

Appendix – Large-Scale Crises and Variation in Social Democratic Europeanism: The Italian Democratic Party

Table A1. Codebook for thematic analysis of Facebook posts.

| Coding category | Description |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Anti-EU posts | Posts expressing a desire for less European integration, posts against the EU, explicit attacks against the EU and related keywords, criticisms of the EU, posts on the idea of “the EU is not doing enough” on a specific subject, posts against European measures or deeming them insufficient, posts on “defending Italy in Europe”, posts on the idea of national sovereignty as opposed to European integration. |
| Pro-EU posts | Posts expressing a desire for more European integration and related reforms, posts in favour of European ideas and values, posts on the EU as a source of authority and positively evaluating its approval, Europe as a benchmark for reforms, critical posts towards eurosceptics, posts in favour of an expansion of the EU’s policy remit, posts in favour of the measures adopted by the EU. |
| Positionally unclear posts on the EU | Posts on the EU as merely as a topic and without any clear positional stance, neither supportive nor critical of it. |
| Other posts | Posts on different topics than the EU. |
| Missing | If no textual information is present in the CrowdTangle dataset. |

Table A2. Included Italian parties for the analyses related to Covid-19 and the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

| Large-scale crises | Parties |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Covid-19 pandemic | Articolo Uno, Azione, Cambiamo con Toti, CasaPound Italia, Fiamma Tricolore, Forza Italia, Fratelli d'Italia, Italia Viva, Lega - Salvini Premier, MoVimento 5 Stelle, Partito Comunista, Partito Democratico, Più Europa, Potere al Popolo, Sinistra Italiana |
| 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine | Articolo Uno, Azione, Coraggio Italia, Europa Verde, Fiamma Tricolore, Forza Italia, Fratelli d'Italia, Italia Viva, Italia al Centro, Lega, Movimento 5 Stelle, Noi con l'Italia, Partito Comunista, Partito Democratico, Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI), Più Europa, Potere al Popolo, Radicali, Sinistra Italiana |

Table A3. Mann-Whitney U tests (robustness checks for Table 2).

1)

Two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test

| firstwave | Obs | Rank sum | Expected |
|-----------|-----|----------|----------|
|-----------|-----|----------|----------|

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| | | | |
|---|----|------|------|
| 0 | 30 | 1139 | 1755 |
|---|----|------|------|

| | | | |
|---|----|------|------|
| 1 | 86 | 5647 | 5031 |
|---|----|------|------|

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| | | | |
|----------|-----|------|------|
| Combined | 116 | 6786 | 6786 |
|----------|-----|------|------|

Unadjusted variance 25155.00

Adjustment for ties -2019.42

Adjusted variance 23135.58

H0: $eu_pos \sim l(firstw \sim e == 0) = eu_pos \sim l(firstw \sim e == 1)$

$z = -4.050$

Prob > $|z| = 0.0001$

Exact prob = 0.0000

2)

Two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) test

| war | Obs | Rank sum | Expected |
|-----|-----|----------|----------|
| 0 | 28 | 1439.5 | 1540 |
| 1 | 81 | 4555.5 | 4455 |

| | | | |
|----------|-----|------|------|
| Combined | 109 | 5995 | 5995 |
|----------|-----|------|------|

Unadjusted variance 20790.00

Adjustment for ties -4672.60

Adjusted variance 16117.40

H0: eu_pos(war==0) = eu_pos(war==1)

z = -0.792

Prob > |z| = 0.4286

Exact prob = 0.4361