PARTY POLITICS VOL 8. No.6 pp. 673–699

 London ▪ Thousand Oaks ▪ New Delhi

THE RISE OF PLEBISCITARY DEMOCRACY IN CANADIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Lisa Young and William Cross

ABSTRACT

In this article we trace the development of intra-party democracy within Canadian political parties and argue that a new, plebiscitary model of intra-party democracy is shaping internal party organization. This is evidenced by changing party practices, which are for the most part supported by grassroots party members. Data from a survey of members of the five major political parties demonstrate this support for plebiscitary democracy, and suggest that conflicts surrounding plebiscitary democracy shape party activists' structure of opinion on matters of internal party organization. This support among party members suggests that the move toward plebiscitary democracy in Canadian political parties is not merely elite-driven, and is likely to result in enduring changes.

KEY WORDS ■ party democracy ■ party activists ■ plebiscitary democracy

Many advanced industrialized countries, including Canada, have experienced a decline in conventional political participation, coupled with a rise in support for direct democracy in recent years (Abramson and Inglehart, 1995; Butler and Raney, 1994; Dalton, 1996; Nevitte, 1996; Norris, 1999). These trends create clear dilemmas for political parties, as they make it difficult to recruit activists and mobilize voters, as well as challenge the privileged place political parties have enjoyed in structuring government. There is evidence, however, that in some of these countries political parties are responding to this challenge by reforming their internal practices in such a way as to accommodate societal demands for more direct involvement in decision-making (Scarrow, 1999; Seyd, 1999). Seyd (1999: 401) argues that there is evidence of a more general trend toward a

> new, plebiscitarian type of party in which vertical, internal communications between members from the leadership and headquarters to the

1354-0688(200211)8:6;673–699;028137

> member at home replace horizontal communications within areas, regions and constituencies.

This phenomenon has been documented in both Germany and the United Kingdom. Scarrow reports that German parties have adopted measures including direct election of party leaders and binding policy referenda in an effort to make partisan political participation more attractive to citizens who hold a preference for direct, unconventional participation (Scarrow, 1999). Writing about the British case, Seyd (1999) argues that the Labour and Conservative parties have adopted similar measures in an explicit attempt to recruit new members, and to demonstrate commitment to openness and participation in the eyes of the electorate. When we consider the question of whether the trend toward plebiscitary democracy is likely to bring about lasting change in party organization, the views of party members are a crucial indicator, as the success of these reforms is largely dependent on support from party members (Seyd, 1999).

The Canadian case is interesting to examine in this regard. The Canadian party system was significantly restructured in 1993, with the devastation of the governing Progressive Conservative Party (PC) and the left-of-centre New Democratic Party (NDP) and the emergence of two new parties – the Western-based Reform Party (which in 2000 was transformed to the Canadian Alliance (CA)) and the Bloc Quebecois (BQ), which advocates separation of Quebec from the rest of the country. Carty et al. (2000) argue that the 1993 general election ushered in a period of transition to a new party system, one characteristic of which is increased emphasis on intra-party democracy, both as a response to changing mass attitudes and also to demands from activists within the parties. There is substantial evidence of organizational change within the parties, albeit to varying degrees, reflecting a commitment to plebiscitary democracy. Moreover, a recent survey of members of all five major Canadian political parties allows us to examine the extent to which activists in each party support this emerging plebiscitary democracy.

This article places the apparent shift toward plebiscitary democracy in the context of the evolution of the Canadian party system, and examines the changing organizational structures and practices within Canadian parties with a view to specifying the precise character of plebiscitary democracy in its Canadian variant. It examines the structure of activists' opinions on issues of intra-party democracy in order to determine the degree of support for the plebiscitary model among party members, and to map the contours of intra-party differences in this respect. This analysis lends support to the contention that there is an emerging plebiscitary model of intra-party democracy supported by members of Canadian political parties. It also suggests that the change in the party system in 1993 was crucial to ushering in this change.

Internal Democracy of Canadian Political Parties

The notion that political parties should constitute themselves as internally democratic bodies emerged relatively slowly in the Canadian experience. During the period from Confederation until 1921 (Carty's first party system), the two major Canadian parties were cadre-style organizations (Carty, 1988; Smith, 1985). Membership in party organizations was not regularized and, to the extent that it existed, entailed no entitlement to participation in decision-making with the occasional exception of selecting local candidates (Carty, 1988: 16). Parties during this period of *selective local democracy* were essentially 'coteries of local notables' that revolved around their leaders, who were elected by the parliamentary caucus (ibid.: 16–17). The incentive for individuals to participate in the party was the potential to benefit from the spoils of patronage, not the possibility of influencing the party's direction.

One of the factors that limited the potential for internal democracy within the two major parties at the time of Confederation (and, arguably, to the present day) was the imperative of linguistic and cultural accommodation. The two traditional parties in Canada, the Liberals and the Conservatives, have both taken it upon themselves to provide accommodation of the potentially explosive linguistic cleavage within their party, rather than positioning themselves on either side of the cleavage (Elkins, 1991). This has been achieved for the most part through elite accommodation, and has limited the willingness of parties to engage members in democratic decision-making (Cross, 1998).

In the early twentieth century, the parties experienced pressures for limited internal democratization. First, civil service reforms removed the material incentives to membership so essential in the past, thereby creating the need for new incentives to membership. Second, the emergence of agrarian populist movements and their associated political parties put pressure on the established political parties to amend their internal practices (Carty et al., 2000). The most notable response on the part of the two major parties was to abandon the practice of leadership selection by parliamentary caucus in favour of 'managed conventions' in which the majority of delegates were representatives of local associations, but the party elite played a crucial role in determining the outcome (Carty, 1988: 22; Courtney, 1995: 14–16).

During the period from 1921 to 1957 (the second party system), the prevailing conception of party democracy was one of *limited democracy*. Party members were for the first time accorded a role in decision-making beyond the ambit of their local association, but this involvement was restricted to decisions regarding leadership, and even that participation was constrained through management by party bosses. That the Liberal Party did not hold a national convention between 1919 and 1947 illustrates the very limited

character of intra-party democracy during this period. It is noteworthy, however, that the party that emerged during this period – the agrarian socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) – differed markedly from the two major parties in that its members were involved in development of party policy (Young, 1969: Ch. 6).[1]

The pattern of limited democracy within the two major parties came under pressure in the 1960s (coinciding with the emergence of the third party system). In large part, this pressure reflected the challenge that radical social movements of the 1960s and 1970s presented to established political institutions, calling for greater citizen involvement and empowerment, more direct participation in decision-making, and attention to patterns of systemic discrimination against and exclusion of groups (notably women). Within all three major parties, groups of activists agitated for internal reforms with varying degrees of success.[2] These pressures resulted in various reforms to party practice. During the period from the 1960s until 1993, the three major parties assumed similar – although not identical[3] – forms of organization that shared certain salient characteristics, reflecting what can be termed *representational democracy*. We select this term to apply to this period because the most significant characteristics of internal party organization at the time were the reliance on representative democracy within the party.

The first characteristic of representational democracy was its reliance on representative, as distinct from direct, internal democracy. The key differentiation is between providing representation for groups through election of representatives to participate in semi-deliberative bodies such as national leadership and policy conventions, and providing opportunities for individual party members to participate directly in decision-making, such as through direct election of the party leader or holding party referenda on policy issues. During the period of representational democracy, the democratic life of the three major parties was carried out at national conventions, held for the first time for purposes other than electing a party leader. At these conventions, delegates representing constituency associations and other party bodies engaged in discussions of public policy and, periodically, voted to elect a new party leader.

The second characteristic of representational democracy was aggregation of members into groups. The most prevalent aggregation was the constituency association, through which members joined the party, and through which their participation was mediated. The reliance on constituency associations as mechanisms for mediating member involvement was not simply a reflection of a preference for representative over plebiscitary democracy. Rather, the practice provided a mechanism for ensuring that both charter linguistic groups and all regions of the country were represented within decision-making bodies. This allowed parties to claim pan-Canadian representation, even when this belied the reality of highly regionalized patterns of support.[4]

Although the local association was the most prevalent aggregation within the representative model, other groups also gained representation in party affairs. For the Liberals and Conservatives, the second most notable group was youth. In both parties, the formation of youth clubs took place between the 1920s (Conservative) and 1940s (Liberal), but their proliferation and integration into party structures did not occur until the 1960s (Perlin et al., 1988). By the early 1980s, youth clubs in both parties had won representational guarantees ensuring that youth would be over-represented at national conventions relative to their proportion of the overall party membership or the national population (ibid.). In the NDP, union organizations were guaranteed representation at national conventions as part of their affiliation with the party.[5] Finally, in both the Liberal and Conservative parties, women's organizations were integrated into the party structure in the 1970s and 1980s and won representational guarantees for women and women's clubs analogous to those won by youth.[6] Since 1990, the Liberal Party has set aside delegate and executive spots for representatives of the party's Aboriginal Commission.[7]

The third characteristic of representational democracy was its differentiated conception of party membership.[8] This differentiation permitted that distinctions be drawn between different kinds of members, singling out youth, women and union members, and that party structures accommodate this differentiation. In recognizing this difference, the parties departed from the simple democratic convention of 'one-member, one-vote' in order to permit youth and women members double or even triple representation at national conventions.[9] The parties also engaged in affirmative action, reserving delegate spots and executive positions for members of targeted groups.

The fourth characteristic of representational democracy was a limited preference for rewarding party service, thereby privileging party stalwarts relative to neophytes, and enacting a trustee model of representation within party affairs. A substantial portion of delegate spots at national conventions were reserved for party office-holders, and the delegates who were elected to represent constituency associations and other party groups tended to be party stalwarts elected in deference to their years of party service. This is reflected in the practice of electing party stalwarts as convention delegates, in some instances as trustees whose judgement is to be respected because of their years of party service. Although this latter practice was predominant at the beginning of the era of representational democracy, it apparently waned with the tightly-contested leadership races of the 1980s and early 1990s in the Liberal and Conservative parties, as slates of delegates selected by the leadership campaign became a more common practice (Carty, 1991: 125–8). This preference for rewarding party service also took the form of striving to protect the party from influxes of new members mobilized to capture nominations or influence leadership contests. Within the Liberal Party, which was the most prominent target of such incursions, the party leader was granted the constitutional power to appoint candidates, and

party organizers allegedly manipulated nomination contests to achieve similar ends (Cross, 2001).

Representational democracy within the parties came under pressure in the 1980s and early 1990s, both from within the parties and from outside. Inside the major parties, there were signs of discontent among activists regarding their limited role in party decision-making. Survey data collected after the 1993 election illustrate a high degree of discontent among Liberal and PC riding presidents with respect to the role accorded to party members, particularly in terms of policy development (Cross, 1998).[10] While tension between party activists and partisan elites with respect to grassroots involvement can be seen as a perennial feature of Canadian party politics, internal discontent was exacerbated significantly by the groundswell of public support for more direct and meaningful citizen involvement in politics. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, Canadian political culture changed significantly, with the Canadian electorate far less content to defer to elites and, consequently, substantially more critical of the established political parties.[11] Within the party system, this public discontent contributed to the emergence of two new parties – Reform and the BQ – which reshaped the party system and, particularly in the case of Reform, served as a catalyst for other parties to reconsider their internal organization (Carty et al., 2000: Ch. 3 and 6).

Plebiscitary Democracy

With the change in the Canadian party system in 1993, *plebiscitary democracy* apparently emerged to challenge the representational model. When we discuss the plebiscitary model, it should be noted that, unlike the representational model, the characteristics of which were derived from examination of internal party practice, the plebiscitary model is to some extent an ideal type against which we compare the current practices of Canadian parties. In theory, a party that has adopted the plebiscitary model would involve members directly in a broad range of decisions for the party, including election of the leader and determination of party policy and direction. Members would not be aggregated into groups and each member's vote would have equal weight in determining outcomes.

In practice, the plebiscitary model is most evident in the internal practices of the Reform Party (now the Canadian Alliance (CA)).[12] The party has instituted a programme of direct membership in the national party, does not permit differentiated membership, emphasizes member involvement in decision-making, and has established direct member involvement in both electing the leader and developing policy (through mail-in referenda). The party also places considerable emphasis on member involvement in policy development. In its incarnation as the Reform Party, it

involved members in extensive policy discussions at party conventions and required that the party's election platform consist only of policies adopted in such a manner.

Although typified by Reform, the plebiscitary model of internal democracy has extended to other parties' internal practices. The BQ has also elected its leader directly, as has the Conservative Party. Both the NDP and the Liberals have tried, or plan to try, some combination of direct election and delegated convention to select their leaders. Moreover, in its extensive internal reforms subsequent to the 1993 federal election, the Conservative Party has emulated Reform's direct national membership model and has disbanded its women's association (Keone, 1999).

In organizational practice, then, the plebiscitary model differs from the representational model in a number of ways. First, direct democracy replaces representative democracy as direct election of the leader and policy referenda take the place of delegated leadership and policy conventions. Second, accompanying the emergence of direct internal democracy is a conception of individualized membership, as members join the party directly and their participation in national party affairs is no longer mediated through local associations. A corollary to this decline in group-based membership is a refusal to differentiate among members based on ascriptive characteristics like age, gender or ethnicity. Third, the egalitarian character of the plebiscitary impulse values a broader basis of participation over rewarding loyalty or service, so new members are treated on an equal footing with party stalwarts. Finally, the plebiscitary impulse carries with it a desire not only for direct member involvement, but also for involvement that is more extensive and substantively meaningful.

Although each of the five major Canadian political parties has moved in the direction of the plebiscitary model, they vary considerably in the extent of their adherence to it. The Reform Party/Canadian Alliance has clearly embraced plebiscitary democracy wholeheartedly, the BQ and the Conservative Party to a lesser degree. Both of these latter parties have adopted national membership programmes, have elected leaders through direct member votes, and have eschewed separate organizations for women (although the Conservatives have maintained their youth wing). The NDP and the Liberals have altered their internal practices the least in the period since 1993, and are overtly opposed to elements of the plebiscitary model, most notably undifferentiated membership. The Liberal Party has, moreover, granted its leader additional power to circumvent candidate selection decisions made by local associations. The party leader now has the power to appoint candidates, thereby pre-empting the traditional prerogative of the local association, and has used this power in the three most recent federal elections to ensure nominations for high-profile candidates, to fight off incursions from an interest group and to increase the number of women nominated under the party's banner.

Opinion Structure of Party Activists

Given this organizational evidence of a move toward plebiscitary democracy within Canadian political parties, we are left with two questions: first, to what extent are party members supportive of this shift? Second, what variations are there among members of the five parties with respect to plebiscitary democracy, and do these mirror the pattern of organizational change within parties? To address these questions, we turn to a recent survey of members of Canadian political parties.

This analysis is based on the Study of Canadian Political Party Members, a mail-back survey of randomly selected members of the five major Canadian political parties conducted between March and May of 2000. The survey was mailed to a regionally stratified random sample drawn from the membership lists of each political party.[13] A total of 10,928 surveys were mailed to partisans, with 3,872 completed surveys returned, yielding an overall response rate of 36 percent.[14] Membership in Canadian political parties fluctuates significantly over the course of an election cycle, so the timing of the survey is significant.[15] Because the study was undertaken during a period when there was no election anticipated and no leadership contests underway,[16] we expect that the members sampled are longer-term, more active members than would be captured had the survey been conducted when leadership or nomination contests were underway.

Support for the Plebiscitary Model among Canadian Party Activists

While there is evidence that the plebiscitary model of intra-party democracy has gained considerable currency in the organizational arrangements of the five major Canadian parties, there remains a question of whether the party members who participate in these democratic arrangements are its proponents. The attitudes of party members regarding the appropriate model of intra-party democracy are of considerable relevance, as these individuals will ultimately determine the success of the model in practice. Without support from party members, the plebiscitary model will be challenged within the parties; conversely, in the parties that have not entirely adopted organizational measures enacting elements of the plebiscitary model, widespread support for the model among partisans is likely to signal intra-party conflicts over party democracy in the future. Analysis of univariate data from the Study of Canadian Political Party Members suggests that members of the five major Canadian parties are generally supportive of some, but not all, elements of the plebiscitary model.

The first element of the plebiscitary model identified from our examination of party practice was a preference for direct involvement in decision-making. Although direct involvement encompasses decision-making

regarding party policy and other matters, its most immediate manifestation among Canadian party members to date has been in the form of direct election of party leaders (Carty et al., 2000: 121–9; Cross, 1996). Consequently, to measure party activists' support for this element of the plebiscitary model, a single measure is used, namely the survey item asking respondents which of the following is the best way to select a party leader: a convention, direct election or some combination of the two?[17] The most common answer (offered by 46 percent of respondents) was direct election, reflecting both support for parties' current and emerging practices with respect to leadership selection, as well as support for the plebiscitary model of party democracy. Thirty-four percent supported some mixture of a convention and direct election. Notably, only 20 percent of respondents supported conventions alone – the standard practice of the era of representational democracy – as a means of electing party leaders.

A second element of the plebiscitary model is the belief in undifferentiated membership, drawing no formal distinctions based on ascriptive characteristics or prior patterns of under-representation. Overall support among partisans for undifferentiated membership is relatively low; for instance, less than 4 percent of members surveyed indicated that their party had gone 'too far' in trying to nominate female candidates. Moreover, as Figure 1 shows, party members are inclined to believe that members of the groups singled out for special representational measures – youth, women and visible minorities – are not influential enough within the party.[18] It is nonetheless noteworthy that party members estimate these groups' lack of influence as less substantial than that of ordinary members, suggesting that support for a differentiated conception of membership is not overwhelming. Despite this, these findings are not entirely consistent with the undifferentiated membership posited by the plebiscitary model.

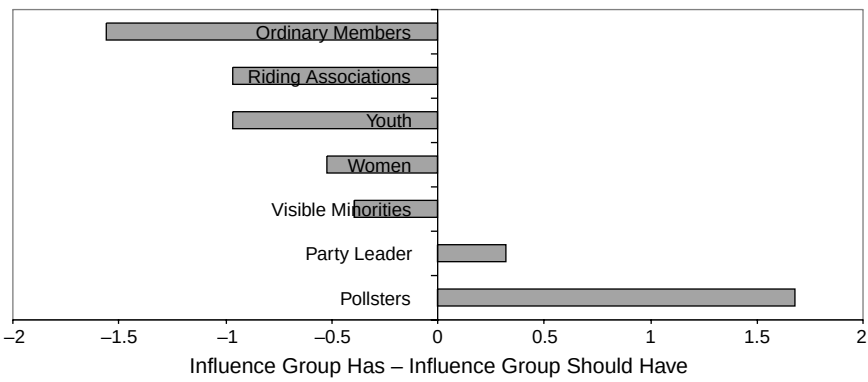

Figure 1. Influence Differentials

A third element of the plebiscitary model is extensive and meaningful grassroots participation in party decision-making. The survey data provide clear evidence that members of all five parties desire greater member influence and policy involvement. For instance, almost 30 percent of all party members strongly agreed that their party should do more to encourage local associations to discuss public policy; another 60 percent agreed with the statement. Similarly, 13 percent strongly agreed and 60 percent agreed that regular party members should play a greater role in developing the party's national election platform. Moreover, when we examine party members' perceptions of the influence of various groups within the party (see Figure 1), we find that the greatest source of discontent lies with the perceived over-influence of pollsters (mean influence differential of 1.68) and under-influence of ordinary party members (mean influence differential of –1.56). There is one caveat to this apparent pattern of support for grassroots influence and policy involvement. When asked whether it would be acceptable for their party's leader to appoint candidates under various circumstances, a surprising number of party members indicated that they would support such action. This power of the leader is clearly contrary to the ethos of the plebiscitary model, and we would consequently expect activists to oppose it. Intriguingly, however, this does not entirely prove to be the case. Just over 60 percent of party members agree with appointment to prevent an interest group from capturing a nomination, 50 percent agree in order to nominate high-profile candidates, just under 40 percent agree in order to nominate more women, and almost one-third agree in order to nominate more visible minorities.

The final element of the plebiscitary model is the egalitarian approach to involvement in party democracy and the survey data show strong support among party members for this. Some 70 percent of respondents agreed that participation in party affairs is a good way for groups to become involved; 66 percent disagreed with the statement that established partisans should have a greater say in nomination contests; 82 percent believe that participation in the party is a legitimate way for ethnic groups to become involved in the political process; and 59 percent agree that 'the recruitment of people who know very little about politics and the party to vote in leadership campaigns is a good thing because it gets new people involved in the party and helps educate them about politics'. On every one of these items, a clear majority of party members supported the egalitarian option favouring the involvement of new members.

These findings make it clear that, with the exception of support for an undifferentiated conception of party membership, members of Canadian political parties are generally supportive of the plebiscitary model of intra-party democracy. To probe the contours of this support, and to determine whether the opinion structure of activists reflects the elements of the plebiscitary model, we have undertaken a factor analysis.

Activists' Structure of Opinion Regarding Intra-Party Democracy

In order to examine the opinion structure of activists, a factor analysis of 24 items relating to intra-party democracy was conducted.[19] The factor analysis yielded five factors,[20] explaining a total of 43 percent of variance. Factor analysis allows us to determine whether activists share a common underlying structure of opinion on issues pertaining to intra-party democracy. Factor analysis considers the relationships between respondents' views on particular issues and identifies groups of variables on which respondents' views are predicated on a single underlying belief. If there are no significant relationships between respondents' views on various questions, suggesting that they see the issues as being independent of one another, then no significant factor will underlie their views on these items.[21] Table 1 shows the rotated factor loadings resulting from the factor analysis undertaken. The five factors that result from this are consistent with elements of the model of plebiscitary democracy outlined above.

Factor 1: Undifferentiated Membership. This includes four items relating to involvement of women, visible minorities and youth in the party.[22] These are the three groups that received special representational guarantees during the era of representational democracy, and reflect the differentiated conception of membership that underlay these guarantees. Because of the direction of coding, Factor 1 is interpreted as support for undifferentiated membership.

Factor 2: Dissatisfaction with Extent of Grassroots Influence. The items that load most heavily onto this factor relate to the appropriate extent of influence of grassroots versus elite members of the party. High values on the resulting factor score reflect a belief that ordinary members and riding associations are insufficiently influential, that pollsters and party leaders are overly influential, and that the role of regular party members vis-à-vis the party's leadership is insufficient. This measure, then, captures not only a belief that the grassroots membership should be influential within party affairs, but also the respondent's discontent with his or her party's current arrangements. In this respect, it relates to the plebiscitary model, in which grassroots involvement is highly valued.

Factor 3: Opposition to Leader Appointment. The four items that load most heavily onto this factor all relate to leader appointment of candidates. These items tap two issues – whether constituency associations' power to select candidates is sacrosanct, and under what circumstances the leader's use of this power is appropriate. That all four items (reflecting very different justifications for using the power of appointment) loaded onto one factor suggests that the former dimension outweighs the latter. This factor is generally indicative of an unwillingness to surrender a traditional power of the local association to the party's leader, an issue which relates to an ongoing desire for local autonomy and grassroots involvement.

Table 1. Factor analysis. Intra-party democracy: factor analysis (principal components, varimax rotation, missing values replaced by mean)

	Factor 1: Undifferen-tiated membership	*Factor 2: Grassroots involvement*	*Factor 3: Opp'n to appointment*	*Factor 4: Policy involvement*	*Factor 5: Intra-party egalitarianism*
Women influence differential	0.803	–	–	–	–
Visible minority influence differential	0.708	–	–	–	–0.215
Youth influence differential	0.603	–0.116	–	–	–
Evaluate efforts to nominate women	0.496	–	0.22	0.101	–0.135
Satisfied with role of regular members	–	0.664	–	–0.242	–
Ordinary member influence differential	0.314	–0.66	–	0.166	–
Party's MPs try to represent views of members	–	0.635	–	0.142	–
Riding association influence differential	0.353	–0.537	–	–	0.12
Pollster influence differential	–	0.444	0.151	–0.29	–
Party leader influence differential	0.301	0.432	0.103	–0.122	0.216
Appoint women	0.255	–	0.818	–	–0.132
Appoint visible minorities	0.242	–	0.788	–	–0.201
Appoint high-profile candidates	–	0.105	0.672	–	0.213
Appoint to prevent interest group	–0.135	–	0.438	–	0.43
Nominations more meaningful if candidates present policy views	0.106	–	–	0.634	–
Pollsters go too far in watering down party platforms	–	–	–	0.583	0.122
Party should do more to encourage local associations to discuss policy	–	–	–	0.562	–

Table 1. (continued)

	Factor 1: Undifferen-tiated membership	*Factor 2: Grassroots involvement*	*Factor 3: Opp'n to appointment*	*Factor 4: Policy involvement*	*Factor 5: Intra-party egalitarianism*
Pollsters and other advisors have too much influence over the party leader	–	–0.355	–	0.551	0.106
Regular party members should play greater role in party's election platform	–	–0.216	–	0.548	–
Ethnic groups too influential / legitimate form of participation	–0.237	–0.105	–	0.107	0.575
Single issue groups too influential / legitimate form	–0.129	–0.227	–	–	0.574
Recruitment of new members who know little good / should not be permitted	–	–	–	–	–0.477
People who work hard for party should have more say in nominations	–	0.1	0.12	0.25	0.408
Leader can reject candidates / constituencies have autonomy	–	–	0.198	–0.258	0.382
Percent of variance explained:	9.60%	9.40%	8.80%	8.50%	6.90%

Notes: Factor loadings less than 0.01 not reported.
KMO = 0.734.
Explains 43% of variance overall.

Factor 4: Policy Involvement. The items loading onto this factor relate to views of where decisions regarding party policy should take place – at the grassroots level (nomination contests, local associations, regular members) or at the elite level (through pollsters and advisors to the leader). This factor is different from Factor 2 in its explicit focus on the substance of involvement (party policy). Like Factors 2 and 4, this factor relates to the desire for meaningful grassroots involvement in party affairs that is essential to the plebiscitary model. Because of the direction of coding, higher factor scores should be interpreted as greater deference to party elites.

Factor 5: Intra-Party Egalitarianism. The fifth factor captures attitudes regarding which groups and individuals are legitimate participants in intra-party affairs, including ethnic minorities (who have mobilized in high numbers to capture urban nominations in recent years), single issue groups and generic new/inexperienced members. This factor relates closely to the intra-party egalitarianism identified as an element of the plebiscitary model.

The factor analysis indicates that the structure of opinion among party activists is fairly coherent, and reflects several elements of the plebiscitary model. A desire for grassroots influence and meaningful policy involvement figure prominently in the structure of opinion revealed here, as do undifferentiated conceptions of membership and intra-party egalitarianism. Missing is the belief in direct, as distinct from mediated, involvement in party affairs. This is, however, presumably due to the relative absence of survey items relating to this issue. There was only one variable from the survey that tapped this element of the model – support for direct election of a leader – and because this was the only item of its kind, had to be excluded from the factor analysis.[23] The reflection of several elements of the plebiscitary model in the factor analysis suggests that the model is salient in structuring activists' opinions on matters of internal party democracy. To determine the shape and extent of variations among party activists, we turn to an examination of inter-party differences with respect to the factors identified.

Variation Among Parties

While we have found that there is general support among partisan activists for the plebiscitary model, excepting undifferentiated membership, and that activists' structure of opinion resembles the elements of the plebiscitary model identified from party practice, we have not considered the patterns of variation among members of the five major Canadian political parties. By employing factor scores resulting from the factor analysis, we undertake a comprehensive comparison of the patterns of variation among parties. Factor scores are essentially index values created using the results of the factor analysis. Each respondent receives a different score for each of the five factors, based upon their response to each of the variables that loads onto that factor. The relative weight given to each variable is determined by

the strength of its relationship with the underlying factor. We then calculate the mean score for each factor by party. We have opted to analyse mean factor scores rather than creating indices for each factor because factor scores allow us to take into account respondents' views on all the issues that load on the factor rather than limiting the analysis to those items that load most heavily on each factor. While this approach takes us away from the actual responses to each item, it allows for the most thorough and nuanced examination of inter-party differences as it weights each item according to how strongly it loads on the factor in question.

Given the catalytic role of the Reform Party/Canadian Alliance in introducing plebiscitary mechanisms into its party organization, we anticipate that CA members would be the most enthusiastic proponents of the model. It is more difficult to predict the placement of BQ members in this respect. On the one hand, the party has employed some elements of the plebiscitary model (notably direct election of the leader) and has organizational and membership ties to the provincial Parti Quebecois, which has a rich tradition of member activism. On the other hand, the party's unusual mission – to foster separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada – and its often subsidiary relationship to the Parti Quebecois makes it an unusual case, as its sovereigntist members may have little interest or commitment to participation in the party's policy development. Of the three older parties, members of the NDP are likely to be the most inclined toward the plebiscitary model, as the party was, at its founding, grounded in a tradition of left-wing western Canadian populism and prided itself on providing extensive engagement in policy development for its members. Moreover, because the party has little chance of governing at the federal level, it has not faced the dilemmas of the older parties with respect to balancing the views of members against electoral and governmental imperatives, and it has not borne the burden of ethno-linguistic accommodation that the older parties have faced. With these observations in mind, we can anticipate that

Table 2. Best way to elect a party leader

	Convention	*Mix*	*Direct election*
Overall	20% (746)	34% (1270)	46% (1695)
Party*			
LIB	30% (264)	40% (350)	31% (272)
PC	20% (169)	37% (323)	43% (372)
NDP	29% (175)	43% (257)	28% (171)
BQ	20% (81)	25% (100)	55% (220)
CA	7% (76)	26% (264)	67% (687)

*Chi-square significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

Table 3. Mean factor scores, factor 1 (support for undifferentiated membership)

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
Party*		
CA	0.26	0.87
PC	0.01	0.92
Overall	0.00	1.00
LIB	–0.01	1.09
NDP	–0.28	1.01
BQ	–0.30	1.07
Gender*		
Men	0.15	0.97
Women	–0.25	1.00
Visible Minority*		
No	0.02	0.98
Yes	–0.30	1.25
Age*		
Under 30	–0.32	1.09
31–45	–0.04	1.05
46–60	–0.04	1.09
Over 60	0.07	0.92

*ANOVA significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

members of the two oldest Canadian political parties – the Conservatives and the Liberals – will be the least enamoured of the plebiscitary model.

The first element of the plebiscitary view is direct involvement of members in decision-making, measured through support for direct election of party leaders. As Table 2 shows, when broken down by party, support is greatest in the two new parties, the CA and the BQ, with a majority of activists in each party supporting this option. Conservative activists, many of whom would have participated in the party's 1998 direct election of Joe Clark, followed fairly close behind, with Liberal and then NDP activists the least supportive of this option.[24] This pattern supports the notion that members of the newer parties are more inclined toward the plebiscitary view, but also reflects the parties' experience with direct election, as it is the members of the parties that have elected a leader in this way who are the most enthusiastic.[25]

The first factor that emerges from the factor analysis measures support for undifferentiated conceptions of membership. As the mean factor scores in Table 3 illustrate, activists in the five parties vary considerably in their attitudes on these issues. Alliance members are the most enthusiastic proponents of undifferentiated membership, PC and Liberal members less keen on the concept, and NDP and BQ members the least enamoured of the

Table 4. Mean factor scores, factor 4 (deference to party elites on policy development)

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
Party*		
BQ	0.009	0.99
PC	0.007	1.00
Overall	0.000	1.00
CA	–0.004	0.93
NDP	–0.005	1.00
LIB	–0.005	1.08
Age**		
Under 30	0.21	1.02
31–45	0.18	1.01
46–60	0.04	1.04
Over 60	–0.09	0.96

*ANOVA significant at $p = 0.05$; **ANOVA significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

undifferentiated conception of membership. The placement of CA members in this respect is precisely what was initially hypothesized, as the party has eschewed any organizational mechanisms for guaranteeing representation to these groups. Despite the Liberal Party's extensive ongoing practices for differentiation among members, the party's members are more inclined toward the undifferentiated view than are NDP or BQ activists. Presumably, this pattern partially reflects greater support for socially egalitarian movements among leftist parties.

Almost as stark as inter-party differences in this regard are differences based on gender, ethnicity and age. As Table 3 shows, women, visible minorities[26] and party members aged 30 and under are significantly less supportive of the undifferentiated conception of membership. Given that the undifferentiated conception of membership denies the salience of differences based on these ascriptive characteristics, it is not surprising to find these patterns. It is notable, however, that the differences persist when a control for party is introduced, indicating the persistence of interest-based differences of opinion within each of the five parties.

A third element of the plebiscitary model is extensive and meaningful grassroots participation in party decision-making. This element of the model is reflected in Factors 2 through 4, which tap discontent with the extent of member influence, opposition to appointment of candidates and support for grassroots involvement in policy development. Examining Table 4, we find very little difference between parties in terms of desire for involvement in development of party policy. Mean factor scores vary by less than 0.02 on Factor 4, in contrast to the variations of almost 0.9 on Factor 2. The

Table 5. Mean factor scores, factor 2 (dissatisfaction with extent of grassroots influence)

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
Party*		
LIB	0.45	1.12
PC	0.16	0.96
Overall	0.00	1.00
NDP	–0.01	0.97
BQ	–0.30	0.87
CA	–0.45	0.73
Age*		
Under 30	0.25	0.97
31–45	0.15	1.02
46–60	0.17	1.07
Over 60	–0.16	0.93

*ANOVA significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

interpretation for this is relatively simple, and is supported by examination of univariate data: members of all five parties want to be extensively involved in developing party policy. It is noteworthy, however, that the group that is least supportive of grassroots involvement is party members over the age of 60.

There is, however, considerable cross-party variation with respect to grassroots influence, as measured by factor scores for Factor 2. Table 5 shows that Liberal Party activists are by far the most dissatisfied with the extent of grassroots involvement in their party, while CA activists are the most contented. Like their Liberal counterparts, Conservative party members are inclined toward dissatisfaction, while NDP and BQ members tend to be less dissatisfied. This pattern suggests that desire for grassroots involvement is common among members of all five parties, but is a greater source of dissatisfaction in the two traditional parties, where member influence over decision-making is not well established.

When we examine demographic predictors of factor scores for grassroots influence, there are substantial differences between age groups. Younger party members are overall more discontented with the extent of grassroots influence in their party. When a control for party is introduced, members under the age of 30 remain the most discontented group in the CA, the NDP and the BQ. In all parties, members over the age of 60 are the most contented with the status quo. This pattern of age differences suggests that support for this aspect of the plebiscitary model is likely to gain in strength through the process of generational replacement.[27]

Supporting this, we find evidence of varied perceptions among party

Table 6. Percent of respondents indicating that the following is 'very important' in developing party policy

	LIB	*PC*	*NDP*	*BQ*	*CA*
Party leader	60%	60%	49%	63%	53%
	(513)	(502)	(286)	(242)	(525)
Ordinary members	31%	36%	40%	19%	54%
	(261)	(301)	(220)	(68)	(522)
Policy conventions	34%	39%	39%	45%	39%
	(293)	(315)	(215)	(164)	(369)
Pollsters	13%	11%	10%	9%	7%
	(108)	(87)	(54)	(33)	(65)
Constituency	24%	22%	21%	17%	26%
associations	(203)	(180)	(115)	(62)	(245)
Parliamentary	38%	34%	31%	38%	24%
caucus	(326)	(276)	(174)	(135)	(236)

LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

members with respect to who is important in developing party policy. Table 6 indicates that members of the five parties differ substantially in their perceptions of who plays a key role in developing party policy. Only Canadian Alliance members are more likely to think that ordinary members are at least as important as the party leader, and constituency associations at least as important as the parliamentary caucus. Members of the BQ see the party leader, policy conventions and the party caucus as very important, and ordinary members and constituency associations as much less so. (Paradoxically, BQ members are also inclined to be contented with the extent of grassroots involvement; in this respect, they depart significantly from the expectations of the plebiscitary model.) NDP activists are the least inclined to see their party leader as very important and are second only to the CA in believing that ordinary members play a significant role. As we might expect, PC and Liberal Party members are inclined to see their leader as the most important actor in shaping public policy. Conservatives place greater emphasis on policy conventions than their parliamentary caucus, while Liberals do the reverse. In both parties, only around one-third of respondents perceive ordinary members to play a very important role in policy making. When we examine mean scores by party on Factor 2 in light of the findings in Table 6, it becomes evident that in the parties in which members believe that they play an important role in developing party policy there is a tendency toward greater satisfaction with the extent of grassroots influence.

Factor 3, opposition to the party leader's power of appointment, also taps a desire for grassroots autonomy. In fact, opposition to leader appointment

Table 7. Mean factor scores, factor 3 (opposition to leader appointment)

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
Party**		
CA	0.32	0.89
Overall	0.00	1.00
NDP	0.00	1.08
BQ	–0.01	0.97
PC	–0.16	1.01
LIB	–0.17	0.99
Gender*		
Male	0.03	1.00
Female	–0.03	0.97
Visible Minority**		
No	0.04	1.01
Yes	–0.26	1.08
Age**		
Under 30	0.03	1.05
31–45	0.08	1.12
46–60	0.12	1.03
Over 60	–0.08	0.93
Region**		
Atlantic	–0.03	1.01
Quebec	–0.18	0.96
Ontario	–0.02	1.03
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	0.04	1.03
Alberta/British Columbia	0.98	0.98

*ANOVA significant at $p = 0.05$; **ANOVA significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

can be understood as a defence of the traditional prerogative of local associations to nominate candidates. Examining the variation among parties, we once again find substantial differences. As expected, CA activists are the most opposed while Liberal Party members (whose party is the only one that affords their leader this power) are the least opposed (see Table 7). Notably, PC activists are almost as favourably inclined toward leader appointments as their Liberal counterparts.

Given that two of the items that load most heavily on this factor deal with appointment of women and visible minority candidates, it is not surprising that we find differences based in gender and ethnicity. Although statistically significant, the gender difference is relatively small and disappears once a control for party is introduced. Differences based in ethnicity are larger and are found in each of the parties except the Conservatives. Party members over the age of 60 are the most supportive of leader appointment in each of

Table 8. Mean factor scores, factor 5 (support for intra-party egalitarianism)

	Mean	*Standard deviation*
Party*		
NDP	0.25	0.90
BQ	0.11	0.94
Overall	0.00	1.00
LIB	0.00	0.99
CA	–0.01	1.00
PC	–0.13	1.08
Age*		
Under 30	0.09	1.05
31–45	0.16	1.00
46–60	0.11	0.96
Over 60	–0.11	1.00
Region*		
Atlantic	0.20	0.94
Quebec	–0.04	0.92
Ontario	–0.10	1.04
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	0.14	1.00
Alberta/British Columbia	0.06	0.95

*ANOVA significant at $p = 0.05$; **ANOVA significant at $p = 0.001$.
LIB: Liberal Party; PC: Progressive Conservative Party; NDP: New Democratic Party; BQ: Bloc Quebecois; CA: Canadian Alliance.

the five parties, reflecting the greater deference to party leaders found among this group. There are also regional differences on this question, with members in Quebec the most supportive of leader appointment and members in Alberta and British Columbia the least. Regional differences are found in the CA and NDP, but not in the Conservatives and Liberals.

The final element of the plebiscitary model is the egalitarian approach to involvement in party democracy. Table 8 shows that there is substantial variation among parties with respect to this egalitarianism. NDP activists are the most inclined toward egalitarianism, while PC members are the least. BQ members are the next most egalitarian after the NDP, and Liberal and CA members fall closer to the PC's than to the other parties. This pattern suggests that the parties most oriented toward forming a government (the Liberals and Conservatives, which have traditionally rotated in and out of office, and the CA, which currently is the second largest party in Parliament) are more wary of outsiders moving into the party, presumably to take advantage of the party's success and access to power. The two parties with little hope of ever forming a government (and in the case of the BQ a stated intention never to govern) are little concerned about this issue.

This interpretation is supported by the regional breakdown of factor scores

shown in Table 8. Party members in Ontario and Quebec – the two provinces where there have been the greatest number of high-profile nomination races with significant influxes of new members – are the least egalitarian, and those in Atlantic Canada and Manitoba and Saskatchewan the least. This pattern holds true within each party except the NDP.

As was the case on other factors, we find that party members over the age of 60 are distinctive on the factor measuring intra-party egalitarianism. These older partisans are the least egalitarian, at least in the Liberal Party, the CA and the NDP. In the Bloc Quebecois and the Conservative Party, members under 30 are the least egalitarian, followed by members over 60. Once again, this general trend suggests that support for the plebiscitary model will grow over time as generational replacement occurs.

Overall, we have found considerable variation between members of the five parties with respect to plebiscitary democracy. As anticipated, CA members tend to be the most inclined to support elements of the model and, to a lesser extent, Liberal Party members are the least inclined. That said, some of the exceptions to this pattern suggest interesting emerging dynamics. First, that Liberal and Conservative members are the most inclined toward discontent with the influence of grassroots members suggests that these parties may have to adapt in the direction of plebiscitary democracy in order to maintain their core member base. Second, the pattern of responses with respect to intra-party egalitarianism suggest that, at least with respect to nomination contests, pragmatism sometimes wins out over principled support of new members' involvement, as it is members of the three parties that either have governed, or have reasonable aspirations to govern, that are the least inclined toward this egalitarian principle.

The pattern of inter-party differences outlined above lends credence to the argument that the entry of the Reform Party/CA into the party system in 1993 has catalyzed the shift toward plebiscitary intra-party democracy. CA activists are the most enthusiastic proponents of direct election of the party leader, of undifferentiated conceptions of party membership, and of constituency autonomy in the nomination of candidates. Canadian Alliance members are not the most critical of the extent of grassroots influence in their party, but that is because they are the most inclined to believe that ordinary members are influential within their party. At the same time, BQ members are the least inclined toward the undifferentiated conception of membership and the most inclined toward a deferential approach to policy development, eschewing the idea of direct member involvement in policy development.[28] That the two new parties tend to be outliers on the elements of plebiscitary democracy suggests that they play a key role in animating inter-party variation on issues of internal party democracy. This would certainly be in keeping with expectations based on organizational practice. We have argued elsewhere that the emerging Canadian party system is characterized by increasing diversity among parties, particularly with respect to their conceptions of representation (Carty et al., 2000: 225–6).

Conclusion

Both organizational and attitudinal evidence support the claim that Canadian political parties are, like their counterparts in at least some other advanced democracies, moving in the direction of plebiscitary democracy in their internal workings. In particular, survey data demonstrate clear pressure for greater and more direct member involvement within all five of the major parties. Moreover, these data also provide evidence of an egalitarian ethos that shapes members' views of the participation of new and newly mobilized party members. Only the shift away from differentiated membership structures is highly contested, both in terms of parties' organizational practice and of their members' attitudes.

As a consequence of this attitudinal support for plebiscitary democracy, we can expect to see Canadian parties trying to find means through which to facilitate their members' desire for meaningful and direct participation. Activists' aspirations will not necessarily be entirely realized, however, as parties – and particularly those parties that govern or aspire to govern – guard the ability of their parliamentary leadership to develop policy to suit the imperatives of governance and strategy. The unique Canadian imperative of accommodation across linguistic lines has not disappeared, and will continue to serve as a constraint on the ability of some parties, particularly the Liberals, to permit members a more meaningful role within the party.

This move toward plebiscitary democracy is a feature of the new Canadian party system, and is also a product of it in the sense that the emergence of the Reform Party served as a catalyst for organizational reform within all the parties. Consistent with this, members of the CA remain the most enthusiastic proponents of plebiscitary democracy. Given the uncertainty that currently exists regarding the future of some Canadian parties, most notably the ongoing discussion of potential mergers between the CA and the PC Party, we are left with the question of whether the plebiscitary impulse would survive a change in the constellation of parties in the system. Given the evidence of member support across all parties for key elements of the plebiscitary model, it appears evident that the plebiscitary impulse would indeed survive such a change. Moreover, given that party members over the age of 60 tend to be the least supportive of the plebiscitary model, there is every reason to believe that generational replacement within the parties will heighten support for plebiscitary democracy within the parties.

The specific contours of the model of intra-party plebiscitary democracy that have been identified in this article are to some extent specific to the Canadian case. Certainly, the conflict between differentiated and undifferentiated conceptions of party membership and between deferential and egalitarian conceptions of intra-party membership may be sharper in the Canadian case, as both have been the source of controversy within Canadian parties over the past two decades. This Canadian specificity speaks to the need for more extensive comparative research to identify the

common and disparate elements of an emerging plebiscitary ethos within political parties. While acknowledging that the Canadian variant of plebiscitary democracy within parties may not be identical to that found in other advanced democracies, the findings presented in this article do lend credence to the argument that this is a cross-national trend.

Notes

This research was made possible by a standard research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Research and other assistance was provided by Patrick Fournier, Diane Roussel, Anamitra Deb, Pam Mitchell, Kevin Snedker, Tracey Raney, Elizabeth Moore, Charlie Gray and James Miller. R. K. Carty and George Perlin offered valuable advice regarding development and administration of the survey. Finally, we thank the staff of the national offices of the five political parties and the members of the parties who took the time to complete the survey for their invaluable assistance.

1 Young argues, however, that the democratic structure within the party allowed oligarchic rule by a partisan elite.
2 For a more extensive discussion of these developments, see Carty et al. (2000, 110–12).
3 The CCF was replaced in the early 1960s by the NDP, which was formed through an amalgamation of the CCF with the trade union movement. Affiliated unions gained constitutionally protected status within the party. Because of these arrangements, the NDP consistently adopted different forms of organization than the other two major political parties.
4 The exception to this was the NDP, which allocated seats among constituency associations based on the number of members in each association. This is a significant departure from the Liberal and Conservative practice of allocating the same number of seats to each constituency association, regardless of number of members. The NDP's practice is closer to the plebiscitary model in its emphasis on equal participation for each non-union member over regional and linguistic representation.
5 For detail, see Courtney (1995: 143–4).
6 For detail, see Courtney (1995: 134–6).
7 For detail, see Courtney (1995: 136–8).
8 The concept of differentiated and undifferentiated party membership refers to Iris Marion Young's (1991) distinction between differentiated and undifferentiated citizenship.
9 A young woman who belonged to one of these parties could vote for delegates from her local association, women's association and campus or youth club.
10 The NDP was not included in Cross's study.
11 On the changing political culture, see Nevitte (1996) and on declining support for political parties and rising support for grassroots activism, see Carty et al. (2000: 107–9).
12 Since it was formed in 1987, the Reform Party's base of support has been in western Canada, which has a relatively small proportion of the seats in the

Canadian House of Commons. The party blamed its inability to break into seat-rich Ontario in the federal election of 1997 on a split of the vote between itself and the PC Party. In an effort to remedy this, the party launched its 'United Alternative' initiative, intended to attract disaffected Conservatives and others to the party. The culmination of this process was a change in the party's name to the CA and the election of a new leader in the summer of 2000.

13 The regional sampling process varied by party. For details regarding this, please contact the authors. For all the parties except the Liberals and the BQ, a regional weighting variable was created to correct for sampling procedures. Accurate regional membership breakdown was not available for the Liberal Party, and regional weighting was not relevant for the BQ.

14 A total of 241 surveys were returned as undeliverable. This number was subtracted from the number of surveys sent when calculating the response rate. The response rate by party was: PC 44 percent; CA 43 percent; BQ 34 percent; Liberal 32 percent; NDP 29 percent. To increase the response rate, each survey mailed was followed approximately one week later by a reminder card with contact information for the researchers.

15 For a discussion of the cyclical character of Canadian party membership, see Carty et al. (2000: 158–9).

16 The CA did have a leadership contest beginning in May of 2000, but the list from which the sample was drawn was closed prior to the beginning of that leadership contest. This ensured that none of the members recruited by leadership candidates were included in the survey.

17 This item was included in preliminary iterations of the factor analysis, but it loaded only weakly onto any factor and tended to load equally onto two factors; as a consequence, it was excluded from further iterations of the analysis.

18 These influence differentials are calculated by taking the respondent's score on a 7-point scale measuring how influential the group is, and subtracting the respondent's score on a corresponding 7-point scale measuring how influential the group should be.

19 Using varimax rotation, with means replacing missing values.

20 The initial factor analysis yielded eight factors with eigenvalues greater than 1; examination of the scree plot indicated that reduction to five factors was warranted. See Kim and Mueller (1978: 45).

21 It should be noted that there is a tendency for items with similar formats to load on the same factor. When we examine the grouping of items in this factor analysis, there is some evidence that this has taken place. Nonetheless, the factors that emerge from the analysis are coherent, and items with the same format load on different factors in several cases. This leads us to conclude that the analysis offers useful insight into activists' structure of opinion.

22 The influence differentials referred to in Figure 1 are calculated as follows: Influence group has – Influence group should have. Both the components of this calculation are 7-point scales, with 1 meaning 'very little' and 7 'a great deal'. Negative scores indicate that the respondent believes the group has insufficient influence, and positive scores that the group has too much influence.

23 When the item was included in earlier iterations of the factor analysis, it tended to load equally, and weakly, onto two factors. As a consequence, it was removed from subsequent analyses.

24 The NDP faces a particular difficulty with shifting to a system of direct election,

as such a system makes it difficult to accommodate the special role that affiliated trade union locals play in the party. Given this, it is interesting to note that NDP members who belong to union households are not significantly less supportive of direct election than their non-union counterparts.

25 While we might expect individuals who have voted in a direct election to be more likely to support such an option, the data do not support this assumption; there is no statistically significant difference between partisans who have or have not participated in direct elections with respect to support for such contests.

26 For the purposes of this analysis, visible minorities are defined as those individuals who identify themselves as members of an ethnic group other than British or French.

27 There are also substantial inter-regional differences on this item, but the differences break down once a control for party is introduced.

28 In part, this may reflect the strong tradition of party convention involvement in policy making within the provincial Parti Quebecois.

References

Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart (1995) *Value Change in Global Perspective*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Butler, David and Austin Ranney (eds) (1994) *Referendums Around the World: The Growing Use of Democracy?* Washington DC: American Enterprise Institute.

Carty, R. Kenneth (1988) 'Three Canadian Party Systems: An Interpretation of the Development of National Politics', in George Perlin (ed.) *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*, pp. 15–31. Scarborough: Prentice Hall.

Carty, R. Kenneth (1991) *Canadian Political Parties in the Constituencies.* Toronto: Dundurn.

Carty, R. Kenneth, William Cross and Lisa Young (2000) *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Courtney, John C. (1995) *Do Conventions Matter? Choosing National Party Leaders in Canada.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Cross, William (1996) 'Direct Election of Provincial Party Leaders in Canada, 1985–1995: The End of the Leadership Convention?' *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 29: 295–315.

Cross, William (1998) 'The Conflict Between Participatory and Accommodative Politics: The Case for Stronger Parties', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (Spring): 37–55.

Cross, William (2001) 'Grassroots Participation in Candidate Nominations', in Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neill (eds) *Political Behaviour in Canada*, pp. 373–85. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Dalton, Russell (1996) *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies.* Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

Elkins, David (1991) 'Parties as National Institutions: A Comparative Study', in Herman Bakvis (ed.) *Representation, Integration and Political Parties in Canada*, pp. 3–62. Toronto: Dundurn.

Keone, Miriam (1999) 'Regionalism and Restructuring in the Progressive Conservative Party'. Paper presented to the Conference on Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada, University of Calgary, 11–13 March.

Kim, Jae-On and Charles W. Mueller (1978) *Factor Analysis: Statistical Methods and Practical Issues*. London: Sage.

Nevitte, Neil (1996) *Decline of Deference*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Norris, Pippa (ed.) (1999) *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Perlin, George, Allen Sutherland and Marc Desjardins (1988) 'The Impact of Age Cleavage on Convention Politics', in George Perlin (ed.) *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*, pp. 188–203. Scarborough: Prentice Hall.

Scarrow, Susan E. (1999) 'Parties and the Expansion of Direct Democracy: Who Benefits?' *Party Politics* 5: 341–62.

Seyd, Patrick (1999) 'New Parties/New Politics? A Case Study of the British Labour Party', *Party Politics* 5: 383–405.

Smith, David E. (1985) 'Party Government, Representation and National Integration in Canada', in Peter Aucoin (ed.) *Party Government and Regional Representation in Canada*, pp. 1–68. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Young, Iris Marion (1991) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, Lisa (2001) 'Representation of Women in the New Canadian Party System', in William Cross (ed.) *Canadian Politics at Century's End*, pp. 181–200. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Young, Walter (1969) *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932–61*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

LISA YOUNG is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary. Her recent publications include *Feminists and Party Politics, Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* (with R. Kenneth Carty and William Cross) and *Regionalism and Canadian Party Politics* (co-editor with Keith Archer).
ADDRESS: Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, 2500 University Dr. NW, Calgary AB T2N 1N4, Canada. [email: youngl@ucalgary.ca]

WILLIAM CROSS is Director of Canadian Studies and Associate Professor of Political Science at Mount Allison University. His recent publications include *Rebuilding Canadian Party Politics* and *Political Parties, Representation and Electoral Democracy in Canada* (ed.). He is Director of the ongoing Canadian Democratic audit project.
ADDRESS: Department of Political Science, Mount Allison University, Sackville, NB E4L 1A7, Canada. [email: wcross@mta.ca]

Paper submitted 11 April 2001; accepted for publication 24 October 2001.