

How to (not) Study Candidate Selection 1

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ONE DOES NOT SIMPLY

BECOME A CANDIDATE

Candidate selection as topic

- Not a mainstream in political science
- Rising influence in recent periods
- Unfinished discussions about theoretical framework and methodology
- **Key question** – How to study candidate selection?

A possible shortcut?

- Ability to predict which candidate selection methods will political parties apply
- Data from studies (Lundell 2004) indicate that such attitude is not fully reliable
- The same counts for changes in rules of candidate selection (Barnea and Rahat 2007)
- Important outcome – **each** political **party** has to be studied **individually**

Existing research

- Many empirical and less theoretical works
- Various areas – what type of candidates to choose, what type of selection is the best etc.
- Candidate selection as independent variable, dependent variable or both
- Israel – most important area for methodological approach of candidate selection

Reuven Y. Hazan



Gideon Rahat

Hazan and Rahat

- Most prominent researchers in area of candidate selection
- *Democracy within parties. Candidate Selection Methods and their Political Consequences. (2010)*
- A **complex framework** based on 4 dimensions:
 - Candidacy
 - Selectorate
 - Decentralization
 - Appointment and voting systems

1. Candidacy

- *Who can be selected?*
- Describes the potential group out of which candidates may emerge
- Most simple dimension for analysis
- Possibly the most harsh dimension, as it may eliminate nearly everyone from being a candidate

Candidacy

- An inclusive – exclusive continuum



Candidacy

- **All voters:**
 - All eligible citizens may become candidates
 - US parties
- **Members:**
 - Restriction to party members only
 - Plenty of examples including some Czech parties
- **Members + other requirements:**
 - Most exclusive category
 - Members have to fulfill special conditions

Belgian socialists (in the past)

- Who could be a candidate:
 - **Member** of the party, trade union or insurance association for at least **5 years**
 - Who made minimum **purchases** from co-operative association
 - Was a subscriber of the party's **newspaper**
 - Had children in state rather than in catholic **school**
 - And his family (wife, children) participated in the „proper“ **women or youth organization**

Candidacy

- **Why more inclusive?**
 - Legal restrictions
 - Opening the gates to people
- **Why more exclusive?**
 - Control over the candidate selection
 - Ensuring homogeneity of party
 - Resistance to corrupt practices
 - Candidacy requirements as reward for active and loyal members or as a motivation for proper behavior

Candidacy requirements

- Important division of requirements:
 - Stated by the law
 - Stated by political parties
- Legal system:
 - Delineates the ends of the continuum – citizenship, age, residence, incompatibility with other offices
 - Constitution, laws, regulations
 - Political parties may operate only within these positions and may not go beyond

Parties' requirements

- **Age:**
 - Mostly the upper level (the lower is stated by law)
 - Restrictions to long-term politicians
 - An effective way how to ensure access of younger candidates
 - *Moral issue?*
- Belgian parties (maximum 65 years) → which Czech party in elections 2013 could not impose such restriction?

Parties' requirements

- **Membership:**
 - Status quo – being a members on a certain date
 - Lasting for some time – 1 year, 2 years, 5 years etc.
 - (Partly) effective way how to avoid corrupt practices based on hiring instant members
- **Opposite tactics:**
 - Encouraging non-members to become candidates
 - Slovak party OLaNO, Dutch PVV
 - Any Czech case?



Parties' requirements

- Plenty of others:
 - Monetary deposit – „on the campaign“
 - Recommendation – by other members, authorities
 - Specific abilities – foreign languages
 - Previous political experience – mayor, party official
 - Symbolic requirements – honesty, reputation
- Problematic:
 - Contracts of loyalty between parties and candidates
 - Unenforceable by the law

Incumbents



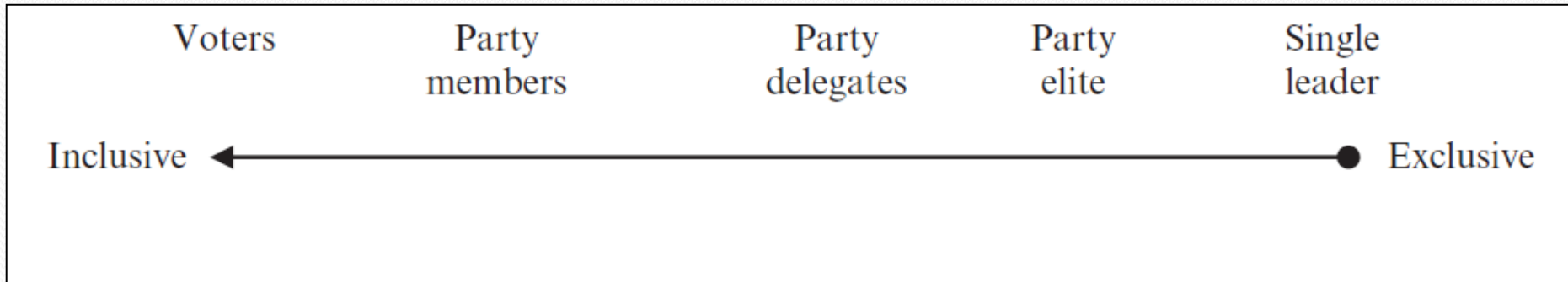
- Automatic reselection – any guess?
- Advantages:
 - No need to fulfil requirements as other candidates
 - Selected if not decided otherwise
- Disadvantages:
 - Need of higher support in the party
 - Worse starting position on the final list

2. Selectorate

- *Who is selecting?*
- The party body (or bodies) that select the candidates from the pool of aspirants
- The most important dimension of all with crucial effects on the whole process

Selectorate

- An inclusive – exclusive continuum



Selectorate

- **Voters:**

- Entire electorate eligible to vote
- Different types of primaries – non-partisan, blanket, open, semi-closed, (American) closed

- **Members:**

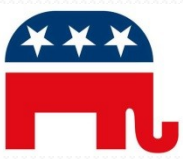
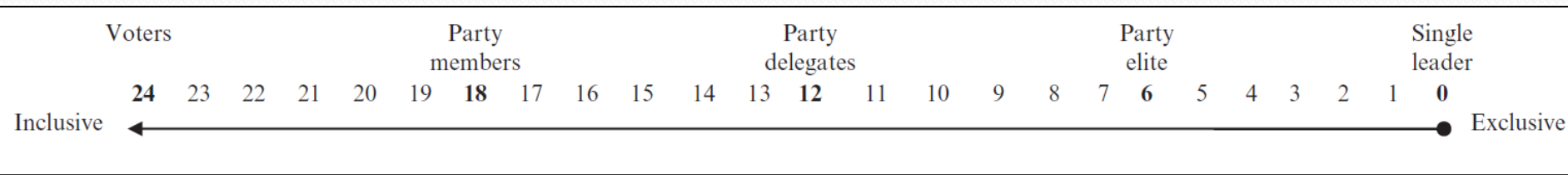
- Party membership in European meaning (not just registered voters)
- Closed primaries

Selectorate

- **Party delegates:**
 - Representatives selected by party members
 - Agency, congress, convention
- **Party elite:**
 - Indirectly selected or non-selected bodies usually composing of small number of officials
 - Special selection committees
- **Party leader:**
 - A single entity

Selectorate

- Measuring the selectorate:



- Highly exclusive – Kadima (0), Forza Italia (2)
- Middle sector – German parties (12)
- Highly inclusive - Icelandic parties (22), US parties (24)

Selectorate - complexities

- A single selectorate is rather rare
- Why?
 - a) parties have complex internal structures
 - b) parties just want to make it harder for students to study candidate selection
- **Assorted method:**
 - Different candidates face different selectorates that differ in their inclusiveness
 - Some candidates are selected by members, other by delegates (Belgian parties)

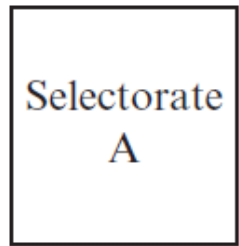
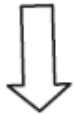
Selectorate - complexities

- **Multistage method:**
 - All candidates face more selectorates in more stages
 - A central committee filters aspirants and presents a shorter lists of persons out of which party delegates select candidates
- **Weighted method:**
 - All candidates face more selectorates at the same stage
 - Votes of each selectorate are weighted together
 - Kuomintang – weighting votes of party delegates and party members

Assorted method

Intraparty candidates

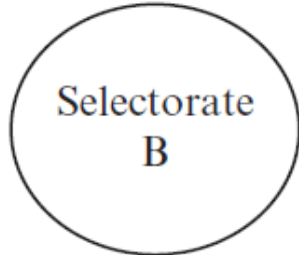
$A_1, A_2, A_3 \dots$



Party candidates

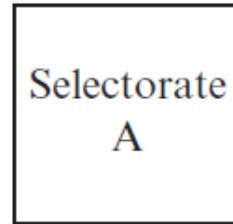
Intraparty candidates

$B_1, B_2, B_3 \dots$

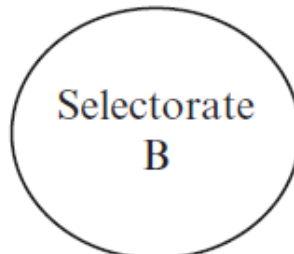


Multistage method

All intraparty candidates



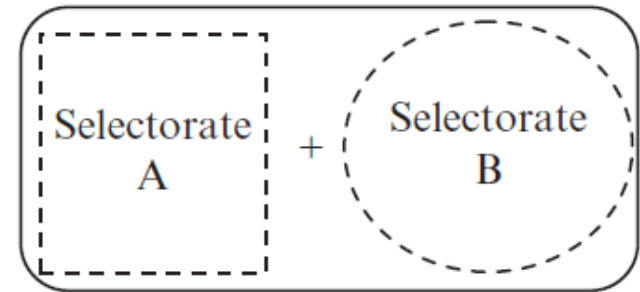
Remaining intraparty candidates



Party candidates

Weighted method

All intraparty candidates



Party candidates

Selectorate - complexities

- Public Affairs (VV) in 2010
- **Leaders of lists:**
 - A central committee made a short list of aspirants
 - After that semi-closed primaries have chosen leaders
- **Other candidates:**
 - Special selectorate composing of regional officials, local leaders and the list leader
- Which complexities are present?

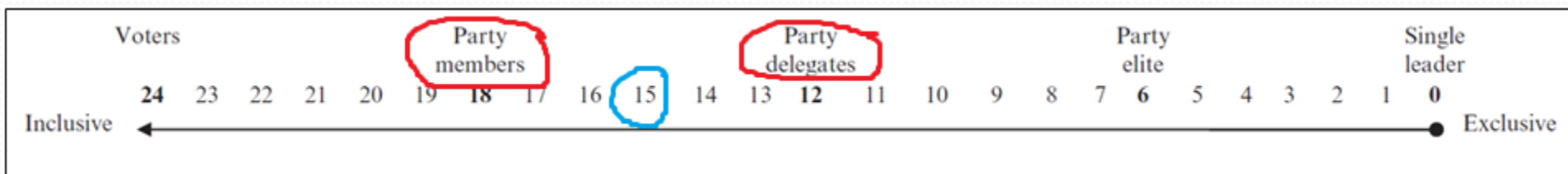
Selectorate - complexities

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- Applied methods - multistage and assorted

Selectorate - complexities

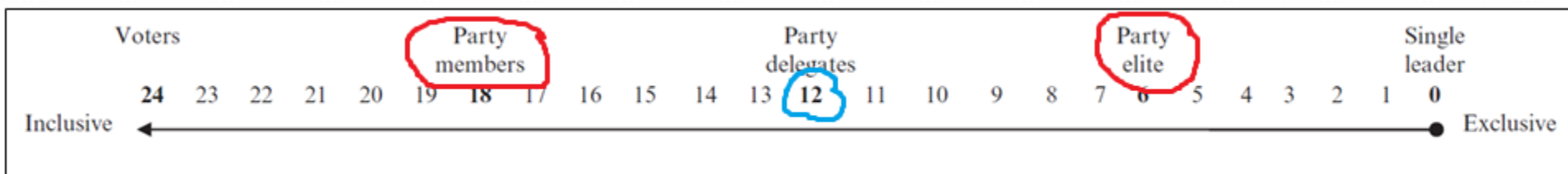
- How to deal with them?
- Separate analysis of each selectorate and its impact
- Excluding stages which are only formalities (in multistage method)
- Calculation of relative impacts into an average value

Selectorate - complexities



- Two selectorates:
 - Party members (18) and party delegates (12)
 - Both have equal impact
 - Final value is **15**

Selectorate - complexities



- Two selectorates:
 - Party members (18) and party elite (6)
 - Both have equal impact
 - Final value is **12**

Selectorate - complexities

- **Potential problems:**
 - Three or more selectorates
 - Selectorates are not close to each other
 - How to exactly measure their impact?
- Results may not represent the reality
- Necessary limitation of the framework

3. Decentralization

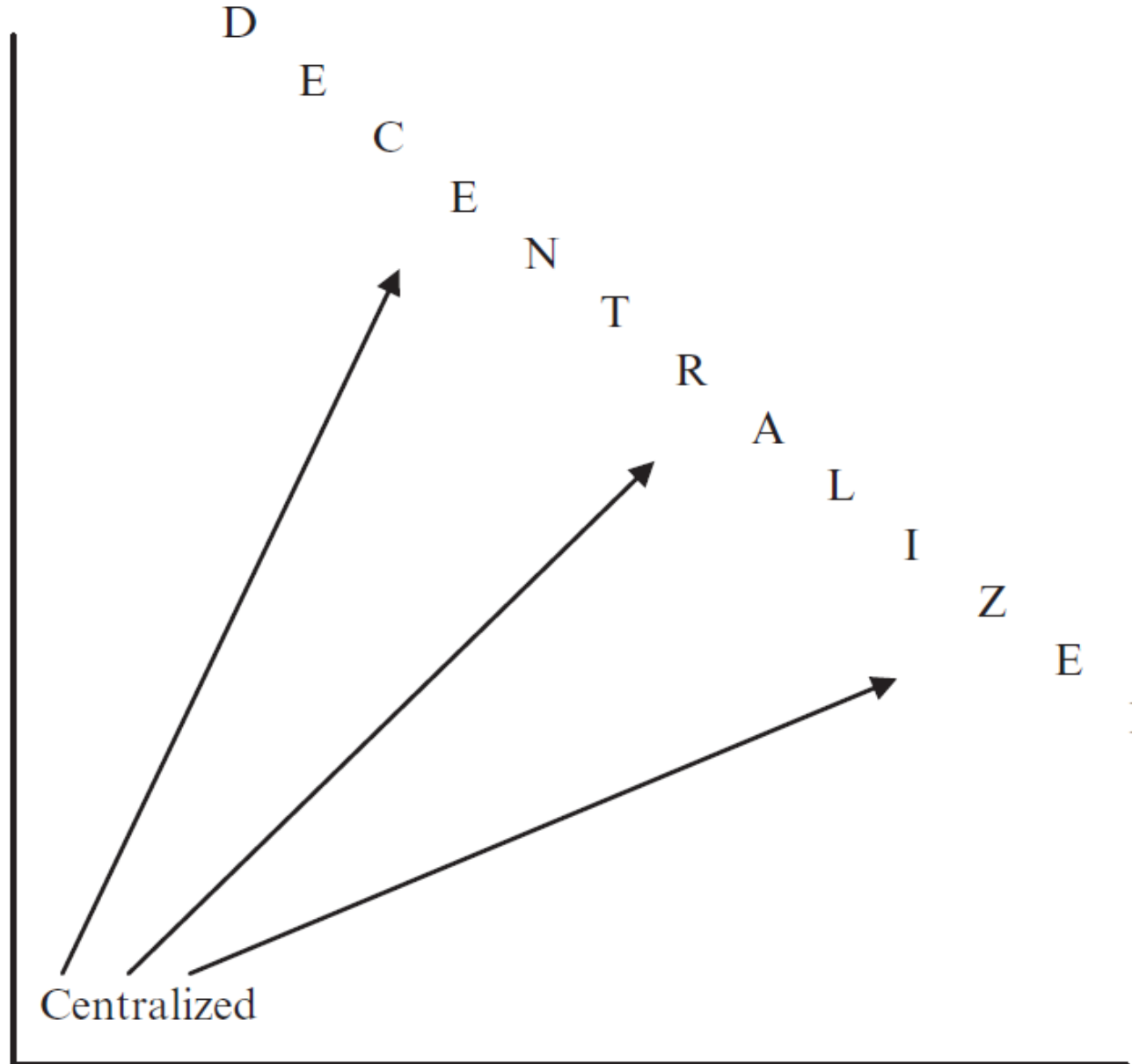
- *Whose interests are represented?*
- Extent to which national level influences the candidate selection as opposed to the weight of regional / local levels or social units
- Aim – to ensure representation in territorial or social aspects

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Subsectors/
social subgroups

Large sectors/
social groups

National



Centralized

National

Regional

Local

T E R R I T O R I A L

Mechanisms of decentralization

- Establishment of non-national districts with their own electorate:
 - Typical for territorial decentralization
- Reserved positions (quotas):
 - Typical for social representation

Non-national districts

- Regional or local branches have power to choose their candidates
- Great influence of electoral system in general elections
→ strong role of electoral district level
- FPTP usually leads to decentralized candidate selection while nationwide constituency works otherwise
- Exemptions – parties in India, Netherlands

Reserved positions

- Typically used for ensuring women representation
- Other groups – young party members, members of trade unions, ethnic minorities
- Quantitative share may not be enough – reserved positions should be competitive:
 - List PR systems – every third position of different gender
 - FPTP – reserved positions not only for lost districts
- Quotas **only for the electorate** may also be insufficient

Share of women on lists (Czech national election 2010)

Positions	ODS	CSSD	KSCM	SZ
1 – 6	10.5	10.5	29.8	35.1
7 – 12	15.8	29.8	21.1	40.4
13 – 18	31.6	22.8	31.6	36.8
19 – 24	28.1	31.6	29.8	33.3
25 – 30	21.1	31.6	31.6	31.6
31 - 36	12.3	25.5	36.8	30.9
Sum	19.9	25.3	30.1	34.7

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Important note

Decentralization
does not equal
democratization

Decentralization

- Decentralization may be connected to democratization, but **it is not a rule**
- These two dimensions should not be mixed
- If the party leader used to choose candidates and now the party has decided to give this power to its local branches – is it democratization?

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National
Regional
Local

Selection of all candidates by all voters

Selection of all candidates by single national leader

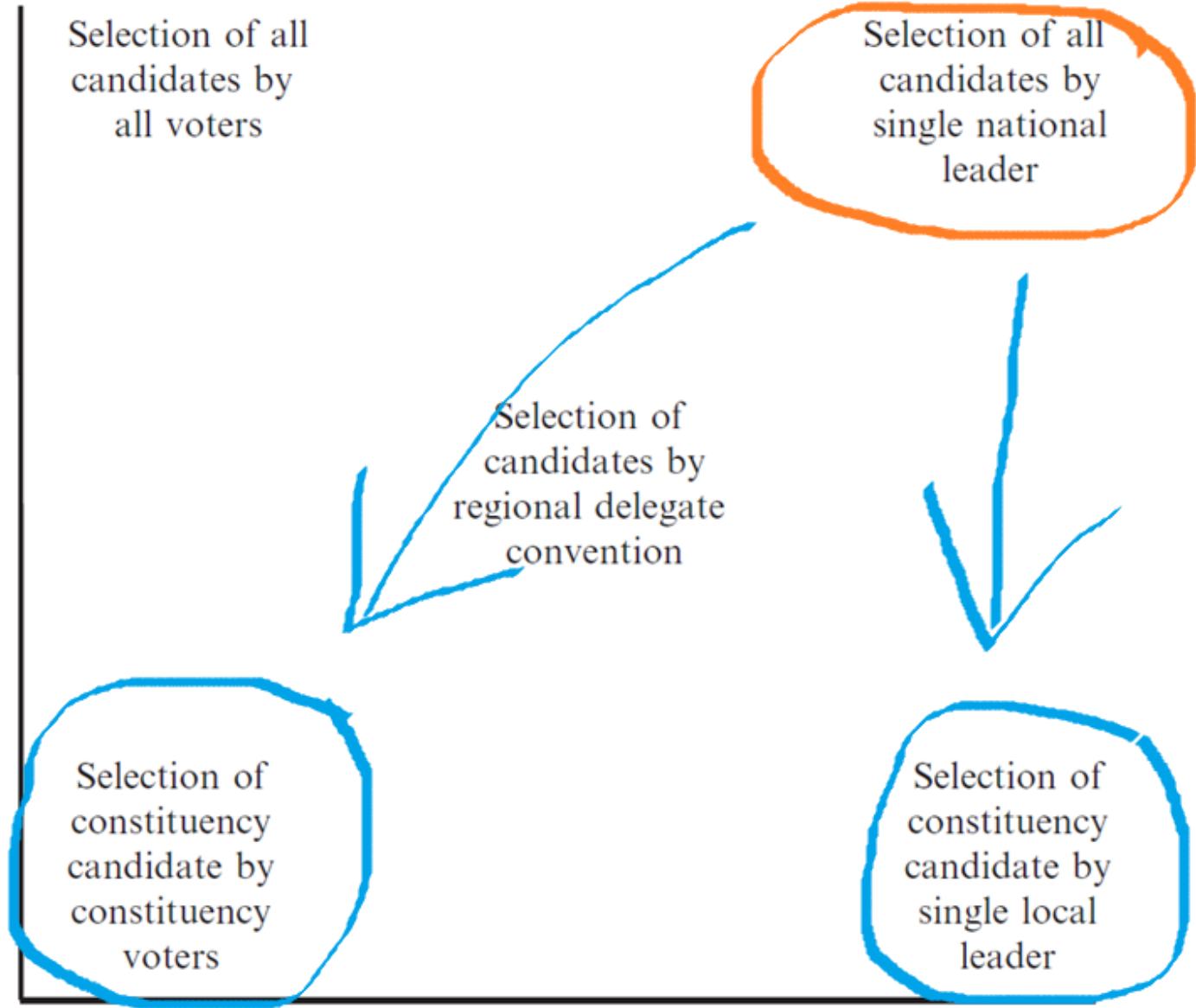
Selection of candidates by regional delegate convention

Selection of constituency candidate by constituency voters

Selection of constituency candidate by single local leader

Voters Party members Party delegates Party elite Single leader

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National
Regional
Local

Selection of all candidates by all voters

Congress of delegates

Selection of all candidates by single national leader

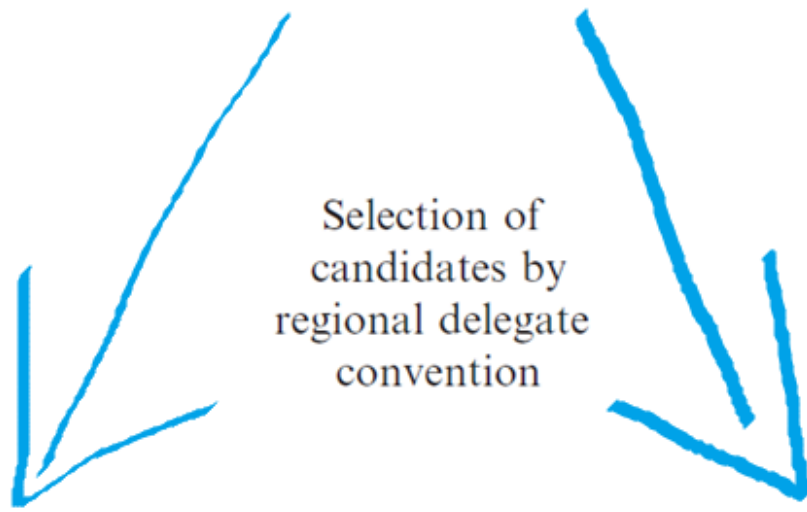
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Selection of constituency candidate by constituency voters

Selection of constituency candidate by single local leader

Voters Party members Party delegates Party elite Single leader

E X C L U S I V E N E S S



Appointment vs. Voting

- *How does the selectorate realize its decisions?*
- The technique of selecting the candidates
- Appointment:
 - Usually connected to bodies of small number of people
 - Deliberation of members
 - Typically used for dialogue between factions

Appointment vs. Voting

- Voting:
 - Usually used for large bodies of hundreds or thousands of participants (primaries, delegate conventions)
 - Effects of electoral systems as in regular elections
 - Important in respect to party unity or factionalism

Appointment vs. Voting

- Combinations in multistage method or in a single selectorate
- One body creates a proposal of candidates by appointment and another selectorate confirms this by a vote
- The same is possible in a single selectorate where its more exclusive part makes the proposal
- Example - Czech social democrats

Hazan and Rahat – 4 dimensions

- **Candidacy**
 - *Who can be selected?*
- **Selectorate**
 - *Who is selecting?*
- **Decentralization**
 - *Whose interests are represented?*
- **Appointment vs. Voting**
 - *How does the selectorate realize its decisions?*

