

Supplemental Material

Table of contents

Institutional variables	3
Supplemental Material	5
Data Collection per Country	5
Albania	5
Andorra	6
Armenia	6
Austria	7
Azerbaijan	7
Bulgaria	8
Croatia	9
Denmark	10
Estonia	10
Finland	11
Georgia	12
Greece	14
Hungary	14
Italy	17
Latvia	18
Liechtenstein	19
Lithuania	20
Luxembourg	21
Malta	22
Moldova	22
Montenegro	23
Netherlands	23
North Macedonia	24
Poland	24
Portugal	26

Romania	27
San Marino	28
Serbia	28
Slovakia	29
Slovenia	30
Spain	30
Switzerland	31
Ukraine	32
Case selection	34
Signature success rate	37
Attrition data	37

Institutional variables

Table 1 presents the institutional features of the cases analysed (see description below table for more information).

Table 1: Institutional features of the cases analysed

ID	Admissibility test	Signature (%)	Collection days	Turnout quorum	Approval quorum
Austria AI	None	1.56	8	NA	NA
Denmark AI	Before	1.18	180	NA	NA
Estonia AI	Before	0.11	540	NA	NA
Finland AI	After	1.11	180	NA	NA
Italy AI	After	0.11	180	NA	NA
Latvia AI	Before	0.65	NA	NA	NA
Lithuania AI	Before	2.01	60	NA	NA
Luxembourg AI	Before	1.73	42	NA	NA
Netherlands AI	After	0.31	NA	NA	NA
Poland AI	Before	0.33	90	NA	NA
Portugal AI	After	0.19	NA	NA	NA
Romania AI	After	0.55	180	NA	NA
San Marino AI	None	0.17	NA	NA	NA
Slovenia AI	Before	0.29	60	NA	NA
Spain AI	Before	1.36	365	NA	NA
Bulgaria PI	After	5.85	90	Yes	Simple majority
Croatia PI	After	10	15	Yes	Simple majority
Georgia PI	Before	5.68	90	No	Simple majority
Hungary PI	Before	2.41	120	Yes	Simple majority
Latvia PI	Before	10	365	Yes	Simple majority
Liechtenstein PI	Before	5.05	42	No	Simple majority
Lithuania PI	Before	12.06	180	Yes	Qualified majority
Moldova PI	Before	7.13	60	Yes	Simple majority
North Macedonia PI	Before	8.31	90	Yes	Simple majority
San Marino PI	After	1.5	90	No	Simple majority
Slovakia PI	After	7.89	NA	Yes	Simple majority
Switzerland PI	After	1.83	540	No	Simple majority
Italy RI	After	0.11	90	Yes	Simple majority
Liechtenstein RI	After	5.05	30	No	Simple majority
San Marino RI	After	1.5	90	No	Simple majority
Slovenia RI	Before	2.34	35	No	Qualified majority
Switzerland RI	None	0.92	100	No	Simple majority

The 'Admissibility' column covers the timing of the substantive admissibility test, i.e. whether it is conducted before or after the signature gathering process. If a cases has no admissibility test, it is coded as 'None'. The 'Signature (%)' column lists the percentage (as a proportion of the electorate) required, while the 'Collection days' refers to the number of days allocated for signature collection. Where there is an unlimited time period, this is defined as NA. The last two columns, Turnout and Approval quorums, are only relevant for the PI and RI instrument.

Supplemental Material

Data Collection per Country

Here the data collection for all bottom-up instruments in all member states of the CoE is discussed. The descriptions detail the steps taken to acquire the data, as well as means to confirm findings in more complicated cases.

Albania

Agenda Initiative

There is no specific institution in charge of agenda initiatives in Albania, so we could not guarantee that we would not have missed initiatives. The country expert contacted in the beginning of the project did not have further information either. Therefore, we could not collect comprehensive data on the agenda initiative in Albania.

Proactive and Rejective Initiative

No official overview of all submitted initiatives is available for either the proactive or the rejective initiative of Albania. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. For both the proactive and the rejective initiative this is the central election commission (CEC) of Albania for formal admissibility and the constitutional court of Albania for substantive admissibility. The records of the CEC started in 2002. The records of the constitutional court started in 1992. To get as much data as possible, we went through the records of the constitutional court first, finding an online archive containing all decisions of the constitutional court¹. Here we used the search term “*referendumi*”, the Albanian word for referendum. We went through the corresponding search results and used the relevant results to complete our data collection.

In a second step we compared our findings to the overview of the Database and Search Engine for Direct Democracy². We also researched further with the google search engine, going through newspaper articles and press releases. We

¹*Lista e Vendimeve*. (n.d.). Retrieved March 6, 2023, from https://www.gjk.gov.al/web/Lista_e_Vendimeve_92_1.php

²Suchergebnis für “Albanien”. Datenbank und Suchmaschine für direkte Demokratie. [https://sudd.ch/list.php?lang=de&area=Albanien&topic=&first=NaN&last=NaN&sense=desc\(accessed08.02.2023\)](https://sudd.ch/list.php?lang=de&area=Albanien&topic=&first=NaN&last=NaN&sense=desc(accessed08.02.2023))

also compared our findings to the results of the country expert contacted in the beginning of the project, who confirmed that we had found all initiatives.

Andorra

Agenda Initiative

No official records archive all agenda initiatives submitted in Andorra. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institution responsible for their registration. This is the *Sindicatura*, the governing body of the parliament of Andorra. Unfortunately, their official online records are incompatible with our translation software. Furthermore, the archives contain many different documents all grouped by year without offering a useful search function. Using the search function of the browser with the term “*Proposició de llei*” (proposal of law) highlights potentially relevant entries. Unfortunately, only the titles are available, not the documents themselves. This makes it impossible to tell whether it was parliamentarians or citizens who handed in a submission.

We also consulted the online archives of the parliament of Andorra. While it is compatible with our translation software, it also provides no options to filter for citizens’ initiatives. Furthermore, this archive only goes back to 2019.

Fortunately, the country expert contacted in the beginning of the project was able to find four initiatives started since 1993. According to them, this should be all initiatives ever attempted since the introduction of the agenda initiative.

Armenia

Agenda Initiative

We were unable to find any reliable information on agenda initiatives in Armenia. As there are no admissibility tests, there is also no institution whose records we could have gone through. The country expert contacted in the beginning of the project could not find information either. Therefore, we do not have data on agenda initiatives in Armenia.

Proactive Initiative

No official overview of all submitted proactive initiatives is available for Armenia. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the substantive admissibility checks, as there are no formal admissibility limits. In this case, the institution responsible is the constitutional court of Armenia. While we found that records exist, important documents are in Armenian with non-copy-able text. The text would have to have been copy-able for our translation software to work on it. As we could not get ORC to work on these documents, translation was impossible for us. Without translation, we could not work with the documents. The country expert contacted in the beginning of the project could not find information either. Therefore, we do not have data on proactive initiatives in Armenia.

(Note, we unfortunately no longer have the links to the documents or records of where we found them in 2021.)

Austria

Agenda Initiative

The ministry of the interior of Austria is responsible for handling “*Volksbegehren*”, the agenda initiatives of Austria. The ministry publishes all past initiatives on their own website³. The website contains most relevant information of the initiatives. We confirmed via mail that there had been no inadmissible initiatives, as what we had originally considered a test of formal admissibility turned out to be a merely administrative check. If an initiative did not fulfill any basic administrative criteria, the initiators were contacted to remedy any flaws. At the time of our data collection we found more initiatives than the country expert contacted at the beginning of the project. This is to be expected, however, as we were collecting the information about a year later and could therefore include all initiatives of 2020.

Azerbaijan

Agenda Initiative

There is no official publication of the state of any agenda initiative in Azerbaijan. We were however able to reconstruct a timeline of the one and as far as we can tell only time citizens attempted to submit an agenda initiative. In short, this

³Alle Volksbegehren der zweiten Republik. (n.d.-b). Retrieved April 5, 2023, from https://www.bmi.gv.at/411/Alle_Volksbegehren_der_zweiten_Republik.aspx

initiative was deemed to not have collected enough valid signatures despite there not having been a legal base to declare a signature invalid at the time.

We found this initiative as follows. First, we went through all meeting protocols of the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Azerbaijan. The CEC has been responsible for ensuring compliance with substantive and formal limits since 2019. Nevertheless, we went through all records since the introduction of the agenda initiative to the constitution of Azerbaijan. When we found any traces of relevant information, we followed up by using relevant search terms on the website of the CEC, the website of the parliament of Azerbaijan and on Google. More specifically, we found one mention of an initiative submitted by the Republican Alternative Party (REAL)⁴. Based on this find, we then used the search terms “Qanunvericilik təşəbbüsü” (legislative initiative), “Respublikaçı Alternativ” (Republican Alternative Party), “REAL”, and “Respublikaçı Alternativ (REAL) qanunvericilik təşəbbüsü qrupu” (REAL legislative initiative group). In this case, especially google results were helpful, as they contained news articles and human rights blogs which reported in more detail than the records of the CEC. Also helpful were parliament records to establish a timeline regarding the instigation of the later passed law.

Proactive Initiative

We could not find any information whether a national proactive initiative had ever been attempted or not. Neither parliament records, nor any documents of the CEC nor archives of the court held any information on this. If they do, we could not access them at all, not even to find a hint. The country expert contacted at the beginning of the project could not find any information either.

Bulgaria

Agenda Initiative

There is no specific institution in charge of agenda initiatives in Bulgaria, so we could not guarantee that we would not have missed initiatives. The country expert contacted in the beginning of the project did not have further information either. Therefore, we could not collect comprehensive data on the agenda initiative in Bulgaria.

⁴Media and public relations department of the Secretariat of the Central Election Commission. 09.04.2019. *2019-cu il aprelin 9-da Mərkəzi Seçki Komissiyasının iclası keçirilib*. <http://www.msk.gov.az/az/newsmsk/1023/> (accessed 08.02.2023)

Proactive Initiative

The parliament of Bulgaria keeps a registry of all proactive initiatives that have been submitted since 2010⁵. Since the proactive initiative was only implemented into law in 2009, this registry should have all initiatives documented. As the parliament of Bulgaria checks for compliance with all limits, they would also see all submitted proactive initiatives. In this registry, 30 initiatives were listed for the time period from 2010-2020. The registry is entirely in Bulgarian. However, with the help of translation software and OCR, we were able to work with it. We found that some initiatives had more than one entry, so we merged those. Only one initiative has been deemed inadmissible for which we have the relevant court documents.

For some of the initiatives in the registry, the final outcome according to our categorisation was difficult to judge or the information was not available. We were able to find more information on all proactive initiatives from 2010 to 2014 in a newspaper article by Elitsa Martinova for OFFNews⁶. This article documented the final outcome for initiatives from this time period and was incredibly helpful, as this information was not otherwise available to us.

We also cross referenced the data from the registry with the official overview of election and referendum results of the central election commission of Bulgaria. This way we could establish which proactive initiatives had in fact led to a referendum and what the result had been. For two cases, we are not sure as initiatives with very similar topics were discussed in 2014 and 2015. However, only the latter officially led to a referendum. We do not know if these are the same initiatives and should be merged or if these topics were in fact attempted twice. Based on the description from sudd.ch⁷, which lists the initiative leading to a referendum as having started in 2015, we believe they are separate attempts.

Croatia

Proactive Initiative

⁵Регистър по Закона за пряко участие на гражданите в държавната власт и местното самоуправление. (n.d.). Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://parliament.bg/bg/register-referendum>

⁶Martinova, E. (2014, May 20). Провалените референдуми: Турция в ЕС, онлайн вот, нова Конституция. offnews.bg. Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://offnews.bg/politika/provalenite-referendumi-turtcia-v-es-onlajn-vot-nova-konstitutcia-337619.html>

⁷Müller, B. (n.d.-b). Suchergebnis für "Bulgarien." Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://sudd.ch/list.php?lang=de>

The proactive initiative has been available in Croatia since the year 2000. We found a paper documenting all proactive initiatives from Croatia from 2010-2018@Podolnjak2015. For the initiatives submitted outside this time period, we went through the records of the institution responsible for checking admissibility, the parliament of Croatia. We used the search term “referenduma”, the croatian word for referendum, on the online archive of the parliament⁸. We also checked the archives of the Constitutional Court of Croatia, which the parliament can ask for a more detailed assessment of an initiative’s admissibility. There we found an overview of all the cases the Constitutional court decided from 1990-2021⁹. This document counted judgments of different legal fields separately. There is also a more detailed overview¹⁰. We then looked through all cases in the category “U-VIIR - Control of the constitutionality and legality of national referenda” in the online archive of the constitutional court of Croatia¹¹. We then merged the records found in these three sources.

Denmark

Agenda Initiative

We found all admissible initiatives on the dedicated website by the Danish parliament¹². Denmark does not publish information on inadmissible agenda initiatives. Only the individual citizen who submitted an initiative is notified. We confirmed this by writing an email to the Information Office of the Danish parliament. However, they were able to give us an estimate of how many initiatives have been declared inadmissible: “close to 400 proposals” since January 2018 (as of April 2023). We then crawled the website and consolidated our data.

Estonia

Agenda Initiative

⁸Zapisnici. (n.d.). Hrvatski Sabor. Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://www.sabor.hr/hr/sjednice/zapisnici>

⁹Stranica nije pronađena. | Ustavni sud RH. (n.d.). Retrieved March 6, 2023, from https://www.usud.hr/sites/default/files/dokumenti/Decided_cases_in_period_from_1990_to_30_June_2021.pdf

¹⁰Nadzor nad ustavnošću i zakonitošću državnog referenduma. (n.d.). Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://www.izbori.hr/site/UserDocsImages/2548>

¹¹Prema oznakama (signaturama) ustavnosudskih predmeta (po godini zaprimanja). (n.d.). Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://sljeme.usud.hr/usud/praksaw.nsf/vSignaturaPoGodiniZap.xsp>

¹²Borgerforslag. (n.d.). borgerforslag.dk. Retrieved April 5, 2023, from <https://www.borgerforslag.dk/>

The platform “Rahvaalgatus.ee” has been the tool to start agenda initiatives since 2014. After an initiative collects enough signatures on rahvaalgatus.ee, it is then submitted to the Parliament of Estonia. The parliament of Estonia then is responsible for the final decision whether an initiative complies with all formal and substantive limits. According to an email from a democracy expert of the Estonian Cooperation Assembly, all initiatives submitted via rahvaalgatus.ee have been accepted by the Parliament of Estonia. While we could not find information on what happened to initiatives submitted before 2014, the same democracy expert mentioned that there had been some cases that failed due to issues with the signature collection. He also wrote that those initiatives had then been processed as memorandums. There was no mention of initiatives having been declared inadmissible.

On rahvaalgatus.ee, initiatives are categorized by their current state, for example whether they are currently collecting signatures or have been handed in to the parliament. There is technically a possibility that some initiatives had already been deemed inadmissible and deleted from the platform as by the terms of use. We asked rahvaalgatus about this via email. They said that no initiatives had ever been deemed inadmissible and that if they had any cases like that, they would likely create a new category on the website to archive them. So based on this, we used rahvaalgatus.ee as a source and then collected the information on all initiatives on the platform.

A further note on rahvaalgatus.ee, there was a concern whether it should be considered a private platform. This might be relevant in assessing whether potential decisions to delete initiatives as per terms of service should be considered official inadmissibility decisions. As supposedly none were ever deleted, this is a bit less relevant than it could be.

Nonetheless, according to our research, the Estonian Cooperation Assembly – which runs the platform – seems to be a private foundation that works extensively with non-governmental actors. However, it was founded by the president of Estonia in 2007. It is funded by the office of the president (in addition to donations). It adheres to public sector ethics rules. Its CEO reports to a supervisory body whose members are appointed in half (4 of a maximum of 8) by the president of Estonia, and the platform Rahvalgaatus.ee performs a function that is in the public interest and provided for by law (§ 32 of the Estonian Local Government Organisations Act). In short, this may be a public-private-partnership in which the government has a very strong position.

Finland

Agenda Initiative

The platform “kansalaisaloite.fi” has been the tool to start agenda initiatives since they were legally implemented in 2012. On kansalaisaloite.fi, initiatives are categorized by their current state, for example whether they are currently collecting signatures or have been handed in to the parliament. We used a web crawler to get basic records of all initiatives and then filled in information by checking kansalaisaloite.fi again manually where necessary. There is technically a possibility that some initiatives had already been deemed inadmissible and deleted from the platform as by the terms of use. While we contacted the Ministry of Justice, who runs the platform, we never received a reply. Therefore, there might be some initiatives missing. There is also an archive containing all initiatives that actually reached the parliament¹³. We went through this as well and consolidated the data.

Georgia

Georgia has two bottom-up initiatives, the agenda initiative and the proactive initiative.

Agenda Initiative

No official records archive all agenda initiatives submitted in Georgia. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we first went through the records of the institution responsible for their registration. This is the Committee on Procedural Issues and Rules of the Parliament of the Parliament of Georgia (“Committee on Procedural Rules”). The Committee keeps records in two places, on their own subsection on the website of the Parliament of Georgia¹⁴ and in the complete webarchive of the Parliament of Georgia¹⁵. Neither were very helpful without additional resources. The records on the subsection can not be filtered or searched beyond clicking to see older entries which then do not go back further than a couple of years. The webarchive of the Parliament of Georgia is very difficult to navigate for a non-Georgian speaker, as using translation software regularly breaks the site. Additionally, sometimes using the same search terms with the same search parameters resulted in vastly different results.

However, we were able to reach out to an associate¹⁶ living in Georgia who then sent the Parliament of Georgia an official request for information. In response,

¹³*Haku: Valtiopäiväasiat ja -asiakirjat.* (n.d.). Eduskunta. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/search/Sivut/Vaskiresults.aspx?k=eduskuntatunnus:KAA>

¹⁴საპროცედურო საკითხთა და წესების კომიტეტი (n.d.) <https://parliament.ge/media/news/category/30>

¹⁵[https://parliament.ge/legislation/find-legislation-websitecurrentlynotbeaccessed\(14.03.23\)](https://parliament.ge/legislation/find-legislation-websitecurrentlynotbeaccessed(14.03.23))

¹⁶Guri Baliashvili, LL. M.

the Parliament sent a letter and two lists, one for legislative agenda initiatives, one for constitutional agenda initiatives. The lists of legislative agenda initiatives contains information starting in 2007. For the constitutional agenda initiatives the list starts in 2014. In these lists are documents and their filing numbers listed. We used the filing numbers in the parliament webarchive, as well as other potential search terms like the number of signatories, the title of the type of initiative, etc.

There were still issues. Some of the filing numbers led to no results in the web archives. Others were available but any documents were in Georgian. If the documents contained recognisable text, we were able to work with translation software. If the documents did not, then we had to rely on text recognition programs first which oftentimes did not work on the Georgian script. Some of the entries in the list stated what happened with a given initiative, others did not. We completed the outcome of initiatives as far as possible but in some cases could not find further information.

During the data collection and consolidation process we found that some of the documents in the lists seemed to refer to the same initiative. We merged those. This mainly concerns the legislative agenda initiative as the records for the constitutional agenda initiative were more comprehensive. Namely, we merged:

Merged documents Final record in our file cites these documents 15.12.2008 - Nr. 43 30.12.2008 - Nr. 07-3/76 09.02.2009 - Nr. 52 13.03.2009 - Nr. 07-3/107 02.03.2009 - Nr. 57 02.03.2009 - Nr. 07-3/99 16.03.09 - Nr. 61 13.03.2009 - Nr. 07-3/108 13.06.2011 - Nr. 188 23.09.2011 -Nr. 07-3/484 24.04.2017 - 8127/ no 51, 12.6.2017 - 12448 28.06.2017 - 07-3/79 24.10.2018 - 16109, 31.08.2018 - 13122 15.11.2018 - 07-3/246 03.09.2013 - 92 30.10.2013 - 07-3/269 26.11.2014 - 23948/222 - 28.11.2014 08.09.2015 - 18314

This led us to a total of 52 agenda initiatives, of which 43 are legislative agenda initiatives and 9 are constitutional agenda initiatives. For 14 of the legislative agenda initiatives we could not ascertain their final outcome. However, due to the many issues in the data collection and confirmation process, we do not consider this data to be reliable.

Proactive Initiative

Unfortunately, no official overview of all initiatives exists. We reached out to an associate¹⁷ from Georgia who in turn contacted the CEC. He submitted a request for public information multiple times but received no reply. So we turned to the website of the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Georgia. The CEC is responsible for registering initiative groups and assessing the admissibility of

¹⁷Guri Baliashvili, LL. M.

initiatives. While the website of the CEC does not have an archive per se, the search function also applies to all documents on the website.

We used the search function experimenting with different search terms. The most promising results were found with the search term: “რეფერენდუმი” which is part of the Georgian word for referendum¹⁸. We only used a part of the full term in order to also find all documents only using conjugations of the word for referendum. This search resulted in 197 documents from 2004-2022 which we then went through, documenting all initiatives mentioned. From 2008 to 2004 not all documents are accessible anymore, which might have resulted in some initiatives being missed.

Another caveat necessary is that we cannot guarantee that our search terms lead to all relevant documents. We did cross reference our findings with the official legal archive¹⁹ and sudd.ch, neither of which indicated that we had missed initiatives.

We completed our data by using the referendum questions as search terms in different archives and in the google search engine.

In total, we found 52 proactive initiatives from 2003-2020.

Greece

Agenda Initiative

The instrument is not yet fully implemented. No initiative has ever been submitted based on the constitution. One attempt started 2020/2021 but updates stopped in 2021, with the initiative remaining incomplete²⁰.

Hungary

General

The bulk of the data collection process worked essentially the same for both the agenda and the proactive initiative in Hungary. Therefore, the shared collection is described here and the specifics are described under the respective title.

¹⁸We used the term “referendum” as a base since initiatives and initiative groups also get registered for elections, thus we got too many unrelated results with initiative related search terms.

¹⁹<https://matsne.gov.ge/> (currently not accessible 14.03.23)

²⁰Broumas, A. (2021, August 27). *Από την Κλιματική Κρίση στην Οικολογική Δημοκρατία: Λαϊκή Πρωτοβουλία “Κλίμα 500”*. Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://gr.boell.org/el/2021/08/27/apo-tin-klimatiki-krisi-stin-oikologiki-dimokratia-laiki-protoboylia-klima-500>

Detailed information on all submitted initiatives could be found in the digital archive of the national election commission of Hungary²¹. We used the search term “népszavazás” (referendum). We chose this instead of the Hungarian term for initiative, as it led to more results. We also set the time period to 01.01.1990 - 31.12.2020. Then we went through all documents and either created a new entry for a document or added it as a source to an existing entry, if multiple documents referred to the same initiative. In some cases, decisions of the Curia, the constitutional court of Hungary, were linked in a document. If so, we looked at the decision. If the decision simply upheld the decision of the National Election Commission, we did not include it further. If the decision changed the decision of the National Election Commission, we included the decision of the Curia as a source and changed the entry accordingly. In some cases, this led to a decision of the national election commission being overturned but no follow-up decision being available in the archive. There also were some instances of broken links to the Curia decisions. Wherever possible, we found them otherwise. Some remain missing, however. Additionally, in some cases, multiple initiatives were declared inadmissible in one document. If this document did not include any further information than the number of inadmissible initiatives, we only counted it as one initiative. We also added a comment stating the number of inadmissible initiatives in this document. Three different people worked on the data for Hungary with this methodology.

Important to note is that the records of the national election commission only go back to 1999. While we did find some hints²² of initiatives submitted pre 1999, we unfortunately do not have any reliable sources on them. Therefore, we did not include them.

Finally, we went through and cleaned up collected data, removing mistakes such as double entries as much as possible. Due to the high volume of initiatives it is still likely that some issues were missed. By and large we do have confidence in our findings, however.

Agenda Initiative

We collected the data on agenda initiatives as described above. We categorized an initiative as an agenda initiative based on its title. If the title of the corresponding documents included the words “országos népi kezdeményezés” (national popular initiative) and their variations instead of “országos népszavazási kezdeményezés”

²¹A Nemzeti Választási Bizottság határozatai. (n.d.). Valasztas. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.valasztas.hu/hatarozatok>

²²Mentioned in a document labeled as a thesis from a student of the University of Miskolc but the document was uploaded on a third party site. Therefore we do not know how reliable it is. Varga, J. (2015). *Sikertelen népszavazási kezdeményezések*. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://adoc.pub/sikertelen-nepszavazasi-kezdemenyezesek.html>

(national referendum initiative) and their variations. However, as the AI no longer exists in Hungary, we did not include it in our dataset in the end.

Proactive Initiative

The national election commission publishes an official statistic on all submitted proactive initiatives, as well as the number of inadmissible initiatives²³. The statistic covers the time period from May, 15., 2002 to November, 23., 2020. However, this statistic only contains detailed information, such as the topic or reason for inadmissibility, about initiatives submitted since 2014. Information on proactive initiatives submitted since 2014 is also available in yearly lists, containing links to even more detailed information²⁴. Through these lists we were able to also find initiatives that had been declared inadmissible by the president of the national election commission. These decisions are otherwise unavailable in the complete archive of the national election commission. Fortunately, the process of pre-selection by the president of the national election commission was introduced only in 2014, so we were able to collect all of these decisions.

Important to note regarding the officially published statistic is that the number of initiatives we found in the archives of the national election commission and the number published in the statistic are not the same. Depending on whether we include agenda initiatives in the full count or for example count initiatives that were collectively declared inadmissible as separate initiatives or not, we either have more or less initiatives than the official statistic. This ranges from 78 initiatives too few to 29 initiatives too many. Considering the total count of 2000+ initiatives, it is not a big difference. One potential reason for the difference in numbers might be the practice of bulk-submitted initiatives. It happens that the same initiators submit 6-160 variations of the same issues in one go to the CEC. Depending on how one counts these, the numbers vary quite a bit. Since we require information on the reason for inadmissibility, among others, we have decided to use our numbers which we got by combining the information of the decisions of the president of the national election commission with the information gathered as described in the general section.

²³ *Statistikák az elbírált népszavazási kezdeményezésekről.* (2020, November 23). Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.valasztas.hu/documents/20182/305738/Statistik%C3%A1k+az+elb%C3%ADr%C3%A1lt+n%C3%A9pszavaz%C3%A1si+kezdem%C3%A9nyez%C3%A9sekr%C5%91l.pdf/a0655454-ecd7-412f-ab08-8a23dc419f5e?t=1606207094772>

²⁴ *2014. évi országos népszavazási kezdeményezések.* (n.d.). Valasztas. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.valasztas.hu/2320>

Italy

Agenda Initiative

No official records archive all agenda initiatives submitted in Italy. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we first went through the records of the institution responsible for their registration. This is the *Senato della Repubblica*, the parliament of Italy. The *Senato* has an official archive online²⁵ which offers detailed search options. We used the function to search by initiative and selected the type “popolare” (popular). Originally, this gave us an overview of submitted agenda initiatives since 1990. From these, none were declared inadmissible. It is possible that actually none were inadmissible, as the formal limits are low. Repeating the same steps in 2023, this resulted in much fewer initiatives. Also, in 2023 the records also only went back 2 years. We got the same results going through the records of the *Camera dei deputati*²⁶, the chamber of deputies of the Italian parliament. It is however still possible to find older documents by going through the separately kept records of previous legislative periods²⁷ and then repeating the same steps as described above. To note; the initiatives seem to be repeating themselves but they are all categorized as different initiatives.

Rejective Initiative

No official records chronicle all rejective initiatives submitted in Italy. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we first went through the records of the institution responsible for their registration. This is the central office of the supreme court of cassation. This office is responsible for registration and performs a first admissibility test. As far as we know, it only tests formal admissibility. The archive of the central office is available online²⁸. All initiatives we found there were admissible. We documented them. As the formal limits are quite low, it is very well possible that indeed no initiative has been declared inadmissible. We also did not find any indicators otherwise.

²⁵*Ricerca*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.senato.it/ric/sddl/nuovaricerca.do>

²⁶*Progetti di Legge. Iniziativa popolare*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.camera.it/leg19/141?tab=&selCostituzionali=&selIniziativa=Popolare&selTipologia=&selConclusi=&selInCorso=&tipoVis=>

²⁷*Le legislature della Repubblica*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.senato.it/legislature>

²⁸URP Centrale. (n.d.). *Referendum*. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.cortedicassazione.it/corte-di-cassazione/it/referendum.page>

At the second stage, the constitutional court of Italy tests the admissibility of initiatives. The online records²⁹ of the Constitutional Court contain all initiatives, including inadmissibility decisions. They are findable if one sets the option “*tipo di giudizio*” to “*Giudizio sull’ammissibilità dei referendum*” We recorded all initiatives in these records as well, filtering out region-initiated referendums, and merged the data from both sources.

Latvia

Agenda initiative

The parliament of Latvia publishes an overview of agenda initiatives submitted since 2012³⁰. These records do not clearly differentiate between initiatives the parliament rejected because an initiative was inadmissible or because the parliament disagreed with it. Going by these records, all initiatives were admissible. However, two initiatives who failed to collect enough signatures and one initiative which was not submitted properly. There are otherwise no mentions of any initiatives declared substantively inadmissible. As Latvia only stipulates substantive limits for agenda initiatives, this is odd. Important to know is that the platform “manabalss.lv”, run by the organisation MyVoice, provides a way for citizens to submit agenda initiatives and then collect signatures online³¹. This is the main platform used for agenda initiatives. MyVoice offers initiators detailed consultations to revise the text of an initiative into something admissible. Clearly inadmissible initiatives do not get published on manabalss.lv and no signatures can therefore be collected for them. We confirmed this via an email to MyVoice. However, a country expert, who had worked with manabalss.lv, was able to provide an estimate of 40% inadmissible initiatives.

Proactive initiative

No official records archive all proactive initiatives submitted in Latvia. The central election commission of Latvia has records starting in 2012 and publishes all submitted initiatives and their results online³². We collected all the data available here.

²⁹*Decisioni*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/actionPronuncia.do>

³⁰*Kolektīvie iesniegumi*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <http://mandati.saeima.lv/kolekt%C4%ABvie-iesniegumi>

³¹*Par ManaBalss.lv*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://manabalss.lv/pages/par-manabalss-lv>

³²*Vēlētāju iniciatīvas | Centrālā vēlēšanu komisija*. (n.d.-b). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://www.cvk.lv/lv/iniciativas/veletaju-iniciativas>

We did find one initiative from before 2012 but were unable to find comprehensive information. Apparently, legislation on the proactive initiative changed in late 2012/early 2013. Since then, no proactive initiative has led to a referendum³³. Before 2013, there were at least 3 proactive initiatives as they led to referendums Moeckli et al. (2021). No further information is available, however.

Liechtenstein

Agenda initiative

While there is no single overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in Liechtenstein, the online records of Liechtenstein's government contain all relevant information³⁴. We used the search term "einfache Initiative" (simple initiative), including the "". We then went through all results, ensured they were about the agenda initiative and then documented them.

Proactive initiative

While there is no single overview of all proactive initiatives submitted in Liechtenstein, it is possible to find them online. We followed a two-step process. In Liechtenstein, submitted proactive initiatives are first checked on their compliance with international treaties by the government of Liechtenstein. Then the government creates a report and submits it together with the initiative to the parliament of Liechtenstein. The parliament of Liechtenstein then checks for full admissibility of a given initiative. So, first, we consulted the online records of Liechtenstein's government³⁵ (people's initiative), including the "". We then went through all results, ensured they were about the proactive initiative and then documented them. Secondly, we went through the records of the parliament of Liechtenstein³⁶, using the same search term and methodology. Lastly, we consolidated our findings.

Rejective initiative

The government of Liechtenstein's decisions regarding the admissibility of rejective initiatives are not public. We confirmed this via an email to the responsible

³³[L. (n.d.). *LV portāls - Cilvēks. Valsts. Likums*. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://lvportals.lv/viedokli/331821-vai-latvija-ir-iespejams-sarikot-iedzivotaju-inicietu-referendumu-2021{}>]

³⁴*Berichte und Anträge*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://bua.regierung.li/BuA/>

³⁵*Berichte und Anträge*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://bua.regierung.li/BuA/>. We used the search term "Volksinitiative"

³⁶*Landtagsprotokolle des Liechtensteiner Landtags*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://www.landtag.li/protokolle/default.aspx>

department. According to our correspondence there would not have been any inadmissible initiatives as of late, as the admissibility check is purely formal and if there would have been any inconsistency, there would have been the option for the initiators to revise their initiative. What information we did find is from the works of Dr. Wilfried Marxer (Marxer 2018). We documented the initiatives mentioned in his works, which are limited to initiatives that were admissible. We also contacted Dr. Marxer about potential inadmissible initiatives. According to his knowledge there has never been an inadmissible rejective initiative in Liechtenstein.

Lithuania

Agenda initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in Lithuania. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institution responsible for the formal admissibility check. In the case of Lithuania's agenda initiative, this is the central electoral commission (CEC) of the Republic of Lithuania. The decisions of the CEC are published online³⁷. To find the relevant decision, we used the search function with the parameter "*Įstaiga*" (institution) set to "*Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausioji rinkimų komisija*" (central election commission of the Republic of Lithuania) and the search term "*dėl iniciatyvinės grupės piliečių įstatymų leidybos iniciatyvai*" (on the citizens' legislative initiative steering group). Then we went through all entries and documented them, checking for repeated or irrelevant entries. Notably, it seems like no initiatives have been submitted since 2016. We do not know why.

Proactive initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all proactive initiatives submitted in Lithuania. There is an overview by the CEC but it does not include inadmissible initiatives³⁸. Easily accessible records are available from 2018 on³⁹. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institution responsible for the formal admissibility check. In the case of Lithuania's agenda initiative, this is the CEC. The decisions of the CEC

³⁷Dokumentų paieška. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/documentSearch/lt>

³⁸*Rinkimai ir referendumai*. (n.d.). Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausioji Rinkimų Komisija. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://www.vrk.lt/rinkimai>

³⁹*Iniciatyvos*. (n.d.). Rinkėjo Puslapis. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://www.rinkejopuslapis.lt/iniciatyvos>

are published online⁴⁰. To actually find all decisions we used multiple different search terms and parameters. First, we set the parameter “*Istaiga*” (institution) to “*Lietuvos Respublikos vyriausioji rinkimų komisija*” (Central Election Commission of the Republic of Lithuania). Then we tried “*referendumui paskelbti įregistravimo*” (the registration of the referendum) and “*parašų referendumui*” (signatures for the referendum) as search terms for words in the title. We got these possible search terms from documents linked in the overview of the CEC. We went through all the results of these search parameters. If we were missing information on anything, we then adjusted our search to be specifically about an initiative. For example, we used the name of an initiative as a search term, or set parameters of the archive to a time frame in which some update to the initiative should have happened, and/or set eurovoc to referendum. Furthermore, we contacted a country expert who helped us identify missing initiative outcomes.

Luxembourg

Agenda initiative

Luxembourg’s agenda initiatives are launched and recorded on the same website⁴¹. We used a web crawler to get all initiatives and then filtered for public petitions. Public petitions are Luxembourg’s agenda initiatives. In some cases, we manually confirmed an initiative’s classification. The most common case needing additional verification was if an initiative had been started as a public initiative, failed to collect enough signatures and was then furtherly processed as an ordinary petition.

Rejective initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all rejective initiatives submitted in Luxembourg. To find information on the initiatives, we went through the official records⁴² of the government of Luxembourg as well as the archive of official bulletins⁴³. The official records of the government did not provide useful information. We found one initiative in the official bulletin with the filter “*référéndum*”, in the section Memorial B, author: *état* (state), and main subject “*référéndum*”. There

⁴⁰Dokumentų paieška. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/documentSearch/lt>

⁴¹*De Petitiounssite vun der Chamber*. (2023, n.d.). Retrieved June 12, 2023, from <https://www.petitiounen.lu/>

⁴²*Actualités*. (2023, n.d.). gouvernement.lu // Le Gouvernement Luxembourgeois. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/>

⁴³*Journal officiel*. (2005, February 4). Legilux. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <https://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/2005/02/04/n1/jo>

seem to be some cases of admitted referendums that were not properly archived. As in, when searching for them without a direct link, with the same search terms, they do not show up anymore⁴⁴. However, we were able to learn from a local expert that the one initiative we found had been submitted twice due to procedural issues with the first submission. According to the expert, this was also the first RI in Luxembourg. While it does not seem like there have been attempts at an RI since then, we are not sure about this.

Malta

Rejective initiative

There is an official website for all referendums that took place in Malta⁴⁵. It links to an excel-sheet containing details to all referendums, only one of which was citizen initiated⁴⁶. Unfortunately, it does not list unsuccessful attempts to launch a citizens' rejective initiative. We were not able to find any other rejective initiatives.

Moldova

Proactive initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all proactive initiatives submitted in Moldova. To attempt to identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. In the case of Moldova's proactive initiative, these are three different institutions. The central election commission (CEC) of Moldova checks an initiative's formal admissibility. While we found the records of the CEC⁴⁷, they did not contain information on the initiatives themselves. Their records only contained information on referendums. We cross-referenced the referendums listed by the CEC with the records of the

⁴⁴*Communication du Premier Ministre, Ministre d'Etat, sur base de l'article 5 de la loi du 4 février 2005 relative au référendum au niveau national.* (2009, January 2). Legilux. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/adm/div/2009/01/02/n1/jo>

⁴⁵*Referenda in Malta - Malta Elections.* (n.d.). Retrieved February 16, 2023, from <https://www.um.edu.mt/r/projects/maltaelections/referenda>

⁴⁶Müller, B. (n.d.). *Malta, 11. April 2015: Frühlingsjagd auf Vögel.* Datenbank und Suchmaschine für direkte Demokratie. Retrieved February 16, 2023, from <https://sudd.ch/event.php?lang=de>

⁴⁷*Alegeri și referendumuri.* (n.d.). Comisia Electorală Centrală a Republicii Moldova. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://a.cec.md/ro/alegeri-si-referendumuri-2830.html>

Database and Search Engine for Direct Democracy⁴⁸. None of the referendums were initiated by citizens. Both the Parliament of Moldova and the Constitutional Court of Moldova are responsible for ascertaining an initiative's substantive admissibility. Unfortunately, we were unable to find any helpful records from either institution. However, we were able to contact a country expert who could find further information in the Electoral Almanac published by the Central Electoral Commission of Moldova. With this, we could consolidate our data.

Montenegro

Agenda initiative

We were unable to find any reliable information on agenda initiatives in Montenegro. This is partly due to a change of regulation as nowadays, citizens can no longer directly start an initiative. They now have to submit signatures so that a Member of the Montenegrin Parliament can officially introduce an initiative. A country expert confirmed the lack of available information. Attempts to contact the parliament both by the research team and the country expert for further information remained unfruitful. Therefore, we do not have data on Agenda initiatives in Montenegro.

Proactive initiative

In the process of our research, we got the strong impression that the proactive initiative was never properly implemented into law and has not been used just based on the constitution. In any case, we could not find any information on the usage of proactive initiatives in Montenegro.

Netherlands

Agenda initiative

While there is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in the Netherlands, all relevant information can be found online⁴⁹. The initiatives are published in the reports of the commission for petitions and citizens initiatives and the documentation of corresponding parliamentary actions. To identify

⁴⁸Müller, B. (n.d.-b). *Suchergebnis für "Moldawien."* Database and Search Engine for Direct Democracy. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://sudd.ch/list.php?lang=de&area=Moldawien&topic=&first=NaN&last=NaN&sense=desc>

⁴⁹Zoeken in alle documenten | Overheid.nl > Officiële bekendmakingen. (n.d.). Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://www.officielebekendmakingen.nl/>

all relevant information, we used the search function of the online archive. We used the search terms “*Verslagen van de commissie voor de Verzoekschriften en de Burgerinitiatieven*” (Reports of the committee on petitions and citizens’ initiatives) and set the document type to “*Handelingen*” (acts). Then we documented all relevant entries and merged doubles.

North Macedonia

Agenda and rejective initiative

There is no comprehensive overview for neither agenda nor rejective initiatives submitted in North Macedonia. To identify all initiatives started since the instruments were introduced, we went through the records of the institution responsible for the formal admissibility check. In the case of both of North Macedonia’s citizen initiated initiatives, this is the Parliament of North Macedonia.

When we were originally researching the initiatives, we were able to find records in the material archive of the Parliament of North Macedonia. Unfortunately, at some point in 2022 this changed. Now, only records for the current legislative period are available⁵⁰. So we were unable to verify our original findings or add missing information. However, for the rejective initiative, we were able to gain more information by contacting a country expert. With his help, we were able to identify new search terms and sources. He also passed on information he gained by contacting the Assembly. We included the rejective initiatives found this way in our data. We still have no further information on Agenda initiatives.

Poland

Agenda initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives ever submitted in Poland. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institution responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility check. In the case of Poland’s agenda initiative, this is the Sejm, the parliament of Poland. More precisely, after a specifically established initiative committee collected 1000 signatures, the initiators can apply to the Marshall of the Sejm who then conducts a “precheck” of an initiative. If there are issues with an initiative, the initiators can amend it. Afterwards, the official admissibility state of an initiative is decided. If the initiative is admissible, the initiators need to collect 100’000 signatures for their initiative to succeed.

⁵⁰Собрание на Република Северна Македонија - Материјали. (n.d.). Retrieved February 16, 2023, from <https://www.sobranie.mk/materijali-parlament.nsp>

We looked for the official admissibility decision within the archives of the Sejm⁵¹. We were able to find information on agenda initiatives from 1997 on. From 1997-2011, records could be found by first choosing the relevant legislative period. Then, we clicked on “overview of all bills” and the non “citizen’s draft/civic” and noted all initiatives we found. From 2011 on, the Sejm started to publish all agenda initiatives submitted during a legislative period in one list. We found the lists for the seventh⁵², eighth⁵³, and ninth⁵⁴ legislative periods.

We did find two more lists containing submitted initiatives, one from 1999-2011, and one from 1999-2014. We translated the list containing data until 2014 and consolidated our findings from the previous step with those from this list. Unfortunately, we no longer have records of where we found this list. It looks like an official document by the staff of the marshal of the Sejm but we can no longer confirm this. We did gain access to another, this time official, list covering the years 1999-2005 by contacting a country expert who had worked on the topic before. The formatting is the exact same, leading us to believe the list for the later years is official as well. The country expert furthermore confirmed that official record keeping on citizen’s initiatives stopped in 2015.

Proactive initiative

We were unable to find any primary sources on citizens’ use of the proactive initiative in Poland. In secondary literature by Rytel-Warzocha Setälä and Schiller (2012) and Koziello Koziello et al. (2019) some citizen’s initiatives are mentioned that were submitted to the parliament. However, none of them led to a referendum. We have no further information. We did get a document listing initiatives by contacting a country expert. However, this list only included initiatives that had collected sufficient signatures and were admissible. Since we strongly suspect that more initiatives have been launched and do not have any primary sources, we consider the data for the Polish PI to be incomplete.

⁵¹Archiwum. (n.d.). Sejm. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm9.nsf/page.xsp/archiwum>

⁵²Wykaz obywatelskich inicjatyw ustawodawczych znajdujących się w Sejmie. (n.d.). Prace Sejmu VII Kadencji. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc7.nsf/0/695128D85AE073D2C125796500570549?Open>

⁵³Wykaz obywatelskich inicjatyw ustawodawczych znajdujących się w Sejmie. (n.d.-b). Prace Sejmu VIII Kadencji. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc8.nsf/0/0F0AF1FC671F7BC8C1257F180052F244?Open>

⁵⁴Wykaz obywatelskich inicjatyw ustawodawczych znajdujących się w Sejmie. (n.d.-c). Prace Sejmu IX Kadencji. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc9.nsf/0/7510F178D30F38AAC12584B7003F9693?Open>

Portugal

Agenda initiative

While there is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in Portugal, the parliament of Portugal does publish the relevant information. For one, the parliament publishes reports on their activities in which the amount of discussed initiatives is listed⁵⁵. Additionally, the parliament publishes each initiative by itself in the relevant legislature period⁵⁶. We went through both records, noted down initiatives, and consolidated the data.

Proactive initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all proactive initiatives submitted in Portugal. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. In the case of Portugal's proactive initiative, these are two different institutions. The parliament of Portugal decides the formal admissibility of an initiative. The constitutional court of Portugal decides the substantive admissibility of an initiative. First we went through the records of the Parliament of Portugal⁵⁷. To find only the proactive initiatives, we set the type of initiative to "*iniciativa popular de Referendo*" (popular referendum initiative). We went through this archive twice, once without further search terms and once with the search term "*referendo*" (referendum). Additionally, we went through the reports the Parliament of Portugal publishes⁵⁸ and used the search term "*referendo*" again. We were able to identify an additional initiative this way.

We also looked through the records of the Constitutional Court of Portugal. Most decisions of the Constitutional Court of Portugal⁵⁹ can be found in an overview online. However, we do not think this list is comprehensive as we have found additional decisions in a different archive⁶⁰. We looked for the referendums found

⁵⁵ *Relatórios/Estatísticas da Atividade Parlamentar*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/RelatoriosEstatisticasdaAtividadeParlamentaroutrasLeg.aspx>

⁵⁶ *Iniciativas*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/IniciativasLegislativas.aspx>

⁵⁷ *Iniciativas*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/IniciativasLegislativas.aspx>

⁵⁸ *Relatórios/Estatísticas da Atividade Parlamentar*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/RelatoriosEstatisticasdaAtividadeParlamentaroutrasLeg.aspx>

⁵⁹ *Summaries*. (n.d.). Tribunal Constitucional. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <http://www.tribunalconstitucional.pt/tc/en/acordaos/>

⁶⁰ *Pesquisa de Acórdãos*. (n.d.). Tribunal Constitucional. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://acordaosv22.tribunalconstitucional.pt/>

in the parliament records and adjusted our data according to our findings. We also recorded all other mentions of referendums we could find, even if they only concerned local referendums. We then consolidated our findings.

We also found an official publication by the Parliament of Portugal that confirms our findings⁶¹.

Romania

Agenda initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in Romania. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. In the case of Romania's agenda initiative, this is the constitutional court of Romania. During the research, we used slightly different methods to find information on constitutional agenda initiatives and legislative agenda initiatives. In both cases, we mainly worked with the statistical overview of the constitutional courts decisions⁶² and the "20 years of judicial activity"-report⁶³ published by the constitutional court.

For the constitutional agenda initiative, we first determined how many decisions of the constitutional court concerned constitutional changes. Then we looked for the detailed records on a change by going to the archive of the constitutional court⁶⁴, setting the "*tip dosar*" to "AII" - the code for constitutional matters. We could thus determine which constitutional changes had been initiated by citizens. Notably, the archive is as of today, the 20.2.2023, not available/does not load from within the network of the university of Zurich.

For the legislative agenda initiative, our process was similar to the one described. However, here we looked for verifications of civil legislative initiatives. Then, to find missing information, we used the constitutional courts records but this time, we typed the keywords "*Inițiativă legislativă cetățenească*" (legislative citizens initiative) into "*Titlu obiect*" (object title).

⁶¹*Iniciativa popular de referendo*. (n.d.). Parlamento. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://app.parlamento.pt/comunicar/V1/202003/63/artigos/art3.html>

⁶²*Statistici periodice*. (n.d.). Curtea Constituțională a României. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.ccr.ro/statistici-periodice/>

⁶³*Curtea constituțională*. (n.d.). 20 de ani de activitate jurisdicțională. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.ccr.ro/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/20ani.pdf>

⁶⁴*Cautare Dosare*. (n.d.). <http://ccrsearch.ccr.ro:65080/#/CautareDosare>

San Marino

Agenda initiative

While there is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in San Marino, the parliament of San Marino publishes the relevant information in their webarchive⁶⁵. Unfortunately, the archive only goes back to 2003. We found admissibility decisions starting in 2003 by setting “*tipologia*” (typology) to “*Progetto di legge di iniziativa legislativa popolare*” (popular legislative initiative bill). We were unable to find any earlier decisions.

Proactive and rejective initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all proactive or rejective initiatives submitted in San Marino. However, the Constitutional Court of San Marino published the relevant information for initiatives submitted between 2004-2018 in a report⁶⁶. We found information on initiatives outside this timeframe by using the online archive of the Parliament of San Marino⁶⁷. The most efficient way to access information we found was to set the year to one of interest and then applying the search term “referendum”. We then went through all documents, translated them via translation software and noted down all initiatives.

Two things to note: First, in some cases, proactive initiatives were declared admissible, had a date set for the vote and then were never mentioned again. Neither the official site for referendums has anything, nor any of the secondary sources. We do not know what happened here. Second, two different rejective initiatives are provided for by the Qualified Law: the abrogative referendum and the confirmatory referendum which is provided for under art. 2 par. 3 of the Qualified Law (2013) on referendum and citizen’s popular initiative. Since they are both rejective, they are both counted here.

Serbia

Agenda initiative

⁶⁵ *Consultazione Archivi*. (n.d.). Consiglio Grande E Generale. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.consigliograndeegenerale.sm/on-line/home/lavori-consiliari/consultazione-archivi.html>

⁶⁶ Collegio Garante. (n.d.). *L'attività del collegio garante dal 2003 al 2018 - Procedure Referendarie*. <http://www.collegiogarante.sm/on-line/home/giurisprudenza-del-collegio-garante-2004-2017/documento21099659.html>

⁶⁷ *Consultazione Archivi*. (n.d.-b). Consiglio Grande E Generale. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.consigliograndeegenerale.sm/on-line/home/lavori-consiliari/consultazione-archivi.html>

We could identify some initiatives by referring to news articles. Additionally, the country expert we contacted was able to point us to some additional initiatives. However, we have no way of confirming whether we have all initiatives ever started. Therefore we are not including our found data in the final data set.

Proactive initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all proactive initiatives submitted in Serbia. To attempt to identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the records of the institutions responsible for the substantive admissibility check. In the case of Serbia's proactive initiative, this is the parliament of Serbia. We tried to find information by using the search term "Референдум" (referendum) in the web archive of the parliament of Serbia⁶⁸ but were unsuccessful. Further research with multiple different terms largely also remained unsuccessful. While we found a newspaper article from 2008⁶⁹ discussing six referendums, we do not have any information beyond that. We were able to gain additional information by contacting a country expert. With his help we were able to identify 2 proactive initiatives, which seem to be all proactive initiatives in Serbia.

Slovakia

Agenda initiative

There is no comprehensive overview of all agenda initiatives submitted in Slovakia. We attempted to identify all initiatives by going through the records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. However, in Slovakia, the agenda initiative can be addressed at different institutions who then each check their admissibility themselves. Since every institution receives and processes petitions directed at them separately, we found it close to impossible to get any reliable numbers.

Proactive initiative

While there is an overview of all referendums conducted, there is no comprehensive overview of all proactive initiatives ever submitted in Slovakia. To identify all initiatives started since the instrument was introduced, we went through the

⁶⁸ Народна скупштина Републике Србије | Претрага. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <http://www.parlament.gov.rs/%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%BA%D1%83%D0%BF%D1%88%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0.115.html>

⁶⁹ Svi naši referendumi. (n.d.). JMU Radio-Televizija Vojvodine. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from https://rtv.rs/sr_lat/politika/svi-nasi-referendumi_52146.html

records of the institutions responsible for the formal and substantive admissibility checks. In the case of Slovakia's proactive initiative, this is the president of Slovakia. We found the relevant documents in the official slovakian legal archive⁷⁰ using the search term "*referenda*" (referendums). We went through the documents and noted all referendums of which we could confirm that they had been citizen initiated.

Slovenia

Agenda and rejective initiative

While there is no comprehensive overview of all initiatives submitted in Slovenia, the initiatives are documented in the parliamentary reports for each legislative period. We went through all reports and documented the initiatives discussed there. Furthermore, there is an official overview of all agenda initiatives that reached parliament⁷¹ and one listing all inadmissible decisions since 2020 as well as the reports necessary to find other decisions⁷². We also went through these and then consolidated our data.

Spain

Agenda Initiative

⁷⁰*Slov-Lex*. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.slov-lex.sk/domov>

⁷¹*Ljudska zakonodajna iniciativa (5000 volivk in volivcev)*. (n.d.). Državni Zbor. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from

https://www.dz-rs.si/wps/portal/Home/is/PogostaVprasanja/vprasanje/02a7204c-9695-4539-94d5-e950170c6fad!/ut/p/z1/tVNNc5swEP0r5OAjoxUgPo7gzGBwbGpoaptLR0HCkVskBxOa8Osre9rOdBo75FBdNNK-p7f7doVKtEGlpL3Y0U4oSb_r87Z0v0bLnCTzGIOfexhWdrJ072YYJ0DQ-gyYJ1kRRDgEP9aABH8KyBLicTzFqNThNjiH6YkfWzmB1a0VLQqwYUrwL_4VwN98Evuw-jzP8nQW-Rp9ne9EME4fLqwQPqr_D6Ac49-FBAvrXf0vqETloRIMbcGingVOZQZuQEYH2IEZOIyYPCCAPajcmrITupLdoXtEWzYYTFXPDZfdcQINZ2IvJqDYIHq994eWHqncU0OqXkja7nlvCGkOtl09aoUhdZBPYJTq-r0xKq83IT0D_kxZtsC3kARZcIdTHyBzT3Mq9k9PZajLU7LjLx3avF0fo5Ifjd5g7UB7yRtjeFDts75XO8W-aYDvuJRwyZOr2g90QZyYtCbcrAh1HbC4b0F90rPaxXSx0-bT7tEUslZoM4q61V54F72IXbTuBf-B7qVqG_0Diw82ePbbrStuv539qOfHG_1fBunQ3J9X49uvZvnwag_R0ozX_jG8ufkJAW5uyQ!!/dz/d5/L2dBIS9nQSEh/

⁷²*Pobude in zahteve za razpis referendumov*. (n.d.). Državni Zbor. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from https://www.dz-rs.si/wps/portal/Home/is/PogostaVprasanja/vprasanje/33e7a76a-121a-4bc8-b299-820bbd68412a!/ut/p/z1/vZJLU4MwFIX_Ci66ZG4IBdl6AwttXVKxZZsnPCwDSMJpTFqf72p48ZFH27M5k7mnjO59zsBCmuggmm-YYpLwV7NPaf-czRPvck0dhBJAwct3Mncvx87zgR5sPoWJKNpmBwFMU49tLjD0WyJXLTECOivthcTtHicPqTJOCJG_eNHJ054pf-MgJ6f_wko0K7kFeSuWwcs8JntYifZw6IkdoFHI5tgVBSVT4YOZkd1KVSntpBxB6uS5VtbC7UfoLaueMMHSFYHrk3VXc_2TDTMELjzwfqm1hYXlqw2UsueW8I06wG66tXVpRjoeYJJQwmZ9zPbmcbA4Oprc3Fi4T1VbMZK292OxoamIKokPB-h_R5AZNcHK12IeV5vU7ZEL2rfnQyz_mPubQtVmWtcT9tGnx6R6iuR3efAHdfFuP/dz/d5/L2dBIS9nQSEh/

No official statistic of all submitted agenda initiatives is available in Spain. However, the *Junta Electoral Central* (Central Electoral Board) publishes agenda initiatives sorted by legislative period⁷³. We recorded all initiatives listed in this archive. Next, we checked for double entries, of which we found about thirty. These double entries happened because some initiatives were listed multiple times in different legislative periods. The first entry of an initiative was for the legislative period in which the initiative was submitted. Additional entries are created if an initiative is not fully processed during one single legislative period. In this case, it is listed for every legislative period until it is fully processed. We removed all multiple entries and left only the first one, of when an initiative was first submitted.

Further information, especially contextual information, can additionally be found in an article by Ángela Bernardo⁷⁴.

Switzerland

Proactive and rejective Initiative

Switzerland publishes all information on both proactive⁷⁵ and rejective initiatives⁷⁶ online. There is both a numerical overview and detailed information for what happened to an initiative. We used a web crawler on the website containing a list of all initiatives in chronological order. This list also has links for each initiative. We reformatted and sorted the data from the web crawler cutting off all initiatives submitted pre 1990 and post 2020. “Submitted” here refers to the date an initiative was first brought to the authorities attention, not the date the initiators submitted signatures. We then went through the documents for each initiative to get the remaining information, such as their final state, when exactly they were submitted, the precise question submitted, whether they led to a referendum, and whether the vote turned out in the initiators’ favor. We also checked whether an initiative was indeed started by citizens and not by cantons.

⁷³Junta Electoral Central. Junta Electoral Central.

<http://www.juntaelectoralcentral.es/cs/jec/ilp/legislaturas> (accessed 08.02.2023)

⁷⁴Bernardo, Á. (19.05.2019). Solo 1 de cada 10 iniciativas legislativas populares (ILP) llega a votarse en el Congreso. <https://civio.es/2019/05/30/iniciativas-legislativas-populares/> (accessed 08.02.2023)

⁷⁵Bundeskanzlei. (n.d.). *Volksinitiativen*. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <https://www.bk.admin.ch/bk/de/home/politische-rechte/volksinitiativen.html>

⁷⁶Bundeskanzlei. (n.d.). *Referenden*. Retrieved March 8, 2023, from <https://www.bk.admin.ch/bk/de/home/politische-rechte/referenden.html>

Ukraine

Agenda initiative

Inadmissible initiatives are not published on the website which is used to collect signatures. It is unclear who makes the inadmissibility decision and there is no legal remedy. Furthermore, records of initiatives only need to be published for three years. Should an initiative be declared admissible, it is further processed according to the legal procedure⁷⁷. In other words, we were not able to find any useful information.

Proactive initiative

First, we needed to define what should be counted as a proactive initiative. This is different to other countries due to how referendum initiatives work in the Ukraine. Citizens looking to start a referendum need to collect signatures in all administrative subareas of Ukraine. Each area needs to have a separately registered initiative group. Therefore, all initiative groups for each administrative area need to apply for registration at the central election commission separately. This can lead to multiple hundreds of groups applying for registration for the same or extremely similar referendum questions. In our collection, we grouped together attempted registrations for the same or extremely similar question into one initiative. To collect the actual data, we went through the archive⁷⁸ of the parliament of the Ukraine, setting the publisher to “Центрвиборчком” (central election commission), using the search term “ініціативних” (Initiative) and setting the time limit to no older than 31.12.2020. We then went through all 421 documents displayed and noted down which question had been applied for and what the result had been for each group.

We later on also found an official overview of initiatives (**cecletter**) that contains some initiatives that were not in the archive of the parliament. We added these to our findings. However, as the overview and the accessible records contradict each other in numbers and existing attempts, we consider this data unreliable.

Koziełło, Tomasz et al. 2019. “Obywatelska Inicjatywa Referendalna w III Rzeczypospolitej Na Poziomie Ogólnokrajowym.” *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych* 47 (1): 93–112.

Marxer, W. 2018. *Direkte Demokratie in Liechtenstein: Entwicklung, Regelungen, Praxis*. Liechtenstein Politische Schriften. Verlag der Liechtensteinis-

⁷⁷Про Порядок розгляду електронної петиції, адресованої Президентіві України. (n.d.).

Офіційний Вебпортал Парламенту України. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/523/2015>

⁷⁸Законодавство України. (n.d.). Офіційний Вебпортал Парламенту України. Retrieved March 14, 2023, from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/>

chen Akademischen Gesellschaft. <https://books.google.ch/books?id=UIScwgEACAAJ>.

Moeckli, Daniel, Anna Forgács, Henri Ibi, and Anna Forgacs. 2021. *The Legal Limits of Direct Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of Referendums and Initiatives Across Europe*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Setälä, Maija, and Theo Schiller. 2012. *Citizens' Initiatives in Europe: Procedures and Consequences of Agenda-Setting by Citizens*. Springer.

Case selection

For some instruments, it has only been possible to collect partially complete data.

The main reasons for partially complete data were that (1) data was only available for part of the relevant period, (2) inadmissible initiatives were not published, (3) initiatives that did not get enough signatures were not published. In these cases, the available information is included in the database. For other instruments, we have only been able to collect information on a subset of initiatives launched during the relevant time period, be it because only part of that period is fully documented or because official information is not available for certain types of initiatives (such as inadmissible initiatives or initiatives that did not collect sufficient signatures).

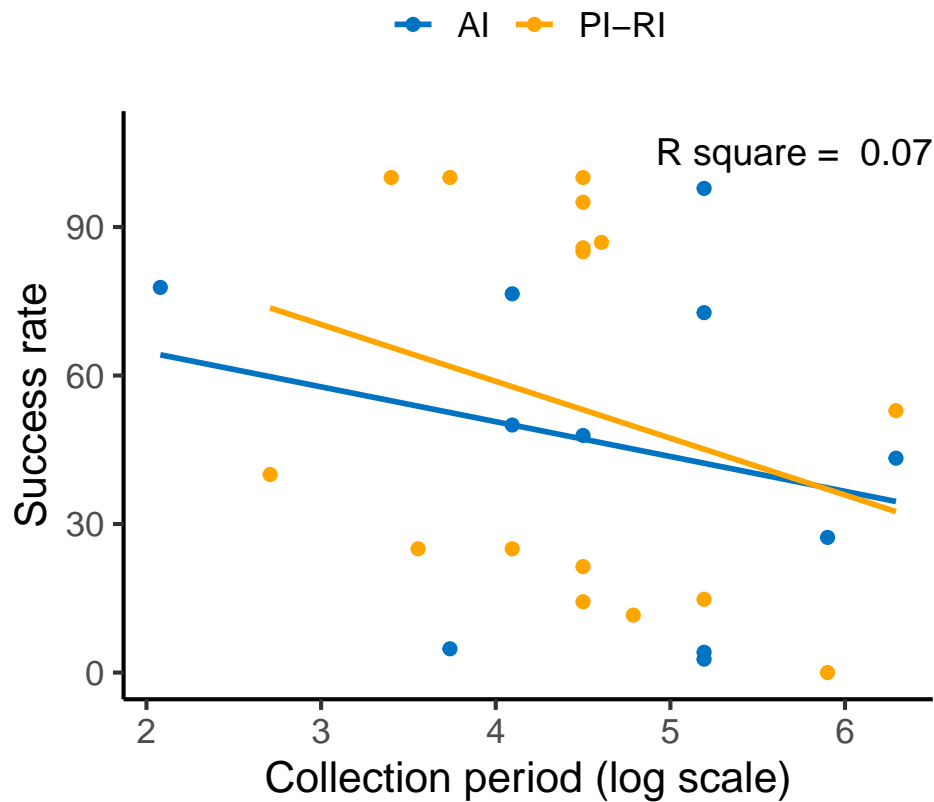
Table 2: Cases that could not be included in the mapping analysis

#	Case	Reason	In dataset
1	Albania AI	No information found	No
2	Albania PI	Low case number	Yes
3	Albania RI	Low case number	Yes
4	Andorra AI	Information unreliable	No
5	Armenia AI	No information found	No
6	Armenia PI	No information found	No
7	Azerbaijan AI	Low case number	Yes
8	Azerbaijan PI	Information unreliable	No
9	Bulgaria AI	Information unreliable/incomplete	No
10	Georgia AI	Information unreliable/incomplete	No
11	Greece AI	Not implemented	No
12	Liechtenstein AI	Low case number	Yes
13	Luxembourg RI	Low case number	Yes
14	Malta RI	Low case number	Yes
15	Montenegro AI	No information found	No
16	Montenegro PI	Information unreliable	No
17	North Macedonia AI	No information found	No
18	Poland PI	Information unreliable/incomplete	No
19	Portugal PI	Low case number	Yes
20	Serbia AI	Information unreliable/incomplete	No
21	Serbia PI	Low case number	Yes
22	Serbia RI	Not implemented	No
23	Slovakia AI	Information unreliable/incomplete	No
24	Ukraine AI	No information found	No
25	Ukraine PI	Information unreliable	No

Table 3: Comments on cases that were included in the mapping analysis

#	Case	Data comment
1	Austria AI	N/A
2	Bulgaria PI	N/A
3	Croatia PI	N/A
4	Denmark AI	Admissibility estimate provided by authorities
5	Estonia AI	N/A
6	Finland AI	N/A
7	Georgia PI	Reliable data only available from 2012
8	Hungary PI	Data only available from 1999
9	Italy AI	N/A
10	Italy RI	N/A
11	Latvia AI	Data only available from 2012
12	Latvia PI	Data only available from 2012
13	Liechtenstein PI	N/A
14	Liechtenstein RI	N/A
15	Lithuania AI	N/A
16	Lithuania PI	N/A
17	Luxembourg AI	N/A
18	Moldova PI	N/A
19	Netherlands AI	N/A
20	North Macedonia PI	N/A
21	Poland AI	Reliable data only available from 1999:2014
22	Portugal AI	N/A
23	Romania AI	N/A
24	San Marino AI	Reliable data from 2003
25	San Marino PI	N/A
26	San Marino RI	N/A
27	Slovakia PI	N/A
28	Slovenia AI	Reliable data from 2005
29	Slovenia RI	N/A
30	Spain AI	N/A
31	Switzerland PI	N/A
32	Switzerland RI	N/A

Figure 1: Signature success rates grouped by type of initiative and number of collection days



Signature success rate

This subsection includes the visualisation for the impact of the collection period.

We refer to the metric and general finding but do not include the figure in the main text due to space constraints. It is also important to note that the number of cases is significantly reduced since 6 of the cases cannot be included as they have an unlimited period for signatures collection.

Attrition data

In Table 4 and Table 5 we provide the attrition data for the two distinct admissibility test sequences. In the before condition, the admissibility test is applied before signature collection.

Table 4: Levels of attrition for the Agenda initiative at various stages (cases where the admissibility test is performed before signature gathering).

ID	Total	Admissible	Signature
Luxembourg AI	1281	856 (66.82%)	41 (3.2%)
Finland AI	1182	1182 (100%)	48 (4.06%)
Denmark AI	1022	730 (71.43%)	20 (1.96%)
Latvia AI	610	241 (39.51%)	41 (6.72%)
Estonia AI	150	150 (100%)	65 (43.33%)
Poland AI	118	94 (79.66%)	45 (38.14%)
Spain AI	114	66 (57.89%)	18 (15.79%)
Slovenia AI	39	34 (87.18%)	26 (66.67%)
Lithuania AI	22	22 (100%)	11 (50%)

Table 5: Levels of attrition at various stages for the Agenda initiative (cases where no admissibility test is performed before signature gathering).

ID	Total	Signature	Admissible
Italy AI	228	223 (97.81%)	223 (97.81%)
Austria AI	36	28 (77.78%)	N/A
Netherlands AI	32	30 (93.75%)	20 (62.5%)
San Marino AI	24	24 (100%)	N/A
Portugal AI	11	10 (90.91%)	9 (81.82%)
Romania AI	11	8 (72.73%)	8 (72.73%)

Table 6: Levels of attrition at various stages for cases where the admissibility test is performed before signature gathering.

ID	Total	Admissible	Signature	Voted	Approved
Hungary PI	1937	129 (6.66%)	15 (0.77%)	5 (0.26%)	3 (0.15%)
Slovenia RI	88	32 (36.36%)	10 (11.36%)	10 (11.36%)	7 (7.95%)
Georgia PI	42	7 (16.67%)	1 (2.38%)	0 (0%)	N/A
Latvia PI	33	21 (63.64%)	0 (0%)	N/A	N/A
Lithuania PI	28	27 (96.43%)	4 (14.29%)	3 (10.71%)	0 (0%)
Liechtenstein PI	18	17 (94.44%)	17 (94.44%)	16 (88.89%)	3 (16.67%)
Moldova PI	10	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	N/A
North Macedonia PI	6	1 (16.67%)	1 (16.67%)	1 (16.67%)	0 (0%)

Table 7: Levels of attrition at various stages for cases where no admissibility test is performed before signature gathering.

ID	Total	Signature	Admissible	Voted	Approved
Switzerland PI	270	120 (44.44%)	118 (43.7%)	114 (42.22%)	13 (4.81%)
Switzerland RI	107	93 (86.92%)	N/A	93 (86.92%)	25 (23.36%)
Italy RI	106	91 (85.85%)	45 (42.45%)	42 (39.62%)	14 (13.21%)
San Marino PI	40	38 (95%)	22 (55%)	15 (37.5%)	6 (15%)
San Marino RI	26	17 (65.38%)	11 (42.31%)	8 (30.77%)	5 (19.23%)
Bulgaria PI	15	3 (20%)	2 (13.33%)	2 (13.33%)	0 (0%)
Croatia PI	15	6 (40%)	1 (6.67%)	1 (6.67%)	1 (6.67%)
Liechtenstein RI	15	15 (100%)	15 (100%)	15 (100%)	9 (60%)
Slovakia PI	7	7 (100%)	6 (85.71%)	6 (85.71%)	0 (0%)