

# **PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN CANADA: ORIGINS, EFFECTS AND CONSEQUENCES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The concept of partisanship is contentious in the Canadian context. On the one hand partisanship has been characterized as a stable, enduring psychological attachment underlying vote choice in Canada. By contrast, others contend that partisanship in Canada is a weaker and more flexible attachment with less capacity for understanding voting. Although much empirical evidence has been brought to bear on this debate, very little work within either of these approaches has considered the individual-level origins of partisanship. This is the central theoretical concern of this paper. We consider two competing conceptualizations of partisanship: a strong attachment gained through socialization, akin to the type of partisanship considered in the classic Michigan model of voting behaviour (Campbell et al. 1960), and the cognitive or “running tally” model which holds that information about political parties held by individuals serves to inform their partisan attachment (Fiorina 1981). Using Canadian Election Study data from 1984, we investigate the extent to which each theory can account for the origins and effects of partisanship in Canada.

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## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN CANADA: ORIGINS, EFFECTS AND CONSEQUENCES**

In this paper we present an initial investigation into the connection between the roots of one's partisan identity and the political effects of that identity. We probe both the nature of one's partisan attachment and the consequences of that nature for the intensity and loyalty of the attachment. To understand the roots of one's partisan identity, we draw upon two theories of partisanship – the classic Michigan model, which suggests that socialization will lead to a psychological link (Campbell et al. 1960), and the idea that partisan identity is the result of a “running tally” of information about political parties held by individuals (Fiorina 1981). In this preliminary foray into this research question, we investigate the extent to which each theory can describe partisan attachments in Canada, and then consider whether the root of one's partisanship influences the intensity and loyalty of the attachment. We use the Canadian Election Study from 1984 to perform an empirical analysis of these questions.

This study is relevant for two reasons. First, party identification has been shown to have a strong and consistent influence on the vote choices of Canadians. As such, understanding its nature, origins and limits constitutes an important direction for voting behaviour research. Second, the nature of Canadian party identification has been a controversial area of study in political behaviour. It has been characterized, on the one hand, as a stable, psychological attachment that guides vote choice (Sniderman et al. 1974; Elkins 1978; Gidengil et al. 2006) and on the other hand as a weaker, more flexible attachment (Meisel 1973; Clarke et al. 1979, 1984, 1991, 1996; Clarke, Kornberg and Scotto 2009). Existing evidence supports both of these models, which raises the possibility that there may be different types of party identification in Canada. Furthermore, recent work by Bélanger and Stephenson (2010) finds that there are differences in the intensity and loyalty of partisans depending on whether the party is ideological or brokerage. Through our preliminary analysis of the origins and nature of one's party identification this paper will shed light on whether the nature of one's partisan attachment can be understood in relation to the means by which the identification was reached.

### **TWO ROADS TO PARTY IDENTIFICATION**

The concept of party identification is ubiquitous in the study of political behaviour. Budge, Crewe and Fairlie (1976: 3) suggest that “party identification has become as pervasive a concept as power, authority, legitimacy, stability or any other element in the professional political scientists' vocabulary.” The concept itself was first developed by Angus Campbell and his colleagues in the 1950s in Michigan. In a series of studies, beginning with *The Voter Decides* (Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1954) and most famously published in *The American Voter* (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes 1960), they explore the idea that citizens may have specific attachments to political parties. This attachment is characterized as stable, long-standing and with a psychological component – that is, it is an affective bond held by citizens for a political party. Such an attachment, in the Michigan formulation, is achieved through the process of political socialization. One's family, one's economic standing, one's job, one's location – all relate to which party identity is held by an individual. In many ways, party identification represents a summary measure of the components that are outlined as affecting vote choice in the Columbia Model (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954), which focuses on stable, socioeconomic factors.

While popular, the concept of party identification did not go undisputed. Several scholars disagreed with the Michigan model's approach to the concept of party identification. The so-called revisionist school proposed, instead, a more rational account of how partisanship was achieved. The scholars in this tradition suggest that attachments to political parties are the result of a mental balance sheet that voters carry around with them. All information received about political parties is entered into this balance sheet, and one's partisan identity corresponds to the party with the best score on balance.

This conceptualization of how party identities are achieved fits with a more rational view of voter behaviour, consistent with that expressed in Downs (1957). If voters evaluate parties on the basis of spatial distance, and seek to reduce the information costs involved with re-gathering such information each time they are called upon to vote, then creating a partisan identity to represent an earlier vote decision – that is, which party was closest to them at a specific point in time – is a useful information shortcut. In the revisionist formulation, this shortcut is subject to revision as new information appears that changes the evaluation of any of the available party options.

The debate over which model of partisanship acquisition is correct continues. On both sides, evidence has been produced to show either than one particular formulation is correct (e.g., Bartels 2002 and the Michigan model) or that the factors considered in one can fit in the theoretical framework of the other (e.g., Achen 2002 and the running tally model). This paper does not attempt to contribute to this argument. Rather, we take as our starting point the idea that there are (at least) two different paths to party identification, which need not be mutually exclusive.

Our focus is on understanding whether the specific roots of one's partisanship (socialization vs. cognitive preference) have implications for the way one's partisanship affects behaviour. Recent work by Kroh and Selb (2009) suggests that it might. They develop an integrated conception of party identification that includes origins and behavioural consequences, drawing upon both the partisanship literature and political psychology literature about political attitudes. They posit that voters who reach a party identification due to socialization will exhibit behaviour more in keeping with an affective, personal identification – that is, greater stability and over-time persistence. Voters who adopt a partisan label due to independent assessments of the party options, on the other hand, are expected to have more flexible partisan ties, in that their party identification will be more susceptible to new information about the parties that can be entered into their 'tally'. Using German panel data, they find support for this characterization, in that current party identification is more strongly influenced by initial party identification (defined as the identification held between the ages of 17 and 19) than a measure of lagged party identification if it is inherited from parents.

But do these differences carry over into behaviour as well? The different ways in which party identification is described in the Michigan and revisionist accounts suggests that it might. The affective nature of the Michigan formulation suggests that, as a long-standing attachment, party identification may a more intently held attachment. Recent work even suggests that individuals may adopt partisan identities in order to create a social identity, much as they might associate

with other groups (Greene 1999). In this case, a political identity would become an important part of one's self-perception, and may be held more intently and/or influence vote choice to a greater extent. In the revisionist formulation, on the other hand, party identification represents a net political evaluation, not an affective attachment. As it is expected to change as new information is received, the identity itself may be held more weakly, and in turn may have less of an influence on vote choice.

This theoretical position, and the findings of Kroh and Selb, open up many possibilities for the study of Canadian partisanship. If the path to partisanship has observable implications for the nature of one's partisan attachment, then perhaps understanding party identification as the product of two different processes can shed light on understanding the nature of partisanship in Canada. In the next section of the paper we consider the existing evidence about party identification in Canada before presenting some empirical results about the origins, effects and consequences of the attachment.

## **THE NATURE OF CANADIAN PARTISANSHIP**

Studying party identification in Canada is particularly interesting because there are conflicting views of the type and operation of party identification in the country. After the publication of *The American Voter*, the concept travelled north and was considered for application in Canada. Researchers at that time argued that their findings indicated party identification was not an applicable concept in Canada. In Meisel's (1973: 67) words, "The concept of Party Identification, as used by scholars associated with the Michigan Survey Research Center... may be almost inapplicable in Canada... we have found that party identification seems to be as volatile in Canada as the vote itself." This statement led to many different studies of the topic, some concluding that Canadian partisanship is different than the stable, long-standing attachment proposed by the Michigan school (Jenson 1975, 1976, 1978) and some concluding that the concept was appropriate north of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel (Sniderman et al. 1974; Elkins 1978). Part of the disagreement revolved around whether Canadian partisanship is transmitted through family socialization, as suggested by the traditional Michigan model. Sniderman et al. (1974) suggest that it is; Jenson (1975, 1978) disagrees.

Work by Clarke and his colleagues (1979, 1984, 1991, 1996) brings another dimension to the subject, as they suggest that there are actually two types of partisans in Canada. One type are durable, exhibiting many of the characteristics expected in the traditional conceptualization of the attachment. Such voters are strongly influenced by their party identification when it comes time to vote. The other type are flexible – these partisans are less strongly attached, less loyal, and less likely to be influenced by party identification for vote choice. Most recently, Clarke, Kornberg and Scotto (2009) argue that this flexibility is the hallmark of Canadian partisanship, and a key reason that campaigns are so important in Canada.

This conceptualization of Canadian party identification led to further academic disagreement. Some research argues that the observed differences in Canadian partisanship are related to methodological issues (Johnston 1992a; Blais et al. 2001; Green, Palmquist and Schickler 2002; Gidengil et al. 2006). Other work provides reasons for why Canadians might not be as attached to political parties as Americans. Explanations include the relative simplicity of the Canadian system which provides less of a need for party identification as an information shortcut than in

the US (Johnston 2006); that Canadians are not able to use their partisan attachment as a voting heuristic as often as Americans (Gidengil 1992; Johnston et al. 1992); and that there is inconsistency across the federal and provincial party systems (Clarke and Stewart 1987; Stewart and Clarke 1997).

Still, other research supports that idea that Canadian partisanship is not the same as what is found in the US. Johnston (1992b) finds that party identification does not exhibit the age effects that would be expected if it was a psychological attachment in the Michigan sense (Johnston 1992b). More recent work on party identification has also found that there are differences in the nature of partisanship across parties (Stephenson et al. 2004; Bélanger and Stephenson 2010). There is some evidence that parties with stronger ideological positions (such as the Reform/Alliance, BQ, and NDP) have more committed partisans. To date, however, no research has considered whether this variation is related to how the partisanship developed.

Regardless of its specific nature, how it is acquired or whether it is affective or cognitive, there is agreement on the effects of party identification for political behaviour. Party identification does influence the voting behaviour of Canadians. This influence exists even in the most volatile election campaigns (Johnston 1992c). Furthermore, much like in other countries, party identification has been found to not only structure vote choice but also opinions (Merolla et al. 2007). Once acquired, a party identity has significant ramifications for how a voter behaves in the political arena. Even those who hold self-identified weaker partisanship are still likely to favour their party in the voting booth (Bélanger and Stephenson 2010).

In this paper, we consider whether it is possible that the nature of one's partisanship in Canada is related to how one's party identity is derived. Specifically, we are interested in understanding whether the intensity and loyalty of an identity are related to whether the attachment is an affective psychological identity achieved through socialization or a cognitively-derived running tally. We consider these issues across the political parties, therefore allowing any variation to be revealed. This work represents a preliminary attempt to expand upon the theoretical framework developed by Kroh and Selb (2009) by extending it to another country and a potential contribution to the understanding of partisanship in the Canadian case.

## **DATA AND OPERATIONALIZATION**

The data that we use in our analysis comes from the 1984 Canadian Election Study. While the study does not tap recent political attitudes, and does not even reflect the current party system in Canada, it is the most recent dataset that includes questions which allow us to tap into both paths of party identification origins. In particular, it is the last CES to probe parental partisanship. It also has a wealth of issue questions that consider which parties are perceived as best and worst on policy issues. These enable us to better approximate the type of information likely to be tallied in one's mind if party identification is more cognitive. We recognize that using this dataset necessarily limits our ability to generalize our findings to current conditions in Canada, but think there is value in conducting such research. First, because much of the work on Canadian partisanship occurred prior to the 1993 election and the resulting regionalization of the party system, data from 1984 holds value when considering older findings. Second, two of the political parties that existed at that time (the Liberals and NDP) remain important parts of the

party system today. Finally, as a preliminary investigation into this line of research, we think that the 1984 data provide the means through which to develop and initially test instruments of both theories of partisan acquisition. As such, using this data may give an indication of whether it would be useful to generate new data to consider the origins and dynamics of party identification today.

Most of the research investigating whether party identification is best understood in the traditional or revisionist ways makes some strong assumptions about what can indicate a clear answer. Often the Michigan model of party identification is operationalized as parental socialization alone, while the revisionist model is often represented by recent (t-1) partisanship. We think that these operationalizations fall short.

In conceptualizing socialized partisanship, family is not the only source of political socialization. As recognized by Miller (1976: 23-4), “the social environment is now seen as a rich and continuing source of guidance to self-identity and, where necessary, socialization in new situations and circumstances.” In this paper, we adopt this broader view of socialization, and consider the types of factors that are privileged in the Columbia model of vote choice – that is, sociodemographic characteristics that are likely to be stable over time. We consider two different measures of Columbia-like influences on party identification. First, we created measures to indicate whether one’s mother, father, or both held a specific partisan identity. For each party, the measure ranges from 0 to 2 where a value of 2 indicates that both parents held the same party identification as the respondent. Second, we developed a measure of sociodemographic factors that, based on an awareness of the Canadian literature, might influence a person toward identifying with a particular party. For the Liberal party, the measure includes being Catholic and being an immigrant (ranging from 0 to 2). For the Progressive Conservative Party, the measure is a dummy variable indicating a Protestant religious identity. For the NDP, the measure includes holding no religious affiliation and coming from a union household (ranging from 0 to 2).<sup>1</sup>

We also do not think that one’s most recent party identification is the best measure to capture the myriad factors that might contribute to a cognitive party identification. We propose that a better measure would be one that actually calculates a net value from the collection of positive and negative evaluations held by a respondent for each party. While falling short of the ideal, we do think it is possible to approximate such a tally using a collection of issue and candidate evaluations, as well as vote choice in the previous election to approximate a measure of a previous tally result. In order to determine issue tallies, we created a measure for each party indicating whether that party is seen as best or worst on 12 different issues (best coded as a pro (+1), worst coded as a con (-1)).<sup>2</sup> We then created separate party issue indices summing the best and worst scores. The measures range from -12 to +12. So, for example, if a respondent gave the

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<sup>1</sup> See Blais 2005 for a discussion of the importance of religion and immigrant status for the Liberal party over time.

<sup>2</sup> The issues included in the index are: inflation, dealing with provinces, US relations, Quebec, competent government, unemployment, social welfare, environment, size of government, women’s issues, world peace and deficit.

Liberal party all ‘bests’ and no ‘worsts’ on the issues then the index score for the Liberal party would be +12.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, we developed candidate evaluation measures to indicate the advantage or disadvantage provided by perceptions of each party’s leader in the tally. To create these we subtracted the feeling thermometer scores of another party’s leader from that for the party in question. For example, we have two candidate evaluation variables for the Liberal party; one indicating the value of the Liberal leader’s feeling thermometer minus the rating for the PC leader, and another equaling the Liberal leader’s rating minus the NDP leader rating. Each of these provides an indication of whether the leader is a positive or negative factor in a voter’s running tally of information.<sup>4</sup> Finally, we include a measure of vote choice in the previous (1980) election. We do this to provide a summary of the voter’s tally up until the 1984 election, recognizing that a running tally will have a baseline that is updated as new information is received.

The dependent variables that we consider in our analysis tap different aspects of party identification. The first is whether a voter accepts a partisan identity. We operationalize this as indicating Liberal, PC or NDP partisanship in the first (root) question, “Thinking of federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, Progressive Conservative, NDP, or what?” As a means of assessing the impact of these models of partisanship origins on the nature of partisanship, the second dependent variable reflects the intensity of one’s partisanship, measured on a 0 to 3 scale, ranging from taking the root party identity question but not indicating intensity (0) to indicating very strong partisanship (3). The assessment of this dependent variable is run on each party separately. The final dependent variable indicates vote loyalty to a party, which we take as a measure of the effect of one’s partisanship. The vote loyalty measure is a dummy variable coded 1 if vote choice and root party identification match in 1984.

In the following models we include both socialization and running tally independent variables. We recognize that the socialization and running tally measures may be related in that those who have parental or social background features consistent with a particular party may also be more likely, because of these features, to view the particular party more positively on issues and leadership. This could lead to problems in a statistical estimation. We checked for this possibility by considering the correlations between the socialization and running tally variables; in no instance are they higher than 0.28. We also checked for multicollinearity in the models. In all models, the mean variance inflation factor was not higher than 1.4 and none of the individual values were above 1.71 (both comfortably below accepted standards of concern for multicollinearity). Finally, we also recognize that party identification can affect political perceptions (such as those about issues and candidates), and as such our measures of running tally model considerations may not be ideal. As this is a preliminary study into this topic we are restricted to using the best data currently available, but in the future we hope to improve upon our analyses with data that is more appropriate for addressing the origins of party attachments.

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<sup>3</sup> The index mean for the Liberals is -1.15 with a standard deviation of 4.79. The mean for the Progressive Conservatives is 2.91 and a standard deviation of 4.86. The NDP mean is -0.5 with a standard deviation of 3.88.

<sup>4</sup> The mean Liberal-PC leader score is -10.14 (10.14 for PC-Liberal) with a standard deviation of 27.62 and the mean Liberal-NDP score is -5.71 (5.71 for NDP-Liberal) with a standard deviation of 25.76. The mean PC-NDP leader score is 4.43 (-4.43 for NDP-PC) with a standard deviation of 27.5.

## ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Before we begin to investigate whether the origin of one's partisanship affects the nature of the attachment, we first need to consider the prevalence of socialized and cognitive partisans in the Canadian electorate. To do this, we adjusted the measures we created for each type of partisanship influence to become dummy variables, where 1 indicates any positive value on the measure. For the leader measures, we added the two variables together and created a dummy variable to indicate positive net values. We then ran simple cross-tabulations for accepting a partisan identity for each party with each measure of influence on party identification.<sup>5</sup> The results are presented in Figure 1 for each party and each measure of partisan influence. We consider the results by influence type (Michigan/socialization or running tally/cognitive) and party.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Considering the first measure of socialization, it is clear from Figure 1 that parental partisanship has the strongest influence among those who accept a Liberal identification, as more than 55% of Liberal partisans also have one or both parents that are Liberal partisans. Among PC partisans, that number is lower (38%) and it is still lower among NDP partisans (23%). The influence of sociodemographics is higher (and relatively more equal) for each party – at least half of each group of partisans reported the presence of sociodemographic characteristics that are understood to lead to a specific party attachment (for example, being a Protestant and identifying with the PC party).

Turning to the measures related to cognitive partisanship, some interesting patterns emerge across the parties. In the first instance, a positive tally of issue evaluations favouring the Liberal party is held by only 62% of Liberal partisans. By contrast more than 90% of PC partisans and more than 80% of NDP partisans held positive issue tallies favouring these parties. A similar trend is observed for the influence of positive leader evaluations. Positive leader evaluations figure much more prominently for PC (66%) and NDP (73%) partisans as compared to Liberal partisans, where less than 30% indicated a positive advantage of John Turner over Brian Mulroney and Ed Broadbent in 1984. Finally, our measure of past running tally (1980 vote choice) appears to be a factor in current partisanship for more than half of the partisans across all of the parties, from 55% of PCs to 67% of Liberals.

From the results displayed in Figure 1, we can make some tentative comments about the incidence of the different origins of Canadian partisanship. First, family socialization is only a considerable component of Liberal partisanship, while sociodemographic influences are more common. Second, net issue evaluations are considerable components of PC and NDP partisanship but not Liberal partisanship, which is similar to the results for leader evaluations. Finally, the influence of a previous vote decision (as an indication of the direction of one's running tally at a previous time) is present among each group of partisans. The variation across the parties for family socialization, issues and leaders is especially interesting, as it does not tend

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<sup>5</sup> This and all analyses in this paper were run with weighted data.



to follow the pattern of brokerage (Liberal and PC) vs. ideological (NDP) parties expected from the work of Stephenson et al. (2004) and Bélanger and Stephenson (2010). Liberal partisans clearly stand out from partisans of other parties in terms of the incidence of family socialization influences and the relatively weaker incidence of issue and leader advantages.

Given the evident cross-party differences, as well as the more central question of what factors drive the acceptance of party identifications, we believe it worthwhile to further assess the correlates of party identification for each party based on the two central theoretical approaches. To investigate this we ran logit regressions for accepting a partisan label of each party in three iterations: socialization factors alone, running tally factors alone, and then all factors combined in a final model. To facilitate some comparison across the variables in each model, we rescaled the socialization measures to range from 0 to 1 and the issue and leader tallies from -1 to 1. These results are presented in Table 1.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

The first set of models for each party considers the effects of socialization variables alone. In each case, the expected result emerges: the incidence of parental partisanship has a strong influence on the likelihood of taking on their partisan identity and this is true for each party. Additionally, holding relevant sociodemographic characteristics has the expected effect of increasing the likelihood of identifying with a particular party. Of note, for both the PCs and NDP, the effect of parental partisan identity is much greater than for the Liberals. Finally, the pseudo- $R^2$  values for each model suggests that socialization variables can explain only a small amount of the variance in the dependent variable.

The second set of models explicitly consider the effects of the running tally variables on partisan attachments. In the case of each party, the effects of comparative leader evaluations have the smallest effect on the incidence of taking the partisan identity. By contrast, issue advantage has the greatest effect on reporting a partisan identity with the effect of the issue index being particularly extreme in the case of the NDP. Previous vote (as a past point of comparison for the information tally measure) has the expected positive effect.

When assessing the cognitive influence models against that of the socialization models some interesting observations emerge. First, the sheer size of effect of the cognitive influence variables well outstrips that of the socialization variables. Additionally, a comparison of the pseudo- $R^2$  values across the models indicates that the cognitive influence models do a better job of explaining variance in the dependent variable. This *may suggest* that the cognitive influence or running tally model of partisan origins has both greater explanatory weight and applicability than the socialization model.

The final ‘combined’ models in Table 1 serve to confirm the observations already made. While both socialization and cognitive factors influence the taking of a partisan identity, the cognitive influence approach appears to have a stronger effect. Additionally, the model fit values for the combined models are not substantially increased from the cognitive influence model alone. This again suggests that the cognitive influence approach may be more applicable than the socialization approach for understanding the sources of partisan identity in Canada.

Having established that there appear to be elements of both conceptualizations of partisan origins in Canadian partisanship, we next consider the impact of these origins on the substantive nature (intensity and loyalty) of one's partisan identity. As indicated above, the concept of a cognitively-held party identification holds open the possibility for change, and that possibility suggests that partisanship that is developed from cognitive sources alone is less likely to be as strong or influential as a psychological identification that is somewhat immune to change. To see whether this is the case, that socialization factors influence intensity and loyalty more than cognitive factors, we again run separate regressions for each party with intensity and loyalty as the dependent variables. Each model was run among partisans only.

We first consider the results for intensity, as shown in Table 2.<sup>6</sup> Based on these results, a number of interesting points emerge. First, the effects of the socialization variables are somewhat inconsistent across the parties. Sociodemographics have a positive and significant influence on strengthening intensity among Liberals and PC partisans but not among NDP partisans. Additionally, parental partisanship positively influences intensity only in the case of the PC party. By contrast, the cognitive influence variables appear to have a more consistent and substantive effect on partisan intensity across all three parties. Leader advantage tallies for both the PC and NDP parties have the effect of increasing partisan intensity while no evident effect emerges for the Liberals. Finally, the previous vote and issue advantage variables have consistently positive and significant effects on partisan intensity regardless of party.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Taken together, these results suggest that cognitive factors have a more consistent and substantive effect on partisan intensity than do agents of socialization. This result is contrary to expectations and is indeed somewhat surprising given that the prediction was for a socialized partisan to exhibit a stronger and more intense partisan commitment. This finding implies that the origins of partisanship are consequential for the nature of partisan intensity and in particular that the cognitive partisan may, on balance, be a more intensely committed partisan. We finally turn to loyalty and assess the effects of socialization and cognitive influence variables on the incidence of vote loyalty among partisans of the three parties. Because vote choice is a consequence of partisanship, knowing which influence factors are related to loyalty will help us to understand the nature of the attachments some people hold for political parties. The results of logit regressions for each party are shown in Table 3.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

As is evident in the table, socialization variables have little influence on the incidence of loyalty across the three parties. The one instance where there is an effect is the influence of sociodemographic socialization on Liberal loyalty: being Catholic and/or an immigrant increases Liberal partisans' likelihood of being loyal. By contrast, our cognitive influence or running tally measures have much stronger and consistent effects on loyalty. In each case, the past tally (previous vote) has a positive effect on increasing vote loyalty in the current election for

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<sup>6</sup> As the dependent variable is a 0 to 3 scale, we ran OLS regressions.

partisans of all three parties. Further, positive issue advantages have a significant and positive effect on the incidence of vote loyalty among partisans of all three parties. Finally, there is some evidence of leader advantage effects on loyalty for both Liberal and NDP partisans.

Across all three parties, previous vote and issue advantage are consistently significant influences on vote loyalty. The socialization variables, on the other hand, are not consistently significant across parties. Thus, it appears that there is a strong element of cognitive calculation in the partisan identities of Canadians, and that this has an impact on the nature and consequences of those attachments. These findings indicate that despite the weakness or flexibility that might be expected to be inherent in partisanship facilitated by cognitive factors, we see evidence that this cognitive bond is in fact a strong influence on whether a partisan is both strongly committed to the party and influenced by that party at the polls.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

The purpose of writing this paper was to engage in a preliminary exploration of the origins of party identification in Canada. We started with the theoretical frameworks provided by the Michigan/socialization model of partisanship and the revisionist/running tally/cognitive model of party identity. Both of these models have been tested, contested and demonstrated in the United States, but little work has considered which, if either, of these two models is applicable in Canada. The findings in this paper provide support for both, with interesting caveats.

First, across all of the types of analyses, we see greater effects of cognitive-type factors as compared to socialization factors. We consistently observe that the issue tally index factors in the incidence of partisan identity as well as the intensity of the attachment and vote loyalty. One's previous vote choice (taken to be a summary of one's information tally about a party at an earlier time point) is also a consistently significant measure. Leader evaluations (as additional pieces of information) also seem to be important components of party identification, although less consistently.

The strength of these findings contrasts with the inconsistency and relatively weaker effects of the socialization variables we consider – sociodemographics and parental party identification. Liberal partisans share parental partisanship in great numbers, but even those partisans are not affected by parental partisanship when it comes to intensity and vote loyalty. Sociodemographic influences tend to be more significant for the Liberal and PC parties but not the NDP. This suggests an interesting divide among the parties, but also indicates that the effect of socialization on Canadian partisans is relatively weak.

Next, and indicative of an area for future research, is that there is variation in the effect of different partisan influences for each party. That the type and nature of partisanship may vary across parties is not a novel idea, but these results do not seem to correspond to a simple brokerage-ideological division that is suggested by Stephenson et al. (2004) and Bélanger and Stephenson (2010). Given that those works examine more recent data, perhaps the differences in the party systems are a contributing factor. Nonetheless, it is striking that Liberal partisans seem to be different from NDP partisans in many respects, including in terms of the effect of socialization factors.

Overall, these findings can be compared to what is known about Canadian partisans from earlier research. The “textbook” theory of Canadian politics, as considered by Sniderman et al. (1974) and Johnston (1992b), is in evidence. Canadian partisans in 1984 seem to be more cognitive partisans than socialized partisans. Interestingly, though, this conclusion does not lead to the related extension that cognitive partisans are weaker or less loyal than their socialized counterparts. Indeed, the cognitive aspects of partisanship appear to lend it strength, both in intensity and loyalty. As our findings are somewhat counter-intuitive, they beg extension to the modern party system. Furthermore, a better understanding of the dynamics of this result is needed. Perhaps the strength of “running tally” partisanship is related to the salience or recency of a cognitive tally decision; perhaps the intensity of one’s support for a party is related to being able to cognitively defend their partisanship as a good political choice. These are interesting angles to pursue in future research.

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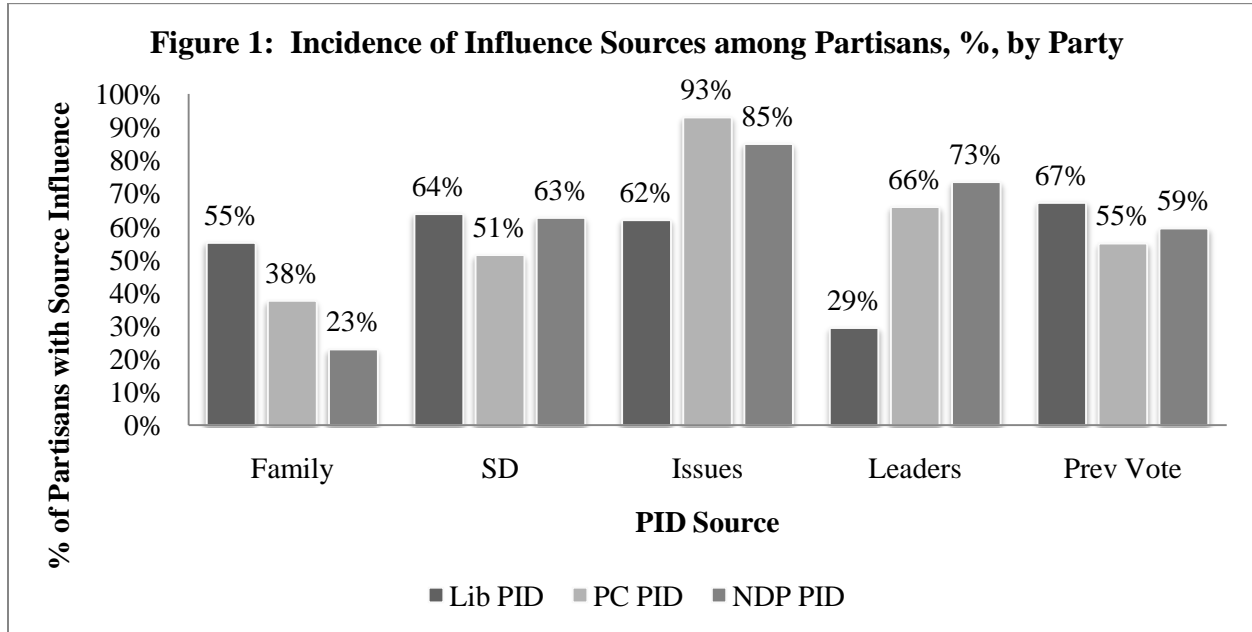
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**Table 1: Source Influences and Party Identification, Logit Regression Results by Party**

<i>a. Socialization Influences</i>						
	Liberal		PC		NDP	
	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE
<b>Family Advantage</b>	3.59***	0.40	4.89***	0.63	7.80***	1.81
<b>Sociodemographic Advantage</b>	3.54***	0.65	1.95***	0.17	3.58***	0.76
<b>N</b>	3377		3377		3377	
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.08		0.08		0.07	
<i>b. Cognitive Influences</i>						
<b>Leader advantage 1</b>	4.75***	1.42	3.70***	1.09	2.44*	0.91
<b>Leader advantage 2</b>	2.12*	0.63	4.88***	1.55	7.13***	3.01
<b>Previous Vote</b>	10.42***	1.34	9.52***	1.30	13.16***	2.77
<b>Issue Advantage</b>	18.43***	3.93	10.39***	2.24	133.01***	56.55
<b>N</b>	3377		3377		3377	
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.39		0.37		0.53	
<i>c. Combined Model</i>						
<b>Family Advantage</b>	2.24***	0.34	3.12***	0.57	2.68**	0.93
<b>Sociodemographic Advantage</b>	1.94**	0.46	1.73***	0.22	1.49	0.46
<b>Leader advantage 1</b>	5.19***	1.60	3.62***	1.09	2.28*	0.87
<b>Leader advantage 2</b>	1.99*	0.63	5.84***	1.93	6.74***	2.88
<b>Previous Vote</b>	8.87***	1.17	7.47***	1.06	12.09***	2.55
<b>Issue Advantage</b>	16.46***	3.55	10.31***	2.31	122.41***	52.39
<b>N</b>	3377		3377		3377	
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.40		0.40		0.53	

\*\*\*=p<0.001, \*\*=p<0.01, \*=p<0.10

Note: In all analyses ‘Leader advantage 1’ refers to Liberal-PC, PC-Liberal and NDP-Liberal comparisons and ‘Leader advantage 2’ refers to Liberal-NDP, PC-NDP and NDP-PC comparisons.

**Table 2: Intensity of Partisanship by PID Influence, OLS Regression Results by Party**

	Liberal		PC		NDP	
	Coeff.	Robust SE	Coeff.	Robust SE	Coeff.	Robust SE
<b>Family Socialization</b>	0.04	0.06	0.21***	0.05	0.08	0.10
<b>Sociodemographic Socialization</b>	0.36***	0.10	0.08*	0.04	-0.14	0.12
<b>Leader advantage 1</b>	0.17	0.13	0.35***	0.09	0.40*	0.19
<b>Leader advantage 2</b>	0.11	0.12	0.45***	0.09	0.45*	0.18
<b>Previous Vote</b>	0.19***	0.06	0.29***	0.04	0.16*	0.08
<b>Issue Advantage</b>	0.50***	0.08	0.44***	0.08	0.53***	0.13
<b>Constant</b>	1.57***	0.06	1.39***	0.05	1.62***	0.09
<b>N</b>	941		1260		431	
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.1271		0.2221		0.2056	

\*\*\*=p≤0.001, \*\*=p≤0.01, \*=p≤0.10

**Table 3: Loyalty by PID Influence, Logit Regression Results by Party**

	Liberal		PC		NDP	
	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE	Odds Ratio	Robust SE
<b>Family Socialization</b>	0.91	0.18	1.28	0.33	1.32	0.59
<b>Sociodemographic Socialization</b>	2.16*	0.73	0.82	0.18	1.98	0.87
<b>Leader advantage 1</b>	9.51***	4.88	1.50	0.65	0.54	0.37
<b>Leader advantage 2</b>	0.86	0.38	1.35	0.68	8.07**	6.30
<b>Previous Vote</b>	2.06***	0.41	2.55***	0.54	1.94*	0.54
<b>Issue Advantage</b>	6.56***	2.15	1.79*	0.63	4.08**	2.14
<b>N</b>	941		1260		431	
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.16		0.05		0.12	

\*\*\*=p≤0.001, \*\*=p≤0.01, \*=p≤0.10