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The Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) dataset

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The Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) dataset: A novel approach to conceptualising and measuring regionalist actors' territorial strategies

Anwen Elias, Linda Basile, Núria Franco-Guillén and Edina Szöcsik

Online Appendix

Appendix A. Regionalist actors included in the FraTerr dataset	2
Appendix B. Regionalist actors' documents (by type) included in the FraTerr dataset ...	5
Appendix C. Measures of regionalist actors' territorial demands and frames provided in the FraTerr_document dataset	7
Appendix D. Reliability and validity tests.....	10
References	19

Appendix A. Regionalist actors included in the FraTerr dataset¹²

	Acronyms	Original Party Name	English Party Name	Region	Actor type
1	AGE	Alternativa Galega de Esquerda (ANOVA, Esquerda Unida, Equo Galicia, Espazo Ecosocialista Galego)	Alternative Galician Left (Renewal, United Left, Equo Galicia, Galician Ecosocialist Space)	Galicia	PC
2	ALLPARTIES	N.A.	Electoral list with all parties	France	PC
3	ALPE	Autonomie Liberté Participation Écologie	Autonomy, Freedom, Participation, Ecology	Aosta Valley	P
4	ANC	Assemblea Nacional Catalana	Catalan National Assembly	Catalonia	CSO
5	ANV	ANOVA	Renewal	Galicia	P
6	ApE	Autonomie per l'Europa (Union Valdostaine, Union Valdostaine Progressiste, Stella Alpina, Autonomie Liberté Participation Écologie, Stella Allpina Popolare Autonomista Valdostano)	Autonomy for Europe (Valdostan Union, Progressive Valdostan Union, Edelweiss, Autonomy Liberty Participation Ecology, Valdostan Autonomist Popular Edelweiss)	Italy	PC
7	BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	Galician Nationalist Bloc	Galicia	P
8	BP	Bayernpartei	Party of Bavaria	Bavaria	P
9	CDC	Convergència democràtica de Catalunya	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia	Catalonia	PC
10	CIU	Convergència i Unió (Convergència democràtica de Catalunya, Unió Democràtica de Catalunya)	Convergence and Union (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia, Democratic Union of Catalonia)	Catalonia	P
11	CL	Corsica Libera	Free Corsica	Corsica	P
12	CN	Corsica Nazione	Corsica Nation	Corsica	P
13	CU	Cuncolta Naziunalista	Nationalist Rally	Corsica	P
14	CUP	Candidatura d'Unitat Popular	Popular Unity Candidacy	Catalonia	P
15	CY	Cymru Yfory	Tomorrow's Wales	Wales	CSO
16	DGM	Diguem no a l'Estatut	Say No to the Statute	Catalonia	MIXC
17	EJS	Estatut, Jo Si	Statute, for me Yes	Catalonia	MIXC
18	EMNP	Erdélyi Magyar Néppárt	Hungarian People's Party of Transylvania	Romania	P
19	ENM	En Marea	In Tide	Galicia	P
20	ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Republican Left of Catalonia	Catalonia	P
21	FAC	Femu a Corsica	Let's Make Corsica	Corsica	P
22	FNP	Fryske Nasjonale Partij	Frisian National Party	Friesland	P
23	IRS	Indipendènzia Repùbrica de Sardigna	Independence Republic of Sardinia	Sardinia	P
24	JXC	Junts per Catalunya	Together for Catalonia	Catalonia	PC

¹ Mixed coalitions are not specified as they contain numerous parties and individuals to a level that it is not possible to list them in this appendix.

² In the cases of ENM, PNCEE and PNCRPS, members are not specified because the rest of parties are not relevant in the regions. In the case of PNC, these are joint manifestos with other regionalist parties in France. In the case of ENM, while it started as an electoral list, it quickly evolved into a unique party.

		(Partit Democrata Europeu de Catalunya, Convergència democràtica de Catalunya)	(Democrat European Party of Catalonia, Democratic Convergence of Catalonia)		
25	JXS	Junts pel Si	Together for Yes	Catalonia	MIXC
26	KJ	Kaszëbskô Jednota	Kashubian Unity	Kashubia	CSO
27	KPZ	Kaszëbskô-Pòmòrszczé Zrzeszenié	Kashubian-Pomeranian Association	Kashubia	CSO
28	LN	Lega Nord	Northern League	Northern Italy	P
29	MOUV	Mouv'	Mouv'	Aosta valley	P
30	MPP	Magyar Polgári Párt	Hungarian Civic Party	Romania	P
31	OC	Omnium Cultural	Cultural Omnium	Catalonia	CSO
32	PAC	Pè a Corsica (Femu à Corsica, Corsica Libera)	For Corsica (Let's do Corsica, Free Corsica)	Corsica	PC
33	PC	Plaid Cymru	Party of Wales	Wales	P
34	PDD	Plataforma pel dret de decidir	Platform for the Right to Decide	Catalonia	CSO
35	PNC	Partitu di a Nazione Corsa	Party of the Corsican Nation	Corsica	P
36	PNCEE	U Partitu di a Nazione Corsa European Elections	Party of the Corsican Nation – European Elections	Corsica	PC
37	PNCRPS	U Partitu di a Nazione Corsa Régions & Peuples Solidaires	Party of the Corsican Nation – Regions and Peoples in Solidarity	Corsica	PC
38	PSDAZ	Partito Sardo D'Azione	Sardinian Party of Action	Sardinia	P
39	PSDAZ_SNI	Partito Sardo D'Azione, Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia	Sardinian Party of Action – Sardinia Nation Independence	Italy	PC
40	RIC	Radical Independence campaign		Scotland	CSO
41	RMDSZ	Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania	Romania	P
42	RMDSZ_EMNT	Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség, Erdélyi Magyar Nemzeti Tanács	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania, Hungarian National Council of Transylvania	Romania	MIXC
43	SA	Stella Alpina	Edelweiss	Aosta Valley	P
44	SF	Scotland Forward		Scotland	MIXC
45	SIC	Scottish Independence Convention		Scotland	CSOC
46	SNI	Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia	Sardinia Nation Independence	Sardinia	P
47	SNP	Scottish National Party		Scotland	P
48	SUMATE	Sumate	Join	Catalonia	CSO
49	SZNT	Székely Nemzeti Tanács	Szekler National Council	Romania	CSO
50	UN	Unione Naziunale (Partitu di a Nazione Corsa, Corsica Nazione, Presenza Naziunale)	National Union (Corsican Nation Union, Corsica Nation, National Presence)	Corsica	PC
51	UPC	Unione di u Populu Corsu	Union of the Corsican People	Corsica	P
52	UPSP	Unione per una Suluzione Pulitica (A Chjama Naziunale, Corsica Nazione Indipendente, Partitu di a	Union for a Political Solution (The National Call, Corsica Independent Nation, Party of the	Corsica	PC

		Nazione Corsa, i Verdi Corsi)	Corsican Nation, the Corsican Greens)		
53	UV	Union Valdôtaine	Valdostan Union	Aosta Valley	P
54	UVP	Union Valdôtaine Progressiste	Progressive Valdostan Union	Aosta Valley	P
55	VVAA	Accolta Naziunale Corsa, A Chjama per l'Indipendenza, Corsica Nazione, Corsica Viva, Cuncolta Indipendentista, I Verdi Corsi, Partitu Per l'Indipendenza, Per a Suvranità	Corsican National Reception, Call for Independence, Corsica Nation, Corsica Alive, Independentist Rally, Corsican Greens, Party for independence, For Sovereignty	Corsica	CSO
56	WFI	Women for Independence		Scotland	CSO
57	YC	Yes Cymru	Yes Wales	Wales	CSO
58	YS	Yes Scotland		Scotland	CSO
59	YSG	Ymgyrch Senedd i Gymru	The Parliament for Wales Campaign	Wales	CSO
60	YW1997	Yes for Wales 1997		United Kingdom	CSO
61	YW2011	Yes for Wales 2011		United Kingdom	CSO

Appendix B. Regionalist actors' documents (by type) included in the FraTerr dataset

	Legislative proposals (lp)	Manifesto (m)	Other documents	Policy paper (pp)	Press release	Policy statement	Total
Aosta Valley							
ALPE	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
ApE	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
MOUV	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
SA	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
UV	0	17	0	0	0	0	17
UVP	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bavaria							
BP	2	20	6	4	6	17	55
Catalonia							
ANC	0	0	0	0	0	9	9
CDC	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
CIU	0	19	0	0	0	0	19
CUP	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
DGM	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
EJS	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
ERC	0	20	0	0	0	0	20
JXC	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
JXS	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
OC	0	0	4	0	5	20	29
PDD	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
SUMATE	0	0	6	0	6	1	13
Corsica							
ALLPARTIES	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
CL	0	1	3	1	1	2	8
CN	0	5	2	0	4	16	27
CU	0	1	0	0	0	4	5
FAC	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
PAC	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
PNC	0	4	1	0	0	4	9
PNCEE	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
PNCRPS	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
UN	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
UPC	0	2	0	0	3	2	7
UPSP	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
VVAA	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Friesland							
FNP	0	8	1	3	8	4	24
Galicia							
AGE	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
ANV	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
BNG	0	19	0	0	0	0	19
ENM	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Kashubia							
KJ	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
KPZ	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Northern Italy							

LN	0	13	1	0	0	0	14
Sardinia							
IRS	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
PSDAZ	1	4	1	0	0	10	16
PSDAZ SNI	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
SNI	0	6	0	0	0	2	8
IRS	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
PSDAZ	1	4	1	0	0	10	16
Scotland							
RIC	0	0	0	0	1	12	13
SF	0	0	8	0	0	0	8
SIC	0	0	1	0	7	3	11
SNP	0	17	0	48	2	0	67
WFI	0	0	1	0	5	3	9
YS	0	0	0	0	18	1	19
RIC	0	0	0	0	1	12	13
SF	0	0	8	0	0	0	8
Szeklerland							
EMNP	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
MPP	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
RMDSZ	0	9	0	1	0	15	25
RMDSZ EMNT	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
SZNT	2	0	1	0	2	17	22
Wales							
CY	0	0	1	0	0	3	4
PC	0	17	0	0	0	0	17
YC	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
YSG	1	0	2	0	0	1	4
YW1997	0	0	3	0	1	1	5
YW2011	0	0	2	0	0	1	3

Appendix C. Measures of regionalist actors' territorial demands and frames provided in the FraTerr_document dataset

The FraTerr dataset measures regionalist actors' relative emphasis of a type of territorial demand in relation to all other territorial demands in a document. Accordingly, the variables *per_TD codes* indicate the percentage of a specific type of territorial demand in relation to all other types of territorial demand included in a document (excluding unspecified territorial demands). For instance, the congress document of Partito Sardo d'Azione (PSDAZ) from 1994 includes 169 coded segments; 89 of these segments contain specific territorial demands, whilst the remaining 80 are coded as unspecified territorial demands. The variable *per_indep* indicates the relative importance of independence demands in PSDAZ's territorial discourse in 1994. As PSDAZ made 9 independence demands out of a total of 89 specific territorial demands in that document, the variable *per_indep* equates to 10.1%.

Similarly, our dataset measures regionalist actors' relative emphasis of a frame type in relation to territorial demands that this actor has formulated in a document. We provide here two measures. The first measures the percentage of a frame type in relation to all specific types of territorial demands that an actor has formulated in a document. The second one measures the percentage of a frame type in relation to all territorial demands (including unspecified demands) that this actor has formulated in a document. The first measure is therefore more restrictive than the second one as it only considers the use of a frame when the actor has formulated specific territorial demands. The second measure takes into account the use of a frame in the actors' broader territorial narrative. As an example, in the same manifesto from 1994, the PSDAZ used the 'quality of democracy' frame 22 times when arguing for the empowerment of Sardinia, out of a total of 169 coded segments (comprising 89 specified and 80 unspecified territorial demands). This means that the variable *per_pol_quality* indicates a share of 24.7% (that is, 22 divided by 89), while the variable *per2_pol_quality* takes the value of 13% (22 divided by the total number of territorial demands).

Finally, the FraTerr_document dataset also measures the extent to which regionalist actors have formulated a type of territorial demand in connection to a territorial level (*per_tl_td*), a policy area (*per_pa_td*) or a frame type (*per_fra_td*) in relation to all territorial specified demands included in one document. For example, in the Lega Nord (LN) 1999 electoral manifesto, out of 4 independence demands (*indep*), 3 of these foresee this as empowering the territory in relation to the Italian state. Altogether, LN formulated 35 specified territorial demands. Accordingly, the share of independence demands made in relation to the state, relative to all other specified territorial demands, is 8.6 percent.

Table C.1 **Variables indicating the salience of a type of territorial demand and frame**

Territorial demand	Frames	
	<i>Specified territorial demands</i>	<i>Unspecified territorial demands</i>
Share of a specific type of territorial demand in relation to all specific types of territorial demands expressed in a document.	Share of a frame type in relation to all specific types of territorial demands expressed in a document.	Share of a type of frame in relation to all types of territorial demands expressed in a document.
Example:	Example:	Example:
$per_indep = \frac{indep}{TD_spec} * 100$	$per_pol_quality = \frac{pol_quality}{TD_spec} * 100$	$per2_pol_quality = \frac{pol_quality}{TD_all} * 100$
<i>indep</i> : number of segments coded as a demand for independence in a document	<i>pol_quality</i> : number of segments coded as a political quality frames in a document	<i>pol_quality</i> : number of segments coded as a political quality frames in a document
<i>TD_spec</i> : number of all specific types of territorial demands in a document	<i>TD_spec</i> : number of all specific types of territorial demands in a document	<i>TD_all</i> : number of all territorial demands in a document (<i>TD_spec</i> + <i>TD_unspec</i>)

Appendix D. Reliability and validity tests

D1. Reliability

Coding was carried out by 13 researchers with expertise in case study assigned to them, which facilitated the application of context-sensitive coding categories. Coders were familiarized with the coding manual through three training sessions; after each session, the results were discussed with all coders in order to address disagreements and clarify the coding manual where necessary. Before starting to code, an intercoder reliability test was conducted on a sample document ('gold standard') in English. The first part of the test checked a coder's ability to properly split the text into quasi-sentences. The second part of the test was aimed at checking how well coders applied the coding scheme to a text that was already split into quasi-sentences; the final Cohen's kappa for this test was 0.67 on average, indicating a good level of inter-coder agreement.³

Throughout the coding process, each coder was asked to conduct an intra-coder reliability test (a random sample of 5 documents per case), with the aim in both instances of checking the consistency and reliability of coding. Moreover, for each case study, pairs of coders conducted an inter-coder reliability test on a coded document (one political party and one civil society organisation per case). In both cases, where the results indicated insufficient or low reliability of coding, areas of inconsistency were reviewed and (if necessary) codings revised. All coders were required to document the results of inter and intra-coder reliability tests, as well as any coding changes implemented as a result. To further strengthen the reliability of the coding process, monthly webinars attended by all coders discussed coding issues as they arose and documented the agreed solutions to coding queries.

³ Following Neuendorf (2002: 143), a kappa of 0.4 indicates a satisfactory level of agreement.

D2. Validity

As the FraTerr dataset provides a novel conceptualisation and operationalisation of regionalist actor's territorial demands and frames, the validation of FraTerr's measurements faces two major challenges. Firstly, the range of the comparable instruments available for convergent/discriminant validation is limited and perfect alignment of FraTerr's measures of territorial demands with existing ones is not to be expected (Carter *et al.*, 2018: 733).⁴ Secondly, and as noted above, previous studies of regionalist actors' framing strategies have focused on a narrower range of frames, predominantly analysed inductively in one or a small number of case studies. As a result, no extant studies can be compared with the conceptualisation and measurement of frames provided by the FraTerr dataset.

Given these constraints, our validation of the FraTerr data focuses on regionalist parties' territorial demands in relation to three datasets: the Regional Manifestos Project (RMP) dataset (Alonso *et al.*, 2013), the Regionalist Parties (RP) dataset (Masseti and Schakel, 2013; 2016) and the Ethnonationalism in Party Competition (EPAC) expert surveys (Szöcsik and Zuber, 2015; Zuber and Szöcsik, 2019). For each dataset, we describe the process of validation, provide the results of these comparisons and examine the cases of divergence between them.

D2.1 Regional Manifesto Project

The RMP dataset measures parties' preferences on a wide range of issues at the sub-state level by means of a content analysis of parties' regional election manifestos. Data is provided for parties in the regions of three countries (Spain: Catalonia and Galicia, Italy: Aosta Valley, Sardinia and Northern Italy and the UK: Scotland and Wales), which are all included in the

⁴ Convergence validation requires that a new measure of a concept should converge with previous measures of the same concept, whereas weaker associations between measures indicate that they operationalize different concepts, thus providing discriminant validation (Adcock and Collier, 2001).

FraTerr's dataset, although with varying time periods covered⁵. The RMP provides estimates of pro-periphery demands. However, the RMP and the FraTerr measures cannot be directly compared because the datasets adopt different measurement approaches. The RMP calculates pro-periphery demands as the percentage of quasi-sentences containing pro-periphery demands out of the total number of quasi-sentences in the entire document. In contrast, FraTerr's territorial demands are computed as the percentage of quasi sentences assigned to each category over the total number of territorial demands formulated by the party.

To validate the FraTerr dataset against the RMP dataset, we compute a measure of salience of territorial demands using the FraTerr data by dividing the sum of words of the categories coded as territorial demands by the wordcount of the baseline document. Analyses show a moderate positive correlation between the two measures (Pearson's $r(35)=0.47$ $p<0.01$). A closer inspection at the data, however, reveals a stronger correlation when considering Italy's and UK's documents separately (respectively: Pearson's $r(10)=0.83$ $p<0.01$) and Pearson's $r(8)=0.82$ $p<0.05$); in Spain, the correlation increases after removing five outlying documents detected through a scatterplot (Pearson's $r(12)=0.78$ $p<0.01$).

In a further test, we validate the FraTerr dataset against the RMP dataset by looking at a specific policy area. Among the RMP's policy domains, we selected the sub-state finance domain, associated with the "more regional competence" and "less national competence" codes, as its definition in the RMP's coding handbook is like that used in the FraTerr's dataset. All the other RMP policy domains cannot be compared to FraTerr dataset's policy areas as they diverge. To make the RMP's measure comparable to the FraTerr's one, we re-calculated RMP's estimate as the share of segments on sub-state finance over the total number of segments coded as pro-

⁵ Since the FraTerr dataset includes regional party manifestos, we assume that these documents largely correspond to those analysed in the RMP. In some cases, the FraTerr's research team retrieved party manifesto from the RMP's archives. The 35 documents considered for the comparison, then are: for Spain, CiU (1999, 2006, 2010, 2012), CUP (2012, 2017), ERC (2010, 2012, 2017), JxC (2017), AGE (2012), BNG (1993, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2016), ENM (2016); for Italy, ALPE (2013), SA (2008, 2013), UV (2008, 2013), UVP (2013), LN (2010, 2015); for the UK, PC (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2016) and SNP (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2016).

periphery, rather than over the total number of segments in the baseline documents. We found strong and positive correlation between the FraTerr and the new RMP measures (Pearson's $r(35)=0.60$ $p<0.001$). Interestingly, the correlation is particularly strong among Spanish documents (Pearson's $r(17)=0.82$ $p<0.001$).

D2.2 The Regionalist Parties dataset

The RP dataset⁶ includes 77 regionalist parties from 11 countries, for the period 1945 to 2010. Among them, 13 parties in 6 countries⁷ are also included in the FraTerr documents dataset, allowing a comparison of 120 documents. As noted in the main text, the RP dataset locates regionalist parties on the centre-periphery dimension by using a two-fold (Massetti and Schakel, 2013) or four-fold (Massetti and Schakel, 2016) categorisation. The former defines parties as either radical (secessionist) or moderate (autonomist). The latter further differentiates this binary categorisation; radical parties may be separationist or ambiguous in their commitment to secession, whilst moderate parties may adopt either federalist or protectionist positions.

We compared the RP's two-fold classification (secessionist/autonomist) to FraTerr's measure of independence demands. To do so, we computed a variable scoring 1 for documents referring to parties classified as secessionist in the RP dataset⁸, and 0 if otherwise. We then compared the difference in mean salience of independence demands in the FraTerr dataset (using the `per_indep` variable) for these two groups of documents using an independent t-test with unequal

⁶ Data and information retrieved from: <https://www.arjanschakel.nl/index.php/regional-parties> (accessed 18 January 2021).

⁷ These are as follows: Spain: Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), Convergència i Unió (CiU), Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC); France: Corsica Nazione (CN), Unione di u Populu Corsu (UPC); Germany: Bayernpartei (BP); Italy: Lega Nord (LN); Partito Sardo d'Azione (PSDAZ), Sardigna Nazione Indipendentzia (SNI), Union Valdôtaine (UV); Netherlands: Fryske Nasjonale Partij (FNP); United Kingdom: Plaid Cymru (PC), Scottish National Party (SNP).

⁸ The RP dataset classifies parties' centre-periphery position for each regional and national election. Accordingly, we matched their classification with the corresponding regional or national manifestos in the FraTerr dataset. If manifestos were not available, we substituted alternative documents closest to the time period considered by the RP dataset.

variance. This difference is statistically significant and in the expected direction: parties classified as secessionist in the RP dataset show, on average, a higher average share of the independence demands (29%) than parties classified as autonomist (0.5%, $t(80.7651) = -6.6178, p < 0.001$). Since means can be driven by few, higher values, we also compared the median values on the FraTerr’s independence score of parties classified as autonomist (median=0) with that of those classified as secessionist (median=4.5) by the RP. The comparison further confirms the relationship between the two datasets (Figure 1). Further investigation reveals that the RP dataset classifies 34 documents as secessionist where the FraTerr dataset finds no independence demands. For some of these documents, the RP classification is controversial; for example, the BNG, CiU, and the LN are classified by the EPAC expert survey as federalist. Massetti and Schakel also acknowledge the limitations of the ‘secessionist’ category, with the BNG, BP, CiU, ERC and PSDAZ qualified as ‘ambiguous’ secessionists in their four-fold classification (Massetti and Schakel, 2016). The results of these comparisons therefore show that our measurement of independence demands converge with the two-fold classification of the RP dataset.

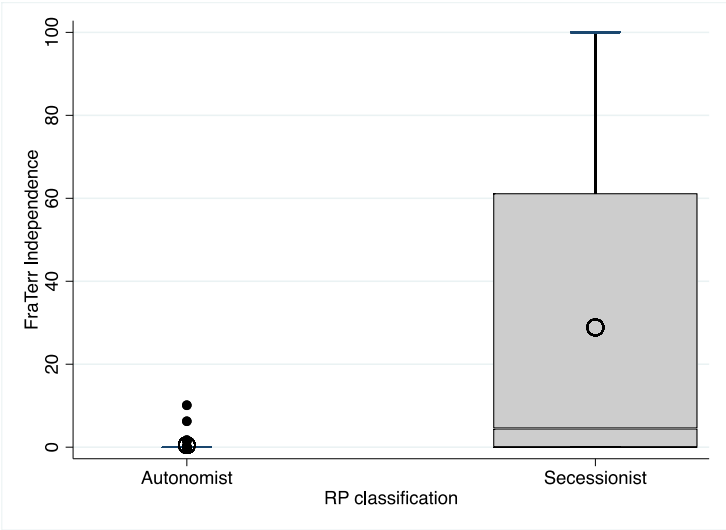


Figure 1. Box plot comparing FraTerr’s scores on independence demands between parties classified as Secessionist or Autonomist by the RP dataset (hollow circles indicate the mean values).

In an additional step, we also compared FraTerr's measures with the RP's four-fold classification (Masseti and Schakel, 2016).⁹ This four-fold classification differentiates regionalist parties into separationist, ambiguous separationist, federalist and protectionist parties. Separationist parties are considered as ones that openly demand secession, whilst ambiguous separationist parties do not have a clear position on secession and “refrain from using clear catchwords, such as ‘independence,’ ‘partition’ or ‘secession’” (Masseti and Schakel 2016: 63). In contrast, “federalist parties actively seek to enhance a maximum level of regional self-government to include a wide range of competences, including fiscal powers, but without questioning the unity of the state”, whilst “protectionist parties typically ask for the institutional recognition of their region and for the transfer of enough competences in order to protect regional languages and cultures” (Masseti and Schakel 2016: 63).

We compare the RP's four-fold classification with FraTerr's independence and federal demands.¹⁰ We expect that parties classified as separationist and ambiguous separationists by the RP dataset have a higher share of independence demands than federalist and protectionist parties. In addition, we expect that parties classified as federalist parties in the RP dataset have a higher share of federal demands than the other three group of parties.

For each party included in both datasets, we computed the share of independence and federal demands in the FraTerr dataset and conducted a one-way ANOVA to compare the mean shares of these demands across the four groups of parties. The results show that the differences in mean values between these groups are all significant for the three FraTerr variables considered.

⁹ The two- and the four-fold comparisons include the following 13 parties: Spain: Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), Convergència i Unió (CiU), Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC); France: Corsica Nazione (CN), Unione di u Populu Corsu (UPC); Germany: Bayernpartei (BP); Italy: Lega Nord (LN); Partito Sardo d'Azione (PSDAZ), Sardigna Nazione Indipendentzia (SNI), Union Valdôtaine (UV); Netherlands: Fryske Nasjonale Partij (FNP); United Kingdom: Plaid Cymru (PC), Scottish National Party (SNP).

¹⁰ We exclude the RP's 'protectionist' category from this comparison because there is no directly comparable demand in the FraTerr dataset. Fra-Terr's measure of 'self-rule' captures demands for the transfer of competencies in a broader range of policy areas than regional culture and language specified by Massetti and Schakel (2016: 63) as a defining feature of protectionist claims, whilst demands for 'recognition' (where these do not imply a transfer of competencies) are captured in the FraTerr dataset by the 'intervention' measure.

The mean share of independence demands are significantly higher in documents classified by the RP as separatist (36%) or ambiguous (25%) than in the other two groups (respectively, federalist is 0.4% and protectionist 0%), [F(3,117) = 7.53, p <0.001]. Also in this case, the result is confirmed by comparing median values as well (median score of independence demands are, respectively, 17.6 and 0.5 among Separatists and Ambiguous parties, and 0 among Protectionists and Federalists). This finding is in line with our first expectation. Furthermore, the mean share of independence demands of separatist and ambiguous parties are both high (and the difference between these two groups is not statistically significant). The mean share of federal demands is also significantly higher in documents categorized by the RP as federalist (11%) than the other three groups (2% separatist, 1% ambiguous, 7% protectionist) [F(3,117) = 6.81, p <0.01]. The results of these comparisons thus support our second expectation outlined above¹¹.

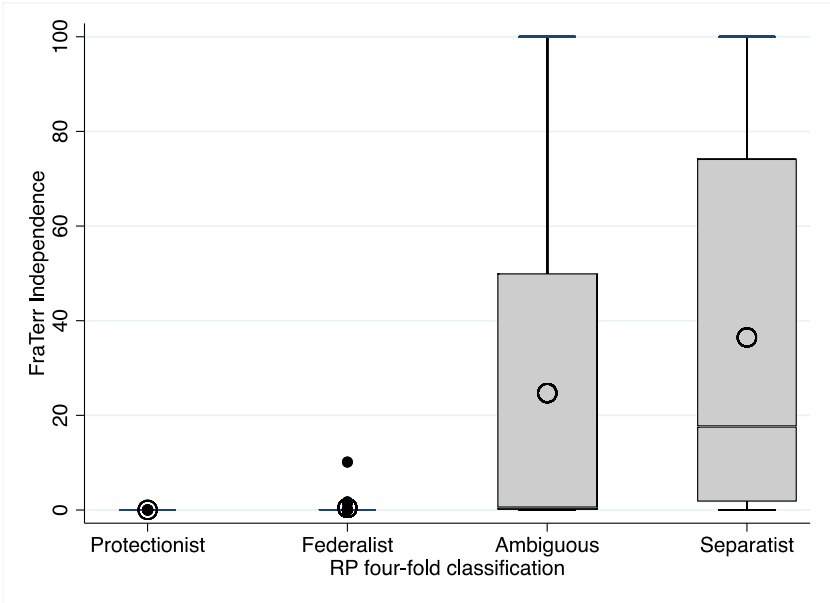


Figure 2. Box plot comparing *FraTerr*'s scores on independence demands between parties according to the four-fold classification in the RP dataset (hollow circles indicate the mean values).

¹¹ In this case, since most documents have value 0 on this variable among, the median is 0 across all categories. However, if we calculate the median of documents containing at least some reference to federal demands, then Federalist parties have median equal to 20, as well as Separatists, while the median values for the other categories asire 4.3 (Protectionists) and 6 (Ambiguous).

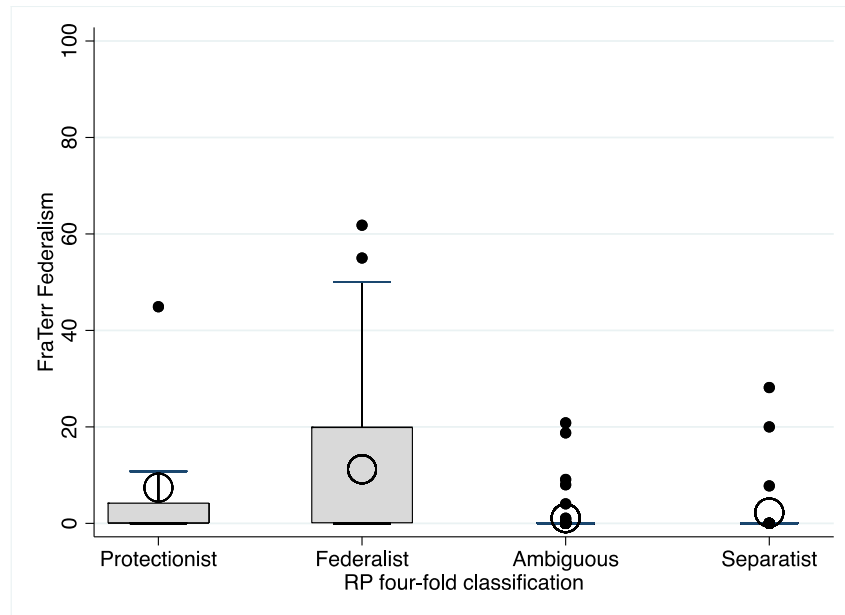


Figure 3. Box plot comparing *FraTerr*'s scores on Federal demands between parties according to the four-fold classification in the RP dataset (large dots show the mean values).

D2.3 The Ethnonationalism in Party Competition expert survey

The EPAC dataset (Szöcsik and Zuber, 2015; Zuber and Szöcsik, 2019)¹² draws on two rounds of expert surveys conducted in 2011 and 2016/2017. We consider for comparison the dataset's 'territorial model' variable that represents experts' assessment of regionalist parties' preferences for their preferred territorial model. Although experts could choose among a number of options ranging from 'unitary state' to 'annexation of the national minority region by another state', the parties included in the *FraTerr* database were all classified either as secessionist or as federalist by EPAC. We thus computed a variable in the *FraTerr* dataset based on the EPAC classifications, scoring 1 if the party was classified as secessionist and 0 if was classified as federalist¹³ or otherwise¹⁴. This provides 95 documents corresponding to 17 parties in 5 countries.¹⁵

¹² Data and information retrieved from: <https://christinazuber.com/data/epac/> (accessed 18 January 2021).

¹³ Assuming that data collection was carried out at least one year before the release (i.e. 2011 and 2017) and that experts take into account a longer period than the year in which they were surveyed, we computed this variable by matching it to the corresponding documents for the periods 2006-2011 and 2012-2017 respectively.

¹⁴ This is the case of RMDSZ/UDRM, which was classified as decentralist.

¹⁵ These are as follows: France: CL, PNC; Italy: LN, PSdAz, UV, UVP; Romania: EMNP, MPP, RMDSZ/UDRM; Spain: AGE, BNG, CDC, CiU, CUP, ERC; United Kingdom: PC, SNP.

The results of independent t-tests (with unequal variance) confirm that the mean share of independence demands (`per_indep`) is significantly higher in documents classified by EPAC as secessionist (40%) than in those classified as federalist (5%), $t(58.6419)=-6.1968$, $p<0.001$. Likewise, the mean share of federal demands (`per_fed`) in the group of documents corresponding to parties classified as federalist or otherwise by the EPAC is significantly higher (6%) than that of the group classified as secessionist (0.6%), $t(45.9104)=2.6382$, $p<0.05$.¹⁶ The results of this test thus suggest that FraTerr's measures of independence and federal demands correspond to the EPAC dataset's classification of secessionist or federalist parties, indicating that the FraTerr measures are valid¹⁷.

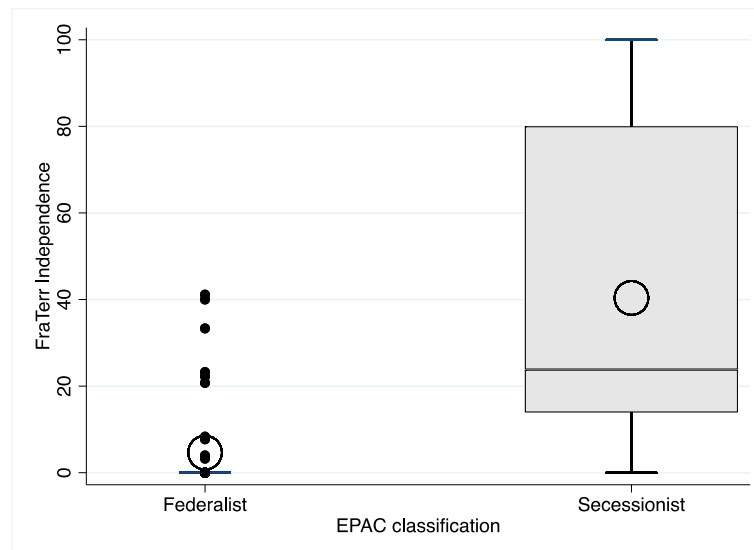


Figure 4. Box plot comparing FraTerr's scores on Independence demands between parties according to the EPAC classification (hollow circles indicate the mean values).

¹⁶ The mean share of federalist demands increases up to 7.2% if we exclude RMDSZ/UDRM, classified as decentralist.

¹⁷ As shown in the boxplot in Figure 4, also the comparison between median values confirms a significant difference on the independence scores between parties classified as Federalist (0) or Secessionist (23.8). On the other hand, given the high number of documents containing no reference to federal demands (70 out of 95), the median values for both groups on the FraTerr Federal demands are equal to zero. However, if we consider only those documents containing at least some reference to federalism, then the difference between medians is 1.8 (Federalist) and 0.4 (Secessionists).

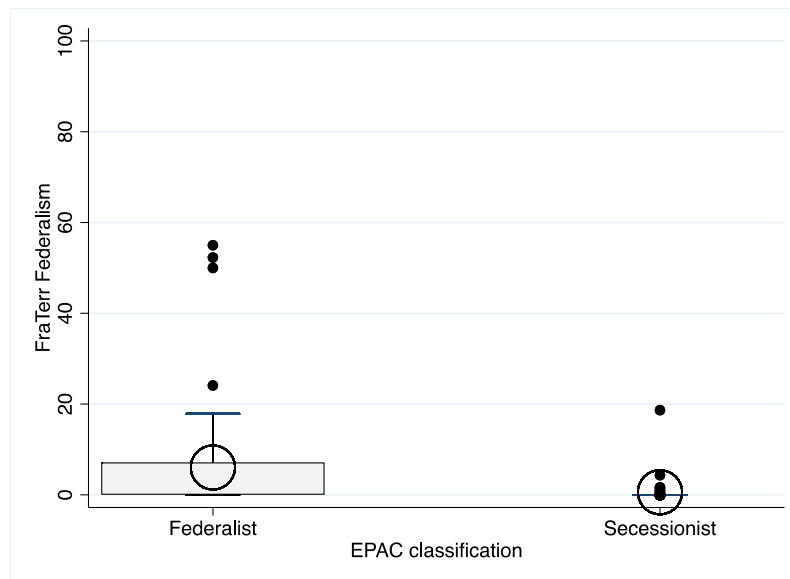


Figure 5. Box plot comparing FraTerr's scores on Federal demands between parties according to the EPAC classification (hollow circles indicate the mean values).

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