Parliamentary Party Group Discipline in Comparison

Stefanie Bailer
Assistant Professor for Global Governance
Center for Comparative and International Studies
ETH Zurich
Seilergraben 49
8001 Zürich
email: bailers@ethz.ch

Abstract

This study analyses the efforts of a party group leadership to provide a cohesive voting behaviour in their party groups due to discipline. Party group leaders are interested in party group unity in order to maximise their voting power, to maintain their credibility towards voters and to protect their party label (Mitchell, 1999). Most studies on party group unity concentrate on institutional variables such as the governmental system, the election system or on ideological heterogeneity in party groups (Carey, 2007; Depauw, 2003). They assume party group disciplinary measures as given and do not measure them explicitly. This study presents a new measurement of party group discipline based on semi-qualitative interview data with 77 party group leaders and party experts collected in five European parliamentary systems (United Kingdom, Germany, European Parliament, Netherlands, Switzerland) in 2007-08. The suggested index encompasses not only institutional resources to punish and reward party group members (Sieberer, 2006), but also more fine-grained and behavioural means. The second part of the paper explains the variance of the index and demonstrates that ideology does not seem to be important predicting factor for disciplinary measure. It is rather the size and composition of party groups, as well as the possibility to be included in government which makes party group leaders use more disciplinary measures.

I thank Tamaki Ohmura for very valuable research assistance.

Paper prepared for presentation at the 1st Annual General Conference of the European Political Science Association, Dublin, 16-18 June 2011

Introduction

The problems of Prime Minister Tony Blair with several backbencher rebellions (Cowley, 2005, 135) or the threat of the German Social-Democratic party leader Peter Struck to exchange his party colleagues in the Health committee with more loyal colleagues when they refused to vote for the health reform bill demonstrate that conflicts between party group leadership and party group members are recent examples of party group leaders' attempts to ensure cohesive voting behaviour of their party group. When party group members are in conflict with the party group line in voting situations, party leaders try to exert various instruments in order to achieve the highest unity possible in their group[1]. These instruments encompass threats (such as losing a parliamentary seat) or promises (such as getting attractive positions like committee presidencies or more attractive office space), as well as more subtle means like peer pressure or isolation within the party group.

Most analyses about Western and Eastern European parliamentary systems find a quite cohesive voting behaviour in party groups. Such a high level of unity can be caused by ideological cohesion, by institutions such as electoral rules (Shugart, Valdini, and Suominen, 2005) and the confidence vote procedure (Diermeier and Feddersen, 1998) as well as by party group discipline. While the topic of party group unity is a quite thoroughly analysed research object, are the mechanisms which lead to party group cohesion relatively little investigated (Saalfeld and Becker, 2000; Hazan, 2003). The influence of disciplinary measures has been mostly studied in single countries (Damgaard, 1992, :317) and comparative studies about the influence of party group discipline exist online in a rather descriptive fashion (Hazan, 2003), about the UK and Germany (Lees and Shaw, 1979) or Northern European parliaments (Arter, 1984; Damgaard, 1992). Most studies on party group unity, however, take party group disciplinary measures as given and analyse only how various institutional factor such as federalism or presidentialism effect party group cohesion, e.g. in Southern American and Eastern European parliaments (Carey, 2004), or in Western and Eastern European and North American parliaments (Depauw and Martin, 2005). The exact degree and the effect of the variable party group discipline, however, is yet unknown: „comparative knowledge of the tools that allow parties and parliaments to enforce obedience is lacking, which points to an urgent need for future research" (Hazan, 2003, :8).

[1] The term unity is used here for the observable degree to which party group members act in unison. This can result from shared preferences which we call "cohesion" as well as disciplinary measures called "discipline" (Sieberer, 2006; Carey, 2007)

More knowledge about disciplinary measures in party groups is also desirable from a normative perspective, because this factor can influence parliamentary decisions and should therefore be open to public scrutiny (Heidar and Koole, 2000a). Parties as central actors in parliamentary systems guarantee the survival of a government (Owens, 2003). Out of this reason, the mechanisms which lead to the unity of parties and thus to their ability to act are of crucial importance in understanding the democratic decision making process (Hazan, 2003).

Theoretical background

Political parties are the product of an efficient representation mechanism between voters and their deputies and are regarded as legitimate means to participate in democratic forms of government (Müller, 2000). Political parties solve the problem of collective choice to find a common decision and are an institutional solution to control party members in order to deliver public goods. Thus parties are a mechanism to keep parliamentarians accountable towards the voters (Müller, 2000; Cox and McCubbins, 1994) and function as constraints of parliamentary decision behaviour (Damgaard, 1995, :308). They ensure their credibility if they fulfil the promises which they have given in the election campaigns (Bowler, Farrell, and Katz, 1998). In order to implement the mission of the voters, parties have to behave coherently; thus they increase their chances of winning in parliamentary voting situations (Cox and McCubbins, 1994). Cox and McCubbins (1994) develop the argument that party leaders internalise this collective interest of the party and therefore monitor party group members and punish cooperating and reward non-cooperating ones in order to avoid such defective behaviour. This task is often carried out by the party group leaders, their executives or the especially for this purpose created offices of the party whip in the British parliament (Baker et al., 1999), a function also existent in the European Parliament (Raunio, 2000).

Cohesive parties thus allow the principal voter to control its agent, the deputy, in order to reduce the voter's subjective risk (Müller, 2000). This mechanism usually functions well in European parliamentary systems and party candidates mostly follow the party line, because they and their voters profit from parties by using the party label (Downs, 1957). The party label facilitates voters' judgements how candidates are going to behave when they are elected and thus reduces the voters' information costs. However, a reason for parliamentarians to defect from the party line might be the representation of other interests than the one from the party (Müller, 2000, :321). Important stakeholders in the constituency, powerful lobbying groups or ethical conflicts can distort this mechanism and lead to the defection of deputies. Thus, the unity in votes depends on the occurrence and frequency of such pressures as well as the concrete

mechanisms available to provide positive and negative incentives: the resources the group can offer to the members, as well as the costs the group may impose on members deciding to defect or leave the group (Hechter, 1983).

Party group disciplinary measures

Control can be exercised by party internal mechanisms or by using the parliamentary delegation chain (Müller, 2000, :319). This delegation chain allows the party group leadership to control several offices such as cabinet posts, presidencies or committee memberships (Bowler, Farrell, and Katz, 1999, :10; Damgaard, 1992, :320). For instance, party group members in Germany and in the Netherlands can be punished by being asked to leave a committee (Damgaard, 1992, :318-319). Amongst the internal mechanisms are different forms of reporting which are an efficient instrument to ensure discipline, e.g. when cabinet ministers have to report to the party group. Prime Minister Blair installed, for example, an efficient reporting system in the European Parliament in order to control the British Labour Members of the European Parliament (Messmer, 2003); he also obliged his party group members in the House of Commons to carry pagers so that they could be informed about the whipped votes efficiently. Besides, party group sessions are the usual and established opportunity to listen to various opinions to work on a unified party line and to communicate dissenting votes to the party group (Raunio, 2000, 239).

Other negative means are warnings or isolation in the party group (Damgaard, 1992, 320; Bowler, Farrell, and Katz, 1999), even undated, signed resignation letters of party group members which can be published by the party group leadership as in the case of the Slovakian HZDS are reported (Heidar and Koole, 2000b, 256). The most extreme form of punishment apart from blocking a reelection or a participation in a preferred committee is the expulsion from the party group (Damgaard, 1992, :320). The German party group leader of the EPP-ED, Hans-Gert Pöttering used this measure against the group member Roger Helmer in 2005 when the Brit had voted in favour of a motion of censure against Commission President Barroso against the decision of the party group. Some instruments can be used positively and negatively as the distribution or withholding of committee seats, party group and party leadership positions. Next to the negative sanctions, positive instruments such as attractive travels abroad (Baker et al., 1999, 74), more attractive office space or better speaking time in parliament (Carey, 2004; Heidar and Koole, 2000b) are at the disposal of the whips and the leaders.

So far, there have been systematic investigations of party group disciplinary measures (for exceptions see Sieberer, 2006; Kam, 2009) so that one goal of this study will be to establish and

evaluate different measures of these measures. Apart from this measurement, I will analyse on which factors the extent of party group disciplinary measures is dependent on. Derived from the existing literature the following variables are expected to influence the extent to which disciplinary measures are used in party groups.

What influences the degree of disciplinary measures?

Ideology

A crucial variable influencing party group voting unity is the ideological cohesion of a party group. The closer the ideological preference of parliamentary party group members, the easier it is to maintain voting cohesion among the group. Constitutionally, most MPs are only obliged to follow their conscience (Heidar and Koole, 2000b, 255), however, they have to ask themselves whether it might not be more rational to follow the party line.

When the preferences of delegates are distributed on a political dimension, the votes that are undecided between status quo and a newly suggested policy are susceptible to influence by party leaders. Especially in a two-party system such as the US Congress, the question becomes relevant which party leader can reaffirm a majority for his own position by exercising pressure on his party members or by gaining votes from the opposing party group who might be closer to his opinion than members of his own party group. In the context of the US Congress, Krehbiel (1993) refers to this dilemma as the "party or preference" debate: If personal preference and the opinion of the party are in contrast, the influence of the party distinctly decreases. However, other scholars argue instead that the influence of parties did not decrease in the 20th century in the US-Congress (Binder, Lawrence, and Maltzman, 1999; Cox and McCubbins, 1991). I expect that party group disciplinary measures are higher when groups are more heterogenous and need sanctioning to vote united.

It is not contested whether the ideological proximity of party groups differs according to the direction of various partisan ideologies. Damgaard (1995) puts forward that ex-Communist parties, for instance, are more disciplined as part of their ideology than liberal or conservative groups. This result is confirmed by Pennings (2002) who finds that the Socialist grouping in the EP forms an ideologically closer group than the Conservatives – a result echoed elsewhere (Heidar and Koole, 2000a, :18). Some of my interview partners suggested that the more coherent socialist ideology might motivate parliamentarians to act more in unison that conservative parties which are often composed of different strands such as farmers, ideologically conservatives etc.. However, the empirical evidence of this claim remains tentative. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate whether some party groups are more ideologically diverse than others, and whether

the direction of ideology leads to differing degrees of disciplinary measures applied. . I will test with two hypotheses controlling for the effect of party ideology:

H1a:The more divergent a party group, the more intensive are the disciplinary measures used in a party group.

H1b: The more left-wing a party group, the fewer disciplinary measures are used.

Voters

Parliamentarians are expected to represent the interests of their voters (Peltzman, 1985) in order to get reelected (Mayhew, 1974). If deputies consider it more beneficial to follow their voters' views than their party's when these opinions diverge, they tend to side with voters rather than the party (Piketty, 2000). It can be shown that parliamentarians who voted against the party lines enjoy higher levels of name recognition than their more loyal colleagues (Kam, 2009) and that strong local ties rather lead to defection (Tavits, 2009). The influence of the voters is stronger the more directly they can influence the reelection of a candidate (Bowler and Farrell, 1993). If they are elected in a majority system, MPs are more responsive to voters' interests than MPs voted on national or regional party lists (Rasch, 1999). Therefore we expect that representatives elected by a majority voting system are more sensitive towards voters' preferences and less prone to react to disciplinary measures than deputies voted in representative voting systems (Stratmann and Baur, 2002); Rasch, 1999).Thus, election systems in which it is possible to indicate a personal preference for a candidate are expected to lead to more heterogeneity in party groups and thus to more disciplinary measures than election systems where the candidates are voted on closed party lists as in the Netherlands (Hix, 2003).

Additional political levels in the government systems such as Swiss cantons or nations in the case of the European Parliament add additional principals for the parliamentarian (Carey, 2004; Owens, 2003). In federal systems parliamentarians are therefore even more motivated to deviate from the party line due to regional interests, e.g. in questions of infrastructure or transport (Rasch, 1999). When looking at the parliaments investigated in this study we are going to expect the strongest voter influence in the United Kingdom using majority voting system, as well as in the case of the parliamentarians voted with first vote in Germany and parliamentarians from small cantons in Switzerland[2].

[2] The German election system allows for two votes in the national legislative elections. With the first vote a candidate gets elected according to majority voting system, with the second vote voters can elect parties which elect candidates according to the representative system. In Switzerland, parliamentarians from small cantons are elected

H2: The more direct the influence of voters on the parliamentarians (as expressed in election systems and federal systems), the more intensive are the disciplinary measures in a party group.

Selectorate

Next to the voters and the party group leadership, local or regional parties who recruit parliamentarians can function as additional principals. Due to varying candidate recruiting mechanisms a local party can influence who is going to fill a parliamentary seat or not (Depauw and Martin, 2005). If a regional party is responsible for staffing the candidate lists, its power is distinctly bigger than if the candidate has to be recruited by the national party committee (Carey, 2004, 3). The selection mechanism employed to choose candidates for parliamentary seats might influence the propensity to follow the group line (Gallagher, 1988; Bowler, Farrell and Katz, 1999). If a local or regional party committee is responsible for the selection of candidates, a parliamentarian has a large incentive to care about this important principal next to the party group leader (Carey, 2004). Thus we expect parliamentarians from the Swiss and European Parliament to be more concerned about their cantonal and national parties than in the case of the Dutch parliament for example. The more centralised the candidate recruitment (Bowler, Farrell, and Katz, 1999; Hix, 2003), the smaller is the influence of the local party on the party group members (Whiteley and Seyd, 1999).

H3: The more localised the candidate recruitment, the more intensive are the disciplinary measures in a party group.

Characteristics of the party group and party group members

Apart from the ideology, the voters, and the actor responsible selecting a candidate, certain characteristics of the party group and the party group members are prone to influence party discipline. The level of experience and the individual career orientation of the group members may also influence to which degree disciplinary measures will have to be used. Two mechanisms are imaginable. On the one hand we might expect that more experienced parliamentarians having served a longer time in a party group know the rules of the party group game due to socialization (Scarrow, 1997). Thus, it would be easier to coordinate long-term serving group members. Newly elected party group members might still need to get integrated in the party group so that a higher level of disciplinary measures might be necessary. However at the same time, the influence of the party group on a group member is expected to decrease if a candidate is not going to continue his or her parliamentary career, the so-called „last-period problem“ (Zupan, 1990). In contrast to the socialisation expectation, we might also expect a very streamlined behaviour by career oriented

with a majoritarian system since these cantons have only one representative in the national parliament. The other parliamentarians from larger cantons are elected with proportional representation.

parliamentarians (Kam, 2009). Their interest in keeping the new position and their desire to achieve higher positions in parliament and the party group might motivate them to adapt very quickly to the party group and vote accordingly. That would mean that fewer disciplinary measures are needed when a group includes more freshmen. Since I consider both explanations valid, I will test the more wide-spread socialization hypothesis:

H5: The shorter the time the parliamentarians are represented in the party group, the more intensive are the disciplinary measures in a party group.

H6: The higher the share of parliamentarians who do not want to continue their parliamentary career, the more intensive are the disciplinary measures in a party group.

Another characteristic of the party group is its size (Heidar and Koole, 2000a, :19; Best and Heller, 2005) and the question whether the party group is represented in government or not. The increase in size of a party group leads to better financial and personal resource because party groups are often subsidised according to their size as in the European Parliament (Raunio, 2000). Additionally, the size leads to wider array of control and sanction possibilities since more positions within parliament are controlled the bigger a party group is (Carey, 2009, :149). Yet, at the same time, we have to consider that a larger party group also leads to more opinions and thus more coordination efforts (Sieberer, 2006; Carey, 2009). Therefore, I expect the following relationship:

H6: The bigger a party group, the more intensive are the disciplinary measures in a party group.

If a party group is in government, stronger pressure on its members is to be expected in order to successfully vote legislation (Kam, 2009) since the resources of the executive as well as of the legislative can be used to impose discipline (Carey, 2009). Hix, Noury and Roland (2005) find for example that deputies in the EP from parties represented in government contribute to higher party group unity. Quite possibly EU governments exert pressure on their deputies after having found a compromise in the Council. However, Depauw (2003) finds that discipline is not necessarily higher amongst government parties.

H7: If a party group is represented in government, more intensive disciplinary measures are to be expected.

Taking into account the sociological approach of parliamentary studies, it might be worthwhile investigating whether some party groups are more cohesive since they share common norms such as party solidarity (Crowe, 1983, 1986; Loewenberg and Mans, 1988). Apart from ideology some party groups might have different levels of shared norms as to how important displaying unity is, e.g. whether one talks about internal group discussions to the public or how acceptable disciplinary measures are. Whereas we could expect that a high level of shared norms facilitates

the work of the party group leaders and thus leads to fewer disciplinary measures used, we could also find a development suggested by Christopher Kam when he outlined that discipline and norms can be both used at the same time to achieve the same goal of party unity. Since open disciplinary measures can be quite costly, leaders fall back on informal measures and socialization so that norms rather reinforce than replace disciplinary measures (Kam, 2009). This would mean that we observe a high level of norms and discipline in party groups to achieve unity. Therefore, I will test the hypothesis

H8: The more established party group norms, the more intensive disciplinary measures are to be expected.

Research Design

Case Selection

In order to control for the suggested influencing factors, we carry out the analysis in the parliaments of Switzerland, the European Union, Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain. Apart from Switzerland[3], all parliaments are from parliamentary systems, thus avoiding having to control for the usual divide between parliamentary and presidential systems. It is usually assumed that party group discipline is higher in parliamentary systems since the government is dependent on the unity of the governing party (Bowler, Farrell, and Katz, 1999) . The number of cases is 25 (Switzerland and European Parliament: six party groups, Germany and Netherlands: five party group, UK: three party groups). The selection of parliaments ensures that the mentioned relevant institutional variables (proportional versus majoritarian voting system, candidate-centred or party centred election system, federal or centralised government system) are represented.

Method

In order to gather data for the proposed research we conducted elite interviews and parliamentary surveys. Elite interviews are advisable as research tool if information is of interest which is otherwise difficult to gather (Leech, 2002). Sieberer (2006) measured disciplinary measures by accounting for the services party groups can offer to their parliamentarians with data from the Interparliamentary Union, whereas Kam (2009) coded media information about individual incidences when party leaders punished dissenters. These approaches are important steps in measuring discipline, but we found that elite interviews tell us more about the individual institutional and non-institutionalized measures, which are not reported in the media and which are more fine-grained than accounting the resources granted by the party group. Nevertheless, interviews are easy to falsify or influence, however, they are often the only possibility to collect

[3] The Swiss governmental system can be called semi-presidential with government members individually voted by the parliament without the chance of dismissing them.

non-published data as other studies have already demonstrated (for example Aberbach, Putnam, and Rockman, 1981; Aberbach and Rockman, 2002; Kingdon, 1995).

In order to measure party group disciplinary measures I conducted elite interviews with party group leaders, their whips, party group staff and parliamentary experts such as journalists. If possible several interviews per party group were interviewed (Berry, 2002). The questionnaire tries to capture qualitative and quantitative information so that the final product can be a comparable instrument of party discipline.

The questions concern the following instruments:

a) institutional instruments such as the possibility to influence the composition of parliamentary committees (Sieberer, 2006), government positions, party positions[4] (Bowler and Farrell, 1999), as well as the possibility to guarantee or withdraw organisational support, information and services

b) processual, non-institutionalised instruments such as financial punishment, or verbal threats in party group sessions (Raunio, 1999) [5] We also asked for additional instruments not suggested in our questionnaire[6].

At the level of the MPs we conducted online survey followed by surveys on paper which gathered data on the following topics.

a) one set of questions measures the ideological divergence within the party groups according to the usual Left-Right dimension, as well as in several other representative policy areas. We are expecting differing levels of ideological cohesion according to policy areas.

b) a second set of questions concerns the importance of various principals of the parliamentarian such as the party group leader, the local party, lobbying groups and the electorate[7].

c) a third set of questions asks the attitude of parliamentarians towards certain behaviour in the party group as well as their attitude towards party group disciplinary measures in order to find out whether party groups vary in their preparedness to be disciplined[8].

---

[4] The question wording is "Have you (successfully) influenced (in some cases we asked directly for rewards and punishment) parliamentary party group members by granting seats in committees/ influencing their renomination/providing a promotion to party group leadership/cabinet position?

[5] The question wording is „Have you influenced parliamentary party group members by providing help for election campaigns/by giving them the opportunity to distinguish themselves in parliament (e.g. more speaking time)/by using media coverage/by nominating them for an interesting delegation?

[6] "Are there any other instruments and measures you apply, which have not been mentioned yet? If yes, could you please give an example?"

[7] "How important were the following groups for your selection as a candidate for Parliament?", "How important is it to you to represent the following groups in Parliament?", "Do you receive recommendations as to how you should vote in Parliament?", "If yes, for what percentage of all votes in this term of office have you received recommendations from the following groups/persons?"

The survey amongst parliamentarians is on the one hand necessary to find out whether parliamentarians vary in their preparedness to be disciplined and on the other hand to have an alternative to measure cohesion apart from roll call votes[9]. Several studies (for example Hix, Noury, and Roland, 2005; Lanfranchi and Lüthi, 1999; Raunio, 1999; Carey, 2004) suffer from the fact that roll call votes are often not representative of the totality of votes (Hug, 2005). Roll call votes vary in the ways in which they are carried out and in the reasons for which they are conducted, as well as in their salience (Carey, 2000). In some instances, roll call votes are used to discipline party group members or to demonstrate the level of disagreement of the oppositional parties (Kreppel, 2002; Lanfranchi and Lüthi, 1999; Carrubba et al., 2006)[10].

Table 1: Overview of interview partners

Parliament	**Party Group Leadership**	**Experts**	**Total**
House of Commons (UK)	5	5	10
Tweede Kamer (NL)	9	3	12
Bundestag (D)	6	11	17
European Parliament	14	3	17
Nationalrat (CH)	15	5	18
Total	49	27	77

Findings

In the following section I will present the most common disciplinary measures and the way in which they are used. The measures can be distinguished in institutionalized and non-institutionalized measures depending on the question whether the institutional architecture of the parliaments, election systems, and party groups allow the use of these measures or not.

[8] "To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Members of a parliamentary party group should not speak openly about discussions within the parliamentary party group./ If the opinions of the parliamentary party group appear in conflict with one's own opinions, it is correct to vote with the parliamentary party group./ If a member of parliament is under pressure from constituents, it is correct that s/he votes against the expressed will of the parliamentary party group./ No political initiatives should be taken without the authorisation of the parliamentary party group."

[9] The surveys in the five parliaments had the following return rates: House of Commons 12%, Tweede Kamer 34%, Bundestag 26%, Nationalrat 64%, European Parliament 27% (this survey was conducted together with the European Parliament Research Group).

[10] In order to find out more about the reasons for roll call votes, we also included a question for the party group leaders:" If you have ever called for a roll call vote, what were the reasons? Could you please tell me for each of the following reasons, to how many percent it was decisive for calling a roll call vote? For controlling and achieving party group discipline/ To show the opposition's heterogeneity and to demonstrate your own homogeneity/ To inform the electorate on your own parliamentary party group position/others

Table 2: Overview over Individual Disciplinary Measures according to judgement by Party Group Leaders and Parliamentary Experts (Answer categories: 0 = not used, 1= very rarely, 2= rarely, 3 =often, 4= very often)

Party Group Leader Judgements

Parlament	Committe Seat Distribution			Candidate Nomination			Leadership Promotion			Self-Promotion Opportunities			Election Campaign Support			Travels		
	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n
Bundestag	1.1	1.1	5	0.4	0.5	5	1.2	1.2	6	1.0	0.9	6	1.7	1.6	6	1.2	1.3	5
CH	1.5	1.1	13	0.7	1.0	7	0.6	0.8	12	1.2	1.5	12	0.4	1.1	8	0.8	1.0	13
EP	1.1	1.0	10	0.5	1.0	4	1.8	1.8	5	1.9	1.3	10	0.8	1.5	4	1.8	1.6	6
Tweede Kamer	1.2	1.6	6	2.4	1.8	7	1.8	1.6	6	1.1	1.5	7	0.3	0.8	6	1.1	1.4	7
UK	2.0	1.1	6	0.7	0.8	6	3.0	1.7	6	1.0	1.3	6	1.3	1.6	6	1.0	1.2	5
	1.4	1.1	40	1.0	1.3	29	1.5	1.5	35	1.3	1.3	41	0.9	1.4	30	1.1	1.2	36

Expert Judgements

Parlament	Committe Seat Distribution			Candidate Nomination			Leadership Promotion			Self-Promotion Opportunities			Election Campaign Support			Travels		
	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n
Bundestag	2.5	1.1	11	1.6	1.2	10	2.7	1.4	12	2.7	1.3	11	2.3	1.1	12	1.2	1.4	11
CH	2.0	2.8	2	2.0	0.0	1	2.3	2.1	3	3.0	1.7	3	1.0	1.4	2	2.7	1.5	3
EP	0.0	0.0	1				2.0	0.0	1	3.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	1	2.0	0.0	1
Tweede Kamer	1.8	2.1	4	3.0	1.4	4	2.3	2.1	4	2.3	2.1	3	0.0	0.0	4	0.5	0.6	4
UK	3.3	0.5	4	1.5	1.0	4	2.0	0.8	4	0.0	0.0	1	2.0	2.0	3	3.3	0.5	4
Total	2.4	1.5	22.0	1.9	1.2	19.0	2.4	1.4	24.0	2.6	1.5	19.0	1.6	1.4	22.0	1.7	1.5	23.0

Institutional Measures: Committee Assignment

A quite common measure to reprimand and reward party group members is the distribution and removal of preferred committee seats for committee members. In most parliaments, party groups are responsible for deciding which parliamentarians are assigned to which committees (Damgaard, 1995). I assume that parliamentarians achieve to work in committees in which they can represent the interests of their constituency, in which they can use their expertise and where they can gain most prestige as for example in the foreign affairs committee in the EP (Heinz, 2009). Therefore the distribution of committee seats can be an efficient rewarding and sanctioning system used by party group leaders usually used at the beginning of the legislative term. Thus, the system is rather suitable for parliamentarians who have served in previous legislatures; newcomers have to "earn" their place in an attractive committee over time.

Over all parliaments, it is known but rarely used to consider a party group's member loyalty when granting him a seat in a certain committee as the average score for this disciplinary measure in table 3 shows. Leaders in all five parliaments scored the use of this measure with 1.4 (=very rarely) whereas experts rated its use a bit higher at 2.4 with the House of Commons in both judgements. It is much rarer to reprimand committee members by not granting them a seat in their favourite committee. In the case of Switzerland, the removal of Brigitta Gadient and Hansjörg Hassler (both from the right-wing Swiss People's Party) from their preferred committees at the beginning of the legislative term 2007 was quite widely reported since this move was considered as relatively harsh and unusual behaviour of the party leadership. Both Gadient and Hassler have been considered as outsiders in their party which is by now their former party since they have left the Swiss People's Party to found a new center/right wing party. The incident received some attention in the Swiss news since the leadership of the Swiss People's Party is not shy to demonstrate their power quite openly which is unusual for the rather consensual Swiss parliament where party groups are considered as not being key players.

There is not a lot of variance between parliaments as to the use of this measure. In the House of Commons and the Bundestag this practice seems to be known best, it is much less the case in Switzerland and hardly possible in the European Parliament where the party leader of the European Party Group has hardly any say in determining who gets which seat since this is determined by the national party delegations. The rule to distribute many positions according to the d'Hondt rule in the European Parliament weakens party group leaders quite substantially, since they rather have to integrate national quota than use positions to reward and punish. Overall, it is a rather rare measure since a lot of other criteria such as expertise and professional

knowledge in a certain policy area, as well as seniority also determine the selection process for committees.

Institutional Measures: Candidate Nomination

Probably the most effective institutional tool to discipline party group members is the threat not to renominate them for the next election. The more say a party group leadership has over the career of a parliamentarian, the more powerful it is. As outlined in the theory section we expect parliamentary systems with party dominated lists to use this tool more often than party groups which do not have this option. Especially in federal systems of the European Parliament and Switzerland the party group leaders have practically no say over the selection of candidates for their party group since this is carried out by party groups and members at the lower (national or cantonal) level. This is quite similar in the majority election system in Great Britain where local committees are asked to select candidates for their constituencies. It is not as clear cut in the German system where candidates are either selected in their constituency when their elected by first vote or they are selected by party committees when they elected on party lists with the second vote. It is contested in the literature to which degree the candidate lists for the second vote are determined by the national or by regional (at the Länder level) party level.

Although national party group leaderships in Germany claim not to have a large say, some of them are said to influence the candidate nomination process. Thus, anecdotes exist about Joschka Fischer indicating with "plus" and "minus" signs on candidate nomination lists which candidates he favours and should be promoted in his opinion. Other interview partners from the party group leadership in Britain and Germany outlined that the support of the national party group leadership would be even damaging for some regional candidates. Far clearer cut is the case in the Netherlands. In this election system the candidate nomination on national party lists is the most powerful and most common tool to exert power over the party group members. Quite distinctly in contrast to the other four parliaments, the Tweede Kamer and their party groups is rated to use this tool "often" (score 3 by experts, 2.4 by leaders), whereas all other parliaments' party groups range between 0 – 0.6 as judged by the group leaders and 0-1.6 as judged by the experts.

Probably the threat not to renominate a candidate again is very rarely outspoken, often it is just a latent threat or known fact that the party group leadership could - if it really wanted - modify the nomination list. However, the candidate selection process has been democratized substantially in the last decades so that candidates can often rely on their regional party groups,

party group members or search committees to help them ensuring their future candidacies. In the federal systems of Switzerland and the European Union the lack of coordination between the party group leadership is especially apparent.

Institutional Measures: Promotion in Party or Party Group Board

Within the party group leaders can use the advancement to attractive positions in the group or party as reward system. This is a tool where I could not find a lot of variation between parliaments; it is generally used quite rarely. Quite often party leaders and experts agreed that loyalty towards the party group is a kind of necessary condition to be elected as party group leader. But evidently it is not a sufficient condition since a lot of other criteria have to be met to qualify as party group leader. This is by no means only leadership quality but also quota criteria, in particular in federal systems such as in the Swiss, German and European Parliament. Especially parties of those systems have an established system of respecting regional representation when distributing leadership positions e.g. in the European Parliament where the size of the national delegations but also political correctness influence leadership selection processes.

Non Institutionalised Measures: Granting opportunities for self-promotion

Much less knowledge and thus more anecdotes exist about non institutionalised disciplinary measures such as travels, support in election campaigns and granting chances to distinguish themselves in parliament. Partly these measures are also influenced by institutional possibilities, e.g. in the European Parliament, the Bundestag, the Swiss Parliament and the Tweede Kamer the group leaders determine who is going to speak in parliament in contrast to the House of Commons where the Speaker of the House decides this. Thus, in all parliaments but the British leaders use the disciplining instrument to determine whether a parliamentarian speaks during TV recorded sessions and at which length. European Parliament party group leaders use the additional rewarding instrument of distributing rapporteurships for loyal members which is why the EP received the highest score (1.9 judged by leaders and 3 by experts) in the category of self-promotion opportunities. Receiving a rapport means that reliable group members are responsible for presenting and taking care of a special legislation dossier which gives them attractive opportunities to appear in public and to show their professional qualities as MEPs. But again, loyalty is not the only factor determining whether MEPs receive a dossier; national quota, expertise, and experience are additional factors contributing to receiving an important rapport.

Non Institutionalised Measures: Support in the Election Campaign

In general, support in election campaigns is a rather rare disciplinary instrument used by party group leaders. Since we had found this instrument in the literature, I asked for it but did not receive very positive answers. Much more often other criteria such as support in weak constituencies determine whether party leaders support a candidate. However, in some instances such as Joschka Fischer it is said that "getting Joschka" in one's constituency is used as reward for certain candidates or differently formulated by as assistant of a party group leader: "The boss does not travel to any idiot." The federal structure in the European Union and the Swiss Parliament also prevents party group leaders to mingle with the election campaign since election campaigns are mostly directed by the lower levels in the nation states or cantons. Thus, I would not consider that support in the election campaign is a common disciplinary tool and I will therefore not include it in the index of disciplinary measures.

Non Institutionalised Measures: Travels

Party group leaders also dispose over some special benefits such as the participation in certain travels to distribute or retain from group members. Only in the case of the Swiss People's Party which does not consider travels as reward due to their national orientation most group leaders know this instrument but use it rarely. Quite often my interview partners explained that also other reasons such as country expertise or work in a special delegation were decisive factors. And in the British case, some commented that sending members abroad is also considered as a form of getting rid of outsider opinions. Apart from travels, tickets for certain sports events such as soccer games, or office space are means to reward and sanction are instruments to use. Especially in the House of Commons which suffered from a severe lack of space until recently it was common to distribute office space according to loyalty. Interestingly, the estimates in those non-institutionalised forms differed quite substantially between party group leaders and experts. Whereas experts rather considered these instruments as rather wide-spread, leaders were more reticent in admitting that these were used.

Apart from these sanctions which were already established and mentioned in the previous literature, I was also told that very efficient additional means exist. These additional instruments are mostly from a similar dimension since they ensure a close contact and intense communication links between group member and party leadership. They range from particular monitoring mechanisms of the party group leadership such as the establishment of voting records (e.g. the

Liberal party group ALDE in the European Parliament has started to record the votes of their party groups as one of the first EP Party groups systematically) via intense talks with the leadership ("a cup of tea with Tony Blair") to extreme measures such as the use of force. Especially in the latter case we cannot establish whether the use of force has actually happened, certainly not at a regular level. Never the acting whips but experts or colleagues from other party groups had claimed in the interviews that in some rare instances "at night in the bar" dissenting members were threatened. One whip in the House of Commons was reported to stand in a threatening manner next to the "aye" and "naye" doors in the voting lobby to motivate group members to walk through the "right door". More general and widespread is the establishment of monitoring mechanisms. In particular in the European Parliament and the Swiss Parliament such developments and attempts in professionalization have shown that these parliaments become more and more like more established parliaments where monitoring instruments such as electronic voting lists of roll call votes are common. These informal measures also show that it is challenging to measure party group disciplinary measures since many of the more subtle measures are difficult to gather with a questionnaire. Nevertheless, this survey is an attempt approach a concept which everyone assumes to exist but few know to which extent.

An index of disciplinary measures

When we use our interview estimates to build a discipline index we are faced with the problem that our parliamentary experts were very rarely able to distinguish between party groups. In most cases they could very elaborately and convincingly outline which means were used to which degree in the national parliament in question but at most they could distinguish between parties in government/opposition or big/small parties. The party group leaders themselves were good experts on judging how often various means were used in their party group, however, they have an incentive not to be too honest about their use of discipline. To create a measure for the overall use of disciplinary measures I created an additive index out of the individual measures as judged by the leaders themselves listed in table 3, column 1. These results have to be treated with caution since the values are sometimes based on one judgement by a party group leader only. To receive a comparable measure I standardized the values between 0 and 1, see column 3 in table 3. In order to make the values easier to interpret I compared in the second column of table 3 to which degree the individual estimates deviate from the mean of party groups per country. Thus, a negative value in this column means that a party has a smaller degree of disciplinary measures than the other parties in its national parliament. Apart from to the party group leader estimates we have calculated the experts' estimates concerning the overall disciplinary measures (see table

4). The strong standard deviations show that the experts differ quite substantially in Switzerland and also in the Dutch Parliament in their judgements. Moreover, the experts - mostly journalists for the specific parliaments, parliamentary researchers or civil servants working for the parliament – were not able to distinguish the use of disciplinary measures between the party groups and gave us only scores for all party groups.

Table 3: Disciplinary Index per Party as judged by Party Group Leaders

Party	Parliament	Absolute Value of Disciplinary Index	Distance from PartyGroup Mean per Country	Normed Disciplinary Index	Absolute Values of Party Discipline Index * Normed Value for Parliament Estimate by Experts (used for multivariate analysis in table 6)
FDP	D	11.75	5.5	0.73	11.76
Her Majesty's Government, Labour Party	UK	13.67	5.28	0.85	11.51
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie - VVD	NL	16	8.05	1	10.23
Bünd90/Grün	D	9	2.75	0.56	9
Partij van de Arbeid - PvdA	NL	12.75	4.8	0.8	8.15
CVP	CH	10	5.58	0.63	7.64
Her Majesty's Official Opposition, Conservative Party	CH	7.5	-0.89	0.47	6.32
CDU	D	6	-0.25	0.38	6
SP	UK	7.5	3.08	0.47	5.73
Christen Democratisch Appel - CDA	NL	8	0.05	0.5	5.11
SVP	CH	5	0.58	0.31	3.82
SPD	D	3.5	-2.75	0.22	3.5
Liberal Democrat Shadow Cabinet and Parliamentary Team	UK	4	-4.39	0.25	3.37
EVP-ED	EP	4.2	0.06	0.26	2.68
Gruene	D	3	-1.42	0.19	2.29
PES	EP	15	10.86	0.94	1.99
ChristenUnie - CU	NL	3	-4.95	0.19	1.92
Die Linke	D	1	-5.25	0.06	1
FDP-CH	D	1	-3.42	0.06	0.76
ALDE	EP	5.67	1.52	0.35	0.75
EDU	CH	0	-4.42	0	0
Socialistische Partij - SP	NL	0	-7.95	0	0
Verts	EP	0	-4.14	0	0
GUE-NGL	EP	0	-4.14	0	0
Europe of	EP	0	-4.14	0	0

In order to control for the possibility that party group leaders judge their own party group mostly in comparison with other national party groups and to account for the fact that experts might have a better overall view I weigh the absolute values for the party groups as given by the leaders with the normed values of the experts (see column 4 in table 4). Thus, we receive values which take into account that the overall standard in some parliaments is higher or lower in contrast to other parliaments. The resulting values correlate with the original party disciplinary index highly (Pearson correlation coefficient 0.82) but are adjusted for different national standards. I will use these measures as dependent variable for discipiline and the analyses displayed in table 6.

Table 5: Disciplinary Index per as judged by Experts

Parlament	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Normed Value	Deviance from Country Mean
Bundestag	13.16667	3.76	12	1	3.052977
CH	10.05	10.08	4	0.76	-0.06369
EP	1.75	3.5	4	0.13	-8.36369
Tweede Kamer	8.4125	5.09	4	0.64	-1.70119
UK	11.08333	2.70	4	0.84	0.969643
Total	10.11369				

In the following section I investigate which factors can explain the different degrees of discipline in the parliamentary parties. I conducted OLS regression analyses and I used as a baseline model a model in which I controlled for parliamentary systems (=1 if a party group is in a parliamentary system in which the government elects and deselects the government) and the size of party groups. A list of independent variables can be found in the appendix. The results of these analyses are listed in table 5.

As for the influence of ideology it can be shown that disciplinary measures are hardly correlated with the ideological orientation of a party group. The correlation between the discipline index and the Left-Right measure for the party group is 0.22 indicating that Conservative parties have a higher disciplinary index, however, this effect is not significant according to conventional standards. Similarly, the heterogeneity of party groups is not significant once we control for the size of party groups. Although it has the expected direction of coefficient, its effect is very small and not significant.

Similarly, an effect of voters and local parties could not be confirmed. Maybe due to our rather crude measure for the incentive to cultivate a personal vote based on Carey and Shugart's work (1995) and the extension of it by Johnson and Wallack (, 2010) which measures to which degree parties control access and order of party lists we could not detect any effects. Also the

variable measuring the influence of the national party group on the candidate selection based on Lundell (2004) is not helpful.

Table 6: OLS regression models explaining the effects on party group discipline

Influencing Factors on Disciplinary Index	Ideological Heterogeneity	Left-Right-Orientation	Voter Influence	Local Party Influence	Last Period Share	Newcomer Share	Government Effect	Desire for Unity	Acceptance of Discipline
Heterogeneity of Left-Right Assessment	0.09								
	(2.68)								
Parliamentary System	4.44**	4.94***	2.25	2.48	4.20**	4.35***	4.46***	3.26*	4.47**
	(1.68)	(1.50)	(2.55)	(2.83)	(1.63)	(1.32)	(1.56)	(1.88)	(1.63)
Size of Party in % of Seats	7.69	5.30	8.36	4.36	8.39	0.37	6.47	6.71	5.98
	(6.90)	(5.59)	(7.66)	(8.81)	(5.97)	(5.59)	(6.44)	(5.98)	(6.52)
Incentive to create a personal vote			0.11						
			(0.35)						
Centralisation of Candidate Recruitment				1.58					
				(1.62)					
% of parliamentarians not pursuing another term					-0.03				
					(0.06)				
% of newcomers in party group						-0.09***			
						(0.03)			
Party in Government							0.83		
							(1.69)		
Leftright Orientation		0.22							
		(0.16)							
Mean of "It is important to stay united"								1.06	
								(1.01)	
Mean of "It is legitimate that a party leader uses carrots and sticks"									0.58
									(1.00)
Constant	0.95	-0.93	2.33	0.58	1.47	6.31***	0.91	-2.10	-0.16
	(2.99)	(2.10)	(2.24)	(4.76)	(1.72)	(2.19)	(1.46)	(3.53)	(2.86)
Observations	25	24	19	14	25	25	25	24	24
R^2	0.36	0.46	0.20	0.21	0.37	0.54	0.37	0.37	0.34
Adjusted R^2	0.27	0.38	0.04	-0.03	0.28	0.48	0.28	0.27	0.24
F	3.96***	5.63	1.26	0.86	4.07***	8.32***	4.09***	3.86***	3.48**

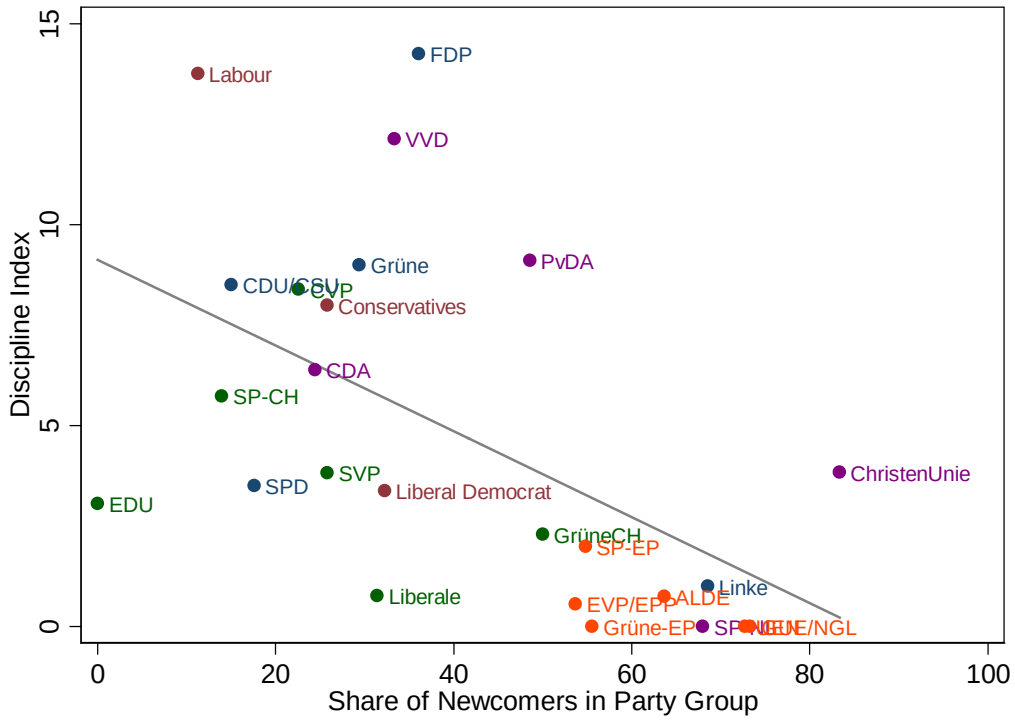
Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

As for the different composition we were expecting that more newcomers in a party group require more disciplinary measures since they might need more guidance. However, the opposite seems to be true: the higher the share of newcomers the lower the disciplinary measures in a party group (see graph 2) . The results in graph 2 show that in particular the party groups of the European Parliament are dominated by a high share of newcomers and low levels of party discipline but the results also hold when we exclude the EP from the analysis. I gather that this

result is a sign that freshmen parliamentarians are rather keen to advance their career in the party group so that they follow the norms and rules in the group without a leader having to tell them to do so. Their career aspirations and openness towards parliamentary norms make it easier for party group leaders to lead them to voting unity.

We could also not find proof for the so-called last-period problem (Zupan, 1990) which claims that people leaving the parliament are more difficult to discipline and keep in line. Also these parliamentarians behave according to the wishes of the party group leaders in order not to damage their career. Dissenting might be a phenomenon rather linked to ambitious parliamentarians trying to establish a reputation with their constituency or principals. In future work we will take up this thought and investigate at which point in their career parliamentarians tend to dissent most; these results suggest that it might be phenomenon linked to "mid-termers" who are sufficiently established but want to build up their career.

Graph 2 Discipline Index by Share of Newcomer MPs in a Party Group



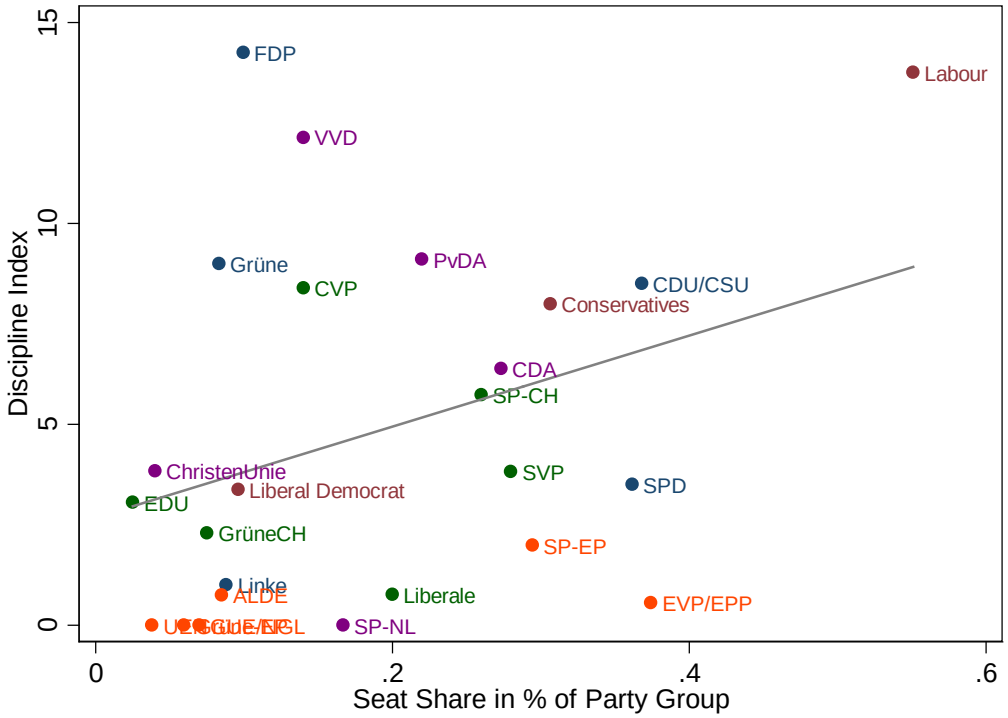
We find a small positive correlation between the desire of parliamentarians for unity as well as their preparedness to be disciplined (see the last two columns in table 6), however, these effects are not as strong as the effects of size and parliamentarism. The desire for unity and discipline

correlate, however, we are not able to say in which direction the causal effect goes. Do parliamentarians wish more unity since they have been disciplined or vice versa, or might this be a selection effect so that only parliamentarians which are prepared to behave in unison join party groups which underline this as well. As suggested by Kam (2009) norms and discipline could be two tools of the party group leaders used to increase voting unity so that they do not replace each other but are used in parallel.

From our models, we can see that the largest effects can be detected from the size of party groups and the parliamentary systems (see also graph 3). Larger party groups have a higher need for disciplinary measures although there are important outliers such as the German Liberal Party – FDP – and the Liberal Dutch Party VVD in the upper left corner of graph 3. By controlling for parliamentary systems in our OLS models we detect the interesting effect that the possibility to be included in government matters actually more than the current government status. The effect for parties in government is much smaller and not significant than the possibility to be included in government measured with the parliamentary index.

This explains that for our three outliers in graph 3 – FDP, VVD and the German Greens – a different mechanism seems to hold: although they are not very large, they exert strong discipline since they probably hope for another participation chance in government in the next election. By trying to ensure unified voting behaviour, the party group leadership might hope to demonstrate to possible future coalition partners that they are reliable coalition hopefuls. At the time of the interview, these three parties were not included in government but had been included just before (the German Greens) or were hoping to be included in the governing coalition in the next election. In the case of the FDP and the VVD this suspicion is confirmed since these two parties are now included in government.

Graph 3 Discipline Index by Share of Seats in a Party Group



Conclusion

First findings of my study on party group discipline show that party group discipline varies between parliaments and party groups. We could establish this for a first time on a comparative basis for 25 party groups in five parliamentary systems using interview expert data and information from parliamentary surveys. Thus we could show which institutional and non-institutional disciplinary measures are used and that they constitute each other to an overall disciplinary index. In a multivariate analysis I found that the degree of disciplinary measures is partly dependent on the career orientation of parliamentarians so that party group leaders have actually an easier life with newcomer parliamentarians since they are rather interested not endangering their career. Ideology as such does not seem to be important predicting factor for disciplinary measures; conservative parties or liberal parties do not show a higher or lower use of discipline. Similarly, the effects of the electorate or selectorate measured with the respective institutional constraints did not show discernible impact on the disciplinary measure. Most importantly, the size and the possibility to be included in government have an influence on the degree of discipline. Party groups which want and need to demonstrate their governability to possible coalition partners in parliamentary systems do so by trying to disciplining their party groups towards unity. These results suggest that the internal workings of party groups is much

more determined by their composition and their institutional possibilities to assume governmental responsibility than by ideological considerations.

Literature:

Aberbach, J. D., Putnam, R. D., and Rockman, B. A. (1981) *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Aberbach, J. D., and Rockman, B. A., 2002. Conducting and Coding Elite Interviews, *PSOnline*, (December),673-676.

Arter, D. (1984) *The Nordic Parliaments: A Comparative Analysis*, London, C.Hurst.

Baker, D., Gamble, A., Ludlam, S., and Seawright, D., 1999. Backbenchers with Attitude: A Seismic Study of the Conservative Party and Dissent on Europe. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 72-93.

Berry, J. M., 2002. Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing, *PSOnline*, (December),679-682.

Best, R., and Heller, W. B. 2005. Safety in Numbers? Seat Shares and Discipline in Legislative Parties. Paper read at European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions of Workshops, 14-19 April at Granada.

Binder, S. A., Lawrence, E. D., and Maltzman, F., 1999. Uncovering the Hidden Effect of Party, *The Journal of Politics*, 61 (3),815-831.

Bowler, S., and Farrell, D. M., 1993. Legislator Shirking and Voter Monitoring: Impacts of European Parliament Electoral Systems upon Legislator- Voter Relationships, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31 (1),45-69.

Bowler, S., and Farrell, D. M., 1999. Parties and Party Discipline within the European Parliament: A Norms-Based Approach. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 208-226.

Bowler, S., Farrell, D. M., and Katz, R. S. (1998) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press.

Bowler, S., Farrell, D. M., and Katz, R. S., 1999. Party Cohesion, Party Discipline, and Parliaments. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 3-22.

Carey, J., and Shugart, M., 1995. Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas, *Electoral Studies*, 14 (4),417-439.

Carey, J. M., 2000. Party and Coalition Unity in Legislative Voting. http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~polisci/papers/careye.pdf.

Carey, J. M., 2004. Political institutions, competing principals, and party unity in legislative voting. http://www.dartmouth.edu/~jcarey/publications.htm.

Carey, J. M., 2007. Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting, *American Journal of Political Science*, 51 (1),92-107.

Carey, J. M. (2009) *Legislative Voting and Accountability*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Carrubba, C. J., Gabel, M., Murrah, L., Clough, R., Montgomery, E., and Schambach, R., 2006. Off the record: Unrecorded Legislative Votes, Selection Bias and Roll Call Vote Analysis, *British Journal of Political Science*, 36 (4),691-704.

Cowley, P. (2005) *The Rebels. How Blair mislaid his majority*, London, Politico's.

Cox, G. W., and McCubbins, M., 1991. On the Decline of Party Voting in Congress, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16 (4),547-570.

Cox, G. W., and McCubbins, M. D. (1994) *Legislative Leviathan: Party government in the House*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Crowe, E., 1983. Consensus and Structure in Legislative Norms: Party Discipline in the House of Commons, *The Journal of Politics*, 45 (4),907-931.

Crowe, E., 1986. The Web of Authority: Party Loyalty and Social Control in the British House of Commons, *Legislative Studies Quarterly,* 11 (2),161-185.
Damgaard, E., 1995. How Parties Control Committee Members. *In:* H. Döring. ed. *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe,* St. Martin's: Campus, 309-325.
Damgaard, E., ed. 1992. *Parliamentary Change in the Nordic Countries*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
Depauw, S., 2003. Government Party Discipline in Parliamentary Democracies: The Cases of Belgium, France and the United Kingdom in the 1990s, *Journal of Legislative Studies,* 9 (4),130-146.
Depauw, S., and Martin, S. 2005. Legislative Party Discipline and Cohesion in Comparative Perspective. Paper read at European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions of Workshops, 14-19 April, at Granada.
Diermeier, D., and Feddersen, T. J., 1998. Cohesion in Legislatures and the Vote of Confidence Procedure, *American Political Science Review,* 92 (3),611-622.
Downs, A., 1957. An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy, *The Journal of Political Economy,* 65 (2),682-693.
Hazan, R. Y., 2003. Does Cohesion Equal Discipline? Towards a Conceptual Delineation, *Journal of Legislative Studies,* 9 (4),1-11.
Hechter, M., 1983. A Theory of Group Solidarity. *In:* M. Hechter. ed. *Microfoundations of Macrosociology,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 16-57.
Heidar, K., and Koole, R., 2000a. Approaches to the study of parliamentary party groups. *In:* K. Heidar and R. Koole. ed. *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies. Political parties behind closed doors,* London, New York: Routledge, 4-22.
Heidar, K., and Koole, R., 2000b. Parliamentary party groups compared. *In:* K. Heidar and R. Koole. ed. *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies. Political parties behind closed doors,* London, New York: Routledge, 248-270.
Heinz, D., 2009. Electoral System and Committee Assignment in the German Bundestag, In *Potsdam*. 5 th ECPR General Conference.
Hix, S., 2003. Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting-Defection in the European Parliament, *World Politics,* 55 (1),194-223.
Hix, S., Noury, A., and Roland, G., 2005. Power to the Parties: Competition and Cohesion in the European Parliament, *British Journal of Political Science,* 35 (2),209-234.
Hug, S., 2005. Selection Effects in Roll Call Votes, *CIS Working Paper Series* (15).
Johnson, J. W., and Wallack, J. S. (2010) *Electoral Systems and the Personal Vote*, http://dss.ucsd.edu/~jwjohnso/espv.html.
Kam, C. (2009) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Kingdon, J. W. (1995) *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy*, New York, Harper Collins College Publications.
Krehbiel, K., 1993. Where's the Party? , *British Journal of Political Science,* 23 (2),235-266.
Kreppel, A. (2002) *The European Parliament and the Supranational Party System. A Study in Institutional Development*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
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:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party discipline and parliamentary government,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 99-120.
Leech, B. L., 2002. Interview Methods in Political Science, *PSOnline,* (December),663-664.
Lees, J. D., and Shaw, M., eds. 1979. *Committees in Legislatures: A comparative analysis*. Durham, North Caroline: Duke University Press.

Loewenberg, G., and Mans, T. C., 1988. Individual and Structural Influences on the Perception of Legislative Norms in Three European Parliaments, *American Journal of Political Science,* 32 (1),155-177.
Lundell, K., 2004. Determinants of Candidate Selection. The Degree of Centralization in Comparative Perspectives, *Party Politics,* 10 (1),25-47.
Mayhew, D. R. (1974) *Congress: The Electoral Connection,* New Haven, London, Yale University Press.
Messmer, W. B., 2003. Taming Labour MEP's, *Party Politics,* 9 (2),201-218.
Müller, W. C., 2000. Political parties in parliamentary democracies:Making delegation and accountability work, *European Journal of Political Research,* 37,309-333.
Owens, J. E., 2003. Explaining Party Cohesion and Discipline in Democratic Legislatures: Purposiveness and Contexts, *Journal of Legislative Studies,* 9 (4),12-40.
Peltzman, S., 1985. An Economic Interpretation of the History of Congressional Voting in the Twentieth Century, *The American Economic Review,* 75 (4),656-675.
Pennings, P., 2002. The Dimensionality of the EU Policy Space, *European Union Politics,* 3 (1),59-80.
Piketty, T., 2000. Voting as Communicating, *Review of Economic Studies,* 67,169-191.
Rasch, B. E., 1999. Electoral Systems, Parliamentary Committees, and Party Discipline: The Norwegian Storting in a Comparative Perspective. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 121-140.
Raunio, T., 1999. The Challenge of Diversity: Party Cohesion in the European Parliament. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party discipline and parliamentary government,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 189-207.
Raunio, T., 2000. Second-rate parties? Towards a better understanding of European Parliament's party groups. *In:* K. Heidar and R. Koole. ed. *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies. Political parties behind closed doors,* London, New York: Routledge, 233-247.
Saalfeld, T., and Becker, R. 2000. Cohesion, Veto Players and Agenda Control: Explaining the Dynamics of the Legislative Process in 17 West European Parliaments. Paper read at Political Studies Association-UK 50th Annual Conference, 10-13 April, at London.
Scarrow, S. E., 1997. Political Career Paths and the European Parliament, *Legislative Studies Quarterly,* 22 (2),253-263.
Shugart, M. S., Valdini, M. E., and Suominen, K., 2005. Looking for Locals: Voter information Demands and Personal Vote-Earning Attributes of Legislators under Proportional Representation, *American Journal of Political Science,* 49 (2),437-449.
Sieberer, U., 2006. Party Unity in Parliamentary Democracies: A Comparative Analysis, *Journal of Legislative Studies,* 12 (2),150-178.
Stratmann, T., and Baur, M., 2002. Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: how Incentives to Pork-Barrel Differ Across Electoral Systems, *American Journal of Political Science,* 46 (3),506-514.
Tavits, M., 2009. The Making of Mavericks. Local Loyalties and Party Defection, *Comparative Political Studies,* 20 (10),1-23.
Whiteley, P. F., and Seyd, P., 1999. Discipline in the British Conservative Party: The Attitudes of Party Activists toward the Role of Their Members of Parliament. *In:* S. Bowler, D. M. Farrell and R. S. Katz. ed. *Party discipline and parliamentary government,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 53-71.
Zupan, M. A., 1990. The last period problem in politics: Do congressional representatives not subject to a reelection constraint alter their voting behavior? , *Public Choice,* 65 (2),167-180.

Appendix A1:

Table: List of Variables used in the Analyses

Variables	**Obs**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Min**	**Max**
Discipline Index	25	4.81	4.47	0	14.25
Heterogeneity of Left-Right Assessment	27	1.09	0.35	0	1.57
Parliamentary System	35	0.57	0.50	0	1
Size of Party in % of Seats	25	0.19	0.14	0.03	0.55
Incentive to create a personal vote (1= lowest rank of incentives to cultivate personal vote, 13 = highest rank)	29	5.17	3.30	3	10
Centralisation of Candidate Recruitment (1= Selection at local party meetings, 5= Selection by the party leader)	17	2.41	0.80	1	4
% of parliamentarians not pursuing another term	34	12.45	14.02	0	50
% of newcomers in party group	35	39.32	27.50	0	100
Party in Government	25	0.44	0.51	0	1
Leftright Orientation	24	10.78	4.67	3.09	17.87
Mean of "It is important to stay united"	31	3.87	0.98	1.84	5
Mean of "It is legitimate that a party leader uses carrots and sticks"	31	2.65	1.09	1	5