

Codebook for the comparative dataset on economic, social and political indicators Deliverable 1.1

**TransSOL: European paths to transnational solidarity at times of
crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses**

WP 1: Contextual Analysis

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Introduction

This codebook is part of a comparative database which has been put together within the framework of Work package 1 '*Contextual analysis: economic, political and legal indicators*' of the TransSOL project ('*European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses*'). The purpose of the database is to provide a systematic set of standardized contextual (legal, economic, social and political) indicators in order to identify and measure on a comparative basis those contextual factors that have an (beneficial or inhibiting) impact on European solidarity. Attention has been paid to European and national policies addressing the economic crisis and specific challenges within three issue fields (unemployment, migration and asylum, disabilities) related to specific vulnerable groups under study across all work-packages (the unemployed, immigrants and asylum seekers, disabled people). In this respect, the database comprises a set of both **macro-level indicators** measuring the socio-economic, institutional and political context of transnational solidarity and **micro- or individual-level indicators** addressing ordinary citizens' subjective attitudes and behaviours. Individual-level data have been weighted for comparison purposes. The database draws on data spanning the time period 2010-2015 and covers 8 countries: **Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Switzerland and United Kingdom**. Data for 2015, which are not yet available, will be integrated in the database in the course of the overall research project.

The present codebook has information on all the indicators, showing in particular for each indicator a brief description of the variable, time period covered, missing countries and sources. Mainly, it contains a pool of variables gathered from other original or secondary sources (e.g., Eurostat, OECD, ParlGov database, the Comparative Political Data Set at the University of Bern, the European Social Survey, Democracy Barometer, Eurobarometer, Eurofound). The present data set is suited for cross-national, multilevel and pooled regression analyses. In order to make it easier to use, the indicators in this codebook are divided into four categories: **Economic indicators** (that is, indicators pertaining to countries' economic growth, inflation, public debt, and so forth); **Social indicators** (that is, poverty levels, public expenditures on social protection, health, and so on), with a specific focus on unemployment, migration and asylum, disability; **Political/institutional indicators** (that is, indicators pertaining to type of governments, configuration of power, party polarization, level of unionization, and so forth), and **individual level indicators** (that is, indicators relating to social and political attitudes, social and political behaviours, and social life). Our classification of the variables into these four categories should be seen as a heuristic, as the more exact causal ordering of one's variables obviously depends on the research question.

1. ECONOMIC INDICATORS

1.1 Economy

✓ **gdp**

Real GDP growth rate-volume (percentage change on previous year)

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **gdpcap**

GDP per capita (US dollars), OECD.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland in 2014

Source: OECD.

✓ **inflrat**

Inflation rate (average rate of change, in percentage – annual), OECD.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **gini**

Gini index (at disposable income, post taxes and transfers).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **avwag**

Average annual wages (current prices in National Currency Unit (NCU)).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **hlbrcost**

Average hourly labour costs (total labour cost divided by the corresponding number of hours worked).

Period covered: 2012-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **foreignaid**

Inflows of foreign direct investments (foreign economic aid in millions - Dollars).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

1.2 Public finances

✓ govdeb

Government debt (percentage of total central government debt as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland in 2014; Switzerland in 2013 and 2014

Source: OECD.

✓ govdef

Government deficit/surplus (percentage of government deficit and surplus as part of GDP, annual).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland in 2014

Source: OECD.

✓ govrev

Government revenue (percentage of total general government revenue as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland in 2014

Source: OECD.

✓ govexp

Government expenditure (percentage of total general government expenditure as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland in 2014

Source: OECD.

✓ **taxrev**

Total tax revenue (tax revenue as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: Poland in 2012

Source: OECD.

✓ **tax**

Taxes (current taxes on income, wealth, as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **socon**

Net social contributions (percentage of social contributions as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **taxwedge**

Tax wedge, taxes on average worker (percentage of average tax wedge, single person at 100% of average earnings, no child).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

2. SOCIAL INDICATORS

2.1 Social conditions

✓ rispov

Risk of poverty and social exclusion (percentage of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ inpov

In-work at risk of poverty (the share of persons who are at work and have an equalised disposable income below the risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equalised disposable income, after social transfers).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ youpov

Young people (15-29 years) at risk of poverty or social exclusion (percentage of young people at risk of poverty or social exclusion).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **youdep**

Severe material deprivation of young people (percentage of young people experiencing severe deprivation).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inwop**

In-work at risk of poverty rate, young people (15-29 years).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None.

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **ecostr**

Economic strain (percentage of households making ends meet with great difficulty).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **deprh**

Housing deprivation rate (percentage of total population experiencing severe housing deprivation).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **povold**

Risk of poverty, old people-65 years or over (percentage of older people at risk of poverty after social transfers).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **povpen**

At-risk-of-poverty rate for pensioners (percentage of pensioners at risk of poverty).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: France, Germany, Switzerland and UK in 2014

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **ggap**

Gender pay gap (gender pay gap in unadjusted form in percentage).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: Greece 2011-2013

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **edatt**

Education attainment (adult education level as defined by the highest level of education completed by the 25-64 year-old population).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **infmort**

Infant mortality rate (per thousand of infant mortality).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **lifexpec**

Life expectancy (life expectancy in years).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **betlifeind**

Better Life Index as measure of perceived social network support.

Period covered: 2011-2014

Missing: Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Poland in 2011; Switzerland in 2011 and 2013; UK in 2012

Source: OECD.

2.1 Unemployment

✓ **empl**

Employment (employment rate – annual average).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **unempl**

Unemployment (unemployment rate – annual average).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **longun**

Long-term unemployment (long-term unemployment in % of unemployment – annual average).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **temp**

Temporary employment (temporary employees as percentage of the total number of employees).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inact**

Inactive population (percentage of inactive population in the total population).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **youemp**

Youth employment (employment rate for young people, 15-29 years).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **youunem**

Youth unemployment (unemployment rate for young people, 15-29 years).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **youlong**

Youth long-term unemployment rate (12 months or longer).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **yneet**

Youth not in education and not in employment (percentage of young people who are not in education, not in employment).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **femunem**

Unemployment, females (unemployment rate, females).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **malunem**

Unemployment, males (unemployment rate, males).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **femlong**

Long-term unemployment, females (long-term unemployment in % of unemployment – annual average).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **malong**

Long-term unemployment, males (long-term unemployment in % of unemployment – annual average).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **invfem**

Involuntary part-time employment, females (percentage of involuntary part-time employment, females).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: UK in 2010

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **invmal**

Involuntary part-time employment, males (percentage of involuntary part-time employment, males).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: UK in 2010

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **discwor**

Discouraged workers (number of discouraged workers - thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: Italy and Switzerland.

Source: OECD.

Notes: Data covers discouraged workers who are persons not in the labour force who believe that there is no work available due to various reasons and who desire to work.

✓ **jobvac**

Job vacancy rate (the percentage of vacant posts compared with the total number of occupied and unoccupied posts).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Denmark; Italy; France in 2014; Greece in 2013

Source: Eurostat.

2.3 Immigration/asylum

✓ **foreign**

Foreign population as a percentage of total population.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: France in 2013; Poland in 2010, 2012 and 2013

Source: OECD.

✓ **forborn**

Foreign-born population as a percentage of total population.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: France, Greece and Italy in 2013; Poland in 2012 and 2013

Source: OECD.

✓ **fornat**

Foreign-born nationals as a percentage of all foreign-born.

Period covered: 2011

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **mig_offsp**

Native-born children of foreign-born parents as a percentage of total population.

Period covered: 2013

Missing: Poland

Source: OECD.

✓ **inmig**

Inflows of foreign population, total (thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inf_famwork**

Permanent inflows by category of entry: accompanying family of workers (thousands).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: Greece and Poland

Source: OECD.

✓ **inf_hum**

Permanent inflows by category of entry: humanitarian (thousands).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: Greece and Poland

Source: OECD.

✓ **inf_fremv**

Permanent inflows by category of entry: free movements (thousands).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: Greece and Poland

Source: OECD.

✓ **inf_work**

Permanent inflows by category of entry: work (thousands).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: Greece and Poland

Source: OECD.

✓ **outmig**

Outflows of foreign population, total (thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: France and Poland; Greece 2011-2013

Source: OECD.

✓ **inas**

Inflows of asylum seekers, total (thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **asyapp**

Number of asylum applicants, annual aggregated data (thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **asyapp_fst**

Number of new asylum applicants, annual aggregated data (thousands).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Greece 2010

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **unmig**

Unemployment rates, foreign born (as a percentage of total labour force).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: OECD.

✓ **inmig_rfs**

Third country nationals refused entry at the external borders - annual data.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inmig_ill**

Third country nationals found to be illegally present - annual data.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inmig_ord**

Third country nationals ordered to leave - annual data.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Denmark in 2010; Switzerland in 2010 and 2011

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **inmig_rtn**

Third country nationals returned following an order to leave - annual data.

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurostat.

2.4 Disability

✓ **disab**

Percentage of population reporting disability (either a basic activity difficulty or a basic activity difficulty + longstanding health problem, age group 15-64).

Period covered: 2011-2012

Missing: Switzerland in 2012

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **disabm**

Percentage of male population reporting disability (either a basic activity difficulty or a basic activity difficulty + longstanding health problem, age group 15-64).

Period covered: 2011-2012

Missing: Switzerland in 2012

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **disabf**

Percentage of female population reporting disability (either a basic activity difficulty or a basic activity difficulty + longstanding health problem, age group 15-64).

Period covered: 2011-2012

Missing: Switzerland in 2012

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **ghlth_dis**

Self-perceived health by level of activity limitation: percentage of people feeling good and very good among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 and over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **lphlth_dis**

Percentage of people having a long-standing health problem among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 years or over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **unhlth_dis**

Self-reported unmet needs for medical examination by level of activity limitation: percentage of people saying 'too expensive or too far to travel or waiting list' among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 years or over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **eled_dis**

Access to education and training: percentage of early leavers from education and training (age group 18-24) among those with difficulty in basic activity.

Period covered: 2011

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **edatt_dis**

Tertiary educational attainment (age group 30-34) among people with difficulty in basic activity.

Period covered: 2011

Missing: Greece

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **yneet_dis**

Young people neither in employment nor in education among those with difficulty in basic activity (age group 15-29).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **unem_dis**

Access to labour market for disabled people: unemployment rate among those with difficulty in basic activity.

Period covered: 2011

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **actrt_dis**

Access to labour market for disabled people: activity rate among those with difficulty in basic activity (age group 16-54).

Period covered: 2011

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **rispov_dis**

Percentage of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 years or over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **dep_dis**

Percentage of people affected by severe material deprivation among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 years or over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **owh_dis**

Percentage of people owning a house among those with some and severe activity limitation.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **deprh_dis**

Severe housing deprivation rate among those with some and severe activity limitation (16 years or over).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Eurostat.

2.5 Policies and spending

✓ **soexp**

Social protection expenditure (public expenditure on social protection interventions as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: All in 2013 except Italy

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **pensexp**

Pension expenditure (public expenditure on pensions as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: All in 2013 except Italy

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **unempexp**

Unemployment expenditure (as percentage of GDP)

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: All in 2013 except Italy

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **incexp**

Public expenditure on incapacity benefits (percentage of public expenditure on incapacity benefits as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: All in 2013 except Italy

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **famexp**

Public expenditure on family benefits (percentage of public expenditure on family benefits as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: All in 2013 except Italy

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **labpol**

Labour market policy expenditure (public expenditure on labour market policy interventions as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: Switzerland; Greece and UK in 2011-2013.

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **eduexp**

Education expenditure (public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP).

Period covered: 2011-2012

Missing: Greece; Denmark and Italy in 2012

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **finstu**

Financial aid to students (financial aid to pupils and students as percentage of total public expenditure on education, for all levels of education combined).

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Greece

Source: Eurostat.

✓ **healexp**

Public expenditure on health (percentage of public expenditure on health as part of GDP).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Denmark, France, Greece, Poland and UK in 2014

Source: OECD.

3. POLITICAL/INSTITUTIONAL INDICATORS

3.1 Governments

✓ **gov_right**

Right-wing government composition: cabinet posts of right-wing parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 2010-2013.

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

✓ **gov_cent**

Centrist government composition: cabinet posts of centre parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 2010-2013.

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

✓ **gov_left**

Left-wing government composition: cabinet posts of social democratic and other left parties as a percentage of total cabinet posts. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.

Period covered: 2010-2013.

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

Notes:

1. Due to independents, the calculations of 'gov_right', 'gov_cent' and 'gov_left' do not always add up to 100 percent.
2. Greece 2011 and Italy 2011 do not add up to 100 percent mainly because of the caretaker governments which were in office.

✓ **gov_party**

Cabinet composition (Schmidt-Index): (1) hegemony of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left=0), (2) dominance of right-wing (and centre) parties (gov_left<33.3), (3) balance of power between left and right/centre (33.3<gov_left<66.6), (4) dominance of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left>66.6), (5) hegemony of social-democratic and other left parties (gov_left=100).

Period covered: 2010-2013.

Missing: Italy 2012 (full technocratic government).

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation primarily based on the political data published in the European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

Note: Where the sum of 'gov_left', 'gov_cent' and 'gov_right' is not equal to 100 percent due to independents, the boundaries for the three groups were recalculated for the codes (2), (3) and (4) by taking the sum of the given entries as 100 percent.

✓ **govtype**

Type of Government. Classification: (1) single party majority government; (2) minimal winning coalition; (3) surplus coalition; (4) single party minority government; (5) multi party minority government; (6) caretaker government; (7) technocratic government.

Period covered: 2010-2013.

Missing: None.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset; CPDS Calculation according to the definition of Woldendorp/Keman/Budge (2000: 17f.): (1) single party majority government = one party takes all governments seats and has a parliamentary majority [$>50\%$]; (2) minimal winning coalition = all participating parties are necessary to form a majority government [$>50\%$]; (3) surplus coalition = this comprises those coalition governments which exceed the minimal-winning criterion [$>50.0\%$]; (4) single party minority government = the party in government does not possess a majority in Parliament [$\leq 50\%$]; (5) multi party minority government = the parties in government do not possess a majority in Parliament [$\leq 50\%$]; (6) caretaker government (temporarily) = governments which should simply maintain the status quo; (7) technocratic government = led by technocratic prime minister, consists of a majority of technocratic ministers and is in possession of a mandate to change the status quo

Notes:

1. The indicator refers to the type of government that was in office for the longest period during the year.
2. Caretaker governments are governments which should simply maintain the status quo (Golder 2010: 4). Mostly the ministers of such governments, including the prime minister, belong to a specific party. However, in a few cases the governments consist of nonpartisan technocratic ministers. These governments are still coded as caretaker governments as long as their mandate does not exceed the remit "to mind the shop".
3. Based on McDonnell and Valbruzzi (2014: 11), a technocratic government is defined as a government which is led by technocratic prime minister, consists of a majority of technocratic ministers and is in possession of a mandate to change the status

quo. In a few cases, only the minority of ministers are technocrats. However, as long as the first and third criterion (technocratic prime minister and mandate to change the status quo) are fulfilled, these governments are still coded as technocratic. Following McDonnell and Valbruzzi (2014: 4) a prime minister is classified as being a technocrat if „at the time of his/her appointment to government, he/she: (1) has never held public office under the banner of a political party; (2) is not a formal member of any party; (3) is said to possess recognized non-party political expertise which is directly relevant to the role occupied in government” (McDonnell and Valbruzzi 2014: 4/5).

4. If a single party's seat share is exactly 50%, the government is coded as a single party minority government. If the two governmental parties possess combined 50% of the seat share, the government is coded as a multi-party minority government. If the government consists of three parties and the two biggest ones hold 50% of the seat shares, then the government is coded as a minimal winning coalition one.

5. Sister parties (e.g. CDU and CSU) count as one party for the classification of the type of government.

✓ **cabchan**

Government change. Number of changes in government per year [termination of government due to (a) elections, (b) resignation of the Prime Minister, (c) dissension within government (break up of coalition), (d) lack of parliamentary support, or (e) intervention by the head of state (f) broadening of the coalition (inclusion of new parties) (Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 1998: 127 and Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 2011: 3-4)]

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS calculations based on European Journal of Political Research (Political Data Yearbook, various issues).

✓ **govstab**

Stability of government.

A cabinet is seen as stable if its party composition does not change during a whole legislative period. Relatively short governments, i.e. interim governments (- 1/6 of the legislation), are excluded. A government gets 100% (for all years within a legislative period) if it does not change in the respective legislative period. If there is a change, govstab reflects the number of days that the government was stable as a share of the remaining possible period. *Measurement Notes:* (I) When there were more than two

governments within one single election period, and the last government ended due to normal general elections the last government does not receive 100 per cent, but the value of the longest government in the respective period, unless the third or later government, was the only government in the election period which lasted for more than 1/6 of legislation. Missing values from interim governments are completed with closest value of the respective election period (if two values have the same distance, the earlier value is taken). If there are two values in one year the mean is taken. Values are copied to the entire government period. Values above 100 are set to 100. (II) The Swiss government is a cooperative government, and the 'prime minister' (Bundespräsident), who has a mainly representative function, changes every year (but cabinet does not change). Switzerland is therefore always coded 100. (III) All values greater than 100 are set to 100. (IV) Elections between 1 January and 31 January refer to the given year. (V) In presidential systems, government change is measured by president change.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -2.6311; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

3.2 Political system

✓ effel

Effective number of parties on the votes level according to the formula [N2] by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties carries the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: $effel = 1 / (1 - rae_ele)$.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation.

✓ **effleg**

Effective number of parties on the seats level according to the formula [N2] proposed by Laakso and Taagepera (1979). The effective number of parties carries the same information as the Rae-Index and is calculated from this index as follows: $effleg = 1 / (1 - rae_leg)$.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - CPDS Calculation.

✓ **fed**

Federalism as defined by Gerring and Thacker (2004) (indicator was reversed). Categories (standardized): 0 = non-federal; 50 = semi-federal [where there are elective legislatures at the regional level but in which constitutional sovereignty is still reserved to the national government]; and 100 = federal [elective regional legislatures plus constitutional recognition of subnational authority].

Range of values (standardized): minimum= 0, Maximum=100

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **fiscent**

Fiscal centralization, measured as tax revenue of central government as a percentage of total taxation (including revenue of central, state and local government, social security funds and supranational organizations).

Period covered: 2010-2012.

Missing: Poland in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - CPDS calculations based on OECD (2014), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database).
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

✓ **fiscdec**

Fiscal decentralization, measured as the tax revenue of state and local government as percentage of total taxation (including the revenue of central, state and local governments, social security funds and supranational organizations).

Period covered: 2010-2012.

Missing: Poland in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - CPDS calculations based on OECD (2014), "Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables", OECD Tax Statistics (database).
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00262-en> (Downloaded: 2014-03-25).

✓ **legov**

Length of governmental (legislative or presidential) period (if no given rule in constitution the maximum length is taken). Range of values (standardized): minimum=0; maximum=100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **lpol_sys**

Executive legislative relations according to Lijphart (2012:108ff.). Coded: 0 = parliamentary system; 1 = semi-presidential dominated by parliament; 2 = hybrid system; 3 = semi-presidential dominated by president; 4 = presidential.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - Ismayr (2003, 2006 and 2010), Lijphart (2012), Countries constitutions retrieved from International Constitutional Law, <http://www.servat.unibe.ch/law/icl/index.html> and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

Notes:

1. In addition to a parliamentary prime minister, a semi-presidential system (=2 or 3) also has a popularly elected president (Lijphart 2012: 109).

2. Changes are entered in the year of the subsequent (parliamentary or presidential) elections.
3. France: During cohabitation France is defined as a semi-presidential system dominated by parliament (=3), otherwise as a semi-presidential system dominated by president (=2).
4. Switzerland: Switzerland is the only system classified as hybrid, since the collegial executive elected by the legislative does not depend on legislative confidence.

✓ **judrev**

Judicial review = existence of an independent body which decides whether laws conform to the constitution.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Democracy Barometer - Lijphart (1999), Ismayr (2003), constitutions and European Journal of Political Research, various issues.

✓ **dirdem**

Constitutional provisions for direct democracy. Sum of four direct democratic institutions (1 point for each institution). 1) Mandatory referendum; 2) veto-player referendum: referendum is triggered and question is asked by an existing veto-player; 3) popular veto: non veto-player (part of parliament, citizens...) triggers referendum, but question is asked by an existing veto player; 4) popular initiative: non veto-player asks question and triggers referendum.

Measurement Notes: 1) only binding referenda are considered; 2) referenda are considered when they exclude certain issues (e.g. budgetary questions) but not if they only include specific questions (e.g. referendum only possible for EU-Accession). Range of values (standardized): minimum=0; maximum=133.33333 (0; 33.3; 66.6; 100; 133.3)

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy Barometer - Hug/Tsebelis (2002); ACE, C2d; Constitutions; Electoral laws; Direct Democracy Navigator; Welp/Serdült 2009.

✓ **req_ref**

Required referendum (also called obligatory or mandatory referendum). According to Hug and Tsebelis (2002) = existence of a mechanism, where specific amendments of the constitution or a law automatically need to be submitted to the people's vote. The amendments will only come into force if the people accept the presented proposals.

Coded: 1 = yes; 0= no.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - Butler and Ranney (1994), Hug and Tsebelis (2002), LeDuc (2003), Research Centre on Direct Democracy, University of Zurich (www.c2d.ch, Download: 2007-02-16), constitutions.

✓ **pop_init**

Popular initiative as the third and last category of non-required referenda according to Hug and Tsebelis (2002). A given number of electors (non-existing veto-players) have the right to launch an initiative, which later must be submitted to the people. Coded: 1 = yes; 0= no.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset - Butler and Ranney (1994), Hug and Tsebelis (2002), LeDuc (2003), Research Centre on Direct Democracy, University of Zurich (www.c2d.ch, Download: 2007-02-16), constitutions.

Notes on referenda:

1. Only referenda with binding characteristics are taken into consideration. Consultative or advisory referenda, also called plebiscites, are characterized by generally non-binding results and are therefore excluded. Whether or not a referendum's result is legally binding is generally determined by a country's constitution or basic law.
2. Only referenda at national level are included.
3. Coding does not contain information about the frequency of referenda. For more details on referenda, please refer to the Research Centre on Direct Democracy: www.c2d.ch

3.3 Political space

✓ **posparl**

Issue congruence: Congruence between distribution of left-right positions among voters and distribution of left-right positions among members of parliament (measured by party positions).

Calculated as follows: (1) Each party was assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right), which were calculated on the basis of the mean and standard deviation of the distribution of left/right positions of all parties for a given election (e.g. left range: left of 1 standard deviation). The distribution of the three categories within parliaments was then calculated by taking into account the seat shares of the different parties. (2) Voters, i.e. survey respondents, were assigned to one of three categories (left/middle/right) according to their self-placement on a left-right scale. The three categories were determined by subdividing the left-right scale (either ranging from 1-10 or 0-10) on the grounds of mean and standard deviation. The distribution of voters across the three categories was then calculated and the values averaged across 5 years (e.g. 2010-2014 etc.) (3) For each of the categories, the differences between the seat shares in parliament and among voters were calculated. These issue differences for each category are then added and divided by 2. This gives a scale (theoretically) ranging from 0-100, where (0) complete congruence and (100) complete incongruence between voters and parliament. (4) The scale was reversed by subtracting values from 100. *Measurement Notes:* (1) Missing values for left-right placement of parties and/or voters' self-placement were replaced by values from nearest (preceding) year. Imputation is based on a linear regression with the Gallagher index (Pearson's r is 0.124). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = 78.862$ and $\beta = 0.589$.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing values for 2010-2012 replaced by values from 2007

Source: Democracy Barometer.

✓ **pola**

Party-system polarization. Dalton (2008) index for parliamentary elections, measured as the following:

Index = $\text{SQRT}\{\sum(\text{party vote share}_i * ([\text{party Left-Right score}_i - \text{party system average Left-Right score}] / 5)^2)\}$,

where i represents individual parties. This index is comparable to a measure of the standard deviation of a distribution and it has a value of 0 when all parties occupy the

same position on the left–right scale and 10 when all the parties are split between the two extremes of the scale.

Period covered: 2010-2012 (UK, Germany, Italy 2010; Denmark 2011; Poland 2011; Switzerland 2011; France 2012; Greece 2010 and 2012)

Missing: Germany and Greece, missing values for 2010 replaced by values from 2009; Italy, missing values for 2010 replaced by values from 2008

Source: Parliament and government composition database (ParlGov).

Note: Greece held two early general elections in 2012. We considered the polarization index of the latest one.

✓ **Irecon**

Distribution of the left-right economic dimension within the political space: mean of the mean values of parties on a 0–10 economic left-right scale, where 0 means Extreme Left and 10 means Extreme Right.

Parties have been classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.

Period covered: 2010; 2014

Missing: None

Source: own calculations based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES).

✓ **galtan**

Distribution of the libertarian-authoritarian dimension within the political space: mean of the mean values of parties on a 0–10 'libertarian-authoritarian' scale, where 0 means Extreme Left (Libertarian) and 10 means Extreme Right (Authoritarian).

Parties have been classified in terms of their stance on democratic freedoms and rights. “Libertarian” or “post-materialist” parties favour expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. “Traditional” or “authoritarian” parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.

Period covered: 2010; 2014

Missing: None

Source: own calculations based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES).

✓ **eupos**

Distribution of Anti/pro European integration dimension within the political space: mean of the mean values of parties on a 1–7 'anti-pro EU integration' scale, where 1 means 'Strongly Opposed' and 7 means 'Strongly in Favour'.

Period covered: 2010; 2014

Missing: None

Source: own calculations based on Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES).

3.4 Trade unions and civil society organizations

✓ **grossu**

Total reported union members, in thousands.

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Greece in 2010; Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, UK in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - Data taken from Visser (2013).

Note: For detailed information about data *Sources* and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).

✓ **netu**

Net union membership (gross minus independent workers, students, unemployed or retired members).

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Greece in 2010; Denmark, France, Poland, Switzerland, UK in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - Data taken from Visser (2013).

Notes:

1. For detailed information about data *Sources* and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).
2. Greece 2000 onwards: retired members estimated (including public sector minus 9% retired members).

✓ **ud**

Net union membership as a proportion of wage and salary earners in employment (union density).

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Greece in 2010; Denmark, France, Poland, Switzerland, UK in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - Data taken from Visser (2013).

Note: For detailed information about data *Sources* and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).

✓ **adjcov**

Bargaining (or union) coverage, adjusted, following Visser's definition (2013: 23f.): "[E]mployees covered by collective (wage) bargaining agreements as a proportion of all wage and salary earners in employment with the right to bargaining, expressed as percentage, adjusted for the possibility that some sectors or occupations are excluded from the right to bargain (removing such groups from the employment count before dividing the number of covered employees over the total number of dependent workers in employment)."

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Denmark, France and Greece; Germany, Italy, Poland and Switzerland in 2011.

Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - Data taken from Visser (2013).

Note: For detailed information about data *Sources* and breaks in series, see Visser (2013).

✓ **emprot_reg**

Employment protection strictness provided through legislation and as a result of enforcement processes (scale of 0-6; higher values indicate stricter employment protection). This indicator measures the strictness of regulation of individual dismissal of employees on regular/indefinite contracts.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. Annual time series data 1985-2013. <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/EPL-timeseries.xlsx> (Downloaded: 2014-01-06).

Note: Specific requirements for collective dismissals are not included.

✓ **emprot_temp**

Employment protection strictness provided through legislation and as a result of enforcement processes (scale of 0-6; higher values indicate stricter employment protection). This indicator measures the strictness of regulation on the use of fixed-term and temporary work agency contracts.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: OECD Indicators of Employment Protection. Annual time series data 1985-2013. <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/EPL-timeseries.xlsx> (Downloaded: 2014-01-06).

✓ **mempro**

Membership in professional organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in a professional organization.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **memhum**

Membership in humanitarian organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for a humanitarian organization.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries values from 2007 copied to the following years

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **memenv**

Membership in environmental/animal rights organizations. Share of survey respondents indicating that they are member in and/or active for an environmental/animal rights organization.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

3.5 Quality of democracy

✓ **freerel**

Freedom of religion. This variable indicates the extent to which the freedom of citizens to exercise and practice their religious beliefs is subject to actual government restrictions. Categories (standardized): -100 = Yes, there are severe restrictions on religious practices by the government; 0 = restrictions are moderate. 100 = there are no restrictions.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **freemov**

Freedom of movement. Mean of two indicators: Freedom of domestic movement, Freedom of foreign movement. Coding is based on US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. Categories (standardized): 0 = freedom of

movement is severely restricted; 25= intermediate category; 50 = freedom of movement is somewhat restricted; 75 = intermediate category; 100 = freedom of movement is unrestricted.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **balpress**

Ideological balance of the press system (regional and national newspapers).

Calculated as follows: (1) Each newspaper listed by the Banks' Political Handbooks of the World (BPHW) is assigned a value between 1 to 6 indicating its commitment or affiliation to a certain political ideology or party (on the basis of information from BPHW). These are Manifesto codes: 1 to 3 represent the left side of the political spectrum, 4 to 6 the right side. Newspapers listed as "independent" are considered neutral, i.e. internally diverse, and therefore receive the value for the exact centre of the political spectrum: 3.5. Also, newspapers listed in the BPHW without indication of a political orientation are considered as independent. (2) Each code is then multiplied by the respective newspaper's circulation so that smaller newspapers receive less weight (non-dailies' circulation was adjusted accordingly). If information on a paper's circulation is missing, it is replaced by either the paper's circulation of previous or preceding years or by the average circulation of the corresponding country and year. (3) Finally, the weighted codes are aggregated (average) per country and year. The values of this indicator reflect the absolute deviance of these aggregate scores from the neutral value 3.5, multiplied by -1. Range of values (standardized): minimum = -45.5682; maximum = 100.2868

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing from 2010-2012 replaced by values from 2009

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **neutnews**

Share of neutral / independent newspapers' circulation (weighted by frequency of publication) of a country's total newspaper circulation in percentage.

Neutral newspapers = papers with value 3.5 in previous variable. Range of values (standardized): minimum = -45.56; maximum = 113.54

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing from 2010-2012 replaced by values from 2009

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **newsp**

Number of (paid and free) daily newspaper titles per 1 million inhabitants.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -.3174; maximum = 101.7916.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **govdec**

Assessment of the effective implementation of government decisions. Measured on a scale ranging from 0 to 10. Range of values (standardized): minimum = -20.56; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **barinfo**

Restriction of freedom of information/barriers for access to official information. Categories (standardized): 0 = No Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation; 33.3 = High restrictions (high fees for information and long delays [more than 2 weeks]); 66.6 = Considerable restrictions (1 restriction only (fee, delay)); 100 = No restrictions (no fee, immediate information [less than 2 weeks]).

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **effinfo**

Effectiveness of Freedom of Information (FOI) laws. FOI is seen as effective if the following conditions are fulfilled: A) FOI does not only cover the executive and administration (0.5) but also further public authorities (1); B) Official documents are accessible (except for common exemptions such as matters of national security or documents that contain personal information, etc.) (1) but not considerable number of exemptions and/or delay for Cabinet documents (0.5); C) Compliance with FOI is supervised by an independent commission (1) or at least a court review (i.e. directly contact the court (1) but not first administrative review (0.5)). $Foi_eff = \text{sum of A+B+C}$; recoded such as 1.5 = 1; 2 = 2; 2.5 = 3; 3 = 4. A country without any FOI legislation receives the value 0.

Categories (standardized): 0 = No FOI law; 25 = Low effectiveness; 50 = Quite considerable effectiveness; 75 = Considerable effectiveness; 100 = High effectiveness.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **womrep**

Proportion of female representatives in the lower house of parliament in percentage of all seats.

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: None

Source: Comparative Political Dataset.

✓ **womgov**

Proportion of female representatives in the government (incl. ministerial positions). Range of values (standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 109.0909.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **poldismin**

Index of political discrimination of minority groups (average of all groups in a country) (reversed): 'macro coding of the role of public policy and social practice in maintaining or redressing political inequalities'. Categories: 0 = No discrimination; 1 = Neglect/Remedial policies; 2 = Neglect/No remedial policies; 3 = Social exclusion/Neutral policy 4 = Exclusion/Repressive policy. Range of values (standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **minpow**

Access to central power by ethnic minority groups. Categories: 1 = discriminated; 2 = powerless; 3 = regional or separatist autonomy; 4 = junior partner; 5 = senior partner. Range of values (standardized): minimum = -11.11; maximum = 100 (-11.1) discriminated; (22.2) powerless; (55.55) regional or separatist autonomy; (88.88) junior partner; (100) senior partner.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

3.6 Political participation

✓ **violdem**

Political violence: Any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force (reversed). *Measurement Notes:* The indicator was reversed by multiplying values by -1. Range of values (standardized): minimum = -200; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **regvot**

Registered voters (as a percentage of voting age population). Range of values (standardized): minimum = -125.3621; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **votres**

Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of reSources (education and income).

Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of voting respondents with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative turnout: sum of education gap + income gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1. *Measurement Notes:* (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missing are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years; b) Calculation of running means between 3 years.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -6.7342; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **votagend**

Representative voter turnout in legislative elections in terms of gender and age.

Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of gender and in terms of age (3 groups: 15-30; 31-65; 65+): gender gap = mean of share of women in survey – share of female voting respondents and share of men in survey – share of male voting respondents (differences in absolute values); age gap = mean of share of respondents 18-30/31-65/65+ years old – respective share of 18-30/31-65/65+ year old voting respondents (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of

unrepresentative turnout: sum of gender gap + age gap. (3) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1. *Measurement Notes:* (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missing are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years; b) Calculation of running means between 3 years.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -20.4684; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **repalt**

Representative participation in alternative forms of participation (signing petitions, attending lawful demonstrations) in terms of re*Sources* (education and income).

Calculated as follows: (1) Calculation of gaps in terms of education and in terms of income (3 groups each): education gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low education in survey – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low education (differences in absolute values); income gap = mean of share of respondents with high/middle/low income – share of participating respondents (signing petitions / attending demonstrations) with high/middle/low income (differences in absolute values). (2) Calculation of degree of unrepresentative participation: sum of education gap + income gap for both participation forms (signing petitions / attending demonstrations). (3) Overall mean of both indicators (signing petition / attending demonstrations) for unrepresentative participation. (4) The scale was reversed by multiplying its values by -1. *Measurement Notes:* (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) Missing are replaced by values from nearest years. (III) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5 years (e.g. 2001-2005 etc.) for each form of participation (signing petition / attending demonstrations); b) Calculation of running means for overall mean of both indicators between 3 years.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -46.3039; maximum = 103.3285.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **effdem**

Effective use of direct democratic instruments. Sum of national non-mandatory referenda per year.

Sum of national non-mandatory referenda per year. *Measurement Notes:* (I) The data is recoded by adding +1 to every observation. (II) The log of the number of non-mandatory referenda is taken to account for the fact that an additional referendum is less important in countries with many referenda than in countries with few referenda.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = 0; maximum = 112.6873

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

4. INDIVIDUAL INDICATORS

4.1 Attitudes about institutions and practices

✓ **satdem**

Satisfaction with democracy ('How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in country?'; percentage of respondents, 'Extremely dissatisfied' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Extremely satisfied').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **devbeh**

Deviant behaviour. Share of survey who answer – on a scale from (1) never justifiable to (10) always justifiable – 8, 9 or 10 regarding each of the following activities: (a) avoiding a fare on public transport; (b) cheating on taxes; (c) someone accepting a bribe and (d) claiming government benefits.

Measurement Notes: (I) Data was weighted by socio-demographic characteristics. (II) the indicator was reversed by subtracting values from 100. (III) Missing were replaced by values from nearest. (IV) Two-step recoding procedure: a) Values averaged across 5

years (e.g. 2001-2005 etc.); b) Calculation of running means between 5 years (e.g. 2002-2006 etc.). Imputation: values are imputed on the basis of a linear regression with the indicator Antigovact (Pearsons r is 0.14). The regression coefficients used are $\alpha = 85.29$, $\beta = 0.77$.

Range of values (standardized): minimum = -56.6277; maximum = 109.2544.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: None

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **percpr**

Perception of corruption. Values range from 0 to 10 (the higher the values, the less corruption). Range of values (standardized): minimum = -24.1084; maximum = 100.

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: All countries, missing values for 2012 replaced by values from 2011.

Source: Democracy barometer.

✓ **truprl**

Trust in country's parliament (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **trueuprl**

Trust in European parliament (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **truleg**

Trust in the legal system (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **truplc**

Trust in the police (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **truplt**

Trust in politicians (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **truprt**

Trust in political parties (percentage of respondents, 'No trust at all' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Complete trust').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

4.2 Political and civic participation

✓ **polint**

Political Interest (percentage of respondents who answered 'Hardly interested and 'Not at all interested').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **contplt**

Contacted politician or government official last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **workpol**

Worked in a political party or action group last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **workorg**

Worked in another organization or association last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **badge**

Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **signpet**

Signed petition last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **demon**

Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **boycot**

Boycotted certain products last 12 months (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

4.3 Socio-political opinions and attitudes

✓ **incdiff**

Government should reduce differences in income levels (percentage of respondents who answered 'Agree strongly' and 'Agree').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **freehms**

Gay and lesbians free to live life as they wish (percentage of respondents who answered 'Disagree strongly' and 'Disagree').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **immeco**

Immigration bad or good for country's economy (percentage of respondents, 'Bad for the economy' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Good for the economy').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **immcoun**

Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (percentage of respondents, 'Worse place to live' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Better place to live').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **imsmetr**

Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority (percentage of respondents who answered 'Allow many' and 'allow some').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **impctr**

Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe (percentage of respondents who answered 'Allow none' and 'allow a few').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **imueclt**

Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants (percentage of respondents, 'Cultural life undermined' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'cultural life enriched').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **dvpaidim**

Perceived importance of development aid (percentage of respondents who answered 'Very important' and 'fairly important').

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **dvpaidin**

General perceptions on the future of development aid (percentage of respondents who think that aid to developing countries should be increased).

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **dvpaidpc**

Personal commitment to supporting development aid (percentage of respondents who would be willing to pay more for products from developing countries).

Period covered: 2011-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eqso**

People's views on social equality and solidarity (percentage of respondents who think that society should focus on social equality and solidarity in order to face major global challenges).

Period covered: 2012 and 2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **wgi**

The World Giving Index on charitable giving (an average of three measures of giving behaviour - the percentage of people who in a typical month donate money to charity, volunteer their time, and help a stranger)

Period covered: 2010-2013

Missing: Switzerland in 2011 and 2013

Source: Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) – Gallup surveys as part of its World Poll initiative.

4.4 Attitudes towards the European Union

✓ **eufft**

European Union: European unification go further or gone too far (percentage of respondents, 'Unification already gone too far' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Unification go further').

Period covered: 2012; 2014

Missing: Greece; Italy and UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **euim**

The image of European Union (percentage of respondents who answered 'Very negative image' and 'fairly negative').

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eure**

My voice counts in the European Union (percentage of respondents who answered 'Totally agree' and 'tend to agree').

Period covered: 2010-2012, 2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **euro**

Support for the Euro (percentage of respondents who answered 'Against').

Period covered: 2011-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eufprl**

Support for a common foreign policy (percentage of respondents who answered 'Against').

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **euctz**

Feeling like a citizen of European Union (percentage of respondents who answered 'No, definitely not' and 'No, not really').

Period covered: 2010, 2011 and 2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eurght**

Knowledge of rights: do you know what your rights are as a citizen of the EU?
Percentage of respondents who answered 'No, definitely not' and 'No, not really'.

Period covered: 2010, 2011 and 2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eufut**

The future of European Union: optimistic or pessimistic (percentage of respondents who answered 'Very pessimistic' and 'Fairly pessimistic').

Period covered: 2010-2014

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eumemb**

Country's membership of the EU: good or bad thing (percentage of respondents who answered 'Bad thing').

Period covered: 2010-2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **euben**

Country's benefit from being a member of EU: benefited or not benefited (percentage of respondents who answered 'Not benefited').

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **eufinsol**

Financial solidarity: In times of crisis, it is desirable that your country gives financial help to another EU Member State facing severe economic and financial difficulties.

Percentage of respondents who answered 'Totally agree' and 'tend to agree'. eufinsol

Period covered: 2010-2011

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

✓ **euensol**

Energy solidarity: It is desirable that your country provides assistance to another EU Member State facing significant energy supply problems in the name of European solidarity between Member States. Percentage of respondents who answered 'Totally agree' and 'tend to agree'.

Period covered: 2010

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurobarometer.

4.5 Individual well-being

✓ **satlife**

How satisfied with life as a whole (percentage of respondents, 'Extremely dissatisfied' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Extremely satisfied').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **sateco**

How satisfied with present state of economy in country (percentage of respondents, 'Extremely dissatisfied' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Extremely satisfied').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **hlthhmp**

Hampered in daily activities by illness/disability/infirmity/mental problem (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes a lot' and 'yes to some extent').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

4.6 Social capital, social exclusion and religiosity

✓ **gentru**

General Trust (percentage of respondents, 'You can't be too careful' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Most people can be trusted').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **pplfair**

Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair (percentage of respondents, 'Most people try to take advantage of me' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Most people try to be fair').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **pplhlp**

Most of the time people are helpful or mostly looking out for themselves (percentage of respondents, 'People mostly look out for themselves' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'People mostly try to be helpful').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **meet**

How often socially meet with friends, relatives or colleagues (percentage of respondents who answered 'Never' and 'Less than once a month').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **burgl**

Respondent or household member victim of burglary/assault last 5 years (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **blgetmg**

Belong to minority ethnic group in country (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **dscrgrp**

Member of a group discriminated against in this country (percentage of respondents who answered 'Yes').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **dscretn**

Perceived discrimination on ethnic grounds (percentage of respondents who answered 'Very widespread' and 'Fairly widespread').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **dscrdsb**

Perceived discrimination on the grounds of disability (percentage of respondents who answered 'Very widespread' and 'Fairly widespread').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **rlgdgr**

How religious are you (percentage of respondents, 'Very religious' 6 to 10 on a scale from 0 'Not at all religious').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **rlgatnd**

How often attend religious services apart from special occasions (percentage of respondents who answered 'Every day', 'More than once a week' and 'Once a week').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

4.7 Public services' evaluation

✓ **edu**

State of education in country nowadays (percentage of respondents, 'Extremely bad' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Extremely good').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **health**

State of health services in country nowadays (percentage of respondents, 'Extremely bad' 0 to 4 on a scale until 10 'Extremely good').

Period covered: 2010; 2012; 2014

Missing: Italy in 2010 and 2014; Greece in 2012 and 2014; UK in 2014

Source: European Social Survey – ESS.

✓ **qualheal**

Quality of health services (mean value on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means ‘very poor quality’ and 10 means ‘very high quality’).

Period covered: 2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurofound, European Quality of Life Survey.

✓ **qualedu**

Quality of education system (mean value on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means ‘very poor quality’ and 10 means ‘very high quality’).

Period covered: 2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurofound, European Quality of Life Survey.

✓ **qualtrans**

Quality of public transport (mean value on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means ‘very poor quality’ and 10 means ‘very high quality’).

Period covered: 2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurofound, European Quality of Life Survey.

✓ **qualchild**

Quality of child care services (mean value on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means ‘very poor quality’ and 10 means ‘very high quality’).

Period covered: 2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurofound, European Quality of Life Survey.

✓ **qualpens**

Quality of state pension system (mean value on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means 'very poor quality' and 10 means 'very high quality').

Period covered: 2012

Missing: Switzerland

Source: Eurofound, European Quality of Life Survey.

Annex

General variables

year

year

country

country name

countryn

country number: 9 Denmark, 12 France, 13 Germany, 14 Greece, 18 Italy, 27 Poland, 34 Switzerland, 35 United Kingdom.

isocode

ISO 3166-1 numeric code (numeric-3).

ISO code by country: 208 Denmark, 250 France, 276 Germany, 300 Greece, 380 Italy, 616 Poland, 756 Switzerland, 826 United Kingdom.

Source: International Organization for Standardization (ISO), Switzerland: Geneva.

Table 1: Required Referenda (Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - period 1990-2004)

Country and Year of Constitution	Constitutional Provisions
Denmark 1953	<p>Art. 88, for constitutional amendments, When the Parliament passes a Bill for the purposes of a new constitutional provision, and the Government wishes to proceed with the matter, writs shall be issued for the election of Members of a new Parliament. If the Bill is passed unamended by the Parliament assembling after the election, the Bill shall within six months after its final passing be submitted to the Electors for approval or rejection by direct voting (...).</p> <p>Art. 28, changes in the voting age, (...) Such age qualification for suffrage may be altered at any time by Statute. A Bill passed by the Parliament for the purpose of such enactment shall receive the Royal Assent only when the provision on the alteration in the age qualification for suffrage has been put to a Referendum in accordance with Section 42 (5), which was not resulted in the rejection of the provision.</p>
Switzerland 1999 (also included in former constitution)	<p>Art. 140 Mandatory Referendum</p> <p>(1) The following shall be submitted to the vote of the People and the Cantons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Revisions of the Federal Constitution; b. The entry into organizations for collective security or into supranational communities; c. Federal Statutes declared urgent which have no constitutional basis and whose validity exceeds one year; such Federal Statutes must be submitted to the vote within one year after their adoption by the Federal Parliament. <p>(2) The following shall be submitted to the vote of the People:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Popular initiatives for total revision of the Federal Constitution; [abis. the draft statute together with the counterproposal of the Federal Parliament regarding a general popular initiative;]* b. Popular initiatives for partial revision of the Federal Constitution in the form of a general suggestion which were rejected by the Federal Parliament; [b. general popular initiatives rejected by the Federal Parliament;]* c. The question whether a total revision of the Constitution should be carried out if both Chambers disagree.

Table 2: Non Required Referenda (Source: Comparative Political Dataset III - period 1990-2004)

Country and year of Constitution	Article	trigger		Agenda setting		Comments (according to Hug/Tsebelis 2002)
		veto	Non veto	veto	Non veto	
Denmark 1953	Art. 42 (1)Where a Bill has been passed by the Parliament, one-third of the Members of the Parliament may within three week-days from the final passing of the Bill request of the President that the Bill be subjected to a Referendum. Such request shall be made in writing and signed by the Members making the request. Further: Art. 20 (like Art. 42)		One third of MPs	Parliament		Popular veto
France 1958	Art. 89 (1) The initiative for amending the Constitution shall belong both to the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Prime Minister and to the members of Parliament. (2) A Government or private member's bill for amendment must be passed by the two Assemblies in identical terms. The amendment shall become definitive after approval by referendum.	President		President and the two Chambers		Veto player referendum

	<p>(3) Nevertheless, the proposed amendment shall not be submitted to a referendum when the President of the Republic decides to submit it to Parliament convened in Congress; in this case, the proposed amendment shall be approved only if it is accepted by a three-fifths majority of the votes cast. The Bureau of the Congress shall be that of the National Assembly.</p> <p>Art. 11 (1) The President of the Republic may, on the proposal of the Government during sessions, or on a joint motion of the two Assemblies published in the Official Journal, submit to a referendum any bill dealing with the organization of the governmental authorities, entailing approval of a Community agreement or providing for authority to ratify a treaty which, though not unconstitutional, would affect the functioning of [existing] institutions. (2) When the referendum decides in favor of the bill, the President of the Republic shall promulgate it within the time limit stipulated in the preceding article.</p>	President, on proposal of the Government		Parliament		Veto player referendum
Germany 1949	There do not exist direct democratic institutions with binding character on the national level of Germany.					None

<p>Greece 1975</p>	<p>Art. 44 The President of the Republic shall by decree proclaim a referendum on crucial national matters following a resolution voted by an absolute majority of the total number of Members of Parliament, taken upon proposal of the Cabinet. A referendum on Bills passed by Parliament regulating important social matters, with the exception of the fiscal ones shall be proclaimed by decree by the President of the Republic, if this is decided by three-fifths of the total number of its members, following a proposal of two-fifths of the total number of its members, and as the Standing Orders and the law for the application of the present paragraph provide. No more than two proposals to hold a referendum on a Bill can be introduced in the same parliamentary term. Should a Bill be voted, the time-limit stated in article 42 paragraph 1 begins the day the referendum is held.</p> <p>[Constitutional referendum, ad hoc law. The government of national union created it after the fall of the Dictatorship. Used on December 8th, 1974.]</p>	<p>President on proposal of the Cabinet and an absolute majority of MPs; President on proposal submitted by 2/5 of MPs and adopted by 3/5 majority</p> <p>President</p>		<p>President on proposal of the Cabinet and an absolute majority of MPs; President on proposal submitted by 2/5 of MPs and adopted by 3/5 majority</p>		<p>Veto player referendum</p> <p>Veto player referendum</p>
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<p>Italy 1948</p>	<p>Art. 75, laws (1)When requested by 500,000 voters or by five regional councils, a popular referendum decides on total or partial repeal of a law or other acts with legal force. (4) The referendum succeeds if a majority of those eligible have participated and if the proposal has received a majority of the valid votes.</p> <p>Art. 138, constitutional amendments 1) Law amending the constitution and other constitutional acts are adopted by each of the two chambers twice within no less than three months and need the approval of a majority of the members of each chamber in the second voting. (2) Such laws are afterwards submitted to popular referendum when, within three months of their publication, a request is made by one fifth of the members of either chamber, by 500,000 electors, or by five regional councils. The law submitted to referendum is not promulgated if it does not receive the majority of valid votes.</p>		<p>500,000 voters or 5 regional councils</p> <p>500,000 voters or 5 regional councils. Request is made by 1/5 of the members of either Chamber or by 500,000 electors.</p>	<p>Both Chambers of Parliament (70)</p> <p>Majorities in both Chambers (138.1)</p>		<p>Popular veto</p> <p>Popular veto</p>
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	<p>referendum. Such subjects shall make application in the matter to the Marshal of the House of Representatives (<i>Sejm</i>), who shall order the holding of a referendum within 60 days of the day of receipt of the application. The amendment to the Constitution shall be deemed accepted if the majority of those voting express support for such amendment.</p>		At least 1/5 of the statutory number of Deputies;	House of Representatives; the Senate		Popular veto
Switzerland 1999 (also included in the former constitution)	<p>Art. 141 On the demand by 50 000 citizens entitled to vote or 8 cantons, within 100 days of the official publication, the following instruments are submitted to the vote of the People:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Federal Statutes; b. Federal Statutes declared urgent with a validity exceeding one year; c. Federal decrees to the extent the Constitution or the statute foresee this; d. International treaties which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. are of unlimited duration and may not be terminated; 2. provide for the entry into an international organization; 3. include important legislative provisions or require the adoption of federal law. 		50,000 citizens or 8 cantons	Majorities in both Houses		Popular veto

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