

The Institutionalization of Political Parties in Canada and Israel: Cohesion, Discipline and Personalization

Academic workshop hosted by the Halbert Center of Canadian Studies at the
Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 12-15, 2011

Report

Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University)
Shaul Shenhav (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

We are very pleased to submit the following report on the workshop we conducted between June 12 and June 15, 2011.

Our workshop, entitled *The Institutionalization of Political Parties in Canada and Israel: Cohesion, Discipline and Personalization* examined the institutionalization of political parties in Canada and Israel, through the analytic lens of cohesion, discipline and personalization.

The workshop started in June 12th with a Preliminary orientation, which was followed by two very successful days of academic presentations and discussions.

The workshop was started with welcoming greetings by Professor Mario Sznajder, Head of the Department of Political Science and Professor Nachman Ben-Yehuda, Director of the Halbert Centre for Canadian Studies. Our first session, *Party Institutionalization, Cohesion and Personalization* included two presentations: Professor Csaba Nikolenyi from Concordia University, presented a comparative overview on the institutional regulation of the cohesion of political parties. The second presentation was delivered by Professor Gideon Rahat and Mr. Asaf Shapira who examined personalization in Israeli politics by looking at the outcome of roll call votes in the Knesset. The third presentation of the day was delivered by Professor Kenneth Carty (University of British Columbia) who explored the concept of brokerage parties. A central point in his paper was to draw the distinction between a brokerage party and 'catch-all' type parties. The three presentations were followed by a lively and stimulating exchange among the participants.

Our next session, *Parties on the Ground: The Changing Nature of Party Organization* included three presentations and a discussion. Professor Mildred Schwartz (New York University) presented a framework for examining the organizational behavior of the four Canadian political parties represented in the 40th Canadian parliament elected in 2008, tracing them from the prelude to the 1993 election up until the calling of the 2011 election. Professor William Cross (Carleton University) analyzed key aspects relating to candidate and leadership selection, and discussed the complex relationship between democratic norms and intra party organization. Professor John Courtney (University of Saskatchewan) analyzed the institutionalization of the Canadian Party System. He employed a theoretical framework

advanced by Samuel P. Huntington in 1968 and added a new pillar to this framework, a postmodern stage of development, to account for changes to the Canadian party system since 1993.

All discussions and presentations in June 12th took place in the new renovated seminar room of Halbert, which has been an ideal environment for the workshop. We had all the necessary equipment; the setting was meticulously prepared and organized by the professional staff of the Halbert Center.

The proceedings of the second day of the workshop were split between the Halbert seminar room and the Knesset.

Our morning session, entitled *Parties in the Electorate and Parliament*, focused on the issue of personalization. Ms. Meital Balmas and Professor Tamir Sheafer (Hebrew University) presented new findings from their study on “Political Personalization in the International Media Arena”. Professor Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University) and Dr. Shaul Shenhav (Hebrew University) analyzed Anti-Defection Legislation in Israel. Professor Stuart Soroka (McGill University) presented a study on “The Personalization of Canadian Politics”, in which he provided an overview of this phenomenon in Canadian federal politics over the past fifty years. Ms. Janet Takens presented her study, conducted with Anita van Hoof, and Jan Kleinnijenhuis (VU University Amsterdam), that discussed the effect of Personalized News on the Strength of the Effect of Voters’ party Leader Evaluations on the Vote, and used the Dutch 2010 national elections as a case study for empirical analysis.

The workshop, then, moved to the Knesset where the delegates were welcomed as guests of the Research and Information Center. The rest of the day was pre-organized by Dr. Shenhav (the Israeli leader of the workshop) and Dr. Avrami, Director of Research and Information Center at Knesset. We started our visit in the Knesset with an extremely interesting and intriguing discussion with MK Yohanan Plesner (Kadima) who shared with us his experience and insights, both as former Director General of Kadima party and MK, on questions of party cohesion and party consolidation in Israel. Next we had an interesting and important meeting with Dr. Shirley Avrami, Director of Research and Information Center at Knesset, preceded by a

tour in the center itself. During the tour and the meetings we discussed various questions regarding the ways in which academic and empirical research intersects with parliamentary work and how the two can benefit one another. After this meeting the group had a guided tour in the Knesset during which we observed discussion in the Knesset Plenum. After the tour, we held a special public event hosted by the Knesset, entitled “Party Cohesion in the Era of Personalization”. The event included welcoming words by Professor Mimi Ajzenstadt (Hebrew University) on behalf of the Halbert Center for Canadian Studies, Professor Csaba Nikolenyi, the Canadian leader of the workshop, and Dr. Shirley Avrami, Director of Research and Information Center at Knesset. The event included four presentations: Professor Kenneth Carty (University of British Columbia) presented on *Lessons of the Franchise Party Model*; Ms. Reut Itzkovitch-Malka and Professor Reuven Y. Hazan (Hebrew University) presented their study on *Party Cohesion and Personal Accountability*, focusing in the question of How Israeli MPs perceive their representative role; Professor William Cross (Carleton University) discussed questions of *Leadership Selection in Canadian Political Parties*, pointing to issues that are also relevant for Israeli politics; and Ms. Meital Balmas presented findings from a study conducted with Professor Tamir Sheafer, Professor Gideon Rahat and Dr. Shaul Shenhav on the *Personalization of Israeli Political System*. In the next two days the Canadian group took the time for a private tour in Israel, lead by Professor Csaba Nikolenyi, a private visit to the house of professor Reuven Hazan, and some discussions were held about how the group can continue to cooperate on questions of party cohesion and personalization of politics.

As the leaders of the workshop we feel very happy with the results. We thank the Halbert center for the generous support that allowed us to invite and accommodate six leading scholars from Canada. We were highly impressed by the professional and extremely pleasant support we received by Daphna Oren, her assistant, Ahuva Goldstand, and Professor Nachman Ben-Yehuda, Director of the Halbert Centre for Canadian Studies.

Sincerely,

Csaba Nikolenyi
Shaul Shenhav

Attached to this report are: thank you letters we received from participants in the workshop, the workshop plan and list of participants.

NOTES OF THANKS FROM PARTICIPANTS

Shaul

Now that I am back home I wanted to drop you a note of thanks for all the work you did in organizing the Halbert workshop. I thought it was an excellent meeting and felt rather privileged to have been invited. Certainly the opportunity to visit the Knesset, and actually speak there, was a highlight I shall long remember!

I do hope that we shall meet again before too long.

With all best wishes

Ken

R. Kenneth Carty
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Shalom Csaba and Shaul:

I arrived home right on time last night after a 27-hour day. In spite of the strike, Air Canada was right on schedule leaving Tel Aviv and leaving Toronto to Saskatoon.

I wanted you to know how grateful I am for having been included in your workshop. As you see from the email I sent just moments ago to the Halbert Advisory Committee in Canada, I found it a very successful meeting. Congratulations for having initiated it and for having carried it through.

A note of thanks to the Halberts would, I know, be appreciated. The two emails you should use are:

Ralph Halbert <rhalbert@glencorp.com> and rrhalbert@aol.co

Thanks again,

John

Dear Csaba,

Thank you very much for all your efforts in organizing the Jerusalem workshop and for including me in it. I found the papers and discussions very interesting.

Presenting at the Knesset was a real highlight that I will long remember.

The two days of touring afterwards were also very enjoyable. It was wonderful to have the opportunity for relaxed conversation and to get to know everyone better.

Seeing so many fascinating sights was a real treat.

I hope you are enjoying Barcelona.

all the best,

Bill

> Date: Tue, 14 Jun 2011 09:12:56 -0500

>>> Subject: accounting

>>> From: mildred@uic.edu

>>> To: csabanikolenyi@hotmail.com

>>>

>>> Dear Csaba, I didn't have an opportunity to speak to you this morning

>>> about dinner last night. When I spoke to Shaul about the cab charge, I

>>> told him that I owed you 65 shekels for Michael's dinner. He said it

>>> was

>>> over with and I was not to worry about repaying. I hope that's true and
>>> that you personally are not out any money.

>>>

>>> Once again let me tell you how much I enjoyed the conference. Thank you
>>> for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to meet so many
>>> interesting

>>> Israeli political scientists.

>>>

>>> I hope you and Andrea enjoy the rest of your stay here and have safe
>>> journeys home. With warmest good wishes, Mildred

>>>

**List of workshop participants The Institutionalization of Political Parties in
Canada and Israel: Cohesion, Discipline and Personalization**

Academic workshop hosted by the Halbert Center of Canadian Studies at the Hebrew University
of Jerusalem, June 12-15, 2011

List of workshop participants

Participants from Canada:

Professor Mildred A. Schwartz, (Emerita), University of Calgary, Carleton University,
University of Illinois, New York University.

Professor Ken Carty, University of British Columbia

Professor William Cross, Carleton University

Professor Stuart Soroka, McGill University

Professor John Courtney, (Emeritus), University of Saskatchewan.

Professor Csaba Nikolenyi, Concordia University (Leader)

Participants from Israel:

Ms. Meital Balmas (PhD candidate), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ms. Reut Itzkovitch Malka (PhD candidate), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ms. Odelia Oshri (PhD candidate), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ms. Janet Takens, (PhD candidate), VU University Amsterdam, visiting scholar at the Hebrew
University of Jerusalem

Mr. Assaf Shapira (PhD candidate), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Professor Reuven Hazan, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Professor Gideon Rahat, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Professor Tamir Sheafer, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Shaul Shenhav, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Leader)

Abstract

The scholarly literature has assumed that the problem of party system institutionalization is particular to new democracies (Mainwaring 1999; Mainwaring and Scully 1995). In established democracies, on the other hand, the sheer longevity of party competition seems to imply that the parties and party competition are well institutionalized. This workshop challenges this assumption. The participants examine the institutionalization of political parties in Canada and Israel, through the analytic lens of cohesion, discipline and personalization. There is evidence from both countries suggesting that party institutionalization may be under more stress than conventionally assumed. For example, Canadian parties seem to be evolving into stratarchical franchise operations (Carty 2004, 2002) and their ability to involve voters and party members is weak (Cross and Young 2004). Furthermore, the increase in constituency influence on the behavior of Canadian members of parliament points to the growing importance of cultivating personal as opposed party reputation (Soroka, Penner and Blidook 2009). Similar trends towards personalization have been also observed in the Knesset (Shenhav and Sheafer 2008; Rahat and Sheafer 2007). Also the organizational cohesion of Israeli parties has been particularly challenged by the adoption of participatory and competitive candidate selection processes (Hazan and Rahat 2010; Hazan 2003; Rahat and Hazan 2008, 2001).

The Institutionalization of Political Parties in Canada and Israel: Cohesion, Discipline and Personalization

ACADEMIC WORKSHOP HOSTED BY THE HALBERT CENTER OF CANADIAN STUDIES AT THE HEBREW
UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM, JUNE 12-15, 2011

Programme

SUNDAY, JUNE 12, 2011

Conference starts in the evening

Dinner and a Preliminary orientation, Professor Csaba Nikolenyi and Dr. Shaul Shenhav

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 2011

Breakfast for the Canadian group, Maersdorf

10:00-10:30 Greetings:

Professor Mario Sznajder, Head of the
Department of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Professor Nachman Ben-Yehuda, Director of the Halbert Centre for Canadian Studies,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

10:30-12:30 - Session One: "Party Institutionalization, Cohesion and Personalization"

Professor Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University), "Regulating the Cohesion of Political
Parties: A Comparative Perspective"

Mr. Assaf Shapira and Professor Gideon Rahat (Hebrew University), "Cohesion and
Personalization of Israeli Politics".

Professor Ken Carty (University of British Columbia) "Brokerage Politics Ended?
Canadian Parties in the New Century".

Lunch at the Rachel Restaurant

14:00-16:00 - Session Two: "Parties on the Ground: The Changing Nature of Party Organization "

Professor Mildred Schwartz (New York University), "The Sociology of Party Organization in Canada".

Professor William Cross (Carleton University), "Models of Candidate and Leadership Selection in Canadian Political Parties".

Professor John Courtney (University of Saskatchewan) "The institutionalization of the Canadian Party System".

19:30 - Dinner, Terasa (Begin Centere)

TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 2011

10:00-12:30 - Session Three "Parties in the Electorate and Parliament"

Ms. Meital Balmas and Professor Tamir Sheafer (Hebrew University), "Political Personalization in the International Media Arena".

Professor Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University) and Dr. Shaul Shenhav (Hebrew University) Anti-Defection Legislation in Israel.

Professor Stuart Soroka (McGill University), "The Personalization of Canadian Politics".

Ms. Janet Takens, Anita van Hoof, and Jan Kleinnijenhuis (VU University Amsterdam), "Personalization in the Media, Personalization in Voting Behavior?: The effect of Personalized News on the Strength of the Effect of Voters' party Leader Evaluations on the Vote".

15:00 Lunch at the Knesset

16:00 Organized Tour in the Knesset

17:00-19:30 Special event at the Knesset hosted by The Research and Information Center at Knesset, "Party Cohesion in the Era of Personalization"

Dr. Shirley Avrami. Director of Research and Information Center at Knesset, opening words.

Professor Mimi Ajzenstadt (Hebrew University), The Halbert Center for Canadian Studies, opening words.

Professor Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University) and Dr. Shaul Shenhav (Hebrew University), Introduction.

Professor Ken Carty (University of British Columbia) "Lessons of the Franchise Party Model".

Ms. Reut Itzkovitch-Malka (Hebrew University), Professor Reuven Y. Hazan (Hebrew University), "Party Cohesion versus Personal Accountability: How Israeli MPs Perceive their Representative Role".

(Short Break)

Professor William Cross (Carleton University), "Leadership Selection in Canadian Political Parties".

Ms. Meital Balmas and Professor Tamir Sheafer (Hebrew University), "Getting Personal: Personalization in the Israeli political system: Empirical Findings and Practical Implications".

(Closing Discussion)

Business meeting - planning - possible opportunities for publication.

20:00 - Dinner, Ima restaurant

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15-16, 2011

The Beauty of Israel: daily tours for the Canadian group (organized by Csaba Nikolenyi)

"Regulating the Cohesion of Political Parties: A Comparative Perspective"

Professor Csaba Nikolenyi
Concordia University

This paper draws attention to an understudied area of constitutional engineering that has direct and immediate bearing on political parties, specifically their behavior and discipline in the legislature. A growing number of states, almost all of them non- or new democracies, have adopted constitutional clauses that impose penalties on individual deputies if they leave the parliamentary group of the party that elected them to office. In most cases, these penalties are severe and result in the defecting deputies' loss of current mandate. Such anti-defection clauses have two contradictory effects on the internal organization of political parties. On the one hand, by virtue of enforcing party discipline in the legislature, anti-defection clauses parliamentarize political parties; they force them to be the kinds of parliamentary fit political parties that Sartori considers a precondition for a successful operation of a parliamentary system. On the other hand, anti-defection clauses also strengthen the leadership of political parties vis-a-vis individual deputies. The threat of disqualification is backed by the credible enforcement mechanism of the constitution, which can tremendously increase the party leader's autonomy and freedom from party constraints. Through these processes, anti-defection clauses also presidentialize political parties.

"Party Cohesion and Personalization in Israel"

Prof. Gideon Rahat, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Assaf Shapira, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In this paper we ask whether the personalization of Israeli politics brought, as could be expected, to a decline in party cohesion. While the values of a modified Rice index for roll-call voting indicate that cohesion in general remained relatively high, the impact of personalization is still apparent: First, the conduction of roll-call votes increased over time; Second, parties' cohesion in the end of each Knesset's term has declined; Third, Knesset's MPs express their independence through diverse channels, such as the media and the submission and promotion of private member bills; Finally, the number of ministerial appointment, which can serve as a mean to "buy" loyalty of MPs when the party is in government, has increased.

"Has Brokerage Politics Ended? Canadian parties in the new century"

Prof. R. Kenneth Carty

The University of British Columbia

Canadian politics has long been characterized as brokerage politics, a system whose central electoral dynamic is structured by 'brokerage parties'. This paper explores the concept of brokerage parties asking if it is simply a local label for 'catch-all' type parties or whether it represents a distinct form of political party organization with attendant unique systemic consequences. It then considers the extent to which Canadian parties now (or ever) epitomize this brokerage model and whether Canadian politics can still be reasonably characterized as brokerage politics.

"REFLECTIONS ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR OF CANADIAN POLITICAL PARTIES"

Mildred A. Schwartz

University of Illinois at Chicago and New York University

Canadian political parties can be located in the interplay between the universal and contending social forces of continuity and change. How these social forces play out is affected by three factors shaping all organizations: 1) the institutionalization of practices and beliefs within parties that are reflected in their structure, 2) the environment that provides resources for sustaining parties and the milieu in which they compete with rivals, 3) the actions by party participants themselves.

Based on the organizational literature I select three representative questions: How are institutional sources of continuity and innovation differentiated, given that all organizations need continuing access to resources and a system of meaning that serves as a source of identification and a blueprint for action? When does the environment promote stability and when change? What makes party actors defend the status quo in contrast to seeking a break with the past? The three questions generate a framework for examining the organizational behavior of the four Canadian political parties represented in the 40th Canadian parliament elected in 2008. It traces them from the prelude to the 1993 election up until the calling of the 2011 election.

"Personnel Selection in Canada's Political Parties"

William Cross

Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

One of the central functions of Canadian political parties is the selection of candidates for public office. Parties choose both the men and women who stand for election from local constituencies and the candidates who compete for the Prime Ministership. This paper considers several key aspects relating to personnel selection including the relationship between the party in the centre and the party in the electorate, the evolving role of grassroots partisans, and the representativeness of the candidate pool. The analysis considers the complex relationship between democratic norms and intra party organization.

"Institutionalization of the Canadian Party System"

Prof. John Courtney, (Emeritus)

University of Saskatchewan

This paper employs a theoretical framework advanced by Samuel P. Huntington in his 1968 study of political order and social change. To my knowledge this paper is the first to use Huntington's theory to explain the growth and development of parties and a party system in an advanced western, liberal democracy. Huntington's analytical framework is based on a four-stage development model with two measurable components: political participation and political institutionalization. The level of political participation is determined by such empirical measures as the number of parties and candidates in elections; the number of seats won by acclamation; the share of total population eligible to vote; the level of voter turnout; and the number of and membership in advocacy (interest) groups. The degree of institutionalization of a political party is a function of its adaptability/rigidity, complexity/simplicity, autonomy/subordination, and coherence/disunity. A truly institutionalized party system, such as Canada's, is one that has moved from an early factional stage, through an embryonic but increasingly polarized one, to a pre-modern expansionist one, and to a final institutionalized stage. I have added a fifth postmodern stage of development to account for changes to the Canadian party system since 1993.

"Two Routes to Personalized Politics: Centralized and Decentralized Personalization"

Ms. Meital Balmas, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Professor Tamir Sheafer, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This article points at two somewhat opposite types of political personalization processes, centralizing personalization and decentralizing personalization. The first implies the centralization of political power in the hands of a few leaders while the latter indicates a diffusion of the group power to its components – to individual politicians. The paper starts by proposing definitions of the types and sub-types of centralized and decentralized personalization and an examination of research literature in search of evidence for their occurrence. It then demonstrates the usefulness of the proposed typology by examining personalization trends in various aspects of Israeli politics. It ends with a discussion of the challenges that personalization has set for democracies in general and liberal democracies in particular.

"Anti-Defection Legislation in Israel in a comparative perspective"

Csaba Nikolenyi, Concordia University
Shaul Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

We provide an explanation for the introduction of anti-defection legislation in the Israeli Knesset in 1991 and compare it with similar laws in other democracies, e.g. Portugal, India and South Africa. The Israeli legislation sought to reign in demand for defectors in a very tightly balanced Knesset, while elsewhere the conditions for the introduction of such laws very were different. Specifically, in India and South Africa anti-defection laws were instrumental in trying to maintain a dominant party system. We claim that the Israeli legislation was successful in keeping defectors at bay and keeping the governing majority together. The Israeli case study is particularly interesting and puzzling because the country's party-list PR system is expected to maintain a high level of party discipline without additional institutional instruments. Our analysis relies both on primary sources as well as secondary analyses to reconstruct the process of the passage of the Israeli legislation.

"The Personalization of Canadian Politics"

Stuart Soroka

McGill University

There is a growing body of work exploring the personalization of politics — the tendency for political competition and legislative action to be increasingly focused on individual candidates rather than on political parties. Some authors argue that the shift is a consequence of the rise of electronic media; others suggest the importance of changes in political institutions, particularly methods of candidate selection. Drawing on a typology of personalization set out by Rahat and Sheafer (2007), this paper examines personalization in Canadian federal politics over the past fifty years — a period that covers not just the proliferation of electronic media, but the introduction of television cameras in the House of Commons, and shifts in Canadian parties' leadership conventions. The investigation focuses in part on existing work on Canadian political institutions and political behavior, and in part on new analyses of both Oral Questions since 1958 and media content since 1980. Results are discussed as they pertain to Canadian politics, and to broader comparative theories on the sources of personalization.

"Personalization in the media, Personalization in voting behavior?"

Janet Takens, Anita van Hoof, and Jan Kleinnijenhuis

VU University Amsterdam

Corresponding author: jh.takens@vu.nl

Personalization in voting behavior, the increasing use of evaluations of individual politicians in the vote decision, has been criticized because it violates the basic assumptions of democratic decision making. One of the presumed causes of personalization in voting behavior is media personalization, the increased focus on individual politicians at the expense of political institutions and political issues, in the media. Yet, this relation has not been empirically studied. This paper assesses whether voters' party leader evaluations affect the vote, and whether consumption of more personalized news increases the size of these leader effects.

Based on priming theory, exposure to personalized news is expected to change the standards by which parties are judged from their fairly stable ideological root to their party leaders, thereby increasing their importance in the vote decision. Additionally we assessed whether leader evaluations represent genuine, autonomous evaluations of the party leader, or whether they are just a symptom of underlying party evaluations and issue positions.

The Dutch 2010 national elections were used as a case study. News content was analyzed by means of a manually conducted Semantic Network Analysis (N=4,829 newspaper, 386 television, and 496 website items). The public opinion data consists of a ten wave panel survey (N=1,072). The model was tested using multi level analyses in R.

The analyses showed that party leader evaluations are genuine evaluations of party leaders, which have a significant, positive effect on the vote. Additionally, the vote of those who are exposed to more personalized news is more strongly affected by party leader evaluations. Exposure to personalized news further increases the likelihood to vote for a liked leader, while it slightly decreases the chance of voting for a disliked leader.

"Lessons from the Franchise Party model"

R. Kenneth Carty

The University of British Columbia

One response to the challenges of establishing a national party organization characterized by considerable internal decentralization, autonomy and intra-party democracy has been to develop an institutional form analogous to the structure of franchise-style organizations. Canada's successful national political parties can be interpreted in this light. An analysis of the long dominant Liberal party elucidates the essential character of such party organizations and considers the consequences for party membership and the organization of intra-party decision-making.

"Party Cohesion versus Personal Accountability: How Israeli MPs Perceive their Representative Role"

Reut Itzkovitch Malka, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Reuven Y. Hazan, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Political representation is all about reflection. Elected representative are supposed to reflect in parliament the needs, desires, aspirations, interests and preferences of those who elected them. Our presentation focuses on the process of political representation and will address the tangled relations between political parties, elected representatives and the electorate as it regards this process. We point out how elected representatives construct their views on and comprehension of their representative role, while focusing particularly on the institutional constraints which shape the legislators' perceptions of representation. Our research design is aimed at uncovering some of the conflicting and competing interests MPs must answer to, especially the need to "truly" represent one's voters, while at the same time demonstrating party cohesion and adhering to party discipline. After presenting our theoretical framework and research design we discuss some of the preliminary findings from the Israeli case.