PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL CLASS, AND THE VOTE:
A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF DOVERCOURT AND PEEL
SOUTH RIDINGS FOR THE 1971 PROVINCIAL ELECTION

by

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In the existing literature which comprises the main body of knowledge regarding electoral aspects of political geography, nearly all work has been carried out at a city wide, provincial, or national scale. Few political geographers have done any analysis of election results within individual constituencies with an aim toward identifying spatial regularities. The fact that disaggregation of census materials is not usually available for geographic units corresponding to polling districts has led to studies of larger areas of multiple constituency or city wide scope, where overlapping of enumeration and political areas can be generalized to a greater degree. The relatively few Canadian studies which have dealt with voting in a single constituency have almost totally ignored any spatial pattern in the constituency vote. Instead they have concentrated their efforts in a more sociological study of determination of voter characteristics, while failing to show any form of spatial regularities in their results.

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt a socio-economic and spatial identification of voter groups within the two provincial constituencies of Dovercourt and Peel South, and to compare the results achieved with existing theories of political behaviour.
Participation in the political process may take many forms and may be influenced by a variety of factors such as socio-economic status, education, political efficacy and geographic location. From a geographic point of view the level and types of political participation engaged in bespeak a great deal about both the voter and the community in which he resides. Much of this theoretical background will therefore focus on factors which may determine voting characteristics of individuals, and in what way spatial groupings of such individuals according to these factors may be reflected in the spatial distribution of the vote.

Socio-economic Status

In analyzing the political sociology of the individual, both Van Loon and Milbrath present political participation in an active - passive spectrum, with the holding of political office (a gladiator role) at the pinnacle and the simple act of voting forming the lowest level of the scale. For the sake of this paper, concentration has focussed on what they classify as the passive role of individual ballot casting. In order to elaborate on their model to the stage of determining the number of individuals, by geographic area, participating at various levels in this participation hierarchy would require detailed personal surveying beyond the constraints of this paper.
Van Loon's model for political participation utilizes, but expands upon the standard factors of socio-economic characteristics, personality, and political influences, and their related effect on the participatory act of voting. Socio-economic status, he feels, must also be looked at in terms of the resources, both social and economic, available to persons of various classes. At a simplistic level, how much money, or perhaps even more important, how much time can a person devote to political activity? Since various forms of political activity such as office holding may be continuous, while others such as voting are episodic, the cost to the participant may vary greatly and thus affect his level of participation. Some political activities such as strategy planning, fund solicitation, and contributions of time and money to a campaign require greater social and economic resources than others, with the result that we would normally expect people with the greater social resources to participate more actively than others. Even simple political activities such as hosting a 'meet the candidate' coffee party requires a certain possession of these socio-economic resources. The degree to which a candidate or party is able to draw on such resources may be a factor in the outcome of the election. One example of the utilization of such resources is found in the affluent Eglinton riding of Toronto, where in the course of one campaign, Mitchell Sharp attended more than one hundred such coffee parties, at the rate of four or five per day. 3
Normally one would assume that if these people of higher socio-economic resources are more active at higher levels of the participatory hierarchy then they will also be more likely to register a vote than people who are less politically involved. Van Loon's campaign activity index by socio-economic class shows that forty-one percent of upper middle class voters engaged in high (gladiator) or middle (transitional) activities, while this percentage showed a steady decline to twenty-eight percent for the middle class, twenty-three percent for the working class, and sixteen percent for the lower class.  

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign Activity</th>
<th>Upper Middle</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Lower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>35 %</td>
<td>23 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>58 %</td>
<td>71 %</td>
<td>77 %</td>
<td>84 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>226</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>1223</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the rows showing 'medium' and 'low' levels of campaign activity are consistent with what we would normally expect in the way of participation from the respective class groups, the 'high' group would appear to be too uniform across class lines. This phenomenon
may be explained by the fact that during a campaign a certain number of paid workers are needed, regardless of party affiliation, and the most likely sources of such workers are those people earning lower middle class incomes or less, since the small remuneration and temporary nature of the jobs would not likely attract middle or upper class people. Contributions of time by people in the higher classes is more likely to be on the basis of a voluntary effort, with a view toward politics as a social activity. For these reasons a simple arithmetical relationship between personal income and propensity to vote is not likely to be found. Milbrath, in fact, notes from an Evanston, Illinois survey that middle income persons are significantly more likely to be active in politics than low income persons, but that high income persons are not significantly more likely to be active than middle income persons. Also, Lane's studies of the relationship between income levels and voter turnout suggests a kind of declining marginal productivity of income on voting. Thus, for each thousand dollar increment in income, the absolute increase and rate of increase in turnout decline.

Education

It is also generally accepted that voter turnout increases with the education level of the voters. What is significant, however, is that with increased education levels the proportion claiming to
have voted in all federal elections rises dramatically but those professing a pattern of continual provincial voting declines considerably. Nearly a quarter of the eligible voters with over seventeen years of education profess to having never voted in a provincial election, compared to only four percent in federal elections. At low levels of education the voter response to federal and provincial elections is almost identical but as education level rises so does the differential in those continually voting federally but only intermittently voting provincially. In the study of a provincial election, therefore, participation by voter groups may differ significantly from the case of a federal election.

| TABLE 2 |
| Voting Frequency in Different Educational Groups  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voting Frequency in Elections</th>
<th>Education (in years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* federal or provincial
In high socio-economic areas, which by implication we consider to be composed primarily of better educated people, an expected high voter turnout might be considerably tempered by the apparent lack of involvement by this educated elite in provincial politics. Thus despite a high degree of correlation between education and social class, the influence of education on political behaviour is found as an indirect product of attitude formation among the social classes not as a direct influence itself on voting participation. Therefore, where we might logically assume a high voter turnout and a large degree of leadership to be asserted by the highly educated, in fact a large percentage of those with university degrees have never voted in a provincial election. As Peter Regenstreif notes, "whatever the status of the Canadian intelligensia (such as it is), it remains a relatively unknown quantity." 7

**Efficacy**

Milbrath feels that a center - periphery analogy may be applied to the question of participation, the feeling of closeness to, or distance from, the center being an important correlate of political participation. 8 The problem however lies in the definition of centrality. It may be viewed in terms of communications or relative perceived position in the power structure. The underdog, characterized by low socio-economic status, little education, low
prestige jobs and low income, is likely to feel that he has little power and thus not vote. If this is true, neighbourhoods exhibiting these characteristics should be expected to have a much lower voter turnout than higher socio-economic areas, although as mentioned earlier, the rate of turnout is not simply an arithmetic relationship with income.

While the underdog feels that his vote will be inconsequential to the outcome of the election, Nie and others have speculated that the 'better elements' in society participate more frequently because they perceive that they have a greater stake in the outcome of the election. An offshoot of this idea is a return to Milbrath's centrality concept that high status and more organizationally involved citizens are closer to the 'center' of society, and therefore more likely to be involved with government in their daily business. Nie's observations however seemed to prove the contrary, that perception of a stake in election outcomes was not an important link between class and participation. It was however found that socially advantaged citizens assume political events can be manipulated and controlled, and this sense of political efficacy increases the likelihood that they will participate in politics to some extent. In direct contrast, the underdog lacks this sense of efficacy.
Social status and education may affect this sense of efficacy in that value systems approving of political participation may be acquired in the schools and social organizations. Higher education and social status exposes the individual to situations in which the duty to participate is stressed. It is in this way that the influence of education in attitude formation may be exhibited politically. This may also be true in the case of social status. As Nye concludes, "social status tends to affect political participation through its impact on political attitudes and cognitions which, in turn, facilitate political activity."

Over a five nation study it was found that the higher social status groups in the society will have fifteen to twenty-five percent more political participants than the lower groups. This result is not significantly different from the Canadian estimate by Van Loon, shown in Table 1.

Efficacy may also be exhibited by the working class in some situations. While the underdog may individually feel ineffectual, collectively his outlook might change. As Nye notes:

"organizational involvement may represent an alternative channel for political participation for socially disadvantaged groups. The rural peasant, the industrial labourer, the disadvantaged black may become politically active through his organizational involvement even though he may otherwise lack the status resources for political participation."

When such social organization takes on a political focus, dramatic
changes in electoral behaviour may result. The most obvious instance of such organizational involvement is the well recognized support of the New Democratic Party by the labour unions. Collectively, the working class participation is greater than might ordinarily be expected since one political party claims to represent their interests. The organizational body of the union itself provides a collective sense of efficacy not only from an economic but also from a political point of view. The influence of this body is seen in an assertion by Gagne and Regenstreif that:

"while unskilled workers were being attracted by the NDP, skilled workers tended to support the party even more strongly. This happens because skilled workers are more highly unionized than are the unskilled and because since the formation of the NDP, the party has made a concerted effort to attract the union vote."

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Social Class

Considerable importance must be attached to the emerging relevance of social class in its relation to party voting in Ontario. Provincially, a party can compete to a greater extent on the basis of social class than it could nationally, where the situation calls for a more comprehensive spectrum of voters of all classes to ensure success. Indeed, the smaller the political unit analyzed the greater the possibility for class oriented voting. Thus at the polling booth
level, the effects of social class upon vote by party tend to be very apparent within the individual constituency. From a number of recent studies it would appear that the electors of Ontario regard social class as an important basis for choosing among the political parties. The Institute for Behavioural Research at York University found from a 1967 survey that the New Democratic Party image is clearly one of 'friend of the working man', whereas those people who expressed opinions on the Conservative Party stressed its efficiency. The Liberals, however, emerged with no clear cut image, the largest group expressing an opinion about the Liberals had only a vague 'general liking' for the party. It would therefore appear logical to expect New Democratic support to come from working class areas, Conservative strength from areas of professional and managerial class people to whom productivity is important, both politically as well as economically, and Liberal support to be less clearly defined both socially and spatially.

As Wilson and Hoffman have noted: 15

"It is generally the case that the dominant image of a party is a reflection of the principal characteristics of its supporters. Nowhere is this more evident than in the socio-economic characteristics of those electors who identify with the NDP. Compared to the population of the province as a whole... the party's support is clearly more heavily concentrated in the younger age groups, among skilled workers and particularly members of trade unions, and among men who describe themselves as members of the working class.

The Conservatives are clearly attracting electors
whose interests are broadly opposed to those of NDP supporters. Quite apart from a greater dependence upon the older age groups, people who prefer to call themselves English Canadians, and adherents of the major Protestant faiths, the most striking aspect of Conservative support is its dominantly middle class character... the party's strength is more heavily concentrated in the higher socio-economic groups: nearly three quarters of its supporters live in non union households and over half of them describe themselves as middle class.

On the other hand Liberal supporters mirror nearly every characteristic of the electorate, apart from a superior strength among those aged 35 to 49 and the customary dependence upon adherents of the Roman Catholic faith and people of non British origin.

Of the three parties then, the Conservative and New Democrats are clearly rooted in distinct sectors of the electorate. But if, as seems likely, economic status becomes an even greater influence on the vote in the future, the fact that the Liberal Party does not depend upon any special economic group may ultimately be a source of weakness."

These prognostications by Wilson and Hoffman open several interesting avenues of thought. Will these socio-economic allegiances strengthen over time? Can such allegiances be found at a constituency level? Is the survey actually borne out by election returns? These are questions which will be returned to later in the paper.

Suburbanization

These questions, when viewed in terms of demographic trends, bring on the need for recognition of a relatively new, strong, and rapidly expanding force in North American society. Where
political parties were previously factionally divided, it was often on an urban - rural basis. Now a new group, the suburban voters, with their own attendant characteristics, have been added. In many cases, politically, they do not mirror either a rural or an urban outlook, or for that matter even a transition between the two.

Kevin Cox, one of the few geographers to look into the relationship between suburbia and voting behaviour, found in his study of the London (England) metropolitan area that: 16

"both party preference and participation are related to suburbanism in particular, and to other socio-economic dimensions in general...(and) that while both aspects of political activity are directly related to suburbanism, suburban - central city differences also operate indirectly through other dimensions to effect geographical differences."

The growing dichotomy between the politically right-wing suburbs and the left-wing central city has been noted by American political scientists since the mid 1950's, and more recently than that in Britain. In the United States, according to Edward Banfield's estimates of population redistribution in urban areas, the Democratic urban dominance disappeared shortly after 1956 and recent suburban growth has been so rapid that by 1975 the city vs suburban voter imbalance will provide the Republicans with a metropolitan plurality in excess of two million voters. 17 This situation is one which is of prime importance in Ontario politics due to the rapidly growing suburban areas in the Golden Horseshoe region. As mentioned in
in preliminary releases from the 1971 census, the area enclosed by the political division of Peel South, has the fastest rate of growth in Canada.

One can speculate that demographic changes in an electoral area can significantly alter the voting pattern in a community. The data by which this concept may be tested, however, are very crude and subject to great errors. Any study linking changes in residential location to political behaviour and attitudes is faced with two possibilities. These possibilities might best be classified as the 'conversion theory' and the 'selective migration theory', the basic difference between the two theories being one of sequence. The conversion theory basically states that a migrant will tend to conform and assimilate himself to the prevailing climate of opinion in his new place of residence after a move, while the selective migration theory pre-supposes a change in socio-economic status which then precipitates a move to a new neighbourhood. Both theories may have some merit and indeed some basis of fact, so that there is no need for them to be mutually exclusive. Migrants moving from the city to suburbia may change their votes as the result of a process of assimilation, or perhaps the newcomers seek out suburbia as a result of other forces which may have changed their political outlook. Upward social mobility or a new outlook by descendants of immigrants may engender new political allegiances as well as encourage migration to
the suburbs. The cause and effect pattern is difficult to untangle.

Certainly connections exist between socio-economic status, religion, ethnicity and party affiliations, however it can also be seen that the same type of connection exists between locality and party affiliation. The link between the two is found in the extent to which social prestige is a determinant of residential location. In the suburbs, as might be expected, occupations of the residents are typically those of higher social rank. A sorting process takes place in the move to the suburbs, resulting in the congregation of people with similar occupations, ethnic backgrounds, incomes and value systems. As Wood states the case: 18

"As proximity to a man's place of work becomes less important in the location of his home, given his ability and willingness to commute to work, the character of his neighbours and his neighbourhood becomes more important. The substitute for economic interdependence and physical isolation that created old communities is a conscious choice of a location in which values and customs are most likely to be shared."

However the stimuli of increased home ownership, traditional right wing political climate, high communication probability as a result of fewer working women, and the homogeneous setting conducive to 'neighbouring' led Cox to a favouring of the conversion theory. Cox further stresses the process of migrant assimilation as a result of a new bias in the migrant's information field and contact space. He will, as a result of his relocation, be subjected to a
new set of stimuli and cues. As length of residence at a particular location increases the residual information and cues from the previous location are destroyed or sublimated and replaced by a new set of allegiances and loyalties. With this reduction of cross pressures Cox feels that: 19

(1) political behaviour will be less affected by short term factors and hence exhibits greater stability over a series of elections.

(2) local contextual effects upon migrant political behaviour will increase.

Thus, recent residents are less likely to conform with the local political climate of opinion than are residents of longer standing.

Partially this may be the result of demographic characteristics different from residents of established areas. The major difference is one of age, migrants being considerably younger than the more established residents. From existing political sociology literature, it can be found that stable voting behaviour and strong party identification come with age. Cox also emphasizes the aspect of social conformity and its effect on the voting process. He points out that the neighbourhood minority party supporter is likely to be weaker in his party identification, and hence more inconsistent in his political behaviour over time than is the majority party supporter, who should have a stronger party identification and more consistent behaviour. In spatial terms, this would imply a greater voter participation by the majority party in any given geographic area, while
uncast ballots in that area may very well belong to one of the minority parties. Both length of residence and degree of participation would therefore indicate that older, established areas should exhibit more polarized voting results than newly settled districts. This, however, is dependent upon population stability in any given area. An older residential area exhibiting a high degree of population instability would naturally be expected to show the same characteristics as an area of young migrants.

This concept of neighbourhood and its spatial expression has served as the background for much of the theoretical speculation in electoral geography. David Reynolds's proposal of a 'friends and neighbours' voting model is based on the spatial interaction of voters. The criteria from which he works are that:

1. The individual's voting decision is to some extent dependent upon his access to information, which in turn is partially dependent upon his relative location in a communication network within social groups.

2. Direct personal contacts of a lasting and intensive nature are primarily established between individuals separated by short distances.

From this it is possible to assume that an individual will draw many of his political attitudes from an acquaintance circle exhibiting high geographic propinquity. It is in this concept of a limited information network that the conversion theory finds some credence. The new migrant is subject to only selected political information,
and social pressure from the rest of the community stresses conformity. The assumption that an individual's neighbourhood, as an area of social contact, will influence his political behaviour and attitudes is restated and expanded by Irving Foladare.21

"The neighbourhood does serve as an important channel of contact whereby individuals with similar statuses may interact with each other and, in doing so, establish and reinforce political opinions. The greater the concentration of individuals with like statuses in a neighbourhood the greater will be the likelihood that their interaction will produce a recognition of like interests. With consensus, social norms develop and create pressures for conformity.

Living in a neighbourhood with high concentrations of people of the same status will concentrate the effect of that status as a source of political behaviour. For people with a particular status, who live among people with statuses providing counter forces, there is an erosion of the effect of their own status on their political behaviour."

Nearly all neighbourhood studies carried out have assumed that some personal characteristic can be held constant. However, there would appear to be no good theoretical reason why aggregate voting behaviour cannot be treated as a partial function of certain variables descriptive of neighbourhood characteristics. The major difference between this and previous studies being that it does not try to interpret at an individual level a relationship between social class and voting. In this generalization, a high correlation between socio-economic characteristics and party vote would be evidence of a neighbourhood effect. If social neighbourhoods can be sociologically and geographically defined the question is whether these coincide with political neighbourhoods.
THE CONSTITUENCIES

This study focusses on the two ridings of Dovercourt and Peel South since they provide a good example of contrast between suburban and central city locations. Peel South, composed of the southern portion of the Town of Mississauga as well as the Town of Port Credit, furnishes an excellent study area exhibiting great diversity of social class and housing type. This great socio-economic diversity is not to be found within the Dovercourt riding of west-central Toronto for several reasons. The fact that it is a much smaller and more densely settled geographic area of similar vintage housing partially contributes to a much greater socio-economic homogeneity of its population.

Both ridings contain new high rise apartments situated in proximity to older residential areas. In Dovercourt these new apartments are situated along the main arteries through areas of predominantly 1920 vintage housing on the back streets. Thus each polling district is composed of a blend of the two types of housing. This contrast of old and new is generally not as sharp in Mississauga since abundant room for expansion has resulted in a more gradual transition from old to new areas. In addition, many of the new high-rise developments are being situated in clusters near the outskirts of modern residential areas. The much larger average size of Mississauga
apartment buildings, as well as their high degree of clustering, affects the polling results since many Mississauga polls are entirely apartment areas; whereas in Dovercourt more polls tend to be a mixture of apartment and residential areas.

Aside from the apartment dwellers, the tenant population of Mississauga is very small, virtually all homes being owner occupied. As a result extensive downward filtering of housing has not taken place to any great degree since older houses have generally been surrounded by newer houses of similar value. Dovercourt, however, displays a much higher degree of multiple family occupancy of a single dwelling, through the division of large homes into two or three flats, as well as occupancy of flats above business establishments. As a result the tenancy rate in Dovercourt, exclusive of polling districts which were entirely apartments, was calculated by the author to be approximately forty-four percent. This follows closely to Hoyt's concept of downward filtering of housing where owner occupancy declines as the first owners sell out or move away and are succeeded by a lower income class. In a Burgess concentric zone model, Dovercourt could very well be described as being part of the working class residential zone in which second generation immigrants form an important element in the population structure. This situation is documented by Robert Murdie, whose factorial
ecology showed increasingly strong Italian concentrations by 1961 when Dovercourt lay on the western boundary of a very strong Italian ethnic area which was expanding westward.\textsuperscript{22}

The more transient nature of the inner city population is shown by the fact that of the sample population chosen in Dovercourt, sixteen percent of the names on the voters list in 1971 did not correspond to the occupants of the dwelling, as listed in the 1970 assessment rolls. The existence of rooming houses and the presence of roomers in private residences in Dovercourt, if anything, causes this figure to be underestimated. Murdie's figures indicate that even a decade ago Dovercourt was undergoing a high rate of population turnover and therefore a high negative change in population stability. This situation was particularly true in the southern census tracts of Dovercourt, with a steady increase in stability to the north.\textsuperscript{23} Part of this high turnover may be attributed to the ethnic change by the process of invasion and succession whereby large numbers of Protestants of British origin moved out and were succeeded by Italian Catholics.\textsuperscript{24}

In Mississauga greater residential stability is indicated since the number of names which did not correspond on the voter and assessment records was only slightly over two percent for the areas of private residences. Although this figure seems low, it could
quite possibly be accurate due to the large number of relatively new, one owner households sampled.

Although most of the area involved in Mississauga is one of residential single family dwellings built as a continuation of suburban expansion of nearby Metropolitan Toronto, in the past decade rapid construction of high rise apartments has added a new dimension which may prove to be politically significant. This is the presence of a young migrant population of less rigidly structured socio-economic status, and presumably therefore less entrenched party affiliations and acquaintance groups. The effect of this demographic transformation on electoral patterns will be discussed later in the paper.

The most notable difference between the two ridings, however, is their rate of suburbanization. In this case suburbanization being defined to include such factors as relative increases in population density, population potential, wage earners, mortgaged homes, household amenities, white collar employees, and household income, as well as decreases in the percentage of elderly persons and persons of low education. These criteria show Dovercourt to have a moderate rate of negative suburbanization and Peel South to have a strong positive rate of suburbanization. This however is not surprising in the case of Peel South which, according to the 1971
census, has the highest growth rate of any area in Canada, a rate of approximately thirteen percent per annum.

From a political point of view, ridings for this study were chosen where none of the candidates were either cabinet ministers or 'big name' personalities, so that the vote would more accurately reflect party loyalty. Neither riding mirrored the popular vote by party of the province as a whole, however the differences in party popularity between ridings, as seen in Table 3 is itself interesting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Popular Vote By Party</th>
<th>Dovercourt</th>
<th>Peel South</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>34.59%</td>
<td>34.63%</td>
<td>44.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>28.63%</td>
<td>22.70%</td>
<td>27.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Democratic</td>
<td>34.38%</td>
<td>22.66%</td>
<td>27.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conservative strength in Peel South, traditionally a Tory stronghold, remained ten percent above the provincial average, with the other two parties five percent below their respective provincial marks. In the much more closely contested Dovercourt riding the narrow margin between Conservative and New Democratic support potentially shows a more homogeneous political ideology. The problem however is the one posed by Bunge in his salt and pepper analogy.
In considering the electoral results from Dovercourt are we looking at a situation of heterogeneity of equally strong voter groups, or a more homogeneous political area than Peel South? The answer obviously lies in the geographical location of the voting strengths of each party. At this stage the problem takes on a spatial significance which can only be looked at by utilizing the smallest possible data units - the polling district.

DATA COLLECTION

Within a single constituency, the enumeration census data must be either recompiled to conform with the political areas of the polling districts, or census and electoral materials transformed to correspond with each other by means of superimposing an hexagonal grid over both census and electoral divisions. However since adequate Canadian census data are only compiled on a decennial basis, and then not immediately available, the possibility of obtaining electoral and census information for the same year is, at best, tenuous. Therefore, in the absence of current census material, the author has utilized Town of Mississauga and City of Toronto assessment rolls covering the area of the two constituencies involved. Assessment figures are not standardized between the two areas since they are calculated on a different basis in each jurisdiction.
At the outset of the study a slight reduction of the study area in Mississauga was deemed necessary since socio-economic data, to be disaggregated in order to conform with individual polling districts, had to be personally researched and recompiled. Since Peel South was the second largest riding in the province, 54,122 eligible voters compared to a provincial average of 38,488, it was felt that a reduction by 99 of its 266 polling districts would not be detrimental to results achieved, since spatial contiguity could be retained in the major part of the study area. Part of this omission was also required on the basis of different assessment methods between the enclave Town of Port Credit and the surrounding Town of Mississauga. The area of study in Peel South is therefore limited to the southeastern portion of Mississauga bounded on the south by Lake Ontario and the Town of Port Credit, on the west by the Credit River, on the east by Etobicoke Creek and the Borough of Etobicoke, and by highways #5, 10, and Burnhamthorpe Road on the north. Area 50 to the west of the Credit River was included since it provided a polarized case of high socio-economic factors, while areas 112, 113, 114, 231, 235, 236, 237, and 238 in the north and north west have been omitted due to their sparsely populated nature and the size of the personal, non residential, landholdings involved.

Dovercourt, consisting of only 121 polls and about one-
Shaded area indicates the folly of Peel South for which a socio-economic sampling was taken.
MAP 2

Shaded areas indicate the position of Dovercourt and the eastern portion of Peel South ridings in relation to Metropolitan Toronto.
third as many voters as Peel South, was studied in its entirety. In these 121 polling districts a sample of 930 families was taken, chosen on the basis of every twenty-fifth name from the voters lists. A similar sampling in the 104 residential polling districts of Peel South yielded 1106 families. From the assessment rolls it was then possible to determine the assessed value of house and property as well as the occupation of the head of the household. In the 66 apartment polling districts of Mississauga a total of 118 buildings were sampled for the assessed value of a two bedroom apartment. It should be noted that the number of apartment and residential polls considered in Peel South does not sum to 166 due to cases of double counting where an area is equally divided into residential and apartment dwellings, or in the case of very large apartment buildings which constitute two polling districts.

Due to the nature of buildings involved in the Dovercourt riding, clear cut definitions of rental and owner occupied areas were not easily determined as was possible in Peel South, where only a few polls included a mixture of residential and apartment buildings. Size, as well as composition, was also more varied in Dovercourt where the number of voters per poll varied from 60 to 458; whereas in Peel South each polling district was delimited to include approximately 200 to 350 voters, although exceptions to this do appear. This occurs primarily in the case of nursing homes and
apartment buildings where a single building may constitute its own polling district.

METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve some degree of areal generalization, three strategies have been used in previous electoral studies to interpret voting results. First, by applying political sociology hypotheses of voter behaviour by social class to the actual voting returns it is possible to compare and correlate the results. Second, it is possible to compare political behaviour and social environment at different scales or different time periods. Third, it is possible to infer from correlations of aggregate statistics the behaviour of individual voters.

The first strategy has been the one chosen for use in this study, primarily because the other two are fraught with inherent weaknesses. Any time series analysis starts with the assumption that social group and party ideology will remain constant over time, at best a dubious assumption. Attempting to derive individual implications from correlations of aggregate data might also be considered methodologically unsound since the variables used are percentages, descriptive properties of groups, not descriptive properties of individuals. In an attempt to do this one would encounter what is
often referred to as Robinson's dilemma, which states that one cannot safely draw inferences about individual behaviour on the basis of aggregate data on a given population. In this paper, however, this problem has been avoided since it is the areal distributions themselves which are of interest, not individual implications.

In order to carry out an individual correlation analysis one would need personal survey data showing how individuals voted as well as their socio-economic characteristics. Such information is normally expensive to obtain either by means of personal interviews or by mailed questionnaires. Problems are also involved in obtaining an accurate population sample from questionnaire response as has been shown by both Jewett and Smith who found distinct response rate biases by social class.

The technique chosen for this study was that of ecological correlation, which uses a group rather than an individual as its basic unit, especially in cases where properties of individuals are not available. It should be noted that, mathematically, ecological correlations can not be used as substitutes for individual correlations, although it is theoretically possible for both to yield the same result. Ecological correlation however usually results in considerably higher correlation coefficients than does individual correlation. While ecological correlation implies, and is math-
ematically more accurate as a weighted correlation between N pairs of X and Y percentages which describe sub-groups, the ecological correlations involved in this study are computed without the refinement of weighting the sub-groups, since the numerical difference would be negligible with such a large sample of sub-groups involved.30

THE RESULTS FROM THE CONSTITUENCIES

As previously stated, it is the purpose of this paper to apply political sociology hypotheses of voter behaviour by social class, to the actual voting returns for the constituencies of Peel South and Dovercourt, and to identify through correlation and regression techniques, areal regularities between socio-economic groups and voting patterns.

Attempts have been made to test the following hypotheses.

1. Participation in the electoral process is a partial function of socio-economic status.

2. Voter participation varies as a partial function of home ownership.

3. Voter participation is a partial function of party affiliation.
4. Party affiliation will vary as a partial function of economic status and occupation of the head of the household.

5. Party affiliation exhibits 'friends and neighbours' characteristics.

Participation, measured as the percentage turnout of eligible voters, tended to support the hypothesis that electoral participation varies as a function of socio-economic status. This relationship was observable, not only within single constituencies, but over the whole Metropolitan Toronto area. The less affluent central city constituencies consistently recorded participation levels as much as five and six percent below the metropolitan average. This relationship may be seen in Map 3. Demographic shifts have resulted in lower socio-economic characteristics in the central city area as upwardly mobile persons migrate outward. As a result, the reality of political participation in the metropolitan area resembles a simplified version of the Burgess concentric zone model. The seven central city ridings, extending from Parkdale in the west to Riverdale in the east, all exhibit voter participation rates below the metropolitan average, however as you progress outward from this central area rates of voter turnout steadily increase. Deviations in the pattern naturally occur in some cases where
MAP #3

Areas of less than average voter participation are shown by lighter shading.
extremely strong candidates are fielded in a riding which one would normally expect to have a lower turnout on the basis of socio-economic characteristics. Consistent with expectations, a comparison of the relatively affluent suburbah riding of Peel South with central city Dovercourt riding shows Peel South with an 8.2 percent greater turnout. These results can be seen to be consistently true by comparing the turnout of the ridings bordering on Peel South with those adjoining Dovercourt.

Within a communications network as set out by Cox, the sources of relevant political cues are likely to increase with personal mobility and greater perceived action space of the individual. Since people with the largest action space are subjected to the greatest number of cues it is reasonable to assume that a higher percentage response will be recorded by this group. Sociologically, high socio-economic groups are likely to have larger action spaces than lower groups. In most residential situations this wealthy and politically active group tends to be located in the suburbs so high participation rates in the suburbs are generally expected, due both to social position and personal mobility.

Within the two constituencies, an analysis of participation in terms of socio-economic status, as measured by property assessment, yielded conflicting results. In Dovercourt, where assessment
values do not vary as greatly as in Peel South, a correlation coefficient was obtained which possessed a negative value despite the fact that it was not statistically significant. This would tend to imply that voter turnout actually decreased in areas with higher property values. The correlation coefficient, however, is well below the level required for even a 5% level of significance. The correlation and regression results summarized in Table 4 show that in the case of Dovercourt an analysis of percent voter turnout by polling district in terms of the average home assessment by polling district yielded a correlation coefficient of -.1260 for the 119 pairs of data units. For the relationship to be significant, however, a correlation coefficient of .178 would be required at the 5% level. This would mean that if this magnitude of correlation was achieved there would only be a 5% chance that the relationship was randomly derived.

The Peel South area of Mississauga yielded dramatically different results from those in Dovercourt. In an area possessing great diversity of socio-economic neighbourhoods, the average property assessment in some districts reached levels four times as great as in others. Not surprising then was the observed strong positive relationship between voter turnout and residential property assessment. In a situation where a correlation coefficient of .250 would be significant at the 1% level, or would indicate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X Variable</th>
<th>Y Variable</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>C.C. for Significance</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>C.C. for Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Turnout</td>
<td>Home Assessment</td>
<td>.4496</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>-.1260</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Turnout</td>
<td>Apt. Assessment</td>
<td>.3367</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Turnout</td>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>.3420</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>-.1286</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Turnout</td>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>-.4611</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>-.1560</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Turnout</td>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>.2908</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.2602</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>Home Assessment</td>
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<td>104</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>.1087</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>Home Assessment</td>
<td>-.7305</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>-.2151</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>Home Assessment</td>
<td>.3218</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>.0983</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>Apt. Assessment</td>
<td>.4719</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>Apt. Assessment</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>Apt. Assessment</td>
<td>.3156</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>-.7772</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>-.3582</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>-.4318</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>-.4518</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>-.1036</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>-.5590</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n/a not applicable
that in 99% of all cases that the resulting correlation could not be randomly attainable, the actual correlation coefficient derived was .4496. Obviously this is well above the required level and clearly indicates that voter participation rises with increased socio-economic status.

This same basic relationship can be seen in a correlation of voter participation rates with apartment assessment in Peel South. The major difference between the correlations using apartment assessment and the ones using home assessment as criteria was in the strength of apparent relationships. Where correlations between home assessment and participation showed a strong relationship in Peel South, the strength of the relationship between apartment assessment and voter participation is much lower, although it is still statistically significant at the one percent level. The fact that apartment dwellers are not as great participants is consistent with Cox's hypotheses regarding electoral behaviour of migrant populations. These people have not experienced the same assimilation factors as have groups of homeowners since nearly the whole group are new residents, with no 'old guard' with which to come in contact. Apartment dwellers in the case of Mississauga, are almost certain to have moved within the past five years, due to the large number of new apartment buildings occupied within the last few years. As a result, the same degree of social
stability is not witnessed as in the case of homeowners. This is reflected in the participation rate. As can be seen in Map 4, the apartment districts along Highway 10 in the north west sector of the Peel South study area and along Bloor Street East in the north east sector, show considerably lower participation rates than the surrounding residential areas. In most cases the participation rate in apartment polling districts was between fifty and sixty percent, with many polls below a fifty percent rate of turnout. Residential polling districts, on the other hand, rarely fell below a sixty percent rate of voter turnout, and were generally in the seventy to eighty percent turnout range. Sociological characteristics of apartment dwellers, such as age and income level, also act as indirect factors in making their participation level lower than that in residential areas.

One aspect of electoral studies which political geographers need to look at more closely is the differences in voter behaviour and characteristics in apartment and residential areas. In Peel South the sample of 118 apartment buildings exhibited much greater socio-economic homogeneity than the residential polling districts, when taken in the context of the whole riding rather than by individual neighbourhoods. With greater socio-economic homogeneity, one would assume that, politically, the vote by party would be more evenly distributed than in economically polarized
areas. This concept of more uniform party support in apartment areas, as compared to residential areas, can be seen in a comparison of the correlations of assessment to percent vote by party for both apartment and residential polling districts. As the following table indicates, areas of single family residential dwellings collectively tend to exhibit greater polarization of the New Democratic and Conservative vote than do apartment polling districts, in the context of the same community. Not only is the correlation

**TABLE 5**

*Vote Polarization in Mississauga*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X Variable</th>
<th>Y Variable</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Observations</th>
<th>C.C. for Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>Home Assess.</td>
<td>.6899</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193 .250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>Home Assess.</td>
<td>-.7305</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193 .250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>Home Assess.</td>
<td>.3218</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.193 .250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Conservative</td>
<td>Apt. Assess.</td>
<td>.4719</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241 .311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% New Democrat</td>
<td>Apt. Assess.</td>
<td>-.5207</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241 .311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Liberal</td>
<td>Apt. Assess.</td>
<td>.3156</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>.241 .311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

coefficient itself higher in the residential polling districts, but since the sample size is also larger, the correlation coefficient required for significance is smaller. Thus the differential between achieved and required coefficients is far greater for res-
identical areas than for apartment districts.

The relationship between socio-economic status and voter participation may be seen more clearly by a more detailed look at distinct socio-economic neighbourhoods in Mississauga. In the Peel South riding it is readily apparent from Map 5 that distinct spatial pockets of high and low assessment values exist. Low assessment districts in the south-eastern part of the Peel South study area, a section known as Lakeview, not surprisingly, also exhibits low levels of voter turnout. The polling districts in this area, with an average assessment of $19,873, only have a turnout rate of sixty-five percent. In comparison, those polling districts of high socio-economic status to the west of Highway 10 have an average assessment of $43,991 and a turnout rate of over seventy-seven percent. Between these two polarized socio-economic neighbourhoods is a transition zone of more middle class housing, with an average property assessment of $28,109 and a voter participation rate of seventy-three percent. These same results may be approximated by a comparison of the lower, middle and upper assessment areas of Peel South running from south to north rather than from east to west as was done in the example. In addition to verifying the hypothesis that participation in the electoral process is partially a function of socio-economic status, these results bear out Lane's assertion that there is a kind of declining marginal productivity of income on participation.
These same type of results were not obtained in the Dovercourt riding for a number of reasons. As Maps 6 and 7, on pages 44 and 45, indicate there are no clearly defined pockets of high voter turnout or areas of distinct socio-economic characteristics. One contiguous area of high assessment does exist, however the rest of the riding tends to be quite uniform, with only minor variations in assessment level. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a correlation coefficient between assessment and voter participation which is not statistically significant. Perhaps the most plausible reason for the inability to identify spatially distinct socio-economic neighbourhoods within the riding was the size of the riding itself. Where the study area of Peel South riding covered an area of approximately eighteen square miles, the much more densely populated and geographically compact Dovercourt riding was only about three square miles in size. Therefore, where it was possible to identify neighbourhoods in Peel South, Dovercourt might more properly be considered a neighbourhood, or part of a neighbourhood, in the context of Metropolitan Toronto. Murdie, in fact, classified the area surrounding and including Dovercourt as being part of the Italian ethnic neighbourhood. As such, Dovercourt will exhibit its own characteristics, both socio-economically and politically, but it is unlikely to display sharp internal divisions. Generalized trends or tendencies may however be observed in the riding, particularly in a north-south orientation.
DOVERCOURT VOTER TURNOUT

- less than 60%
- 60 to 70%
- 70 to 80%
- over 80%

Scale: 1 inch to .6 miles
MAP 7

DOVERCOURT ASSESSMENT LEVEL

- Less than $2000
- $2000 to $2500
- $2500 to $3000
- $3000 to $3500
- $3500 to $4000
- over $4000

Scale: 1 inch to .6 miles
It has often been postulated that the occupation of the head of the household may have a significant effect on the electoral activity of the household. Although this factor will likely play a more decisive role in the nature of the electoral activity in which the person engages, it would be assumed that all political activity, including voter participation rates, will be affected. The following table shows occupation categories for Dovercourt and Peel South ridings. The fact that occupational status is much higher in Peel South than in Dovercourt might partially account for the eight percent difference in voter participation, since the 'underdog' element is considerably smaller in Peel South. At the same time, the Peel South riding appears to be over-representative of professional and managerial class occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Peel South</th>
<th></th>
<th>Dovercourt</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/managerial</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labour</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired / student</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccounted for *</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* assessment records do not indicate type of employment
In order to determine the extent to which occupational status affects voter participation within the individual constituency, the districts of Peel South with over 80% and under 65% voter turnout have been analyzed for the occupation of the head of the household, as have those districts in Dovercourt above 75% and below 60%. The limits are 5% lower in Dovercourt in order to reflect the lower average participation rate and to establish an upper boundary which would yield a sufficient sample size. These areas, however, only include polling districts composed of single family dwellings, in the case of Peel South.

### TABLE 7
**Participation and Occupational Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turnout</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peel South</td>
<td>80%+</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65% -</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dovercourt</td>
<td>75%+</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60% -</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Peel South again shows strong contrasts in the voting characteristics of its population, particularly in the geographic location of the professional and managerial classes. Nearly half
of the households in areas with over eighty percent voter turnout could be classified as professional or managerial, however only four percent of those in districts with less than a sixty-five percent turnout could be so classified. In these low turnout districts 49.5 percent of the households were headed by unskilled labourers. The occupational component, as well as the home assessment surrogate for income which yielded a high positive correlation with voter turnout, indicate that in Peel South social class has a very definite affect upon voter participation.

In Dovercourt, where social class is more uniformly distributed spatially due to greater socio-economic homogeneity, the occupational and assessment results do not lead to any conclusive findings. Among the professional classes there was a slight tendency to be located in districts which displayed a somewhat higher participation level, although this feature is not as pronounced as it was in Peel South. It might also be noted that in both ridings there is a much greater tendency for polling districts containing a large number of retired persons or students to experience lower rates of voter participation, possibly as a result of lower mobility among this group or possibly as a result of lack of feeling of political efficacy. In both cases the percentage of the population retired or students was nearly twice as great in areas of low voter participation as in districts with high participation rates.
The second hypothesis to be tested stated that "voter participation varies as a partial function of home ownership." Although the results from just two ridings cannot be considered conclusive, it would appear that the hypothesis is indeed valid. In Mississauga, as mentioned earlier in the paper, the study area could be readily divided into apartment and residential districts with little overlapping of the two. It was also fortunate that less than two percent of the single family residential dwellings were not owner occupied. Since this percentage was so small it was overlooked when calculations were made, the assumption being that single family residential districts constituted one hundred percent owner occupancy. Apartment districts were considered one hundred percent tenant occupied. A comparison of the participation rates in the two types of districts would appear to confirm the hypothesis that electoral participation rises with home ownership. For the 104 poll-districts composed of home owners a participation rate of 73.2 percent was determined, compared to a rate of only 63.2 percent in districts composed entirely of tenants.

In Dovercourt, where in a sampling of 930 families, 53 % of which were home owners and 47 % tenants, the average participation rate was 65.3 percent. This was between the two rates achieved in Peel South, although considerably lower than the over all average in the Peel South riding.
The third hypothesis, that "voter participation is partially a function of party affiliation" would also appear to be validated. In Peel South strong correlation coefficients were derived for voter turnout and percentage vote Conservative and New Democrat, although the New Democratic coefficient indicated a strong negative relationship. Although not as strong as either of the other two, the coefficient for turnout and percent Liberal was positive and statistically significant at the one percent level of confidence.

The figures show that areas which voted strongly Conservative in the election were the same areas that experienced the highest rates of voter participation. At the same time, an even stronger negative relationship indicates that the stronger New Democratic support was in a district, the lower the rate of voter participation. Liberal support rose with turnout, but not as strongly as Conservative support. This measure alone, however, does not give a complete picture of the situation, since it is impossible to tell from it whether high percentages of voter turnout are the result of efficient party organization or whether politically conscious people identify with the Conservative Party. In order to determine this, correlations were carried out using vote by party and correlating it with home and apartment assessments, as well as with the vote for the other two parties.
While there may be a relationship between voter participation and vote by party within a single constituency, the results in that one area may not be applicable to other ridings. Broad generalizations such as "highest participation rates are found in strong Conservative areas", while they may hold true in some ridings, are not universally applicable. This point is illustrated by comparing Peel South and Dovercourt constituencies. Where there was a strong positive relationship between turnout and Conservative vote in Peel South, not only was the relationship not statistically significant in Dovercourt, but it was negative. As already mentioned, local party organization may play some part in this relationship, but other socio-economic, religious or ethnic factors which vary from one area to the next may alter the relationship, as would the local political tradition.

The two hypotheses regarding party preference in relation to socio-economic characteristics of the voters and their geographic location, are based on the premise that it is possible to spatially identify political neighbourhoods which correspond with socio-economic neighbourhoods. In Maps 8 and 9 on the following pages, distinct areas of strong New Democratic and Conservative Party support can be readily identified. Concentrations of Liberal Party strength are not as easily identified due to the lower range in the percentage vote for the Liberals. Their greatest support, however,
MAP 8
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

- less than 40%
- 40 to 50%
- 50 to 60%
- 60 to 70%
- over 70%

Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile
MAP 9
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

less than 10%
10 to 20%
20 to 30%
30 to 40%
40 to 50%
over 50%

Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile
MAP 10
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY

- less than 20%
- 20 to 30%
- over 30%

Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile
is found concentrated in the area of north-east Peel South, for reasons which will be discussed later.

In the riding of Peel South, the belief that political pattern would follow very closely with socio-economic patterns would appear to have been validated. Areas of high Conservative vote tended to correlate very strongly with areas of high home and apartment assessments, with a good positive relationship between assessment level and degree of Conservative vote. This relationship may be seen graphically in Maps 5 and 8 which show a very distinct concentration of Conservative votes in the polling districts to the west of Highway 10 in the western extreme of the study area, an area which also displays the highest assessments in Peel South, averaging from $40,000 to upwards of $60,000. Together with the fact that sixty-five percent of the household heads were employed in either professional or managerial capacities, this would obviously indicate that the neighbourhood was one of high social and economic status. Consistent with expectations for such a neighbourhood, voter participation was very high, in no case below 70 percent. The strength of local identification with the Conservative party was also witnessed in the fact that in this one neighbourhood the percent voting Conservative was twice as great as those voting for the other two parties combined. Obviously then Foladare is correct in saying that living in a neighbourhood with high concentrations
of people of the same status will concentrate the effect of status as a source of political behaviour. 31

While the climate of political opinion in the neighbourhood is important for shaping the political responses of migrants to the area, through information biases and pressure for conformity, there is also an important aspect of having a high status neighbourhood in a community, which is brought out by Peter Regenstreif. 32

"The importance of these high status groups cannot be overestimated, for while their members are relatively few in number in comparison with the entire electorate they are the "opinion leaders" in their communities. The process of information flow in public affairs is usually downward. Persons looking for advice on political matters tend to look to those of higher status for guidance. When the ideology of an open class system prevails, as it does in most of Canada, then this is yet another factor turning all eyes toward them and acting to reinforce aspirations of upward mobility. In an atmosphere in which questions of 'status' and economics loomed large this 'opinion leadership' was significant.

It would therefore seem likely that the political attitudes and voting patterns of the upper class are more likely to be witnessed in the middle class areas than would any unique attributes held by lower social classes.

This middle socio-economic group in Peel South, with assessments in the $25,000 to $40,000 range, was primarily located in a wide belt from the Queen Elizabeth Highway to Highway 5, but including the polling districts on either side of these in the eastern part of the riding. Where one would normally expect a some-
what more even distribution of votes by party, nearly all polling
districts recorded between fifty and seventy percent of the vote
for the Conservatives. Most of the remaining vote in the area, as
was also true in the high social class area, went to the Liberal
rather than the New Democratic Party. The fact that in an area
where the largest single occupational group was composed of skilled
labourers or salesmen, the presence of a large group of professional
and managerial persons may have provided the opinion leadership, as
postulated by Regenstreif. From this it would appear that the middle
class felt that their political loyalties lay closer to those of the
upper than the lower class.

The spatial identification of a concentration of New
Democratic Party support was the most clearly defined of any of the
three parties, as seen in Map 9. The main concentration of this New
Democratic strength was found in south-eastern Mississauga in an area
known as Lakeview, composed largely of mid-1940's vintage single
storey frame houses. Economically, the area is dominated by assess-
ments of less than $20,000 although some are in the $20,000 to $25,
000 range. Occupational data for these polling districts showed 65
family heads employed in unskilled positions, 27 in skilled labour
or sales positions but only 2 in professional or managerial positions.
In all of the polls in this district the New Democratic Party achieved
either a majority or plurality of the vote. Map 4, on page 39, also
indicates the low levels of voter participation achieved in this
neighbourhood, the turnout in any given polling district not being
greater than seventy percent. As Milbrath suggests, a sense of pol-
tical efficacy may be missing among lower socio-economic groups,
especially in the case of this group when they are minority party
supporters.

As Table 4, on page 36, indicates, there is a very strong
rejection of the Conservatives as well as a significant rejection of
the Liberals in districts of New Democratic support. Conversely, the
political ideology of the New Democrats can be seen to be strongly
opposed in areas of Conservative or Liberal strength, although these
parties are not mutually exclusive. A correlation between Conservative
and New Democratic vote indicated a very strong inverse relationship.
In an area where either of these parties did well the other did very
poorly. A similar, although not quite as strong relationship was
found between the Liberal and New Democratic parties. These figures
would seem to indicate that party ideology was much closer between
the Conservative and Liberal parties than between either of these
two and the New Democratic Party.

Since highly contiguous political neighbourhoods could be
identified which corresponded almost perfectly with socio-economic
neighbourhoods the main hypothesis would appear to be valid, at least
for the riding of Peel South.
In Dovercourt riding the possibilities of distinguishing distinct political neighbourhoods were not as great since socio-economic characteristics did not vary as much throughout the riding as in Peel South. As discussed earlier in the paper, due to its much smaller geographic extent, Dovercourt might more properly be considered to be part of a neighbourhood rather than an area which separate neighbourhoods are going to exist. While no spatially distinct neighbourhoods may be identified within the Dovercourt riding, general trends between the northern and southern portions may be noted due to the elongated nature of the riding.

Of the two correlations which displayed statistical significance in Dovercourt, the inverse relationship between percentage vote for the N.D.P. and home assessment was consistent with the findings in Peel South. As the assessed value of property rises by area, the strength of New Democratic Party support declines. Both other parties however show a positive relationship between assessment and party support, even though in Dovercourt the correlation coefficients were not high enough to be of statistical significance. This correspondence between New Democratic strength and property assessment may be seen in a comparison of Maps 12 and 7. There is a general decline of property values from north to south and a gradual increase in percentage vote for the NDP as you move southward. A similar southward decline in the level of voter turnout may be seen in Map 6, however
MAP 11

PERCENTAGE VOTE CONSERVATIVE

- less than 20 %
- 20 to 30 %
- 30 to 40 %
- 40 to 50 %
- over 50 %

Scale: 1 inch to .6 miles
MAP 12

PERCENTAGE VOTE NEW DEMOCRATIC

- less than 20 %
- 20 to 30 %
- 30 to 40 %
- 40 to 50 %
- over 50 %

Scale: 1 inch to .6 miles
MAP 13

PERCENTAGE VOTE LIBERAL PARTY

- Less than 20 %
- 20 to 30 %
- 30 to 40 %
- 40 to 50 %
- over 50 %

Scale: 1 inch to .6 miles
A correlation between voter turnout and percentage vote for the NDP did not produce a significant correlation coefficient, although an inverse relationship was noted.

A very high degree of Liberal support may be identified in the northern section of Dovercourt despite the fact that the Liberals placed third in the total number of votes polled in the riding as a whole. This pocket of support cannot be explained in terms of assessment levels since the correlation between assessment and percentage voting Liberal was far below the level required for significance. One possible reason for this strength might be the ethnic-religious factor which this paper has avoided due to lack of data. This northern section is heavily populated by Italian Catholics who would tend to vote Liberal on the basis of that party's stand in favour of greater funding of separate school education.

As Map 11 and Table 4 indicate, Conservative support in the Dovercourt riding tended to be quite evenly distributed spatially although a slight tendency was seen for areas of higher assessment values to be somewhat stronger in their support of the Conservative party than were areas of low assessment. This relationship, however, was not pronounced and was not even statistically significant at the five percent level of confidence. Thus, distinct political neighbourhoods could not be found to correspond to socio-economic neighbourhoods in Dovercourt riding, since neither could be spatially identified.
CONCLUSION

While previous studies by such people as Anderson, Meisel and McDonald felt that religion and ethnicity were important as determinants of electoral behaviour, it is the conclusion of this paper that social class and neighbourhood values, particularly in a suburban context, are the major determinant of voting patterns. As Regenstrief points out, \(^{33}\)

"while religious affiliation does have some influence in suburban communities in Central Canada, its importance is essentially peripheral. Suburbanites seem to be undergoing all sorts of social dislocations from older, more traditional and established patterns. Religion is taking a new and different meaning in the life of these people. It is social and oriented toward secular and neighbourhood values rather than group-identified or personal and therefore its consequences here are mitigated by more powerful forces impinging upon the individual."

With increasing rates of suburbanization and demographic movement in Canada, societal values are changing, with the result that religious affiliation and ethnicity are declining in importance as determinants of voter behaviour. However the willingness of people to distinguish among themselves on the basis of social class and residential location has not diminished. Indeed it is possible that within the collective suburban anonymity a voter's major tie to his neighbours may be social status derived from attributes such as income, occupation, education, home ownership and residential area. It can be, and has been argued, that in urbanized areas of Ontario, the middle
class persists in dividing itself along racial and religious lines in support of the two older parties, while the working class is increasingly turning to the New Democratic Party and the upper class to the Conservative Party. This study has shown this phenomenon to be true not only on a provincial or federal scale but also within single constituencies. Political opinion can be spatially identified as being coincidental with socio-economic neighbourhoods.
FOOTNOTES


3. Brian Land, op. cit., p. 70-71

4. Rick Van Loon, op. cit., p. 384

5. cited in Milbrath, op. cit., p. 120

6. Rick Van Loon, op. cit., p. 385


8. L.W. Milbrath, op. cit., p. 111

10. Nie, et al., op. cit., p. 817

11. IBID, p. 825

12. IBID, p. 820

13. IBID, p. 819


17. R. Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics, p. 140

18. IBID, p. 125


23. *IBID*, p. 137

24. *IBID*, p. 127

25. *IBID*, p. 117


27. Necessary data from the 1971 census is not available at the time of writing.


29. P. Jewett, *op. cit.*

D. Smith, "Questionnaire Response, Voter Turnout and Party Support" in Courtney (ed) *Voting in Canada*


31. Foladare, *op. cit.*, p. 525

32. Regenstreif, *op. cit.*, p. 239

33. *IBID*, p. 244
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City of Toronto Assessment Rolls
Dovercourt Provincial Riding Voters Lists
Ontario Elections: Returns from the Records
Peel South Provincial Riding Voters Lists
Town of Mississauga Assessment Rolls