

B2.2 Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation



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Researchers/ International co-operation of some 50 scholars in Europe and beyond

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The purpose of the CCS

The Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS) is the data collection instrument of this project. It aims at surveying parliamentary candidates in as many countries as are interested in participating – with the hope that these countries maximize variation regarding the political regime, the electoral system applied, and the degree of consolidation of the democratic order.

The purpose of these surveys is twofold:

- To add empirical data to the study of party elites, political recruitment, ideological (de-) polarisation, and political representation.
- To identify the political-structural correlates of individual attitudes and behaviours of party elites in order to add 'political' explanations to the ubiquitous 'sociological' (modernisation-based) explanation of variation over time and across countries.

Research Goals

- 1) Provide a systematic and theory-based analysis of variation in contemporary election campaigning for a number of quite different electoral systems in Europe and beyond.
- 2) Advance the empirical study of the social and economic background, the recruitment, and the political attitudes of candidates standing for office in national legislative elections.

Research Questions

The alleged crisis of political parties highlights individual representatives as an alternative linkage mechanism between citizens and the state. This project studies the election campaigns of candidates regarding a number of problems that become relevant in this regard.

- How frequent is individualised campaigning in legislative elections?
- Which factors foster, which hinder the diffusion of individualised election campaigns?

Selected Publications

- Wüst, Andreas M., Hermann Schmitt, Thomas Gschwend and Thomas Zittel (2006): Candidates in the 2005 Bundestag Election: Mode of Candidacy, Campaigning and Issues. *German Politics*, 15, issue 4, p. 420-438
- Zittel, Thomas (2006): Comparative Legislative Behavior. p. 455-473 in: Rod A.W. Rhodes, Sara Binder, Bert Rockman (Eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zittel, Thomas, and Thomas Gschwend (2007): Individualisierte Wahlkämpfe im Wahlkreis. Eine Analyse am Beispiel des Bundestagswahlkampfes von 2005. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 48, issue 2, p. 293-321.
- Zittel, Thomas, and Thomas Gschwend (2008): Individualised Constituency Campaigns in Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: Candidates in the 2005 German Elections. *West European Politics*, 31, issue 5, p. 879-1003.
- Karlsen, Rune (2011). "A platform for individualized campaigning? Social media and Parliamentary candidates in the 2009 Norwegian election campaign." *Policy & Internet* 3.4: 1-25.
- Giebler, Heiko, and Andreas M. Wüst (2011): Individuelle Wahlkämpfe bei der Europawahl 2009: Länderübergreifende und ebenenspezifische Befunde. p. 121-152 in: Jens Tenschler (Ed.) *Superwahljahr 2009*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Gschwend, Thomas, and Thomas Zittel (2011): Machen Wahlkreis Kandidaten einen Unterschied? Die Persönlichkeitswahl als interaktiver Prozess. p. 371-392 in: *Wählen in Deutschland*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Schmitt, Hermann (2013): "Nationale Parteien oder lokale Kandidaten? Eine Analyse ihrer elektoralen Orientierungsleistungen bei der Bundestagswahl 2009." pp 514-529 in Bernhard Weißels, Harald Schön and Oscar Gabriel (eds.), *Wahlen und Wähler*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Teperoglou, Eftichia, et al. (2014): "Elites' and Voters' Attitudes towards Austerity Policies and their Consequences in Greece and Portugal." *South European Society and Politics* 19: 457-476.
- Chiru, Mihail, and Zsolt Enyedi. (2015): "Choosing your own boss: Variations of representation foci in mixed electoral systems." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 21: 495-514.
- De Winter, Lieven and Pierre Baudewyns (2015): "Candidate centred campaigning in a party centred context: The case of Belgium." *Electoral Studies* 39: 295-305.
- Lloren, Anouk and Jan Rosset (2015): "Gendered policy preferences: Candidates' views on political issues in a comparative perspective." *Comparative European Politics*: ISSN: 1472-4790 (print); 1740-388X (online) DOI: 10.1057/cep.2015.4
- De Winter, Lieven, & Baudewyns, Pierre. (2015). Identités, préférences institutionnelles et légitimité dans le système politique belge. In Benoît Rihoux; Virginie Van Ingelgom; Samuel Defacqz (dir.), *La légitimité de la science politique* (p. 147-178). Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain. <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/158939>
- Selb, Peter and Georg Lutz (2015): "Lone fighters: Intraparty competition, interparty competition, and candidates' vote seeking efforts in open-ballot PR elections." *Electoral Studies* 39: 329-337 Zittel, Thomas (2015): "Constituency candidates in comparative perspective—How personalized are constituency campaigns, why, and does it matter?" *Electoral Studies* 39: 286-294.
- Vandeleene, Audrey, Dodeigne, Jérémy, & De Winter, Lieven (2016). What do selectorates seek? A comparative analysis of Belgian federal and regional candidate selection processes in 2014. *American Behavioral Scientist*, Special issue(SI), 1-20. 0002764216632825, first published on March 8, 2016 <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/170646>

Data Collection Documents

The Micro Questionnaire focuses on the candidates' relationship with the party and the voters. Campaigning is a major topic, but recruitment and carrier patterns, issues and ideology, and democracy and representation are also covered.

The Macro Questionnaire organises the collection properties of the national political system, such as the electoral system applied, the degree of fractionalisation of the party system, the partisan polarisation at the time of an election, etc.

These documents can be downloaded from the website of the project.

A District-Level Module is being developed. It collects some of the properties of the electoral district, such as the district magnitude, the electoral history of the district, and its social and economic structure.

Participating Countries and Surveys

Australia (2007, 2010), Austria (2006, 2008), Belgium (2007, 2010), Brasil (2014), Cape Verde (from 2016), Canada (2008), Czech Republic (2006), Denmark (2011), Estonia (2011), Finland (2007, 2011), Germany (2002, 2005, 2009, 2013), Greece (2007, 2009, 2012), Hungary (2010), Iceland (2009, 2013), Ireland (2007, 2011), Netherlands (2007, 2011), New Zealand (2008), Norway (2009), Portugal (2009, 2011, 2015), Sweden (2010), Switzerland (2007, 2011), and the United Kingdom (2010, 2015).

Between 2005 and 2015, the CCS has been administered in 22 countries at the occasion of 38 national legislative elections. A second micro questionnaire has been developed and is being administered from 2013 onwards.

Data

An integrated micro-level data set has been produced at the MZES and is now verified and documented, available at the Swiss Data Archive in Lausanne. It is also being distributed by that archive.