

Codebook European Referenda (Context factors included)

Country Specific

Variable	Specification	Values	Source
ID	Identification number	1-515	<u>DFG-Projekt: Ungleichheit und direkte Demokratie in Europa</u>
Country	Country the referendum is held in	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	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Schweiz	Did the referendum take place in Switzerland?	1: took place in Switzerland 0: didn't take place in Switzerland	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Year	Year the referendum takes place	yyyy	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Month	Month the referendum takes place	mm	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Day	Day the referendum takes place	dd	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Topic	Topic or title of the referendum	Example: Dual citizenship (v27)	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u>
Short description	Short explanation of the content of the referendum	Example: "Referendum on enabling "ethnic Hungarians" living abroad to apply for and gain citizenship" (v27)	<u>Sudd.ch</u> <u>C2d.ch</u> Legal texts, Press articles
Socioeconomic Equality	- 1.1) Does the bill propose measures that will increase income for	Relates to Socioeconomic Equality, Political Equality and Legal Equality!	<u>DFG-Projekt: Ungleichheit und direkte</u>

<p>equality regarding socioeconomic status with regard to aspects such as income, education, health, or property</p>	<p>low SES groups? (i.e. raising the minimum wage, give tax cuts to low income people, raising pensions etc.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1.2) Does the bill propose measures that make (higher) education more affordable for low SES groups? - 1.3) Does the bill propose measures that make healthcare more affordable for low SES groups? Does it lower patient contributions in the health care sector? - 1.4) Does the bill propose measures that make housing more affordable for low SES groups? (i.e. raising housing subsidies, expand public housing, etc.) - 1.5) Does the bill propose measures that expand social welfare programs? - 1.6) Does the bill propose measures that abolish/lower other kinds of fees that are not proportionally rising with income? - 1.7) Does the bill propose measures to invest in common goods mainly benefitting low SES groups? (e.g. public transportation) - 1.8) Does the bill propose measures that increase the retirement age (if yes code <i>contra-equality</i>) 	<p>1: Promotes equality</p> <p>-1: Hinders equality</p> <p>0: Not equality related</p> <p>n.a.: excluded cases (constitution, direct democracy, not enough information available, international treaties)</p>	<p><u>Demokratie in Europa</u></p>
--	--	---	---

<p>Political Equality</p> <p>equality regarding the scope of political influence (especially of minority groups)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2.1) Does the bill propose measures that strengthen the political voice/powers of (political) minorities? - 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) - 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? 		
<p>Legal Equality</p> <p>equality regarding the legal status of the inhabitants of a country</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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.) - 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.) - 3.3) Does the bill propose measures that 		

	<p>give more rights to immigrants/asylum seekers? Does it increase protection against deportation?</p> <p>- 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.)</p>		
Type of referendum	How did the referendum come about?	<p>Top-down (by legislatures and officeholders)</p> <p>Mandatory (By Law/Constitution)</p> <p>Bottom-up (by citizens and initiatives)</p>	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>
Binding		<p>1: Binding A vote of the <i>electorate</i> where, if a <i>proposal</i> passes, the government or appropriate authority is compelled to implement it.</p> <p>0: Non-binding/consultative A vote of the <i>electorate</i> the outcome of which is in legal terms only advisory for a government or appropriate authority.</p>	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>
Governments recommendation	Statement of the government whether to accept or reject the referendum (only available for Switzerland)	<p>1: approval</p> <p>-1: disapproval</p> <p>No recommendation: no recommendation given</p>	<p><u>Bundeskanzlei</u></p> <p><u>Switzerland</u></p>
Turnout (%)	Percentage of the electorate that took the vote	(0 - 100%)	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>
Yes-Votes (%)	Percentage of votes in favour	(0 - 100%)	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>
No-Votes (%)	Percentage of votes against	(0 – 100%)	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>
Blank Votes	empty ballot	Percentage of votes	<p><u>Sudd.ch</u></p> <p><u>C2d.ch</u></p>

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

Structural context factors

Variable	Specification	Values	Sources
Contextual Socioeconomic Equality (GINI)	Gini Score from 1990-2015	Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality	<u>GINI INDEX</u>
Contextual Socioeconomic Equality (GINI Average)	Average of the Gini Score from 1990-2015	Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality	<u>GINI INDEX</u>
Contextual Political Equality (power by social group)	<p>Average of the V-Dem Score from 1990-2015</p> <p>Name in V-Dem: Political Equality</p> <p>Measured by</p> <p>1. Power distributed by social group</p> <p>Question: Power distributed by social group (C) (v2pepwsoc) Is political power distributed according to social groups?</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>n.a.: no data for that country</p>	<u>V DEM Data Set Version 8</u>
Contextual Political Equality (power by socioeconomic position)	<p>Average of the V-Dem Score from 1990-2015</p> <p>Name in V-Dem: Political Equality</p> <p>Measured by</p>	<p>0: Wealthy people enjoy a virtual monopoly on political power. Average and poorer people have almost no influence.</p> <p>1: Wealthy people enjoy a dominant hold on political power. People of average income have little say. Poorer people have essentially no influence.</p>	<u>V DEM Data Set Version 8</u>

	<p>2. Power distributed by socio economic position</p> <p>Question: Power distributed by socioeconomic position (C) (v2pepwrse) Is political power distributed according to socioeconomic position?</p> <p><i>Scale:</i> Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model. <i>Data release:</i> 1-9. <i>Cross-coder aggregation:</i> Bayesian item response theory measurement model (see V-Dem Methodology).</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>n.a.: no data for that country</p>	
<p>Contextual Legal Equality</p>	<p>Average of the V-Dem Score from 1990-2015</p> <p>Name in V-Dem: Equality before the law and individual liberty Index</p> <p>Question: Equality before the law and individual liberty index (D) (v2xcl_rol) 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</p>	<p>Interval, from low to high (0-1).</p> <p>n.a.: no data for that country</p>	<p><u>V DEM Data Set Version 8</u></p>

	integrity rights, and freedom of religion?		
Age of democracy	Age of Democracy up until the end of 2015	10-168 years	<u>Our World in Data Graph</u> Data: Boix, C., Miller, M., & Rosato, S. (2013), "A complete data set of political regimes, 1800–2007", <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , 46(12), 1523–1554; and Boix-Miller-Rosato (BMR) Dichotomous Coding of Democracy, Version 3.0 (March 2018)
Majoritarian vs. Consensus Democracy	Is the democracy characterized as majoritarian or consensual? (Two dimensions: Federal Unitary-Dimension, Executive party dimension)	1: Majoritarian, majoritarian	2: consensual, majoritarian
		3: majoritarian, consensual	4: consensual, consensual n.a.: not available
Electoral System	Type of electoral system used in legislative elections	List PR: List Proportional Representation PR-STV: Proportional Representation through Single Transferrable Vote PR-MMP: Mixed Member Proportional Representation Majority Plurality: Plurality Voting n.a.: no data available for this country	Lijphart, A. (2012). <i>Patterns of Democracy</i> . NEW HAVEN; LONDON: Yale University Press

Direct Democratic Context factors

Variable	Specification	Values	Sources
First use of DD	First time a direct democratic instrument was used (year)	1793-2005	<u>IDEA DIRECT DEMOCRACY DATABASE</u>
Legal introduction of DD	Formal legal first establishment of DD (year)	1789-2003	Vospornik, S. (2014). <i>Modelle der direkten Demokratie : Volksabstimmungen im Spannungsfeld von Mehrheits- und Konsensdemokratie ; ein Vergleich von 15 Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union</i> . Baden-Baden: Nomos. ISBN: 9783848719198
Judiciary Review	Formal judiciary inspection of constitutionality of the proposal	<p>1: before referendum by constitutional court</p> <p>2: after referendum by constitutional court</p> <p>a: special committee:</p> <p>1a_ Before referendum by a special committee</p>	Vospornik, S. (2014). <i>Modelle der direkten Demokratie: Volksabstimmungen im Spannungsfeld von Mehrheits- und Konsensdemokratie; ein Vergleich von 15 Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union</i> . Baden-Baden: Nomos. ISBN: 9783848719198
Allowed to initiate optional referenda	Regarding optional referenda	<p>1: president</p> <p>2: government</p> <p>3: legislative majority</p> <p>4: legislative minority</p> <p>5: electorate</p> <p>6: regional council/federal body</p> <p>n.a.: not available</p>	<u>IDEA DIRECT DEMOCRACY DATABASE</u>

Public opinion context factors

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