Documentation – Do Governments Delay the Implementation of Parliamentary Mandates? Examining Time Variation in Implementing Legislative Requests in Switzerland

Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen, University of Bern
Dominique Oehrli, University of Bern Adrian Vatter, University of Bern

May 2021

```
knitr::opts_chunk$set(include=TRUE, echo=TRUE,
                      warning=FALSE, error=TRUE, message=FALSE,
                      fig.align="center", dpi=300,
                      dev='png', cache=FALSE)
# Load packages
load("Daten.RData")

if (!require("pacman")) install.packages("pacman")
pacman::p_load('car','tidyverse', 'snakecase','ggplot2', 'sjPlot', 'survival', 'survminer',
               'lubridate', 'stargazer')
```

Abstract

This paper investigates time variations in the implementation of legislative requests by the Swiss government. Combining the literature on executive-legislative relations with findings from implementation research, we focus on the procedural level and argue that implementation delays can occur because the government does not want to, cannot or should not implement faster. We test these mechanisms using a unique database, which enables us to analyse a systematic collection of all legislative requests that have been approved between the parliament's 2003 winter session and its 2018 spring session. Our results show that the considerable variation in the time needed for the legislative mandates' implementation is mostly related to the Swiss government's inability to transpose faster, i.e., to factors like highly busy administrative offices or complex and controversial issues. In contrast, there is no support for the ideas that the government 'shall not' or 'does not want to' transpose faster.

Data

The contributions uses the CUBE data set. The CUBE database represents a systematic collection of all motions and postulates which have been approved between the parliament's winter session in 2003 and the 2018 spring session. As shown in Table 1 in the article, a total of 2233 items of business have been approved during this period. About 70 percent of them have been abandoned by the end of the spring session in 2018. The remaining legislative mandates were still pending at that time.

```r
#Generate variable to define the end point of the time period (end of spring session 2018)
daten_voll$end <- "March 16, 2018"
(daten_voll$end <-mdy(daten_voll$end)) #date format
class(daten_voll$end)
```

```r
#Data preparation: Recoding and creating variables

#Generating the variable on whether the head of the departement has changed
#between the adoption date (adoptdat) and the abandonment (abdat) of a
#legislative mandate

#Difference between acceptance and abandonment
daten_voll$date_diff <- as.Date(as.character(daten_voll$end), format="%Y-%m-%d")-
  as.Date(as.character(daten_voll$adoptdat), format="%Y-%m-%d")

#Create new variable, which takes the value of date_diff for pending issues
daten_voll$time <-daten_voll$impldauer
daten_voll$time <- ifelse(!(is.na(daten_voll$impldauer)),
                          daten_voll$time,daten_voll$date_diff)

#Generating the variable on whether the head of the departement has changed
#between the adoption date (adoptdat) and the abandonment (abdat) of a
#legislative request

daten_voll$Wechsel <- 0

#DETEC
daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$UVEK==1&(daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat_c=="Leuenberger")] <- "Leuenberger"
daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$UVEK==1&(daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat_c=="Leuthard")] <- "Leuthard"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$UVEK==1&(daten_voll$UVEK_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$UVEK_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#FDJP
daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EJPD==1&(daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat_c=="Blocher")] <- "Blocher"
daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EJPD==1&(daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat_c=="Sommaruga")] <- "Sommaruga"
daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EJPD==1&(daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat_c=="Widmer-Schlumpf")] <- "Widmer-Schlumpf"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$EJPD==1&(daten_voll$EJPD_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$EJPD_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#DDPS
daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$VBS==1&(daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat_c=="Maurer")] <- "Maurer"
daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$VBS==1&(daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat_c=="Schmid")] <- "Schmid"
daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat2[
```

```
  daten_voll$VBS==1&(daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat_c=="Parmelin")] <- "Parmelin"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$VBS==1&(daten_voll$VBS_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$VBS_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#EAER
daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$WBF==1&(daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat_c=="Deiss")] <- "Deiss"
daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$WBF==1&(daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat_c=="Leuthard")] <- "Leuthard"
daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$WBF==1&(daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat_c=="Schneider-Ammann")] <- "Schneider-Ammann"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$WBF==1&(daten_voll$WBF_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$WBF_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#FDFA
daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDA==1&(daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat_c=="Burkhalter")] <- "Burkhalter"
daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDA==1&(daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat_c=="Calmy-Rey")] <- "Calmy-Rey"
daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDA==1&(daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat_c=="Cassis")] <- "Cassis"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$EDA==1&(daten_voll$EDA_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$EDA_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#FDHA
daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDI==1&(daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat_c=="Berset")] <- "Berset"
daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDI==1&(daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat_c=="Burkhalter")] <- "Burkhalter"
daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EDI==1&(daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat_c=="Couchepin")] <- "Couchepin"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$EDI==1&(daten_voll$EDI_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$EDI_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

#FDF
daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat2 <- NA
daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EFD==1&(daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat_c=="Maurer")] <- "Maurer"
daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EFD==1&(daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat_c=="Merz")] <- "Merz"
daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat2[
  daten_voll$EFD==1&(daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat_c=="Widmer-Schlumpf")] <- "Widmer-Schlumpf"
daten_voll$Wechsel[
  daten_voll$EFD==1&(daten_voll$EFD_vor_adoptdat_c != daten_voll$EFD_vor_abdat2)] <- 1

daten_voll$change <- as.factor(daten_voll$Wechsel)
levels(daten_voll$change) <- c("NO","YES")

#Opposition in the Federal Council
daten_voll$position <- as.factor(daten_voll$position)
```

```r
levels(daten_voll$position) <- c("Refusal","Partial acceptance", "Acceptance")

#Re-labelling the variable Departement (with english labels)
levels(daten_voll$departement) <-c(
  "BK", "FDFA","FDHA", "FDF", "FDJP", "Parl", "DETEC", "DDPS", "EAER")

##Alternative ministry variable with nice labels
daten_voll <- daten_voll %>%
  mutate (department = case_when(
    EDA ==1 ~ "Foreign Affairs",
    EDI ==1 ~ "Home Affairs",
    EFD ==1 ~ "Finance",
    EJPD==1 ~ "Justice and Police",
    UVEK==1 ~ "Envir., Transp., Energy and Comm.",
    VBS==1 ~"Defence, Civil Prot., and Sport",
    WBF==1 ~"Economic Affairs, Educ., and Research"
  ))

daten_voll$Department <- as.factor(daten_voll$department)

#Generate variable to capture opposition in the Federal Assembly
daten_voll$voteNR_ord <- NA
daten_voll$voteNR_ord[daten_voll$votediffNR_neu==-99] <- "No vote"
daten_voll$voteNR_ord[is.na(daten_voll$votediffNR_neu)] <- "Tacit/inexplicit"
daten_voll$voteNR_ord[daten_voll$votediffNR_neu>=0.6] <- "Vote"
daten_voll$voteNR_ord[daten_voll$voteNR<0.6] <- "Vote"
daten_voll$voteSR_ord <- NA
daten_voll$voteSR_ord[daten_voll$abstimmungSR==2] <- "No vote"
daten_voll$voteSR_ord[daten_voll$abstimmungSR==0] <- "Tacit/inexplicit"
daten_voll$voteSR_ord[daten_voll$abstimmungSR==1] <- "Vote"

daten_voll$vote <- "No vote"
daten_voll$vote[daten_voll$voteSR_ord=="Vote"] <- "Vote"
daten_voll$vote[daten_voll$voteNR_ord=="Vote"] <- "Vote"
daten_voll$vote[daten_voll$position==0] <- "Vote"
#table(daten_voll$vote)


#Charged Federal Office dummy
daten_voll$ve_d <- as.factor(daten_voll$ve_d)
#levels(daten_voll$ve_d) <- c("NO","YES")
levels(daten_voll$ve_d) <- c("Charged-No","Charged-Yes")

#Workload numeric:
ve_numeric <- daten_voll%>%
  group_by(ve)%>%
  summarize(count = n())

daten_voll <-merge(daten_voll, ve_numeric,by="ve")
daten_voll$count[(daten_voll$ve =="")] <- NA

# Variable on same issue
daten_voll$gleich <- "None"
```

```r
daten_voll$gleich[daten_voll$gleichmo==1] <- "Same Item"
daten_voll$gleich[daten_voll$gleichtitmocount>=1] <- "Same Item"
daten_voll$gleich[daten_voll$gleichtitpocount>=1] <- "Same Item"

# Adoption year as factor
daten_voll$year <- as.factor(daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat)

#Legislative term as factor
daten_voll$Legislative_term <- as.factor(daten_voll$legisp_adoptdat)

#Factor: initiator of request
daten_voll <- daten_voll %>%
  mutate (Proposer = case_when(
    urfrak_kurz == "BDP" | urfrak_kurz == "EVP/EDU" | urfrak_kurz == "FL"
    | urfrak_kurz == "GL" | urfrak_kurz == "GP" ~"not in government",
    urfrak_kurz == "CVP"~ "Christian Democrats",
    urfrak_kurz == "SP" ~ "Social Democrats",
    urfrak_kurz == "SVP" ~ "Swiss People's Party",
    urfrak_kurz == "FDP" ~ "FDP.The Liberals",
    urfrak_kurz == "Z-NA" ~ "Committee"
  ))
daten_voll$proposed <- as.factor(daten_voll$Proposer)

#Chamber of parliament where request was proposed
daten_voll <- daten_voll %>%
  mutate(council = case_when(
    einrat == "NR" ~ "NC",
    einrat == "SR" ~"CS"
  ))
daten_voll$council <- as.factor(daten_voll$council)

#Request with supranational dimension
daten_voll$international <- daten_voll$them_Europapolitik
daten_voll$international[daten_voll$them_InternationalePolitik==1] <- 1
```

Descriptive statistics (Table 2)

```
#Generate a table with descriptive statistics

library(arsenal)
my_controls <- tableby.control(
  test = T,
  total = T,
  numeric.test = "kwt", cat.test = "chisq",
  numeric.stats = c("meansd", "medianq1q3", "range", "Nmiss2"),
  cat.stats = c("countpct", "Nmiss2"),
  stats.labels = list(
    meansd = "Mean (SD)",
    medianq1q3 = "Median (Q1, Q3)",
    range = "Min - Max",
    Nmiss2 = "Missing"
  )
)

my_labels <- list(
time = "Implementation time: all requests",
  impldauer = "Implementation time: abandoned requests only",
objtyp = "Type of parliamantery request",
ve_d = "Charged Federal Office",
change = "Personnel Changes FC",
vote = "Vote in Federal Assembly",
votediffFA = "Opposition FA",
position = "Opposition Federal Council",
Departement = "Responsible ministry",
jahr_adoptdat = "Adoption year",
gleich = "Same Item"
)

table_descr <- tableby( ~ time + impldauer + objtyp + ve_d +
                          change + votediffFA + position + department +
                          jahr_adoptdat + gleich + Legislative_term,
                        data = daten_voll,
                        control = my_controls)

descr <- summary(table_descr,
labelTranslations = my_labels, text = "latex",
title = "Descriptive Statistics")
```

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

	Overall (N=2233)
Implementation time: all requests	
Mean (SD)	1187.388 (742.481)
Median (Q1, Q3)	1082.000 (720.000, 1458.000)
Min - Max	0.000 - 5121.000
Missing	0
Implementation time: abandoned requests only	
Mean (SD)	1218.021 (639.827)
Median (Q1, Q3)	1091.500 (814.000, 1456.000)
Min - Max	92.000 - 4015.000
Missing	669
Type of parliamantery request	
Motion	977 (43.8%)
Postulat	1256 (56.2%)
Missing	0
Charged Federal Office	
Charged-No	1032 (48.1%)
Charged-Yes	1115 (51.9%)
Missing	86
Personnel Changes FC	
NO	1582 (70.8%)
YES	651 (29.2%)
Missing	0
Opposition FA	
Mean (SD)	0.754 (0.353)
Median (Q1, Q3)	1.000 (0.403, 1.000)
Min - Max	0.005 - 1.000
Missing	0
Opposition Federal Council	
Refusal	537 (24.1%)
Partial acceptance	58 (2.6%)
Acceptance	1636 (73.3%)
Missing	2
Department	
Defence, Civil Prot., and Sport	98 (4.5%)
Economic Affairs, Educ., and Research	344 (15.8%)
Envir., Transp., Energy and Comm.	470 (21.5%)
Finance	340 (15.6%)
Foreign Affairs	108 (4.9%)
Home Affairs	477 (21.9%)
Justice and Police	345 (15.8%)
Missing	51
Adoption year	
Mean (SD)	2011.153 (3.652)
Median (Q1, Q3)	2011.000 (2008.000, 2014.000)
Min - Max	2004.000 - 2018.000
Missing	0

Table 2 continued

Same Item	
None	2055 (92.0%)
Same Item	178 (8.0%)
Missing	0
Legislative term	
47	426 (19.1%)
48	691 (30.9%)
49	782 (35.0%)
50	334 (15.0%)
Missing	0

Survival analysis

```
#Preparation for Survival Analysis

#Excluding cases
daten_sub <- subset(daten_voll, time<2200) #outliers: not transposed within 2200 days
daten_sub <- subset(daten_sub, Parl!=1) #Rare cases for which the parliament is responsible
daten_sub <- subset(daten_sub, BK!=1) #Rare cases for which the Federal Chancellery

###Omit obs with missing values for specific vars
daten_sub <- daten_sub %>% drop_na(position, ve_d)

#Generate variable to identify cases with potential right-censoring
daten_sub$implement <- 1
daten_sub$implement[is.na(daten_sub$impldauer)] <- 0

table(daten_sub$implement)
```

```
##
##    0    1
##  510 1392
```

```
surv_object <- Surv(time = daten_sub$time, event = daten_sub$implement)
```

Non-parametric plots

```
fit2 <- survfit(surv_object ~ motion, data = daten_sub)
#summary(fit2)
plot.type <- ggsurvplot(fit2, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
           #risk.table = TRUE, # Add risk table
           #risk.table.col = "strata", # Change risk table color by groups
           linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
           surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
           xlab = "Time in days",
           ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
           title = "Type of request",
```

```
            legend.labs =
              c("Postulate", "Motion"),
            legend = "bottom",
            ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
            palette = c("#E7B800", "#2E9FDF")
)
plot.type
```

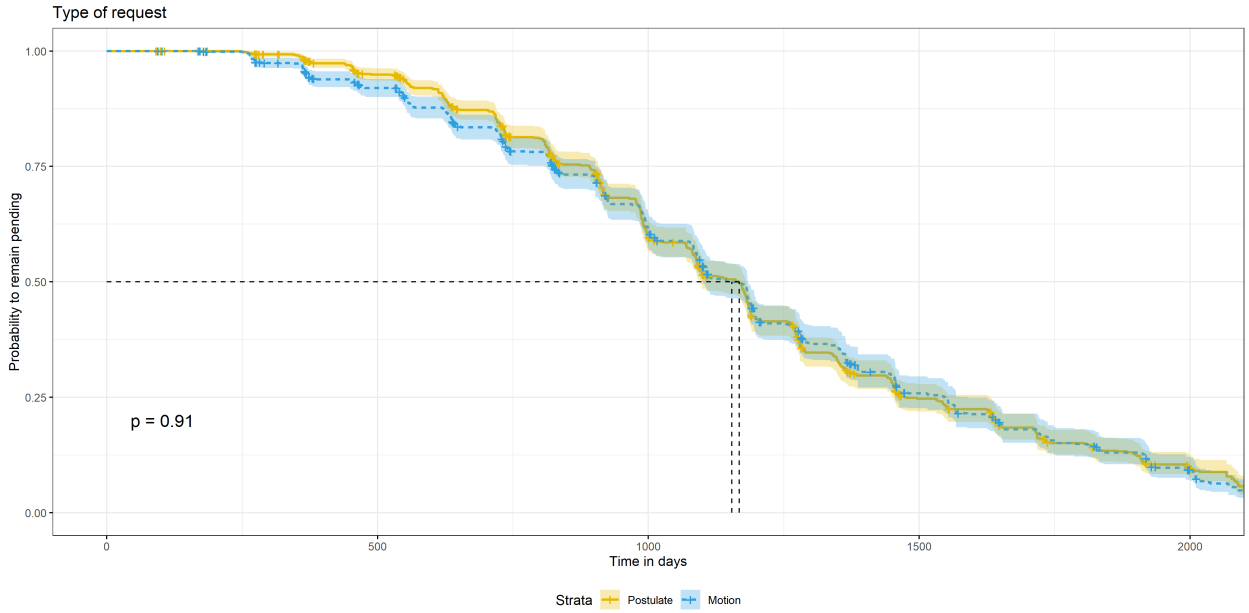

Figure 1: Transposition Timeframe by type of mandate

```
ggsave("Figure1.png",
       width = 8, height = 5)
```

```
fit1 <- survfit(surv_object ~ ve_d, data = daten_sub)
#summary(fit1)
plot.charged <- ggsurvplot(fit1, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
            #risk.table = TRUE, # Add risk table
            #risk.table.col = "strata", # Change risk table color by groups
            linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
            surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
            xlab = "Time in days",
            ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
            title = "Charged Federal Office",
            legend.labs =
              c("Not charged", "Charged"),
            legend = "bottom",
            ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
            palette = c("#E7B800", "#2E9FDF")
            )

fit3 <- survfit(surv_object ~ change, data = daten_sub)
```

```r
plot.head <- ggsurvplot(fit3, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
           #risk.table = TRUE, # Add risk table
           #risk.table.col = "strata", # Change risk table color by groups
           linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
           surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
           xlab = "Time in days",
           ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
           title = "Change in the head of the ministry",
           legend.labs =
             c("No change", "Change"),
           legend = "bottom",
           ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
           palette = c("#E7B800", "#2E9FDF")
            )

fit4 <- survfit(surv_object ~ vote, data = daten_sub)
plot.voteFA<- ggsurvplot(fit4, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
           #risk.table = TRUE, # Add risk table
           #risk.table.col = "strata", # Change risk table color by groups
           linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
           surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
           xlab = "Time in days",
           ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
           title = "Vote in parliament",
           legend.labs =
             c("Vote", "No vote"),
           legend = "bottom",
           ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
           palette = c("#E7B800", "#2E9FDF")
)

fit6 <- survfit(surv_object ~ position, data = daten_sub)
plot.FC <- ggsurvplot(fit6, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
           #risk.table = TRUE, # Add risk table
           #risk.table.col = "strata", # Change risk table color by groups
           linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
           surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
           xlab = "Time in days",
           ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
           title = "Position of the Government",
          legend.labs =
           c("Refusal", "Partial acceptance", "Acceptance"),
           legend = "bottom",
           ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
           palette = c("#E7B800", "grey60", "#2E9FDF")
)

#Plots combined
x <- list(plot.charged, plot.head, plot.voteFA, plot.FC)
plotcombined <- arrange_ggsurvplots(x, ncol = 2, nrow = 2)
plotcombined
```

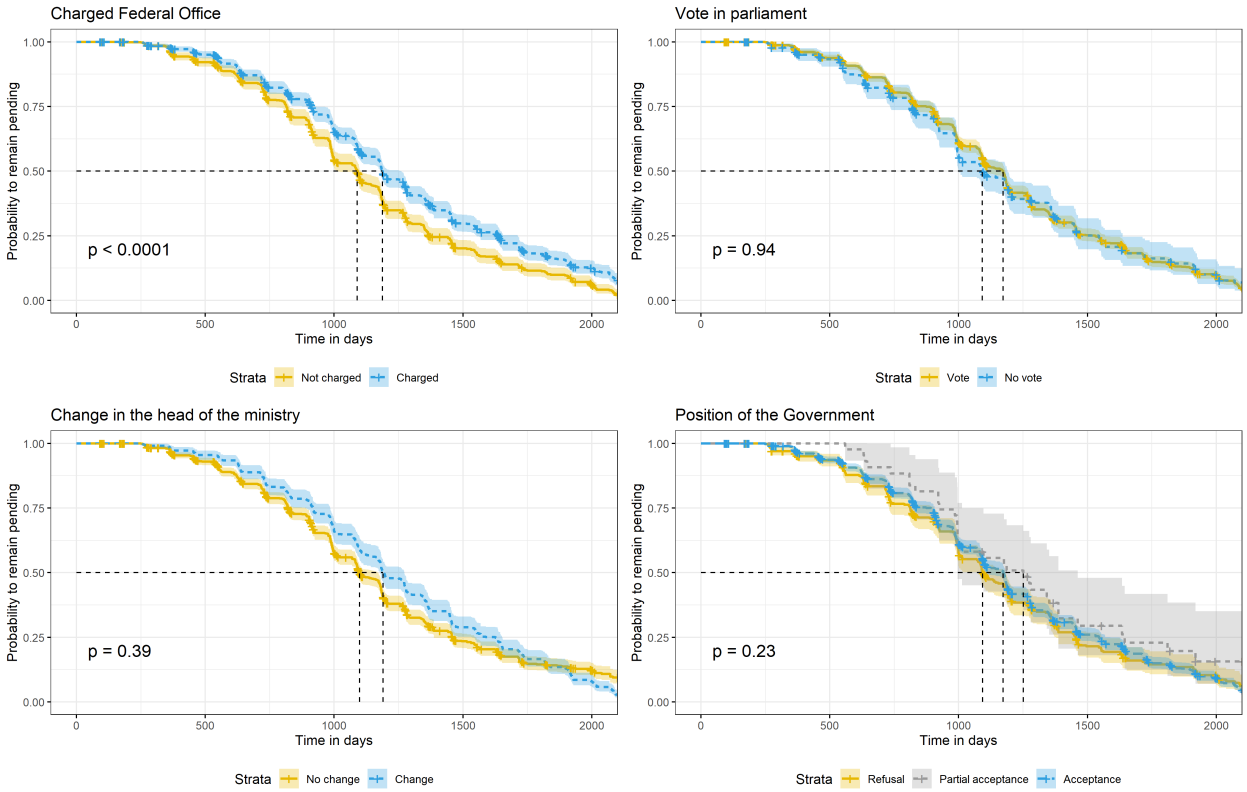

Figure 2: Survival Plots

```
#ggsave("Figure2.png",
 #       width = 6, height = 10)
```

```
fit5 <- survfit(surv_object ~ Department, data = daten_sub)
plot.dep <- ggsurvplot(fit5, data = daten_sub, pval = TRUE, conf.int = TRUE,
           linetype = "strata", # Change line type by groups
           surv.median.line = "hv", # Specify median survival
           xlab = "Time in days",
           ylab = "Probability to remain pending",
           title = "Ministries",
          # legend.labs =
          #   c("Vote", "No vote"),
           legend = "bottom",
          #legend.text = element_text(size = 16),
          font.legend = c(12,
                          "plain", "black"),
           ggtheme = theme_bw(), # Change ggplot2 theme
)
plot.dep
```

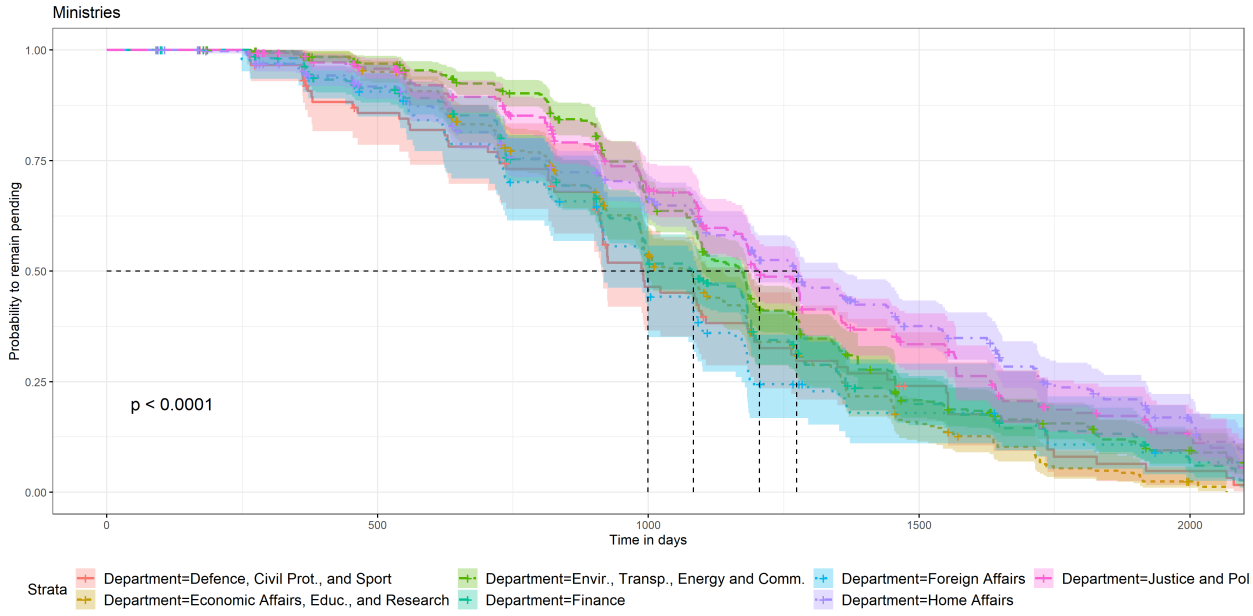

Figure 3: Differences accross departments

```
ggsave("Figure3.png",
       width = 15, height = 10)
```

Survival models

```
daten_sub$Department <- relevel(daten_sub$Department,
                                ref = "Envir., Transp., Energy and Comm.")

daten_sub$Motion <- daten_sub$motion
daten_sub$FederalOffice <- daten_sub$ve_d
daten_sub$ChangeFC <- daten_sub$change
daten_sub$OppositionFA <-daten_sub$votediffFA
daten_sub$PositionFC <- daten_sub$position
daten_sub$SameItem <- daten_sub$gleich
daten_sub$Leg.term <- daten_sub$Legislative_term

fit.coxph <- coxph(surv_object ~ Motion + FederalOffice + ChangeFC + OppositionFA +
                     Department + PositionFC + Leg.term + SameItem,
                     data = daten_sub)

ggforest(fit.coxph, data = daten_sub, main = "",  cpositions = c(0.02, 0.15, 0.4),
         fontsize = 1,)
```

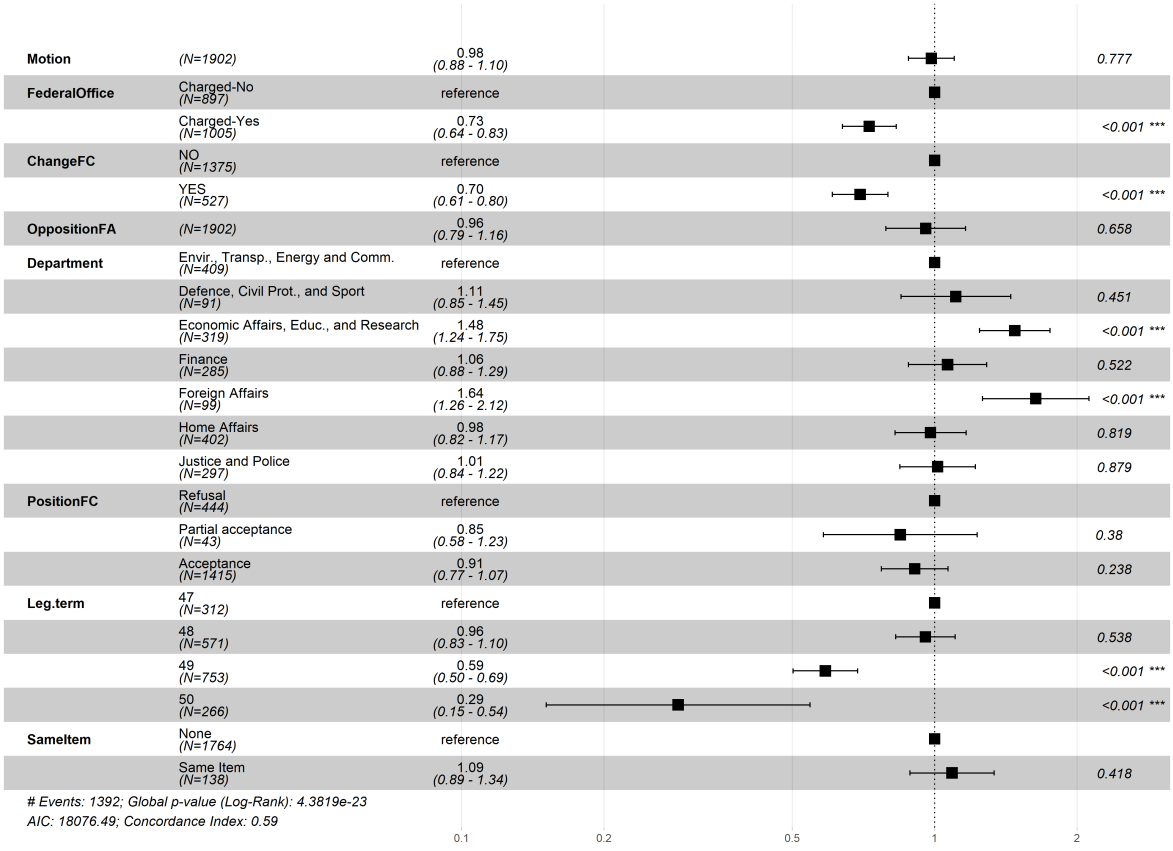

Figure 4: Basic Model

```
ggsave ("Figure4.png",
        width=14, height=10)
```

Additional models (Appendix)

```
# - Workload als metrische Var (count)

daten_sub$workload <- daten_sub$count/100
fit.coxph.2 <- coxph(surv_object ~ Motion + workload + ChangeFC + OppositionFA +
                       Department + PositionFC + Leg.term + SameItem,
                       data = daten_sub)

ggforest(fit.coxph.2, data = daten_sub, main = "",
         cpositions = c(0.02, 0.15, 0.4),
         fontsize = 1,)
```

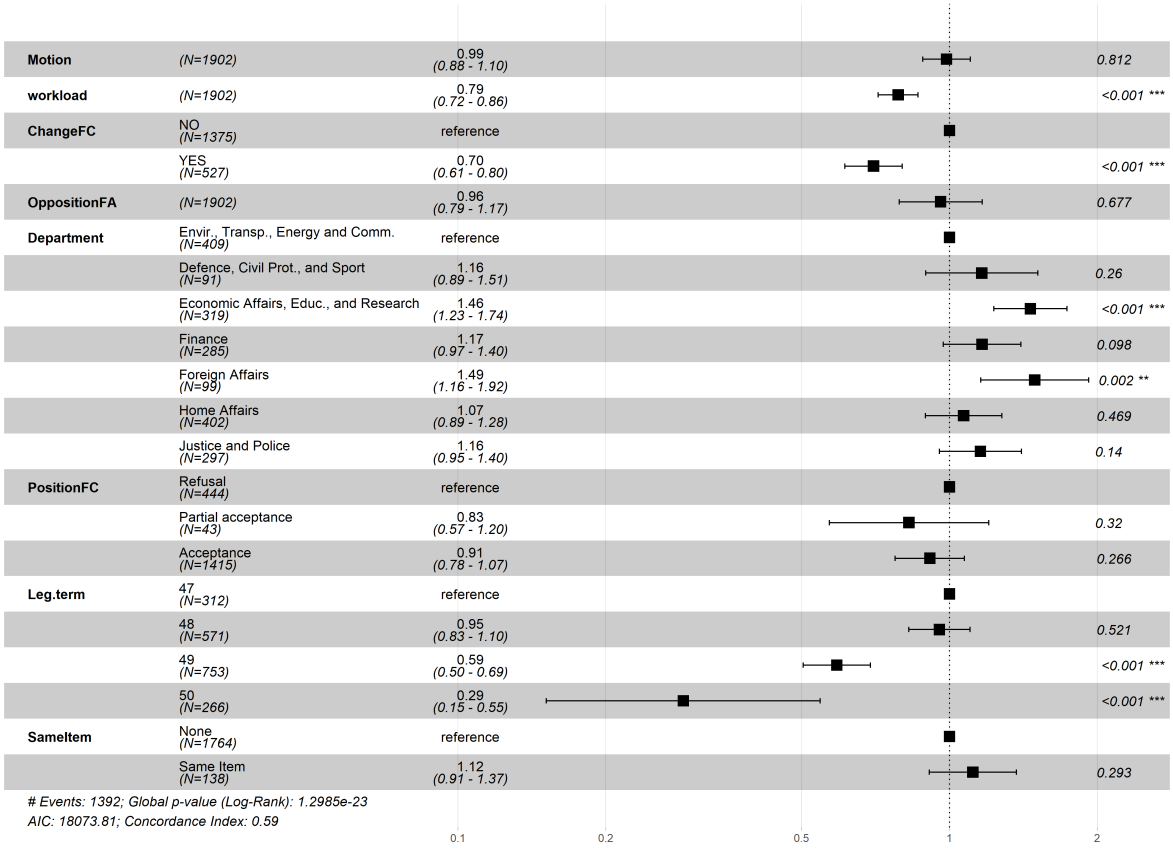

Figure 5: Basic Model

```
ggsave ("Figure8a.png",
        width=14, height=10)
```

Additional covariates

```
# - additional covariates:
# - First council
# - Proposed by
# - Supranational Dimension
daten_sub$FirstCouncil <- daten_sub$council
daten_sub$ProposedBy <- daten_sub$proposed
daten_sub$International <- as.factor(daten_sub$international)


fit.coxph.3 <- coxph(surv_object ~ Motion + FederalOffice + ChangeFC + OppositionFA +
                       Department + PositionFC + Leg.term + SameItem + FirstCouncil +
                       ProposedBy + International,
                     data = daten_sub)

ggforest(fit.coxph.3, data = daten_sub, main = "",  cpositions = c(0.02, 0.15, 0.4),
         fontsize = 1,)
```

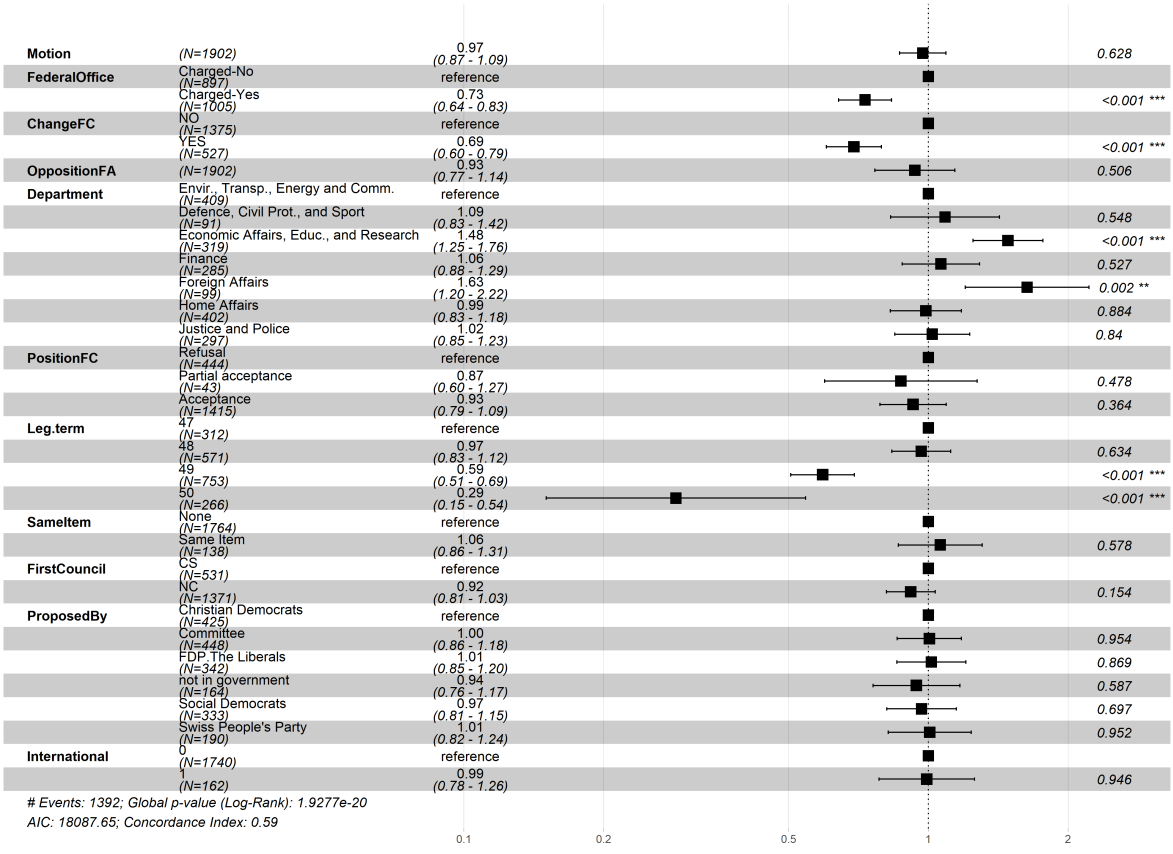

Figure 6: Basic Model

```
ggsave ("Figure8b.png",
        width=14, height=13)
```

Time as metric variable

```
daten_sub$Adopt.year <- daten_sub$jahr_adoptdat

fit.coxph.4 <- coxph(surv_object ~ Motion + FederalOffice + ChangeFC + OppositionFA +
                       Department + PositionFC + Adopt.year + SameItem,
                       data = daten_sub)

ggforest(fit.coxph.4, data = daten_sub, main = "",  cpositions = c(0.02, 0.15, 0.4),
         fontsize = 1,)
```

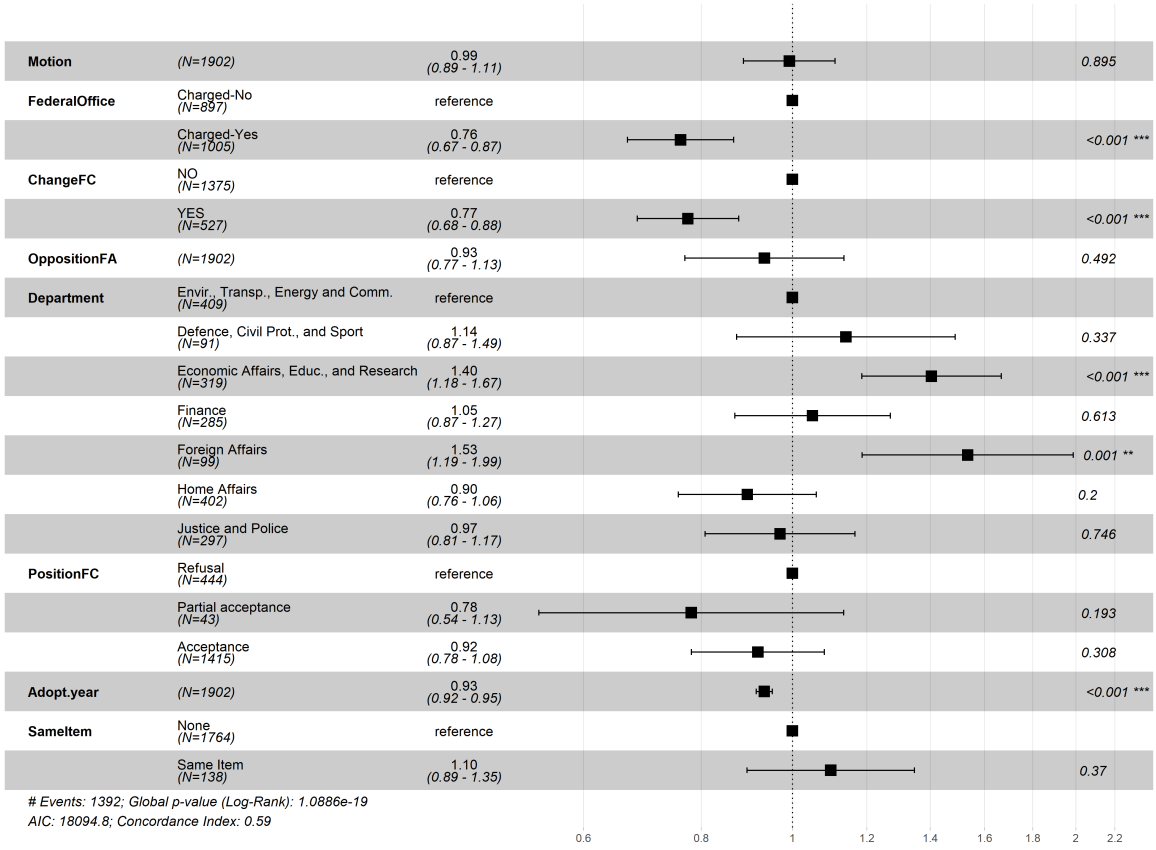

Figure 7: Basic Model

```
ggsave ("Model8c.png",
        width=14, height=10)
```

Figure 5

```
# plot number of requests per Federal Office as a bar chart
ba <- ggplot(ve_numeric, mapping = aes(x=reorder(ve, count), count)) +
  geom_bar(stat="identity") +
  geom_hline(yintercept = 90) +
  ylab("Number of mandates") + xlab("Federal Office") +
  ggtitle("Number of mandates per federal office") + coord_flip()
ba
```

```
ggsave("Figure5.png", dpi=600,
       units=c("in"),
       width=10, height=10)
```

Figure 6: Position parliament and government

```
data6 <-data.frame(daten_voll$vote, daten_voll$impldauer)
data6$vote <- as.factor(data6$daten_voll.vote)
boxplot <- ggplot(na.omit(data6), aes(x=vote, y=daten_voll.impldauer)) +
geom_boxplot() +
geom_jitter(position = position_jitter(0.2), colour = "grey") +
#coord_flip() +
labs(title="", x="", y="Implementation: Number of days") +
theme(panel.background = element_rect(fill = "gray95",
colour = "gray95"))

data7 <-data.frame(daten_voll$position, daten_voll$impldauer)
boxplot1 <- ggplot(na.omit(data7), aes(x=daten_voll.position, y=daten_voll.impldauer)) +
  geom_boxplot() +
  geom_jitter(position = position_jitter(0.2), colour = "grey") +
  #coord_flip() +
  labs(title="", x="", y="Implementation: Number of days") +
  theme(panel.background = element_rect(fill = "gray97",
                                        colour = "gray97"))

library("cowplot")
figure6 <- plot_grid(boxplot, boxplot1,
          labels = c("Vote in parliament", "Position government"),
          ncol = 2, nrow = 1)
figure6
```

```
#Save figure

ggsave("Figure6.png", dpi=600,
       units=c("in"),
       width=12, height=5)
```

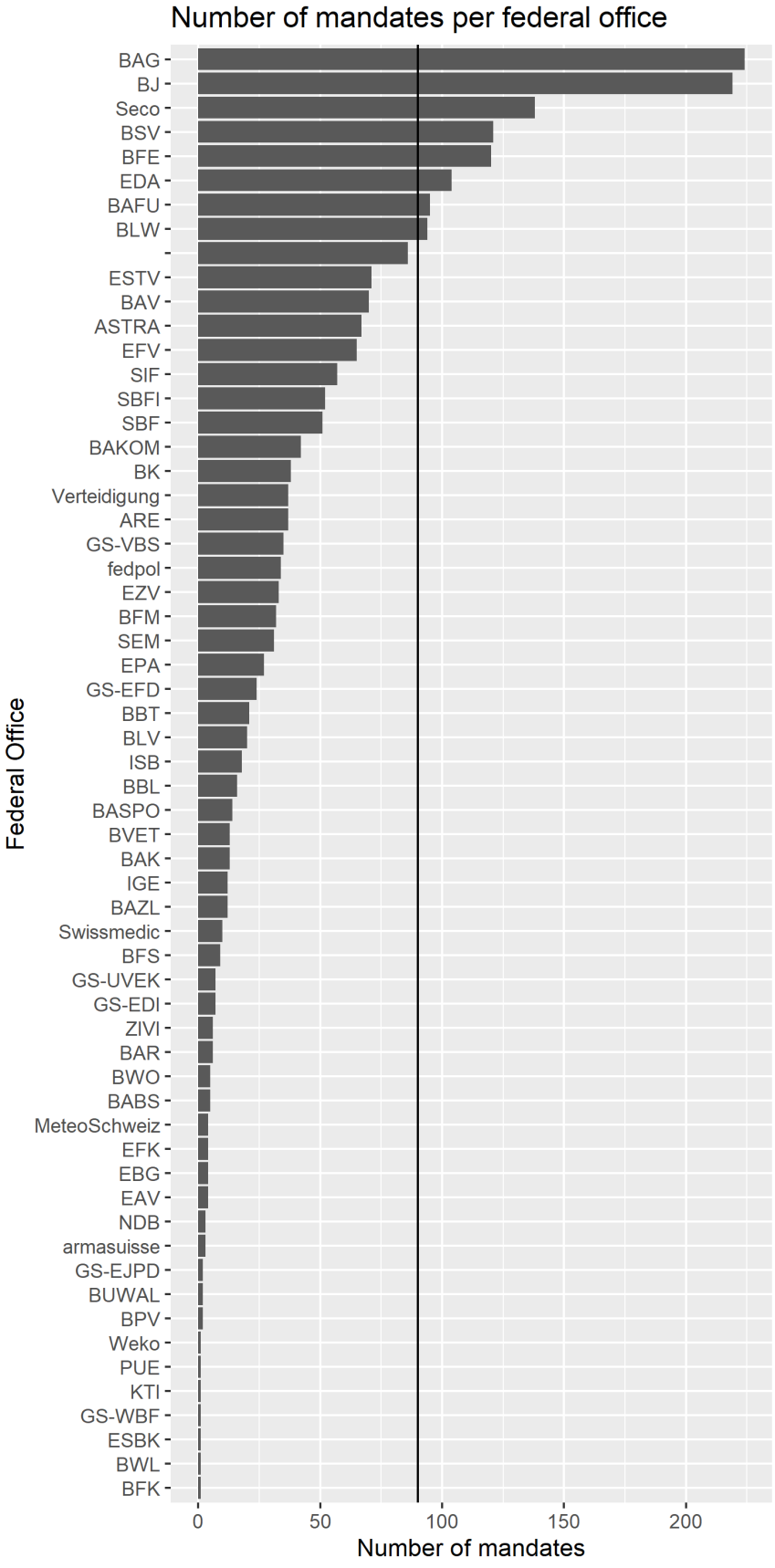

Figure 8: Number of requests per Federal Office

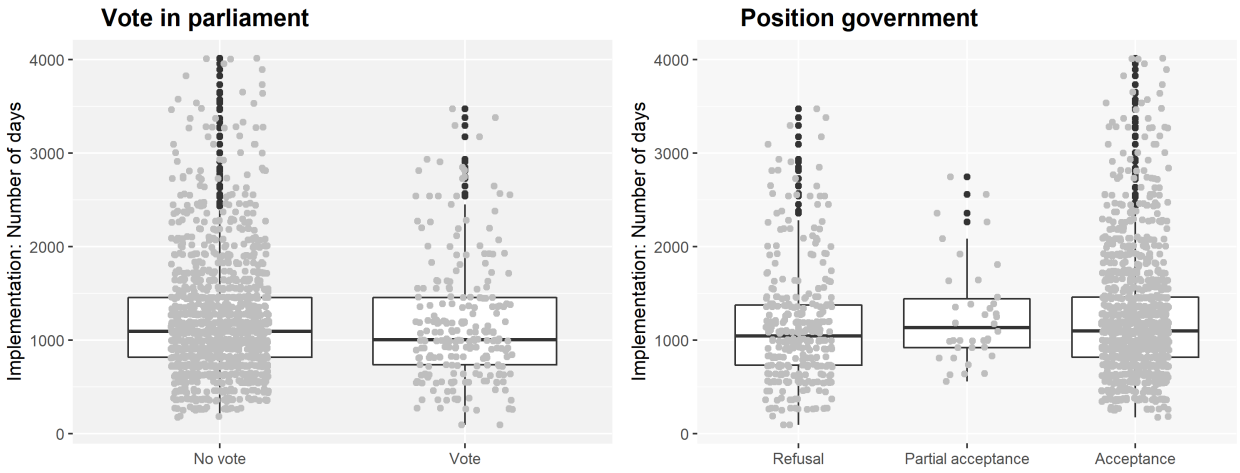

Figure 9: Position Parliament and Government

OLS regression results focusing on abandoned parliamentary requests (as presented in the Appendix)

Data preparation for regressionanalysis

```
#Recoding: Dividing the adoption year by 5 (for illustrative purposes)

daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat1 <- daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat-2003
daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat1 <- daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat1/5

#Excluding cases
daten_voll <- subset(daten_voll, impldauer<2200) #outliers: not transposed within 2200 days
daten_voll <- subset(daten_voll, Parl!=1) #Rare cases for which the parliament is responsible
daten_voll <- subset(daten_voll, BK!=1) #Rare cases for which the Federal Chancellery

levels(daten_voll$change) <- c("No change","Change FC")
levels(daten_voll$ve_d) <- c("Charged-No","Charged-Yes")
levels(daten_voll$position) <- c("FC-Refusal","FC-Partical acceptance",
                                 "FC-Acceptance")

reg <- data.frame(
  y = daten_voll$impldauer,
  Motion = daten_voll$motion,
  PositionFC = daten_voll$position,
  OppositionFA = daten_voll$votediffFA,
  FDHA = daten_voll$EDI,
  FDFA = daten_voll$EDA,
  FDF = daten_voll$EFD,
  FDJP = daten_voll$EJPD,
  DDPS = daten_voll$VBS,
  EAER = daten_voll$WBF,
  AdoptYear = daten_voll$jahr_adoptdat1,
  ChargedFO = daten_voll$ve_d,
```

```
  ChangeFC = daten_voll$change,
  SameItem = daten_voll$gleich
)

reg <- na.omit(reg)
```

Regression Model

```
lm2 <- lm(y ~ Motion + ChargedFO + ChangeFC + OppositionFA + FDHA +
            FDFA + FDF + FDJP + DDPS + EAER + PositionFC +
            AdoptYear  + SameItem , data = reg)
summary(lm2)
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = y ~ Motion + ChargedFO + ChangeFC + OppositionFA +
##     FDHA + FDFA + FDF + FDJP + DDPS + EAER + PositionFC + AdoptYear +
##     SameItem, data = reg)
##
## Residuals:
##     Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
## -966.00 -278.52  -20.68  248.84 1146.31
##
## Coefficients:
##                                   Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)                       1134.735     51.008  22.246  < 2e-16 ***
## Motion                               1.167     22.862   0.051  0.95929
## ChargedFOCharged-Yes               105.964     26.357   4.020 6.12e-05 ***
## ChangeFCChange FC                  263.109     23.140  11.371  < 2e-16 ***
## OppositionFA                       -52.911     38.610  -1.370  0.17079
## FDHA                              -106.357     34.501  -3.083  0.00209 **
## FDFA                              -281.440     52.821  -5.328 1.16e-07 ***
## FDF                               -110.755     38.749  -2.858  0.00432 **
## FDJP                               -43.049     37.155  -1.159  0.24681
## DDPS                               -83.040     54.122  -1.534  0.12518
## EAER                              -143.443     34.769  -4.126 3.92e-05 ***
## PositionFCFC-Partical acceptance    12.434     75.462   0.165  0.86915
## PositionFCFC-Acceptance             78.088     32.230   2.423  0.01553 *
## AdoptYear                          -93.088     19.340  -4.813 1.65e-06 ***
## SameItemSame Item                  -92.514     41.962  -2.205  0.02764 *
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 400.5 on 1377 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared:   0.15,  Adjusted R-squared:  0.1414
## F-statistic: 17.36 on 14 and 1377 DF,  p-value: < 2.2e-16
```

```
set_theme(base = theme_bw())

p2 <- plot_model(lm2,vline.color = "black",
                 colors = c("grey40", "coral2"), axis.lim = c(-400,400),
```

```
                order.terms = c(1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14),
                title = "", axis.title = "Regression Coefficients")
p2
```

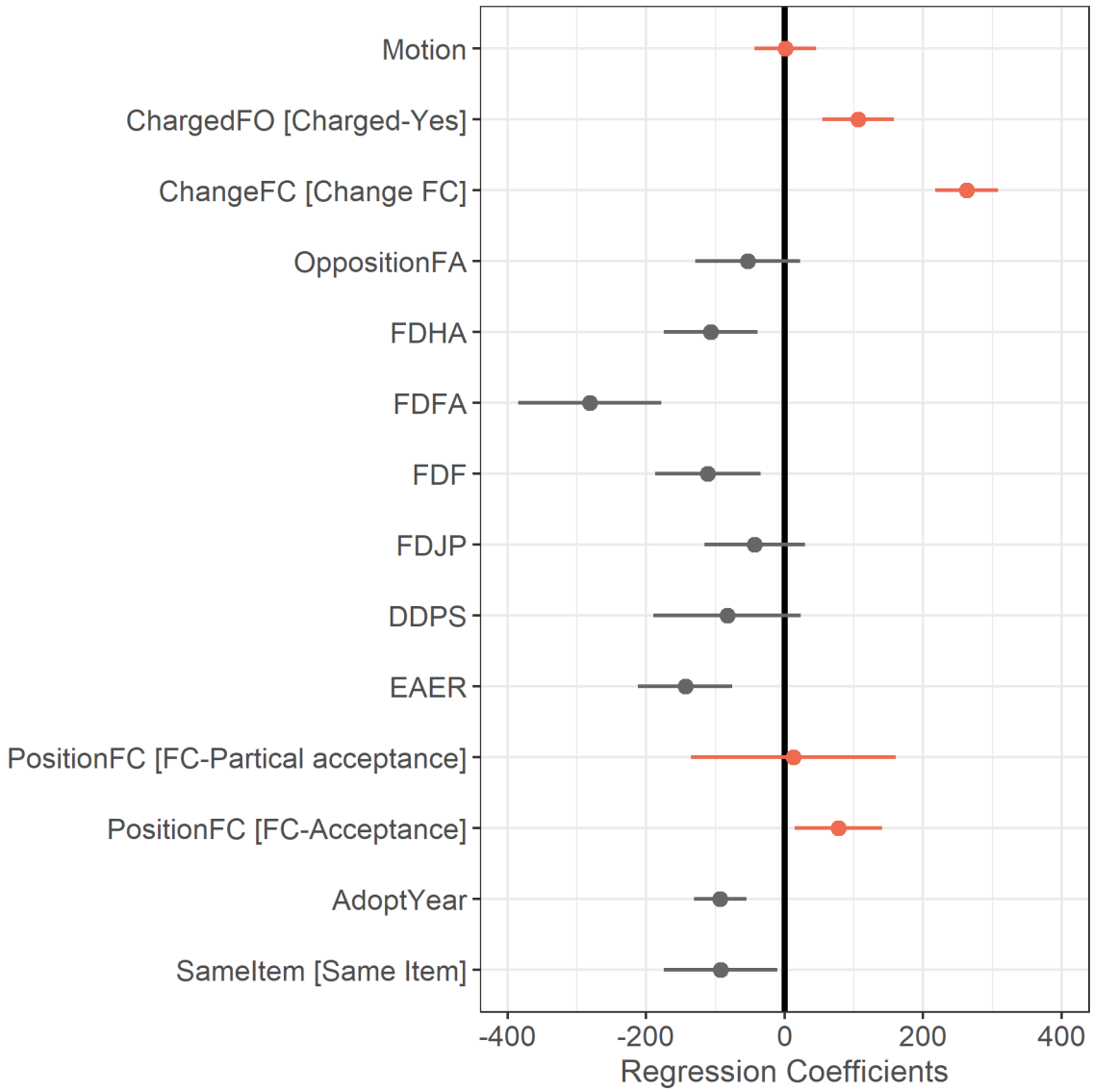

Figure 10: Regression results

```
ggsave("Figure7.png",
       dpi=300,
       units=c("in"),
       width=7, height=6)
```

```
sessionInfo()
```

```
## R version 4.0.3 (2020-10-10)
## Platform: x86_64-w64-mingw32/x64 (64-bit)
## Running under: Windows 10 x64 (build 19042)
##
## Matrix products: default
##
## Random number generation:
##  RNG:     Mersenne-Twister
##  Normal:  Inversion
##  Sample:  Rounding
##
## locale:
## [1] LC_COLLATE=German_Switzerland.1252  LC_CTYPE=German_Switzerland.1252
## [3] LC_MONETARY=German_Switzerland.1252 LC_NUMERIC=C
## [5] LC_TIME=German_Switzerland.1252
##
## attached base packages:
## [1] stats     graphics  grDevices utils     datasets  methods   base
##
## other attached packages:
##  [1] cowplot_1.1.0    arsenal_3.5.0    stargazer_5.2.2  lubridate_1.7.9
##  [5] survminer_0.4.8  ggpubr_0.4.0     survival_3.2-7   sjPlot_2.8.5
##  [9] snakecase_0.11.0 forcats_0.5.0    stringr_1.4.0    dplyr_1.0.2
## [13] purrr_0.3.4      readr_1.4.0      tidyr_1.1.2      tibble_3.0.4
## [17] ggplot2_3.3.2    tidyverse_1.3.0  car_3.0-10       carData_3.0-4
## [21] pacman_0.5.1
##
## loaded via a namespace (and not attached):
##  [1] TH.data_1.0-10    minqa_1.2.4       colorspace_1.4-1  ggsignif_0.6.0
##  [5] ellipsis_0.3.1    rio_0.5.16        sjlabelled_1.1.7  estimability_1.3
##  [9] parameters_0.8.6  fs_1.5.0          rstudioapi_0.11   farver_2.0.3
## [13] fansi_0.4.1       mvtnorm_1.1-1     xml2_1.3.2        codetools_0.2-16
## [17] splines_4.0.3     knitr_1.30        sjmisc_2.8.5      jsonlite_1.7.1
## [21] nloptr_1.2.2.2    ggeffects_0.16.0  broom_0.7.1       km.ci_0.5-2
## [25] dbplyr_1.4.4      effectsize_0.3.3  compiler_4.0.3    httr_1.4.2
## [29] sjstats_0.18.0    emmeans_1.5.1     backports_1.1.10  assertthat_0.2.1
## [33] Matrix_1.2-18     cli_2.1.0         htmltools_0.5.0   tools_4.0.3
## [37] coda_0.19-4       gtable_0.3.0      glue_1.4.2        Rcpp_1.0.5
## [41] cellranger_1.1.0  vctrs_0.3.4       nlme_3.1-149      insight_0.9.6
## [45] xfun_0.18         openxlsx_4.2.2    lme4_1.1-23       rvest_0.3.6
## [49] lifecycle_0.2.0   statmod_1.4.34    rstatix_0.6.0     MASS_7.3-53
## [53] zoo_1.8-8         scales_1.1.1      hms_0.5.3         sandwich_3.0-0
## [57] yaml_2.2.1        curl_4.3          gridExtra_2.3     KMsurv_0.1-5
## [61] stringi_1.5.3     bayestestR_0.7.2  boot_1.3-25       zip_2.1.1
## [65] rlang_0.4.8       pkgconfig_2.0.3   evaluate_0.14     lattice_0.20-41
## [69] labeling_0.3      tidyselect_1.1.0  magrittr_1.5      R6_2.4.1
## [73] generics_0.0.2    multcomp_1.4-15   DBI_1.1.0         pillar_1.4.6
## [77] haven_2.3.1       foreign_0.8-80    withr_2.3.0       abind_1.4-5
## [81] performance_0.5.0 modelr_0.1.8      crayon_1.3.4      survMisc_0.5.5
## [85] rmarkdown_2.4     grid_4.0.3        readxl_1.3.1      data.table_1.13.0
## [89] blob_1.2.1        reprex_0.3.0      digest_0.6.25     xtable_1.8-4
```

```
## [93] munsell_0.5.0
```