

Exploring the potential for common European politics: Cross-national commonalities and differences in the European constitutional referendums
Online Appendix
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Table A1: Coding parties into different party families (based on “party proximity,” government parties italicized)

	P1	P2 (left/right antagonism)	P3 (far-left separated)
Liberals	<i>UDF</i> (F); <i>VVD</i> , <i>D66</i> (NL); DP (L)	<i>UDF</i> (F); <i>VVD</i> , <i>D66</i> (NL); DP (L); S ₉ (S)	<i>UDF</i> (F); <i>D66</i> , <i>VVD</i> (NL); DP (L);
Socialists	PS (F); PvdA (NL); <i>LSAP</i> (L), <i>PSOE</i> , S ₆ , S ₇ (S)	PS, PC, F ₁ , F ₂ (F); PvdA, SP (NL); <i>LSAP</i> , Déi Lenk (L), <i>PSOE</i> , S ₁ , S ₃ , S ₄ , S ₆ , S ₇ (S)	PS (F); PvdA (NL); <i>LSAP</i> (L), <i>PSOE</i> , S ₆ , S ₇ (S)
Conservatives	<i>UMP</i> (F); <i>CDA</i> (NL); <i>CSV</i> (L); PP, S ₂ , S ₄ , S ₈ (S)	<i>UMP</i> , F ₃ , F ₄ (F); <i>CDA</i> , CU, NL ₁ (NL); <i>CSV</i> , L ₁ (L); PP, S ₂ , S ₄ , S ₈ (S)	<i>UMP</i> (F); <i>CDA</i> , NL ₁ , CU (NL); <i>CSV</i> (L), PP, S ₂ , S ₄ , S ₈ (S)
Greens	Les Verts (F); Groen links (NL); Déi Gréng (L)	Les Verts (F); Groen links (NL); Déi Gréng (L)	Les Verts (F); Groen links (N); Déi Gréng (L)
Far-right	FN, NMR (F); LPF, Leefbaar Nederland (NL)	FN, NMR (F); LPF, Leefbaar Nederland (NL)	FN, NMR (F); LPF, Leefbaar Nederland (NL)
Other	PC, F ₁ , F ₂ , F ₃ , F ₄ (F); SP, NL ₁ , NL ₂ , CU (NL); Déi Lenk, L ₁ , (L); S ₁ , S ₃ , S ₅ , S ₉ (S)	NL ₂ , (NL); S ₅ , S ₉ (S)	F ₂ , F ₃ , F ₄ (F) NL ₂ (NL); L ₁ , (L); S ₃ , S ₅ , S ₉ (S)
Far-left	NA	NA	PC, F ₁ (F); SP (NL); Déi Lenk (L); S ₁ (S)

NL₁: SGP, NL₂: Other

F₁: LCR, F₂: minor left party 2, F₃: minor other party, F₄: minor right parties

L₁: ADR

S₁: IU, S₂: CiU, S₃: ERC, S₄: PNV, S₅: EA, S₆: CHA, S₇: BNG, S₈: CC S₉: Other

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics for the Independent and Dependent Variables

	Netherlands	Spain	France	Luxembourg
Age	47.94	46.35	47.17	46.59
Education	6.54	5.41	6.45	6.33
Male	49.0	45.03	47.69	49.15
Female	51.0	54.97	52.31	50.85
Service class	29.43	25.98	25.08	21.92
Non-Manuals	13.73	10.73	14.15	20.42
Petty bourgeoisie	5.72	2.32	3.27	.9
Skilled workers	9.57	7.15	10.93	5.21
Unskilled workers	2.99	5.49	1.76	3.1
Farmers	1.37	1.21	1.26	.7
Homemakers	9.68	21.85	3.47	16.82
Students	4.96	5.69	6.39	7.01
Pensioners	16.77	15.51	28.25	22.72
Looking for a job	5.78	4.08	5.44	1.2
Liberals	26.29	0	9.37	15.56
Socialists	27.95	50.03	40.07	21.46
Conservatives	23.21	37.02	22.5	46.05
Greens	6.87	0	10.49	11.79
Others	12.14	12.94	13.53	5.14
Extreme-right	3.55	0	4.04	0
Government: support	49.5	48.57	31.87	61.61
Government: do not support	50.5	51.43	68.13	38.39
Approval in the referendum	41.28	85.83	50.00	65.25

Displayed are percentages of respondents in each category except for values for age and education which are mean values¹

¹ The Flash-Eurobarometer data collapsed respondents creating one category for persons leaving education between the ages of 5-13 and thus education measures the year a respondent left full-time education beyond the age of 13. The data were furthermore collapsed into three-year intervals starting at age 19 and truncated at age 27+.

Table A3: Logits for vote (M8; s.e. between brackets)

	Netherlands		Spain		France		Luxembourg	
Age	.02 (.0005)	***	.002 (.001)	*	.01 (.02)		.003 (.0002)	***
Age ²	.0001 (.0002)		.0001 (.0002)		.0001 (.0002)		.0001 (.0002)	
Education	-.09 (.001)	***	-.29 (.001)	***	.21 (.001)	***	-.11 (.001)	***
Female (<i>R: male</i>)	-.06 (.01)	***	.01 (.001)	***	.04 (.002)	***	.48 (.01)	***
Service class	.23 (.003)	***	-.17 (.001)	***	.13 (.01)	***	.12 (.0002)	***
Non-Manuals	R		R		R		R	
Petty bourgeoisie	-.22 (.005)	***	.37 (.003)	***	.01 (.005)	**	-.05 (.01)	***
Skilled workers	.20 (.002)	***	.12 (.002)	***	-.49 (.01)	***	-.26 (.01)	***
Unskilled workers	.48 (.002)	***	-.15 (.002)	***	-.53 (.004)	***	.34 (.003)	***
Farmers	.57 (.001)	***	#		.55 (.02)	***	-.52 (.004)	***
Homemakers	-.03 (.02)		-.0003 (.01)		-.10 (.01)	***	-.31 (.02)	***
Students	-.70 (.02)	***	-1.24 (.02)	***	.78 (.09)	***	-.05 (.02)	*
Pensioners	-.04 (.01)	***	-.33 (.005)	***	.37 (.06)	***	-.005 (.01)	
Looking for a job	-.18 (.02)	***	-.26 (.01)	***	.06 (.01)	***	-.20 (.02)	***
Liberals	1.04 (.01)	***	##		-1.27 (.003)	***	.04 (.004)	***
Socialists	.86 (.01)	***	-3.44 (.02)	***	2.05 (.01)	***	.18 (.04)	***
Conservatives	R		R		R		R	
Greens	#		##		3.57 (.01)	***	-1.36 (.03)	***
Others	.58 (.004)	***	-2.59 (.003)	***	.73 (.01)	***	.08 (.03)	*
Extreme-right	.53 (.001)	***	##		-.13 (.01)	***	##	
Government: support (<i>R: do not support</i>)	.01 (.01)		#		3.54 (.01)	***	.09 (.04)	*
Country	-.40 (.01)	***	6.04 (.03)	***	R		#	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; coding: no 0, yes 1; merged data file from Flash-EB, # parameter excluded from the model due to multi-collinearity, ## no such party in the respective country; R: reference category, n: 5477 (turnout), 4419 (vote); age² is a main effect only

Table A4: Model fit for vote at the referendums (binary logistic regressions), additional models

Model	Description	McFadden's pseudo R ²	Fit statistics		
			Log- Likelihood	BIC	Δ BIC
1	Socio-demographics only (age, age ² , education, gender and social class)	.026	-2916.38	-167.92	
A1	1 + politics & country	.282	-2136.20	-1728.27	-1560.36
A2	A1 + (gender * country)	.282	-2135.36	-1729.94	-1562.03
A3	A2 + (age * country)	.284	-2126.22	-1748.22	-1580.30
A4	A3 + (education * country)	.292	-2099.42	-1801.82	-1633.91
3	A4 + (social class * country)	.283	-2094.78	-1799.25	-1631.33

“Politics” summarizes the inclusion of variables describing party preference and government support

Source: merged data file from Flash-EB, comparisons of logistic regression with vote at the referendum as the dependent variable, lower BIC-values indicate better model fit, best fitting model italicized, Δ BIC in comparison to the first model

Note: Apparently, the interaction of class with country does not improve model fit. However, within countries several classes yield perfect predictions for voting on the TCE; hence, the respective class was dropped from the analysis and the BIC comparisons are based on different sample sizes. Fixing the number of respondents indicates a clear effect of class.

Table A5: Predicted Probabilities of voting in favour of the TCE by party affiliation and social class

Party	Profession	Netherlands	Spain	France	Luxembourg
Liberals	Service class	0.52	##	0.48	0.53
	Non-Manuals	0.41	##	0.41	0.46
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.37	##	0.40	#
	Skilled workers	0.32	##	0.26	0.21
	Unskilled workers	0.42	##	0.23	0.40
	Homemaker	0.42		0.33	0.50
	Farmers	0.70	##	0.49	#
	Students	0.38	##	0.56	0.42
	Pensioners	0.64	##	0.48	0.77
	Looking for a job	0.41	##	0.37	0.53
Socialists	Service class	0.44	0.95	0.42	0.51
	Non-Manuals	0.31	0.96	0.35	0.42
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.27	0.96	0.35	0.48
	Skilled workers	0.23	0.95	0.22	0.25
	Unskilled workers	0.27	0.92	0.18	0.32
	Homemaker	0.29	0.97	0.26	0.48
	Farmers	0.59	#	0.45	#
	Students	0.28	0.90	0.49	0.42
	Pensioners	0.46	0.98	0.48	0.69
	Looking for a job	0.31	0.95	0.35	0.36
Conservatives	Service class	0.57	0.79	0.76	0.80
	Non-Manuals	0.45	0.81	0.70	0.75
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.40	0.89	0.68	0.80
	Skilled workers	0.37	0.78	0.56	0.56
	Unskilled workers	0.40	0.72	0.53	0.71
	Homemaker	0.44	0.86	0.65	0.77
	Farmers	0.75	#	0.79	0.70
	Students	0.44	0.64	0.81	0.75
	Pensioners	0.65	0.91	0.80	0.91
	Looking for a job	0.45	0.75	0.69	0.68
Greens	Service class	0.60	##	0.77	0.55
	Non-Manuals	0.47	##	0.71	0.44
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.46	##	0.74	0.54
	Skilled workers	0.42	##	0.56	0.20
	Unskilled workers	0.43	##	0.54	0.39
	Homemaker	0.40	##	0.66	0.47
	Farmers	#	##	0.78	0.35
	Students	0.46	##	0.80	0.48
	Pensioners	0.66	##	0.82	0.61
	Looking for a job	0.48	##	0.71	0.45
	Service class	0.05	##	0.06	##
	Non-Manuals	0.03	##	0.05	##
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.03	##	0.05	##

Extreme Right	Skilled workers	0.02	##	0.03	##
	Unskilled workers	0.03	##	0.02	##
	Homemaker	0.03	##	0.03	##
	Farmers	0.08	##	0.08	##
	Students	0.03	##	#	##
	Pensioners	0.06	##	0.07	##
	Looking for a job	0.03	##	0.04	##

parameter not estimated, ## no such party in the respective country

Note: predicted probabilities are averages for the respective groups

Table A6: Predicted Probabilities of voting in favour of the TCE by support for the government and social class

Party	Profession	Netherlands	Spain	France	Luxembourg
Government	Service class	0.54	0.97	0.68	0.70
	Non-Manuals	0.43	0.97	0.57	0.70
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.38	0.99	0.58	0.80
	Skilled workers	0.35	0.97	0.46	0.50
	Unskilled workers	0.41	0.95	0.38	0.59
	Farmers	0.73	#	0.76	0.70
	Homemaker	0.43	0.98	0.49	.72
	Students	0.41	0.95	0.70	0.65
	Pensioners	0.64	0.99	0.77	0.87
	Looking for a job	0.43	0.97	0.51	0.60
Opposition	Service class	0.38	0.64	0.43	0.49
	Non-Manuals	0.26	0.64	0.32	0.41
	Petty bourgeoisie	0.24	0.81	0.30	0.51
	Skilled workers	0.18	0.57	0.20	0.22
	Unskilled workers	0.20	0.58	0.14	0.23
	Farmers	0.28	#	0.41	0.35
	Homemaker	0.21	0.82	0.23	0.44
	Students	0.24	0.48	0.48	0.41
	Pensioners	0.39	0.86	0.49	0.61
	Looking for a job	0.27	0.63	0.3	0.32

parameter not estimated

Note: predicted probabilities are averages for the respective groups