

RESEARCH OUTPUTS / RÉSULTATS DE RECHERCHE

IntraPartyComp: The study of personalization in 33 democracies since the 2000s

Dodeigne, Jérémy; Pilet, Jean-Benoit; Put, Gert-Jan

Publication date:
2021

Document Version
Autre version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (HARVARD):

Dodeigne, J, Pilet, J-B & Put, G-J 2021, 'IntraPartyComp: The study of personalization in 33 democracies since the 2000s'.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



INTRAPARTYCOMP

THE STUDY OF PERSONALIZATION IN 33 DEMOCRACIES
SINCE THE 2000s

JÉRÉMY DODEIGNE, GERT-JAN PUT & JEAN-BENOIT PILET

PRESENTATION OUTLINE

1. General presentation of the project
2. Current status of data collection and ambition
3. Exploratory empirical results
4. Next steps: strategic priorities?

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECT



THE FOCUS OF INTRAPARTYCOMP

- A **comprehensive study** of electoral personalization and intraparty competition in global set of **list PR systems (N=33)**
- The degree of centralized versus decentralized personalization
- The role of **institutional** (i.e. electoral institutions, political system architecture, age of democracy), **party-level** (i.e. leadership, government status, candidate selection dynamics) and **time** as potential **determinants**
- **Consequences** of intraparty competition for party strategies, government stability, voter perceptions and behavior

THE EMPIRICAL STRATEGY OF INTRAPARTYCOMP

- A **global** data collection project
- Analyzing the **distribution of preference votes** over candidates on party lists using established indicators
- **Systematic data collection** since 2000: preference votes, list positions, parties, gender, age, incumbency status, district magnitude and party magnitude
- **Open publication** of dataset on project website as resource for political science scholars

EMPIRICAL SCOPE OF INTRAPARTYCOMP

| Country | World region | List PR type | N elections since 2000 (first-last) | Status |
|----------------|--------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Austria | Europe | Flexible | 6 (2002-2019) | ✓ |
| Belgium | Europe | Flexible | 5 (2003-2019) | ✓ |
| Netherlands | Europe | Flexible | 6 (2002-2017) | ✓ |
| Bulgaria | Europe | Flexible (since 2013) | 3 (2013-2017) | |
| Croatia | Europe | Flexible (since 2015) | 3 (2015-2020) | ✓ |
| Czech Republic | Europe | Flexible | 5 (2002-2017) | ✓ |
| Denmark | Europe | Open | 6 (2001-2019) | |
| Estonia | Europe | Flexible | 5 (2003-2019) | ✓ |
| Finland | Europe | Open | 5 (2003-2019) | ✓ |
| Greece | Europe | Open | 7 (2004-2019) | ✓ |
| Iceland | Europe | Flexible | 6 (2003-2017) | |
| Kosovo | Europe | Open | 4 (2010-2019) | |
| Latvia | Europe | Open | 6 (2002-2018) | ✓ |
| Lithuania | Europe | Mixed Member (open list component) | 5 (2000-2016) | ✓ |
| Poland | Europe | Open | 6 (2001-2019) | ✓ |
| Slovakia | Europe | Flexible | 6 (2002-2020) | ✓ |

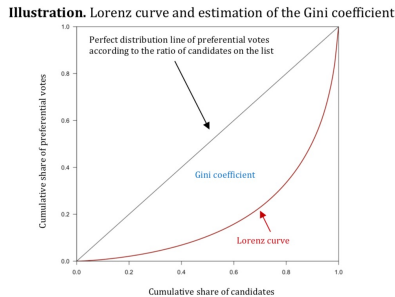
| Country | World region | List PR type | N elections since 2000 (first-last) | Status |
|------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Sweden | Europe | Flexible | 5 (2002-2018) | ✓ |
| Chile | South America | Open | 1 (2017) | ✓ |
| Colombia | South America | Variable open/closed (since 2003) | 4 (2006-2018) | ✓ |
| Ecuador | South America | Open | 5 (2002-2017) | |
| Indonesia | Asia | Open (since 2009) | 3 (2009-2019) | |
| Peru | South America | Open | 5 (2001-2020) | ✓ |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Europe | Open | 5 (2002-2018) | ✓ |
| Cyprus | Europe | Open | 4 (2001-2016) | |
| Brazil | South America | Open | 5 (2002-2018) | ✓ |
| Lebanon | Asia | Open (since 2017) | 1 (2018) | |
| Sri Lanka | Asia | Open | 5 (2000-2015) | |
| Suriname | South America | Flexible | 5 (2000-2020) | |
| Panama | North America | Mixed Member (open list component) | 4 (2004-2019) | |
| Luxembourg | Europe | Free | 4 (2004-2018) | ✓ |
| Switzerland | Europe | Free | 5 (2003-2019) | |
| El Salvador | North America | Free | 7 (2000-2018) | ✓ |
| Honduras | North America | Free | 5 (2001-2017) | |

EMPIRICAL SCOPE OF INTRAPARTYCOMP

| Countries | Nb. elections | Nb. candidates | Countries | Nb. elections | Nb. candidates |
|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Austria | 6 | 37 090 | Finland | 9 | 15 038 |
| Belgium | 5 | 9 627 | Greece | 2 | 9 523 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 5 | 3 139 | Latvia | 6 | 8 860 |
| Brazil | 5 | 32 302 | Lithuania | 5 | 6 356 |
| Chile | 1 | 960 | Luxembourg | 4 | 2 341 |
| Colombia | 2 | 2 714 | Netherlands | 7 | 8 072 |
| Croatia | 3 | 7 401 | Peru | 3 | 6 200 |
| Czech Republic | 7 | 37 621 | Poland | 6 | 44 358 |
| El Salvador | 4 | 2 416 | Slovakia | 6 | 6 122 |
| Estonia | 5 | 5 529 | Sweden | 2 | 15 402 |

FIRST EXPLORATORY EMPIRICAL RESULTS: TWO INDICATORS

Relative (0-100 percent)



$$\frac{\alpha}{\alpha + \beta}$$

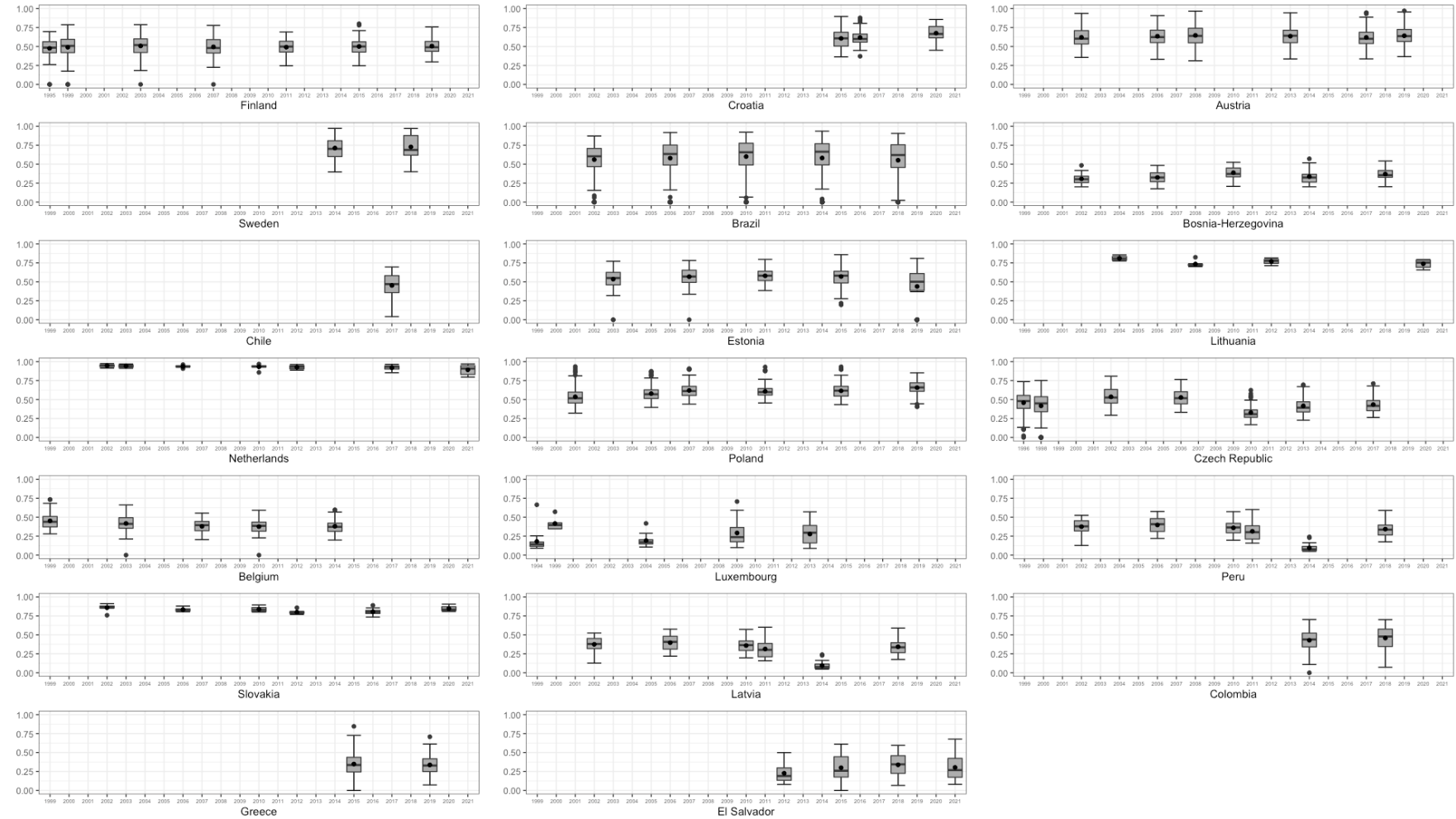
- (1) Scale independence
- (2) Population independence
- (3) Transfer principle

Absolute (0 to n candidates)

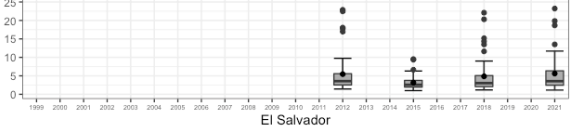
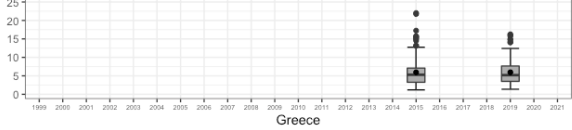
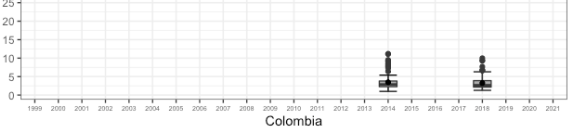
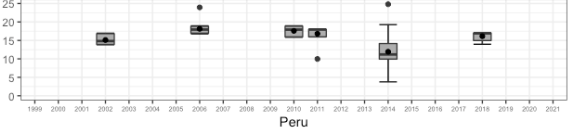
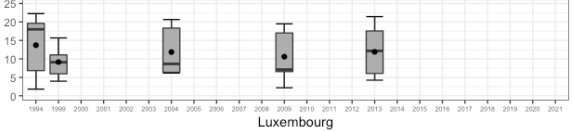
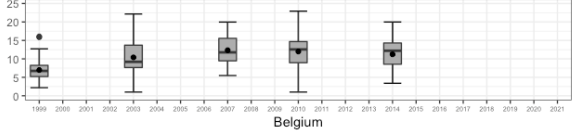
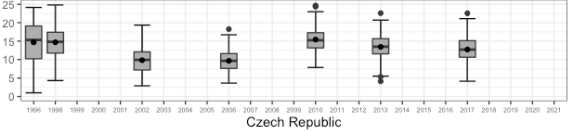
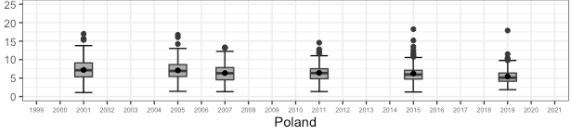
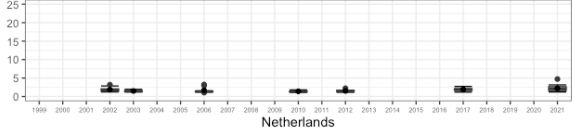
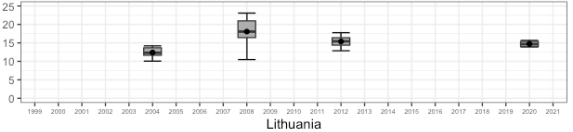
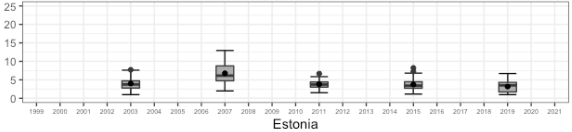
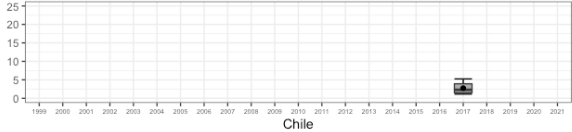
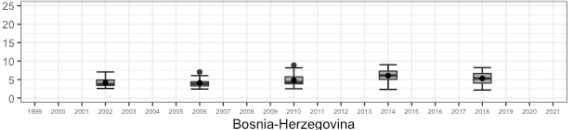
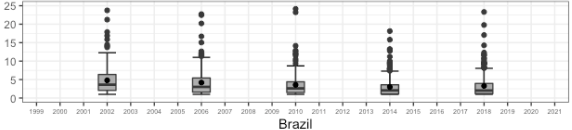
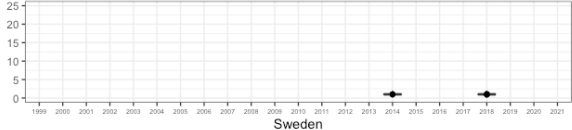
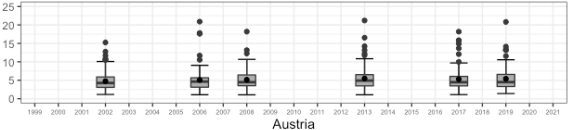
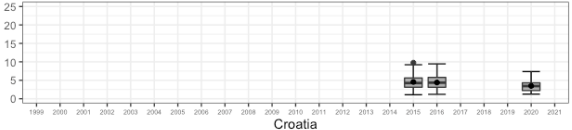
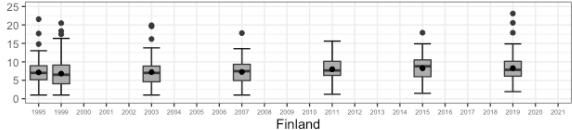
$$\text{Effective Number of Candidates (ENC)} = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^n p_i^2}$$

- (1) Intuitive and direct
- (2) Consistent with 'descriptive' reality
- (3) Sensitive to mechanical effects

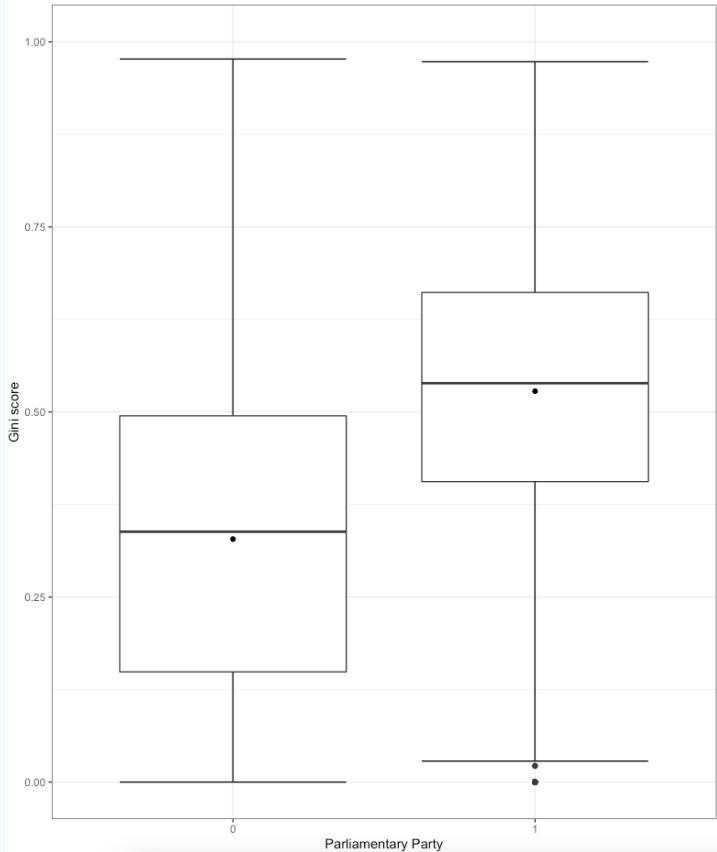
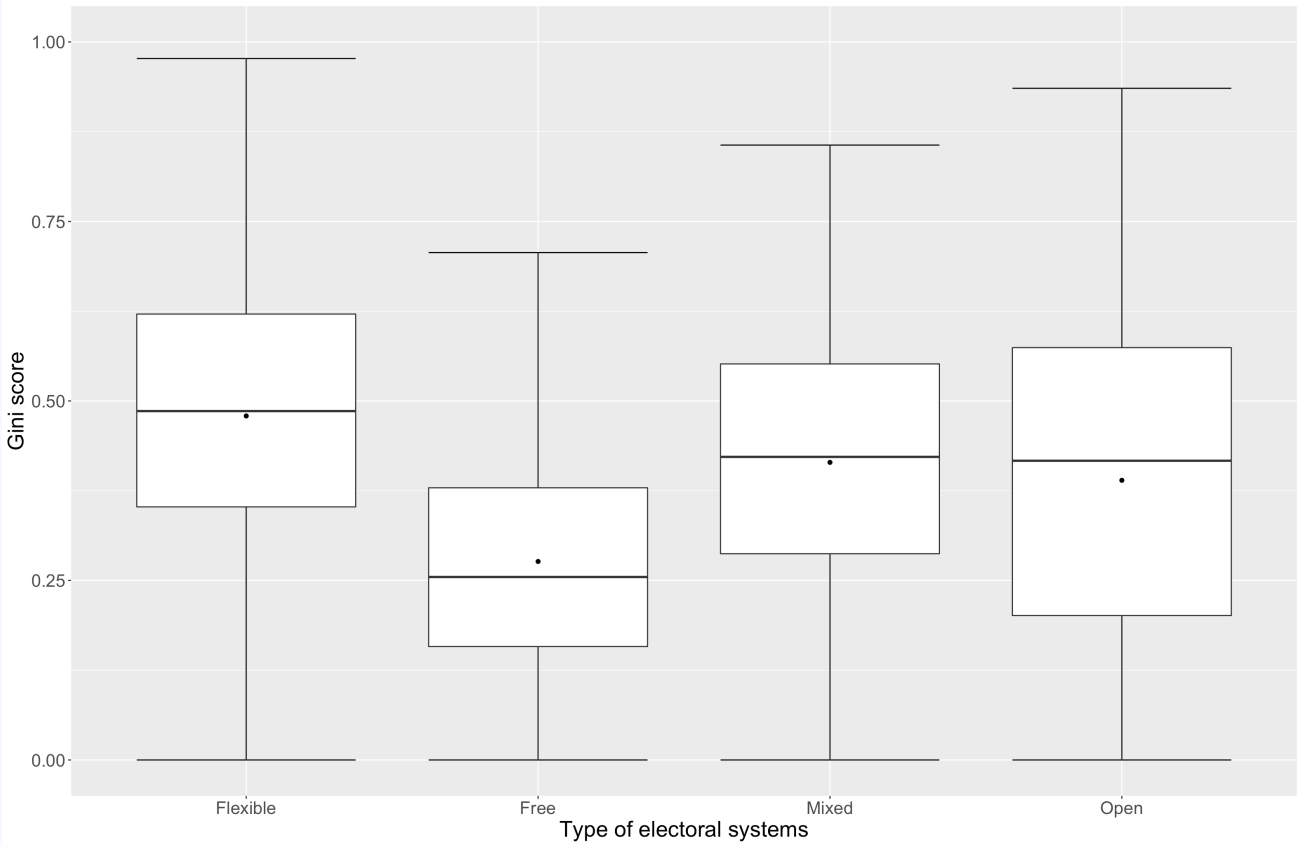
FIRST EXPLORATORY EMPIRICAL RESULTS: GINI



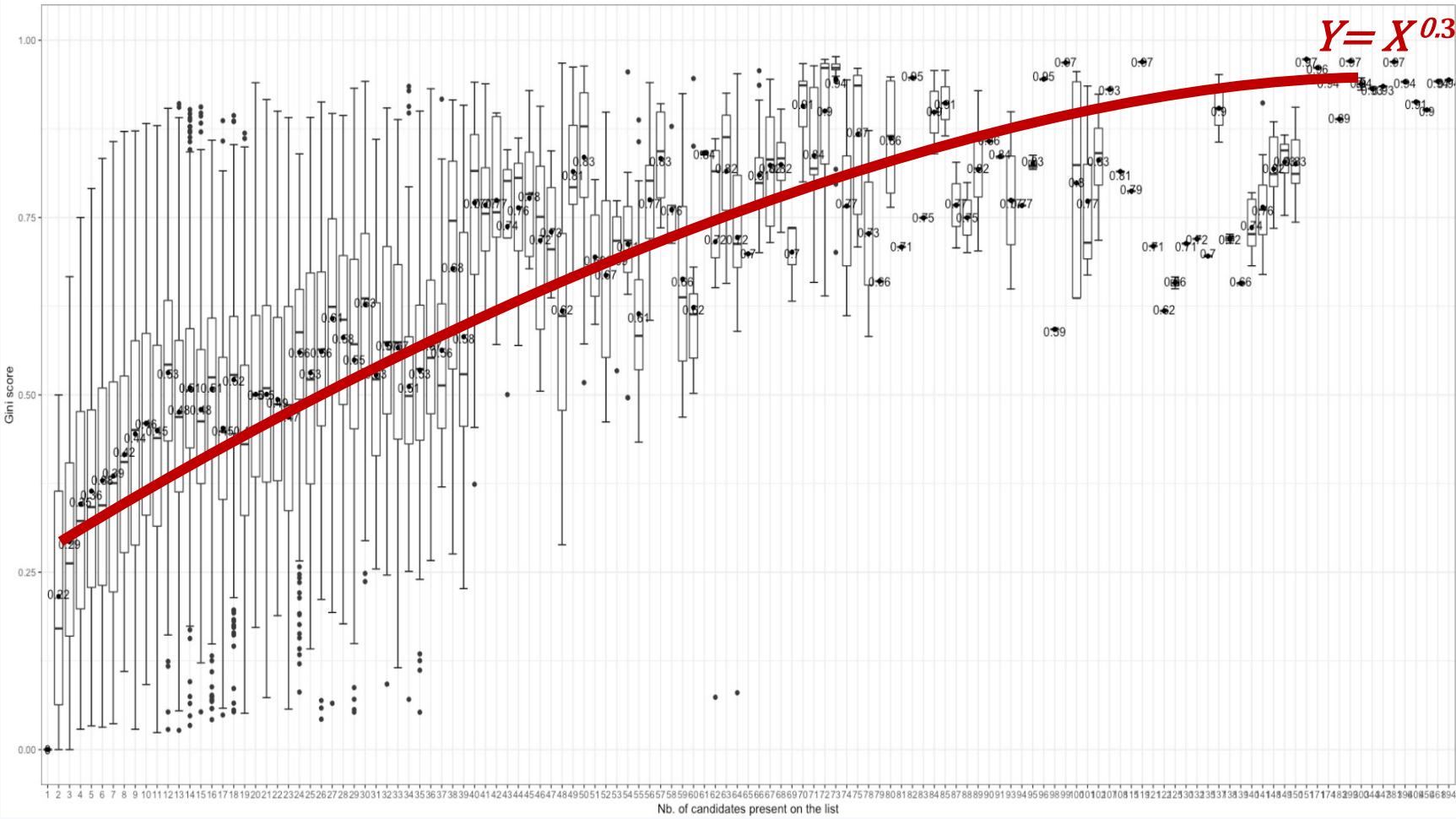
FIRST EXPLORATORY EMPIRICAL RESULTS: ENC



FIRST EXPLORATORY EMPIRICAL RESULTS: GINI



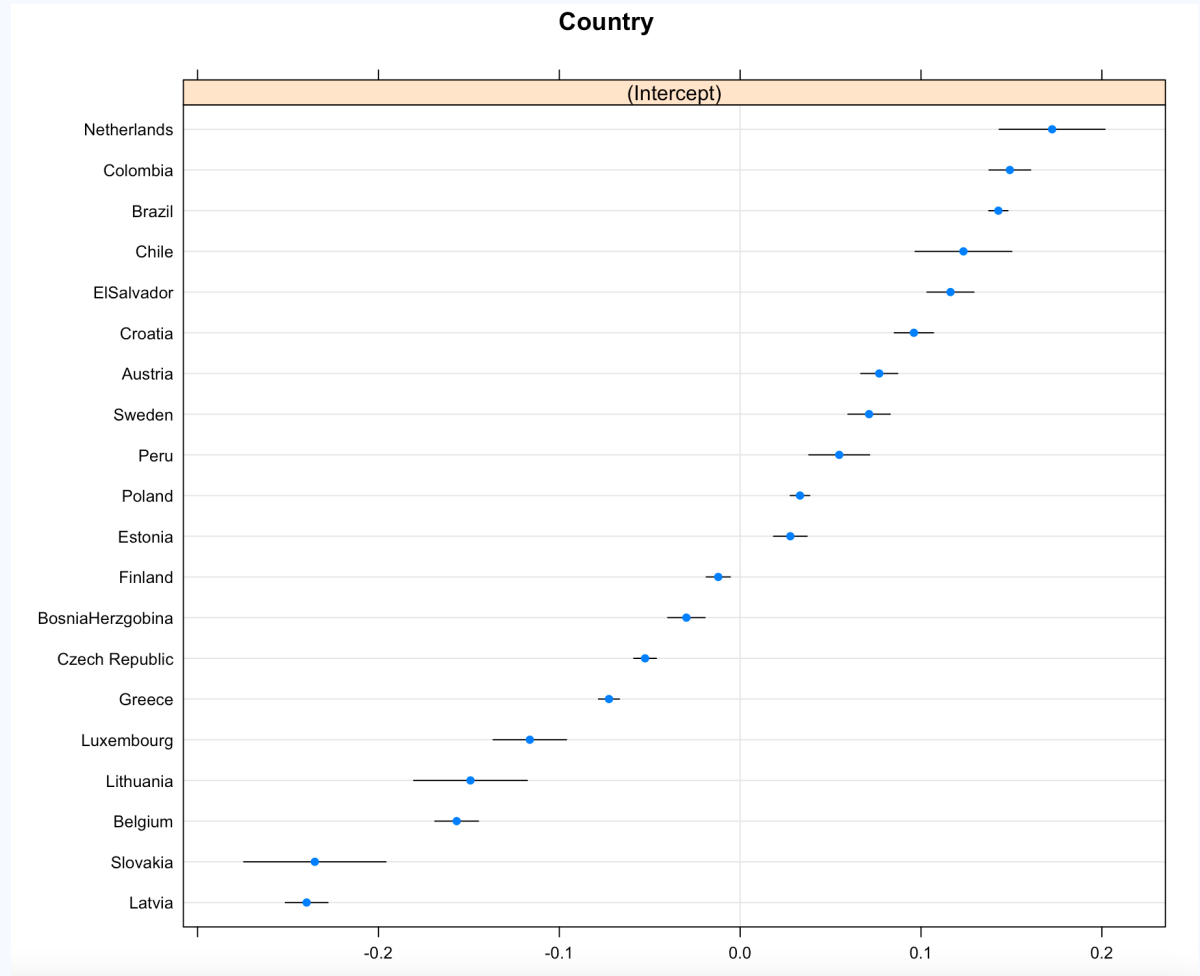
FIRST EXPLORATORY EMPIRICAL RESULTS: GINI



Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 1-4

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | | -.31*** | -.25** | -.13 |
| | | (.11) | (.11) | (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsMixed | | -.03 | .02 | -.06 |
| | | (.11) | (.11) | (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | | -.19*** | -.14** | -.005 |
| | | (.07) | (.07) | (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | | .14*** | .01 | .09*** |
| | | (.003) | (.01) | (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .12*** | -.04*** |
| | | | (.01) | (.004) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | | | | .27*** |
| | | | | (.003) |
| Constant | .46*** | .50*** | .43*** | -.14*** |
| | (.04) | (.05) | (.05) | (.04) |
| Observations | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 |
| Log Likelihood | 4,174.21 | 5,083.35 | 5,328.95 | 9,158.15 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -8,342.42 | -10,152.71 | -10,641.91 | -18,298.30 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -8,319.55 | -10,099.34 | -10,580.91 | -18,229.68 |

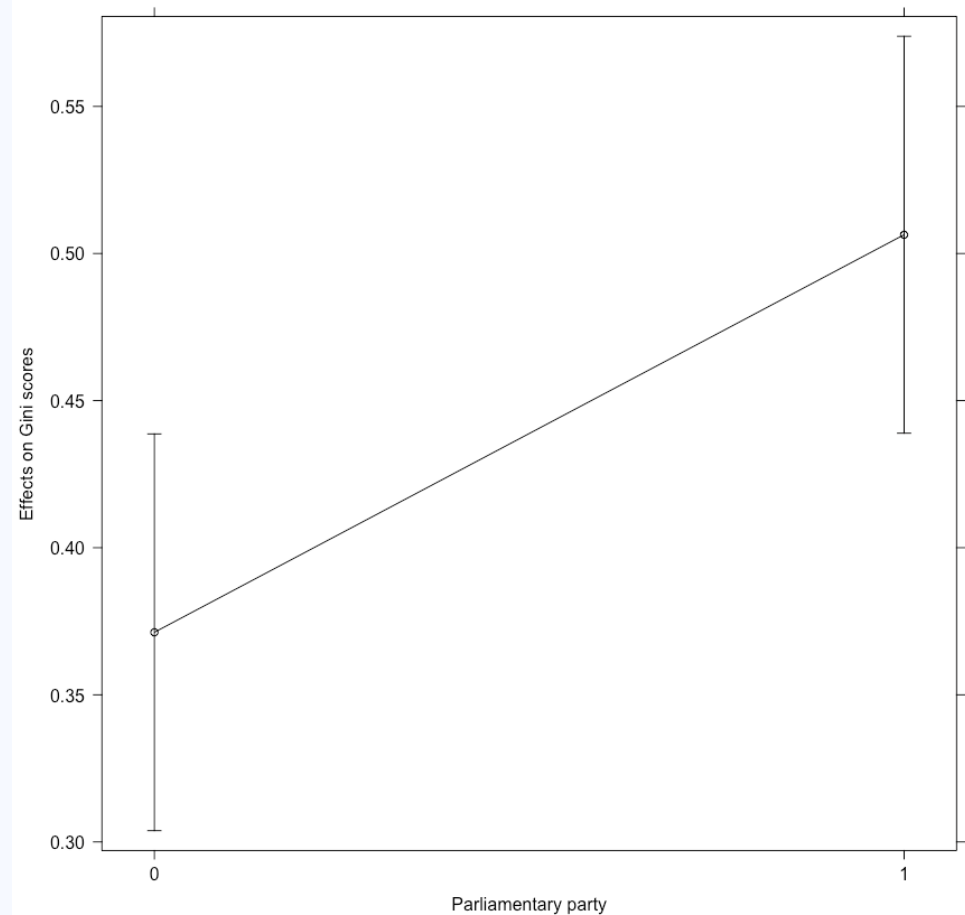
Note: .p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001



Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 1-4

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | | -.31*** (.11) | -.25** (.11) | -.13 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsMixed | | -.03 (.11) | .02 (.11) | -.06 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | | -.19*** (.07) | -.14** (.07) | -.005 (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | | .14*** (.003) | .01 (.01) | .09*** (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .12*** (.01) | -.04*** (.004) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | | | | .27*** (.003) |
| Constant | .46*** (.04) | .50*** (.05) | .43*** (.05) | -.14*** (.04) |
| Observations | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 |
| Log Likelihood | 4,174.21 | 5,083.35 | 5,328.95 | 9,158.15 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -8,342.42 | -10,152.71 | -10,641.91 | -18,298.30 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -8,319.55 | -10,099.34 | -10,580.91 | -18,229.68 |
| Note: | .p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 | | | |

Model 4 - Effects of the type of electoral systems on the list's gini scores

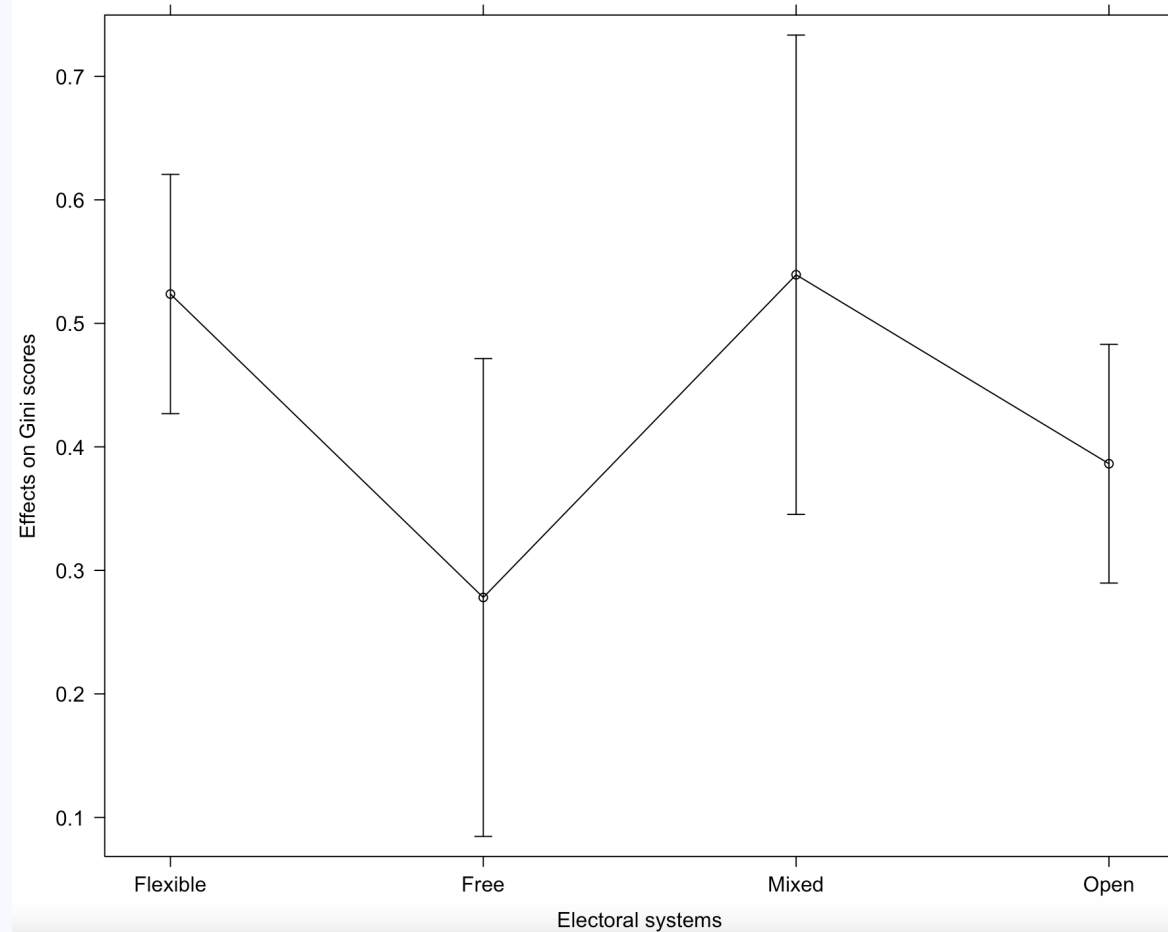


Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 1-4

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | | -.31*** (.11) | -.25** (.11) | -.13 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsMixed | | -.03 (.11) | .02 (.11) | -.06 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | | -.19*** (.07) | -.14** (.07) | -.005 (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | | .14*** (.003) | .01 (.01) | .09*** (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .12*** (.01) | -.04*** (.004) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | | | | .27*** (.003) |
| Constant | .46*** (.04) | .50*** (.05) | .43*** (.05) | -.14*** (.04) |
| Observations | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 |
| Log Likelihood | 4,174.21 | 5,083.35 | 5,328.95 | 9,158.15 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -8,342.42 | -10,152.71 | -10,641.91 | -18,298.30 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -8,319.55 | -10,099.34 | -10,580.91 | -18,229.68 |

Note: .p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.1; ***p<0.001

Model 3 - Effects of the type of electoral systems on the list's gini scores

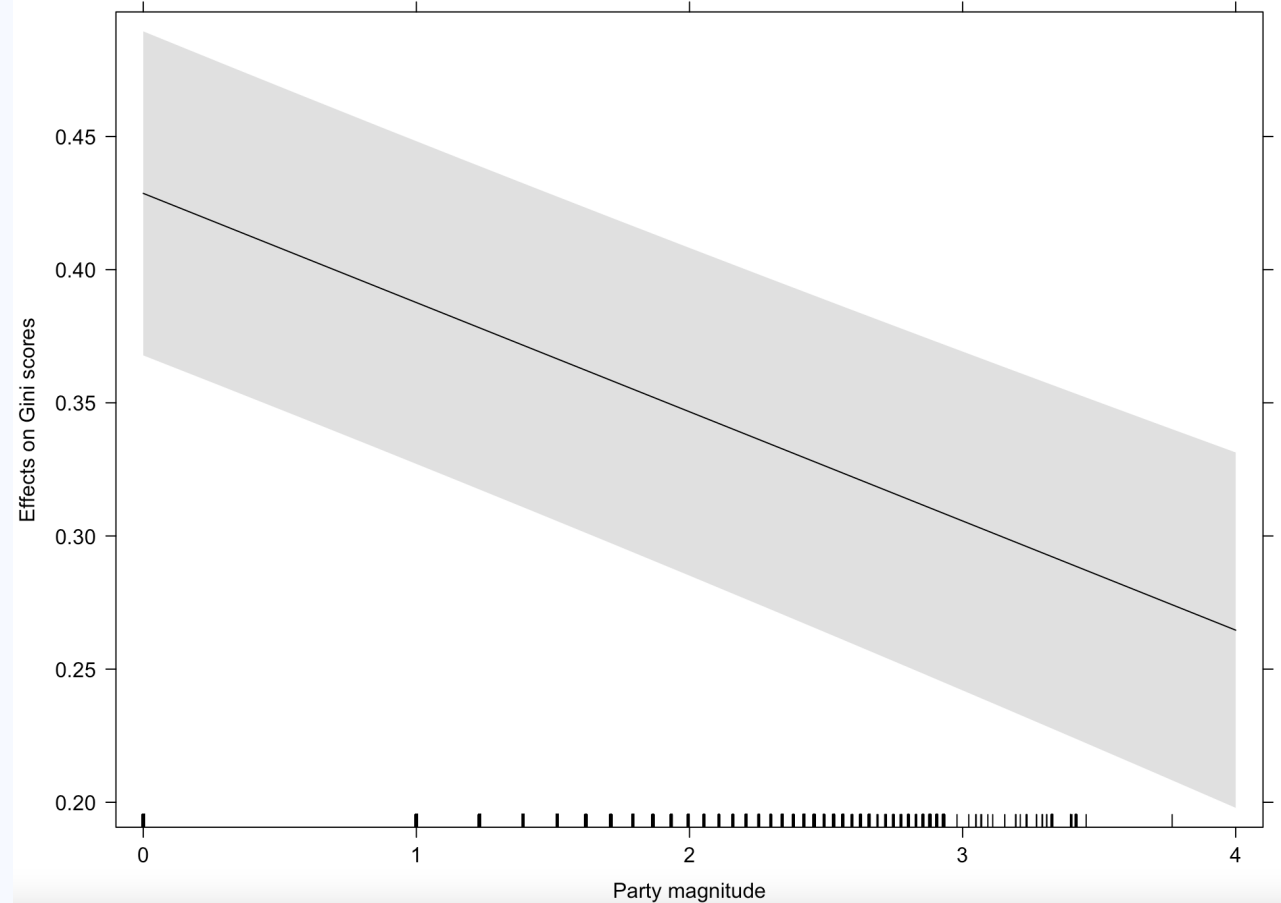


Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 1-4

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | | -.31*** (.11) | -.25** (.11) | -.13 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsMixed | | -.03 (.11) | .02 (.11) | -.06 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | | -.19*** (.07) | -.14** (.07) | -.005 (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | | .14*** (.003) | .01 (.01) | .09*** (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .12*** (.01) | -.04*** (.004) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | | | | .27*** (.003) |
| Constant | .46*** (.04) | .50*** (.05) | .43*** (.05) | -.14*** (.04) |
| Observations | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 |
| Log Likelihood | 4,174.21 | 5,083.35 | 5,328.95 | 9,158.15 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -8,342.42 | -10,152.71 | -10,641.91 | -18,298.30 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -8,319.55 | -10,099.34 | -10,580.91 | -18,229.68 |

Note: .p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Model 2 - Effects of party magnitude on the list's gini scores

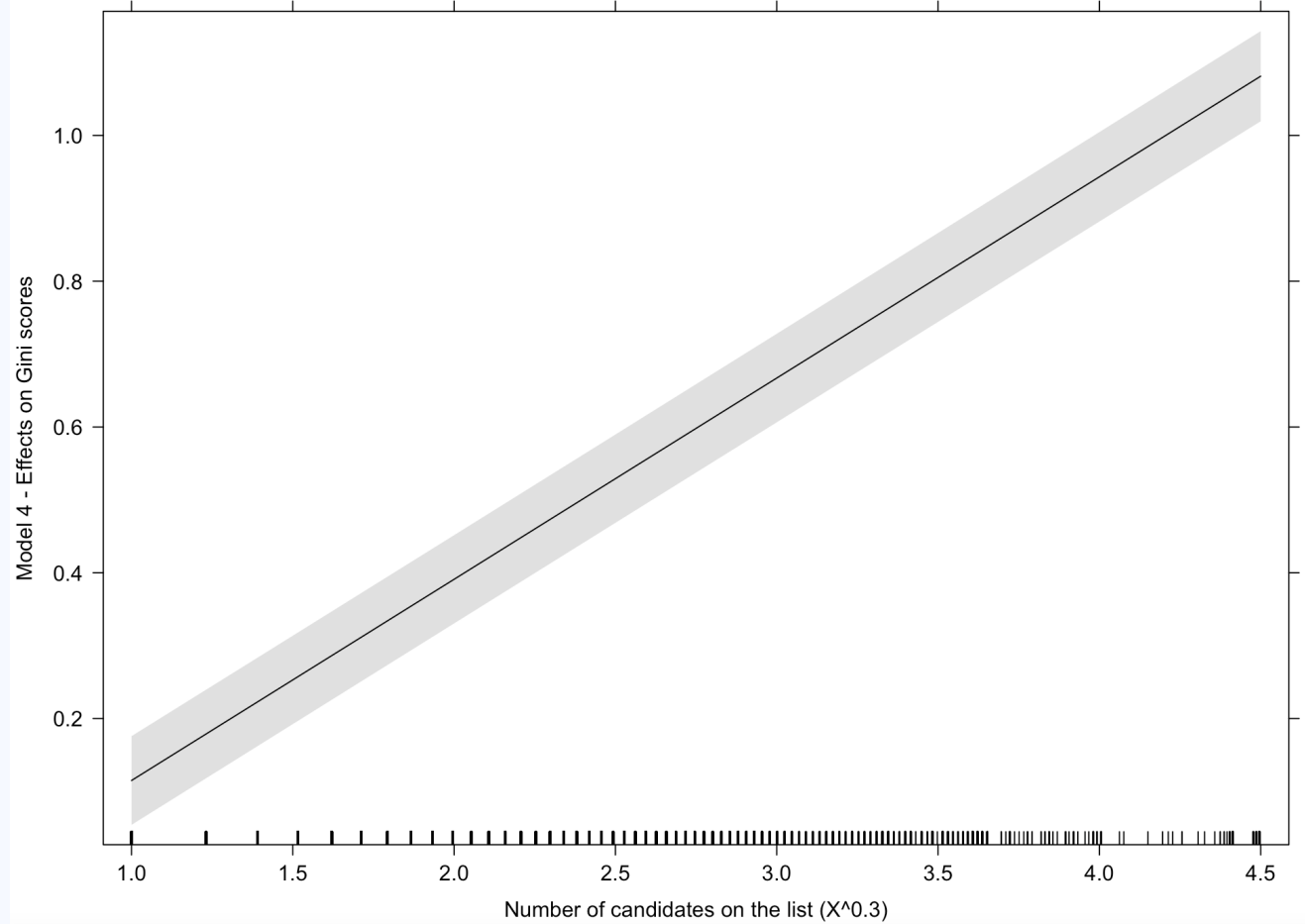


Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 1-4

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | | -.31*** (.11) | -.25** (.11) | -.13 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsMixed | | -.03 (.11) | .02 (.11) | -.06 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | | -.19*** (.07) | -.14** (.07) | -.005 (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | | .14*** (.003) | .01 (.01) | .09*** (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .12*** (.01) | -.04*** (.004) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | | | | .27*** (.003) |
| Constant | .46*** (.04) | .50*** (.05) | .43*** (.05) | -.14*** (.04) |
| Observations | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 | 15,126 |
| Log Likelihood | 4,174.21 | 5,083.35 | 5,328.95 | 9,158.15 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -8,342.42 | -10,152.71 | -10,641.91 | -18,298.30 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -8,319.55 | -10,099.34 | -10,580.91 | -18,229.68 |

Note: .p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Model 4 - Effects of nb. of candidates on the list's gini scores

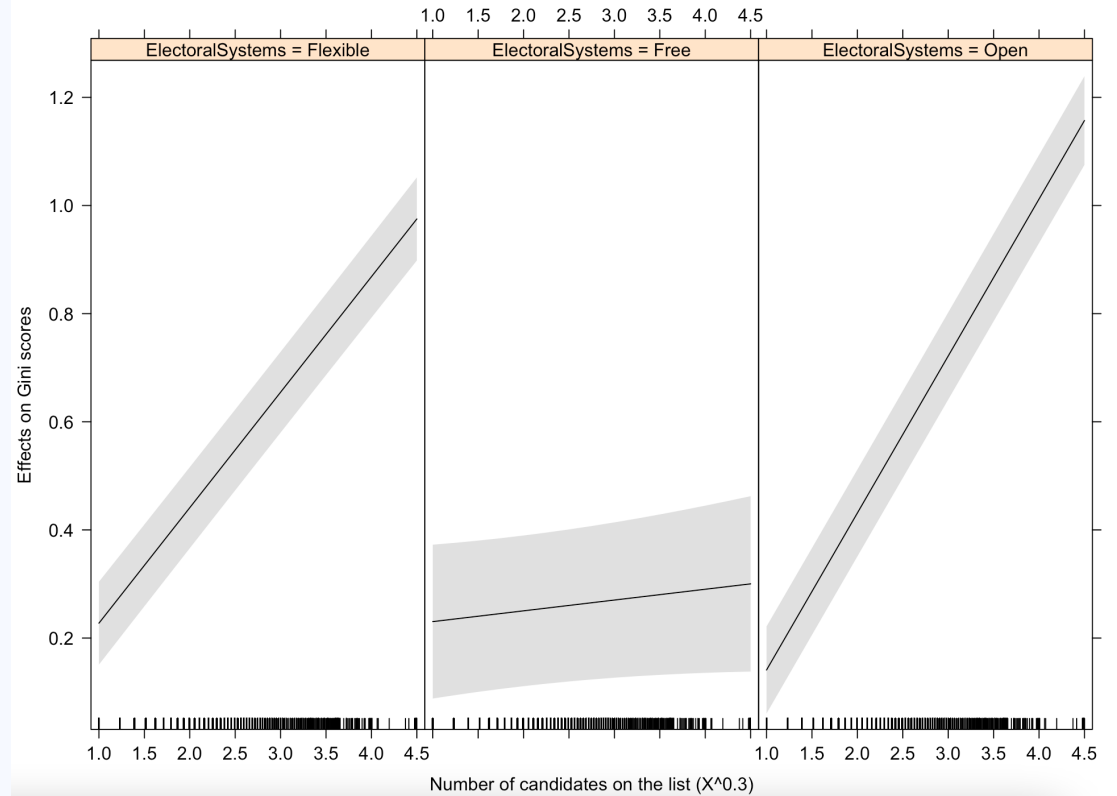


Determinants of the Gini Index across 20 countries - Models 5-7

| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| ElectoralSystemsFree | -.13 (.09) | .13 (.08) | -.11 (.09) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen | .02 (.06) | -.23*** (.06) | .01 (.06) |
| ParliamentaryParty1 | .08*** (.01) | .06*** (.01) | .07*** (.01) |
| PartyMagnitude_0.3 | -.04*** (.005) | -.02*** (.005) | -.04*** (.01) |
| NumberCandidates_0.3 | .25*** (.003) | .19*** (.005) | .25*** (.003) |
| Incumbent_0.3 | .01*** (.003) | .01*** (.003) | .01*** (.003) |
| ElectoralSystemsFree:NumberCandidates_0.3 | | -.17*** (.02) | |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen:NumberCandidates_0.3 | | .10*** (.01) | |
| ElectoralSystemsFree:PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | -.06*** (.01) |
| ElectoralSystemsOpen:PartyMagnitude_0.3 | | | .01*** (.01) |
| Constant | -.11*** (.04) | .07* (.04) | -.10** (.04) |
| Observations | 13,117 | 13,117 | 13,117 |
| Log Likelihood | 7,995.02 | 8,266.40 | 8,025.33 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | -15,972.05 | -16,510.79 | -16,028.67 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | -15,904.71 | -16,428.49 | -15,946.37 |

Note: p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Model 6 - Effects of the type of electoral systems on the list's gini scores



NEXT STEPS: STRATEGIC PRIORITIES?

- Deepening: Focus on integrating additional candidate-level (e.g. prior candidate experience and list positions, political career pattern), list-level (e.g. prior results and party strongholds), district-level (electoral fragmentation, urban-rural characteristics) variables for a fixed set of countries (N= ~ 25)
- Widening: Focus on expanding the set of included country cases to N = ~ 35
- Journal publication to highlight first findings, scope of database, patterns by country and temporal comparisons
- Future efforts to include upcoming elections in list PR systems

NEXT STEPS (II): HOW TO INCORPORATE THE EFFECT OF LIST SYSTEMS?

- A crucial hypothesis: the electoral system, and especially the nature of the list system, would affect the nature of intraparty competition
 - Number of preferential that could be cast
 - Openness of the list (closed/flexible/open)
- But how to differentiate among flexible list systems (Shugart et al., 2005)?
 - 11 countries with flexible list systems in our project (especially in Europe)
- Two main approaches
 - Based upon past electoral results: what share of MPs were elected in past elections only based on their personal score (André, Depauw, Shugart & Chytilék, 2017)
 - Based upon the formal rules, and how hard it is to be elected irrespective of list position (Renwick and Pilet, 2016)

APPROACH 1: PAST ELECTION RESULTS

- Two main indicators
 - Share of MPs elected on basis of preference/personal votes only
 - Share of MPs elected disturbing list order
- Some examples from our dataset
 - Belgium: 5% of MPs elected only on their preference votes; Slovakia: 0%, Croatia: 49%; Sweden: 60%; CZ: 69%
- Difficulties
 - It might reflect how good are parties at playing with the rules of the game (and how bad coordination is among voters to disturb list order).
 - Should it be captured at country-level or at list-in-district level?

APPROACH 2: FORMAL RULES

- Main advantage: independent of parties' and voters' behaviors
- Rather easy for the 'threshold system' (candidates directly elected if reaching a % of all votes for the list
 - A specific percentage: 5% in CZ, 8% in Sweden, 9% in BG, 10% in Croatia, 50% in Slovakia
 - The Hare quota (or a share of it): Austria, NL, Suriname
- But more complex for other system
 - List votes transfer (Belgium)
 - Almost fully closed system like Estonia where list order prevails except in very rare cases
 - Almost fully open system like Iceland where personal votes prevails but non pre-printed ballot protect list order
- Other difficulties
 - How to cope with system combining several mechanisms (How to classify fully open (0% threshold) and fully closed systems (100% threshold)?
 - Should it be captured at country-level or at list-in-district level?