

Online appendix

Article: 'The Impact of EU Decision-Making on National Parties' Attitudes towards European Integration'

Authors: Thomas König and Bernd Luig, University of Mannheim

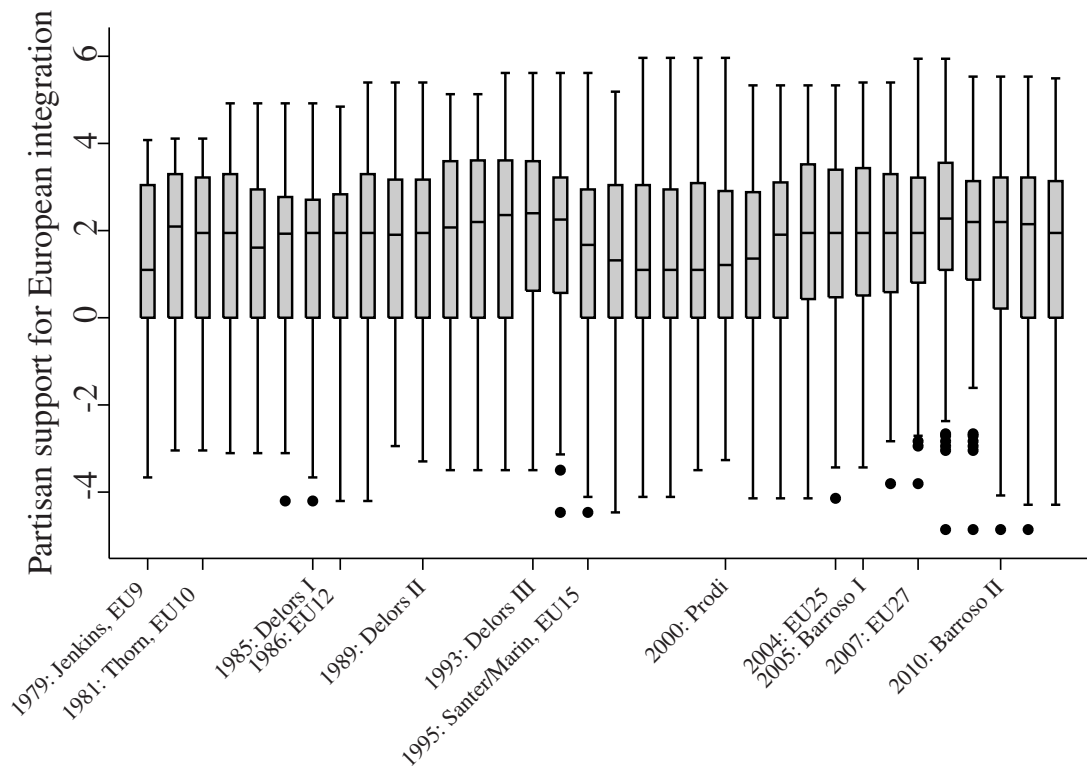


Figure A1. Partisan support for European integration by years.

Table A1. Manifesto Project categories assigned to the EULIS issues on the left/right dimension.

Issue	Left pole	Right pole
i201 Military	201L-105 Military/negative 201L-106 Peace/positive	201R-104 Military/positive
i202 Freedom	202L-201 Freedom and human rights/positive 202L-202 Democracy/positive	202R-605 Law and order/positive
i203 Administration	203L-404 Economic planning/positive 203L-405 Corporatism/positive	203R-303 Governmental and administrative efficiency/positive
i204 Enterprise	204L-412 Controlled economy/positive 204L-413 Nationalisation/positive	204R-401 Free enterprise/positive
i205 Market	205L-403 Market regulation/positive	205R-402 Incentives/positive
i206 Protectionism	206L-406 Protectionism/positive	206R-407 Protectionism/negative
i207 Macroeconomics	207L-409 Keynesian demand management/positive	207R-414 Economic orthodoxy/positive
i208 Quality of life	208L-416 Anti-growth economy/positive 208L-501 Environmental protection/positive	208R-410 Productivity/positive
i209 Welfare state	209L-503 Social justice/positive 209L-504 Welfare state expansion/positive	209R-505 Welfare state limitation/positive
i210 Traditional morality	210L-604 Traditional morality/negative	210R-603 Traditional morality/positive
i211 Multiculturalism	211L-607 Multiculturalism/positive	211R-608 Multiculturalism/negative
i212 Labour groups	212L-701 Labour groups/positive	212R-702 Labour groups/negative
i213 Target groups	213L-705 Underprivileged minority groups/positive	213R-704 Middle class and professional groups/positive

Note: This table was originally published by König and Luig (2012: 611).

Table A2. Calculation of the distance to the outcome in retrospect.

Step 1 – Party position

$$eulis_p_{LR} = \left[(\log(p_{201R} + 0.5) - \log(p_{201L} + 0.5)) \cdot s_{201} + \dots + (\log(p_{213R} + 0.5) - \log(p_{213L} + 0.5)) \cdot s_{213} \right] / 100$$

where p is the number of quasi sentences in an election program and s is the legislative salience of the respective issue (across all policy areas).

Mean: -0.223, SD: 1.079, Minimum: -4.063, Maximum: 2.664.

Exemplary calculation for the Democratic Party of Luxembourg in 1981: -0.435.

Step 2 – Outcome position

$$eulis_o_{LR} = \left[(\log(o_{201R} + 0.5) - \log(o_{201L} + 0.5)) \cdot s_{201} + \dots + (\log(o_{213R} + 0.5) - \log(o_{213L} + 0.5)) \cdot s_{213} \right] / 100$$

where o is the number of search hits in EU legislation and s is the legislative salience of the respective issue (across all policy areas).

Mean: 0.203, SD: 0.144, Minimum: -0.256, Maximum: 0.329.

Exemplary calculation for the Thorn Commission: -0.256.

Step 3 – Distance to the outcome

$$eulis_po_{LR} = \text{abs}(eulis_p_{LR} - eulis_o_{LR})$$

Mean: 0.926, SD: 0.725, Minimum: 0.001, Maximum: 4.376.

Exemplary calculation for the Democratic Party of Luxembourg in 1981: 0.179.

Step 4 – Distance to the outcome in retrospect

$$eulis_po_{LR-retro} = (eulis_po_{LR,startyear} + \dots + eulis_po_{LR,present}) / \text{years}$$

Mean: 0.890, SD: 0.581, Minimum: 0.003, Maximum: 3.830.

Exemplary calculation for the Democratic Party of Luxembourg in 1981: 0.269.

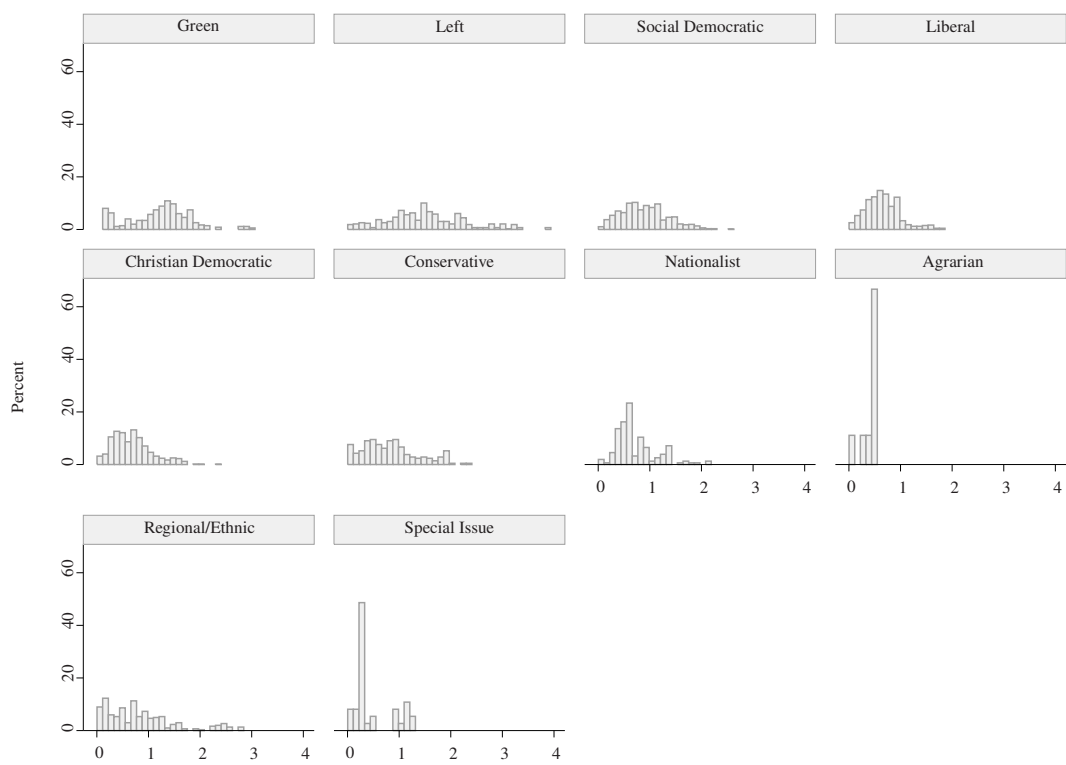


Figure A2. Distance to the outcome in retrospect.

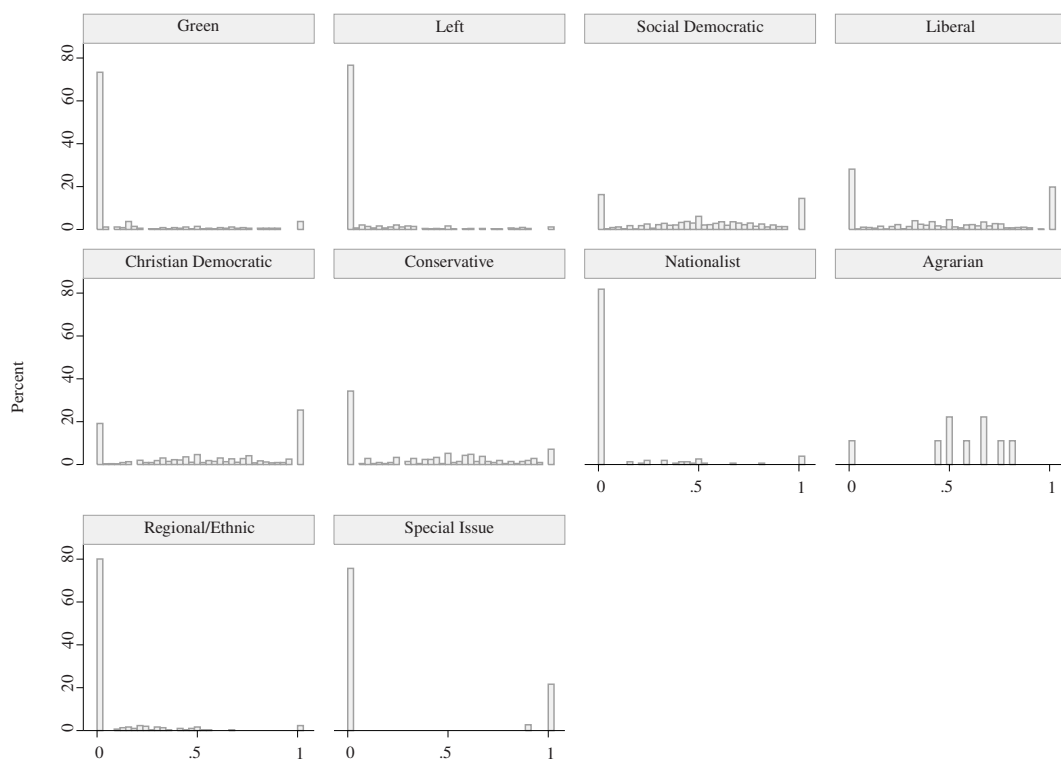


Figure A3. Government party in retrospect.

Table A3. Descriptive statistics of independent variables.

Variable	Description	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Distance to the outcome in retrospect	Absolute left/right distance between national political party and EU legislation (distance cumulated over years and then divided by the number of years)	0.89	0.58	0	3.83
Government party in retrospect	1 for a national political party taking part in government (cumulated over years and then divided by the number of years)	0.36	0.37	0	1
Share of secondary legislation in retrospect	Number of secondary acts divided by the number of all acts (cumulated over years and then divided by the number of years)	23.29	5.71	12.96	34.34
Share of parliamentary involvement in retrospect	Number of acts adopted under the co-decision procedure divided by the number of all acts (cumulated over years and then divided by the number of years)	1.17	1.33	0	6.49
Share of directives in retrospect	Number of directives divided by the number of all acts (cumulated over years and then divided by the number of years)	3.5	0.6	1.81	6.65
EU party family: Green	1 if a national political party is affiliated with the respective political group in the European Parliament	0.1	0.3	0	1
EU party family: Left		0.12	0.32	0	1
EU party family: Social Democratic		0.19	0.39	0	1
EU party family: Liberal		0.19	0.39	0	1
EU party family: Christian Democratic		0.21	0.41	0	1
EU party family: Conservative		0.06	0.24	0	1
EU party family: Nationalist		0.04	0.2	0	1
EU party family: Agrarian		0	0.05	0	1
EU party family: Special issue		0.01	0.1	0	1
Public support for EU membership	Net support according to Eurobarometer public opinion surveys (percent responding “good thing” minus percent responding “bad thing”)	43.67	21.53	-25.5	86
Civil society	Extent to which citizens are able to participate in government and enjoy civil liberties (World Bank’s “Voice and Accountability” index, Worldwide Governance Indicators project)	1.3	0.26	0.3	1.83
Net recipient	Operating budgetary balance (excluding administrative expenditure and traditional own resources) in percent of gross national income	0.66	1.49	-4.74	7.75
Share of intra-EU exports	Value of intra-EU exports (technically known as “dispatches”) divided by the value of intra- and extra-EU exports	67.62	10.14	39	90.28
Party size	Share of seats in the national parliament	15.07	14.99	0.15	63.58
EU salience	Share of EU-related quasi sentences in the party manifesto	5.22	4.93	0	44.66
Divisiveness	Standard error of EU references in the party manifesto	0.4	0.26	0	1.03

Table A4. Robustness tests.

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Distance to the outcome in retrospect	-0.534**	0.209	-1.077***	0.251	-1.586***	0.263	-1.518***	0.265	-1.578***	0.251
Government party in retrospect	1.975***	0.361	1.565***	0.375	1.129***	0.381	1.076***	0.382	0.991***	0.365
Share of secondary legislation in retrospect	0.062***	0.018	0.050***	0.018	0.051***	0.018	0.041**	0.020		
Share of parliamentary involvement in retrospect	0.071	0.064	0.055	0.065	-0.019	0.067	-0.017	0.072	-0.080	0.056
Share of directives in retrospect	-0.127	0.128	-0.291**	0.136	-0.488***	0.140	-0.473***	0.147	-0.144*	0.087
Distance to the outcome x Secondary	-0.038***	0.014	-0.031**	0.014	-0.022	0.014	-0.024*	0.014		
Distance to the outcome x Parliamentary	0.040	0.045	0.066	0.046	0.100**	0.046	0.092**	0.046	0.149***	0.037
Distance to the outcome x Directives	0.281***	0.102	0.379***	0.105	0.455***	0.105	0.446***	0.105	0.288***	0.068
Government party x Secondary	-0.072***	0.024	-0.069***	0.024	-0.065***	0.024	-0.070***	0.024		
Government party x Parliamentary	-0.293***	0.080	-0.283***	0.080	-0.262***	0.079	-0.282***	0.080	-0.107**	0.052
Government party x Directives	0.174	0.185	0.270	0.186	0.361*	0.186	0.418**	0.188	-0.091	0.105
EU party family: Green	0.201	0.143	0.160	0.144	0.116	0.143	0.128	0.143	0.187	0.141
EU party family: Left	-0.840***	0.144	-0.888***	0.144	-0.933***	0.144	-0.923***	0.144	-0.843***	0.140
EU party family: Social Democratic	0.698***	0.132	0.651***	0.132	0.594***	0.132	0.615***	0.132	0.680***	0.130
EU party family: Liberal	0.748***	0.125	0.690***	0.125	0.627***	0.125	0.646***	0.125	0.704***	0.123
EU party family: Christian Democratic	0.848***	0.130	0.797***	0.131	0.724***	0.131	0.745***	0.131	0.807***	0.128
EU party family: Conservative	-0.352**	0.160	-0.392**	0.160	-0.441***	0.160	-0.418***	0.160	-0.347**	0.157
EU party family: Nationalist	-1.302***	0.168	-1.368***	0.169	-1.440***	0.168	-1.430***	0.168	-1.361***	0.166
EU party family: Agrarian	1.518***	0.537	1.483***	0.536	1.401***	0.534	1.405***	0.532	1.511***	0.533
EU party family: Special issue	-2.158***	0.285	-2.233***	0.285	-2.296***	0.283	-2.282***	0.283	-2.332***	0.283
Public support for EU membership			-0.000	0.003	-0.005*	0.003	-0.008***	0.003	-0.005*	0.003
Civil society			0.989***	0.247	-0.103	0.276	0.002	0.279	0.060	0.272
Net recipient					0.033	0.036	0.047	0.037	0.027	0.036
Share of intra-EU exports					0.028***	0.006	0.034***	0.006	0.034***	0.005
Observation year					0.020**	0.010				
Commission term: Thorn							0.084	0.177		
Commission term: Delors I							0.220	0.183		
Commission term: Delors II							0.231	0.211		
Commission term: Delors III							0.318	0.238		
Commission term: Santer/Marín							0.013	0.234		
Commission term: Prodi							0.149	0.275		
Commission term: Barroso I							0.466	0.300		
Commission term: Barroso II							0.366	0.316		
Party size	0.016***	0.002	0.016***	0.002	0.015***	0.002	0.016***	0.002	0.016***	0.002
EU salience	0.054***	0.006	0.052***	0.006	0.050***	0.006	0.052***	0.006	0.049***	0.006
Divisiveness	-0.805***	0.100	-0.843***	0.101	-0.878***	0.101	-0.860***	0.100	-0.884***	0.101
Random slope on years at the Member State level	-3.236***	0.225	-3.218***	0.233	-3.224***	0.238	-3.170***	0.248	-3.105***	0.242
Random intercept on Member States	0.244	0.210	0.352	0.217	0.378*	0.212	0.432*	0.220	0.473**	0.220
Covariance between random slope and intercept	-1.000***	0.302	-1.035***	0.290	-1.431***	0.288	-1.486***	0.294	-1.523***	0.289
Log-likelihood	-6544.982		-6536.982		-6517.366		-6509.030		-6524.814	
Akaike information criterion	13143.964		13131.963		13098.731		13096.059		13105.628	
Bayesian information criterion	13310.833		13311.193		13296.501		13337.092		13278.677	

Note: * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Number of observations: 3,570

Number of groups: 27