

## Supplementary materials for

Ulrich Sieberer, Thomas Saalfeld, Tamaki Ohmura, Henning Bergmann and Stefanie Bailer, 2018, Roll call votes in the German Bundestag. A new data set, 1949-2013, *British Journal of Political Science*

### A1 Variables included in the datasets

This appendix contains a list of all variables in the three datasets of the Bundestag Roll Call Vote Data (BTVote). The datasets and detailed information on the categories, data sources, and coding procedures is available in the codebook at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/btvote>.

#### Dataset Vote Characteristics

Variable name	Variable description
vote_id	unique ID of record in dataset (numerical identifier)
vote_id2	ID of RCV (numerical identifier)
vote_id_elecper	consecutive ID of RCV per electoral period (numerical identifier)
elecper	legislative period (integers 1-17)
vote_date	date of RCV (815 unique dates from June 15, 1950 until June 28, 2013)
source	source of RCV in parliamentary protocol (alphanumeric code for page in the parliamentary protocol)
vote_title	title of motion voted (text)
vote_type	type of motion (13 categories)
vote_finalpassage	vote on final passage of bill (dummy variable)
vote_numproposals	vote on more than one alternative at once (dummy variable)
policy1	primary policy field of motion (24 categories based on codebook of the German Policy Agendas Project)
policy2	secondary policy field of motion (as above)
policy3	tertiary policy field of motion (as above)
sponsor1	first sponsor of motion (text)
sponsor2	second sponsor of motion (text)
sponsor3	third sponsor of motion (text)
sponsor4	fourth sponsor of motion (text)
sponsor_kpd	motion sponsored by KPD (dummy variable)
sponsor_leftpds	motion sponsored by Left Party (previously PDS) (dummy variable)
sponsor_greens	motion sponsored by Greens (including B90) (dummy variable)
sponsor_spd	motion sponsored by SPD (dummy variable)
sponsor_fdp	motion sponsored by FDP (dummy variable)

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>Variable description</b>
sponsor_cducsu	motion sponsored by CDU/CSU (dummy variable)
sponsor_dsu	motion sponsored by DSU (dummy variable)
sponsor_gbbhe	motion sponsored by GB/BHE (dummy variable)
sponsor_dafvp	motion sponsored by DA/FVP (dummy variable)
sponsor_dp	motion sponsored by DP (dummy variable)
sponsor_fu	motion sponsored by FU (dummy variable)
sponsor_noparty	motion sponsored by nonpartisan actor (dummy variable)
sponsor_govall	motion sponsored by all government parties (dummy variable)
sponsor_govone	motion sponsored by at least one government party (dummy variable)
sponsor_mps	motion sponsored by group of MPs (not parties) (dummy variable)
request1	first party requesting RCV (text)
request2	second party requesting RCV (text)
request3	third party requesting RCV (text)
request4	fourth party requesting RCV (text)
request_kpd	RCV requested by KPD (dummy variable)
request_leftpds	RCV requested by Left Party (dummy variable)
request_greens	RCV requested by Greens (dummy variable)
request_spd	RCV requested by SPD (dummy variable)
request_fdp	RCV requested by FDP (dummy variable)
request_cducsu	RCV requested by CDU/CSU (dummy variable)
request_gbbhe	RCV requested by GB/BHE (dummy variable)
request_dafvp	RCV requested by DA/FVP (dummy variable)
request_dp	RCV requested by DP (dummy variable)
request_fu	RCV requested by FU (dummy variable)
request_noparty	RCV requested by nonpartisan actor (dummy variable)
request_unknown	unknown who requested RCV (dummy variable)
request_gov	RCV requested by government (cabinet) (dummy variable)
request_govpart	RCV requested by one or more government parties (dummy variable)
request_oppo	RCV requested by at one or more opposition parties (dummy variable)
request_govoppo	RCV requested by at least one party from government and opposition (dummy variable)
free_vote	free vote by at least one party (dummy variable)
bundesrat	involvement of Bundesrat (2nd chamber) (4 categories: no involvement; suspensive veto; absolute veto; no data)
gesta	Gesta/DIP ID (database of Bundestag) (alphanumeric identifier)

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>Variable description</b>
cabid_parlgov	cabinet ID from ParlGov database (numerical identifier)
cabid_erdda	cabinet ID from ERDDA dataset (numerical identifier)
cabinet	name of cabinet (text)
cab_start	start date of cabinet (27 unique dates from Sept 15, 1949 to Oct 28, 2013)
cab_end	end date of cabinet (27 unique dates from Sept 6, 1953 to Sept 22, 2013)
elecper_start	start date of electoral period (17 unique dates from Aug 14, 1949 to Sept 27, 2009)
elecper_end	end date of electoral period (17 unique dates from Sept 6, 1953 to Sept 22, 2013)
cab_parties	names of cabinet parties (text)

## Dataset MP Characteristics

Variable name	Variable description
mp_id	unique ID for MP (numerical identifier)
lastname	last name of MP (text)
firstname	first name(s) of MP (text)
elecper	electoral period (integers 1-17)
gender	gender of MP (2 categories)
year_birth	year of birth of MP (112 unique years between 1875 and 1986)
date_birth	date of birth of MP (3,367 unique dates from Dec 14, 1875 to Dec 15, 1986)
date_birth_text	date of birth of MP (text)
mandate_start	start date of MP's mandate in this legislative period (621 unique dates from Sept 7, 1949 to May 12, 2013)
mandate_end	end date of MP's mandate in this legislative period (627 unique dates from Sept 15, 1949 to Oct 27, 2013)
office_spell	ID for office spell of MP in this legislative period (integers 1–5)
spell_start	start date for office spell (1239 unique dates from Sept 7, 1949 to Oct 1, 2013)
spell_end	end date for office spell (1240 unique dates from Sept 12, 1949 to Oct 27, 2013)
party_elec	party of MP (at the time of the election) (8 categories: SPD; CDU; CSU; FDP; Greens; Left Party/PDS; other party; unaffiliated)
party_elecdet	party of MP (at the time of the election), detailed coding (19 categories including small parties that are coded as 'other' in variable party_elec)
mandate	type of mandate held by MP (2 categories: list mandate; district mandate)
mandate_detailed	type of mandate held by MP (detailed coding) (5 categories: district mandate; list mandate at time of election; replacement mandate from party list; by-election (only LP 1); elected by GDR parliament (only LP 11))
dualcand	MP ran as dual candidate (in district and on state list) (dummy variable)
district_id	ID of district in which MP ran (numerical identifier)
districtvote	vote share of MP in the district (Erststimme) (metric; range 0.23 – 0.82)
closeness_district	closeness of district race (metric; range 0.00 – 0.75)
list	state list on which MP ran (19 categories including the three predecessor states of Baden-Württemberg)
listpos	list position on which MP ran (89 unique integer values from 1 to 94)
listpos_total	number of position on the list on which MP ran (106 unique integer values from 3 to 152)
elecsafe_district	electoral safety in district (Stoffel and Sieberer 2018; metric, range 0–1)
elecsafe_list	electoral safety on list (Stoffel and Sieberer 2018; metric, range 0–1)
elecsafe_overall	overall electoral safety in both tiers (Stoffel and Sieberer 2018; metric, range 0–1)
minister	MP is chancellor or cabinet minister (dummy variable)
junminister	MP is junior minister (Parlamentarischer Staatssekretär) (dummy variable)

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>Variable description</b>
parlpres	MP is president or vice president of the Bundestag (dummy variable)
commchair	MP is chair or vice chair of a Bundestag committee (dummy variable)
ppgchair	MP is chair or vice chair of a parliamentary party group (dummy variable)
whip	MP is party whip (Parlamentarischer Geschäftsführer) (dummy variable)
partyid_cmp	party ID comparative manifestos project (Volkens et al. 2017) (numerical identifier)
partyid_ches	party ID Chapel Hill expert survey (Bakker et al. 2014) (numerical identifier)
partyid_bl	party ID expert survey (Benoit and Laver 2007) (numerical identifier)
partyid_parlgov	party ID ParlGov database (Döring and Manow 2016) (numerical identifier)
partyid_parlgov2	party ID ParlGov database (Döring and Manow 2016; for parties with >1 ID) (numerical identifier)

## Dataset Voting Behavior

Variable name	Variable description
mp_id	unique ID for MP (numerical identifier)
lastname	last name of MP (text; as given in the protocol; can differ from lastname in dataset mp characteristics)
firstname	first name(s) of MP (text; as given in the protocol; can differ from lastname in dataset mp characteristics)
party_det	party of MP (detailed coding at the time of the vote) (19 categories)
ppg	parliamentary party group (7 categories: SPD; CDU/CSU; FDP; Greens; Left Party/PDS; other; independent MP)
party_text	party of MP (text)
elecper	legislative period (integers 1–17)
office_spell	ID for office spell of MP in this electoral period (integers 1–5)
vote_id	unique ID of RCV (numerical identifier)
vote_date	date of RCV (815 unique dates from June 15, 1950 until June 28, 2013)
vote_beh	voting behavior of MP (7 categories: yea; nay; abstain; excused absent; unexcused absent; invalid vote; voting behavior not or incorrectly protocolled)
vote_deviate	deviation of MP from party line (9 categories: no deviation; weak deviation; strong deviation; excused absent; unexcused absent; invalid vote; voting behavior not or incorrectly protocolled; no party line due to tie within party group; no party line because no absolute majority within the party group)

## References

- Bakker R et al.** (2014). Measuring party positions in Europe. *Party Politics* **21** (1), 143–152.
- Benoit K and Laver M** (2007). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge.
- Döring H and Manow P** (2016). Parliaments and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies. Development version. Available at <http://parlgov.org> (accessed August 2, 2017).
- Stoffel MF and Sieberer U** (2018). Measuring Reelection Prospects Across Electoral Systems: A General Approach applied to Germany. *West European Politics* **41** (5), 1191–1207.
- Volkens A et al.** (2017). The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2017b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Available at <https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpbs.2017b> (accessed July 10, 2018).

## **A2 A (selective) list of single country studies using roll call vote data**

This appendix contains a (selective) list of roll call studies of national parliaments.

*U.S. Congress:*

*Datasets:* Lewis *et al.* 2017; Poole and Rosenthal 1997

*Party effects in roll call voting:* Aldrich *et al.* 2002; Aldrich and Rohde 2000; Ansolabehere *et al.* 2001; Cox and McCubbins 1993, 2005, 2007; Krehbiel 1993, 1999; Rohde 1991; Snyder and Groseclose 2000

*European Parliament:*

*Dimensionality of conflict and party cohesion:* Faas 2003; Hix 2002, 2004; Hix *et al.* 2005, 2006, 2009; Høyland 2010; Hug 2016; Mühlböck 2017

*Roll call request:* Carrubba *et al.* 2006; Finke 2013; Thiem 2009; Thierse 2016; Yordanova and Mühlböck 2015

*UK House of Commons:* Benedetto and Hix 2007; Cowley 2002; Cowley and Norton 1999; Cowley and Stuart 2003; Eggers and Spirling 2016; Johnston *et al.* 2002; Norton 1975, 1980; Schonhardt-Bailey 2003; Spirling and McLean 2007

*Canada House of Commons:* Godbout and Høyland 2011, 2015

*German Bundestag:* Bergmann *et al.* 2016; Dishaw 1971; Markmann 1955; Ohmura 2014; Rueckert and Crane 1962; Saalfeld 1995; Sieberer 2010, 2015; Stratmann 2006

*Historical German parliaments:* Häge 2017; Hansen and Debus 2012; Herrmann and Sieberer 2018

*France:* Rosenthal and Voeten 2004

*Austria:* Müller *et al.* 2001

*Denmark:* Skjaeveland 2001

*Norway:* Shaffer 1998

*Switzerland:* Hug 2010; Lanfranchi and Lüthi 1999; Traber *et al.* 2014

*Russia:* Haspel *et al.* 1998; Kunicova and Remington 2008; Thames 2001

*Various Central and Eastern European democracies:* Tavits 2009, 2010, 2011; Thames 2005, 2007

*Various Latin American democracies:* Alemán *et al.* 2009; Desposato 2004; Jones *et al.* 2009; Morgenstern 2004

## References

- Aldrich J, Berger M and Rohde D** (2002). The Historical Variability of Conditional Party Government, 1877-1994. In Brady DW and McCubbins MD (eds), *Party, Process, and Political Change. New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 17–36.
- Aldrich JH and Rohde D** (2000). The Consequences of Party Organization in the House: The Role of the Majority and Minority Parties in Conditional Party Government. In Bond J and Fleischer R (eds), *Polarized Politics. Congress and the President in a Partisan Era*. Washington, D.C. CQ Press, pp. 31–72.
- Alemán E et al.** (2009). Comparing Cosponsorship and Roll-Call Ideal Points. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **34** (1), 87–116.
- Ansolabehere S, Snyder JM and Stewart C** (2001). The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll-Call Voting. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **26** (4), 533–572.
- Benedetto G and Hix S** (2007). The Rejected, the Ejected, and the Dejected: Explaining Government Rebels in the 2001-2005 British House of Commons. *Comparative Political Studies* **40** (7), 755–781.
- Bergmann H, Bailer S, Ohmura T, Saalfeld T and Sieberer U** (2016). Namentliche Abstimmungen im Bundestag 1949 bis 2013: Befunde aus einem neuen Datensatz. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* **47** (1), 26–50.
- Carrubba CJ et al.** (2006). Off the Record: Unrecorded Legislative Votes, Selection Bias and Roll-Call Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science* **36** (4), 691–704.
- Cowley P** (2002). *Revolts and Rebellions. Parliamentary Voting under Blair*. London: Politico's Publishing.
- Cowley P and Norton P** (1999). Rebels and Rebellions: Conservative MPs in the 1992 Parliament. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* **1** (1), 84–105.
- Cowley P and Stuart M** (2003). In Place of Strife? The PLP in Government, 1997-2001. *Political Studies* **51** (1), 1–18.
- Cox GW and McCubbins MD** (1993). *Legislative Leviathan. Party Government in the House*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cox GW and McCubbins MD** (2005). *Setting the Agenda. Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox GW and McCubbins MD** (2007). *Legislative Leviathan. Party Government in the House*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Desposato SW** (2004). The Impact of Federalism on National Party Cohesion in Brazil. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **29** (2), 259–285.
- Dishaw FH** (1971). Roll call vote deviancy of the CDU/CSU Fraktion in the West German Bundestag. *Sozialwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch für Politik* **2**, 539–561.
- Eggers AC and Spirling A** (2016). Party Cohesion in Westminster Systems: Inducements, Replacement and Discipline in the House of Commons, 1836-1910. *British Journal of Political Science* **46** (3), 567–589.
- Faas T** (2003). To defect or not to defect? National, institutional and party group pressures on MEPs and their consequences for party group cohesion in the European Parliament. *European Journal of Political Research* **42** (6), 841–866.
- Finke D** (2013). Why do European Political Groups Call the Roll? *Party Politics* **21** (5), 750–762.
- Godbout J-F and Høyland B** (2011). Legislative Voting in the Canadian Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* **44** (2), 367–388.
- Godbout J-F and Høyland B** (2015). Unity in Diversity? The Development of Political Parties in the Parliament of Canada, 1867-2011. *British Journal of Political Science* **47** (3), 545–569.



- Häge FM** (2017). Political Conflict in Bismarck's Germany. *Party Politics*. doi: 10.1177/1354068817702058.
- Hansen ME and Debus M** (2012). The behaviour of political parties and MPs in the parliaments of the Weimar Republic. *Party Politics* **18** (5), 709–726.
- Haspel M, Remington TF and Smith SS** (1998). Electoral Institutions and Party Cohesion in the Russian Duma. *Journal of Politics* **60** (2), 417–439.
- Herrmann M and Sieberer U** (2018). The basic space of a revolutionary parliament: Scaling the Frankfurt Assembly of 1848/49. *Party Politics*. doi: 10.1177/1354068817749778.
- Hix S** (2002). Parliamentary Behavior with Two Principals: Preferences, Parties, and Voting in the European Parliament. *American Journal of Political Science* **46** (3), 688–698.
- Hix S** (2004). Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behaviour. Explaining Voting Defection in the European Parliament. *World Politics* **56** (1), 194–223.
- Hix S, Noury A and Roland G** (2005). Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001. *British Journal of Political Science* **35** (2), 209–234.
- Hix S, Noury A and Roland G** (2006). Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament. *American Journal of Political Science* **50** (2), 494–511.
- Hix S, Noury A and Roland G** (2009). Voting Patterns and Alliance Formation in the European Parliament. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* **364**, 821–831.
- Høyland B** (2010). Procedural and party effects in European Parliament roll-call votes. *European Union Politics* **11** (4), 597–613.
- Hug S** (2010). Selection Effects in Roll Call Votes. *British Journal of Political Science* **40** (1), 225–235.
- Hug S** (2016). Party pressure in the European Parliament. *European Union Politics* **17** (2), 201–218.
- Johnston R et al.** (2002). Voting in the House or Wooing the Voters at Home: Labour MPs and the 2001 General Election Campaign. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* **8** (2), 9–22.
- Jones MP, Hwang W and Micozzi JP** (2009). Government and Opposition in the Argentine Congress, 1989-2007: Understanding Inter-Party Dynamics through Roll Call Vote Analysis. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* **1** (1), 67–96.
- Krehbiel K** (1993). Where's the Party? *British Journal of Political Science* **23** (2), 235–266.
- Krehbiel K** (1999). The Party Effect from A to Z and Beyond. *Journal of Politics* **61** (3), 832–840.
- Kunicova J and Remington TF** (2008). Mandates, parties and Dissent. Effect of Electoral Rules on Parliamentary Party Cohesion in the Russian State Duma, 1994-2003. *Party Politics* **14** (5), 555–574.
- Lanfranchi P and Lüthi R** (1999). Cohesion of Party Groups and Interparty Conflict in the Swiss Parliament: Roll Call Voting in the National Council. In Bowler S, Farrell DF and Katz RS (eds), *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, pp. 99–120.
- Lewis JB, Poole K, Rosenthal H, Boche A, Rudkin A and Sonnet L** (2017). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Available from <https://voteview.com/> (accessed July 10, 2018).
- Markmann H** (1955). *Das Abstimmungsverhalten der Parteifractionen in deutschen Parlamenten*. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain.
- Morgenstern S** (2004). *Patterns of Legislative Politics: Roll-call Voting in Latin America and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mühlböck M** (2017). *Voting Unity of National Parties in Bicameral EU Decision-Making: Speaking with One Voice?* Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Müller WC, Jenny M, Steininger B, Dolezal M, Philipp W and Preisl-Westphal S** (eds) (2001). *Die österreichischen Abgeordneten. Individuelle Präferenzen und politisches Verhalten*. Wien: WUV Universitätsverlag.

- Norton P** (1975). *Dissension in the House of Commons: Intra-Party Dissent in the House of Commons' Division Lobbies 1945-1974*. London: Macmillan.
- Norton P** (1980). *Dissension in the House of Commons, 1974-1979*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ohmura T** (2014). When Your Name Is on the List, It Is Time to Party. The Candidacy Divide in a Mixed-Member Proportional System. *Representation* **50** (1), 69–82.
- Poole KT and Rosenthal H** (1997). *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rohde DW** (1991). *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rosenthal H and Voeten E** (2004). Analyzing Roll Calls with Perfect Spatial Voting: France 1946-1958. *American Journal of Political Science* **48** (3), 620–632.
- Rueckert GL and Crane W** (1962). CDU Deivancy in the German Bundestag. *Journal of Politics* **24** (3), 477–488.
- Saalfeld T** (1995). *Parteisoldaten und Rebellen. Fraktionen im Deutschen Bundestag 1949-1990*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Schonhardt-Bailey C** (2003). Ideology, Party and Interests in the British Parliament of 1841–47. *British Journal of Political Science* **33** (4), 581–605.
- Shaffer WR** (1998). *Politics, Parties, and Parliaments. Political Change in Norway*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Sieberer U** (2010). Behavioral Consequences of Mixed Electoral Systems. Deviating Voting Behavior of District and List MPs in the German Bundestag. *Electoral Studies* **29** (3), 484–496.
- Sieberer U** (2015). Using MP Statements to Explain Voting Behavior in the German Bundestag: An Individual Level Test of the Competing Principals Theory. *Party Politics* **21** (2), 284–294.
- Skjæveland A** (2001). Party Cohesion in the Danish Parliament. *Journal of Legislative Studies* **7** (2), 35–56.
- Snyder JM and Groseclose T** (2000). Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* **44** (2), 193–211.
- Spirling A and McLean I** (2007). UK OC OK? Interpreting Optimal Classification Scores for the U.K. House of Commons. *Political Analysis* **15** (1), 85–96.
- Stratmann T** (2006). Party-Line Voting and Committee Assignments in the German Mixed-Member System. In Congleton RD and Swedenborg B (eds), *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy. Analysis and Evidence*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 111–130.
- Tavits M** (2009). The Making of Mavericks. Local Loyalties and Party Defection. *Comparative Political Studies* **42** (6), 793–815.
- Tavits M** (2010). Effect of Local Ties On Electoral Success and Parliamentary Behaviour: The Case of Estonia. *Party Politics* **16** (2), 215–235.
- Tavits M** (2011). Power Within Parties: The Strength of the Local Party and MP Independence in Postcommunist Europe. *American Journal of Political Science* **55** (4), 923–936.
- Thames FC** (2001). Legislative Voting Behaviour in the Russian Duma. Understanding the Effect of Mandate. *Europe-Asia Studies* **53** (6), 869–884.
- Thames FC** (2005). A House Divided. Party Strength and the Mandate Divide in Hungary, Russia, and Ukraine. *Comparative Political Studies* **38** (3), 282–303.
- Thames FC** (2007). Searching for the Electoral Connection. Parliamentary Party Switching in the Ukrainian Rada, 1988-2002. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* **32** (2), 223–256.
- Thiem J** (2009). *Nationale Parteien im Europäischen Parlament. Delegation, Kontrolle und politischer Einfluss*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

**Thierse S** (2016). Going on record: Revisiting the logic of roll-call vote requests in the European Parliament. *European Union Politics* **17** (2), 219–241.

**Traber D, Hug S and Sciarini P** (2014). Party Unity in the Swiss Parliament: The Electoral Connection. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* **20** (2), 193–215.

**Yordanova N and Mühlböck M** (2015). Tracing the selection bias in roll call votes: Party group cohesion in the European Parliament. *European Political Science Review* **7** (03), 373–399.