

Appendix:

Legislative Activity and Private Benefits:

A Natural Experiment in New Zealand

THE MEMBER'S BILL BALLOT IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT

Members of Parliament (MPs) who are not part of the government can introduce bills, outside the government's programme: these are called members' bills (until 1995, they were called private member bills). The purpose of members' bills is to amend previous legislation, gauge public attention to an issue and emphasise different party positions (McGee 1994). Member's bills can deal with different topics, but should have a minor fiscal impact on the state (until 1996 member's bills were not supposed to have any financial implication at all) (New Zealand Parliament 2014b). These bills are usually discussed every second Wednesday of the month, namely on Members' day. The parliament adopts a small number of member's bills (in our sample, 15 per cent of drawn bills become legislation), but all member's bills may still affect the government's agenda, by attracting attention to certain issues (New Zealand Parliament 2009, 2016, 2017).

MPs can draft the bill herself or seek legal advice. It is common practice that the MP consults with the party caucus to gather support from her party members, before putting the bill through (Spindler 2009). A member's bill can progress further and be written down in the Order Paper by being drawn in the ballot or by being introduced by leave. The

lottery system is by far the most common procedure (New Zealand Parliament 2017). In the latter procedure, the MP asks if there are objections for the bill to be placed on the Order Paper. In the last 10 years, only two member bills were introduced to the debate in this manner (New Zealand Parliament 2017).

The New Zealand Parliament selects the member's bills via a ballot. This ballot takes place when a space on the Order Paper becomes available. ¹ We first describe the participation rules for the ballot and then the procedure for selecting the member's bills (New Zealand Parliament 2009). Members enter their bills in the ballot, by giving notice to the Table Office and supplying a copy of the proposed bill (New Zealand Parliament 2009, 2016). The proposed bill is then posted on the parliament's website and members can publicly indicate their support for the bill prior to the ballot. ² Until 2011, members were only supposed to present a title and a brief description of the bill (New Zealand Parliament 2017). Members can only propose one bill at a time, but once their bill has been drawn, they can propose another one (New Zealand Parliament 2017). Also, parliamentarians cannot propose a bill if the parliament has already rejected the proposal in the same calendar year (New Zealand Parliament 2014b).

Each bill is numbered and assigned to a token, which is then placed into a metal tin. A politically neutral person draws a token for each vacant slot on the Order Paper (New Zealand Parliament 2017). The bills that are not selected are kept for the next ballot draw and re-numbered every time, until they are drawn, are withdrawn by the member or

¹The Order Paper can include up to eight bills. This number has increased throughout the years (New Zealand Parliament 2017).

²When two bills are the same in substance, a preliminary ballot between them is held to determine which one enters the ballot. As this has occurred only twice throughout the period under analysis, we decide to focus only on the final ballot and ignore the preliminary one in these cases.

reach the end of the parliament term (New Zealand Parliament 2017).³ Every second Wednesday of the month the House discusses local, private and members' bills (New Zealand Parliament 2009, 2016).

The number of ballots varies over years, from one in 2014 to nine in 2015 (no ballot is usually held during election years, even though one ballot was held in 2014). In the last seven years, a total of 47 draws have taken place. The frequency of ballots depends on the available discussion time.

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

Tables A1-A3 provide descriptive statistics of our main variables and the relative frequencies by party and legislative period.

Ballot Data

We use data on all 47 ballots, which took place in the period from 2009 until 2016. The ballots include on average 80 entries and on average three bills were drawn. Our analysis includes data from three legislative periods (2009-2011, 2011-2014, 2014-2017). We gathered data on every bill which enters the ballot: whether the bill was drawn in the ballot; whether the bill passed and, if not, at which stage the bill was rejected; the dates when the bill was introduced to the floor and when it was passed/rejected.⁴

³In the UK parliament this procedure is fully computerised.

⁴This information can be found here (last accessed July 2017).

Private Benefits

We draw information on private benefits from the registers of interests of MPs, which are available from 2006.⁵ For every MP we have yearly information on her pecuniary interests. In August 2005 the House amended its Standing Orders to provide a system for members of Parliament to register these pecuniary interests. Standing Order 164 and Appendix B of the Standing Orders provide details on what needs to be registered and how to do so. These rules are amended every year. MPs declare their interests to the Registrar of Pecuniary and Other Specified Interests, who advises them about what information is required, and compiles their returns into the register. Once the register is complete, the Registrar gives it to the Speaker, who submits it to the House. The booklet contains the returns of those who were members at the time of publication and who were members as of 31 January. New members who enter after 31 January are required to make an initial return before the next round of annual return. This information, along with that in the registers filed by MPs after the deadline, is stored separately and was included in the analysis as well.

The register includes two main types of interests. The first type consists of the following interests: the involvement of the MP in companies, trusts and organizations in various role; employment outside the parliament; real properties owned by the MP; her debtors and creditors; the superannuation schemes in which she participates. For this type of interests the MP needs to report a snapshot of her interests at the effective date, which is 31 January. The second main type of interests comprises: gifts the MP received; discharged debts; payment for activities. These items are registered once, only for the year

⁵This information can be found here (last accessed July 2017).

to which they relate.

We choose to gather information on gifts and payment for activities, as these items best measure the private benefits derived from the parliamentary activity. The former include gifts received while travelling on official business, corporate hospitality and services provided at no cost, where the market value exceeds 500 dollars. Payments for activities include fees for activities, such as speaking engagements, book royalties and so on (New Zealand Parliament 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2015). Examples of payments for activities are consultancy fees from a tourism company to an MP involved in rural affairs and director's fees from a manufacturing company to an MP involved in small business affairs. Examples of gifts instead are tickets to a gala dinner from a private bank to an MP involved in industrial relations. Notice that the rules for the registration of interests change almost every year. However, we examined in detail the notes for the registers of interests and find that the definition of the various types of interests and the procedures did not change substantively.

As MPs do not have to report the exact figures, we measure private benefits as an ordinal variable which takes value: 0 if the MP does not receive any gifts or payments in the same year of the ballot; value 1 if the MP receives either gifts or payments in that year; value 2 if the MP receives both gifts and payments in that year (variable 'ordinal - same year'). We employ different measures and show the results in the Appendix. We also measure private benefits as a dichotomous variable which takes value 0 if the MP does not receive gifts or benefits and value 1 if she receives either one or the other, or both (variable 'dichotomous - same year'). Finally, we measure whether the MP receives gifts and/or payments for activities (as dichotomous variable) in the same year, if the ballot takes place before June, otherwise we look at the following year (we call this measure 'dichotomous - next year').

TABLE A1 *Descriptive Statistics*

VARIABLES	(1) N	(2) mean	(3) sd	(4) min	(5) max
Bill Drawn	3,056	0.0383	0.192	0	1
Bill Passed	117	0.137	0.345	0	1
List v. Constituency	3,056	0.499	0.500	0	1
Cabinet Experience	3,056	0.425	0.494	0	1
Benefits (Dichotomous-Same Year)	3,056	0.284	0.451	0	1
Benefits (Dichotomous-Next Year)	2,508	0.247	0.431	0	1
Benefits (Ordinal-Same Year)	3,056	0.296	0.482	0	2
Chair	3,056	0.117	0.322	0	1

Other Variables

We have biographical data on every MP in our sample, namely the ministerial roles filled in the past. ⁶ We also have information on whether the MP was elected through electorate or party vote. Finally, we gathered data on whether the MP acts as parliamentary committee chair. ⁷ Finally, in the regressions we calculate party fixed effects by pooling all the observations from minor parties into a single category. We gathered all this information between the end of 2016 and the end of 2017.

⁶This information can be found here (accessed November 2016).

⁷This information was provided by the New Zealand Parliamentary Service (contacted November 2017).

TABLE A2 *Descriptive Statistics - Party*

Party	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Other (ACT, Mana, Progressive, United)	62	2.03	2.03
Green	609	19.93	21.96
Labour	1,257	41.13	63.09
Maori	65	2.13	65.22
National	744	24.35	89.56
NZ First	319	10.44	100.00
Total	3,056	100.00	

TABLE A3 *Descriptive Statistics - Legislative Period*

Legislative Period	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
First Period (2009-2011)	425	13.91	13.91
Second Period (2011-2014)	1,183	38.71	52.62
Third Period (2014-2017)	1,448	47.38	100.00
Total	3,056	100.00	

BALANCE CHECKS

As Table A4 shows, being drawn in the ballot does not depend on any individual characteristic of the MP. This means that the ballot is a true natural experiment, as it randomly selects MPs, regardless of how they are elected, their experience and so on. Hence, relying on the ballot allows estimating the causal effects of legislative activity on private benefits, controlling for the potential endogeneity in place. The legislative period is statistically associated with the likelihood of being drawn.⁸ This effect occurs because the baseline legislative period, 2009-2011, includes fewer entries to the ballot in comparison to the other periods. Thus, an entry to the ballot in the legislative periods 2011-2014 and 2014-2017 is less likely to be successful, with respect to an entry to the ballot in the 2009-2011 period.⁹

Finally, we check the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) for the variables in the regression models. The VIF measures how much variance of the coefficient of a variable is due to the fact that the variable is linearly related to the other variables in the model. The VIFs are well below the value 10 and hence we exclude high levels of multicollinearity.

⁸We dropped from the analysis those parties whose MPs were never drawn in the ballot during the period under analysis, namely the Progressive Party and the United Party.

⁹Usually no ballot is held during election years and, hence, there are no observations for 2011. In 2014, only one ballot was held. We do not consider observations from 2017 because the corresponding data on private benefits will be released in July 2017.

TABLE A4 *Balance Checks*

Member Bill	
VARIABLES	(1) Bill Drawn
List v. Constituency	-0.0187 (0.206)
Green	-0.127 (0.715)
Labour	-0.107 (0.699)
Maori	0.636 (0.783)
National	-0.0245 (0.731)
NZ First	0.0272 (0.749)
Chair	-0.0640 (0.309)
Cabinet Experience	0.269 (0.259)
Second Period (2011-2014)	-0.499* (0.259)
Third Period (2014-2017)	-0.489* (0.257)
Constant	-2.866*** (0.673)
Observations	3,056

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

In the following we provide the results of our robustness tests. Tables A7-A8 replicate the analysis in Table 2, but use the different measures of the outcome variable (private benefits). As stated, in the main body we measure whether the MP receives gifts and/or payments for activities in the same year of the ballot as an ordinal variable. In the Appendix we report the results also for the other measures. In Table A7 we measure private benefits as a dichotomous variable which takes value 0 if the MP does not receive gifts or benefits and value 1 if she receives either one or the other, or both (we call this measure ‘dichotomous - same year’). In Table A8 we measure whether the MP receives gifts and/or payments for activities (as dichotomous variable) in the same year if the ballot takes place before June, otherwise we look at the following year (we call this measure ‘dichotomous - next year’). The results are consistent. Finally, Table A9 replicates the results in Table 1 in the research note, but replaces party fixed effects with a dummy variable which measures whether the party was in government at that time. It should be noted that throughout the period of analysis New Zealand had the same parties in government: National, United, ACT and Maori parties. The results are robust and become stronger after controlling for parties in government.

Table A10 shows the full regression outputs for the first three columns in Table 3. Tables A11-12 replicate the results for the first three columns in Table 3 with the different measures of private benefits as outcome variables. We also employ rare event estimation, with the Stata package ‘firthlogit’ (Tables A13-14). A statistically significant relation is found between the two variables in all the different specifications. Table A15 replicates the results for the last three columns in Table 3, Tables A16-A17 use the different measures for private benefits and Tables A18-A19 use the the package ‘firthlogit’. No statistically

significant relationship between the two main variables is found here.

Tables A20-A21-A22 replicate Table 1-2 in the research note, but we collapsed the dataset at bill level. Presenting a bill affects the likelihood of receiving private benefits. The results are even stronger than in the main analysis. As shown in Table A21-A22, the findings on the successful bill are consistent with our main analysis. Finally, Table A23 uses the generalized ordinal logit model with the Stata `gologit2` `autofit` option.

TABLE A5 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Ordinal - Same Year) - Full Output*

Private Benefits			
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.336*	0.326*	0.380*
	(0.194)	(0.193)	(0.202)
List v. Constituency		-0.346	-0.726**
		(0.293)	(0.313)
Cabinet Experience		0.474	0.628
		(0.289)	(0.472)
Chair		0.788**	0.329
		(0.349)	(0.348)
Observations	3,056	3,056	3,056
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A6 *The Effect of Bill Passed on Private Benefits (Ordinal - Same Year) - Full Output*

Private Benefits			
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Passed	1.490** (0.594)	1.354** (0.615)	1.678** (0.745)
List v. Constituency		0.025 (0.488)	-0.406 (0.488)
Cabinet Experience		0.006 (0.476)	0.784 (0.678)
Chair		0.822 (0.597)	0.067 (0.623)
Observations	117	117	117
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A7 *The Effect of Bill Passed on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Same Year)*

Private Benefits			
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Passed	1.325** (0.549)	1.205** (0.565)	1.206* (0.643)
List v. Constituency		0.036 (0.504)	0.104 (0.507)
Cabinet Experience		0.020 (0.492)	1.002 (0.779)
Chair		1.053 (0.644)	0.123 (0.710)
Constant	-0.815*** (0.235)	-0.949*** (0.330)	-1.697* (1.024)
Observations	117	117	117
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A8 *The Effect of Bill Passed on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Next Year)*

Private Benefits			
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Passed	1.623*** (0.583)	1.527** (0.595)	1.274** (0.641)
List v. Constituency		-0.350 (0.618)	-0.722 (0.659)
Cabinet Experience		-0.173 (0.628)	0.966 (1.142)
Chair		0.507 (0.873)	-0.250 (0.832)
Constant	-1.371*** (0.312)	-1.150*** (0.436)	1.100 (1.899)
Observations	100	100	100
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A9 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Ordinal - Same Year) - Government*

Private Benefits - Government			
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.336* (0.194)	0.326* (0.193)	0.389** (0.197)
List v. Constituency		-0.346 (0.293)	-0.576** (0.292)
Cabinet Experience		0.474 (0.289)	0.901*** (0.329)
Chair		0.788** (0.349)	0.139 (0.334)
Government			1.021*** (0.341)
Observations	3,056	3,056	3,056
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A10 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Ordinal - Same Year) - Successful Bills-Full Output*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	1.659*** (0.613)	1.556*** (0.589)	1.550*** (0.528)
List v. Constituency		-0.365 (0.294)	-0.750** (0.316)
Cabinet Experience		0.505* (0.288)	0.627 (0.468)
Chair		0.772** (0.351)	0.337 (0.347)
Observations	2,955	2,955	2,955
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A11 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Same Year) - Successful Bills*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	1.448*** (0.539)	1.387*** (0.526)	1.381*** (0.482)
List v. Constituency		-0.357 (0.295)	-0.735** (0.309)
Cabinet Experience		0.526* (0.292)	0.706 (0.479)
Chair		0.772** (0.343)	0.317 (0.336)
Constant	-0.938*** (0.146)	-1.097*** (0.237)	-0.526 (0.862)
Observations	2,955	2,955	2,955
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A12 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Next Year) - Successful Bills*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	1.368*** (0.509)	1.331*** (0.510)	1.127** (0.482)
List v. Constituency		-0.263 (0.333)	-0.734** (0.365)
Cabinet Experience		0.434 (0.326)	0.345 (0.432)
Chair		0.503 (0.389)	0.027 (0.353)
Constant	-1.116*** (0.162)	-1.257*** (0.258)	-0.944 (0.875)
Observations	2,424	2,424	2,424
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A13 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Same Year) - Successful Bills - Rare Event*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	1.417*** (0.501)	1.355*** (0.511)	1.345** (0.536)
List v. Constituency		-0.356*** (0.090)	-0.731*** (0.104)
Cabinet Experience		0.524*** (0.088)	0.700*** (0.150)
Chair		0.771*** (0.121)	0.317** (0.146)
Constant	-0.937*** (0.0410)	-1.096*** (0.064)	-0.515* (0.285)
Observations	2,955	2,955	2,955
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A14 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Next Year) - Successful Bills - Rare Event*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	1.352*** (0.491)	1.314*** (0.497)	1.106** (0.507)
List v. Constituency		-0.262** (0.103)	-0.729*** (0.116)
Cabinet Experience		0.433*** (0.100)	0.341** (0.163)
Chair		0.504*** (0.141)	0.030 (0.169)
Constant	-1.116*** (0.047)	-1.255*** (0.074)	-0.916 (0.327)
Observations	2,424	2,424	2,424
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A15 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Ordinal - Same Year) - Unsuccessful Bills - Full Output*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.119 (0.203)	0.123 (0.207)	0.178 (0.215)
List v. Constituency		-0.342 (0.295)	-0.722** (0.314)
Cabinet Experience		0.469 (0.290)	0.615 (0.477)
Chair		0.783** (0.354)	0.341 (0.350)
Observations	3,040	3,040	3,040
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A16 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Same Year) - Successful Bills Dropped*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.123 (0.205)	0.127 (0.209)	0.185 (0.217)
List v. Constituency		-0.332 (0.296)	-0.708** (0.308)
Cabinet Experience		0.488* (0.293)	0.684 (0.488)
Chair		0.776** (0.348)	0.318 (0.340)
Constant	-0.938*** (0.146)	-1.093*** (0.236)	-0.383 (0.883)
Observations	3,040	3,040	3,040
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A17 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Next Year) - Unsuccessful Bills*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	-0.255 (0.274)	-0.258 (0.280)	-0.274 (0.288)
List v. Constituency		-0.250 (0.336)	-0.716* (0.366)
Cabinet Experience		0.395 (0.331)	0.285 (0.443)
Chair		0.518 (0.389)	0.049 (0.352)
Constant	-1.116*** (0.162)	-1.246*** (0.257)	-0.784 (0.904)
Observations	2,492	2,492	2,492
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A18 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Same Year) - Unsuccessful Bills- Rare Event*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.132 (0.218)	0.136 (0.221)	0.192 (0.230)
List v. Constituency		-0.331*** (0.088)	-0.705*** (0.102)
Cabinet Experience		0.487*** (0.087)	0.679*** (0.149)
Chair		0.776*** (0.120)	0.318* (0.144)
Constant	-0.937*** (0.041)	-1.091*** (0.064)	-0.376 (0.276)
Observations	3,040	3,040	3,040
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A19 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Dichotomous - Next Year) - Unsuccessful Bills - Rare Event*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	-0.234 (0.272)	-0.237 (0.274)	-0.253 (0.283)
List v. Constituency		-0.250** (0.102)	-0.711*** (0.114)
Cabinet Experience		0.394*** (0.099)	0.282* (0.162)
Chair		0.519*** (0.153)	-0.050 (0.167)
Constant	-1.116*** (0.0473)	-1.244*** (0.0742)	-0.762* (0.311)
Observations	2,492	2,492	2,492
Party FE			YES
Legislative Period FE			YES

Clustered errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A20 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Collapsed) - Bill Level*
Private Benefits - Collapsed

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Drawn	0.423** (0.213)	0.413* (0.216)	0.406* (0.221)
List v. Constituency		0.0338 (0.217)	-0.221 (0.219)
Cabinet Experience		0.227 (0.208)	0.664*** (0.242)
Chair		0.621** (0.254)	0.0424 (0.276)
Constant	-0.965*** (0.109)	-1.155*** (0.163)	-2.490*** (0.346)
Observations	679	679	679
Party FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A21 *The Effect of Bill Passed on Private Benefits (Collapsed) - Bill Level*
Private Benefits - Collapsed

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Bill Passed	1.234** (0.561)	1.110* (0.585)	0.991 (0.609)
List v. Constituency		0.0948 (0.450)	-0.138 (0.472)
Cabinet Experience		-0.148 (0.449)	0.553 (0.554)
Chair		0.997 (0.649)	0.0111 (0.666)
Constant	-0.723*** (0.215)	-0.800** (0.317)	-2.715*** (0.741)
Observations	117	117	117
Party FE			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A22 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Collapsed) - Successful and Unsuccessful Bills - Bill Level*

VARIABLES	Private Benefits - Collapsed					
	Successful	Successful	Successful	Unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Unsuccessful
Bill Drawn	1.871 (1.245)	1.747 (1.150)	1.351 (1.174)	-0.101 (0.427)	-0.109 (0.439)	-0.0952 (0.430)
List v. Constituency		0.0008 (0.237)	-0.271 (0.253)		0.077 (0.221)	-0.237 (0.237)
Cabinet Experience		0.363 (0.223)	0.0695 (0.335)		0.195 (0.213)	-0.102 (0.341)
Chair		0.532* (0.276)	0.380 (0.309)		0.568** (0.264)	0.432 (0.294)
Constant	-0.945*** (0.108)	-1.169*** (0.171)	-0.557 (0.597)	-0.921*** (0.104)	-1.110*** (0.162)	-0.120 (0.532)
Observations	578	578	577	663	663	662
Party FE			YES			YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TABLE A23 *The Effect of Bill Drawn on Private Benefits (Generalized Ordinal Logit)*

Private Benefits					
VARIABLES	Full Sample	Full Sample	Full Sample	Successful	Unsuccessful
0					
Bill Drawn	0.336*	0.326*	0.390*	1.538***	0.191
	(0.194)	(0.193)	(0.199)	(0.503)	(0.217)
List v. Constituency		-0.346	-0.396	-0.423	-0.394
		(0.293)	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.296)
Cabinet Experience		0.474	0.732**	0.767**	0.726**
		(0.289)	(0.333)	(0.330)	(0.335)
Chair		0.788	0.476	0.460	0.476
		(0.349)	(0.353)	(0.354)	(0.356)
Observations	3,056	3,056	3,056	2,955	3,040
Party FE			YES	YES	YES
Legislative Period FE			YES	YES	YES
1					
Bill Drawn	0.336*	0.326*	0.390*	1.538***	0.191
	(0.194)	(0.193)	(0.199)	(0.503)	(0.217)
List v. Constituency		-0.346	-0.396	-0.423	-0.394
		(0.293)	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.296)
Cabinet Experience		0.474	0.732**	0.767**	0.726**
		(0.289)	(0.333)	(0.330)	(0.335)
Chair		0.788	0.476	0.460	0.476
		(0.349)	(0.353)	(0.354)	(0.356)
Observations	3,056	3,056	3,056	2,955	3,040
Party FE			YES	YES	YES
Legislative Period FE			YES	YES	YES

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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