

PARTIES, POLITICS AND POLARIZATION

Allison Harell

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Symposium

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ANES in Comparative Perspective

« It was essential, I believed, that the Canadian survey be done in a manner echoing some of the paths blazed by Angus Campbell, Philipp Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes at the University of Michigan, then the platinum standard in electoral surveys – and that our work should provide material comparative with that generated at Ann Arbor and the various European studies following its general approach »

(Meisel, 2012)

ANES in Comparative Perspective

« It was essential, I believed, that the Canadian survey be done in a manner echoing some of the paths blazed by Angus Campbell, Philipp Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes at the University of Michigan, then the platinum standard in electoral surveys – and that our work should provide material comparative with that generated at Ann Arbor and the various European studies following its general approach »

- Japan 1967,
- Netherlands 1967
- Italy 1968
- Britain 1964, 1966
- France, 1967
- Germany 1965
- Norway, 1965
- Sweden 1964, 1968

Canadian Election Study (CES) - Teams

1965	Meisel, Converse, Pinard, Regenstreif and Schwartz
1968	Meisel
1974, 1979, 1980	Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett
1984	Lambert, Brown, Curtis, Kay and Wilson
1988	Johnston, Blais, Crête, Brady
1993	Johnston, Blais, Brady, Gidengil, Nevitte, Fletcher
1997, 2000	Blais, Gidengil, Nadeau, Nevitte
2004, 2006, 2008	Blais, Gidengil, Nevitte, Fournier, Everitt
2011, 2015	Fournier, Cutler, Soroka, and Stolle
2019, 2021	Stephenson, Harell, Rubenson, and Loewen

* 1972 No
CES

Canadian Election Study (CES) - Funding

1965

Canada Council (\$25k)

1968

Barbeau Commission on election expenses (\$10k)

1974, 1979, 1980

Laudlow Foundation (\$5k)

1984

University of Michigan (\$5k)

1988

Queen's University (\$5k)

1993

1997, 2000

2004, 2006, 2008

2011, 2015

2019, 2021

* 1972 No
CES

Canadian Election Study (CES) - Funding

1965

1968

1974, 1979, 1980

1984

1988

1993

1997, 2000

2004, 2006, 2008

2011, 2015

2019, 2021

Research funding agencies (ex. SSHRC)

Government agency funds (ex. Elections Canada)

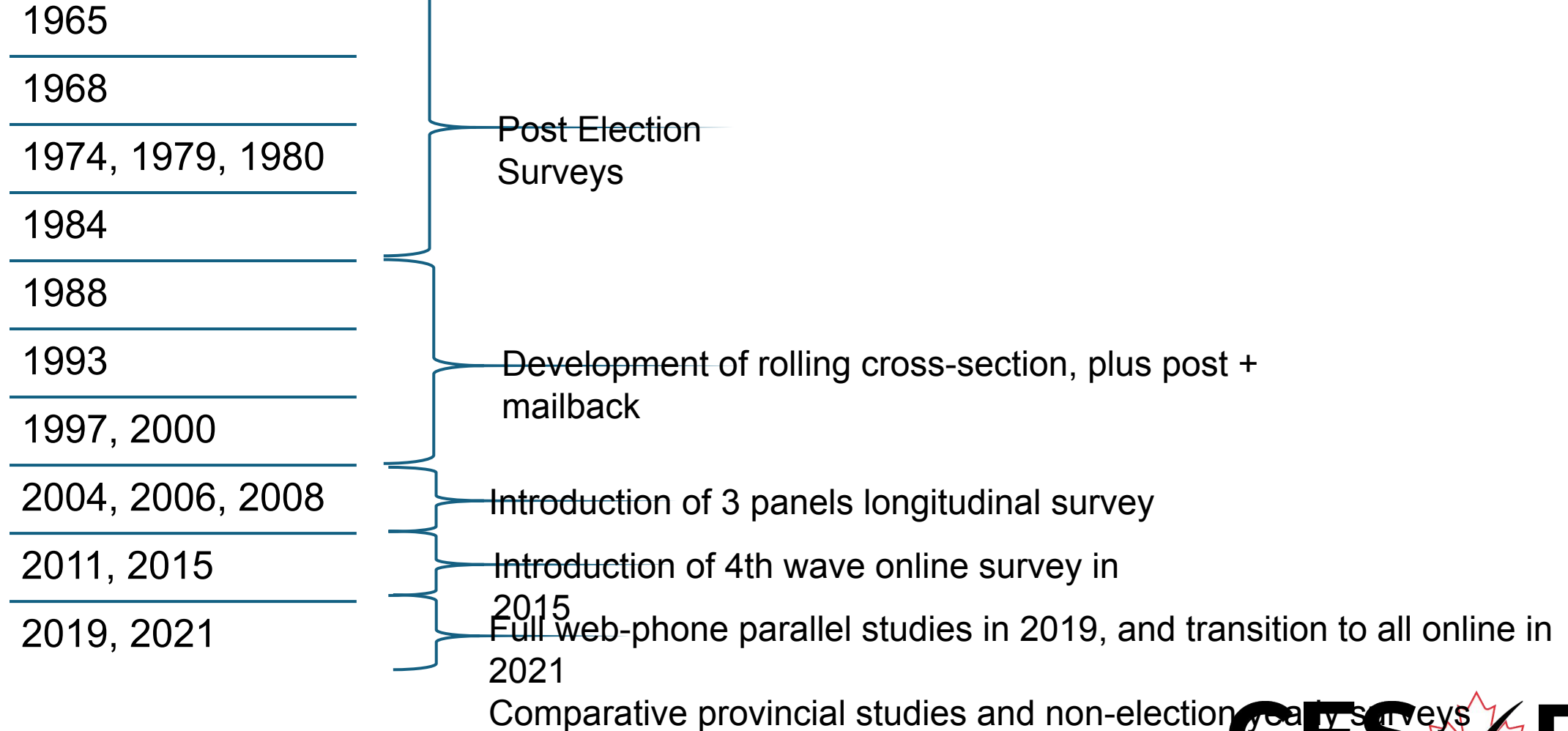
University funds

C **DEM** Consortium on Electoral Democracy
Consortium de la démocratie électorale

Research funding agencies (SSHRC) in partnership

Researcher buy-in

Canadian Election Study (CES) - Innovations





AMERICAN NATIONAL
ELECTION STUDIES



Polarisation in Comparative Perspective

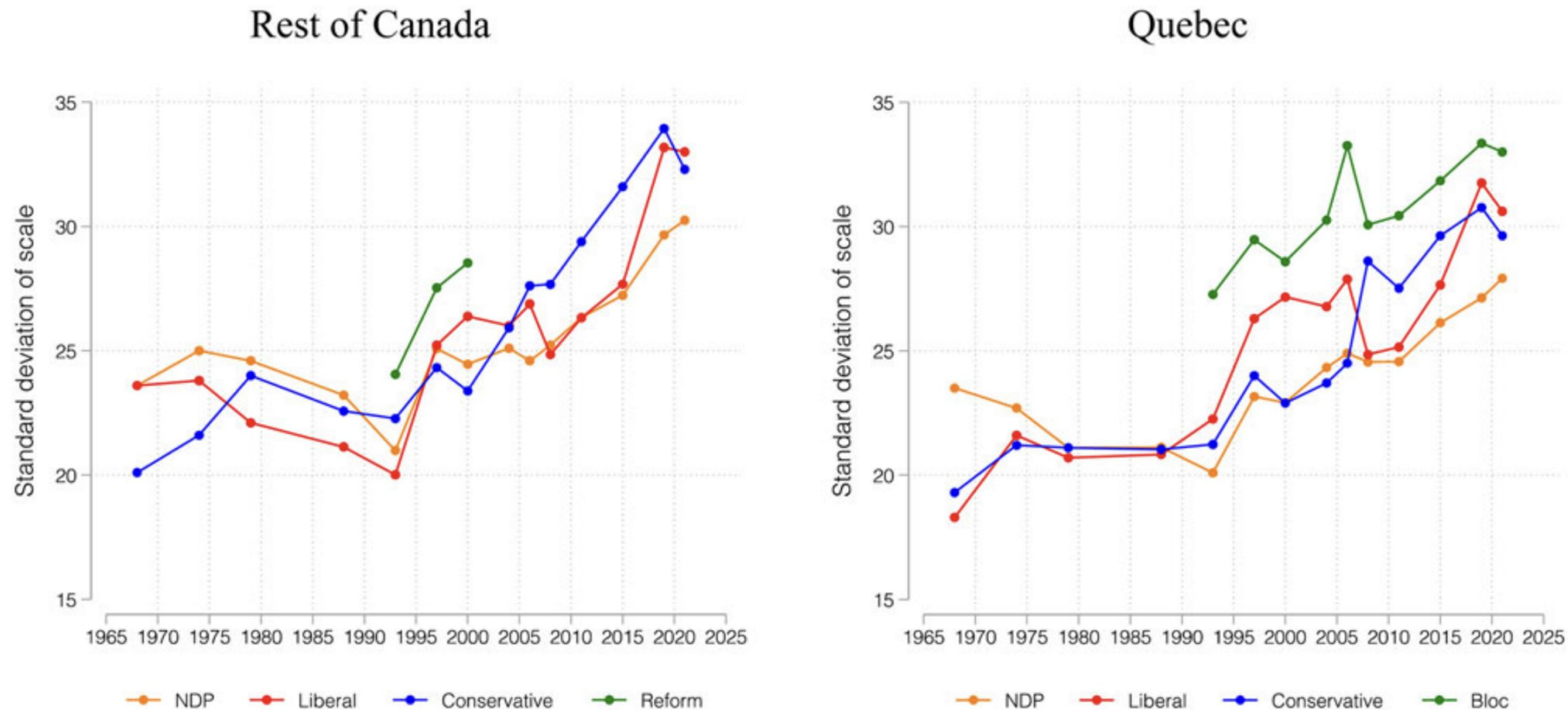


Figure 1 Dispersion of party ratings, 1988–2021

Note: Dispersion indicator is the standard deviation. Underlying data include all respondents in each region.

Johnston
2023

Polarisation in Comparative Perspective



[Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique](#)

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Growing Apart? Partisan Sorting in Canada, 1992–2015

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 03 August 2017

[Anthony Kevins](#) and [Stuart N. Soroka](#)

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Abstract

Recent decades have been marked by increasingly divided partisan opinion in the US. This study investigates whether a similar trend might be occurring in Canada. It does so by examining redistributive preferences, using Canadian Election Studies data from every election since 1992. Results suggest that Canada has experienced a surge in partisan sorting that is comparable to that in the US. Over time, like-minded citizens have increasingly clustered into parties, with increasingly stark divisions between partisans.

Polarisation in Comparative Perspective

- Expressive partisanship
- Subjective associations with party labels
- Quasi-behavioural consequences of party cues for willingness to discuss politics
- Open-ended party label gut reactions
- Candidate misbehaviour and party labels

Polarisation in Comparative Perspective

Liberals about **Liberals**: “balance, continuity, corruption, fair, good, hard-working, centrist, open, progressive, minorities, immigrants, scandal, best choice, trust, tolerant.”

Liberals about **Conservatives**: “against..(abortion, women, etc.), antifeminist, big business, bullies, backwards, racist, homophobic, dangerous, deceiving, jerks, lack integrity, small-minded), old-fashioned, sneaky, too white...”

Harell, Stephenson, Rubenson, and
Loewen

Conservatives about **Conservatives**: “balanced budgets, fiscally conservative, financially responsible, moral values, freedom, less government, less taxes, middle class, smart, trustworthy, too far right ...”

Conservatives about **Liberals**:

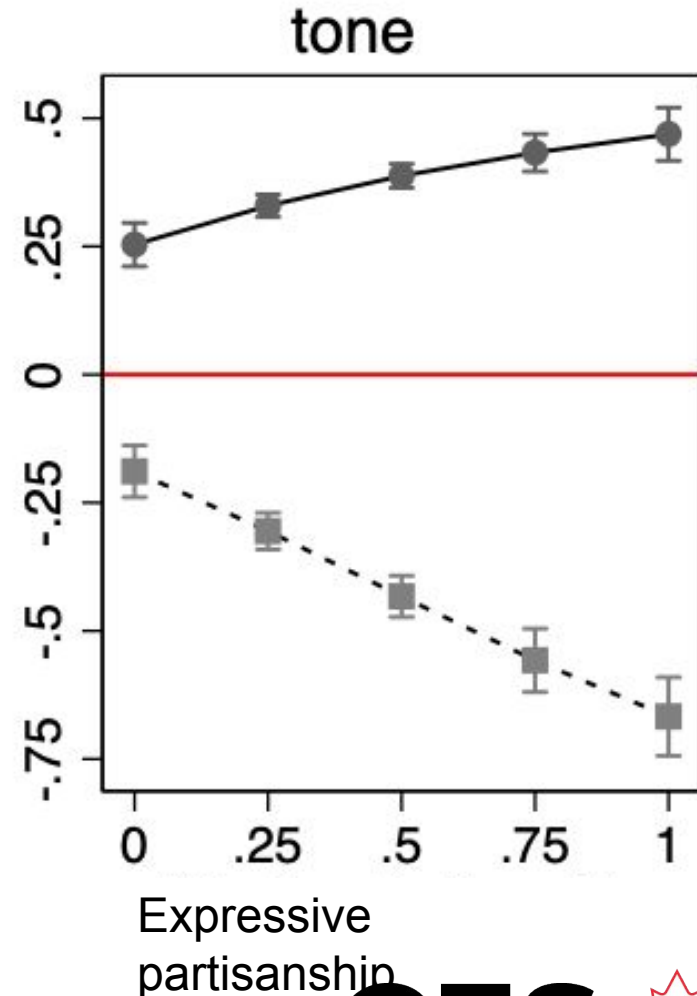
“bad, big spenders, corrupt, dishonest, fake, hypocrites, lies, fiscally irresponsible, full of shit, idiots, lies, slick, sleazy, stupid ...”

Polarisation in Comparative Perspective

Liberals about **Liberals**: “balance, continuity, corruption, fair, good, hard-working, centrist, open, progressive, minorities, immigrants, scandal, best choice, trust, tolerant.”

Liberals about **Conservatives**: “against..(abortion, women, etc.), antifeminist, big business, bullies, backwards, racist, homophobic, dangerous, deceiving, jerks, lack integrity, small-minded), old-fashioned, sneaky, too white...”

Harell, Stephenson, Rubenson, and Loewen



ANES in Comparative Perspective

“Surveys are a re-usable commodity: the cost per eventual user is much lower and declines as more students and researchers engage in secondary analyses.” (Gidengil, 1992, p. 220)

ANES in Comparative Perspective

Surveys are a [very expensive and hard to fund] re-usable commodity [when done well]: the cost per eventual user is much lower and declines as more students and researchers engage in secondary analyses [and their impact is compounded when those surveys are coordinated across countries and contexts].

Thank you
Merci beaucoup

<http://www.ces-eec.ca>
<http://www.c.dem.ca>