

**Rapporteur-Shadow Rapporteur Networks and Policy-Making in  
the European Parliament**

Online Appendix:  
Supplementary Information and Robustness Checks

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## **List of interviewees**

#1: EP Secretariat

#2: EP Secretariat

#3: ALDE Secretariat

#4: MEP, Greens

#5: MEP, EFDD

#6: EPP Secretariat

#7: ALDE Secretariat

#8: MEP assistant, GUE

#9: MEP assistant, ENF

#10: MEP, Greens

#11: S&D Secretariat

### **Collection of rapporteur- and shadow rapporteurship data**

We downloaded the webpages on 21 July 2015, using the directory webpage of MEPs in the 7th legislative term of the EP as a starting point (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/directory.html?filter=all&leg=7> [accessed 17 July 2015]). The MEP ID numbers and names identified from the directory page were used to download individual MEPs' 'History of parliamentary service' pages (e.g. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96850/DAMIEN\\_ABAD\\_history.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96850/DAMIEN_ABAD_history.html)) as well as linked pages providing further information about each MEP's parliamentary activities, including rapporteur and shadow rapporteurships for reports and opinions (e.g. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96850/seeall.html?type=REPORT-SHADOW&leg=7>). We developed computer scripts in Python to automate the download and extraction of information.

**Table A1 Reports and opinions by parliamentary procedure**

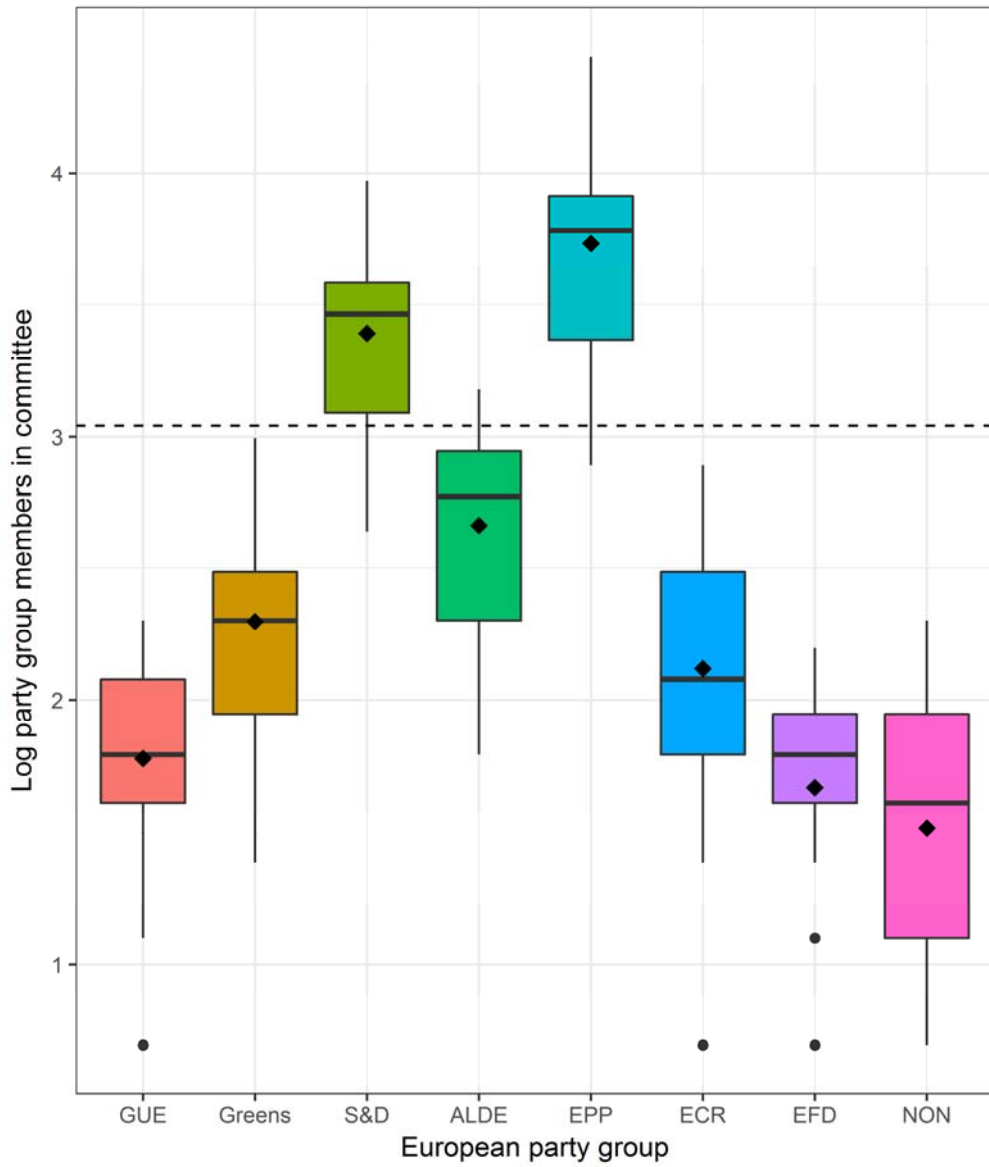
Procedure	Opinions (%)		Reports (%)		All (%)		% of Total
APP - Consent procedure	26	(60.5)	17	(39.5)	43	(100.0)	1.3
AVC - Assent procedure (historic)	0	(0.0)	1	(100.0)	1	(100.0)	0.0
CNS - Consultation procedure	38	(27.3)	101	(72.7)	139	(100.0)	4.3
COD - Ordinary legislative procedure	653	(51.3)	621	(48.7)	1274	(100.0)	39.6
INI - Own-initiative procedure	744	(56.6)	570	(43.4)	1314	(100.0)	40.8
INL - Legislative initiative procedure	23	(51.1)	22	(48.9)	45	(100.0)	1.4
NLE - Non-legislative enactments	123	(30.5)	280	(69.5)	403	(100.0)	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1607</b>	<b>(49.9)</b>	<b>1612</b>	<b>(50.1)</b>	<b>3219</b>	<b>(100.0)</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table A2 Reports and rapporteurs by committee**

Committee title	Acro- nym	Reports/ opinions	MEPs	(Shadow-) Rapporteurs		(Shadow-) Rapporteurships	
				Abs.	Rel.	Abs.	Rel.
Constitutional Affairs	AFCO	67	72	38	52.8	357	66.6
Foreign Affairs	AFET	204	224	144	64.3	703	43.1
Agriculture and Rural Development	AGRI	112	108	68	63.0	296	33.0
Budgets	BUDG	174	115	64	55.7	426	30.6
Budgetary Control	CONT	94	78	39	50.0	261	34.7
Culture and Education	CULT	87	83	60	72.3	444	63.8
Development	DEVE	190	78	51	65.4	685	45.1
Economic and Monetary Affairs	ECON	227	128	92	71.9	732	40.3
Employment and Social Affairs	EMPL	201	130	93	71.5	982	61.1
Environment, Public Health Food Safety	ENVI	215	174	124	71.3	818	47.6
Women's Rights and Gender Equality	FEMM	126	82	66	80.5	583	57.8
Internal Market and Consumer Protection	IMCO	204	116	88	75.9	1238	75.9
International Trade	INTA	223	86	68	79.1	869	48.7
Industry, Research and Energy	ITRE	239	147	121	82.3	1179	61.7
Legal Affairs	JURI	229	64	44	68.8	617	33.7
Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs	LIBE	196	150	93	62.0	610	38.9
Fisheries	PECH	102	63	45	71.4	318	39.0
Petitions	PETI	35	92	39	42.4	107	38.2
Regional Development	REGI	166	127	92	72.4	708	53.3
Transport and Tourism	TRAN	145	129	88	68.2	797	68.7
Total/mean		3236	2246	1517	67.1	12730	49.1

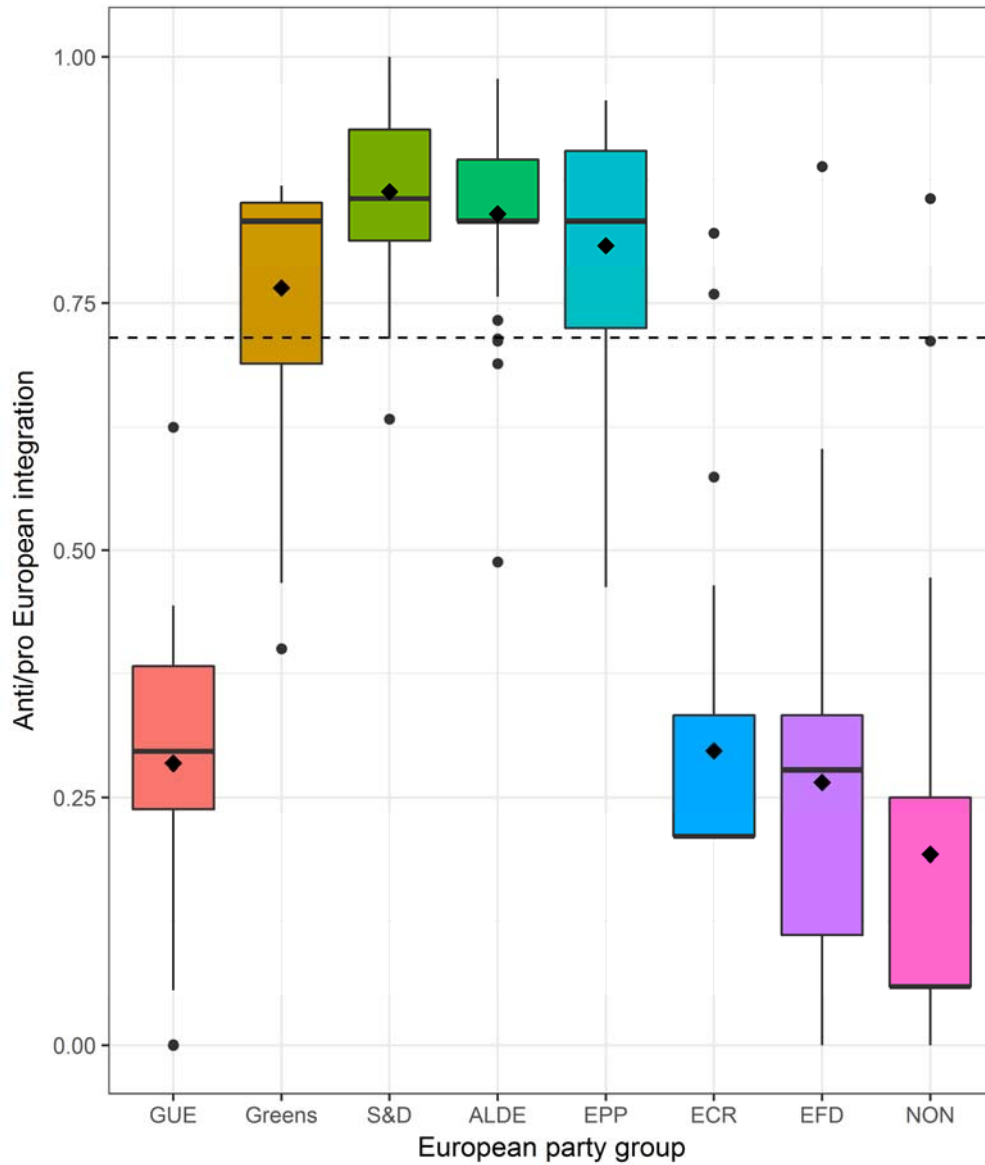
*Notes:* Abs.=Absolute, Rel.=Relative. Bottom row shows means for columns of relative numbers and totals for all other columns. The last two columns provide the number of rapporteur and shadow rapporteurships, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the potential maximum number of rapporteurships.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In principle, each party group can appoint a (shadow) rapporteur for every report or opinion. Thus, the potential number of rapporteurships is calculated by multiplying the number of reports and opinions by the number of party groups (including the non-affiliated 'group'). In network analytic terms, this measure is akin to the density of the two-mode network (adjusted for the possibility that only a single MEP node from each party group can form a link to a proposal node).



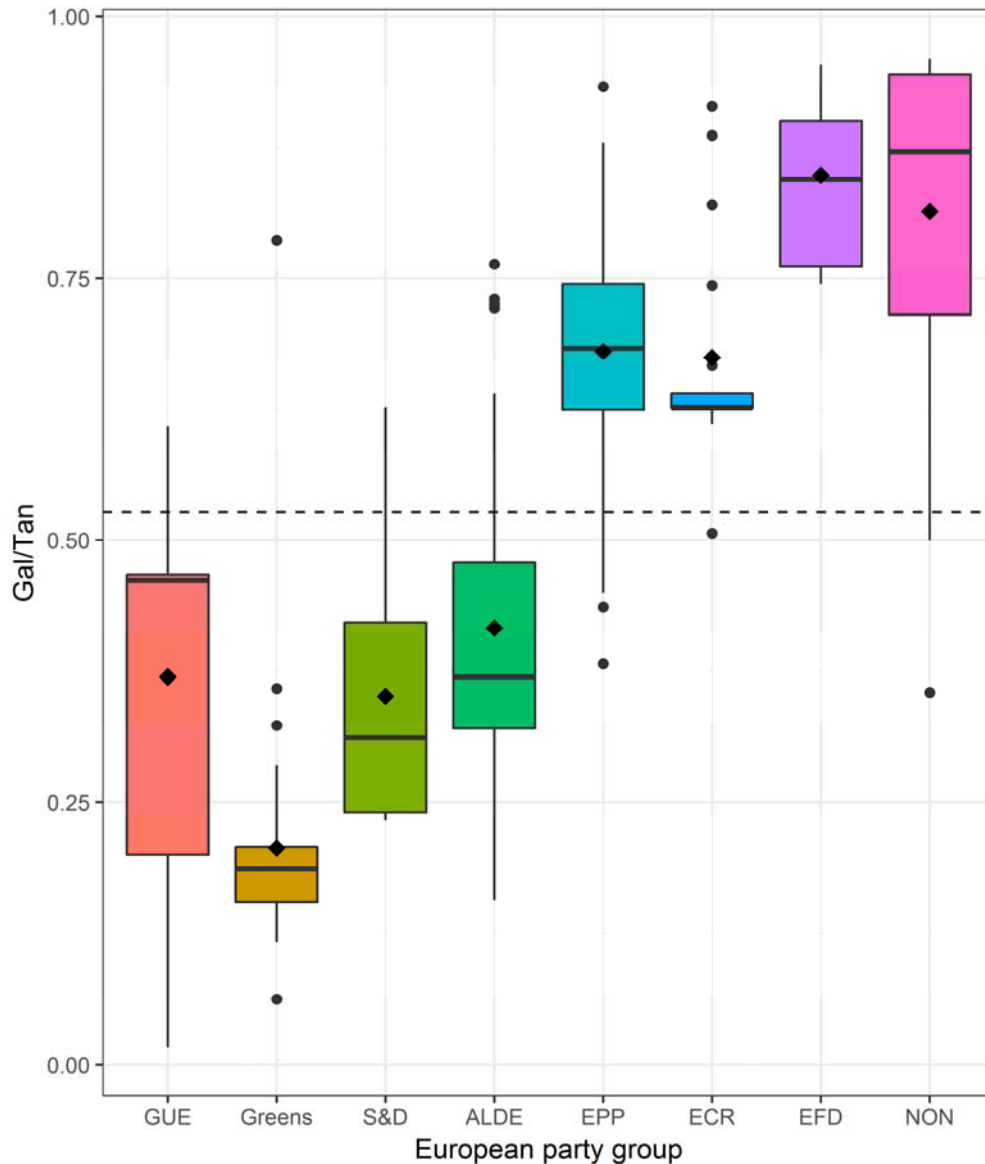
**Figure A1 Party group size in committee**

*Note:* The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the means of the conditional distributions. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



**Figure A2 Party group member scores on support for EU integration scale (all committee members)**

*Note:* The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the means of the conditional distributions. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.

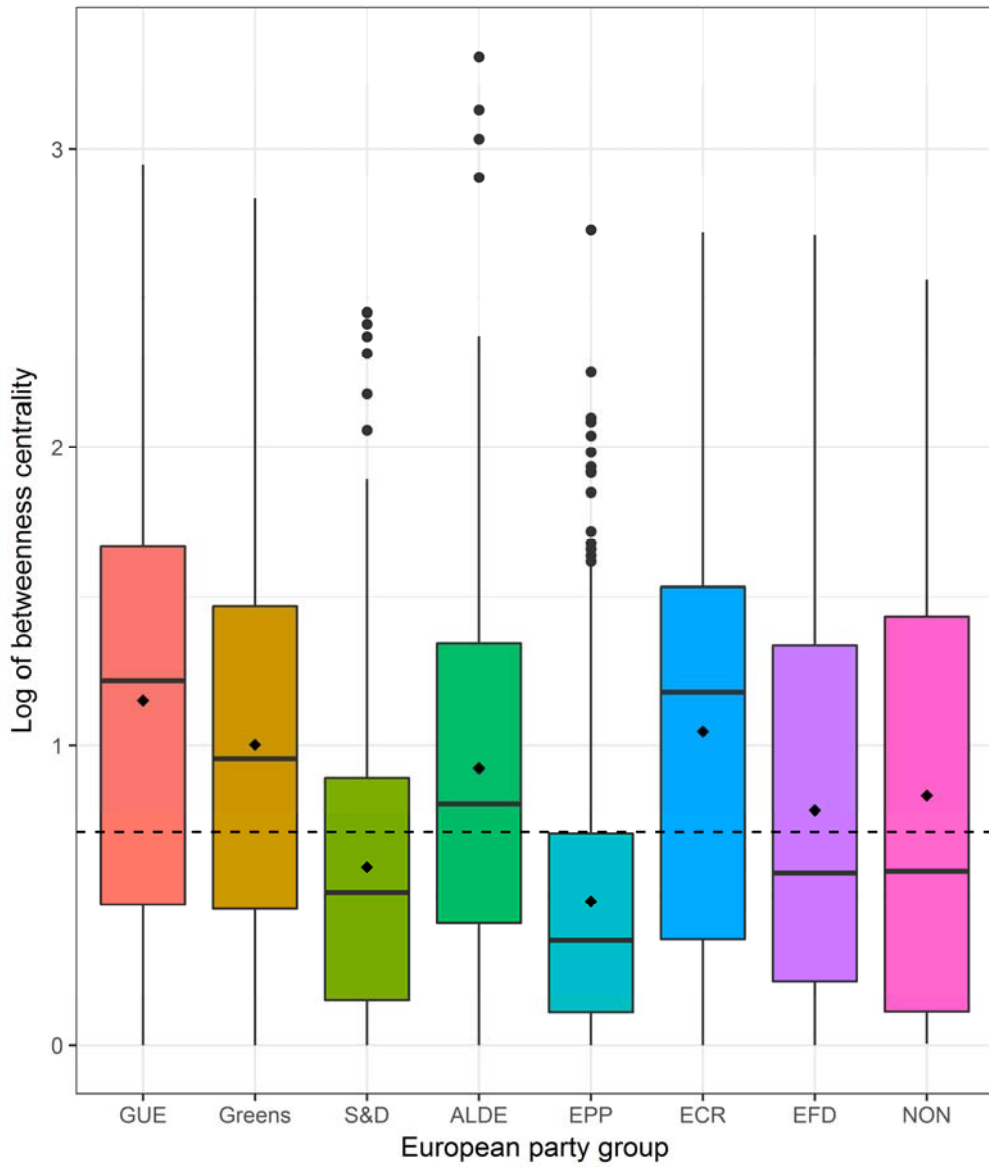


**Figure A3 Party group member scores on Gal/Tan dimension<sup>2</sup> (all committee members)**

*Note:* The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the means of the conditional distributions. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.

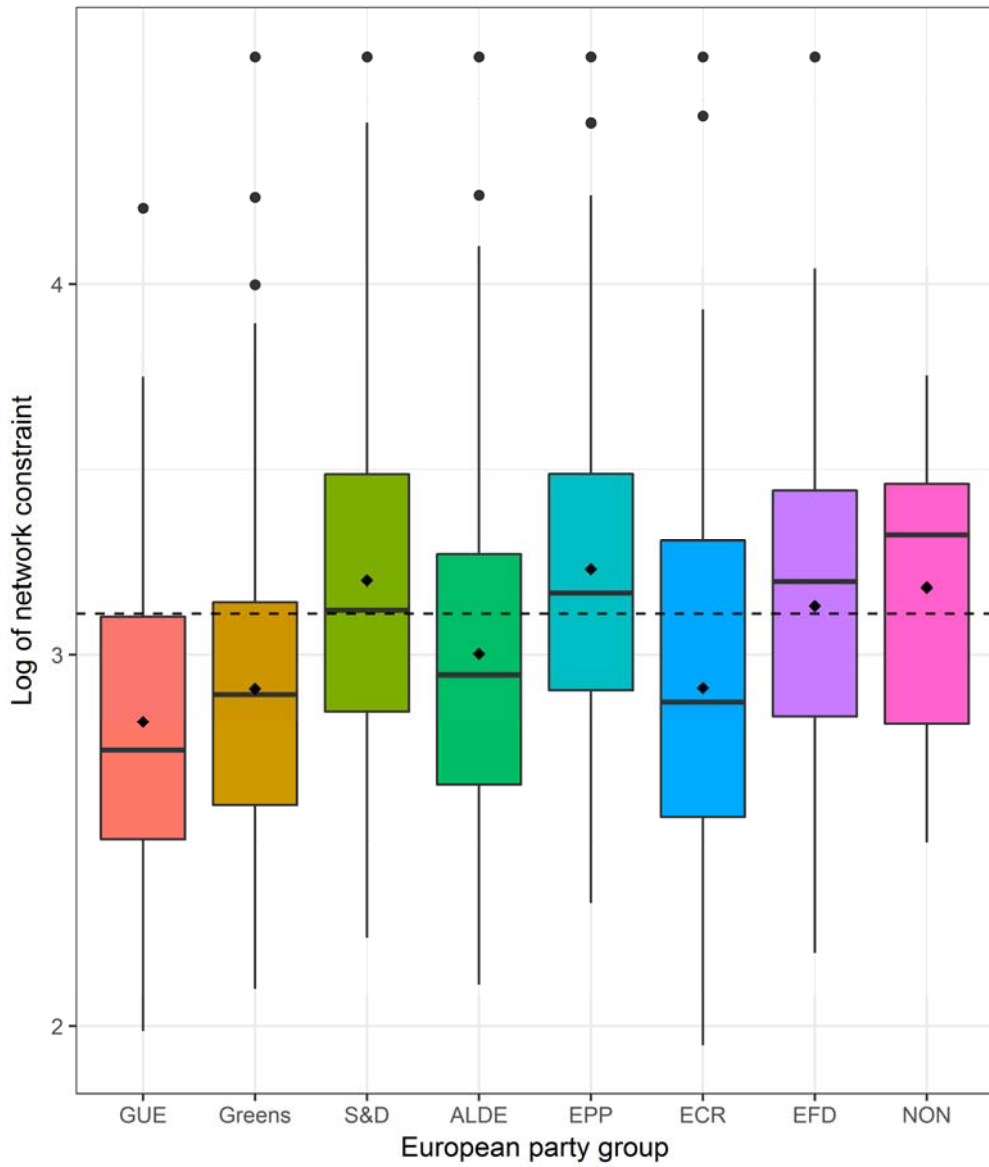
<sup>2</sup> The positions on Gal/Tan are closely aligned to positions on the general left-right scale, with the significant exception of the EUL, whose position is closer to the Tan end of the scale than would be expected based on their far-left ideology. In contrast, the ECR's position is somewhat closer to the Gal end of the scale, which does not correspond to its rather right-wing ideological position.





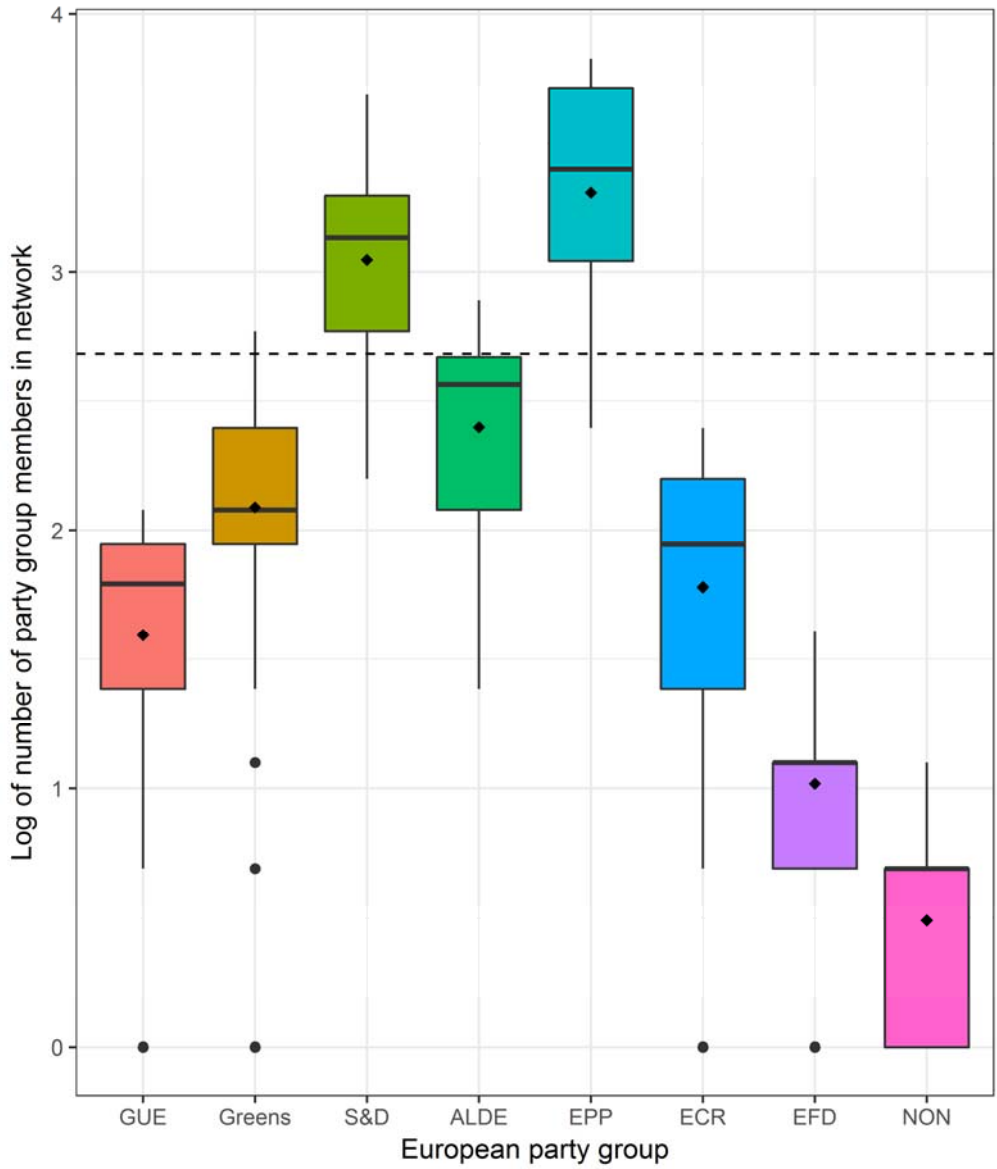
**Figure A4 Betweenness centrality of MEPs, by party group**

Note: The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the mean of the conditional distribution. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



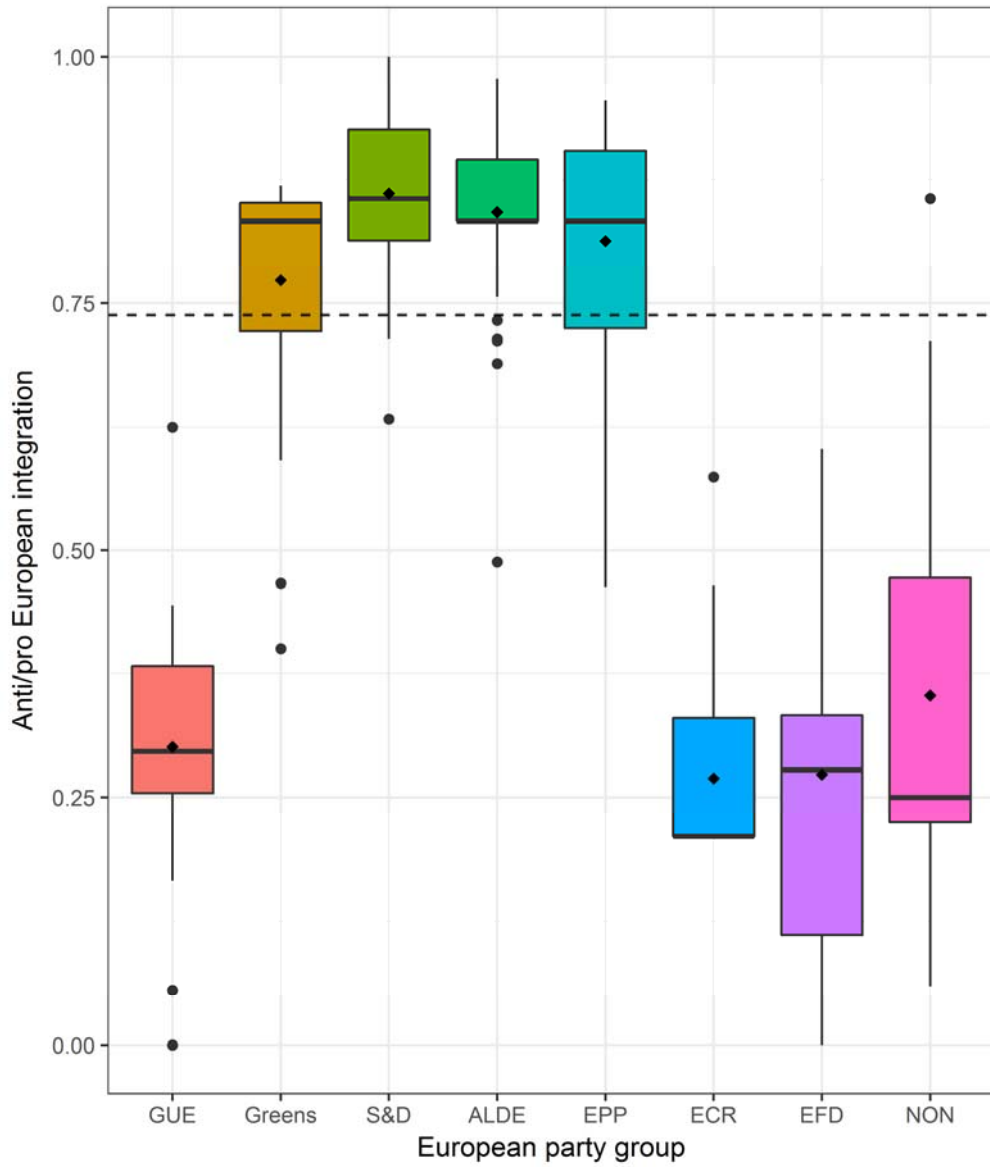
**Figure A5 Network constraint of MEPs, by party group**

Note: The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the mean of the conditional distribution. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



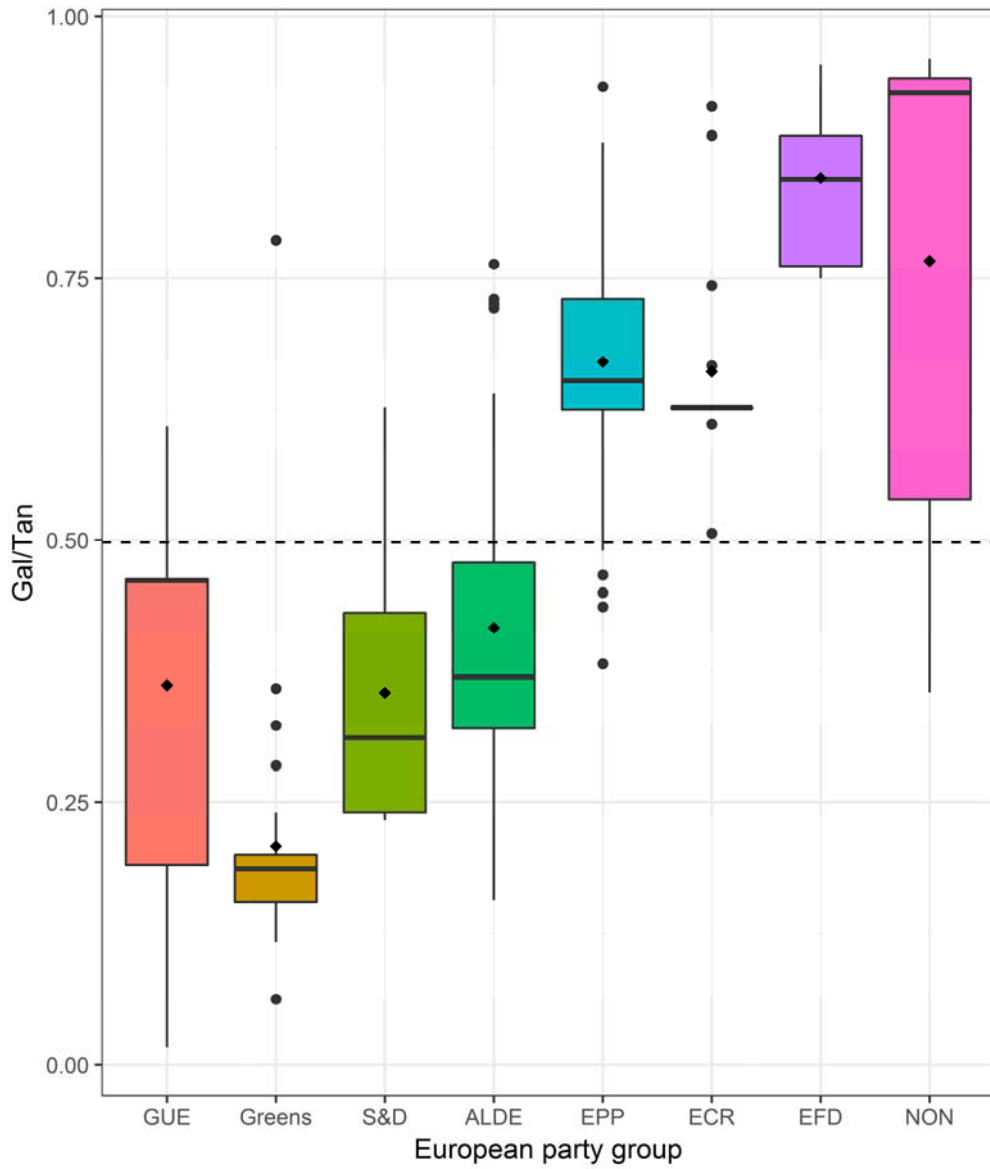
**Figure A6 Party group size in network**

Note: The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the mean of the conditional distribution. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



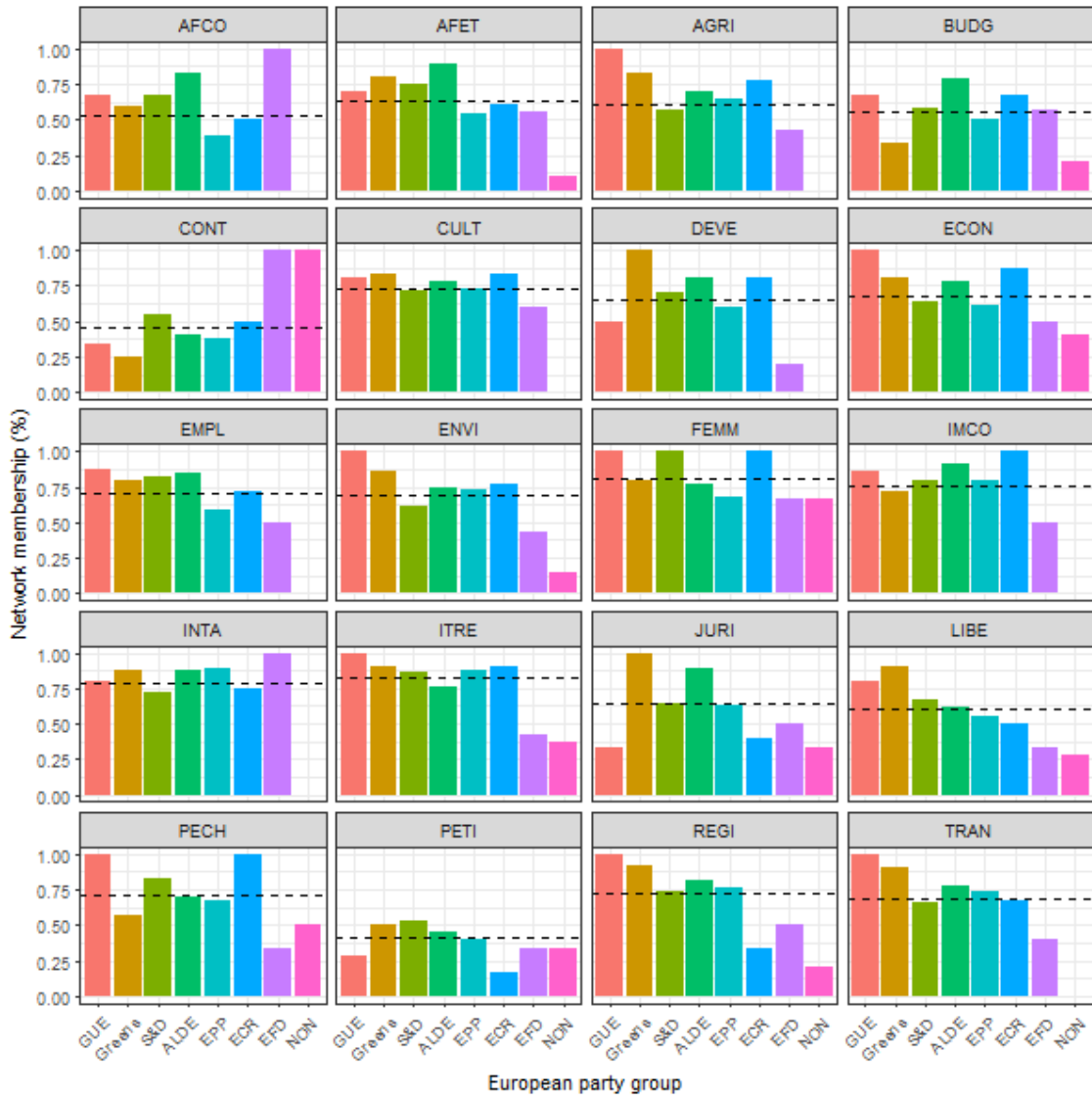
**Figure A7 Party group member scores on support for EU integration scale (network members only)**

*Note:* The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the means of the conditional distributions. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



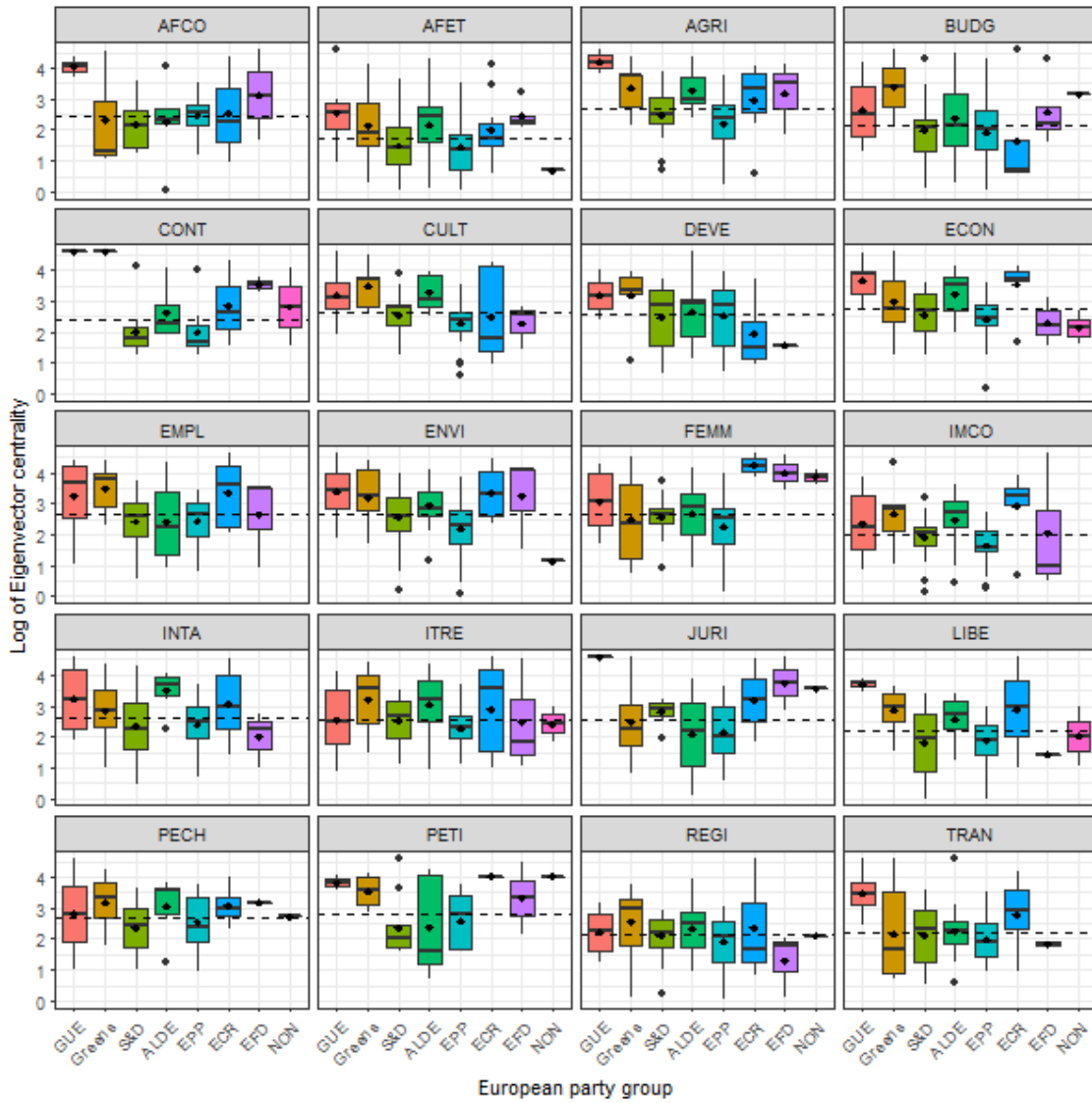
**Figure A8 Party group member scores on Gal/Tan dimension (network members only)**

*Note:* The diamond-shaped points in the box-plots indicate the means of the conditional distributions. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the sample mean.



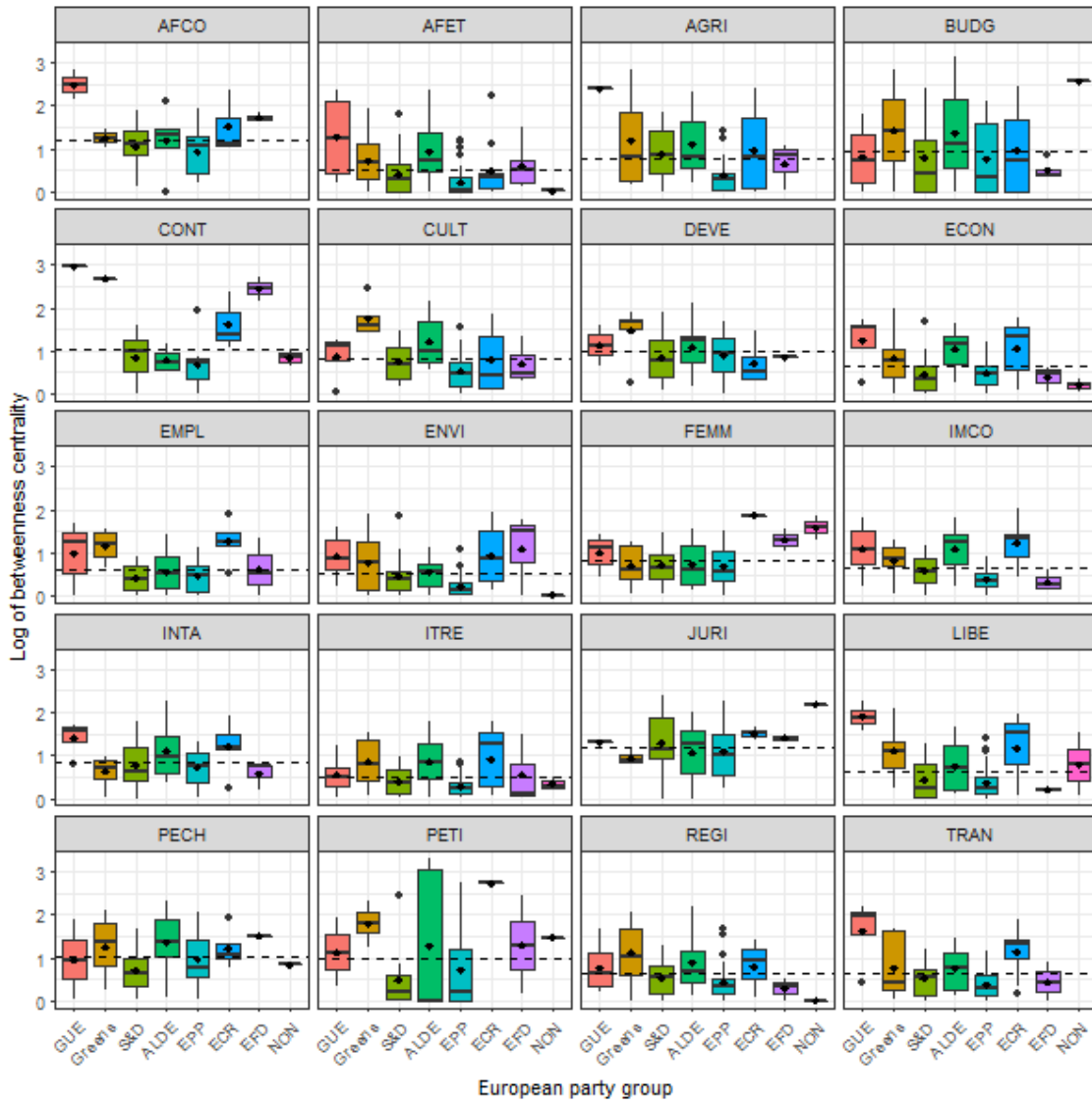
**Figure A9 Network membership across party groups and committees**

*Note:* The dashed lines indicate the total network membership proportion of the respective committee.



**Figure A10 Eigenvector centrality across party groups and committees**

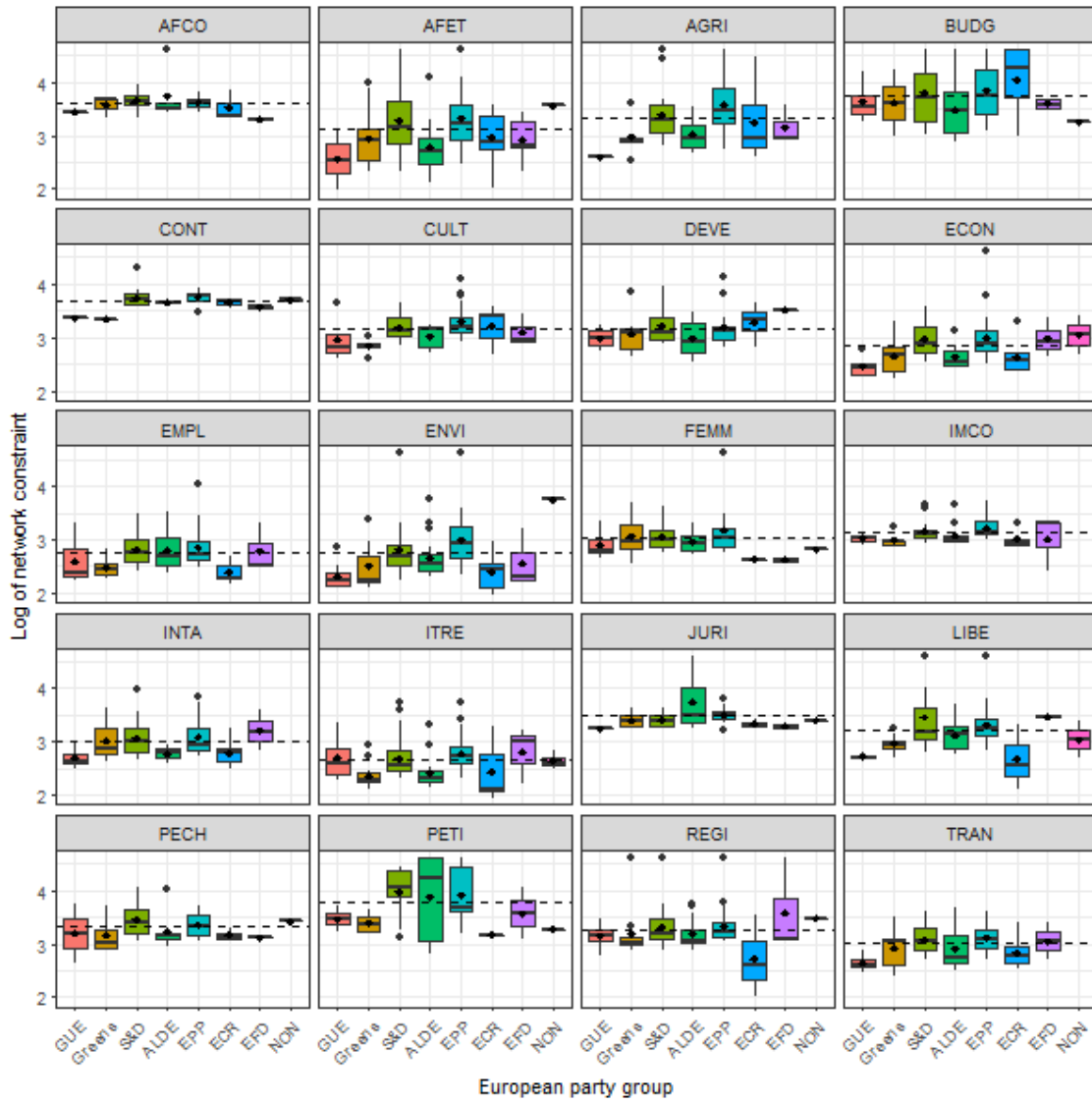
Note: Centrality scores are log-transformed. The dashed lines indicate the average Eigenvector centrality of the respective committee.



**Figure A11 Betweenness centrality across party groups and committees**

Note: Centrality scores are log-transformed. The dashed lines indicate the average betweenness centrality of the respective committee.





**Figure A12 Network constraint across party groups and committees**

Note: Centrality scores are log-transformed. The dashed lines indicate the average network constraint of the respective committee.

**Table A3**      **Correlations between party position variables**

	European integration	Gal/Tan	Left/Right
European integration	1.00	-0.34***	-0.18***
Gal/Tan	-0.34***	1.00	0.75***
Left/Right	-0.18***	0.75***	1.00

*Note:* \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1; N = 2032.

**Table A4** Logistic regression of network membership (with variable indicating Left/Right ideology)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Intercept	1.33*** (0.33)	0.44 (0.28)	1.35*** (0.25)	1.21*** (0.33)	1.45*** (0.24)	1.56*** (0.34)	1.52*** (0.35)	1.65*** (0.35)	1.71*** (0.33)
Party group size (log)	-0.18** (0.08)						-0.31** (0.12)	-0.16 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.08)
European integration		0.36 (0.25)		0.16 (0.25)		-0.12 (0.26)	0.83** (0.37)	0.28 (0.47)	
Left-right			-1.19*** (0.29)	-1.14*** (0.29)		-0.01 (0.40)	-0.83*** (0.32)	-0.05 (0.41)	
Gal/Tan					-1.42*** (0.27)	-1.46*** (0.40)		-1.19** (0.52)	-1.37*** (0.29)
AIC	2607.84	2464.83	2444.99	2446.46	2428.74	2432.47	2438.75	2432.49	2429.09
BIC	2727.01	2582.78	2562.94	2570.03	2546.69	2561.66	2567.93	2567.29	2552.65
Log Likelihood	-1282.92	-1211.41	-1201.49	-1201.23	-1193.37	-1193.23	-1196.37	-1192.24	-1192.54
Deviance	2565.84	2422.83	2402.99	2402.46	2386.74	2386.47	2392.75	2384.49	2385.09
Num. obs.	2153	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032	2032

Note: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1; the dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating membership in the committee network; robust standard errors, clustered by MEP, in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee and the baseline category for the party group variable is the ECR group.

**Table A5** Logistic regression of network membership (with variable indicating full or substitute committee membership)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	0.16 (0.28)	0.76** (0.31)	-0.22 (0.27)	0.87*** (0.25)	1.03*** (0.34)
GUE/NGL	0.58* (0.32)				
Greens/EFA	0.61** (0.27)				
S&D	0.09 (0.22)				
ALDE	0.45* (0.24)				
EPP	-0.22 (0.21)				
EFD	-0.96*** (0.29)				
Full member	1.64*** (0.11)	1.60*** (0.11)	1.58*** (0.11)	1.60*** (0.11)	1.60*** (0.11)
Party group size (log)		-0.18** (0.07)			-0.17 (0.12)
European integration			0.43* (0.22)		0.36 (0.38)
Gal/Tan				-1.51*** (0.24)	-1.28*** (0.31)
AIC	2331.94	2367.34	2242.79	2207.32	2209.11
BIC	2485.15	2492.18	2366.36	2330.89	2343.91
Log Likelihood	-1138.97	-1161.67	-1099.40	-1081.66	-1080.56
Deviance	2277.94	2323.34	2198.79	2163.32	2161.11
Num. obs.	2153	2153	2032	2032	2032

Note: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1; the dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating membership in a committee's policymaking network; robust standard errors, clustered by MEP, in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee and the baseline category for the party group variable is the ECR group.

**Table A6 Linear regression of Eigenvector centrality (with variable indicating Left/Right ideology)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Intercept	3.35*** (0.17)	3.10*** (0.18)	2.76*** (0.18)	3.46*** (0.19)	2.76*** (0.17)	3.71*** (0.20)	3.50*** (0.19)	3.58*** (0.19)	3.57*** (0.18)
Party group size (log)	-0.46*** (0.04)						-0.50*** (0.05)	-0.46*** (0.06)	-0.46*** (0.04)
European integration		-0.83*** (0.11)		-0.88*** (0.11)		-1.11*** (0.12)	0.16 (0.16)	0.00 (0.18)	
Left-right			-0.50*** (0.13)	-0.61*** (0.13)		0.17 (0.19)	-0.27** (0.13)	-0.05 (0.19)	
Gal/Tan					-0.55*** (0.12)	-1.03*** (0.18)		-0.33 (0.20)	-0.36*** (0.12)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.18	0.13	0.10	0.14	0.11	0.16	0.19	0.20	0.20
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.17	0.11	0.09	0.13	0.09	0.15	0.18	0.18	0.18
Num. obs.	1476	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391
RMSE	0.94	0.97	0.98	0.96	0.98	0.95	0.93	0.93	0.93

Note: \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1; the dependent variable is the log-transformed value of the network centrality measure; standard errors in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Constitutional Affairs Committee.

**Table A7 Linear regression of betweenness centrality (with variable indicating Left/Right ideology)**

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>	<b>Model 4</b>	<b>Model 5</b>	<b>Model 6</b>	<b>Model 7</b>	<b>Model 8</b>	<b>Model 9</b>
Intercept	1.82*** (0.10)	1.57*** (0.11)	1.37*** (0.11)	1.82*** (0.12)	1.40*** (0.10)	2.02*** (0.12)	1.85*** (0.11)	1.93*** (0.11)	1.95*** (0.10)
Party group size (log)	-0.33*** (0.02)						-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.03)	-0.31*** (0.02)
European integration		-0.52*** (0.07)		-0.56*** (0.07)		-0.74*** (0.07)	0.20** (0.09)	0.04 (0.11)	
Left-right			-0.36*** (0.08)	-0.43*** (0.08)		0.19* (0.11)	-0.18** (0.08)	0.03 (0.11)	
Gal/Tan					-0.45*** (0.07)	-0.82*** (0.11)		-0.32*** (0.12)	-0.32*** (0.07)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.13	0.11	0.15	0.12	0.18	0.23	0.23	0.23
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.21	0.12	0.10	0.14	0.11	0.17	0.22	0.22	0.22
Num. obs.	1476	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391
RMSE	0.55	0.58	0.59	0.58	0.59	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.55

Note: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1; the dependent variable is the log-transformed value of the network centrality measure; standard errors in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Constitutional Affairs Committee.

**Table A8**      **Linear regression of network constraint (with variable indicating Left/Right ideology)**

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>	<b>Model 4</b>	<b>Model 5</b>	<b>Model 6</b>	<b>Model 7</b>	<b>Model 8</b>	<b>Model 9</b>
Intercept	3.25*** (0.07)	3.37*** (0.07)	3.50*** (0.07)	3.24*** (0.08)	3.48*** (0.07)	3.12*** (0.08)	3.22*** (0.08)	3.17*** (0.08)	3.17*** (0.07)
Party group size (log)	0.18*** (0.02)						0.20*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)
European integration		0.31*** (0.05)		0.34*** (0.05)		0.44*** (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	0.01 (0.08)	
Left-right			0.19*** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.05)		-0.13 (0.08)	0.09* (0.05)	-0.05 (0.08)	
Gal/Tan					0.24*** (0.05)	0.47*** (0.08)		0.21** (0.08)	0.17*** (0.05)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.42	0.39	0.38	0.40	0.38	0.42	0.44	0.44	0.44
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.41	0.38	0.37	0.39	0.38	0.41	0.43	0.43	0.43
Num. obs.	1476	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391	1391
RMSE	0.39	0.40	0.41	0.40	0.40	0.39	0.39	0.39	0.39

Note: \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1; the dependent variable is the log-transformed value of the network centrality measure; standard errors in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Constitutional Affairs Committee.

**Table A9 Linear regression of network position measures (with variable indicating substitute or full committee membership)**

	Eigenvector centrality				Betweenness centrality				Network constraint			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Intercept	2.24*** (0.19)	3.04*** (0.16)	3.42*** (0.19)	3.26*** (0.18)	1.05*** (0.11)	1.68*** (0.10)	1.90*** (0.11)	1.79*** (0.11)	3.69*** (0.08)	3.35*** (0.07)	3.21*** (0.08)	3.27*** (0.08)
ECR					0.31** (0.15)				0.33*** (0.09)			
GUE/NGL					0.54*** (0.16)				0.44*** (0.09)			
Greens/EFA					0.38*** (0.14)				0.31*** (0.09)			
S&D					-0.30** (0.13)				-0.14* (0.08)			
ALDE					0.15 (0.14)				0.21** (0.08)			
EPP					-0.43*** (0.13)				-0.25*** (0.08)			
Full member	0.64*** (0.05)	0.62*** (0.05)	0.63*** (0.05)	0.63*** (0.05)	0.30*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.02)	-0.21*** (0.02)	-0.21*** (0.02)	-0.21*** (0.02)
Party group size (log)		-0.47*** (0.03)		-0.46*** (0.05)		-0.33*** (0.02)		-0.33*** (0.03)		0.19*** (0.01)		0.18*** (0.02)
European integration			-1.08*** (0.11)	0.02 (0.17)			-0.72*** (0.07)	0.06 (0.10)			0.42*** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.07)
Gal-tan			-0.95*** (0.12)	-0.40*** (0.13)			-0.70*** (0.07)	-0.31*** (0.08)			0.40*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.06)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.27	0.25	0.29	0.30	0.27	0.23	0.29	0.47	0.46	0.46	0.48
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.27	0.26	0.24	0.28	0.28	0.26	0.22	0.27	0.46	0.45	0.45	0.47
Num. obs	1476	1476	1391	1391	1476	1476	1391	1391	1476	1476	1391	1391

Note: \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1; the dependent variable is the log-transformed value of the respective network centrality measure; p-values are in parentheses; committee dummies included as control variables in all models; the baseline category for the committee variable is the Constitutional Affairs Committee and the baseline category for the party group variable is the EFD group.