Appendix

Table A1. Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Observations/years
Regulatory density (count)[1]	22.55	17.60	3	61	29
Log(regulatory density)[2]	1.21	0.38	0.48	1.79	29
Winning coalitions	5.56	3.34	0	9.25	29
EU membership	17.24	3.34	10	27	29
Codecision-II	0.48	0.51	0	1	29
Left-right Commission_t	-1.26	3.01	-11.60	3.60	27
Left-right Council	1.95	3.76	-4.61	9.42	27
Left-right Parliament	0.56	3.25	-3.54	7.12	27
Left-right max. distance	50.50	49.16	-3.54	7.12	27
Legislative proposals	223.76	56.57	100	370	29
Thorn	0.03	0.19	0	1	29
Delors	0.35	0.38	0	1	29
Santer	0.17	0.38	0	1	29
Prodi	0.17	0.38	0	1	29
Barroso[3]	0.28	0.45	0	1	29

[1] Used in negative binomial regressions in Table 1
[2] Used in OLS regressions in Table A2.
[3] Omitted reference category in regressions.

Table A2. Explaining Regulatory Reform in the EU, 1984-2012: Estimates from OLS regressions

Model	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Codecision-II$_t$	-0.041	-0.118	-0.087	-0.269*	0.014	-0.390	-0.085	-0.402**
	(-0.17)	(-0.26)	(-0.35)	(-2.03)	(0.06)	(-0.74)	(-0.36)	(-2.41)
EU membership$_t$	0.032	0.056*	0.048**	0.058**	0.029	0.069***	0.049**	0.037
	(1.71)	(2.00)	(2.51)	(2.11)	(1.52)	(2.89)	(2.60)	(1.30)
Winning coalitions$_t$	0.054***	0.050***	0.054***	0.042**	0.033*	0.036*	0.034	0.020
	(4.24)	(2.97)	(3.64)	(2.71)	(1.84)	(1.89)	(1.68)	(0.90)
Left-right Commission$_t$		-0.004				-0.045		
		(-0.14)				(-0.65)		
Left-right Council$_t$		0.024				0.030		
		(0.98)				(1.11)		
Left-right Parliament$_t$		0.017				0.054		
		(0.28)				(0.86)		
Left-right max. distance$_t$			0.001				0.003	
			(0.56)				(1.29)	
Thorn$_t$				0.127				
				(0.26)				
Delors$_t$				0.226				-0.283
				(0.51)				(-0.52)
Santer$_t$				0.290				-0.074
				(0.88)				(-0.19)
Prodi$_t$				0.463**				0.298
				(2.77)				(1.64)
Leg. Proposals$_{t-1}$					0.002	0.002	0.002	0.003
					(1.08)	(0.99)	(0.84)	(1.29)
Constant	0.371	0.009	0.136	-0.101	0.076	-0.586	-0.239	0.104
	(1.68)	(0.02)	(0.48)	(-0.14)	(0.17)	(-0.91)	(-0.42)	(0.15)
Durbin's alternative test	0.48	0.95	0.90	0.64	0.66	0.83	0.98	0.72
Breusch-Godfrey test	0.44	0.94	0.88	0.57	0.61	0.79	0.98	0.66
Observations	29	27	27	29	28	26	26	28
R-squared	0.21	0.34	0.32	0.28	0.18	0.29	0.28	0.27

Note. The models are replications of the regressions in Table 1, using OLS regressions (in Stata 12). The dependent variable is the log (base 10) of the count of regulatory reform (yearly changes in regulatory density). Coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients. All variables are measured contemporaneously except legislative proposals and the LDV which are lagged one year. Durbin's alternative test (for small samples) and Breusch-Godfrey test report *p*-values for tests of first-order serial correlation in the residual, given the null-hypothesis of no serial correlation. Standard errors are robust with *z*-statistics in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

CODEBOOK

CODES FOR POLICY TARGETS

1. AIR TRANSPORT

Policy targets:

1.1 Air fares and charges

1.2 Increased market access for Community air carriers, cabotage and traffic rights

1.3 Harmonization of technical specifications

1.4 Licensing

1.5 Allocation of slots

1.6 Free access to the groundhandling market

1.7 Creation of a single European sky

1.8 Harmonization of air transport safety standards

2. ROAD TRANSPORT

Policy targets

2.1 Opening the market for the carriage of goods

2.2 Harmonization of technical requirements

2.3 Opening the market of carriage of passengers

2.4 Cabotage transport operations

2.5 Development of a trans-European transport network

2.6 Harmonization of charges

3. MARITIME TRANSPORT

Policy targets

3.1 Freedom to provide maritime transport services between member states

3.2 Development of a competitive European shipbuilding industry

3.3 Development of the trans-European network in the maritime sector

4. RAILWAY TRANSPORT

Policy targets

4.1 Non-discriminatory access to the railway network

4.2 Harmonization of safety standards

4.3 Harmonization of public service obligations

4.4 Licensing

4.5 Infrastructure charges

4.6 Trans-European Network: interoperability

4.7 European railway agency

5. ELECTRICITY

Policy targets

5.1 Transparency of gas and electricity prices

5.2 Creation of a trans-European transmission grid

5.3 Constitution of a common market for electricity

5.4 Harmonization of public service obligations

5.5 Opening the market for energy generation

5.6 Harmonization of national regulators powers and practices

5.7 Unbundling of distribution operator

5.8 Unbundling of transmission operator

6. GAS

Policy targets

6.1 Transparency of prices

6.2 Harmonization of rules for public procurement of gas supply

6.3 Transfer of gas between transmission grids

6.4 Exploration and production of hydrocarbons

6.5 Trans-European networks in the gas sector

6.6 Establishment of the internal market for gas

6.7 Non-discriminatory access to the gas transmission network

7. POSTAL SERVICES

Policy targets

7.1 Harmonization of public service obligations

7.2 Harmonization of technical standards

7.3 Setting up of national regulatory authorities

8. TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Policy targets:

8.1 Building a pan-European cellular digital land-based mobile communication

8.2 Opening the market of terminal equipment

8.3 Opening the market for telecommunications services other than voice telephony

8.4 Harmonization of rules on privacy

8.5 Unbundled access to the local loop

8.6 Open and non-discriminatory access to the transmission network

8.7 Harmonization of authorization procedures

8.8 Harmonization of national regulators powers and practices

8.9 Harmonization of public service obligations

8.10 Transparency of prices

CODES FOR POLICY INSTRUMENTS

Instrument	Description	Code
Obligatory non-technical standard	Legally enforceable non-technical standard, e.g. standards for professional qualifications, for public service obligations and for licenses	101
Mandatory action or procedure	Legally enforceable action or procedure that public authorities or private companies are bound to follow, e.g. authorization procedure or procedure for handling personal data.	102

Prohibition/ban	Partial or total *prohibition* of specific government or business behaviours, e.g. prohibition of direct or indirect discrimination in network access.	103
Penalty or liability scheme	Measure of civil *liability*, e.g. penalties for transmission operators that refuse full access to the network or allocate network resources in a discriminatory fashion.	104
Technical standard	Measure prescribing the use of a specific technologies, e.g. technologies for EU-wide market interoperability	105
Legally enforceable entitlement	Creation of a new, legally enforceable entitlement, e.g. the right to provide certain services in another member state of the EU	106
Tax/levy	Measure introducing/increasing taxes on certain goods or services, e.g. fees for cabotage authorisation	107
Subsidy	Measure introducing/increasing state subsidies to companies operating at any point of the supply chain	108
Planning instrument	Measure for the coordination of long-term policy objectives and infrastructures, e.g. planning of Trans-European Networks	109
Public investment	Measure for public investment in network infrastructure, e.g. financing of Trans-European Networks	110
Instrument for policy coordination and best practice diffusion	Measure for the dissemination/diffusion of policy-relevant information or best practices	111
Data/information collection for monitoring the enforcement of market rules	Measure aimed at collecting information/data for the purpose of monitoring the enforcement of regulatory measures	112
Delegation to statutory authority	Measure creating or delegating regulatory functions to a national regulatory authority, e.g. mandatory creation of a national telecoms regulatory authority	113

Measure for increasing regulatory authority's independence	Measuring increasing the independence of the regulatory authority, e.g. mandatory separation of regulatory functions from activities related to ownership or control	114
Regulated price or charge for service	Maximum or minimum price per service, e.g. maximum fares on roaming services	115
Policy evaluation	Measure *mandating* the evaluation of policy impact or effectiveness	116
Voluntary instrument	Voluntary agreements between member states or between state and private actors	117
Other	Other instrument	118