Codebook for:

The responsive public: How EU decisions shape public opinion on salient policies

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Contents

1 Variables used to analyze the economic recovery aid experiment and the refugee relocation experiment **3**

1.1 Dependent variables 3

1.2 Exogenous treatment variables 4

1.3 Pretreatment covariates 6

2 Variables used in the quasi-experimental analysis of Eurobarometer data **16**

2.1 Dependent variables 16

2.2 Exogenous treatment variable 16

2.3 Pretreatment covariates 17

Introduction

This codebook describes all variables contained in the three data sets that are used in the statistical analyses. Table 1 describes these data sets. The data in the first two data sets was gathered for this study, and the data in the third data set was compiled by the European Commission (2020). The same variables are contained in the aid and refugees data sets unless stated differently in the description of the variables below.

The analyses rely on the following data sets:

Table 1: Overview of data sets used for statistical analyses

Name	Description
recoveryaid	Dataset used to analyze survey experiment on Coronavirus economic recovery aid
refugeerelocation	Dataset used to analyze survey experiment on refugee relocation
eurobarometer-subset	Dataset used in quasi-experimental analysis of 2020 Eurobarometer 93.1 survey (European Commission, 2020)

1 Variables used to analyze the economic recovery aid experiment and the refugee relocation experiment

1.1 Dependent variables

`aiddvrescaled` **Support of Coronavirus economic recovery aid**

Survey question:
"Would you favor or oppose the European Union taking out loans in the amount of 500 billion Euro and giving the money to those member states that have been most strongly affected by the Coronavirus crisis?"

Variable values:

(1) Strongly favor
(0.75) Moderately favor
(0.5) Neither favor nor oppose
(0.25) Moderately oppose
(0) Strongly oppose

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the economic recovery aid experiment.

`refdvrescaled` **Support of refugee relocation**

Survey question (German survey):
Would you favor or oppose to allocate 40,000 refugees to all members of the European Union and to welcome 11,000 of them in Germany?

Survey question (Austrian survey):
Would you favor or oppose to allocate 40,000 refugees to all members of the European Union and to welcome 800 of them in Austria?

Variable values:
(1) Strongly favor
(0.75) Moderately favor
(0.5) Neither favor nor oppose
(0.25) Moderately oppose
(0) Strongly oppose

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

1.2 Exogenous treatment variables

`aideu` **Unity or divisions over pandemic economic recovery aid in the Council of the EU**

Variable values:

(1) Experiment cues unanimous approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU

(2) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid despite a few small EU member states' dissent

(3) Experiment cues non-approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU due to vetoes of some EU member states

(4) Experiment cues non-approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU due to broad opposition among member states

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the economic recovery aid experiment. The Online Appendix presents the exact wording of each treatment condition.

`refeu` **Unity or divisions over refugee relocation between EU member states in the Council of the EU**

Variable values:

(1) Experiment cues unanimous approval of refugee relocation from Soutern to Northern Europe by the Council of the EU

(2) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation from Soutern to Northern Europe despite a few small EU member states' dissent

(3) Experiment cues non-approval of refugee relocation from Soutern to Northern Europe by the Council of the EU due to vetoes of some EU member states

(4) Experiment cues non-approval of refugee relocation from Soutern to Northern Europe by the Council of the EU due to broad opposition among member states

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment. The Online Appendix presents the exact wording of each treatment condition.

`aidapp` **Approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU**

Variable values:

(1) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU (unanimous approval or approval with dissent by some member states)
(0) Experiment cues non-approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU (due to vetoes or broad opposition in the Council)

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the economic recovery aid experiment. The Online Appendix presents the exact wording of each treatment condition.

`refapp` **Approval of refugee relocation between member states by the Council of the EU**

Variable values:
(1) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation from Southern to Northern Europe by the Council of the EU (unanimous approval or approval with dissent by some member states)
(0) Experiment cues non-approval of refugee relocation from Southern to Northern Europe by the Council of the EU (due to vetoes or broad opposition in the Council)

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment. The Online Appendix presents the exact wording of each treatment condition.

`aiddom` **Domestic elite opinion about Coronavirus economic recovery aid**

Variable values (German survey):
(1) Experiment cues support of this policy proposal by most parties in the German Bundestag
(0) Experiment does not present cue about domestic elites' position on this policy proposal

Variable values (Austrian survey):
(1) Experiment cues majority opposition to this policy proposal in the Austrian Nationalrat
(0) Experiment does not present cue about domestic elites' position on this policy proposal

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the Coronavirus economic recovery experiment.

`aiddom` **Domestic elite opinion about refugee relocation**

Variable values (German survey):

(1) Experiment cues support of this policy by most parties in the German Bundestag

(0) Experiment does not present cue about domestic elites' position on this policy

Variable values (Austrian survey):

(1) Experiment cues majority opposition to this policy in the Austrian Nationalrat

(0) Experiment does not present cue about domestic elites' position on this policy

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

1.3 Pretreatment covariates

`trusteuaid5` **Trust in the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on economic and fiscal policy? European Union"

Variable values:

(0) Completely trust

(1) Largely trust

(2) Moderately trust

(3) Trust a little bit

(4) Do not trust at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the Coronavirus economic recovery aid experiment.

`trusteuaid3` **Rescaled measure of trust in the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on economic and fiscal policy? European Union"

Variable values:

(0) Completely or largely trust
(1) Moderately trust
(2) Trust a little bit or do not trust at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the Coronavirus economic recovery aid experiment.

`trusteuref5` **Trust in the EU's judgment on refugee policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on refugee policy? European Union"

Variable values:

(0) Completely trust
(1) Largely trust
(2) Moderately trust
(3) Trust a little bit
(4) Do not trust at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

`trusteuref3` **Rescaled measure of trust in the EU's judgment on refugee policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on refugee policy? European Union"

Variable values:

(0) Completely or largely trust
(1) Moderately trust
(2) Trust a little bit or do not trust at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

`trusteuaid5aideuapp` **Interaction between approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and trust in the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy**

Variable values:

(0) Experiment cues non-approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and/or the respondent completely trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy

(1) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent largely trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy

(2) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent moderately trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy

(3) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy a little bit

(4) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent does not trust the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the pandemic economic recovery aid experiment.

`trusteuref5refeuapp` **Interaction between approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and trust in the EU's judgment on refugee policy**

Variable values:

(0) Experiment cues non-approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and/or the respondent completely trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy

(1) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent largely trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy a little bit

(2) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent moderately trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy

(3) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy a little bit

(4) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent does not trust the EU's judgment on refugee policy at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

`trusteuaid3aideuapp` **Interaction between approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and rescaled measure of trust in the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy**

Variable values:

(0) Experiment cues non-approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and/or the respondent completely or largely trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal polic

(1) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent moderately trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy

(2) Experiment cues approval of pandemic economic recovery aid by the Council of the EU and the respondent trusts the EU's judgment on economic and fiscal policy a little bit or not at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the pandemic economic recovery aid experiment.

`trusteuref5refeuapp` **Interaction between approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and trust in the EU's judgment on refugee policy**

Variable values:

(0) Experiment cues non-approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and/or the respondent completely or largely trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy

(1) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent moderately trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy

(2) Experiment cues approval of refugee relocation by the Council of the EU and the respondent trusts the EU's judgment on refugee policy a little bit or not at all

Note:
This variable is only contained in the data set used to analyze the refugee relocation experiment.

`female` **Female**

Survey question:
"Are you female or male?"

Variable values:

(0) Male

(1) Female

`age` **Age**

Survey question:
"How old are you?"

Variable values:
(18-90) Self-reported age in years
Note:
Only adults were eligible to participate in this survey.

`agegroup` **Age group**

Survey question:
"How old are you?"

Variable values:
(1) 18-29 years old
(2) 30-39 years old
(3) 40-49 years old
(4) 50-59 years old
(5) 60-69 years old
(6) $\geq$70 years old

Note:
Only adults were eligible to participate in this survey.

`income1000` **Income (in 1,000 EUR)**

Survey question:
"What is your combined monthly net household income?"

Variable values:
(0.5) Less than 500 Euro
(0.75) 500-1,000 Euro
(1.25) 1,000-1,500 Euro
(1.75) 1,500-2,000 Euro
(2.25) 2,000-2,500 Euro
(2.75) 2,500-3,000 Euro
(3.25) 3,000-3,500 Euro
(3.75) 3,500-4,000 Euro
(4.5) 4,000-5,000 Euro
(5.5) 5,000-6,000 Euro
(6.5) More than 6,000 Euro

`educ` **Education**

Survey question:
"What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?"

Variable values:

(1) Did not graduate from school; attended primary or secondary or vocational school
(2) High school
(3) Completed professional training
(4) University (diploma, undergraduate degree or graduate degree)

`educ2` **Education: High school as highest completed education level**

Survey question:
"What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?"

Variable values:

(1) High school
(0) Other: Did not graduate from school; attended primary or secondary or vocational school; completed professional training; university (diploma, undergraduate degree or graduate degree)

`educ3` **Education: Professional training as highest completed education level**

Survey question:
"What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?"

Variable values:

(1) Completed professional training
(0) Other: Did not graduate from school; attended primary or secondary or vocational school; high school; university (diploma, undergraduate degree or graduate degree)

`educ4` **Education: university as highest completed education level**

Survey question:
"What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?"

Variable values:

(1) University (diploma, undergraduate degree or graduate degree)
(0) Other: Did not graduate from school; attended primary or secondary or vocational school; high school; completed professional training

`polinterest` **Interest in politics**

Survey question:
"How interested are you in politics?"

Variable values:
(1) Not at all
(2) Slightly
(3) Moderately
(4) Very
(5) Extremely

`forinterest` **Interest in foreign affairs**

Survey question:
"How interested are you in what's going on in other countries?"

Variable values:
(1) Not at all
(2) Slightly
(3) Moderately
(4) Very
(5) Extremely

`left` **Political left**

Survey question:
"People speak of 'left' and 'right' in politics. How would you personally categorize your position in this list?"

Variable values:
(1) Right
(2) Center-right
(3) Exactly in the center
(4) Center-left
(5) Left

`galtan` **Traditional/ authoritarian/ nationalist**

Coding rule:
Index calculated from responses to five questions displayed below, which presented respondents with the same five answer options: strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose.
Survey questions (German survey):
"Do you favor or oppose the redistribution of income and wealth in Germany in favor of poorer persons?"

"Do you favor or oppose infractions of the right to privacy by the state for the purpose of fighting crime?"
"Do you favor or oppose marriage by two gays or two lesbians in Germany?"
"Do you favor or oppose prioritizing the protection of the environment even when doing so slows economic growth?"
"Do you favor or oppose a more restrictive immigration policy in Germany?"

Survey questions (Austrian survey):
"Do you favor or oppose the redistribution of income and wealth in Austria in favor of poorer persons?"
"Do you favor or oppose infractions of the right to privacy by the state for the purpose of fighting crime?"
"Do you favor or oppose marriage by two gays or two lesbians in Austria?"
"Do you favor or oppose prioritizing the protection of the environment even when doing so slows economic growth?"
"Do you favor or oppose a more restrictive immigration policy in Austria?"

Variable values:
(5-25) Political preferences on a spectrum from green-alternative-libertarian (low values) to traditional- authoritarian-nationalist (high values)

`trustdeaid` **Trust in German government's judgment on economic and fiscal policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on economic and fiscal policy? German government"

Variable values:
(1) Completely trust
(2) Largely trust
(3) Moderately trust
(4) Trust a little bit
(5) Do not trust at all

`trustderef` **Trust in German government's judgment on refugee policy**

Survey question:
"Do you trust the judgment of the following bodies on refugee policy? German government"

Variable values:

(1) Completely trust
(2) Largely trust
(3) Moderately trust
(4) Trust a little bit
(5) Do not trust at all

`land` **Province (Bundesland)**

Survey question:
"In which state do you currently reside?"

Variable values:
(1) Baden-Württemberg (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(2) Bavaria (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(3) Berlin (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(4) Brandenburg (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(5) Bremen (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(6) Hamburg (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(7) Hesse (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(8) Lower Saxony (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(9) Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(10) North Rhine-Westphalia (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(11) Rhineland-Palatinate (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(12) Saarland (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(13) Saxony (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(14) Saxony-Anhalt (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(15) Schleswig-Holstein (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(16) Thuringia (answer option displayed to German respondents)
(17) Burgenland (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(18) Carinthia (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(19) Lower Austria (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(20) Upper Austria (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(21) Salzburg (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(22) Styria (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(23) Tyrol (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(24) Vorarlberg (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)
(25) Vienna (answer option displayed to Austrian respondents)

`countryid` **Country**

Variable values:
(1) Germany

(2) Austria

`respondentid` **Respondent ID**

Variable values:
(1-5,098) Unique number assigned to each respondent

2 Variables used in the quasi-experimental analysis of Eurobarometer data

2.1 Dependent variables

`financialsupport` **Support of Coronavirus economic recovery aid**

Survey question:
"And what should the European Union now prioritise in its response to the Coronavirus outbreak? ... Provide more financial support to the most affected regions in the EU"

Variable values:

(1) Yes (respondent chose this item from a list of 15 options including 'other' priorities and 'none')

(0) No (respondent did not choose this item from a list of 15 options including 'other' priorities and 'none' and did not respond 'don't know')

(NA) Don't know

`freemove` **Support of review of free movement**

Survey question:
"And what should the European Union now prioritise in its response to the Coronavirus outbreak? ... Review the principle of free movement between EU Member States"

Variable values:

(1) Yes (respondent chose this item from a list of 15 options including 'other' priorities and 'none')

(0) No (respondent did not choose this item from a list of 15 options including 'other' priorities and 'none' and did not respond 'don't know')

(NA) Don't know

2.2 Exogenous treatment variable

`aftereusummit` **Interviewed after European Council approval of Coronavirus economic recovery aid**

Coding rule:
Coded based on date of interview recorded by Eurobarometer enumerators

Variable values:

(1) Interview conducted after European Council approval of Coronavirus economic recovery aid on 21 July

(0) Interview conducted before European Council approval of Coronavirus economic recovery aid on 21 July

2.3 Pretreatment covariates

`trusteucorona` **Trust in EU's judgment about Coronavirus pandemic response**

Survey question:
"Thinking about EU's response to the Coronavirus outbreak, to what extent do you trust or not the EU to make the right decisions in the future?"

Variable values:
(0) Totally trust
(1) Tend to trust
(2) Tend not to trust
(3) Do not trust at all
(NA) Don't know

`aftersummittrusteucorona` **Interaction between interview date after European Council approval of Coronavirus economic recovery aid and respondent's trust in EU's judgment about Coronavirus pandemic response**

Survey question:
"Thinking about EU's response to the Coronavirus outbreak, to what extent do you trust or not the EU to make the right decisions in the future?"

Variable values:
(0) Interview conducted before European Council approved Coronavirus economic recovery aid and/or respondent totally trusts EU's judgment on Coronavirus response
(1) Interview conducted after European Council approved Coronavirus economic recovery aid and respondent tends to trust EU's judgment on Coronavirus response
(2) Interview conducted after European Council approved Coronavirus economic recovery aid and respondent tends not to trust EU's judgment on Coronavirus response
(3) Interview conducted after European Council approved Coronavirus economic recovery aid and respondent does not trust EU's judgment on Coronavirus response at all

(NA) Respondent reports that he/she does not know whether he/she trusts EU's judgment on Coronavirus response

`female` **Female**

Survey question:
"Gender" (exact question wording varied between countries)

Variable values:
(1) Female
(0) Male

Note:
The Eurobarometer survey also contained "None of the above/ Non binary/ do not recognize yourself in above categories" as a separate response category, but no respondent in the countries included in the analysis chose this answer option.

`age` **Age**

Survey question:
"How old are you?"

Variable values:
(15-95) Self-reported age in years

`incomecat` **Income category**

Survey question:
"Do you see yourself and your household belonging to. . . ?"

Variable values:
(1) Working class or lower middle class
(2) Middle class
(3) Upper middle class or higher class
(NA) Other, none, don't know or refused to answer

`incomecat2` **Income category: middle class**

Survey question:
"Do you see yourself and your household belonging to. . . ?"

Variable values:
(1) Middle class
(0) Working class or lower middle class or upper middle class or higher class

(NA) Other, none, don't know or refused to answer

`incomecat3` **Income category: upper middle class or higher class**

Survey question:
"Do you see yourself and your household belonging to. . . ?"

Variable values:
(1) Upper middle class or higher class
(0) Working class or lower middle class or middle class
(NA) Other, none, don't know or refused to answer

`educ` **Education**

Survey question:
"How old were you when you stopped full-time education?"

Variable values:
(1) Up to 15 years old or no formal full-time education
(2) Up to 17 years old
(3) Up to 19 years old
(4) Up to 23 years old
(5) Older than 23 years old
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

Note:
If a respondent reports being a full-time student, he/she is allocated to the educational attainment category that corresponds to his/her age at the time of the interview.

`educ2` **Education: Full-time education up to the age of 17 years**

Survey question:
"How old were you when you stopped full-time education?"

Variable values:
(1) Up to 17 years old
(0) Up to 15 years old or no formal full-time education or older than 17 years old
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

Note:
If a respondent reports being a full-time student, he/she is allocated to the educational attainment category that corresponds to his/her age at the time of the interview.

`educ3` **Education: Full-time education up to the age of 19 years**

Survey question:
"How old were you when you stopped full-time education?"

Variable values:
(1) Up to 19 years old
(0) Up to 17 years old or no formal full-time education or older than 19 years old
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

Note:
If a respondent reports being a full-time student, he/she is allocated to the educational attainment category that corresponds to his/her age at the time of the interview.

`educ4` **Education: Full-time education up to the age of 23 years**

Survey question:
"How old were you when you stopped full-time education?"

Variable values:
(1) Up to 23 years old
(0) Up to 19 years old or no formal full-time education or older than 23 years old
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

Note:
If a respondent reports being a full-time student, he/she is allocated to the educational attainment category that corresponds to his/her age at the time of the interview.

`educ5` **Education: More than 23 years old at end of full-time education**

Survey question:
"How old were you when you stopped full-time education?"

Variable values:
(1) Older than 23 years old
(0) Up to 23 years old or no formal full-time education
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

Note:

If a respondent reports being a full-time student, he/she is allocated to the educational attainment category that corresponds to his/her age at the time of the interview.

`polinterest` **Interest in politics**

Survey question:
"When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about ... national political matters?"

Variable values:
(1) Never
(2) Occasionally
(3) Frequently
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

`eurinterest` **Interest in European affairs**

Survey question:
"When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about ... European political matters?"

Variable values:
(1) Never
(2) Occasionally
(3) Frequently
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

`left` **Political left**

Survey question:
"In political matters people talk of 'the left' and 'the right'. How would you place your views on this scale?"

Variable values:
(1) Left
(2) ...
(3) ...
(4) ...
(5) ...
(6) ...
(7) ...
(8) ...
(9) ...

(10) Right
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

`leftsq` **Squared term of political left**

Survey question:
"In political matters people talk of 'the left' and 'the right'. How would you place your views on this scale?"

Variable values:
(1) Left
(4) ...
(9) ...
(16) ...
(25) ...
(36) ...
(49) ...
(64) ...
(81) ...
(100) Right
(NA) Don't know or refused to answer

`ccode` **Country**

Coding rule:
The variable records where the interview was conducted. It was coded by the survey company that administers the Eurobarometer survey.

Variable values:
(1) Austria
(6) Germany
(7) Denmark
(10) Finland
(11) France
(15) Ireland
(16) Italy
(21) Netherlands
(25) Sweden

`region` **Region**

Coding rule:
The variable records where the interview was conducted. It was coded by the survey company that administers the Eurobarometer survey.

Variable values:

(1-220) Number assigned to each region (i.e., member states' top administrative units)

References

European Commission. 2020. *Eurobarometer 93.1.* Brussels: European Union.