

Candidates, Parties and Voters in the Belgian Partitocracy

Audrey Vandeleeene · Lieven De Winter
Pierre Baudewyns
Editors

Candidates, Parties and Voters in the Belgian Partitocracy

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Audrey Vandeleene
Lund University
Lund, Sweden

Pierre Baudewyns
Université catholique de Louvain
Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium

Lieven De Winter
Université catholique de Louvain
Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium

ISBN 978-3-319-96459-1 ISBN 978-3-319-96460-7 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96460-7>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018949902

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer
Nature Switzerland AG 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image: © macrovector/iStock/Getty Images Plus
Cover design: Emma J. Hardy

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It all started on 25 May 2014 when regional, federal and European elections took place. Actually, we launched the work even earlier by preparing the survey questionnaire, within the framework of the *Comparative Candidate Survey* (www.comparativecandidates.org) and together with colleagues from the PartiRep network (www.partirep.eu). We had the chance to meet in person several former candidates to legislative elections who devoted some of their precious time to entirely fill in the pilot questionnaire with us and point out the shortcomings of the draft version. The preparation of fieldwork also included an intense collection of personal email addresses for more than 5000 candidates and the preparation of personalised letters to be sent to candidates' home address. Right after Election Day, the rush time started and the first filled in questionnaires were soon returned, what of course triggered our curiosity. How would candidates answer our sometimes very academic-oriented questions? Some candidates wanted to let us know in person and emailed us or even called us on the special number bought for this project, with more or less kind intentions...

After three months in the field, and a meagre answer rate around 10%, we transformed the Centre of Political Science and Comparative Politics (CESPOL) into a mail sorting office. We prepared paper questionnaires for the thousands of candidates who did not answer yet, together with personalised letters. Who could imagine a better team building activity than spending days at the copy shop printing countless sheets of paper

(we are so sorry for the forests that were destroyed because of us), and back at the office, folding and stapling paper questionnaires? But this effort paid off since, just after the Christmas break when our mailbox was more days empty than full with returned questionnaires, we decided to stop the collection of data at a response rate of about 35%, which places Belgium in 2014 on the average of other CCS countries, especially taking into account that we contacted all candidates on the list, and even of parties that gained only a handful of seats.

We were not alone in this endeavour. First of all, the Belgian Research Fund F.R.S.–FNRS kindly funded our project over the years with two ‘research credits’ (CDR 1.5314.08F and CDR J.0141.14F). Our colleagues from PartiRep helped us to improve the content of the questionnaire by adding questions central to their own research. The CESPOL¹ team was also very efficient during summer 2014 and we warmly thank all of them to have accepted to leave their computers to do some manual work. In particular, in alphabetical order, we express our gratitude to Jérémy Dodeigne, Silvia Erzeel, Vincent Jacquet, Conrad Meulewaeter, Min Reuchamps, Benoît Rihoux, Ferdinand Teuber and Virginie Van Ingelgom. Christoph Niessen deserves a special thank as he devoted his entire summer to assist us in the data collection when he was not yet a master student, and he even translated the questionnaire for our small German-speaking Community (together with Ferdinand Teuber)! We also thank Mathieu Coton and Marine Radelet who should now know a lot about candidates’ experiences and stances since they encoded all French-speaking candidates’ answers from the questionnaires returned on paper into the online survey. An army of Flemish students kindly coordinated by Tom Verthé (thank you!) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel did the same job for the Flemish questionnaires. The BCS 2014 questionnaire is detailed in the online appendix of this book, available on the online platform SpringerLink (see copyright page for details about how to access it).

The book project as such really started in April 2015 with a first book outline that does not look that different from the current book. When the data was (almost) cleaned, we organised the first seminar in November 2015 where colleagues from CESPOL but also from the entire PartiRep network could suggest ideas for chapters and present very preliminary findings based on basic analyses. In May 2016, a second seminar gathered teams of authors and we could discuss chapters’

research designs and theoretical frameworks. Comprehensive versions of the chapters were then submitted to some international experts in order to receive high-quality comparative feedback and ensure that this was not a Belgian story only. In December 2016 and January 2017, we spent three nice and productive days (and pleasant dinners) with Eva Heiða Önnudóttir (University of Iceland), Paolo Segatti (University of Milan) and Thomas Zittel (Goethe University Frankfurt). We are deeply grateful to the three of them for their relevant and constructive comments on the theory and further empirical analyses suggested for the book. Several rounds of reviews later, the final book chapters were, finally, ready to be submitted in Spring 2018, almost four years after Election Day but still one year before the next general, regional and European elections of May 2019, which is certainly a great relief! A warm thank you to all authors of the eleven chapters of this book, who kindly satisfied all our (sometimes very specific) queries and made our survey live by using candidates' answers in their original research designs and approaches.

It was not an easy journey. We experienced unforeseen developments as well as almost vegetative periods. We hope that the final version of this book will bring some added-value to our field of study. We are convinced that candidates are a relevant category of the political elites to be studied as for themselves. Hereby we want to thank all our respondents for answering a 24 pages long questionnaire, framed in Political Science jargon unfamiliar or irrelevant to them, and excuse us for harassing them with our numerous reminders, and hope that they will be as willing in 2019 as 2014 to respond to our query at our next 'mother of all elections'.

We also thank profoundly Annick Bacq for the editing work at the final stages of the book production, Dr. Huri Türsan for her continuous contribution to the English and Political Science terminology of this book, and Mihail Chiru—on which we could always test our ideas—for his methodological support and careful reading of many draft chapters. The editorial team at Palgrave (Imogen, Katelyn, Ambra and Kayalvizhi) also deserves a thank you for their patience and reactivity to respond to all our detailed questions.

This book provides, hopefully, some evidence that candidates can arouse curiosity and interest for scholars working on questions of representation, democracy, participation and beyond. On top of that, maybe this book will also be read outside the Political Science academic arena, first by our family members and relatives who had to tolerate us talking

about the ‘BCS book’ for ages before they could hold it in their hands. We want to end these acknowledgments by thanking them for their support throughout the years. We promise that our next book will take a shorter time to come out.

Lund, Sweden
Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
May 2018

Audrey Vandeleeene
Lieven De Winter
Pierre Baudewyns

NOTE

1. <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ispole/cespol/about-cespol.html>.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: Candidates Between Parties and Voters—A Triadic Relationship in the Belgian Partitocracy	1
	Audrey Vandeleene and Lieven De Winter	
 Part I Candidates' Background		
2	The Effects of the Political Parties' Selective Bias on Descriptive Representation: Analysis of the Candidates' Sociological and Political Background	47
	Jérémy Dodeigne and Ferdinand Teuber	
3	The More, the Smoother? Candidate Selection and Intraparty Competition	77
	Audrey Vandeleene and Giulia Sandri	
4	Who Wins More? Understanding Preferential Voting by Means of Context and Candidates' Background and Campaigning	105
	Marta Gallina, Stefano Camatarri and Maximilien Cogels	

Part II Campaigning

- 5 **The Puzzle of Personalisation of Politics: Evidence from Candidate Campaigns in Belgium 2007–2014** 131
Lieven De Winter, Pierre Baudewyns
and Maximilien Cogels
- 6 **Campaigning and Candidates: Different Strategies for Different Candidates** 161
Maximilien Cogels and Pierre Baudewyns
- 7 **The Electoral Impact of Local Campaigning in the 2014 Regional and Federal Elections** 189
Audrey André and Sam Depauw

Part III Policy Congruence

- 8 **Constituting the List Amid Time of Personalisation of Politics: The Balance of Congruent and Popular Candidates in Belgian Political Parties** 215
Jérémy Dodeigne, Conrad Meulewaeter and Christophe Lesschaeve
- 9 **Who Do You Feel and What Future Do You Want for Belgium? A Comparison of Candidates and Voters' Identities and Institutional Preferences** 245
Sophie Devillers, Pierre Baudewyns, Lieven De Winter and Min Reuchamps
- 10 **From More or Less Integration to *Status Quo*? Explaining Candidates' and Citizens' Attitudes Towards European Integration** 273
Samuel Defacqz, Jérémy Dodeigne, Ferdinand Teuber and Virginie Van Ingelgom

Part IV Representation and Democracy

11 Between Parties and Voters: Candidates' Role Conception in the Belgian Partitocracy	313
Chloé Janssen, Mihail Chiru and Lieven De Winter	
12 Critical Candidates: Elite Attitudes Towards the Functioning of Representative Democracy	341
Christoph Niessen, Nathalie Schiffino, Vincent Jacquet and Ludovic Deschamps	
13 Conclusion: Studying Candidates, Parties and Voters. Lessons Learned and New Questions	365
Audrey Vandeleene, Lieven De Winter and Pierre Baudewyns	
Appendix: Methodology	381
Index	393

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Audrey André was F.R.S.–FNRS postdoctoral researcher at the Centre d'étude de la vie politique (CEVIPOL) of the Université libre de Bruxelles (Belgium). Her research focuses on the impact of electoral institutions on parties', legislators' and voters' behaviour. Key findings have been published in a.o. the *European Journal of Political Research*, *Electoral Studies*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Party Politics*, *Acta Politica* and *West European Politics*.

Pierre Baudewyns is Professor at the Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. His research covers electoral behaviour in Belgium and Europe among mass and elites. Results have been published in *Electoral Studies*, *European Political Science*, *Regional & Federal Studies*, *West European Politics* and *Comparative European Politics*. He is member of board of the Belgian National Election Study and takes part in different research networks (Comparative Candidate Survey, European Election Study, ...).

Stefano Camatarri is Research Assistant at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain, and teaching assistant at the Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. He received his Ph.D. degree in Political Studies from the University of Milan in May 2017. In his dissertation, he dealt with the so-called protest voting hypothesis, looking for a renewed framework of analysis and empirical test at the European level. His main research interests concern the comparative analysis of mass and elite political behaviour.

Mihail Chiru is a MOVE-IN Postdoctoral Fellow at the Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. He received his Ph.D. in Comparative Politics from the Central European University Budapest in 2015. His postdoctoral project focuses on the impact of individual parliamentary activities on the re-selection and re-election of Members of the European Parliament. Mihail is mainly interested in legislative behaviour, legislative organisation and party politics. His authored and co-authored articles were published in *Party Politics*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *European Union Politics*, *Government and Opposition*, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, *International Political Science Review* and *European Political Science Review*.

Maximilien Cogels is a F.R.S.–FNRS Research Fellow at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). He is a member of the Institute of Political Science Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE) and the Centre of Political Science and Comparative Politics (CESPOL) where he works on electoral lists, and the personalisation of politics. He was a member of the editorial board of the youth journal *Emulations*.

Lieven De Winter is senior Professor at the Institute of Political Science Louvain-Europe, Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). He wrote his Ph.D. on the Belgian Legislator at the European University Institute. He published widely on electoral behaviour, parties, parliaments, cabinets, political elites and regionalism, mainly from a European comparative perspective. He coordinated the Belgian Candidate Survey of 2007, 2010 and 2014, and currently edits a comparative volume (with Hermann Schmitt & Rune Karlsen) on the basis of the Comparative Candidate Survey data.

Samuel Defacqz is F.R.S.–FNRS Research Fellow (Ph.D.) at the Centre of Political Science and Comparative Politics of the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). He is currently working on the legitimacy of European interest groups and their internal organisation. His research interests cover interest groups politics, European civil society, European integration and organisational legitimacy. He is also member of the management team of the network COMPASSS (COMPARative Methods for Systematic cross-caSe analySis).

Sam Depauw was Assistant Professor and postdoctoral researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). His research concentrates on legislative and electoral studies. He is co-editor of *Representing the*

People? (Oxford University Press 2014) and has published extensively on political representation and party discipline in *Political Behavior*, *West European Politics*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Legislative Studies* and *Party Politics*.

Ludovic Deschamps is attaché at the SME Observatory of the Belgian Federal Public Service (FPS) for Economy, SMEs, Self-employed and Energy. He holds a Master's degree in Political Sciences and International Relations from Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. His works on multilevel governance and public policies in the European Union focused on the European climate and energy policy and its implementation in the Belgian federal state system.

Sophie Devillers is a Ph.D. student at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCLouvain) in Belgium. Her Master thesis focused on the elements fostering or weakening the impact of mini-publics on the content of public policies. Her research interests cover mainly participatory and deliberative democracy and local politics.

Jérémy Dodeigne is an Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Namur (Belgium), in the Research institute TRANSITIONS. He has been visiting researcher at the University of Oxford (Marie Curie BeIPD Fellowship), University of Edinburgh, the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. His research areas cover the study of political representation in multilevel systems, elites' career patterns, comparative politics and mixed methods research designs. He published in *West European Politics*, *Party Politics*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, *Regional & Federal Studies*, *Government & Opposition*, and *Representation*.

Marta Gallina is a Ph.D. student at the Centre of Political Science and Comparative Politics (CESPOL) at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). She obtained her B.A. and M.A. in Social Sciences at the University of Milan in 2013 and 2016 respectively. Her research interest regards the study of political behaviour, especially voting logics and heuristics, political knowledge and political sophistication. In her Ph.D. project she looks for a renewed conceptual and operational framework for the concept of political sophistication, and she investigates a possible relationship between sophistication and different features of the political context.

Vincent Jacquet is a Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique (F.R.S.–FNRS) postdoctoral researcher at Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. His main research interests include deliberative democracy, democratic innovations, sortition and political participation.

Chloé Janssen is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Political Science of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). She was involved in the international project ‘Pathways to Power: The Political Representation of Citizens of Immigrant Origin in Seven European Democracies’. Her research focuses on the gendered impact of institutions on the political representation of immigrants and visible minority groups.

Christophe Lesschaeve works as a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Luxemburg. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science in 2016 at the University of Antwerp. His research interests focus primarily on representation, issue congruence between voters and political elites, and voter behaviour.

Conrad Meulewaeter is a Ph.D. student employed within the framework of the PartiRep project and is based at the Institut de sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE), Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). His research interests are substantive representation, electoral participation and electoral volatility.

Christoph Niessen is a Ph.D. student at Université de Namur and Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium. He is Research Fellow at the Fund for Research in the Humanities (F.R.S.–FNRS, Belgium). He has worked on citizen deliberation and its reception by traditional decision-making actors. His current research deals with minority self-governance and autonomy dynamics in multinational Western European states.

Min Reuchamps is Professor of Political Science at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). He graduated from the Université de Liège and from Boston University. His teaching and research interests are federalism and multilevel governance, democracy and its different dimensions, participatory and deliberative methods, as well as relations between language(s) and politics and in particular the role of metaphors.

Giulia Sandri is Associate Professor at the European School of Political and Social Sciences of the Catholic University of Lille (France). She was Research Fellow at Christ Church and at the DPIP of the University of

Oxford. Her main research interests are party politics, intra-party democracy and political behaviour. She published in *Politics and Policy*, *Acta Politica*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Religion, State and Society*, *Ethnopolitics*, *Italian Political Science Review* and *Regional and Federal Studies*. She also recently co-edited with Fulvio Venturino and Antonella Seddone, a book on *Party primaries in Comparative Perspective* (Ashgate, 2015).

Nathalie Schiffino is Full Professor of Political Science at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium), guest researcher at the Université Laval (Québec) and Université Saint Louis (Brussels). She is the vice-dean of the Faculty of Economic, Political and Social sciences. She holds a Ph.D. in government and public administration. Her research and courses focus on democracy and policy analysis, notably on representation and democratic innovations. She addresses the challenges of participatory democracy within decision-making, especially regarding risk and morality issues. Results have been published in books and journals including *West European Politics*, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, and *Risk Analysis*.

Ferdinand Teuber is a doctoral researcher at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium). In his Ph.D. project he analyses the legislative agenda-setting behaviour of Belgian MPs with the help of quantitative content analysis methods. His further research interests include legislators' activities to cultivate an electoral connection as well as legislative politics in general.

Virginie Van Ingelgom is a Research Associate Professor F.R.S.–FNRS at the Institute of Political Science Louvain-Europe (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium). Her dissertation entitled 'Integrating indifference' (UCLouvain & Sciences Po Paris) was awarded three important prizes among which the prestigious ECPR Jean Blondel Ph.D. Prize. Her research interests focus on the issue of legitimacy at both the national and the European levels, on policy feedbacks and on the methodological issues of using qualitative comparative (re-)analysis. Awarded with an ERC Starting Grant (2017–2022), she develops—with C. Dupuy, Sciences Po Grenoble (PACTE)—a new research program that offers a qualitative (re)appraisal of citizens' (dis-)affection towards politics relying on the core argument of the policy feedback literature: attitudes and behaviours are outcomes of past policy.

Audrey Vandeleene is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Department of Political Science of Lund University (Sweden). Her doctoral work (2016) handled a comparative qualitative and quantitative analysis of candidate selection processes in Belgian political parties. Her research interests cover party politics, candidate selection, intra-party democracy, electoral systems and women-in-politics. She has published in *Representation*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, and *Politique et Sociétés*. She coordinated the Belgian Candidate Survey in 2014.

ABBREVIATIONS

BCS	Belgian Candidate Survey
BHV	Bruxelles-Hal-Vilvorde/Brussel-Halle-Vilvoorde
CCS	Comparative Candidate Survey
CD&V	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams
cdH	centre démocrate Humaniste
CSP	Christlich Soziale Partei
D&A	Delegation and accountability
Ecolo	Écologistes Confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes Originales
ENP	Effective number of parties
EU	European Union
FDF	Fédéralistes démocrates francophones
ICT	Information and communication technologies
LDD	Lijst Dedecker/Libertair, Direct, Democratisch
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
MR	Mouvement Réformateur
N-VA	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
Open VLD	Vlaamse Liberalen & Democraten
PAT	Principal-Agent theory
PFF	Partei für Freiheit und Fortschritt
PM	Prime Minister
PP	Parti Populaire
PR	Proportional representation
ProDG	Pro Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft

PS	Parti socialiste
PTB-GO	Parti du Travail de Belgique-Gauche d'Ouverture
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid
PVEA	Personal Vote-Earning Attributes
SD	Standard deviation
SMD	Single-member district
SP	Socialistische Partei
sp.a	Socialistische partij anders
STV	Single Transferable Vote
USA	United States of America
VAA	Voting Advice Application
VB	Vlaams Belang
WW	World War

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	The candidates–party–voters triad	8
Fig. 3.1	The recruitment process and intraparty competition	80
Fig. 4.1	Mean of preferential votes by education	116
Fig. 4.2	Mean of preferential votes by age	117
Fig. 5.1	Campaign aim of candidates of 10 main parties (2014)	143
Fig. 6.1	Cumulative use of campaigning tools by the candidates (%, N= 1525)	172
Fig. 6.2	Importance of campaigning tools according to the candidates	172
Fig. 6.3	Distribution of campaigning tools used by candidates of each party	176
Fig. 7.1	The differential effect of list position among realistic and non-realistic positions	201
Fig. 8.1	Proportion of the binary dependent variable “realistic position”	227
Fig. 8.2	Distribution of party-candidate issue congruence (histogram with boxplot)	229
Fig. 8.3	Distribution of candidates’ percentages of preferential votes (histogram with boxplot)	230
Fig. 9.1	Institutional preferences in Flanders among candidates and voters from 1991 to 2014 (%)	257
Fig. 9.2	Institutional preferences in Wallonia among candidates and voters from 1991 to 2014 (%)	260
Fig. 10.1	Distribution of dependent variable: a candidates and b voters	278
Fig. 10.2	IRaMuTeQ’s top-down hierarchical classification	281

Fig. 10.3	IRaMuTeQ's correspondence analyses—word clouds per class and variable	282
Fig. 10.4	IRaMuTeQ's correspondence analyses—word clouds per class and variable	284
Fig. 10.5	a and b Candidates (left) and voters (right) probabilities predicting preferences about European integration by education (multinomial logit)	291
Fig. 10.6	a to f Candidates (left) and voters' (right) probabilities predicting preferences about European integration by level of European, national and regional identifications (multinomial logit)	292
Fig. 10.7	a to f Candidates' probabilities predicting preferences about European integration by public policies preferences	294
Fig. 10.8	a to d Voters' probabilities predicting preferences about European integration by public policies preferences	296
Fig. 10.9	a and b Candidates (left) and voters' (right) probabilities predicting preferences about European integration by satisfaction with EU functioning	298
Fig. 11.1	Foci of representation by level of candidature (%)	325
Fig. 11.2	Styles and foci of representation (number of candidates)	334
Fig. 12.1	Candidates' degree of criticalness with representative democracy	350

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Allocation of seats in parliaments for Belgian political parties after the 2014 elections	28
Table 2.1	Candidates' education level by party family and language group	57
Table 2.2	Distribution of candidates' educational levels given their list position	58
Table 2.3	Candidates' mean age by party family	59
Table 2.4	Distribution of candidates' age by list position	60
Table 2.5	Distribution of gender by list position	61
Table 2.6	Active membership in civil society organisations of candidates by party family and language group	63
Table 2.7	Declared civil society endorsements of candidates by party family and language group	65
Table 2.8	Distribution of candidates' civil society engagement and endorsements given their list position	66
Table 2.9	Comparison of active membership in civil society organisation between candidates and voters	66
Table 2.10	Candidates' mandate experience by assembly	67
Table 2.11	Share of candidates on realistic positions given different types of political experience	69
Table 3.1	Descriptive statistics of the most influential selectorate, per decision stage	89
Table 3.2	Operationalisation of the selectorates' centralisation and inclusiveness variables	90
Table 3.3	Frequencies of the perceived degree of intraparty competition	93

Table 3.4	Summary of the operationalisation of the variables included in the model and hypotheses	94
Table 3.5	Explaining the degree of perceived intraparty competition: logistic regression	96
Table 4.1	Summary of the hypotheses	112
Table 4.2	Mean of preferential votes per party at federal and regional level	115
Table 4.3	Determinants of preferential voting: regression models	118
Table 4.4	Summary of the main findings	123
Table 5.1	Number of individuals standing as candidate on one or more lists in 2003-2014 elections	136
Table 5.2	Percent outsiders per party and party type 2007-2010-2014	140
Table 5.3	Use of pre-modern campaigning instruments 2007-2014 (%)	145
Table 5.4	Interparty differences in three components of personalisation of candidate campaigns 2007-2014	146
Table 5.5	Electoral and party systemic determinants of party-centred campaign norm in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives	149
Table 5.6	Individual level determinants of party-centred campaign norm in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives	150
Table 5.7	Individual, electoral and party systemic determinants of party-centred campaign norm in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives	150
Table 5.8	Individual, electoral and party systemic determinants of party-centred campaign norm in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives (including parties)	150
Table 5.9	Individual, electoral and party systemic determinants of candidate-centred campaign instruments in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives (including parties)	151
Table 5.10	Individual, electoral and party systemic determinants of use of personal campaign team in the 2007-2010-2014 elections to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives (including parties)	152
Table 6.1	Rotated (oblique) factor loadings ($N=1558$)	170
Table 6.2	Campaigning tools in the 2014 electoral campaign (%), federal and regional candidates 2014	171
Table 6.3	Use of campaigning tools by gender (%), all candidates 2014	174

Table 6.4	Use of campaigning tools by age category (%), all candidates 2014	174
Table 6.5	Use of campaigning tools by absence/presence of a campaign team (%), all candidates 2014	175
Table 6.6	Multiple regression models, explaining the use of campaigning means' types	178
Table 6.7	Multiple regression models (full models)	182
Table 7.1	The geographical scope of candidates' campaign efforts in Belgium	195
Table 7.2	The distribution of campaign spread across Parliaments	196
Table 7.3	Differences in geographical campaign spread across types of candidates	197
Table 7.4	Explaining the geographical spread of candidate campaigning	199
Table 7.5	Candidate performance in the different quartiles of geographical campaign spread	202
Table 7.6	The impact of geographical campaign spread on a candidate's electoral performance	204
Table 7.7	Variables' operationalisation and descriptive statistics	208
Table 8.1	Summary of the operationalisation of the variables	231
Table 8.2	Explaining the probability of being selected on a realistic position (logistic regression)	233
Table 8.3	Predicted probabilities of being selected on a realistic position, by vote-earning capacity and congruence	234
Table 9.1	Comparison of the sense of political identity among voters and candidates in Flanders and Wallonia from 1995 to 2014 (%)	251
Table 9.2	Comparison by political party of the sense of political identity among voters and candidates in 2014 (%)	254
Table 9.3	Institutional preferences in Flanders among candidates and voters in 2014, by political party (%)	259
Table 9.4	Institutional preferences in Wallonia among candidates and voters in 2014 by political party (%)	261
Table 9.5	Institutional preferences concerning the most appropriate level of decision-making by policy area among voters and candidates in 2014 (%)	263
Table 9.6	Distribution by political party of institutional preferences concerning the most appropriate level of decision-making by policy area among the voters and the candidates in 2014 (%)	264
Table 10.1	Preference towards European integration, descriptive statistics	279

Table 10.2	IRaMuTeQ's top-down hierarchical classification	283
Table 10.3	Variables in multinomial regressions, candidates	301
Table 10.4	Variables in multinomial regressions, voters	302
Table 10.5	Determinants of candidates' preferences about European integration	303
Table 10.6	Determinants of voters' preferences about European integration	305
Table 11.1	Representational foci	324
Table 11.2	Principal component factor analysis (rotated solution) of representational foci	324
Table 11.3	Representational styles among Belgian candidates	326
Table 11.4	Determinants of representational foci (multinomial logistic regression). Candidates pooled, with and without party dummies	329
Table 11.5	Determinants of representational styles (logistic regressions)	332
Table 12.1	Candidates' attitudes towards the critical dimensions of representative democracy (%)	348
Table 12.2	OLS regression results for candidates' degree of criticalness	352
Table 12.3	Multinomial logistic regression results for candidates' support for a nationwide popular consultation	355
Table A.1	Distribution of response rates per parliament	384
Table A.2	Distribution of response rates per language	384
Table A.3	Distribution of response rates per party	385
Table A.4	Distribution of response rates per type of candidate (regional and federal elections only)	387
Table A.5	Duncan indexes for representativeness	388
Table A.6	Party's weight correcting for response rate by assembly	389
Table A.7	Operationalisation of realistic positions	390