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**Legislative Behaviour of Deputies in the
Czech Republic**

Dissertation Thesis

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Abstract

Scrutiny of legislative behaviour of members of parliament (MPs) has a long tradition in Western Europe. Nonetheless, there has been a research gap in the Czech Republic. Thus, the dissertation thesis identifies the most burning and exciting questions and delivers the answers as a collection of to some extent separated but still interconnected studies. To be more specific, I employ quantitative methods of analysis. I deal with the data on all the members of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic who held the mandate between 1993 and 2017. Overall, the original and unique dataset consists of 1,518 legislators and their comprehensive parliamentary activity. The results suggest that two main conflicts drive parliamentary politics – the institutional division between ruling parties and opposition, and the ideological left-right socio-economic dimension. Besides this, the thesis shows that both the age and tenure of the MPs noticeably affect their parliamentary activity. While older and more experienced MPs propose more bills, address more speeches and obtain more intra-parliamentary posts than young novices, the latter group focuses on the work outside of the parliament. Next, the gender differences in the parliamentary activity of Czech legislators resemble patterns from Western Europe. Most importantly, female MPs speak less than their male colleagues, and there are substantial gender distinctions among committee assignments. Last but not least, the thesis delivers pioneering findings on the MPs' individual voting dissent, which affects the legislators' parliamentary activity, especially if they vote against the majority of their counterparts. Moreover, the rebels attend fewer roll calls, abstain more, and elucidate their position through addressing the plenary session more compared to other MPs. The final chapter summarizes impressions expressed by contemporary members of the Chamber of Deputies who were acquainted with the results. Overall, the dissertation thesis delivers a complex and pioneering picture on the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic. Importantly, the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic is more similar than different to the parliamentarians' performance in Western Europe despite the forty years of the communist regime.

Keywords

Parliament, member of parliament, party, legislative behaviour, quantitative analysis, Czech Republic.

The dissertation thesis consists of 125 pages (55,209 words).

Statement of authorship

I hereby declare that the thesis presented is my own work. In addition, I affirm that I have clearly marked and acknowledged all quotations or references that have been taken from the works of others. All secondary literature and other sources are marked and listed in the bibliography. The same applies to all figures and tables as well as to all digital resources. Moreover, I consent to my thesis being electronically stored and sent anonymously in order to be checked for plagiarism.

Prague, 15 April 2020

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hájek', written in a cursive style.

Lukáš Hájek

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Party Abbreviations

ANO	ANO 2011
ČSSD	Czech Social Democratic Party (<i>Česká strana sociálně demokratická</i>)
HSD-SMS	Movement for Autonomous Democracy – Party for Moravia and Silesia (<i>Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii – Společnost pro Moravu a Slezsko</i>)
K	Coalition (<i>Koalice</i>)
4K	Quad-Coalition (<i>Čtyřkoalice</i>)
KDU-ČSL	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party (<i>Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová</i>)
KDS	Christian Democratic Party (<i>Křesťanskodemokratická strana</i>)
KSČM	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (<i>Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy</i>)
LB	Left Bloc (<i>Levý blok</i>)
LSU	Liberal-Social Union (<i>Liberálně socialní unie</i>)
ODA	Civic Democratic Alliance (<i>Občanská demokratická aliance</i>)
ODS	Civic Democratic Party (<i>Občanská demokratická strana</i>)
OF	Civic Forum (<i>Občanské fórum</i>)
OH	Civic Movement (<i>Občanské hnutí</i>)
Pirates	Czech Pirate Party (<i>Česká pirátská strana</i>)
SPD	Freedom and Direct Democracy (<i>Svoboda a přímá demokracie</i>)
SPR-RSČ	Coalition for Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (<i>Sdružení pro republiku – Republikánská strana Československa</i>)
STAN	Mayors and Independents (<i>Starostové a nezávislí</i>)
SZ	Green Party (<i>Strana zelených</i>)
TOP09	TOP 09
US	Freedom Union (<i>Unie svobody</i>)
US-DEU	Freedom Union – Democratic Union (<i>Unie svobody – Demokratická unie</i>)
ÚSVIT	Tomio Okamura’s Dawn of Direct Democracy (<i>Úsvit přímé demokracie Tomia Okamury</i>)
VV	Public Affairs (<i>Věci veřejné</i>)

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Preface and Acknowledgments

My academic life was meant to change in September 2015. In the very first day of the month, I went through still summer Luisenpark to an introductory course at the University of Mannheim. Even though I expected almost anything as a fresh graduate student, there was certainly no chance for me to anticipate this. The lesson was about nothing but mathematics, and it had remained the same for the rest of the week before we started our political science master's programme. Maybe not as much as my counterparts but I was wondering all week long whether I fit to do this.

As soon as the political science courses commenced, I started to understand the buzz. We were told that research of today dealt with rigorous questions, (big) data, and robust analyses. Programming became our language of communication and understanding the world around us. I have to admit that the possibility of answering all the world's most burning questions with a bulletproof and data-based analysis was tempting. Nonetheless, my desire from the very start was to finally understand the so much worshipped interdisciplinary approach to political science.

During my earlier university studies, I was honoured by chance to attend classes of several brilliant political scientists. To name some of these, I learned to define politics from Miroslav Novák, know political philosophy from Jan P. Kučera, understand history from Lubomír Ko-peček, and analyse societies from Stanislav Balík. Nonetheless, these role models were employing qualitative ways of analysis most of the time, and I was missing the equal portion of quantitative perspective in other courses. Although Michal Pink or Roman Chytilek did more than their best to satisfy my curiosity and their advice guided me through the first stages in Mannheim, I sought to go deeper into the rabbit's hole.

Importantly, I never considered the quantitative analytical skills I acquired in Mannheim as something better – it was merely different. Before the walk in Luisenpark I have never even heard about a roll call analysis. Soon, I fell in love with spatial analysis of politics that Thomas Bräuninger thought me with so much enthusiasm and patience in his heart. And for the first time in my academic life, I attended a course that I almost failed to pass – still, Thomas Gschwend made me work even harder and learn so many mysteries of data analysis. Moreover, I found myself very lucky to have so many friendly and open-minded classmates with whom we moved forward thanks to the shared support. After all, both my Czech and German experiences created a unique combination of methodological expertise.

From the very beginning of my life as a junior political scientist, I was interested in Czech politics. To be more specific, the behaviour of representatives in the Chamber of Deputies as the focal institution fascinated me. At the University of Mannheim, I learned that we knew so much about the parliamentary activity of representatives in Western Europe. At this point, I want to mention Marc Debus as an extraordinary expert on legislative and executive politics,

who opened the door for me. Contrary to this, I gradually realized that we knew so little about the legislative behaviour of deputies in the Czech Republic. Luckily, the identification of the problem is always the first step of proper research.

Soon during my graduate study in Mannheim, I decided to try at least to narrow the gap between the amount of knowledge we had about legislative behaviour in Western Europe and the Czech Republic. Since I never meant to abandon Czech politics as a subject nor the Czech Republic as a country, the decision of coming back to Prague guided by this goal was suggesting itself. After I had identified the most pressing and at the same time, exciting issues, I wrote this dissertation thesis as a collection of to some extent separated but still interweaved studies.

Looking back at my doctoral study at the Charles University, I want to thank Miloš Brunclík not only as a supervisor but I do not hesitate to say that also as a friend who was always frank and keen to help me. Besides him, I am grateful to Michal Parížek and Blanka Říchová, who allowed me to teach political science methods. Thanks to this, my methodological skills improved.

Last but not least, many persons outside of the academic world deserve my thanks. I would love to apologize and thank Tinka for so many weekends she gave me to spend with the dissertation instead of being with her. The patience of my family and friends should also be admired as I deprived them of so many shared moments. Finally, I thank my superiors at the Czech Television who allowed me to write so many days instead of having me in front of a camera.

Thank you all.

Introduction

For centuries, legislative assemblies have served to represent the citizens and express the broad scale of their opinions. The peaceful conflict resolutions was an appreciated improvement compared to the earlier times of civil wars, coups, and violent intrigues. Moreover, the idea of professional assemblies that give a say to the citizens who can still focus on their responsibilities proved to be very efficient. Today, legislatures play an essential role in liberal democratic states. Members of such institutions are in almost every case elected by a popular vote, and the citizens hold the representatives accountable. This is proof of the importance of the institutions that modern democracies rely on.

In Europe, the cradle of the legislative assemblies, a specific form of legislatures was born. Parliaments are fused powers systems creating a balance between the legislative and the executive servants of the state. Even though the citizens usually consider members of parliament (MPs) as lawmakers, the portfolio of their duties is much more extensive. Besides lawmaking, they hold cabinets accountable since prime ministers depend on either confidence or no-confidence of MPs, and members of the cabinet have to answer MPs' questions. Next, the representatives express the views of the citizens and discuss the most burning issues of the society in general. Last but not least, the deputies deal with other responsibilities, for example, electing members of councils and boards, and ratifying international treaties.

On the one hand, parliaments may be read as unitary institutions that produce collective outputs. Nonetheless, on the other hand, if one wants to understand parliaments properly, it is necessary to follow its work on a more detailed level. Importantly, the MPs unite in parliamentary party groups (PPGs) based on their shared ideological preferences and candidate lists. As a result, members of the same PPG cooperate most of the time since their shared re-

sults are much more influential compared to the separate efforts of individual MPs. In that case, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Thus, scrutiny of PPGs helps us to realize and even predict why some actions take place in parliaments while others do not.

Still, as we should not treat parliaments as unitary actors, nor should we make the same mistake in the case of PPGs. If we want to recognize all the details of parliamentary politics, it is crucial to move to the most detailed level of analysis – the scrutiny of individual MPs. To elucidate this, it is not necessary to imagine voting rebels and turncoats to attribute importance to single legislators. Every parliamentary action starts with a decision and a move of an individual MP. Sometimes, a deputy starts a fire in the PPG, which then proceeds as a unitary actor. At some other time, an MP casts a decisive vote at the plenary meeting and influences the final output by herself. In every case, it is justifiable to analyse individual legislative behaviour.

Nonetheless, the more detailed level of research translates into more complicated environment. Suddenly, the identification of the MPs' ideological profile and the number of political allies in the PPG is not enough. Sociodemographic characteristics of the representatives start to play a role. To be more specific, the MPs may behave differently according to their gender, age, education or parliamentary experience. Furthermore, since the legislators are elected in various constituencies, they are expected to behave differently. Last but not least, one may anticipate that MP-ministers or the chamber's (vice-)presidents perform their deputy mandates differently compared to the legislators without additional positions.

In Western Europe, there has been a long tradition of scrutinizing legislative behaviour of MPs. To be more specific, researchers focused on ideological positions of MPs based on their voting (e.g. Hix & Noury, 2016; Hix et al., 2006; Poole & Rosenthal, 1991; Rosenthal & Voeten, 2004). Moreover, they proved that for instance, gender affected the MPs' parliamentary activity (e.g. Bäck et al., 2014; Childs, 2004; Chiva, 2018; Geys & Mause, 2014; Hogan, 2008; Koch & Fulton, 2011; Towns, 2003; Wängnerud, 2009; Wilson & Carlos, 2014). Last but not least, scholars scrutinized the individual incentives to vote against one's party (e.g. Bowler et al., 1999b; Kam, 2009; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017).

On the contrary, there has been a substantial research gap in the Czech Republic. The main reason for this is a relatively young age of political science in the post-communist state. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, it took several years even to establish the field. Subsequently, domestic researchers focused on the most burning issues such as democratic transition, consolidation of political institutions and party system identification. Even though political science in the Czech Republic has made outstanding progress during the last 30 years, it is understandable that some blind spots remain.

Therefore, I deliver this dissertation thesis as a reaction to the research gap in the scrutiny of the MPs' legislative behaviour in the Czech Republic. Initially, I identified several most burning issues that had been analysed in Western Europea but remained untouched in the Czech parliamentary study. Even though they all relate to the MPs' legislative behaviour, they are separated to some extent. Thus, I do not present a monograph but a set of studies.

To be more specific, the first chapter deals with the dimensionality of parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic. Initially in the 1990s, the leaders of the two largest parties Václav Klaus and Miloš Zeman boasted of the reestablishment of the left-right socio-economic politics. Since then, the country joined the European Union and the party system altered significantly. Today, there are new political movements with leaders such as Andrej Babiš, who proclaims the end of the left-right ideological conflict. Thus, the research question asks what the main drivers of the MPs' decisionmaking are.

The second chapter focuses on the MPs of different age and parliamentary experience. To explain this, young representatives are at the beginning of their political career compared to old parliamentarians who look out for pension. Naturally, the two groups of deputies should behave differently regarding their voting discipline or proposing bills. Similarly, the novices are not expected to take advantage of parliamentary rules they do not know as much as veteran deputies. To summarize, the second study asks how the age and tenure of the MPs influence their parliamentary activity.

The third chapter imitates the previous analysis, but it is interested in the MPs' gender differences. To elucidate this, Czech politics (similarly to other countries) is driven predominantly by men. Furthermore, the post-communist society in the Czech Republic assigns women the role of homemakers in the first place. Such an environment predestines the MPs of different gender to behave differently in the parliament. Furthermore, female legislators are expected to have diverse policy preferences compared to their male counterparts because of specific societal roles. Therefore, the third analysis is interested in the question of how the MPs' gender affects their legislative behaviour.

The fourth chapter scrutinizes the phenomenon of the deputies' voting dissent. In the parliamentary system based on disciplined parties, the voting rebellion may substantially disconcert the whole game. The MPs rebel either against their PPG colleagues, as it is usually understood, or they vote against leaders of the group. Since the two forms of the voting dissent create tension with different institutions, it is vital to inspect the aftermath of both. Besides this, the voting dissent is expected to appear in various levels across time and parties. Therefore, the fourth study deals with a general question of what are the causes and consequences of the MPs' voting dissent.

Last but not least, the final chapter of the dissertation thesis delivers an entirely different perspective on the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic. To explain this, the goal is to summarise all the previous findings and present them to the current legislators. Since they are familiar not only with their powers and duties but also with the parliamentary environment and the events that take place behind the scene, they may shed light on the results. Although the analyses describe the causal effects of the relationships, discovering the causal mechanisms is more complicated. Importantly, the MPs can evaluate to what extent they are either familiar or rather surprised by the findings. As a result, the final chapter not only delivers a different angle of the assessment, but it also interconnects the academic environment with the practice of parliamentary politics.

To answer the previously mentioned research questions, I employ rigorous quantitative methods of analysis. Since I am interested in discovering the longterm patterns based on the massive amount of the data, this type of research suggests itself. Furthermore, there is a tradition of utilizing statistical analyses to inspect the MPs' legislative behaviour in Western Europe. Therefore, since the thesis imitates the foreign scholarship to some extent, it is useful to employ such an approach to make the findings comparable. The only exception is the final chapter, which delivers the MPs' points of view in a qualitative way of semi-structured interviews.

To be more specific, I employ descriptive tools of statistical analyses. Initially, these methods help to comprehend the data. Besides this, since I answer the research questions for the very first time in the Czech Republic, I regard even the basic summary of the results as beneficial. Next, to unveil (causal) relationships between the variables, I utilize regression analyses. Depending on the distribution of the data, I apply either ordinary least squares regression, negative binomial or Poisson modelling. The methods not only suggest the direction and strength of the ties, but they also inform about the statistical significance of the relationships, which is helpful thanks to limiting the dataset and potential predictions. Moreover, I simulate the findings of the regression models to make them easy to interpret. Last but not least, I employ specific quantitative tools of research, such as a roll call analysis. Thanks to this, some of the findings are presented in a unique form, which has been previously unknown to the Czech political science audience.

All the analyses are based on the data of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (Parlament České republiky, 2019). Luckily, it is one of the most transparent legislatures in the world with the exceptionally public and broadly accessible data (D. Joshi & Rosenfield, 2013). Thanks to this, the data enable comprehensive analyses with a substantial level of internal validity. Most importantly, there is almost no danger of selection bias, for instance, in the case of the roll call analysis (see Carrubba et al., 2008).

I focus on the members of the Chamber of Deputies, which is the lower chamber of the Czech parliament. Since the parliamentary regime in the country is based on an asymmetrical bicameralism, the lower house of the parliament is the focal institution of the political system in the Czech Republic. In the chamber, 200 deputies hold a mandate for four-year terms based on party-list proportional popular election.

I limit the scrutiny by two dates. On the one hand, even though the chamber was established in New Year's Day of 1993, the electronic system of recording the MPs' parliamentary activity was installed on 1 December. Therefore, I gather the data since the very first day, from which they are available. On the other hand, the last finished term ended on 26 October 2017 when the VII. Chamber of Deputies terminated due to the elections. As a result, I scrutinize all the seven complete parliamentary terms. Thanks to this, the analyses are based on the original, unique and the most comprehensive dataset of the MPs' legislative behaviour in the Czech Republic.

Altogether, 1,518 MPs held the mandate in the meantime (including replacements). Nonetheless, I do not take all the legislators into account for two reasons. Firstly, there was a number of MPs who held the deputy mandate for the time that was too short to reveal any reliable patterns. Secondly, some of the deputies possessed further positions together with the MP mandate, which makes their parliamentary activity substantially specific compared to other MPs. Thus, I utilize subsets of the dataset. Since the individual studies deal with different research questions, I employ different subsets to deliver the best findings possible.

The span of the research is a crucial quality of the thesis. On the one hand, the analysis delivers a comprehensive picture of the legislative behaviour in the Czech Republic during the first 25 years of its existence. Nonetheless, the broadness of the inspection takes its toll. For instance, I differentiate only between two categories of the MPs' education, although the qualitative scrutiny would bring more detailed classification. Moreover, I do not draw a line between procedural and the other votes. Last but not least, I employ the maximum of the legislators despite their unique positions (ministers, committee chairpersons etc.), and I (only) control for the factors. Since there is a necessary tradeoff between the breadth and the depth of the research, I choose the former although I do not ignore the latter. In other words, I do not have the ambition to compete with in-depth case studies as I have chosen to deliver the very first comprehensive analysis.

To summarize, there are three ways of reading the dissertation thesis. Firstly, the thesis creates a compact text dealing with legislative behaviour of the Czech MPs. Therefore, it may be read from the very first word until the very last one as a monograph on the most burning issues. Secondly, since the studies were initially written as stand-alone articles, it is possible to read single chapters alternately. Especially some chapters may look familiar as they were already published (Hájek, 2018, 2019a, 2020b). Finally, the thesis has the ambition to serve as a some kind of an encyclopedia of the Czech MPs' legislative behaviour. Therefore, all the summary tables and figures are self-reliant so that a reader can turn to a specific output and get the desired information.

Chapter 1

Dimensions of Ayes and Nays

'In front of cameras, they [party leaders] play to be left and right but as soon as the lights are switched off, they work together to preserve their rotten system their friends benefit from.'

Andrej Babiš, MP (ANO)

25 February 2017, address to the delegates at the party conference, Prague

Parliaments are cardinal institutions of modern liberal democracies. Studies on legislatures elucidate many puzzles about the legislative behaviour of individual MPs, whole parties and parliamentary chambers in general. Scholars utilize the newest methods of analysis, such as research on votes by roll call, and besides other issues, they frequently focus on the dimensionality of politics in particular countries (e.g. Hix & Noury, 2016; Hix et al., 2006; Poole & Rosenthal, 1991; Rosenthal & Voeten, 2004).

However, similarly comprehensive studies on the dimensions of politics in the Czech Republic have been missing. This fact is even more startling since some episodes of Czech parliamentary history may serve as a valuable case study thanks to the regime's stable institutional setting, politically diverse past and easily accessible data (see Hix & Noury, 2016).

Thus, I portray a complex picture of parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic since the state's establishment. The goal is to answer the following research question: 'What are the dimensions of parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic?' To do this, I follow Hix and Noury's (2016) research design, since the two scholars are interested in the very same research question (but dealing with shorter time periods in a larger number of countries).

In ideological terms, there is broad agreement that Czech politics is mainly driven by a socio-economic left-right conflict (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Linek et al., 2016; Linek & Lyons, 2013). Similarly to other political scientists, I treat this dimension as the owner-working class cleavage (see Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008). Additionally, politics in modern liberal democracies are also influenced by a specific government-opposition conflict, which I call the institutional division. I call it a ‘division’ (not a dimension) intentionally since it works under a different logic than a regular dimension does.¹ This dynamic does not necessarily correspond to the ideological conflict. Even though the concept of the institutional division is rather new to political science, it is commonly utilized (e.g. Glencross & Trechsel, 2011; Hansen, 2009; Hix & Noury, 2016; Jones et al., 2009; Zucco Jr., 2009). The presence and interaction of these two drivers depend on both the political (left- vs right-oriented) and institutional (majority vs minority) character of the cabinet in power (Cox & McCubbins, 2005; Hix & Noury, 2016).

I focus on a lower chamber of the Czech parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, which is the regime’s political centre thanks to the country’s asymmetrical bicameralism (Vodička & Cabada, 2011). I utilize deputies’ votes by roll call from the very beginning of recording on 1 December 1993 to 16 October 2017. Overall, I analyse 46,707 roll calls of 1,486 deputies, completely covering the first seven finished parliamentary terms.

The analysis suggests that two principal conflicts shape Czech politics – the ideological (left vs right) dimension and the institutional (government vs opposition) division. Due to changing forms of ruling cabinets, the dimensionality oscillates between a unidimensional and a two-dimensional setting. In 1998–2002, there was just one specific period of as many as three relevant dimensions. During the term, attitudes towards European integration became politically influential thanks to accession negotiations between the Czech Republic and the European Union (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Lyons & Lacina, 2009; Roberts, 2003).

On the one hand, when right-oriented majority cabinets lead the government, the competition in the chamber is typically unidimensional. The reason for this is that the ideological dimension and the institutional division merge. On the other hand, periods of left-oriented majority cabinets split the opposition camp between the Communists, who were too anti-system to participate in the government, and the right-wing parties. As a result, the institutional division is still the most crucial, but the ideological dimension becomes more significant. Last but not least, in the case of minority cabinets, both left- as well as right-oriented, competition is driven mainly by the ideological conflict, as the classical institutional conflict is diminished.

¹ Dimensions work under a continuous logic in the sense that units are potentially located along the whole dimension. Since the government-opposition conflict shows only some characteristics of a continuous logic and units tend to be located at one pole or the other, I prefer to use the term ‘division’.

1.1 Evolution of politics

To study Czech politics, I deal with the lower chamber of Czech parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, which was established in 1993 after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. Thanks to the asymmetrical bicameralism of the Czech parliamentary regime, the legislative body is the institutional and political core of the polity (Brunclík & Kubát, 2016; Vodička & Cabada, 2011). The chamber consists of 200 deputies elected for four years using the party-list proportional representation system.

Concerning the dimensionality of politics, Hix and Noury (2016) argue that the form of government (minority vs majority) is one of the key independent variables. Thus, I briefly depict the diverse evolution of executive politics in the Czech Republic. Undoubtedly, I cannot replace some of the exhaustive descriptions of Czech political history (see, e.g. Kopeček, 2010, 2015; Vodička & Cabada, 2011). Here, I only present information essential for the following research.

Table 1.1 summarizes all political cabinets (not technocratic ones) with the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies during the first seven parliamentary terms.² As it shows, executive politics in the Czech Republic has had both majority as well as minority cabinets. Additionally, three out of five majority cabinets held only a slight majority (three cabinets between 2002–2006 are counted hereafter as one since the coalition remained unchanged). This put pressure on the coalitions' cohesiveness and accentuated institutional voting. Furthermore, there has been a regular alternation of right- and left-oriented cabinets. Altogether, these factors predetermine Czech politics to be a valuable research case thanks to the changing form and ideological background of the cabinets, but with a constant institutional setting.³

Overall, I distinguish three stages of party politics in the Czech Republic – its consolidation (until 1998), stability (1998–2010), and recent transformation (since 2010). This differentiation is closely related to the evolution of the Czech party system (Balík & Hloušek, 2016, p. 114).

To be more specific, the first phase of consolidation began in the former Czechoslovakia. Right after the democratic Velvet Revolution in 1989, many political parties and movements started to form. The politics of the time were ideologically heterogeneous and fragmented.

² I select just the cabinets with the confidence of the chamber since only these cabinets feature identifiable political anchoring. Similarly, all the technocratic cabinets are excluded from the analysis as their political structure is not straightforward. Besides this, there is a strong assumption that working logic under their rule is substantially different from that of the political cabinets.

³ Until today, the polity in the Czech Republic has experienced only three major institutional changes. These are the establishment of the second parliamentary chamber (Senate) in 1996, reform of the legislative election system in 2002 and introduction of the direct election of the Czech president in 2013 (Brunclík & Kubát, 2016; Vodička & Cabada, 2011). Although these changes are substantial, I do not consider them to influence the dimensionality of Czech politics as such.

Despite this, the liberal-conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS) gained more than one-third of all deputy mandates in the 1992 legislative election. Subsequently, the party managed to build a majority coalition cabinet, which was the first to rule after the establishment of the Czech Republic in 1993.

Table 1.1. Political cabinets with the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies

Term	Prime minister	Governmental parties	Majority cabinet (majority's surplus)
1 Jan 1993 ^{a)} –2 Jul 1996	Václav Klaus	ODS-KDS, KDU-ČSL, ODA	✓ (4)
4 Jul 1996 –30 Nov 1997	Václav Klaus	ODS, KDU-ČSL, ODA	× (-2)
22 Jul 1998 –12 Jul 2002	Miloš Zeman	ČSSD	× (-27)
15 Jul 2002 –1 Jul 2004	Vladimír Špidla	ČSSD, K ^{b)} (KDU-ČSL, US-DEU)	✓ (0)
4 Aug 2004 –25 Apr 2005	Stanislav Gross	ČSSD, K ^{b)} (KDU-ČSL, US-DEU)	✓ (0)
25 Apr 2005 –16 Aug 2006	Jiří Paroubek	ČSSD, K ^{b)} (KDU-ČSL, US-DEU)	✓ (0)
9 Jan 2007 –26 Mar 2009	Mirek Topolánek	ODS, KDU-ČSL, SZ	✓ (-1+2) ^{c)}
13 Jul 2010 –17 Jun 2013	Petr Nečas	ODS, TOP09, VV ^{d)}	✓ (17)
29 Jan 2014 –5 Dec 2017	Bohuslav Sobotka	ČSSD, ANO, KDU-ČSL	✓ (10)

^{a)} The establishment of the Czech Republic (the cabinet was originally in power since 2 July 1992).

^{b)} After 2002 election, the electoral Coalition (K) split into two PPGs of KDU-ČSL and US-DEU.

^{c)} The right-oriented coalition of the three parties held only 100 seats, but two Social Democratic MPs supported the cabinet.⁴

^{d)} In 2012, VV left the coalition. Some of the party's MPs formed LIDEM that continued supporting the cabinet.

Note: The terms last from the cabinet's naming to its resignation. Ruling parties are ordered according to the number of their deputy mandates. Majorities' surpluses in the brackets equal 101, a majority threshold in the 200-seat chamber, subtracted from the number of deputy mandates held by a cabinet right after the designation. Dashed horizontal lines mark the parliamentary elections.

Source: (Czech Statistical Office, 2019; Vláda ČR, 2018).

⁴ The two Social Democratic MPs Miloš Melčák and Michal Pohanka enabled the cabinet to get the confidence by abstention during the confidence voting. The deputies argued that they wanted to discontinue the political gridlock (iDnes.cz, 2007).

However, the party system continued to be fragmented even after the 1996 election. Additionally, the persistence of two anti-system parties (one communist and one radical right) limited the options of forming potential coalitions. Thus, after 1996, ODS led the very same coalition cabinet as before, albeit a minority one. The tense atmosphere in the chamber culminated in 1997 after a series of scandals concerning the party's financing. Václav Klaus was forced to step down and Josef Tošovský's technocratic cabinet was appointed in 1998.

The second phase was initiated by the snap election in 1998. Since only five parties entered the chamber, both the party system and the politics as such consolidated, and a previously unknown stability commenced. To be more specific, there were four steady party pillars of this stability – ODS, the Social Democrats (ČSSD), the Communists (KSČM), and the Christian Democrats (KDU-ČSL). In 1998, ČSSD celebrated the first victory of a left-wing party since the revolution. Nevertheless, mainly because of personal antipathies, no party was able to form a majority cabinet. Therefore, Miloš Zeman decided to preside over a single-party minority cabinet tolerated by ODS under the so-called 'opposition agreement'⁵ (Kopeček, 2015; Roberts, 2003).

During the following years, the party system concentrated even more thanks to a (Quad-) Coalition (K) of smaller centre parties facing the challenge of a partnership between ČSSD and ODS. In 2002, ČSSD repeated its victory and constructed a minimal winning majority cabinet with the parties of K (KDU-ČSL and US-DEU). The coalition maintained this format, although the prime ministers changed twice. The subsequent 2006 election resulted in a 'perfect' stalemate of 100 seats for both left and right. The minimal winning coalition cabinet of Mirek Topolánek (ODS) was approved by the chamber after the eight-month gridlock thanks to two turncoats. However, the uncertain legislative majority culminated in a vote of no confidence in 2009. Another technocratic cabinet, presided over by Jan Fischer, was appointed.

The electoral 'earthquake' in 2010 commenced the third phase – transformation. It weakened both of the largest parties, kept KDU-ČSL out of the chamber, and provided new parties with leeway to shine (Hanley, 2012). Electoral volatility, especially, increased notably. In spite of this, a right-oriented minimal winning coalition was formed by ODS and two new parties – TOP 09 and VV. The cabinet was being undermined by scandals, and it was the corruption affair of Petr Nečas's closest adviser that finally forced the cabinet to resign.

The brief period of the third technocratic cabinet of Jiří Rusnok was followed by the 2013 early election. The trend of party system transformation was confirmed, as two new parties entered the legislature. The new minimal winning coalition was composed of ČSSD, led by Prime Minister Bohuslav Sobotka, ANO, and KDU-ČSL. The coalition successfully survived the entire parliamentary term, carrying through a number of its policies. Internal crises came to the surface only before the 2017 parliamentary election.

⁵ The full name of the document was 'Agreement on Creation Stable Political Environment Signed Between the Czech Social Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Party' (ČSSD and ODS).

1.2 Consequences of governing forms

Every cabinet seeks to implement its policy. However, majority and minority government options for having a dependable voting majority are not the same. Consequently, the form of government is expected to affect the dimensionality of political competition. This contrast has been well described in the literature (e.g. Hix & Noury, 2016; Louwse et al., 2017; Poole & Rosenthal, 1991; Strøm, 1984, 1990).

To start with, majority cabinets hold enough seats in a legislature to vote through their proposals by outvoting the opposition camp. More importantly, majority cabinets enjoy the power to restrict the legislative agenda. In the Czech Republic, majority cabinets traditionally fill not only ministerial positions but also the majority of the lower parliamentary chamber's and committees' presidency and vice-presidency seats. These institutions are essential in setting the legislative agenda and majority cabinets make use of it (Kopecký et al., 1996).

In theory, such a situation corresponds with the *cartel agenda model* suggested by Cox and McCubbins (2005). The model assumes that agenda control limits the set of possible policy outcomes. This is because the agenda cartel will prevent a proposal from being placed on the agenda if the outcome on the floor is further from the cartel's most-preferred policy than the status quo (Hix & Noury, 2016).

As a result, deputies in plenary sessions vote mostly on the proposals that have been accepted beforehand by the cartel representing an interest of a government. Thus, differences between an opposition and a government shape the politics on the floor. It is important to realize that the cartel can be much smaller than the parliamentary majority (government). To explain this, the agenda is restricted by a few stakeholders who block bills that would result in policy changes that a majority of the majority opposes (Cox & McCubbins, 2005).

However, the cartel will still allow some decisions to be taken as late as on the plenary floor if the position of the legislative majority on a proposal is not clear. Thanks to this, some decisions made during a plenary session will differentiate between government (including the cartel) and opposition, while others will be based on an ideological contrast between left and right. Hence, Hix and Noury (2016, p. 252) point out that 'the cartel agenda model predicts a mix of majority-bloc (government) versus minority-bloc (opposition) voting and policy-based (left-right) voting'. Nonetheless, the institutional voting prevails.

Minority cabinets, on the other hand, work under a different logic, represented by the *floor agenda model*. Cox and McCubbins (2005, p. 44) argue that under this setting 'the bills to be considered on the floor are determined by majority on the floor'. Then, the result of such voting depends on 'a choice between the location of the status quo and the policy proposed by the median floor member' (Hix & Noury, 2016, p. 251). Compared to the cartel agenda model, there is only a limited power that restricts voting on a proposal, which is usually assessed during a plenary meeting.

The floor agenda model describes strictly ideological voting without any preliminary influence of gatekeepers, since there are none. Therefore, it captures the parliamentary reality of

minority cabinets. There is no clear majority able to control the agenda, and legislative majorities thus become ad hoc based on the ideological background of individual subjects relative to a particular proposal. Since the Czech Republic is a continental parliamentary regime, the subjects of ideological voting are mainly whole parties, which are highly cohesive – this applies especially for the parties in a cabinet (Linek & Lacina, 2011).

There are other factors that affect the dimensionality of politics. Hix and Noury (2016) argue that the regime type (presidential vs parliamentary) shapes voting behaviour in a parliament. The dimensionality of some legislatures, such as the European Parliament, can be impacted by a relation to other tiers of government (Hix et al., 2006). Last but not least, the dimensionality of politics depends on a number of cleavages in a society (Poole & Rosenthal, 1991). Nonetheless, since the institutional setting in the Czech Republic has been stable, there is no such unique relationship as in the European Parliament; ideological dimensionality is limited, and there is no assumption of the other factors affecting the dimensionality (Brunclík & Kubát, 2016; Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Vodička & Cabada, 2011).

1.2.1 Hypotheses

The cartel agenda and floor agenda models portray the political reality under majority and minority cabinets, respectively. They also anticipate which driver (either ideological or institutional) is going to primarily affect the political competition. This does not mean that other conflicts become irrelevant – the ideological dimension, especially, is often inherent in the institutional division or it can become germane on its own as the second dimension, albeit a less important one. However, one conflict is the driving one. Thus, I construct two hypotheses as follows:

H1: During a rule of majority cabinets, parliamentary voting is predominantly driven by the institutional division (the cartel agenda model).

H2: During a rule of minority cabinets, parliamentary voting is predominantly driven by the ideological dimension (the floor agenda model).

To elaborate this, I seek to identify the nature of the ideological dimension. Initially, the presence of some parties in the chamber in the early 1990s implied the existence of several relevant cleavages – the religious (KDU-ČSL), the regional (HSD-SMS), the nationalist (SPR-RSČ), and the (anti-)democratic (LB, KSČM, SPR-RSČ).

Nevertheless, since the legislative election in 1992 (and certainly in 1996), the socio-economic left-right axis has become the most dominant and unrivalled cleavage (Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Huber & Inglehart, 1995; Markowski, 1997; Novák, 1999). Despite its recent transformation, Czech party politics today is still considered to be ideologically unidimensional (Chytilík & Eibl, 2011; Linek et al., 2016; Linek & Lyons, 2013). However, these claims have never been tested on a complete history of Czech parliamentary voting. Therefore, I form a hypothesis:

H3: The ideological dimension expresses a socio-economic left-right cleavage.

Finally, from the previous text it is possible to infer dimensionality regarding the total number of influential dimensions. Since there is one institutional (government vs opposition) division and only one ideological (left vs right) dimension, I construct the last hypothesis as follows:

H4: The political competition is at most two-dimensional.

Some scholars argue that Czech politics is occasionally driven by more than just one ideological dimension (Hix & Noury, 2016; Lyons & Lacina, 2009). Besides the socio-economic one, this second ideological conflict is usually interpreted as an attitude towards European integration. As scholars have delivered some convincing evidence, I keep this argument in mind when considering the last hypothesis.

1.3 Spatial modelling of politics

This chapter draws on a spatial modelling of politics. The idea of analysing politics through spatial models was introduced to political science by Anthony Downs. His book *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (Downs, 1957) was partially inspired by notions of Hotelling (1929), and Smithies (1941) about a balance of subjects' spatial position originating from amutual interaction. Downs argues that parties are vote-maximizers seeking a position close to a concentration of voters so they can attract them and earn their votes. Additionally, as parties compete for more or less the same voters, there is a tendency to find a mutual convergence, which we can then study.⁶ Today, some scholars (Armstrong et al., 2014, p. xi) even claim that the 'spatial model of voting is the most successful model in the field of political science'.

Overall, there are five standard methods for deriving the spatial positions of parties or particular politicians.⁷ These are public surveys (e.g. Lebedová, 2014), elite surveys (e.g. Kitschelt et al., 1999), expert surveys (e.g. Bakker, Edwards, et al., 2015), document analyses (e.g. Volkens et al., 2016), and roll call analyses (e.g. Poole, 2005).

All of these methods have their advantages and disadvantages relative to a particular research design.⁸ Compared to other approaches, the crucial fact here is that spatial modelling utilizing a roll call analysis is the only one able to capture (literally) day-to-day politics. Since other techniques are usually based on panel data or elections, the analysis of votes by roll call can illustrate the positioning of political subjects in much more detail. Furthermore, the re-

⁶ Downs' theory is not accepted uncritically as his assumption of unidimensionality is not always met (Stokes, 1963), and practical application is questioned as well (Riker, 1962; Robertson, 1976). However, spatial modelling found its respected role, and it is commonly utilized today.

⁷ There are also less standard approaches (see e.g. Barberá, 2015; King et al., 2016).

⁸ To grasp the drawbacks of roll call analyses, see (Aldrich et al., 2014; Carrubba et al., 2008; Lauderdale, 2010).

sults of roll call analyses are highly comparable since they utilize the very same research design over an extended period. This may not be the case for surveys and document analyses because they change their methodological setting quite often. These are the main reasons why spatial modelling utilizing a roll call analysis is an appropriate tool to investigate dimensions of Czech politics over the long term.

1.3.1 Roll call analysis

MPs vote on various issues during plenary meetings, such as procedural questions, bill proposals or international treaties. In general, spatial modelling of politics utilizing roll call analysis is based on the assumption that legislators continuously compare the status quo with a proposal they vote on.

The legislators are assumed to have their unique single-peaked utility function, and they consider each vote relative to this function. Then, if the proposal brings them higher utility than the status quo, they vote Yea. Otherwise, they choose Nay. Finally, since the legislators reveal their choices on hundreds or even thousands of proposals, it is possible to identify their specific position relative to other MPs.

There are several different types of spatial roll call analyses. Although their results are fairly similar, they employ various estimation techniques (Carroll et al., 2009). To be more specific, one pioneering method was Poole and Rosenthal's NOMINATE (1985, 1991), which shows the degree of agreement among MPs. It is valuable because it delivers detailed parameters of the analysed political space and, as a tool, it is also able to be modified (Carroll et al., 2013; Poole et al., 2011; Poole & Rosenthal, 2001).

The NOMINATE tool starts with a likelihood function maximizing the joint probability of the observed roll calls. Then, NOMINATE finds values for the roll call parameters (the locations of the Yea and Nay alternatives) that maximize the likelihood function. Next, the likelihood function is maximized over different settings of scaling parameters. Finally, NOMINATE searches for the values of the legislator ideal points maximizing the likelihood function. The process is repeated until it converges (Armstrong et al., 2014).

Some of NOMINATE's assumptions do not have to be met. This is especially true for parliamentary regimes in which party discipline is extremely high (Rosenthal & Voeten, 2004). Therefore, Poole (2000, 2005) created a nonparametric model of Optimal Classification (OC) utilizing rank ordering of the legislators' ideal points. Nonetheless, the distances between the legislators are no longer informative, as MPs are simply ordered.

Another tool that is more important here is the item response theory (IRT) model that was originally developed in psychometrics for the measurement of skills-based tests and test subjects (Armstrong et al., 2014). It tracks a latent variable of spatial placement (for instance, on a continuum of political ideology) that we can derive from observable data. Since all the parameters are estimated simultaneously, Bayesian methods of analysis are typically employed. To be more specific, Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods provide suitable tools for this demanding estimation over repeated sampling (Jackman, 2000).

Clinton, Jackman and Rivers (2004) utilized this approach and developed their method, called IDEAL, for discovering legislators' spatial positions. Unlike NOMINATE, IDEAL assumes that the utility functions are quadratic and it uses Gibbs sampling strategy to return a sequence of more informative components. IDEAL estimates a latent dimension and what is being recovered are the legislator ideal points and the midpoints of the roll calls (Armstrong et al., 2014). Compared to the previously mentioned techniques, IDEAL is especially accurate for MPs positioned in the centre of the defined space (Carroll et al., 2009, p. 566). Generally, researchers favour IDEAL rather than other tools due to its flexibility (Clinton & Jackman, 2009; Lyons & Lacina, 2009).

1.3.2 Data

I utilize data on votes by roll call in the Chamber of Deputies. To begin, I gather a dataset covering 61,470 votes recorded during the first seven finished parliamentary terms of the Chamber of Deputies between 1 December 1993 and 16 October 2017. Compared to other legislatures, Czech parliamentary voting is extensively public and the records are easily accessible (Hix & Noury, 2016; Parlament České republiky, 2019). Thus, there is almost no danger of a selection bias caused by monitoring only some particular votes, which could be the case in other parliaments (Carrubba et al., 2008).

However, not all of these roll calls are informative, as a significant number of them concern process-based votes typical of high levels of agreement. Therefore, I exclude votes with a minority of MPs smaller than 5% (10 legislators). Similarly, I do not take 32 deputies with less than 100 votes in a single parliamentary term into account as there is not enough data to reveal their spatial positions. As a result, the dataset tracks 46,707 roll calls of 1,486 MPs (including replacements).⁹

Next, it is necessary to recode all the data to correctly differentiate between supporting a proposal and rejecting it. To achieve this, if a deputy voted for a proposal, the corresponding roll call is coded 1 (Yea). If a legislator voted against a proposal or abstained, the roll calls are both coded as 0 (Nay).

To elucidate this, if a legislator is present on a plenary session and abstains, she increases a threshold that has to be met to accept a proposal. Thus, the abstention is formally 'soft no', but, practically, the rejection is still coded as 0 (Wintr, 2010, p. 270). Last but not least, if a legislator does not attend a plenary session (whether excused or not), I treat her choice as missing.

⁹ Concerning the scope of the data set, deputies usually vote on approximately 1,500 proposals a year. Nonetheless, MPs during the third (1998–2002) and the fourth (2002–2006) parliamentary terms experienced approximately 3,500 votes per year. Such an increase was caused mainly by the implementation of the EU legislation preparing the Czech Republic for accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004.

Finally, it is necessary to comment on the voting behaviour of deputies in the Czech parliament. To be more specific, a voting unity of the Czech parliamentary party groups, measured by the Rice Index (Rice, 1925), is continuously above 80 points (Linek & Lacina, 2011).¹⁰ Thus, it is possible to argue that MPs do not reveal their actual ideal positions but rather standpoints more or less ‘commanded’ by their parliamentary party group.

However, this analysis unveils factual positions of individual MPs and whole parties in a political space that naturally originate from the reality of the Czech parliamentary regime. Therefore, since the research scrutinizes the outputs and does not care about their causes, this issue will not influence the logic of the research on the dimensions of Czech politics as such.

1.4 Dimensionality of politics

To inspect the dimensionality, I employ the weighted NOMINATE method of roll call analysis at the start. I utilize two-dimensional modelling, which is justifiable based on the previously discussed assumptions of the analysis. Table 1.2 below presents a report of the seven individual parliamentary terms.

Here, it is necessary to make a comment. During the second parliamentary term (1996–1998), the extreme right-wing party SPR-RSČ significantly distorted the political competition. To be more specific, the party’s MPs abstained from 44.06% of the voting, while the other parties’ legislators abstained only from 15.00% of the voting. To identify and reduce the impact of the party’s specific spatial position, I always perform two spatial analyses of the second parliamentary term (with and without SPR-RSČ).

To scrutinize the dimensionality of the political competition, eigenvalues deliver the most valuable information.¹¹ Even though there are several ways of interpreting the eigenvalues of a linear transformation, I prefer to plot successive eigenvalues against the rank order in a so-called scree plot (see Jackson, 1993). Thanks to this straightforward visualization, it is possible to identify an ‘elbow’. It differentiates between the high eigenvalues on the left (with high informative potential) and the low eigenvalues on the right (with only minor drops relative to the previous eigenvalue and being, therefore, less informative). Thanks to this, the elbow helps to identify a number of principal dimensions in the political space. In order to compare the drops, I summarize differences between the successive eigenvalues in Table 1.2.

To be more specific, three periods between 1993–1996, 2007–2009, and 2010–2013 seem to be unidimensional. To elucidate this, the drops between the first and the second eigenval-

¹⁰ The index ranges from 0 (half of the parliamentary party group vote yes and the rest vote no) to 100 (all members vote either yes or no) (Rice, 1925, p. 63).

¹¹ Eigenvectors are vectors along which a linear transformation of a given matrix (spatial positions of MPs) is done only by stretching or flipping (and not distorting) space. Eigenvalues are scalars showing a magnitude of the transformation. In other words, the larger the eigenvalue is, the more information the particular transformation summarizes (the more informative a particular dimension is).

ues of these three terms are incomparably larger than the rest of the differences. What connects these terms is the rule of right-oriented majority cabinets led by ODS. The analysis suggests that during these periods the political competition was driven by a single dimension.

Table 1.2. Parameters of roll call analyses utilizing weighted NOMINATE

Term	MPs	Roll calls	Differences between first five eigenvalues (1 st - 2 nd /2 nd - 3 rd /etc.)	Percent of roll call vote decisions predicted correctly	
				1 st dim./2 nd dim.	2 nd dim. - 1 st dim.
1 Dec 1993 ^{a)} –31 May 1996	201	4,494	<u>11.70</u> /0.29/0.18/0.11	85.06/86.80	1.74
4 Jul 1996 –30 Nov 1997 (with SPR-RSČ)	208	2,901	<u>15.23</u> / <u>1.31</u> /0.28/0.32	91.25/92.48	1.23
4 Jul 1996 –30 Nov 1997 (without SPR-RSČ)	190	2,411	<u>15.43</u> /0.52/0.45/0.1	90.54/91.12	0.58
22 Jul 1998 –14 Jun 2002	206	11,692	<u>6.03</u> / <u>0.64</u> / <u>1.39</u> /0.17	86.36/88.27	1.91
15 Jul 2002 –2 Jun 2006	233	12,364	<u>7.88</u> / <u>3.92</u> /0.48/0.22	85.36/89.33	3.97
9 Jan 2007 –26 Mar 2009	210	3,775	<u>15.78</u> /0.13/0.39/0.10	88.73/89.95	1.22
13 Jul 2010 –17 Jun 2013	215	4,864	<u>15.31</u> /0.50/0.20/0.23	87.93/89.77	1.84
29 Jan 2014 –20 Oct 2017	213	6,617	<u>2.85</u> / <u>2.84</u> /0.17/0.07	82.75/88.22	5.47

^{a)} The first day of electronically recorded roll calls.

Note: Analyses are performed with the package ‘wnominate’ in R. The terms last from the cabinet’s naming to its resignation or the first day of the legislative election finishing the chamber’s term. The underlined differences between eigenvalues mark drops visually located on the left from an elbow in a scree plot (the number of principal dimensions of politics during the particular term).

Source: Author’s own calculations based on (Czech Statistical Office, 2019; Parlament České republiky, 2019).

I have already mentioned that the second parliamentary term is somewhat exceptional. There is some little evidence that the politics in 1996–1997 was also close to two-dimensionality. Nevertheless, the analysis excluding SPR-RSČ MPs clearly suggests that the principal political competition was also unidimensional. During that time, the minority right-oriented coalition cabinet was in power.

Next, the 2002–2006 and 2014–2017 periods indicate two principal dimensions affecting parliamentary politics. The reason for this is a significant magnitude of not only the differ-

ences between the first and the second eigenvalues but also the second drops, which move the elbow one step further towards a higher dimensionality. ČSSD led the left-oriented majority coalition cabinets in both periods.

Last but not least, the relatively high differences between the second and the third eigenvalue in 1998–2002 implies the existence of even three-dimensional competition. This finding contrasts with the hypothesis that Czech politics is driven by at most two conflicts (one institutional division and one ideological dimension). Since there is no trace that another institutional division appeared then, the analysis suggests that another relevant ideological conflict was influencing the political interactions from 1998 to 2002.

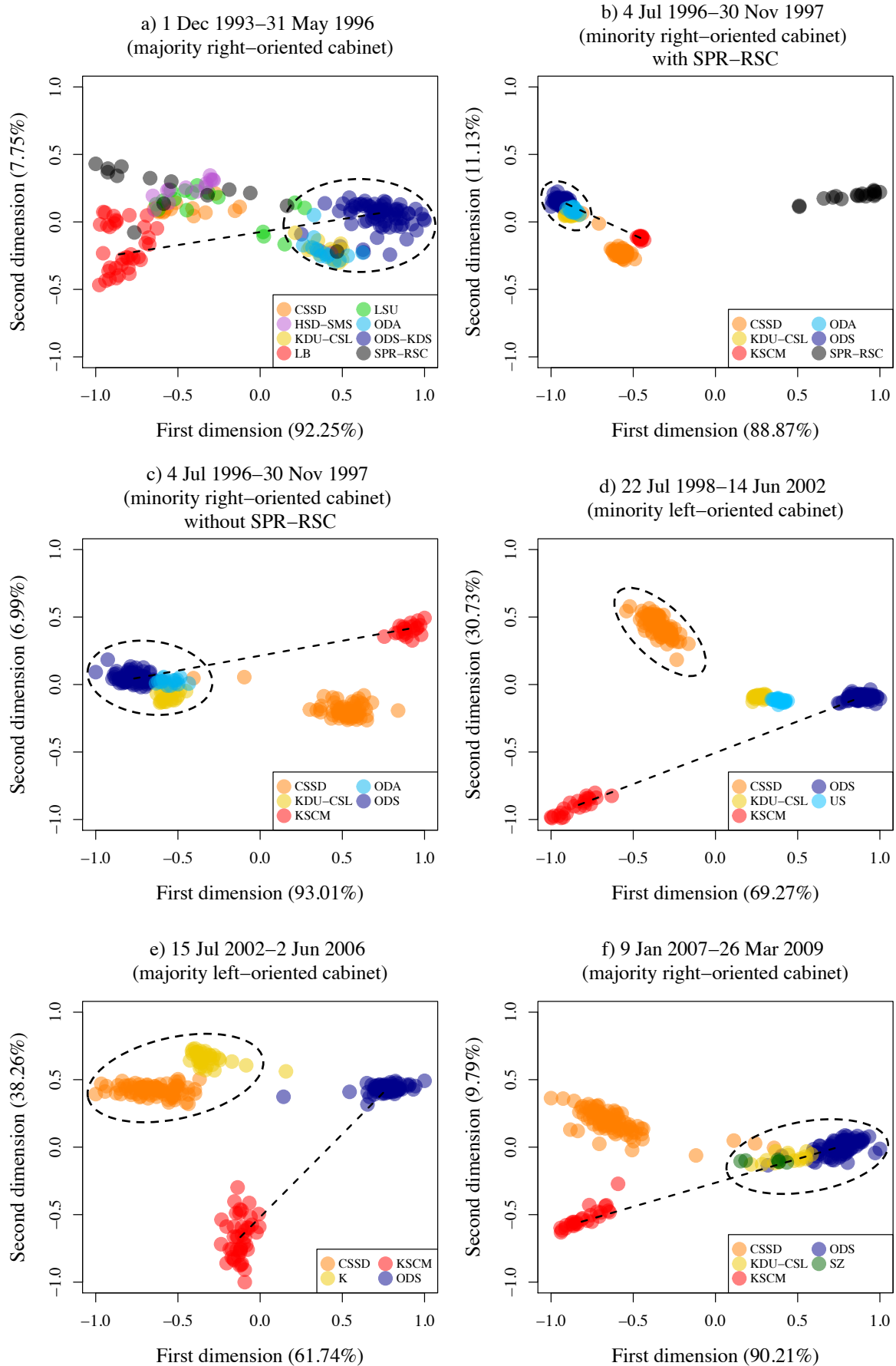
To elaborate this, in April 1998 the accession negotiations between the Czech Republic and the European Union started and the process finished in December 2002 (Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí ČR, 2010). Earlier, in one of the endnotes, I have already shown that this extraordinary political event affected the number of proposals MPs voted on. Since the negotiations coincided with the three-dimensional term, the third conflict during the 1998–2002 period was most likely caused by attitudes towards European integration.

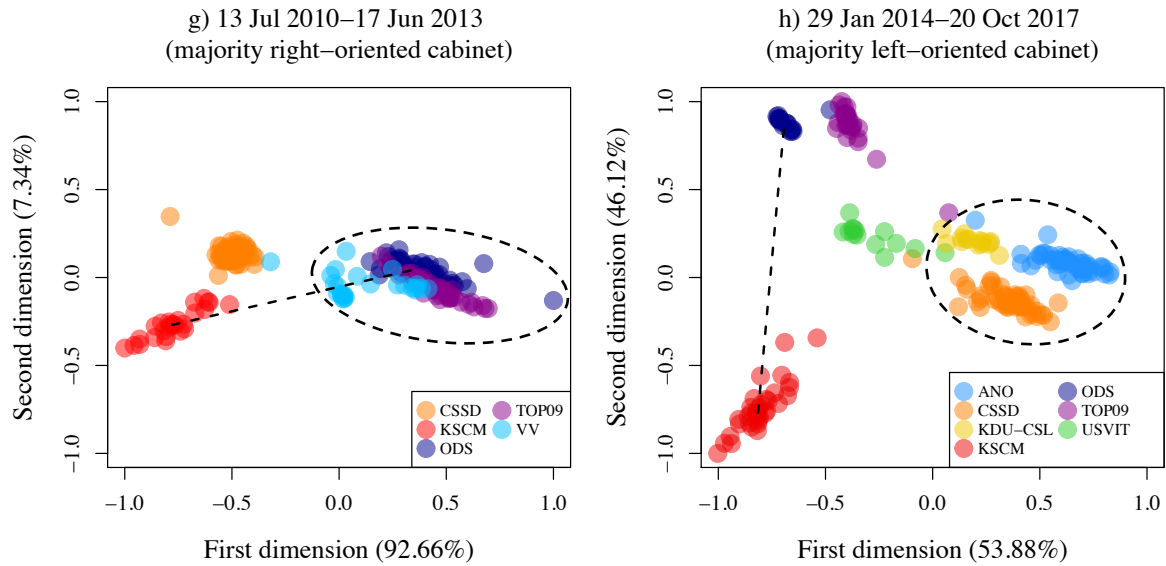
This conclusion is in agreement with the literature (Hix & Noury, 2016; Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Lyons & Lacina, 2009; Roberts, 2003). Furthermore, it is also supported by the data, as the locations of the parties along the third dimension correspond to their attitudes towards European integration. To be more specific, the Pearson correlation coefficient between the parties' spatial positions and their stances on the European Union delivered by an expert survey is 0.41 (Bakker, De Vries, et al., 2015; Bakker, Edwards, et al., 2015). When comparing the parties' manifestos, the correlation rises to 0.60, which shows high levels of agreement (Volkens et al., 2016).

Finally, the weighted NOMINATE parameters show that the two-dimensional modelling correctly predicts approximately 90% of the roll calls. This level of precision is comparable to those in other legislatures, such as the U.S. House of Representatives, the European Parliament, or the French National Assembly (Hix et al., 2006). Differences in the predictive power of the two dimensions show that the second dimensions are the most valuable in the case of left-oriented majority cabinets (2002–2006, 2014–2017). This is in agreement with the previous findings, and it implies that two-dimensional models are justifiable in the case of portraying and scrutinizing Czech politics.

To reveal the spatial positions of the deputies, I employ the IDEAL modelling tool. The reason for this is that I appreciate its flexibility and especially accurate results for the MPs positioned in the centre of the defined space (Carroll et al., 2009; Clinton & Jackman, 2009). Figure 1.1 below presents the two-dimensional spatial maps of all the terms. Legislators are differentiated by symbols according to the candidate lists on which they stood as candidates. Even though 10.47% of the MPs changed their parliamentary group affiliation during their deputy mandates, I consider the selected partisan delineation as illuminating enough, and I do not track the moves.

Figure 1.1. MPs' two-dimensional coordinates based on IDEAL





Note: The spatial coordinates are calculated via the package ‘pscl’ in R. The points stand for the individual MPs. The dashed ellipses demarcate cabinets in power. The dashed lines represent the ideological continuum from the left (LB, KSČM) to the right (ODS-KDS, ODS). Numbers in the brackets show the percentage of variance explained by one of the two dimensions. After 2002 election, the electoral Coalition (K) consisted of two PPGs of KDU-ČSL and US-DEU.

Source: Author’s own calculations based on data from (Parlament České republiky, 2019).

To make the seven subfigures comparable, I rotate the coordinates so as the largest variance is parallel with the first dimension.¹² This step guarantees that all the first dimensions portray the most crucial conflict regarding delivered information. Next, the axes are identically stretched to fit the dimension with the largest range in the interval [-1,1].

Additionally, I demarcate governmental parties to stress the difference between governmental and opposition camps representing the institutional division in the subfigures. Finally, I draw a dashed line between KSČM and ODS (LB and ODS-KDS in Figure 1.1a) to depict the socio-economic left-right dimension. This is a justifiable step that is in agreement with other studies and data that also recognize the Communists and ODS as the side-poles of the left-right ideological spectrum (see Bakker, De Vries, et al., 2015; Bakker, Edwards, et al., 2015; Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Lebedová, 2014; Volkens et al., 2016).

To begin, I inspect the cohesion and spatial locations of the parties throughout the terms. Smaller dispersion was characteristic especially of the smaller and the oppositional parties. An essential finding is a noticeable difference between the parties’ illegible spatial patterns of the first parliamentary term and a more organized positioning during all the later terms. To be more specific, in the early 1990s, the largely dispersed positions of the parties’ deputies were typical. This was caused by frequent MP defections, inner heterogeneities of the parties, and

¹² However, it is still not possible to make any inferences on distances and relative positions across the terms. These conclusions can be done only within individual terms.

unclear ideological positions of the parties in the ‘overcrowded’ political space (Kopeček, 2010).

On the one hand, hypothesis H1 assumes that during a majority cabinet rule, parliamentary voting is predominantly driven by the institutional division (the cartel agenda model). Figure 1.1 demonstrates that the competition between governmental and opposition camps during the rule of majority cabinets (a, e, f, g, h) is predominantly delineated along the first dimension, which is the principal one with the largest variance.

On the other hand, H2 assumes that during a rule of minority cabinets, parliamentary voting is mainly driven by the ideological dimension (the floor agenda model). Looking at the minority cabinets in Figure 1.1 (c, d), the first dimensions are close to being parallel with the ideological axis (KSČM vs ODS). Thus, both of these hypotheses are confirmed.

However, the results of the analysis reveal further interesting information that helps to understand the validity of the two hypotheses. There is a substantial difference between the left- and right-oriented majority cabinets regarding the dimensionality. To explain this, the rule of right-oriented majority cabinets (a, f, g) is typical of the unidimensional setting of parliamentary competition. During these periods, the first dimension explains more than 90% of the coordinates’ variance. The reason for this is that the institutional division and ideological dimension merge. The governmental and opposition camps are both cohesive, and they simultaneously represent the ideological left-right cleavage. Practically speaking, there are still two principal drivers, but since they are not discernible, it is possible to define the politics as unidimensional.

Nonetheless, the situation is completely different during periods of the left-oriented majority cabinets (e, h). Such parliamentary competition is still primarily influenced by the institutional division, as H1 and the cartel agenda model assume. However, the government-opposition axis does not represent the full spectrum of the ideological conflict since the opposition camp is ideologically more heterogeneous. During a rule of a leftist majority cabinet, the right-wing parties as well as the Communists, who are too anti-system to participate in a government, are now on the same opposition side of the institutional division.

As a result, the ideological line moves from a horizontal position (still occupied by the institutional division) to a vertical one. Thus, it is much more parallel to the second dimension, which now becomes more relevant. That is also the reason why in these two terms the first dimensions explain only 61.74% and 53.88% of the overall variance, respectively.

Interestingly, the two terms of the left-oriented majority cabinets (2002–2006, 2013–2017) were also affected by the relatively high heterogeneity of the coalitions. The Social Democrats as the most powerful party in such coalitions found it hard to cooperate with their partners. To be more specific, after the 2002 election, ČSSD formed the coalition with KDU-ČSL, and also with US-DEU consisting of many former ODS members. After the 2013 election, ČSSD built the coalition with KDU-ČSL, and also with ANO that poached many former right-wing voters (CVVM, 2016b; Gregor, 2014). The disunity is also noticeable in Figure 1.1 as the left-oriented majority cabinets (e, h) are compared with the late right-wing majority co-

alitions (f, g). To summarize, during the rule of left-oriented majority cabinets, the ideological heterogeneity was not typical only of the opposition but to some extent of the coalition as well.

There are also two cases of minority cabinets. First, look at the 1998–2002 term in Figure 1.1d). Although the Social Democrats led a single-party minority cabinet, they needed to continuously search for ad hoc legislative coalitions to approve the cabinet's proposals. The spatial map shows that most of these coalitions were formed together with KDU-ČSL and US since these two parties are located most closely to ČSSD. Even though the cabinet was formally tolerated by ODS, the distances between parties show that ČSSD voted together with ODS as frequently as with the Communists (see Roberts, 2003).

Voting in the third Chamber of Deputies was determined mainly by purposive coalitions built on the grounds of similar attitudes to a particular vote. As a result, the ideological dimension is the principal one as the classical institutional division diminishes. This could be the reason why other dimensions (for instance, attitude towards European integration) become more relevant during this very term.

Secondly, the 1996–1997 parliamentary term depicted in Figure 1.1b) is an interesting case. Václav Klaus led the right-oriented minority coalition cabinet. This again weakened the institutional axis and allowed other cleavages to become more significant. Importantly, the extreme right-wing party SPR-RSČ was then so anti-system (abstaining from voting) that the largest variance differentiated between pro- and anti-democratic parties (Mareš, 2003).¹³

However, if SPR-RSČ is excluded from the analysis (c), the largest variance will be parallel to the ideological conflict differentiating ODS and KSČM. Thus, the logic of the system's core political competition is similar to the minority cabinet of ČSSD in the 1998–2002 period. To be more specific, ad hoc legislative coalitions are constructed, and the left-right ideological dimension takes precedence over the institutional division as the floor agenda model assumes. Finally, these elaborated findings support the validity of Hypotheses 1 and 2.

The main difference between the two types of minority cabinets is the explanatory capacity of the first dimensions. On the one hand, the first dimension under the rule of the left-oriented minority cabinet explains almost 70% of the variance. On the other hand, the first dimension during the era of the right-oriented minority cabinet describes almost 90% of the variance and the competition is thus considered to be unidimensional. The explanation is similar to the one elucidating different dimensionality during a rule of majority cabinets – the opposition camp is split under the rule of left-oriented cabinets, as the extreme leftist party (the Communists) is excluded from governing. There is no such situation when the right-oriented minority (majori-

¹³ Here, it is essential to highlight the position of KSČM, the other anti-system party, which was still much closer to the pro-system parties than SPR-RSČ. Nevertheless, it demonstrates how anti-system SPR-RSČ is rather than how pro-system the Communists are.

ty) is governing – if there is an extreme right-wing party (SPR-RSČ), the oppositional behaviour of such a party is different from that of the Communists.¹⁴

Concerning hypothesis H3, which assesses the nature of ideological conflict, the spatial maps imply that the assumed influence of such a cleavage corresponds to the line between the Communists (LB, KSČM) and the liberal-conservatives (ODS-KDS, ODS). This line explains all the anticipated roles of the ideological dimension. Therefore, the hypothesis' claim that the ideological conflict expresses a socio-economic left-right axis is valid.

The analysis of dimensionality reveals that during the accession negotiations between the Czech Republic and the European Union from 1998 to 2002 another ideological dimension appeared: attitude toward European integration. Similarly, the 1996–1997 period witnessed at least a trace of a (anti-)democratic dimension between the radical right SPR-RSČ and the rest of the parties. Nevertheless, these were specific episodes of Czech political history. Compared to the other parliamentary terms, it is possible to stick with the statement that Czech politics is ideologically driven only by the socio-economic left-right cleavage.

Last but not least, hypothesis H4 deals with a number of dimensions affecting the parliamentary politics. Again, although the already discussed 1998–2002 parliamentary term suggests the existence of as many as three influential conflicts, Czech politics is predominantly affected by two drivers – the institutional (government vs opposition) division and the ideological (left vs right) dimension. As a result, even the last hypothesis has been proved to be legitimate; that is, unless Czech politics is in a highly specific situation such as the accession to the European Union.

1.5 Conclusions

This chapter examines the dimensionality of Czech politics since the country's establishment in 1993 until 2017. The parliamentary competition during a rule of majority cabinets is driven by the institutional division. If the majority cabinets are right-wing oriented, the ideological dimension merges with the institutional division and the competition is practically unidimensional. If the majority cabinets are left-wing oriented, the ideological dimension distinguishes between the opposition parties, which makes the socio-economic dimension more relevant. On the contrary, the terms led by minority cabinets are influenced primarily by the left-right ideological division. This is caused by a weakness of the institutional division, which also allows other cleavages to become more influential (for instance, democratic vs anti-democratic stances or attitude towards European integration).

¹⁴ In Figure 1.1a), SPR-RSČ was an opposition party under the rule of a right-oriented majority cabinet but the party voted together with a leftist opposition. In Figure 1.1b), SPR-RSČ was an opposition party during the rule of a right-oriented minority cabinet but the party voted completely differently from the rest of the parties (abstaining from more than 44% of the voting).

Overall, Czech politics is predominantly driven by the two drivers with a fluctuating importance. This finding suggests that the logic of Czech politics is similar to the dimensionality in other comparable countries (Hix & Noury, 2016; Poole & Rosenthal, 2001). The analysis implies that even a relatively new parliament in the Czech Republic demonstrates spatial voting. ‘Structure, rather than chaos, is the rule’ (Poole & Rosenthal, 2001, p. 23).

Interestingly, the parliamentary competition in the Czech Republic seems to be close to Westminster-style politics. This is surprising since the country’s institutions imitate continental parliamentary regimes typical of proportional representation and a dominant legislature. Nevertheless, thanks to the ethnic, religious, and nationalist homogeneity of Czech society (Chytilek & Eibl, 2011; Hloušek & Kopeček, 2008; Linek & Lyons, 2013), there is only one principal ideological conflict (socio-economic left vs right), which often corresponds to the institutional axis.

Throughout its existence and especially during its early years, Czech politics witnessed some influential anti-system parties (SPR-RSČ, LB, KSČM). Moreover, the current transformation of the party system once again produces new parties with low coalition potential and anti-system tendencies (ÚSVIT, SPD). Nevertheless, although some of these new parties seek to ‘open’ a new ideological dimension (e.g. anti-EU attitudes or Islamophobia), they have not succeeded thus far. This proves the resistance of Czech politics, which keeps its patterns of working. Altogether, these factors make the Czech parliamentary regime an interesting research case – a post-communist parliamentary regime with diverse political history, elements of Westminster-style politics, and resilient institutional and ideological patterns of political competition.

To conclude, especially the party system’s recent transformation and its impacts on the forms of government and the dimensionality of Czech politics should be studied. Next, a roll call analysis is only one way of researching dimensionality. Thus, other methods such as public surveys or manifestos should be utilized to scrutinize the patterns of Czech politics. Last but not least, dynamic rather than just static methods of analysis should be employed, as the ongoing transformation of the party system is a dynamic process.

Chapter 2

Elders and Rookies

'It is not possible that such a boy talks like this.'

66-year-old Jaroslav Faltýnek, MP (ANO) reacting to

29-year-old Jakub Michálek, MP (Pirates)

1 July 2018, Otázky Václava Moravce, Česká televize

Democratic regimes are based on the idea of reflecting the public's plurality of opinions. Especially in legislatures, various and sometimes even opposing attitudes should have a say, so the best arguments win. Nonetheless, parliamentary representation of some groups of citizens is inadequate. The public and researchers usually focus on the underrepresentation of women, ethnic minorities or the working class. Contrary to this, the insufficient participation of young and old age cohorts has not received enough attention yet.

Similarly to gender or ethnic background, we already know that age influences people's behaviour, work performance, and policy preferences (Busemeyer et al., 2009; Hertel et al., 2015; Ng & Feldman, 2008). Thus, the effects are anticipated to affect parliamentary activity of MPs as well. Besides age, a specific age-related characteristic of parliamentary experience (tenure) is also expected to play a role in the case of representatives' work.

Today, we have sophisticated knowledge about parliamentary performance influenced by gender (e.g. Bäck et al., 2014; Jeydel & Taylor, 2003), salary (e.g. Mocan & Altindag, 2013; Staat & Kuehnhans, 2017), multiple-office holding (e.g. François & Weill, 2016; Hájek,

2017) etc. Almost every one of such studies controls for effects of MPs' age and also tenure. However, surprisingly, specific researches on the influence of the two factors are missing.

To enrich a debate on the representation of different age cohorts, I scrutinise the effects of age and tenure on representatives' parliamentary activity. To be more specific, I intend to answer a question of how age and tenure influence the parliamentary activity of legislators. I employ large-N quantitative analysis of the legislative behaviour of members of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic. A comprehensive dataset encompasses information on the deputies' legislative behaviour during six finished parliamentary terms from 1996 until 2017.

There are three reasons why the selection of the Czech parliament is reasonable regarding such research. First, the parliament similarly to other Central European legislatures have gone through a successful transformation from a 'rubber stamp' institution of the communist state to an institution that matters (Zdenka Mansfeldová, 2011; Olson & Ilonszki, 2011; Olson & Norton, 2007). Thanks to this, the parliament combines a stable institutional environment similar to those in Western Europe with vivid political life in the post-communist state typical of large variances in many characteristics, including age and tenure of MPs. Therefore, it is a valuable research case with beneficial levels of external validity (Shabad & Slomczynski, 2002). Second, most of the large-N quantitative studies on legislative behaviour deal with legislatures in Western Europe (e.g. Germany, the United Kingdom, France, etc.). This makes the Czech parliament an attractive research case, which potentially hides effects that are yet unknown. Finally, the legislature is one of the most transparent in the world (D. Joshi & Rosenfield, 2013). This undoubtedly helps to deliver a truly comprehensive picture of MPs' legislative behaviour.

The analysis implies that the legislators' age affects their voting attendance and activity positively, while tenure does so in a negative direction. Older MPs propose more bills and more experienced representatives address more speeches compared to their younger colleagues and novices, respectively. Last but not least, the MPs' age and tenure positively influence their gains of presidium posts in committees, subcommittees, and commissions.

Overall, the results suggest that both age and tenure substantially affect MPs' parliamentary behaviour. This is a pioneering conclusion within a field that has not received enough attention yet. Influential positions in the chamber are occupied mainly by experienced elders, who are also more active in key parliamentary performances compared to their younger and less experienced colleagues. Contrary to this, young representatives spend less time on being present in a chamber, which hints their increased activity outside the parliament (e.g. in constituencies and party politics). Still, the results suggest that neither the young nor the old MPs lag behind middle-aged representatives significantly, which implies their ability to perform the mandate responsibly, albeit in a different way. Therefore, as MPs of varying age and tenure focus on diverse activities, the equal parliamentary representation of different age cohorts is justifiable.

The chapter is divided into several parts. The following section delineates theoretical aspects of MPs' age and parliamentary experience. Then, a methodical process of the analysis is described, and all pertinent findings are presented. Finally, the conclusion discusses the results, and further research is proposed.

2.1 On MPs' age and experience

Representation is a key concept not only to modern liberal democracies but also to any study dealing with parliamentarians and their legislative behaviour. Undoubtedly, it is one of the most multi-layered and discussed terms in political science. Generally, representation stands for trusteeship, and it means acting in the best interest of the represented. It is expected to be done in a manner, which is responsive to the public (Heywood, 2002; Pitkin, 1967).

However, the reality of parliamentary politics reveals that some groups of citizens are substantially underrepresented in legislatures despite free elections and other democratic institutions. The representation gaps of women, ethnic minorities or the working class are well-known examples. Some believe that the interests of such groups can be represented even without their equal presence in legislatures. To claim this, it is necessary to differentiate between a descriptive (the extent to which representatives reflect the represented) and substantive representation (pushing through the interests of the represented) (Pitkin, 1967).

Contrary to this, a growing number of scholars agree with Phillips (1995), who interconnects the concepts of descriptive and substantive representation. She argues that a focus on only ideological diversity in legislatures does not guarantee inclusion of all public interests and mere 'emphasis on the politics of ideas has proved inadequate to the problems of political exclusion' (Phillips, 1995, p. 6). Phillips' 'politics of presence' of the marginalised and oppressed social groups in decision-making is also the starting point of this chapter.

Unlike the already mentioned gender or ethnic representation gap, relatively little has been written about the underrepresentation of young and old age cohorts. In 2018, young people under age 30 constituted just 2.2 per cent of the world's parliamentarians (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018). Although there was an increase of 0.3 percentage points compared to 2016, the figure still does not correspond to the share of young people in public (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016).

To be more specific, Table 2.1 compares the age cohorts of members of the Czech Chamber of Deputies at the end of the last finished legislative term in 2017 with the state's population. The population is limited from below by 21, which is the minimum age to stand as a candidate for legislative election. The results demonstrate a significant underrepresentation of citizens below 30 and over 71. On the contrary, the age cohort between 41-60 was substantially overrepresented.

Table 2.1. Age of MPs compared to the population in the Czech Republic (2017)

Age	Deputies		Population		Representation gap (% points)
	Frequency	%	Frequency (thousands)	%	
21-30	6	3.00	1,288	15,37	-12.37
31-40	33	16.50	1,624	19,39	-2.89
41-50	62	31.00	1,576	18,81	12.19
51-60	72	36.00	1,331	15,89	20.11
61-70	23	11.50	1,394	16,64	-5.14
71+	4	2.00	1,165	13,91	-11.91
Total	200	100	8,379	100	0

Source: (Czech Statistical Office, 2018; Parlament České republiky, 2019)

The age representation gap in legislatures applies to the vast majority of countries worldwide. The typical legislator in Switzerland is also a male between 50 and 60 years of age (Kissau et al., 2012). During the whole history of the European Parliament, roughly 10 per cent of all deputies were 35 years and below (Stockemer & Sundström, 2018). The representation gap of young citizens is even larger in South Asian parliaments (D. K. Joshi, 2015). And when Stockemer and Sundström (2016, p. 5) prepared a dataset of 102 countries to scrutinise age representation in parliaments, they had to admit that there was ‘no country in this sample in which the age of parliamentarians is representative of the age of population’.

Comparatively, in the Czech Republic, the share of young parliamentarians under 30 is currently the 26th highest in the list of 150 states (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018). Nordic countries take pride in having a share above 10 per cent. Today, more states address the issue of the youth parliamentary underrepresentation not only by campaigning but also by some types of quotas. On the one hand, enforceable youth quotas often take place in semi-democratic and authoritarian regimes with high proportions of youth in their population as the regimes count on a support of the very younger cohorts (Belschner, 2018; Golosov, 2014). On the other hand, quotas may be enforced by parties themselves. For instance, even in the European Union, some parties in Sweden, Romania, Cyprus, Lithuania, Croatia, and Hungary have adopted youth quotas to the number of running candidates (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2018).

There are several explanations of the discrepancy in the age of parliamentary representation. First, there is a minimum age requirement for citizens to run for office, which varies between 17 (Timor-Leste’s unicameral parliament) and 40 years (the upper chambers of Algeria, Cambodia, the Czech Republic, Gabon and Paraguay) (Krook & Nugent, 2018). Worldwide, 73 per cent of countries restrict young people from running for office, even when they can vote (Not Too Young To Run, 2019).

Second, studies show that young citizens tend to have low interest and engagement in politics (Brooks & Hodkinson, 2008; O’Toole et al., 2003). Similarly, in the case of senior citizens, except voter turnout and active party membership, all forms of political participation decline with age (Goerres, 2009; Jennings & Markus, 1988).

Third, normatively, the dominant presence of the elderly in legislatures cannot be justified on the basis of their ‘natural superiority of talent’ (Phillips, 1995, p. 65). Still, it is expected that there is some bias of voters based on this notion and other generalisations (Trantidis, 2016).

Fourth, an institutional setting of a country’s regime also plays a role. To be more specific, electoral systems of proportional representation favour a representation of young politicians in parliaments more compared to majoritarian systems (D. K. Joshi, 2013; Stockemer & Sundström, 2016). The same seems to apply to youth quotas (D. K. Joshi, 2015). Moreover, while some studies show the same positive effect of leftist parties (D. K. Joshi, 2015), it is also possible to read contradictory conclusions (Sundström & Stockemer, 2018).

The essential thing is that the underrepresentation does not apply only to youth but also to elders. Most importantly, there is enough evidence showing that the two age cohorts have specific policy preferences. For instance, being in the oldest age group increases the likelihood of asking for less spending on education and more on pensions (Busemeyer et al., 2009). Older people are also more likely to ask for less or the same spending on unemployment. To explain this, both age cohorts deal with rather specific issues, which are hard to understand for middle-aged citizens. For instance, young people deal with problems with education, unemployment, or youth crime. Similarly, senior citizens face poverty, social exclusion, loneliness, mobility problems or employment discrimination (Trantidis, 2016).

Age also influences the very work performance of people. The most straightforward causal mechanism is that the aged are endowed with less physical and mental capabilities. On the one hand, during the time, people’s work performance changes qualitatively (Hertel et al., 2015; Ng & Feldman, 2008). On the other hand, ageing is accompanied by an accumulation of experience.

In the case of MPs, a specific age-related characteristic of parliamentary experience plays its role as well. Importantly, tenure is a stable and consistent prediction of job satisfaction (Bedeian et al., 1992). Furthermore, there is a positive relationship between work experience and job performance (Quioñones et al., 1995). Career stages of parliamentarians is a relevant concept here. Bailer and Ohmura (2017) suggest dividing the legislative career path into three phases: exploration, establishment-maintenance, and disengagement. Their main arguments are that apart from the core parliamentary performance (establishment-maintenance) ‘it takes time to learn the trade’ (exploration) and that there is a discernible stage when legislators ‘cease to be accountable to voters and the party’ (disengagement) (Bailer & Ohmura, 2017, pp. 1, 5). For instance, as a result, junior MPs should be less involved in more challenging activities such as proposing bills or rapporteurships.

This is also in agreement with other claims that seniority explains legislative effectiveness (Jeydel & Taylor, 2003). In the U.S. Congress, increased tenure is associated with a higher ability to transfer government expenditures to the legislator’s political unit (Scully, 1995). In Argentina, further experience has a positive impact on the likelihood of submitting such an elaborate proposal as women’s rights bill (Htun et al., 2013). Representatives’ tenure also

provides them with a stronger political position. In Switzerland, incumbents are either more consolidated in their political attitudes than newcomers, or they are in a position which allows stronger resistance against party pressures (Schwarz et al., 2010).

Therefore, almost every quantitative analysis of MPs' legislative behaviour includes controls for the two factors (e.g. Besley & Larcinese, 2011; Gagliarducci et al., 2010; Hix & Noury, 2018; Meserve et al., 2009; Mocan & Altindag, 2013). Irrespective of statistical significance, scholars expect that legislators' age and political experience somehow affect their parliamentary performance. Both traits can at least change 'tastes for work' (Mocan & Altindag, 2013, p. 1137). Therefore, it is even more surprising that no study has focused solely on the effects of MPs' age and tenure as independent variables yet.

To summarise, the age cohorts of young and senior citizens are underrepresented in legislatures. Still, there are a lot of signs that age and tenure influence legislative behaviour of representatives. Therefore, the following analysis intends to scrutinise the effects of both age and tenure on the parliamentary performance of MPs in the Czech Republic. If the results show that there is a noticeable difference in MPs' legislative behaviour based on their age and tenure, the unequal representation of age cohorts should be considered as a severe issue.

2.2 Effects of age and tenure

To analyse the effects of age and tenure on MPs' legislative behaviour, I employ a large-N quantitative study. I utilise a comprehensive dataset of a parliamentary activity of members of the 200-seat Chamber of Deputies in the Czech Republic (Parlament České republiky, 2019). The earliest data have been available since 1 December 1993 when an electronic system of recording was established in the I. Chamber of Deputies. The dataset covers the MPs' activity until 26 October 2017 when the VII. Chamber of Deputies ended due to the elections.

Overall, there were 1,518 legislators during the seven terms of the Chamber of Deputies, 1993–2017 (including replacements). However, there was naturally no variance in the MPs' tenure in the first term between 1993 and 1996 since all the deputies were novices. Therefore, I exclude the very first term from all the analyses. This results in the dataset of 1,314 MPs.

Since some of the representatives served in the chamber for more than a single term, the 1,314 deputy posts were held by 770 persons. If the research utilised deputy posts as a level of analysis, there would be a serious threat of multicollinearity between the MPs' age and tenure increasing similarly. Therefore, I deal with individual persons during their last term served in the chamber. The reason for this is to ensure the maximum variability of the MPs' tenure.

From this dataset of 770 deputies, I exclude the MPs who held the mandate temporarily. Therefore, I do not take 28 deputies who served less than 180 days (six months) into account. The justification is that they did not have enough time to fully meet parliamentary procedures

and the political environment in the chamber.¹⁵ As a result, the final dataset includes information on 742 legislators.

2.2.1 Hypotheses

The theory behind the effects of MPs' age and tenure on their legislative behaviour helps to construct several hypotheses. Unfortunately, studies dealing with the two factors, specifically as independent variables, are missing. Still, it is possible to derive hypotheses from researches that utilize age and tenure as control variables or that are interested in related issues.

Attendance and voting activity during plenary meetings are activities that do not require much preparation and working effort. If necessary, one can always act in sync with PPG. Since first-term legislators in a parliament tend to overinvest in activities that are readily available to them, they should focus more on the very voting attendance and activity (Bailer & Ohmura, 2017). Furthermore, since I anticipate that more experienced MPs focus mainly on more complex legislative actions such as bills (Bailer, 2011), I construct the following hypothesis:

H1: Tenure negatively influences MPs' voting attendance and activity.

Some studies (Gagliarducci et al., 2010; Mocan & Altindag, 2013) show that age has a small positive impact on voting attendance. Simultaneously, I expect that ageing helps MPs to define their policy views, which become more stable and distinctive (Blomgren & Rozenberg, 2017). Thus, older legislators should abstain less. These assumptions lead to a hypothesis:

H2: Older age positively influences MPs' voting attendance and activity.

The newly-arrived parliamentarians tend to ask questions more since they might be dependent on the answers to prepare more far-reaching legislative work (Bailer, 2011). Furthermore, delivering interpellations is again easy to prepare, and therefore, it should be favoured by the novices and generally unexperienced politicians (Bailer & Ohmura, 2017).

H3: Older age and tenure negatively influence the number of delivered interpellations.

On the contrary, speechmaking is a focal activity during plenary meetings, and it is therefore reserved mainly for senior members of the chamber. Since the effect of seniority was proved in many parliaments including the Czech legislature (Bäck & Debus, 2016; Bäck et al., 2014), I expect it to work even here.

¹⁵ The point of 180 days (six months) was chosen by two different approaches that confirm the very same result. The first method finds out the approximate length of time spent in the office after which the deputies become active (addressing speeches, proposing bills, or delivering interpellations). The second method is a brief survey conducted among deputies asking 'after how much time spent in the office is a deputy able to perform her mandate responsibly'.

H4: Older age and tenure positively influence the number of addressed speeches.

Bailer (2011, p. 310) argues that ‘longer serving and more experienced parliamentarians seem to choose different means of communicating their opinions and realising their ideas’. Specifically, bills are probably the most vocal activities. Thanks to their demanding character, I expect that parliamentary as well as other political and life experience would strengthen MPs’ ability to propose a draft (Hájek, 2017; Quiñones et al., 1995). Since further evidence suggests that tenure has a positive impact on submitting complex legislative motions (Htun et al., 2013), I anticipate that:

H5: Older age and tenure positively influence the number of proposed bills.

Last but not least, committees, subcommittees, and commissions provide an opportunity for interaction among members, who become authorities on the issues covered by the body and ‘they are regarded as such especially when a member serves a number of terms and gains experience’ (Linek & Mansfeldová, 2007, p. 24). Since the bodies are essential institutions of the chamber, I expect that MPs with longer tenure and life experience would be preferred to obtain membership in a body. Moreover, the effect regarding posts in the bodies’ presidium should be even more influential as (vice-)presidents shape the bodies’ agenda.

However, some institutional restrictions affect the relationship. For example, an MP may be a member of a maximum of two committees with the exceptions of membership in three specific committees.¹⁶ Thanks to this, it is necessary to invite some less experienced legislators as well. Furthermore, the number of memberships vary across parties and terms. If possible, these particularities are taken into account in the subsequent analysis, which controls for parliamentary terms and party affiliations. As a result, I construct the following hypothesis:

H6: The older and more experienced an MP is, the more memberships and presidium posts in committees, subcommittees, and commissions she gets during distribution of posts after elections.

Undoubtedly, it is also possible to anticipate other effects such as a negative influence of age on a work performance due to physical limits. For instance, this could be the case in a matter of voting attendance, which requires a presence during long plenary meetings. Nonetheless, since sound evidence for these effects on a parliamentary performance is missing, potential relationships will be revealed by the subsequent results of the analysis.

2.2.2 Data

As independent variables, I focus on the MPs’ age and tenure. I quantify age as the number of years between an MP’s birth and her entry to the chamber in a respective term. The operationalisation of tenure is straightforward – it stands for the number of terms in the Chamber of

¹⁶ These are Organisational Committee, Petition Committee, and Mandate and Immunity Committee.

Deputies that an MP has served during the particular term. In other words, newcomers (single-term MPs) are coded as 1; their second term is coded as 2 and so on.

Table 2.2 shows that the first-term MPs were the most frequent group of Czech legislators according to their tenure. To explain this, a new parliamentarian elite assembled at the beginning of the 1990s. Besides this, the figure also implies a low level of institutionalisation, and professionalisation of the chamber. Only 45.42 per cent of the deputies experienced at least two terms. Marek Benda (ODS) is the only MP who was sitting in the chamber since its establishment during all seven terms.

Table 2.2. Age and tenure of MPs in the dataset

Age	Frequency	%	Tenure	Frequency	%
21-30	32	4.31	1	405	54.58
31-40	139	18.73	2	177	23.85
41-50	268	36.12	3	88	11.86
51-60	238	32.08	4	48	6.47
61-70	58	7.82	5	15	2.02
71-80	7	0.94	6	8	1.08
			7	1	0.13
Total	742	100	Total	742	100

Age of the deputies at the time of their entry to the chamber follows a normal distribution almost perfectly. The average age is 48.51 years; median equals 49.09. According to the Constitution of the Czech Republic, Article 19, any citizen of the Czech Republic who has the right to vote and has attained the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Chamber of Deputies. In 2002, Kateřina Konečná (KSČM) was elected as the youngest MP in history at the age of 21 years, four months, and 26 days. On the contrary, in 2006, Zdeněk Jičínský (ČSSD) entered the chamber at the age of 77 years, three months, and eight days.¹⁷

As dependent variables, I scrutinise activities expressing the roles of the chamber. According to Vodička and Cabada (2011), these are control of a cabinet, articulation of people's voice, adoption of laws, and electoral role.

I track voting attendance of the MPs as a percentage of possible voting when a deputy was at plenary sessions and voted yes, no, or abstained. I also study the effects on voting activity, quantified as a percentage of active voting (either yes or no) when a deputy attended voting.

Next, I deal with outputs of the deputies' parliamentary activity – bills, interpellations, and speeches. To be more specific, I inspect the average annual number of bills proposed by

¹⁷ Voters broke both records in 2017 legislative elections. Dominik Feri (TOP 09) was elected at the age of 21 years, three months, and 10 days. Karel Schwarzenberg (TOP 09) entered the chamber after 79 years, 10 months, and 11 days since his birth.

a deputy or by a group of deputies which a deputy was a member of.¹⁸ I operationalise interpellations as the average annual number of both oral and written questions delivered by a deputy. I combine the two types since oral questions are much more popular than the written ones (the ratio is approximately 1:5 in favour of the oral interpellations). However, besides oral questions, electronic evidence keeps a record of only the written interpellations discussed in plenary meetings. Finally, I study the effects of age and tenure on the average annual number of speeches addressed by an MP during a plenary session.

Last but not least, I am interested in whether age and tenure influence a position of the MPs in the chamber's bodies – committees, subcommittees, and commissions. Since the deputies join and leave the bodies during a term, I focus on a specific moment of six months after the elections when the chamber was already established. As a result, I track two dependent variables – the number of overall (1) memberships, and (2) presidium posts (of both president and vice-presidents)¹⁹ that MPs held in committees, subcommittees and commissions six months after the elections. Not all the MPs were members of the chamber at the moment of half a year after the elections. Thus the analysis excludes 60 MPs, who either left the legislature before the very point of time or entered the chamber as substitutes later during a term. As a result, to scrutinise the effects of age and tenure on the MPs' position in the chamber's bodies, I employ a limited dataset of 682 deputies.

As control variables, I utilize factors whose significant effects on MPs' parliamentary activity have been confirmed by other studies. The quantitative models take into consideration the gender of the MPs (Bäck et al., 2014). I identify degree holders since university education can influence the MPs' parliamentary performance (Hurka et al., 2018). The study also considers the geographic distance of the deputies' constituencies from Prague, where the Chamber of Deputies resides (Weinberg et al., 1999). Next, I track whether the MPs served as ministers or in the chamber's presidium during a term (Hájek, 2017). Besides this, I inspect whether the deputies served in the PPG presidium since these officers have the right to address plenary meetings with priority. The models also control for the number of the MPs' memberships in the chamber's bodies throughout a term since each entry to such a body requires a substantial activity to adapt to new membership. Finally, I also employ dummy variables for parliamentary terms and political party affiliations (Mocan & Altindag, 2013; Proksch & Slapin, 2012).²⁰

¹⁸ Czech MPs have the right to propose new laws either individually or in groups. Bills may be also introduced by the Senate, the government, or representative bodies of higher self-governing regions.

¹⁹ Even though an MP can preside over one committee and one subcommittee at most, the number of held vice-presidency positions is not restricted.

²⁰ Descriptive statistics of the variables is provided in Appendix A.

2.2.3 Results

Data on voting attendance and activity of the Czech MPs are normally distributed. Therefore, it is possible to run OLS regression analyses to inspect the effects of independent variables while controlling other factors.

Table 2.3 shows that age and tenure significantly affect the dependent variables across all four models. The coefficients of determination of the models 1 and 3 show that the two independent variables explain 3 per cent and almost 5 per cent of the dependent variables' variance, respectively. These figures are not trivial because these are just two variables describing such complex phenomena as MPs' voting attendance and activity. The R-squared statistics of the comprehensive models 2 and 4 suggests that the two models explain a substantially larger proportion of the data variance.

Table 2.3. OLS regression analyses of voting attendance and activity

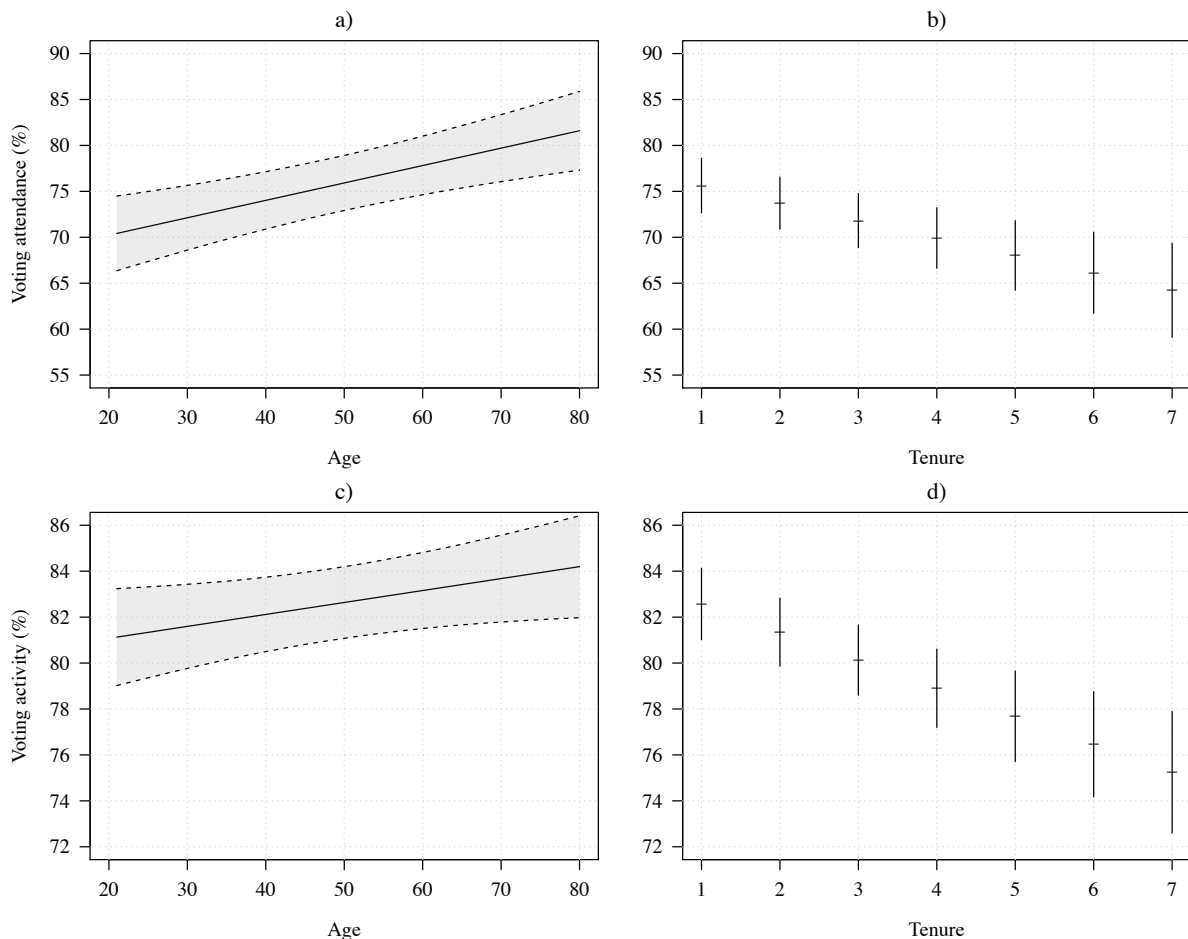
	Dependent variable:			
	Voting attendance		Voting activity	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	0.187*** (0.052)	0.189*** (0.050)	0.100*** (0.032)	0.052** (0.026)
Tenure	-1.878*** (0.450)	-1.901*** (0.439)	-1.655*** (0.281)	-1.221*** (0.229)
Female		0.185 (1.164)		0.686 (0.606)
Degree holder		0.032 (1.132)		-1.007* (0.589)
Geographic area		0.803* (0.444)		0.351 (0.231)
PPG (vice-)chairman		1.230 (1.336)		0.796 (0.696)
Minister		-13.588*** (1.778)		-2.557*** (0.926)
Chamber's (vice-)president		-0.175 (3.021)		0.834 (1.573)
(Sub)committee and commission memberships		0.997*** (0.200)		0.185* (0.104)
Dummy variables of terms (5)		⋮		⋮
Dummy variables of parties (12)		⋮		⋮
Constant	73.030*** (2.521)	63.046*** (3.284)	80.930*** (1.576)	81.094*** (1.710)
N	742	742	742	742
R ²	0.033	0.276	0.049	0.506
Adjusted R ²	0.031	0.250	0.047	0.488
F statistic	12.685*** (df=2;739)	10.498*** (df=26;715)	19.185*** (df=2;739)	28.171*** (df=26;715)

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p -Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

Besides the independent variables, the number of the legislators' memberships in committees, subcommittees and commissions held during a term positively influences MPs' voting attendance and activity. In other words, the more positions in parliamentary bodies an MP holds, the more she attends plenary meetings and votes actively. On the contrary, MPs' membership in a cabinet has a negative effect on both voting attendance and activity.

To picture statistically significant effects of the independent variables, I run 100,000 simulations. Figure 2.1 clearly shows the inverse effects of age and tenure on the deputies' voting attendance and activity. Specifically, MPs at the chamber-entry age of 21 attend 11.18 percentage points of roll calls more compared to 80-year-old representatives. Similarly, the voting activity of the latter increases by 3.07 percentage points compared to the former.

Figure 2.1. Effects of age and tenure on voting attendance and activity



Note: The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Choirat et al., 2017; Imai et al., 2008).²¹

²¹ The simulations of the complex models are conducted for male degree holders from Prague and Central Bohemian Region without any experience with a cabinet or the chamber's and PPG presidium

On the other hand, there is a decrease in both activities concerning the longer tenure. For instance, between first-term legislators and MPs serving their fifth term, there is a drop of 7.61 percentage points in the voting attendance, and 4.87 percentage points drop in their voting activity. These findings on the inverse effects are in a complete agreement with hypotheses 1 and 2.

A global view on the effect of MPs' age suggests that young parliamentarians are not so keen on voting. They attend it substantially less and abstain more than their older colleagues. Since there are promising political prospects of the deputies at their 20s and 30s, they may intentionally give preference to further political work over the voting attendance. On the contrary, older MPs are not expected to have many obligations outside the parliament, which they focus on primarily.

Besides this, abstention helps young legislators to stay in shadows of their party rather than publicly present distinctive and therefore potentially deviant standpoints. Such behaviour is much more secure concerning a future political career. Moreover, older MPs vote more decisively as their beliefs are more clearly defined thanks to their life experience.

It is not possible to look at the role of tenure in the same way. While lower age means a lack of both political and life experience in general, lower tenure stands only for missing parliamentary practice. It does not necessarily mean that the MP is politically inexperienced and it certainly does not mean that old MPs, albeit parliamentary novices, are unexperienced in life.

The results suggest that Czech deputies who are new to the chamber tend to overinvest in activities that are readily available to them, such as attending plenary meetings and reducing abstention. Furthermore, more experienced parliamentarians naturally distinguish between the activities concerning their impact and they may focus on other performances (speechmaking, work in constituencies, etc.) rather than voting. Furthermore, decisive voting attracts more media attention, which is not always welcome by practised legislators, who may take care of their parliamentary seat more than novices.

Next, the numbers of proposed bills, delivered interpellations, and addressed speeches are examples of over-dispersed count outcome variables – their mean is much lower than the variance. Thus, I utilise negative binomial models to assess their relationships with the independent variables. Since deputies holding a ministerial position rarely interpellate their colleagues from a cabinet, I exclude ministers from the analysis of interpellations.

Table 2.4 shows that the effects of age and tenure are insignificant in the case of delivered interpellations. This can be explained by the fact that the deputies utilize their right to ask members of a cabinet only occasionally. As a result, 44.07 per cent of the scrutinised MPs

post, with the average number of memberships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions, and affiliated to ČSSD during the VII. Chamber of Deputies. To simulate effects of age and tenure, parliamentary experience is set to 1 and age to the average value, respectively.

have never asked a question, and 28.03 per cent of the legislators asked between one and five questions in total. Thus, there is likely not enough variance in the dataset to reveal any effect.

Table 2.4. Negative binomial models of bills, interpellations, and speeches

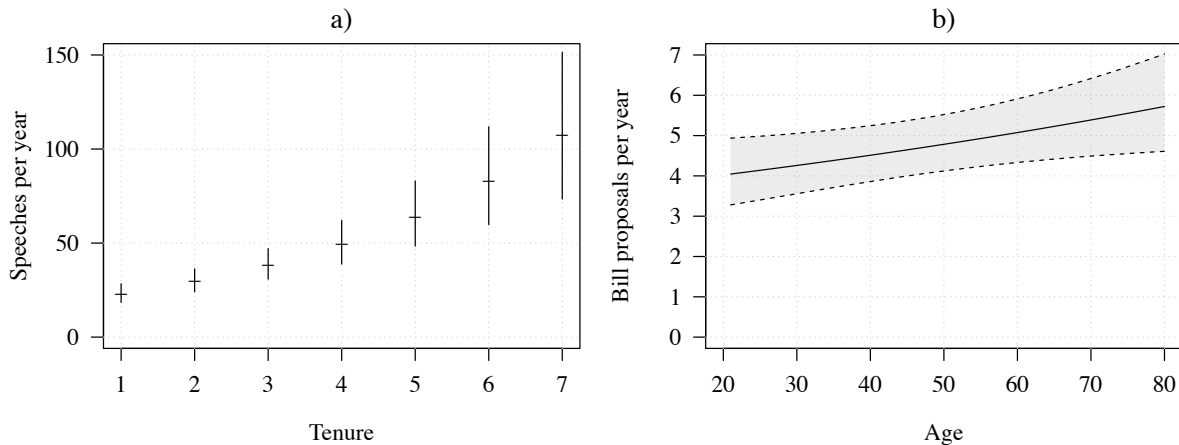
	Dependent variable:					
	Proposed bills		Delivered interpellations		Addressed speeches	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age	0.006*	0.006**	-0.002	-0.003	-0.019***	-0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Tenure	0.006	0.014	0.059	0.003	0.326***	0.254***
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.068)	(0.065)	(0.037)	(0.031)
Female		0.073		-0.027		-0.271***
		(0.058)		(0.174)		(0.085)
Degree holder		0.019		0.253		0.291***
		(0.059)		(0.176)		(0.082)
Geographic area		-0.014		0.004		-0.065**
		(0.023)		(0.070)		(0.032)
PPG (vice-) chairman		0.089		-0.191		0.340***
		(0.068)		(0.218)		(0.095)
Minister		-0.672***				0.855***
		(0.122)				(0.126)
Chamber's (vice-)president		0.062		-0.579		2.634***
		(0.150)		(0.517)		(0.211)
(Sub)committee and commission memberships		0.025**		0.038		0.024*
		(0.010)		(0.030)		(0.014)
Dummy variables of terms (5)		∴		∴		∴
Dummy variables of parties (12)		∴		∴		∴
Constant	0.921***	1.139***	0.456	0.933*	3.718***	2.715***
	(0.144)	(0.169)	(0.372)	(0.495)	(0.207)	(0.237)
N	742	742	683	683	742	742
Log likelihood	-1,647	-1,482	-1,080	-985	-3,246	-3,015
Theta	3.422***	13.268***	0.327***	0.510***	0.831***	1.463***
	(0.369)	(3.312)	(0.026)	(0.045)	(0.040)	(0.078)

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p -Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

More importantly, tenure has a large impact on the MPs' speechmaking, as Figure 2.2a shows. The simulation depicts that the MPs are expected to address 23.03 speeches a year as novices, 38.31 speeches during their third term, and during the fifth term in the chamber, the MPs are expected to present 63.97 speeches annually. The finding partly confirms hypothesis 4. Nevertheless, the effect of age on speechmaking is insignificant.

Next, the analysis suggests that older MPs sponsor more legislative proposals compared to their younger colleagues. To be more specific, while the 21-year-old deputy is expected to propose 4.05 bills a year, her 80-year-old counterpart sponsors 5.72 bills annually. On the one hand, this finding is partially in agreement with hypothesis 5. On the other hand, there is not any support for another anticipation that the number of proposed bills is also influenced by the MP's tenure.

Figure 2.2. Effects of age and tenure on speechmaking and proposing bills



Note: The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Choirat et al., 2017; Imai et al., 2008).²²

The positive effect of tenure on speechmaking confirms that the activity is predominantly performed by the more experienced MPs. The difference is considerable – the MPs who serve already the fourth term address plenary meetings twice as much compared to the novices. Keep in mind that these figures apply for backbenchers outside of a cabinet, the chamber's (vice-)presidency posts, and PPG presidium. PPGs discriminate between more and less experienced MPs, and a parliamentary floor is a privilege of the former members since their rhetorical and political capabilities are time-proven.

Many would agree that it is no piece of cake to prepare a bill proposal. Even if a legislator just co-sponsor it, she needs to publicly support it then. Therefore, the results saying that older MPs propose more bills compared to the younger colleagues seem to be reasonable. It needs courage and a reputation of older legislators to sponsor a bill proposal.

Last but not least, to scrutinise the effects of the two independent variables on a post-election distribution of positions in the chamber's bodies, another type of modelling has to be employed. The post-election memberships and presidium posts are count data of similar means and variances. Therefore, I utilize Poisson models to delineate their distribution. The rules of the chamber's procedure state that the deputies serving as government ministers may

²² The simulations are based on the same setting as in the previous footnote.

not be members of committees, subcommittees, and commissions. Thus, I exclude deputies holding a ministerial position from the analysis.

Table 2.5 implies that neither age nor tenure affects the number of memberships that representatives get in the chamber's bodies after elections. There is just a noticeable negative effect of being the chamber's (vice-)president. This is caused by the chamber's rules of procedure saying that the president and vice-presidents of the chamber are members of only the Steering Committee.

Table 2.5. Poisson models of post-election positions in intra-parliamentary bodies

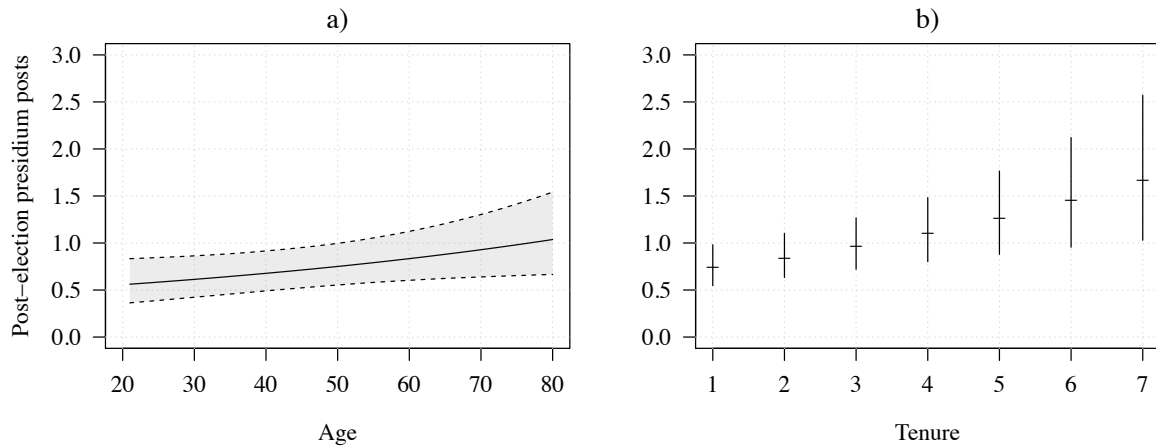
	Dependent variable:			
	Post-election memberships		Post-election presidium posts	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.010** (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)
Tenure	-0.015 (0.019)	-0.016 (0.021)	0.131*** (0.036)	0.133*** (0.040)
Female		0.076 (0.054)		0.175 (0.113)
Degree holder		0.060 (0.054)		0.104 (0.118)
Geographic area		-0.001 (0.021)		-0.0003 (0.045)
PPG (vice-)chairman		0.058 (0.063)		-0.047 (0.132)
Chamber's (vice-)president		-0.347** (0.153)		0.333 (0.243)
Post-election (sub)committee and commission memberships				0.107*** (0.025)
Dummy variables of terms (5)		∴		∴
Dummy variables of parties (12)		∴		∴
Constant	1.242*** (0.106)	1.465*** (0.150)	-0.965*** (0.230)	-1.447*** (0.344)
N	623	623	623	623
Log likelihood	-1,225.735	-1,157.911	-673.908	-642.360
AIC	2,457.470	2,365.822	1,353.816	1,336.720

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p -Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

By contrast, the post-election number of held presidium posts is positively influenced by both MPs' tenure and age. While the novices are expected to gain 0.74 presidium post, their colleagues serving the fifth or the sixth term are expected to hold approximately twice as many positions. Similarly, while the 21-year-old representatives are expected to hold 0.56

presidium posts, their 80-year-old colleagues are anticipated to obtain 1.04 positions. These results confirm hypothesis 6.

Figure 2.3. Effects of age and tenure on post-election posts in intra-parliamentary bodies



Note: The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Choirat et al., 2017; Imai et al., 2008).²³ Intra-parliamentary bodies stand for (sub)committees and commissions.

To summarise, both age and length of tenure influence allocation of posts in the presidium of the chamber’s committees, subcommittees, and commissions. The older and more experienced MPs are, the more seats they get. It would be surprising if the effect was not significant or had the opposite direction. Chairpersons and vice-chairpersons of the bodies preside over the meetings. Moreover, they attract more media attention every time the bodies deal with substantial issues, and the leaders speak on behalf of the bodies.

I have also run several robustness analyses to assess the qualities of the results. First, it is crucial to address a potential issue of collinearity between MPs’ age and tenure. Pearson correlation coefficient between the two traits equals 0.206. The figure demonstrates a noteworthy relationship between the variables, which is natural to expect, but the correlation is still very low. Moreover, the variance inflation factor (VIF) of age and tenure across all the models is always less than 1.35, which suggests very low multicollinearity of the variables. Although the large-N study includes information on many single-term MPs, they enter the chamber at a different age which secures enough variability of the data. To be more specific, while the youngest single-term legislator was 23.98 years old when entering the chamber, the oldest one

²³ The simulations of the complex models are conducted for male degree holders from Prague and Central Bohemian Region without any experience with the chamber’s and PPG presidium post, with the average number of post-election memberships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions, and affiliated to ČSSD during the VII. Chamber of Deputies. To simulate effects of age and tenure, parliamentary experience is set to 1 and age to the average value, respectively.

was 73.57. To summarise, the issue of collinearity between the two independent variables is not a drawback of the analysis mostly because of creating the subset of the original dataset.

The effects of age and tenure could have similar logic – the two factors are highly influenced by the time during which parliamentarians accumulate more experience either in life or the parliament. Therefore, it is reasonable to anticipate some interaction between the two traits. If the comprehensive models include the interaction effect between MPs' age and tenure, it is statistically insignificant in all the presented models. Overall, the interaction term makes many of the independent variables' effects statistically insignificant. Nevertheless, in the face of the results, I utilize the simple models because this is a pioneering study presenting the straightforward effects of age and tenure. Moreover, the preliminary findings on the interaction effect are not convincing.

Next, I have excluded observations with extreme values of the independent variables. These are the MPs below 25 and above 70 years of age, and the deputies during their sixth and seventh tenure. However, all the results remain more or less unchanged, which also applies to the direction and strength of all previously mentioned significant effects. All the results are also robust against the exclusion of outliers, which are observations with a large residual. This robustness analysis mostly 'jeopardizes' the effects of age on voting activity and the number of legislative proposals, which remain statistically significant but on a lower level of certainty.

Overall, the results can be considered as being robust against standard threats that usually distort such models. This is expectable since the dataset is abundant in the number of observations and the variance of the data.

2.3 Conclusions

The chapter demonstrates that both age and tenure substantially affect MPs' parliamentary behaviour. This is a pioneering conclusion within a field that has not received enough attention yet. Older and more experienced MPs occupy influential intra-chamber positions, and they are also more active in key parliamentary performances, such as proposing bills and speechmaking. On the contrary, young representatives spend less time being present in the chamber. It is likely that they are more active in constituencies and that they also focus on strengthening their intra-party position.

Overall, key parliamentary activities are predominantly reserved for more senior members of the legislature. Young parliamentarians hope for a future political career, wait and learn patiently, follow a party line, and thus voluntarily beat a retreat as far as it is seminal. Novices tend to overinvest in less demanding activities, which are readily available to them, and yield complex activities such as proposing bills and presiding meetings to their more experienced counterparts. In the case of filling posts in the presidium of the chamber's bodies, seniority is an inherent part of a natural selection.

To summarise, the chapter is a pioneering study delivering clear evidence that the factors of MPs' age and tenure are substantially influential variables. Therefore, no analysis interested in a parliamentary performance of legislators should ignore the role of their age and parliamentary experience. However, it is crucial to keep in mind that all of the presented effects depend on the institutional setting and political culture in the country.

The results point out that as MPs of different age and tenure focus on diverse activities, the equal parliamentary representation of all adult age cohorts is justifiable. Still, the results suggest that neither young nor old MPs lag behind middle-aged representatives substantially, which implies their ability to perform the mandate responsibly, albeit in a different way. The presented study cannot deliver any evidence supportive of youth (or elderly) quotas, nor it was a goal of the analysis. Nonetheless, it is now clear that parliamentarians of diverse age and tenure have not only diverse policy preferences, but they also perform they deputy mandates differently. Thus, the results support the calling for at least a sustained campaigning for equal political participation of age cohorts (see Stockemer & Sundström, 2018).

To intensify debate on political participation of various age cohorts, it is necessary to deliver more scientific findings. Thus, further research should focus primarily on critical levels of age that differentiate MPs' parliamentary performance substantially. It is the case mainly of senior representatives as meeting the limits of physical and mental abilities is inevitable. Furthermore, it would be interesting to inspect the effects in a cross-sectional way under different parliamentary settings and political environments.

Finally, I believe that there is a broad potential for a study of the interaction between legislators' age and tenure. This chapter presents mainly individual effects of the two factors and quantitative complex models including the interaction term do not seem to be convincing. Therefore, qualitative studies may deliver more conclusive results. It is natural to expect that, for example, two novices of substantially different age would behave differently. Last but not least, it would be stimulating to inspect the effects of age and tenure on other activities that parliamentarians are expected to perform. To be more specific, this could be a work of more qualitative manner, such as communication with constituents or proposing specific legislation.

Chapter 3

Gender Matters

*‘Maybe by a fact that madame deputy fell in love with Václav Klaus or something like this,
I cannot see any rational explanation.’*

Party chairman Petr Fiala, MP (ODS) on how he explains that Zuzana Majerová Zahradníková, MP (ODS) supported Václav Klaus, MP against her party’s will
17 April 2019, Televizní noviny, TV Nova

Countless evidence shows that gender affects the legislative behaviour of MPs (e.g. Bäck et al., 2014; Childs, 2004; Chiva, 2018; Geys & Mause, 2014; Gwiazda, 2017, 2019b; Hogan, 2008; Koch & Fulton, 2011; Wängnerud, 2009; Wilson & Carlos, 2014). However, most of the findings come from Western European legislatures. Thus, one may ask whether such effects work similarly even in a post-communist region.

The main reason for the research imbalance is straightforward – Western Europe has a more extended history of democratic parliamentarism. Contrary to this, communist legislatures were nothing but ‘rubber stamp’ institutions that did not allow the effect of gender to be displayed in true colours (Zdenka Mansfeldová, 2011, p. 129). Today, parliaments in Central and Eastern European post-communist countries have already worked under democratic rules for three decades. Still, the study of female political representation in post-communist states is lacking (Gwiazda, 2019a). Despite that, it is not justifiable to blindly copy the findings on gender effects on MPs’ legislative behaviour from Western Europe – it would be naïve to expect the very same pattern to demonstrate also in post-communist countries.

The two regions experienced a substantially distinct gender-related history. While there was a sexual revolution in the 1960s in the West, the communist block persisted in defending the traditional model of a family. While postmaterialist transformation raising gender issues took place in the 1970s in the liberal democracies, the authoritarian regimes kept party systems from the very existence. While women were emancipating gradually in the free world, female citizens and politicians behind the Iron Curtain faced oppressive patriarchy for 40 years.

Therefore, the distinct societal and political evolution of the two regions suggests that the Western effects of gender on MPs' legislative behaviour would not work in the same way in post-communist countries. To evaluate this hypothesis, I scrutinise the legislative behaviour of MPs in the Czech Republic as a research example. The Czech Republic went through the most rapid and successful democratic consolidation in the region. Thanks to this, the Czech deputies have worked predominantly under similar rules and conditions as having their colleagues in the West. Nonetheless, the country still experienced the communist regime. Therefore, the Czech case allows us to evaluate whether gender influences MPs' parliamentary work similarly to Western Europe regardless of the communist legacy. Last but not least, a comprehensive study on differences between Czech female and male representatives has been missing, which also makes the chapter a pioneering case study.

I employ a quantitative analysis of the deputies' parliamentary performance between 1993 and 2017. Considering the amount of the data, it makes unique complex research. The results suggest that gender influences the parliamentary behaviour of MPs even in the Czech Republic. However, the differences are not radical. The findings imply that despite women's descriptive underrepresentation in the Czech legislature, female MPs are similarly active in parliamentary performances as male deputies with only a few exceptions.

To be more specific, female MPs speak less than their male colleagues. Moreover, women legislators receive more positions in intra-parliamentary bodies compared to men deputies. Interestingly, the differences have been predominantly increasing over time. Finally, on the one hand, contrary to their male counterparts, female deputies have significantly higher chances of becoming a member of committees dealing with science, health care, social policy, petitions, and legal affairs. On the other hand, there is a substantially higher probability that men rather than women MPs become members of committees on economic affairs, budget, security, and agriculture.

Most importantly, the analysis implies that gender tends to affect the legislative behaviour of MPs in the Czech Republic similarly to Western Europe. The evidence for this is fewer speeches by female MPs and gender-biased committees. The communist heritage is indeed the most vocal difference between the Western and post-communist Europe. Thus, if gender manifested differently in post-communist parliaments compared to Western European legislatures, one would blame the communist legacy first. However, based on the chapter's findings, the communist heritage does not seem to play a significant role here. The West side story can take place even in a post-communist parliament.

3.1 Role of MPs' gender

The number of women in politics throughout the world has been increasing in recent decades. In August 1998, the proportion of women in national parliaments was 12.7 per cent, and the number rose to 18.2 per cent in 2008. The figure from 2018 already shows that the proportion expanded to 23.8 per cent. As a result, today, there are 35 national assemblies in the world with more than a third of female MPs (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019).

However, representation is a multi-layered phenomenon. Besides other meanings, Pitkin (1967) differentiates between a descriptive and substantive representation. The former focuses on the extent to which representatives reflect the represented. The latter stands for pushing through the interests of the represented (Dovi, 2007).

The initial research on women in parliaments inspected their very presence in legislative bodies. Today, scholars deal mostly with a substantive representation. The turn took place after Anne Phillips had published the influential book *The Politics of Presence* (1995). She suggested that there was a link between a descriptive and a substantive representation as female politicians represented women's interest in the best way (Wängnerud, 2009). Later research added that not all descriptive representatives were the same. It means that the preferable ones 'have strong *mutual* relationships with *dispossessed* subgroups' (Dovi, 2002, p. 729, emphasis in original).

A causal mechanism of the gender's effect on MPs' legislative behaviour resides in a legislative recruitment process, which is different in the case of men compared to women. In their seminal work, Loewenberg and Patterson (1979) employed a metaphor of a funnel. On the one side, there are a lot of citizens eligible for an office, and on the other side, only a few of them become MPs. It is a procedure of many phases and 'at each stage in this process, women can face gender specific impediments' (Matland & Montgomery, 2003, p. 20).

Studies in liberal democracies show that female political recruitment depends on a combination of political, socio-economic, and cultural factors (Matland, 2005; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). For example, there are less female than male politicians due to the traditional role of women as caretakers. Female politicians are also oppressed within men-driven parties. Last but not least, voters prefer male candidates due to gender stereotyping. As a result, female MPs are different and behave differently compared to their male counterparts, since the two genders did not go through the same recruitment competition.

Moreover, even if two representatives of different genders had experienced the very same career advancement of equal chances, their legislative behaviour would not have been the same. Female MPs point out their particularities, such as consensus-seeking and gentleness (Galligan & Clavero, 2008). The British Labour women MPs claim that women are less combative and aggressive, more collaborative and speak in a different language compared to men (Childs, 2004). The data from five Western countries suggest that female politicians combine feminine non-verbal communication patterns and masculine verbal expressions (Grebelsky-Lichtman & Bdoelach, 2017). Women legislators also enjoy distinct experiences with health,

education, and social protection policies. Thus, it is natural to expect that such differences leave the marks on the legislative behaviour of the two genders, albeit unexpected in the way of its specific manifestation.

Looking at the particular evidence, Bäck, Debus, and Müller (2014) elucidate why it is essential to study both descriptive and substantive representation together. In Sweden, 43.6 per cent of MPs are women, and the country boasts of its descriptive representation. Nonetheless, female deputies deliver fewer speeches on hard policy issues such as macroeconomics, transportation, or banking than men. Although almost half of the MPs are female, the performance in parliamentary activities is not equal.

Still, there are transnational findings that female MPs defend feminist interests more than their male colleagues. Lloren (2015) delivers such a conclusion using data from Switzerland. In Argentina, more women's rights bills were proposed when females held a larger portion of seats in both chambers of the parliament (Htun et al., 2013). Canadian female MPs speak on women's issues more than their male colleagues (Tremblay, 1998). Importantly, a scrutiny of the US Congress implies that women representatives are not less effective in turning policy preferences into law than their male counterparts (Jeydel & Taylor, 2003). On the contrary, female representatives sponsor and cosponsor significantly more bills than male MPs (Anzia & Berry, 2011).

Female legislators emphasized representing women's issues already in the past. For instance, in the Weimar Republic, there was a decisive impact of gender on the representatives' voting behaviour on a law proposal to curb the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (Debus & Hansen, 2014). To be more specific, women were not afraid to deviate from a party-line if women's interest was at stake. The evidence from today shows that gender intra-party differences in political opinions seem to be most significant on issues where women are particularly affected (Heidar & Pedersen, 2006).

The increasing presence of women in national parliaments today does not only help to promote female issues, but it also changes the political environment in general. Employing the data from 22 established democracies between 1970 and 2003, Koch and Fulton (2011) show that the higher portion of female MPs there was, the less conflict behaviour and defence spending there were. Furthermore, the increased presence of women in the Swedish parliament changes policy positions of whole parties and issues such as gender equality, and social welfare are more prioritized (Wängnerud, 2000). In the US Congress, female MPs hire more women as their congressional staff (Wilson & Carlos, 2014). Another cross-national research shows that in the countries with more female MPs, adolescent girls are more likely to discuss politics and to intend to participate in politics as adults (Wolbrecht & Campbell, 2007).

Another field of the study suggests that women and men are not always equally represented in intra-parliamentary bodies (Heath et al., 2005; Towns, 2003). In Belgium, women MPs are more likely to be assigned to a committee that they did not request (Diaz, 2005). In Sweden and Norway, women have been consistently overrepresented in culture, education, health, and social affairs committees. By contrast, they have been underrepresented in the defence,

finance, and industry committees (Towns, 2003). However, this is not the case in every country. In the British House of Commons, the composition of committee membership indicates gender-neutral outcomes (O'Brien, 2012). In Scottish and Welsh parliamentary committees, women are represented similarly to men as well (Brown et al., 2002).

Importantly, the summary of the essential findings shows that they predominantly come from the Western world (mainly Western Europe). Nonetheless, one may quickly expect that the effect of gender on MPs' legislative behaviour works differently in the post-communist region. Gender-related public debate in the East is not as loud as in the West, and more gender stereotypes persist in the former compared to the latter.

The distinction is not caused only by the communist heritage but also by a traditional culture in Central and Eastern Europe (Gwiazda, 2019a). The gender issue manifests itself through complex effects. Thus, one may anticipate more extensive as well as even missing influence of gender on MPs' legislative behaviour in post-communist legislatures compared to the Western ones. Nonetheless, even elaborated expectations would not put money on gender working similarly in the two regions.

To elaborate on this, Western European states experienced a sexual revolution in the 1960s and postmaterialist transformation in the 1970s (Inglehart, 1977). Besides others, these movements have substantially changed societal and political arenas. For instance, the effect of electoral institutions on female representation has become much more influential since very then as the moves in the Western world have changed people's views on gender differences (Saxonberg, 2000).

Contrary to this, post-communist societies did not go through similar transformations until the 1990s (if at all). In fact, the countries in Central and Eastern Europe faced social and political stagnation for 40 years. During the era of authoritarian communist regimes, men were absolute occupiers of the public domain. Furthermore, feminist discourse was almost entirely missing. Despite following changes similar to Western European practice, most of the contemporary politicians and voters were raised during the time of deep gender inequality. Furthermore, the conditions remained imbalanced to some extent even after democratic revolutions since new democracies were 'male democracies' (Eisenstein, 1993, p. 312).

Even today, female politicians in post-communist states identify lack of confidence, problems in reconciling work and family life, and gender stereotyping as primary barriers to representation (Galligan & Clavero, 2008). To be more specific, women legislators from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia point out voters' preference for male candidates (see Madsen, 2019). Furthermore, they complain about the oppression within men-driven parties and the perception of women as caretakers. Such observations imply that gender leaves its marks on the legislative behaviour of MPs even in post-communist parliaments.

The legitimacy of the assumption is also confirmed by a growing number of studies that have focused on a relationship between gender and politics in the region. Thus, we may read about the effects of electoral systems on women's representation (Moser, 2001), gender quo-

tas (Gwiazda, 2017), a female substantive representation (Gwiazda, 2019b; Iłonszki & Vajda, 2019), or a descriptive representation of women in the region (e.g. Iłonszki, 2006; Jankowski et al., 2019; Saxonberg, 2000). Furthermore, there are several books on a relationship between gender and political institutions in Central and Eastern European countries (e.g. Chiva, 2018; Galligan et al., 2007; Rueschemeyer & Wolchik, 2009). Although such studies deliver precious conclusions, findings on causal effects of gender on MPs' legislative behaviour in post-communist parliaments are still missing (Gwiazda, 2019a).

Fortunately, it is possible to gather at least some relevant evidence even from the Czech Republic. To be more specific, we know that female MPs are more likely to vote according to a party line than their male colleagues (Stegmaier et al., 2016). Such an effect is insignificant in Poland, and the authors imply that Polish gender quotas for the candidate lists may be the explanation – the Czech Republic does not have such a law (see below). As a result, female MPs in the Czech Republic do not feel as secure about their political prospects as their colleagues in Poland (Stegmaier et al., 2016).

Further evidence also proves a tough political position of women in Czech politics. A public survey from February 2016 shows that only half of the respondents said that both genders should carry out public offices equally (CVVM, 2016a). Almost 40 per cent of the people thinks that it is mainly a job for men (the rest did not answer). The figures remain approximately the same since the 1990s. On the contrary, buying food, cooking, cleaning, and childcare are perceived as activities for either both sexes or just women (CVVM, 2016a).

3.2 Effect of gender

I consider analyses dealing with a descriptive and substantive parliamentary representation of women to be equally important. Still, since this is a pioneering study on the gender's effect on MPs' legislative behaviour in a post-communist country, I focus primarily on descriptive representation. While such an analysis may come before research on a substantive representation, the reverse order would not work.

3.2.1 Hypotheses

The research from Western European countries shows that it is appropriate to expect specific differences between male and female MPs considering their parliamentary activity. Nonetheless, Western European legislatures work under different rules and in the environment of particular historical, societal, and political conditions. Therefore, I take the conclusions from Western legislatures only as a benchmark to be tested on the presence even in a post-communist country. I employ findings mainly from the British House of Commons, and Scandinavian parliaments, where the effect of gender has been scrutinised repeatedly in the past.

One of the most sound findings on gender-related differences in the legislative behaviour of MPs sheds light on their speechmaking. Bäck and Debus (2016) prove that female MPs in Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Estonia speak less than their male counterparts. The distinction is caused by the fact that women legislators do not address ‘hard policy’ issues (e.g. macroeconomics, energy, or science) as often as their male counterparts. Interestingly, both groups of representatives address ‘neutral’ and ‘soft policies’ (e.g. health, social welfare, or education) in similar frequencies.

Importantly, Bäck and Debus also assessed the case of the Czech Republic between 2006 and 2009 with a conclusion that there is ‘no evidence that female MPs deliver fewer speeches than their male colleagues in the parliament’ (2016, p. 101). Even though this is a noteworthy finding, it is based only on three years of the very specific political situation of a hung parliament. Contrary to this, the presented analysis promises to deliver more solid results concerning the period of the data.

To build a full picture, the findings from Germany and Ireland also imply no difference in speechmaking of male and female MPs. However, the previously described findings suggest the effect of gender on MPs’ participation in plenary debates. Thus, I work on an assumption of the following hypothesis:

H1: Female MPs address fewer speeches compared to male representatives.

Next, MPs’ parliamentary performance is substantially affected by their intra-parliamentary position, such as memberships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions. It is often assumed that female representatives get less of those positions as a result of a gender-bias. By contrast, the evidence shows that in the British House of Commons, women were advantaged in the elections for committee chairs (O’Brien, 2012). One of the very reasonable explanations is that female MPs are underrepresented in a cabinet, which is substituted by positions in intra-parliamentary bodies.

In the Czech Republic, cabinet ministers cannot hold any position in (sub)committees and commissions. At the same time, women have been vastly underrepresented in cabinets since the state’s establishment in 1993 (Šprincová & Adamusová, 2014). Therefore, female MPs may be ‘rewarded’ by intra-parliamentary positions similarly to the House of Commons. In any case, I form the following hypothesis based on the Western finding:

H2: Female MPs get more committee, subcommittee, and commission chairs than male deputies.

Last but not least, the debate on speechmaking has already implied that female MPs deal with different policies compared to male legislators. This effect has also been observed in the case of committee assignments in many parliaments (Heath et al., 2005; Thomas, 1994; Towns, 2003). To be more specific, Towns (2003) scrutinised gender patterns in Swedish (1971–2006) and Norwegian (1969–2005) committees. As a result, he differentiated ‘female’ committees dealing with health, social affairs, education, justice, and culture. Contrary to this, the ‘male’ committees focus on agriculture, defence, finance, taxation, industry, and transport.

According to the Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies, PPGs gain the specific number of committee mandates relative to the size of the group. Subsequently, a filling of the mandates depends entirely on an intra-PPG discussion (Zdeňka Mansfeldová & Linek, 2009). Seniority plays an important role here, but there is also a possibility of MPs selecting their favourite policy agenda as well as of gender discrimination. Besides this, one has to keep in mind that some committees (e.g. on budget, constitutional and legal affairs) are more prestigious than others (e.g. on petitions, mandate and immunity) (Rakušanová Guasti, 2009).

In the Chamber of Deputies between 1993 and 2017, it is possible to identify 13 committees on (1) agriculture, (2) budget, (3) constitutional and legal affairs, (4) economic affairs, (5) environment, (6) foreign affairs, (7) health care, (8) mandate and immunity, (9) petitions, (10) science, education, culture, youth and sport, (11) security, (12) social policy, and (13) steering committee.²⁴ Employing the previously mentioned findings of Towns (2003), I anticipate the next pair of hypotheses:

H3a: Female MPs have a higher chance to become a member of committees on (1) constitutional and legal affairs, (2) health care, (3) science, education, culture, youth and sport, and (4) social policy than male deputies.

H3b: Male MPs have a higher chance to become a member of committees on (1) agriculture, (2) budget, (3) economic affairs, and (4) security than female deputies.

Besides the worded anticipations, it would be possible to discover further assumptions based on the findings from the Western world. For example, Anzia and Berry (2011) show that the US congresswomen sponsor and cosponsor significantly more bills than their male colleagues. To explain this, if there is a bias of voters against women, only the most talented and hardest working female will run for office and also succeed in an electoral process. Given this, one could anticipate that female MPs not only propose more bills, but they also ask more questions, attend more roll calls, and vote more actively. Since these issues are noteworthy, I will examine them in the following analyses. Nonetheless, as more robust findings are missing, I do not construct any specific hypotheses about such relationships.

3.2.2 Data

I scrutinise all seven complete terms of the Chamber of Deputies since the establishment of the Czech Republic in 1993 until 2017. I focus on the lower house of the parliament since it is the polity's central institution thanks to asymmetrical bicameralism of the Czech parliamentary regime.

²⁴ Between 1993 and 2017, there were more sitting committees. However, only these 13 committees were established in all seven parliamentary terms with similar political agenda.

During the time, 1,518 MPs held a deputy mandate (including replacements). However, I exclude 33 MPs who served for less than six months as they did not have enough time to manifest their parliamentary work properly.²⁵ Next, I reject 99 legislators, who were members of a cabinet, since their intra-parliamentary position was too different from ordinary MPs.²⁶ Furthermore, I cannot quantify the legislative behaviour of Ivana Janů MP since she had held the mandate before an electronic system of recording was installed in December 1993. As a result, I employ the default dataset with information on 1,385 representatives.

Table 3.1 summarises a descriptive representation of women in the lower house of the Czech parliament.²⁷ Initially, there was a post-communist drop in women’s representation (Galligan & Clavero, 2008; Saxonberg, 2000; Stegmaier et al., 2014). Before 1989, there was a quota system for women on candidate lists, which also translated into high female parliamentary representation, albeit predominantly passive.

Table 3.1. Gender of MPs in the Czech Republic

Term	MPs	Female MPs	Share of female MPs (%)
1993–1996	195	19	9.74
1996–1998	191	30	15.71
1998–2002	196	32	16.33
2002–2006	208	34	16.35
2006–2010	206	37	17.96
2010–2013	193	43	22.28
2013–2017	196	41	20.92
1993–2017	1,385	236	17.04

Note: The total number of MPs in individual terms does not equal 200 due to turnovers and exclusion of some MPs.

In 1996, the proportion of female MPs increased to nearly 15 per cent and remained more or less stable for another ten years. The substantial change started in 2006 and fully blossomed in 2010 when the proportion rose above the level of 20 per cent. The reason for this was a decrease in a preferential vote share threshold (from 7 to 5 per cent), which allowed a candidate to move up on a candidate list more easily. The modification benefited female candidates more than men (Stegmaier et al., 2014). Since then, approximately a fifth of Czech

²⁵ The point of 180 days (six months) was chosen by two different approaches that confirmed the very same result. The first method finds out the approximate length of time spent in the office after which the deputies become active (addressing speeches, proposing bills, or delivering interpellations). The second method is a brief survey conducted among deputies asking ‘after how much time spent in the office is a deputy able to perform her mandate responsibly’.

²⁶ For example, MPs-ministers are not allowed to be committee members, they should not be expected to deliver interpellations, and in general, their ministerial duties substantially influence their parliamentary work.

²⁷ Descriptive statistics of all the variables is provided in Appendix B.

MPs has been women. Despite the different electoral system to the upper parliamentary house, the descriptive representation of women in the Senate is only a few percentage points lower (Šprincová & Adamusová, 2014).²⁸

The number of female MPs substantially differed across the parties. To assess the most important parties, the Christian Democrats (10.53 per cent) and the Civic Democrats (13.31 per cent) had the lowest share of women deputies during the time. Contrary to this, the Communists were comprised of 29.78 per cent female representatives, which was the most towering figure among the largest parties. Surprisingly, the share of the female Social Democrats was only 15.63 per cent, which was closer to the two conservative parties than the Communists. On the contrary, the female representation of TOP 09 (26.98 per cent) was relatively high considering the party's conservative tendencies. Overall, although conservative parties tended to be represented by fewer women than leftist parties similarly to Western Europe, there were few exceptions.

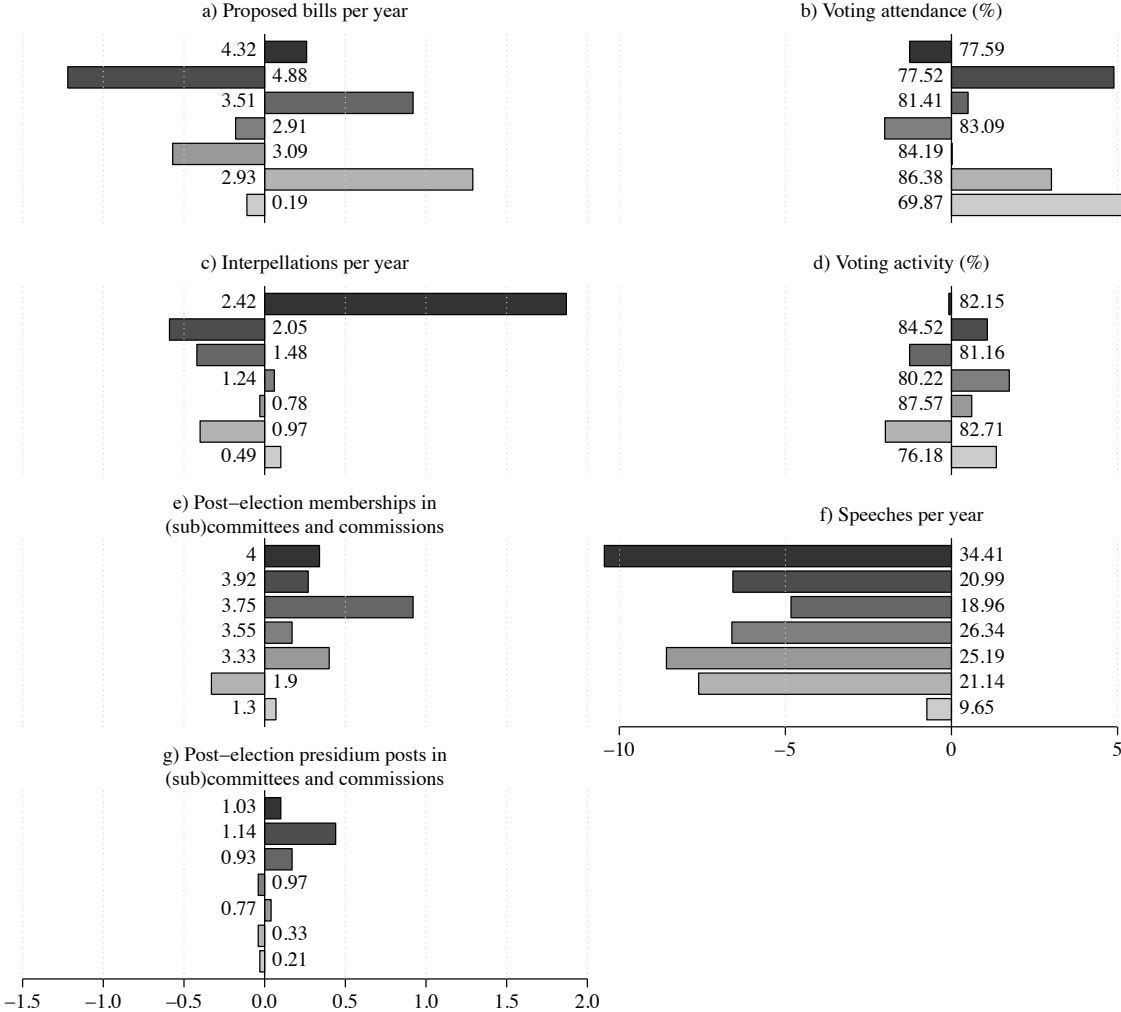
Legislators' gender is the independent variable of the presented analysis. Besides this, I employ several dependent variables of the deputies' legislative behaviour. They portray functions of the lower house – these are controlling a cabinet, articulation of people's voice, adoption of laws, and electoral role (Vodička & Cabada, 2011). Furthermore, the selection of the dependent variables follows a logic of contemporary research on legislative behaviour.

To be more specific, I inspect the voting attendance of the MPs during plenary meetings. Next, I deal with their voting activity, which is operationalized as a percentage of active voting (either Yes or No) compared to abstentions. Besides this, I am interested in the number of

²⁸ Here, it is essential to provide some additional facts depicting a picture of Czech political landscape. Currently, there are no statutory gender quotas neither for composing candidate lists nor electing a certain proportion of women on any level of politics. Despite this, the number of female candidates has been increasing – in the 1990s, there were approximately 15 per cent female politicians on candidate lists for the legislative election; since 2002, the figure has not fallen below 25 per cent (Czech Statistical Office, 2019). Since the number of female candidates is continuously higher than the number of elected women MPs, one of the problems is that female politicians usually do not get attractive positions on candidate lists (Linek, 2009). The analyses show that women are more likely to be elected in larger constituencies and less likely in the catholic Moravian region (Rakušanová, 2004). Considering major political parties, gender quotas for composing party offices are set up only in the statuses of the Greens now (Stegmaier et al., 2014). Moreover, the party has also formal gender rules for the formation of candidate lists for the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. In 2013, only the female Christian Democrats composed half of the party members (Šprincová & Adamusová, 2014). Other major parties have approximately one-third of female members with the exception of the Communists with more than 40 per cent of women members. Overall, the data suggest that descriptive representation of women is unequal not only on a national level of politics but also on regional and local levels with approximately 20–25 per cent of female politicians (Hájek, 2019b; Rakušanová, 2004; Šprincová & Adamusová, 2014).

bills that a deputy proposed annually either alone or in a group.²⁹ Next, I track the annual number of both oral and written interpellations delivered by a deputy. Last but not least, I scrutinise the effect of gender on the number of speeches that an MP addressed at plenary meetings per year.

Figure 3.1. Differences between the activity of male and female MPs in individual terms



Note: The baseline numbers represent the average parliamentary activity of male MPs. The bars illustrate the female activity compared to the male baseline. The bars stand for seven parliamentary terms since 1993–1998 (the bottom bars) until 2013–2017 (the upper bars).

Next, I track the effect of the MPs’ gender on the total number of memberships in parliamentary committees, subcommittees, and commissions. Thus, I am interested in the number of positions held six months after legislative elections. Similarly, I inspect the quantity of

²⁹ Czech MPs have the right to propose new laws either individually or in groups. Besides MPs, bills can be proposed by the cabinet, the Senate, or representative bodies of higher self-governing regions.

MPs' presidium positions in the intra-parliamentary bodies at the very same time. Last but not least, I also quantify the effect of gender on chances of becoming a member of particular committees.

To get a more detailed picture of the dependent variables, Figure 3.1 displays the average parliamentary performance of female MPs compared to their male colleagues in different terms. In the case of proposed bills, delivered interpellations, and voting activity, it is not possible to discover any pattern. The differences between males and females seem to be arbitrary. On the contrary, the measures of voting attendance and the number of post-election memberships and presidium posts in (sub)committees and commissions are rather dominated by female MPs.

The differences in the number of addressed speeches are unique compared to the rest of the dependent variables. In all seven parliamentary terms, women stood behind a microphone on average less frequently than men. Furthermore, the contrast has been predominantly increasing during the last 25 years with only a few exceptions. However, only multivariate modelling can discover whether these differences are also significant in the light of alternative explanations.

To build up multivariate models, I employ several control variables that have been proven to influence MPs' parliamentary performance. I identify degree holders (Hurka et al., 2018), age of the MPs (Mocan & Altindag, 2013), and their tenure (Best & Vogel, 2017). The analysis also considers the geographic distance of the legislators' constituencies from Prague, where the Chamber of Deputies resides (Weinberg et al., 1999). Since being a ruling party MP rather than an opposition deputy substantially influences MPs' legislative behaviour, I employ this variable as well. I also track whether the deputy served in PPG presidium since such officers have the right to address plenary meetings with a priority. The analyses also control the overall number of the MPs' memberships in the chamber's bodies as a presence in such bodies requires significant additional activity. Last but not least, I also use dummy variables of party affiliations and parliamentary terms (Mocan & Altindag, 2013; Proksch & Slapin, 2012).

3.2.3 Results

I utilise several types of modelling on the grounds of distribution of the data to discover the true nature of the gender's effect on the MPs' legislative behaviour. The legislators' voting attendance and voting activity are close to a normal distribution. Thus, Table 3.2 shows models of bivariate and multivariate ordinary least squares regression analyses.

The results show that gender does not significantly affect the representatives' voting attendance at plenary meetings. Although the bivariate model 1 shows the statistical significance of the gender's influence, the effect disappears as soon as the dummy variables of parliamentary terms are included. The more detailed analysis suggests that the gender affected MPs' parliamentary attendance mainly between 2002 and 2006 as the interaction effect be-

tween the term dummy and being female MP was negative. However, the effect is not present in general.

The finding may be surprising since several other factors seem to be influential (e.g. age, tenure, geographic area, or being a ruling party MP). Overall, the multivariate model 2 of the voting attendance is convincing since it explains almost 30 per cent of the dependent variable's variance. To explain this, in Czech politics, being exceptional in voting attendance does not provide substantial political gains or cost anything. Therefore, there is not enough motivation for female MPs to excel in any way.

Table 3.2. OLS regression analyses of voting attendance and activity

	Dependent variable:			
	Voting attendance		Voting activity	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	1.652*	0.785	0.690	0.784*
	(0.896)	(0.782)	(0.590)	(0.423)
Age		0.184***		0.077***
		(0.032)		(0.017)
Tenure		-1.921***		-1.313***
		(0.331)		(0.179)
Degree holder		-1.034		-0.774*
		(0.736)		(0.398)
Geographic area		0.993***		0.312**
		(0.289)		(0.156)
PPG (vice-)chairman		1.514*		0.767
		(0.867)		(0.469)
Ruling party MP		4.227***		5.265***
		(0.736)		(0.398)
Chamber's (vice-)president		-3.447**		-0.271
		(1.734)		(0.939)
(Sub)committee and commission memberships		0.701***		0.181**
		(0.146)		(0.079)
Dummy variables of terms (6)		⋮		⋮
Dummy variables of parties (16)		⋮		⋮
Constant	79.966***	63.432***	81.959***	76.318***
	(0.370)	(2.289)	(0.244)	(1.239)
N	1,385	1,385	1,385	1,385
R ²	0.002	0.296	0.001	0.523
Adjusted R ²	0.002	0.279	0.0003	0.512
F statistic	3.398*	18.313***	1.367	47.903***
	(df=1;1,383)	(df=31;1,353)	(df=1;1,383)	(df=31;1,353)

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

Contrary to this, there is a disputable effect of gender on the MPs' voting activity. On the one hand, the effect of gender is significant only on a level of 90 per cent confidence. Fur-

thermore, the effect is not revealed in a bivariate model 3. On the other hand, the model 4 is very robust since it explains more than half of the variation of the deputies' voting activity. Holding everything else constant, male MPs voted actively in 78.90 per cent of the voting they attended between 2013 and 2017 (± 1.3 percentage points with 95 per cent confidence intervals).³⁰ Nonetheless, women voted actively in 79.68 per cent of the cases (± 1.5 percentage points). If the simulation focuses on individual parliamentary terms, the effect of gender on the MPs' voting activity remains approximately the same in all of them.

Even though the difference is smaller than a single percentage point, it is worth mentioning. The fact is that a higher rate of active voting increases chances to attract media that prefer to inform on explicit and confrontational policy positions. This can be beneficial to women seeking media attention to boost their political position. Besides this, the higher voting activity of women can be advantageous in the eyes of voters and party leaders. Such MPs look more politically determined, which could lead to better odds of being elected again.

The numbers of proposed bills, delivered interpellations, and addressed speeches are examples of count variables. Furthermore, distributions of the data have a larger variance than mean. Therefore, I employ negative binomial modelling to delineate the relationship.

Multivariate models 2 and 4 in Table 3.3 imply that there is no difference between male and female deputies considering bill proposals and interpellations. Given the theoretical background, the result is particularly surprising in the case of bill sponsorship. On the one hand, the bivariate model 1 implies a positive relationship between the MPs' gender and the number of proposed bills. On the other hand, the effect vanishes in the multivariate modelling as soon as it controls for being a ruling party MP and the number of memberships in intra-parliamentary bodies. Below in the text, I show that female MPs are overrepresented in the bodies, which explains the seeming effect of gender, which is rather caused by the number of held (sub)committee and commission positions.

Since the analysis does not identify the content of the bills, it is only possible to say that the activity is gender-neutral in general. However, it may also be the case that either female or male MPs cosponsor bill proposals rather than write them from scratch. Unfortunately, the research design of the analysis is not able to examine this surmise.

The models of delivered interpellations may be distorted by the fact that 51 per cent of the deputies did not deliver a single question. Thus, it is difficult to reveal any relationship. Nonetheless, as the percentage of the inactive deputies suggests, the activity does not seem to be crucial to the idle majority of MPs.

³⁰ The simulations of the multivariate models are conducted under the setting of opposition unexperienced degree holders of average age from Prague and Central Bohemian Region without any experience with the chamber's and PPG presidium post, with the average number of memberships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions, and affiliated to the Social Democrats (a coalition party) during the VII. Chamber of Deputies.

More importantly, there is a considerable effect of gender on the MPs' speechmaking. This is an essential difference as participating in plenary debates attracts both direct and indirect media and voters attention. Holding everything else constant, during the last term, men representatives addressed 25.61 speeches per year with 95 per cent confidence intervals between 21.00 and 30.87.³¹ Contrary to this, female legislators spoke only 20.03 times annually (16.06; 24.66). The difference of more than five speeches a year confirms H1.

Table 3.3. Negative binomial models of bills, interpellations, and speeches

	Dependent variable:					
	Proposed bills		Delivered interpellations		Addressed speeches	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Female	0.116*	0.048	0.184	0.033	0.143*	-0.246***
	(0.062)	(0.040)	(0.136)	(0.119)	(0.087)	(0.062)
Age		-0.001		-0.0002		-0.006**
		(0.002)		(0.005)		(0.003)
Tenure		0.023		0.014		0.243***
		(0.016)		(0.048)		(0.026)
Degree holder		0.040		0.153		0.271***
		(0.039)		(0.121)		(0.059)
Geographic area		0.029*		0.161***		-0.029
		(0.015)		(0.045)		(0.023)
PPG		0.157***		-0.054		0.513***
(vice-)chairman		(0.043)		(0.141)		(0.067)
Ruling party MP		-1.026***		-2.287***		-0.489***
		(0.041)		(0.135)		(0.058)
Chamber's		0.040		0.439		2.845***
(vice-)president		(0.091)		(0.286)		(0.132)
(Sub)committee		0.025***		0.138***		0.047***
and commission		(0.007)		(0.021)		(0.011)
memberships						
Dummy variables of terms		⋮		⋮		⋮
(6)						
Dummy variables of parties		⋮		⋮		⋮
(16)						
Constant	1.118***	1.838***	0.279***	0.841**	3.435***	2.839***
	(0.026)	(0.115)	(0.057)	(0.343)	(0.036)	(0.180)
N	1,385	1,385	1,385	1,385	1,385	1,385
Log likelihood	-3,084	-2,240	-2,071	-1,742	-6,135	-5,510
Theta	2.243***	14,655	0.337***	0.748***	0.692***	1.544***
	(0.158)	(27,093)	(0.020)	(0.053)	(0.024)	(0.061)
AIC	6,172	4,544	4,146	3,549	12,273	11,085

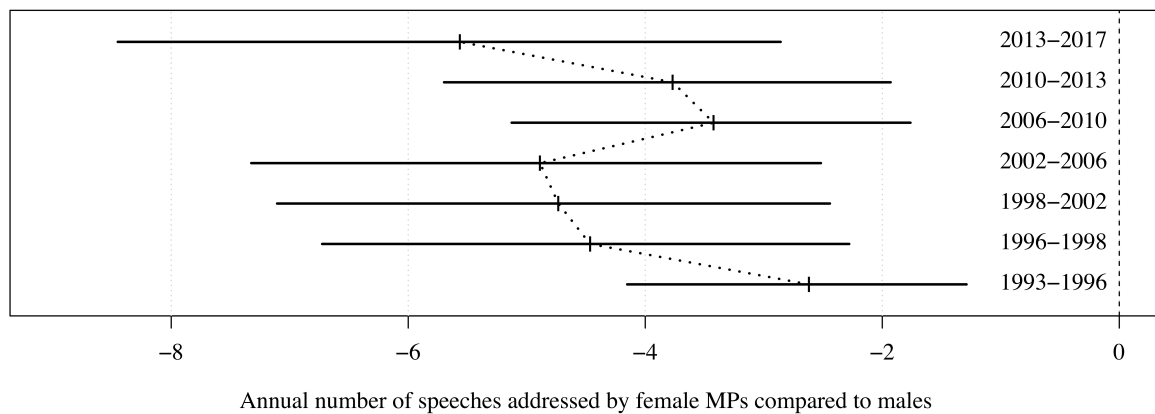
Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

³¹ The simulations of the multivariate models are conducted similarly to the previous endnote.

Contrary to this, Bäck and Debus (2016) discovered no effect in the Czech Republic. However, they scrutinised only a single (and a politically unique) term and employed a different model. Since the presented multivariate model utilises complex data on the MPs’ legislative behaviour between 1993 and 2017, it is considered to be more robust.

Figure 3.2 displays separate simulations of individual parliamentary terms. It suggests that the effect of female deputies speaking less frequently was statistically significant in all seven parliamentary terms. Furthermore, the difference has become larger during the last 25 years as it increased from approximately two speeches per year in 1993–1998 to almost six speeches in 2013–2017. Interestingly, the difference remained relatively low between 2006 and 2013. It is not a coincidence that during the two terms, the share of female MPs in the chamber rose noticeably. Thus, the effect is linked to a general perception of women’s presence in the chamber.

Figure 3.2. Marginal effects of gender on speechmaking in individual terms



Note: The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the Zelig package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008). The figure shows how many fewer speeches female MPs deliver compared to male representatives.

Although the research design of the presented analysis does not deliver any detailed explanation of this effect, the most straightforward elucidation is that female MPs speak less on ‘hard policy’ issues (Bäck & Debus, 2016; Bäck et al., 2014). Such an explanation is also supported by the findings in Figure 3.4 below.

Although the numbers of post-election positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions are count variables as well, it is necessary to employ different modelling. The reason for this is that the data have a similar mean and variance. Thus, I reveal the relationships using Poisson modelling. Besides this, since the dependent variables are limited by the exact point of time of six months after legislative elections, the following analyses deal only with 1,302 MPs who held the deputy mandate at the very point of time.

Table 3.4 shows the results that are in agreement with the hypothesis H2. To be more specific, female MPs get more post-election membership positions in the intra-parliamentary

bodies. The same effect also applies to the presidium posts. Especially the latter difference is a precious advantage for female MPs since (vice-)chairmen may influence political agenda significantly. The undisputed relationships are suggested not only by the bivariate models but also by the multivariate analyses.

Table 3.4. Poisson models of post-election positions in intra-parliamentary bodies

	Dependent variable:			
	Post-election memberships		Post-election presidium posts	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	0.151*** (0.040)	0.095** (0.041)	0.218*** (0.083)	0.170** (0.085)
Age		-0.004** (0.002)		0.006* (0.004)
Tenure		0.0003 (0.017)		0.149*** (0.032)
Degree holder		0.047 (0.041)		0.139 (0.092)
Geographic area		0.005 (0.016)		-0.017 (0.033)
PPG (vice-)chairman		0.049 (0.045)		-0.029 (0.095)
Ruling party MP		0.086** (0.039)		0.019 (0.081)
Chamber's (vice-)president		-0.410*** (0.108)		0.502*** (0.153)
Post-election (sub)committee and commission memberships				0.116*** (0.020)
Dummy variables of terms (6)		⋮		⋮
Dummy variables of parties (16)		⋮		⋮
Constant	1.117*** (0.017)	1.456*** (0.115)	-0.405*** (0.037)	-1.350*** (0.268)
N	1,302	1,302	1,302	1,302
Log likelihood	-2,511	-2,235	-1,352	-1,208
AIC	5,026	4,531	2,709	2,480

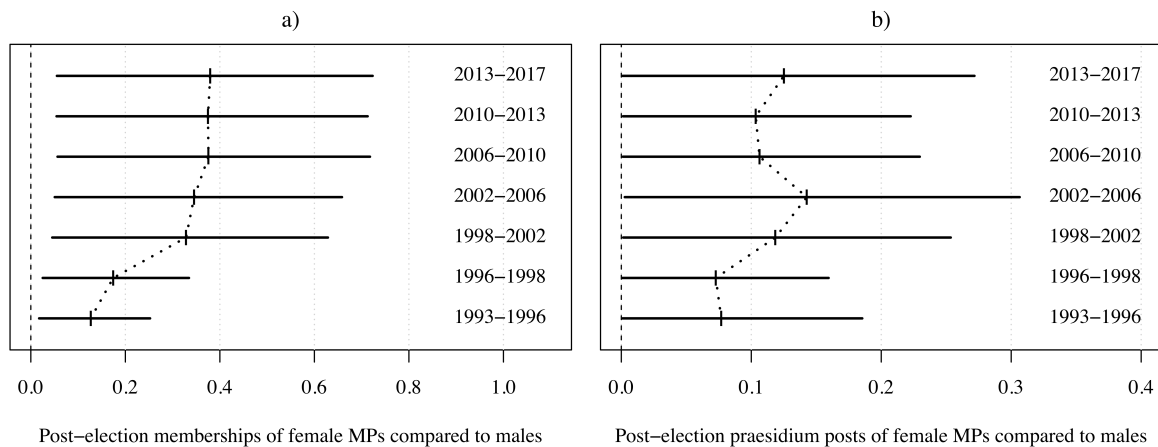
Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

To inspect a magnitude of the effects, Figure 3.3 depicts a simulation of the relationships in individual terms.³² While male deputies held four mandates in the intra-parliamentary bod-

³² The simulations of the multivariate models are conducted under the setting of opposition unexperienced degree holders of average age from Prague and Central Bohemian Region without any experience with the chamber's and PPG presidium post, with the average number of post-election mem-

ies half a year after the elections in 2013, female MPs got almost 0.4 mandate more. This finding suggests that women occupy more positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions compared to their male colleagues. Most importantly, female overrepresentation has become more substantial during the seven terms. The trend shows that the difference tripled between the elections in 1993 and 2013.

Figure 3.3. Effect of gender on post-election positions in intra-parliamentary bodies



Note: The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the Zelig package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008). The figure shows how many more post-election positions female MPs get compared to male representatives. The intra-parliamentary bodies stand for (sub)committees and commissions.

The simulations of the held post-election presidium posts also suggest a moderate increase in female MPs' overrepresentation during the last 25 years. Paradoxically, the rise was slowed down between 2006 and 2013 when the share of women in the chamber increased. It suggests that the overrepresentation of women in the bodies' presidium is permanent, but it is lessened particularly in the terms when female candidates noticeably succeed in the legislative election.

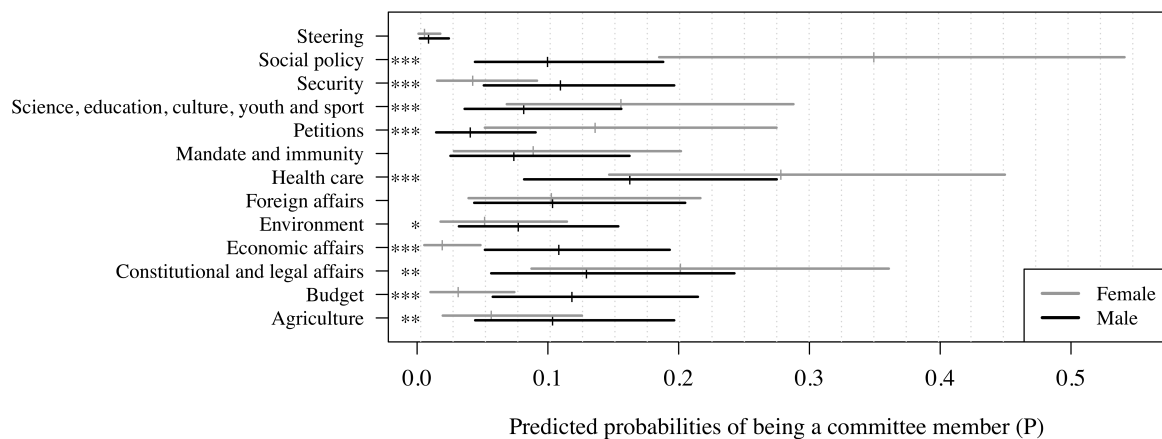
The most straightforward explanation of the difference is that male deputies get more positions in a cabinet and the chamber's presidium. Therefore, either because of the Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies or a convention, female MPs get more positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions. Nevertheless, the most prestigious committees still predominantly consist of male legislators (Rakušanová Guasti, 2009).

To demonstrate this, I scrutinise the chances of MPs to become members of particular committees. Since the dependent variables are binary options of either being or not being a member of a committee half a year after the elections, I employ logit modelling.

berships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions, and affiliated to the Social Democrats (a coalition party).

Figure 3.4 summarises the results of 13 separate multivariate models that include all previously utilised control variables.³³ Specific *p*-values of the gender’s effect are displayed next to respective committees. The results show that there are only three committees with no statistically significant difference between the chances of male and female deputies to become their members. These are (1) steering committee, (2) mandate and immunity committee, and (3) committee on foreign affairs. Thanks to a relatively high *p*-value, it is possible to consider a committee on environment as being gender-neutral as well.

Figure 3.4. Effect of gender on post-election chances of committee assignments



Note: *p*-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$. The expected values and associated 95 per cent confidence intervals are depicted using the simulation of the Zelig package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008).

On the one hand, the models imply that female MPs have significantly higher chances to become members of five committees compared to men – these are committees on (1) social policy, (2) science, education, culture, youth and sport, (3) petitions, (4) health care, and (5) constitutional and legal affairs. The difference is most massive in the case of the social policy committee. To be more specific, holding everything else constant, women legislators have a 34.78 per cent chance to become a member of the committee, while the chance of men MPs is only 9.95 per cent.

On the other hand, male deputies are more likely than female MPs to become members of four committees – these are committees on (1) security, (2) economic affairs, (3) budget, and (4) agriculture. For instance, men MPs become members of the committee on budget with a chance of 11.80 per cent. However, the very same probability in the case of female deputies is only 3.13 per cent. Interestingly, these findings are in a perfect (!) agreement with the hypotheses H3a and H3b. Thus, it is possible to infer that the difference between ‘male and fe-

³³ The simulations of the multivariate models are conducted similarly to the previous endnote at the time of the VII. Chamber of Deputies.

male committees' in the Czech Republic (a post-communist country) is similar to Sweden and Norway (Western Europe) (see Towns, 2003).

Importantly, there is another aspect of the debate about committee assignments, which is the perceived status of particular committees. MPs in the Czech Republic value the committees on (1) budget, (2) constitutional and legal affairs, and (3) economic affairs as the most prestigious ones (Rakušanová Guasti, 2009). Since the answers come from the predominantly masculine Chamber of Deputies, it should not be surprising that the two financial committees are male-biased as Figure 2.4 demonstrates. Contrary to this, it is remarkable that the committee on constitutional affairs is among the female-biased committees despite its general prestigiousness. This may be caused by the frequent legal background of female MPs. The other female-biased committees on (1) petitions, (2) social policy, (3) health care, and (4) science are considered to be among the least prestigious bodies (Rakušanová Guasti, 2009).

Finally, I have run several robustness analyses to assess the qualities of the results. First, I have expected that the effect of gender may interact with other independent variables. For instance, one may anticipate that gender is more influential during the young age of the deputies when they have to focus on childcare and future political prospects simultaneously. However, no such interaction effect with either age, tenure, holding a degree, or geographic location was statistically significant.

All the results are also robust against excluding observations with large residuals. This robustness analysis mostly jeopardizes the effect of gender on the number of held membership and presidium posts in intra-parliamentary bodies. The effects become gradually less statistically significant together with the exclusion of outliers. To summarise, the results are robust against standard threats that usually distort the models. This is not surprising since the dataset is rich in the number of observations and the variance of the data.

3.3 Conclusions

The chapter shows that gender influences the parliamentary activity of MPs in the Czech Republic. Still, although the effect is noteworthy, the differences are not radical, and they apply to only some of the parliamentary performances. Most importantly, gender tends to affect the legislative behaviour of MPs in the post-communist country similarly to Western Europe. This applies to the differences in fewer speeches of female MPs, the overrepresentation of women in intra-parliamentary bodies, and gender-biased committees. The communist legacy of different modern social and political history does not seem to play a significant role here.

Generally, it is not possible to say that female deputies in the Czech Republic are more or less active than their male colleagues. There is no evidence that women legislators deliver the different number of bills and interpellations, or attend more or less roll calls than men representatives. It is true that there are more demanding selection criteria for female MPs in the Czech Republic since they are politically underestimated by the public, and oppressed within men-driven parties (CVVM, 2016a; Galligan & Clavero, 2008). Nonetheless, it does not

translate into more active female MPs in the parliament in general, similarly to the US congresswomen (Anzia & Berry, 2011).

Most of the effects of gender on the legislative behaviour of Czech MPs follow trends from Western Europe. To be more specific, Czech women deputies speak less than their male colleagues, which is similar to female representatives in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (Bäck & Debus, 2016). Furthermore, Czech women get relatively more positions in committees, sub-committees, and commissions compared to their male counterparts. The effect accords with the finding from the British House of Commons (O'Brien, 2012). Last but not least, the results on the differences between gender-neutral, male-biased, and female-biased committees are in a perfect agreement with conclusions from Sweden and Norway (Towns, 2003).

These findings are important as they say that similar differences exist on both sides of the former Iron Curtain despite different experiences of social and political systems. Nonetheless, I have only shown that the similarity applies to directions of the gender's effect. Thus, it is a task for further studies to compare also the strength of the effect.

Interestingly, it is exciting to inspect the dynamics of the gender's influence on the legislative behaviour of Czech MPs. Concerning females speaking less and getting relatively more positions in the chamber's bodies, the differences between the genders have been predominantly increasing during the last 25 years. Nonetheless, the distinctions were rising mainly when the share of female MPs remained low compared to the previous term. On the contrary, when the share of women deputies rose significantly in 2006 and 2010, the effect of gender on the number of addressed speeches and received positions became smaller.

This finding shows a link between a descriptive representation of women in the chamber and their parliamentary performance compared to male deputies. As long as the low share of women remains stable, the differences between the two genders become larger. However, as soon as the share of female MPs increases notably, the differences tend to be lesser. To summarise, at least a course towards an equal descriptive representation leads to the more equal parliamentary activity of female and male MPs.

Since the presented chapter is a pioneering study, it deals with a descriptive representation. Therefore, it seems to be natural to follow it with scrutiny of similarities between a substantial representation of women in Western Europe and a post-communist area. Moreover, the interesting question for a qualitative study would be whether the very initial reasons why female MPs behave differently from men deputies are the same in both regions. We should also scrutinise whether both male and female MPs are contented with the differences or whether they want to change the status quo.

Generally, it would be beneficial to make more use of post-communist legislatures and societies in a study of female representation (see Gwiazda, 2019a). For instance, Rosenbluth (2006) argues that women's representation in politics is closely associated with the development of a welfare state. Since the generosity of welfare states in post-communist countries is approximately in the middle between Scandinavian countries and the rest of Western Europe, the post-communist area can serve as an exciting and so far underrated research case.

Chapter 4

Broken Whips

'This government is based on deputy mandates profiteering and poaching selected MPs.'

Jiří Paroubek, MP (ČSSD) on the cabinet of Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek (ODS)

24 March 2009, Chamber of Deputies

Members of parliament in the Czech Republic usually toe party lines. The loyalty yields mutual benefits for both MPs and their parties as unity helps to gain offices and pass policies. Nevertheless, legislators often face cross-pressure from more than one principal among which they have to choose. This schizophrenia may result in a scenario in which MPs vote against the party and its leadership.

The parliamentary voting dissent affected Czech politics the most on 24 March 2009. In the morning, Vlastimil Tlustý (ODS) woke up as a member of a ruling parliamentary party group. It was an extraordinary day in the Chamber of Deputies since the opposition held a vote of no confidence in a cabinet of Mirek Topolánek (ODS). After Vlastimil Tlustý had publicly declared, that he had been disappointed by the cabinet's results, he voted against his party leaders and all the other members of the PPG. In the 200-seats chamber, 101 representatives supported the no-confidence and the cabinet fell thanks to the smallest margin possible (Parlament České republiky, 2009). Vlastimil Tlustý was expelled from the PPG before he went to sleep (Kopp et al., 2009).

Even though a voting rebellion is rarely that influential, it is a crucial aspect of legislative politics. Therefore, questions on the nature and consequences of MPs' voting dissent are un-

derstandable. In the Czech Republic, there is a tradition of studying parties' voting discipline (see Dvořák, 2017; Gregor & Havlík, 2013; Kopecký et al., 1996; Linek & Lacina, 2011; Linek & Rakušanová, 2002). However, the existing research has employed only a party-level analysis, which deals with a questionable concept of parties as unitary actors. More importantly, the research design cannot identify individual aspects of the voting dissent (Gherghina & Chiru, 2014).

Thus, for the very first time, I inspect the legislative behaviour of individual MPs in the Czech Republic between 1993 and 2017. I focus on the lower chamber of the Czech parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, since it is a focal institution of the parliamentary regime. Overall, I scrutinise 1,484 representatives and 61,543 roll calls. To make the conclusions more robust, I deal with three different types of the voting dissent. These are the MPs' voting against (1) a PPG chairman, (2) a PPG majority, and (3) a PPG supermajority.

The initial inspection of the data suggests that the voting against a PPG chairman is the most frequent type of the voting rebellion. On the contrary, the deputies' disagreement with the supermajority of PPG colleagues is the least common. The data also imply that the voting dissent differs across terms and parties, albeit without any noticeable pattern. Still, the voting dissent remains approximately the same during the parliamentary terms regardless of approaching elections.

Being a male MP, enjoying more parliamentary experiences, and holding a ministerial mandate increase the chance of the voting dissent. Contrary to this, the voting dissent decreases in the case of MPs from ruling parties and PPG chairmen. Last but not least, the results imply that voting rebels attend fewer votes and abstain more. As MPs vote against party colleagues, they elucidate the dissent position at plenary sessions. Interestingly, the effect does not apply to the legislators voting against a PPG chairman.

To summarize, the voting dissent of the deputies in the Czech Republic depends on their political background as well as individual sociodemographic characteristics. Furthermore, the MPs adjust their parliamentary activity as they vote against the PPG. The effect is stronger as deputies vote against the (super)majority of party colleagues than a PPG leader. Overall, the chapter proves as the very first study focused on the Chamber of Deputies the necessity to inspect legislators' voting dissent on the individual level of analysis.

The chapter consists of several parts. First, I explain a theory behind representatives' voting dissent. Second, I elucidate a research design of the analysis. Third, descriptive as well as inferential results are presented. Last but not least, I deliver conclusions and discuss their robustness.

4.1 Incentives to voting dissent

In the parliamentary regime of the Czech Republic, legislators and parties enjoy mutually beneficial cooperation. The teamwork helps to gain offices and pass policies. In other words, parties need MPs as well as shipmasters cannot exist without sailors nor the other way around.

To start with legislative parties, they rely on voting unity, which may be a result of three different factors. These are cohesiveness, discipline, and agenda control (Carey, 2007). Firstly, PPGs are cohesive as long as their members share similar ideological preferences. Secondly, party leaders use carrots and stick to reward party discipline and to chasten voting rebels, respectively. Last but not least, agenda-setters may influence a flow of proposals so as controversial issues, which are potentially harming to the voting unity, are avoided.

In the lower deck, MPs are expected to have three all-embracing goals (Müller & Strøm, 1999; Schlesinger, 1966). First, they seek policy change to move the status quo closer to their ideal point. Second, they strive for offices to accomplish the first goal or to advance their career. Third, they want to get re-elected so they can carry out the previous two goals. Ideally, the three objectives may be achieved through a merged series of actions. Based on policy preferences, representatives assemble in political parties that seek offices and help their members to retain mandates. In that case, MPs face no reasons to oppose the party, which results in a united action (Ozbudun, 1970; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017).

Nonetheless, according to the principal-agent model, the existence of the ideal state of the voting unity depends on who is the principal of MPs (agents). In parliamentary democracies, parties are the main principal since legislators depend on policy influence, career advancement, and re-election prospects more or less provided by the party (Müller, 2000). If that is the case, MPs are expected to toe the party line.

However, legislators may face other principals with competing pressures. To be more specific, if an MP's intra-party position is not strong enough, she instead turns her attention to the electorate. Consequently, voters can boost the re-election chances through preferential votes despite MP's unfavourable candidate list position. Nevertheless, when voters' preferences differ from the party's standpoint, the MP may need to rebel.

Other legislators derive their political strength from the support of interest groups, such as unions or professional associations. Then, if an MP depends on the tie and find herself between the interest group and the party sometimes, she may deviate from the party voting line. Last but not least, representatives have their policy preferences and ideological limits. Thus, if the party's instruction comes to far across the barriers, the MP rebels. That is the case especially if MPs feel electorally safe, or they do not seek any further career advancement (Benedetto & Hix, 2005; Kam, 2009).

After several researchers addressing the issue of opposing principals, Carey (2007) summarized the threats to the parties' voting unity in competing principal theory. In other words, he employed the principal-agent model to elucidate MPs' voting dissent based on legislators facing cross-pressure from more than a single principal. The theory has been quite successful in explaining not only cross-country and cross-party differences in the voting unity but also causal mechanisms on the level of individual MPs (Kirkland & Harden, 2016; Sieberer, 2015). The specific findings of the competing principal theory on incentives to MPs' voting dissent help to design the analysis presented.

4.2 Research design

The voting dissent is usually studied by quantitative methods. Still, the dispute is over a level of the analysis. The Rice index allows scrutinizing the party-level voting unity of MPs, which was the initial way of studying the party discipline (see e.g. Kopecký et al., 1996; Linek & Lacina, 2011; Sieberer, 2006). The level of PPGs has also been employed by researchers focusing on the voting unity in the Czech Republic (e.g. Dvořák, 2017; Gregor & Havlík, 2013; Linek & Lacina, 2011).

The Rice index ranges from 0% (when a PPG splits into two halves) to 100% (when a PPG is united) (Rice, 1925). For example, Rice scores of profoundly united PPGs in the United Kingdom, Norway, or Denmark are close to the latter level. Contrary to this, PPGs in Sweden and Finland are less united (Rice scores of approx. 95% and 90%, respectively) (Dvořák, 2017; Sieberer, 2006). The essential fact is that even in a party-dominated parliament, for instance, in Portugal or the United Kingdom, MPs sometimes vote against their PPG (Leston-Bandeira, 2009).

Since the very results of the Rice index prove that parties are not unitary actors, scholars ask what are the individual incentives to vote against one's party (Bowler et al., 1999b; Kam, 2009). Interestingly, some researchers go even further as they deal with individual votes to quantify the specific chances of the voting rebellion (e.g. Kunicova & Remington, 2008; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017).

Proksch and Slapin (2015, p. 175) claim that 'to understand important aspects of parliamentary behaviour, a theoretical model must approach parliamentary politics at the level of the individual MPs'. The presented paper adopts the very approach. Firstly, since there is the tradition of a party-level analysis in the Czech Republic, I consider the MP-level analysis as a next step of the research. Secondly, such a level of analysis is probably the most popular in contemporary foreign research, which allows comparing the conclusions (e.g. Garner & Letki, 2005; Gherghina & Chiru, 2014; Shomer, 2016).

4.2.1 Hypotheses

The voting dissent has been scrutinised in many different polities. The shared findings help to form expectations about the nature and implications of the voting dissent in the Czech Republic. To begin, MPs' voting unity is affected by the very type of a political system. In presidential regimes, the voting dissent is much more common than in parliamentary democracies (Carey, 2007; Shomer, 2016). Besides this, voting unity is lower in federal compared to unitary systems of government (Carey, 2007). However, as the political regime of the Czech Republic has endured since 1993, its potential effect remains the same.

More importantly, the frequency of legislators' voting dissent closely relates to a procedural and working set of a legislature (Bowler et al., 1999a). The main question is what means of acting independently do MPs have. Firstly, it is crucial whether representatives have other options of presenting a dissent opinion than voting against the PPG. Secondly, it is

vital whether MPs can perform their mandate even after the repeated voting dissent, which may lead to a weaker position within the PPG.

In the Czech Republic, deputies are allowed to ask questions and propose bills individually. Moreover, they address speeches often without previous approval of the PPG. In the first Chamber of Deputies, if legislators wanted to ask a written question, 82% of them did not seek prior consent from either the PPG chairman or other party colleagues (Kopecký, 2001). Such independence reflects on a perception of the voting dissent. If an MP had to vote in 1993 but held an opinion which was different from the one of her PPG, 50% of them used to follow their own opinion, 39% claimed that it depended, and only 11% used to respect the decision of the PPG. Between 1998 and 2002, the majority of MPs declared that in the case of disagreement with the PPG, one should vote according to her own opinion (Linek & Rakušanová, 2002).

Moreover, MPs in the Czech Republic are allowed to change the PPG quite easily, unlike in Portugal or Spain (Leston-Bandeira, 2009). To be more specific, between 1993 and 2017 only 1,327 out of 1,484 MPs (89.4 %), who held the mandate for more than six months, remained in the single PPG. The rest of the MPs have either remained independent for the rest of their MP mandate or joined another PPG. To summarize, MPs in the Czech Republic enjoy unusual ways of acting individually. This makes the issue of the voting dissent in the Chamber of Deputies even more exciting.

Importantly, although the very Czech political system endured more or less unchanged, the legislative politics went through a dynamic political and institutional evolution between 1993 and 2017 due to democratic consolidation. One may expect that even a parliamentary party system worked under different rules during its early stages compared to today. In general, the voting dynamics differ across legislatures in Western Europe, and post-communist countries (Dvořák, 2017). Thus, I expect that:

H1: MPs' voting dissent in early parliamentary terms was higher compared to the later ones due to a party system consolidation.

Weber and Parsons (2016) point out that legislators' voting dissent depends largely on the phase of a parliamentary term. They show that even in a candidate-centred electoral system in the United States of America, 'parties systematically muffle dissent as elections approach' (Weber & Parsons, 2016, p. 638). Similar findings have been discovered even in party-centred electoral systems of Denmark and Switzerland (Skjaeveland, 1999; Traber et al., 2014). Contrary to this, Dvořák (2017) shows that Rice scores of PPGs in parliamentary regimes of the United Kingdom, Finland, Germany, and most importantly, the Czech Republic remain approximately the same during terms. Therefore, I build a hypothesis:

H2: MPs' voting dissent remains the same regardless of approaching the legislative election.

I am also interested in MPs' individual characteristics increasing their chances of voting against PPG counterparts. There is a sound academic agreement that more experienced repre-

representatives dissent more frequently. The effect was discovered in Swedish *Riksdag* (Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017), British House of Commons (Garner & Letki, 2005), and most importantly in a cross-national analysis of 30 country-sessions (Shomer, 2016). To explain the relationship, senior deputies feel more certain about their political position. Moreover, they might no longer be interested in career prospects, which again results in standing more firm on their political positions. Thus, I form a hypothesis:

H3: More experienced MPs dissent more than novices.

It is natural to expect that PPG leaders dissent less than other MPs. The leaders not only toe the party line, but they also define it. For instance, such a relationship has been proved in Romania (Gherghina & Chiru, 2014). The same logic should apply to ministers, who are policy leaders depending on the party unity (Shomer, 2016). Thus, I construct a hypothesis:

H4: PPG leaders and ministers dissent less than other MPs.

Several studies also suggest that the voting dissent relates to a government-opposition status of MPs. The data from Sweden (Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017), the Czech Republic (Linek & Lacina, 2011), and a cross-national study (Shomer, 2016) show that MPs from ruling parties defect less during voting than opposition legislators. To explain this, ruling parties enjoy higher voting unity due to the cabinet's patronage potential and common sense of government unity (Kam, 2009). Importantly, the effect adjusts according to a majority reserve of ruling parties (Linek & Lacina, 2011). Therefore, another hypothesis states that:

H5: Voting dissent of MPs from ruling parties is smaller compared to opposition MPs.

Besides this, I focus on MPs' parliamentary activities that accompany the voting dissent. Proksch and Slapin (2015) claim that speech dissent precedes the voting dissent. Therefore, if MPs decide to dissent during voting, they are expected to explain their reasons behind a microphone. Therefore, I form the following hypothesis:

H6: The increased voting dissent is accompanied by more frequent speechmaking.

There are many further aspects of the voting dissent to be scrutinised. To be more specific, these are mainly sociodemographic and institutional factors. However, due to either missing or inconclusive evidence, I do not anticipate any effects and instead conduct the very analyses. As a result, the research should not only evaluate the hypotheses but also scrutinise the general patterns of the voting dissent in the Czech Republic.

4.2.2 Data

The analysis utilises complex primary data on a parliamentary activity of deputies in the Czech Republic (Parlament České republiky, 2019). To be more specific, I focus on members of the Chamber of Deputies between 1 December 1993, when the chamber employed an elec-

tronic system of recording, and 20 October 2017, when the last legislative election started. Thus, the dataset covers the first seven finished parliamentary terms.

Overall, 1,518 legislators served in the chamber between 1993 and 2017 (including replacements). Nonetheless, not all of them are relevant to the analysis. I exclude 33 MPs who held the mandate for less than six months.³⁴ Furthermore, I also do not take Ivana Janů MP into account since she had left the chamber before the electronic system of recording was installed. Thanks to this, the analysis deals with 1,484 representatives.³⁵

The essential variables to be scrutinised are information on the legislators' voting dissent. Similarly to other parliaments, MPs in the Czech Republic group in PPGs based on party candidate lists. If a legislator attends voting, she can either vote Yes, No, or abstain. Usually, the voting defection stands for a situation when an MP vote differently compared to her PPG. Nevertheless, the abstention raises a question of operationalization.

Willumsen and Öhberg (2017, p. 692) claim that while both abstention and defection 'involve an MP denying the party her vote, the effect is moderated in the case of abstention by the simultaneous denial of a vote against the MP's party'. Therefore, pooling the two forms of dissent oversimplifies the issue, which is understandable. On the other hand, in the Czech parliament, the abstention still increases the quorum, which is necessary to meet to pass the vote. Thus, it is considered as a 'soft No' (Wintr, 2010, p. 270). To bridge the contrast, I employ a compromise. Based on the latter argument, I code abstention as voting No. Nevertheless, I will later regress the abstention rates on the pooled variable of the voting dissent. The model will reveal the effects of the two forms of disagreement.

Still, the voting dissent may be understood in different ways. Generally, the defection stands for situations when an MP votes against the party line, which is usually defined as the majority of the MPs' party. However, there are two problems. First, the voting rebellion of the MP against the simple majority of her PPG colleagues is less fateful than voting against the larger majority of the party. Second, MPs may vote together with the majority but still against the party line defined by party leaders. Therefore, I inspect three forms of the voting dissent to encompass and scrutinise all the potential instances of the defection. To be more specific, I calculate the percentage of times a legislator voted against (1) a PPG chairman, (2) a majority of her PPG colleagues, and (3) a supermajority (three fifths)³⁶ of PPG counterparts.

³⁴ The threshold was set using two different approaches. First, the MPs start to propose bills, deliver interpellations, and address speeches usually not earlier than after six months from their entrance to the chamber. Secondly, the MPs themselves admit that it takes six months on average to understand the parliamentary job as much as it is possible to represent responsibly.

³⁵ Some analyses further subset the baseline dataset depending on specific models. Moreover, modelling of the MPs' voting against a PPG chairman deals only with 1,482 representatives. To explain this, in the 1st term, two legislators were members of HSD-SMS, which did not have an electronically registered PPG chairman.

³⁶ The supermajority of three-fifth corresponds to the Constitution of the Czech Republic.

MPs may change a PPG during a term, and PPG chairmen may be replaced. Thus, I first scrutinise all the votes one by one with a repeated identification of the deputies' PPG and the group leader. In each term, there were 8,792 recorded votes on average. In the assembly of more than 200 legislators (due to replacements), it makes precisely 13,379,057 MP-votes to be analysed. If the representative did not belong to any PPG, I consider the voting result as missing information on the potential dissent. The same logic applies to the cases when either MP or PPG chairman did not attend the voting. Similarly, the information is missing if there was no voting majority in the PPG. After the procedure, I pool the dissent on the individual level.

The parliament in the Czech Republic is one of the most transparent in the world since almost all votes are subject to a roll call. Therefore, on the one hand, there is no danger of a selection bias, which 'may distort inferences about the cohesion of parties' (Carrubba et al., 2008; Proksch & Slapin, 2015, p. 26). On the other hand, the primary data on roll calls do not allow to differentiate 'crucial' roll calls (on bills, international treaties, cabinet activity etc. from procedural voting. Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind that the analysis deals with patterns of the general voting dissent.

On the side of independent and control variables, I employ all the available and theoretically justifiable information to identify the maximum of the representatives' characteristics that potentially increase the chances of the dissent voting. I track MPs' gender as there is some evidence that female legislators are slightly less likely to dissent (Papp, 2018). Besides this, I scrutinise MPs' age in years as different career prospects of young and old deputies may influence their voting discipline. The similar logic applies to the education of representatives. Therefore, I include a dummy variable of holding a university degree. I also utilise legislators' tenure in the chamber (novices are coded as 1, MPs serving their second term as 2 and so on) to inspect one of the hypotheses.

Furthermore, I also quantify the distance of legislators' constituency from Prague, where the parliament resides. The rationale is that whipping legislators may depend on their availability. Besides this, I include variables on MPs' membership in a cabinet, the chambers' presidium, and a PPG presidium. Holding such positions is expected to substantially affect MPs' career prospects and political self-confidence translating into the voting dissent. The analysis also deals with the number of MPs' posts in committees, subcommittees, and commissions held during a parliamentary term. This may affect the deputies' voting dissent since their legislative insight is more immediate (Gherghina & Chiru, 2014; Shomer, 2016).

I also differentiate between MPs from ruling parties and opposition deputies. Since Linek and Lacina (2011) imply that there is an interaction effect between a ruling status and a size of the ruling majority, I identify whether a ruling cabinet enjoys a majority of the chamber's seats or not. Contrary to the study, I employ a binary variable – its explanatory power in the modelling is larger compared to the specific number of majority mandates.

There is an academic agreement that the institutional setting of an electoral system affects MPs' voting dissent (Gherghina & Chiru, 2014; Kunicova & Remington, 2008; Papp, 2018;

Shomer, 2016; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017). To be more specific, if voters choose between closed party candidate lists and nominations are controlled by a party, ‘the party can ensure the cohesion of a legislative body by weeding out potential troublemakers’ (Bowler et al., 1999a, p. 6). Contrary to this, if the electoral system is candidate-centred, representatives are expected to be more individualistic.

In 2002, the legislative election in the Czech Republic took place under different rules for the first time after an electoral reform (Lebeda, 2016).³⁷ Therefore, I differentiate between the two stages using a dummy variable. Similarly, the rules of preferential voting changed repeatedly during the last 25 years. Thus, I quantify the percentage of preferential votes that a candidate needs to get to move up on a candidate list.

Furthermore, I also track a PPG size using the number of mandates in a new chamber. The usually recognized knowledge claims that larger parties face higher levels of the voting dissent (Shomer, 2016). Last but not least, all models include dummy variables of parliamentary terms and MPs’ candidate lists to control time and party specifics similarly to other studies (e.g. Garner & Letki, 2005; Kunicova & Remington, 2008; Sieberer, 2015; Weber & Parsons, 2016). Employing the data from post-communist Europe, Tavits (2012) shows that parties with strong organizations are more unified in a parliament than the weak ones.

Scholars often focus on the effect of ideology on the voting dissent (Kunicova & Remington, 2008; Papp, 2018; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017). To include such information, it is necessary to survey MPs. Unfortunately, primary data on Czech representatives are either missing or inaccessible. Moreover, Czech surveys are also distorted by a low response rate (see e.g. CCS, 2016). Therefore, although it is a substantial limitation, I do not include such a variable in the presented analyses. The quality of the findings depends on a claim of Willumsen and Öhberg that ‘failing to include measures of MPs’ ideological incentives to dissent did not lead to different results’ (2017, p. 704).

Finally, I am also interested in the relation of the deputies’ voting dissent to their parliamentary activity. Therefore, I inspect MPs’ voting attendance and voting activity. The latter is operationalized as the percentage of attended votes when a representative did not abstain (and voted either Yes or No). Besides this, the analysis tracks the number of bills (co)sponsored by an MP per year. I also deal with the annual number of both oral and written interpellations delivered by a deputy. Since the voting dissent is closely related to speechmaking (Proksch & Slapin, 2015), I also analyse the number of addressed speeches by a deputy per year.³⁸

³⁷ The reform was not ground-breaking as it was forced to respect the original logic of a proportional representation. Firstly, the mechanism of seat allocation changed from the Hagenbach-Bischoff formula to the D’Hondt. Secondly, the form of the legal threshold for coalitions was altered (from 7%, 9% and 11% for two-, three- and multimember coalitions, respectively to thresholds of 10%, 15% and 20%, respectively). Thirdly, the reform deleted the second district level. Finally, 14 electoral districts were established instead of the original eight (Lebeda, 2016).

³⁸ Descriptive statistics of all the variables is provided in Appendix C.

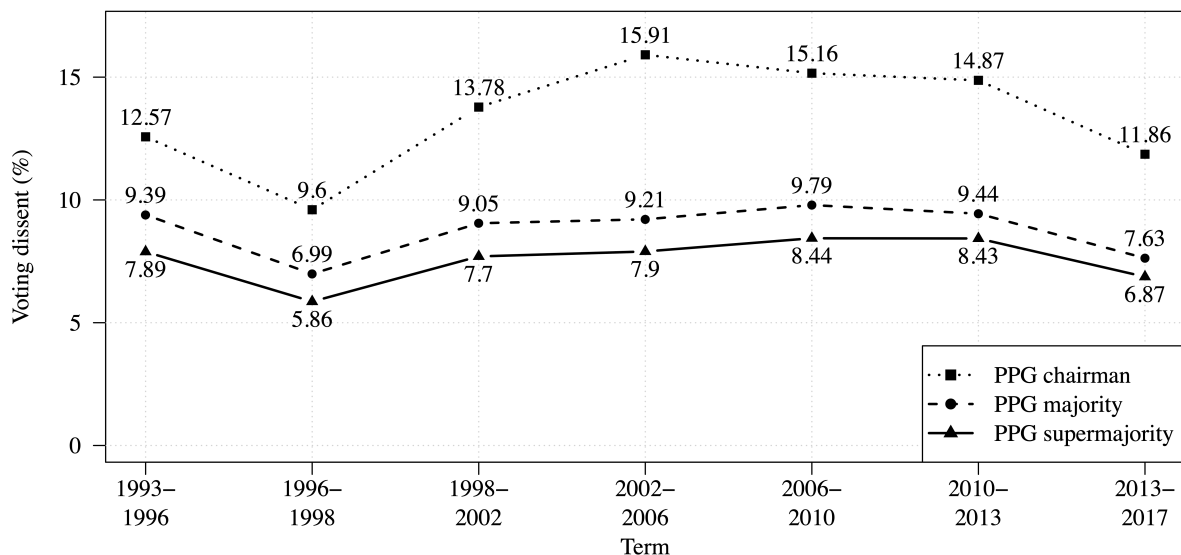
4.3 Voting dissent of MPs

The presented analysis enjoys a crucial benefit. As the research is a case study, it isolates the substantial effects of regime types on the legislators' voting dissent. Thus, even though the study still needs to control for minor institutional changes and political culture evolving throughout the terms, it allows us to focus on the particular effects of MPs' individual characteristics.

4.3.1 Characteristics

Since the chapter is pioneering research on the Czech MPs' individual voting dissent, I elaborate on all critical aspects of the phenomenon. Figure 4.1 displays the differences between the three types of the voting dissent. Naturally, MPs vote more frequently against the majority (over 1/2) of the PPG compared to the supermajority (over 3/5). While the former dissent appears in 8.79% of the MPs' voting, the latter is the case in 7.59% on average. Importantly, the legislators vote against the PPG chairman substantially more often – the voting dissent takes place in 13.44% of votes. Overall, the voting rebellion of the Czech MPs proved to be a common phenomenon. Nonetheless, it is necessary to keep in mind that the voting dissent of the Czech MPs is substantially less frequent in the case of politically important roll calls.

Figure 4.1. Average voting dissent in the Czech Republic



Note: The lines differentiate between three types of the voting dissent.

Figure 4.1 also displays the MPs' voting dissent across the seven terms. All three types of defection follow a similar trend. To be more specific, the voting dissent was relatively high in the very first term. Then, the voting dissent hit the minimum between 1996 and the snap election in 1998. The fall in the 2nd term was probably caused by the rule of the right-wing minor-

ity coalition cabinet of Václav Klaus. As the strength of coalition and opposition parties was almost equal, the voting unity was a priority for all the parties (Wintr, 2010). Furthermore, the extremist right-wing Republicans enjoyed almost the perfect voting unity. Such a combination has not repeated ever again.

After that, the voting dissent started to rise again. The deputies' voting against PPG chairmen was the most frequent in 2002–2006. The summit was reached mainly due to the Civic Democratic MPs voting against their PPG leader in every fifth vote. To explain this, the PPG contended with the new leadership after its founder and president-elect Václav Klaus had left the chamber in 2003.

The voting against the PPG (super)majority was at the maximum level between 2006 and 2010 when the chamber was evenly split between left-wing and centre-right-wing camps. Thanks to this, turncoats and narrow majorities were typical of the term. The supermajority voting dissent was also widespread in 2010–2013 when a cabinet initially enjoyed the most massive majority (118 MPs) in modern history. Even though the cabinet majority had shrunk in spring 2012, it remained relatively safe. Thanks to this, MPs could vote against a vast majority of PPG colleagues without changing the equilibrium. Furthermore, the unique parliamentary behaviour of the business-firm party VV left its marks on the voting dissent in the term (Hloušek, 2012).

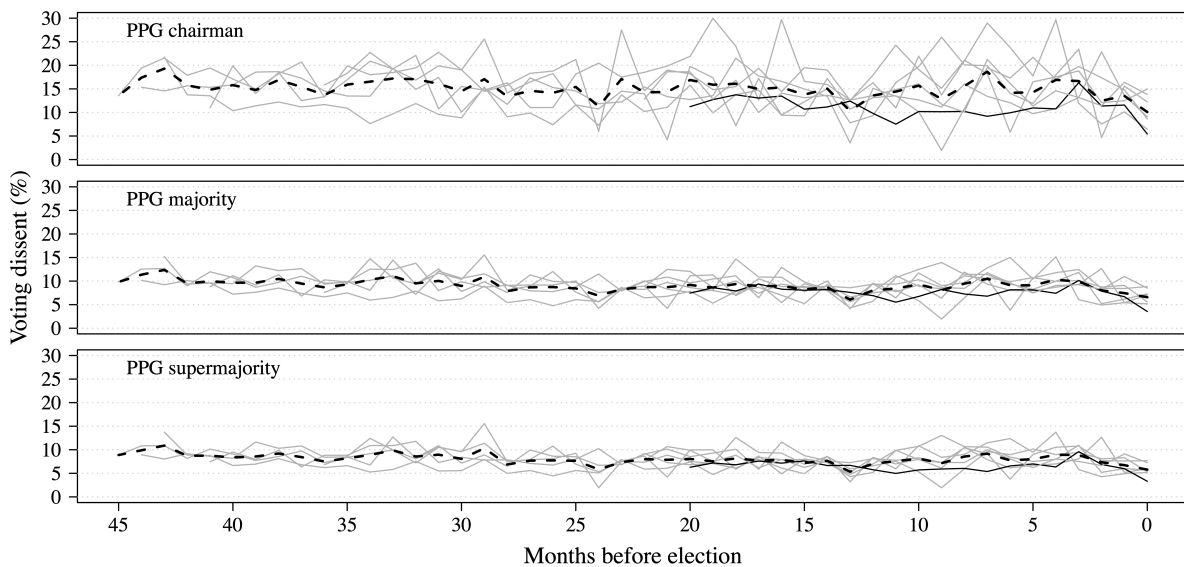
Another shared trend is the decrease in the voting dissent after 2013. The voting unity was extraordinarily low in the case of ruling representatives of ANO having a quarter of the deputy mandates. To catch up with ANO, other coalition parties (ČSSD, KDU-ČSL) focused on the voting unity as well. Increasing ideological polarization could also play a role.

To summarize, it is necessary to reject H1 claiming that the MPs' voting dissent in early parliamentary terms was higher compared to the later ones. On the one hand, the Czech party system and a parliamentary culture went through consolidation in the 1990s. On the other hand, the power distribution and ideological polarization affected the voting dissent more noticeably.

To inspect the more detailed dynamics of the MPs' voting dissent, Figure 4.2 displays courses of all parliamentary terms in the light of approaching legislative elections. Although the deputies' voting dissent fluctuates during terms, on average, it remains more or less stable. Importantly, there is not an indication that the voting dissent is low after and before the elections, and high in the middle of a term (see Skjaeveland, 1999; Traber et al., 2014; Weber & Parsons, 2016).

The findings confirm H2 saying that MPs' voting dissent remains the same regardless of approaching the legislative election. Still, there is at least one hardly visible trend shared across the terms. The voting dissent almost always decreased in the last month before the elections. There are two potential explanations. First, the MPs are more loyal to gain pre-election party support, which may be essential to get re-elected. Second, the MPs' voting is united as they seek to finish a legislation process of as many bills as possible before the end of a term. As both explanations may work simultaneously, I cannot reject any of them.

Figure 4.2. Voting dissent during parliamentary terms



Note: The solid black lines stand for the 2nd parliamentary term (1996–1998). The shadow lines represent the other six legislative terms. The dashed lines display the average voting dissent. The boxes differentiate between three types of the voting dissent.

Figure 4.2 also elaborates on the extraordinarily low voting dissent in the prematurely finished 2nd term. Although the voting dissent fluctuated between 1996 and 1998, it remained approximately the same, albeit below the average. Therefore, it proves that the frequency of the voting dissent does not substantially depend on the known time before the election.

Comparing the three types of operationalization, MPs' voting dissent against PPG chairmen is more unstable than the voting against the PPG colleagues. This may be caused by the fact that the former voting dissent is more frequent than the latter, which creates a broader interval of the oscillation. Besides this, the voting against PPG chairmen is substantially affected by the changing political situation and personal relationships. Contrary to this, the voting against the PPG (super)majority depends rather on policy preferences shared within the PPG, which is a more stable trait.

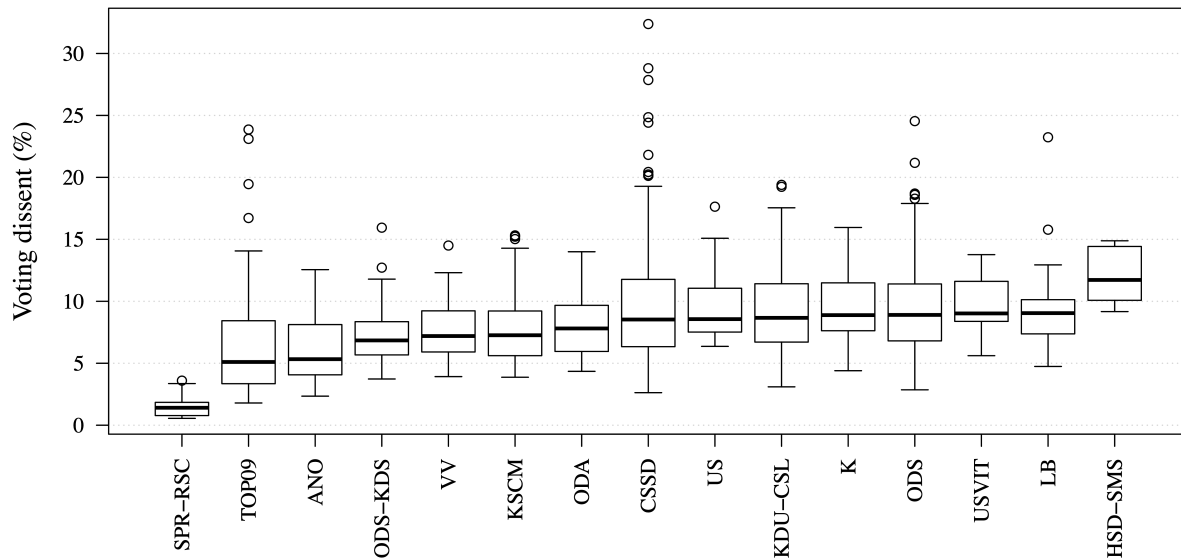
Next, despite a missing hypothesis, I am also interested in the differences of the voting dissent across political parties. Figure 4.3 illustrates the MPs' voting dissent against the PPG majority based on a candidate list they were running on. To make the results comparable, I focus only on 1,327 MPs, who spent a whole parliamentary term in a single PPG.³⁹

On the one hand, the Republicans voted the most cohesively. This was caused mainly by their extremist anti-systematic position, which resulted in almost permanent abstaining. Right-wing liberal-conservative TOP 09 enjoyed the median voting dissent close to the level of 5%, similarly to the business-firm party ANO. On the other hand, the representatives of the re-

³⁹ The PPG of the Greens is missing since all the six Green MPs had been independent in 2006 before they established a PPG in 2007. The PPG of LSU is missing since it disintegrated in 1994.

gionalist Moravian party HSD-SMS were the least united. The successor of the Communist party in the 1st term LB also faced a relatively high median voting dissent. Interestingly, another business-firm party USVIT was far from being as united as ANO.

Figure 4.3. Voting dissent against PPG majority (1993–2017)



Note: Coalition (K) was an electoral coalition in 2002 legislative election, that consisted of two PPGs of KDU-ČSL and US-DEU during the subsequent term.

The two largest parties between 1993 and 2017, the Social, and Civic Democrats, had similar median levels of the MPs' voting dissent (8.53% and 8.90%, respectively). Generally, it is not possible to reveal any trend considering the differences between left-wing and right-wing parties, and between pro-democratic and anti-systematic parties. Such a finding may be regarded as quite surprising, and it shows that the party system lacks shared patterns.

Still, in the case of some parties, it is possible to track the evolution of their voting dissent. The Social Democrats rebelled 5.51 percentage points on average more in 1993–1996 and 2010–2013 compared to the other terms (8.74%). In the respective terms, the right-oriented cabinets were in power with a clear majority that was resistant to the opposition voting unity. Contrary to this, the voting dissent of the Communists remained approximately the same between 1996 and 2017 as the party stayed in the opposition for the whole time. The Civic Democrats rebelled the most in 2002–2006 term (11.70%). Interestingly, that was the term of the left-oriented cabinet with the slightest majority when a few defectors could change the equilibrium. However, it is not very easy to reveal any pattern of ODS voting dissent as the party's MPs rebelled the least in 1996–1998 (6.55%) at the time of their right-oriented minority cabinet, and 2013–2017 (6.59%) under the rule of left-oriented majority cabinet. Last but not least, KDU-ČSL faced the highest level of the voting dissent between 2006 and 2010 (14.20%) at the time of a hung parliament and the right-oriented cabinet of ODS, SZ, and

KDU-ČSL. It may not be surprising that in 2010, TOP 09 was established due to secession from KDU-ČSL. On the contrary, KDU-ČSL enjoyed the lowest level of the voting dissent at the time of their right-oriented minority cabinet between 1996 and 1998 (5.96%).

Table 4.1. OLS regression analyses of the voting dissent

	Dependent variable of the dissent voting:		
	PPG chairman	PPG majority	PPG supermajority
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Female	-0.779*** (0.257)	-1.490*** (0.236)	-1.477*** (0.233)
Age	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.034*** (0.010)	-0.035*** (0.009)
Tenure	0.426*** (0.106)	0.964*** (0.097)	0.984*** (0.096)
Degree holder	-0.443* (0.244)	-0.016 (0.223)	0.022 (0.221)
Geographic area	0.104 (0.094)	-0.187** (0.086)	-0.203** (0.085)
PPG (vice-)chairman	-3.821*** (0.276)	-0.716*** (0.253)	-0.695*** (0.250)
Minister	1.836*** (0.414)	2.666*** (0.379)	2.780*** (0.375)
Chamber's (vice-)president	1.216** (0.561)	0.740 (0.514)	0.770 (0.509)
(Sub)committees and commissions memberships	-0.017 (0.047)	-0.109** (0.043)	-0.108** (0.043)
Ruling party MP	-2.779*** (0.362)	-1.596*** (0.332)	-1.489*** (0.328)
Majority	3.004*** (0.417)	0.240 (0.382)	-0.016 (0.377)
Ruling party MP*Majority	-2.566*** (0.442)	-1.923*** (0.405)	-1.206*** (0.400)
Reformed electoral system	1.260*** (0.377)	0.964*** (0.346)	0.885*** (0.342)
Preferential voting	1.749*** (0.241)	0.591*** (0.220)	0.294 (0.218)
PPG size	0.017 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.013)	-0.011 (0.013)
Dummy variables of terms (6)	⋮	⋮	⋮
Dummy variables of parties (16)	⋮	⋮	⋮
Constant	1.577 (1.615)	8.311*** (1.480)	8.515*** (1.463)
Observations	1,482	1,484	1,484
R ²	0.475	0.349	0.309
Adjusted R ²	0.463	0.333	0.293
Residual std. error	3.581 (df=1,447)	3.281 (df=1,449)	3.243 (df=1,449)
F statistic	38.573*** (df=34;1,447)	22.810*** (df=34;1,449)	19.066*** (df=34;1,449)

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. p -Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

The main research question of the chapter deals with the MPs' individual incentives to vote against their PPG. Although the information on the MPs' voting dissent resembles count data, ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses deliver results that are similar to negative binomial models. To explain this, the data on the three types of the voting dissent are normally distributed. Thus, I employ OLS regression analyses as the results are easy to interpret. Importantly, the three models in Table 4.1 show high levels of explanatory power as they explain between 31% and 48% of the voting dissent's variability.

The results show that female MPs dissent less during voting than male deputies. Interestingly, the difference in the case of the voting against the PPG (super)majority is approximately twice as large as in the case of voting against PPG chairmen. It may be caused either by a consensual style of politics of women or by men-driven parties, which demand loyalty especially from female MPs (see Galligan & Clavero, 2008).

Holding everything else constant, an additional year of the MPs' age results in 0.03 percentage points decrease in the voting against the PPG majority. Although older representatives are more loyal to the majority of PPG colleagues, it does not apply to the loyalty to PPG chairmen. Contrary to this, more experienced MPs dissent more frequently compared to novices, which is in agreement with H3. The parliamentary experience of the legislators motivates them to vote especially against the majority of PPG counterparts.

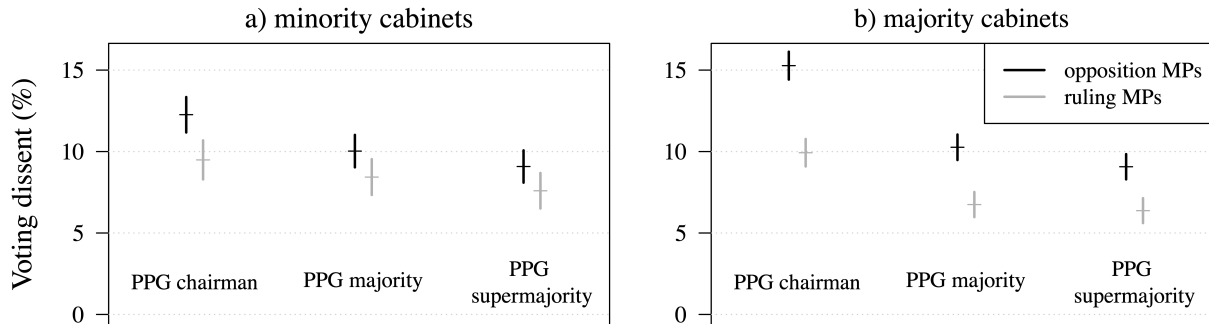
Interestingly, the further the MPs' constituency from Prague is, the less they vote against PPG colleagues. The finding suggests that the borderlands legislators appreciate PPG unity. Next, it is no surprise that PPG leaders vote 3.82 percentage points less against PPG chairmen compared to other MPs. Similarly, PPG leaders vote more in agreement with the majority of PPG colleagues. These findings are in agreement with H4. Nonetheless, H4 cannot be entirely accepted as the dissent voting of ministers-MPs is more extensive compared to other legislators. To explain this, members of cabinet enjoy a more secure political position, which allows them to behave more independently. Furthermore, they often have to promote a government policy, which contradicts the position of the PPG.

The results also show that H5 is valid as MPs from ruling parties dissent less than opposition representatives. The story gets more complicated if one differentiates between minority and majority cabinets (see Linek & Lacina, 2011). Figure 4.4 depicts the detailed simulations.⁴⁰ On the one hand, if a cabinet faces a minority in the chamber, MPs from ruling parties vote less against a PPG chairman (2.78 percentage points) and majorities of PPG colleagues

⁴⁰ The simulations of the multivariate models are conducted under the setting of male unexperienced degree-holding MPs of average age from Prague and Central Bohemian Region without any experience with the chamber's and PPG presidium post, with the average number of memberships in committees, subcommittees, and commissions, and affiliated to the Social Democrats during the VII. Chamber of Deputies. The institutional setting is post-reform with 5% of preferential votes and the average party size.

(1.60 and 1.49 percentage points, respectively) compared to opposition MPs. On the other hand, if a cabinet enjoys a majority, the differences get substantially more significant.

Figure 4.4. Voting dissent under a rule of minority and majority cabinets



Note: Lines represent 95% confidence intervals delivered by the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008). The dyads differentiate between three types of the voting dissent.

Last but not least, the institutional factors also affected the MPs' voting dissent in the previous 25 years. To be more specific, the voting dissent increased after the reform of the electoral system in 2002. The most likely explanation is that since constituencies became smaller on average with closer ties between legislators and voters, MPs seek the individual attention by the voting dissent. Similarly, the more preferential votes MPs need to get to move up on a candidate list, the higher the voting dissent is. As long as the MPs need to get relatively more preferential votes, they make themselves known through utilizing the voting dissent. Last but not least, the initial PPG size does not significantly affect the representatives' voting dissent.

4.3.2 Interconnection with parliamentary activity

The voting dissent of the Czech representatives is not an isolated phenomenon. Therefore, I also scrutinise the ties between the voting rebellion and MPs' parliamentary activities. As the relationship is expected to be mutual, I do not call it a one-direction causal mechanism.

The voting dissent closely relates to the MPs' voting attendance and abstentions. Since the two variables are normally distributed, I employ ordinary least squares regression analyses. The results are displayed in Table 4.2. The models have high explanatory powers as, for example, the model 4 explains two thirds of the MPs' voting activity variability.

Table 4.2. OLS regression analyses of the voting attendance and activity

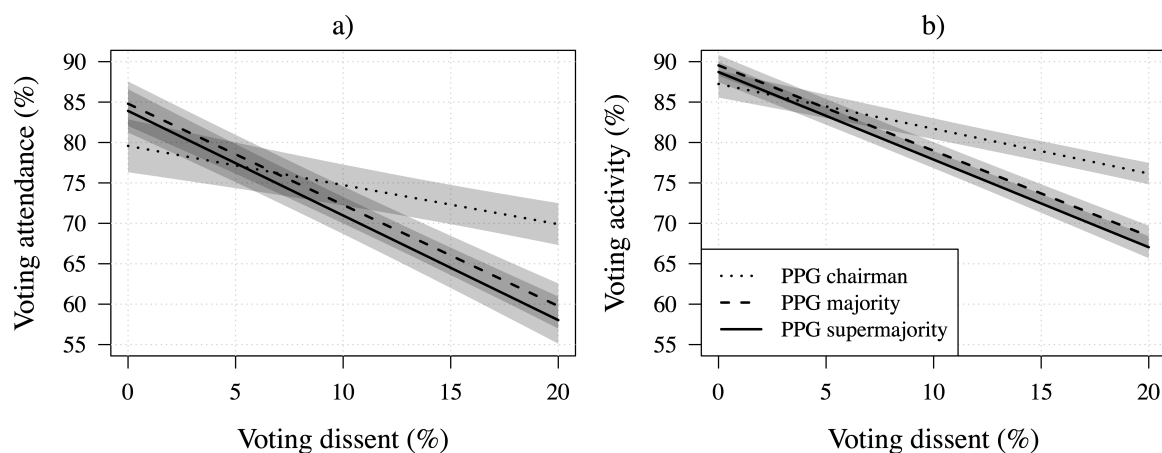
	Dependent variable:			
	Voting attendance		Voting activity	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Voting dissent (PPG chairman)	-0.484*** (0.079)		-0.554*** (0.040)	
Voting dissent (PPG majority)		-1.251*** (0.081)		-1.056*** (0.038)
Female	0.251 (0.782)	-1.249* (0.741)	0.468 (0.399)	-0.662* (0.345)
Age	0.161*** (0.031)	0.122*** (0.030)	0.061*** (0.016)	0.028** (0.014)
Tenure	-1.597*** (0.321)	-0.564* (0.310)	-0.985*** (0.164)	-0.181 (0.144)
Degree holder	-0.996 (0.739)	-0.792 (0.692)	-1.076*** (0.377)	-0.851*** (0.323)
Geographic area	0.885*** (0.283)	0.590** (0.266)	0.365** (0.145)	0.108 (0.124)
PPG (vice-)chairman	-0.096 (0.888)	0.867 (0.786)	-1.567*** (0.453)	-0.191 (0.367)
Minister	-14.232*** (1.261)	-11.755*** (1.196)	-2.301*** (0.644)	-0.463 (0.558)
Chamber's (vice-) president	-2.407 (1.702)	-2.118 (1.595)	0.529 (0.869)	0.596 (0.744)
(Sub)committee and commission memberships	0.829*** (0.142)	0.703*** (0.134)	0.155** (0.073)	0.055 (0.062)
Ruling party MP	2.633*** (0.800)	1.118 (0.728)	3.129*** (0.408)	2.410*** (0.339)
Dummy variables of terms (6)	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
Dummy variables of parties (16)	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
Constant	70.452*** (2.517)	77.089*** (2.283)	85.450*** (1.285)	88.949*** (1.065)
N	1,482	1,484	1,482	1,484
R ²	0.369	0.444	0.553	0.675
Adjusted R ²	0.355	0.431	0.543	0.667
Residual std. error	10.843	10.173	5.536	4.743
F statistic	(df=1,448) 25.659***	(df=1,450) 35.068***	(df=1,448) 54.281***	(df=1,450) 91.058***
	(df=33;1,448)	(df=33;1,450)	(df=33;1,448)	(df=33;1,450)

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. *p*-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

The results displayed in Figure 4.5a show that the MPs' voting dissent is associated with a substantial decrease in voting attendance.⁴¹ In other words, as legislators vote against the PPG, they also attend fewer roll calls to avoid such situations. Interestingly, even though the relationship is significant in both voting against PPG chairmen and the majority of PPG colleagues, the power of the ties differs. To be more specific, the dissent MPs attend more than twice votes fewer if they vote against PPG colleagues compared to voting against PPG chairmen. Such a difference suggests that there are more consequences of voting against the PPG majority than a chairman.

All the three types of the voting dissent deal with abstentions as voting against a proposal (Wintr, 2010). Still, Willumsen and Öhberg (2017) point out that pooling the two forms of dissent oversimplifies the issue. Thus, I focus on a relationship between the MPs' voting dissent and the abstention rates. Figure 4.5b shows that the increasing voting dissent is linked to a noticeable increase in the deputies' abstaining. To put it differently, if legislators do not agree with the PPG, they often abstain rather than vote manifestly against the PPG.

Figure 4.5. Voting dissent relative to voting attendance and activity



Note: Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals delivered by the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008). The lines differentiate between three types of the voting dissent.

Similarly to the voting attendance, the effect differs across the three types of the voting dissent. When deputies do not agree with PPG chairmen, they sometimes abstain rather than vote against her. Nonetheless, when deputies cannot vote together with the majority of PPG colleagues, they abstain approximately two times more compared to the previous case. These findings confirm that MPs try to avoid group ostracism much more compared to a worsened relationship with PPG a chairman.

⁴¹ The simulations are conducted similarly to the previous endnote employing a setting of opposition MPs.

Table 4.3. Negative binomial models of bills, interpellations, and speeches

	Dependent variable:					
	Proposed bills		Delivered interpellations		Addressed speeches	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Voting dissent (PPG chairman)	0.004 (0.004)		0.012 (0.014)		-0.006 (0.006)	
Voting dissent (PPG majority)		0.009** (0.004)		0.013 (0.015)		0.050*** (0.007)
Female	0.043 (0.040)	0.055 (0.040)	-0.019 (0.128)	-0.013 (0.130)	-0.260*** (0.061)	-0.173*** (0.061)
Age	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.002)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)
Tenure	0.014 (0.016)	0.006 (0.016)	-0.063 (0.054)	-0.071 (0.056)	0.245*** (0.025)	0.189*** (0.025)
Degree holder	0.049 (0.039)	0.045 (0.039)	0.117 (0.129)	0.106 (0.130)	0.255*** (0.058)	0.276*** (0.057)
Geographic area	0.024 (0.015)	0.027* (0.015)	0.048 (0.050)	0.051 (0.050)	-0.028 (0.022)	-0.015 (0.022)
PPG (vice-)chairman	0.176*** (0.045)	0.170*** (0.042)	-0.060 (0.174)	-0.110 (0.160)	0.439*** (0.068)	0.507*** (0.063)
Minister	-0.515*** (0.098)	-0.531*** (0.098)			1.031*** (0.096)	0.916*** (0.096)
Chamber's (vice-)president	0.053 (0.090)	0.046 (0.090)	0.752** (0.328)	0.736** (0.329)	2.761*** (0.128)	2.782*** (0.125)
(Sub)committee and commission memberships	0.027*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.113*** (0.024)	0.115*** (0.024)	0.035*** (0.011)	0.044*** (0.011)
Ruling party MP	-1.033*** (0.044)	-1.024*** (0.042)			-0.494*** (0.062)	-0.335*** (0.059)
Dummy variables of terms (6)		∴		∴		∴
Dummy variables of parties (16)		∴		∴		∴
Constant	1.794*** (0.128)	1.740*** (0.124)	0.782* (0.459)	0.816* (0.444)	2.992*** (0.195)	2.369*** (0.186)
N	1,482	1,484	778	780	1,482	1,484
Log likelihood	-2,363	-2,362	-1,403	-1,405	-5,995	-5,976
Theta	14,007.070 (25,501)	14,025.610 (25,567)	0.824*** (0.067)	0.822*** (0.066)	1.522*** (0.058)	1.577*** (0.060)
AIC	4,795	4,792	2,861	2,864	12,059	12,020

Note: Control dummy variables of terms and parties are hidden to save space. *p*-Values: $p < 0.01 = ***$, $p < 0.05 = **$, $p < 0.1 = *$.

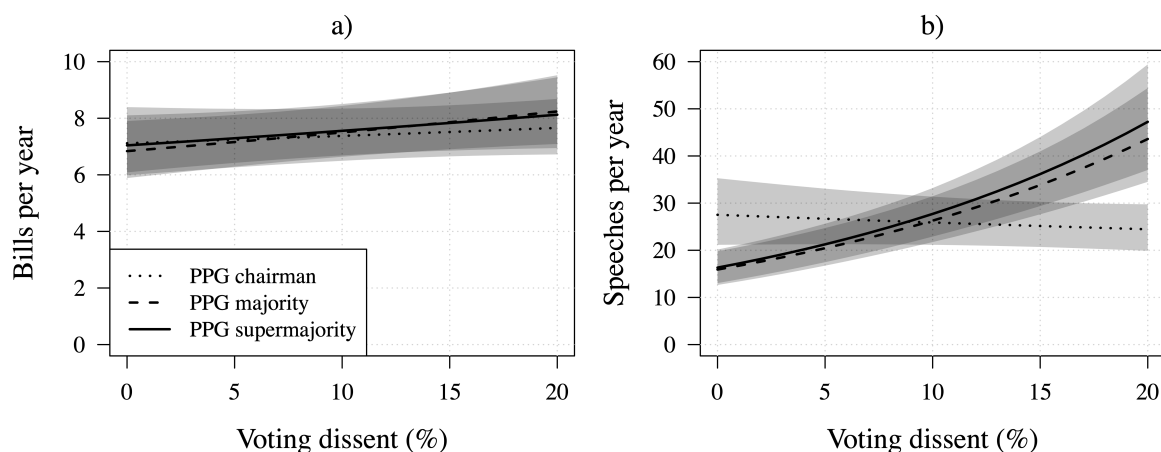
Next, I also inspect a relationship between the voting dissent and the number of proposed bills, delivered interpellations, and addressed speeches. Since the three variables are count data, I employ negative binomial modelling. I exclude MPs from ruling parties in the case of

modelling the delivered interpellations as opposition MPs ask questions predominantly. The results in Table 4.3 suggest that there is no significant relationship between the MPs' voting against a PPG chairman and the three outputs.

Contrary to this, there is a statistically significant relationship between the deputies voting against the PPG majority and the number of proposed bills per year. The specific link is displayed in Figure 4.6a.⁴² As the MPs increase their voting dissent from the PPG majority by 15 percentage points, they propose approximately one bill a year more. The finding suggests that solitary MPs become more active in introducing bills. They probably become more active individually to promote policies and get media attention since their internal position in the PPG declines.

More importantly, the MPs' dissent voting against the PPG substantially affects the number of addressed speeches. Figure 4.6b shows a significant increase in the number of speeches at the plenary session as MPs dissent from both simple and the supermajority of PPG colleagues. The most likely explanation is that the deputies wish to explain their conflicting stance on the voting matter. Such a public elucidation significantly increases the number of speeches. Interestingly, the MPs voting against PPG chairmen do not feel it the same way as the relationship is not statistically significant. The difference finally proves that the MPs are concerned especially about their disagreement with PPG counterparts rather than with a PPG leader.

Figure 4.6. Voting dissent relative to bill proposals and speechmaking



Note: Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals delivered by the simulation of the *Zelig* package in R (Venables & Ripley, 2008). The lines differentiate between three types of the voting dissent.

Last but not least, I have made several robustness analyses to scrutinise the qualities of the results. First, I have run all the models without extreme observations of the voting dissent. Considering the incentives to vote against PPG chairmen, the role of being in the chamber's

⁴² The simulations are conducted similarly to the previous endnote.

presidency becomes irrelevant. In the case of voting against the majority of PPG colleagues, the effects of geography, and memberships in (sub)committees and commissions become statistically insignificant first. Considering the relationship between the voting dissent and other parliamentary activities, the link between the voting against the majority of PPG and the number of proposed bills becomes statistically insignificant. The rest of the relationships are robust to the exclusion of deviant observations.

Second, I have altered the models of parliamentary activities employing the voting dissent from a previous parliamentary term (lagged variables). Nonetheless, the models did not reveal noteworthy effects. Still, the very finding is essential since it shows that the MPs' dissent voting is influential in a very same parliamentary term, but the effects do not persist across the terms substantially. Thus, it is possible to say that the MPs voting against the PPG do not face considerable long-term retaliations.

Overall, the results should be considered as being robust to usual analytical threats. This should not be surprising as the dataset is rich thanks to a lot of cases with a large variance.

4.4 Conclusions

The pioneering analysis shows that the individual characteristics of MPs in the Czech Republic influence their voting dissent. Thus, if one deals with voting unity of PPGs, it is necessary to inspect the legislators' traits such as gender, age, tenure, or the number of holding positions. In other words, although Rice scores deliver exciting results on the party-level, it is also necessary to conduct the individual-level analysis to understand party voting discipline.

Most of the characteristics of the voting dissent of the Czech deputies are in agreement with findings from other countries. For example, more experienced and opposition MPs dissent more compared to novices and deputies from ruling parties, respectively. Nonetheless, there is a noteworthy anomaly in the Chamber of Deputies. Although the shared knowledge from other legislatures suggests that MP-ministers dissent less than other legislators, the opposite is right in the Czech Republic. The interesting finding indicates that MP-ministers in the Czech Republic often disagree with their PPGs and they do not hesitate to act independently of the party.

Furthermore, the research suggests that there are substantial differences between the three types of the voting dissent. The MPs vote more frequently against a PPG chairman compared to the voting against the majority of PPG colleagues. Most importantly, the MPs' voting dissent is associated with substantial changes in the deputies' parliamentary activity. To be more specific, the MPs voting against the PPG attend fewer votes, abstain more, and publicly elucidate the dissent at plenary sessions. Nonetheless, the effects differ across the types of the voting dissent. Overall, the deputies adjust their parliamentary activity more if they vote against PPG colleagues compared to the voting against a PPG chairman. The presented chapter scrutinises the differences for the very first time and therefore, may be an inspiration even for international research.

The major drawback of the analysis is the forced exclusion of some potentially influential variables. To be more specific, I have not taken the MPs' ideological position into account as primary data on the Czech deputies are either missing or inaccessible. This is an opportunity to improve the models in the future. Nonetheless, I do not expect the results to be substantially different since I have presented highly complex models with high explanatory power.

Besides this, there are other prospects for further research. For instance, it is possible to move to an even more detailed level of analysis dealing with individual votes. Such research would deliver valuable opportunities for predictions of future voting. Next, one may focus on cross-country analysis scrutinizing post-communist legislatures to compare the results with Western Europe. Such a study would allow us to focus on the role of institutional differences and political culture as well.

Chapter 5

Return to the Cave

'I thought that I was going to change the world as a member of the Chamber of Deputies.'

Anonymous MP
Chamber of Deputies

Plato's (2005) allegory of the cave is a well-known philosophical story. In short, after the life in shackles with nothing but shadows on a wall, a prisoner is freed. Then, he is dragged out of the cave into the light of the sun, where the truth resides. Only after the prisoner looks straight at the sun, he meets the truth and becomes a philosopher.

Nonetheless, what is less known is that the allegory continues with the second part. The philosopher returns to the cave as he intends to share the experience with his fellow prisoners. The philosopher goes blind due to the darkness in the cave, and the prisoners consider the philosopher's blindness as the result of his journey out of the cave. Thus, the prisoners prefer to remain, which does not discourage the philosopher from spreading the truth.

The dissertation thesis inspects the true nature of the legislative behaviour of the deputies in the Czech Republic. To some extent, this may be read as a journey from the shadows of the cave to the light of the world. Still, at this point, two issues remain to be addressed. Firstly, I attempt to spread the results of political science research as much as possible so the conclusions can serve their purpose of helping to understand the world around us. Therefore, it is reasonable to deliver the results to Czech MPs, who are the objects of the research.

Secondly, what is even more important is the fact that the previously presented conclusions face a noteworthy drawback. To explain this, the analyses are based on the large-N quantitative scrutiny throughout the long period. Hence, the results deliver mainly causal effects. However, the causal mechanisms of the legislative behaviour are an equally essential part of the overall knowledge and yet remain, to some extent, a mystery.

Thus, in the very last chapter of the thesis, I move from the quantitative paradigm to a qualitative analysis. To be more specific, I have conducted five extensive semistructured interviews with current members of the Chamber of Deputies. Each interview has taken approximately one hour, and it has consisted of questions about the thesis' research questions, hypotheses, and findings. The scheme of the interviews has always been the same. Firstly, an MP was asked about her general perception of one of the dissertation's issue. Secondly, she was acquainted with the results of the analyses, and her reactions were recorded.⁴³

The five interviewees were selected so they reflect the variance of the MPs along the research interests of the thesis. To elucidate this, the previous chapters deal with the effects of the MPs' gender, age, tenure, and political background on their parliamentary performance. Therefore, I have interviewed three female and two male representatives. Among them, one MP is young, three are middle-aged, and one is classified as being elderly.⁴⁴ Besides this, two MPs are novices, one is practised, and two are seniors.⁴⁵ Last but not least, the five MPs represent five different parties.

All the interviews were conducted in Prague in the Chamber of Deputies in January 2020. The interviewees, who are the members of the current Chamber of Deputies (2017–2021), were promised to remain anonymous so they answers were as candid as possible. Thus, hereafter, I use three-letter abbreviations to refer to the five interviewees:

1. female; middle-aged; novice (F-M-N),
2. female; middle-aged; senior (F-M-S),
3. female; elderly; senior (F-E-S),
4. male; young; novice (M-Y-N),
5. male; middle-aged; practised (M-M-P).

The answers show different reasons of the legislators to enter the Chamber of Deputies. While some of them were asked to run in the election and help their parties to succeed in difficult times, others culminated the previous political career as a result of their personal decision. All of the interviewees agree that it takes between six months and a whole term to get sufficiently acquainted with the MP work. Generally, the representatives consider communication with voters and legislative activity to be the most important of their responsibilities.

⁴³ The questionnaire of the interviews is in Appendix D.

⁴⁴ The young MP is younger than 36; the middle-aged legislators are between 36 and 65; the elderly MP is older than 65.

⁴⁵ The novices hold the mandate for the first time; the practised MP serves between the second and the fourth term; the senior representatives hold the mandate for at least the fifth time.

The MPs predominantly agree that the left-right socio-economic dimension drives the parliamentary politics. To be more specific, they define the conflict as a struggle between the small and large role of the state in people's life. Even though the MPs point out that the Czech politics has been affected by different conflicts mainly since 2013 (the perception of the institutional setting and the political evolution since the Velvet Revolution), the left-right dimension remains to be dominant according to them.

The interviewees admit that female legislators act differently from their male counterparts. To be more specific, female politicians are considered to be more matter-of-fact and collective-oriented, while the male deputies enjoy more political disputes. It is a generally accepted fact that women and men MPs focus on different political topics, which is based on their life and professional background. However, both female and male legislators are in agreement that there is no systematic gender discrimination in the Chamber of Deputies except for occasional sexist language.

Contrary to this, ageism seems to be more substantial issue in the chamber. On the one hand, the MPs agree that there is no discrimination of legislators based on their age or tenure that complicates the deputies' work performance. On the other hand, young MPs sometimes face cavalier and belittling attitude of the older colleagues (or „dinosaurs“ as young representatives say pejoratively), and some senior members stress that their junior counterparts lack both political and life experience. Besides this, the deputies of all ages are in agreement that novices address the plenary sessions fewer times than the senior members due to the nervousness rather than speech restrictions.

Last but not least, all the interviewed legislators say that in crucial roll calls, they do not have to vote against their PPG as they share political values with their fellow MPs. Moreover, the legislators expect their PPG to unite as the legislative election approaches since voters punish intraparty disputes. For the same reasons, the MPs predominantly do not prefer to address the plenary meeting when they intend to rebel against their PPG. Still, the representatives admit that they should explain their potential dissent position to the voters.

The rest of the chapter focuses on the five MPs' answers in more details. First, I discuss the interviewees' incentives to become a deputy together with their perception of legislators' responsibilities. Then, the text follows the previous logic of the thesis.

5.1 Incentives and responsibilities

The interviewed deputies demonstrate that there are various incentives to become a legislator. As the country's political system is the asymmetrical bicameral parliamentary regime, the members of the lower parliamentary chamber enjoy substantial powers. Some of the MPs recognized the potential of the deputy mandate even before their premiere as legislators. Thus, they intended to make use of the national representatives' authority: 'Similarly to some citizens, I did not agree with some laws and things that a citizen meet with in an ordinary life. So I made a decision that if I did not like something, I should try to change it. (...)

So I was asked if I wanted to run. I agreed because I thought that I was going to change the world as a member of the Chamber of Deputies.’ (F-M-S)

Being in politics, the MP mandate is justifiably considered as the top position in a hierarchy of representation. Therefore, the entrance to the chamber may be treated as the highest step of the political career: ‘In my case, it was a culmination of the political activity, because I started in local politics as a mayor. (...) I think that I have some history.’ (F-M-N) Importantly, although one of the MPs confides that he would enjoy local politics more than the national level, he admits that he can help the region and his party more as a legislator: ‘At that moment, considering what I want [to push through], it is the most rational configuration to be here [in the Chamber of Deputies].’ (M-Y-N)

Besides this, the MPs emphasise that political circumstances have had a large influence on their political careers. On the one hand, a substantial electoral success of a party may help several new candidates to enter the chamber. On the other hand, critical situations in a party may also be beneficial to novices since new candidates make it on a ballot list and eventually become an MP: ‘The spectrum of potential candidates changed substantially. (...) The opportunity presented itself.’ (F-E-S)

Nonetheless, the incentives to run in the legislative election could be even less prosaic. Sometimes, it is enough that a potential candidate is asked as a distinctive public figure, albeit lacking in previous political experience: ‘People I respect came to me saying that they were looking for a right candidate who would attract enough voters. So I accepted it.’ (M-M-P)

Predominantly, the legislators are in agreement that one of the most important job responsibilities of representatives is communication with the voters. ‘Operation of the laws among the citizens – I think that this is the most important, and you can check this up only by working with the people.’ (F-M-S) Face-to-face communication remains to be perceived as a crucial political tool: ‘I like to take advantage of meeting the person, the citizen. Firstly, I come to know the region from the other perspective, and if somebody wants to solve a problem, I can see it in reality. I admit that I do not like e-mails, which say that here are the pictures and act.’ (F-M-N)

Importantly, the legislative activity is considered as even more essential responsibility of the deputies. Once the interviewees are asked about the central duty in the chamber as such, the legislative activity is at the top of their mind: ‘Read the bill, form an opinion, meet the experts, try to understand what it is about. That is the crucial content of the work.’ (F-E-S) ‘I perceive the role as one of a law-maker and attempting that the laws make sense.’ (M-M-P) ‘After all, it is important to follow the bills. As I say, the devil is in the detail.’ (F-M-N)

One of the MPs delivers even more colourful picture as she focuses on the legislative activity in committees, which she considers as the most important part of her work: ‘For me, it is the work in a committee because we can free ourselves a bit from strictly political views. It is not about plenary meetings, where political programmes are discussed etc. There [in a committee], it is usually about a specific solution to an issue. Of course, you proceed from your manifesto, but you already look for a solution, often it is a compromise to get a majority

for your proposal. And it is far more factual work, it is not so politicized. For me, in committee, it is generally more important [work] compared to plenary meetings.’ (F-M-S)

Besides this, the MPs also do not forget about their role of controlling the cabinet. Therefore, they mention asking questions as one of the crucial responsibilities. ‘I perceive the access to information as the strongest power and using the influence. You can communicate with cabinet departments, and even here, inside the chamber. Simultaneously, these things are closely related, you can set or affect the public debate and raise the issues. Because unfortunately, the politics is set in a way that it is not being solved unless it is discussed.’ (M-Y-N)

On the contrary, to make the picture complex, one interviewee is rather sceptical about his role and powers: ‘People write to us all the time about who caused harm to them. The impression of ordinary people is that an MP can do everything. An MP cannot do anything, he can do the same thing as regular people. Only sometimes, a cabinet department gets more, I do not want to say scared, and [an MP] has the door open.’ (M-M-P)

Last but not least, the interviewees were asked about how long did it take to get sufficiently acquainted with the work of an MP. The answers encompass interestingly various period, but all the MPs agree that it takes at least six months to get familiar with the job sufficiently to perform it responsibly: ‘Given the procedures, they are quite important here, I have learned that quite fast, after a year. The other thing is the knowledge of the matter that I deal with within the committee assignment, and it will take some further time, I cannot say how long. However, it moves forward. And then, there is another thing, which is a media skillfulness.’ (M-Y-N)⁴⁶

Generally, the most common answer on the induction period oscillates between two and three years after the first successful election. Interestingly, that is more than half of the novices’ first term, which is spent by the initial onboarding. ‘I think that even now, after two years, there are situations in which you do not know what to do. Nonetheless, I think that the first six months were the worst.’ (F-M-N) The other MP is similarly candid: ‘I do not want to say the whole term, but you need between two and three years before you become knowledgeable. In the beginning, you are enthusiastic, and you make mistakes, things you do not realize, and gradually it takes time to figure out how it works.’ (M-M-P)

Another MP admits that the initiation period depends on other factors such as the size of a PPG: ‘Back at the time, we were a large group with many novices. (...) The more experienced colleagues took us under their wing. (...) It took me roughly three years to get into the picture and meet the process. (...) It takes at least three years.’ (F-M-S)

As a result, the representatives acknowledge that the first term is consumed predominantly by the training: ‘It is true, the first term is rather about induction. If you are supposed to deliver a credible performance, which is reasonable, and you are supposed to make some deals, the so-called productive period starts with [the beginning of] the second term.’ (F-M-S) ‘It takes

⁴⁶ Just to remind, the interview with the novice was conducted more than two years after his entrance to the chamber.

two years to understand the system. In order to work precisely, it takes four years, which means one term. Therefore, I have always shaken my head when somebody says that it is for one or two terms at most. In that case, there would be continually only those who learn and nobody who knows it.’ (F-E-S)

Looking at the answers in the light of the thesis, it is justifiable to exclude MPs who served too little time as an MP from the analyses as the dissertation research does so. The maximal application of the rule would mean that all the novices should be excluded, which, however, does not seem to be reasonable as too much information would be lost in that case. Besides this, the answers show that it is essential to look mainly at the legislative activity of the representatives as they themselves consider this responsibility to be the crucial one. Again, this is in agreement with the previous chapters and the focus of the thesis.

Nevertheless, the communication between voters and legislators deserves more attention, even though it is hard to conceptualize, operationalize and scrutinize it in general. Last but not least, as MPs mention different incentives to become legislators, these background factors should be studied in the future as it may influence the deputies’ legislative behaviour.

5.2 Dimensions of ayes and nays

In the first chapter of the thesis, I claim that parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic is driven by two divisions. Firstly, there is a single ideological dimension between left-wing and right-wing socio-economic poles. Secondly, the institutional division between a cabinet and opposition plays a substantial role as well. Although a vast amount of the data supports the results, I am interested in how the MPs themselves understand their mutual political conflicts.

Generally, the legislators agree with the thesis’ conclusions that the dominant ideological conflict takes place along the left-right socio-economic spectrum. ‘If I look at the occupation of the Chamber of Deputies from the position of the chair we sit from the left to the right. Even this formal thing is observed. (...) It works in both the formal and idea-making matter.’ (F-E-S) Another MP explains how he understands the ideological dimension together with other MPs: ‘Let’s not say left and right. The larger role of the state and collectivism, the smaller role of the state and personal responsibility of a citizen. (...) I think that it will always be like this. The parliament, the cabinet, the state – what other division do you want at the top level?’ (M-M-P)

Interestingly, only one of the MPs focuses not only on the ideological dimension but also on the institutional division between the cabinet and opposition. ‘If you are in the opposition, even ODS raises a hand for higher pensions. However, once they are in the cabinet, they would not do that, because they know that it is a suicide. They prefer to reform the pension system like in the past, so the responsibility is not only of the state but also of the people. Maybe the division line should go along how the parties would behave when they rule.’ (M-M-P) Still, other MPs also suggest that the parliamentary political conflict depends on the power distribution in the chamber.

Importantly, the representatives have not ignored one essential issue related to the party politics in the Czech Republic. In 2010 legislative election, the Chamber of Deputies experienced an electoral earthquake, which started the transformation of the party system that has not finished yet (see e.g. Balík & Hloušek, 2016; Charvát, 2014; Hájek, 2018, 2020a; Hanley, 2012). On the one hand, the thesis' results show that the patterns of the dimensionality of parliamentary politics remained unchanged until 2017. On the other hand, the MPs may perceive the situation differently from their point of view, and more importantly, they were interviewed in 2020, which means in a different and unscrutinized term.

Thanks to this, one of the MPs is sceptical about the left-right nature of the parliamentary politics today: 'I have an impression that it [a principal division] does not work anymore. Before now, it worked. It was characterized by a level of regulation and redistribution of the budget. You recognized what was left – redistribution, solidarity, equality – and right – individualism, the lowest possible redistribution. (...) This term is atypical from my point of view as the perspective of left and right fades away. In this term, paradoxically, even right-wing parties propose more leftist bills [than left-wing parties].' (F-M-S) Nonetheless, once the MP has got acquainted with the thesis' results, she does not reject them: 'It is not because right-wing parties have become leftist, it is their tactics within the political conflict. (...) It may look somewhat weird to the public.' (F-M-S) In other words, the left-right division remains the principal conflict, but a tactical behaviour within a few proposals may alter the picture.

Other MPs point to the reason for the current transformation of the party system and parliamentary politics: 'It changed a lot with Babiš. Back at times, it was still right-left, that means the small and large role of the state. It comes back now as he [Andrej Babiš] has taken over pensioners and leftist voters. The dimension and parties still differ along with the small and large role of the state.' (M-M-P) Another representative admits that the perception and language plays a crucial role: 'Maybe the impression suggests that it [the left-right axis] diminishes in a situation when the coalition consists of ANO, which earlier presented itself as a right-wing party, and the Social Democrats, supported by the Communists. We call them left, so somebody may infer that it [the ideological difference] diminishes.' (F-M-N)

Nonetheless, one of the MPs is even more radical in his evaluation, although he stresses that he does not assess the previous terms: 'In my opinion, it [the political conflict] is not about the left-right division or conservative, liberal, or socialist, although it plays its role. According to me, it is about respect for the institutional character of our country. This is the division according to me. Do you take seriously principles like the separation of powers, independence of some institutions, a constitutional principle that a cabinet is responsible to the chamber?' (M-Y-N)

What do these answers mean for the dissertation thesis? They are in agreement with the conclusion that the left-right socio-economic ideological dimension is the principal political conflict besides the institutional division. The legislators' predominant perception of parliamentary politics is in agreement with the data-based results of the thesis. Nonetheless, the MPs are also aware of the current transformation of the Czech party system. Therefore, even

though the dominant role of the left-right socio-economic ideological dimension remained unrivalled at least until 2017, and it will most likely remain dominant in the future, it is important to pay attention to the legislators' different impression of the current political conflict. This is crucial as the MPs have substantial powers of setting the agenda to the public, which may alter the assessment of Czech politics despite the evidence of the data.

5.3 Elders and rookies

The dissertation thesis shows that there are noteworthy effects of MPs' age and tenure on their parliamentary performance. To be more specific, the findings demonstrate that older representatives propose more bills and more experienced representatives address more speeches compared to their younger colleagues and novices, respectively. Besides this, the young legislators attend fewer roll calls and abstain more compared to the older colleagues. Moreover, the less experienced deputies focus mainly on the parliamentary activities that are easily accessible to them, for instance, voting in the chamber. Last but not least, the MPs' age and tenure positively influence their gains of presidium posts in committees, subcommittees, and commissions.

The five interviewees also recognize these differences as they assign importance especially to the representatives' tenure: 'It plays the role [tenure], because I notice it even in my case that (...) if you come here without all the experience and you do not know the processes and the system enough, you necessarily take a subjective approach, maybe even with some level of naivety.' (F-E-S) The parliamentary experience is appreciated even by one of the novices: 'Concerning tenure, there is definitely a positive effect in the matter of knowing the procedures. It is a skill of routine, and until you do not know it, you are not a full-blown [deputy].' (M-Y-N)

Nonetheless, some MPs value not only the tenure as such but also the previous political experience in general: 'According to me, the people with at least the experience from local politics should enter the top-level politics.' (F-M-S) 'I think that on many occasions (...), you can recognize that the MPs went through the local politics.' (F-M-N) On the contrary, one of the MPs does not attach too much weight to the local political experience: 'I was in a (...) council, and I do not think that it helped me with the work in the Chamber of Deputies. Rather work and life experience [was more beneficial], these always help.' (M-M-P)

Contrary to this, one of the interviewees warns against overestimating the life experience since the parliamentary work is unique: 'Sometimes, there are young deputies, they have the young cheek and make a speech without knowing enough about the matter. Besides this, the aged and experienced people also come here, who have got the experience, however, only from their field, for instance, from business, and they think that they can apply it everywhere. We can see that both young impudence and one-field orientation are not beneficial for making a person successful here.' (F-E-S) Such a debate is important especially today since in recent

years, several parties joined the Czech politics with a promise of ruling with experts rather than politicians.

Although the MPs generally treat the experience as being connected with age, some of them assess the role of the latter separately. One of these answers is very frank: ‘It is different from person to person, how much physically and mentally capable [he or she] is. Nevertheless, I think that around 70 or so, it is the age when the person should do something different from the top-level politics.’ (F-M-N) Another MP opens the issue of the effect of age on the parliamentary performance of the representatives: ‘Once they are above a certain age, they say to themselves that they are going to finish the career here in the chamber, sit through it, work it here. And the younger [MPs] have many other activities, and they [the activities] do not have to relate [with the work in the parliamentary buildings].’ (M-M-P)

Generally, the interviewees admit that there are substantial differences in work performance between MPs of different age and tenure. For instance, one of the legislators explains why the older MPs attend more roll calls compared to the younger colleagues: ‘I think that they [the older deputies] manage their time differently. When I started [as an MP], I wanted to squeeze everything in my timetable. For instance, I got an invitation to a debate, I excused myself in the chamber, and went there. And then, since some time ago, I told myself that the chamber is the most important to me and everything else has to wait.’ (F-E-S) Simultaneously, the majority of representatives appreciate that there are legislators of different age and tenure who focus on various activities.

Probably the amplest effect shows that the more experienced legislators address plenary sessions substantially more than the less experienced MPs. On the one hand, the practised deputies know the procedures and have more opportunities to discuss the issues as they have done so many times before: ‘Logically, they [the more experienced legislators] are skilled orators, and they are more in the know. It is given by the experience as they remember the debate on the amendments from the previous terms. If I put it simply, maybe, they have more to say.’ (M-Y-N) Another MP also points out that the more experienced legislators are selected as rapporteurs more frequently: ‘When a deputy makes a speech, she usually knows what she wants to say. The experience makes a lot even in speaking – you have something to rely on. (...) The more experience you have, the more topics you are able to address. (...) If you have experience in the chamber, you get the rapporteurship. Surprisingly, the rapporteur has a priority right to make a speech. (...) Only occasionally a novice gets a rapporteurship of an important bill.’ (F-M-S)

Nonetheless, compared to the rich experience of the practised MPs, the nervousness of the novices seems to be a better explanatory factor of their lower frequency of addressing the plenary meetings. ‘I think that as soon as they [the novices] sit on the benches, they realize that they are in a critical environment. Every word, every incomplete opinion may be caricatured, ridiculed... So they get suddenly scared. I have seen outstanding mayors who were capable of managing complicated agenda, and here [in the chamber] they come, and suddenly, it impacts

them and they cannot overcome the fear of not being 100% successful. I think that partially, it is given by a character.’ (F-E-S)

Other MPs confirm the very same effect: ‘I do not know anybody who does not have the jitters, at least the minimum of it. It is a matter of stage fright, respect, they [the less experienced MPs] acquire experience, they are not so self-assured, they cannot see into everything. The longer you are here [in the chamber], the more seasoned you are.’ (M-M-P) One of the interviewees was very candid about her impressions: ‘They [the experienced MPs] are familiar with the working environment. Me personally, in the beginning, I had problems with making a speech. I had the impression that I was going to say something, and it would be absolutely wrong. At that moment, even if I was used to delivering speeches and holding talks as a mayor. Still, I told myself that the TV cameras were here, it went out, and you were going to say something absolutely stupid.’ (F-M-N) Interestingly, even though the PPGs may be satisfied with the fact that mainly the experienced MPs address the plenary sessions, they try to motivate the less experienced members to make a speech: ‘We tell them to make a speech, learn it. It does not matter if you make a mistake. It is most important to get seasoned. We motivate each other in this way. Nonetheless, you cannot force anybody, it is individual, individual assessment.’ (F-E-S)

Overall, the interviewees are in agreement that there is no discrimination as such based on MPs’ age or tenure. In other words, the younger and less experienced MPs are not sidelined when it comes to committee assignments, making speeches or other parliamentary performance in general. However, the very same agreement among the interviewees exists when I ask them about potentially offensive language: ‘I have encountered it on a verbal level, for instance, in the speeches at the plenary meetings. (...) On the verbal level, there it is [the discrimination], but not that somebody says that you are too young for committee membership or a rapporteurship or a position in the chamber. I have not noticed that.’ (F-E-S)

The existence of offensive language in the chamber concerning the MPs’ age is confirmed by other MPs as well: ‘Yes, definitely, but I take it as a jibing, and I would not treat it as anything important. At least, I see it this way. Of course, there are situations when somebody says that you do not know anything about it. However, I do not think that it affects the work in a way that particularly this MP will not do this because he is young.’ (F-M-N) In the current Chamber of Deputies, the Pirates are a symbol of youth in parliamentary politics. And the very Pirates are often a target of the offensive language on the young age: ‘Yes, definitely, it [the offensive language] was based on age. If there was an old guy, the deputies would not dare to say this. They tell them – boys, you should not be here, you do not understand anything.’ (M-M-P) Interestingly the interviewee is severe also with the Pirates showing that the intergenerational coexistence in the chamber faces substantial failings: ‘Well, they [the Pirates] deserve this, because they do not even greet you in the corridors. That is awful. The culture has worsened a lot. I do not blame them, because they are half geeks and autistic, but the behaviour of the other MPs from the coalition was rude.’ (M-M-P)

In any case, the only young interviewed MP recognizes the offensive language as a noteworthy issue, although there is not direct discrimination influencing the MPs' work: 'Ageism is a far larger problem than sexism here [in the Chamber of Deputies]. (...) It is based on both age of the person or a tenure we have spent here. Nonetheless, the age is a far larger problem. (...) Some younger colleagues deal with disdainfulness and stupid remarks.' (M-Y-N)

To summarize, since the MPs recognize the differences between MPs' parliamentary performance based on their age and tenure, they are in agreement with the thesis' results. The interviewees shed light on the causal mechanisms of the effects. To be more specific, the aged MPs focus on their presence in the chamber due to the mental and physical capacity, while the younger MPs strive to squeeze as many events as possible into their timetables so they get more experience and more precious contacts. Most importantly, the interviews help to understand the relatively low frequency of speeches made by the less experienced MPs, which is caused mainly by their nervousness. Last but not least, the MPs' answers point out that there is a serious issue of the offensive language related to ageism in the Chamber of Deputies. Although the representatives are in agreement that there is not direct discrimination based on the MPs' age or levels of experience, the intergenerational coexistence of the legislators seems to be a pressing topic for future research.

5.4 Gender matters

In the third chapter, the dissertation thesis describes the effect of gender on parliamentary activity of Czech deputies. Similarly to many parliaments in Western Europe, Czech women MPs speak less than their male colleagues. Besides this, Czech female representatives get relatively more positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions compared to their male counterparts. Last but not least, there are significant gender differences in committee assignments. For instance, while female MPs become more likely members of committees on social policy or health, male deputies deal mostly with the budget or security.

Interestingly, most of the interviewees do not name any gender differences in parliamentary performance in their initial answers. The MPs point out that there are representatives of different efficiency and attitudes in both gender groups. Still, two MPs describe the gender differences even in their very first responses: 'I think that the majority of women are more pragmatic in problem-solving, they are more goal-oriented. They try not to politicize it. (...) I think that we know it from the household – we deal with one issue, then another, and we do not want to go back to the first one. The rationality works more in women. (...) In the household, if you have a family, you know that you cannot talk about something for three hours without having a goal. You can do it once, but not all the time.' (F-M-S) The other MP puts it even more straightforwardly: 'It seems to me that female MPs, with some exceptions, have less tendency to compare the willies.' (M-Y-N)

With further questions, also the rest of the interviewed MPs stress that female MPs perform their deputy mandates differently from their male counterparts. Nonetheless, according

to the representatives, the difference does not reside in performance as such but rather in attitude. 'In attitude, we [women] maybe do not keep on top of things in a sense that this is detail, and we can let it go. Women are maybe more thoroughgoing, because it is set by the general status of a woman in life. She cannot let some things go, because even managing the family, dealing with the details, it leads females on a course of detailed work when nothing can be left out.' (F-E-S) Still, the legislators point out that the work performance depends on individual character and attitudes, which may vary across the genders.

Nevertheless, the thesis' results show that the different gender approaches to the parliamentary performance affect the very outputs as well. To be more specific, the MPs explain why male deputies make more speeches compared to women: 'It lies in the fact that men want to show off and women tell themselves to let them drivel. That's simply biology.' (M-M-P) 'They [the female MPs] do not react to every challenge, and they [the male MPs] tease each other more. Then, somebody starts to bring this to mind what somebody else said two years ago, and it is useless.' (F-M-N) 'I would say that women are not such attackers, and it does not fit their mindset. Women feel less comfortable in such position, and they participate less frequently in this type of debate.' (F-E-S)

What is surprising is that both male and female MPs are in agreement when evaluating the different attitudes of both genders. The consensus says that female legislators are more matter-of-fact and less aggressive than their male counterparts. On the contrary, the men representatives, according to both genders, are more liable to disputes and political conflicts. As a result, the more conciliatory style of female work translates into fewer speeches at the plenary meetings.

Nevertheless, the gender agreement disappears, at least to some extent, with a question about the gender-biased committee assignments. One of the male interviewees explains his impression: 'It is not that men rush here [to the male-biased committees], but rather women tell themselves that they want social policy, health and education committee, because they tend to it and it is about a PPG agreement.' (M-M-P) Contrary to this, the female MPs suggest that the impulse comes from the male deputies: 'The interest of men in important committees, the ones that make the decisions. It is their [men's] nature. I do not mean it pejoratively. Where the important takes place, that's where the men want to be, logically. And women choose positions, in which they feel like themselves. That's education, social policy.' (F-M-S) 'I think that the male factor is mainly the trigger that men, who come here, want to deal with economic issues, they are interested in it. (...) I think that women like social policy, they are attached to it. They look after parents and kids, they comprehensively understand what the field involves, so it is also close to them thanks to the life experience.' (F-E-S)

Although the women and men MPs do not fully agree on who picks the committees first, both genders are in agreement that especially female legislators prefer social policies as a result of their societal status. 'Definitely, it is caused by our nature. Women-mothers. The social empathy is there, certainly. I do not say that it is the case of everybody and that there is not a male social empathy. But I think that females have a closer relationship with this, they are

more emotional, and it suits them more. (...) But these are things [committee assignments], which are probably good to be divided among women like this, and men have got the security and this stuff.’ (F-M-N) Surprisingly, the female MPs use more frank and sometimes even more rude language to describe the difference: ‘Yes, I think that it is a need of men to be close to what is important. Be there. That’s the way it is, it is not derogatory. We are mummies who deal with kids and the schools, and men are the important. I do not mean it abusively, that’s the way it is, and personally, I do not have a big problem with it.’ (F-M-S)

Still, all the interviewees agree that the committee assignments do not result in any quarrels. The MPs assign the committee positions at a debate of PPG without substantial obstacles. ‘We are assigned according to the issues we were dealing with before. (...) There were disputes over the committees that nobody wanted rather than what everybody wanted.’ (M-Y-N) ‘In our PPG, it was assigned according to the profession that we did before.’ (F-M-N) ‘In our case, it works in a way that when we came to the chamber, we got a table of committees at the PPG meeting and we wrote our preferences down. (...) And if there were, for instance, seven candidates for three positions, they either agreed, the three went there and the others went [to the committees] according to their second or third preferences. And if they did not make an agreement, we utilized a secret ballot. And it was not that men went against women.’ (F-E-S)

Last but not least, one of the MPs pays attention to the fact that female MPs are more supportive within their gender group. ‘We, women, look after each other – how do we look, what do we say. And assailing another woman means that there is a response. Generally, I think that women do not like personal conflicts.’ (F-M-S) Besides other factors such as the lower number of female deputies relative to male colleagues, this may be linked to a shared hard experience of women politicians who combine politics and family life: ‘The handicap is, and it is discussed too little, that a woman needs far more space for personal life. It is still the case that if there is a family of two partners with kids, the idea that a woman can adequately manage the work here in the chamber, she is young, has got two children and is from Uherské Hradiště, I think that it is impossible.’ (F-E-S) Undoubtedly, such difference between opportunities of male and female MPs necessarily translates into their parliamentary performance.

Generally, both men and women representatives are in agreement that there is no systematic gender discrimination in the Chamber of Deputies. Therefore, according to the interviewees, there are no limits based on gender, preventing MPs from their parliamentary work. Nonetheless, both genders also agree that occasionally, it is possible to hear the offensive sexist language in the parliamentary buildings: ‘Generally, I think that there is a long way in front of us. I do not think that there are some problems of discrimination as such or some rude sexism. However, it is still a macho environment. It is here. I think that subconsciously, we all feel that. But it is on a level of ethics rather than discrimination. (...) Besides really marginal discourtesies, which is given by the fact that the person is a boor, then rather not [there is not any work discrimination].’ (M-Y-N) ‘I have experienced stupid assaults in the sense that women belong besides cookstoves and similar things. You can hear this here, but we do not

take it seriously, and we wave it aside, and we do not listen to him. We do not deal with it. I am sure that there is no systematic failure inside of this parliamentary chamber.’ (F-E-S)

To summarize, the interviewed MPs agree that female and male legislators perform their deputy mandates differently. The answers help to understand the causal mechanisms of the two essential effects. Firstly, female MPs make fewer speeches than men since the former are less argumentative than the latter. Secondly, even though the committee assignments are gender-biased, the legislators do not express complaints about it since the bias is based on deliberate preference and selection of both genders. Still, while there is no systematic gender discrimination in the chamber, the female MPs occasionally face sexist offensive language. Even though the female legislators claim that they ignore it, they should not as it is a substantial deficit of a political culture not only in the chamber.

5.5 Broken whips

The fourth chapter of the dissertation thesis focuses on the voting dissent of the Czech deputies. The results show that the voting dissent substantially differed across legislative terms, and it fluctuates during the terms and across the parties, albeit without any systematic pattern. Being the male MP, enjoying more parliamentary experiences, and holding the ministerial mandate increase the chances of the voting dissent. Contrary to this, the voting dissent decreases in the case of the PPG chairmen. Generally, the MPs from ruling parties vote less against a PPG chairman and the majorities of PPG colleagues compared to opposition MPs. Last but not least, the results imply that the MPs adjust their parliamentary activity as they vote against the PPG. The effect is stronger as deputies vote against the (super)majority of party colleagues than against the PPG leader.

The essential part of the debate about the voting dissent is the legislators’ impression of who they represent. The interviewee’s answers oscillate on a spectrum between representing voters and a party. To be more specific, some of the MPs feel they represent their voters in the first place: ‘Of course, primarily, I represent my voters. (...) Primarily, I take it as a responsibility to the people who gave us the confidence to be here. And of course, secondarily, it is a responsibility to everybody [all the citizens of the Czech Republic]. It is logical that primarily, we will give preference to the people and approaches that we declared in our manifesto. On the other hand, we should not harm the rest.’ (M-Y-N)

Interestingly, the term ‘voters’ predominantly refers to all the parties’ voters in the legislative election. The little attachment to the constituency’s voters results in other answers, which demonstrates the mixed perception of representing both the party and its voters equally: ‘I am elected with the manifesto, which I feel to be obliged to stick to it. Nonetheless, I have never lost the regard that I represent citizens. Thus, in the case of every decision-making, I would say that each of the factors is equal. I cannot say that the party is in the first place and then there are the citizens. I have it roughly equal.’ (F-E-S)

The other pole of the spectrum stands for the idea of representing the party in the first place: ‘The chamber is a [manifestation of a] representative democracy. You go there for the party, which nominates you, and it has got its manifesto. You should identify with the manifesto, and it should not be the case that you diverge from the party’s manifesto during voting.’ (F-M-S) Overall, the MPs are not in a full agreement of who they represent. Nonetheless, even if they name voters as primary principals instead of parties, they mean party’s voters. As a result, all the MPs more or less agree that they need to adhere to the party’s manifesto to fulfil their representational duty.

Next, the important question is under what conditions an MP is willing to vote against her PPG? All of the interviewees find it hard to recall their own rebellion in the case of an essential roll call. Thus, the relatively high levels of the voting dissent described by the thesis’ analysis refer mainly to procedural voting. Still, the MPs do not renounce a possibility of voting against their PPG. Nonetheless, such a rebellion would take place only under specific conditions of violating the party’s manifesto: ‘The red line is, to put it simply, the breach of what our statute says. However, that is a huge simplification, otherwise, it is more complicated. It is a matter of principle. Nevertheless, we do not argue about that.’ (M-Y-N)

The less crucial roll calls with rebelling deputies may stand for situations of deciding on amendments. If the bill amendment is proposed by a particular legislator, she needs to support it to save her face, albeit the PPG does not support the amendment: ‘It is absolutely logical that you vote for your bill amendment, even if the whole PPG disagrees and votes against. (...) Usually, your whole PPG or the majority stands behind you, but the opposite may happen.’ (F-M-S)

The MP alludes to the explanation why there are so few dissent voting on essential matters, although the representatives naturally disagree on many issues. The key is the PPG debate, where the group members unify their standpoint: ‘We discuss it during the group [meeting], and we make an agreement. (...) Honestly, I can imagine that even if I disagree with something, and they come with an argument that it would harm the party, it could be the argument for me (...). However, it has to be always well-argued.’ (M-M-P) ‘In the decision-making whether to be in accordance with the group leaders, we deal with it before the [plenary] meeting. For every item, we have a rapporteur who says what position we should assume. (...) We discuss that, explain what is unclear, tell ourselves whether we agree with the rapporteur’s stance, and anyone who disagrees can make a speech. Then, the group either says that it respects it, and there is no problem with it, and there is a so-called free vote. And only in matters of principle when we want to have it clear, like in the case of the taxation of church restitution or the budget (...), we have a so-called two-stars vote. That has to be approved in the group [meeting] that we all agree with the united voting and we adhere to it. (F-E-S)

The thesis’ results show that legislators vote against PPG leaders more frequently than against PPG colleagues. The interviewees are in agreement that this is based on a risk of social ostracism: ‘If I vote against the group leader, I still have somebody from the group behind me. If I am against the group, it works the same way as in a crew – if one is against the rest, it

is a problem. (F-M-N) ‘Well, there are more colleagues than a single boss. It is not that the head is a despot or a dictator. (...) But if one had voted against the whole group, he would have felt stupid as a person. After all, it is always about a group of people who have to live and work together. Humanly, it is more difficult to double-cross the social group in which you spend half of your time.’ (M-M-P)

Next, the previous analyses show that there is no systematic change in the voting dissent as the legislative election approach. Primarily, the MPs expect their PPG to become more united before the election: ‘We try to unify the formation. A year before the election, you know that you cannot push through anything substantial. (...) Everybody who works in politics for a longer period of time realizes that a citizen does not like parties at sixes and sevens. Thus, paradoxically, the collectives start to weld together to show how united they are.’ (F-M-S) On the contrary, the MPs also admit that some deputies may be more likely to rebel as they are, for example, not nominated to a candidate list: ‘I can imagine that in groups, where there is not unity and good atmosphere, the people, who know that they will not want to repeat [the mandate], I think that it will happen, there will be more rebels, logically.’ (M-Y-N) To summarize, the MPs confirm that both effects may take place, which is most likely the reason why the final pattern is neutral since the two effects mutually contradict and cancel out.

Last but not least, the interviewed MPs agree that the voting dissent goes hand in hand with the adjustment of other parliamentary activities. To be more specific, the thesis’ results show that voting dissent often translates into higher levels of absenting and abstaining: ‘Yes, that has happened several times. When he [an MP] did not want to vote against the group, he rather turned himself off. We told this to each other at the group [meeting], that situation happens sometimes. It is rather an act of solidarity with the group.’ (M-M-P)

Another noteworthy effect shows that the rebels address plenary sessions to explain their dissent position to other MPs and the voters. On the one hand, the interviewees admit that in some situations, the public explanation of the voting dissent is necessary: ‘I wanted to clarify why I thought it was wrong. So the people, who want to read it, and think about it, could know, why I did this.’ (F-E-S) ‘You explain it at the group [meeting], but you also have to explain it to the opposition or the coalition and the journalists. Because, if you vote against the group and it is about ordinary procedural voting, it does not matter then. But if you vote against the group in the case of bills, you have to explain it. Otherwise, the journalists corner you immediately, and ask you [about it].’ (M-M-P)

Nevertheless, the MPs acknowledge that if it is not necessary, they prefer to keep the disputes under wraps: ‘I express my opinion in the group. (...). I do not see any reason why to explain my dissent voting to the chamber [at the plenary session], but if you receive a mail that you voted differently, you answer to the people and explain it. (F-M-S) ‘Personally, I prefer that what is cooked at home, should be eaten at home. (...) The citizen says that they argue among themselves on the public. What culture is this. Why do not they have words with each other? Why do they burden us?’ (F-M-N) Even though the results of the analysis support

the explanation of the public statements on the voting dissent, it is interesting that the MPs stick to the idea that the public image of the party should be as united as possible.

To summarize, the MPs' answers shed light on their idea of representation, which is primarily linked to their parties and party voters. The interviewees confirm that the higher frequency of the voting dissent against PPG leaders compared to the voting against colleagues is based on potential social ostracism. Besides this, the legislators admit that they adjust their parliamentary performance in accordance with the voting rebellion. To be more specific, the rebels utilize absenting and abstaining as a mean of feeling solidary with the group. Interestingly, some MPs claim that they do not prefer to publicly express their reasons for the voting dissent at the plenary meetings. Although the thesis' results show the opposite, the discrepancy may be caused by MPs' individual characters or the fact that while the results are based on all speeches, the MPs point out only the essential votes. Still, overall, the legislators' answers support the previous conclusions of the thesis.

5.6 Conclusions

The five interviews have come up to expectations. The answers enrich the previously presented causal effects with causal mechanisms how MPs' characteristics influence their parliamentary performance. Besides this, the interviews reveal both benefits and drawbacks of the dissertation thesis.

To be more specific, the five legislators describe various incentives to become a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Furthermore, even though all the interviewees primarily feel to represent the party's voters, their perception of the principal-agent problem is diverse as well. Thus, to understand the legislative behaviour in a complex picture, it is necessary to focus on the individual background of the MPs' notion about the mandate. Still, the interviews confirm that it is essential to exclude some briefly-serving deputies from the analysis since it takes at least six months to perform the job responsibly.

The legislators are predominantly in agreement with the thesis' conclusion that the dominant ideological dimension in the Chamber of Deputies is the left-right socio-economic division. Nonetheless, most of the MPs recognize the recent transformation of the party system. The deputies' perception of the transformation should be an object of further research as the representatives may adjust their legislative behaviour according to their perspective of parliamentary politics.

Importantly, the deputies depict that the less experienced MPs address plenary meetings with relatively few speeches due to their nervousness. As the original assumption of the thesis expected that the PPGs prefer the more experienced MPs to make speeches to give the best possible impression, this is a valuable correction. Furthermore, the interviews confirm some other earlier anticipated causal mechanisms. For instance, the aged legislators focus mainly on the activities in the chamber due to their mental and physical capacity, while the younger MPs seek working also outside the parliament to acquire experience and social network.

Next, the MPs of both genders are in agreement that there are differences in parliamentary activity of male and female representatives. Moreover, they agree about the reasons – these are different personal characteristics and focusing on various policies. However, there is substantial disagreement about the course of the committee assignments. While female deputies expect men to be the agents who prefer the most influential committees, male deputies say that women select committees on health or social policy in the first place. The discrepancy shows the gaps in mutual understanding. Last but not least, although the MPs agree that gender discrimination is not the issue in the chamber, they also agree that the sexist offensive language is a problem. The foul language is even louder in the case of intergenerational coexistence in the chamber. The deficit of the political culture should be scrutinized in more details in further research.

Finally, the answers from the interviews help to understand the causal mechanisms of the MPs' voting dissent. Most importantly, the deputies confirm that they try to avoid especially the rebellions against their PPG colleagues. To be more specific, they express concerns about potential social ostracism, which was also anticipated by the previous research. As a result, the legislators often adjust their parliamentary activity together with the voting dissent. The adjustment is again admitted by the MPs themselves as a deliberate act.

Discussion

The dissertation thesis delivers four groups of findings. To be more specific, the study elaborates on (1) the dimensionality of Czech parliamentary politics, (2) the influence of the MPs' age and tenure on their parliamentary activity, (3) the effect of gender on the deputies' work, and (4) the characteristics of the legislators' voting dissent. Altogether, the findings elucidate to what extent the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic resembles Western European patterns, and in which manner it differs. Such a summary builds a vital message of the thesis.

Firstly, the thesis shows that two conflicts drive parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic. On the one hand, there is an institutional competition between government and opposition. On the other hand, the parties contend along an ideological dimension between left-wing and right-wing socio-economic poles.

Still, the two divisions gain different forms and strengths according to a type of ruling government. To be more specific, when right-oriented majority cabinets lead the country, the competition in the Chamber of Deputies is unidimensional. At the time, the ideological dimension and the institutional division merge. Contrary to this, periods of left-oriented majority cabinets split the opposition camp between the Communists, who are too anti-system to participate in the government openly, and the right-wing parties. As a result, the institutional division is still the most essential, but the ideological dimension becomes more significant. Last but not least, in the case of minority cabinets (both left- as well as right-oriented), competition is driven mainly by the ideological conflict as the classical institutional conflict diminishes.

Nonetheless, the dimensionality of the Czech parliamentary politics may alter. That happened in the term between 1998 and 2002 when three dimensions were decisive for the MPs' decisionmaking. As it was the time of implementing the legislation of the European Union

preceding the accession to the alliance, the third dimension formed along the parties' attitudes to the integration. Despite this flexibility, parliamentary politics abandoned the multidimensionality soon. Today, it remains no more than two-dimensional with the two traditional divisions regardless of the party system transformation and efforts of some parties.

Secondly, the thesis implies that the age and parliamentary experience of the legislators influence their performance in the Chamber of Deputies. The findings show that older MPs propose more bills and more experienced representatives address more speeches compared to their younger colleagues and novices, respectively. On the contrary, the young representatives attend fewer roll calls and abstain more compared to the older colleagues. Furthermore, the less experienced deputies focus mainly on the parliamentary activities that are easily accessible to them, for instance, the voting in the chamber. Last but not least, the MPs' age and tenure positively influence their gains of presidium posts in committees, subcommittees, and commissions.

Overall, the findings suggest that the influential positions in the chamber are occupied mainly by experienced elders, who are also more active in key parliamentary performances compared to their younger and less experienced colleagues. Contrary to this, young representatives spend less time on being present in the chamber, which hints their increased activity outside the parliament (e.g. in constituencies and party politics). Thus, the thesis as the first study of its kind systematically proves the necessity to take the MPs' age and tenure into account if one wants to understand representatives' legislative behaviour.

Still, the results suggest that neither the young nor the old MPs lag behind middle-aged representatives significantly. The finding implies that both old and young legislators' can perform the mandate responsibly, albeit in a specific way. Therefore, as MPs of varying age and tenure focus on diverse activities, the equal parliamentary representation of different age cohorts is justifiable.

Thirdly, the dissertation study points out that the legislative behaviour of male and female MPs differs. To be more specific, the Czech women deputies speak less than their male colleagues. Interestingly, the Czech women get relatively more positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions compared to their male counterparts. To explain this, the male legislators are overrepresented in executive positions, which also prevent them from getting presidency posts in committees and commissions.

Interestingly, the differences between the genders have been predominantly increasing during the last 25 years. Nonetheless, the distinctions were rising predominantly when the share of female MPs remained low compared to the previous term. On the contrary, when the share of women deputies rose significantly in 2006 and 2010, the effect of gender on the number of addressed speeches and received positions became smaller. This finding shows a link between a descriptive representation of women in the chamber and their parliamentary performance compared to male deputies. As long as the low share of women remains stable, the differences between the two genders become larger. However, as soon as the share of female MPs increases notably, the differences tend to be lesser. To summarise, at least a set course towards

the equal descriptive representation leads to the more equal activity of female and male parliamentarians in the Chamber of Deputies.

Furthermore, the results show fundamental gender-based differences in committee assignments. The female MPs have significantly higher chances to become members of five committees compared to men – these are committees on (1) social policy, (2) science, education, culture, youth and sport, (3) petitions, (4) health care, and (5) constitutional and legal affairs. On the contrary, male deputies are more likely than female MPs to become members of committees on (1) security, (2) economic affairs, (3) budget, and (4) agriculture. Only four committees may be considered as gender neutral. These findings demonstrate that the policy preferences of female and male MPs are not the same. Moreover, gender discrimination may play a role in the process of committee assignments.

Fourthly, the thesis identifies the causes and implications of the MPs' individual voting dissent. Initially, the results prove that although the PPGs in the Czech Republic are predominantly united during roll calls, the individual voting rebellion is far from being an exceptional phenomenon. The voting dissent has substantially differed across legislative terms. To be more specific, it was the lowest between 1996 and 1998 during a rule of the right-wing minority cabinet. Contrary to this, the representatives dissented the most between 2006 and 2013 at the time of a hung parliament and a subsequent party system transformation. Furthermore, the voting dissent fluctuates during the terms and across the parties, albeit without any visible pattern.

Being the male MP, enjoying more parliamentary experiences, and holding the ministerial mandate increase the chances of the voting dissent. Contrary to this, the voting dissent decreases in the case of the PPG chairmen. Generally, the MPs from ruling parties vote less against a PPG chairman and the majorities of PPG colleagues compared to opposition MPs. More importantly, if the cabinet enjoys the majority, the differences get substantially more significant.

The findings of the thesis are unique since they differentiate between the forms of the voting dissent. To shed light on this, the initial inspection suggests that the voting against a PPG chairman is the most frequent type of the voting rebellion. On the contrary, the deputies' disagreement with the majority and the supermajority of PPG colleagues is a much less common type of the voting rebellion.

Furthermore, the results imply that the voting rebels attend fewer roll calls and abstain more compared to other legislators. The effect is approximately two times larger in the case of the PPG chairman dissent compared to the voting against the (super)majority of the PPG colleagues. These findings confirm that the MPs try to avoid group ostracism much more compared to a worsened relationship with the PPG chairman. Moreover, as the MPs vote against party colleagues, they elucidate the dissent position at plenary sessions. Interestingly, the effect does not apply to the legislators voting against the PPG chairman. To summarize, the MPs adjust their parliamentary activity as they vote against the PPG. The effect is stronger as deputies vote against the (super)majority of party colleagues than the PPG leader.

Last but not least, in the fifth chapter, the thesis delivers the MPs' perception of their parliamentary activity. To be more specific, the five legislators admit that their incentives to become a deputy vary between personal goals and party requests. Despite this, they all agree that their most essential responsibilities are legislative activity and communication with voters, and that they primarily represent their parties' voters. Besides this, they claim that it takes several years to get sufficiently acquainted with the work of an MP.

Generally, the interviewees confirm the thesis' results, and they help to shed light on the causal mechanisms of some effects. The legislators predominantly agree that the left-right socio-economic division, which is based on the extent of the role of the state, is the principal ideological dimension in the Chamber of Deputies. Next, the representatives describe that while the older MPs focus on the activities in the chamber as such, the younger MPs acquire political experience even outside of the chamber. Besides this, the less experienced deputies address plenary sessions less than the more experienced colleagues mainly due to the nervousness of the former. Next, the legislators admit that there are gender differences in the MPs' parliamentary performance. To be more specific, female deputies focus on policy details rather than disputes, and they also prefer dealing with social or health policies in general. Male deputies are more liable to political conflicts and jibing, which results in a relatively large number of plenary meeting addresses, and they focus mainly on economic and security issues. Finally, the representatives acknowledge that they vote less against their PPG colleagues compared to the PPG leaders because of the threat of social ostracism.

Even though all the interviewed MPs are in agreement that there is not either gender or age discrimination in the Chamber of Deputies, they point out that offensive language may be heard in the chamber's palaces. Since the foul language is a defect of political culture, and it may escalate to work discrimination, it should not be underestimated.

Altogether, the findings suggest that the majority of the patterns of the MPs' legislative behaviour in the Czech Republic is similar to those in Western Europe. Contrary to this, only a few of the outputs show that the parliamentary performance of the Czech deputies is specific. Since the initial idea of the thesis was to fill the gap in the research on the legislative behaviour compared to Western Europe, this discussion may be considered as the main finding of the very thesis.

First of all, the legislative behaviour of the Czech MPs is more similar than different to the parliamentarians' performance in Western Europe. To explain this, the parliamentary politics in the Czech Republic is driven by the single socio-economic left-right ideological dimension, which often merges with the institutional division between the government and the opposition. Such rules of politics resemble consolidated democratic unitary states in Western Europe. Furthermore, these findings suggest that the calling for a more majoritarian type of Czech democracy is reasonable (see Kubát, 2013).

Moreover, the legislators in the Czech Republic evince gender differences that are surprisingly similar to the patterns in Western Europe. The Czech women deputies speak less than their male colleagues as it happens in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (Bäck & Debus, 2016).

The Czech women get relatively more positions in committees, subcommittees, and commissions compared to their male counterparts, which accords with the finding from the British House of Commons (O'Brien, 2012). Last but not least, the results on the differences between gender-neutral, male-biased, and female-biased committees are in a perfect (!) agreement with conclusions from Sweden and Norway (Towns, 2003).

Furthermore, the phenomenon of the individual voting dissent in the Chamber of Deputies corresponds to the rules from Western Europe as well. For example, the less experienced MPs from ruling parties dissent less than the senior opposition legislators (Garner & Letki, 2005; Linek & Lacina, 2011; Shomer, 2016; Willumsen & Öhberg, 2017). Even though the study on the effects of the MPs' age and tenure is too unique to make any comparisons, many hypotheses derived from Western European parliaments proved to be valid in the Czech Republic (Bailer, 2011; Bailer & Ohmura, 2017; Blomgren & Rozenberg, 2017; Gagliarducci et al., 2010; Mocan & Altindag, 2013).

On the contrary, there are only a few and predominantly minor examples of the MPs' legislative behaviour, which is substantially dissimilar to the representatives' performance in Western Europe. Probably the most significant finding is that the voting dissent of the ministers-MPs in the Czech Republic is more frequent compared to other deputies. In Western Europe, the effect is inverse (Shomer, 2016). The distinction shows that the Czech ministers enjoy high levels of individual independence and power, which may be potentially in conflict with their deputy mandate.

Altogether, the dissertation thesis shows that the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic is not substantially different from Western European patterns of parliamentary performance. Since the country experienced 40 years of communist political oppression, patriarchal society and non-functioning parliamentarism, this is a surprising finding. In other words, it suggests that the democratic consolidation of the parliamentary regime in the Czech Republic was predominantly successful and that the adoption of Western European political patterns of the legislative behaviour was relatively fast and extensive.

As the dissertation thesis deals only with the most burning issues of the yet neglected study of the legislative behaviour in the Czech parliament, there is a vast scale of opportunities for further scrutiny. To be more specific, future scholars may focus on the role of other aspects that potentially influence the parliamentary activity of the deputies. For example, the ideological preferences or perception of the MP mandate suggest themselves. Unfortunately, such studies require extensive surveys among the representatives to reveal the usually latent independent variables.

Besides this, scholars may focus on stories of a few MPs employing a strictly qualitative way of scrutiny. Importantly, this method enables to reveal the causal mechanism, which is unfortunately the most substantial limitation of the presented thesis that focuses mainly on causal effects. Therefore, the thesis should be to some extent treated as an invitation to an interesting field of the legislative behaviour of the MPs in the Czech Republic, in which many challenges are still thrown down.

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Appendices

- Appendix A. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 2)
- Appendix B. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 3)
- Appendix C. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 4)
- Appendix D. Questionnaire (Chapter 5)

Appendix A. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 2)

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min.	Max.
Age	742	48.51	9.84	23.98	77.27
Tenure	742	1.81	1.13	1	7
Voting attendance (%)	742	78.7	13.76	1.73	99.62
Voting activity (%)	742	82.79	8.67	51.52	100
Bills per year	742	3.34	2.65	0	16.19
Interpellations per year	742	1.47	3.79	0	38.22
Speeches per year	742	31.56	66.99	0	742.74
Post-election memberships in (sub)committees and commissions	682	3.43	1.96	0	12
Post-election presidium posts in (sub)committees and commissions	682	0.77	0.71	0	4
Female	742	0.19	0.39	0	1
Degree holder	742	0.79	0.41	0	1
Geographic area	742	2.23	1.01	1	4
PPG (vice-)chairman	742	0.15	0.35	0	1
Minister	742	0.08	0.27	0	1
Chamber's (vice-)president	742	0.02	0.15	0	1
(Sub)committees and commissions memberships	742	4.47	2.61	0	15

Appendix B. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 3)

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Min.	Max.
Female	1,385	0.17	0.38	0	1
Voting attendance (%)	1,385	80.25	12.55	1.73	99.62
Voting activity (%)	1,385	82.08	8.26	49.81	100
Bills per year	1,385	3.12	2.72	0	16.19
Interpellations per year	1,385	1.37	3.35	0	38.22
Speeches per year	1,385	31.84	76.59	0	857
Post-election memberships in (sub)committees and commissions	1,302	3.14	1.77	0	12
Post-election presidium posts in (sub)committees and commissions	1,302	0.69	0.71	0	4
Age	1,385	46.83	9.88	21.4	77.27
Tenure	1,385	1.68	1.01	1	7
Degree holder	1,385	0.79	0.40	0	1
Geographic area	1,385	2.31	1.02	1	4
PPG (vice-)chairman	1,385	0.14	0.35	0	1
Ruling party MP	1,385	0.44	0.50	0	1
Chamber's (vice-)president	1,385	0.03	0.17	0	1
(Sub)committees and commissions memberships	1,385	4.12	2.47	0	15

Appendix C. Descriptive statistics of variables (Chapter 4)

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Min.	Max.
Voting dissent (PPG chairman)	1,482	13.44	4.89	0	36.28
Voting dissent (PPG majority)	1,484	8.79	4.02	0.55	32.38
Voting dissent (PPG supermajority)	1,484	7.59	3.86	0.47	31.13
Lagged voting dissent (PPG chairman)	596	13.72	4.77	0	29.4
Lagged voting dissent (PPG majority)	596	9.07	3.58	1.77	32.38
Lagged voting dissent (PPG supermajority)	596	6.74	3.34	0.88	29.29
Female	1,484	0.16	0.37	0	1
Age	1,484	46.75	9.84	21.4	77.27
Tenure	1,484	1.69	1.03	1	7
Degree holder	1,484	0.8	0.4	0	1
Geographic area	1,484	2.29	1.02	1	4
PPG (vice-)chairman	1,484	0.15	0.36	0	1
Minister	1,484	0.07	0.25	0	1
Chamber's (vice-)president	1,484	0.03	0.17	0	1
(Sub)committees and commissions memberships	1,484	3.97	2.52	0	15
Ruling party MP	1,484	0.47	0.5	0	1
Majority cabinet	1,484	0.57	0.49	0	1
Reformed electoral system	1,484	0.58	0.49	0	1
Preferential voting	1,484	7.94	3.19	5	15
PPG size	1,484	49.25	22.36	6	81
Voting attendance (%)	1,484	79.17	13.49	1.73	99.62
Voting activity (%)	1,484	82.02	8.22	49.81	100
Bills per year	1,484	3	2.7	0	16.19
Interpellations per year	1,484	1.28	3.26	0	38.22
Speeches per year	1,484	33.15	74.88	0	857
Post-election memberships in (sub)committees and commissions	1,400	2.98	1.86	0	12
Post-election presidium posts in (sub)committees and commissions	1,400	0.66	0.7	0	4

Appendix D. Questionnaire (Chapter 5)

Section 1: General Questions

1. Why did you want to become a member of the Chamber of Deputies?
2. How long did it take you to get sufficiently acquainted with the work of an MP?
3. What activity of an MP do you find to be the most important in general?
4. What activity of an MP do you find to be the most important in the Chamber of Deputies?

Section 2: Dimensionality of Politics

5. The political competition follows conflicts of different interests, for instance, the ideologies. What conflict drives the politics in the Chamber of Deputies according to you?
Show figure 1.1. MPs' two-dimensional coordinates based on IDEAL.
6. Based on your personal experience, what conclusions do you agree with, and what findings do you deny?

Section 3: Role of Gender

7. What is the difference between men and women regarding the performance of the deputy mandate?
8. Have you ever met with some form of the gender discrimination of an MP?
Show figure 3.2. Marginal effects of gender on speechmaking in individual terms.
9. Why female legislators address fewer speeches than male deputies according to you?
Show figure 3.3. Effect of gender on post-election positions in intra-parliamentary bodies.
10. Why female MPs get more post-election memberships in intra-parliamentary bodies than male deputies?
Show figure 3.4. Effect of gender on post-election chances of committee assignments.
11. Why female and male legislators have different chances of becoming members of particular committees?

Section 4: Role of Age and Tenure

12. How does tenure influence MP's parliamentary performance?
13. How does age influence MP's parliamentary performance?
14. Have you ever met with some form of the discrimination of an MP based on her age or experience?
Show figure 2.1. Effects of age and tenure on voting attendance and activity.
15. Why the older MPs attend more roll calls than the younger colleagues?
16. Why the more experienced MPs attend fewer roll calls and abstain less compared to the less experienced legislators?

Show figure 2.2. Effects of age and tenure on speechmaking and proposing bills.

17. Do the less experienced MPs agree with the fact that mainly their senior counterparts address the plenary session?

18. Why the older MPs propose more bills compared to the younger legislators according to you?

Show figure 2.3. Effects of age and tenure on post-election posts in intra-parliamentary bodies.

19. How do age and tenure affect intra-parliamentary bodies distributions?

Section 5: Voting Dissent

20. How do you represent as an MP according to you?

21. Under what circumstances would you vote against the rest of your PPG?

22. Under what circumstances would you vote against the leadership of your PPG?

Show figure 4.1. Average voting dissent in the Czech Republic.

23. Are you surprised that MPs vote more frequently against the leaders of their PPG compared to voting against the rest of their PPG?

24. Why the voting deviation declined after the 2013 election according to you?

Show figure 4.3. Voting dissent against PPG majority (1993–2017).

25. Does your willingness to vote against the leader or colleagues in your PPG change depending on the coming legislative election and the end of the term?

Show figure 4.2. Voting dissent during parliamentary terms.

26. Who do you think dissent more during roll calls – opposition or cabinet MPs? Why?

Show figure 4.4. Voting dissent under a rule of minority and majority cabinets.

27. Do you adjust your parliamentary activity if you vote (or you are going to vote) against the leader or colleagues in your PPG?

Show figure 4.5. Voting dissent relative to voting attendance and activity.

Show figure 4.6. Voting dissent relative to bill proposals and speechmaking.

28. Is it right that the voting rebels explain their position at the plenary sessions or do they pointlessly point out the rebellion?

29. Why MPs adjust their parliamentary activity substantially more as they vote against the PPG colleagues compared to voting against the PPG leader?