

Appendix

Figure A1: Positions of regional party manifestos on the left-right dimension and on the decentralisation policy dimension, by party

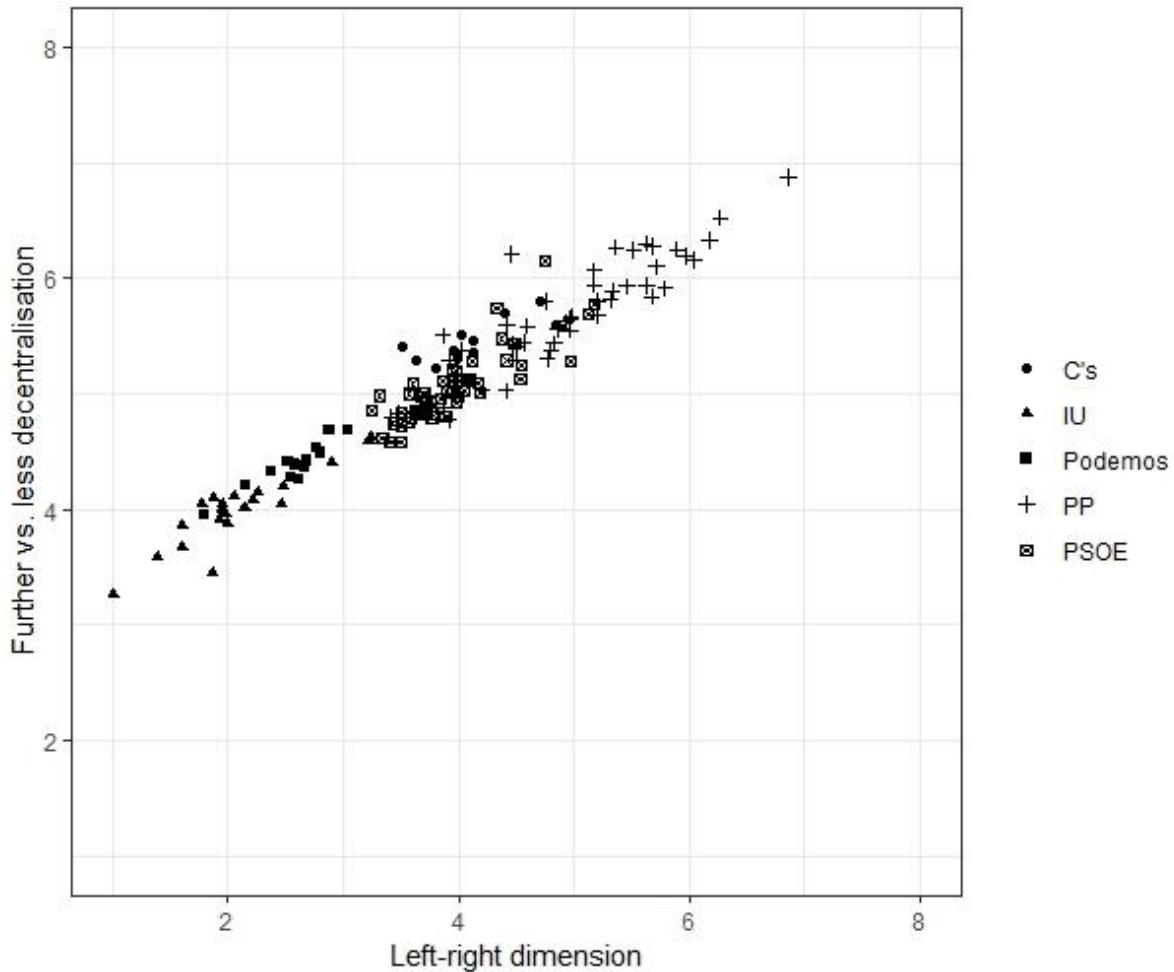


Figure A2: Distribution of the squared distance between regional and national parties on the left-right dimension, by type of party

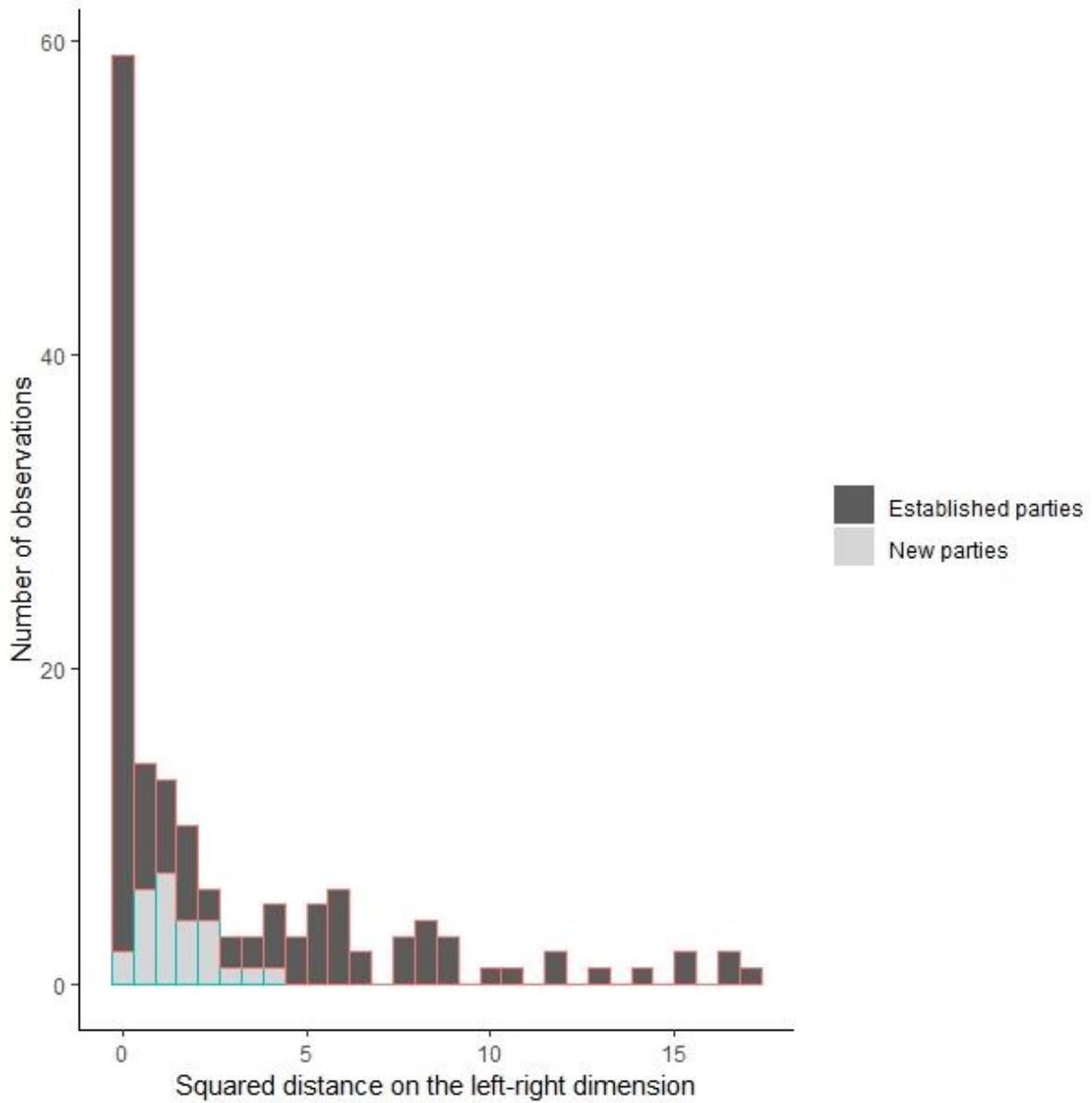


Figure A3: Distribution of the squared distance between regional and national parties on the decentralisation policy dimension, by type of party

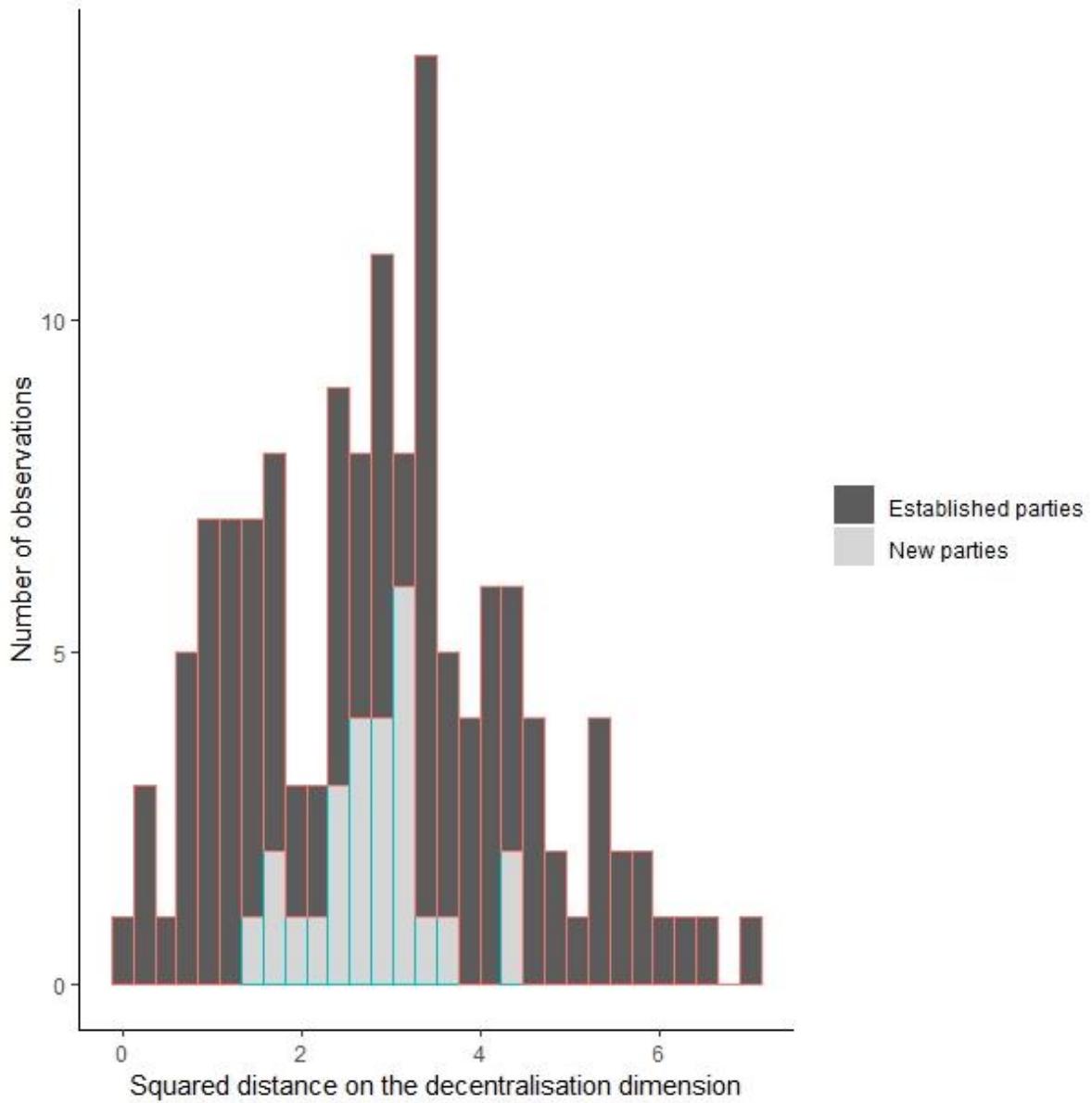


Table A1: Descriptive information on the primaries included in the analyses

| Party | Region | Number of candidates in the primaries | Share of votes for the winning candidate (%) | Winner of the primary | Date of the primary |
|------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------|
| PP | Baleaeric Islands | 2 | 69.2 | Jose Ramon Bauza | 06.03.2010 |
| PSOE | La Rioja | 2 | 84.94 | Francisco Martinez-Aldama | 25.09.2010 |
| PSOE | Canary Islands | 2 | 72.12 | Jose Miguel Perez | 03.10.2010 |
| PSOE | Madrid | 2 | 50.5 | Tomas Gomez | 03.10.2010 |
| PSOE | Murcia | 2 | 66.39 | Begoña García Retegui | 03.10.2010 |
| PSOE | Valencia | 2 | 69 | Ximo Puig | 09.03.2014 |
| PSOE | Murcia | 2 | 60 | Rafael Gonzalez Tovar | 23.03.2014 |
| PSOE | Baleaeric Islands | 2 | 54.58 | Francina Armengol | 06.04.2014 |
| IU | Andalusia | 2 | 88.39 | Antonio Maíllo | 05.07.2014 |
| PSOE | Castille - Leon | 2 | 54.85 | Luis Tudanca | 04.10.2014 |
| PSOE | Canary Islands | 3 | 37.22 | Patricia Hernández | 20.10.2014 |
| PSOE | Navarre | 2 | 58.5 | Maria Chivite | 20.10.2014 |
| IU | Asturias | 2 | 52.54 | Gaspar Llamazares | 24.01.2015 |
| IU | Aragon | 2 | 73 | Patricia Luquin | 01.02.2015 |
| Podemos | Andalusia | 2 | 80.8 | Teresa Rodríguez | 08.02.2015 |
| Podemos | Aragon | 2 | 72 | Pablo Echenique | 15.02.2015 |
| IU | Castilla-La Mancha | 3 | 45 | Alejandro Ávila | 15.02.2015 |
| IU | Castille - Leon | 2 | 58.6 | Jose Sarrion | 15.02.2015 |
| Ciudadanos | Canary Islands | 2 | 27 | Melisa Rodríguez Hernández | 17.03.2015 |
| Ciudadanos | Murcia | 2 | 65.1 | Miguel Sanchez Lopez | 17.03.2015 |
| Podemos | Asturias | 2 | 86 | Emilio León | 29.03.2015 |
| Podemos | Extremadura | 2 | 75 | Alvaro Jaen | 29.03.2015 |
| Podemos | Baleaeric Islands | 4 | 35 | Alberto Jarabo | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | Cantabria | 2 | 51.93 | José Ramón Blanco | 01.04.2015 |

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---|-------|----------------------------|------------|
| Podemos | Castille - Leon | 2 | 72.7 | Pablo Fernández | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | La Rioja | 2 | 66.3 | Raúl Ausejo | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | Madrid | 4 | 84.2 | Jose Manuel López | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | Murcia | 3 | 65.49 | Oscar Urralburu | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | Navarre | 3 | 75.9 | Laura Perez Ruano | 01.04.2015 |
| Podemos | Valencia | 2 | 68.9 | Antonio Montiel | 01.04.2015 |
| PSOE | Extremadura | 3 | 53 | Maria Victoria Dominguez | 05.04.2015 |
| Ciudadanos | Navarre | 3 | 67 | Diego Panos | 12.04.2015 |
| PSOE | Galicia | 2 | 55.67 | Xoaquín Fernández Leiceaga | 28.05.2016 |
| Podemos | Basque Country | 5 | 52 | Pilar Zabala | 01.08.2016 |

Table A2: Descriptive statistics

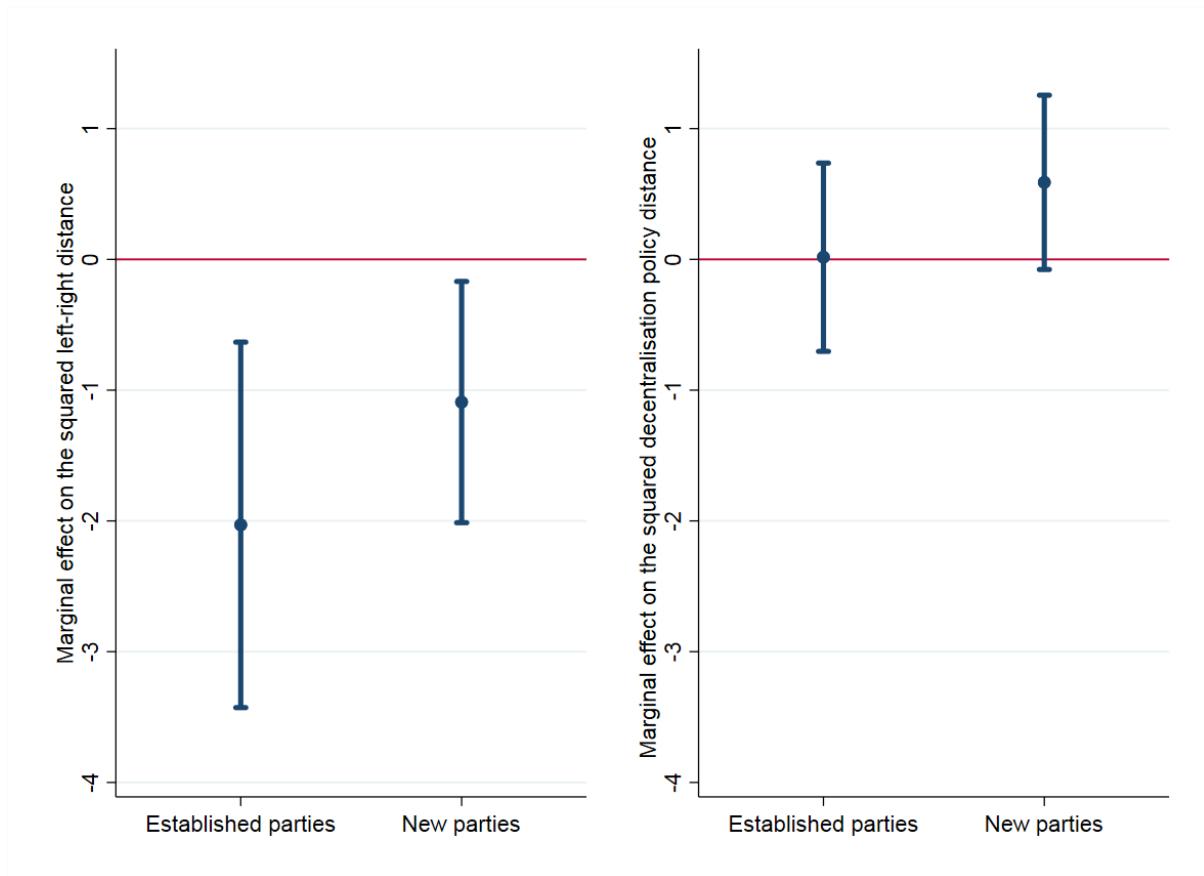
| | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
|--|-----|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| Squared distance left-right dimension | 150 | 2.810 | 4.000 | 0.00 | 17.062 |
| Squared distance decentralisation policy dimension | 135 | 2.9 | 1.491 | 0.026 | 7.035 |
| Primaries | 150 | 0.227 | 0.420 | 0 | 1 |
| Closed primaries | 150 | 0.133 | 0.341 | 0 | 1 |
| Open primaries | 150 | 0.093 | 0.292 | 0 | 1 |
| New parties | 150 | 0.173 | 0.380 | 0 | 1 |
| Party represented in national government | 150 | 0.340 | 0.475 | 0 | 1 |
| Difference in regional-national vote | 150 | -3.324 | 5.769 | -30.720 | 13.090 |
| Competences transferred to the region | 150 | 174.007 | 75.413 | 12 | 438 |
| Historical region | 150 | 0.16 | 0.368 | 0 | 1 |
| Difference regional-national GDP | 150 | -0.664 | 6.161 | -11.020 | 11.676 |
| Regional Authority Index | 150 | 23.527 | 0.655 | 21.5 | 25.5 |

Table A3: Determinants of the squared distance between the left-right positions (models 1 and 2) and decentralisation positions (models 3 and 4) of regional party branches and their national party, including time-trend as control

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Main explanatory variables</i> | | | | |
| Primaries | -1.729*** (0.486) | -2.030** (0.698) | 0.203 (0.275) | 0.0167 (0.358) |
| New parties | -0.376 (0.650) | -0.887 (0.778) | 1.071*** (0.296) | 0.754+ (0.391) |
| Primaries X new parties | | 0.939 (0.834) | | 0.572 (0.454) |
| <i>Control variables</i> | | | | |
| Time trend | -0.165* (0.0685) | -0.156* (0.0722) | -0.238*** (0.0340) | -0.230*** (0.0369) |
| Party represented in national government | -1.366 (0.831) | -1.391 (0.832) | 0.930** (0.301) | 0.912** (0.301) |
| Difference in regional-national vote | -0.0545 (0.0847) | -0.0532 (0.0851) | -0.0110 (0.0308) | -0.0103 (0.0309) |
| Competences transferred to the region | -0.00335 (0.00378) | -0.00332 (0.00380) | -0.000364 (0.00130) | -0.000335 (0.00134) |
| Historical region | 2.209* (1.097) | 2.158+ (1.105) | 0.474 (0.486) | 0.438 (0.501) |
| Difference in regional-national GDP | -0.0623 (0.0444) | -0.0602 (0.0449) | 0.00754 (0.0240) | 0.00887 (0.0250) |
| Constant | 10.93*** (2.494) | 8.961*** (2.507) | 10.17*** (1.152) | 10.16*** (1.205) |
| <i>N</i> | 150 | 150 | 135 | 135 |
| adj. <i>R</i> ² | 0.099 | 0.094 | 0.271 | 0.270 |
| AIC | 834.7 | 836.4 | 456.8 | 458.0 |
| BIC | 861.8 | 866.5 | 483.0 | 487.0 |

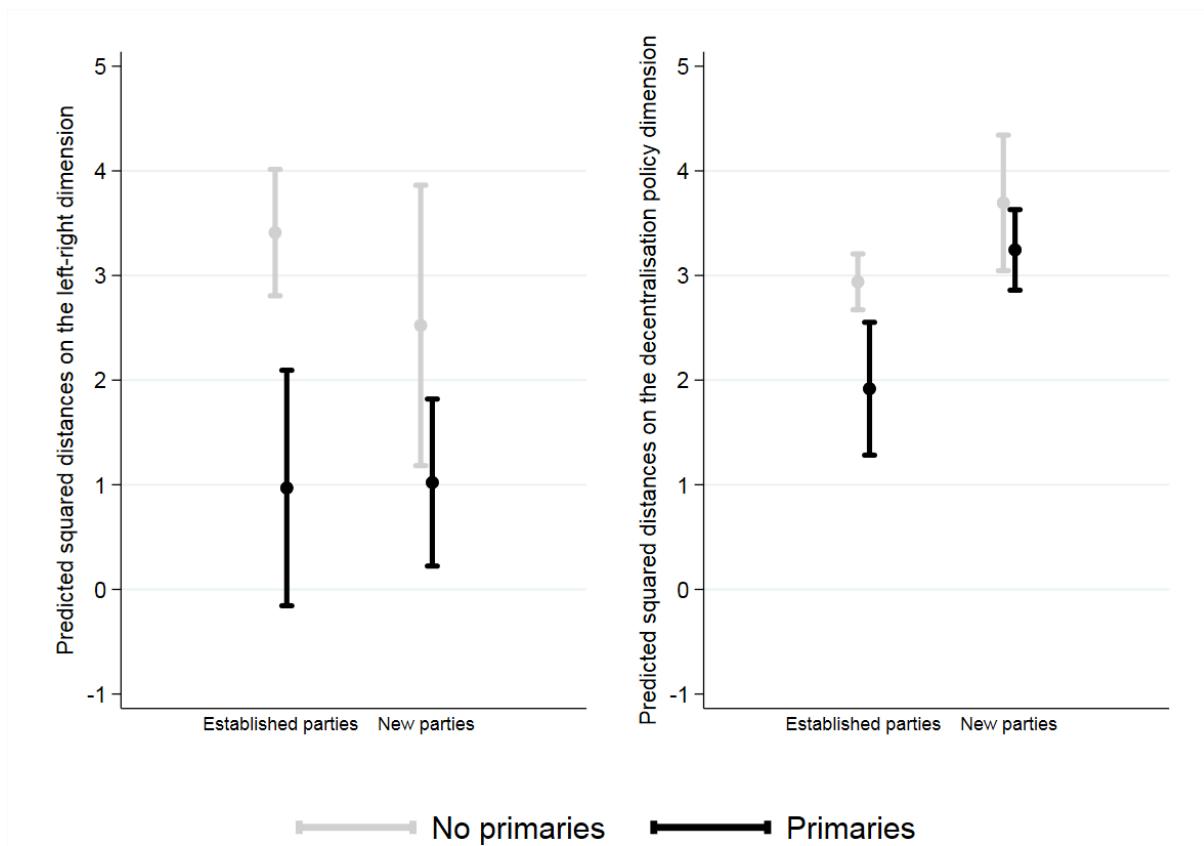
Comments: Estimates of an OLS regression model. Robust standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered by region and year of election. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Figure A4: Average marginal effects of primary on the squared distance between the regional party branches and their national parties on the left-right dimension (left panel) and the decentralisation policy dimension (right panel)



Note: Estimates are based on the second and fourth regression models presented in table A3. Adjusted predicted effects with 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A5: Predicted squared distance between the regional party branches and their national parties on the left-right dimension (left panel) and the decentralisation policy dimension (right panel)



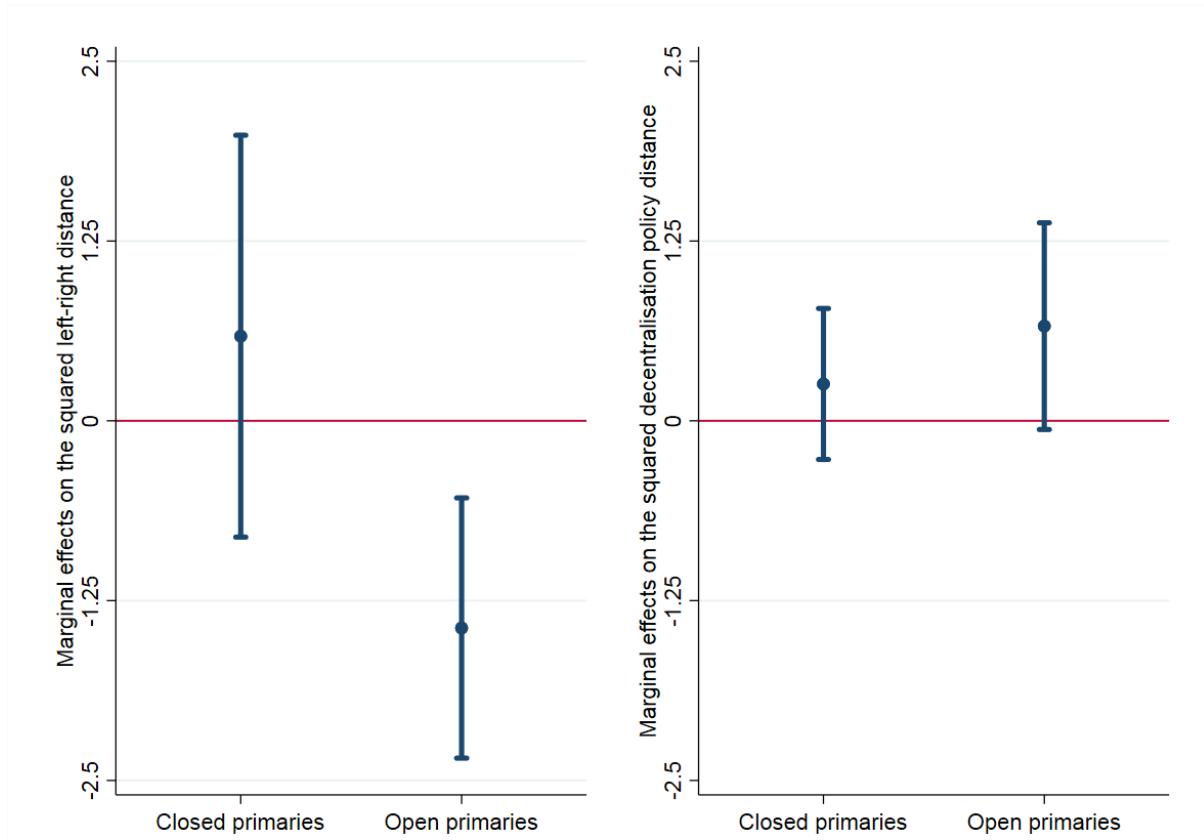
Note: Estimates are based on the second and fourth regression models presented in table A3. Adjusted predictions with 95% confidence intervals.

Table A4: Determinants of the squared distance between the left-right positions (models 1 and 2) and decentralisation positions (models 3 and 4) of regional party branches and their national party, differentiated by type of primary and by including a time-trend variable as a further control

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Main explanatory variables</i> | | | | |
| Open Primaries | -1.994*** (0.541) | -1.440** (0.452) | 0.608+ (0.337) | 0.659+ (0.357) |
| Closed Primaries | -1.632** (0.593) | -0.885 (0.784) | 0.0528 (0.312) | 0.753+ (0.392) |
| New parties | -0.213 (0.781) | -2.028** (0.698) | 0.816* (0.358) | 0.0160 (0.359) |
| Closed Primaries X new parties | | 2.616* (1.054) | | 0.240 (0.411) |
| <i>Control variables</i> | | | | |
| Time trend | -0.168* (0.0704) | -0.156* (0.0725) | -0.232*** (0.0362) | -0.230*** (0.0371) |
| Party represented in national government | -1.359 (0.838) | -1.392 (0.835) | 0.916** (0.300) | 0.913** (0.302) |
| Difference in regional-national vote | -0.0547 (0.0849) | -0.0518 (0.0854) | -0.0109 (0.0309) | -0.0106 (0.0311) |
| Competences transferred to the region | -0.00337 (0.00378) | -0.00336 (0.00381) | -0.000324 (0.00133) | -0.000323 (0.00134) |
| Historical region | 2.222* (1.098) | 2.141+ (1.105) | 0.448 (0.500) | 0.440 (0.505) |
| Difference in regional-national GDP | -0.0618 (0.0445) | -0.0536 (0.0454) | 0.00675 (0.0249) | 0.00753 (0.0252) |
| Constant | 9.278*** (2.487) | 8.980*** (2.513) | 10.19*** (1.193) | 10.15*** (1.212) |
| <i>N</i> | 150 | 150 | 135 | 135 |
| adj. <i>R</i> ² | 0.093 | 0.092 | 0.271 | 0.266 |
| AIC | 836.6 | 837.7 | 457.8 | 459.7 |
| BIC | 866.7 | 870.8 | 486.8 | 491.7 |

Comments: Estimates of an OLS regression model. Robust standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered by region and year of election. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Figure A6: Average marginal effects of closed and open primary on the squared distance between the regional party branches and their national parties on the left-right dimension (left panel) and the decentralisation policy dimension (right panel)



Note: Estimates are based on the second and fourth regression models presented in table A4. Adjusted predicted effects with 95% confidence intervals