and 2017

Positive values indicate that the party system/the governing parties have shifted their positions towards being *more* in favour of territorial autonomy for national minorities, negative values indicate that the party system/the governing parties have shifted their positions towards being *less* in favour of territorial autonomy for national minorities.

APPENDIX D. THE INDEX OF ELECTABILITY

To measure the permissiveness of the electoral system towards the minority groups appealed to by the parties included in the analysis, we draw on the index of electability developed by Bochsler, Grofmann and Hänni (2018).

The index starts from a basic ‘threshold of exclusion’, defined as the vote share a political party needs in order to be represented in parliament. The threshold of exclusion equals $\frac{1}{2}$ for simple plurality or majority systems and equals $1/(m + 1)$ for proportional representation in a district with m seats. This formula is then extended to account for territorial concentration and size of minority groups, as well as special minority provisions of the electoral system.

The following table taken from Bochsler et al. (2018: 11) provides the formulas used to calculate the index of electability:

| | Territorial groups | Dispersed groups |
|---|--|--|
| For national legal thresholds t_N (<i>e.g. Germany</i>) | $\frac{g}{\max\left(\frac{m}{(m+1) \cdot S}, t_N\right)} \geq 1$ | $\frac{g}{\max\left(\frac{1}{(m+1)}, t_N\right)} \geq 1$ |
| For district thresholds t_D (<i>e.g. Spain</i>) | $\frac{g}{\max\left(\frac{m}{(m+1) \cdot S}, t_D \cdot \frac{m}{S}\right)} \geq 1$ | $\frac{g}{\max\left(\frac{1}{(m+1)}, t_D\right)} \geq 1$ |

Notes:

g = group size

m = district magnitude

S = number of seats in legislature

t_D = district threshold

t_N = national threshold

APPENDIX E. SUMMARY STATISTICS

| Variable | Obs | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|--|-----|-------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Secessionist (dummy) | 83 | 0.28 | 0.45 | 0 (N=60) | 1 (N=23) |
| Secessionist shift (dummy) | 82 | 0.07 | 0.26 | 0 (N=76) | 1 (N=6) |
| Government accommodation | 83 | 3.99 | 1.92 | 0 | 7.95 |
| Δ government accommodation | 83 | -0.57 | 1.44 | -5.91 | 1.28 |
| Party system accommodation | 78 | 3.13 | 1.46 | 0.06 | 5.86 |
| Δ party system accommodation | 78 | 0.53 | 1.65 | -1.64 | 4.12 |
| Regional self-rule | 80 | 7.69 | 6.00 | 0 | 16 |
| Coinciding (dummy) | 78 | 0.33 | 0.47 | 0 (N=52) | 1 (N=26) |
| Logged electability | 83 | 2.07 | 1.27 | -1.10 | 4.82 |
| Government participation (dummy) | 83 | 0.17 | 0.38 | 0 (N=69) | 1 (N=14) |
| Kin state (dummy) | 83 | 0.80 | 0.41 | 0 (N=17) | 1 (N=66) |

APPENDIX F. ROBUSTNESS

Table F1: Results of a two-level logit regression model of ethnonational minority parties' secessionism (maximum likelihood estimation)

| | M7 | M8 | M9 | M10 | M11 | M12 | M13 | M14 |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Party system accommodation | 1.18* (0.5) | 0.815 (0.44) | | | | | | |
| Government accommodation | | | 0.663* (0.29) | 0.4 (0.27) | | | | |
| Regional self-rule | | | | | 0.287** (0.09) | 0.239** (0.08) | | |
| Coinciding | | | | | | | 3.888*** (0.87) | 3.564*** (0.94) |
| Electability | | 0.828 (0.46) | | 0.61 (0.41) | | 0.461 (0.3) | | 0.215 (0.44) |
| Government participation | | -0.171 (1.07) | | -1.211 (1.01) | | -1.599 (0.98) | | -1.592 (1.01) |
| Kin state | | -1.728 (1.36) | | -1.648 (1.07) | | -1.316 (0.82) | | -1.146 (1.11) |
| Constant | -5.756** (2.05) | -4.52 (2.52) | -4.381** (1.5) | -2.989 (1.87) | -3.848*** (1.06) | -3.053* (1.42) | -3.259*** (0.76) | -2.38 (1.71) |
| <i>Variance component</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Country-level (u_{0j}) | 3.013 (2.88) | 1.65492 (1.81) | 2.354 (2.39) | 1.245 (1.6) | 0.989 (1.19) | 2.90e-16 (2.11e-08) | 0.114 (0.62) | 6.47e-16 (5.50e-08) |
| N observations | 78 | 78 | 83 | 83 | 80 | 80 | 78 | 78 |
| N countries | 21 | 21 | 22 | 22 | 20 | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Log-likelihood | -32.467 | -29.312 | -38.018 | -33.768 | -34.775 | -29.743 | -25.228 | -22.449 |
| Dependent variable: Parties' stance on secession; | | | | | | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, Standard errors in parentheses | | | | | | | | |

Table F2: Results of a two-level logit regression model of ethnonational minority parties' shift to secessionism (first differences model, time invariant controls dropped) (maximum likelihood estimation)

| | M15 | M16 |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| Δ party system accommodation | -0.699 (0.72) | |
| Δ government accommodation | | -0.658* (0.31) |
| Constant | -3.511** (1.15) | -3.825*** (1.07) |
| <i>Variance component</i> | | |
| Country-level (u_{0j}) | 1.926 (2.3) | 0.709 (1.395) |
| N observations | 77 | 82 |
| N countries | 21 | 22 |
| Log-likelihood | -18.26 | -17.451 |
| Dependent variable: Parties' shift to a secessionist stance; | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, Standard errors in parentheses | | |

Table F3: Results of a logit regression model of ethnonational minority parties' shift to secessionism (first differences model, time invariant controls dropped) taking into account the decline in the quality of democracy in Ukraine and Turkey (penalized maximum likelihood estimation)

| | M17 | M18 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Δ party system accommodation | -0.444 (0.42) | |
| Δ government accommodation | | -0.845** (0.30) |
| Δ democratic quality | 0.394 (1.61) | -2.650 (2.07) |
| Constant | -2.235*** (0.41) | -3.433*** (0.73) |
| N | 77 | 82 |

Dependent variable: Parties' shift to a secessionist stance;

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, Standard errors in parentheses

Table F4: Results of a logit regression model of ethnonational minority parties' secessionism excluding Bosnia and Hercegovina (maximum likelihood estimation)

| | M19 | M20 | M21 | M22 |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Party system accommodation | 1.040** (0.37) | | | |
| Government accommodation | | 0.257 (0.22) | | |
| Regional self-rule | | | 0.207* (0.09) | |
| Coinciding | | | | 4.047** (1.29) |
| Electability | 0.489 (0.39) | 0.414 (0.32) | 0.412 (0.32) | -0.011 (0.54) |
| Government participation | 0.803 (1.29) | -1.474 (1.22) | -1.521 (1.34) | -1.610 (1.37) |
| Kin state | -1.795 (1.19) | -2.061* (0.87) | -1.581 (0.93) | -2.007 (1.42) |
| Constant | -4.820* (2.24) | -1.580 (1.46) | -2.546 (1.55) | -1.978 (1.96) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.49 | 0.34 | 0.40 | 0.58 |
| N | 68 | 73 | 70 | 68 |

Dependent variable: Parties' stance on secession;

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, Standard errors in parentheses

Table F5: Results of a logit regression model of ethnonational minority parties' shift to secessionism (first differences model, time invariant controls dropped) excluding Bosnia and Herzegovina (penalized maximum likelihood estimation)

| | M23 | M24 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Δ party system accommodation | -0.453 (0.45) | |
| Δ government accommodation | | -0.721** (0.27) |
| Constant | -2.326*** (0.45) | -3.514*** (0.77) |
| N | 68 | 73 |

Dependent variable: Parties' shift to a secessionist stance;
 * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, Standard errors in parentheses

Works cited in the appendix

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