# Codebook European Referenda (Context factors included)

## Country Specific

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Identification number</td>
<td>1-515</td>
<td>DFG-Projekt: Ungleichheit und direkte Demokratie in Europa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Country the referendum is held in</td>
<td>Andorra, Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schweiz</td>
<td>Did the referendum take place in Switzerland?</td>
<td>1: took place in Switzerland 0: didn’t take place in Switzerland</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year the referendum takes place</td>
<td>yyyy</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Month the referendum takes place</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Day the referendum takes place</td>
<td>dd</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Topic or title of the referendum</td>
<td>Example: Dual citizenship (v27)</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>Short explanation of the content of the referendum</td>
<td>Example: “Referendum on enabling &quot;ethnic Hungarians“ living abroad to apply for and gain citizenship” (v27)</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch Legal texts, Press articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic Equality</td>
<td>- 1.1) Does the bill propose measures that will increase income for</td>
<td>Relates to Socioeconomic Equality, Political Equality and Legal Equality!</td>
<td>DFG-Projekt: Ungleichheit und direkte Demokratie in Europa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that make (higher) education more affordable for low SES groups?</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that make healthcare more affordable for low SES groups? Does it lower patient contributions in the health care sector?</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that make housing more affordable for low SES groups? (i.e. raising housing subsidies, expand public housing, etc.)</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that expand social welfare programs?</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that abolish/lower other kinds of fees that are not proportionally rising with income?</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures to invest in common goods mainly benefitting low SES groups? (e.g. public transportation)</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the bill propose measures that increase the retirement age (if yes code contra-equality)</td>
<td>1: Promotes equality&lt;br&gt;-1: Hinders equality&lt;br&gt;0: Not equality related&lt;br&gt;n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Equality</td>
<td>2.1) Does the bill propose measures that strengthen the political voice/powers of (political) minorities?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.2) Does the bill propose measures that lead to a more proportional composition of parliament? (i.e. get rid of/weaken majoritarian voting procedures, get rid of certain % thresholds for parliamentary elections)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3) Does the bill propose measures that increase the media presence of (political) minorities? Does it propose measures against media monopolies of certain political actors?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legal Equality</td>
<td>3.1) Does the bill propose measures that give more legal rights to disadvantaged groups? (i.e. allowing same sex-marriage, allowing adoption for same-sex couples, allowing permanent residents without citizenship to vote in elections, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2) Does the bill propose measures that facilitate the way to citizenship? (i.e. for immigrants that are long term residents of the country, for children of immigrants that were born/raised in the country, etc.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.3) Does the bill propose measures that</td>
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</table>
- 3.4) Does the bill propose measures that improve the legal status of foreign residents of a country? (i.e. allow them to buy property, allow them to work in certain professional fields, make them eligible to apply for social welfare programs/unemployment benefits, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of referendum</th>
<th>How did the referendum come about?</th>
<th>Top-down (by legislatures and officeholders)</th>
<th>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandatory (By Law/Constitution)</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
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<td>Bottom-up (by citizens and initiatives)</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Binding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: Binding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vote of the electorate where, if a proposal passes, the government or appropriate authority is compelled to implement it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0: Non-binding/consultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vote of the electorate the outcome of which is in legal terms only advisory for a government or appropriate authority.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governments recommendation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the government whether to accept or reject the referendum (only available for Switzerland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1: disapproval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No recommendation: no recommendation given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turnout (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of the electorate that took the vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0 - 100%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes-Votes (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of votes in favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0 - 100%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No-Votes (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of votes against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0 – 100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blank Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>empty ballot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of votes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bundeskanzlei Switzerland
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Invalid Votes</strong></th>
<th>Ballot was invalidated due to wrong completion of the ballot</th>
<th>Percentage of votes n.a.: no data available</th>
<th>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blank or Invalid Votes</strong></td>
<td>Either empty ballot or invalid ballot</td>
<td>Percentage of votes n.a.: no data available</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turnout Quorum</strong></td>
<td><strong>Turnout quorum</strong>&lt;br&gt;A specified minimum voter turnout required for a vote of the <em>electorate</em> to be valid <em>(dependent on the instrument or topic)</em></td>
<td>Example of turnout quorum: 50% of voters of last election x: no quorum</td>
<td>Definitions: IDEA&lt;br&gt;Actual quorums: Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approval Quorum</strong></td>
<td><strong>Approval quorum</strong>&lt;br&gt;A requirement for passage of a <em>proposal</em> which takes the form of a specified number of votes or a percentage of the <em>electorate</em> in support of the <em>proposal</em>. <em>(dependent on the instrument or topic)</em></td>
<td>Example of approval quorum: sovereignty:75%, constit.: 50%, legislation: 33% x: no quorum</td>
<td>Definitions: IDEA&lt;br&gt;Actual quorums: Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approved</strong></td>
<td>More yes votes than no votes, not hindered by quorum</td>
<td>1: approved&lt;br&gt;0: not approved</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adopted</strong></td>
<td>Was the proposal formally accepted?</td>
<td>1: adopted&lt;br&gt;0: not adopted</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implemented</strong></td>
<td>Was the proposal put into action?</td>
<td>1: Implemented&lt;br&gt;0: not implemented</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initiators (bottom-up)</strong></td>
<td>Who initiated bottom-up referenda?</td>
<td>Example:&lt;br&gt;World Federation of Hungarians,&lt;br&gt;an N.G.O. dedicated to the protection of the Hungarian diaspora (v27)&lt;br&gt;n.a: top-down or mandatory vote missing: no information on bottom-up initiators</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch&lt;br&gt;News articles (BBC, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vote on day of election</strong></td>
<td>Was the referendum held at the same day of a general election date?</td>
<td>1: same day as elections&lt;br&gt;0: no elections took place that day</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other proposal of that day</strong></td>
<td>Were other proposals voted upon that same day?</td>
<td>1: other proposals&lt;br&gt;0: no other proposals</td>
<td>Sudd.ch C2d.ch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Structural context factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contextual Socioeconomic Equality (GINI)</strong></td>
<td>Gini Score from 1990-2015</td>
<td>Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality</td>
<td><strong>GINI INDEX</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contextual Socioeconomic Equality (GINI Average)</strong></td>
<td>Average of the Gini Score from 1990-2015</td>
<td>Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality</td>
<td><strong>GINI INDEX</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contextual Political Equality (power by social group)</strong></td>
<td>Average of the V-Dem Score from 1990-2015</td>
<td>0: Political power is monopolized by one social group comprising a minority of the population. This monopoly is institutionalized, i.e., not subject to frequent change. 1: Political power is monopolized by several social groups comprising a minority of the population. This monopoly is institutionalized, i.e., not subject to frequent change. 2: Political power is monopolized by several social groups comprising a majority of the population. This monopoly is institutionalized, i.e., not subject to frequent change. n.a.: no data for that country</td>
<td><strong>V DEM Data Set Version 8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question:</strong> Power distributed by social group (C) (v2pepwrsoc) Is political power distributed according to social groups?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Measured by</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Contextual Legal Equality</td>
<td>Average of the V-Dem Score from 1990-2015</td>
<td>Interval, from low to high (0-1).</td>
<td>n.a.: no data for that country</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name in V-Dem: Equality before the law and individual liberty Index</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Question:</strong> Equality before the law and individual liberty index (D) (v2xcl_rol)</td>
<td>To what extent are laws transparent and rigorously enforced and public administration impartial, and to what extent do citizens enjoy access to justice, secure property rights, freedom from forced labour, freedom of movement, physical</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2: Wealthy people have a very strong hold on political power. People of average or poorer income have some degree of influence but only on issues that matter less for wealthy people.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3: Wealthy people have more political power than others. But people of average income have almost as much influence and poor people also have a significant degree of political power.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4: Wealthy people have no more political power than those whose economic status is average or poor. Political power is more or less equally distributed across economic groups.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.: no data for that country</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Majoritarian vs. Consensus Democracy</strong></td>
<td>Is the democracy characterized as majoritarian or consensual? (Two dimensions: Federal Unitary-Dimension, Executive party dimension)</td>
<td>1: Majoritarian, majoritarian</td>
<td>2: consensual, majoritarian</td>
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<td>3: majoritarian, consensual</td>
<td>4: consensual, consensual</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.: not available</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Electoral System</strong></th>
<th>Type of electoral system used in legislative elections</th>
<th>List PR: List Proportional Representation</th>
<th>PR-STV: Proportional Representation through Single Transferrable Vote</th>
<th>PR-MMP: Mixed Member Proportional Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Majority Plurality: Plurality Voting</td>
<td>n.a.: no data available for this country</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| **Age of democracy** | Age of Democracy up until the end of 2015 | 10-168 years |

**Our World in Data Graph Data:**

# Direct Democratic Context factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First use of DD</td>
<td>First time a direct democratic instrument was used (year)</td>
<td>1793-2005</td>
<td>IDEA DIRECT DEMOCRACY DATABASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2: after referendum by constitutional court</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>a: special committee:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1a_ Before referendum by a special committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowed to initiate optional referenda</td>
<td>Regarding optional referenda</td>
<td>1: president</td>
<td>IDEA DIRECT DEMOCRACY DATABASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2: government</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3: legislative majority</td>
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<td>4: legislative minority</td>
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<td>5: electorate</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>6: regional council/federal body</td>
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<tr>
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<td>n.a.: not available</td>
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## Public opinion context factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality as priority</td>
<td>Question (QD9): Three most important values? percentage of responses that included equality as one of the three most important values</td>
<td>10% - 29% n.a.: not available</td>
<td>Eurobarometer 82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EB82.3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trust in politicians</td>
<td>Indicator as part of the Global Competitiveness Index (2014/2015)</td>
<td>(1 = extremely low; 7 = extremely high) n.a.: not available</td>
<td>Global Competitiveness Index: Public Trust in Politicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indicator public trust in politicians:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In your country, how do you rate the ethical standards of politicians?</td>
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