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Career Patterns in Multi-level Systems.

A Survival Analysis of Political Careers in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland, and Wallonia.

ABSTRACT

With the processes of regionalization and Europeanization in formerly unitary democracies, there is a renewed interest for conceptual and empirical studies on political careers in multi-level systems. Not only in new federal political systems, but also in established federations. Yet, critical questions remain unsolved on both methodological and empirical issues. This paper seeks to provide original answers based on a comparative analysis of four regions from established and new federal systems: Catalonia in Spain, Quebec in Canada, Scotland in the UK and Wallonia in Belgium. The paper proceeds in two stages. From a methodological view, even though current studies analyse individual trajectories, they do not take individual careers but predominantly level-hopping movements as the unit of analysis. This paper demonstrates that an individual approach – following every single trajectory over time and across levels – is a better unit of analysis to uncover all career patterns. Based on a survival analysis of 2.443 careers, a quantitative analysis tests several hypotheses to explain variations in career patterns across regions. Two covariates of interest are more particularly tested: the effect of former regional/national experience and the differences of survival rates between regionalist and national political parties.

KEYWORDS: Political Careers, Career patterns, Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland, Wallonia, Multi-Level Systems

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Introduction

This papers aims at analysing career patterns in four regions from multi-level systems: Catalonia in Spain, Quebec in Canada, Scotland in the United Kingdom and Wallonia in Belgium. The study of career patterns in multi-level systems has received a renewed interest over the last two decades. Researchers often focus on the analysis of vertical movements, the so-called "level-hopping movements". Do politicians move from the regional level to the national level and vice and versa? What is the magnitude of these movements? Are they observed towards a specific direction (national level and/or regional level)? Answers to these questions permits to dig out evidences on the links between political arenas in multi-level systems.

Although perfectly valid, the approach developed in this paper seeks to complement this view by integrating not only verticals movements *between* political arenas but also horizontal movements *within* political arenas. The latter is of crucial importance because a comprehensive analysis of individual political careers (micro-level analysis) helps to understand how political actors emerge at distinct political arenas (meso-level analysis) and why it may potentially affect the territorial equilibrium of a given political system (macro-level analysis).

Therefore, this article endeavours to take individual political careers, instead of vertical movements, as the unit of analysis. Following all individual political careers on a longitudinal perspective, this approach permits the simultaneous analysis of vertical and horizontal movements. Secondly, this paper seeks to answer two main questions. One the one hand, do politicians from regionalist and national political parties develop distinct career patterns at regional and national levels? Secondly, does a former political experience at one level of government impact the political career at another level? Tentative answers are given in the analysis of 2.443 careers in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland, and Wallonia. Because of the longitudinal nature of the data, a specific quantitative model is used in this research: 'survival analysis', also known as 'event history analysis'.

This paper proceeds in four part. I firstly present the interest for a systematic longitudinal analysis of political career in multi-level systems. The paper follows with the presentation of the data and the methodology (with a specific emphasis on survival analysis). Finally, variations in career patterns are explained. At this early stage of my research, this paper remains however largely exploratory.

The current study of political careers in multi-level systems

The renewed interest for the study of political careers in multi-level systems is essentially due to (European) scholars of regional and federal studies. The processes of regionalisation and Europeanization have contributed to a renewed interest in conceptual and empirical studies on political careers in European democracies (Edinger & Jahr, In press; Real-Dato, Rodríguez-Teruel, & Jerez-Mir, 2011; Rodríguez-Teruel, 2011); (Best, 2007; Fiers, 2001; Pilet & Fiers, 2013; Pilet, Fiers, & Steyvers, 2007; Stolz, 2003; Vanlangenakker, Maddens, & Put, 2010, 2013). The professionalization of subnational legislatures also urged researchers to re-examine former assumptions on career patterns in established federations, notably in the US, Canada and Germany (Atkinson & Docherty, 1992; Borchert & Stolz, 2011a; Docherty, 2011; Moncrief, 1994; Squire, 1988).

Indeed, in the wake of Schlesinger (1966)'s seminal work on the careers of US Congressmen, regional positions have long been considered as mere stepping stones towards the national level. For members of the rational choice school, political candidates, fuelled by their 'political ambition', aim to reach higher positions with superior prestige and greater influence. Based on a cost-benefit calculation, US local politicians evaluate their interest to run for election at the state level while the most ambitious and successful politicians consider entering the Congress and the Senate. In other words, "political careers do not proceed chaotically. There are patterns of movement from office to office" (Schlesinger, 1966, p. 118).

As a result, the emergence of career patterns is not the product of chance but results from evaluation and anticipation by ambitious political candidates in a given structure of political opportunities. Following Borchert (2011)'s three A's framework, the cost-benefit calculation of this institutional environment is based on a threefold evaluation: political careers are determined by the "availability" of offices (e.g. what is the number of offices, parliamentarian as well as governmental functions, available at the distinct levels?), "accessibility" (how is ease of access to offices in terms of intra-party selection and inter-party electoral competition?), and "attractiveness" (what is the degree of professionalisation regarding income and career maintenance as well as prestige and influence?).

Until the end of the 1990s, the unidirectional hypothesis towards the national level was more often assumed rather than investigated on empirical grounds. Even in established federations with strong regional institutions, e.g. Germany, Australia, Canada, and the US (Gallagher and Marsh 1988; Rush, 1994; Norris, 1995, 1997; Best & Cotta, 2000; Best, 2007), the analysis on the linkages between levels is hardly addressed. In other words, the centrality

of the national level is assumed and "the direct link between federal states and career studies is missing" (Deschouwer, 2001, p. 10).

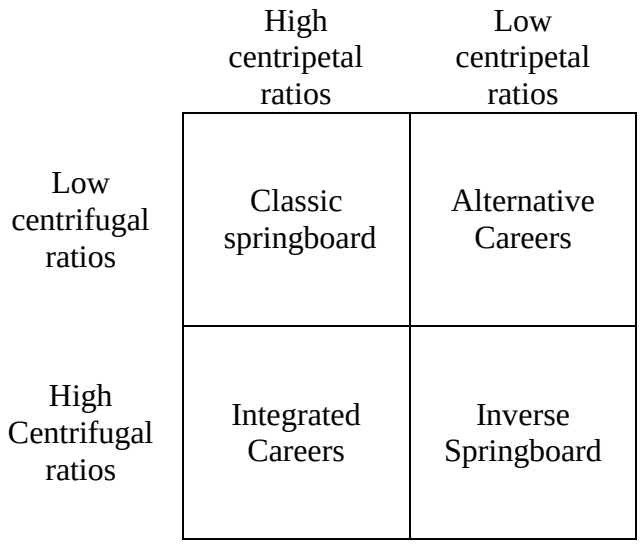
Since the 2000s, this gap has reduced considerably. In former unitary states such as Belgium, Spain and the UK, the (re-)establishment of institutions with strong regional authority have indeed profoundly altered the structures of political opportunities of Western democracies (Swenden, 2006). In established federations, regional institutions have become increasingly professionalized as observed in the US, Canada or Germany (Squire, 1988; Moncrief, 1994, 1999). Far from being arenas reserved to political amateurs, regional levels constitute professionalized "spaces for politics" (Carter & Pasquier, 2010) regarding their authority and prestige (Hooghe, Marks, & Schakel, 2008), and more they provide importantly a regular source of income and possibilities of career advancement and career maintenance.

Stolz (2003)'s research was the first cross-sectional comparison to truly integrate the territorial dimension of political careers. If anything, the unidirectional pattern is not the only road to offices for many representatives pursuing a political career within multi-level systems. Based on the magnitude and direction of movements between territories – be it centrifugal (from the national to the regional level) or centripetal (from the regional to the national level) – the author identified four distinct patterns (see figure 1)[1]. In the 'classic springboard', most ambitious candidates climb up the political ladder towards national offices that represent the highest positions. With 49.6 of state legislators in the 2012 American Congress[2], the US is still a good illustration of the classic springboard pattern. While its counterpart, the 'inverse springboard', is also characterised by a clear-cut division between levels, movements are predominately oriented towards regional institutions. The value of this career pattern is however for analytical purposes mainly, because there is not clear empirical example of this category**.**

[1] Alternatively, the four boxes in Stolz's matrix can be grouped into three categories as the classic springboard and the inverse springboard both form the unidirectional model (Borchert 2011, 132). Similarly, Rodríguez-Teruel proposes a classification with "horizontal", "top-down", "vertical" and "transversal" careers.

[2] All data on the website of the National Conference of the State Legislatures, acceded in November 2012: http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/state-federal/former-state-legislators-in-congress.aspx

Figure 1. Career Patterns in Multi-Level Systems



Source: Stolz (2003, 2010)

In the 'alternative careers' pattern, there is also a strong territorial divide but characterized by the absence of inter-territorial movements towards any direction. In this pattern, both the regional and the national levels are evaluated as attractive opportunities in politics, depending on the individuals' background and motivation. Scotland (Stolz, 2010, 2011) and several Canadian Provinces (Docherty, 2011) illustrate well this type of careers. Finally, the 'integrated pattern' is the only pattern that does not expose a clear-cut hierarchy but, on the contrary, is characterised by the integration of levels. In many regions of Spain and in Belgium, this absence of strong territorial boundaries explains the large proportion of transfers in both directions, i.e. high centripetal and high centrifugal ratios (Fiers, 2001; Pilet et al., 2007; Stolz, 2010, 2011; Vanlangenakker et al., 2010, 2013; Pilet & Fiers, 2013).

These studies have unquestionably advanced our understating of inter-territorial dynamics of political careers in multi-level systems. We now know better how territories are linked (Borchert & Stolz, 2011c, p. 108): hermetic to each other, integrated or dominated by one level, be it the national or the regional levels. Yet, we have a rather limited knowledge of what is going on within each political arena, namely the intra-territorial dynamics. The study of individual political careers (micro-level of analysis) is however crucial in order to understand the development of regional political actors (meso-level of analysis) which may challenge the territorial equilibrium of a given political system (macro-level of analysis).

Identifying career patterns in multilevel systems

To explain why researchers should focus on intra-territorial dynamics, we develop some illustrative examples of problems which may arise when the focus is exclusively on inter-

territorial movements. Firstly, political systems characterized by the absence of level-hopping movements (alternative career pattern), arguably tend to allow the development of professionalized regional careers and, therefore, of a regional political class distinct from the national political class. Yet, this is only an assumption if no attention is paid to intra-territorial dynamics. Centrifugal and centripetal movements are for instance anecdotic between Westminster and Holyrood in Scotland as well as between the House of Commons and several Canadian Provinces. Yet, the electoral turnover is generally low in Scotland while Canada has one of the largest turnovers in advanced democracies (Matland & Studlar, 2004). Consequently, the development of a regional political class is more likely to happen in Scotland whereas in many Canadian Provinces, the high percentage of regional 'citizen politicians' casts doubt on the emergence of such regional political class.

In integrated political systems the focus on the mere level-hopping movements is more problematic to try and assess the development of a political class. Firstly, the magnitude and direction of inter-territorial movements certainly describe the kind of links that exist between political arenas but hardly tells us anything about political careers within each political arena. On account of this, we need to know whether a level-hopping movement is used at the end of a career (the last promotion before retirement) or, in contrast, if this was the golden ticket before a lengthy career at a desired position. We also need to take into account the number of individuals causing these movements, not just the movements per se: is it distinct or the same individuals who move forward and come back at every election? Even with responses to these questions, level-hoppers represent a minor proportion of all political careers: they often form the trees hiding the forest. Therefore, we might find below the surface that there are strong proportions of professionalized politicians with experience at the regional/national level only. In any case, those elements cannot be assumed but empirically assessed.

In the light of these difficulties, some may therefore propose to merge studies of vertical and horizontal movements. After all, we already possess information on turnover or average length indicators that are regularly published in academic research and even made public by some Parliaments. It is nonetheless not an easy task to connect individual pathways to 'aggregated' indicators. Firstly, turnover – that measures the aggregate level of exit from one general election to the next – does not integrate changes between two elections. Although it is not a serious problem in political systems where changes are very rare, it becomes highly problematic in integrated systems. Information based on such aggregated indicators mix politicians with short careers and politicians who left to take up a seat in another Parliament for a lengthy career. In this respect, a longitudinal analysis of political careers taking into account

the duration of political experience at all levels is often overlooked (Real-Dato et al., 2011, p. 4).

There is a specific way to avoid these pitfalls: researchers should use individual political careers as their unit of analysis instead of level-hopping movements. Adopting this micro-approach permits a comprehensive longitudinal analysis of sequence and maintenance of offices for every political career. This is not a fully new approach but it has been henceforth rarely implemented into the analysis of political careers in multi-level systems (see however Borchert & Stolz, 2011b; Herzog, 1975; Kjaer, 2011; Real-Dato et al., 2011).

When longitudinal information are gathered on all careers, several research questions and the problems here before mentioned can now be addressed. Particularly, this paper seeks to answer two main questions relevant to study of political careers for student of regional and federal studies. Firstly, do politicians from regionalist and national political parties develop distinct career patterns in regional and national Parliaments? Secondly, from the multi-level perspective of political career, does the length of a former political experience at one level of government impact the political career at another level? Tentative answers are given in the analysis of political careers in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland, and Wallonia.

Career patterns in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland and Wallonia

The Catalonian, Quebecker, Scottish and Walloon multi-level structures of opportunities differ on several aspects: age of the regional parliament, electoral systems, and party system. First of all, the establishment of the regional assemblies occurred at different moments of the political history of the four democracies. While the *Assemblée Nationale du Québec* (ANQ) was established in 1867, the modern regional assemblies are much younger in Europe: the Parliament of Catalonia was established in 1980, the Walloon Parliament in 1995 (first direct regional elections) and the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Career patterns are therefore well developed in Quebec, and to a lesser extent in Catalonia, while Scottish and Walloon career patterns are in the early stages of their development.

Secondly, electoral systems greatly differ in the four regions (and sometimes within a single region). The 59 Scottish MPs elected at Westminster (72 seats until 2005), the 75 Quebecker MPs at Ottawa as well as the 125 members of the ANQ are all elected with the First-Past-The-Post System (FPTP). The members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) are elected with the additional member system: 73 "constituency" MSPs are elected on the basis of the FPTP while the remaining 56 "regional" MSPs are elected on a closed-list system (these 56 seats are distributed between political parties according to the overall number of votes received per

party). In Wallonia, the semi-open lists system is used to elect the 75 regional parliamentarians and around sixty national parliamentarians (the number of Walloon seats at the federal Parliament varies) [3]. Finally, the a closed-list system is used for the election of the 135 members of the Parliament of Catalonia as well as the Catalonian representatives in *Las Cortes Generales* (47 MPs in the *Congreso de los Diputados*) while 12 directly elected Senators are elected with the multiple non-transferable vote system.

Party systems are quiet similar in the four regions. Catalonia, Scotland and Quebec all present party system in which regionalist parties are dominant at the regional and/or at the national levels. The main regionalist parties are the *Scottish National Party, Convergència i Unió, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya,* the *Bloc Québécois* and the *Parti Québécois.* On the contrary, the conservative state-wide parties (the *Tories, the Partido Popular* and the *Progressive Conservative party of Canada*) have structural difficulties to obtain regional results that are similar to their national electoral performances (Carty, Cross, & Young, 2000). In this respect, it is more accurante to speak of "quasi-state-wide parties" (De Winter, 1994). Quebec and Wallonia have an additional peculiarity. In Quebec, there is clear boundary between the provincial and the federal party system (Pelletier, 2009) : the *Bloc Québécois* present candidates for the federal elections only while candidates from the *Parti Québécois* runs for provincial elections. In Wallonia (and Belgium more generally), there is no state-wide-party since the 1970s while the last regionalist party (the *Rassemblement wallon)* has no elected representative since the 1981 national elections (Deschouwer, 2009; Van Haute & Pilet, 2006).

Finally, the four political systems have distinct career pattenrs. On the one hand, the Belgium and the Spanish systems present integrated political arenas (boundaries between the national level and the Walloon/Catalonian are fairly opened). On the other hand, the Canadian and the British political systems present alternative career patterns (there is clear and sharp boundary between the national and the regional levels). Therefore, the most important percentages of multi-level political careers are found in Wallonia and Catalonia (table 1). They account for 14.8 and 25.1 percent of all Catalonian and Walloon careers recorded, even though these percentages is affected by the exceptionally high number of level-hoppers observed at the

[3] These movements precisely explain that the number of MPs per legislature exceeds the number of available seats. In addition, while there are a fixed number of offices in the Walloon Parliament (75 seats) and at the House of Commons for the Walloon constituencies (48 seats)[3], the repartition for the senatorial seats is more complicated: it is hence impossible to define *a priori* the number of seats that will be granted to Walloon Senators. Indeed, among the 15 Francophone 'directly elected senators' and the four 'co-opted' senators[3], some are Walloon and others come from Brussels. Depending on the confection of the list of candidates by the political parties at the senatorial elections, there are more or less Walloon candidates elected in the upper chamber of the federal Parliament (Dodeigne & Binard, 2012).

first regional elections (see part b of the table 1). On the contrary, according to the alternative career pattern, multi-level careers remain exceptional in Quebec (3.4 percent) and in Scotland (8.7 percent). And the latter percentage is largely due to level-hoppers at the first 1999 regional elections at Holyrood.

Table 1. Distribution of political careers in Quebec, Catalonia, Scotland and Wallonia

	Quebec		Catalonia		Wallonia		Scotland	
1.a Career patterns	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
National level only	228	37.3	245	23.5	149	40.5	104	28.3
Regional level only	363	59.3	644	61.7	122	33.2	216	58.7
Multi-level careers	21	3.4	107	10.3	105	28.5	32	8.7
Springboard	*15*	*2.5*	*38*	*3.6*	*15*	*4.1*	*4*	*1.1*
Inverse springboard	*6*	*1.0*	*47*	*4.5*	*66*	*17.9*	*27*	*7.3*
More than 1 level-hopping movement	*-*	*-*	*22*	*2.1*	*24*	*6.5*	*1*	*0.3*
European careers/others	-	-	47	4.5	43	11.7	16	4.3
Total	612		1043		419		368	

			Catalonia		Wallonia		Scotland	
1.b Movements at the 1st regional session			n	%	n	%	n	%
Import Perspective								
Regional MPs with a former national experience	-	-	17	12.6	54	72.0	24	18.6
Export Perspective								
National MPs who left for the regional Parliament	-	-	11	24.6	50	44.6	15	20.8

Source: author's own calculations.

Yet, there are political careers displaying more than one level-hopping movement. The latter are conducted by politicians who started their career at the regional level and then moved to the national level. Later, they eventually came back to the regional level. Those kind of careers are almost exclusively conducted by the regional and national government members in Wallonia (Dodeigne 2012) and by the regional government members in Catalonia. In Belgium, the formation of the regional and national cabinets implies frequent 'multi-level reshuffle' and ministers are called at another level, depending on the electoral and political context (Dandoy and Dumont 17-19 October 2012)[4].

Methodology

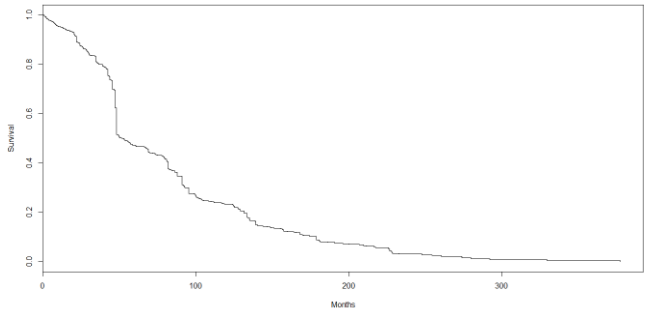
In this section, the survival analysis technique used to handle longitudinal data is described. When the starting and the ending dates of political careers are known, it is easy to statistically

[4] Government members often became ministers at a level of government where they were not primarily elected (e.g. appointed federal minister but elected at the Walloon Parliament).

estimate the effects of covariates on the duration of political careers. For instance, do parliamentarians from regionalist parties stay longer in regional Parliaments in comparison to parliamentarians from national parties? Students of political careers have yet to recourse to specific statistical models because of the so-called "censored data". Censored data is data with partial information available and the problem is mainly about right-censoring (Blossfeld and Rohwer 2001, 39-42). Most information is available at the starting date of the political career but we cannot predict the time that incumbent politicians will be in office for the future. For these 'censored political careers', alternatives options have to be developed. A first solution is simply ignoring those partial observations but throwing away important parts of the dataset. Previous studies also used less-appropriate statistical techniques such as logistic and OLS regressions (see problems with those techniques in Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 1997, 1415-7). A more suitable solution is survival analysis, also called event history analysis (Blossfeld and Rohwer 2001). Survival analysis examines phenomena in which the duration that is required to move from one state (entering Parliament) to another (leaving Parliament) is the subject of investigation. It is has been increasingly applied in social and political sciences, and especially for the study of political careers (see Kerby and Blidook 2011).

As an illustration, the figure 2 presents the Kaplan-Meier survival curve of Catalonian political careers at the regional level (Kaplan & Meier, 1958)[5]. At t_0 the survival rate is always maximal and equals to 1. When the clock starts to click, this rate progressively starts to decrease and interestingly it quickly starts to go down for regional politicians in Catalonia. The likelihood of surviving four years (about the duration of a legislative term) equals 0.5[6]. After this time, the survival rate keeps decreasing but more slowly: 0.27 after 100 months, 0.07 after 200 months and eventually reaches 0 after 377.4 months.

Figure 2. Survival of Catalonian Politicians at the Regional Level



[5] The Kaplan–Meier estimator is the nonparametric maximum likelihood estimate of the survival function.
[6] Yet, the duration of 48 months sometimes overlaps distinct legislative terms.

The Kaplan-Meir method permits to estimate the survival function for all political careers. However, we are more particularly interested in the survival functions of specific groups. According to our research questions, do parliamentarians from regionalist parties survive better than those from state-wide-parties? Does the duration of a former national/regional experience significantly affect the duration of a subsequent regional/national career? These covariates of interest are estimated with the Cox Model (Cox 1972)[7].

Data

The dataset is made of all Catalonian, Quebecker, Scottish and Walloon political careers recorded at the regional and national levels[8]. At the national level, it includes members of the lower chamber at the National Parliament as well as directly elected members of the upper chamber. This excludes the Community senators in Belgium and Spain, members of the Canadian Senate and members of the Chamber of Lords at Westminster. The data furthermore distinguishes government members' careers and parliamentarians' careers. While government members are appointed among parliamentarians in Westminster-style Parliaments (Quebec and Scotland), this is a worthwhile distinction for continental-style Parliaments (Catalonia and Wallonia) where government members are not always elected politicians. Actually in Spain, and to a lesser extent in Belgium, it is very common to appoint non-elected politicians as ministers. In this paper, the terms 'government members' and 'parliamentarians' are therefore used to describe specific groups of politicians whereas the terms regional and national 'politicians' are used to refer to all political careers.

For each political career, four variables take the territorial dynamics of political careers into account. The duration is recorded in months for (1) regional and (2) national parliamentary mandates and for (3) regional and (4) national government members. Considering the high number of very short careers in Wallonia and Catalonia, it is more appropriate to record time in months rather than in years. The models also control for the duration as members of the

[7] "Cox proposed a semi-parametric model, which has an extremely simple form, assumes no specific distribution for survival times and whose coefficients have a desirable interpretation".

[8] Survival analysis permits to analyze almost all political careers but a few political careers have nevertheless to be excluded from the data set. For politicians who conducted several level-hopping movements, it becomes indeed too complex. The classic model of survival analysis is based on two "states"– entering Parliament (state 1) and leaving Parliament (state 2). Political careers with multiple level-hopping movements have therefore "multi-states": e.g. entering regional Parliament (state 1), entering national Parliament (state 2), (re-)entering regional Parliament (state 3). Although "multi-states" models of survival analysis exist, it make the model less parsimonious whereas there are only a limited number of careers concerned with several level-hopping movements. For that reasons, the latter are excluded from the statistical models.

parliamentary majority (recorded as the percentage of time as member of the parliamentary majority over the entire career)[9].

Finally, three variables control politicians' socio-political attributes: age, gender, and electoral districts. Age is the age of politicians when they entered parliament for the first time. At this stage of the research, data for electoral districts is available for Catalonia and Wallonia only. On the one hand, the models control for the magnitude of the districts which directly impact the kind of candidates recruited and thus may affect political careers in Belgium and Spain (see André, Depauw, and Deschouwer 2012). On the other hand, the models include electoral districts as a categorical variable to control for territorial origins. Recent studies have indeed underlined the great variations of nationalist mobilization in Catalonia (Muñoz and Guinjoan 2013) or sub-regionalism in Wallonia[10]. Those geographical differences may in return affect party organisation and political sub-culture affecting career patterns.

The period of analysis cover all legislatures since the establishment of regional parliaments, except for Quebec for which the time period is limited to 1993-2012. Regarding the scope of time under investigation, it has been acknowledged that the first composition of regional parliaments is very specific because of the upper percentage of former national politicians (see above table 1.b). For that reason, a dummy variable is created for politicians who were in office at the first regional assembly. This dummy variable is also created for Catalonian politicians elected at the first democratic national elections in 1979[11].

Results: a survival analysis of political careers in multi-level systems

This section describes survival functions at the regional and national levels for each region while the covariates of interest are estimated in the cox models. This section emphasizes the 1° the differences in survival between political parties and 2° the influence of former political experience at another level.

Survival curves in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland, and Wallonia

The regional and national survival curves are fairly similar in Catalonia. After only a few months, the two curves start to decrease with a significant drop at 48 months (the average duration of a legislative term)[12]. It means that a substantial number of Catalonian politicians

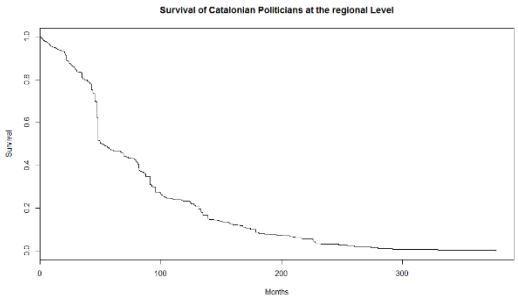
[9] Differences might be observed between politicians with and without influence on policy-making.

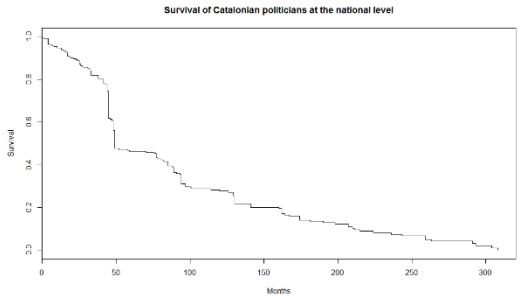
[10] The fact that the three smaller Walloon provinces are presented as the "Lotharingia" of Wallonia surrounded by Liège and Hainaut is not only illustrative of the Walloon geographical configuration, but it also reveals the relevance of 'territorial politics within territorial politics'.

[11] The model initially distinguished politicians who were members of the constitutional assembly of 1977. However, it did not affect the results.

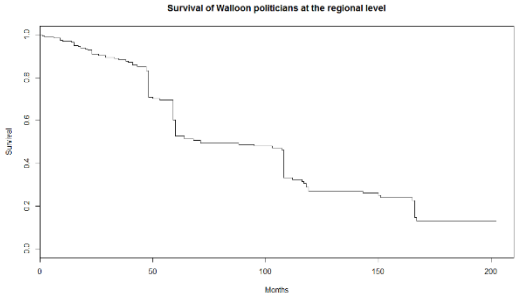
[12] Yet, all regional and national legislative terms do not have the same duration because of anticipated elections.

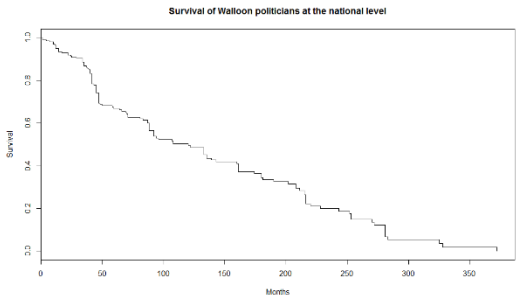
have very short careers, i.e. "discrete career" (Dodeigne, 2012). In this regard, there is no specific difference between the regional and the national level: the survival rate is respectively of 0.51 and 0.56 after 48 months. Interestingly, politicians who managed to survive one legislative term tend to remain a long time in office. The probability of surviving 150 and 200 months at the regional level, conditional on having been in office during at least four years, is respectively of 0.26 and 0.14. At the national level, the probabilities are very similar with 0.20 after 150 months and 0.12 after 200 months. Catalonian political careers present thus a dual picture: on the one hand, very short careers similar to 'amateur politicians' and, on the other hand, long careers alike 'professionalized politicians'.





At first glance, regional and national survival curves in Wallonia differ quiet substantially as the "stepped" curve is very pronounced at the regional level whilst the national curve has a smoother line. This is largely due to the young age of the Walloon Parliament: it presents hardly four legislative terms, the fourth legislature being completed in June 2014.



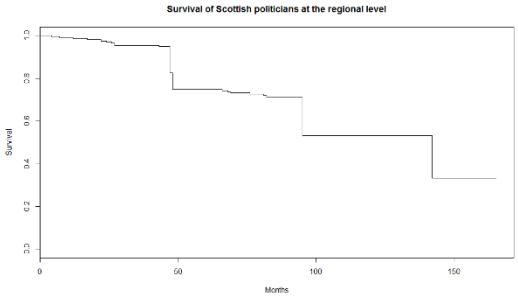


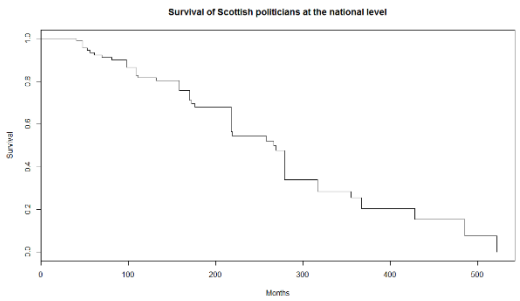
Yet, if we focus on the first 200 months (the amount of time comparable at both levels), the two survival functions are not that dissimilar. After one parliamentary mandate[13], the national and regional survival rates equal respectively 0.69 and 0.70. After that, the survival rates kept decreasing at a comparable rhythm although the regional survival rate decreases a bit faster. This partly due to the young age of the Walloon Parliament but also because the national level has so far produced more stabilized careers for national candidates. Overall, Wallonia has

[13] Since 1999, the Walloon regional legislatures last 60 months while the federal legislature has a duration of 48 months.

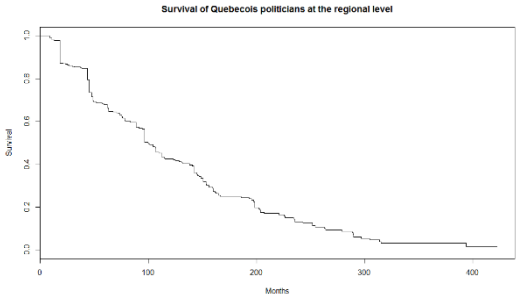
seen the development of a substantial number of regional and national professionalized politicians. Yet, similarly to the Catalonian case, many regional and national political careers do not exceed one or two legislative terms.

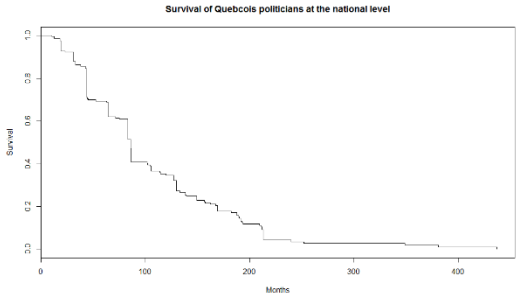
In Scotland, the recently established Scottish Parliament also presents a very pronounced "stepped" survival curve. In comparison to national Scottish careers, regional careers are nonetheless significantly shorter. While the regional survival rate equals 0.33 after 150 months, an equivalent national ratio is found after 300 months. This seems to denote that there are strong differences between the regional and the national levels: the former present more 'amateur politicians' with short careers while the latter has undoubtedly produced long-term careers for 'professionalized politicians'.





In Quebec, there is also a significant drop after the first four years. Contrary to all other cases, the regional Quebecker survival curve is however higher than the national curve. For instance, after 120 months, the regional survival rate equals 0.42 while it is 10 point lower at the national level. The *Assemblée nationle du Québec* seems thus to attract significantly more career politicians than the Canadian House of Commons.





In conclusion, even though level-hopping movements are without a doubt a distinct feature of career patterns in the Spanish and Belgian integrated political systems, the analysis of horizontal movements show that regional careers are not that similar in comparison to Scottish and Quebecker careers. They are characterized by very short duration which casts doubt on the development of professionalized careers in these regions. In this respect, differences between levels of government are mainly observed in Scotland (national careers being longer) and in Québec (regional careers being longer).

In the next section, the Cox models aim to explain how the survival curves diverge according to our covariates of interest. Because many political careers last no more than 48-60 months (the average duration of a legislative term in the four regions), the 'proportional hazard assumption' in the Cox model is rarely met for several variables (as demonstrated by the analysis of Schoenfeld's residuals). Therefore, estimates of covariates are sometimes given twice: the effects during the first 48 months and the effects after that period (identifiable as "var1" and "var2").

Cox Models: findings

For this research, there are two main covariates of interest (the former political experience and political party) while the control variables are briefly discussed.

1. Differences in survival rates between political parties

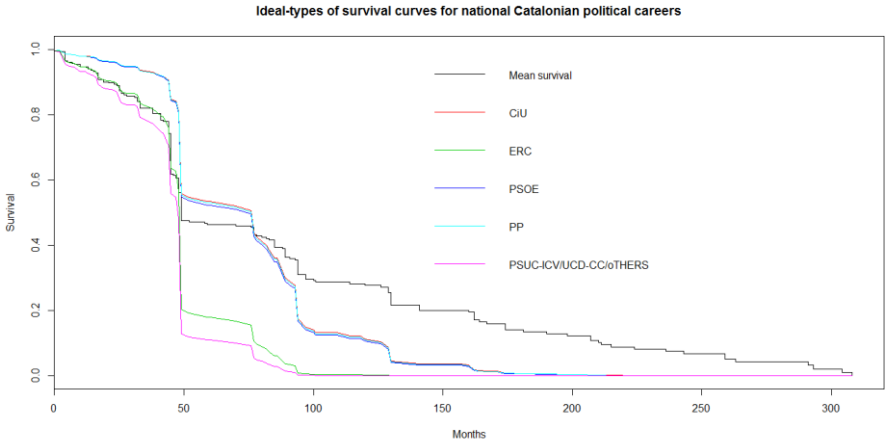
Because estimates are given 'all other things being equal', it does not permit to provide an accurate picture of differences in survival rates between political parties. Therefore, a typical profile is created for each political party (in which the model includes the average age, the average duration at the national/regional level, etc.). Overall, the figures demonstrate that regionalist parties tend to survive better at the regional level (see in the appendix table of Cox models).

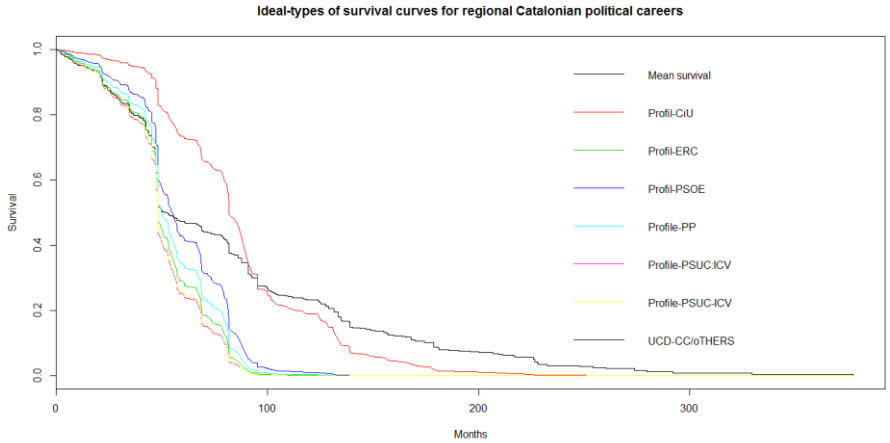
In Catalonia, the difference is highly significant and the *Convergència i Unió*'s curve is clearly higher than all the other parties (Figure 3a). Yet, the *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*'s curve is lower than the two main state-wide parties (PSOE and PP). The hazard ratio of ERC-politicians is 60 percent higher, i.e. ERC-politicians have a greater probability not to stay in office than CiU-politicians. Since 1980, the CiU was most of time in office in the regional cabinet while the ERC entered the *Generalitat* only during the 2003-2010 coalition with the PSOE-ICV-EUiA. Although independence of Catalonia is the *raison d'être* of the ERC, the lack of access to power seems to considerably reduce attractiveness of regional offices and limits the development of a strong cohort of professionalized regional politicians in this party. Actually, regional political careers in the ERC are even shorter than the average tenure of Catalonian regional careers. In Quebec and Scotland, the *Parti Québecois* and the *Scottish National Party* also have the strongest regional survival rates even though the differences with the second biggest party of the region are less pronounced (the *Parti liberal du Québec* and the *Scottish Labour party*). In Wallonia, there is not regionalist party anymore since the disappearance of the regionalist party *Rassemblement Wallon* in the 1980s. With the notorious exception of the Greens that expose very short political careers (caused by their electoral

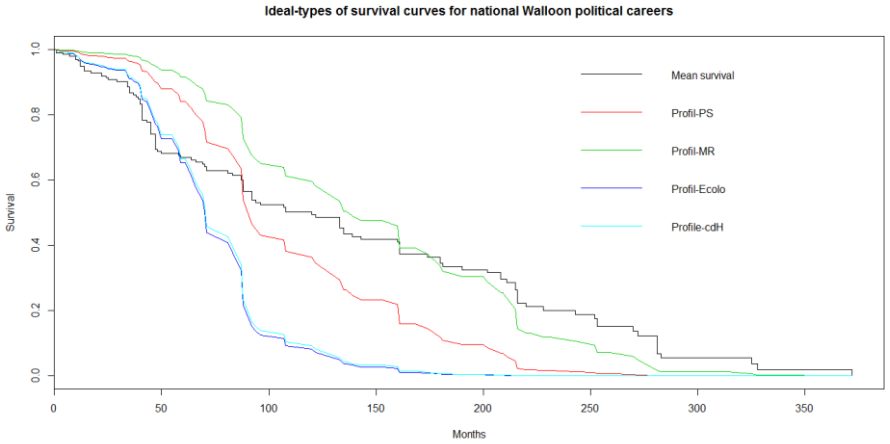
volatility and the party internal regulations that forbid offices accumulation), all political parties have comparable curves at the regional level.

Finally, contrary to some expectations, candidates from national parties do not present longer careers than candidates from regionalist parties at the national level. At the *Cortes Generales*, the CiU-political careers are actually almost identical to the PP and the PSOE. In Scotland, the few SNP national careers at Westminster have a survival rate even equals 1.0 (because all SNP representatives have not stood down since 2001). The only exception to this trend is found in Quebec. For the national representatives of the *Bloc Québécois*, the survival rate is extremely low and only a few MPs effectively pursued a long national career at Ottawa. In contrast, the *Progressive conservative*-MPs (and to a lesser extent the *Liberal* and *NPD*-MPs) have significantly higher national survival rates. The limited number of long national careers in the BQ (which was the strongest party at the federal elections until 2011) explain why the national survival curve is generally weaker than the regional survival curve in Quebec.

Figure 3a. Ideal-types of survival curves in Catalonia and Walloon, by political party







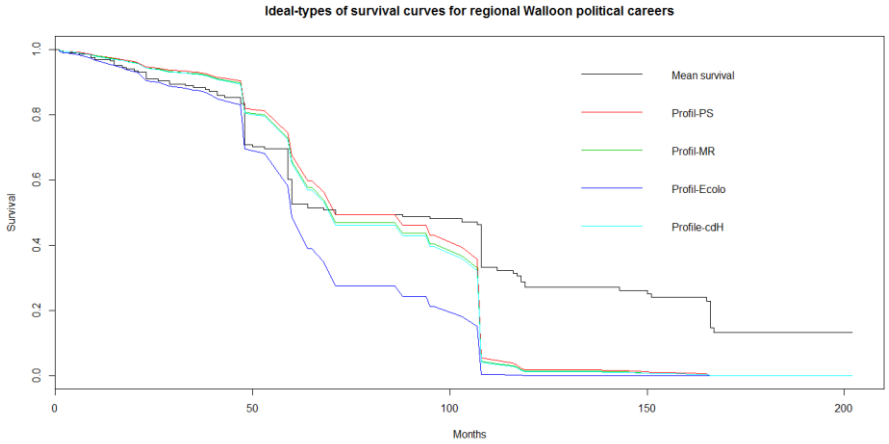
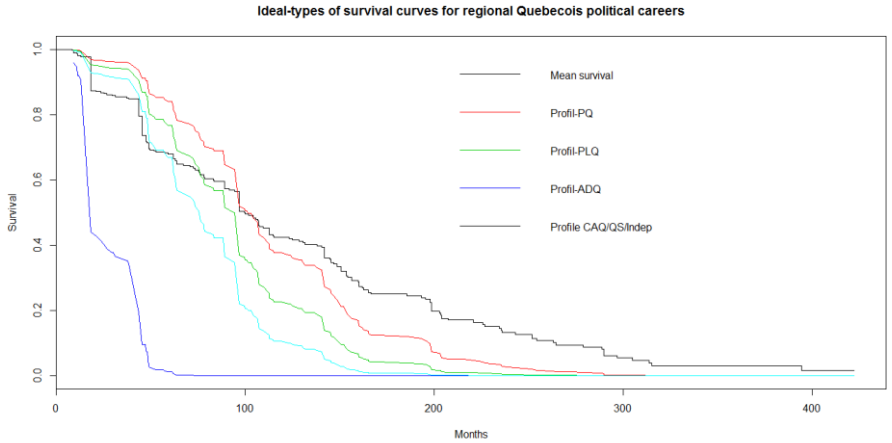
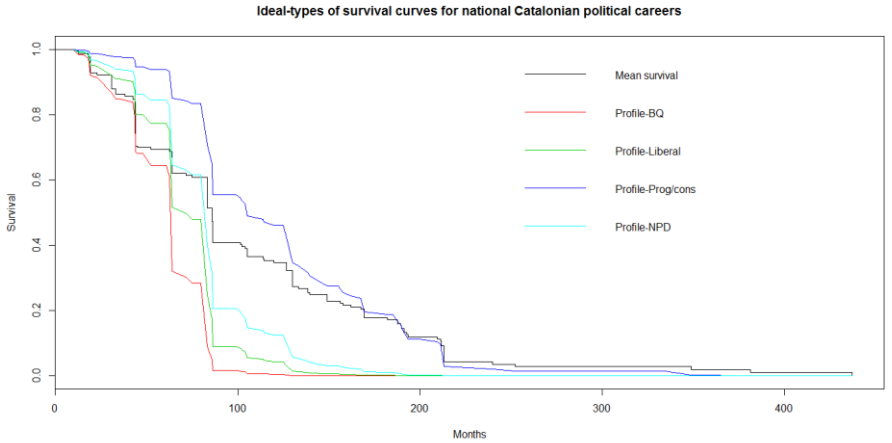
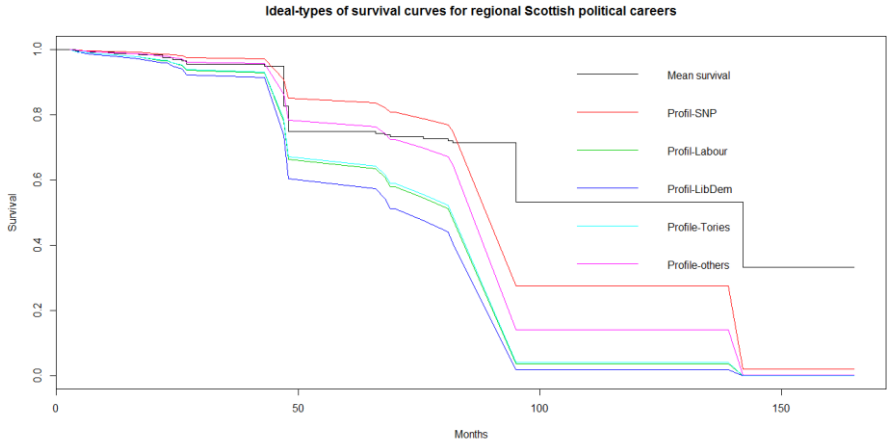
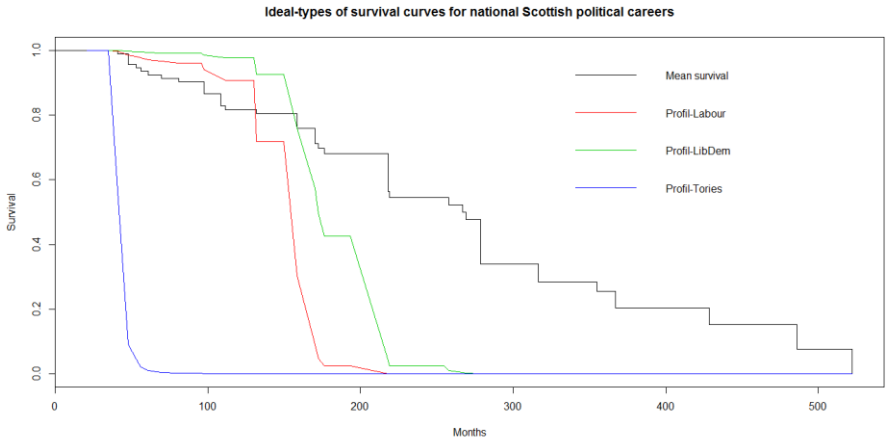


Figure 3b. Ideal-types of survival curves in Quebec and Scotland, by political party







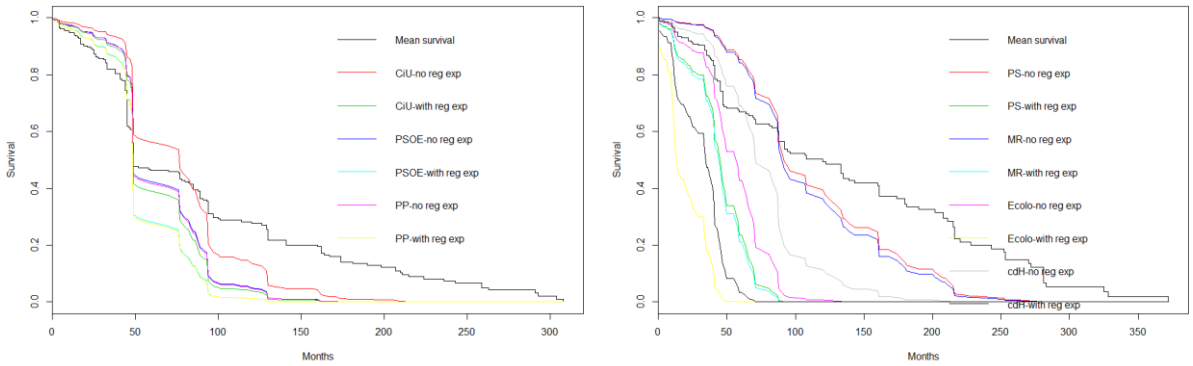


2. Former political experience

It is in integrated political systems (Spain and Belgium) that significant effects of the former (regional and national) political experience are expectable. In political systems with alternative political arenas (Canada and UK), the limited number of data for multi-level careers makes the analysis less meaningful.

In Catalonia, a former regional political experience significantly affect subsequent national careers. Each additional month spent at the regional level increases by .002 the hazard ratio of ending the national career (see tables in the appendixes). In other words, the longer politicians are in office at the regional level, the sooner they end their national career. This is very well illustrated in the figure 4: a former regional experience of 100 months dramatically decreases national survival curves. After only 48 months, CiU-national parliamentarians with such regional experience have a survival rate under 0.2 while CiU-national parliamentarians without such experience are closed to 0.4. For the PSOE and PP-national parliamentarians the difference in survival rate also approximates 0.2. This tends to demonstrate that the regional level is not used as a 'stepping stone' for a national career: for most of these politicians, there is simply no durable national career afterwards. In Wallonia, the effects of a former regional experience are even more pronounced. Irrespective of political parties, the probability of conducting a professionalized national career is almost null: most of them end their national career after less than a single legislative term while the survival rates already equal 0 after about 80 months.

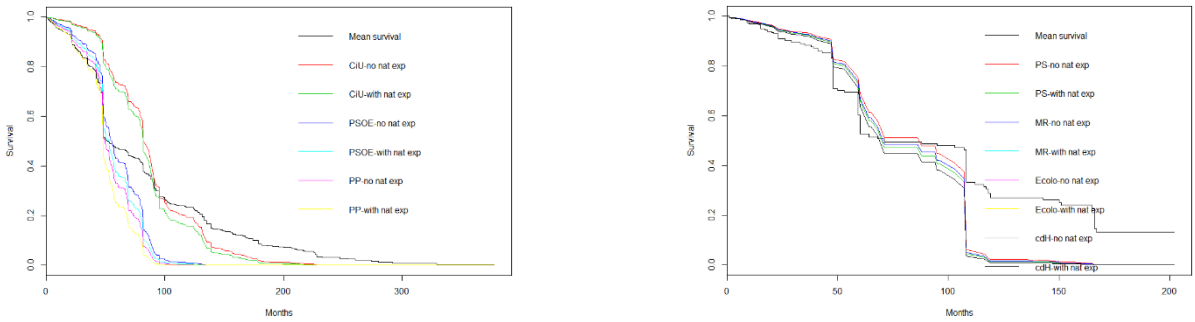
Figure 4. Survival curves for national political careers with former regional experience Catalonia and Wallonia



Interestingly, this trend strongly differs with level-hopping movements from the national to the regional parliament. In the two regions and irrespective of all political parties, a former national experience does not have a statistically significant impact upon duration of a regional career. In Wallonia and Catalonia, the 'inverse springboard' career pattern actually best describes the dynamics of level-hopping movements. Politicians moving from the regional to

the national level have a much lower probability of survival than any other candidates. In contrast, politicians recruited among national parliamentarians have the same chance (sometimes even a better probability) to develop professionalized regional careers. Yet, the latter is largely due to the good survival rate regional government members who were recruited among national politicians (Stolz 2010, Dodeigne 2012). This dimension is discussed in details in the presentation of control variables.

Figure 4. Survival curves for regional political careers with former national experience
Catalonia and Wallonia



3. Control variables

Regarding politicians' socio-demographic characteristics, non-surprisingly age has a significant effect on the survival rate (see tables in the appendixes). The older candidates get into office, the less likely they stay in office for a long time. All other things being equal, each additional year of age increases the hazard ratio of not staying in office between 0.2 and 0.4 in the four regions. Gender also tends to significantly affect career duration but it depends on the scope of analysis. On average women tend to leave parliament more quickly than men during the four first years (variable "Gender1"). Yet, women politicians who had survived this first legislative term are in general more likely to remain in office than man (women's hazard ratio "Gender2" is about 15 to 93 percent smaller than men). The only exception is found in the pattern of Scottish Women's national political careers who are more likely to stand down from their national office than men (the hazard ratio is 20 percent higher). Westminster remains a political arena traditionally dominated by men. Finally despite our theoretical expectations, there are no statistically significant effects of the electoral districts on careers in Catalonia and Wallonia: neither as a numerical variable (the magnitude) nor as a categorical variable (the sub-regional heterogeneity). Similarly, "regional list MSPs" in the Scottish Parliament – sometimes seen as "second-order MSPs" – do not present significant differences with "constituency MSPs".

Regarding the distinction between executive and legislative positions, regional politicians who have been appointed as minister during their career have in general a higher probability of staying in office than parliamentarians. Expect in Wallonia where effects are not statistically significant, the hazard ratios for members of cabinets are 51 to 64 percent smaller than parliamentarians. As a result, the most professionalized careers are clearly the product of the most ambitious politicians who managed to be appointed as government members while the 'simple' parliamentarians tend to have discrete careers.

Finally, the negative sign of the β for parliamentary majority tend to indicate that the greater the amount of time spent as member of the parliamentary majority, the longer the political career is. Yet, this variable fail to be statistically significant at $p \leq 0.1$. A notorious exception is nevertheless given by the regional Scottish careers where the hazard ratios of leaving Holyrood increase by 5.1 to 7.1 for each additional percentage of time as member of the parliamentary majority. This effect has however to be put into perspective: it is due to the large renewal of Labour-MSPs that occurred after the 2011 Scottish elections. At that election, a lot of constituency Labour candidates, who were part of the governmental coalition since 1999, have not been reelected.

Conclusion: perspective of analysis for the future

Over the past decades empirical and conceptual research has reviewed crucial assumptions on political careers in multi-level systems, and especially a better understanding of movements between levels. However, the widespread approach is based on the mere analysis of inter-territorial movements. The longitudinal approach proposed in this paper integrates vertical movements and extends it to horizontal movements. This permits to analyze trends that remain imperfectly known in Catalonia, Quebec, Scotland and Wallonia.

Although the findings are only preliminary results, the effects observed of former political experience and differences between political parties are encouraging. For the future, the models should nonetheless be considerably upgraded on several aspects. Firstly, the models should more carefully include 'classic assumptions' of career longevity from the literature on turnover, candidate selection and party organisation. In particular, the ending point of a political career should differentiate electoral defeat, failure to be selected as party candidates, voluntary retirement, etc. Secondly, the important percentages of discrete careers need to be explored in further details, especially through the systematic integration of local experience. Discrete careers often reflect "amateur legislators but professional politicians" at the local level (Jones 2002). Finally, considering the diversity of the dataset, the impact of the structure of

opportunities could be systematically tested to measure the variations of career patterns according to the availibity of seats, electoral systems, regional authority index, etc.

Appendixes

Table A. Cox models – Wallonia

REGIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	0.684729	**1.983235**	0.408055	1.678	0.09334	.
Gender2	-0.772524	**0.461846**	0.352609	-2.191	0.02846	*
Age	0.080124	**1.083422**	0.013441	5.961	2.5e-09	***
Party (ref= PS)						
MR	0.015239	1.015355	0.267387	0.057	0.95455	
Ecolo	0.933500	**2.543397**	0.321445	2.904	0.00368	**
cdH	-0.051773	0.949544	0.269025	-0.192	0.84739	
District size	-0.003632	0.996375	0.028284	-0.128	0.89783	
First reg. sess1	-0.108764	0.896942	0.271299	-0.401	0.68849	
First reg. sess2	-0.311531	0.732325	0.345837	-0.901	0.36769	
Regional Cab.	-0.411569	0.662610	0.387191	-1.063	0.28780	
Parl. majority	0.414027	1.512897	0.345229	1.199	0.23042	
Nat. exp.	0.001105	1.001105	0.001557	0.709	0.47819	

Concordance= 0.789 (se = 0.032)
Rsquare= 0.317 (max possible= 0.983)
Likelihood ratio test= 103.9 on 12 df, p=1.11e-16
Wald test = 86.76 on 12 df, p=2.088e-13
Score (logrank) test = 102.7 on 12 df, p=2.22e-16

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

NATIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	0.712059	**2.038184**	0.337669	2.109	0.034966	*
Gender2	-0.331145	0.718101	0.300088	-1.103	0.269814	
Age	0.023632	**1.023914**	0.011373	2.078	0.037711	*
Party (ref= PS)						
MR	0.312662	1.367059	0.273067	1.145	0.252210	
Ecolo	1.824743	**6.201199**	0.362976	5.027	4.98e-07	***
cdH	0.558519	**1.748082**	0.256562	2.177	0.029485	*
First reg. sess	0.278853	0.756651	0.291270	-0.957	0.338381	
National Cab.	-0.505514	0.603196	0.495061	-1.021	0.307201	
Parl. majority1	1.515104	**4.549894**	0.419382	3.613	0.000303	***
Parl. majority2	-0.061098	0.940731	0.437830	-0.140	0.889017	
Reg. exp.	0.022046	**1.022291**	0.005562	3.964	7.38e-05	***

Concordance= 0.774 (se = 0.033)
Rsquare= 0.243 (max possible= 0.972)
Likelihood ratio test= 86.37 on 11 df, p=8.56e-14
Wald test = 84.16 on 11 df, p=2.299e-13
Score (logrank) test = 100.7 on 11 df, p=1.11e-16

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

Table B. Cox models – Catalonia

REGIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	0.972230	**2.643834**	0.184061	5.282	1.28e-07	***
Gender2	-0.458656	**0.632133**	0.135069	-3.396	0.000685	***
Age	0.038945	**1.039713**	0.004528	8.602	< 2e-16	***
Party (ref= CiU)						
ERC	0.465177	**1.592297**	0.169499	2.744	0.006062	**
PSOE	0.126890	1.135292	0.152764	0.831	0.406182	
PP	0.422929	**1.526426**	0.226337	1.869	0.061681	.
PSUC/ICV	0.712313	**2.038700**	0.188627	3.776	0.000159	***
Others	0.985704	**2.679697**	0.213326	4.621	3.83e-06	***
District(Barc=1)	-0.014319	0.985783	0.093008	-0.154	0.877646	
First reg. sess1	-0.084115	0.919325	0.153634	-0.548	0.584032	
First reg. sess2	-0.286571	0.**750834**	0.167976	-1.706	0.088004	.
Regional Cab.	-1.034728	**0.355323**	0.157785	-6.558	5.46e-11	***
Parl. majority1	0.398091	**1.488980**	0.184067	2.163	0.030561	*
Parl. majority2	-0.056505	0.945062	0.196346	-0.288	0.773513	
Nat. Exp.	0.002209	1.002211	0.002055	1.075	0.282530	

Concordance= 0.748	(se = 0.016)		
Rsquare= 0.271	(max possible= 0.998)		
Likelihood ratio test= 297.1	on 15 df,	p=0	
Wald test	= 260.1 on 15 df,	p=0	
Score (logrank) test = 292	on 15 df,	p=0	

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

NATIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)
Gender1	0.6534434	**1.9221481**	0.2779428	2.351	0.018723*
Gender2	-0.7925850	**0.4526731**	0.2165234	-3.661	0.000252***
Age	0.0376958	**1.0384152**	0.0081559	4.622	3.8e-06***
Party (ref= CiU)					
ERC	0.9217613	**2.5137138**	0.3106639	2.967	0.003007**
PSOE	0.2137510	1.2383143	0.2946238	0.726	0.468142
PP	0.3437398	1.4102116	0.3594623	0.956	0.338940
Others	0.9813304	**2.6680035**	0.3175921	3.090	0.002002**
District(Barc=1)	-0.1599062	0.8522237	0.1678430	-0.953	0.340736
First nat. sess	0.0007954	1.0007957	0.2046710	0.004	0.996899
National cab.	-0.3884178	0.6781289	0.4795497	-0.810	0.417961
Parl. majority1	0.7054313	**2.0247198**	0.3191938	2.210	0.027102*
Parl. majority2	-0.5031096	0.6046475	0.4064194	-1.238	0.215750
Reg. exp	0.0081235	**1.0081566**	0.0022255	3.650	0.000262***

Concordance= 0.739	(se = 0.028)		
Rsquare= 0.249	(max possible= 0.99)		
Likelihood ratio test= 105	on 13 df,	p=2.22e-16	
Wald test	= 94.81 on 13 df,	p=1.665e-14	
Score (logrank) test = 106	on 13 df,	p=1.11e-16	
monthsreg 0.0081235	1.0081566	0.0022255	3.650 0.000262 ***

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

Table C. Cox models – Scotland

REGIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
List MSPs	0.006879	1.006902	0.206001	0.033	0.973363	
Gender1	1.228964	**3.417687**	0.382411	3.214	0.001310	**
Gender2	-0.212746	0.808361	0.251512	-0.846	0.397626	
Age	0.018335	**1.018504**	0.009873	1.857	0.063293	.
Party (ref= Lab)						
SNP	-1.064735	**0.344819**	0.337382	-3.156	0.001600	**
LibDem	0.095157	1.099832	0.299950	0.317	0.751058	
Tories	0.352637	1.422815	0.445164	0.792	0.428272	
Others	1.340387	**3.820520**	0.418971	3.199	0.001378	**
First reg sess	-1.453083	**0.233848**	0.288044	-5.045	4.54e-07	***
Regional Cab.	-0.661781	**0.515932**	0.265508	-2.493	0.012685	*
Parl. majority1	1.626962	**5.088395**	0.496052	3.280	0.001039	**
Parl. majority2	1.965830	**7.140838**	0.527640	3.726	0.000195	***
Nat. Exp.	0.005943	**1.005961**	0.001330	4.470	7.83e-06	***

Concordance= 0.779 (se = 0.036)
Rsquare= 0.236 (max possible= 0.938)
Likelihood ratio test= 103.3 on 13 df, p=3.331e-16
Wald test = 93.17 on 13 df, p=3.453e-14
Score (logrank) test = 109.4 on 13 df, p=0

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

NATIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	1.030e+00	2.801e+00	7.765e-01	1.326	0.18476	
Gender2	-2.105e+00	**1.218e-01**	7.357e-01	-2.861	0.00422	**
Age	1.378e-01	**1.148e+00**	2.731e-02	5.046	4.52e-07	***
Party (ref= Lab)						
SNP	-1.756e+01	2.366e-08	1.040e+04	-0.002	0.99865	
LibDem	-1.323e+00	**2.664e-01**	7.003e-01	-1.889	0.05890	.
Tories	4.069e+00	**5.851e+01**	1.260e+00	3.230	0.00124	**
National Cab.1	-1.743e+01	2.692e-08	3.831e+03	-0.005	0.99637	
National Cab.2	-5.712e-01	5.648e-01	5.722e-01	-0.998	0.31813	
Parl. majority1	6.657e-01	1.946e+00	9.665e-01	0.689	0.49095	
Parl. majority2	-1.528e+00	2.170e-01	1.085e+00	-1.408	0.15927	

Concordance= 0.87 (se = 0.057)
Rsquare= 0.361 (max possible= 0.869)
Likelihood ratio test= 78.05 on 10 df, p=1.209e-12
Wald test = 49.72 on 10 df, p=3.011e-07
Score (logrank) test = 69.35 on 10 df, p=5.905e-11

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

Table C. Cox models – Quebec

REGIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	1.405630	**4.078097**	0.309610	4.540	5.63e-06	***
Gender2	-0.493564	**0.610447**	0.172037	-2.869	0.00412	**
Age	0.042071	**1.042968**	0.007699	5.465	4.64e-08	***
Party (ref= PQ)						
PLQ	-0.156130	0.855448	0.145158	-1.076	0.28211	
ADQ	2.750055	**15.643491**	0.292810	9.392	< 2e-16	***
Others	0.829563	**2.292317**	0.381402	2.175	0.02963	*
Regional Cab.	-0.702202	**0.495493**	0.156627	-4.483	7.35e-06	***
Parl. majority1	0.692442	**1.998590**	0.352722	1.963	0.04963	*
Parl. majority2	1.543035	**4.678767**	0.341476	4.519	6.22e-06	***
Nat. Exp.	0.009488	**1.009534**	0.004177	2.272	0.02311	*

Concordance= 0.784	(se = 0.024)		
Rsquare= 0.305	(max possible= 0.986)		
Likelihood ratio test= 212.5	on 10 df,	p=0	
Wald test	= 232.2	on 10 df,	p=0
Score (logrank) test	= 316.3	on 10 df,	p=0

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

NATIONAL	β	e(β)	std err	z	Pr(>|z|)	
Gender1	1.607658	**4.991107**	0.371519	4.327	1.51e-05	***
Gender2	-0.159917	0.852214	0.205641	-0.778	0.436773	
Age	0.033599	**1.034170**	0.008928	3.763	0.000168	***
Party (ref= BQ)						
Liberal party	-1.277681	**0.278683**	0.397757	-3.212	0.001317	**
Progressive-con	-0.364621	0.694460	0.381378	-0.956	0.339042	
NPD	-0.799721	0.449454	1.031765	-0.775	0.438281	
National Cab.	-1.516041	**0.219580**	0.727050	-2.085	0.037052	*
Parl. majority1	1.653662	**5.226081**	0.528474	3.129	0.001753	**
Parl. majority2	0.970750	**2.639924**	0.548284	1.771	0.076640	.
Reg. Exp.	0.006080	**1.006098**	0.003296	1.845	0.065096	.

Concordance= 0.744	(se = 0.03)		
Rsquare= 0.216	(max possible= 0.982)		
Likelihood ratio test= 88.83	on 10 df,	p=9.104e-15	
Wald test	= 67.62	on 10 df,	p=1.277e-10
Score (logrank) test	= 79.47	on 10 df,	p=6.38e-13

.p≤0.10; *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01;***p≤0.001

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