

Study of the Parliamentary Passage of Legislation, 1981-1991
(SPPL Data Set)

Codebook
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This codebook summarizes a common checklist developed by the "Parliaments in Western Europe" study group. For a first outline of the group's research, see Herbert Döring (ed.), *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe*, New York: St. Martin's 1995. For final results of analyses, see Herbert Döring and Mark Hallerberg (eds.), *Patterns of Parliamentary Behavior: Passage of Legislation Across Western Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2004.

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A. General Comment on categorization of missing cases:

9991	Because of previous filter question not applicable (i.e. There is no second decisive reading (V93), so there is not any data for this second reading (V94-V99))
9992	Not existing in this country.
9999	Missing answer in questionnaire / or data not accessible.
0	See explanation to the specific variable

B. Variables

Variable

V1 Questionnaire ID

V2 Country

1	Austria	10	Italy
2	Belgium	11	Luxembourg
3	Denmark	12	Netherlands
4	Finland	13	Norway
5	France	14	Portugal
6	Germany	15	Spain
7	Greece	16	Sweden
8	Iceland	17	Switzerland
9	Ireland	18	United Kingdom

V3 Type of bill

1	Working time/contract
2	Benefits
3	"Unsuccessful"

V4 Bill mentioned as important in Blanpain's Encyclopaedia ?¹

1	Yes
2	No

V5 ISN-CODE IN NATLEX

V6 Did Government first test proposals in an official discussion document?

1	Yes
2	No

V7 Was there a pre-parliamentary commission dealing with the content of the bill?

1	Yes, with a publicly accessible report.
2	Committee appointed by the govt, but working behind closed doors.
3	No

V8 Was the policy problem addressed by the bill mentioned at all in a declaration submitted to parliament?

1	Yes
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¹ For a description of this variable, see Tsebelis 2004, p. 181.

V9	2	No	<i>If yes, was the matter mentioned in vague or in precise terms?</i>
	1		Yes, in precise and detailed terms
	2		Yes, in rather vague terms
V10			<i>Date of submission of this declaration to parliament</i>
V11			<i>Was a solution to the policy problem also mentioned in the govt's declaration ?</i>
	1		Yes
	2		Not at all
V12			<i>If yes, how much attention was paid to the policy problem in the declaration?</i>
	1		One phrase or less
	2		A paragraph (= several sentences)
	3		A section (=several paragraphs)
	4		A chapter
V13			<i>Does the bill formulate a solution to the problem in a similar way as the declaration?</i>
	1		In (quite) a similar way
	2		Some parts in a similar way, others in a dissimilar way
	3		No, or very little similarity between the two formulations
V14			<i>Characters by page of official publication</i>
V15			<i>Number of pages of this bill in the official publication</i>
V16			<i>Number of pages of official publication in which bill was promulgated</i>
V17			<i>Number of articles/clauses</i>
V18			<i>Number of chapters/sub-headings</i>
V19			<i>Number of clauses (of previous bills) changed by this single bill</i>
V20			<i>Sum total of previous bills mentioned in this single bill</i>

V2001 *Number of bills completely deleted*

4-digit variables (or in some cases even 6-digit variables) signify additional information pertaining to some but not all countries. Not to have included these additional variables would have lost valuable information that is, however, limited to only a fraction of cases. These special variables may be used by participants at their discretion.

V21 *Is there a publication of bills by keywords available?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V22 *Number of keywords for this bill*

V23 *Date of bill's formal introduction to plenary*

V24 *In which House was the bill first introduced?*

- 0 Unicameral
- 1 Lower House
- 2 Upper House

V25 *Official initiator of bill*

- 1 Government/Individual minister (s)
- 2 Parliamentary party (parties)
- 3 Individual (or several individual) MP(s)
- 4 Initiated by parliamentary committee
- 5 popular initiative

V2601-2617 *Govt./Opposition status of parties*

- 0
- 1 Government
- 2 Non-government

Please note the special coding procedure for variables 2601-2617. An extra variable was created for each party, with the sequence of these party variables corresponding to the country-specific coding of the parties listed in appendix 1. This device allows for the identification of a party's possibly changing government or opposition status at various points in time. For example, V2601 would tell us whether party1 from a given country initiated a bill or not, and whether it was in government or opposition at this time. The sequence of variables consistently denotes the same party for each country throughout this data set. Now, whereas each variable identifies the name of the respective party, its coding (1 for government and 2 for non-government) reveals its government/opposition status during the passage of the particular

bill in question. Where the coding of government/opposition is set to the value of "0", it would signify that this party was not the initiator of a particular bill.

V26001	<i>Number of initiating government MPs</i>
V26002	<i>Number of initiating non-government MPs</i>
V27	<i>Was there a plenary reading before committee stage?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V28	<i>Date of this reading</i>
V29	<i>Was there a vote before committee stage?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V30	<i>Date of this vote</i>
V31	<i>Was vote preceded by a debate?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V32	<i>Approximate result if vote was not recorded</i>
	0 Recorded vote 1 Near unanimous 2 Approved 3 Rejected
V33	<i>Result of recorded vote (For)</i>
V34	<i>Result of recorded vote (Against)</i>
V35	<i>Result of recorded vote (Abstention)</i>
V36	<i>Was bill taken in committee of the Whole House?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V37	<i>Number of committees to which bill was scheduled</i>
V3801	<i>Name of first committee</i>

- 1 Social Affairs
- 2 Finance
- 3 Justice
- 4 Other

For an explanation of "other" in V3801 and V3802, see appendix 2.

V3802 *Name of second committee*

- 1 Social Affairs
- 2 Finance
- 3 Justice
- 4 Other

For an explanation of "other", see V3801.

V39 *Date of beginning of committee stage*

V40 *Date of end of committee stage*

V4101-4117 *Number of seats in main committee for each party*

The same procedure applies in principle as to V2601-2617. For an explanation, see above. A variable coded as "0" signifies that the relevant party did not have a seat in the main committee. Entries for each variable give the number of seats.

V4201-4217 *Government/Opposition status of each of the parties in main committee*

- 1 Government
- 2 Non-government

Same procedure as V2601-V2617. For an explanation see above.

V43 *Did Chair belong to govt or non-govt?*

- 1 Government
- 2 Non-government

V44 *Did committee take a final vote on bill?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V45 *Was voting record accessible to researchers?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V46 *Number of votes For (govt)*

V47 *Number of votes For (non-govt)*

V4602 *Total number of votes For (addition of V46 and V47)*

V48 *Number of votes Against (govt)*

V49 *Number of votes Against (non-govt)*

V4802 *Total number of votes Against (addition of V48 and V49)*

V50 *Number of Abstentions (govt)*

V51 *Number of Abstentions (non-govt)*

V5002 *Total number of Abstentions (addition of V50 and V51)*

V52 *Number of Absentees (govt)*

V53 *Number of Absentees (non-govt)*

V5202 *Total number of Absentees (addition of V52 and V53)*

V54 *If several committees, was their deliberation*

- 1 Simultaneous
- 2 Consecutive

V55 *Were subcommittees involved?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V56 *Number of subcommittees involved*

V57 *Type(s) of subcommittees involved*

- 1 Special (ad hoc) subcommittee was created
- 2 Permanent subcommittee

V5801-5817 *Chair of sub-committee by party*

0

- 1 Government
- 2 Non-government

Same procedure as V2601-V2617. For an explanation see above.

V59 *Was bill re-allocated to another committee?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V60 *Method of appointment of members of main committee*

- 1 Members fixed by rules
- 2 Some specifically selected for permanent committee
- 3 Ad hoc committee was formed

V61 *Begin of legislative term during deliberation of this bill*

V62 *End of legislative term during deliberation of this bill*

V63 *Number of regular committee members*

V64 *Number of substitutions*

- 1 None
- 2 1-10
- 3 11-20
- 4 21-30
- 5 31 or more

V65 *Committee's total meeting time (in months) during legislative period*

V6501 *Committee's total meeting time (in hours) during legislative period*

(applies only to Sweden)

V66 *Number of scrutinised bills during the legislative period in which the committee prepared its final report*

V67 *Amount of other business*

V68 *Number of full-time staff members assigned to committee (legislative period)*

V69 *Number of full-time staff members in parliament*

V70 *Did committee hire professional agencies for research?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

For an explanation see above.

V71 *Did committee arrange hearings?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Country peculiarities have been verbally explained by marginal notes to questionnaires and may be obtained as a word file from hdoering@rz.uni-potsdam.de

V72 *Number of hearings*

V7301 *Date of first hearing*

V7302 *Date of second hearing*

V7303 *Date of third hearing*

V7304 *Date of fourth hearing*

V74 *Type of hearing(s)*

- 1 Public
- 2 Private
- 3 Both at different stages

V75 *Who testified at these hearings ?*

- 1 Government ministers
- 2 Civil servants
- 3 Independent experts
- 4 Interest group representatives
- 5 Other

For an explanation of "other", see V3801.

V76 *Which committee made the final report to the plenary ?*

- 1 Social affairs
- 2 Finance
- 3 Justice

3 Other

For an explanation of "other", see appendix 2

V77 *Date of report to plenary*

V78 *Who reported bill to plenary?*

1 Chair
2 Rapporteur
3 Committee as a whole

V7901-7913 *Govt./Opposition status of party of rapporteur(s)*

0
1 Government
2 Non-government

Same procedure as V2601-V2617. For an explanation see above.

V80 *Were minority reports presented?*

1 Yes
2 No

V8101-8112 *Govt./Opposition status of parties filing minority reports*

0
1 Government
2 Non-government

Same procedure as V2601-V2617. For an explanation see above.

V82 *Was committee dissent (other than a minority report) recorded in committee report?*

1 Yes
2 No

V8301-8314 *Govt./Opposition status of each party airing committee dissent*

0
1 Government
2 Non-government

Same procedure as V2601-V2617. For an explanation see above.

V84	<i>Number of plenary readings after committee stage</i>
V85	<i>Date of decisive reading regarding policy-content of bill</i>
V86	<i>Date of reading which was only a formality</i>
V87	<i>Date of a further reading which was only a formality</i>
V88	<i>Duration of plenary debate of decisive reading (days)</i>
V8802	<i>Number of pages concerning the debate on the bill in the protocols of the plenary session</i>
	<i>Applies only to Austria.</i>
V89	<i>Duration of plenary debate of decisive reading (hrs)</i>
V90	<i>Efforts made by opposition to oppose bill's adoption</i>
	1 None 2 Demanding the verification of the quorum 3 Demanding suspension of this debate 4 Moving the bill to be returned to committee 5 Other
	<i>Country peculiarities, here coded as “other”, have been verbally explained by marginal notes to questionnaires and may be obtained as a word file from hdoering@rz.uni-potsdam.de</i>
V91	<i>Did government invoke restrictive procedures during decisive reading?</i>
	1 No restrictive procedures 2 Invoked procedures
V92	<i>Did government declare its intention to treat bill as a question of confidence during decisive reading?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V93	<i>Was the aforementioned reading the only decisive one?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V94	<i>Date of second decisive reading, if any</i>

V9402 *Number of pages concerning the debate on the bill in the protocols of the plenary session.*

Applies only to Austria.

V95 *Duration of plenary debate during this particular reading (days)*

V96 *Duration of plenary debate during this particular reading (hrs)*

V97 *Efforts made by opposition to oppose bill's adoption during this particular reading*

- 1 None
- 2 Demanding the verification of the quorum
- 3 Demanding suspension of this debate
- 4 Moving the bill to be returned to committee
- 5 Other

Country peculiarities, here coded as “other”, have been verbally explained by marginal notes to questionnaires and may be obtained as a word file from hdoering@rz.uni-potsdam.de

V98 *Did government invoke restrictive procedures during this particular reading?*

- 1 No restrictive procedures
- 2 Invoked procedures

V99 *Did government declare its intention to treat bill as a question of confidence during this particular reading?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V100 *Was there a final vote on the totality of the bill ?*

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

V101 *Date of vote*

V102 *Approximate result if vote was not recorded*

- 0 Recorded vote
- 1 Near unanimous
- 2 Approved
- 3 Rejected

V103 *Result of recorded vote (For)*

V104	<i>Result of recorded vote (Against)</i>
V105	<i>Result of recorded vote (Abstention)</i>
V106	<i>Number of votes on amendments</i>
V107	<i>Was voting conducted clause by clause?</i>
	1 Yes
	2 No
V108	<i>Were alternative bills voted on against each other?</i>
	1 Yes
	2 No
V109	<i>Were packages of more than one bill put to vote?</i>
	1 Yes
	2 No
V110	<i>Is there a synopsis on amendments suggested, rejected and taken at various stages of bill ?</i>
	1 Synopsis enclosed
	2 No synopsis
V111	<i>Date of introduction into other chamber</i>
V112	<i>Begin of committee stage in other chamber</i>
V113	<i>End of committee stage in other chamber</i>
V114	<i>Did chamber eventually accept bill as sent by other chamber?</i>
	1 Yes
	2 No
V115	<i>Date of acceptance</i>
V116	<i>Consequences when other chamber disagreed</i>
	1 Bill modified
	2 Bill dropped
	3 Vote of other House overturned
	4 Bill was sent to Conference Committee

V117	<i>Number of rounds of "navette"</i>
V118	<i>Begin of negotiations in Conference Committee</i>
V119	<i>End of negotiations in Conference Committee</i>
V120	<i>Was an agreement reached in CC?</i>
	1 Yes 2 No
V121	<i>Overall fate of bill</i>
	1 Passed 2 Rejected
V122	<i>Formal assent by head of state</i>
	1 Given 2 Refused
V123	<i>Date of promulgation of bill</i>
V124	<i>Challenge to bill in Constitutional Court?</i>
	1 Challenged 2 Unchallenged
V125	<i>Date of Court decision</i>

C. Additional variables²

<i>VARIABLE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>VALUE LABELS (WHERE APPROPRIATE)</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
ADHOC	Ad hoc committees	0 = no 1 = yes	
AGCTRLCT	Committee's authority to determine its own agenda independent of government	Committee autonomy increases as factor scores increase	Mattson/ Strøm 1995, p. 299
AGCTRLPL	Parliament's authority to	Parliamentary	Döring 1995a, p. 684

² Either computed from data set or taken and inserted from other sources.

<i>VARIABLE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>VALUE LABELS (WHERE APPROPRIATE)</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
	determine plenary agenda independent of government	autonomy increases as factor scores increase	
AGENPLEN	Parliament's authority to determine plenary agenda independent of government	Index ranging from 1 (very little authority) to 7.	Döring 1995a, p. 225, table 7.1
CABTYPE	Cabinet type	1 = coalition majority 2 = single party majority 3 = coalition minority 4 = single party minority	Keesing's Contemporary Archives; Pederson / Laver 1993, respective country tables
CAB2_CMA	Dummy variable coalition majority (cabtype=1) cab2_cma=1 else=0	1 = coalition majority 0 = other cabinet type	
CAB2_SMA	Dummy variable single party majority sin(cabtype=2) cab2_sma=1 else=0	1 = single party majority 0 = other cabinet type	
CAB2_SMI	Dummy variable single party minority (cabtype=4) cab2_smi=1 else=0	1 = single party minority 0 = other cabinet type	
CANDVOTE	Are candidate votes possible?	1 = yes 2 = no	
CHAIRS	Allocation of committee chairs	1 = majority 2 = mainly majority 3 = proportional 4 = other, see comments in Mattson/Strøm	Mattson / Strøm 1995, table 8.3
COMDRAFT	Committee drafting (factor scores)	Committee autonomy increases as factor scores decrease	Döring 1995a, p. 684, table 22.8
CONFID	Bill a question of confidence [if (v92=1 or v99=1) confid=2. if (v92=2 and v99=2) confid=1. if (v92=2 and v99=9991) confid=1. if (v92=2 and v99=9999) confid=1.]	1 = no 2 = yes	
CONFLICT	Conflict (Damgaard / Mattson)	1 = consensus 2 = conflict	For explanation, see Damgaard / Mattson 2004.
CONSOC	Index of consociationalism	Dummy variable: 1=Consociational system 0=All other cases	Lane / Ersson 1999, p. 258

<i>VARIABLE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>VALUE LABELS (WHERE APPROPRIATE)</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
CORPORAT	Corporatism index		Lane / Ersson 1999, p. 258
DELAY	Efforts made by opposition to delay adoption of bill [recode v90 (1=1) (2 thru 5=2) into r90. recode v97 (1=1) (2 thru 5=2) (9991=9991) (9999=9999) into r97. if (r90=2 or r97=2) delay=2. if (r90=1 and r97=1) delay=1. if (r90=1 and r97=9991) delay=1.if (r90=1 and r97=9999) delay=1.]	1 = no 2 = yes	
DISTRICT	Electoral district magnitude		Hallerberg 2004, table 1.2
EFFNUMPA	Effective number of parties in parliament		Müller / Strom 2000, country chapters with respective tables
FIEF_H	Fiefdom variable		Hallerberg 2004, table 1
FOLLELEC	Date of election following the bill's introduction		Keesing's Contemporary Archives
GOVBILL	Was it a government bill?	0 = no 1 = yes	
IMPOSE	Imposition of restrictive rules [if (restrict=1 and confid=1) impose=1; if (restrict=2 or confid=2) impose=2.]	1 = no 2 = yes	
INITLEG	Initiation of legislation by committees	1 = no rights 2 = right to consolidate and split bills 3 = right to initiate legislation 4 = both (2+3)	Mattson / Strøm 1995, table 8.3; see peculiarities for Finland and Italy
LEGISEND	Distance (days) between v62 and v101		
MAXLIFE	Maximum life of a bill	Values from 1 (pending bills die at end of session [6 months-1 year]) to 4 (pending bills never die (except when	Döring 1995b, p. 242

<i>VARIABLE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>VALUE LABELS (WHERE APPROPRIATE)</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
		rejected by a vote).	
MINORREP	Minority reports	1 = right exists 2 = does not exist 3 = right exists but country-specific limitation	Mattson / Strøm 1995, table 8.3
NUMCOMM	Number of permanent, specialised committees (lower house)		Mattson / Strøm 1995, table 8.1
N_GOV_P	Number of parties in government (number of partisan veto players)		Müller / Strom 2000, country chapters with respective tables
OPENMEET	Openness of committee meetings	1 = closed 2 = open to MPs 3 = open to public and mass media 4 = other, see comments in Mattson/Strøm	Mattson / Strøm 1995, table 8.3
PARLSYS	Constitution classified as pure parliamentary system of government	Dummy variable: 1=Parliamentary system of govt. 0=All other cases	Schmidt 1997, p. 223
PERSONAL	Personal vote index		Hallerberg 2004, table 1.2
RANGE	Ideological range of coalition - difference in experts' judgments of positions of most extreme coalition parties on the issue of increasing services vs. cutting taxes. (calculated from Laver/Hunt 1992)		Laver / Hunt 1992, appendix B, pp. 133-316
RESTRICT	Restrictive procedures imposed on bill [if (v91=1 and v98=1) restrict=1. if (v91=2 or v98=2) restrict=2. if (v91=1 and v98=9991) restrict=1. if (v91=1 and v98=9999) restrict=1.]	1 = no 2 = yes	
SCARCE	Distance between next election and final vote (follelec - v101)		
STAGE	Committee stage in deliberation	1 = before plenary stage 2 = after plenary stage	Mattson/ Strøm 1995, table 8.3

<i>VARIABLE NAME</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>VALUE LABELS (WHERE APPROPRIATE)</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
VETOPL	Veto players; range*n_gov_p		

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