

B2.1 Intra-party Heterogeneity and its Political Consequences in Europe



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Project outline

This project aims at

- enhancing the notion of parties being unitary actors,
- measuring ideological heterogeneity within parties, and
- exploring the causes and consequences of intra-party heterogeneity.

Theoretical framework:

In our attempt to assess varying levels of intra-party heterogeneity, we take into account

- theories on political socialisation,
- the principal-agent approach,
- incentives stemming from institutional constraints (e.g. electoral systems).

Data and methods:

- Individual features of MPs and ministers
- Parliamentary speeches (analysed with computerised methods)
- Co-sponsorship of bills
- Legislative voting behaviour

Cases:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------|
| ■ Austria | ■ Germany |
| ■ Czech Republic | ■ Ireland |
| ■ Estonia | ■ Norway |
| ■ Finland | ■ Sweden |

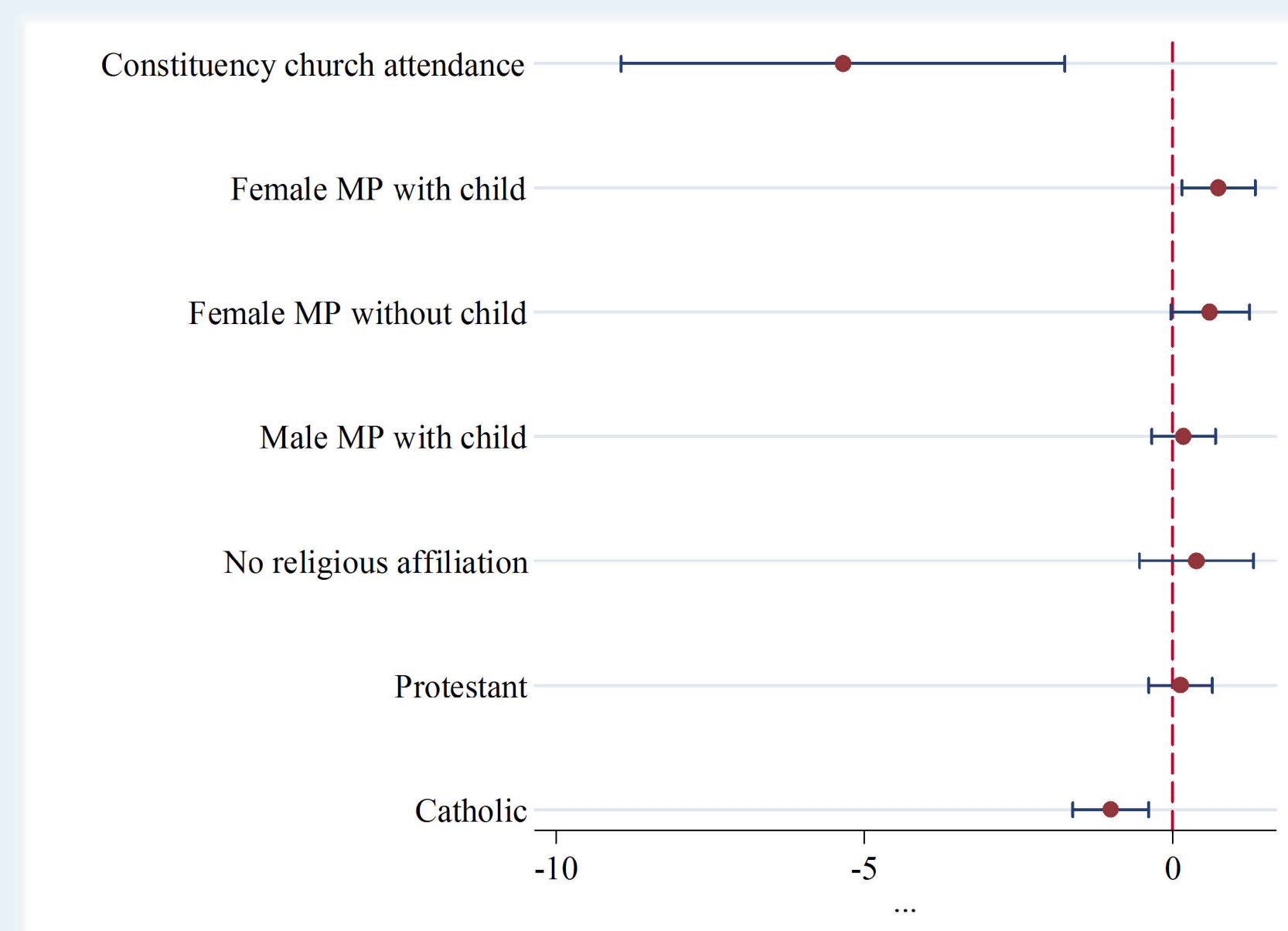
Recent publications and working papers:

- Bäck, Hanna, and Marc Debus (2016): Political Parties, Parliaments and Legislative Speechmaking. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus and Wolfgang C. Müller (2016): Intra-party diversity and ministerial selection in coalition governments. *Public Choice*, 166, issue 3-4, pp. 355-378.
- Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus and Jochen Müller (2014): Who takes the parliamentary floor? The role of gender in speech-making in the Swedish Riksdag. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67, issue 3, pp. 504-518.
- Baumann, Markus (In Press): Constituency Demands and Limited Supplies: Comparing Personal Issue Emphases in Co-sponsorship of Bills and Legislative Speech. *Scandinavian Political Studies*.
- Baumann, Markus, Marc Debus and Jochen Müller (2015): Personal Characteristics of MPs and Legislative Behavior in Moral Policy Making. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 40, issue 2, pp. 179-210.
- Baumann, Markus, Marc Debus and Jochen Müller (2015): Convictions and Signals in Parliamentary Speeches: Dáil Éireann Debates on Abortion in 2001 and 2013. *Irish Political Studies*, 30, issue 2, pp. 199-219.
- Baumann, Markus and Dominic Nyhuis (2016): Inherent motivation in legislative collaboration: Cosponsorship networks in three European parliaments, Unpublished Manuscript (under review).
- Bäck, Hanna, Markus Baumann, Marc Debus and Jochen Müller (2016): The Unequal Distribution of Speaking Time in European Parliamentary Party Groups, (MPSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2016).
- Baumann, Markus and Jochen Müller (2015): Timing Diversity: The Time-Dependent Logic of Parliamentary Debate, (ECPR General Conference, Montreal, August 2015).
- Baumann, Markus, Marc Debus and Tristan Klingelhöfer (2015): Explaining the competitiveness of MP re-nomination: Evidence from the candidate selection processes in the run-up to the 2013 German Bundestag election. Unpublished manuscript (under review).

An overview based on three studies

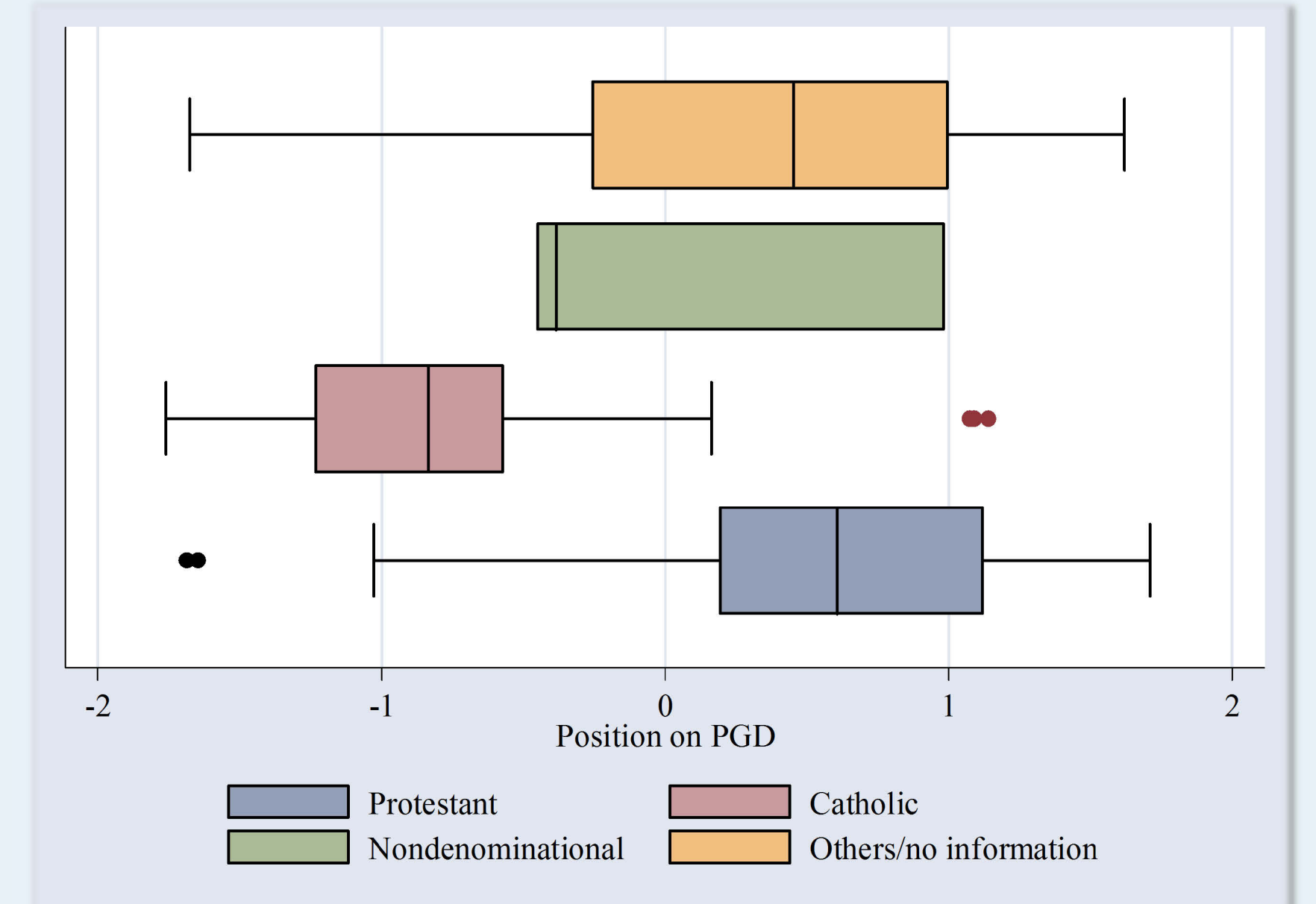
MPs' personal attitudes affecting their behaviour in the decision on pre-implantation diagnostics (PGD) in the German Bundestag in 2011

- Behaviour of MPs is influenced by partisan issues and constituency preferences...
- ...and by their personal traits such as religious denomination, gender, and parental status.



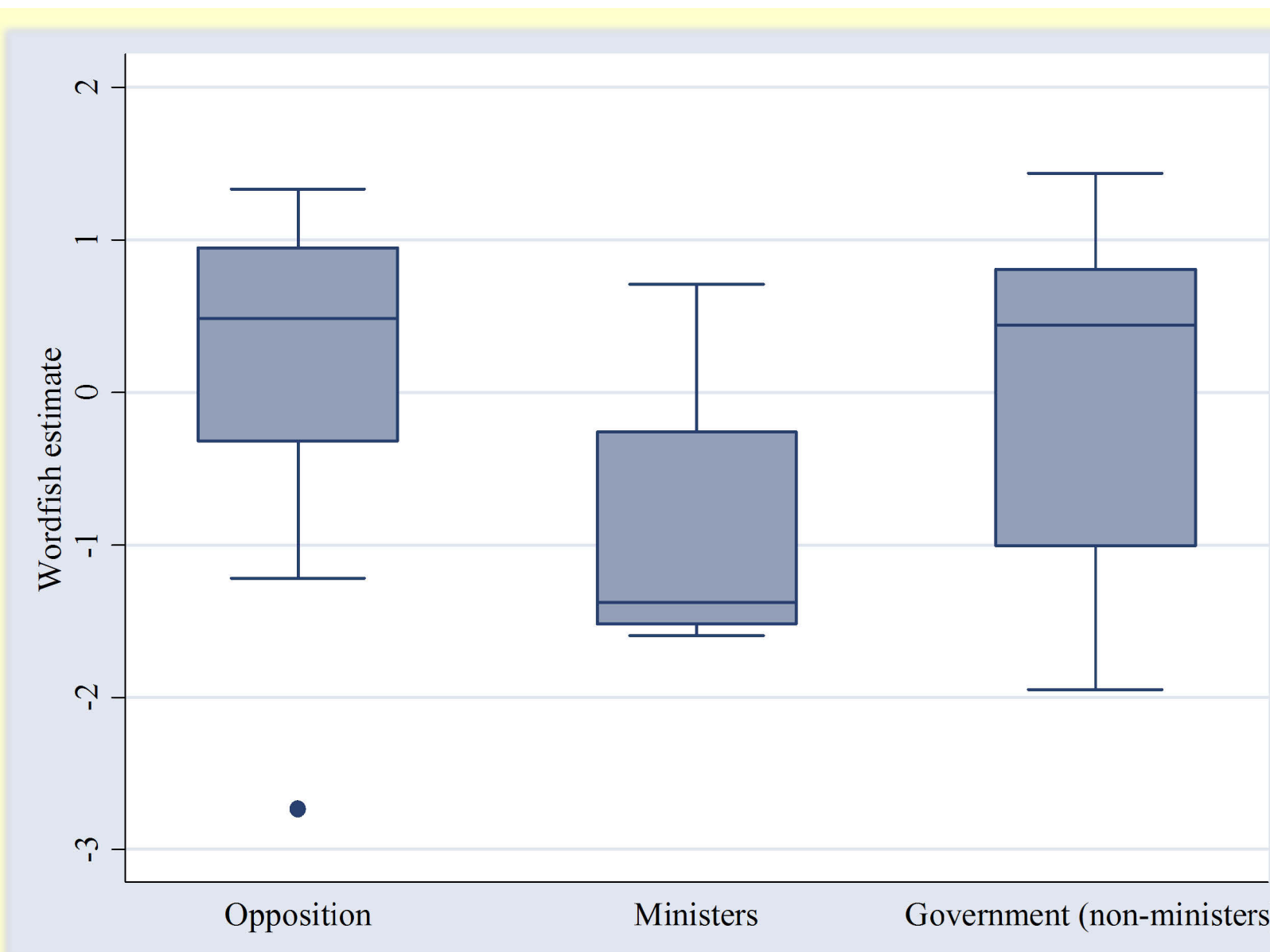
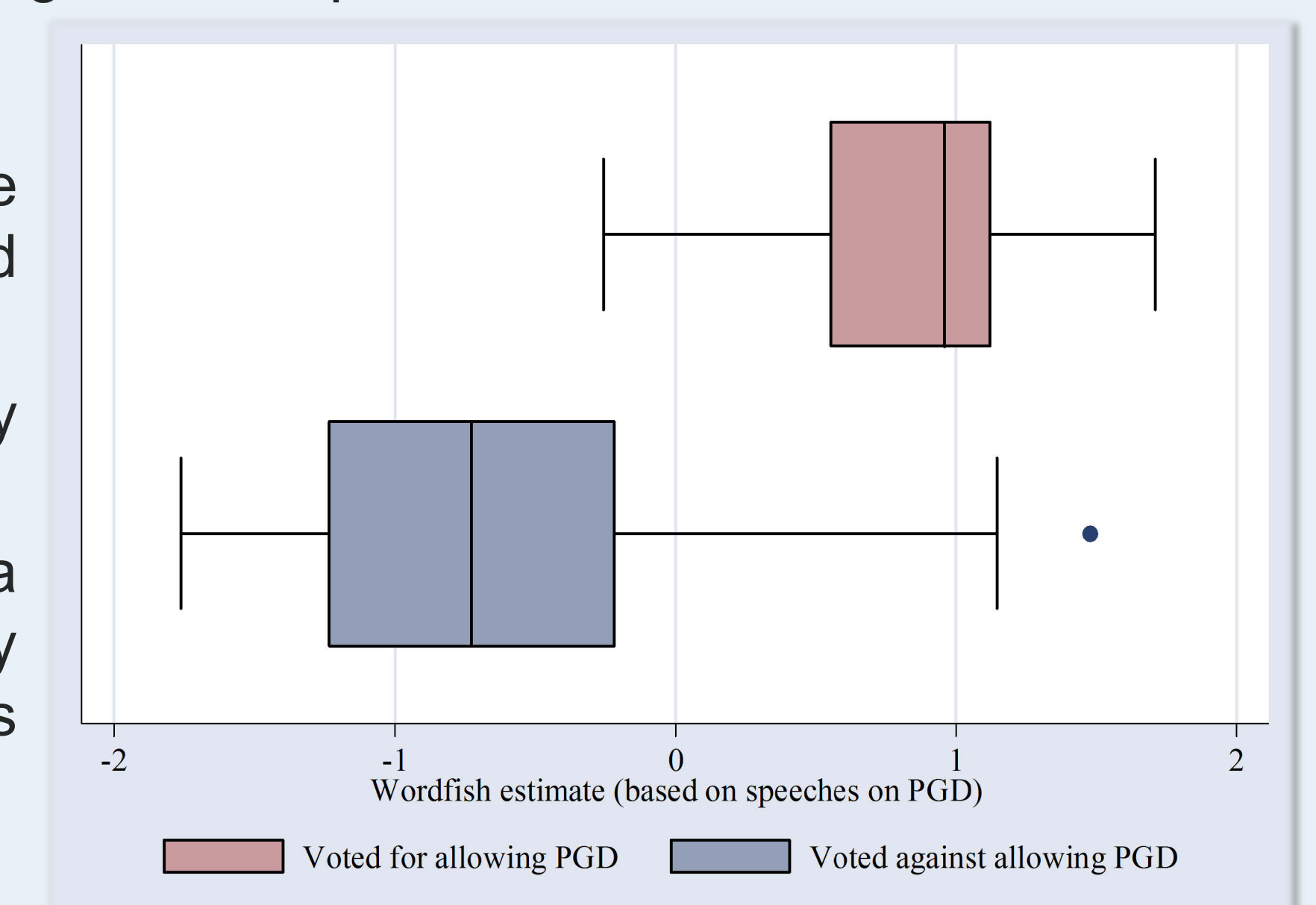
Right: The final vote was on the most permissive initiative. MPs who voted against the regulation had voiced more sceptical positions in the debate:

- Positions derived from the speeches are tightly interlocked with voting behaviour
- Evaluating parliamentary speeches is a reasonable tool for analysing intra-party heterogeneity, particularly where party unity is high.



Above: Catholic MPs communicated more restrictive standpoints regarding PGD in their legislative speeches.

Left: The likelihood of co-sponsoring a more permissive regulation depends on church attendance in the constituency. Furthermore, personal characteristics have a significant impact.

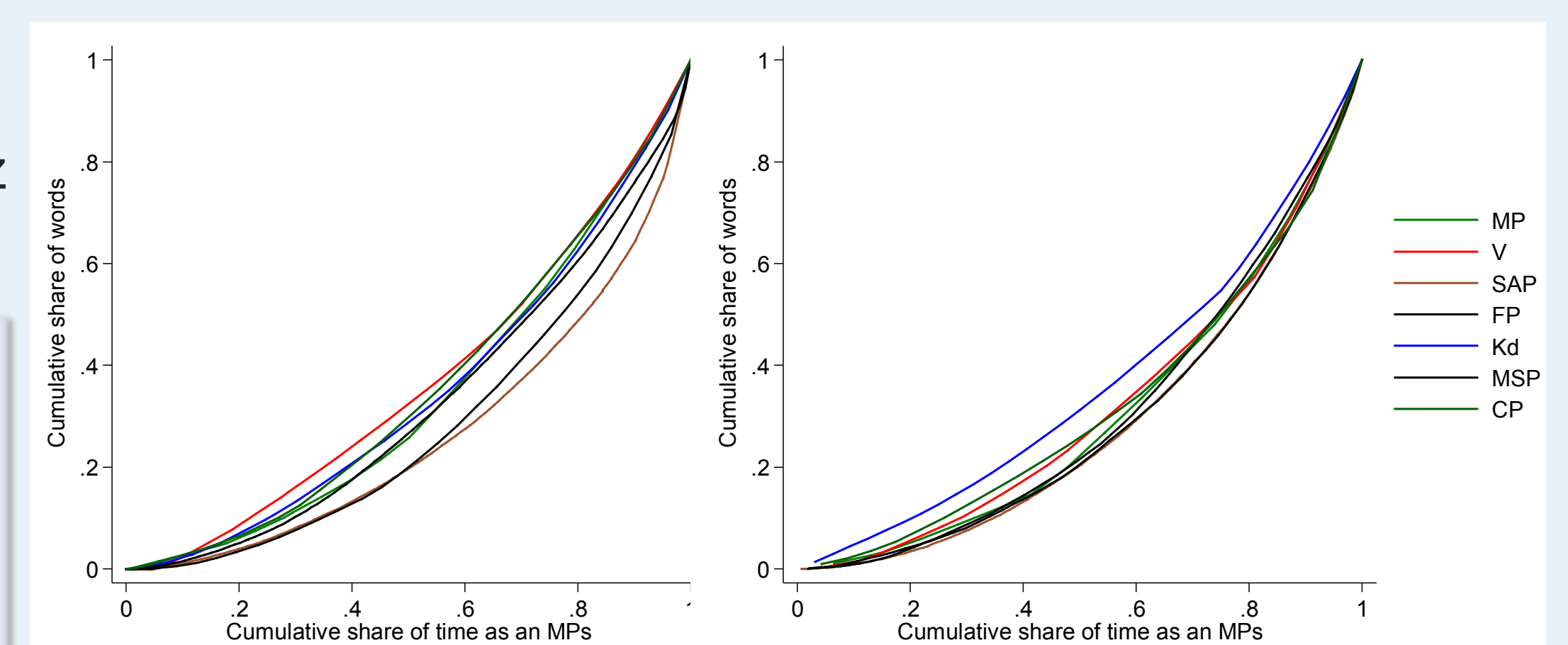
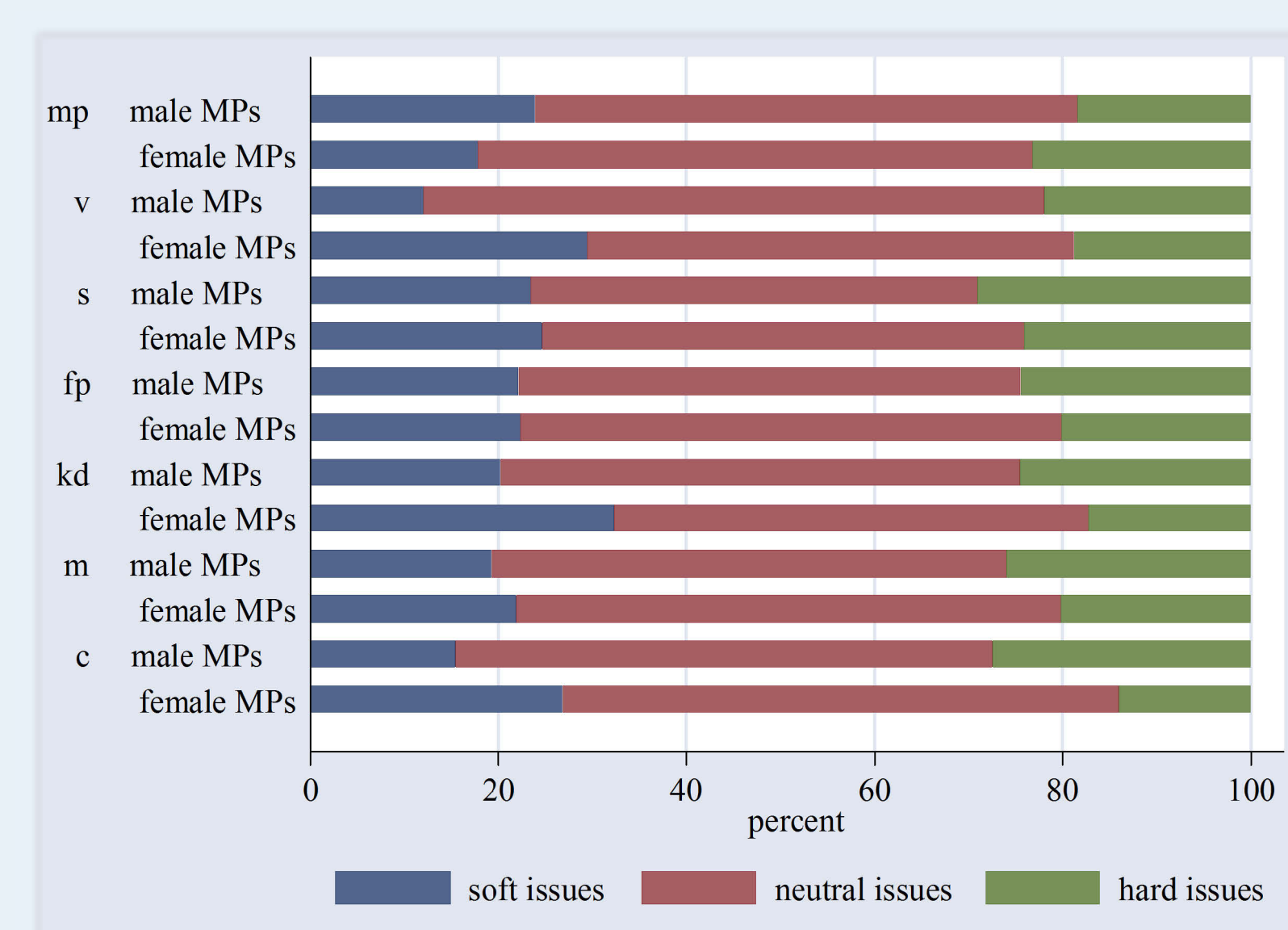


2001 Irish debate on abortion

- Not followed by a free-vote
- Party-cohesive voting behaviour
- Analysing speeches reveals diverging positions
- Cabinet members adopted more conservative positions than did MPs from the government parties not holding cabinet offices

Allocation of speaking time to issues and individual MPs in Sweden, Norway and Ireland

Right: Unequal allocation of speaking time: Varying dominance of frontbenchers during the electoral term, depicted by using Lorenz curves



Left: MPs' presence on the floor depends on the policy area at stake: Most parties have a gender-specific division of labour in parliamentary debates; women speak more often on "soft" issues, whereas men speak more frequently on "hard" issues.