Variables

This document lists the variables contained in the data files and provides a short description. The construction and sources of the variables are explained in the article and/or Online Appendix (especially see Table S2.2 and Table S4.1). Note that some additional variables are created in the course of the analysis by the Stata do files. They are not listed here.

I. Historical data sets on electoral reform in Swiss canton of Zurich

Key identifiers, district characteristics and MP characteristics are common to datasets dataKR1, dataKR2 and dataKR3. However, each file contains a different set of MP behavior variables based on a different unit of analysis (MP-vote, MP-parliament, or MP-debate).

1. Identifiers and related variables

kantonsrat: Number of cantonal parliament (*Kantonsrat*), where 16 = 1911-1914 parliamentary term; 17 = 1914-1917 parliamentary term; 18 = 1917-1920 parliamentary term.
wk: Code of electoral district in which MP is elected as it is listed in the electoral law.
wkName: Name of electoral district.
wk18: Code of electoral district in post-reform parliament (i.e., 18th Kantonsrat) in which the current electoral district is located.
wkBezirk: Numeric identifier for *Bezirk* (i.e., administrative district) in which the electoral district is located. Number corresponds to the *Bezirk* code used by historical Swiss federal census in canton of Zurich.
kr18: Dummy for post-reform parliament (i.e., 18th kantonsrat).
memberID: Numeric identifier for MP.
mName: Full MP name as printed in list of elected MPs in parliamentary records.

2. District characteristics

RatioDM: Ratio of the district magnitude in a post-reform (i.e., 18th Kantonsrat) district to the average pre-reform (i.e., 17th Kantonsrat) district magnitude in the same unit. This is plotted in Figure 1 of the article.
wkSeats: District magnitude.
wkSeatslog: Log of district magnitude.
JaAnteilRef: District-level share of yes votes for introduction of PR in 1916 referendum.
JaAnteilRefSq: Second-order polynomial of JaAnteilRef.
foreign_pop: Share of foreign population in a given district (calculated from 1910 federal census), as share of total population.
relig_frac: Religious fractionalization in a given district (from 1910 federal census). Calculated as one minus the Herfindahl index of religious group shares (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and “other” denominations) in a district.

lang_frac: Language fractionalization in a given district (from 1910 federal census). Calculated as one minus the Herfindahl index language group shares (German, French, Italian, Romansh, and "other" languages) in a district.
industry_share: Employment share in industrial sector in a given district (from 1920 federal census), as share of working population.

3. MP characteristics

age: Age of MP in years. In vote-level data file, this is defined as the year of the vote minus the year of birth. In the other files it is defined as first year of parliamentary term minus year of birth.
mDr: Dummy variable indicating if MP has a doctoral degree.
mWorker: MP occupation dummy for blue-collar occupations, based on description in parliamentary records.
mFarmer: MP occupation dummy for farmer, based on description in parliamentary records.
mNR: Dummy variable indicating if MP is a member of Nationalrat (lower house of national parliament).
LeftParty: Dummy variable indicating if MP is a member of Social Democratic Party (or Grütlianer after its split from the Social Democrats), based on parliamentary records and newspaper sources.
FarmersParty: Dummy variable indicating if MP is a member of the Farmers' Party, based on parliamentary records and newspaper sources.
mLocPol: Dummy variable indicating if MP has local-level political experience (e.g. council member or elected administrative office).
mSeniority: Number of years the MP has served in the cantonal parliament until the beginning of the current term.
mExit: Dummy variable indicating if MP exited cantonal parliament before end of term.
mDeath: Dummy variable indicating whether MP died before end of term.
mReplacement: Variable indicating whether MP entered parliament during the term to replace an MP who exited parliament.
Reelect1914: Dummy variable indicating if incumbent MP from 1911-1914 parliament was reelected in 1914 election. Only in dataKR2.dta
pres: Dummy variable indicating whether MP served as president of cantonal parliament at least once during current parliamentary term.

4. MP behavior

attend: Average attendance rate for MP in given parliament, defined as the fraction of sessions for which MP is listed as having attended in the parliamentary protocol. Only in dataKR2.dta.
attend2: Attendance rate excluding last 4 quarters before the parliamentary election. Only in dataKR2.dta.
congruence: Dummy variable indicating whether an MP's parliamentary vote on an issue is congruent with the canton majority in the corresponding referendum. Vote is coded as congruent if it matches cantonal majority in corresponding referendum and dissonant otherwise. Available for parliaments elected in 1914 and 1917. Only in dataKR1.dta.

vVote: Vote of MP on issue identified by vID, where 0=No, 1=Yes, 8 = abstain, 9 = absent with valid excuse, 10=absent without excuse. Only in dataKR1.dta.
MPvote: Dummy variable recode of vVote indicating whether MP voted 0=No, 1=Yes on issue identified by vID. Only in dataKR1.dta.
vID: Code of legislative vote matched to referendum. Only in dataKR1. See Table S2.3 for description.
spn_tot: Total number of legislative speeches given by MP in key debates in pre-reform parliament (1914-1917). Only in dataKR2.dta
spn: Number of legislative speeches given by MP in key debate identified by variable sID. Only in dataKR3.dta
sID: Code for debate. Same as vID. Only in dataKR3.dta
ref: Dummy variable indicating whether MP is the (ad-hoc) committee's rapporteur in the corresponding key debate. There may be multiple rapporteurs for a debate that lasts multiple sessions. Only in dataKR3.dta

II. Data set for electoral reform in European Parliament

ep: Parliamentary term: 4= 1994-1999; 5=1999-2004.
countryID: Country code.
countryName: Country name.
districtID: Number of the EP electoral district within a country where MEP is elected.
districtName: District name.
cdID: Unique electoral district identifier where MEP is elected (based on countryID and districtID).
mepID: MEP identifier from Hix, Noury and Roland (2007).
mepName: MEP name.
attendance: An MEP's participation rate in roll-call votes during the parliamentary term, calculated from the legislative voting data set of Hix, Noury and Roland (2007).
shirking: Fraction of parliamentary sittings in which an MEP signed the official attendance register (required to claim daily expenses) but cast zero roll-call votes, calculated from the data set of Hix, Noury and Roland (2007).
NOMd1: An MEP's first dimension legislative "ideal point" estimated from roll-call votes by Hix, Noury and Roland (2007).
lr_mean: Mean of citizen ideological positions in a country at the beginning of the parliamentary term, computed on the basis of left-right self-placements from the 1994 and 1999 European Election Study.
logintensity: Reform intensity is zero for all electoral districts in the 4th European Parliament and all districts outside Great Britain in the 5th European Parliament. For British districts in the 5th European Parliament, reform intensity is the natural log of the new district magnitude in the post-reform district.