CODEBOOK

The database was created for the following paper:

> Bremer, Björn, Swen Hutter, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Forthcoming. Dynamic of Protest and Electoral Politics in the Great Recession. *European Journal of Political Research.*

It consists of four separate files:

1. data_pm_replication.dta
2. data_party_replication.dta
3. data_placebo_pm_replication.dta
4. data_placebo_party_replication.dta

data_pm_replication.dta includes data on *economic protest* and the performance of the incumbent (i.e. the party of the prime ministers) in elections in 30 European countries prior and during the Great Recession.[1] It includes two elections before the outbreak of the economic crisis in September 2008 and all the elections that have occurred in these countries afterwards.

data_party_replication.dta includes data on *economic protest* and all individual parties that competed in the same elections that are included in the data_pm_replication.dta file.

The other two files contain the same information, except that the protest variables include information on *non-economic protest*, which are used for a placebo test.

The database on the electoral performance of parties was originally created by Enrique Hernández and Hanspeter Kriesi for their paper on economic voting during the Great Recession (Hernández and Kriesi 2016). It was updated in 2016 to include all elections until the end of 2015.

Database for incumbents:

1. **country_num** = Country in which the election took place.

2. **country_iso =** ISO code for the country in which the election took place.

3. **election_number** = Number of election in the country relative to the beginning of the Great Recession (September 2008).

   - 1 = penultimate election before the onset of the Great Recession
   0 = last election before the onset of the Great Recession
   1 = first election after the onset of the Great Recession

[1] The 30 European countries that are included in the database are the following: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and UK.

2 = second election after the onset of the Great Recession
3 = third election after the onset of the Great Recession
4 = …
5 = …

4. **pm_t_vote** = Vote for the incumbent in percent at the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election .

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

5. **pm_t1_vote** = Vote for the incumbent in percent at the election at time *t+1*, i.e. the election considered.

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

6. **pm_vote_change** = Difference in percent of votes for the prime minister's party between election at time *t* and *t+1*.

7. **day_t1** = Day of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

8. **month_t1** = Month of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

9. **year_t1** = Year of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

10. **day_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

11. **month_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

12. **year_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

13. **duration** = Duration of the legislative period in months

14. **imf** = Dummy Variable for IMF intervention that measures whether an IMF programme was in place for a given country. The variable takes the value 1 if a given country is or was under an Stand-By Arrangement (SBA) or an Extended Fund Facility (EFF) with the IMF between the election at time t and the election at time t+1; otherwise the variable takes the value 0.

Source: IMF Mona Database

15. **bailout** = Dummy variable that measures whether a country was bailed out by the IMF or the European Union. It takes the value 1 if a county was bailed out during a given legislative period and 0 otherwise.

16. **crisis_election** = Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the election at time *t+1* took place during the Great Recession and 0 otherwise.

17. **east** = Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the country is in Eastern Europe and 0 otherwise.

18. **coalition_government** = Variable that takes the value 1 if the government of the given country was formed by a coalition between the election at time *t+1* and *t*.

Source: Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

19. **unemployment_change** = Change in the quarterly unemployment rate (in percent) between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

    Source: Eurostat (lfsq_urgan: unemployment rate in percent for 15 to 74 year-old)

20. **debt_change** = Change in Government debt between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

Source: Eurostat (gov_10dd_edpt1: General government gross debt in percent of GDP)[2]

21. **gdp_change** = Change in annual GDP (in percent) between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

Source: Eurostat (nama_10_gdp: Gross Domestic Product at market prices (in current prices, euro)[3]

22. **swing** = Parties gains or losses in the previous elections, i.e. percent of votes at time *t* minus the percent of votes at time *t-1* (see Powell and Whitten 1993).

23. **switzerland** = Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the country is Switzerland and 0 otherwise.[4]

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

24. **wevent** = Number of protest events in the legislative period *before* the election, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).[5]

25. **wpart_all** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *before* the election, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

26. **lpopw_part_all** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *before* the election weighted by a country's population size, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

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[2] For Switzerland the data comes from Swiss Statistics. The the latest available data is from 2014, which is used to calculate the changes prior to the 2015 election.
[3] Note: For Switzerland the data comes from Swiss Statistics. The the latest available data is from 2014, which is used to calculate the changes prior to the 2015 election.
[4] Note: Switzerland poses a problem for the analysis of economic voting for the incumbent. In the dataset, we consider the vote for the incumbent to be the combined share of the FDP and CVP for each of the elections considered. However, this solution is imperfect and, hence, we include this dummy variable in our analysis.
[5] Note: For more information on this dataset see the appendix of the paper and Kriesi et al. (forthcoming).

27. **react_wevent** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *after* the election, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

28. **react_lpopw_part_all** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *after* the election weighted by a country's population size, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

Database for parties:

1. **country_num** = Country in which the election took place.

2. **country_iso** = ISO code for the country in which the election took place.

3. **election_number** = Number of election in the country relative to the beginning of the Great Recession (September 2008).

   - 1 = penultimate election before the onset of the Great Recession
   0 = last election before the onset of the Great Recession
   1 = first election after the onset of the Great Recession
   2 = second election after the onset of the Great Recession
   3 = third election after the onset of the Great Recession
   4 = …
   5 = …

4. **t_vote** = Vote for party (in percent) at the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

5. **t1_vote** = Vote for the party (in percent) at the election at time *t+1*, i.e. the election considered.

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

6. **vote_change** = Difference in percent of votes for the prime minister's party between election at time *t* and election at time *t+1*.

Sources: NSD European Elections Database and Wolfram Nordsieck's elections database

7. **government** = Variable that takes the value 1 for those parties that were part of the cabinet between election at time *t* and *t+1*.

8. **prime_minister** = Variable that takes the value 1 for the prime minister's party between elections at time t and t+1 (except for Switzerland).

9. **day_t1** = Day of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

10. **month_t1** = Month of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

11. **year_t1** = Year of the election at time *t + 1*, i.e. the election considered.

12. **day_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

13. **month_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

14. **year_t** = Year of the election at time *t*, i.e. the previous election.

15. **duration** = Duration of the legislative period in months

16. **imf** = Dummy variable that measures whether an IMF programme was in place for a given country. The variable takes the value 1 if a given country is or was under an Stand-By Arrangement (SBA) or an Extended Fund Facility (EFF) with the IMF between the election at time t and the election at time t+1; otherwise the variable takes the value 0.

Source: IMF Mona Database

17. **bailout** = Dummy variable that measures whether a country was bailed out by the IMF or the European Union. It takes the value 1 if a county was bailed out during a given legislative period and 0 otherwise.

18. **crisis_election** = Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the election at time *t+1* took place during the Great Recession and 0 otherwise.

19. **party_name** = Name of the party.

20. **parfam =** Classification of party according to party family into the following groups based on the ParlGov data (Döring and Manow 2019):

    - Social democratic
    - Conservative / Christian democratic
    - Liberals
    - Greens
    - Radical left
    - Radical populist right
    - Others

21. **party_mainstream =** Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if a party is a mainstream party and 0 otherwise. The party families that are counted as mainstream are:

    - Social democratic
    - Conservative / Christian democratic
    - Liberals

22. **party_left =** Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if a party is a left-wing party and 0 otherwise. The party families that are counted as mainstream are:

    - Social democratic
    - Greens
    - Radical left

23. **unemployment_change** = Change in the quarterly unemployment rate (in percent) between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

    Source: Eurostat (lfsq_urgan: unemployment rate in percent for 15 to 74 year-old)

24. **debt_change** = Change in Government debt between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

Source: Eurostat (gov_10dd_edpt1: General government gross debt in percent of GDP).

25. **gdp_change** = Change in annual GDP (in percent) between election at time *t+1* and election at time *t*.

Source: Eurostat (nama_10_gdp: Gross Domestic Product at market prices (in current prices, euro)

26. **east** = Dummy variable that takes the value 1 if the country is in Eastern Europe and 0 otherwise.

27. **wevent** = Number of protest events in the legislative period *before* the election, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).[6]

28. **wpart_all** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *before* the election, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

29. **lpopw_part_all** = Number of protest participants in the legislative period *before* the election weighted by a country's population size, as measured by our protest event analysis (PEA).

[6] Note: For more information on this dataset see the appendix of the paper and Kriesi et al. (forthcoming).

References:

Bremer, Björn, Swen Hutter, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Forthcoming. Dynamic of Protest and Electoral Politics in the Great Recession. *European Journal of Political Research.*

Döring, Holger and Philip Manow. 2019. *Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies*. Development version.

Hernández, Enrique and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. "The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 55(2): 203–24. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12122

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Jasmine Lorenzini, Bruno Wüest, and Silja Häusermann, eds. Forthcoming. *Contention in Times of Crisses Crises: Comparing Political Protests in 30 European Countries, 2000-2015.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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