POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS IN AN AT-LARGE SYSTEM

POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS IN AN AT-LARGE

MUNICIPAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM

(CITY OF GUELPH 1972 AND 1974)

by

JACQUELINE SUSAN WOLFE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

1975

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1975)   McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(GEOGRAPHY)   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Political Information Channels in an At-Large Municipal
         Electoral System   (City of Guelph 1972 and 1974)

AUTHOR: Jacqueline Susan Wolfe   B.A. (Oxford University)
                                M.A. (University of Pittsburgh)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Andrew F. Burghardt

NUMBER OF PAGES: xvi,   343

SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis develops a conceptual model appropriate to the at-large multi-candidate non-partisan electoral system. The model selected is an integrated information channel model which places candidates, channels and electors within a single framework. The model is tested using data from the 1972 City of Guelph municipal election. Candidate selection and use of social and media channels, and elector use and reception of information are traced and linked to the output, a vote. One social channel, neighbours, is selected for detailed investigation utilizing data from three residential areas collected during the 1974 City of Guelph municipal election. The purpose is to investigate the role of personal interaction: i) between neighbours within a narrowly defined neighbourhood, and ii) between neighbours of a local candidate, in order to clarify the functioning of the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect.

ABSTRACT

This thesis develops a model of political information flow appropriate to the under-studied at-large, non-partisan, multi-candidate municipal electoral system. The model integrates those three elements usually treated as separate entities, namely the candidates, the channels and the electors. Focus is on the many channels, both social and media, which link the candidates and the electors. Candidates make information inputs into channels which they select on the basis of their perception of the channels and their available resources. Elector reception of information is dependent upon their customary use of information channels, candidate use of the channels and the ability of the channel to effect contact. It is suggested that elector output, the vote, is a function of elector response to the information and to the channel which conveys it. One personal channel, neighbours, emphasised in the literature as a significant explanatory variable, is selected for detailed study. The contribution of neighbours as a political information channel to the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect is investigated.

The integrated, multi-channel political information model is successfully developed and tested by applying it to the 1972 City of Guelph, Ontario municipal election. It is used to evaluate channel utilisation strategies, channel contact effectiveness and channel influence. Both social and media channels are found to be important,

but those long term social and media contact channels linking electors and candidates are found to be most significant. These favour the incumbents and those non-incumbents who have been able to develop and utilise these channels over a prolonged period. In the particular context of the Guelph municipal election the local newspaper, and the social channels of work associates, business contacts and friends are found to be especially effective in making contact between candidate and elector and influencing the outcome, or vote. Neighbours are of less significance as a channel than the literature had indicated.

When a Neighbours' Model was developed and tested, by application to the 1974 Guelph municipal election, neighbours were found to be less important than friends and other social channels. The exception was when a local candidate was involved. Then considerable differences were identified between areas that were superficially similar. In the older stable residential neighbourhoods, neighbours were familiar with, discussed and supported their local candidate, but in the newer areas non-local candidates were as well or better known than the local candidate, more discussion took place with friends and work associates and non-local candidates elicited equal or higher levels of support. The contribution of the neighbours' social contact channel to the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect is more variable and more complex than the existing literautre has indicated.

The integrated multi-channel model and the neighbours model are here developed and applied specifically to illumine the functioning of

the at-large, non-partisan electoral system, but could prove useful in comparative studies of partisan and non-partisan, ward and at-large systems at the municipal level. The integrated multi-channel model could also provide an integrative framework for the study of the partisan systems at higher governmental levels.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

SECTION A: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS IN AN AT-LARGE

NON-PARTISAN MUNICIPAL ELECTION

I.1 The Functioning of Electoral Systems

Electoral laws govern the spatial organisation of a political

system, establish its boundaries, and set the rules by which representa-

tives are selected. The rules themselves thus have a significant impact

on the election outcome (Taylor, 1973). The way in which the partici-

pants in the election, the candidates and the electors, behave is in

considerable part governed by the spatial organisation of the polity in

which the election occurs. As Kasperson (1969) observes:

> "whereas other aspects, ... of urban political structure
> have been examined with meticulous care, the relevance
> of the spatial organisation of the polity to the functioning
> of the system remains unestablished. Is it possible to
> determine the impact of the spatial system upon the
> representatives of various peoples and interests, upon
> electoral competition, and upon the functioning of the
> system as a whole?" (p. 17).

In other words, the hierarchical and horizontal formal political

organisation of areas and its impact upon individuals and groups func-

tioning politically within the system is of vital concern to the political

geographer. Hagerstrand (in Chorley, 1973) indeed makes a case for this

1

being the central concern of all human geography!

Municipal political systems have, for the most part, been of secondary interest; most studies have focused on the national or provincial (state) level. And yet decisions made at this level affect day-to-day living, and it is at this level at which participation of the public in the political process could be (though it is not) most widespread.

Few studies have been made of the functioning of non-partisan electoral systems. The party dominated, issue oriented systems monopolise the literature. The distribution and explanation of partisan voting patterns is the central concern. Yet many municipal electoral systems in North America, and particularly in Ontario, are non-partisan. For this reason, too, at-large electoral systems have been virtually ignored, since they tend both to be non-partisan and occur at the municipal level.

The at-large, multi-candidate system imposes constraints upon the candidates and electors in an election, different from those imposed by a ward system. In what ways are the constraints imposed by an at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system different from those imposed by other, better documented, systems? How do the participants respond? Are the theoretical constructs developed for the partisan, ward, national or provincial electoral systems appropriate to the functioning of an at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system?

Within the general question of the process which affects an individual's voting decision, (with which political scientists and sociologists are both concerned) geographers have recently concentrated on the related problems of location and distance. Is there any significance in the relative location of candidate and electors? Is distance a key element

in the voting decision? In what way does distance mediate in the communication process to affect a voting decision? Is social connectivity as significant as physical distance?

Several geographers, working with electoral returns at scales ranging from state-wide (Reynolds, 1969) to city-wide (Johnston, 1973) have identified a spatial pattern of voting response which is not readily explained by traditional socio-economic status associations. The pattern, a decrease in favourable voting intensity with increasing distance from a candidate's place of residence, has been termed by Reynolds (1969) a Friends-and-Neighbours Effect. Johnston (1973) termed it an Individual Effect. Both postulated that it occurred because of decreasing familiarity of the electorate with the candidate with increasing distance from the candidate's home, and attributed this in turn to the pattern of social contacts between neighbours and friends.

Borrowing concepts from research into the diffusion of innovations, and particularly building on the concept of individual and mean information fields and personal acquaintance networks, Cox, in a series of papers (1969) conceptualised the process of political information flow. He attempted to develop explanatory models for both the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect and a somewhat similar pattern, the tendency of persons in contiguous areas to vote the same way, variously termed the Neighbourhood Effect or the Contextual Effect in the literature. He suggested that both these tendencies could be attributed to characteristics of social contact networks; the spacing, and therefore distance between individuals, and the degree of social connectivity between them. Discussion of the local candidate takes place via the informal social contacts,

neighbours and friends, and thus information about him is transmitted

outwards. Formal social contacts, such as clubs and organisations tend

to transcend the immediate locale, and transfer information over greater

distances. Moreover, it is through social contact and political discussion

that persons resident in an area tend towards a similar political orienta-

tion.

· It is suggested, however, that the contribution of these processes

to either a Friends-and-Neighbours or a Neighbourhood Effect is highly

scale dependent, since a network of informal or formal social contacts

which might produce a distance decay in voting support at a state-wide

level would probably produce a flattened surface of widespread support

at the city level. The meaning of neighbours and neighbourhood varies

considerably from study to study. The neighbourhood and neighbours in

this study is that residential area immediately adjacent to a person's

residence. The definition is practical and based on a literature

suggesting that an individual's definition of his neighbourhood is

spatially highly restricted, and that while friends may be scattered

across the city, the social contacts viewed as neighbours live in the

immediate vicinity.

While Reynolds, Cox, Johnston and others have identified a Neighbour-

hood Effect and a Friends-and-Neighbours Effect, there has been little

detailed investigation of the processes at work. Studies have documented

the partisan conversion effect upon new residents of a different political

persuasion to that of the majority of area residents, and have attributed

this to informal social contacts within the neighbourhood, or to secondary

group pressures exerted by the neighbourhood social milieu, without

documenting actual social interaction. In both cases, however, the
neighbourhood effect has been identified from aggregate data on voting
response and neighbourhood characteristics, not from data documenting
social contacts, political discussion and subsequent conversion. Fitton
(1972) examined social interaction between neighbours on three working
class residential streets in England and combined this data with informa-
tion on socio-economic status, length of residence, and political bias,
to make inferences about the effect of neighbourhood on political orien-
tation, but did not collect direct data on neighbourhood discussion of
politics.

The majority of election studies relate election outcome to certain
attributes of the voting public; for example, their socio-economic
characteristics, or, more recently, their attitudes to party and candi-
date (Campbell, et al., 1960). Other studies have emphasized the role
of the mass media as an influence on voting results. Yet others stress
the role of personal communication, either in the form of party political
canvassing, or alternatively, political discussion with formal and informal
social contacts. Party communication strategy and its relationship with
the voting outcome; sources of partisan information and their influence
on the elector; the partisan politicisation of the electorate; these have
been treated in detail. But little attempt has been made to develop an
integrated model of political communication, linking candidates and
electors within, as indicated above, the spatial framework of a particular
type of polity.

Controversy exists over the relative importance of the media as an
information channel, or alternatively, of social contacts as the most

influential channel. Much of the discrepancy between the findings of different studies is probably attributable to variations in the electoral system within which these channels were investigated. Candidate strategy concerning the use of channels is constrained by the spatial and other attributes of the electoral system the candidate is operating within. Elector reception of information will likewise be similarly affected.

The traditional conceptual and methodological approaches to electoral studies have been designed and applied virtually exclusively to partisan, ward electoral systems. But the non-partisan, at-large electoral system is a different behavioural system: i) lacking the element of party activity, long term party politicisation of the electorate, and party cue; ii) local in scale and restricted in the areal extent of relevant media and social communication channels; and, iii) multi-candidate in competition.

The purpose of this thesis, is, then, to develop a conceptual model and design a method of testing which is appropriate to the at-large, non-partisan electoral system. The conceptual model selected is an integrated information flow model which places candidates, channels and electors within a single framework.

One of the channels, interpersonal contact between neighbours and friends, has been invoked as a key variable in explanations of the Friends-and-Neighbours and Neighbourhood Effect voting patterns. Prior research has indicated that the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect are most likely to operate within a local, multi-candidate, non-partisan electoral system. A subsidiary purpose of this thesis is to develop a model and testing method by which the significance of

interpersonal contact at the level of neighbours can be evaluated.

I.2 Development and Diffusion of the At-Large Non-Partisan Municipal

Electoral System in North America

In both the United States and Canada the electoral system of cities

and towns is usually some combination of a ward or an at-large system

with a partisan or non-partisan system and with a council-mayor or council-

manager system.

In the ward system the town or city is divided into a number of

electoral districts (wards). Each district is represented on the munici-

pal council by one, or in a few cases,.by more than one, elected representa-

tive. The number of candidates competing for the one or two ward seats

may be as few as two or three; it is seldom more than seven or eight.

Consequently, the electorate have a limited number of candidates to choose

between; a limited amount of information to collect to make a choice, and

only one (exceptionally more than one) vote to cast. Once elected to

council the ward representative acts on council as the representative of

the ward, to further and protect ward interests.

The size of the municipal council is determined by the number of

wards the city is divided into, and the number of council members per

ward. Most cities originally were divided into a relatively small number

of wards, perhaps seven, to twelve or thirteen. As cities grew there

was a tendency to increase the number of wards proportionally in order to

maintain the small size of each ward. Consequently the size of the

municipal council increased, in some cases to as large as forty or fifty

members, making for an unwieldy council meeting.

Traditionally, municipal elections in the United States and Canada were held on a partisan basis. That is, candidates were affiliated with, supported by, and representative of, organised, usually national (or provincial or state) political parties. In many cities of the United States a formal party political organisation of workers existed within cities at the local precinct and even block level. The party label functioned as the dominant cue for the electorate to differentiate between candidates. The party functioned as the primary source of information about candidates.

The partisan-ward electoral system is, however, vulnerable to certain abuses of the system. Party control within the ward may coerce, or even force voters to vote the party ticket. Votes may be bought in return for promises of jobs. Within the municipal council, representatives compete to uphold their own ward interests, often to the detriment of comprehensive city planning. A strong voice on council may protect the ward, a weak voice leaves it vulnerable. Trade-offs within council may again be advantageous for the individual ward, but detrimental to sound planning policy and practice.

Excesses of party control, political job patronage and other abuses of the partisan-ward system during the late nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century led to the gradual spread of basic structural change in the municipal electoral system. The "reform movement" with its "model cities charters" (Scott, 1968; Notting; 1969) promoted the adoption by cities of the United States and Canada of the at-large, non-partisan electoral system and the small council-mayor or council-city manager form of municipal government. Initially the new system was

adopted mainly by small and medium sized cities, but over time cities as

large and important as Vancouver in Canada and Detroit in the United

States dropped the ward system in favour of the at-large system of

election and municipal representation.

In the at-large system the city is not subdivided into wards.

Rather, candidates compete against all other candidates in a city-wide

election. Successful candidates are those who receive most votes from

the voters at large, sufficient to fill the allocated number of council

seats. In this system city council usually remains small and manageable

even in a rapidly growing city. The list of candidates is obviously

considerably longer than under the ward system. Voters may usually cast

as many votes as 'there are seats on council, although they are not

compelled to cast the maximum possible number of votes.

Proponents of the reform movement anticipated a number of benefits

of the at-large system. It was hoped that a higher caliber of candidate

would emerge, when the election was released from the ward constraint.

In the ward system, if two high quality candidates were competing in the

same ward one would be eliminated. In council itself, petty infighting

between ward representatives each attempting to further ward interests

at the expense of the rest of the city would be eliminated. Council would

distribute funds, and make locational decisions with either positive or

negative spill-over effects on the basis of sound planning policy.

The reform also urged an end to party politics at the municipal

level, since higher level parties dictated policy and promoted unsavoury

political practises. In Ontario federal and provincial level parties do

not normally enter into municipal politics (Lightbody, 1971). The attempt

of the New Democratic Party to enter Toronto politics in 1968 was not

particularly successful (Clarkson, 1970).

I.l.a System Characteristics

Many studies have attempted to compare and contrast municipal elec-

toral and governmental systems in their various combinations of ward-

partisan, ward-non-partisan, at-large-partisan, at-large-non-partisan

(Alford and Lee, 1968; Banfield and Wilson, 1963). Few firm conclusions

are possible from these analyses. Evidence concerning the functioning of

the alternative systems is inconclusive because of the difference in ward

and city size, timing of elections, and variations in strength of parti-

sanship and non-partisanship (Hawley, 1970).

i. The At-Large and the Ward System Compared

The characteristics and problems of the at-large electoral and

governmental system may be compared with the ward system for such charac-

teristics as candidate selection, representation and government.

Although in specific cases the situation may be reversed, it is

generally the case that there is a much longer list of candidates in the

at-large system than in the ward, since the at-large system involves

selection of all council·members from the same list. As an extreme multi-

candidate example, thirty-seven candidates offered themselves for the

eleven council seats in the City of Guelph in the 1972 municipal election.

The average number of candidates for the two council seats in each ward

in the City of Toronto election in 1974 was roughly seven. In the at-

large system the elector is faced with a serious problem of collecting

and processing information about so many candidates. Most citizens do not have the political motivation to collect information on a large number of candidates. Since the elector may vote for several candidates, his choice may be dictated by familiarity against lack of familiarity, rather than choice dependent upon information about all candidates in sufficient quantity to enable the elector to make an intelligent selection. Moreover, psychological studies suggest that individuals are not capable of ranking many alternatives, when faced with multiple possibilities, as in the at-large election. Several studies conclude that the information collection and assessment problem is a major contributing factor to the lack of interest, political apathy and low voter turnout which is even more characteristic of the at-large than the ward system (Adrian, 1952).

Since most at-large cities are also non-partisan in their electoral system, the information problem is aggravated by the absence in the at-large cities of the usual simple cue of party affiliation, which most electors use to distinguish between candidates, and which determines the vote of many of the voters (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960).

When towns were small, a few thousand citizens, the majority of the candidates were known personally to the electorate and the information problem was not serious, but as urban populations increased in size, the probability that candidates would be known to the voters on a personal level was reduced. This problem exists in the ward system too. Either ward size and population is increased to retain a small, manageable city council, and the information problem within the enlarged ward resembles that of an at-large city, or the number of wards is increased in an attempt to retain the possibility of contact between candidates, and later

representatives and the voter. But since, in the majority of towns and cities, wards are accompanied by a partisan voting system, parties organised at the local level disseminate information and provide this simple identification to the voter.

In the at-large system the information problem posed by the long roster of candidates places a major burden on the local mass media to carry election information, since the local newspapers and local radio station are important purveyors of information (Conway, 1968). If, as is not uncommon, the local media favour certain candidates over others, it may significantly affect the outcome of a local election by controlling the amount and bias of information it carries about individual candidates.

Candidates, too, have to convey information about themselves to the entire voting population of a town or city, not, as in the ward system, to a limited sector of it. This, in a large city, involves the candidate in a significant outlay of time and money. The poorer citizen is, therefore, less likely to come forward as a candidate than in the ward system, especially as in that system he will probably be supported financially, and by party workers, by a partisan political structure.

In the at-large system campaign strategy is the responsibility of the individual candidate, not the responsibility of a party organiser with considerable experience. The onus is on the individual candidate to allocate his limited resources to maximize contacts with the voters and to maximize those contacts which are most likely to produce a favourable voting response.

Although small towns are likely to have a relatively homogenous population, rapidly growing towns and cities are heterogeneous in their

social composition, composed of different ethnic groups, a range of socio-
economic classes, and long term and new residents who tend to be residen-
tially segregated into discrete neighbourhoods (Alford and Scobie, 1965).
Wards, especially small wards, may coincide with such socially discrete
neighbourhoods. Candidates in the ward system can estimate the likely
response of their constituents to a particular issue with greater
certainty, and can decide their own stance on that basis. Candidates
in the at-large system, trying to appeal to the electorate at-large,
have a major personal problem to resolve on the question of issues.
Since the population is heterogeneous it cannot be expected to respond to
in the same way to a specific issue. Candidates therefore risk alienat-
ing significant portions of the voting public if they raise and take firm
stands on issues. Partly on this account at-large elections tend to be
issueless elections (Gilsdorf, 1973). Candidates tend to ignore issues
and stress personality and experience.

The at-large system, then, is considered to be well adapted to towns
with small populations, social homogeneity, and which, because of their
small size, require few major locational decisions on the part of city
council. But as towns increase in size, often very rapidly, they increase
in internal complexity. The heterogeneity of the population of the city
as a whole tends to increase. Inter-neighbourhood ethnic and socio-economic
differences become more pronounced. Divisions between life long residents
of the city and the newcomers, who may soon outnumber them, intensify.
Rapid growth prevents absorbtion of the large numbers of outsiders into
the local social and political system. Problems of contact between
candidates and the electorate, and later elected council and the public

become more acute.

There is, in the at-large system, a striking tendency for incumbents to be returned to office. For example, in the City of Guelph over the past twenty years, only two incumbents have been defeated for return to council, and both of these had initially stated their intention not to run again for office and changed their mind at the last minute. Where many candidates compete for office those most widely known are those whose activities as council members have been reported regularly in the local media over the life of the last council. Since these incumbents also tend to be long term residents of the city, who have also developed a wide network of social contacts within the city, new residents who, in an area of rapid growth may exceed long time residents numerically, are unrepresented or under represented on city council. Such councils, too, tend to be politically conservative in outlook and action.

Once council has been elected, the structure of the electoral system continues to affect the way the council functions and the manner of response of the citizenry to it. In a small town the benefits and disadvantages of locational decisions made by council are likely to be shared by most citizens. As a town increases in population and areal size, locational decisions no longer affect citizens equally. The location of highways, recreational facilities, apartments, shopping plazas, industrial plants and other noxious facilities are unequal in their beneficial or deleterious effect on groups of citizens and neighbourhoods. Council members in the at-large system are better able to plan for the whole city than ward representatives, since they are not influenced by the petty needs of the local ward. However, neighbourhood interests may receive little attention

and weak representation both in the at-large system (Kasperson, 1969)

and in the very heterogeneous large ward system, as in Toronto (Lorimer,

1970). Some areas in an at-large city have no council members, other

areas may produce several. For example, in the City of Guelph, after

the 1972 election, three council members lived on the same street. The

recent growth and increased militancy of ratepayers' associations, neigh-

bourhood councils and other special interest groups attest to the need of

unrepresented citizens to adopt alternative decision-influencing strate-

gies.

Aldermen on small ward councils do protect local interests, though

these, and the need to trade off a gain in one area by a loss in another

may result in piecemeal city development which is detrimental to all

citizens in the long run.

Maintaining accountability of representatives to the electorate is

another system problem in at-large cities. Since council members do not

represent specific areas, it is difficult to hold a council member

accountable for his voting record.

The conflict of interest problem, which has been aired, if not

resolved at political levels above the municipal, is acute at the local

level. Council members contribute to location development decisions which

affect not just the city population as a whole, but which may affect, in

an advantageous way, their own residential neighbourhood, or their own

livelihood.

From the viewpoint of the electorate, the at-large system contributes

to a general lack of political efficacy (Alford and Lee, 1968). In a small

town employing the at-large system, a citizen could go to any one of the

at-large council members known personally to him, or known by repute,
with his problem. In the ward system an individual knows to go
to his ward representative directly for aid. In the growing at-large
system cities, all the evidence suggests that representatives are known
personally and known by repute by a decreasing proportion of the
electorate, and many citizens feel themselves to be unrepresented
(Adrian, 1952; Gilbert, 1962). This results in lack of public interest
in the political system which makes those vital decisions affecting city
development and therefore the daily lives of the citizens. The low
interest level is again reflected in the lack of citizen involvement in
the local elections, dearth of issues and low voter turnout, all so
characteristic of at-large elections.

The at-large system was selected as the electoral context for the
development and evaluation of a model of political information channels
for several reasons. The large number of candidates virtually assures
that little information is available about many of the candidates. This
simplifies the problem of tracing a piece of information through channels
from candidate to elector. The large number of candidates permits
differentiation between the group of incumbents and the group of non-
incumbents. An at-large election gives to every candidate the voting
population of the entire city as potential supporters. Since utilisation
of city-wide media channels is then not spatially wasteful, this may
dispose candidates to use these channels more than in the restricted
structure of the ward system. Finally, an at-large election, where
candidates are residentially distributed across the city, but compete for
the support of the population at-large, permits examination of the

existence and processes of neighbourhood support and information diffusion.

ii. The Non-Partisan and the Partisan System Compared

In North America Federal and Provincial (or state) elections are almost always partisan, that is, the majority of candidates are affiliated with and supported by organised political parties. Although each brings to his candidacy his own experience and background, and his own stance on issues, his affiliation with the party is the most obvious and most significant cue to his political views and probable voting behavior in office. Members of the electorate have, over time, usually developed their own political sympathies (Converse, 1966), and use the party label as the most convenient, and often the only piece of information available by which to differentiate between candidates. Moreover the parties are the primary organs of information generation and dissemination, having resources of money and personnel to campaign on behalf of party candidates (Cutwright and Rossi, 1958).

Although high level political parties are obviously organised at the local level, the electoral system of certain towns and cities is non-partisan, at least in certain respects. That is, the dominant political parties do not enter into municipal politics or municipal elections. Candidates are not known primarily by their party affiliation. Party monies and personnel are not employed in the campaigns. There are many shades of non-partisanship. A candidate's political orientation may be public knowledge, even though he is not supported in the municipal election by any political party. Municipal political groups may develop, called by different names, but ideologically allied to national or provincial

level parties (Minghi and Rumley, 1974).

While some researchers have questioned even the possibility of existence of non-partisanship (Hawley, 1970), it would appear that so-called non-partisan elections run the gamut from those where candidates compete as individuals with no group political support at all, through those where politically organised groups support certain candidates while others run as independents, to situations where the majority of candidates are affiliated with political groups which themselves are associated with higher level political parties. As Lineberry and Fowler (1967) observed:

> "Given the widespread interest in participating democracy
> and the demands for full rights of citizenship ... evidence
> such as this calls into question whether the city reform
> movement is not fundamentally undemocratic. It maximizes
> efficiency, perhaps but as its creators intended, it dilutes
> political responsiveness. It is a point worth considering
> since hundreds of U.S. cities (and Canadian cities) rely
> upon this structure."

The non-partisan electoral system was selected over the alternative, better documented partisan system for several reasons, all related to the objective of the study, a focus on information channels.

The processes which give an individual his politically partisan orientation are very complex. Information is received and pressures exerted from childhood on, and are highly related to the changing life circumstances experienced by the individual. Selection of a non-partisan election permits focus on the information and information channels, rather than on the continuing and complex psychological process of political politicisation. The municipal level of election is selected partly because non-partisan elections are more common at this level, particularly in

Canada, and partly because the system is smaller and less complex. Fewer

actual channels exist, and the passage of information from candidate to

elector can be traced more easily on that account.

I.3 Specification and Testing of a Model of Political Information

Channels as Applied to an At-Large Non-Partisan Municipal Election

The objective of this thesis is to specify and test a model of

channels of political information flow and to examine in detail a sub-

channel of interpersonal communication (the neighbourhood), in the special

context of an at-large, non-partisan municipal election.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. *Specification of the general model* of channels of political

    information flow in an at-large, non-partisan municipal

    election.

2. *Testing of the general model* with data from the City of

    Guelph municipal election of 1972;

    i. *Identification of the relative strengths of information

        flows within the channels;* that is, the relative signi-

        ficance of the channels within the framework of the

        model;

    ii. Examination of the relationship between *channel use by

        candidates* and voting outcome, and *channel use and

        information reception by electors* and voting outcome.

3. *Empirical study of the neighbourhood as a channel of political contact and information flow* using data on neighbourhood discussion of candidates from the City of Guelph municipal election of 1974.

The search of the literature for the channels of political information flow in an at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system in Chapter II highlights the lack of research on, and lack of understanding of the functioning of this particular electoral system. While contrasts between electoral systems in terms of voter turnout and incumbency rates are drawn, the literature on channels of communication apply almost exclusively to partisan elections, at the national or provincial levels. The sparse references to the at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system are examined in some detail. Other studies are referred to when they contribute to an understanding of part of the problem, even though the study has been made in a different context. There is no attempt to provide an exhaustive review of all available literature from political science, political sociology and political geography on voting patterns and voting behaviour, since much of this is only indirectly related to the question of information channels in an at-large, non-partisan municipal election.

Building from the search of the literature and identification of key channels in Chapter II, Chapter III develops a general model of political information flow governed by the spatial and other constraints of an at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system. The model places both candidates and electors within a complex system of channels of communication. A major constraint imposed by specification of this particular electoral system is the elimination of parties as generators and purveyors

of political information. At the municipal level national media cannot

be considered as a channel, although the local media are included in the

model. In the general model all potential channels and sub-channels which,

from a review of the literature and general familiarity with the system

are expected to play a role in political communication, are included.

To test the general model, data were collected by personal interview

with the candidates and by a questionnaire administered to one percent

random sample of the electorate in the City of Guelph 1972 municipal

election. In addition to standard personal socio-economic data, informa-

tion was solicited on use of channels of communication, and information

generated or received via the channels. Simple tabulations identify the

use made by candidates in this particular electoral system of available

channels of communication, and the information actually received via

those channels by the electors. Chapters IV and V describe the City of

Guelph and its population and the procedures used to generate and analyse

the data collected.

Chapter VI analyses the 1972 election data on candidate channel use

and information flow. What is the relative importance of the major

categories of channels, the media and social contacts, in terms of

candidate use of the channels? What is the relative importance of the

sub-categories of the media, television, radio, newspapers, and posters;

and of social contacts, such as household, kin, neighbours, friends, and

fellow workers? Do different groups of candidates use channels differently?

Which channels do the highest polling candidates use? What is the rela-

tionship between voting outcome and expenditure on media channels? Do

candidates with high scores on formal or informal social contacts receive

more votes than those with less widely deveoped social contacts? If

any contact and information transfer is r ficient to affect elector

behaviour, there should be come direct relationship between the elector·

specification of a given candidate via all channels, and the position of

that candidate in the election (Chapter VII). If some channels are more

effective than others in producing a behaviour change in the elector then

it is anticipated that elector receipt of information about a given can-

didate by a particular set of channels would correlate closely with that

candidate's position in the poll. Social contacts are generally consi-

dered more likely to influence behaviour than are contacts made via the

media channels, although media channels are more capable of effecting a

great number of contacts. Chapter VIII relates candidate use of the chan-

nels with elector mention of candidates via those channels.

Chapter IX examines in some detail particular categories of social

contacts; those operating at the neighbourhood level. The purpose is

twofold: 1) to identify the relative importance of the neighbourhood

as a locale and channel of political information flow compared with other

social contacts, and compared with other impersonal contacts; 2) to

analyse the pattern of social contacts and discussion pertaining to a

local candidate, in contradistinction to all other candidates, within a

very limited area, the immediate neighbourhood of the local candidate,

and to discover whether neighbours do discuss their local candidates more

than other candidates within their other acquaintance circles.

The 1974 City of Guelph municipal election was selected as the context

for this part of the study. Data on neighbourhood contacts and other

social and media contacts were collected from a representative of each

household on the block immediately adjacent to a non-incumbent aldermanic

candidate. Three non-incumbents and their respective neighbourhoods were selected for the study since the political geographic literature stresses that the pattern of neighbourhood voting support is most clearly defined for non-incumbents. Evidence exists that direct political discussion is at a low level within any acquaintance circle. It is probable that such discussion is more likely to occur within a neighbourhood with a local candidate.

Does political discussion occur between neighbours? Is it likely to focus more on the local candidate, as the geographic literature insists, or are a range of candidates discussed? Do members of the candidate's neighbourhood transfer information about their local candidate to friends, and thus contribute to a distance decay in voting support for their local candidate? That is, do they discuss their local candidate more with friends than any other candidate? These and related questions are designed to discover whether the neighbourhood does operate as a significant information channel and how it functions.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS: LITERATURE EVIDENCE

II.1 Political Information Flow: The Contributions of Political

Geography; Political Science and Political Sociology

Political geography has enjoyed a long tradition of relating spatial

variations in politically partisan behaviour, particularly as expressed

in national elections, with demographic variables such as income level,

social class or ethnic origin (Seigfried, 1913; Wright, 1932). Partisan

vote, was, therefore, another facet contributing to description of areas

and their sets of areally associated phenomena. This body of work adds

something to our understanding of the association between socio-economic

characteristics of groups of people and a voting pattern, but it offers

no adequate explanation for the relationship nor does it consider the

question of the relationship between demographic characteristics and the

minority voters within the same area.

However, from these studies, two types of generalisation were

developed. One was the identification of those factors which appeared

to be significantly related to partisan voting; for example, the socio-

economic characteristics already mentioned, religious affiliation,

ethnicity, or level of education. The other was articulation of the

direction of these relationships. For example, from research in Great

Britain, France and the United States, the conclusion that there was a

positive relationship between low socio-economic status and the tendency of areas (actually voters within areas) to make a left wing vote. Such observations led to the development of specific hypotheses relating social characteristics to partisan voting.

Formulation of these hypotheses implied more, however, than simple areal covariance. It indicated some unspecified and unstudied causal relationship. But either because most studies were conducted at the national or regional level, using aggregate data compiled by area; or because most studies utilised this single areal covariance approach (Burghardt, 1964, is a notable exception); or because statistical tools designed to uncover the strength and direction of statistical correlation had not been developed; or because it was not yet considered to be a legitimate area of geographic investigation, the causes for the observed and mapped correlations were not sought.

By the sixties, and continuing for the next decade, increasingly sophisticated statistical techniques were applied in electoral geography. The results from factor analysis and regression techniques correlating population attributes with partisan vote confirmed earlier conclusions based on intuition, simple percentages and mapping techniques. Greater precision in stating the strength of correlation was achieved, but this apart, many of the results were either obvious and simplistic (Roberts and Rummage, 1965), or controversial because of data selected and techniques employed (Cox, 1968).

These studies do contain some inherent weaknesses. Patterns of areal variation are described. Associations between voting pattern and socio-economic or other demographic characteristics are inferred, but causal

relationships cannot be assumed. Use of aggregate data, for both areal

voting units and for population characteristics impose limits on valid

interpretations of individual voting behaviour. As Robinson (1960) has

pointed out, it may be fallacious to:

> "infer the correlation between variables, taking people as
> the unit of analysis, on the basis of correlations between
> the same variables based on groups of people as units."

This suggests that aggregate data must be supplemented, if not replaced,

by alternative types of data if any understanding of the voting behaviour

of the individual voter is to be achieved.

An alternative voting model was developed by members of the Michigan

Survey Research Center, based on the results of national random and

stratified samples of voters during presidential elections. Campbell,

Converse and others (1960) rejected the demographic model as emphasising

factors too remote from the act of voting. Their attitudinal model

stressed that political attitudes are the basis for what they termed

the "funnel of causality"; that political attitudes are the more imme-

diate to the voting decision, and provide a highly satisfactory predictor

of voting outcome.

Corollary to the attitudinal model are numerous studies purporting

to explain the formation of political attitudes. Political attitudes of

individuals are correlated with the political attitudes of primary or

secondary interaction or reference groups such as kin (Jennings and Neimi,

1968), ethnic groups (Gabriel, 1972), or neighbours (Putnam, 1966; Foldare,

1968).

Political scientists have attempted to use aggregate voting returns
and socio-economic variables, together with survey data in "contextual
analysis". The contextual model recognises the impact on the individual
of his context, that is, the local social, economic and political environ-
ment, upon his political attitudes, as evidenced by his vote casting, and,
therefore, attempts to measure the influence of community pressures to
conform upon the individual (Putnam, 1966). Foldare (1968) found that
the political response of persons of a social status differing from that
of the local majority tends to conform increasingly to the political
norms of the community with increasing length of residence in the commu-
nity. Considerable controversy has been generated over the "suburban
conversion" hypothesis, which stresses the influence of a typically
suburban set of politically partisan attitudes upon new suburbanites
(Greenstein and Wolfinger, 1958; Cox, 1969).

But virtually all the research using the attitudinal model, and
the research demonstrating political attitude formation is inappropriate
to this thesis, since it concerns the development and significance to
the voting decision or voting outcome of long term politically partisan
attitudes. This thesis is about non-partisan elections.

Although the Michigan School rejected the interactional model of
voting developed a little earlier by Katz, Berelson, Lazarsfeld and
others in favour of the attitudinal model, interaction is implicit in
the latter since the attitudes had to be developed by some interaction
and influence.

The persistence of majority views in local communities, despite the
bombardment of politically contrary information from nationally based mass

media, and the persistance of local views despite social change within
communities, had been well documented in the political science literature
in a classic series of studies on American national elections. It had
previously been thought that the effect of mass media would reduce
regional political differences and the variations in regional voting
responses. *The Peoples Choice* (Lazarsfeld, *et al.*, 1948) and its
successor *Voting* (Berelson, *et al.*, 1954) employing both aggregate, survey
and panel data, emphasised the importance of interaction between the
individual and his social contacts (see also Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).
While these studies are concerned with partisan elections, they do
contribute valuable evidence of the importance of social contacts.

In an non-partisan election, prior partisan attitude formation is of
no significance in explaining the voting outcome. An information model,
based upon past and present interaction and contact between candidates
and the electors, both on a social level and through the media, is the
appropriate formulation.

No study has taken a holistic approach to modelling and empirically
testing the channels by which political information flows from candidates
to the electors; information which contributes to the individual voting
decision and finally to the election outcome. Some research examines the
role and effect on voting of the mass media; other works examine the types
of social contacts between candidates and electors and between groups of
electors. Some research looks at candidate information and channel use
strategy; other research analyses only the election specific flow of infor-
mation. No single study has attempted to model and empirically investigate
the total flow of information via channels of communication, from

candidates to electors both prior to the election and during the immediate pre-election period, and its effects.

II.2 Political Information Channels: The Evidence from the Literature

A simple typology of channels of political information flow distinguishes between *media channels*, which reach large numbers of individuals on an impersonal, non-interactive basis, and *social contact channels*, which all individuals maintain to a greater or lesser degree with others, and which are by definition interactive.

Considerable controversy exists over the relative impact and significance of these two types of information channels. It is obvious that the media channels, newspapers, radio and television, can reach large numbers of people, can convey a message repetitively to ensure it is received, and could present detailed information and alternative arguement. Social contacts, on the other hand, are, for a given individual, limited to his personal acquaintance field of both formal organisations and informal groups. Some would widen the definition of social contacts to include secondary reference groups, that is the social contexts or settings within which an individual finds himself and from which he receives cues and pressures which pattern his behaviour, but with which he does not necessarily have direct social contact. Information passing through social contact channels cannot spread as rapidly, nor be conveyed to as many people as information passed via the media. A controlled experiment on the spread of a news story does, however, suggest information can spread very rapidly through a cohesive social group (Deutschmann and Danielson, 1960). The message may become considerably distorted during

its passage from one individual to another. But numerous studies indicate that information passed by person-to-person contact is more readily retained, and more likely to influence behaviour than information conveyed via the media (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

This chapter, then, searches the literature for those media and social information channels which are significant in an at-large, non-partisan local election. The literature is further examined for evidence of the flow of information via the channels identified, for channel use by candidates and electors, and for the relative contact and conversion effectiveness of the channels.

II.2.a Media Channels

The wide distribution of major daily newspapers and the spread of national radio and television led some observers of mass communications to anticipate that the mass media would not only produce a much better informed public than in the past, but would also smooth out, if not entirely eliminate, markedly different regional viewpoints. Results of mass media advertising campaigns on behalf of commercial products were cited as evidence of the capacity of the media to affect individual behaviour. Would the mass media be as influential in affecting individual political behaviour, as evidenced by voting decisions, or are there other pressures which are brought to bear on individual voting decisions, that are not present in the simpler case of buying a commercial product? The elaborately paid political advertising campaigns conducted by political parties and candidates on radio and television attest to a belief on the part of political organisers that this exerts a powerful influence on the

vote of some individuals sufficient to affect the outcome.

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet in the 1948 study of a Presidential election concluded that the mass media was not as powerful a factor in influencing the voting decision than had been thought, and they emphasised the role of interpersonal interactions as a dominant factor. The Michigan Survey Research Center also placed the media and the information it conveyed secondary to certain other factors in the voting decision, though they did not place the same stress on interpersonal contacts as the earlier study (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960). Natchez (1969/1970) astutely observes that this difference in emphasis is not a reflection of the significance of the media *per se* , but a difference in research interest between voting decision and election outcome. The Michigan School was interested in identifying those factors which most powerfully predicted the way the majority of voters would come to a voting decision. The election outcome, on the other hand, is determined frequently by a small margin of votes cast not by the strongly partisan and committed voter, but by those voters who are uncommitted, lacking information, and particula rly susceptible to the influence of any information which comes their way. In such cases media channels, particularly the television, which in North America reaches a greater number of homes with greater regularity than either radio or newspapers, may be particularly significant.

Dreyer (1971/1972) drew the attention of academics to what had already been established as popular wisdom, namely the importance of the image of a candidate and the role in an election outcome of the

short term political stimulus provided by skilful projection of a favourable image via the medium of television.

Several studies confirm the hypothesis that the more informed the citizen, the wider is his use of media channels; the less informed and less interested he is, the more likely he is to tap only one medium, and that the television (Lane, 1959). Berelson (1948) notes that the less informed people are on an issue, the more susceptible they are to opinion conversion under the influence of the media.

With these preliminary findings as a guide, it now behooves us to ask what media channels are utilised in local elections, and what is their specific role in the election?

i. Television

Many local government elections will not be much influenced by the medium of television, because network stations will not carry coverage of municipal elections in small towns. In larger cities, where a local television station does carry local election information and advertising, this may well reach not only the better informed of the public, who monitor several media, but the least informed and politically most apathetic sector of the public. As in national elections, the projection of a favourable candidate image, and some increase in voter turnout may have a significant effect on election outcome on this account. Paletz, Reid and McIntyre (1971) suggest that the absence of this medium as a channel is a contributory factor in the low interest level typical of local elections.

ii. Radio and Newspapers

In local elections, particularly in non-partisan local elections, there tend to be few compelling issues. As Conway observes, "There is a failure to translate city problems into campaign issues" (Conway, 1968, p. 73). Part of the problem is the lack of political parties to take sides and force issues on the attention of the public, but part of the problem is attributable to the scarcity of media channels to convey issue oriented information in a local election. Towns may have one radio station and a daily or perhaps only a weekly newspaper. Seldom will there be two radio stations or two newspapers capable of taking alternate sides on an issue.

In a very perceptive content analysis of newspaper coverage of the activities of the local governing body in Durham, North Carolina, Paletz, Reid and McIntyre (1971) noted how the local newspaper reported the decisions of the council, but not the discussion or controversy which may have preceeded the decision. They suggested that the local newspaper conveyed the image to the public of local council as a unified and authoritative body, remote from the general public. This despite the reality that local issues are close to the daily life of the citizen, and local councils are potentially the most susceptible of all government bodies to influence. They concluded that such a form of reportage would contribute to the support of council and of incumbents in an election by regular committed readers, and would do nothing to attract the attention or interest of alieniated or apathetic members of the public.

Conway's study of a non-partisan local election in College Park,

Maryland (1968), on the other hand, did find that reading of the local

newpaper offered a heightened perception of local issues, while a large

percentage of respondents not reading the local paper asserted that there

were no local issues. The same study found a very low recall by respond-

ents of any election coverage in the electronic media. This is probably

attributable to the location of the town, a suburb of Washington, and

the absence of a local radio station. Reports of this and other concurrent

local elections were broadcast over Washington stations. In this case

she concluded that the local newspaper provided the only significant

source of information and voter stimulus, but that even it reached rela-

tively few people.

In a single channel study Gildsdorf (1973) surveyed 255 eligible

voters in an Edmonton at-large, locally partisan council election. He

used exposure to information (reading of newspaper editorials) as the

independent variable, voting behaviour (vote for a party candidate) as

the dependent variable and treated interest in the election and awarenes

of local political affairs as intervening variables. His results further

confirmed some of the ideas already tentatively expressed in other papers.

He found: 1) a very low general level of information; 2) a greater

susceptibility to influence among those with least information. In the

words of Pool (1963, p. 136)

> "He (the voter) has neither time nor energy to inform himself
> on all of them (the candidates). So how he votes on these
> minor offices is apt to be affected by any information that
> comes his way about the candidates for them. It is in this
> situation of low intensity of attention and interest that the
> endorsement of a candidate by a newspaper is capable of
> influencing a number of voters".

While those least able to comprehend the local political system depended·
upon the press for what little information they had, Gilsdorf found that
interested persons with high comprehension of local political affairs
were least dependent upon the press for information, although his study
did not include an investigation of what those alternate channels were.
A surprising result, perhaps, was that the radio exerted a stronger
influence that the newspaper on voting, though, it must be added, not
on amount of information possesed by an individual. This contrasts
with Scott Greer's findings in a St. Louis city and suburbs, a city of
comparable size, that television and the major daily newspaper reached
a majority of his respondents, while the radio reached only a little
over one quarter of the respondents (Greer, 1963).

Reporting. The media convey political information in two rather
different ways: by editorials, news reporting and discussion, and by
paid political advertising. Gilsdorf, for example, found that the
reading of newspaper editorials had less of an impact on voters than
advertising. It is probably that the effect of radio on voting in his
study was also the result of the pressure of political advertising.

In local elections candidates have little power to affect the quantity
of information that they generate and that is carried by the media in the
pre-election period, although incumbents have a great advantage here in
that they will have been reported in the local press over the period of
their office.

Advertising. Candidates can, however pay for political advertising
over whatever media are locally present, the main limit being set by
personal or group finances, which are likely to be small. Popular opinion

certainly holds that advertising exposure by parties and candidates can, and often does influence votes. As a result, a number of legislative bodies have moved to limit campaign expenditures. Palda (1973) examined the expenditure by parties on advertising, and its relationship to the votes cast for those parties in two recent elections in Quebec, held under new campaign expenditure disclosure rules. He found that advertising expenditures were positively related to votes gained; that most candidates tend to over advertise in relation to the return they gain in increased votes. A particularly interesting result was that where a seat was safe, expenditures by all candidates were low, whereas advertising expenditures increased in proportion to the narrowness of the winning vote margin. These results suggest that expenditure on advertising could be a critical factor in an election if one candidate has significantly larger financial resources than his rivals, and that expenditure could be critical in a close election.

In many local at-large elections candidates have a major campaign strategy problem to resolve. Since they must run at-large they would like to make themselves known to the citizenry of the entire city, but since, in many cases, at-large elections are also non-partisan and therefore not financed by a party, individual candidates are unable to command the financial resources to launch a potentially very costly city-wide radio and newspaper advertising campaign. Minghi and Rumley (1974) found in the at-large, locally partisan civic election in Vancouver, that strategy was related to incumbency and previous experience. Incumbents, with relatively strong party backing, favoured aspatial, city-wide media campaigns to increase the electorates' familiarity with that incumbents

name and record. Incumbents. also had an accurate perception of the location of areas of strongest support. Non-incumbent novices attempted media campaigns, but were seriously limited by scarce financial resources. A few did campaign door-to-door in chosen areas, but recognised that this would not be sufficient to win their election. Repeat non-incumbents, according to Minghi and Rumley, concentrated on strongly spatial personal canvassing campaigns.

Posters. Campaign posters do not fall into one of the accepted information channel categories. None of the studies mentioned here make any reference to the existence or effect of posters. Posters do resemble media channels in that they are impersonal, and one way information transfers. They may, however, be spatially located according to some distribution plan, or randomly distributed. In this regard they are closer to the social contact channel of election canvassing.

They offer the simplest form of advertising and name prompt. It is conceivable that in a low information, non-issue election name recognition attributablé to advertising posters might be the only source of information for large sectors of the public. However, it is unlikely that this minimal piece of information would be sufficient to prompt disinterested electors to turn out to vote.

The use of posters is, however, designed to have an additional impact on the public. Clear, well designed posters are intended to convey an impression of a highly organised, hard working party or candidate, widely known and popular within the electoral district. Posters displayed by private individuals, as opposed to those put up in public places, indicate to others the committment of that individual, and are

intended to induce a similar committment on the part of those who see them.

There are several different media channels, which may be utilised differentially by candidates in their campaign strategy, and by electors as they tune in to the medium channel for information or for other, generally recreational purposes. The amount and nature of the political information that the channel conveys may be strongly biased by a third party, the owner or director of the channel. Small wonder, then, that studies on media channels are not conclusive as to their effects.

II.2.b <u>Social Contact Channels</u>

Social contacts are regarded by all investigators as significant channels for the dissemination of information and the exercise of influence. There is, however, very little agreement as to how information is passed by social contacts; which of the many social contact channels are most effective at conveying information; and which exert the most influence. This uncertainty is further compounded when specifically political information is being considered.

There are several ways in which social interactions operate to diffuse political information and/or to affect the political behaviour of individuals. Cox (1969) and others (Johnston, 1973; Putnam, 1966; Blydenburgh, 1971; and Fitton, 1973) suggest the following channels:

1. The influence on the behaviour of an individual exerted by social pressures through his membership in *secondary reference groups* such as a neighbourhood, or perhaps an ethnic or religious group.

2. Interpersonal discussion between electors about political affairs on an *informal* basis, as between members of the same household, other kin, neighbours, friends, or work associates.

3. Interpersonal discussion between electors about political affairs with fellow members of a *formal* group or association such as a club or business association.

4. *Election specific canvassing* activity, involving a social contact, face-to-face between a candidate or one of his supporters and an elector, or perhaps by telephone.

i. Secondary Reference Groups

The voting behaviour of an individual has been related to the voting behaviour of a group with which he shares certain personal attributes. To some extent the assumption of a relationship may be viewed as a surrogate for detailed knowledge of the channels of interpersonal communication likely to exist between members of such a group. However, there is also considerable evidence that individuals identifying with such a group use it as a source for attitudes and behaviours even without the direct transfer of information.

In partisan elections these pressures may be manifest in two ways: members of an ethnic or perhaps religious group may consistently vote for a given party; or alternatively, members of such a group may cross party lines to vote for (or even against) a candidate belonging to a particular ethnic or religious group. Ethnic and religious groups appear to be

those with greatest salience for individuals in this regard. Key and
Munger (1959) found county partisan voting patterns strongly related to
historic settlement either from New England or from the South, and con-
cluded that ethnic salience persisted despite change in residence loca-
tion. Wolfinger (1965) suggested a twofold reason for persistence in
ethnic voting patterns: the anticipation of some reward by voting for
a fellow ethnic, and the greater activity of party workers within iden-
tifiably ethnic residential areas. As significant may be the sense of
identification of the voter with his ethnic counterpart running in the
election.

In a non-partisan municipal election Pomper (1966) found that there
was a strong pairing of ethnic candidate with ethnic voter areas, and
suggested that in low information, non-partisan elections ethnic pressures
are substituted for party pressures. In an at-large, non-partisan
election in a city with clearly defined ethnic or religious groups and
candidates with names offering clues as to their affiliation, this
secondary group pressure may be a powerful voting choice determinant.

The Neighbourhood. A recent body of literature has stressed the
salience of a different type of secondary reference group, the neighbour-
hood, on the voting decision of individuals (Tingsten, 1937; Lane, 1959;
Putnam, 1966; Foldare, 1963; and Orbell, 1970). Since the concept of a
neighbourhood effect has been adopted into the political geographic lite-
rature and has become central as an explanatory factor for certain spatial
voting patterns (Cox, 1969; Reynolds, 1969; Johnston, 1971, 1974), the
rather inconclusive and contradictory findings of workers in this area
must be examined closely.

Foldare (1968), in a pre-election study of a random sample of 274 eligible voters in the City of Buffalo, found that individuals tend to vote in accordance with the majority partisan vote in their residential area. The data, he felt, was consistent with the "conversion theory", that individuals with socio-economic characteristics and attitudes differing from that of the neighbourhood into which they migrate tend over time to be converted to the political preference of that neighbourhood. The "transplantation theory" which the Buffalo data did not support maintains that, by selective migration, those persons with certain socio-economic attributes and political dispositions will tend to become residentially concentrated. Foldare did find, however, that religion was of greater political salience for individuals in his sample than their neighbourhood.

To establish how community political traditions are maintained through decades of changing community composition Putnam tested the following hypotheses:

1. That the party campaigning and canvassing activities in an area are a function of that party's strength in the community, and therefore, that party activity has a significant influence on voter decisions;

2. That the individuals conform to perceived community norms (Campbell, 1958);

3. That community influence is mediated through numerous

   personal contacts among members of a community and that

   such social interaction would support the political

   attitudes commonly held by community members and under-

   mine deviant views (Putnam, 1966, p. 641).

He found that party activity theory was an inadequate explanation,

and suggested that it might not be realistic to expect heightened party

activity among the committed. The evidence in Cornwall's "Bosses,

machines and ethnic groups", is, however, diametrically opposite

(Cornwall, 1964). Putnam's data revealed an insignificant correlation

between long time resident homeowners and orientation to the local

community and knowledge of local affairs. He concluded that the refer-

ence group theory was likewise not an adequate explanation in the case

he was studying.

To test the social interaction theory he related involvement in

community organisations and high involvement with fellow community mem-

bers in formal groups with conformity to community norms, and found a

positive association. He likewise found a close similarity between the

party loyalties of individuals and their friends. It is noteworthy that

because of the nature of the data used in the study this should still be

viewed as an indirect approach to the question of direct social inter-

action and political discussion, and implies, but does not provide con-

firmatory evidence of its existence.

Although Orbell titles his paper "An information flow theory of

community influence", (Orbell, 1970) he does not investigate how informa-

tion flows from the community to the individual; rather he enquires:

1) What kinds of areas exert the greatest pressure on the individual to conform politically?; and 2) What kinds of individuals are most susceptible to these pressures? Not surprisingly he finds that individuals with a high involvement in politics are more likely to have an accurate knowledge of the partisan structure of their district. Individuals with low interest in politics are most likely to conform to whatever cues they receive from their district. Some other studies have found that the least involved do not conform, apparently because they are so removed from the community that they are not aware of its characteristics or pressures. Applied to a non-partisan local election these findings are of little value except to confirm what has already been established about the susceptibility to influence of those who possess little knowledge. In a local election it is unlikely that such persons will be motivated to vote at all. Cox (1969), using the same data set as Orbell likewise stresses the neighbourhood effect as an explanation for some observed patterns of continued majority party support in areas characterised by considerable in-migration.

In several papers Cox stresses the significance of the "contextual effect", that is, the social context and its influence in producing a political conversion in residential migrants (Cox, 1969, 1970). This work reflects the controversies found in Putnam and Foldare. He also conceptualises and tests a more detailed social interactional model in which he correlates political partisanship and involvement with membership in formal and informal social groups (Cox, 1969), and finds, as others have done also, that membership in formal groups correlates highly with

interest and involvement in politics (Agger, *et al.*, unpublished, 1969).
Except where membership is in a political club, however, the relation-
ship between formal group membership and voting behaviour is unclear.
In a local, non-partisan, at-large election knowledge of a candidate
through mutual membership in a local club or association may have a
positive effect on the voting behaviour of an individual.

The geographer (Reynolds (1969) developing a similar idea, suggests
that interpersonal interaction contributes in some way to the highly
localised pattern of voter support for a new candidate in a U.S. state
gubernatorial election. In this he drew on literature describing
theories of information diffusion which were currently being incorporated
into the explanatory hypotheses in geography. In the paper, however, he
did not develop in any detail ideas about how this diffusion would
operate, nor did he have any data to test his information transfer
theories.

In yet another series of studies by a geographer on the so-called
neighbourhood effect, Johnston uses at-large municipal elections in two
New Zealand cities as his test arenas (Johnston, 1972; 1973; 1974).
Building heavily on the work of Cox, Johnston identifies three ways in
which spatial influences may act upon political behaviour to produce
what may loosely be regarded as a neighbourhood effect. These are: 1)
the social context of the residential neighbourhood; 2) local issues and
voter response to them which might draw a voter to support a local candi-
date likely to present the local case strongly; 3) local information which
would be generated and diffused around the residential location of a
candidate. He might also have added the possibility that voters would

vote for a local candidate (with the proviso that they had sufficient
information to recognise him as a local) in anticipation that his
presence on council would be of benefit to the local area, a new applica-
tion of the reward theory of ethnic voting.

Like Reynolds and Cox before him, Johnston did not investigate the
existence of local information networks directly. He dismissed the local
issue factor as not significant in the particular election he was study-
ing. He suggested that the greatest variations in voting for various
candidates would be related to a party effect (there were two parties in
the elections politically aligned with national level parties), and that
this would subsume the contextual and conversion effect described by Cox.
In this Johnston relied on the simple association between socio-economic
class, residential location and party affiliation. The residuals he
attributed to:

> "A friends-and-neighbours type of information flow about
> candidates emanating from his formal contacts with local
> residents near his home, and also perhaps his work place",
> (Johnston, 1973, p. 71).

He did recognise that the coverage of the election in the two daily papers,
and candidate purchase of advertising space, as well as variations in the
degree to which candidates were already known to the public would act as
intervening variables, but was unable to incorporate them directly into
his model. He anticipated, correctly, that the residual effect attribut-
able to some kind of neighbourhood effect would be most obvious in the case
of the newest, least known of the many candidates. The residuals were,
however, very small in even those cases where they were at all apparent

in the Christchurch election. In the Dunedin council election the local
support pattern for certain candidates was more pronounced, though
Johnston had no plausible explanation for this between-city variation.

ii.   Informal Interpersonal Interaction

The actual process of informal interpersonal interaction is believed
to be a significant mode of information transfer and influence. Two papers
deal directly with the actual patterns and process of social contacts
between neighbours and between friends and the political information
transfer which occurs (Fitton, 1973; Greer, 1963).

Fitton (1973) criticises the cross-sectional sampling technique as
an inappropriate method to use to investigate or test for interpersonal
interaction. He combined lengthy questionnaires applied to voting
members of all households on three working class streets in Great Britain,
with a sociometric test developed by Moreno (1960). The sociometric test
identified for each household the other residents on the streets with whom
the household was friendly, and with whom they visited on a regular basis.
Fitton was thus able to examine the neighbourhood both as a secondary
reference group as Putnam (1966), Foldare (1968) and Orbell (1970) had
done, and as a primary group for personal interaction. He found considera-
ble variation between the three streets in the degree to which the charac-
ter of the street exerted pressure on the residents. Though virtually
identical in configuration of houses, there was a significant difference
in the amount of social interaction that took place between street resi-
dents. This Fitton attributed to slight differences in the socio-economic
level of the streets, and to stability of residential membership in the

street with greatest social interaction levels. He did not trace the
flow of short term information from resident to resident, since that was
not the purpose of the study, although he was able to follow the gradual
conversion of a resident to the majority partisan political orientation
of either the street as a whole, or of a minority group of interacting
neighbours to which a newer resident belonged.

Since a detailed series of questions on membership in other extra-
neighbourhood informal and formal groupings was applied to the respondents,
Fitton was able to conclude that:

> "the orientation and behaviour of individuals on the street
> were structured by response to several primary and secondary
> reference groups, of which the neighbourhood was one. Yet it
> is probable that, for these individuals at least, the neigh-
> bourhood group was an important reference group. This arose
> from its centrality in their experience, its structure as a
> primary group, and their minimal committment to groups out-
> side it." (p. 471).

Fitton identified significant variations between streets that in most
studies would be regarded as having identical social characteristics. His
conclusions must therefore, be applied with the greatest caution to neigh-
bourhoods of different socio-economic level, residential mobility and
level of intra-neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood interaction.

Greer (1963), on the other hand, did examine the short-term flow of
fragments of political information through individual social contacts.
He investigated not an election but a referendum, and examined in consi-
derable detail the channels through which information about the St. Louis
District Plan for the amalgamation of the numerous local governments into
a metropolitan form of government passed from the proponents and opponents

of the plan to the general public. The referendum was non-partisan in the sense that organised national political parties did not play a significant role in generating information, nor did they attempt to influence the referendum outcome. Since this was a referendum, the electors did not have to select between many rival candidates: rather, they had to vote either for or against the proposed reorganisation. In the section of the report relevant to this thesis Greer reported the results of interviews with a small sample of electors in the city of St. Louis, 116 respondents, and 196 respondents from the surrounding suburbs. Like the other researchers discussed above, Greer anticipated that, of all categories of social contacts, kin, neighbours, friends, and fellow workers, there would be a high frequency of discussion with neighbours.

All respondents indicated a very low level of discussion of political matters with all their social contacts. Highest levels of conversation on the St. Louis District Plan took place between kin, and between fellow workers, while the lowest levels of discussion took place between neighbours and friends. In a stable, tightly structured community such as Fitton reported on, kin might well be neighbours too, but in North America this is much less likely than in Great Britain.

The very low level of political discussion between neighbours and friends has apparently been ignored by those who cite direct social interaction between neighbours and between friends as the explanation for the so-called neighbourhood effect and the friends-and-neighbours effect. Greer believed that this result was related to the opportunities for interaction which different types of social contact represent. Kin, especially members of the same household, are present daily, as are fellow workers,

and politically contrary views may be expressed and political information transferred without upsetting a delicate social relationship, because there are other ties that bind the individuals together. Meetings between friends and between neighbours have to be sought. Moreover "the introduction of divisive issues into neighbourly relations is a threat to the small scale social order of the neighbourhood" (Greer, 1963, p. 136), so that political issues may possibly be taboo as neighbourhood discussion topics. This would lead to the conclusion that if a neighbourhood diffusion effect does exist it is not too likely to be caused by the direct social interaction and, political discussion so often put forward as the explanation and so seldom empirically studied.

iii. Formal Interpersonal Interaction

Formal social contacts, that is, the contacts which occur due to membership in either organisations such as sports, church or social clubs, or professional organisations such as labour unions, business associations and professional groups, are considered by some to play a very significant part in the exercise of influence and the diffusion of information.

To date, much emphasis in political science has been placed on the coincidence of participation in politics and participation in other formal organisations, and participation in formal organisations and informal social groups, and the exercise of influence and power (Hunter, 1953; Dahl, 1961). The role of formal organisations as mechanisms for the transfer of information and thus the limited, but nevertheless significant exercise of influence has not been equally investigated.

Cox, however, stresses the importance of membership in formal social organisations in both his paper entitled "The genesis of acquaintance field spatial structures: a conceptual model and empirical tests" and the paper "The spatial structuring of information flow and partisan attitudes", (Cox, 1969; 1969). Greer (1963) likewise used participation in formal social organisations as one of the indicators to distinguish between those he termed isolates, that is, individuals having no social contacts within the community; neighbourites, those having informal social contacts with kin, neighbours and friends in the community; and community actors, those with not only well developed informal social contacts but also membership in the community's formal social organisations. There are indications, then, that formal social contacts in a local community may be significant channels of information transfer.

iv. Election Specific Canvassing

The role of one formal organisation in promoting the diffusion of political information, the political party, has been investigated. Several papers illustrate the turnout and voting effect of election specific canvassing activities in partisan elections (Katz and Eldersfeld, 1961). A primary concern in partisan election studies is the way in which party organisation increases the partisan vote. Each study used rather different types of data on local party activity, such as the number of persons contacted daily by the precinct chief, the number of hours spent on local precinct work, or an estimate of the number of electors in the local area who knew the party worker by name. All such studies come to the conclusion that local party activity can

increase the vote, and in a close election, contribute to determining

the election outcome (Cutwright and Rossi, 1958; 1958; Crotty, 1971).

Election specific campaigning on a person-to-person basis, on the

other hand, has been an unpopular research topic. This is due, perhaps,

to the search by the Michigan school for attitudinal rather than inter-

active explanatory hypotheses, and also to the belief that the short

run effect of campaigning would not significantly affect the outcome of

an election.

Election specific canvassing may take a number of different forms;

for example, person to person canvassing by the candidate or by support-

ers, telephone canvassing, or the delivery door-to-door of mailed infor-

mation (this type is not person-to-person canvassing, but does reach

only a limited number of people, and can convey very detailed informa-

tion to those persons willing and able to read it. Since it does not

fall conveniently into any other category it is treated here). In each

case a greater amount of information can be transferred from the candi-

date or supporter to the elector than by almost any other channel of

information flow. Eldersfeld (1956) and Blydenburgh (1971) both attempt

to measure the impact of these different forms of personal campaigning.

In a 1953 experiment in Ann Arbor, Michigan, Eldersfeld's three

groups of respondents were treated differently. One group received four

waves of mail propaganda, one group was canvassed house to house, and

the third group, the control group, was not affected in any way. The

net observed effect was on turnout in the election; thirty percent of

the control group voted; fifty-nine percent of the mail group and seventy-

five percent of the group canvassed personally voted. Eldersfeld

expresses concern that while all these forms of election contact may
increase turnout, those individuals who turn out to vote who would not
otherwise have done so may have little basis for judging between candi-
dates. It would seem, in such circumstances, that they would recall, and
therefore vote for, the party or candidate that initially solicited their
vote. Rather surprisingly, the personally canvassed group rated personal
canvassing as less effective an influence than newspapers. They did have
a greater tendency to become exposed to other media, especially news-
papers. The group receiving mail propaganda, on the other hand, perceived
personal contact canvassing as likely to be the most effective. In a
follow up study, Eldersfeld found that canvassing by four different cate-
gories of workers, students, party workers, student canvassers plus mail
drop, and telephoning canvassing, caused no significant differences in
their effects on turnout. He observed that personal contact was the
most effective form of contact with the most disenchanted and apathetic
group of electors.

Blydenburgh (1971) in a rather similar study fifteen years later, in
a partisan local election, attempted to persuade the Republican and
Democratic parties to canvass according to an agreed plan. In a safe
Republican seat in Monroe County, New York State, one hundred percent
telephone canvassing and one hundred percent door-to-door canvassing was
to take place in two districts on behalf of one of the political parties;
the other party was not to canvass at all. In two more districts the
situation would be reversed, and the party that did not canvass in the
other districts was to do one hundred percent telephone coverage in one
area, one hundred personal contact canvassing in the other while the

first party was not to canvass. Despite certain administrative difficul-

ties encountered with this plan, the scheme was sufficiently well adhered

to to make some findings possible.

Contrary to the Eldersfeld results, Blydenburgh found that canvassing,

in this case, did not significantly affect turnout, but did have a signi-

ficant effect on the partisan distribution of votes. .In other words,

canvassing did persuade politically interested voters to change their

voting direction. One tentative explanation for this discrepancy which

Blydenburgh proposed is that his study was of a local election, while all

the previous studies had been of higher level elections.

In a local election information is scarce and information sources

are few. Personal contact campaigning might, therefore, be expected to

have a substantially greater effect than in elections where a larger

number of information channels operated. The concern and enthusiasm

expressed by the candidate through his arduous personal contact campaign

activities might sway even a partisan voter! This would suggest that in

a local at-large, non-partisan election with low overall turnout and very

low information levels, the effect of personal campaigning might both

increase the turnout and substantially increase the vote for candidates

utilising this channel. Minghi and Rumley (1974) did find that candidates

with restricted financial resources, especially those new to the election

scene, ran door-to-door or local mail drop campaigns. Previously

unsuccessful non-incumbents likewise used this strategy in areas of per-

ceived strength, and on the basis of their knowledge of their own past

election performances. In the at-large city of Vancouver the results

clearly demonstrated that personal campaigning alone, without city-wide

media advertising and/or previous exposure to a wider public via the media, was insufficient to win the election for an at-large candidate. In smaller towns, on the other hand, it is conceivable that a well organised personal contact campaign by the candidate and a group of supporters could contact and favourably influence a sufficiently large number of voters to guarantee election of the candidate.

II.3 Political Information Channels: The Models Suggested by the
      Literature

A model of political information channels in an at-large, non-partisan municipal election draws its elements from a literature dealing almost exclusively with partisan elections, in wards, at governmental levels above the local. Channels which are emphasised in the literature, such as television, or political parties, may be much less significant or even non existent in the specific context of this thesis. , However, the literature does provide a guide to those channels which should be included in a comprehensive information channel model.

Two sets of information channels have been identified, media channels and social contact channels. Information of a political as well as a general nature, is transferred by the media. The majority of eligible voters are at some time contacted via these channels. Different electors may receive widely differing amounts of information via the media. In a local election radio and newspapers are probably more significant than television. How influential these channels are is problematic.

Social contacts also transfer information, perhaps less efficiently, in that fewer contacts are made, but they are considered to exert influence. The relative significance of formal contacts within social, sports and religious clubs, or professional organisations such as unions, business associations or professional groups, and informal social contacts is unclear. Informal social contacts exist at such levels as the household, and between kin, neighbours, friends and fellow workers. These have different ranges and intensities of contact.

In the following chapter these fundamental components are used to develop a general model of political information flow channels in the specific context of an at-large, non-partisan election. The validity of this model is subsequently evaluated in chapters six, seven and eight, before the focus of the study narrows to a model of political information transfer via the channel of the neighbourhood (chapter nine).

A GENERAL MODEL OF POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS

III.1 A Model of Political Information Flow

The model of political information flow in an at-large, non-partisan municipal election can be seen as a simple input of information by candidates, flow through channels to electors, with the votes or no vote as the output; in brief, a simple input-output sequence with three intervening variables (Figure III.1).

INPUT - OUTPUT MODEL

INFORMATION $\longrightarrow$ | CANDIDATES | — | CHANNELS | — | ELECTORS | $\longrightarrow$ VOTE/NO VOTE

I   C   N   E
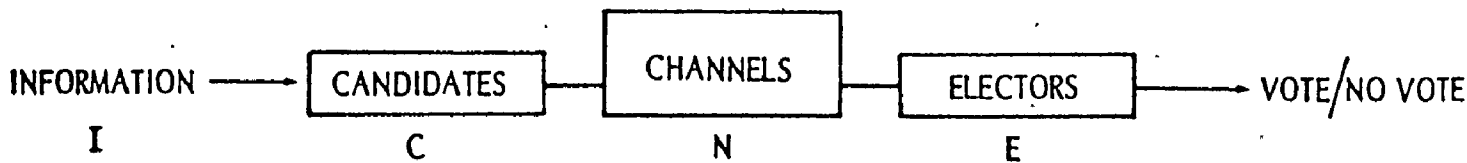
FIGURE III.1

This indeed, is the basic structure of the model. But between inputs of information and the output of a vote or no-vote lies a complex set of relationships between candidates, channels and electors, each of which in turn has its own varied essential characteristics.

The outline of the model is simple, but the three intervening variables are highly interdependent. There is a complex interplay between the many candidates, the numerous channels and the multitude of electors. The candidates have their own personal characteristics, and their social contacts. They generate information inadvertently or deliberately, in the past or in the immediate present. They use channels on the basis of their command of resources, and their perceptionof the effectiveness of contact channels. The channels each have their differing capacity to effect contacts, to convey information and to exert influence on electors. The electors have a pre-established pattern of channel use, a particular network of social contacts and preference for media channels, and personal responsiveness to both the channels and to whatever information they may receive.

Given the difficulty of handling a problem of this complexity, it will be presented in three segments. First a candidate model will be presented. The focus here will be on the *candidates* in an at-large, non-partisan election; their characteristics; the communication channels available to them; and their use and perception of those channels. The objective is to present the alternative campaign strategies of information channel use candidates may select.

Secondly, the focus is on the *electors* in this type of electoral system; the network of communication channels they have established as

part of their individual lifestyle; and the relationship between that
and the information they may receive about the candidates in the election.

Finally, the *channels* themselves are examined in detail as the
essential links between candidates and electors. What the electors receive
is largely determined by the nature of the communication channels them-
selves. The amount of information is a function of how much a candidate
utilises a given channel, the characteristics of that channel, and the
use the elector makes of it. The content (the message) that the informa-
tion represents to the elector is, of course, a function of the candidate's
characteristics and views, and the elector's response to them, but can,
it is hypothesised, be regarded primarily as a function of the channel
which conveys the message. This is a vital characteristic of minimum
information networks.

III.2 The Candidate Model

As illustrated in Figure III.2 candidates have available to them two
major sets of channels through which they can direct information to the
electors; these are: social contacts and the media. All candidates
have a number of social acquaintance circles which link them to the elect-
ors, but the size of these circles and the intensity with which they
operate varies from candidate to candidate. Media channels are available,
potentially at least, to all candidates. Information may be conveyed to
electors via these channels in a general way for a prolonged period prior
to the election. In the immediate pre-election period any of the channels
may be utilised actively and intentionally to transmit information to
the electorate.

CANDIDATE . MODEL
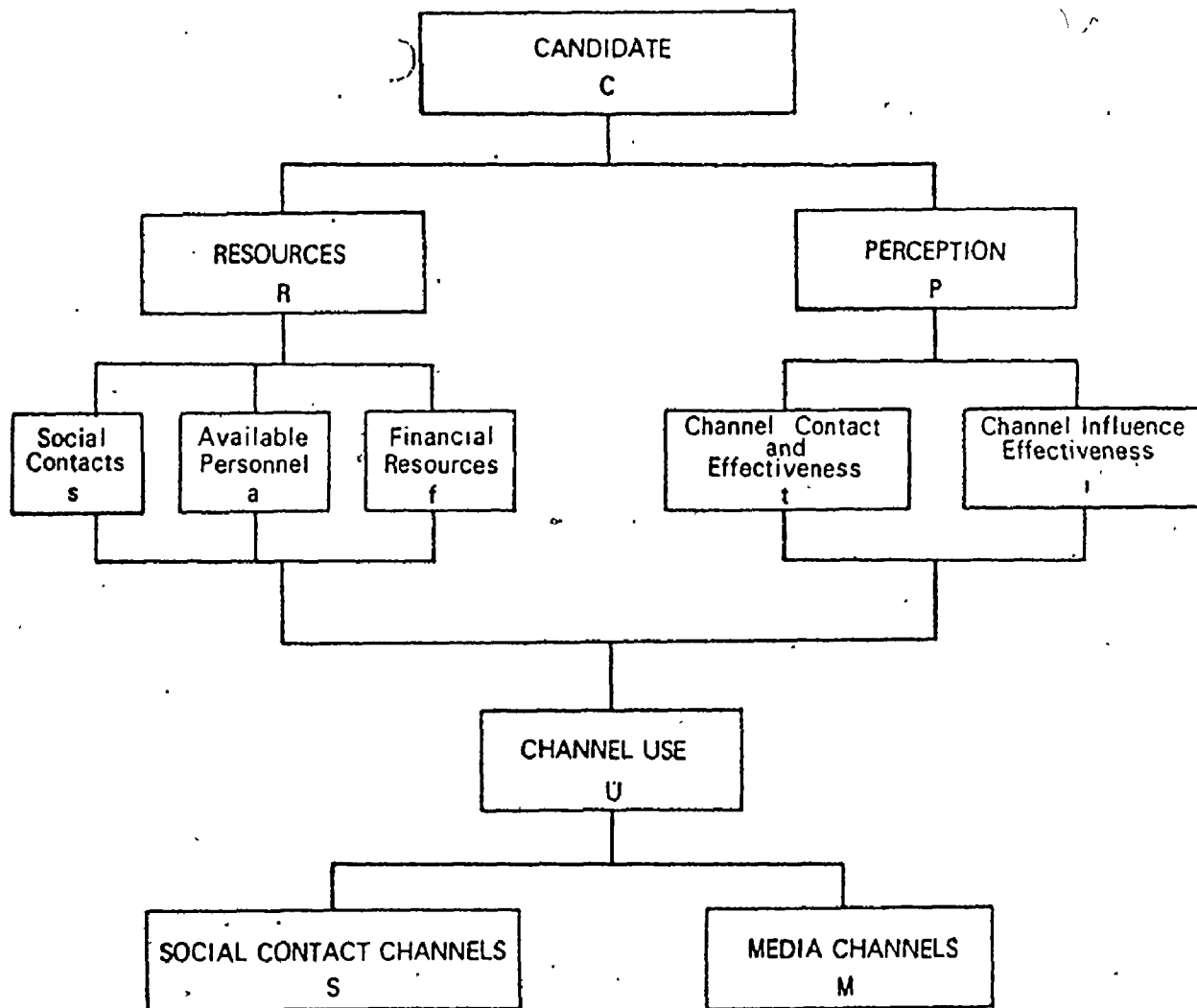
FIGURE III. 2

The information channel strategy of individual candidates can be thought of as determined by two sets of factors: 1) the candidates' perception of the relative effectiveness of the available information channels, and, 2) the personal resources which the candidate can bring to bear upon the campaign.

Candidates may have varying perceptions of the relative effectiveness of channels in terms of their capacity to effect contacts and influence (that is, convert) an elector. They may also have different estimates of the amount of use electors make of channels and of the likely responses of electors to information.

Candidates' personal resources include selected personal characteristics which would attract electors (or possibly repell them); the candidates' own network of social contacts; the available personnel the candidate has to work for him; and the financial resources at his disposal to promote his campaign. The role and relationship of each of these sets of factors to candidate channel use will be examined in turn.

III.2.a Candidate Perceptions

Candidate information channel use is partially determined by the way in which the candidate views the channels. The differing relative effectiveness of channels to contact, influence and convert electors is discussed later in this chapter. Candidate perception of channel effectiveness, however, is a function of the individual's familiarity with and past use of the channels. Since the perceptions are coloured by past experiences, or lack of experience of the channels, they are not necessarily accurate. Incumbents, who have had previous experience with

both the media and social contact channels, are likely to have the more

accurate perceptions of channel effectiveness.

Do incumbents, who have been active in public affairs in the past,

and who have campaigned successfully before, use the available media and

social contact channels to the same degree of intensity, and with the

same balance between these channels types, as non-incumbents? Indeed, do

all incumbents, or non-incumbents use the channels in the same manner?

Are repeat candidates, who have had previous campaign experience,

different in their perceptions from novice candidates?

Candidate perception of channel effectiveness in making contacts,

and in influencing electors is also a function of how they think electors

use media channels, how they perceive the electors' participation in

the social networks of the community, and how they perceive electors

will respond to the channels and the information conveyed by them. For

example, the lack of discussion of issues by candidates in at-large local

elections may stem, in part, from the belief of a majority of candidates

that electors are not interested, or will not respond favourably to a

candidate stressing issues. It may well be that electors are interested

in issues, but never have the opportunity to receive information about

them and therefore, cannot associate candidates with a particular stance

on an issue and vote accordingly.

III.2.b Candidate Resources

A clearer determinant of channel use, however, is certainly the

candidate's available resources. The balance between an individual

candidate's range and intensity of social contacts within the municipality, .

his available personnel (that is, the number of active supporters he can mobilise), and the amount of money he is able and willing to invest in attempting to get elected will in great part determine his use of channels.

How does the availability of these resources differ between candidates, and what effects does unequal availability to each candidate have on his utilisation of channels?

i. Social Contacts

All candidates have social contacts. But the range of contacts, their location across the city, and their diversity of social background will vary considerably. For example, candidates with a relatively short length of residence in the city are likely to have a more restricted range of social contacts than long term residents. All candidates will be known to some degree by their neighbours, but long term residents of a neighbourhood, particularly if the neighbourhood has a low turnover of residents, will have some local advantage. Those with kin in the neighbourhood or distributed around the city will likewise have these additional social contacts. Incumbents, by nature of their position on council, are likely to have made a wider range of contacts than non-incumbents. Moreover, they owe their position in part to their earlier contacts. Members of a cohesive or distinctive social group, such as an ethnic or religious group, are likely to be known within the group. Its size will then be an important factor. Location and type of employment may be significant. An employee of an establishment with a large work force has the potential of a larger number of social contacts through employment

than an employee of a small establishment. It is also true to say that the more social contacts a candidate has, the more he will be known indirectly by electors who know his friends, neighbours, fellow workers, or kin. Since personal contacts of either the direct or indirect type are known to be effective in influencing electors and causing conversion, the wide variation in number and range of informal social contacts from one candidate to another may be significantly related to election success or failure.

Formal social contacts, that is, contacts made through membership in clubs and organisations, also vary from candidate to candidate. Members of professional organisations, business associations, and labour unions will be known to fellow members. Members of social organisations, such as sports, social and other types of clubs, will be known in the same way to fellow members, who, in turn, may speak of the candidate within their own informal social circle. Such contacts have a high potential spread effect. As a contact channel they also carry the message of candidate willingness to be involved, and experience in formally organised activities.

It would seem likely that incumbents and successful candidates will have a wide range of social contacts, and particularly well developed formal social contacts. In the case of successful non-incumbents, this cultivation of formal social contacts may be a deliberate part of their campaign policy and channel use. Alternatively, membership in such formal groups may have precipitated interest in civic affairs, and the candidate can reap the political benefits of his wide range of formal social contacts. Incumbents probably hold their present positions on council because of these factors. As incumbents they will have kept both their

informal and formal social contacts active as part of their continuing

political channel use strategy, and because the civic duties dictate that

such channels are used. In these cases the medium is indeed the message,

since the existence of the social contact already conveys the message of

experience, activity and involvement.

ii. Available Personnel

The second category of resource, available personnel, is important

because by its use, social contacts can be effected between the candidate

and his supporters, in the immediate pre-election period, and members of

the electorate who had not met him, or who had only known of him casually.

Persons running as private individuals may only have the assistance of kin

and a few friends. Persons running as the representative of a group may,

on the other hand, be able to count on the assistance of many helpers to

distribute literature, canvass door-to-door, hold informal meetings in

their home and generally spread, through this special election-oriented

form of social contact, information concerning the candidate, through a

channel which has been proven to be effective in influencing and convert-

ing electors. Interestingly, the recent increase in the number of women

active in local politics may well be related to a recognition that this

strategy can achieve political success and that many women can contribute

time and effort to the local political process. However, such personal

contact campaigns utilising manpower require planning and coordination.

Only determined candidates are likely to have pre-planned and mobilised

this type of support.

iii. Financial Resources

Candidates in local at-large elections make a relatively small average expenditure. Few candidates risk more than a couple of hundred dollars on their election advertising campaigns in these elections. Many candidates recognise perhaps that they have little chance of being elected. In a race in which between twenty to forty candidates compete for eleven or twelve positions, and in which incumbents re-enter and tend to be returned, a very small number of non-incumbents will be elected. They therefore invest little in terms of money, personal effort, time and planning in their candidacy. A few candidates, whether as private individuals or as representatives of groups, may be willing or able to spend considerably larger sums of money. The allocation of financial resources to different forms of advertising is especially sensitive to the total amount available; the use by the candidate of other channels; and the perception of the candidate of the relative effectiveness of the different available media.

Candidates who combine manpower with small financial resources may spend most of their budget on leaflets to be distributed door-to-door, or in gathering places such as city centers, shopping plazas or supermarkets. Others have to choose between the expense of radio and the anticipation that this could reach a large number of uncommitted electors, and cheaper advertising in newspapers, to a more restricted audience. Exposure on posters may appeal to those candidates who perceive that electors will vote for a name they recognise even if they, the electors, have little additional information concerning the candidate.

III.2.c   Candidate Channel Use: Summary

The strategy of media and social contact channel use by candidates is, then, determined by a complex set of factors. Stated simply, candidate information channel use is a function of candidate resources; social contacts; available personnel; and perception of channel contact effectiveness and channel influence effectiveness. These latter may, in turn, be regarded as a function of elector channel use and elector channel response.

Thus, in summary:

$$CU = P_t, \ P_i; \ R_s, \ R_a, \ R_f$$

where, CU is candidate channel use

P_t is perception of channel contact effectiveness, and

P_i is perception of channel influence effectiveness

R_s is the social contact resource

R_a is the available personnel resource, and

R_f is the financial resource.

III.3   The Elector Model

The information which an elector receives about the election and particular candidates is determined by the elector's pre-established pattern of *social* contacts and pre-established pattern of *media* use, (Figure III.3) as well as by the candidate channel use strategy as described in the previous section.
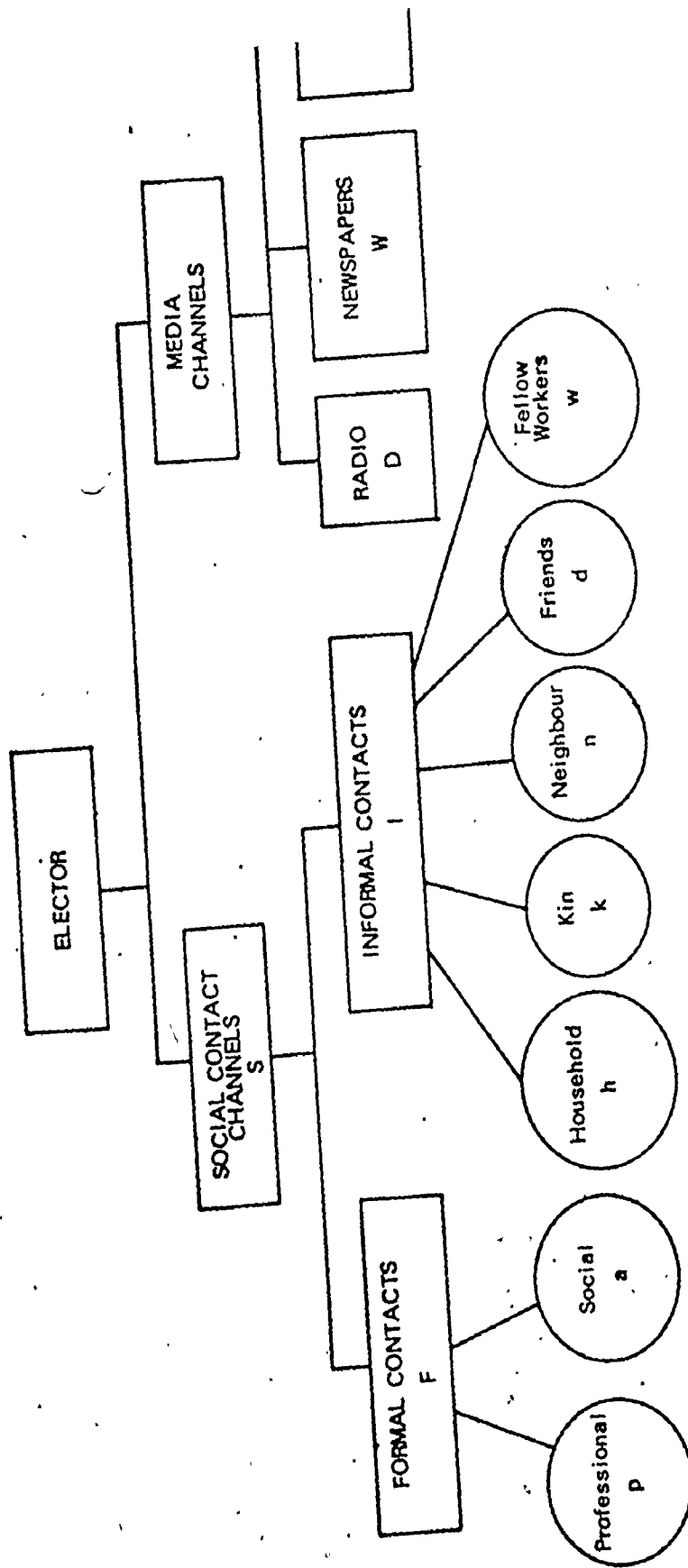
ELECTOR   MODEL

FIGURE III. 3

III.3.a Elector Social Contact Channels

Electors, like candidates, have their pre-established acquaintance fields consisting of their informal social contacts and their formal social contacts. Greer (1963) distinguishes between individuals on the basis of their sets of social contacts, typing as isolates those with no social contacts, or very limited contacts with a community. Neighbourites are those with well developed informal social contacts, but few, if any, formal contacts. Such people are not joiners of formal organisations, but may participate actively in the informal social communication of a community. Community activists have their compliment of informal social contacts, but are in addition, joiners. They belong to formal organisations, of which other like community activists are also members. Both informal and formal social contact channels may convey information about candidates to electors.

Acquaintance circles overlap in complex patterns. Electors may be directly and personally acquainted with a candidate through one of the social contact channels. In an election setting where issues are minimal and information is scarce, it is suggested that direct social contacts of this nature, though limited in number, will be very significant influencing agents. Rather more electors may know of a candidate indirectly through receiving information about him from a mutual acquaintance. This information need not be detailed. The existence of the social contact itself may be sufficient to influence the elector in the candidate's favour.

i. Informal Social Contact Channels

Electors, like candidates, have pre-established acquaintance fields; their own household, kin, neighbours, friends and fellow workers (Figure III.3). Some of these acquaintances, may dwell outside the local political unit. These do not concern us here. Of concern are those contacts which may channel political information about the local election and the candidates in that election.

The range of informal social contacts and the intensity with which they are used relate to certain personal attributes of the individual elector. Variations in contacts with neighbours and the number of people counted as friends depends partly on the length of residence of an elector in a given community. In general the longer the length of residence, the wider the acquaintance circle of an individual within a given community, although there are exceptions. Age of the elector, his position within the social life cycle and his ethnicity also affect the pattern of local social contacts.

Each of these acquaintance circles will be discussed in terms of its range and intensity of contact, probability of discussion of politics and of particular candidates, and its capacity to make contacts with others outside the immediate circle.

Household. Except for those who live alone, the most immediate social contacts for the majority of people are the members of the household. Since they in turn have their own range of social contacts, depending on sex, age, and other personal attributes, this brings the members of the household into communion with many other individuals and their circles.

Greer (1963) suggests that discussion of political matters, which may be too sensitive for some other types of social contacts, can occur within the household. The likelihood of such discussion varies with age, the education level of the household members, and the degree to which the members concern themselves with the local community. The household is, by its very definition, an inefficient channel for making social contacts since it is so circumscribed in its membership.

Kin. Not all electors have other family members, either living in the household, or dwelling in the same community. For those who do, the likelihood of social contacts with kin is high, though there may be notable exceptions. The tendency for intensive social contact between kin varies with stage in the life cycle of the family members and also varies by ethnic group. The number of relatives in communion with each other differs from one ethnic group to another. Moreover some groups are seen by others, and see themselves, as closer knit, and therefore more likely to interact socially. How much actual transfer of political information that occurs between kin is unclear. Ethnic voting (that is, the support of an ethnic group of its candidates of the same ethnic origin), is well documented. But the support may exist, not because of direct or indirect social contact and influence transfer between kin, but because voters respond to the ethnic name, or because they anticipate potential rewards and ability to influence if their candidate wins.

Neighbours. The geographic literature stresses the phenomenon termed the Neighbourhood Effect. But what actual pattern of neighbourhood

interaction, election discussion and discussion of candidates exists? Fitton (1973) had indicated that even between neighbours on streets apparently similar in character, variations exist in the pattern and intensity of social interaction. Certainly there are differences in pattern and intensity of neighbouring between neighbourhoods of different income level, position in life cycle, age composition, ethnicity, and differing residential stability. Indications are that longer established neighbourhoods may interact more than very new neighbourhoods, although special cases of high interaction levels do exist in new residential sections.

Nor is neighbouring in itself a simple interaction. The contact may range from a simple exchange across a garden fence to frequent and regular socialising in the house. Children may play together on the street, but not necessarily in the house. Wives may meet during the day, but the same families do not communicate at other times. Even in neighbourhoods with consistent patterns of social interaction, certain families, by reason of age structure, employment, ethnicity or personal preference, may deviate from the neighbourhood norm.

If neighbours do interact socially, are topics as potentially sensitive as politics discussed? Are candidates known from acquantance circles external to the neighbourhood introduced, if not in person, at least verbally, to neighbours? If a candidate from the neighbourhood runs in the election, is he known in his own area more than other candidates? Is he discussed more than other candidates are discussed? And is information about him transmitted by his neighbours to social contacts outside the immediate neighbourhood?

Friends. Friends may be neighbours or kin, but for the purpose of this study friends are considered generally as those informal social contacts outside the immediate household, neighbourhood or kin group which persons regard as their friends. Also for the purpose of the study, only those friends who live within the political unit being examined are included. Many of the comments already made about intensity, frequency and level of interaction and discussion between neighbours also applies to friends.

A few electors may have a friend who is a candidate. They are likely to be highly influenced by this direct contact. By knowing the candidate, they can also introduce him directly or indirectly to their other acquaintances. Likewise a candidate hitherto unknown may be introduced to an elector by a friend. Such channels may be very persuasive and influential even if, as Greer (1963) discovered, friends seldom discuss political matters.

Fellow workers. Between fellow workers, on the other hand, Greer found a higher frequency of discussion of political issues. Subject matter too sensitive to be introduced into the delicate fabric of a friendship circle may be commonplace topics of conversion in the forced acquaintance circle of fellow workers. The efficiency of this channel of information diffusion may largely depend on the opportunities for such political discussion provided by the nature of the employment, and on the size of the labour force of the establishment. Electors employed by the same establishment as a candidate may know him directly. Discussion between fellow workers may introduce names of candidates electors were

hitherto unaware of. It is probable, though, that even if more discussion does take place between fellow workers, than between neighbours or friends, that the channel is not as influential as some other social contact channels.

ii. Formal Social Contact Channels

As has already been suggested in the Candidate Model, formal social organisations of either the professional or social types, may, in a medium sized town community, play a very significant role as channels of political information flow. The members of such organisations are characteristically joiners and activists. They are likely to turn out to vote. In a low information election it is hypothesised that electors are more likely to vote for those they know. Since candidates may deliberately develop this style of social contact, or become a candidate because of their contacts in formal organisations, electors who belong to such organisations are likely to be acquainted with certain candidates. Any information which is transmitted via these channels is, therefore, likely to be influential and re-enforcing.

Professional organisations. Professional organisations, unions, business associations and professional groups, are probably more limited in their size of membership than formal social organisations. But since unions and business associations are frequently highly political in orientation or motivation, or in action, the likelihood of discussion of elections is general, and the discussion of particular candidates is high. It is hypothesised that electors sharing membership with a

candidate will probably vote for him. In addition, since the opportunity

for discussion is high and the fabric of the formal professional contact

sufficiently robust as to tolerate, or even stimulate and encourage

political discussion, candidates not members, but friends of members

can be verbally introduced, and influentially so.

Social organisations. It seems reasonable to expect, though

documentary evidence is not forthcoming, that organisations designed

primarily for the purposes of recreation or friendly social interaction

are less likely to be forums for political discussion, although the size

of the acquaintance circle, and therefore the contact efficiency of the

channel is greater than for formal organisations. Again, elector and

candidate mutual organisation membership or the indirect knowing of a

candidate by an elector via a fellow club member may be very influential.

In conclusion, it should be noted again that all these social contact

channels pre-date the election itself. They may in the past, have con-

veyed information of a political nature about candidates. The channels

are, as it were, activated during the immediate pre-election period,

after a candidate declares his intention to run.

III.3.b Elector Media Channels

Elector use of the media is an established habit independent of the

election situation. He may or may not be accustomed to tuning in to the

local radio or television station. He may or may not take and read the

local newspaper (Figure III.3). If he does either, information concerning

certain candidates will reach him over a long period prior to the election.

Additional information of an editorial nature will be directed at him during the campaign period, and candidates will certainly attempt to make contact with him through the radio or newspaper by advertising in those media. The elector, however, has the choice of listening or not listening, reading or not reading, according to his personal inclination or whim.

It is probably realistic to treat the majority of electors as passive receptors of information via the media channels. A minority of electors, those with high educational levels, and possibly those recently arrived in the community for whom social contact channels are still not yet very effective, may actively seek information via the media. They can tune in to local news and public service broadcasts on the election, and deliberately scan the newspaper for details on the candidates.

Radio. Electors tune to the local radio station largely out of habit, at regular times and for intervals of varying length during the day. For most, the radio is a background, entertainment or recreation, not primarily a source of information. For some it may be an important source of local news. For national news the majority of electors now rely on the television. Since radio listening habits are not documented in detail, one can only conjecture about the actual listening patterns of electors. It is not clear what proportion of the local population listen to the various programs of the local radio station. Estimates from the station itself are not necessarily accurate. There may be significant differences in radio listening patterns between electors of different income, education levels, age, sex, or length of community

residence. Some political information is transmitted but how much elec-

tors actually receive is not known. If information is received does it

positively influence an elector's intention to vote for a candidate

identified only through the radio channel? Re-enforcement from other

channels may be required before an elector will turn out to vote for a

candidate.

Newspapers. As with local radio listening, so with the pattern of

taking and reading the local newspaper: the majority of homes in a

community take the local daily newspaper if there is one. Reasons for

buying the local paper must be diverse, from an interest in local commu-

nity affairs, to local gossip, to local entertainment guide and informa-

tion about local shopping specials. For many this is the only daily

newspaper. It is the source of national and international news, albeit

limited. The extent to which people peruse the local paper actively

seeking local election information is unclear. But many readers will

have absorbed information about the incumbents by reading the paper's

reports of council activities and other community affairs during the

life of the previous council. Elector response to specific election

campaign advertising on the part of candidates is likewise unclear. It

is probably safe to assume that in an at-large election with the typically

long roster of candidates, electors do not read candidates' advertise-

ments carefully; they possibly do not read them at all.

Of those electors who do take the local newspaper, what proportion

cite it as a source of election, and specifically candidate, information?

Is this information built up over a long period prior to the election?

Are particular candidates known in this way? Does information gleaned

from the newspaper positively influence an elector's intention to vote

for candidates known only from this source? Or is re-enforcement required

from other channels.

III.3.c The Elector Channel Model: Summary

Information concerning candidates reaches electors via a complex

of social contacts and media channels. The information received depends

in part on elector customary use of the channels. It depends also on the

amount of use the candidate makes of the channels. Therefore, elector

information is a function of candidate channel use, elector social con-

tacts and elector media use, or:

$$EI = f(CU, ES, EM)$$

where EI is elector information,

CU is candidate channel use, ·

ES is elector social contacts, and

EM is elector media use.

Since the total amount of information concerning candidates in an

at-large election is so small, it is hypothesised that the information

itself may be less significant than the channel that conveys it. Should

this be the case, it would have two implications. The first is that the

message carried by the channel is largely a function of that channel.

As will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter, only the

simplest information can be conveyed by media forms of advertising and by posters. Certain social contact channels and other media channels are capable of conveying more complex messages, but probably do not. The second implication is that elector response to information conveyed via a particular channel is largely a function of the channel itself. As has been demonstrated in chapter two, and as will further be enlarged upon in this chapter on the integrated channel model, some information channels are demonstrably more effective in influencing the behaviour of those receiving information via them than certain other channels, almost regardless of what the information is.

Because the total package of information available is so restricted, if an elector in an at-large election has sufficient information about candidates to motivate him to turn out to vote, he is likely to vote for precisely those candidates he has information about. Moreover, he will have received that information via those channels which are most likely to influence his behaviour and cause him to vote for a given candidate.

If this is so, then the influence of information is a function of elector response to the information and to the channel.

An alternative hypothesis, but less convincing, is that electors who turn out to vote do so precisely because they have sufficient information about a number of candidates to select some and reject others. Some of those who do not turn out do so because they have no information, but others do not vote because they recognise that they have insufficient information to select intelligently.

III.4 An Integrated Political Information Channel Model

The link between the candidate model and the elector model is forged
by the channels through which information flows from candidates to elec-
tors. Figure III.4 illustrates those channels and the direction of the
links between candidate and elector.

The figure suggests that candidates and electors are connected by a
complex set of acquaintance circles. Some of these contacts may be direct;
some may be via an intermediary. For certain electors, or even candidates,
though, no such social links may exist.

The social contacts are active prior to the election. During that
time they convey information which becomes politically significant when
a candidate declares his intention to run for office. A social contact
continues and may be strengthened and highly active during the immediate
pre-election period as candidates deliberately use these channels to
transmit information, and as electors discuss the election and particular
candidates within their acquaintance circles.

Candidates and electors are also connected via the media channels,
though the nature of the linkage is different. Electors have their
customary practise of media use (or non-use). Candidates may have dir-
ected information deliberately or inadvertently at electors via these
channels in a general way prior to the election. The media channels
may be used deliberately and actively by candidates during the campaign
period, but their effectiveness may depend largely on the electors'
habitual use of the media channel. The social contact of the canvasser,
and the media contact of posters and election literature are different
from the other channels since they exist only in the context of the

INTEGRATED INFORMATION

CHANNEL MODEL

CANDIDATE
C

RESOURCES
R

PERCEPTION
P

CHANNEL USE
U

MEDIA CHANNELS
M

SOCIAL CONTACT CHANNELS
S

GENERAL AND ELECTION SPECIFIC
G
L

FORMAL CONTACTS
F

INFORMAL CONTACTS
I

Professional
p

Social
a

Household
h

Kin
k

Neighbours
n

Friends
d

Fellow Workers
w

CANVASSING
V

RADIO
D

NEWSPAPERS
W

T V
T

POSTERS
O

L'TERATURE
T

FORMAL CONTACTS
F

INFORMAL CONTACTS
i

SOCIAL CONTACT CHANNELS
S

MEDIA CHANNELS
M

ELECTOR
E

FIGURE III. 4

election itself, and are a deliberate creation of the candidate.

Some of the basic differences between media and social contact channels have already been explored in Chapter II during the search of the literature for significant channels. Elector and candidate use has been discussed in this chapter. The purpose of this section is to suggest the *contact effectiveness* and *influence effectiveness* of channels, given candidate and elector use patterns. What differences exist between channels in terms of their relative effectiveness in making contacts? Do different channels convey different amount and types of information? Can channels be differentiated by their power to influence and their tendency to effect a conversion?

III.4.a Media Channels: General and Election Specific

Media channels generally are capable of effecting a contact with a large number of people, and of conveying simple pieces of information to them. Such channels carry a vast quantity of information of which political information related to a particular election is a very small part. Candidates utilise media channels according to their capacity to have developed a flow of information via these channels to the public prior to the election, and according to their capacity to pay for advertising during the immediate pre-election period. All candidates receive some exposure via the media dependent upon the public policy or the management policy of the medium. But candidate use of the channel, and the channel's capacity to disseminate information is no guarantee of an effective contact. Electors have pre-set patterns of channel use which also contribute to the chance of a contact being made. They also have the ability to

reject a contact and the message it carries if they so choose.

What are the characteristics of the different media channels, and how does candidate use, message carrying ability, and power to influence differ between channels?

In national or provincial elections television is now a major, if not the major medium of information flow. Candidate activities are followed by the cameras through the immediate pre-election period, although the degree of coverage varies greatly from one candidate to another. Some candidates, by nature of their activities prior to the election may have been exposed to the public over this medium before the election. In addition candidates may purchase advertising time. It has been demonstrated that a majority of electors get what political information they possess about this level of election via the medium of television. For some electors, the least well educated, least interested and least involved, it is often the only media channel via which they receive information.

In a local election the role of television is much more restricted. There may be a local channel conveying local political affairs to the public prior to and during the election period. In this case the medium functions much as it does in the higher levels of elections, with the difference that candidates have very small financial resources available to purchase television advertising time, and the inclination of the local channel to televise local political affairs may be small. In a non-partisan election parties are not a source of financial aid, though locally partisan elections may have parties sufficiently solvent to

purchase television advertising on behalf of their candidates. In

medium and small town local elections, the television coverage is probably

restricted to a local cable channel which televises public affairs

programs and does not carry advertising. For example, the station may

televise public all-candidates meetings, and may allocate free time to

each candidate during which the candidate has the opportunity to explain

his experience, ability for the job, and stance on issues. Given the

alternative attractions on other television channels, it is probable

that very few members of the public watch such programs. Moreover, the

medium of television is unkind to the amateur performer. Some candidates

might deliberately avoid this exposure rather than lose a few votes

because of their unappealing performance before the cameras.

i. Radio

Although the radio as a medium for the transfer of political informa-

tion has declined relative to the television at national and provincial

level elections, in many local elections it is likely to play a more

important role than television. Many individuals do tune to the local

radio station for local news. However, coverage of the election and

coverage of the individual candidates may be controlled by the radio

station policy and by station bias for or against certain candidates or

groups of candidates. A radio station does not need to broadcast against

a candidate; non-coverage is probably as effective a weapon.

Certain candidates, namely incumbents and those previously active

in civic affairs, have a great advantage over their rivals since they

will have been reported over the radio prior to the election. For electors,

this general consciousness of knowing of a candidate, and of his experience and his ability through hearing about him via the radio as an authoritative figure may be very influential.

The value of radio advertising for the candidate is unclear. For the candidate the expense is high relative to the uncertainty of making a contact and influencing an elector. If many candidates advertise one may be indistinguishable from the rest. Some candidates may feel that name repetition on the radio is the best strategy; others, that some indication of their experience may be effective. Although it is possible to express views on issues on the radio some may reject this option as unlikely to appeal to the audience. Electors have the power to turn off the advertisement, or to ignore it. Radio, then, could contact many but may influence few.

ii. Newspapers

Local newspapers function in ways very similar to those of local radio stations in respect to their role in a local election.

Some candidates may have had considerable pre-election coverage in the newspaper if they have been active in civic affairs. Other candidates will never have been mentioned.

At election time some papers allocate approximately equal space free to all candidates. Paper may carry editorials supporting or rejecting certain candidates or groups of candidates. Since these editorials carry some authority with certain sectors of the paper reading public, they could influence the vote.

Papers do accept advertising from any candidate who can afford the cost - a cost lower than for radio advertising. Candidates probably realise that they are advertising to a smaller and more exclusive audience, but to one equally, if not more interested in civic affairs than the radio audience. But in an at-large election, the large number of campaign advertisements in the local paper probably antagonises the reader. Few electors are likely to read through the repetitious pages of advertisements.

It is possible that the barrage of information being delivered to the public, compressed into such a short period of time, will cause all but the most politically oriented or civic minded of readers to ignore it. Such persons do read the local paper, however, and may be influenced by it. This could be decisive, since many local papers are supportive of the local *status quo*, and are highly biased under the guise of official non-partisanship. An open editorial policy, on the other hand, might result in a local paper active as a vehicle to raise local interest in civic and political affairs.

iii. Posters

The simplistic form of advertisement is carried to the extreme in the use of posters. As mentioned in Chapter II, posters are a media channel, impersonal, there to contact many, but not designed to respond or interact. Relative to radio or newspaper advertising, posters are a cheap channel for a candidate to select. The candidate, however, has several choices to make: the content of the message of the poster - name repetition only, a slogan, views, experience? Effective graphics may

attract public attention. Pale, undramatic posters will be ignored. The candidate has to select locations for placing the posters. It is suggested that there may be a striking difference between the poster strategy of the determined candidate with a pre-planned campaign, and that of the impulse candidate.

Elector response to election posters is unclear. In elections with very large numbers of candidates, posters may be ignored because of their vast number and the inability of the elector to distinguish one from the other. Posters may, however, catch the eye of an elector, and convey a name, which can later be recalled when reinforced by information via another medium. Without reinforcement it is unlikely that posters alone would be sufficient to motivate an elector to turnout to vote and cast a vote for that candidate. But in at-large elections voters with sufficient information to turnout to vote for some candidates may vote for a poster candidate because the name is recognised on the ballot.

iv. Literature

Election literature, the cards, leaflets and fliers that candidates have printed and distributed to the public, are intermediate between media channels and social contacts in their characteristics. They cost money; though as a form of advertising they are relatively cheap. They usually are distributed by supporters or by the candidate. They can, and usually do, contain a range of information about the candidate. Electors have a personal option to ignore leaflets, as many probably do. For those seeking information, however, leaflets provide electors with the information they need to select, rather than vote on name recognition and personal knowing

alone. As with posters, candidates may or may not plan a locational strategy for distribution of their leaflets, either to the greatest number of people, or to those people they feel they can motivate to vote for them. Leaflets may be placed in the immediate neighbourhood, given to fellow workers, distributed in special areas, such as old peoples' apartments, ethnic areas, if the candidate feels he can make a special appeal to these people.

It is therefore suggested that while media channels have the ability to convey information to a large number of electors, the actual number of contacts effected depends not only on candidate use of the channel in past and present, but also on electors' customary pattern of use or non-use of the media channels. Moreover the influence and conversion effect the information exerts is not only a function of the information the candidate is conveying but is also a function of elector customary response to that particular channel.

III.4.b Social Contact Channels: General and Election Specific

Although both candidates and electors naturally have a range of social contacts, the likelihood of a link via a social contact channel between a candidate and an elector is much lower than via a media channel. The literature suggests, however, that if a contact is made, it is much more likely to be influential, to cause a conversion, and to bring out a positive vote, than is a media contact. This applies not only to a direct contact between a candidate and an elector, but also to indirect contacts. There is considerable evidence from the political science and sociology literature suggesting that indirect knowing, through the inter-

mediary of an intervening social contact, is significant, and that the
recommendations of social contacts, on behalf of a candidate known to
that contact, are influential and likely to effect a conversion.

Under the categories used in Chapter II, of informal social contact
channels and formal social contact channels, this section deals with who
knows whom directly or indirectly through social contacts, and in Greer's
telling phrases "who talks to whom, about what, and with what effect",
and, as the geographer will ask, where?

Candidates and electors do not have a simple individual information
field as suggested by some geographers, but a complex series of acquaint-
ance fields of varying levels of intensity and spatial patterns, and
varying likelihood of discussion of political matters, dependent upon
the characteristics of the individual under consideration, and largely
on the nature of the social contact being examined.

The social contacts being considered here are ones between candi-
dates and electors, and electors and electors, which have been developed
over time before the election. Their political significance may emerge
only in the immediate pre-election period as an elector realises that he
knows a candidate personally, or learns of a candidate indirectly through
one of his social contacts. What are the differences between the types
of informal and formal social channels as effective contacts and channels
of information flow?

i. Informal Social Contact Channels

Direct contacts between a candidate and electors may occur between
members of the same household, between a candidate and his relatives,

between a candidate and his neighbours, and his friends and his fellow workers. In an election where information is so scarce, this personal knowing through a direct candidate elector contact is very likely to carry sufficient information to influence voting behaviour. It was noted earlier in this chapter that different candidates have different ranges and intensities of informal contacts, as do electors. Greer noted that the opportunities for frequent close social contact and for the probability of political discussion are higher between kin and fellow workers, than between friends, or between neighbours. This raises the question of the relative effectiveness of the different social contacts to spread information. 'Indirect knowing, the introduction of the name of a candidate, may occur between electors. Greer's data, however, again suggests that the spread effect may be most noticeable between fellow workers, and least effective within neighbourhoods and friendship circles.

Chapter IX of this thesis develops a model of information flow within a neighbourhood, and then examines the actual process of contact and discussion of a local candidate between neighbours. The geographic models of the neighbourhood effect and friends-and-neighbours information flow rest on the assumption that such contacts are frequent, do transfer information, specifically political information, and that the contact is influential in effecting a conversion and a positive vote for the local candidate.

ii. Formal Social Contact Channels

A sequence of direct knowing, and indirect transfer of information similar to that via informal contacts may occur through the formal social channels of local clubs, and local business, professional and union organisations. It is hypothesised that this network is of special significance in an at-large election, with its low turnout and low total information. Those active in civic affairs, interested in local politics, experienced in local business or professions, will turn out to vote. They are the persons most likely to know certain candidates, through their direct or indirect formal contacts, and are likely to vote for them.

The essence of social contacts of the informal and formal types described above, is that they occur between parties sharing certain similar characteristics, of residence location, possibly of income level, of religion, of business interests, of education. There is, then, likely to be some compatibility between the candidates who are known, who are mentioned, or about whom discussion takes place, and the electors forming the contact. This too will contribute to a positive vote.

Finally, a positive vote for a candidate known directly or indirectly can also be attributed to the elector's hope or anticipation that he would be able to touch power, or even get it to work for him should he require it, if the candidates he knows and votes for are elected.

iii. Election Specific Canvassing

Evidence presented in Chapter II indicated that both turnout and positive voting occurred when electors were directly contacted by canvassers during the immediate pre-election period. Electors probably respond favourably to being canvassed because, in low information local elections, such contacts are infrequent, and because the candidate gives the elector a sense of his concern, and his willingness to work for the job. Telephone and door-to-door canvassing, the literature suggests, are both effective. No evidence is available on the success or failure of campaigning in public places such as malls, or the city center. Empirical evidence suggests that electors do not respond well to this form of canvassing. Local group meetings, the coffee parties, can have a significant spread effect of a neighbours and friends type, on a rather more formal basis, but again no documentary evidence is available.

A candidate can substitute canvassing for scarce financial resources, but only if he can mobilise considerable manpower. Door-to-door canvassing, and even telephoning, is very time consuming, and effects few contacts for the effort expended, but candidates with pre-planned location strategies for canvassing, or those who, in addition, are sponsored by a group, can win some support through this information channel. Locational strategies have two features: 1) they are concentrated to reduce waste of time and effort; 2) canvassing is confined to areas where the candidate perceives that there are concentrations of potential supporters, those of similar religious or ethnic background, or those he has pledged to aid if elected to council. Since candidates do not require a large number of votes to get elected under the at-large system, but do require more votes

than they can realistically rely on from pre-existing social contacts, canvassing can be an effective means of raising votes.

III.4.c <u>The Integrated Political Information Channel Model: Summary</u>

For the sake of clarity three models of political information flow in an at-large, non-partisan municipal election have been presented in this chapter. Both the candidate model and the elector model are essential parts of the integrated channel model since they deal in turn with candidate use of the channels and elector use of the channels. The integrated model, building on this, attempts to identify what channel links actually do operate between candidate and elector, given channel use by these two sets of actors. If the amount of information an elector receives is a function of candidate and elector channel use (p. 77), and the influence of the information is a function of elector response to the information and to the channel conveying the information (p. 78), then, it is suggested, elector vote or no-vote is a function of candidate use, elector use, and elector response to the channel and the information it conveys.

That is:

$$\text{Vote/No-Vote} = f(CU, EU, E_rN)$$

where CU is candidate use

EU is elector use, and

E_rN is elector response to the channel and the information it conveys

The integrated political information channel model focusses, then,
on contact effectiveness and the influence or conversion effectiveness of
the channels themselves.

SECTION B: EMPIRICAL TESTING OF THE POLITICAL

INFORMATION CHANNEL MODELS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to apply the information channel

models which have been developed to a particular election, in order to

examine the ways·in which the information system functions.

What is the relationship between input and output; that is,

what is the relationship between information input by candidates and vote

or no-vote by electors? Do the intervening variables function as suggested

by the models? Is elector response indeed as much a function of the

channel which conveys the information as the information itself, as

implied in the model? Are there channels revealed by the questionnaire

open questions which are not adequately incorporated into the model? Are

there other channels which were not adequately tested?

The section is divided into six chapters. The first chapter, (Chapter

IV) describes the selection of the specific election and its location.

Characteristics of the test area that are relevant to the functioning of

the electoral system and its information flow are described. The second

chapter (Chapter V) examines the sampling scheme, questionnaire develop-

ment, and related problems. The core of the section is the data analysis,

Chapters VI, VII and VIII. Here the candidate model, the elector model,

and finally the integrated model are examined in the light of the data

collected on information channel use and information flow. The conclusion
of Chapter VIII on the integrated multi-channel model summarizes the
relationships between candidate channel use, elector channel use and
information received, and the efficiency of the channels to effect con-
tact, convey information and effect conversion.

The integrated multi-channel model incorporates into one framework
and evaluates the relative importance of all those channels considered
important in conveying political information from candidates to electors.
The geographic literature stressed the importance of one set of personal
contact channels, namely neighbours and friends and neighbours, in
producing typical patterns of support for candidates which decayed with
distance from the candidate. Examination of the channel data provided
by the 1972 survey reveals that few electors claimed knowledge of candi-
dates through contact with neighbours. The role of neighbours is there-
fore selected for closer examination. Chapter IX, therefore, investigates
the role of personal interaction: 1) between neighbours within a narrowly
defined neighbourhood; and 2) by neighbours of a local candidate, amongst
themselves, amongst their friends and various other social contacts, as
an effective channel of political information flow.

CITY OF GUELPH, ONTARIO: TEST AREA

IV.1 Selection

The at-large, non-partisan municipal electoral system was selected over the better documented partisan ward, national or sub-national systems for the, following reasons:

1. A non-partisan election permits focus on information channels and information flow rather than on the continuing and complex psychological politicisation which is a preoccupation of partisan studies.

2. Non-partisan elections are more common at the municipal level, especially in Canada.

3. The municipal system is smaller and less complex than higher level systems, fewer channels exist, and the passage of information from candidate to elector can be traced more easily on this account.

4. The relative lack of issues in the at-large municipal election assures that local partisanship is not a major factor.

5. An at-large election virtually assures that there
   will be a large number of candidates, permitting
   differentiation between the groups of incumbents
   and non-incumbents.

6. There is a very low overall level of available informa-
   tion, again making information flow easier to trace.

7. In an at-large election candidates are distributed
   residentially across the city and compete against
   one another for elector support by making contact with
   electors and providing them with sufficient informa-
   tion that the electors will turn out and cast a vote
   for the candidate. Such multi-candidate competition
   permits examination of the process and intensity of
   neighbourhood political discussion, of neighbourhood
   support of the local candidate, and of the diffusion
   of information about him by neighbours.

The City of Guelph 1972 municipal election, in which eleven aldermen
were chosen from the long roster of candidates in a general (at-large)
vote, was selected as the test case. With its population of approxi-
mately 60,000 in 1972, the City of Guelph is a medium sized Ontario
town. Though by no means homogeneous in social structure, the city has
no major faction or factions playing overt or dominant roles in the
municipal election. No divisive issues pertinent to the election were
placed before the electorate prior to, during, or subsequent to the
election. (A referendum on fluoridation of city water was included on

the general ballot, but candidates avoided making this a political issue
for city council). No candidate or politically organized group of
candidates dominated the available information channels. If not a typi-
cal medium sized city with an·at-large, non-partisan electoral structure,
the City of Guelph is certainly unexceptional.

IV.2 Profile of the City

IV.2.a City Social Structure

The City of Guelph is located in south Wellington County in Southern
Ontario, forty miles from Toronto to the east, thirty miles from Hamilton
to the south, nineteen miles from the Regional Municipality of Kitchener-
Waterloo to the west, and approximately twelve to fifteen miles from the
three towns comprising the Regional Municipality of Cambridge to the
south-west. Guelph grew slowly from its incorporation in 1851 until 1941
(Table IV.1). The highest percentage increases during this period were
during the first decade, and between 1901 and 1911. The city has,
however, shared in the rapid population increase characteristic of many
towns of Southern Ontario since 1951, though the rate of increase for the·
city has been less than that of many Southern Ontario cities. Most of
the growth, a doubling of the population between 1951 and 1971, has been
due to an influx of· new residents. The area of the city was increased
by annexation during the two decades, but this did not add greatly to
the population, although it has subsequently permitted residential growth
in the areas annexed.

TABLE IV.1

POPULATION OF THE CITY OF GUELPH, 1971-1974

Year	Population	Period	% Annual Increase
1851	1,800	1851-1864	14.28
1864	5,141	1864-1871	4.83
1871	6,878	1871-1891	2.66
1891	10,537	1891-1901	.91
1901	11,496	1901-1911	3.20
1911	15,175	1911-1921	1.95
1921	18,128	1921-1931	1.63
1931	21,075	1931-1941	1.04
1941	23,273	1941-1951	1.77
1951	27,386	1951-1961	4.38
1961	39,383	1961-1971	5.29
1971	60,210	1971,1974	3.25
1974	66,082 (estimate)		

SOURCE: Census of Canada

The growth alone has put considerable strain on the city's social and media information channels to convey information to the rapidly increasing population.

The growth of the population indicates that a decreasing proportion of the city's population are long term residents. Until 1951 only a very small proportion of the total city population consisted of new or short term residents. By 1974 roughly ten percent had lived in the city for less than three years. The increasing number and the proportion of city residents with no ties to the existing social network of the city has important implications for the flow of information, and particularly the flow of political information within the city.

As the proportion of newcomers to long term residents increases, so does the proportion of city residents who are not employed within the city, and who are not, therefore, drawn into the social fabric of the city by contact with fellow workers. Over the last five years residents have been increasingly employed outside the city, in Kitchener-Waterloo and to a lesser extent in Hamilton. Recently Guelph has been widely advertised by real estate developers as being within the commuting range of Toronto, with considerable success. This change has vital con-seuqences for the industrial and residential tax base of the city; for the demands on privately and publicly operated services; for the employ-ment structure of city residents; and for the social contact structure of the city and its relationship to the local political process.

The employment figures for 1972 indicate that nearly forty per cent of those employed in the city work in industry, thirty-two per cent in service and related fields, and nearly twelve per cent in wholesale and

retailing. Industrial employment has grown steadily, though not spectacularly over the last decade. The number of new industrial jobs has not kept pace with the population increase. The location of Guelph's major industries, and of the industrial core as a whole, has been shifted from the older industrial area on low-lying land along the Eramosa River to the east of downtown, to an industrial park occupying most of the north western quadrant of the city (Figure IV.1). It should be noted that the figures in Table IV.2 are for city employment, not for city residents, and that they therefore include commuters from Guelph's satellite towns such as Fergus and Elora, and hamlets like Rockwood and Morriston, but exclude Guelph commuters to Kitchener, Hamilton and Toronto.

Guelph has three major employers, Imperial Tobacco and Canadian General Electric to the north west of the city with approximately three per cent of the labour force each, and the University of Guelph on the southern edge of the city (Figure IV.1). Expansion of the Ontario Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges into the University of Guelph from a couple of thousand to nearly ten thousand students, has contributed substantially to the employment opportunities in the city, both at the university itself, and through the demands placed on local retailers by the student population. In 1972 the University of Guelph employed twelve per cent of the total labour force. Employees of these and the few other large establishments in the city have potential access to a large network of fellow workers, though the actual access depends on the internal structure of the establishment, which could be highly compartmentalised. Employees of small establishments do not have this social contact opportunity.

CITY OF GUELPH 1972

LEGEND

C.B.D.

UNIVERSITY

INDUSTRIAL AREAS

Area A, B, C Selected Areas
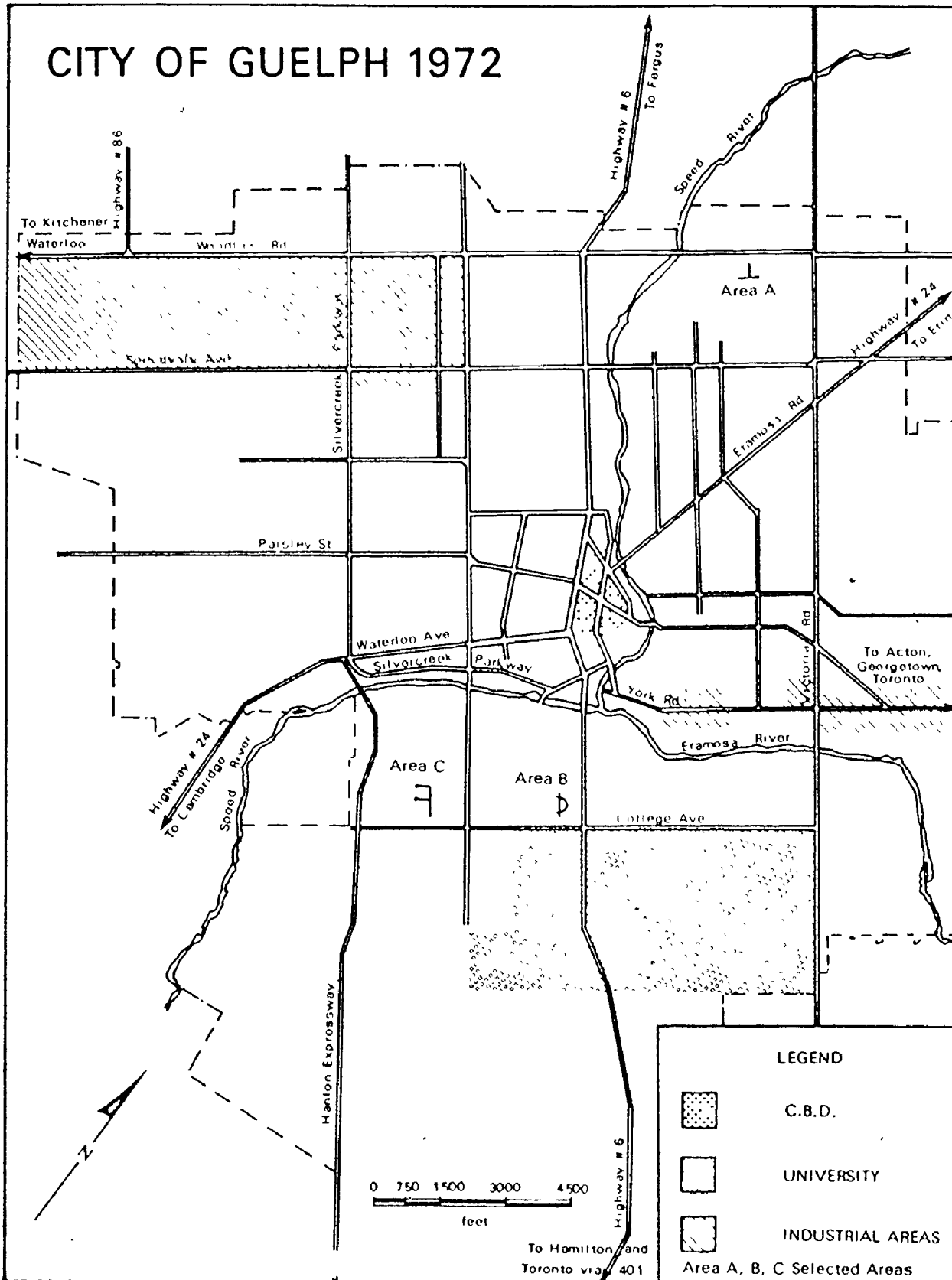
FIGURE IV 1-

TABLE IV.2

EMPLOYMENT: CITY OF GUELPH, 1972

Employment Group	Male	Female	Total	%
Industry:	6,808	2,588	9,396	39.13
Imperial Tobacco			760	3.0
Canadian G.E.			784	3.0
Services:	3,537	4,214	7,751	32.25
Hospitals	404	1,521	1,925	8.01
Schools	449	603	1,052	4.38
University of Guelph	1,765	1,111	2,876	11.97
Doctors, Dentists	93	139	232	.97
Other	826	840	1,666	6.93
Retail-Wholesale	1,613	1,178	2,791	11.62
Gov't.: Fed., Prov., Municipal	1,562	320	1,882	7.83
Contract Construction	998	16	1,014	4.22
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	497	365	862	3.59
Transport, Telephone, Telecom.	396	62	458	1.90
Printing	129	52	179	.74
Agriculture and Forestry	59	17	76	.31
TOTAL	15,597	8,812	24,409	100 (approx.)

SOURCE: City of Guelph, Planning Department Report, 1972

As can be seen from Table IV.3 the ethnic structure of the city, as recorded by the 1971 Census of Canada, was sixty-seven per cent British in origin. Guelph's next largest (ten per cent of the total population), and certainly its most distinctive ethnic group is Italian. The Italian community has been residentially concentrated in the area southeast of the downtown core, in an area known popularly as the Ward. Although still forming fifty per cent of the population of that area, persons of Italian origin now live in all parts of the city, but particularly to the north and northeast of their original location, where a catholic church and large new separate grade school have recently been built.

Other ethnic groups in the city are numerically small by comparison (Table IV.3) and include those of German origin, French origin, those from the Netherlands and a few from Poland.

The Catholic Church plays a significant role in the city. One third of the population are recorded as Roman Catholic (Table IV.3). The Church of Our Lady, with its satellite schools and convent, domina- tes the city skyline. Although nineteen per cent of the population are registered in the census as United Church, and a further fifteen and eleven per cent as Anglican and Presbytérian, this assuredly is not an accurate reflection of actual church attendance or church membership, which is considered considerably lower. However, churches, whether the older downtown churches or the new suburban churches, play, as they do in any such city, a part in the social contact networks of the city.

Any medium sized city has a large number of social and professional organisations, in addition to those related to work or church: Guelph is no exception. The organisations range from service and fraternal

TABLE IV.3

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS: CITY OF GUELPH, 1971

Ethnic Group	#	%
British Isles	40,515	67.29
Italian	6,215	10.32
German	4,165	6.92
French	1,985	3.30
Netherlands	1,765	2.93
Polish	1,045	1.74
Asian	745	1.24
Ukrainian	520	.86
Hungarian	460	.76
Other	2,795	4.64
TOTAL	60,210	100.00

Religion	#	%
Roman Catholic	20,010	33.23
United Church	11,575	19.22
Anglican	9,130	15.16
Presbyterian	7,775	12.91
Lutheran	1,650	2.74
Salvation Army	485	.81
Greek Orthodox	455	.76
Jewish	370	.61
No Religion	3,050	5.07
Other	5,710	9.29
TOTAL	60.210	99.80

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1971, Population, Household and
          Family Characteristics, Census Agglomeration of
          Guelph, 1971

clubs, civic organisations, and neighbourhood committees, to cultural,

sports and social clubs. There are, therefore, opportunities open to

all residents for formal social interaction via these organisations. The

extent of membership in these clubs is significant partly because there

is considerable evidence in the literature that those who participate in

social organisations also tend to participate in political affairs, at

least to the extent of voting. It has been suggested, too, that such

organisations play a very significant role as an information channel in

the city by bringing members of the general public into contact with

political and civic leaders, and thereby affording political candidates

a specialised contact channel.

IV.2.b City Media

The City of Guelph has one daily newspaper, one radio station and

a cable television station, with service areas of varying sizes and

intensities.

The local paper has a city circulation of roughly fourteen thousand

(Guelph Daily Mercury, Circulation Manager, personal communication,

December, 1972), that is, just under one copy for every four persons in

the city. Approximately four thousand more copies are distributed in a

rural delivery area extending primarily to the north of the city.

The paper itself is divided into two sections; one carrying national

and international news; the other carrying local news. The activities

of council, and to a lesser extent, of the Planning Department and

Transportation Authority, are covered in the local sections. Council

members' votes on motions are occasionally reported.

At election time candidates are allocated free space for their

election messages. In addition, paid advertisements of varying length

are carried in both sections of the paper. The paper has, however, a

policy of not printing letters by, or referring to, particular candidates,

on the grounds that such letters would give unfair media coverage.

The Guelph radio station audience is more difficult to estimate than

local newspaper distribution (CJOY-AM, General Manager, personal commu-

nication, December, 1972). An audience survey conducted for the station

in the Fall of 1974 (CJOY-AM, General Manager, personal communication,

February, 1975) found that roughly sixty per cent of the city population

listened to the station at least once a week.

The station carries both local, national and international news,

but makes little reference to the activities of city council. During

the election campaign, paid advertisements are aired, and the all-candi-

dates' night run regularly before the election by the Jaycees, is carried

live. Occasionally issues of a non-partisan nature, like fluoridation,

are given greater prominence on open-line talk shows. Otherwise, issues

are seldom discussed.

An indication of the potential value of the radio medium to a poli-

tical candidate is the occupation of the present popular mayor, an

uncontested returnee in the last three elections. He is the chief sports-

caster, and a newscaster for the local radio station.

Eighty per cent of the city's population is served by cable tele-

vision, but the company estimates that only a very small proportion of

this audience watches the public service programs shown by the local

channel (Maclean-Hunter Cable-TV, Business Manager, personal communication,

December, 1974). Since it is a public service, the station carries no advertising on its own channel, but it does provide a television spot of up to ten minutes in length for any candidate who wishes to use the medium of television. It also televises the all-candidates night.

IV.2.c City Electoral Structure

As illustrated in Table IV.4, the electoral structure of the City of Guelph has undergone many changes, particularly during the period from the incorporation of the settlement until 1929. This period could aptly be called the period of electoral experimentation. The electoral structure alternated between ward and at-large; the number cf wards changed; the method of selecting the mayor changed.

Although the city was at that time compact in area and small in population, in 1929 the ward system was eliminated, as part of the electoral reforms initiated by the Reform Movement of city government which were diffusing across North America. Since 1930 Guelph has been governed by a mayor and eleven councillors selected at-large, by the general vote of the electorate. As the twelfth council member, the mayor in this system acts primarily as president of the council, rather than as an active political figure. He does not have, and therefore cannot cast, a tie-breaking vote in council.

Candidates may reside in any part of the city. The spatial distribution of elected members depends solely on election success, and is not allocated across the city by structural subdivision into wards. For example, in 1972 three candidates, all of whom were successful, lived on the same short residential street, while large areas of the city produced

TABLE IV.4

CITY OF GUELPH ELECTORAL STRUCTURE 1851-1975

Year	Legal Status	Electoral Structure		
		Mayor	Council	Ward/ At-Large
1851-55	Provincial statute	Reeve		At-Large
1856-79		Mayor elected at-large	12 (3 per ward)	4 wards
1859	Amendment to municipal statute	Mayor elected at-large		
1878	Proclamation of Governor-General			6 wards
1879	Petition from council to province, city status	Mayor	18 (3 per ward)	6 wards
1902	Referendum to electorate			
1903-06		Mayor, person with maximum votes	18 (1 per ward) 11 general	·6 wards plus at-large
1907-09			18 (3 per ward)	6 wards
1910-18		Mayor, from at-large with maximum votes	17 (1 per ward) 11 general	6 wards plus at-large
1918	Revised statute		18 top 6, 3 yrs. next 6, 2 yrs. next 6, 1 yr.	at-large
1919-23		Mayor elected by council	18, 6 voted for each year	at-large
1923	Statute of Ontario, chapter 65	Mayor elected at-large		
1929	Act Respecting the City of Guelph, March 28			
1930		Mayor elected at-large	11 annaul election	at-large
1965			bi-annual election	
1969-70	Ontario Municipal Act, elections in consecutive years to bring city into accordance with the timing of Ontario municipal elections			

SOURCE: Record search by Deputy City Clerk, City of Guelph, 1975.

no candidates, and therefore no members on council. Only one member, who in 1972 had been on council for seven years, and who, in the 1972 and 1974 elections was the top polling candidate, is popularly linked with the area in which he resides, and is viewed both in the area and outside as a ward representative. This area thus regarding its local candidate is the old Italian area of the Ward.

Ward names, actually parish names, and ward numbers are still used to designate the different areas of the city. As the city has expanded out from the original downtown core and the older residential district with the development of new subdivisions on the urban periphery and as land was annexed to the city, those areas designated by the ward names and numbers have been expanded outwards.

Unease on the part of some members of the general public with the limits on public involvement in the political process set by the electoral and political structures of the city which have become more apparent during the past two decades of growth, has led to three levels of response to the problem.

Council created neighbourhood recreation committees, and charged them with the specific and limited objective of promoting recreation programs in neighbourhood parks. Under the auspices of the Guelph and Wellington District Community Services Council a Planning Task Force consisting of professionally competent but apolitical members of the public was set up. The Planning Task Force reviews and comments to city council on all planning and related documents.

At the neighbourhood level itself, neighbourhood committees have been formed by neighbourhood residents in several parts of the city, in

new subdivisions and older residential areas. They make direct repre-
sentation to council on behalf of the neighbourhood when zoning changes
and other developments are proposed for their area. The committees
have been formed in recognition of the need for some local input into
the city political process, but they carry no political power since they
are outside the formal political structure.

The latter two responses described above appear to be adjustments
of a growing population to the operation of the local, at-large, multi-
candidate electoral system.

CHAPTER V

APPLICATION OF THE MULTI-CHANNEL POLITICAL

INFORMATION MODEL

In order to obtain primary data on channel use and information flow,

detailed questionnaires were administered by personal interview to the

population of candidates and to a sample of the eligible electorate in

the 1972 Guelph municipal election.

V.1 Sampling

V.1.a Electors

i. The One Per Cent Random Sample

In the Guelph municipal election of 1972 just over 40,000 persons

were eligible to vote. A one per cent random sample was taken.

The voters' list records eligible voters in each polling district.

The names and addresses of eligible city residents are given alphabeti-

cally for each street in the polling district. Every hundredth name was

selected. The enumeration lists were found to be accurate for all areas

except the University of Guelph, where, because voter registration was

voluntary, students were under-enumerated. In all other parts of the

city enumerators went door-to-door to record eligible voters directly.

With this exception, the sample was distributed residentially across the city in proportion to the voter density in each area (Figure V.1).

Several alternative sampling procedures were considered and rejected.

1. Stratified sample.

a. Stratification of the sample by characteristics suggested by the literature as influential in constraining or determining voter preference was considered. Such characteristics might, for example, be education or income. The strategy was rejected on the grounds that the focus of the study is channels, and not primarily how electors with particular characteristics use channels. Moreover, the short lead time between the publication of voters' lists and the election itself virtually precludes utilisation of the time consuming process of identifying and locating respondents for a stratified sample.

b. Stratification of the sample by characteristics suggested in the literature as influential to the organisation of patterns of social contact was also considered. Such a sampling procedure would, however, limit the applicability of the results of the study to those particular groups selected; for example, Italians and Scots, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, residents of less than one year, residents of more than thirty years. Preparation of an initial sampling frame, the population of these groups in Guelph, as a preliminary to selecting a small sample, would be very difficult. Moreover, the one per cent sample method does afford subgroups sufficiently large to be statistically sound for cross tabulation on these characteristics if desired.

CITY OF GUELPH MUNICIPAL ELECTION 1972

LOCATION OF CANDIDATES AND RESPONDENTS
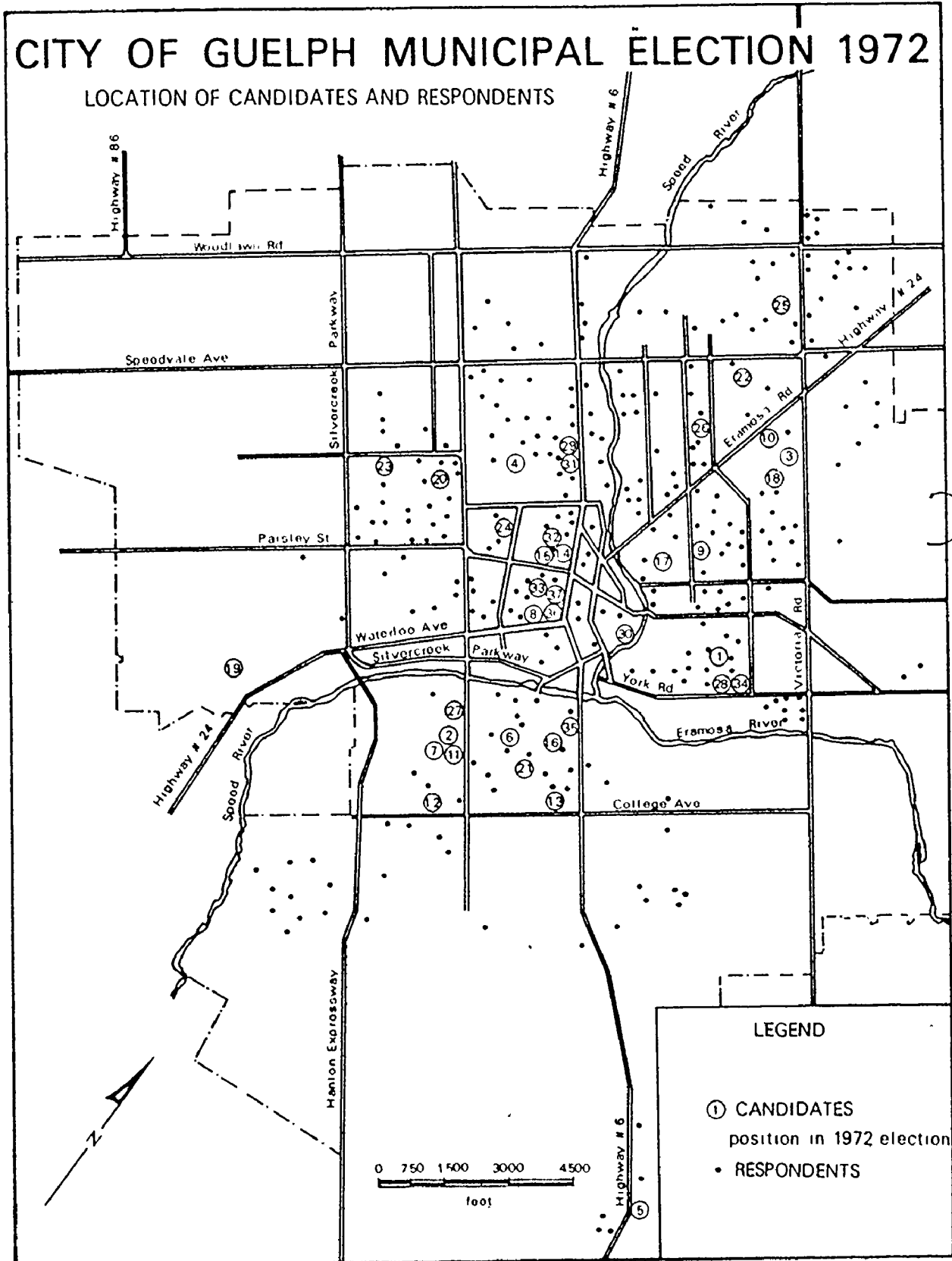
FIGURE V.1

2. Locational sample.

a. A sample could have been selected from residents of specific locales in the city; for example, from the city centre, an older residential area, a new church, an apartment block, a public housing development. Such a sample would again have shifted the focus of the study. It would also be difficult to justify the selected locations as typical.

b. A procedure in which representatives of every household in a neighbourhood was defined as the population was considered, but was rejected as limiting the focus of the study to the neighbourhood at a stage when the relative significance of this channel was not adequately understood. This procedure was, however, employed at the second stage of the study when the focus was narrowed to the neighbourhood as a channel.

Once the one per cent sample had been selected, interviewers were instructed that substitutions were not to be made. Out of a sample of 390, 319 interviews were completed; a response rate of eighty-two per cent.

ii. The Sample and the Electorate: A Comparison

A comparison between the socio-economic characteristics of the population of the city as a whole, as revealed by the 1971 Census data, and the socio-economic attributes of the 1972 sample of the electorate shows considerable correspondence between the two. Discrepancies may be attributed to changes in the population composition between the census

date and the 1972 election; to differences in wording and emphasis in the questions asked in the census and 1972 interviews which would produce some differences in response; and to the fact that the sample is from the eligible voters' list and the census data is for the city population as a whole.

For example the tables in Table V.1a show that the sex ratio is biased slightly towards female respondents in the sample, indicating that although the interviewers were instructed not to make substitutions, they may have substituted an available female respondent for an absent male respondent within the same household, although they did not substitute a new location.

Despite a deliberate effort to interview in the Catholic Italian community there is a discrepancy between the census data and the sample on the basis of religious preference for the Roman Catholic religion. For United Church and Anglican, however, the ratios are very similar. The number in the sample expressing no religious preference is considerably higher than in the census. This may, in part be due to the higher proportion of students on the voters list and in the sample than enumerated by the census. A factor contributing to the smaller number of those claiming Catholicism as their religion may be the less official nature of the 1972 interview compared with the census, to which respondents may have responded with their actual religious practice, whereas to the census enumerator they may feel compelled to give their past religious affiliation.

The profile of the sample and the census by marital status is very similar. The slight difference between the proportion of married and

TABLE V.1a

ELECTOR SAMPLE AND CITY CENSUS: SOME COMPARISONS

SEX

	SAMPLE 1972		CITY CENSUS 1971
	#	%	%
Male	151	47.3	49.62
Female	168	52.7	50.38

MARITAL STATUS

	SAMPLE 1972		CITY CENSUS 1971
	#	%	%
Married	223	69.9	67.16
Widowed	22	6.9	6.77
Single	74	23.2	26.07

RELIGION

	SAMPLE 1972		CITY CENSUS 1971
	#	%	%
Roman Catholic	83	26.0	33.23
United Church	70	21.9	19.22
Anglican	51	16.0	15.16
Presbyterian	28	8.8	12.91
Jewish	3	.9	.61
No Religion	49	15.4	5.07

STATUS OF DWELLING UNITS

	SAMPLE 1972			CITY CENSUS 1971	
	#	%		#	%
Homeowner	212	66.5	Owner Occupied	11,065	63.0
Tenant	107	33.4	Tenant Occupied	6,505	37.0

TABLE V.1b

GROSS FAMILY INCOME					
	SAMPLE 1972			CITY CENSUS 1971	
$	#	%		#	%
2,999 or less	32	15.02		1,715	9.76
3,000 - 4,999	16	7.51		1,590	9.05
5,000 - 6,999	20	9.39		2,225	12.67
7,000 - 9,999	46	21.59		4,130	23.51
10,000 - 14,999	59	27.70		4,930	28.07
15,000 - 19,999	26	12.21		1,790	10.19
20,000 and over	14	6.57		1,185	6.17
TOTAL	213	99.99		17,565	99.96

AGE					
	SAMPLE 1972			CITY CENSUS 1971	
YEARS	#	%		#	%
15-19	27	8.71		5,630	13.09
20-24	53	17.10		6,255	14.54
25-34	68	21.94		8.345	19.40
35-44	53	17.10		7,035	16.36
45-54	46	14.84		6,160	14.32
55-64	32	10.32		4,510	10.49
65-69	12	3.87		1,720	4.00
70 and over	19	6.13		3,350	7.79
TOTAL	310	100.01		43,005	99.99
REFUSE	9				

single is again probably due to the slightly higher proportion of students in the sample.

The table for income (Table V.1b) again reveals the student presence in the higher percentage of the sample with low family incomes. But with this exception the census and sample data are similar in distribution.

The same discrepancy is present in the age distribution, though it is masked by the fact that the sample data placed those of voter age eighteen to nineteen in the first age category, whereas the census first category includes those of age fifteen to nineteen. As a result the percentage in the 15-19 category according to the census data is larger than the sample, and all the percentages in the other categories are therefore smaller for the census data. It appears that the sample is very slightly under represented in the 65-69 and over 70 categories.

Simple cross comparison between sample and census is not possible on other attributes because of different recording procedures for census and sample or because of differences between the city population as a whole and the eligible electorate.

An additional confirmation that the sample is an adequate representation of the electorate can be seen from the comparison between votes cast by the electorate for the individual candidates and the intent to vote for candidates expressed by the respondents in the sample (Table V.2a and Table V.2b). With one or two exceptions, the placing of the first nineteen candidates in the election corresponds closely with their placing by the sample. Some differences are to be expected since the sample intent to vote includes those who indicated an intention to vote but did not in fact turn out. Discrepancies are to be expected

TABLE V.2a

ACTUAL ELECTION RESULTS 1972, AND ELECTOR INTENT TO VOTE, SURVEY, 1972

CANDIDATES	1972 ELECTION RESULTS			1972 SURVEY, INTENT TO VOTE		
	PLACE	VOTES		PLACE	VOTES	
WINNERS		#	%		#	%
Valeriote	1	9,701	7.97	1	89	10.47
Hammill	2	8,920	7.33	3	59	6.94
Hammond	3	8,690	7.14	4	56	6.59
Hamilton	4	7,800	6.41	2	64	7.53
Hanlon	5	7.723	6.35	6	52	6.12
Brazolot	6	7.652	5.29	7	51	6.01
Murphey	7	6,697	6.75	10	42	4.94
Howitt	8	6,309	5.18	5	55	6.47
MacKinnon	9	5,814	4.78	9	45	5.29
Love	10	5,766	4.74	8	47	5.53
Scammell	11	5,750	4.73	11	38	4.47
LOSERS						
Kendrick	12	5,665	4.66	12	28	3.29
Auld	13	4,146	3.41	14	26	3.06
Bannon	14	3,175	2.61	12	28	3.29
Laws	15	3,019	2.48	15	18	2.21
Ferraro	16	2,825	2.32	16	17	2.00
Rodd	17	2,253	1.85	17	15	1.76
Brohman	18	2,238	1.84	18	14	1.65
Lindsey	19	2,072	1.7	19	12	1.41
Charlton	20	1,821	1.5	27	5	0.59
Barabas	21	1,751	1.44	22	9	1.06
Lewis	22	1,744	1.43	28	4	0.47
Thomas	23	1,524	1.25	36	2	0.24
McMurtry	24	1,010	0.83	23	8	0.94
Maxey	25	960	0.79	32	3	0.35
O'Connor	26	930	0.76	28	4	0.47
Wilson	27	922	0.76	28	4	0.47
Evans	28	665	0.55	21	10	1.18
O'Malley, A.	29	523	0.43	25	6	0.71
Mann	30	504	0.41	28	4	0.47
O'Malley, P.	31	498	0.41	37	0	0.0
Bartkiewicz	32	441	0.36	32	3	0.35
Haythornthwaite, E.	33	424	0.34	25	6	0.71
Barney	34	390	0.32	32	3	0.35
Ottaway	35	374	0.31	32	3	0.35
Phillips	36	372	0.31	24	7	0.82
Haythornthwaite, A.	37	371	0.3	20	11	1.53

	ALL	WINNERS	LOSERS MARGINAL	STRAIGHT
Spearman Rank Correlation	.99869	1.0	.99405	.98916
Pearson Correlation Coefficient	.95731	.70566	.83214	.09307

TABLE V.2b

ACTUAL ELECTION RESULTS 1972, AND

ELECTOR INTENT TO VOTE, SURVEY, 1972

	1972 ELECTION	1972 SURVEY
Persons who voted	15,480	120
% of total	38.23	37.62
Total votes cast	120,418	831
Mean # votes per voter	7.78	6.39

in the placings of the lower polling candidates since both the number

of votes, and particularly the sample intent votes are small in number.

The Spearman Rank Correlations and the Pearson Correlation Coefficients

confirm this (Table V.2a).

V.1.b Candidates

Interviews were attempted with the population of thirty-seven can-

didates in the 1972 municipal election. Thirty-five interviews were

completed. The two missing candidates were unobtainable throughout the

election campaign period and for several weeks thereafter, due to illness.

Since they were unable to campaign, and polled only a few hundred votes,

their absence does not affect the validity of the data. The residential

location of the candidates and their rank in the 1972 election is shown

in Figure V.1.

V.2 Questionnaire Construction

The candidate and elector questionnaire designs were guided by the

literature on overall questionnaire design, wording of individual ques-

tions, and by examples of questionnaires used for partisan political sur-

veys (Madge, 1953).

V.2.a Elector Questionnaire (Appendix I)

Because of the length of the questionnaire, its flow and overall

design was of particular importance. To interest the respondent in the

interview an introductory statement was made about the upcoming election

and the number of candidates involved. The first series of questions was,

therefore, designed to interest the respondent and to test his recall and knowledge of the candidates. The questions were non-provocative and not threatening. All the lengthy and complicated questions were asked during the first half of the interview, hopefully before the interviewee tired. The interview concluded with a series of questions on personal attributes, which led into the sensitive questions of income and political orientation. The question asking for the names of the candidates the respondent intended to vote for in the election and the reasons for the elector's support was placed last on the questionnaire in anticipation of possible negative reaction or hostile response.

The elector questionnaire was structured in the following manner:

1. Elector knowledge of candidates and information sources.

    a. Recall of candidates and general information sources, with no prompt;

    b. Recall of candidates with list provided, and general information sources of each candidate named.

2. Elector participation in political and civic affairs.

3. Elector use of information channels.

    a. Informal and formal social channels; use, discussion of the election, discussion of issues, discussion of candidates;

    b. Media channels; use, information received on the election, on issues, and on candidates;

c. Election specific channels; use or contact,

information received on candidates.

4. Elector knowledge of issues and sense of political

efficacy.

5. Elector personal attributes.

6. Elector support for candidates and reasons for that

support.

The flow of the questionnaire, the ease with which questions could

be asked and the answers recorded, and the clarity of meaning were tested

in a sequence of two pre-tests. Interviewers were first provided with

three questionnaires; one to fill-in themselves, the others to try out

on any two persons not drawn in the sample. Some revisions were made.

The revised questionnaires were applied again, this time to two persons

in Guelph, not known to the interviewer and not drawn on the sample.]

Minor adjustments to wording were made before final printing.

V.2.b Candidate Questionnaire (Appendix II)

The candidate questionnaires were designed according to the same

general principles of construction as the elector questionnaires.

To ensure candidate interest in the interview it opened with questions

on experience in political and civic affairs, the candidate's reasons for

running for alderman, and the issues which had been raised or which the

candidate considered significant. The section on personal attributes was

placed next so as to reduce the intensity of questioning. The candidate

use of social information channels followed. The more sensitive questions of actual campaign strategy, use of the media, amount and allocation of personnel and of financial resources came towards the end, immediately preceding questions on income and political affiliation.

The structure of the candidate questionnaire was as follows:

1. Candidate experience in political and civic affairs.

2. Reasons for running and election issues.

3. Candidate personal attributes.

4. Candidate information channels.

   a. Informal and formal social channels, use, discussion of the election, discussion of issues, discussion of candidacy;

   b. Media channels and election specific channels; use.

5. Manpower and financial support.

6. "Sensitive attributes"; political affiliation and income.

7. Expected support.

For obvious reasons the candidate interviews could not be pre-tested with the same degree of thoroughness as the elector questionnaires. The candidate interview schedule was administered to several non-candidates to test the flow of the questionnaire, recording problems for the interviewer, and the clarity of meaning of the questions. Modifications were

made accordingly.

V.3 Questionnaire Application

Various methods of applying the questionnaires to the electorate and the candidates were considered and rejected in favour of personal interview. The cheaper and less time consuming methods of telephone interview and mailed questionnaire were considered but rejected for the following reasons:

1. The low response rates achieved by these methods are well documented. Low response rates could render the results statistically invalid.

2. The length and complexity of the questionnaire necessary to collect data on many channels and thirty-seven candidates would cause a high rejection rate if the interviews were not administered personally.

3. Prior notification would raise elector awareness, and again invalidate the results.

V.3.a Elector Interviews

The elector interviews were conducted during the last week of the election campaign, from the Tuesday to Saturday, with the election falling on the following Monday. Figure V.2 gives the frequency distribution by day of interview for the 319 completed interviews. To avoid a raised consciousness bias, respondents were not given prior notice of the interview. Ideally all interviews should have been given at the last legal

ELECTOR INTERVIEWS DAY AND DATE,1972

% Interviews
completed
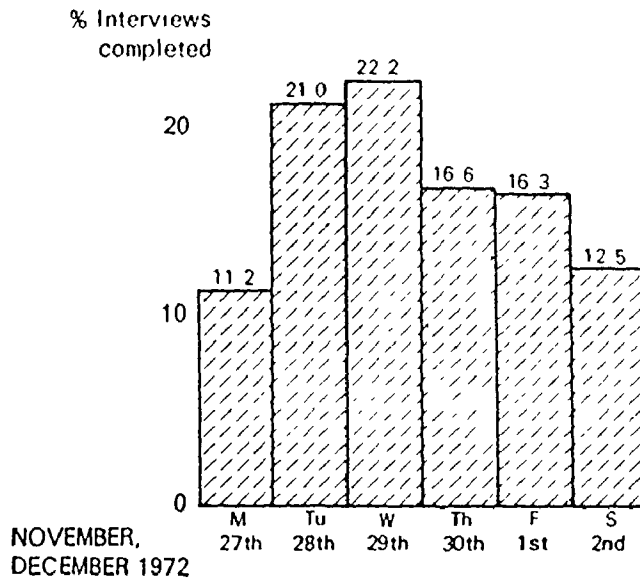
NOVEMBER,
DECEMBER 1972

ELECTION DAY MONDAY DECEMBER 4, 1972

INTERVIEWS
COMPLETED   319

FIGURE V. 2

opportunity before the election, but such a procedure was quite imprac-
tical. By the first day of interviewing newspaper coverage of candidates
was completed, although advertising continued. Posters had been up for
at least a week and a half. The all-candidates' night sponsored by the
Guelph Jaycees and the Chamber of Commerce was over and had been aired.
Interviewing after the election was rejected as likely to introduce a
bandwagon bias into the data. There is evidence that respondents tend
to have a stronger recall of those elected than of the losers, and tend
to recall their own vote as being cast for the winners.

The personal interviews of electors were taken by seventeen inter-
viewers, all but one majors in geography at the University of Guelph.
The exception was fluent in Italian, a resident of the Ward, and was
specially assigned to interview in the main Italian speaking area.
Interviewers were allocated between twenty-one and twenty-six interviews
each, depending upon the distribution of respondents within a district.
The chief interviewer conducted seven interviews in a thinly populated
area to the South of the city, as a check on problems of interviewing,
elector responsiveness to the questionnaire, and elector responses to
the open questions. Respondents drawn in the sample were plotted on a
map of the city. This was then divided into seventeen contiguous areas
so that an interviewer worked in only one area of the city. Response
rates for each interviewer ranged from a low of sixty-eight per cent to
a high of eighty-seven per cent (seventeen out of twenty-five and twenty-
two out of twenty-six). Interviewer training was combined with the pre-
test of the questionnaire described above. Interviewers first wrote
their own responses to the questionnaire. They then gave the interview

to a total of four other persons prior to interviewing the sample res-
pondents. In addition, briefing sessions were held on interview tech-
niques. All interviewers were provided with a letter of introduction.
City Hall and Guelph City Police Department had been notified that
interviewing was to take place. All interviewers were paid the same
total amount for the work, although the number of interviews completed
by each interviewer varied. It was hoped that this would further reduce
the likelihood that interviewers would substitute respondents not drawn
in the sample.

V.3.b Candidate Interviews

All candidate interviews were conducted as direct personal interviews
by the chief investigator during the two weeks following the election on
Monday, December 4, 1972. In this case all the interviews were pre-
arranged. The time taken to complete the interviews ranged from half
an hour to two hours. Although post-election interviewing could produce
candidate responses biased by their knowledge of their success or failure
in the election, it was felt that the candidates would have more time to
respond in detail to the questionnaire after the election was over.
Figure V.3 gives the frequency by day of the thirty-five candidate inter-
views.

CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS DAY AND DATE, 1972

%Interviews Completed
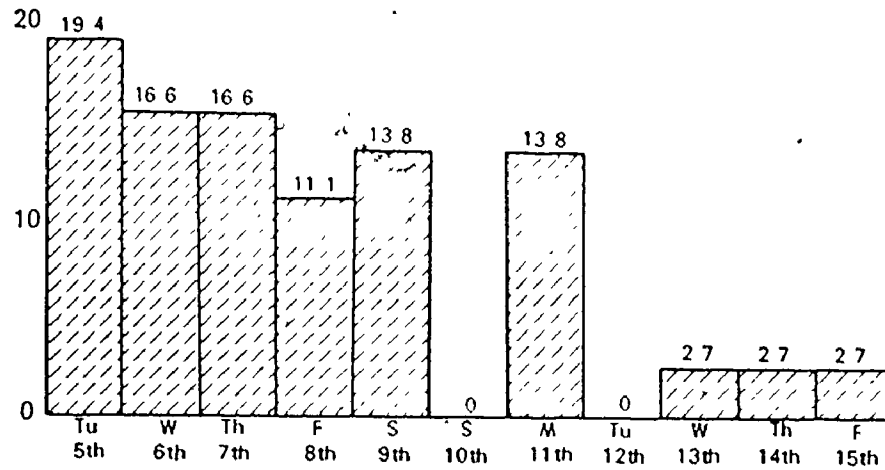
DECEMBER
1972

ELECTION DAY: MONDAY DECEMBER 4, 1972

INTERVIEWS
COMPLETED   35

FIGURE V. 3

V.4   Data Handling

V.4.a   Elector   Questionnaire

A two-digit coding scheme was developed for the elector responses.
Open questions were checked, tabulated and categories developed from the
responses. Responses were coded by a full time coder. A key-punch card
file was compiled.

The S.P.S.S. (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used
for the data tabulations. Although this system is simple to operate,
it imposes certain limits on the statistical manipulation possible. The
total data matrix for the elector questionnaires was very large because
of the extra ordinarily large number of candidates running in this par-
ticular election. The set of responses for each information channel
was potentially multiplied by thirty-seven. In all cases the maximum
number of candidates mentioned by any one respondent for one channel was
checked, to reduce the size of the data matrix. Nonetheless, since the
S.P.S.S. has a limit of five hundred variables per data file, the total
number of variables ran into three separate files. Cross-tabulation
between files is impossible. Variables were therefore allocated to
files so that necessary cross-tabulations could be made.

V.4.b   Candidate Questionnaire

The thirty-five completed candidate questionnaires were coded and
tabulated by hand by the chief investigator. Neither the number of
respondents nor the size of the final data matrix warranted using a more
complex method.

CHAPTER VI

THE CANDIDATE MODEL: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter III.2, THE CANDIDATE MODEL, it was stated that:

$$CU = f(P_t, \ P_i; \ R_s, \ R_a, \ R_f).$$

That is, that candidate use of the available social and media information channels is a function of a candidate's perception of channel contact effectiveness and channel influence effectiveness, and a function of his available resources of established social contacts, available personnel and financial resources.

The analysis of the candidate channel use data obtained from the 1972 candidate questionnaires has two objectives:

1. To identify the amount of use made by the candidates as a whole of the available social contact and media information channels. From the data, comparisons are made between:

    i) candidate use of informal and formal social channels;

    ii) candidate use of graphic and mass media channels;

    iii) candidate use of election specific social contact and media channels.

2. To identify sub-groups of candidates and establish whether use of the available information channels mentioned above varies between those groups of candidates.

VI.1 Use of Channels by Candidates

As discussed in Chapter III.2, the information channels available to candidates fall into two major categories, social contacts and the media, and two sub-categories, general and election specific (Figure VI.1). Since the values obtained from the questionnaires on use of social and media channels are not cross-comparable, the two channel sets will be treated separately.

VI.1.a Social Contact Channels: Informal and Formal

The purpose of the analysis was to discover whether candidates as a whole made equal use of all the informal and formal social channels, or whether certain channels were more highly favoured than others.

To provide data on use of informal channels candidates were asked whether they had visited and were visited by friends during the week preceding the election; whether they had relatives in Guelph; whether they were part of a household; and whether they worked outside the home. For formal channel use data, they were asked how many local clubs, local professional organisations and civic organisations they held memberships in. Secondly, candidates were asked whether they had discussed the election and their candidacy with persons within each of these social circles.

CANDIDATE INFORMATION CHANNELS
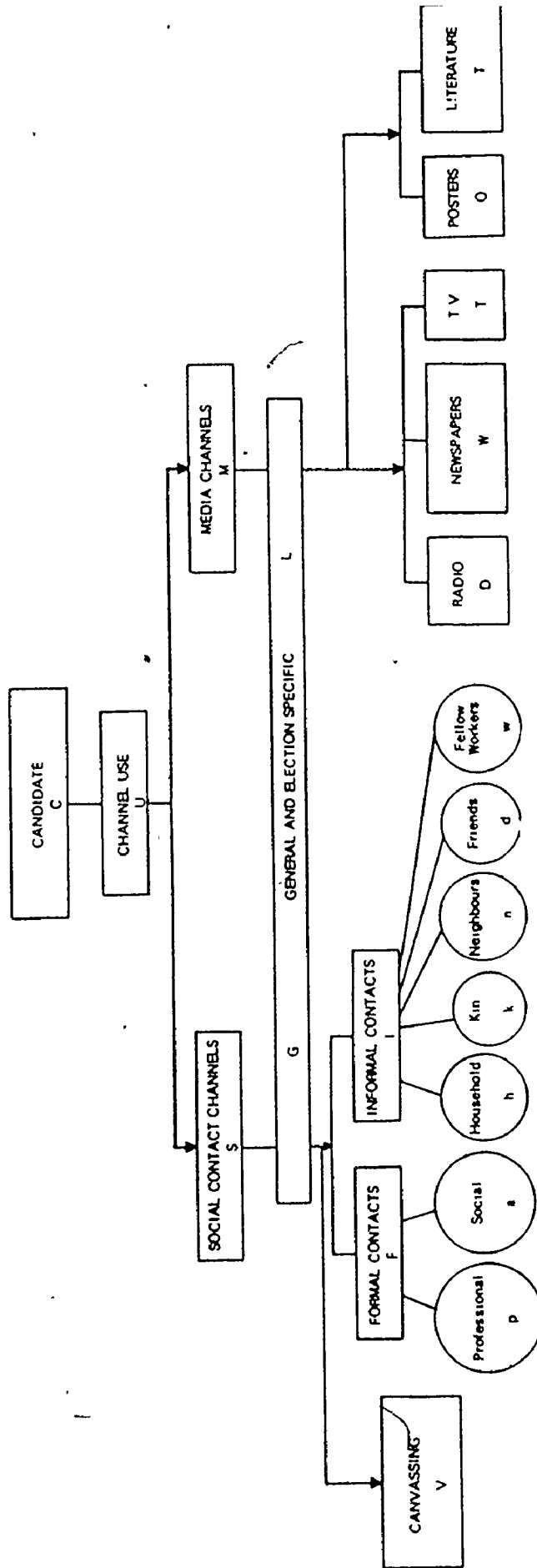
FIGURE VI . 1

Of the thirty-five candidates interviewed three single persons did not have the household channel available to them, and three of the four female candidates did not work outside the home. Just over half (57.1%) had relatives in Guelph. Surprisingly, since peak social contact activity might be expected during that week, not all candidates had had mutual visiting with friends (only 82.8%, Table VI.1).

As suggested in Chapter III.2, the opportunities which each of these channels afford for social contacts varies in terms of the frequency with which each of the contacts is made; the number of contacts made through the channel; and the likelihood that these contacts in turn contact others. For example, the household channel, available to almost all candidates, though having high frequency of contact, involves a small number of persons and may have a limited spill-over effect: relatives likewise. Candidate opportunities for contacts through work, and cultivation of friendship circles make these potentially the most significant of informal channels.

Candidates have, in a small town like Guelph, numerous opportunities to hold memberships in local clubs, in local professional organisations, and also in civic organisations such as United Fund committees, citizens advisory planning board, etc. The literature suggests that, though these may have a low frequency of contact, and a relatively small range of contacts, they are important and influential since social contact is established with activists and influentials in the local community. Thus knowledge about the candidate who holds such memberships may be disseminated in something akin to the two-step process suggested by Katz and Eldersfeld (1955).

TABLE VI.1

CANDIDATE USE OF CHANNELS: INFORMAL AND FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, 1972

	Friends		Relatives		Household		Work	
	Use %	Discuss Election %	Use %	Discuss Election %	Use %	Discuss Election %	Use %	Discuss Election %
INFORMAL Candidates Using the Channel N = 35	82.8	77.1	57.1	15.7	94.28	71.5	91.42	74.0

	Clubs		Professional Organisations	
	Use %	Discuss Election %	Use %	Discuss Election %
FORMAL Candidates Using the Channel N = 35	82.8	54.2	22.8	11.4

82.8% of the candidates hold at least one membership in local clubs
(Table VI.2) - higher than might be expected for the community as a
whole, but not unexpected for aspiring political candidates developing,
or having already developed a set of formal social contacts. The 22.8%
membership in local professional organisations seems small by comparison.
That so many candidates do not participate in the formal workings of
local business, professions or trade unions is surprising. Again the
number of candidates holding membership in local civic organisations is
only 57.1% of the total number of candidates. That the electorate at-
large is little involved in such organisations is not surprising, but a
higher rate for candidates might be expected, since such memberships
demonstrate involvement in community affairs, provide experience with
the workings of civic committees, and can be a source of influential
contacts.

Executive office in these three types of formal organisations is
another measure of candidate use of these influential formal channels.
Of the few candidates who were members of local professional organisa-
tions, all but one held executive office. Half of the candidates who
were club members, and over half of those on civic organisations were
on the executive of those organisations.

The existence of the social contact alone transmits information
about a candidate to those within his social circles. But the social
contact channel can be activated directly by the candidate to transmit
additional information if the candidate discusses the election and his
candidacy with persons in the acquaintance circle.

TABLE VI.2

CANDIDATE USE OF CHANNELS: FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, 1972

	Public Office	Memberships and Officerships					
		Civic Organisations		Clubs		Local Professional Organisations	
		Member	Executive	Member	Executive	Member	Executive
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Candidates Using the Channel N = 35	22.8	57.1	31.4	82.8	45.7	22.8	20.0

Table VI.1 gives the percentage of the thirty-five candidates who said they had had some discussion within the social circle indicated. Discussion rates equivalent to the contact rates might be expected: the election and the individuals' candidacy the prime topics of conversation. Relatively high rates of discussion are recorded for the household, work and friendship channels, over 70.0% of the candidates in each. Of these the work and friendship channels are the most significant, since they potentially have a large spill-over effect. Only one-quarter of the candidates reported discussion with relatives, perhaps because the candidate is so well known within this circle that no electioneering effort need be exerted. The rates of discussion by candidates within the formal circles of clubs (54.2%) and professional organisations (only 11.4%) are perhaps surprising since candidates might be expected to make a particular effort to activate these channels as part of their campaigning.

Analysis of channel use and discussion (Table VI.1) by candidates suggests that the majority of candidates make use of informal channels, and of course, such channels are available to almost all; whereas use of formal channels is much more limited. The level of discussion across all channels is lower than might be expected. This indicates that several candidates do not make use of opportunities available to them. Analysis of channel use by candidate groups will reveal whether all groups under-use the channels equally, or whether use is differentially distributed across candidate groups.

The social contacts which candidates have established as part of their lifestyle, and, in part, as a result of civic activity and politi-

cal ambition or action, have a heightened significance once a candidate declares his candidacy, and can be activated as a component of the political campaigning operation. In addition candidates can make use of the election specific social contact channels by door-to-door or other forms of canvassing, either personally or by using personnel available to them. Despite the fact that this is a low cost alternative to financial expenditure on media advertising, few candidates, only twenty per cent of the total, actively canvassed the general public, and of the twenty per cent only four canvassed more than fifteen households. Since direct contact campaigning involves effort, allocation of a large amount of time, and considerable organisation, especially if workers are involved, this suggests either that few candidates were sufficiently prepared prior to the election to have assembled a team of canvassers, or that the majority felt that the effort involved in canvassing, by which only a limited number of persons can be contacted, would not pay off in terms of votes gained in relation to effort expended. That the former explanation is the more satisfactory is supported by evidence from a question put to the candidates, asking them which form of campaigning they considered was the most effective. Many stated that they felt that direct contact canvassing was the most effective, but that they did not have the time or help available to them to canvass in this way in an at-large electoral system.

While eighty per cent of the candidates had assistants helping them, only four candidates used the assistants for personal contact campaigning.

The election was, therefore, characterised by some active personal canvassing (though not by all candidates) via social contact channels

that pre-dated the campaign, and a very low level of personal contact

campaigning by candidates and assistants of the electorate at-large.

VI.1.b Media Channels: General and Election Specific

Media channels can be divided into the mass media of newspaper,

radio and television, and the graphic media of posters and literature.

Candidates may utilise some of these over a long period prior to the

election by having their activities reported by the local newspaper,

radio and television stations. They can intensify their social and

political activities in the hope that mention will be made in the mass

media during the campaign period, and, in addition, they can pay for

advertising coverage.

Direct data concerning the long term use by candidates of the media

was not obtained. The extent of newspaper coverage could have been

found from content analysis of the local paper over a number of years

prior to the election, but would have been very time consuming in pro-

portion to the information yielded. Data on radio and television

coverage would have been even more difficult to obtain. It is obvious,

however, that certain of the candidates, notably the seven incumbents

and the one former incumbent (who had retired undefeated prior to the

previous election to run, successfully, for city school board), had been

exposed to the public media coverage of council activities and by media

reporting of the activities of city notables, among whom city councillors

may be counted. Those candidates active in civic organisations may also

have been given some mention in the local media.

Of the three channels, the local newspaper is the more comprehensive in its reporting of such activities, with the local radio station a poor second. The local cable television station runs only occasional public service broadcasts on local affairs.

All candidates received some election coverage by the local media. The newspaper ran an article on each of the candidates; the local radio station ran two open-line shows on the election, in which the main topics of concern were the referendum on fluoridation, and the large number of candidates in the election, rather than on any particular candidate. The station broadcast the candidates' speeches from the "Meet the Candidates" night live from the meeting. The public service television station allocated a ten minute spot to each candidate. To a great extent, then, the media election coverage was equally distributed across each medium, and equally allocated for each candidate.

Candidates were, however, free to allocate whatever financial resources they had available for disseminating information concerning themselves through media advertising differentially across the available media channels. Figure VI indicates how the candidates as a group chose between the channels. A large number of candidates, over seventy per cent, made printed literature in a variety of forms from tabloid newspapers to leaflets to small visiting cards, available to the public. Some included photographs of the candidate; others, campaign platforms; still others stressed the candidate's local business activities or social contacts.

Almost as many candidates bought newspaper advertising space. These again varied in terms of the style of the advertisement, type of informa-

CANDIDATE USE OF CHANNELS: ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

NUMBER OF CANDIDATES

USING THE CHANNEL AS A % OF ALL
CANDIDATES'

CANDIDATE EXPENDITURE

ON A GIVEN CHANNEL AS A % OF
TOTAL CANDIDATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE
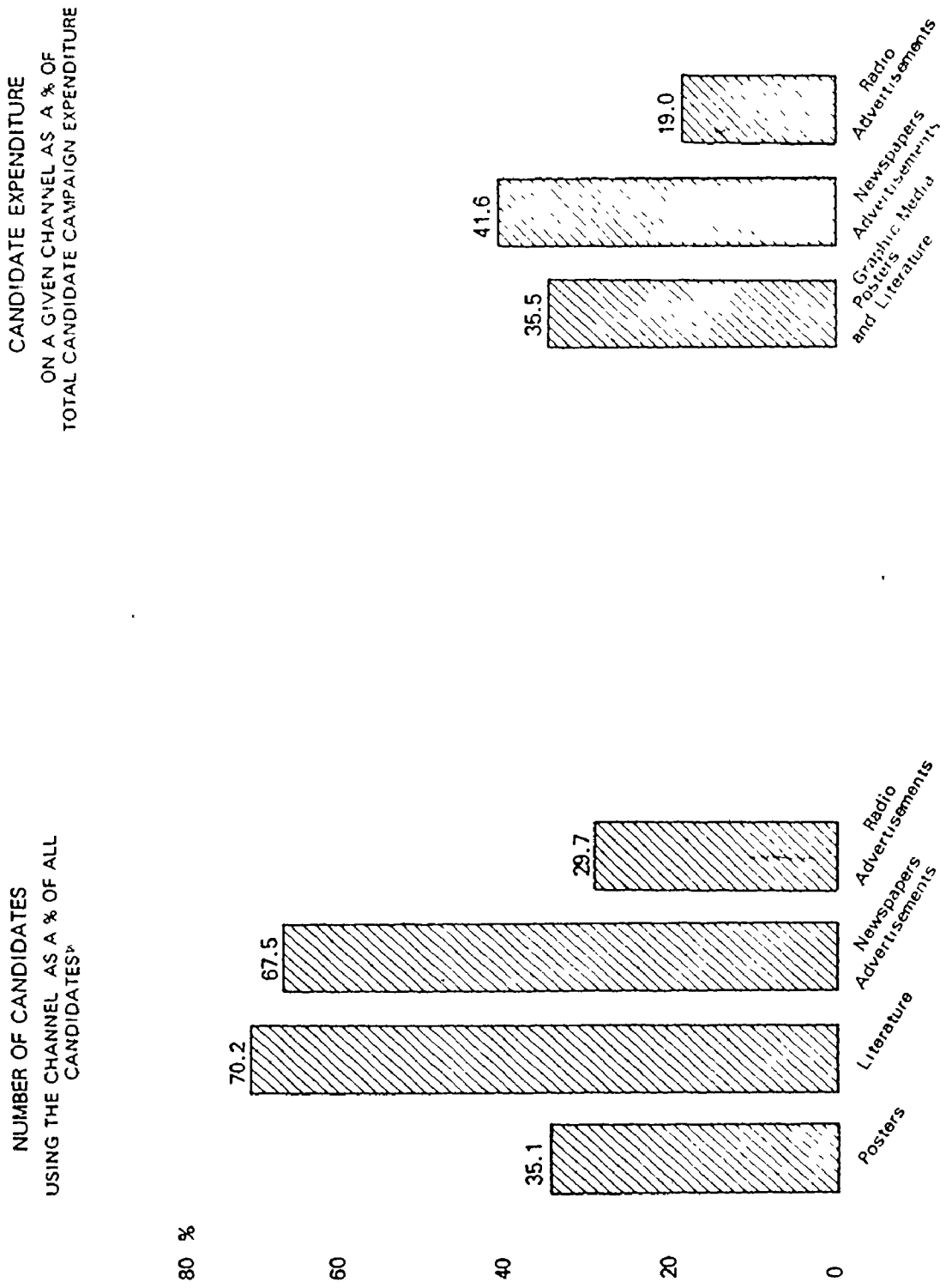
FIGURE VI. 2

tion conveyed, size of the advertisement, and placement within the paper. Less than one-third of the candidates used the radio to advertise (no candidates could use television, since the public broadcast service does not carry advertising). Perhaps surprisingly only thirty-five per cent of the candidates used publicly displayed posters. These varied considerably in size, colour, design, and information conveyed. Almost all were placed along roads, at intersections, around malls and in the town centre. Virtually none were displayed in the windows of homes or shops by supporters.

The difference in candidate use of the four media channels available reflects some compromise between candidate assessment of the efficiency with which a channel can convey his message to the public, and candidate ability to pay the financial cost. Radio advertising is expensive; few candidates spent money on the channel, and those who did allocated only nineteen per cent of total candidate campaign expenditure on it (Figure VI.2). Newspaper advertising is less expensive. Candidates allocated more than forty per cent of total campaign expenditure on this channel. They must therefore, perceive it to be relatively more effective in making contact and influencing the general public. At a relatively low cost candidates can have very large numbers of posters and leaflets. The expenditure on this channel seems to represent a compromise between the relative cheapness of the channel and some perceptions that it might not be as effective as newspaper advertisements.

In summary, then, candidates' emphasis on newspaper advertising and to a lesser extent on the graphic media gives some indication of candidate perception of the channels and command of financial resources.

VI.2 Use of Channels by Candidate Groups

Candidate use of channels is considered to be a reflection of can-
didate perception and resources, which differs between candidates. It
is necessary, then, to establish meaningful sub-groups of candidates in
order to discover whether these groups do indeed utilise the available
channels differently, in accordance with differences in the sub-groups'
command of resources and familiarity with the channels.

For the most part, the sub-groups are pre-determined. Candidates
may be divided into winners and losers - that is, those who were success-
ful in attracting sufficient votes to place within the first eleven
places - and those who were not. Secondly, candidates may be divided
into incumbents and non-incumbents - those who have campaigned success-
fully in the immediate past - and those who have not campaigned before,
or who did so unsuccessfully. This divides the eleven winners into
two groups: seven incumbents (all incumbents were winners again) and
four non-incumbents (Figure VI.3). The 26 losers were all non-incum-
bents.

No immediately obvious way of sub-dividing the twenty-six losers
presents itself. It is, however, desirable to make some distinction
between those candidates who gained a substantial number of votes in
the election but who nevertheless did not gain a place on council, from
those who failed to gain virtually any support from the electorate, in
order to identify whether this difference in result can be attributed
to some difference in candidate behaviour.

Several cut-off points between those losers who did gain a substan-
tial number of votes, here called marginal losers, and those who gained

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN % OF VOTES FOR A CANDIDATE IN THE SAMPLE SURVEY AND % OF VOTES RECEIVED IN THE ELECTION
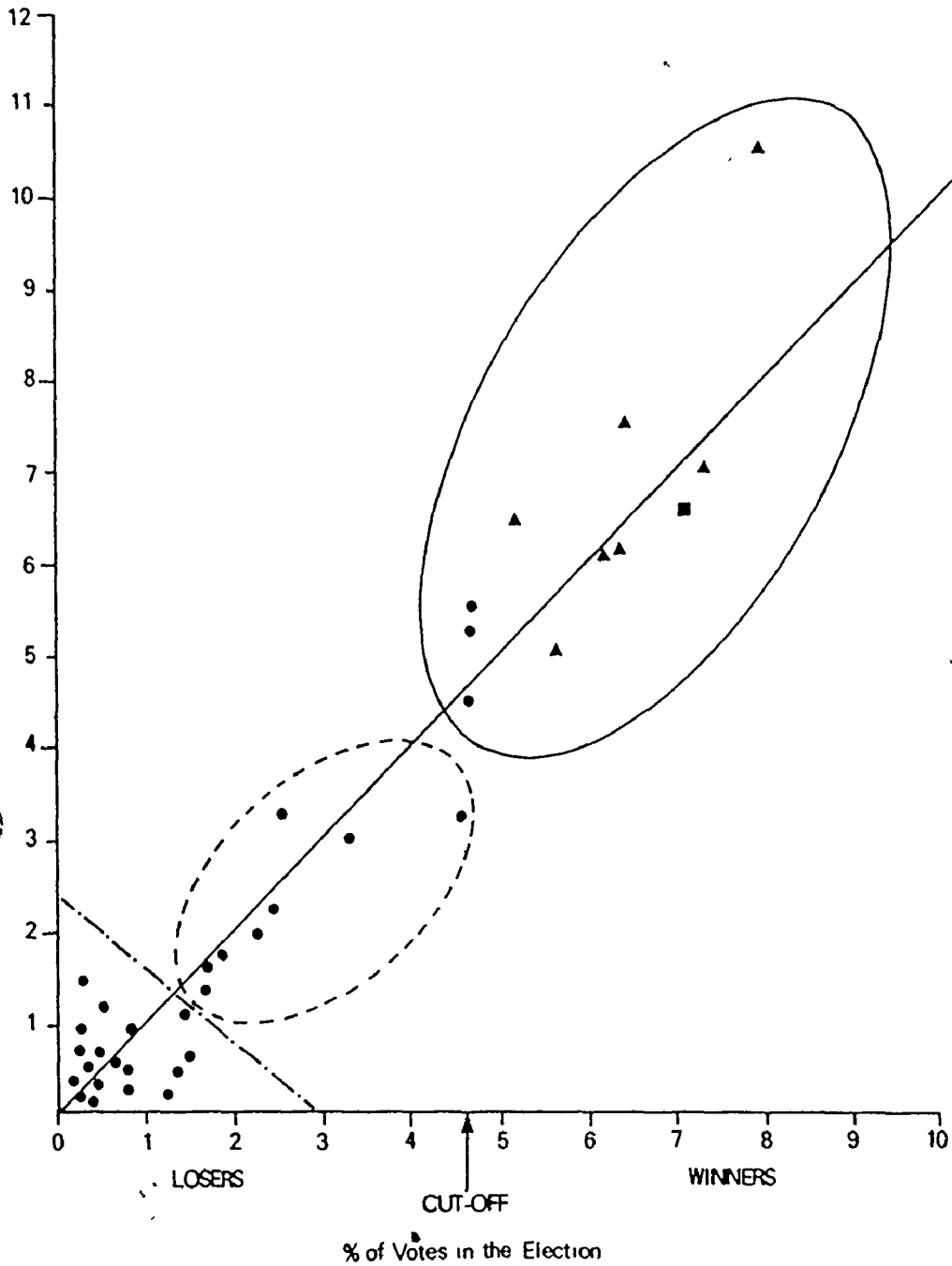
FIGURE VI. 3

few votes, here called straight losers, suggest themselves. None of them are entirely satisfactory. Table V.2a and Figure VI.3 reveal that there is a slight gap at about 2,500 votes gained in the election. Although 2,500 or more votes represent considerable support for a candidate, certainly sufficient for the candidate to qualify as a marginal loser for the purpose of this study, use of this cut-off would place only five candidates in the marginal loser category and twenty-one in the straight lower category. Another break in votes gained in the election occurs between 1,500 and 1,000 votes. Use of this cut-off would indeed produce groups of almost equal size, but candidates at the lowest end of this scale would scarcely qualify as marginal candidates. Moreover several candidates in the 1,000 to 2,000 vote range in the election did very poorly according to the survey results, suggesting that votes were cast for them on the basis of limiting and conflicting information that was evaluated by electors differently over the time elapsed between interview and election.

Review of the rank position of the candidates in election and the survey shows a very high correlation for the first nineteen candidates. For the losers the rank correlation is high for the first eight candidates, and lower and considerably more variable for the last eighteen candidates (Table V.2a). The Pearson correlation coefficient for the proportion of votes gained in the election and in the survey shows a similar pattern; relatively high for the first eight losers (.83216) and low for the last eighteen (.09307). Moreover, the first eight losers gained over 2,000 votes each in the election, sufficient to indicate that they were known to, and supported by, a substantial proportion of

those who voted.

It was, therefore, decided to place the top eight loser candidates·
in the marginal category, the bottom eighteen in the straight loser
category, in order to discover whether there were substantial differ-
ences in action by candidates (and information held by electors) between
the two sub-sets of losers. This placed all the students, all the
communist candidates and seven other candidates in the straight loser
category.

Four major categories of candidates exist then: winners and
losers, incumbents and non-incumbents. These are further divided into
the following groups:

    Winners (N = 11):

        Incumbents (all, N = 7) / Non-incumbents (N = 4)

    Losers (Non-incumbents, N = 26):

        Marginal (N = 8) / Straight (N = 18)

    (Figure VI.4).

VI.2.a Use of Informal and Formal Social Contact Channels by Candidate

    Groups: General and Election Specific

Informal social channels of friends, household and fellow workers
are available to almost all candidates. Greater variation exists in the
availability of relatives as a channel (Table VI.1).

Analysis of the data on channel use by candidate groups was performed
using a simple statistic here called the percentage per candidate per

Candidate Groups: Based on Votes Received in the

Survey and Votes Received in the Election

All Candidates

37

Incumbents	Non-Incumbents
7	30

Winners	Losers
11	26

Incumbent Winners	Non-Incumbent Winners	Non-Incumbent Losers	
		Marginal	Straight
7	4	8	18
Valeriote	Hammond	Kendrick	Charlton
Hammill	MacKinnon	Auld	Barabas
Hamilton	Love	Bannon	Lewis
Hanlon	Scammell	Laws	Thomas
Brazolot		Ferraro	McMurtry S
Murphey		Rodd	Maxey
Howitt		Brohman	O'Connor
		Lindsey	Wilson
			Evans S
			O'Malley, A. S
			Mann S
			O'Malley, P. S
			Bartkiewicz S
			Haythornthwaite, E. C
			Barnie S
			Ottaway S
			Phillips C
			Haythornthwaite, A. C

S = Student
C = Communist

FIGURE VI.4

per group (% pcpg). The sum of candidates' use of a channel (such as all informal channels, all media channels, or alternatively posters, the newspaper or the radio), or the sum of the electors' mention of candidates via a channel was treated as one hundred per cent. The percentage of the total use or mention by each group of candidates, winners, losers, incumbent winners, non-incumbent winners, marginal and straight losers, could then be calculated. But since the number of candidates in each group varied, cross comparison of the amount of use made per individual in each group (or elector mention per individual in each group) the group percentage of the total was divided by the number of candidates in the group. This is termed the % pcpg (the percentage per candidate per group) in the analysis that follows.

Figure VI.5 illustrates candidate group use of the various informal social channels. Data was collected from the candidates concerning their informal social contacts and their discussion of the election with those contacts. For example, the total number of candidate mentions of visiting and being visited by friends was treated as one hundred per cent. The number of such mentions by the members of each candidate group was summed and calculated as a percentage of the total (Table VI.3, the eleven winners had twenty-five percent of the mentions of visits, the twenty-five losers, seventy-five per cent). When this value was divided by the number of members of the group the % pcpg for the winners was 2.27, for the losers, 3.12 (Table VI.3).

It was expected that virtually all candidate groups would make equal use of these informal channels, and that all groups would discuss the election with each of these social contacts. Figure VI.5, which is

CANDIDATE USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS, BY CANDIDATE GROUPS:
INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, USE AND DISCUSSION, 1972

WORK
DISCUSS
ELECTION

3.
3.17
3.7
2 64

HOUSEHOLD
DISCUSS
ELECTION

4 0
4 0
3 0
1 14

RELATIVES

DISCUSS
ELECTION

2.77
4 16
2.77
1.58

IN GUELPH

2.5
3 12
2.5
3 57

FRIENDS   DISCUSS
ELECTION

3.46
2.77
3.7
1.05

VISIT WITH
VISITED BY

3.36
2 63
3 82
1.37

% Per Candidate per group
of Candidate use of the channel

4

3

2

1

0

INC N-INC M   S
WINNERS LOSERS

LEGEND

INC   Incumbent

N-INC   Non-Incumbent

Winners

Losers

M   Marginal

S   Straight
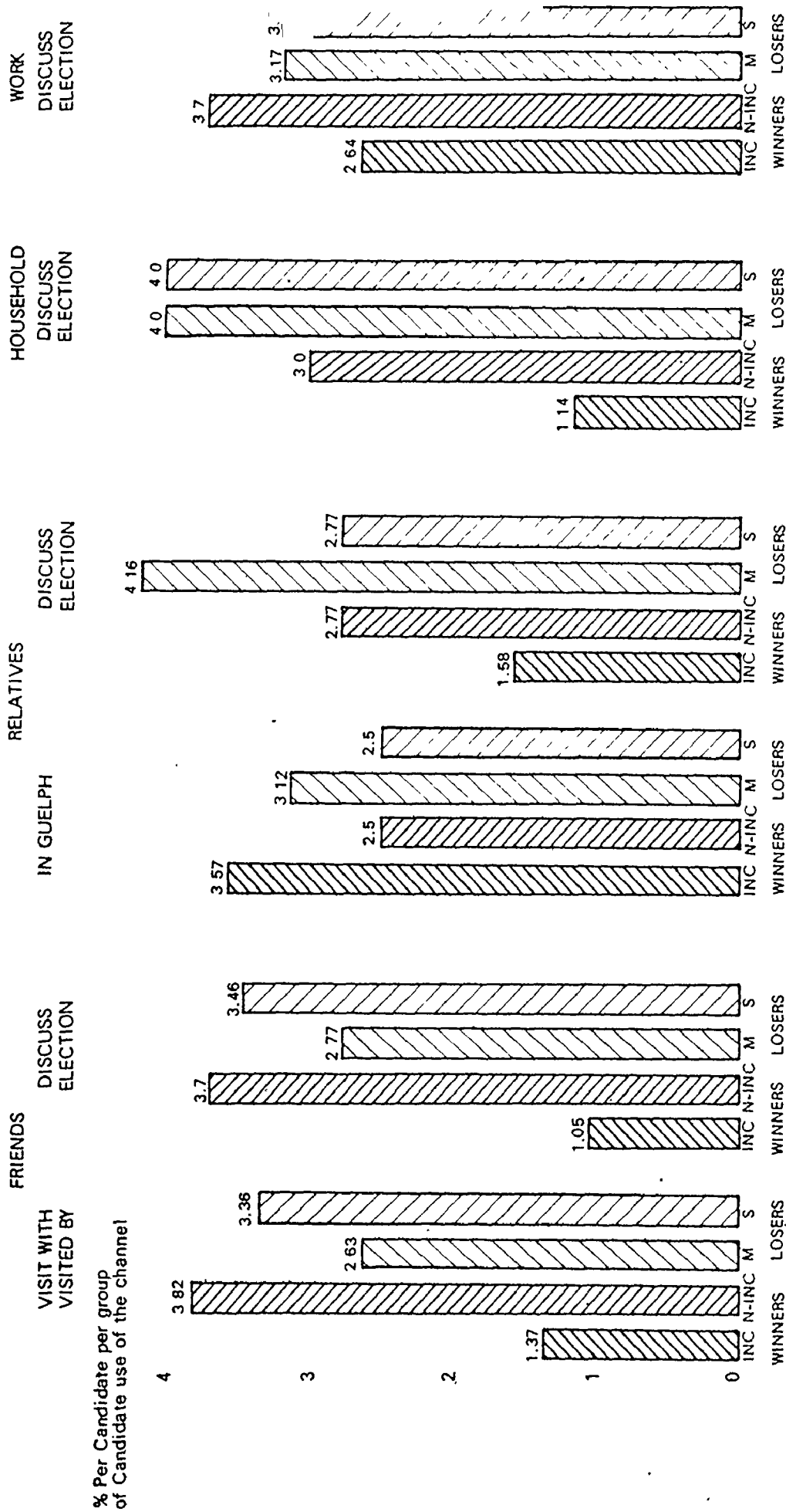
FIGURE VI · 5

TABLE VI.3

CANDIDATE USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS, BY CANDIDATE GROUPS:

INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, USE AND DISCUSSION, 1972

CANDIDATE GROUPS

INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS	WINNERS					LOSERS										
	TOTAL WINNERS N=11		TOTAL INCUMBENTS N=7		NON-INCUMBENTS N=4		NON-INCUMBENTS				TOTAL LOSERS N=24		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS N=28		TOTAL N=35	
							MARGINAL N=8		STRAIGHT N=16							
	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %
FRIENDS: VISITS	25	2.27	9.6	1.37	15.3	3.82	21.1	2.63	53.8	3.36	75.0	3.12	90.3	3.22	100	2.85
DISCUSS ELECTION	22.2	2.01	7.4	1.05	14.8	3.70	22.2	2.77	55.5	3.46	77.7	3.23	92.5	3.30	100	2.85
RELATIVES: IN GUELPH	35.0	3.18	25.0	2.57	10.0	2.5	25.0	3.12	40.0	2.5	65.0	2.7	75.0	2.67	100	2.85
DISCUSS ELECTION	22.2	2.0	11.1	1.58	11.1	2.77	33.3	4.16	44.4	2.77	77.7	3.23	8.88	3.17	100	2.85
HOUSEHOLD: DISCUSS ELECTION	20.0	1.81	8.0	1.41	12.0	3.0	28.0	4.0	52.0	4.0	80.0	3.8	92.0	3.68	100	3.12
WORK: DISCUSS ELECTION	29.6	2.96	18.5	2.64	11.1	3.7	22.2	3.17	48.1	3.20	70.3	3.19	81.4	3.25	100	3.12

[a] % per group

[b] % per candidate per group

derived from Table VI.3, illustrates that this is not the case. Informal channel use and discussion by the candidate groups follows a broadly similar pattern across each channel. Winners make least use of informal channels, non-incumbents of all varieties make considerable use of the channels. The exception is for the relatives' channel, where winners record the greatest availability of the channel, followed by marginal losers.

Why the low informal channel use by incumbent winners in the campaign period? It is suggested that incumbents perceive that, since they have campaigned before, and their candidacy, views and capabilities are well known to their social acquaintances, there is no need to pursue these channels actively. Persons who would be contacted already have adequate prior knowledge about the candidate. Moreover, if they intend to turn out to vote, their minds are already made up. Alternatively, or perhaps, in addition, they may perceive that informal social contacts are limited in their range across the electorate at-large, and that active campaigning via other information channels will make new contacts and effect new conversions. Support for the latter hypothesis would be a high level of incumbent use of those alternative channels. Some indication of this is seen in the higher rate of activity by incumbents in the work channel, which does have the potential for a widening range of contacts (Figure VI.5).

Non-incumbents, on the other hand, pursue informal channels actively. There are some between-group variations. Non-incumbent winners are more active than losers within the friendship and work circles, perhaps because these circles have that potential for effecting a spill-over of widening

contacts, and because the candidate is not guaranteed of support by those who know him through this channel. Household and relatives may be considered safe votes. This would also suggest that non-incumbent winners have a keener sense of the efficacy of channels, a factor contributing to their success.

It is far less likely that all candidate groups have the same degree of development of formal social channels. Incumbents are expected to have the greatest number of formal contacts in each of the three channels of clubs, local professional organisations, and civic organisations; their incumbency should also contribute to a higher rate of executive positions than held by other groups. On the other hand, all groups would be expected to discuss the election with formal social contacts at about the same rate (Figures VI.6 and VI.7).

However, only on club memberships (Figure VI.6) do incumbents exceed non-incumbent winners (it should be noted, however, the numbers involved in professional organisations and civic organisations are very small). This would suggest that winners in general, and non-incumbent winners in particular, have cultivated those contacts through formal channels which provide contact with other local influentials; demonstrate interest in civic affairs and organising ability; and have the added indirect benefit that organisation activities may be reported to the general public over the local media. For incumbents, memberships and executive offices are attributable to their political role, and, in part, probably contributed to their initial election to council. Non-incumbents may be candidates because of the interest in civic affairs that their memberships initiated, and fall in the winner category because of the

CANDIDATE USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS BY CANDIDATE GROUPS:
FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, TOTAL MEMBERSHIPS AND OFFICERSHIPS, 1972

TOTAL MEMBERSHIPS AND OFFICERSHIPS

% Per Candidate per group of
Candidate use of the channel
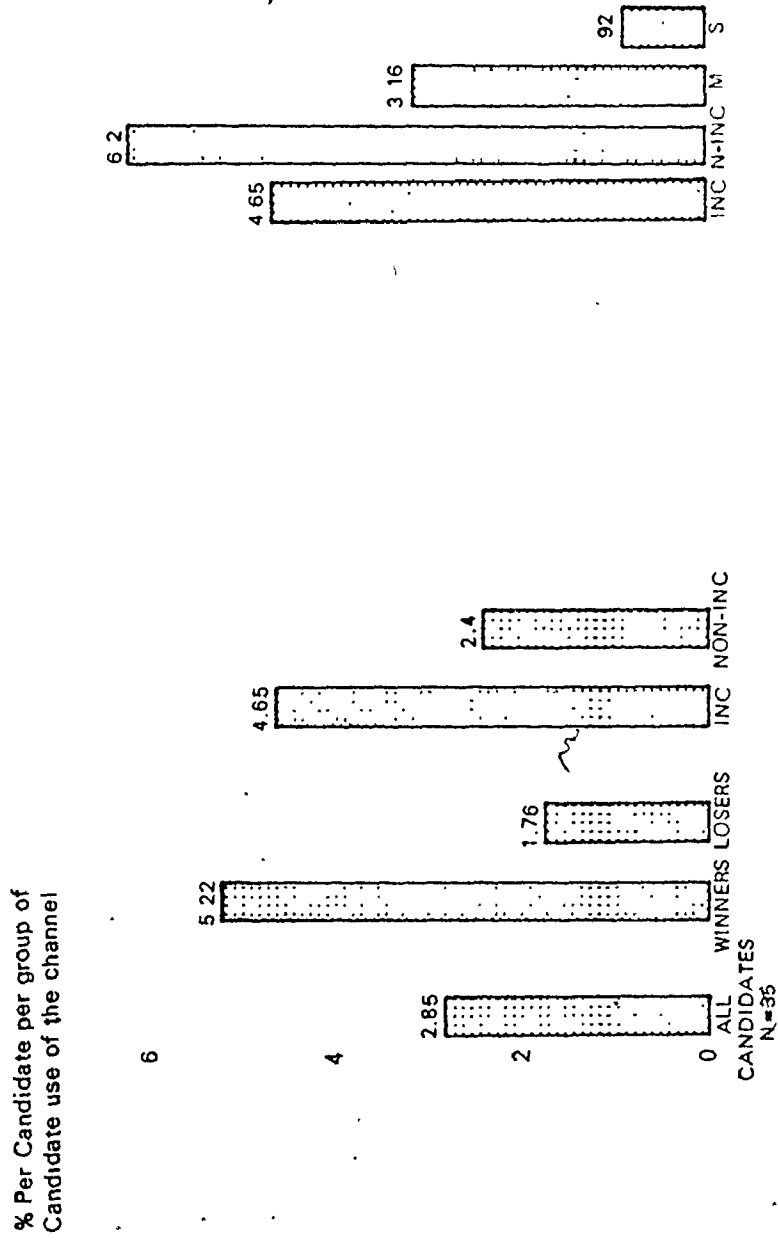
FIGURE VI 6

CANDIDATE USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS, BY CANDIDATE GROUPS
FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, USE AND DISCUSSION, 1972

% Per Candidate per group
of Candidate use of the channel

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MEMBERSHIP

CLUBS

DISCUSS ELECTION

MEMBERSHIP

LEGEND

INC Incumbents
N-INC Non-Incumbents

M Marginal
S Straight

Winners
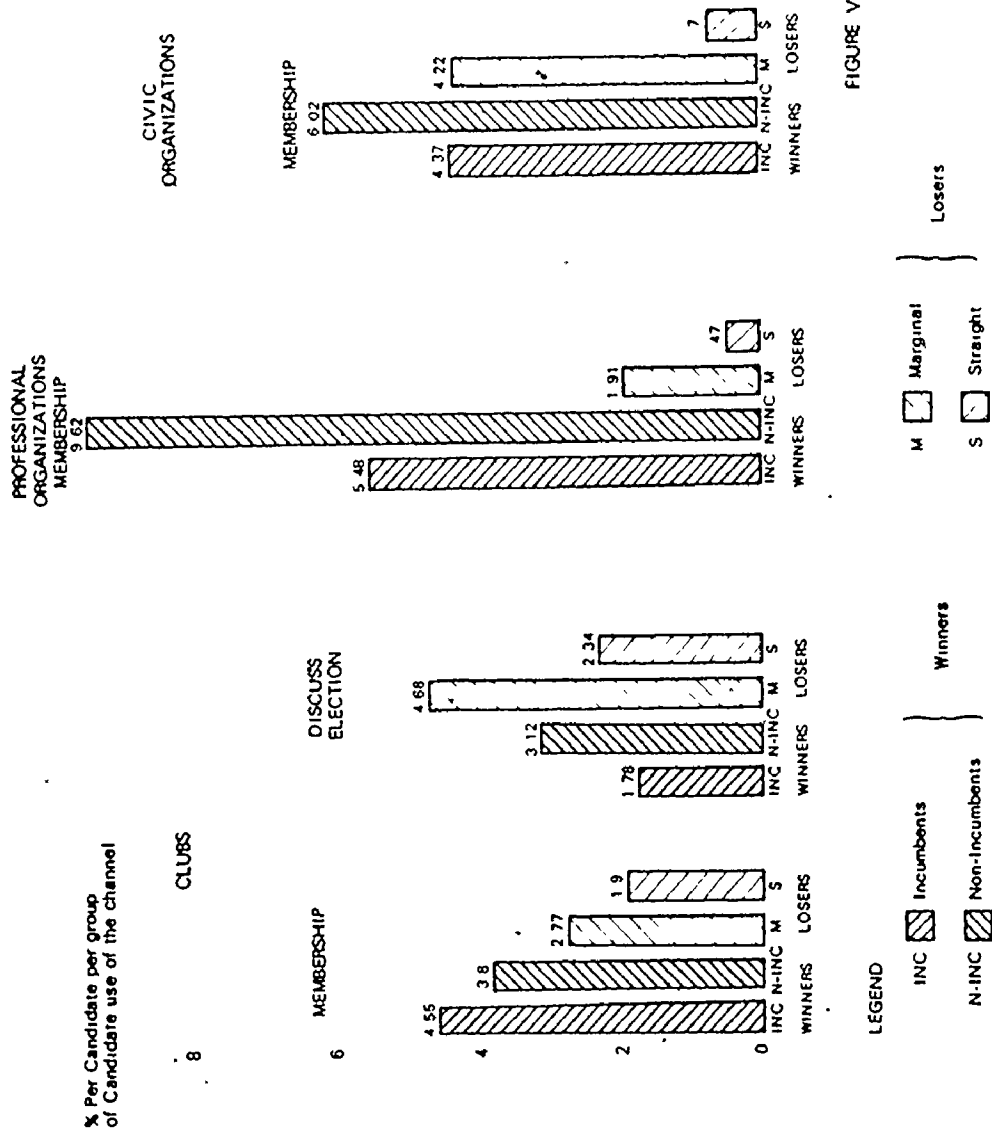
Losers

FIGURE VI 7

many advantages of formal contacts, indicating a keen evaluation of available channels on their part.

By contrast, straight losers scarcely participate in city formal contact circles, even having a relatively low % pcpg for club membership. Marginal losers, on the other hand, are sharply differentiated from straight losers in their membership in civic organisations, and the fact that they discuss the election with fellow club members more than any other group (Figure VI.6). Marginal losers appear to recognise the value of these contacts, but have not developed them as assiduously as have the winners, and therefore have to remind fellow members of their candidacy and capabilities.

When all informal contact channel use and discussion are summed and compared with all formal channel use and discussion (Table VI.4) it can be seen that incumbents make little use of informal social channels, whereas losers, especially the straight losers, make greatest use of these channels, which are readily available and involve little effort. Formal social channel use, which indicates pre-election establishment of the channel, is most highly developed by the winners, and to a lesser extent the marginal losers. Straight losers have poorly developed formal social contacts.

Election Specific Canvassing

In this election very few candidates canvassed door-to-door or in public places. No incumbents so campaigned. Only two of the eighteen straight losers mentioned canvassing, and they only contacted a few households. Those who did canvass were three of the four non-incumbent winners

TABLE VI.4

CANDIDATE USE OF CHANNELS: INFORMAL* AND FORMAL** SOCIAL

CHANNELS, USE AND DISCUSSION, 1972

	CANDIDATE GROUPS																
	WINNERS						LOSERS										
	TOTAL WINNERS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS				TOTAL LOSERS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL	
							MARGINAL		STRAIGHT								
	N = 11		N = 7		N = 4		N = 8		N = 16		N = 24		N = 28		N = 35	
	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %
INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, Use & Discussion	23.8	2.16	11.9	1.70	11.9	2.97	24.2	3.02	51.9	3.24	76.1	3.71	88.0	3.14	100	2.85
FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, Use & Discussion	46.9	4.26	28.3	4.04	18.5	4.62	23.8	2.97	29.7	1.82	53.0	2.20	71.6	2.55	100	2.85

*Informal channels: friends, relatives, household, work

**Formal channels: clubs and local professional organizations

a % per group

b % per candidate per group

Total numer of candidates included: 35

(the non-canvasser was the past incumbent). Only one canvassed inten-
sively, using a team of assistants to contact an estimated four hundred
households distributed in all but one ward of the city. The top two
marginal candidates also canvassed heavily; one (Auld) exclusively
within his home ward, combining it with a literature drop to each house-
hold; the other (Kendrick) using a team of helpers to contact an estima-
ted three hundred households by telephone. This activity obviously
contributed to the votes gained by these candidates: some other defi-
ciency compared with winners must exist in their overall campaign. To
summarise, canvassing was little used in the election, and primarily
by non-incumbent winners and two marginal losers, suggesting the efficacy
of this channel, but candidate reluctance to expend the effort. Incum-
bents, both past and present, anticipated accurately that they did not
need to expend this effort.

VI.2.b Use of Media Channels by Candidate Groups: General and
        Election Specific

Candidate use of media channels extends over two rather different
time periods: a long period prior to the election, during which time
candidates may receive coverage from the local mass media; and the imme-
diate pre-election campaign period when candidates are reported over the
local mass media and when they may purchase forms of media coverage.

Direct data is not easily obtainable for the extended pre-election
period (see page 141). Inferences can be made, however, about the likeli-
hood of media reporting about the different candidate groups. Incumbents

have the great advantage over all other candidates in this respect:
they have campaigned previously and received their quota of media cover-
age then; they have, in their capacities as council members, been reported
regularly in the local newspaper, and to a lesser extent over the local
radio station. In addition, in that capacity as council member, and,
therefore, as city notable, their other civic and social activities will
have received mention over the local mass media. To a much lesser extent
those candidates involved in civic organisations, primarily non-incumbent
winners and some marginal losers, will have received this type of
coverage. Further indication of the significance and impact of these
channels on the electorate can be seen from an analysis of data from the
sample of the electorate on whether they knew of candidates prior to the
beginning of the election, or heard of them only since the election began,
and the channels through which they gained this knowledge (Chapter VII).

Candidate group use of the available media advertising channels,
on the other hand, is an indication of their perception of the value of
the alternative media channels to make contact and affect conversion,
and the ability or willingness of the group members to pay for the use
of the channel.

It is expected that all candidate groups will make considerable use
of the available channels; that winners make more use than losers; that
winners select those channels which are subsequently proved to be the
most effective by the votes which they attract for the winners.

The pattern of candidate group use of election specific media
channels is consistent with the above hypothesis, and holds constant
across all the channels, whether it be the graphic media literature and

posters, or the mass media newspaper and radio advertisements (Figure VI.8). Non-incumbent winners make the greatest use of each channel according to the % pcpg. Non-incu .nt marginal losers make almost as much use of the channels as the winners. Incumbent winners and straight losers vie for the position as least user; straight losers using more of the graphic channels, and incumbent winners spending more on the mass media advertising.

What do these choices indicate? Non-incumbent winners and marginal losers conduct active campaigns utilising all available media channels (individual candidates in the group may, however, emphasise one channel over the others). They are willing to pay the costs of media campaigns, and presumably anticipate that it will pay off in terms of contacts effected and votes gained. Interestingly, marginal losers spend slightly more than non-incumbent winners on the campaign as a whole, suggesting that the latter group had the edge through greater development of other channels (probably social channels, and particularly formal channels, see page 154), or that they allocated their financial resources more effectively across the media channels. This suspicion is supported by the fact that marginal losers spend considerably more per candidate in the group than any other group on graphic media channels. Seven of the eight group members spent money on graphic media channels. Four of the eight spent over $100 (Table VI.5). Either this emphasis was misplaced, and graphic media channels do not effect contacts that convert, or perhaps the quality of their advertising and the message it conveyed was less effective than that of non-incumbent winners.

162

CANDIDATES USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS, BY CANDIDATE GROUPS:
ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972
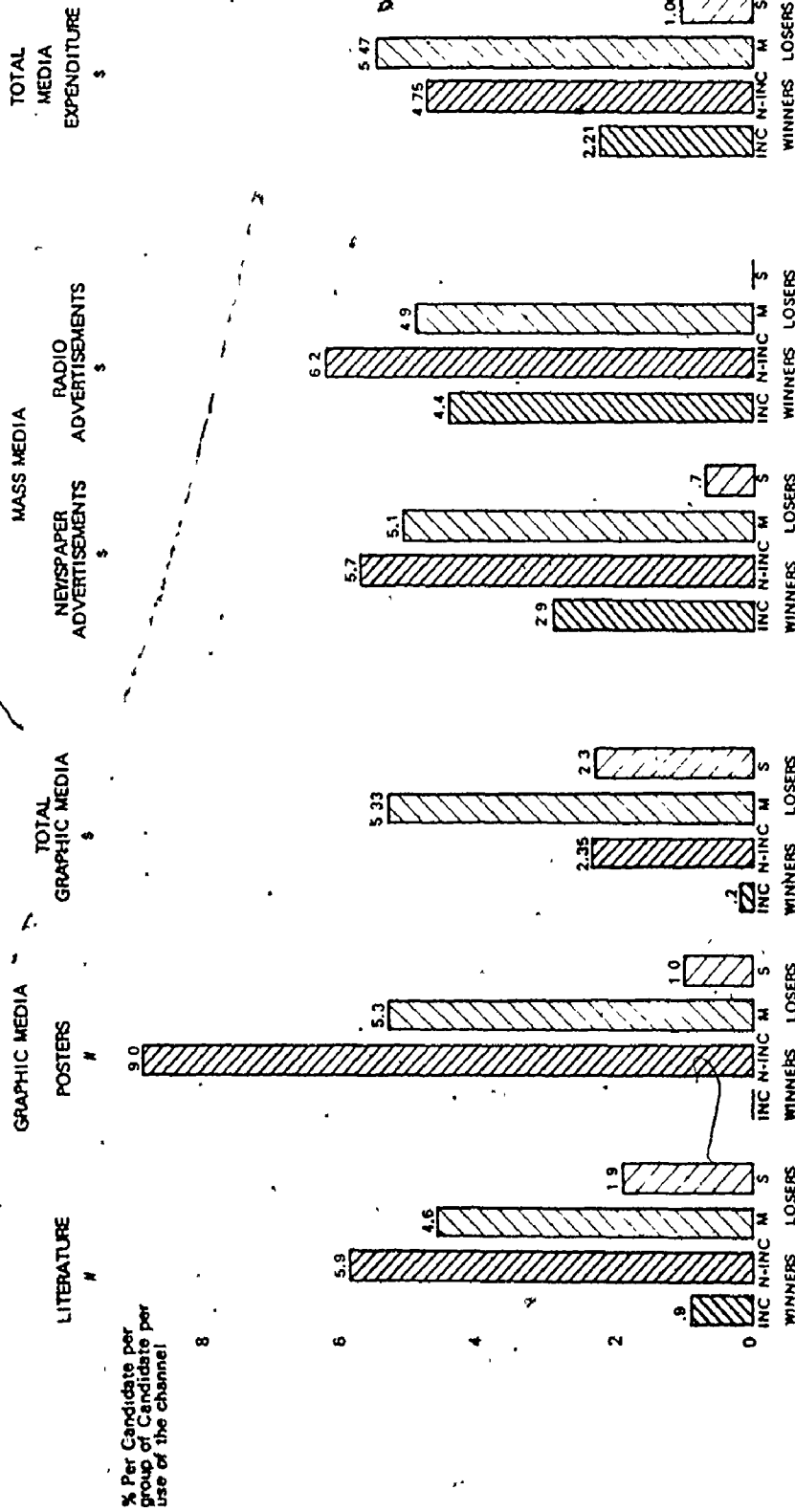
FIGURE VI 8

TABLE VI.5

CANDIDATE USE OF CHANNELS - ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA AND SOCIAL CONTACT CHANNELS, 1972

	ELECTION SPECIFIC SOCIAL CONTACT		GRAPHIC MEDIA			MASS MEDIA		
	Assistants	Households Canvassed	Posters	Leaflets	$ Spent	Newspaper $ Spent	Radio $ Spent	TOTAL CAMPAIGN $ Spent
Valeriote	20					170	75	270
Hammill						90	90	190
Hammond						30		30
Hamilton								
Hanlon	20		6	2,500	20	50	30	100
Brazolot	1		10			82	95	182
Murphey				2,000	10	50	40	100
Howitt	v.					40		40
MacKinnon	75	10	50	5,000	100	80	40	300
Love	3	10	1,000	1,500	50	200	150	400
Scammell	40	400	300	10,000	40	230	80	350
Kendrick	70	150	1,500	12,000	455	165	280	900
Auld	20	20	40	4,000	115	60		175
Bannon	30			2,000	30			30
Laws	24		240	8,000	300	130	160	700
Ferraro						350		350
Rodd	3		20	550	75	125		200
Brohman	20			100	20	50		70
Lindsey	5			1,000	100	150		250
Charlton	1							
Barabas				900	20	60	40	120
Lewis	7			3,000	25	25		50
Thomas	10	15		500	75	50		125
McMurty	2			6,000*	350*			50
Maxey	7	40		5,000	35	40		75
O'Connor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wilson	7		500		100	100		200
Evans	2			*	*			50
O'Malley, A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mann	2			*	*			50
O'Malley, P.	2			*	*			50
Bartkiewicz	2			*	*			50
Haythornthwaite, E.	5		50		22	8		30
Barney	2			*	*			50
Ottaway	2			*	*			50
Phillips	5		50		80	18		100
Haythornthwaite, A.	5		50	5,000	22	8		30
TOTAL			5,526	69,550	2,014	2,361	1,080	5,667
Number of Candidates Using the Channel	28	7	13	26		25	11	337

*Group advertising - more than one name on the leaflets - cost and number allocated to one member of the group.

Contrasts between the two loser groups are pronounced. Straight losers did not campaign actively through media channels. They were unwilling, or perhaps unable, to devote much in the way of financial resources to their campaign. With so many candidates running in the election for only eleven seats some must have entered the race with little preparation, even on impulse, since candidacy involved no immediate cost to the individual. Only Wilson spent as much as $100 on each of the graphic and the mass media. The eight students grouped together to spend $350 on a tabloid paper. These are the highest straight loser expenditures. The majority of the straight loser group must, therefore, have recognised that they were not in the running. It is the size of this group - eighteen, by the cut-off method applied - that is surprising.

The media advertising by the incumbents, though greater than by the straight losers, was considerably less than by the other two groups. These experienced campaigners used very few posters and very little literature, either because they recognised that the graphic media channel is not particularly effective, or because they recognised their positions on council as safe. Since they did place newspaper and radio advertisements the former hypothesis seems to be supported. Radio advertisement is expensive (many candidates complained about the high cost of this medium and observed that they could not afford to utilise it): newspaper advertisement rather less so. The incumbents jogged the memories of those they could count on from past elections to support them, and perhaps contacted additional electors through the authoritative and wide ranging mass media channels.

In summary, candidate group use of media channels suggests:

1. Differences in group perception of the efficacy of each channel, the mass media being favoured over the graphic media by winners;

2. Differences in group willingness and ability to command financial resources, straight losers having very low media expenditures;

3. Differences in group perception of the need to campaign intensively, incumbent winners conducting a low level campaign over the media because of pre-established media channel contacts and social channel contacts.

VI.2.c Use of Channels by Candidate Groups: Summary

Analysis of candidate group use of social and media channels reveals differences between group channel use, and differences between levels of use expected and the levels of use which actually occurred. As expected, all candidates use the informal social channels, but marginal and straight losers make relatively greater use of the narrow household and relative channels, whereas non-incumbent winners cultivate friends and fellow workers more actively. Incumbent winners make little use of the informal channels in the weeks immediately preceding the election. All winners have, predictably, a well developed set of formal social contacts, as, to a slightly lesser extent, do marginal losers. Straight losers have even fewer formal contacts than might be anticipated. The low level

of use of media channels by straight losers was anticipated, but not

the very low levels of use by incumbent winners. Predictably, non-

incumbent winners, and to a lesser extent, marginal losers made inten-

sive use of all available media channels.

Thus group channel use suggests:

1. That non-incumbent winners perceive that a broad campaign

   is necessary utilising all available social and media

   channels; that they have a pre-established set of formal

   contacts; that they have personnel and financial resources

   that they can commit to the campaign; and that they per-

   ceive accurately the advantages to be gained by emphasi-

   sing those social and media channels that have the

   greatest potential for a spread effect, and for con-

   veying an authoratative message.

2. That marginal losers, like non-incumbent winners, recognise

   the need to campaign actively across all channels; are

   willing to expend financial resources and may have campaign

   workers, but have a less perceptive evaluation of the

   efficacy of the information channels, and less fully deve-

   loped formal social contacts.

3. That straight losers have limited financial resources (or

   are reluctant to commit money to their campaign) and there-

   fore make little use of media advertising channels; spend

   what little money they do commit to the campaign on the

cheaper, but, it would seem, less effective graphic
media channels; use informal social channels, but stress
those with the narrowest contact range; have virtually
no formal social contacts; in sum, have few resources
and poor channel perception.

4. That winners who are also incumbents make little use of
informal social contacts in the immediate pre-election
period and expend relatively little on the media; what
is spent is confined to mass media channels; that they
have well developed formal contacts, but do not discuss
the election with those contacts; all an indication
that their pre-established social contacts and degree
of media coverage has been so considerable that they do
not need to campaign actively, that they could command
financial resources if they deemed it necessary, and that
their perception of the effectiveness of channels is
accurate.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELECTOR MODEL: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

In the Elector Model (Chapter III), it was stated that:

$$EI = f(CU, ES, EM).$$

That is, that information received by the electors about candidates is

a function of candidates' use of channels as well as elector use of

social and media channels.   The purpose of this chapter is to analyse

data collected from the 1972 sample of the Guelph electorate in order:

1.   To discover the relative amount of use made by

     electors of available social and media channels;

2.   To analyse the data on social channels as channels of

     discussion by electors about the election and candi-

     dates, and to analyse the data on both social and media

     channels as sources of information about candidates in

     order to establish: 1) the relative importance of

     informal and formal social channels as vehicles for

     political discussion; ii) the relative importance of

those social channels as conveyors of information to

electors; iii) the relative importance of graphic and

mass media channels as conveyors of information to

electors; iv) the relative importance of channels

carrying information prior to the election and in

the immediate pre-election period as transmission

lines for information about candidates to electors;

3. To examine the elector mentions of candidates known

through social or media channels for those candidate

groups established in Chapter VI, in order to assess

which groups use which channels most effectively to

make contact with electors. Emphasis in the research

is on the flow of information through channels.

VII.1 Use of Channels by Electors

Electors may receive information about candidates via social or

media channels. The amount of information depends in part on how much

the candidates themselves utilise the channel (Chapter VI), and on the

electors' customary use of the channels, plus electors' openness to

receiving information. Figure VII.1 indicates that, for the informal

social channels nearly all electors are members of multi-member house-

holds. Less than half, though, have relatives living in Guelph. Visit-

ing with friends falls between these two extremes, with 66.83% of the

319 sample electors indicating mutual visiting with friends during the

week prior to the election. The pattern of political discussion through

ELECTOR USE OF SOCIAL CHANNELS: 1972
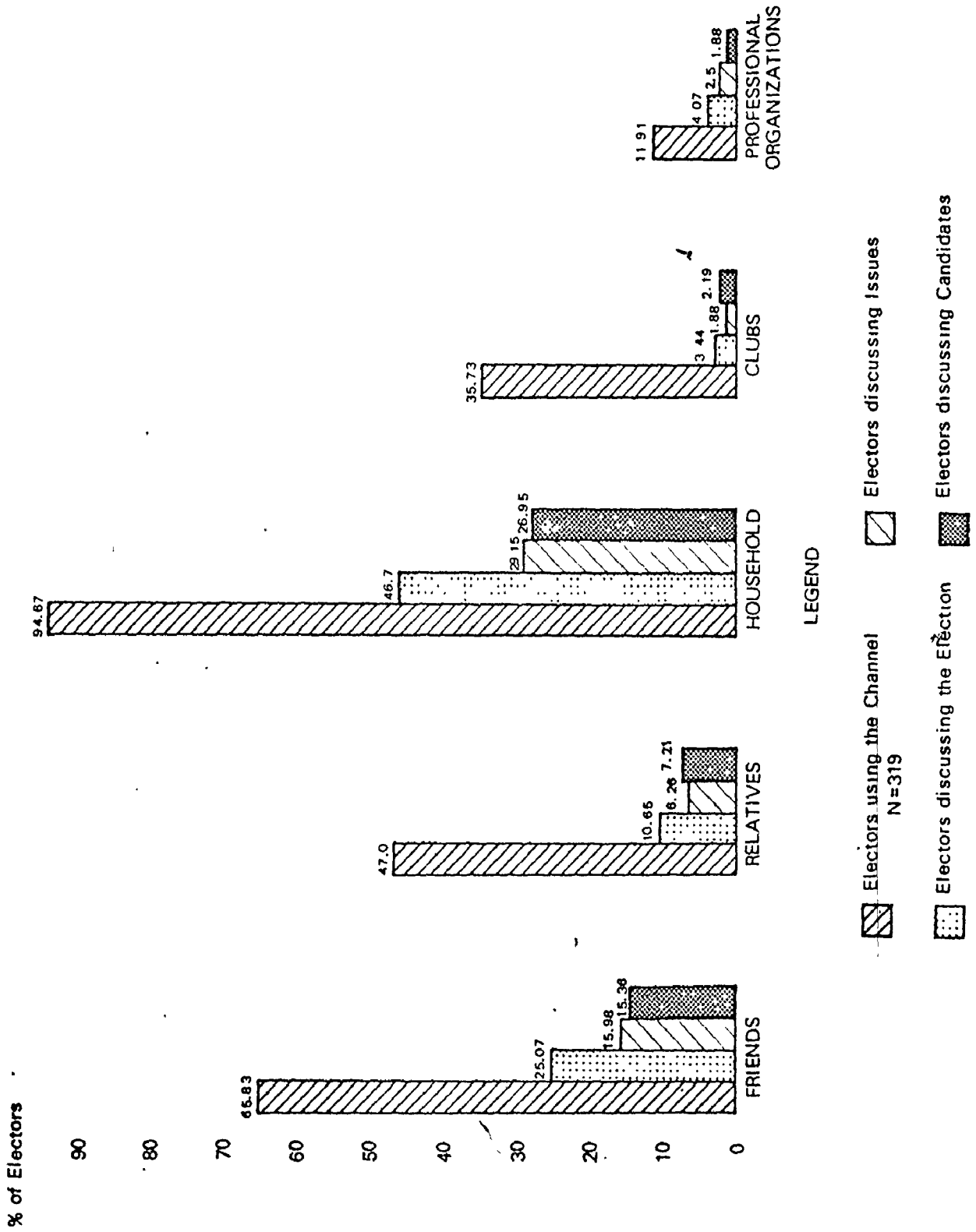
FIGURE VII. 1

LEGEND

Electors using the Channel
N=319

Electors discussing Issues

Electors discussing Candidates

Electors discussing the Election

% of Electors

FRIENDS

66.83
25.07
15.98
15.36

RELATIVES

47.0
10.65
6.26
7.21

HOUSEHOLD

94.67
46.7
29.15
26.95

CLUBS

35.73
3.44
1.88
2.19

PROFESSIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS

11.91
4.07
2.5
1.88

each of these channels is very similar. It consists of a generally low level of political exchange, with discussion of particular candidates being the lowest priority. Discussion of candidates was at its highest level between members of the same household - a restricted social group - while 15.36% of the sample indicated that candidates were discussed with friends. This is a very small figure considering that the interviews were held in the week immediately prior to the election.

Elector formal social contacts are not very well developed. Only one third of the electors have memberships in local clubs; only 11.9% in local professional organisations. Though the literature stresses the low level of formal participation on the part of the general public, such low rates are somewhat surprising in a medium sized city offering such a large number and variety of local organisations. Political discussion of any type by electors with fellow members was almost non-existent.

The low level of discussion of the election and of candidates in all social channels except the small circle of the household may be taken as an indication of the political insignificance of these channels, contrary to what the literature had indicated. Certainly they do not appear to be active during the campaign period. But social channels can operate in other ways than those examined above, as will be discussed later.

Examination of electors' customary use of media channels and the proportion of electors mentioning that they had read, heard of or seen information about candidates (Figure VII.2) demonstrates, perhaps surprisingly, a rather higher level of electors' awareness of the election and candidates through media channels.

ELECTOR USE OF MEDIA CHANNELS: 1972

% of Electors   N=319

FIGURE VII. 2

LEGEND

Electors reading the paper	Electors listening to the local radio	Electors on Cable T.V.	Electors watching candidate advertising
Electors reading the paper regularly	Electors listening to the local radio regularly	Electors watching local T.V. station	
Electors reading about the election	Electors hearing about the election	Electors seeing about election	
Electors reading about Candidates	Electors hearing about Candidates	Electors seeing about Candidate	

Television is insignificant as a medium of information flow in Guelph. Although 72.41% of the sample were on the cable and could, therefore, watch the local station, only 5.96% said they watched the local public service station, and only 1.57% had seen any of the candidates on that station.

More interesting are the differences between local newspaper and the local radio station as information channels for local political events. Rather more electors said they read the Guelph paper than listened to the local radio station, while regular readers of the paper (56.95%) were double the regular listeners to the local radio station. A very similar pattern between newspaper and radio emerged when the two were compared as purveyors of general information and of advertising about candidates. Electors mentioning the newspaper were 30% of the sample; mentioning the radio 10% in each case. Since candidates and their advertising were featured on both media channels, and public service coverage of all candidates was given by both channels, this indicates that the local paper was more important to the electors than the radio.

Comparison between the graphic media channels shows that virtually all electors had noticed some of the candidates' posters (that any but a housebound elector had not noticed them is surprising; there were so many), whereas, despite the large numbers of pieces of literature printed up by candidates, less than one third of the electors sampled remembered receiving any. Either the barrage of literature prepared by the candidates had not reached the electors or literature received had been ignored by the electors.

VII.2 Channel Contact Effectiveness

VII.2.a Channels as a Source of Information about Candidates

Though revealing the use made of channels by electors, the data analysed above only gives the proportion of electors who said they had heard of a candidate through a given channel. It does not indicate the number of candidates or which candidates had effected contact with electors; nor except for the advertising which was, by definition, received during the campaign, whether it was received before or during the municipal election campaign.

To throw light on these points electors were asked to give the names of candidates and the channels through which they knew of the candidates. They were also asked whether they received this information prior to the election campaign or during it. Social and media channels demonstrated to be significant by previous research were given as categories, but electors were asked in addition, to indicate any other channels they had used. It should be noted that any one candidate could be mentioned as being known of through more than one channel. The results from these questions are tabulated in Table VII.1.

The distribution across channels is revealing. Electors cited both media and social channels as important, but gave media channels as the rather more significant. Despite this the high rate of mention of candidates as being known personally in a general way, and through specific social channels in general, demonstrates the importance of the social network of the city for distributing information. More names were cited, though, as being known generally through no particular sources

TABLE VII.1

ELECTOR INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT CANDIDATES:

MEDIA AND SOCIAL CHANNELS, 1972

CHANNEL	KNOWN BEFORE THE ELECTION BEGAN	HEARD OF SINCE THE ELECTION BEGAN	TOTAL
Known Generally	623	278	901
Known Personally	541	–	541
Total Media Channels	295	911	1206
Newspaper	247	509	756
Radio	42	88	130
Cable T.V.	6	39	45
Posters	–	275	275
Total Social Channels	691		691
Known Personally:			
Neighbours	44	–	44
Friends	184	–	184
Work	144	–	144
Church	16	–	16
Clubs	49	–	49
School	61	–	61
Other	43	–	43
Known of through:			
Business	102	–	102
Clubs	46	–	46
Friends	3	–	3
Total Mentions			3339

than through a single separately identifiable source. These names had

been learned over time from a variety of sources, personal, media, and

both.

When timing of information received is compared these relationships

are further heightened. Of those mentioned as being known of generally,

nearly three times as many names were cited as having been known of

before the beginning of the campaign; those known of personally were

all known prior to the beginning of the election. The role of the mass

media is seen, from Table VII.1, as part of the information channel net-

work which must contribute to the high rate of mentions of those known

generally prior to the election, but the mass media and, or course,

posters, are particularly important conveyors of information to the

public during the campaign period.

Of the media channels, the newspaper again figures as by far the

most important source of information. Radio and especially television

are far less significant, particularly before, but also during the cam-

paign. Posters are cited as an important source of campaign period in-

formation, but the newspaper citations are again almost double that rate

(509 mentions compared with 275).

Examination of the data on elector mentions of candidates known via

social channels shows the importance of this channel (Figure VII.3).

Though, as discovered earlier, electors did not discuss the election and

candidates with their acquaintances during the campaign, nevertheless,

the data indicates that social channels linking candidate to elector had

been well established prior to the election. Friendship circles (26.58%

ELECTOR SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CANDIDATES MEDIA AND SOCIAL CHANNELS, 1972

Elector mention of Candidate as known about
via a media channel, as a % of elector mention of
Candidates known about via all media channels
80

MEDIA CHANNELS

Elector mention of Candidates
known via a social channel as
a % of elector mention of
Candidates known via all
social channels

SOCIAL CHANNELS

KNOWN OF VIA A SOCIAL
CHANNEL

43
FRIENDS

6 64
CLUBS

14 7
BUSINESS

KNOWN PERSONALLY VIA A SOCIAL CHANNEL

6 21
OTHER

8 81
SCHOOLS

7 08
CLUBS

2 3
CHURCH

20 8
WORK

26 58
FRIENDS

6 35
NEIGHBOURS

FROM OPEN QUESTIONS CHANNEL NOT
ASKED FOR IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

FIGURE VII 3

49
CABLE T V

3 73

3 48
RADIO

10 77

20 48
NEWSPAPER

62 68

22 8
POSTERS

60

40

20

0

☐ Elector mention of Candidates known
of since the election began

▨ Elector mention of Candidates, known
of before plus known since the election began

▨ Elector mention of Candidates known
of before the election began

of all mentions of candidates via social channels), followed by work circles (20.8% of mentions) are found to be more important than any other social channel as a source of knowledge about candidates. Clubs gain some mention, but church circles are apparently not a significant channel for candidate to elector information flow. Neighbours, too, are considerably less significant than the literature had suggested.

The low rate for neighbours as an information source can in part, be attributed to the sampling technique - a random sample is likely to yield low neighbour/candidate contact values since the chance of selecting electors in the sample who are indeed neighbours of candidates is low. This question is explored further, using a different sampling technique, in Chapter IX of this research.

When the results of the open question on other channels of importance were tabulated, it was found that electors cited schools as a contact channel of some importance. No attempt was made, however, to research what proportion of the 8.81% citations were known as school mates, teachers or through childrens' school contacts.

Electors also indicated, through an open question, that candidates were known, not necessarily as close personal acquaintances, but casually or through an intermediary. Clubs were again mentioned (6.64% of social channel mentions).

Overlooked both in the literature and in this research as a channel to be fully explored, but emphasised by the electors themselves, are contacts made through the transaction of business in the city, a total of 14.7% of all social channel mentions. As this channel was not asked for directly it would almost certainly have received a much higher rate

of mention if it had been included as a channel in the questionniare.

It is, however, not too surprising that, in a medium sized city, contacts

through business form an important social channel for contact between

candidates and electors. The channel will operate particularly in favour

of those candidates whose occupations bring them into frequent contact

with a spectrum of the local electorate, as for example, lawyers, doctors,

insurance agents, local merchants and local building contractors, and

local businessmen in general. Further analysis of the role of the occu-

pation of candidates will be presented at a later stage in the analysis

of information channels (Chapter VIII).

In summary, analysis of elector mentions of candidates known of

or about reveals that many electors know of candidates generally as part

of the city scene, through no readily identifiable channel. It is likely

that these citations are heavily weighted in favour of incumbents and/or

long time resident candidates.

Further, the analysis has highlighted the role of the local paper

as a source of information both prior to and during the campaign, followed

by posters during the campaign period. Radio is less important as a

source of information than might have been anticipated. Though house-

holds formed the main social circle for political discussion, electors

cited friends, followed by fellow workers as their major source of

information through a social channel. Both of these channels had been

anticipated by the literature, though fellow workers figures more promi-

nently than anticipated. Overlooked in the personal contact literature,

but brought out by open questions was the role of local business contacts

in bringing electors and candidates together. The most effective contact

channels, those cited most as sources of information, are, therefore, long
term social and media channels.

VII.2.b Channels as Sources of Information about Candidate Groups

The above analysis revealed relative elector use of channels, and
the importance of the channels as conveyors of information, but revealed
nothing about elector knowledge of candidate groups. Do electors
receive equal or varying amounts of information about each of the candi-
date groups? Are all the groups known of equally by electors?

Electors were asked which candidates they recalled from any source,
firstly without prompt, then with the aid of a prompt consisting of the
list of candidate names. Differences between the immediate familiarity
of electors with candidate names, and elector recognition of the names
when prompted, did exist, but no between candidate group pattern was iden-
tifiable. Incumbents were, on the whole, named readily without prompt,
but so were non-incumbent winners. Two marginal losers were named
frequently without prompt. They were those who had displayed vivid cam-
paign posters. More meaningful were the patterns which emerged when
citations with and without prompt for: i) total recall; ii) known
personally; iii) known before the election began, and iv) known since
the election began, were compared across candidate groups (Table VII.2).

Winners were known in all these ways far more than losers. Incum-
bents were the most frequently cited as being known personally (6.16%
pcpg), and as having been known of before the election began (7.06% pcpg).
In contrast, the non-incumbent winners were not known as well in both
respects; 4.18% pcpg for known personally, 5.36% pcpg for heard of before.

TABLE VII.2

ELECTOR KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATE GROUPS

CANDIDATE GROUPS

With and without prompt	WINNERS						LOSERS								TOTAL	
	TOTAL WINNERS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS		MARGINAL STRAIGHT		NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL LOSERS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS			
	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%
Recalled	59.97	5.45	39.32	5.62	20.95	5.24	22.27	2.78	17.46	0.97	39.73	1.53	60.68	2.02	100	2.7
Known Personally	59.88	5.44	43.15	6.16	16.73	4.18	21.57	2.69	18.55	1.03	40.12	1.54	56.85	1.90	100	2.7
Heard of Before	70.85	6.44	49.43	7.06	21.42	5.36	17.59	2.19	11.56	.64	29.15	1.12	50.57	1.69	100	2.7
Heard of Recently	44.98	4.09	24.70	3.53	20.18	5.05	28.85	3.67	26.17	1.45	55.02	2.12	75.21	2.51	100	2.7

Elector mentions of individual candidates as known via the channel. That number of elector mentions as candidates treated as 100%.

[a] percentage of elector mentions for the candidate group.

[b] percentage of the elector mentions of the candidate group divided by the number of candidates in that group (% pcpg).

They were, however, cited more frequently than incumbents as being heard of recently (5.05% pcpg). Losers in general had low scores on recall, known personally, and known before the election, with a very slightly higher score for having been heard of recently. Not at all surprisingly the marginal losers socred more highly than straight losers on each of the four scores, and again most highly on being heard of recently.

If elector active use of social channels is considered, the same pattern emerges (Figure VII.4). Electors were asked which candidate they had discussed with each of the informal social channels of friends, relatives, and household and the formal social circles of clubs and professional organisations. Work channels, school channels and business contacts were not asked for since there was less emphasis on these in the literature, although, as the preceding data suggested, they might well have been included.

In each channel winners are discussed with much more than losers; incumbents more than non-incumbents. The amount of discussion varies in each channel. As noted before, considerably more discussion took place in the limited range, frequent contact and robust circle of the household; rather less in the wider range, lower contact frequency, and probably more sensitive friendship circle; and very much less with relatives. Both formal channels were insignificant forums for discussion of candidates. This is, perhaps, a result of low contact frequency. If formal contacts do form an important channel of political influence it is not through political discussion within those circles, rather it must be the authoritative status of the channel and knowing a candidate through the channel which exerts influence. Some evidence exists that discussion

ELECTOR INFORMATION CHANNELS FOR WINNING AND LOSING

CANDIDATE GROUPS SOCIAL CHANNELS 1972

Elector mention of Candidates
% per candidate per group.
all social channels
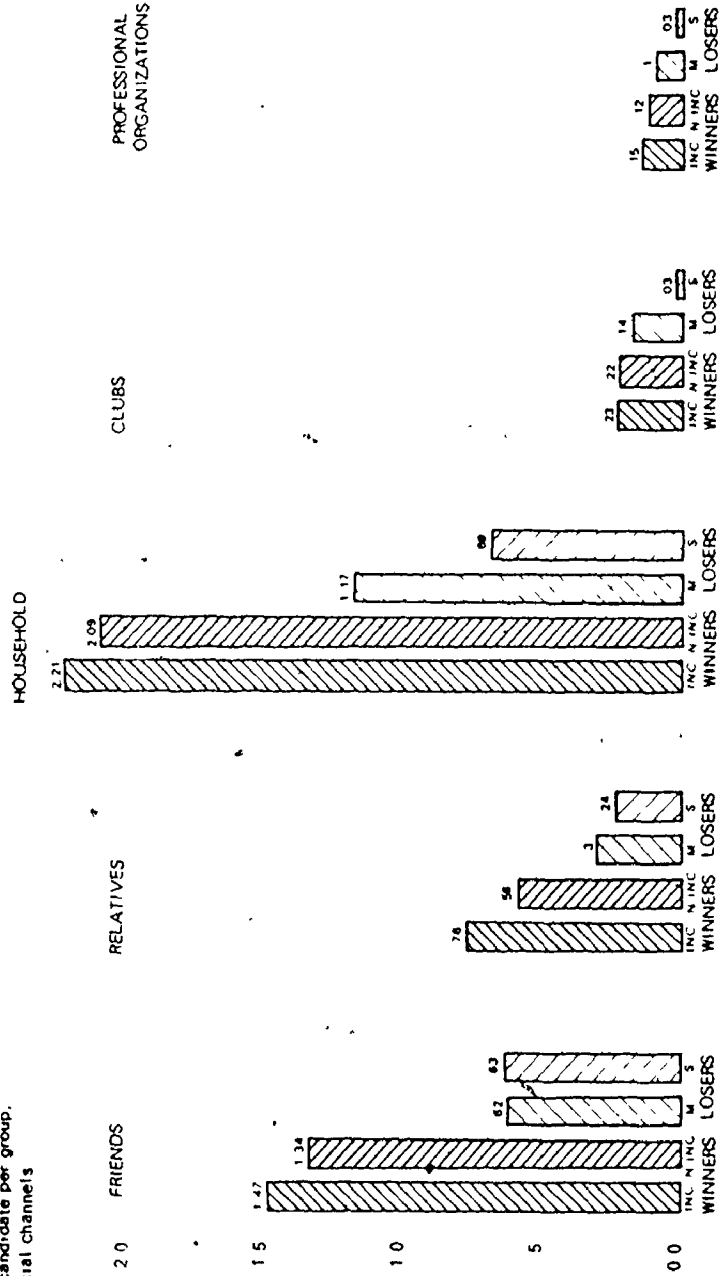
FIGURE VII 4

PROFESSIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS

CLUBS

HOUSEHOLD

RELATIVES

FRIENDS

LEGEND

INC ▨ Incumbents

N-INC ▨ Non-Incumbent

M ▨ Marginal

S ☐ Straight

WINNERS

LOSERS

of marginal losers more closely approximates levels of discussion of winners within formal channels than within any of the other social channels. Perhaps the high rate of discussion of marginals is associated with their relatively high rates of membership in clubs and local professional organisations noted in Chapter VI.

Elector mentions of candidates who had contacted the elector by campaign canvassing were very small, and were, of course, election specific, so that they were not included in the analysis of the other social channels. Very slight canvassing contact was made between incumbent winners and electors, and straight losers and electors. Electors did, however, mention being contacted by some non-incumbent winners (3.81% pcpg), and to a slightly lesser extent, marginal losers (3.38% pcpg, Table VII.3).

The elector plays a more passive role in respect to media channels. He has to buy a paper and read it, tune in to the radio and listen, or notice posters. He then may read the articles and advertisements concerning the local election, stay tuned to the radio programs on the election, and connect those names he sees on the posters with the candidates in the local election. Once these actions are performed his primary role is to remember the names, and any additional pieces of information he considers relevant, which the channel carries to him. And, of course, what he receives is also a function of candidate output and the ability of the channel to make a contact. Finally, mere name recognition is not enough. The elector has to deem the local election and some of the candidates sufficiently important that he turns out to vote.

TABLE VII.3

ELECTOR ELECTION SPECIFIC CONTACT CHANNELS FOR CANDIDATE GROUPS: SOCIAL AND MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

CANDIDATE GROUPS

	WINNERS						LOSERS								TOTAL					
	TOTAL WINNERS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS MARGINAL		NON-INCUMBENTS STRAIGHT		TOTAL LOSERS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL	
	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %
Canvassed by Candidate	21.74	1.98	6.52	0.93	15.22	3.81	30.43	3.38	8.7	0.51	39.13	1.51					54.35	1.51	60.87	1.65
Canvassed by Worker	13.04	1.19	0	0	13.04	3.26	19.57	2.44	6.51	.36	26.09	1.00					39.13	1.30	39.13	1.06
Total Canvassed	34.78	3.16	6.52	0.93	28.26	7.07	50.00	6.25	15.21	.84	65.21	2.51					93.48	2.51	100	2.70
Literature	38.57	3.51	10.00	1.43	28.57	7.14	48.57	5.40	12.86	.76	61.43	2.36					90.00	3.00	100	2.70

[a] Percentage of elector mentions of the candidate group.

[b] Percentage of elector mentions of the candidate group divided by the number of candidates in that group (% pcpg).

The pattern of elector mentions for candidate groups via the media channels varies from channel to channel (Figure VII.5). Non-incumbent winners are cited most frequently for all media channels, with the exception of posters, where marginal losers gain a very slightly higher rate of mention, and newspaper articles where they are equalled by incumbent winners. In every media channel except the local television station, for which the total number of mentions was so small that between group variations were not significant, straight losers had the lowest rate of mention.

The between channel pattern of the incumbent winners' percentage per candidate per group is of special interest. They rank about equal or lower than marginal losers for posters, radio and television citations. It is via the medium of the local paper that the incumbents are noticed most, through their own advertisements, and particularly through newspaper articles. This supports the hypothesis expressed in Chapter III that the small or medium sized town local newspaper is highly supportive of local authority, and, through that support, through a high frequency of mention of local figures, and through reportage rather than analytical journalism consolidates the authoritative position of the local political elite.

Literature was not included in Figure VII.5 because of the very low overall rate of elector mentions of candidates via this channel. When the figures for literature received by electors are analysed separately a pattern similar to the one mentioned above for the other media channels does emerge (Table VII.3). Electors mention receiving virtually no literature at all from straight losers and incumbent winners. Such litera-

ELECTOR INFORMATION CHANNELS FOR WINNING AND LOSING
CANDIDATE GROUPS MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972
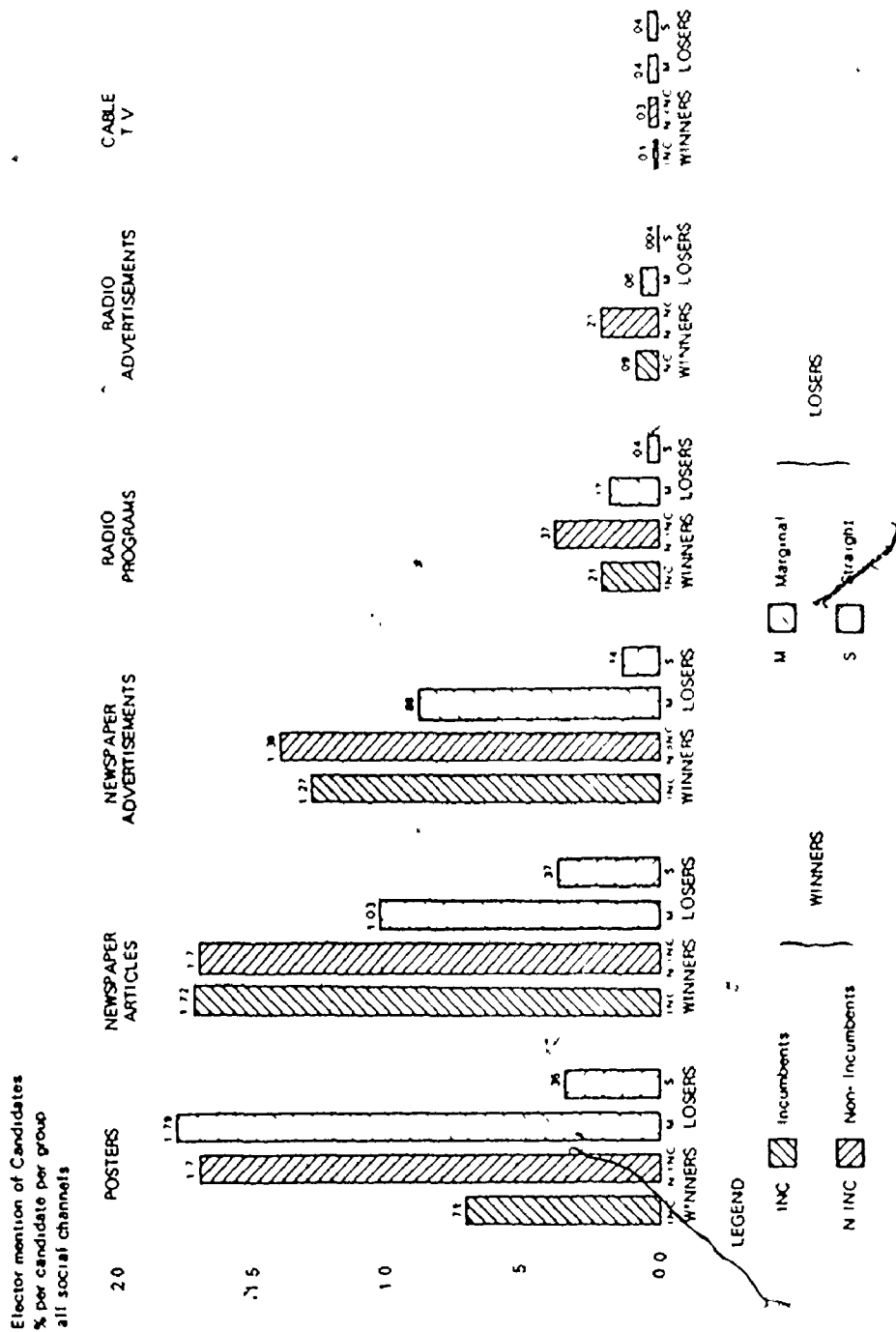
FIGURE VII 5

ture as was received came from non-incumbent winners (7.07% pcpg) and marginal losers (6.25% pcpg). Analysis of candidate channel use (Chapter VI) revealed that all groups with the exception of incumbent winners distributed a large amount of literature. The discrepancy between candidate use and elector mention is very great and indicates very low contact effectiveness and also influence effectiveness.

It has been suggested that the influence of information received was a function of elector response to the information and the channel that conveyed it. The high rate of elector mention of incumbent winners via the local newspaper, and the overall low rate of mention of literature for any candidate group are, perhaps, instances of elector response to the channel.

There are other indications of elector response to channels. A group of losers, albeit the marginal losers, were cited slightly more than any other group as noticed through posters, and yet they as a group and, in particular, two of the group with spectacularly high individual rate of mention, did not win the election. This supports the well-documented notion that posters are not highly efficacious in converting electors to support a candidate. They do bring names to public attention; they may even give the impression (certainly aimed for by candidates using the channel) of widespread support for the candidate, but they do not necessarily induce turnout and a vote.[1]

---

[1] One candidate who used strikingly designed posters captured 25% of all elector mention of candidates noticed via posters, another captured 14.23$ of the mentions, yet neither used very large numbers of posters. The first used 240, the second only 40. It appears, too, that elector mention of these two candidates as noticed via other channels is greater than anticipated, probably because electors remember these candidates so

VII.3 Elector Use of Channels and Channel Contact Effectiveness:

Summary and Conclusions

The data analysis has revealed that there are   differences in the customary amount of use electors make of the available channels. Electors use both social and media channels. Of the social channels, informal channels are the most active, particularly friends and household.. Among the media channels electors cite the local paper most frequently.

A similar distribution of emphasis emerges when channels are considered in terms of their effectiveness as a source of information about candidates. The local paper is again dominant among the media channels, both in the long and short term, as a source of information. Of the social channels, electors cite friends, fellow workers and business contacts as especially important to them. Elector active discussion of candidates takes place primarily within the confines of the household, and to a much lesser extent with friends. Discussion with formal contacts is at a minimum.

, Electors possess very uneven amounts of information about the different groups of candidates. The amount of knowledge of candidate groups that electors have, and the position in the election outcome accorded to the group by elector votes is closely related. The winners, incumbents and to a lesser extent non-incumbents, are those known generally,

---

well through their poster advertising. Undoubtedly, they did collect additional votes through this form of advertising, but not sufficient to become winners. Both were marginal losers.

personally and via the media (especially the local paper) over time. Winners are likewise discussed more by electors than are losers. Although the non-incumbent winners and the marginal losers are mentioned more frequently for their posters, literature, election specific channels, incumbent winners received more mentions for their newspaper articles and advertisements.

Elector receipt of information is therefore a function of elector use of social and media channels, candidate inputs into the channels and elector response to both the channel and the information conveyed.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTEGRATED MULTI-CHANNEL MODEL: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The initial model of political information flow presented at the

outset of this research utilised a simple input-output sequence with

three intervening variables.   To reiterate:

I Information → Candidates → Channels → Electors → Vote/No Vote

Input   Output

To this point, each of the three intervening variables has been

analysed - candidates and their input of information and use of channels,

electors and their use of channels; candidate groups and their use of

channels, electors and their receipt of information about candidates'

groups via channels.

The integrated model illustrates the theoretical working of the

system.   That is, 1) that candidates have certain established channels

and some election specific channels which they can use to convey informa-

tion to the electors; ii) electors use many of the channels in this own

established customary way; iii) that candidates, deliberately or inadver-

tently generate information which is carried by channels towards the

electors; iv) that electors receive information via channels, based upon their customary use and on candidate channel use. The actual working of the system has been operationalised and analysed.

Two areas remain to be investigated:

1. The extent to which the information received by electors

    via particular channels, for the candidates as a whole,

    and for the different groups of candidates, matches the

    information actually put into the system by the candidates.

2. The information received then prompts the elector to cast

    a vote for the candidate. This question itself has two

    parts:

    i. Do electors appear to respond more favourable to

        information received from particular channels?

    ii. Do electors appear to respond more favourably

        to information about particular candidate groups?

    Answers to these questions would offer support or rejection

    for the contention that the influence of information is a

    function of elector response to the information and to the

    channel.

VIII.1   Channel Use and Contact Effectiveness: Candidates and

Electors, 1972

VIII.1.a   Media Channels

Candidate and elector use of media channels, the input of informa-

tion into the alternative media channels, and the amount of information

electors mention receiving will be treated before social channels. The

inputs and receipts as indicators of contact effectiveness can be more

clearly identified and measured for media channels than those flowing

through social channels.

The local television station was used so little by either candi-

dates or electors that it need not be considered, though it should be

noted that a potentially important channel was scarcely used.

Elector use of the mass media was unevenly divided between the local

paper and the local radio station. Nearly sixty per cent of the electors

said they were regular readers of the local paper; only twenty-five per

cent were regular listeners to the local radio station - 67.5% of the

candidates used newspaper advertisements; thirty per cent radio adverti-

sements - almost exactly the same proportion. This would suggest that

overall candidate perception of the habits of the electorate was surpri-

singly accurate.

Does the rate of candidate expenditure on these two channels and

elector mention of candidates' advertisements noticed on the channels

match as closely? Total candidate expenditure on newspaper advertise-

ments was $2,301, on radio advertisements $1,080. Newspaper advertise-

ment allocation was, therefore, twice as large as the radio allocation.

But electors mentioned candidates 382 times for their newspaper advertisements, and only 33 times in all for their radio advertisements. The newspaper, then, makes a much more effective contact with electors than does the radio.

A similar comparison between candidate use of the two graphic media channels and elector mention of candidates noticed via the channel yields a similar result. A detailed breakdown of expenditure allocation between posters and literature is not available, but the total number of posters and the total number of pieces of literature can be used as a satisfactory substitute. 3,500 posters were printed; 69,500 pieces of literature. Electors, however, mention candidate names 534 times concerning posters, and only 70 times for having received any literature. This does not, of course, tell us anything about the relative impact of those posters and those leaflets. It may well be that all seventy of the electors who received literature were converted to the candidate who sent it, while few of the electors remembering candidate posters, actually voted for them. But the extreme imbalance between candidate use and elector mention of the two graphic media channels does suggest:

1. That candidate use of literature, its contents, or its distribution, was very ineffective in this election.

2. That posters do serve a very important function in helping to fix a candidate's name in the minds of the electors.

By comparing total per cent per candidate per group expenditure on
campaign advertising with elector mentions of candidates noticed through
advertising channels expressed also as per cent per candidate per group,
the relative effectiveness of candidate group advertising can be seen
(Table VIII.1). Winners, especially incumbents, but also non-incumbents,
are mentioned by electors a little more than their expenditure on adver-
tising would warrant, suggesting that their names are already familiar
to the electors from some other source. By contrast, marginal losers
spent proportionately considerably more than they gained in terms of
elector mentions. Mentions in this case were less than expenditure
should have bought. Straight losers spent very little on their cam-
paigns and, surprisingly, gained a very slightly higher rate of mention
than they deserved. Two newspaper editorials, one on the Communist
candidates and the other on the students, all of whom fell into the
straight loser category, could have contributed to this spin-off.

Examination of individual candidate expenditure reveals, however,
considerably discrepancy between individual candidate expenditure and
elector mention of that candidate (Figures VIII.1 and VIII.2). The
seven incumbents received considerably more mentions from electors about
paper advertisements than, proportionately, the candidates spent on the
advertisements (Figure VIII.1). The former alderman, Hammond, now placed
in the non-incumbent winner category, also showed a similar gain. Figure
VIII.1 also confirms the suspicion that the Communist candidates, though
not the students, had been drawn to the attention of the public, who then
remembered their advertisements (which were in fact only tiny one-liners)

TABLE VIII.1

CANDIDATE USE AND ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATE INFORMATION CHANNELS:

ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

	CANDIDATE GROUPS															
	WINNERS						LOSERS						TOTAL			
	TOTAL WINNERS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS				TOTAL LOSERS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL	
							MARGINAL		STRAIGHT							
ALL MEDIA CHANNELS	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%
Candidate Use of All Media Channels (using total candidate expenditure on the media)	34.6	3.14	15.5	2.21	19.0	4.75	49.3	5.47	16.0	1.06	65.3	2.72	84.4	3.01	100	2.85
Elector Mention of Candidates Via All Media Channels	48.59	4.51	28.06	4.01	21.53	5.38	33.96	4.24	16.44	.91	50.40	1.94	71.94	2.4	100	2.7

a Percentage per group

b Percentage per candidate per group

CANDIDATE USE AND ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATES INFORMATION CHANNELS
ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA CHANNELS, NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS, 1972

% per Candidate of Candidate use of the
channel (expenditure on newspaper advertisements)

% per Candidate of elector mention of
Candidates newspaper advertisements

LEGEND

C ░░ Candidate expenditure on
newspaper advertisement

E ☐ Elector mention of Candidates
newspaper advertisements
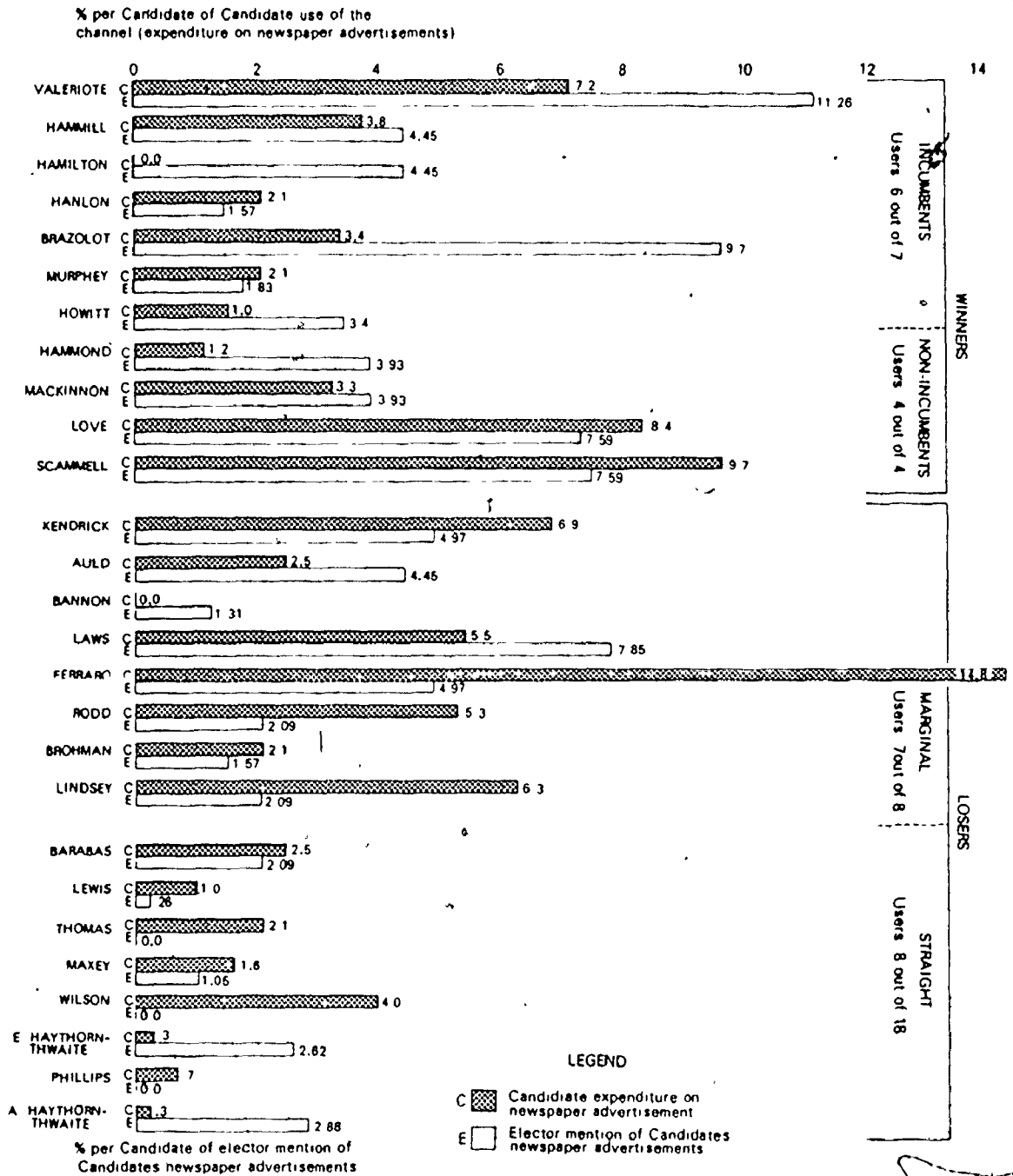
FIGURE VIII 1

CANDIDATE USE AND ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATES INFORMATION CHANNELS
ELECTION SPECIFIC MEDIA CHANNELS, RADIO ADVERTISEMENTS, 1972

% per Candidate of Candidate use of the
channel expenditure on radio advertisements

| | 0 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 20 | 25 | 30 |

VALERIOTE C 7 0
E 18 8

HAMMILL C 8 3
E 0 0

HANLON C 2 8
E 0.0

BRAZOLOT C 8 8
E 12 12

MURPHY C 3 7
E 0 0

MACKINNON C 3 7
E 1 06

LOVE C 13 9
E 30.3

SCAMMELL C 7 3
E 3 03

KENDRICK C 25 9
E 12 12

AULD C 0.0
E 3 03

LAWS C 9 8
E 9 09

RODD C 0.0
E 3 03

BARABAS C 3 7
E 0 0

MANN C 0.0
E 3 03

WINNERS — INCUMBENTS — Use 5 out of 7
NON-INCUMBENTS — Use 3 out of 4
LOSERS — MARGINAL — Use 2 out of 8
STRAIGHT — Use 1 out of 18

% per Candidate of elector mention of
Candidate news newspaper advertisements

LEGEND

C ▨ Candidate expenditure on radio advertisement

E ☐ Elector mention of Candidate radio advertisements

FIGURE VIII. 2.

disproportionately to the cost.

The spin-off gain which one piece of advertising may produce is amply demonstrated in the data for certain candidates in the marginal loser category. Auld and Laws are mentioned by electors disproportionately to their newspaper advertising expenditure. They also used posters and literature very effectively (Table VIII.2), and though both were admittedly major users of both these channels, again they gained very high rates of elector mentions, considerably above what their relative use of the channel would warrant. Kendrick, on the other hand, had a very large number of posters and pieces of literature made up, but was not mentioned proportionately by the electors.

Figure VIII.2 displays similar discrepancies between use and mention. Three candidates were mentioned as having advertised when they had not. One marginal loser, Kendrick, spent far more on the radio than he gained in recognition by the electors through its use. Two incumbent winners and one non-incumbent winner, on the other hand, received much higher rates of mention than their expenditure would seem likely to produce. For Valeriote, the top vote getter in the election, this seems to be a function of a general spin-off from his being known throughout the city via a wide range of channels, so that his name is immediately recognised, a household word. Brazalot and Love are local businessmen who advertised not just during the election, but for many years prior to the election, so that again their names are the more easily recognised and remembered.

TABLE VIII.2

CANDIDATE USE AND ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATES: INFORMATION

CHANNELS: ELECTION SPECIFIC GRAPHIC MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

	Posters		Literature	
	Candidate Use	Elector Mention	Candidate Use	Elector Mention
Winners:				
Valeriote		1.50		
Hammill		.15		1.43
Hammond		1.31		
Hamilton		1.31		1.43
Hanlon	.15	1.50	3.59	2.86
Brazolot	.26	8.05		2.86
Murphey		.56	2.87	1.43
Howitt		1.12		
MacKinnon	1.30	2.06	7.18	11.43
Love	26.20	11.80	2.15	1.43
Scammell	7.80	4.87	14.37	15.71
Losers:				
Kendrick	39.30	4.68	17.25	1.43
Auld	1.04	14.23	5.74	2.00
Bannon		.94	2.87	1.43
Laws	6.20	25.09	11.50	24.29
Ferraro		.19		
Rodd	.52	1.31	.79	1.43
Brohman			.14	
Lindsey		.56	1.43	
Charlton				
Barabas		.75	1.29	
Lewis		1.31	4.31	
Thomas		.37	.11	
McMurtrey			8.63[a]	
Maxey		.19	7.18	
O'Connor		.56		
Wilson	13.10	.56		
Evans		.19	8.63[a]	
O'Malley, A.		.15	8.63[a]	
Mann		.56	8.63[a]	
O'Malley, P.		.37	8.63[a]	
Bartkiewicz			8.63[a]	
Haythornthwaite, E.	3.90[b]	5.43	7.18	4.29
Barney			8.63[a]	
Ottway			8.63[a]	
Phillips	3.90[b]	1.87	7.18	2.86
Haythornthwaite, A.	3.90[b]	5.99	7.18	5.29

[a]Eight student candidates shared a tabloid newspaper.

[b]Three communist candidates shared one set of posters.

Candidate use in this table is based on the *number* of posters and pieces

General candidate inputs into the mass media, and elector reception

of the inputs, both pr   to the election and during the campaign, cannot

be identified as easily s advertising inputs. The publicised intention

of both the local paper and the local radio station is to treat all

candidates equally during the campaign period, giving them equal coverage,

and in the case of the paper, refusing to accept letters to the editor

about candidates. Exceptions to this rule are the candidates' paid

advertisements, and the occasional editorial comment on particular groups

of candidates, notably the editorials on the Communists and students

referred to above. With this exception (whose influence was slight but

identifiable), differences in the rate of elector mention of candidate

groups as heard of generally on the radio or read about in the paper are,

therefore, a function of past media coverage of the candidate, plus

elector familiarity with the name, which makes certain names heard about

or read of easier to remember than others. Table VIII.3 shows that

both of the winner groups were mentioned in this context very much more

frequently than either of the loser groups. Straight losers gained a

very low rate of mention.

VIII.1.b Social Channels

Social channel data is less amenable to the type of input-reception

analysis that could be performed on the election specific media data.

It is to be expected that candidate use of the formal and informal

social channels and their level of discussion of the election and their

candidacy would be higher via those channels than elector use and dis-

cussion, since candidates are expected to be deliberately cultivating

TABLE VIII.3

ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATES AS READ ABOUT

OR HEARD OF VIA MASS MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

WINNERS				LOSERS					
Incumbents N = 7		Non-Incumbents N = 4		Marginal N = 8		Straight N = 18		Total N = 7	
$\%^a$	$\%^b$	$\%^a$	$\%^b$	$\%^a$	$\%^b$	$\%^a$	$\%^b$	$\%^a$	$\%^b$
34.63	4.94	21.13	5.28	24.55	3.06	19.67	1.09	100	2.70

and exploiting these channels. Figure VIII.3 confirms this expectation.

This, in itself, gives little indication of the social links between candidates and electors; it merely compares their respective levels of channel use.

The household channel is, by definition, unimportant as a major social link between candidates and electors; relatives are expected to be rather more important, but of all the informal channels, turn out to be the least used and the least active. Friends, workplace and all the formal channels provide the possibility for social contacts between electors and candidates. But data of this type does not reveal the existence of actual contacts. It does not show which channels are the most efficient links between candidates and electors. It does not indicate which candidate groups have most links with electors.

Electors were asked which candidates they knew personally, prior to the election. Because this part of the analysis concerns those candidates known via direct social channels, the data used in the analysis are those responses given without prompt. The names of candidates which come to the elector's mind readily, rather than those recognised after the elector was presented with a list of candidates' names are those used here. The total number of names mentioned was not large, so that detailed group analysis was not performed. The overall pattern of elector mentions is, however, very consistent (Table VIII.4). The seven incumbents received over half of the mentions in each category. Rate of mention for non-incumbent winners, marginal losers and straight losers decreased rapidly, in that order. Very few candidates were mentioned as known as neighbours. In that case the incumbents were not quite

CANDIDATE AND ELECTOR USE OF INFORMATION CHANNELS INFORMAL AND FORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, USE AND DISCUSSION, 1972

FIGURE VIII 3

204
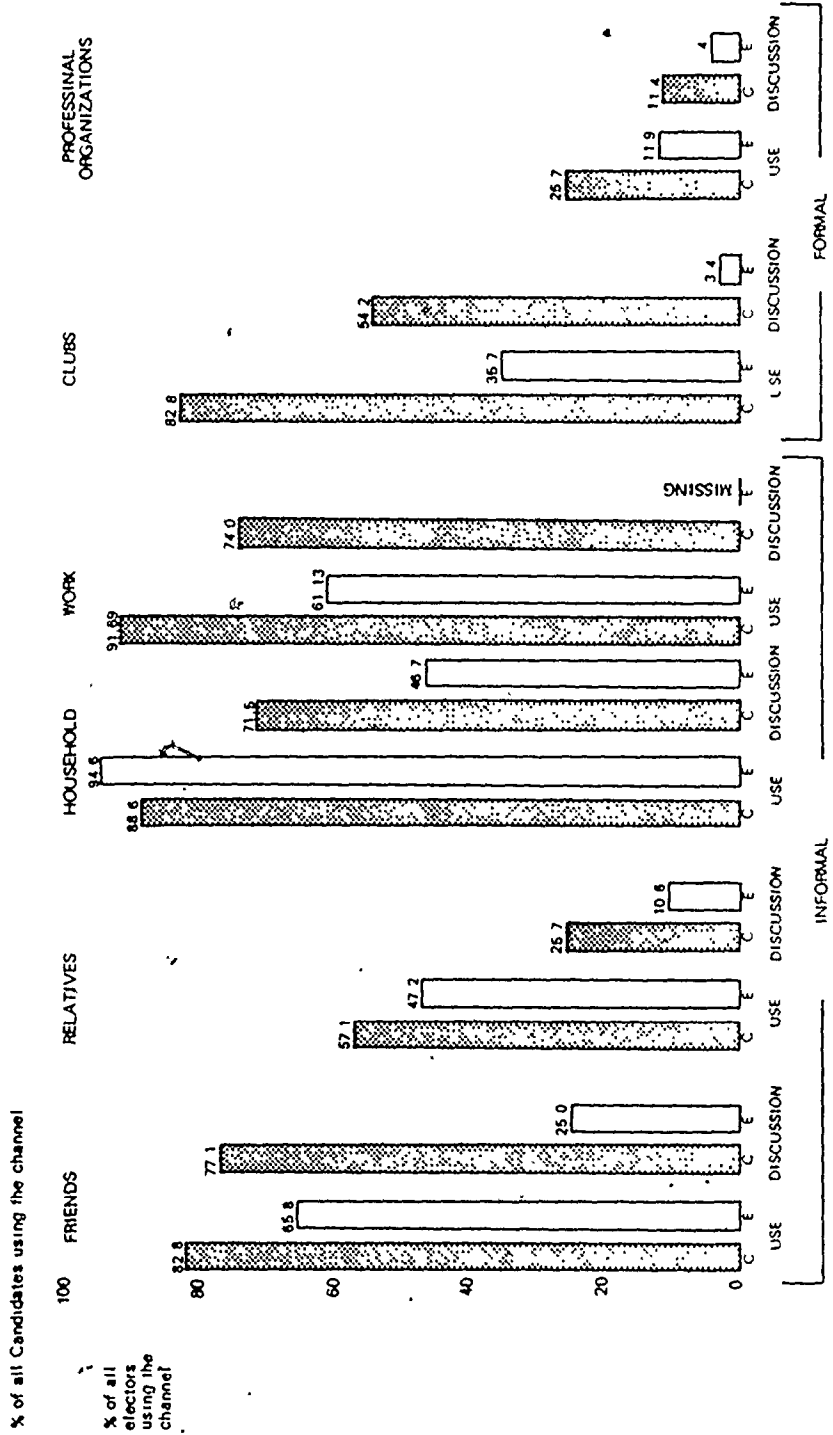
TABLE VIII.4

CANDIDATE GROUPS KNOWN PERSONALLY TO ELECTORS

THROUGH SOCIAL CHANNELS

DIRECT SOCIAL CHANNEL	TOTAL MENTIONS #	INCUMBENTS		
		#	% FOR INCUMBENTS	% PER INCUMBENT
Friends	100	53	53.00	7.57
Work	73	38	52.05	7.43
Clubs	27	16	59.25	8.45
Business	40	22	55.00	7.85

so highly favoured, but the winners, incumbent and non-incumbent, captured eighteen of the twenty-five names mentioned (72%) or 6.54% pcpg.

It is not possible, with data such as this, to state firmly that there was in fact a much higher rate of social contact with electors by winners, especially incumbent winners, than for the other candidates, but the results from the data are indicative of the importance placed on social contacts by the electors. They were more immediately familiar with the names of incumbents and claimed to have a high rate of social contact with them.

VIII.2 Candidate Group Use and Channel Influence

The second area of investigation deals with an attempt to answer the questions: do electors respond more favourably to information received from the channel type than another; and, do electors respond more favourably to information about particular candidate groups? Because candidate groups utilise particular channels; because favourable response to channel is measured in terms of support for a candidate group, and because favourable response to a candidate group is evidence by that group being winners or losers, it is virtually impossible to separate these two questions operationally.

Evidence exists that electors respond most favourably (cast votes) for those candidates whose names and performance they have become familiar with over time. The degree to which incumbents are claimed to be known personally supports the view that social contacts developed over a long period are particularly significant. So also, however, are media contacts, which have flowed between candidates and electors again over a

long time. Table VIII.5 illustrates this point. Both groups of winners,

outstandingly the incumbent winners, are claimed to be known by the

electors from media sources before the beginning of the election. Losers

are virtually unknown via the media channels. The media does function

to disseminate some information about the losers and non-incumbent winners

to the electorate during the campaign period, but this information flow

cannot, apparently, offset the initial advantage the winners have obtained

of being known, over the long term, through both the media and social

channels. Short term information flow is not enough to convert unknowns

into winning knowns. This picture is all the more striking when it is remem-

bered that substantial evidence was presented that incumbents did not

make much effort to put information about themselves before the electo-

rate through either media or social channels during the campaign, whereas

both non-incumbent winners, and marginal losers too, did.

Certain differences in elector response to social and media channels

emerge when the elector response to those candidates who fall into the

marginal loser group are considered. Marginal losers were considerably

less well known to electors on a person to person basis than non-incumbent

winners. Both groups campaigned actively, by using the media and the

election specific social channel of canvassing. In fact marginal losers

as a group spent more on the graphic media channels than did any other

candidate group, although non-incumbent winners used more pieces of

literature and more posters. Both of the groups gained a high rate of

elector mention for their posters and literature relative to the other

two candidate groups (Table VIII.6). Moreover it was pointed out earlier

that two of the marginal losers gained far more elector mentions than

TABLE VIII.5

ELECTOR INFORMATION CHANNELS FOR CANDIDATE GROUPS BEFORE AND DURING THE ELECTION:

MEDIA CHANNELS, 1972

CANDIDATE GROUPS

KNOWN THROUGH THE MEDIA	WINNERS					LOSERS							TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL	
	TOTAL WINNERS N = 1		TOTAL INCUMBENTS N = 7		NON-INCUMBENTS N = 4		NON-INCUMBENTS				TOTAL LOSERS N = 24		N = 28		N = 35	
							MARGINAL N = 8		STRAIGHT N = 16							
	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %	a %	b %
Before the Election Began	91.35	8.30	65.43	9.34	25.92	6.48	9.87	1.23	0	0.0	9.87	.32	35.80	1.19	100	2.7
Since the Election Began	34.66	3.15	15.00	2.14	19.66	4.91	39.0	4.87	26.33	1.46	65.33	2.51	85.00	2.83	100	2.7

[a] Percentage per group

[b] Percentage per candidate per group

Elector responses without prompt, all media sources.

TABLE VIII.6

CANDIDATE USE AND ELECTOR MENTION OF CANDIDATES: ELECTION SPECIFIC CONTACT

CHANNELS, SOCIAL AND MEDIA, 1972

CANDIDATE GROUPS

	WINNERS						LOSERS								
	TOTAL WINNERS		TOTAL INCUMBENTS		NON-INCUMBENTS		MARGINAL		STRAIGHT		TOTAL LOSERS		TOTAL NON-INCUMBENTS		TOTAL	
	N = ?		N = 7		N = 4		N = 8		N = 16		N = 24		N = 28		N = 35	
	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%	a%	b%
LITERATURE:																
Candidate Use	30.9	2.7	6.4	.9	23.7	5.9	41.	4.6	28.7	1.9	69.7	2.9	93.5	3.3	100	2.8
Elector Mention	38.57	3.51	10.0	1.43	28.57	7.14	48.57	5.4	12.86	0.76	61.43	2.36	90.0	3.0	100	2.8
CANVASSING:																
Candidate Use	60.4	5.49	0	0	60.4	15.14	24.40	3.05	15.1	1.0	39.5	1.64	100	4.16	100	2.8
Elector Mention	34.78	3.16	6.52	0.93	28.26	7.07	54.35	6.04	19.87	0.64	65.22	2.51	93.48	3.12	100	2.8

a Percentage per group

b Percentage per candidate per group

warranted by their use of posters and literature. But - they remained, nevertheless, losers. This activity did not elicit sufficient supporting votes to produce winners. From this, three tentative conclusions can be drawn: one, that electors respond most favourably to information coming through long established channels; two, that electors are more receptive to radio and newspapers as advertising channels than to graphic media channels; and three, that marginal losers had a poorer perception of the influence exerted by channels since several of them so emphasised the less effective graphic channels.

Elector favourable response to the long term channels, which makes non-incumbent winners out of those known over the long term in the community, and which further heavily favours continuing incumbency, is backed up by the electors' responses to a question asking for the reasons why electors had given their support to certain candidates (Table VIII.7).

The results from the open question show the emphasis placed by electors on long term social channels, and to a rather lesser extent on long term media channels. The high rate of mention of agreement with candidate views and the candidate's good character, together with the candidate's council and work experience reinforce the idea, already expressed, that electors vote for those already in positions of authority with whom they feel familiar and safe. In actuality electors know almost nothing about candidate views. A question attempting to tap elector knowledge of candidates' views on issues yielded so few answers that the results were not tabulated. It is, then, probably safe to assert that the electors did not know what the candidates' views were, but they were expressing their confidence that they would support that view, whatever

TABLE VIII.7

ELECTOR INTENT TO VOTE FOR CANDIDATES:

REASONS GIVEN, 1972

REASONS	RESPONSES AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL RESPONSES
Agree with candidates' views	27.1
Candidate known generally, via social channels	23.17
Candidate known generally, via media channels	9.96
Candidate a close personal acquaintance	2.94
Candidate of good character	15.64
Candidate has experience on council	9.17
Candidate has experience through work	9.17

it was!

Elector support of incumbents and non-incumbents known via long
term media and social channels above marginal losers, known primarily
through election specific media and election canvassing channels supports
the contention that the influence of information is a function of elector
response to the information and to the channels conveying it, in this
case long term social and media channels.

VIII.3   The Integrated Multi-Channel Model: Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to place three fundamental
elements of the voting equation, candidates, information channels, and
electors in a single framework in order to identify those channels through
which candidates make effective contact with electors.   Operationally
this has been done by juxtaposing data on candidate use of channels
against data on elector use of channels, mention of knowledge about
candidates as deriving from certain channels, and elector discussion of
the election and candidates through those channels in the context of the
1972 at large municipal election in the City of Guelph.

From the data comparisons a number of conclusions can be drawn
concerning: channel use; channel contact effectiveness; candidate
group use of channels and elector reception of information; and the
influence of information conveyed by particular channels-

1.   Channel Use

Both candidates and electors have many channels available to them.
From the available options electors have established a pattern of channel

use. Channels are neither used equally nor fully. In the context of the at-large, multi-candidate municipal election in the City of Guelph, 1972, electors had a well established pattern of social and media channel use which placed most emphasis in the long term, upon informal social channels, friends, their own household, work and business contacts, and on the media channel of the local newspaper, and in the short term on informal channels and the newspaper again.

Candidates likewise have a range of channels available to them, and in their capacity as candidates,are expected to utilise both social and media channels at a high rate of intensity in order to convey information to the electorate. Empirical testing revealed that, in the Guelph context, candidate use of both major sets of channels was less than expected. Of the media channels, newspaper advertisements and the graphic media were used by the greatest number of candidates. Among social channels, friends were important.

2. Channel Contact Effectiveness

Although the multi-channel model initially equates all channels as equally effective at effecting contact between candidate and elector, empirical application of the model reveals that the contact effectiveness of the channels is very variable. Media advertising channels provide the clearest opportunity for comparison between candidates' channel use and elector mention of candidates via the channel. Literature, in this case, was found not to be an effective contact channel. Less clear cut, but also apparent, were indications that, among social channels, neighbours and formal social contacts were not very effective contact

channels between candidates and the general public, whereas work, business and friends were rather more effective channels.

3. Candidate Group Use of Channels and Elector Reception of Information

The multi-channel model could be applied to groups of candidates - namely winners and losers, incumbents and non-incumbents - in order to discover whether: i) use of channels varied from one candidate group to another; ii) elector reception of information about the groups varied proportionately (taking into account, of course, the differences in channel effectiveness already discussed). Clearly, candidate groups allocate their resources and utilise information channels in different ways.

During the campaign period two groups made little active use of channels, either social or media. These two groups were, unexpectedly, the incumbent winners, and less surprisingly, the straight losers. Incumbent winners limited their activities to newspaper and radio advertising. Electors, however, mentioned their advertisements in disproportionately large numbers. Non-incumbent winners and marginal losers were generally active along all channels, but the winners made more use of the more effectiveness newspaper contact channel, marginal losers proportionately more use of the low contact effectiveness literature channel.

4. Influence of Information Conveyed by Particular Channels

Winners and losers are differentiated by the support they receive from the electorate who know of them as candidates through the channels. Of crucial significance, then, are the differences in candidate channel use and elector mention for winners and losers, and for non-incumbent winners and non-incumbent marginal losers. The differences in use and mention for winners and losers illuminates which channels are particularly influential in prompting electors to support candidates with votes.

Winners, whether incumbent or non-incumbent, are those candidates receiving a high rate of mention from electors as being known via general social channels, and media channels, particularly the local newspaper, over a prolonged perior prior to the election.

In conclusion, the multi-channel model offers a framework which integrates three fundamental elements of the voting equation which are usually treated as separate entities. The model is particularly suited to the testing and evaluation of channel utilisation strategies, channel contact effectiveness and channel influence within the at-large, non-partisan municipal election. It could, moreover, be applied, with some modifications, to other electoral and socio-political systems.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANNEL: MODEL AND EMPIRICAL TEST

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter IV, neighbours were treated as one of several social communication channels, in the multi-channel model. In this chapter the role of neighbours as a channel is examined in detail.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the role of personal interaction: i) between neighbours within a narrowly defined neighbourhood, and ii) by neighbours of a local candidate, amongst themselves, amonst their friends and various other social contacts, as an effective channel of political information flow.   Two major sets of questions are addressed;   the first directly related to the Neighbourhood Effect model, the second to the Friends-and-Neighbours model.

The Neighbourhood Effect Model

1. Are neighbours the dominant source channel for information about political candidates?

2. Are neighbours the most important social contact channel for discussion of the election and of candidates?

The Friends-and-Neighbours Model

1. Does the local candidate have greater saliency for his neighbours than any other candidate? That is, do neighbours know personally; have greater and more accurate knowledge about; have a higher involvement level on behalf of; and are more likely to be canvassed by, their local candidate than any other candidate?

2. Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate than any other candidate?

3. Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate with each other than with any other social contact?

4. Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate with their other social contacts than to discuss any other candidate?

5. Are neighbours more likely to notice their local candidate via media channels than any other candidate?

6. Are neighbours more likely to intend to vote for their local candidate than for any other candidate?

IX.1 Application of the Neighbours' Models: Procedures

IX.1.a Neighbourhood and Neighbours: Definitions

Urban planners have struggled with the myriad definitions of neighbourhood. The purpose of this section is to review some of the definitions

briefly and to indicate the difficulties involved, as a preliminary to

employing the concept of neighbours rather than a territorially defined

neighbourhood in the present study.

As has already been indicated, political scientists and political

geographers have avoided the questions of neighbourhood definition by

taking a pragmatic approach. They have employed bounded areas based on

the availability of data and called these areas neighbourhoods.

European and some North American cities contain distinctive terri-

tories, often possessing a focal point or area, wherein social activi-

ties are related to physical space. These territories possess distinc-

tive names and are recognised by their inhabitants and other as neigh-

bourhoods (Mumford, 1954).

In the recent past planners have designated and attempted to design

urban residential neighbourhoods based on certain planning principles

of what a neighbourhood ought to be in function and layout (Perry, 1929).

Such "neighbourhoods" were given a focal point, such as an elementary

school, or in some enlightened British examples, a pub.

Less clear, however, is the social and territorial meaning of neigh-

bourhood when viewed from the perspective of the inhabitants. Neighbour-

hoods can be conceptualised as the area with which an individual asso-

ciates on the local scale. Lee (1968), in his study of the neighbourhood

as designated by a group of Cambridge housewives, found a very high

level of individual variation in the territorial definition of neighbour-

hood. In a study restricted to black youths, Ladd (1968) found likewise,

very considerable variation in their view of the areal extent of their

neighbourhood.

Definitions of neighbourhood in terms both of association and social interaction, are probably largely a function of personal mobility. Dickinson (1964) for example, defined neighbourhood as the area with which individuals associate, within which they are personally well acquainted with each other, and are in the habit of visiting each other, and in general of doing things together. Personal mobility may be affected by age and lifestyle as well as access to the automobile. The automobile has, for example, made possible the existance of social communities which are not necessarily spatially contiguous, or neighbouring.

This study has, therefore, attempted to avoid defining neighbourhood. Since the focus of the study is the role of personal interactions, some of which are of such complexity that they are difficult to delimit spatially, this study employs the concept of neighbours rather than neighbourhood. Neighbours are defined as those people residentially adjacent to one another, for whom one of their several sets of social interaction is with their fellow neighbours.

IX.1.b Sampling

In order to obtain data on the role of neighbours as one of several political communication channels, the 1972 elector questionnaire was applied, with certain additions, to a non-random sample of the electorate in the 1974 Guelph municipal election.

Questionnaires were applied to a representative of all households on the residential blocks immediately adjacent to three selected candidates. Neighbours were defined simply as those residentially adjacent to the candidate on the block and to the other respondents on the block.

Three areas were selected to ensure that the areas and the number of res-
pondents in each area were small and each household had a high probability
of contact with the others and with the local candidate. Eighty eight
households fell in this non-random sample. Despite house vacancy, vaca-
tions and refusals, the response rate was over eighty five per cent.

, The location of the three residential areas was dependent upon cer-
tain criteria established: 1).for. the selection of the candidates; 2)
for selection of the types of residential areas.

Candidates were selected from the group of non-incumbents, since
Reynolds (1969) and Johnston (1971, 1973) both found that the friends-
and-neighbours effect was most pronounced for new candidates.

Candidates were also selected on the basis of the residential area
in which they lived. Candidates were selected who were residentially
isolated from all the other candidates, in order to control interference
and bias to the meaning of local candidate and neighbour.

The residence of the chosen candidates was to be a single family
dwelling in middle income areas, set on strictly residential streets,
rather than on arterial roads or in commercial or industrial areas.
Since information about and discussion of candidates is known to be
slight in at-large election, the streets selected were to be of a design
believed to be conductive to interaction between neighbours. That is,
the streets chosen were to have a high degree of closure, such as cul-
de-sacs and crescents, or to be streets with only one access point. A
final criterion was the age of the area; two of the areas constructed
and occupied between 1967 and 1970, the other one during the early 1950's.

Candidate/Area A

Candidate A is a first time male candidate. His area was completed and occupied between 1967 and 1969. Candidate A lives in the corner house of a T-junction. In this case the two streets do not have a high degree of closure. The cut-off points for selection of neighbours was rather arbitrarily established, as indicated in Figure IX.1. Interviews were attempted with a representative of thirty eight households.

Candidate/Area B

Candidate B is a first time female candidate. The area was built in the 1950's. The candidate is centrally located on the crescent, which has two points of entry. Interviews were attempted with the sixteen households on the crescent (Figure IX.1).

Candidate/Area C

Candidate C is a repeat, male non-incumbent. His area was completed and occupied between 1968 and 1970. There is one entrance to the area, which consists of one curving street and two short cul-de-sacs. The candidate lives assymetrically on the link street (Figure IX.1). Interviews were attempted with the thirty four households.

IX.1.c Questionnaire Construction

The questionnaire applied to the respondents was virtually identical to that used on the 1972 elector sample, with the addition of a set of questions designed to tap the role of neighbours as a political communication channel (Appendix III). Respondents were asked to identify on a map

CANDIDATES AND NEIGHBOURS 1974

B.

C.

PLAYING FIELDS

A.

SCHOOL

PARKING LOT

LEGEND

CANDIDATE

— — NEIGHBOURS

REFUSE

VACANT

NO RESPONSE

OTHER HOUSES SURROUND THE AREA UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED
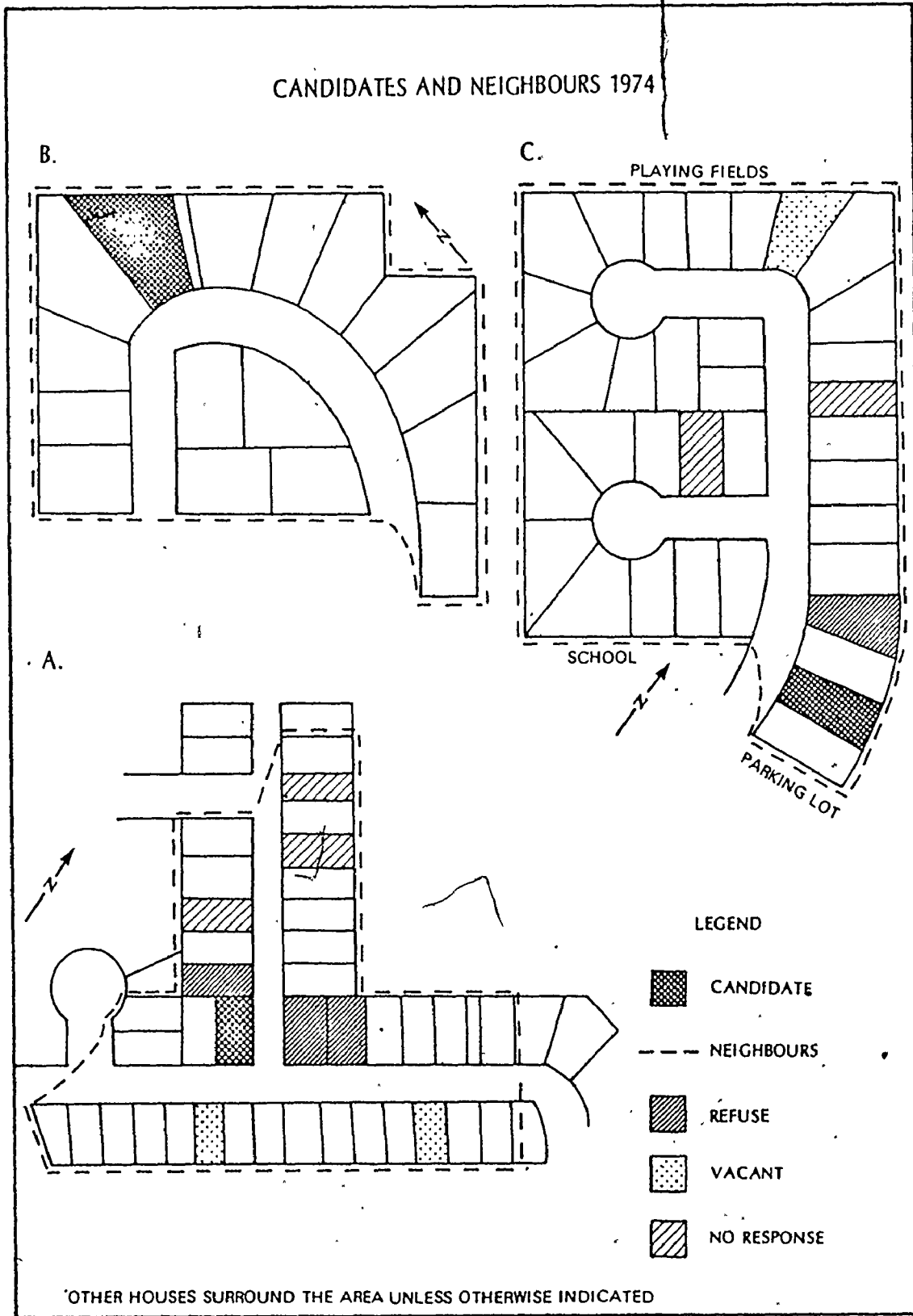
FIGURE IX. 1

those neighbouring households they visited with, and those households
with which they discussed the municipal election, the local candidate
and any other candidates. All the questions on the original questionnaire
which elicited the names of candidates were not altered, but in the coding
procedure the local candidate was allocated a separate coding, in order
to identify rapidly whether or not the local candidate was mentioned.

IX.1.d Questionnaire Application

·The questionnaires were again applied to the respondents by personal
interview. The interviewers were B.A. Honours Geography students from
the University of Guelph. Pre-testing of the questionnaire was carried
out as for the 1972 elector questionnaire, both to test the clarity and
suitability of the additional questions and to train the interviewers.
Of the five interviewers, one worked in Area B which held only sixteen
households including that of the candidate, while the thirty-eight and
thirty-four households in Areas A and C were interviewed by the remaining
four. Since the interviewers were working in small areas with little
intervening travel time involved, where there was no difficulty in iden-
tifying the households in the sample and where call back was easy, inter-
views were delayed until the end of the pre-election period. Interviews
were conducted from the Thursday to the Saturday, with the election being
held on the following Monday, December 2, 1974. Figure IX.2 gives the
frequency distribution for the interviews over the interview period.

The interview completion rate varied considerably from one area to
another, although the overall completion rate was high. Thirteen out of
the sample of eighty-eight persons were missed, due to vacations, vacant

ELECTOR INTERVIEWS, DAY AND DATE: 1974
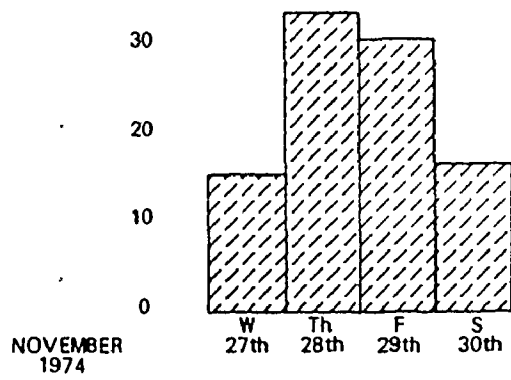
ELECTION DAY: MONDAY DECEMBER 2, 1974

INTERVIEWS
COMPLETED : 75

FIGURE IX . 2

dwellings and unidentified absence of the members of the household, for

an eighty-five per cent completion rate. The completion rate varied from

one area to another. The highest rate was achieved in Area B where a

representative of every household was interviewed with the exception of

the candidate. In Area C four non-completions were·recorded. Area A

had the highest refusal and non-completion rate. Three households

immediately adjacent to the candidate refused to be interviewed (Figure

IX.1). A total of five other households were unobtainable during the

interview period. Out of an anticipated thirty-eight households, only

thirty were interviewed.

IX.1.e   Data Preparation

The relevant data were tabulated by hand directly from the question-

naires. From the tabulations tables and figures were prepared showing

the proportion of electors, either as a percentage of the total sample

or as a percentage of the area sample using a given channel. Because of

the variation in the size of the sample by area, use and discussion via

a channel was expressed as the percentage per respondent per area.

Several ways of comparing the rate of discussion or notice of the

local candidate compared with other candidates were considered. No

single measure was considered entirely suitable. Therefore some combina-

tion of the following is given in the tables and figures; mention of the

local candidate as a percentage of the total mentions of candidates in

the area; the rank of the local candidate in terms of the number of men-

tions he received in relation to mentions for other candidates; and the

percentage mention of the highest other candidate.

IX.2 The Neighbours Models: Analysis

An individual relates to and is influenced by his neighbours and his neighbourhood in a complex of ways. Attention in this study is confined to two of these ways. The first concerns the importance of neighbours as a communication channel compared with other, particularly other personal communication channels. The second concerns the role of neighbours as a channel carrying information about a local candidate, a candidate who is a fellow neighbour to a group of neighbours.

IX.2.a The Neighbourhood Effect Model: Neighbours as a Channel

Despite the emphasis in the literature on the significance of the role of neighbours as a political communication channel, the 1972 data, derived from a random sample of the population of Guelph's electorate indicated that neighbours were not a particularly important social communication channel, whether as a source of information about candidates, or as a channel for the discussion of the election and of candidates. The 1972 study, however, included neighbours only as one of several personal communication channels. The channel was not examined closely. Nor was the random sample particularly suitable for such an examination.

The 1974 data was drawn deliberately from a non-random sample of the Guelph population. All respondents were neighbours to the other respondents within small areas, and all were close neighbours of a candidate for election. Since a candidate for election was deliberately embedded in the sample, it was anticipated that the response from neighbours about the saliency of the neighbours' channels would be considerably greater than the responses to comparable questions given by the 1972 sample, few

of whom were close neighbours of a candidate.

Are neighbours the dominant source channel for information about political candidates?

The 1974 results mirrored the 1972 closely. The proportion of respondents mentioning knowing a candidate personally, without a prompt, exceeded the proportion of candidates known generally, while those known through the media were considerably fewer. As in 1972 the newspaper was again the dominant media channel (Table IX.1) Business contacts were again mentioned as significant without prompt. When a prompt list of candidates was given to the respondents the 1974 and the 1972 results were still consistent. The proportion of candidates known personally fell. This is predictable. Those known personally are those most easily remembered. Those known only generally and through the media, again with the local paper as the most important single source, rose when the prompt was provided.

Differences between the 1972 and the 1974 data emerge when the distribution of candidates known personally through the different *personal* communication channels is examined. The 1974 data, predictably, reveals a greater emphasis on candidates known as or through neighbours, than did the 1972 data - a function of the structure of the 1974 sample. If, however, mentions of the name of the local candidate are removed, then the proportion of candidates known through neighbours, as opposed to candidates known as neighbours, is again very small. Friends are again an important channel, as are business contacts. For the 1974 respondents' clubs are much more important as a channel source of candidate information

TABLE IX.1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CANDIDATES: NO PROMPT, 1974

	TOTAL		PERSONALLY		GENERALLY		NEWSPAPER		RADIO		T.V.		BUSINESS	
	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.	%	% p.r.
Combined Areas	100.0	1.33	41.91	.55	33.45	.44	17.64	.23	1.47	.01	-	-	5.51	.07
A	30.88	1.02	17.27	.57	5.14	.17	4.41	.14	.73	.02	-	-	3.30	.11
B	20.58	1.37	5.51	.36	10.66	.71	3.67	.24	-	-	-	-	.73	.04
	(41.16)		(11.02)		(21.32)		(7.34)						(1.46)	
C	49.52	1.61	19.11	.63	17.64	.58	9.55	.31	.73	.02	-	-	1.47	.04

% = Percentage per area

% p.r. = Percentage per respondent per area

Area B, Figure in brackers Area B N = 15, therefore area figure doubled to give some idea of comparability with Areas A and C.

than was suggested by the 1972 data (Figure IX.3).

What the data indicate is that neighbours are not a particularly important general source of information about candidates, but that if a candidate happens to reside in the area, then being a neighbour of a candidate brings the channel into play, but still as one no more important than friends (Figure IX.3, the percentage mention per respondent for the areas combined was .4 for neighbours and .42 for friends).

The above analysis has treated the 1974 sample as a single unit. It is apparent from the tables and graphs that there are some significant between area differences. What are the differences in the behaviour of neighbours in the three areas, and how do they relate to differences in the neighbourhood setting?

There is, for example, considerable variation in the rate of candidate mention per respondent from one area to another (Figure IX.4). Area C has the highest rate; Area A the lowest rate. Moreover, these are distributed differentially across the channels. Areas A and C have approximately the same rate of mention of candidates known personally; Area B a lower rate. Area B, on the other hand, has a higher rate of candidates known generally than the two. Area C has a particularly high rate for candidates known through the local newspaper.

Differences between the areas again emerge when the personal channels are examined in detail (Figure IX.5). Areas are tied in to the local political scene through different channels. Area A knows candidates through work, through clubs and through business; for Area B these same channels are quite insignificant. Area C, on the other hand, reports using all the social channels, but places particular emphasis on friends

PERSONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CANDIDATES: COMBINED AREAS, WITHOUT PROMPT, 1974
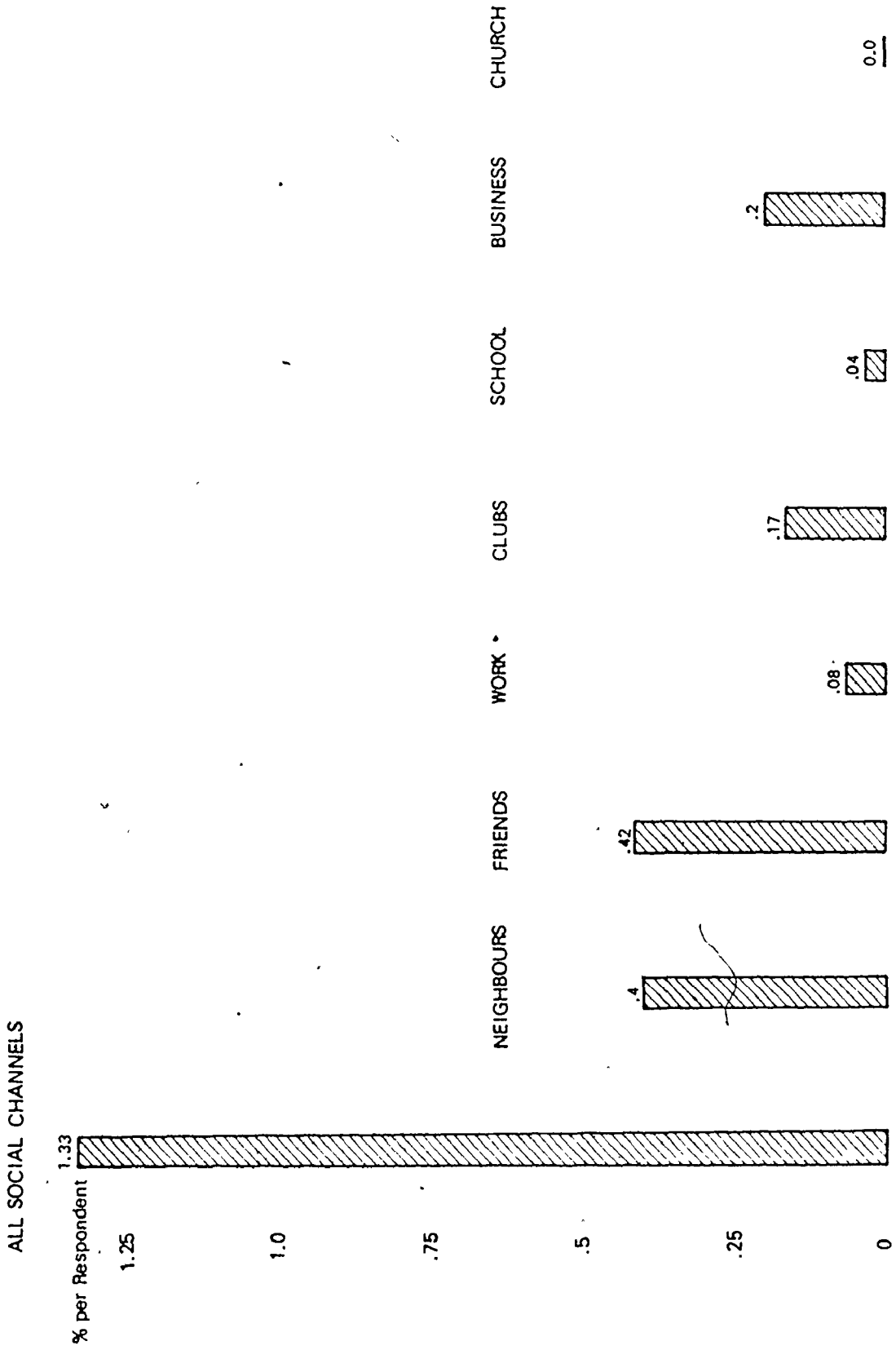
FIGURE IX. 3

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CANDIDATES: BY AREAS, WITHOUT PROMPT, 1974
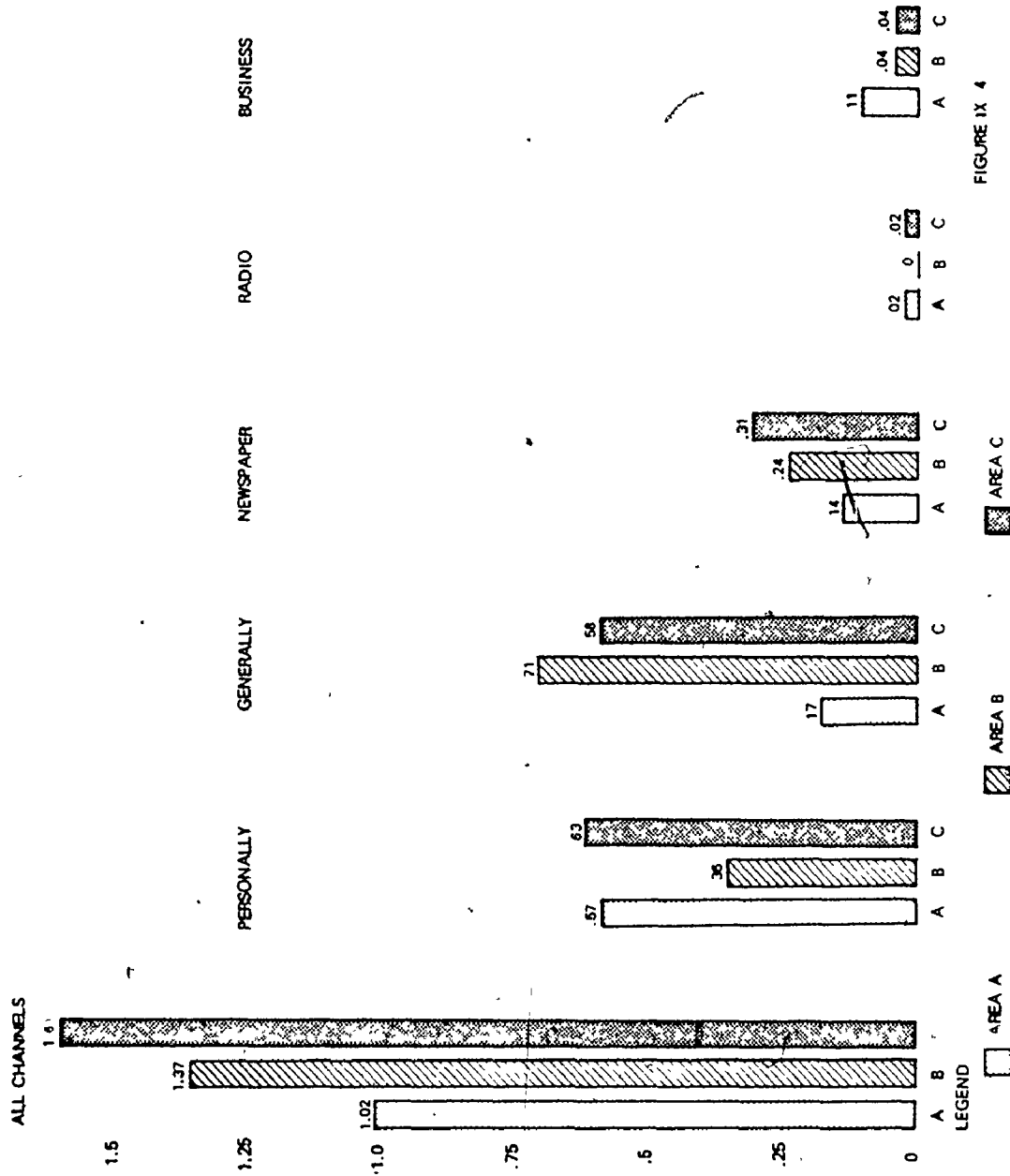
FIGURE IX 4

PERSONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CANDIDATES: NEIGHBOURS AND OTHERS, WITHOUT PROMPT, 1974
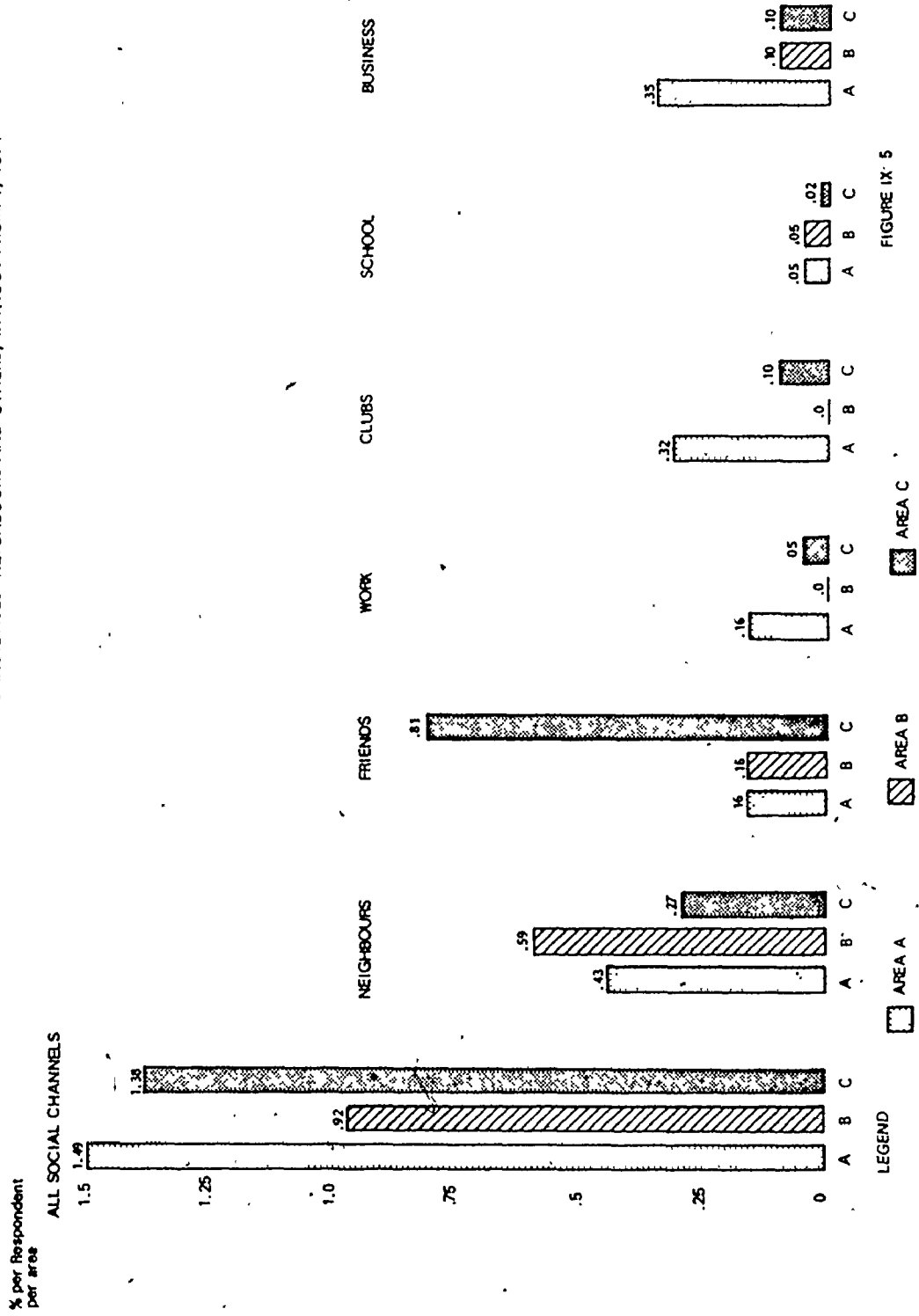
% per Respondent
per area

FIGURE IX-5

as a source of information about candidates.

Are neighbours the most important social contact channel for discussion of the election and of candidates?

The 1972 data has indicated that neighbours played a very insignificant role in election discussion. The presence of a local candidate within the neighbourhood setting is expected to increase the rate at which discussion of the election, of candidates in general, and of the local candidate in particular, will take place between neighbours.

Figure IX.6 shows the percentage of electors in the 1974 sample of seventy-five who used a given social contact channel, who discussed the election and who discussed candidates with those social contacts. Some differences between these results and the 1972 results emerge. The relationships between use of friendship, relatives and household channels remain constant, although the 1974 sample has a much smaller number of relatives living in Guelph than the 1972 sample. Membership in clubs and professional organisations in this sample, taken from middle and upper middle income residential areas, is greater than for the 1972 group, probably a reflection of the overall differences in social status and lifestyle. While contact with neighbours is equally available to all respondents in the 1974 group only eighty percent said that they made use of this contact channel. Contact with neighbours, then, is roughly equivalent to contact with friends in its frequency; is much higher than contact with relatives; and is considerably less than for that high contact frequency channel, the household.

NEIGHBOURS AND OTHER SOCIAL CHANNELS. CONTACT AND DISCUSSION· COMBINED AREAS, 1974
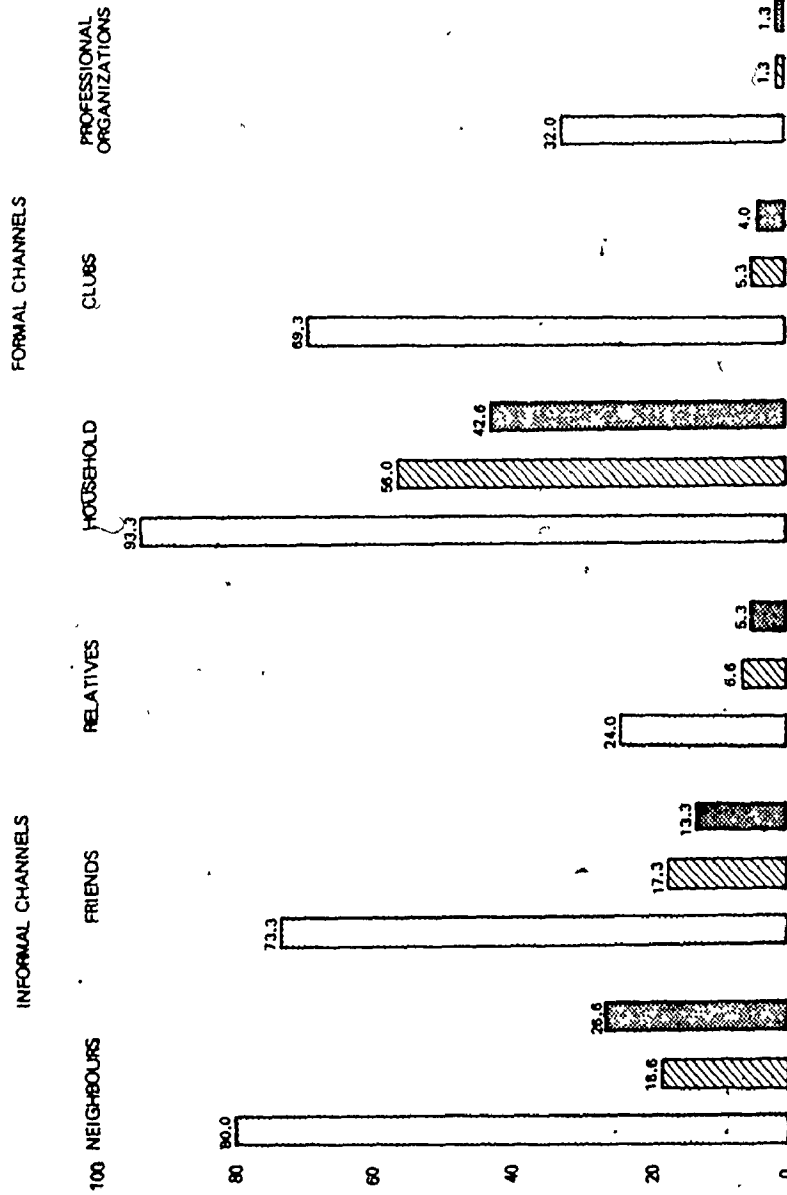
INFORMAL CHANNELS

FORMAL CHANNELS

100 NEIGHBOURS
80.0
18.6
26.6

FRIENDS
73.3
17.3
13.3

RELATIVES
24.0
6.6
5.3

HOUSEHOLD
93.3
56.0
42.6

CLUBS
69.3
5.3
4.0

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
32.0
1.3
1.3

LEGEND

☐ Elector use of the Channel

▨ Elector discussion of the Election

▦ Elector discussion of Candidates

FIGURE IX 6

For the 1974 sample, however, formal contacts are also important,
particularly through clubs. What this suggests is that if contact alone
is politically influential, persons are as likely to be influenced by
their friends, and almost as likely to be influenced by their fellow club
members as by their neighbours.

Contact may also be accompanied by direct political discussion;
discussion of the election and of candidates. Figure IX.4 indicates
the percentage of the electors in the 1974 sample who discussed the
election and discussed the candidates via informal and formal social
contact channels. The percentage of electors who discussed the election
with fellow neighbours is almost exactly the same as the proportion of
neighbours who discussed the election with their friends. Discussion
of candidates, on the other hand, is slightly higher among neighbours
than friends. The presence of the local candidate contributes to this
higher rate of neighbours' discussion of candidates. If the local can-
didate is excluded only twelve per cent instead of twenty-six per cent
of the sample discussed candidates with neighbours. Considering that a
local candidate is present twenty-six per cent discussion rate for
candidates is unexpectedly low. The local candidate generates some
interest in the area, but apparently it does not spill over into a much
heightened interest in the election and in other candidates. The excep-
tion to this is within the confines of the household. In that limited
social circle discussion of the election and of candidates is at a
higher rate for the 1974 sample than the random 1972 sample. However,
the rate of discussion of election and of candidates between neighbours
and their relatives is lower in this sample than in 1972, again suggest-
ing that the political saliency of a local candidate for local people is

not sufficient to create much of a spill over of political excitement beyond the household and neighbour to wider social circles. This is further born out by the very low rate of discussion between formal social contacts, despite the much higher opportunity provided for by the locally high rate of membership in formal organisations.

To summarise, neighbours do play a contact and discussion role but active political discussion is rather less than anticipated from the importance placed upon this channel in the literature.

Discussion of the election and of candidates is again not evenly distributed across the social channels when each area is considered separately (Figure IX.7). Area B discusses candidates much more than do the other two areas. Areas B and C both have active discussion of the election and of the candidates within the household circle.

Consideration of the characteristics of the two areas may help to explain these differences in the behaviour of neighbours in different neighbourhood settings.

Area B has, of all the areas, the highest proportion of long term city residents, and is itself a longer established area than the other two (Table IX.2). Sixty-six per cent of the residents have lived in the area more than six years, forty per cent more than eleven years. This is the area in which neighbours are an important discussion channel; the area where residents know of the municipal election candidates in a general way (they cannot remember exactly through which channel they first heard of a candidate); an area in which work, clubs and business are no longer very important channels. Approximately one third of the respondents from this area are retired.

NEIGHBOURS AND OTHER SOCIAL CHANNELS , CONTACT AND DISCUSSION: BY AREAS, 1974
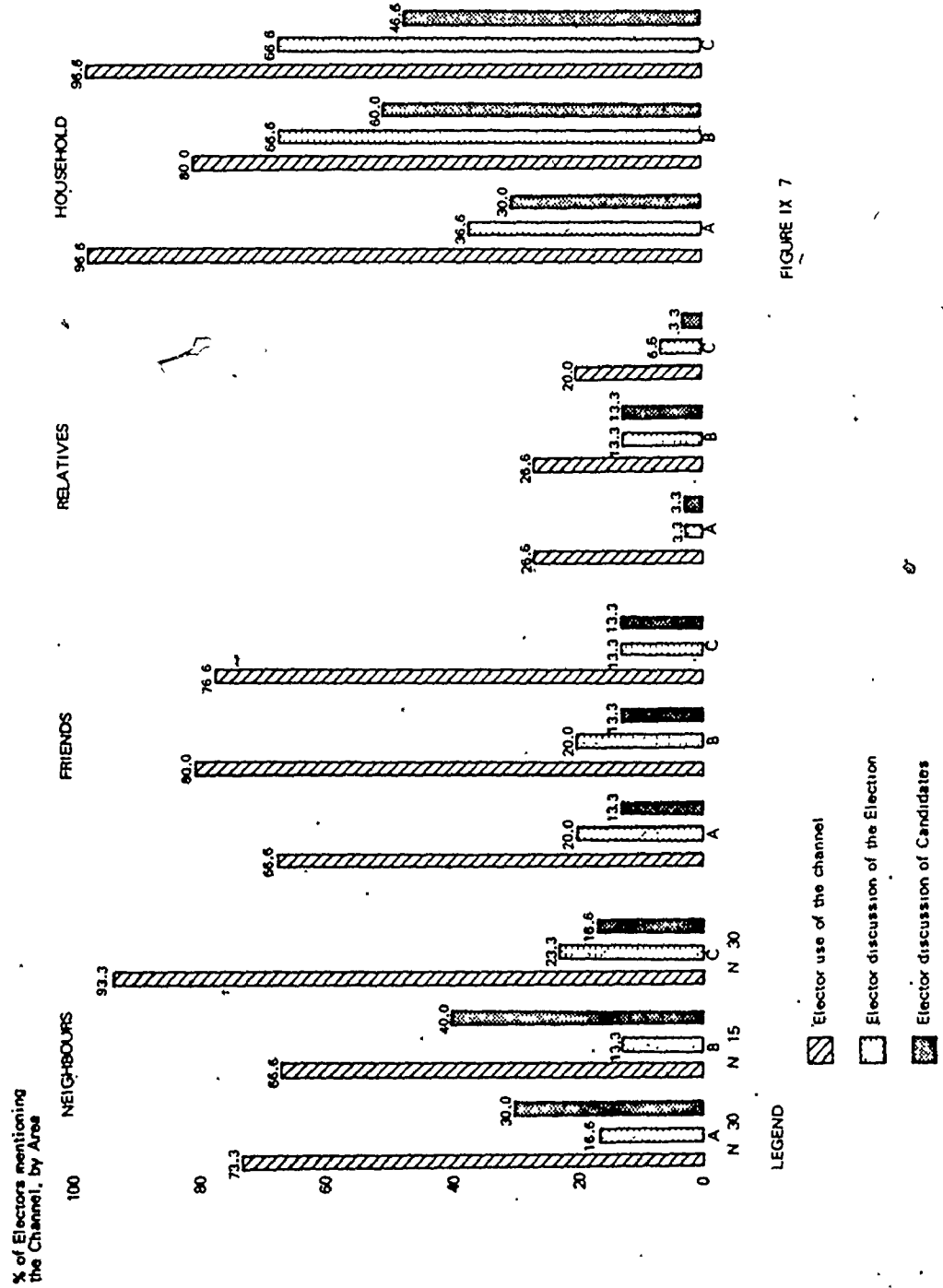
% of Electors mentioning
the Channel, by Area

FIGURE IX 7

LEGEND

Elector use of the channel

Elector discussion of the Election

Elector discussion of Candidates

TABLE IX.2

AREA CHARACTERISTICS: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE,

AREAS A, B AND C, 1974

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	IN GUELPH			AT PRESENT ADDRESS		
	A N = 30 %	B N = 15 %	C N = 30 %	A N = 30 %	B· N = 15 %	C N = 30 %
Less than 1 yr.	20.00	6.66	0.0	23.33	.6.66	3.33
2-5 years	16.66	20.00	63.33	26.66	13.33	96.66
6-10 years	33.33	6.66	13.33	50.00	26.66	0.0
11-20 years	20.00	26.66	10.00	0.0	40.00	0.0
21-40 years	10.00	13.33	10.00	0.0	0.0	0.0
40 or more years	0.0	26.66	3.33	0.0	6.66	0.0

Area A has a mix of residents. Half have lived in the neighbourhood for more than six years. In fact they all moved in at approximately the same time when the houses were completed between 1967-1968. One quarter of the residents have lived in the area for less than one year. The residents are also a mix of long time city residents and newcomers. These are the neighbours for whom clubs, work contacts and business contacts are important.

Area C is a new area. Almost all the residents have lived in the area from two to five years, moving in as the houses were completed. Most are newcomers to the city. Only a third are long time city residents. For this group, fellow neighbours are less important than friends elsewhere in the city. Much of their political information comes from the newspaper, but surprisingly for a group of newcomers, they do know a large number of candidates personally.

Even the areas themselves are not internally uniform in the behaviour of their residents. Figures IX.8, IX.9, and IX.10 illustrate how the pattern of discussion of the election and of candidates by neighbours is very unevenly distributed. Clusters of neighbours have politically oriented conversations. Others on the same street are outside local political discussion. Area C shows some relationship between the conformation of the street patterns and the pattern of political discussion. Neighbours clustered in cul-de-sacs have more political conversation with their neighbours than residents strung out along linear streets. In Area A, despite the refusal of three residents immediately adjacent to the

NEIGHBOURS DISCUSSION OF
ELECTION AND CANDIDATES

LEGEND

ELECTOR ——→ DISCUSSION OF ELECTION AND
CANDIDATES WITH NEIGHBOUR

☐ CANDIDATE

AREA A: 1974

FIGURE IX: 8

AREA B: 1974

NEIGHBOURS DISCUSSION OF ELECTION AND CANDIDATES

LEGEND

ELECTOR ———→ DISCUSSION OF ELECTION
AND CANDIDATE WITH
NEIGHBOUR
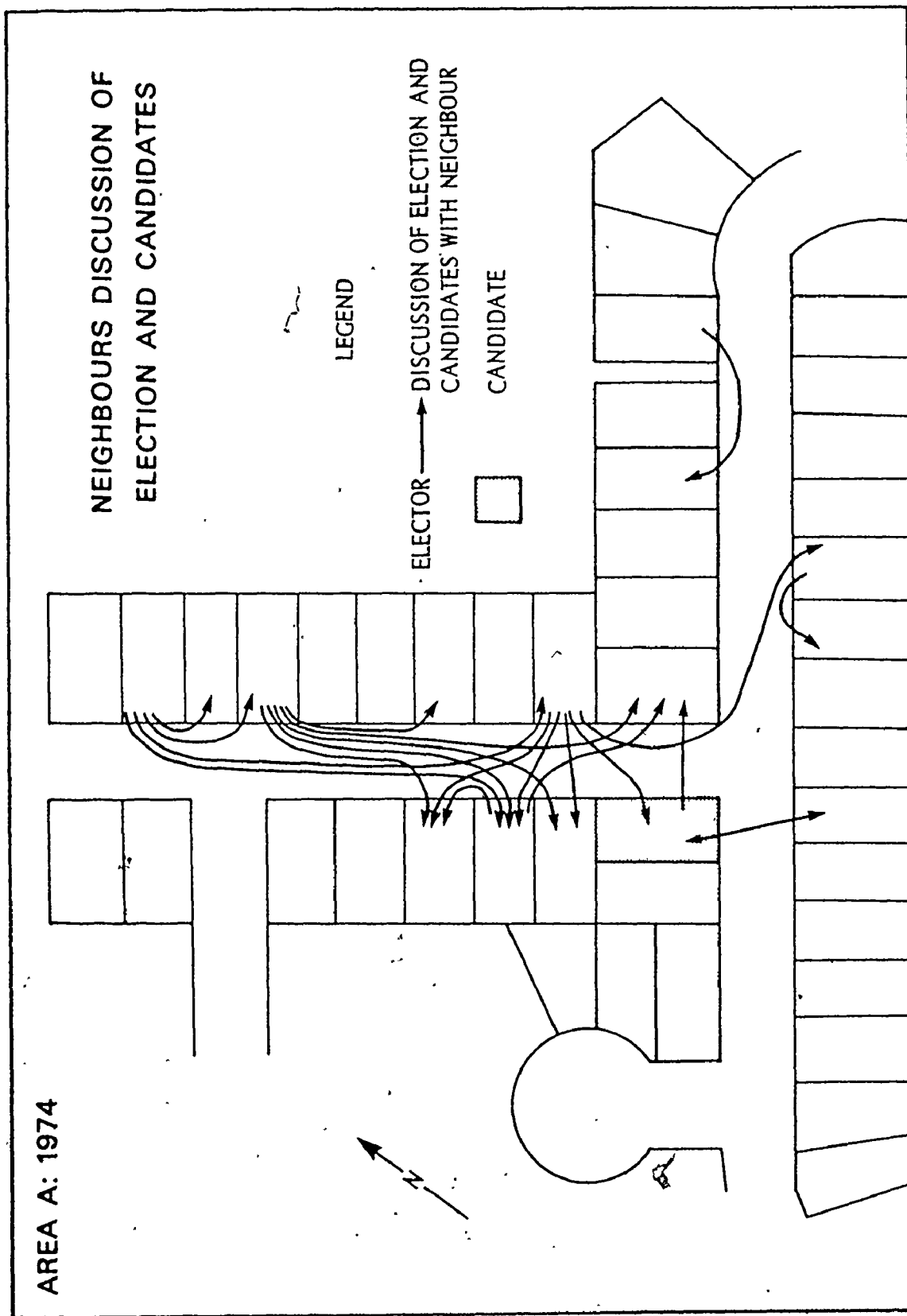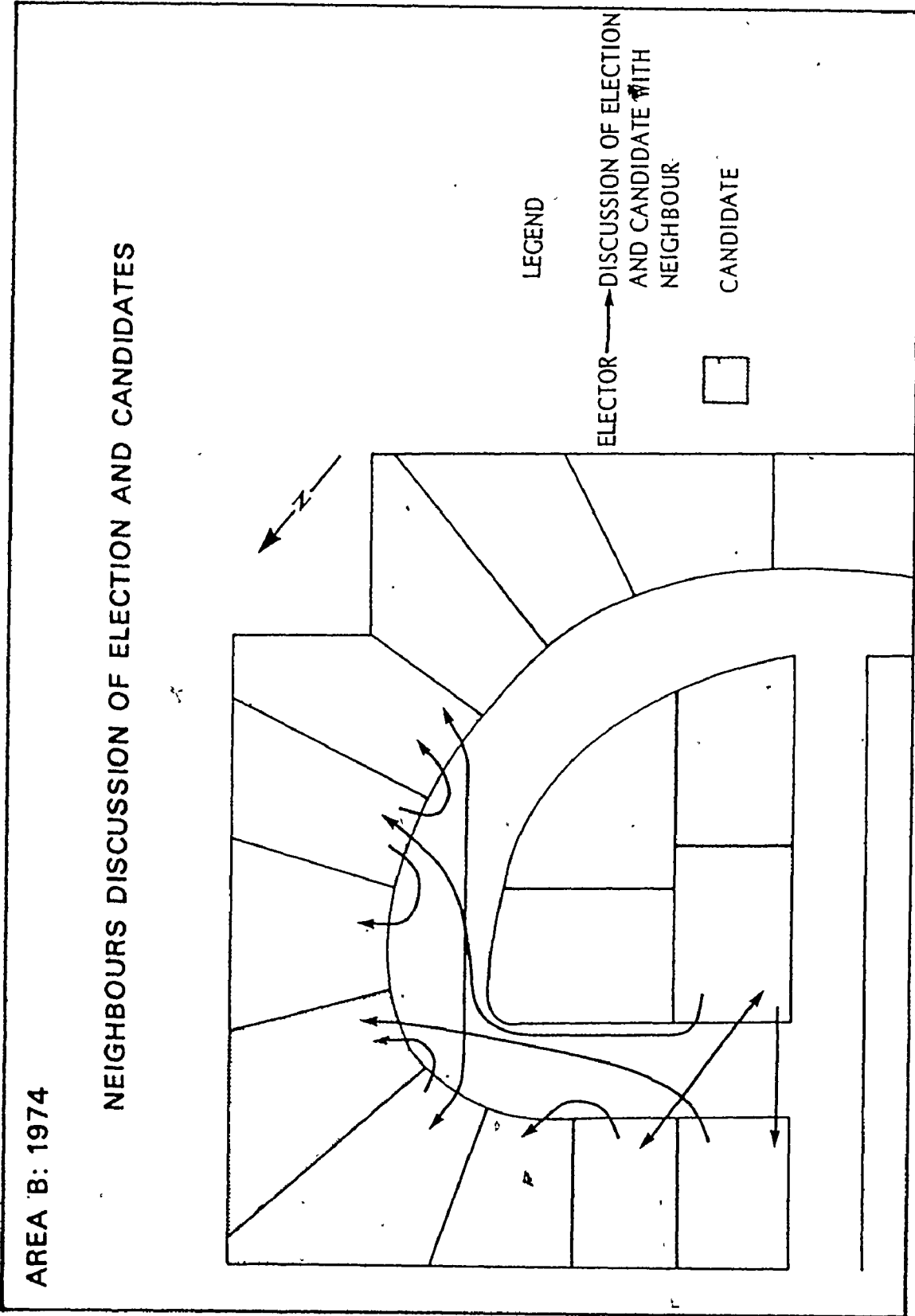
☐ CANDIDATE

FIGURE IX: 9

AREA C: 1974

NEIGHBOURS DISCUSSION OF ELECTION AND CANDIDATES

LEGEND

ELECTOR ——▶ DISCUSSION OF ELECTION AND CANDIDATES
WITH NEIGHBOUR

CANDIDATE

SCHOOL
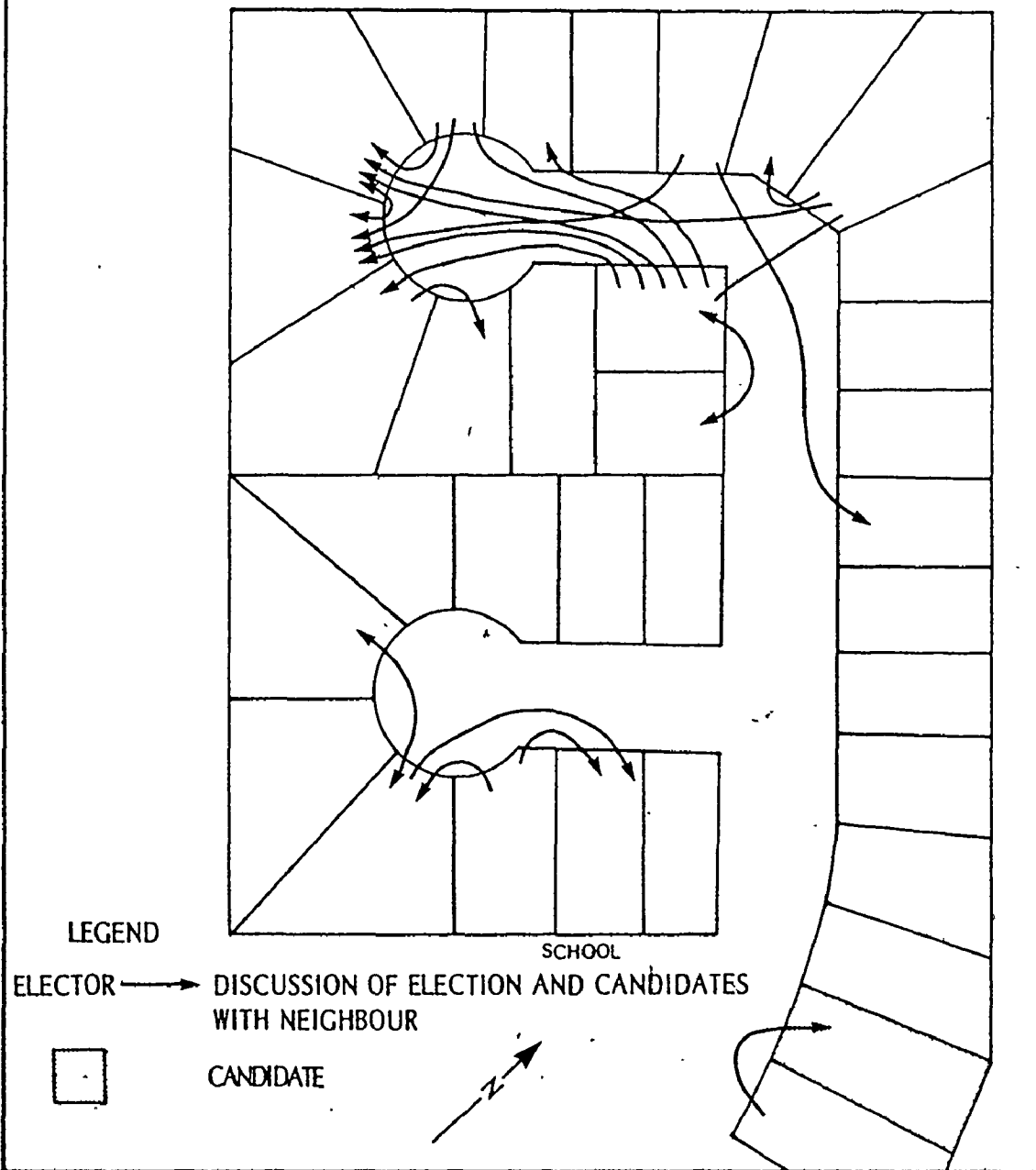
FIGURE IX: 10

candidate to be interviewed, it is apparent that considerable political

discussion did take place with those immediate neighbours, but that there

was almost no discussion between residents on the cross street. In Area

B residents of one end of the crescent discuss the election and candid-

ates with each other. Residents of the other end do not participate in

discussion with neighbours.

It was not the purpose of this study to explore between area differ-

ences or to attempt to explain them, but those differences are suffi-

ciently sharp that it is obvious for future research that neighbours

cannot be considered in isolation from the neighbourhood setting.

IX.2.b The Friends-and-Neighbours Model: Friends and Neighbours

as a Channel

The friends and neighbours model deals not so much with individuals

as neighbours to each other, but as neighbours to a local candidate,

their knowledge of that candidate and their actions on his behalf in

other social circles. A series of questions were posed in the introduc-

tion to this chapter which are addressed here using the 1974 sample data.

The data are examined at two levels, for all three areas combined and

for each of the three areas separately, since the analysis of neighbours

as a channel uncovered between area differences sufficient to require

the detailed analysis.

The three areas were selected for the analysis because of evidence

in the literature that middle and upper middle income areas were the most

likely to have high rates of political participation and political inter-

est. The local candidates were also selected with these criteria in mind.

The candidates were long term residents and/or professionals or in local political affairs prior to the election, all characteristics that the 1972 data indicated should place the candidate in the non-incumbent winner or marginal loser categories after the election results were known. Incumbents were not selected because the 1972 data showed that they were known widely in the city and no longer primarily through immediate local social contact channels.

Certain relationships between the selected local candidates and their neighbours were anticipated. It was expected that they would be well known to their neighbours on a personal level; that their neighbours would have a high and accurate knowledge of their occupation and political affiliation; and that those neighbours would discuss their local candidate frequently. It was expected that, as non-incumbents, the candidates would campaign actively on all or most social and media channels, and that they would work particularly hard within their own neighbourhood in order to publicise their candidacy to their most likely supporters. Differences between the respondents in Areas A and B from those in Area C would result from the fact that the Area C candidate was a second time candidate who would, then, concentrate rather less effort upon his own district than on others where he was less well known.

Six sets of questions were posed (p. 217) and examined using the 1974 data. The questions deal with neighbours' knowledge level, level of discussion, notice of publicity in the media and intent to vote, for their local candidate compared with other candidates. The indicators used in the analysis are: the mentions of the local candidate as a

percentage of total elector mentions of candidates; the percentage men-

tion of the highest other candidate; and the rank of the local candidate

compared with all other candidates.

Does the local candidate have greater saliency for his neighbours than

any other candidate?

Do neighbours know personally, do they have greater and more accu-

rate knowledge about; do they have a higher involvement level on behalf

of; and are they more likely to be canvassed by, their local candidate

than any other candidate?

It was anticipated that virtually all respondents would state that

they knew the local candidate personally (since by nature of the sample,

he was a close neighbour), and that this rate of mention for the local

candidate would be much higher than for any other candidate. Only 28.9%

of the respondents stated that they knew the local candidate personally

(Table IX.3), but this figure was indeed considerably higher than for

any other candidate.

Between area differences were large, but as expected. Only 11.5%

of second time candidate C's neighbours stated that they knew him per-

sonally, however this was not the result of political ignorance on the

part of Area C residents, who expressed greater personal knowledge of

other candidates than the residents of either of the other areas. 73%

of the older residents of the longer established residential Area B

knew their candidate personally, a predictably high rate. Table IX.3

shows the rank of the local candidate as well as the percentages.

TABLE IX.3

NEIGHBOURS' KNOWLEDGE LEVEL ABOUT LOCAL CANDIDATES:

KNOWN PERSONALLY, 1974

	LOCAL % OF AREA MENTIONS	RANK BY AREA MENTIONS	HIGHEST OTHER % OF AREA MENTIONS
Combined Areas	28.94	1	8.77
Area A	34.04	1	12.76
Area B	73.33	1	6.66
Area C	11.53	3	15.38

Second, do neighbours have greater knowledge of the name of their

local candidate, his occupation and his political affiliation than of

any other candidate? If neighbours are to be considered a salient

political channel the answer to this question must be yes.

Table IX.4 shows that the local candidates' name is known only

slightly better than that of another candidate. This knowledge is sur-

prisingly superficial. Neither the local candidates' occupation nor his

political affiliation is as well known to his neighbours as are those

of other candidates' (Table IX.4). This suggests that neighbours have

less knowledge of their local candidate than expected.

Strong contrasts exist between the three areas in the level of

their knowledge of the local candidate. Area C,.expected to have the

highest knowledge level of its candidate, has, on the contrary, the

lowest. And yet it is not politically ignorant. The residents know the

names of many other candidates, their occupations and their political

affiliations better than those of the local candidate (Figure IX.11).

Area B residents again have the highest knowledge level of their local

candidate, and little knowledge of any other candidate.

Third, 'are neighbours more active on behalf of their local candidate,

and are they canvassed more, directly and through receiving literature,

by the local than any other candidate? The results of the analysis are

expected to be affirmative.

Very few respondents were actively engaged in campaigning on behalf

of a candidate in this election, despite the stimulus of a candidate in

their midst. Out of seventy-five respondents a total of six helped a

candidate. Of the six, one in Area A and one in Area B helped their

TABLE IX.4

NEIGHBOURS' KNOWLEDGE LEVEL ABOUT LOCAL CANDIDATES:

COMBINED AREAS, 1974

WITHOUT PROMPT	LOCAL % OF MENTIONS	RANK OF LOCALS BY TOTAL MENTIONS	HIGHEST OTHER % OF MENTIONS
None Known	12.31	1	11.71
Occupation Known	11.71	2	12.55
Political Affiliation Known	12.98	3	25.97

NEIGHBOURS KNOWLEDGE LEVEL ABOUT LOCAL CANDIDATES: BY AREAS, 1974

% of Elector mentions, by Area

NAME KNOWN

OCCUPATION KNOWN

POLITICAL AFFILIATION KNOWN

30

25

20

15

10

5

0

NAME KNOWN
A — 12.1 / 8.5
B — 17.7 / 12.9
C — 7.0 / 11.8

OCCUPATION KNOWN
A — 21.0 / 14.4
B — 23.5 / 11.7
C — 3.1 / 13.9

POLITICAL AFFILIATION KNOWN
A — 25.0 / 28.5
B — 30.0 / 30.0
C — 0.0 / 25.6

LEGEND

Local Candidate(s)

Highest Other Candidate
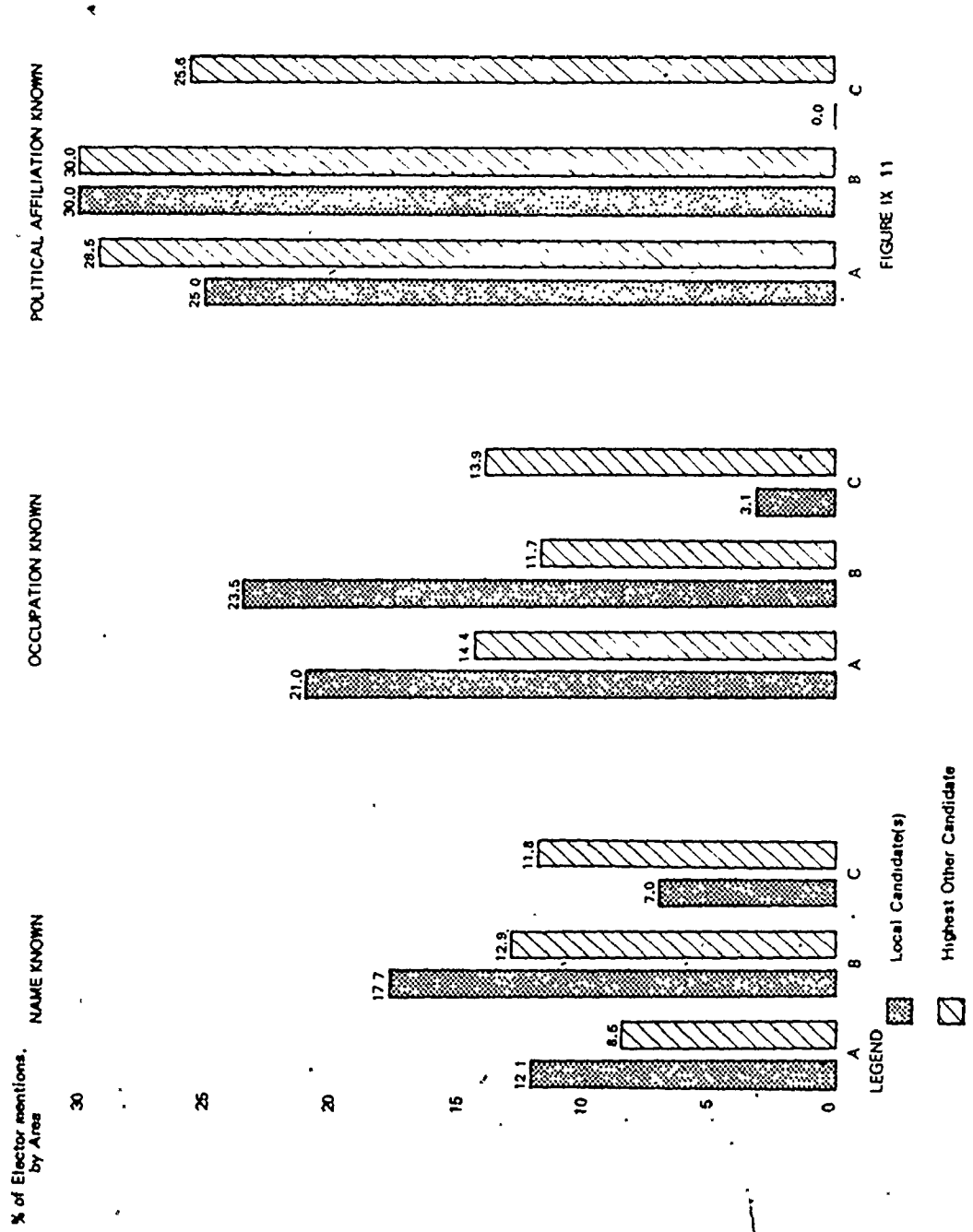
FIGURE IX 11

local candidate. In Area C all four helped non-local candidates. From
this sparse data the following conclusions are drawn: 1) direct parti-
cipation through canvassing is very slight in this type of local election;
2) local candidates do not receive more aid from their neighbours than
do non-local candidates; 3) non-local ties are at least as important as
local where campaigning on behalf of a candidate is concerned.

Just as in 1972 canvassing by candidates was not a widespread acti-
vity. Even with the specially designed sample, of respondents' neigh-
bour to a candidate, those respondents were not heavily canvassed by
any candidate. Overall, more canvassing of the respondents was done by
non-local than local candidates, but the between area variation was
considerable. In Area A three respondents reported being canvassed by
the local candidate, three by a non-local candidate. In Area B, where
the local candidate was particularly well known, there were four reports
of canvassing by the local candidate, and one by a non-local. In con-
trast, Area C residents reported a much higher rate of canvassing acti-
vity, a total of nineteen mentions, and none of them by the local candi-
date.

The amount of literature received by the electors, is, as described
earlier in this study, a function of how much and where a candidate
distributes literature. The 1972 data showed that candidates had printed
up a larger number of pieces of literature, but very few electors
recalled receiving any. The 1974 sample reported receiving literature
at a much higher rate - a total of 74.66% of the respondents received
literature. However, 18.99% of those who received literature could not
recall the name of the candidate that the literature was from. It had

no meaningful impact on those electors.

It was expected that all three of the local candidates would distribute literature in their own area, although Area C candidate might be a little less active in his area because he had been in the previous election, and might be expected to be already well known in his area (an observation not born out by the empirical data presented above).

Table IX.5 shows that in not one of the three areas did respondents receive more literature from their local candidate than from other candidates. In all three areas several candidates distributed literature and were recalled better on that account than the local. Local candidate B distributed literature in her local area and in Areas A and C, and received her highest rate of mention in Area C. Candidate C, who again distributed in all three areas (an activity expected of a serious non-incumbent candidate) was similarly not so well recalled in his own area, and received a higher rate of mention in Area B. In conclusion, all locals were mentioned for literature less than other candidates, and candidates B and C were noticed more in each others' area than their own. The high rate of literature distribution by non-local candidates, particularly in second time candidate C's area, is probably a function of greater between candidate competition in areas where candidates are located.

Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate than any other candidate?

With one of their own as a candidate it is expected that neighbours would talk more about him than about other candidates. When the three areas are taken together this expectation is born out by the data (Table

TABLE IX.5

NEIGHBOURS' ELECTION SPECIFIC CONTACT LEVEL:

LITERATURE RECEIVED, 1974

	RECEIVED LITERATURE FROM LOCAL CANDIDATE % OF AREA MENTIONS	RANK OF LOCAL CANDIDATE BY # OF AREA MENTIONS	LITERATURE RECEIVED FROM MOST ACTIVE NON-LOCAL CANDIDATE % OF AREA MENTIONS
Combined Areas N = 75	4.27	4	23.07
Area A, N = 30	2.32	6 (equal with 2 others)	13.95
Area B N = 15	12.50	3	43.75
Area C N = 30	3.44	6 (equal with 1 other)	31.03

IX.6). When the areas are considered separately Area C is again the exception. The local candidate, whom, it may be recalled, is not especially well known to his neighbours, is but one of several candidates discussed between these neighbours. In Areas A and B the local is ranked first, and gained a very much higher rate of mention than the next highest candidate.

Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate with each other than with any other social contact?

Earlier in this chapter it has been established that neighbours discussed the election and candidates in general a little more than did friends, and considerably less than did household circles. Table IX.7 shows that neighbours' discussion of the local candidate compared with their discussion of the local candidate with their other social contacts varies across the channels in a similar way. The mutual acquaintance, the local candidate, is discussed as much by neighbours as within the household, which is, by definition of the sample, also neighbour to the local candidate. Neighbours do transmit their knowledge of their local candidate to friends and discuss him, but the discussion rate is much less through this social channel than within the confines of the neighbours' circle. Very little discussion of the local candidate occurs with relatives (or discussion of any candidate, for that matter).

Discussion of any candidate via formal social channels was unexpectedly small considering the overall high rate of membership in clubs and professional organisations of this sample. As in 1972 these channels are very little used for discussion of any candidate, local or non-local.

TABLE IX.6

NEIGHBOURS' DISCUSSION OF LOCAL CANDIDATE, 1974

	LOCAL, % OF AREA MENTIONS	RANK OF LOCAL BY AREA MENTIONS	HIGHEST OTHER, % OF AREA MENTIONS
Combined Areas	42.50	1	10.00
Area A	47.36	1	10.52
Area B	85.71	1	14.28
Area C	14.28	4	21.42

TABLE IX.7

DISCUSSION OF THE LOCAL CANDIDATE:

NEIGHBOURS AND OTHER SOCIAL CHANNELS

MENTION OF THE LOCAL CANDIDATE AS A %
OF MENTIONS OF THE LOCAL CANDIDATE IN
ALL FORMAL CHANNELS

	NEIGHBOURS	FRIENDS	RELATIVES	HOUSEHOLD
Combined Areas	7.05	2.90	.82	7.05
Area A N = 30	3.73	1.24	0.0	3.31
Area B N = 15	2.48	0.41	0.41	2.07
Area C N = 30	.82	1.24	.41	1.65

Area B did not discuss any candidate through these channels; Area A
residents mentioned discussing two candidates, one of which was their
local; Area C residents had seven mentions of candidate discussion, not
one about their local candidate.

*Are neighbours more likely to discuss the local candidate with their
other social contacts than to discuss any other candidate?*

Table IX.8 shows that for the three areas combined, the local
candidate is discussed far more than any other candidate within each of
the informal social channels. There are so few mentions of candidate
discussion via club members or members of professional organisations
that data is inconclusive. Although the local candidate ranks as the
top candidate discussed by each social contact circle, it is apparent
from Table IX.8 that he is discussed much less beyond the neighbour
channel.

Between area differences are yet again evident. For residents in
Areas A and B the local candidate is important. Neighbours discuss them
with each other more than any other candidate; they discuss them with
members of their household; and in Area A in particular, with their
friends. Area A is, then, consistent with the friends-and-neighbours
model described in the literature. But it is noteworthy that Area C
residents, neighbours and households, do not discuss their local candidate
more than any other candidate, and Area C and Area B residents discuss
their local candidate no more than they discuss any other candidate
(Figure IX.12).

TABLE IX.8

NEIGHBOURS' DISCUSSION OF THE LOCAL CANDIDATE COMPARED WITH

DISCUSSION OF OTHER CANDIDATES, WITHIN INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS

AREA	NEIGHBOURS			FRIENDS			RELATIVES			HOUSEHOLD		
BY NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF AREA MENTIONS	LOCAL %	RANK OF LOCAL #	HIGHEST OTHER %	LOCAL %	RANK OF LOCAL #	HIGHEST OTHER %	LOCAL %	RANK OF LOCAL #	HIGHEST OTHER %	LOCAL %	RANK OF LOCAL #	HIGHEST OTHER %
Combined Areas	42.50	1	10.00	17.50	1	10.00	28.57	1	14.28	11.03	1	9.74
Area A	47.36	1	10.52	50.00	1	16.66	-	-	-	15.09	1	13.20
Area B	85.71	1	14.28	16.66	1[a] (equal)	16.66	33.33	1[b] (equal)	33.33	19.23	1	15.58
Area C	14.28	4	21.42	10.71	1[c] (equal)	110.71	-	-	33.33	5.40	8[d] (equal)	13.51

[a]Equal with 6 others   [b]Equal with 2 others   [c]Equal with 4 others   [d]Equal with 2 others

258

NEIGHBOURS DISCUSSION OF LOCAL CANDIDATES: INFORMAL SOCIAL CHANNELS, BY AREAS, 1974
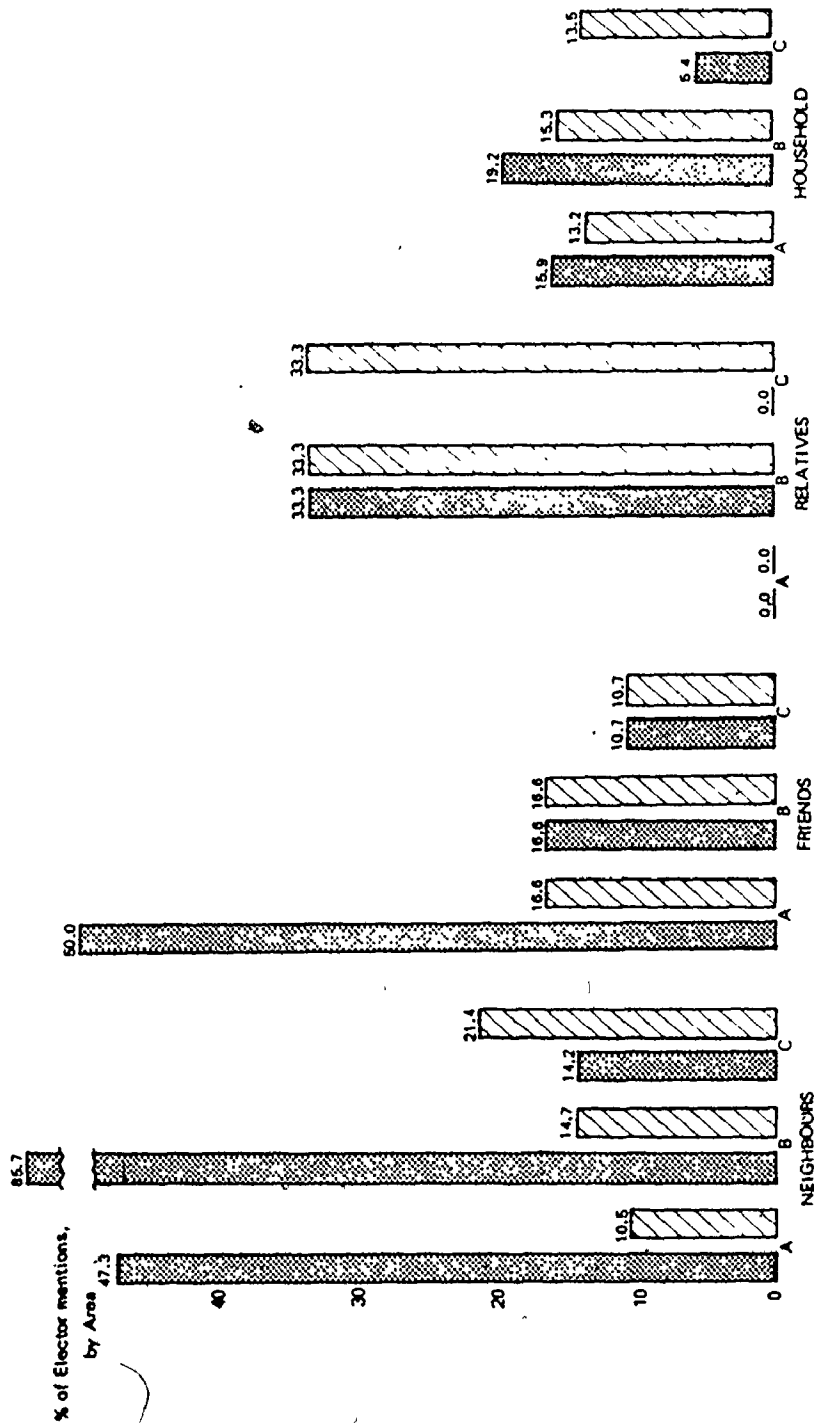
FIGURE IX 12

LEGEND

◼ Discussion of Local Candidate

☐ Discussion of Highest Other Candidate

There is, therefore, a general, though weak confirmation of the hypothesis, but detailed analysis of neighbours reveals significant exceptions.

Are neighbours more likely to notice their local candidate via media channels than any other candidate?

This hypothesis has a weaker foundation than any of the others. It depends on the saliency of the local candidate for his neighbours and on the assumption that all candidates utilise the media equally, and that all respondents tap the media equally. These assumptions were proved invalid by the 1972 data.

As these are middle to upper middle income, supposedly politically aware respondents, and their local candidates are serious non-incumbents, it is anticipated that they will notice their local candidate more via the media than any other candidate. Figure IX.13 shows this hypothesis to be unsupported by the 1974 sample data. Other candidates are noticed much more than the local via those channels where the candidate controls the use of the media, namely posters and newspaper advertisements. Yet these particular local candidates were expected to advertise greatly via these media. Newspaper articles and radio programs are less dependent upon candidate utilisation of the medium, since roughly equal coverage was allocated to all candidates. The picture the data provides is inconclusive. Non-local candidates are noticed more than locals via newspaper articles, but the same as locals on radio programs.

Analysis by area indicates that local candidates from Areas A and B probably did not display posters, accounting for their low rate of

NEIGHBOURS NOTICE OF LOCAL CANDIDATES: MEDIA CHANNELS, BY COMBINED AREAS, 1974

% of Elector mentions, by Area
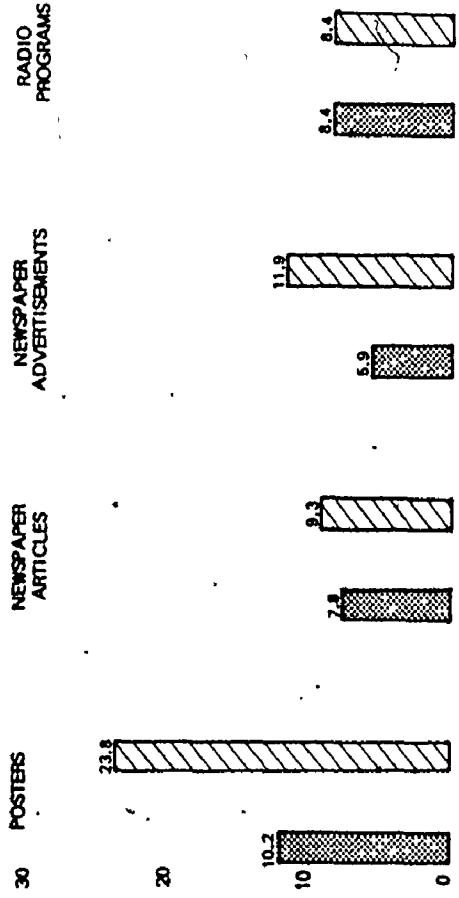
FIGURE IX 13

mention. Local candidate C did display posters, but was not mentioned as much as two other candidates. While Area A residents noticed their candidate more than any other through newspaper articles and advertisements, Area C residents noticed other candidates (Figure IX.14).

In summary, local candidates are not noticed much more by their neighbours via the media than other candidates, and in several cases are noticed less.

Are neighbours more likely to vote for their local candidate than for any other candidate?

It was anticipated that a set of neighbours would express their intent to vote for their local candidate (or, in the election situation, cast their ballot for their local candidate) at a rate considerably higher than for any other candidate. In a low information, multi-candidate municipal election this is particularly expected to be true. The candidate should be the best known, and most talked about. Even in the event that a candidate is not especially well liked by his neighbours, neighbourhood loyalty is expected to play a major part.

This hypothesis is not born out by the evidence of the 1974 sample data (Table IX.9). When the three areas are combined, three other candidates rank higher than the local candidates combined. In Areas A and C several other candidates rank considerably higher than the local; two others in Area A and eight others in Area C. Only in Area B does the local candidate rank first, and then only slightly above the next highest candidate.

NEIGHBOURS NOTICE OF LOCAL CANDIDATES: MEDIA CHANNELS, BY AREAS, 1974

% of Elector Mentions, by Area
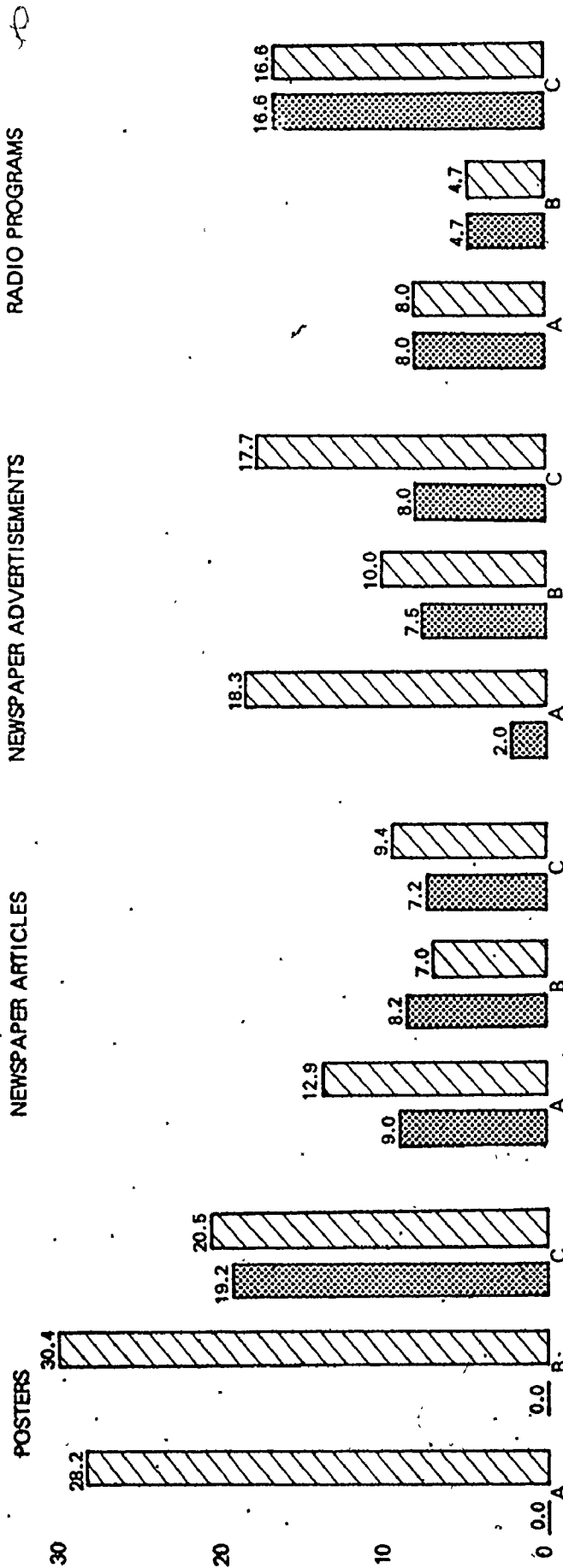
FIGURE IX: 14

LEGEND

Notice of Local Candidate

Notice of Highest Other Candidate

TABLE IX.9

INTENT TO VOTE FOR LOCAL CANDIDATE, 1974

	LOCAL, % OF AREA MENTIONS	RANK OF LOCAL BY AREA MENTIONS	HIGHEST OTHER, % OF AREA MENTIONS
Combined Areas	8.14	4	9.77
Area A	8.42	3 (equal with 1 other)	10.52
Area B	11.36	1	10.22
Area C	5.64	9 (equal with 3 others)	11.29

Although this is contrary to the established theory, it is not entirely surprising after the detailed analysis of the data by area presented above, which revealed that the local candidate is not invariably the best known, most discussed and most noticed of all candidates.

IX.3 The Neighbours Models: Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to investigate two related ideas concerning the contribution of neighbours to certain observed patterns of political support. The first idea concerned the Neighbourhood Effect theory: that persons in the same neighbourhood not only had a high probability of contact with each other, but also that the contact was politically effective and political communication between neighbours resulted. The second and related theory, part of the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect, suggested that there was an observed pattern of distance decay in support of a local candidate away from his place of residence, which could be attributed to personal contact between the local candidate and his neighbours. The 1972 data had, however, indicated that neighbours were not as important a channel as these theories assumed, and that election result patterns were the outcome of a complex interplay between candidate and elector use of channels, and the effectiveness of the channels in conveying information.

Analysis of the 1974 data, drawn from areas where all the respondents were neighbours of a candidate, and areas where political activity of electors and candidates was expected to be high, confirmed that personal channels, and specifically neighbours, are not more important as sources of information than other channels. According to the 1974 sample data,

neighbours are as important as friends as a source of information about candidates. They are, however, only important as a source of information about the local candidate, not about any other candidate. As a channel for discussion of the election and of candidates, neighbours are less active than the household circle (who are also neighbours), and less active as a channel than friends.

There is some support, albeit weak, for the neighbours and friends theory. The local candidate is known personally and his name is better known than that of non-locals, but other politically relevant details, such as occupation and political affiliation are less well known. There is no question that the local candidate is discussed more than any other candidate by his neighbours, and by neighbours with other social contacts, with the exception of their own households. But for the most part neighbours do not notice the name of their local candidate more than his competitors' over the media. And particularly significant for the spread of knowledge about the local candidate beyond his immediate neighbourhood, he is discussed only very slightly more than other candidates within other informal and formal social channels. In this election and electoral system at least, there is not the noticeably high rate of discussion of the local candidate by neighbours and spill over effect to friends, relatives, fellow clubs and professional organisation members that was anticipated by references to the process in the literature.

Significant are the differences identified between areas which at a different level of analysis would be considered identical. The oldest and most stable residential area conformed most closely to the neighbour-

hood and friends and neighbours models of the literature in terms of its knowledge of the local candidate and its discussion rates. The newest area deviated most from the traditional models. It had a low overall knowledge of its local candidate. Yet this was not the result of apathy. The area had the highest rate of recall of candidates, most accurate knowledge of candidates, read and recalled most candidate names from the local paper, and was the area most heavily canvassed by candidates personally and with literature, which the residents were able to recall.

The outcome of the information transfer process in the context of an election is the vote for a candidate. The intent to vote for candidates expressed by the sample respondents again refuted the theory that the local candidate has special significance. The local candidate was supported by his area, but at a rate not higher than for several other candidates. Only in the oldest area did the results conform to the expectations of the model. In that area, residents supported their local candidate heavily. In both the other areas several non-locals gained more support than the local candidate.

In conclusion, neighbours operate as one of several informal personal contact channels, generally of less significance than friends, work or business channels. The neighbourhood group is an important contact and reference group primarily for those who have a minimal committment to groups outside it and those for whom it is central in their experience. Neighbours are significant as an information channel, but only with respect to a local candidate. The existence of the neighbours information flow channel is not, however, a guarantee of support for the local candidate greater than for other candidates. Other

channels, general channels, friends in the city, fellow workers, business contacts, and the newspaper, connect the neighbours to other areas and to other candidates. Neighbours with these contacts respond by spreading their voting support beyond the immediate neighbouring area. As explanatory models the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect need to be applied with caution and modification.

SECTION C: POLITICAL INFORMATION CHANNELS: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER X

THE INTEGRATED MULTI-CHANNEL MODEL AND THE

NEIGHBOURS MODELS: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

X.1 The Objectives Reviewed

The objective of this thesis was to develop, operationalise and

test a model of political information flow appropriate to the under-

studied yet widespread electoral system, the at-large, non-partisan

system at the municipal level. The integrated model was designed to

link those elements of the voting system, candidates, channels and

electors, so often treated as separate entities, within the constraints

imposed by an at-large and non-partisan electoral system. Development

of the multi-channel model allowed formulation and testing of questions

concerning the role of media and of social channels as used by candi-

dates and electors in purveying political information. The questions

concerned:

1. The *use of channels* by candidates and electors, that is:

    i) The way in which candidates perceived of channels

        and allocated their resources between channels;

268

      ii)   The customary use and the election specific use

            made of channels by electors;

2.   *Channel contact effectiveness*, that is:

      i)   The match between candidate use and elector use

          of channels;

      ii)   The match between information inputs by candi-

          dates and elector reception of information as

          measured by elector mention of candidates and

          of specific pieces of information about candi-

          dates;

3.   *Channel influence*, that is:

        The relationship between channel use by candi-

        dates and electors, information flow via the

        channels between candidates and electors, and

        the responses the electors make by voting for

        a candidate.

Since recent research had utilised the personal contact channel at the local neighbourhood level as the explanation for: 1) the Neighbourhood Effect (the tendency of individuals within a given local area to vote similarly); and, 2) the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect (the decline in support for a local candidate away from his home location), this channel was selected for detailed examination.

Questions concerning the role of personal contact were posed:

1.   Between neighbours in a narrowly defined neighbourhood;

2.   Between neighbours of a local candidate, and amongst
     their friends and their other social contacts.

X.2 Results of the Study

X.2.a The Integrated Information Channel Model

The non-partisan, multi-candidate, at-large electoral system was
viewed as requiring a modelling and analytical treatment different from
that traditionally used in the study of electoral systems. A model was
designed which placed the three essential elements, candidates, channels
and electors, within a single integrated framework. Information inputs
were made by candidates into channels. Information channels carry the
inputs to the public. Electors who are contacted through the channels
and who respond to information received via the channels produce the
output by voting for or withholding support for a candidate.

The channels investigated in the study were those indicated by the
literature on electoral systems as being of particular significance in
conveying information in an at-large electoral system. Application and
testing of the model indicated the significance to the outcome of the
level of integration of candidates and of electors into the local media
and the local social contact networks.

A strength of the model is the simplicity with which neglected
channels can be incorporated into the system if found to be significant.

For example, business contacts had not been included as a major social contact channel, but were identified as important in the system under study through data from an open question. Use of the model highlights those channels which require closer examination. Personal contacts between neighbours were selected for closer examination in this study. Application of the model to the Guelph electoral system indicated that the functioning of work and business channels, and of the local newspaper as a communication channel, require closer examination.

Although it was designed specifically for application to the non-partisan, multi-candidate, at-large municipal electoral system, the integrated multi-channel model has a potential for application to alternative electoral systems at different scales. The focus in that context would be on the short and long term information inputs, the contact mechanisms, the information received by the electors, and its relationship to the vote. Through use of this model both the long term politicisation and the short term information inputs which often sway the uncommitted elector can be handled conceptually and operationally within one framework, as can the relationship between party and candidate, and the difference between voter and non-voter.

X.2.b Channel Use, Contact Effectiveness and Influence

Candidate perception of the efficacy of channels, and candidate willingness and ability to allocate resources was determined through candidate use of channels. Elector use of channels, reception of information via the channels, and resulting voting output was examined. Integration of the two sides of the model, the candidates and the

electors, via multiple social and media channels allowed identification
of the efficiency of the channels to make contact between candidates
and electors, and identification of the effectiveness of the channel
contacts in eliciting elector support for the candidate.

i. Channel Use

A number of conclusions were reached concerning channel use by
electors and candidates in the context of the at-large election. During
the election period candidates as a whole favoured media over social
contact channels, although there were differences between groups. Of
the media channels the greatest expenditure by candidates was of their
newspaper advertisements. Some candidates used posters, and almost all
distributed pieces of literature, but the overall expenditure on the
graphic media was less than on the mass media forms of advertising.
Political discussion by candidates with their social contacts was for
many, confined to friends and members of their own household. There
was little discussion with relatives and virtually none with formal
social contacts during the campaign period. Few candidates canvassed
the general public personally.

A major contribution of this part of the study lies in a recogni-
tion of the differences in use of channels by different candidate groups,
winners and losers, incumbents and non-incumbents. The incumbents, all
of whom were returned as winners again, made little active use of
social channels during the campaign period. They expended their
financial resources on the mass media channels, and were by far the
most extensive users of the radio and major users of the

local newspaper. Non-incumbents who emerged as winners spread their

efforts across all the channels, activating their social contacts,

expending financial resources on both the mass and the graphic media

and making some personal effort to canvass the general public. It should

be stressed, however, that none of this activity was at a high level of

intensity compared with that common in other electoral systems. Non-

incumbents who just failed to generate enough support to fall into the

winner category (the marginal losers) also activated their social con-

tacts, both informal and formal, made use of the media channels, and

in some cases canvassed personally. Their allocations differed from

those of the winners, in that they had fewer posters per candidate in

the group, and considerably more pieces of literature, and spent less

on the mass media, especially the radio. Straight losers did activate

their social contact channels but were most active within the restricted

channel of their own household. Straight losers had almost no formal

channel contacts. Their committment of financial resources to media

channels was small, and primarily restricted to pieces of literature.

When longer term use of social and media channels was considered,

the results were somewhat different. Incumbent winners had very well

developed formal social contacts, as evidenced by high rates of member-

ships and officerships in formal organisations. As incumbents, and as

members of formal organisation executives, their civic and social acti-

vities would have been reported via the local media during the period

of their incumbency. Both the non-incumbent winners and the marginal

losers likewise had relatively high rates of memberships and officerships

in the formal organisations of the city and may have experienced some

exposure from the local media while straight losers had virtually no formal contacts and therefore no previous media exposure.

Elector channel use was a product of their customary habits and lifestyle. Electors heavily favoured the local newspaper above other local media channels, both as regards regular use and as a source of information about candidates. The radio was listened to on a regular basis by fewer respondents, and was, surprisingly, not considered a very significant source of information. The local television station really did not feature at all as a communication channel. Of the social channels considered in detail, highest contact frequencies were, inevitably, with members of the same household. Contact with friends, and more particularly with relatives, was of a much lower frequency. Very little discussion of the election or of the candidates occurred within any of the informal social contact circles. Most discussion occurred within the protective and spatially restricted household circle. Compared with their informal social contacts, electors had very poorly developed formal contacts and had almost no political discussion with any of these contacts.

ii. Channel Contact Effectiveness

The conclusions concerning channel contact effectiveness are based on the relationship between candidates' use of channels and electors' mention of candidates as known about or heard of via those channels. Two media channels are outstanding in terms of their contact effectiveness: the local newspaper and the election specific posters. Both as a long term source of information, particularly about the group of incumbents,

and as a channel during the campaign for those winners and marginal
losers using the channel, the newspaper was mentioned frequently by
electors. A very high proportion of electors mentioned noticing candi-
dates' posters, especially those of the non-incumbent winners and mar-
ginal losers who used the channel extensively. The radio was not a very
effective contact channel, supposedly because of the moderate rate at
which electors tuned to the local station, and the very low rate of
recall of candidate advertisements or of editorialising about the elec-
tion or candidates. However, the most ineffective channel revealed by
this study is literature. Despite a very high rate of candidate use,
very few electors remembered receiving literature and even fewer
recalled the names of candidates who had distributed the literature.
It seems that its low cost deludes candidates, marginal and straight
losers who use it heavily, into relying on a channel with low contact
effectiveness.

The effectiveness of contacts between candidates and electors via
social channels is not so simple to trace. Most useful were elector
citations of candidates known of via social channels, prior to the elec-
tion. Contrary to expectations, neighbours were not cited as an import-
ant source of information. Friends received a higher rate of mention,
as did contacts through work and through the conduct of business. Since
the business contact channel received a relatively high rate of mention
from responses to an open question rather than to a direct question, it
is concluded that this is a particularly effective channel for those
candidates able to activate it. Because of the very low rates of dis-
cussion of candidates by electors within both formal and informal social

channels during the campaign period it is concluded that these are not

effective channels of information flow in the short term. The effective

social contact channels are those that link candidates to electors over

a long period, at least in the context of the multi-candidate municipal

election.

iii. Channel Influence

The influence of information conveyed to an elector from a candi-

date via a given channel can be identified through the relationship

between candidate use of the channel, elector recognition of

the candidate as known of via the channel and the group, winner, margi-

nal loser or straight loser, into which elector voting response to the

information and the channel places him.

Marginal losers were mentioned for their posters, marginal losers

and straight losers for some literature, but contact via this channel

was not a sufficient influence to cause electors to place these candi-

dates in the winner category. On the other hand, many more of those

candidates who were voted in as winners, incumbent and non-incumbent,

used media advertising and, moreover, gained in many cases higher rates

of elector mention than their use of the channel warranted. Since

winners had been exposed to the electorate via the media over the long

term, it is suggested that this channel is re-enforcing, authoritative

and influential for those who can use it. This refers particularly

to the effect of the local newspaper in the social and political con-

text of this study. A similar pattern of channel influence, whereby

it is long term exposure of a candidate to the public via a channel that

is so influential, emerges when social channels are considered. The incumbents, all of whom were voted back as winners, made very little effort to activate formal or informal social contacts or to canvass personally during the campaign period. Yet electors discussed this group far more then any other, gave them their support, and cited personal contact or indirect contacts through friends, work and business as their sources of information about this group of candidates. The pattern of mention for non-incumbents who emerged as winners is similar, but at a lower rate of frequency. The conclusion is that the long established contacts via channels which are in some way authoritative, such as the local paper, work or business relationships or friends, are the most influential in affecting voting behaviour.

X.2.c The Neighbours Models

In order to examine the Neighbourhood Effect and the Friends-and-Neighbours Effect models, which, unlike the integrated multi-channel model, had been utilised extensively in earlier studies, the models were refined by employing a narrow definition of neighbours and neighbourhood. The models were then tested by applying the questionnaire to neighbours in small residential areas.

When the role of neighbours was examined in this more rigorous way neighbours were found to be less dominant as a channel than both the neighbourhood effect and the friends-and-neighbours models had assumed. It is suggested that this contrary result is attributable to the scale at which the investigation was conducted. With the exception of the study by Fitton (1973), who obtained a similar result, neighbours and

neighbourhood were not strictly defined in the other studies.

i. The Neighbourhood Effect: Personal Contact Between Neighbours

in a Narrowly Defined Neighbourhood

Neighbours as a channel for social contact and political discussion

were found to be no more active than friends, and less active than the

household circle. It was concluded that when the limited definition of

neighbours was applied, then neighbours as a channel was but one of the

many possible social contact channels, and not necessarily the dominant

one.

ii. The Friends-and-Neighbours Effect: Personal Contact between

Neighbours of a Local Candidate

In the circumstance that the neighbours are neighbours to a local

candidate the channel gains significance in terms of discussion of that

candidate; but discussion of other candidates remains at a low level.

However, though the neighbours know the name of the local candidate,

they are more ignorant of certain relevant political information such

as the political affiliation of the local candidate and his occupation

than they are about the political affiliation and occupation of certain

other candidates.

Outside of the neighbourhood neighbours did not discuss the local

candidate with their other social contacts more than other candidates.

Above all, neighbours did not generally support their local candidate

more than other candidates in this multi-candidate electoral system.

Between neighbourhood differences were identified in terms of neighbours' response to knowledge of and discussion of their candidate. The long established area with long term residents did discuss and support their local candidate. The candidate expected to be best known to his neighbours and supported by them received little support and was discussed virtually not at all. Neighbours in this new neighbourhood had friends and formal social contacts outside the neighbourhood with whom they did discuss the election and the other candidates more than did residents of the other two neighbourhoods. Moreover, they had familiarised themselves with several other candidates, their occupations and political affiliation, and knew of the candidates through work and business contacts.

The general conclusions are: one, that neighbours do function as an information flow channel, but seldom more, and frequently less actively than other social contact channels in the context of a medium sized town; two, that the presence of a local candidate does increase slightly neighbours' discussion of that candidate; three, that the character of the neighbourhood plays a significant role in determining the impact of a local candidate on his area.

X.3 Evaluation

The study presents a model though which the non-partisan, at-large electoral system can be examined, and provides some insights into the functioning of candidates, information channels and electors within that system.

In the system multi-candidate competition occurs within a relatively small area. Many of the channels used by both candidates and by electors are confined within the bounds of the municipal system. In the multi-candidate elections of 1972 and 1974 in the City of Guelph, long-term social and media channels are more influential than short-term channels, and heavily favour incumbents. The local newspaper is the most important media channel. Friends, work and business channels are the most important social channels. It should not, however, be assumed that this particular weighting of channels would be duplicated either in other at-large systems, or in other municipal systems, although similar patterns would certainly be anticipated.

The large number of candidates competing in an at-large election and vying for the attention of electors through a limited number of channels contributes to the low information rates which electors have about candidates. This in turn favours the incumbent who has become known through those channels over a long period of time. Successful non-incumbents are those who deliberately employ or have special access to the most influential of the media and social channels.

A special perspective on the relative significance of social and media channels as contact channels, conveyors of information and influencers of voting decisions is provided by a study at the local level. In terms of use, contact and influence both sets of channels are seen to be important. Exactly which channels are utilised most depends to a great extent upon the particular social and political context of the election and the scale of the system under consideration. If any generalisation can be made it is that channels which have been utilised and

which have effected contact over the long term are more influential on voting behaviour than short term channels. This in turn favours those social channels and media channels which are used consistently over time. In this study, these were the local newspaper, work and business contacts, and friends. This supports the ideas of Paletz (1971) on the role of the local paper and Greer (1963) on the role of selected personal contacts.

The results of the study support the emphasis placed by the literature on the importance of personal contact channels as sources of information about candidates and as channels influential for the voting outcome. However, in the particular context of the medium sized town at-large election, neighbours are found to have a role no more dominant than friends, and even when they are neighbour to a local candidate their high rates of discussion about their candidate are not necessarily converted into comparable rates of support for the candidate. In the electoral system under study, work channels and business channels take on special importance. Both sampling techniques produced a very low response from electors concerning their participation in formal social channels, and yet the literature abounds with references to the highly influential nature of formal channel contacts. Special sampling and data collection techniques need to be applied to these channels before a satisfactory understanding of their role and function can be achieved.

X.4 Future Research

The results of this study, and its limitations point to a number of directions for future research. There continue to exist major conceptual problems concerning the significance of the spatial organisation and the political organisation of electoral systems on their functioning; and the significance of variations in the scale of the electoral system.

Moreover, there are a number of related methodological problems which also require attention. The random sample or stratified sample technique gives a general picture of the system, and particularly of the characteristics of the electorate in relation to their voting response, but it does not clarify how the system functions. Examination of the functioning of the at-large municipal system requires the development of more appropriate data collection techniques.

It has already been pointed out that certain channels whose roles are still unclear will require sampling techniques other than the random sample, and different and more rigorously developed questionnaire and interview tools. Detailed consideration has, so far, only been given to neighbours. Friends, work, business and formal contacts, using non-random sampling techniques require further investigation. The important role played by the local newspaper and the lesser role of the local radio station likewise call for clarification.

This study did not investigate in any detail the differences between the voter and the non-voter in terms of the way in which they are tied in to the local social and media information channel system. This should be a basic categorisation of electors in future research on elector use of channels, and reception of information.

Application of the multi-channel model to a multi-candidate election in which electors can vote for several candidates produces a very large set of variables, dependent upon the number of channels and the number of.candidates involved. This is a major problem in employing the model, appropriate as it may be to the system. In this study statistical analysis has been limited to a number of cross tabulations of the data. More sophisticated analytical techniques would require other methods of handling the large set of variables.

This study has developed a systems model appropriate to the study of a non-partisan, at-large electoral system at the local scale. The systems model could, however, be applied to a ward style electoral system in a municipality of similar size and social characteristics as the City of Guelph in order that some between system comparisons may be drawn. Although the literature has suggested marked differences in the functioning of at-large and ward systems, the detailed cross comparisons which would provide evidence for similarities or differences in the impact of the spatial organisation of a political system on its functioning have not yet been made.

The emphasis on information channels employed in the model is particularly appropriate to non-partisan elections, but could usefully be applied to a partisan ward or non-ward municipal system, although the roles and relationships between parties and candidates would require careful definition. Such an application might be particularly illuminating of the role of party, party and candidate use of channels, elector reception of information and party identification, and their relationship

to voting outcome if independent, non-affiliated candidates were com-
peting against party affiliated candidates.

Application of the model to other at-large municipal elections
ranging in scale from small towns to a larger city would throw light on
the question raised in the study concerning the effect of the size of
the municipality and special local circumstances on the relative·
importance of the information channels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adrian, C., "Some General Characteristics of Nonpartisan Elections", *American Political Science Review*, 46(3), 1952.

Agger, R., A Series·of Studies, on political and social participation in medium sized towns in a number of different countries. Unpublished. Department of Political Science, McMaster University, 1969-1972.

Alford, R.R. and H.M. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement", *American Political Science Review*, 62, 1968, pp.1192-1206.

Alford, R. and E. Lee, "Voting Turnout in American Cities", *Political Science Association Review*, 62(3), 1968.

Banfield, E. and J. Wilson, *City Politics*. New York: Random House, 1963.

Berelson, B., "Communication and Public Opinion", in W. Schramm (Ed.) *Communication in Modern.Society*. Urbana, Ill., 1948.

Berelson, B., *et al.*, *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Blydenburgh, J., "A Controlled Experiment to Measure the Effect of Personal Contact Campaigning", *Mid-West Journal of Political Science*, 15(2), 1971, pp. 365-381.

Burghardt, A., "The Basis of Support for Political Parties in Burgenland", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 54, September 1964, pp. 372-390.

Campbell, A., P. Converse, W.E. Miller and D.E. Stokes, *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley, 1960.

Chorley, R.J., *Directions in Geography*. London: Methuen, 1973, p. 70.

Clarkson, S., "Barriers to Entry: Introducing Party ·Activity into Toronto Politics", Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, June, 1970.

Converse, P. "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1962. (Also in, A. Campbell, *et al.*, *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: Wiley, 1966, pp. 136-158.)

Conway, M.M., "Voter Information Sources in a Nonpartisan Local Election", *Western Political Quarterly*, 21(1), 1968, pp. 69-77.

Cornwall, E., "Bosses, Machines, and Ethnic Groups", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 353, 1964.

Cox, K., "Suburbia and Voting Behaviour in the London Metropolitan Area", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 58, 1968.

————, "The Neighbourhood Effect in Urban Voting Response Surfaces", Paper presented at a conference on Models of Urban Structure sponsored by the Ohio State University and Battell Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio, 1969.

————, "The Spatial Structuring of Information Flow and Partisan Attitudes", in M. Doggan and S. Rokkan, (Eds.) *Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1969.

————, "The Voting Decision in a Spatial Context", in Board, *et al.*, (Eds.) *Progress in Geography*, 1, 1969, pp. 83-118.

————, "The Voting Decision in Intra-Urban Space", *Proceedings, Association of American Geographers*, 1, 1969, pp. 43-47.

————, "The Genesis of Acquaintance Field Spatial Structures: A Conceptual Model and Empirical Tests", in K. Cox and R. Golledge, (Eds.) *Behavioural Problems in Geography: A Symposium*. Northwestern University, Studies in Geography, 17, 1969, pp. 146-168.

————, "Residential Relocation and Political Behaviour", *Acta Sociologica*, 13(1), 1970, pp. 40-53.

Cutwright, P. and P. Rossi, "Grass Roots Politicians and the Vote", *American Sociological Review*, 63, April 1958, pp. 171-179.

Cutwright, P. and P. Rossi, "Party Organization in Primary Elections", *American Journal of Sociology*, 64, November 1958, pp. 262-269.

Crotty, W., "Party Effort and Its Impact on the Vote", *American Political Science Review*, 65(2), 1971, pp. 439-450.

Dahl, R., *Who Governs*. New Haven, 1961.

Deutschmann, P.J. and W.A. Danielson, "Diffusion of Knowledge of the Major News Story; *Journalism Quarterly*, 37, 1960, pp. 345-355.

Dickinson, R.E., *City and Region*. London: Routledge, 1964.

Dreyer, E., "Media Use and Electoral Choice: Some Political Conse-
quences of Information Exposure", *Public Opinion Quarterly*,
35(4), Winter 1971-1972, pp. 544-553.

Eldersfeld, S.J., "Experimental Propaganda Techniques and Voting
Behaviour", *American Political Science Review*, 50, March
1956, pp. 154-165.

Fitton, M., "Neighbourhood and Voting: A Sociometric Analysis",
British Journal of Political Science, 3(4), 1973, pp.
445-472.

Foldare, I.S., "The Effect of Neighbourhood on Voting Behaviour",
Political Science Quarterly, 83(4), 1968, pp. 516-529.

Gabriel, R.A., "A New Theory of Ethnic Voting", *Polity*, 4(4), Summer
1972, pp. 405-428.

Gilbert, C., "Some Aspects of Non-partisan Elections in Large Cities",
Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6, 1962, pp. 345-362.

Gildsdorf, R.R., "Cognitive and Motivational Sources of Voter Suscep-
tibility to Influence", *Canadian Journal of Political
Science*, 6(4), December 1973, pp. 624-638.

Greenstein, F. and R. Wolfinger, "The Suburbs and Shifting Party
Loyalties", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 22, 1958.

Greer, S., *Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture*. New York:
Wiley, 1963.

Hawley, W.D., "The Partisan Bias of Non-Partisanship", unpublished PH.D.
Thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1970.

Hunter, F., *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers*.
Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press,
1953.

Jennings, K.M. and R. Neimi, "The Transmission of Political Values from
Parent to Child", *American Political Science Quarterly*, 62,
1968.

Johnston, R.J., "Observations on Voting and Democracy in Christchurch
City", *New Zealand Monthly Review*, 11(1), 1971, pp. 12-13.

--------, "Spatial Elements in Voting Patterns at the 1968 Christchurch
City Council Elections", *Political Science*, 24(1), 1972, pp.
49-61.

————————, "Spatial Patterns and Influences on Voting in Multi-Candidate Elections: The Christchurch City Council Elections, 1968", *Urban Studies*, 10(1), 1973, pp. 69-82.

————————, "Local Effects in Voting at a Local Election", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64(3), 1974, pp. 418-429.

Kasperson, R., "Ward Systems and Urban Politics", *Southeastern Geographer*, 9(2), 1969, pp. 17-25.

Katz, E., "The Two-Step Flow of Communications: An Up-to-Date Report on the Hypothesis", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21, 1957, p. 61.

Katz, E. and S. Eldersfeld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity Upon the Electorate", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 25, 1961, pp. 1-24.

Katz, E. and P. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

Key, V.O. and F. Munger, "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana", in E. Burdick and J. Brodbeck (Eds.) *American Voting Behaviour*. New York: Free Press, 1959.

Lane, R., *Political Life*. New York: Free Press, 1959.

Ladd, F., "Black Youths View Their Environment: Neighbourhood Maps", *Environment and Behaviour*, 2(1), 1970, pp. 74-99.

Lazarsfeld, P., B. Berelson and H. Gaudet, *The Peoples' Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Lee, T., "Urban Neighbourhood as a Socio-Spatial Scheme", *Human Relations*, 21, 1968, pp. 241-267.

Lightbody, J., "The Use of Party Politics in Canadian Local Elections", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 6, February 1971, pp. 39-44.

Lineberry, R. and E.P. Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities", *American Political Science Review*, 61(3), 1967.

Lorimer, J., *The Real World of City Politics*. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1970.

Madge, J., *The Tools of Social Science*. London: Longmans, 1953.

Minghi, J., H. Swan and D. Rumley, "The Vancouver Civic Election of
        1970: A Preliminary Report", in R. Leigh (ed.) *Contempo-
        rary Geography: Western Viewpoints*. British Columbia
        Geographical Series Number 12, 1971, pp. 97-114.

Minghi, J. and D. Rumley, "Campaigning in an At-Large Civic Election:
        An Aspect of Urban Electoral Geography", paper presented
        at the 70th Annual Meeting of the Association of American
        Geographers, Seattle, Washington, April 28- May 1, 1974.

Moreno, J.L., *The Sociometry Reader*. New York: Glencoe Free Press,
        1960.

Mumford, L., "The Neighbourhood and the Neighbourhood Unit", *Town
        Planning Review*, 1954, pp. 256-270.

Notting, O., *Progress and Impact of the Council - Manager Plan*.
        Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1969.

Orbell, J., "An Information Flow Theory of Community Influence",
        Journal of Politics, 32(2), 1970.

Palda, K.S., "Does Advertising Influence Votes? An Analysis of the
        1966 and 1970 Quebec Elections", *Canadian Journal of Poli-
        tical Science*, 6(4), December 1973, pp. 638-655.

Paletz, D., P. Reid and B. McIntyre, "How the Media Support Local
        Government Authority", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 35(1),
        Spring 1971, pp. 80-92.

Perry, C., "The Neighbourhood Unit: A Scheme of Arrangement for the
        Family Life Community", *A Regional Plan for New York and
        Its Environs*, vol. 7, 1929.

Pomper, G., "Ethnic and Group Behaviour in Non-Partisan Municipal
        Elections", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 30, 1966, pp. 79-97.

Pool, Ithiel de Sola, "The Effect of Communication on Voting Behaviour",
        in W. Schramm (Ed.) *The Science of Human Communication: New
        Direction and New Findings in Communication*. New York,
        1963, p. 136.

Putnam, R., "Political Attitudes and the Local Community", *American
        Political Science Review*, 60, 1966, pp. 640-654.

Reynolds, D., "A Friends-and-Neighbours Voting Model as a Spatial Model
        for Electoral Geography", in K. cox and R. Golledge (Eds.),
        Problems in Behavioural Geography, Northwestern University,
        Studies in Geography, Number 17, 1969, pp. 81-100.

Roberts, M. and K. Rummage, "The Spatial Variations in Urban Left-Wing Voting in England and Wales in 1951", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55, 1965.

Robinson, W.S., "Ecological Correlations and the Behaviour of Individuals", *American Sociological Review*, 15, June 1950, pp. 351-357.

Scott, T.M., "The Diffusion of Urban Governmental Forms as a Case of Social Learning", *Journal of Politics*, 30(4), 1968, pp. 1091-1108.

Siegried, A., *Tableau politique de la France de l'Quest*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1913.

Taylor, P.J., "Some Implications of the Spatial Organisation of Elections", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 60, November 1973, pp. 121-136.

Tichener, P.J., G.A. Donehue and C.N. Olien, "Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth of Knowledge", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34(2), Summer 1970, pp. 159-170.

Tingsten, H., *Political Behaviour: Studies in Election Statistics*. London: P.S. King and Sons, 1937.

Wolfinger, R.E., "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting", *American Political Science Review*, 59, December 1965, pp. 896-908.

Wright, J., "Voting Habits in the United States, A Note on Two Maps", *Geographical Review*, 22, 1932, pp. 666-672.

APPENDICES

Interviewer: ....𝜌...

Date: ....

Time: .... a.m. ....p.m.

Respondent code _____ / _____ / _____
                   Interviewer   Respondent #   Day
                        #,   from list

INFORMATION FLOW IN A

MUNICIPAL ELECTION

QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
ELECTORS

1.03 Which political party does _____ (READ OUT EACH NAME IN ORDER
      MENTIONED IN 1.01 AND WRITE IN) belong to, as far as you know?

	Name		Cons.	Lib.	N.D.P.	Communist	Other (specify)		DNK
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.									
12.									

1.03a Which of these candidates did you know of before this municipal election
       campaign? (FILL IN NAMES) Do you know him personally, heard of him generally,
       or was it from the Mercury, or CJOY, or over Cable 8 TV? (CHECK OFF
       CATEGORIES).

NAME OR #	Personally	General	Mercury	CJOY	8	Other(specify)		DNK

READ

A local election, to choose city council members is being held in this city next week. We are conducting a study on the election. Four hundred people in Guelph have been chosen from all those who are eligible to vote in the municipal election. We would very much appreciate it if you would answer these questions about the election of Aldermen.

There are very many candidates for the eleven positions of alderman on city council, 37 altogether. Some of the candidates may be fairly well known, others only known by a few people. We want to try and find out how well known the various candidates are, how well known they have made themselves to the people of Guelph.

1.01 Do you recall the names of any of the candidates for alderman, in Guelph in this election.

| 1.02 What is _____'s (READ EACH NAME IN THE ORDER MENTIONED IN 1.01) occupation?

Name

Occupation	DNK

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. _____

12. _____

Occupation:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. _____

12. _____

| NO | | ———→ If NO, skip to 1.06

1

1.04 Which of these candidates have you heard about only recently, since the election campaign began. (FILL IN NAMES). Have you just heard of him generally, or was it from the Mercury, or CJOY, or over Cable 8 TV? (CHECK OFF CATEGORIES).

NAME OR #	General	Mercury	CJOY	8	Other(specify)	DNK

1.05 (ASK ONLY IF KNOWS CANDIDATE(S) PERSONALLY)
Those candidates you know personally, are you acquainted with them as neighbours, or friends, through work, or church, or a club, or what? (FILL IN NAME(S) FROM 1.03a)

Name of personal Acquaintance	Neighbour	Friend	Work	Church	Club	Other (specify)
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						

There are so many candidates, it is almost impossible to remember even a few names. Here is a list of them all: (UNDERLINE CANDIDATES MENTIONED IN 1.06)

1.	Douglas Auld	20.	Larry Lewis
2.	Doris Bannon	21.	Pat Lindsey
3.	Susan Barabas	22.	Les Love
4.	William Barnie	23.	Margaret MacKinnon
5.	John Bartkiewicz	24.	Brian Mann
6.	Peter Brazolot	25.	Kirk Frederick Maxey
7.	Jake Brohman	26.	Cynthia McMurtrey
8.	Rick Charleton	27.	Hayes Murphey
9.	Flora Evans	28.	John F. O'Connor
10.	Ray Ferraro	29.	Anne O'Malley
11.	Carl Hamilton	30.	Peter J. O'Malley
12.	Kenneth O. Hammill	31.	Marion E. Ottaway
13.	C.M. (Mac) Hammond	32.	Michael Phillips
14.	Patrick F. Hanlon	33.	Jane Rodd
15.	Alistair Haythornthwaite	34.	Robert L. Scammell
16.	Eden Haythornthwaite	35.	William G. Thomas
17.	James Francis Howitt	36.	John K. Wilson
18.	David E. Kendrick	37.	D. "Mico" Valeriote
19.	Anthony R.E. Laws		

(TEAR OUT THIS PAGE AND GIVE T.
RESPONDENT. REPLACE PAGE AT END
OF INTERVIEW)

1.06 Are there any of these candidates that you recall having heard about that you haven't yet mentioned?

1.07 What is _____'s (READ EACH NAME IN THE ORDER MENTIONED IN 1.06) Occupation?

Name or #		Occupation	DNK
1.		1.	
2.		2.	
3.		3.	
4.		4.	
5.		5.	
6.		6.	
7.		7.	
8.		8.	
9.		9.	
10.		10.	
11.		11.	
12.		12.	

_____ If No, Skip to 1.11

1.08 Which political party does _____ (READ OUT EACH NAME IN ORDER MENTIONED IN 1.08 AND WRITE IN) belong to, as far as you know?

	Name	Cons.	Lib.	N.D.P.	Communist	Other (specify)	DNK
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							
9.							
10.							
11.							
12.							

1.08a Which of these candidates did you know of before this municipal election campaign? (FILL IN NAMES). Did you know him personally, had you heard of him generally, or did dyou hear about him from the Mercury, or CJOY or Cable 8 TV? (CHECK OFF CATEGORIES)

NAME OR #	Personally	General	Mercury	CJOY	8	Other(specify)	DNK

1.09 Which of these candidates have you heard about only recently, since the election campaign began. (FILL IN NAMES) Have you just heard of him generally, or did you hear about him from the Mercury, or CJOY, or Cable 8 TV? (CHECK OFF CATEGORIES).

NAME OR #	General	Mercury	CJOY	8	Other(specify)	DNK

1.10 (ASK ONLY IF KNOW CANDIDATE(S) PERSONALLY)
Those candidates you know personally, as you acquainted with them as neighbours, or friends, through work, or church, or a club, or what? (FILL IN NAME(S) FROM 1.08a)

	Name of personal Acquaintance	Neighbour	Friend	Work	Church	Club	Other (specify)
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							

1.11 How interested would you say you are in Guelph municipal politics?
Would you say you are: (READ)

Very Interested	Interested	Not Very Interested	Not at all Interested	DNK

If DNK, skip to 1.13

1.12 Why are you _____ (READ ANSWER GIVEN)

_____

	DNK	

1.13 Were you able to vote in the last municipal election in Guelph, two years ago, or did something keep you from voting?

DNK	Did not Vote	Did Vote

———→ If Did Vote, skip to 1.16

1.14 Many people, like yourself, did not vote in the last municipal election. Which of these reasons best describes why you did not vote, or was there some other reason? (SHOW LIST) Please tell me which reason was most important, which was next most important.

Reasons	Most Important	2nd Most Important
I did not live in Guelph		
I had arrived recently in Guelph and did not know anything about city politics		
I felt that my vote had no influence on what city council does		
I was not eligible to vote		
I did not know much about the candidates		
I knew the names of some of the candidates but I could not choose between them		
City politics aren't very important		

1.15 Were there any other reasons why you did not vote?

_____

_____

_____

_____ No Other Reason [   ]

1.16 Do you think that you <u>will</u> vote in the upcoming municipal election?

Yes	No	DNK

→If DNK, Skip to 1.19

→If Yes, Skip to 1.21

1.17 As you do <u>not</u> intend to vote, do any of these reasons below describe <u>why</u> you do not intend to vote? (SHOW LIST) Please tell me which reason is <u>most</u> important, which is <u>next</u> most important.

Reasons	Most Important	2nd Most Important
I do not know about any of the candidates		
I know the names of some of the candidates, but I do not know enough about them to choose between them		
I have arrived recently in Guelph and do not know much about city politics		
I feel that my vote has no influence on what city council does		
City politics aren't very important		
There are so many candidates, there is no way I can choose between them		

1.18 Are there any other reasons why you do not intend to vote?

_____

_____

_____ No other reason ____

1.19 As you have not yet decided, could you tell me why you are undecided?
     (SHOW LIST) Please tell me which reason is most important, which is
     next most important.

Reasons	Most Important	2nd Most Important
I do not know about any of the candidates		
I know the names of some of the candidates but I do not know enough about them to choose between them		
I have arrived recently in Guelph and do not know much about city politics		
I feel that my vote has no influence on what city council does		
City politics aren't very important		
There are so many candidates, I find it difficult to choose between them		

1.20 Are there any other reasons why you are undecided?

_____

_____

_____ No other reason ☐

1.21 Have you at any time in the last two years attended any meetings of
     city council? About how many meetings did you attend?

Number	NO	DNK

→If No, DNK, Skip to 2.01

1.22 Why did you attend these city council meetings?
     (OPEN QUESTION, FILL IN REPLY)

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOW I want to ask you some questions about your visiting with friends or relatives.

2.01 During the last seven days have you visited with other people in their homes, in this city, or have any people living in Guelph visited you?

Yes	No	DNK

→If No, DNK, Skip to 2.07

2.02 When you visited with these people was there any <u>discussion</u> of the local election?

Yes	No

——→If No, Skip to 2.07

2.03 Did you discuss any <u>issues</u> in the election?

Yes	No

If No, Skip to 2.05

.2.04 Which <u>issues</u> did you discuss?

DNK [   ]

_____

_____

_____

_____

2.05 Did you talk about any of the <u>candidates</u> for alderman?

YES	NO

——→ If No, Skip to 2.07

2.06 Which candidates did you talk about?

DNK [   ]

_____

_____

_____

2.07 Do you have any close relatives, I mean brothers or sisters, mother or father, or children who are <u>not now living with you</u>, but who live in Guelph?

Yes	No
→ If No, Skip to 2.13

2.08 Have you had any discussion of the local election with any of your relatives living in Guelph?

Yes	No
→ If No, Skip to 2.13

2.09 Did you discuss any of the issues in the election?

Yes	No
→ If No, Skip to 2.11

2.10 Which issues did you discuss?

DNK [   ]

_____

_____

_____

2.11 Did you talk about any of the candidates for alderman?

Yes	No
→ If No, Skip to 2.13

2.12 Which candidates did you talk about?

_____

_____

_____

2.13 Have you had any discussion of the local election with any member of your household here? Or do you live alone?

Yes	No	Live Alone

→ If No, Live Alone Skip to 2.18

2.14 Have you discussed any of the issues in the election with members of your household?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 2.16

2.15 What issues did you discuss?

_____

_____

_____

2.16 Have you talked about any of the candidates for alderman with members of your household?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 2.18

2.17 Which candidates did you talk about?

_____

_____

_____

2.18 Do you belong to any club, such as
a social club, sports club, club
affiliated with a church, a service
club, political club, or some other

2.19 What _____ club
would that be. (FILL IN
THE NAME AND REPEAT FOR
EACH TYPE OF CLUB)

	Yes	Name(s)
Social		
Sports		
Church		
Service		
Political		
Other		

| No | | ➔If No clubs, Skip to 2.26.

2.20 Have you had any discussion of the local election with your fellow
members?

Yes	No

➔If No, Skip to 2.26

2.21 In which club or clubs that you named did this discussion take place?

_____

2.22 Did you discuss any of the issues in the election?

Yes	No

➔If No, Skip to 2.24

2.23 Which issues did you discuss?

_____

_____

_____

2.24 Did you talk about any of the candidates for alderman?

Yes	No
.	

→If No, Skip to 1.26

2.25 Which candidates did you talk about?

_____

_____

2.25a Is any candidate a member of any of these clubs to which you belong?

Yes	No

If No, Skip to

_____

2.25b Which candidate(s) is (are) a fellow member?

_____

_____

_____

2.26 Do you belong to any professional organization, such as Labour Union, Trade Organization, Town Organization, Professional Organization, or some other?

2.27 What organization(s) would that be (FILL IN THE NAME AND REPEAT FOR EACH TYPE OF CLUB)

	YES	NAME (s)
Labour		
Trade		
Farm		
Professional		
Other(specify)		

NO	

→If No, Skip to 2.36

2.28 Have you had any discussion of the local election with your fellow members?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 2.34

2.29 In which organization, or organizations, that you named did this discussion take place?

_____

2.30 Did you discuss any of the issues in the election?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 2.32

2.31 Which issues did you discuss?

_____

_____

_____

2.32 Did you talk about any of the candidates for alderman?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 2.34

2.33 Which candidates did you talk about?

_____

_____

2.34 Is any candidate a member of any of the clubs or organizations to
      which you belong?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 2.36

2.35 Which candidate(s) is(are) a fellow member?

_____

2.36 Have you attended any club or association meeting recently (IF ASKED,
      SAY WITHIN THE LAST 3 MONTHS) at which a candidate was a speaker?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 3.01

2.37 Which candidate(s) was that?

1. _____

2. _____

2.38 At which club or association
      did he(she) speak?

1. _____

2. _____

I now want to ask you a few questions about whether you have been contacted by any candidate or whether you have heard about any candidate in the news-papers, on the radio or TV.

3.01 Have you attended any meetings about the local election?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 3.04

3.02 Was that the general public meeting for the candidates, or a special meeting for a particular candidate?

General	Special

→If General, Skip to 3.04

3.03 Which candidate was the meeting for?

_____

3.04 Have you personally helped any candidate for alderman in this election, by canvassing, addressing pamphlets, or doing some other work on his or her behalf?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 3.06

3.05 Which candidate did you help?

_____

3.06 Have you been personally contacted by any candidate(s)?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 3.09

3.07 Which candidate(s) contacted you?

_____

_____

_____

3.08 Did (READ NAME(S) AND FILL IN BELOW) contact you at home, at work or some other place?

Name	Home	Work	Other (specify)

3.09 Have you been personally contacted by any <u>canvasser</u> on behalf of any candidate?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 3.12

3.10 Which candidate(s) was the canvasser working for?

_____

_____

_____

3.11 Did the canvasser working for (READ NAMES FROM 3.10 ABOVE AND FILL IN BELOW) contact you at home, at work, or some other place?

Name	Home	Work	Other (specify)

3.12 Have you received any material through the mail about any candidate?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 3.14

3.13 Which candidates have you received information about?

_____

_____

_____

3.14 Have you noticed whether there are any billboards, any stickers, any advertisements around town about any of the candidates?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 3.16

3 Which candidates have advertised in this way?

1. _____ 5. _____

2. _____ 6. _____

3. _____ 7. _____

4. _____ 8. _____

3.16 Do you read the Guelph Mercury, regularly, occasionally or never?

Regularly	Occasionally	Never

→ If Never, Skip to 3.20

3.17 In the local paper have you read anything about the local election?

Yes	No

If No, Skip to 3.20

3.18 Do you recall seeing the names of any of the candidates (IF NECESSARY, SAY: THERE ARE SO MANY IT MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO REMEMBER ANY)

1. _____   7. _____

2. _____   8. _____

3. _____   9. _____

4. _____   10. _____

5. _____   11. _____

6. _____   12. _____

3.19 Which issues do you recall seeing mentioned in the local paper?

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.20 Do you recall the names of any candidates who have advertised in the Mercury?

_____

_____

3.21 Do you listen to CJOY regularly, occasionally or never?

Regularly	Occasionally	Never

→ If Never, Skip to 3.26

3.22 On CJOY have you heard any program about the local election?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 3.26

3.23 Do you recall the names of any candidate(s) you heard about on CJOY?

1. _____   7. _____

2. _____   8. _____

3. _____   9. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

3.24 Which issues do you recall having been mentioned on CJOY?

_____

_____

_____

3.25 Do you recall the names of any candidates who have <u>advertised</u> over CJOY?

1. _____   4. _____

2. _____   5. _____

3. _____   6. _____

3.26 Are you on the T.V. Cable?

Yes	No

→ If No, Ship to 4.01

3.27 Would you say you watch Cable 8, the local TV station regularly, occasionally or never?

Regularly	Occasionally	Never

→If Never, Skip to 4.01

3.28 Have you heard anything about the local election on Cable 8?.

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.01

3.29 Do you recall the names of any candidates appearing on Cable 8 or mentioned on Cable 8?

1. _____   6. _____

2. _____   7. _____

3. _____   8. _____

4. _____   9. _____

5. _____

3.30 Do you recall which issues were mentioned on Cable 8?

_____

_____

_____

I'd like to ask you a few more questions about the issues in the city council election this year.

4.01 There are so many candidates that it is difficult to sort out what they stand for, but do you recall the stand of any candidate on issues he or she raised.

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 4.04

4.02 Tell me the name of the candidate, and his views.

Name: _____

_____

4.03 Do you recall the views of any other candidates?

Name: _____

_____

Name: _____

_____

4.04 Is there anything that you think a new city council in Guelph should do, but which hasn't been suggested by any candidate, as far as you know?

_____

_____

_____

4.05 I'm going to read out a list of some of the issues that candidates have raised. Would you say that you were in favour, opposed, or didn't really care either way, about the following: (READ)

Issue	Favour	Opposed	DNC
That Guelph should have more recreational facilities			
That Guelph should replace the present at-large system of electing aldermen with a ward system so that alderman represent particular areas of the city			
That railroad level crossings be eliminated			
That party politics be introduced into municipal elections			
That ALL city council meetings be open to the public			

Here are some opinions you hear people giving. I'd like you to tell me, offhand, whether you agree or disagree.

		Disagree	Agree	DNK
5.01	Sometimes city politics and city government seems so complicated that the average person can't really understand what's going on			
5.02	The average person doesn't have any say about what the city government does			
5.03	Voting is the only way the average person has any say about how the city government runs things			
5.04	I don't think that city officials care very much about what the average person thinks			

5.05 Do you think that the people in the city government here in GUELPH waste a lot of the money we pay in city taxes, waste some of it, wasted very little of it, or don't waste any of it, or don't you know? (READ AGAIN, IF NECESSARY)

Waste a Lot	Waste Some	Waste Very Little	Waste None	DNK

5.06 How much of the time do you feel that you can trust the GUELPH city government to do what is right, all of the time, most of the time, only some of the time, none of the time or don't you know?

All of the Time	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	None of the Time	DNK

5.07 Do you think that the people on city council listen to what people in the city have to say, all of the time, most of the time, only some of the time, none of the time, or don't you know?

All of the Time	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	None of the Time	DNK

I should finally like to ask you a few questions about yourself and about your family.

6.01   Could you estimate how long you have lived in Guelph?

Years	DNK

6.02   Could you estimate how long you have lived at this address?

Years	DNK

6.03   Do you or your family own or rent this residence?

Own	Rent	NA

6.04   In which year were you born?

Year	Refuse

6.05   In which country were you born? Was it Canada or some other country?

Canada	Other (Specify)

→If Canada, Skip to 6.07

6.06 How old were you when you moved to Canada?

Age Moved to Canada

6.07   Which language do you speak at home with your family?

English	Other (specify)

6.08   What was the country of origin of your father, your mother?

	Father	Mother
Country		
DNK		

6.09 Would you include yourself within any of the following religious groups?

United	Roman Catholic	Presbyt.	Jewish	Anglican	Other (Specify)	None	Refuse

If None, Refuse,
Skip to 6.11 ←

6.10 Some people go to church regularly, others not so often. Would you say you went to church .... (READ OUT FROM BELOW)

More than once a week	At least once a week	Frequently	Occasionally	Never

6.11 Which of the following groups would you say you feel yourself to belong to?

Upper Class	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Working	None of These	Refuse

6.12 About your schooling, would you tell me how many years of school you attended in total?

# of Years

6.13 Have you had any training beyond high school?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 6.16

6.14 For how many years was that?

Less than 1	1-2	2-4	4 or more

6.15 Did you complete a formal degree?

Yes	No

6.16 What is your marital status?

6.17 What is your occupation?

Occupation	

Service or protective industry _____

professional _____

farmer _____

skilled labourer _____

unskilled labourer _____

retired _____

unemployed _____

student _____

sales personnel _____

clercial or other while collar worker _____

armed forces _____

pensioned _____

housewife _____

owner, manager, business executive _____

other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____

6.18 What is your present place of work?

Unemployed	
Place of Work	

Skip to 6.20 ←

6.19 Where is that located?

_____

_____

_____

6.20 . Would you mind indicating into which of these groups the total income of your family fell last year (Before taxes) (SHOW LIST)

Less than $3,000 ☐

$3,000-$5,999 ☐

$6,000-$8,999 ☐

$9,000-$11,999 ☐

$12,000-$14,999 ☐

$15,000-$17,999 ☐

$18,000-$20,999 ☐

$21,000-$39,999 ☐

$40,000 and over ☐

DNK ☐

Refused ☐

6.21 When it comes to voting in a Federal election, generally speaking, do you think of yourself politically as a Liberal, a Conservative, N.D.P. or what?

Liberal	Conserv.	NDP	Other (specify)	None	DNK	Refuse

If Refuse, Skip to 6.25
If None, DNK, Skip to 6.23

6.22 Would you say you felt very strongly _____, quite strongly _____, not at all strongly _____.

Party	Very Strongly	Quite Strongly	Not at all Strongly	DNK

6.23 When it comes to voting in a provincial election, generally speaking, do you think of yourself politically as a Liberal, a Conservative, NDP, or what?

Liberal	Conserv.	NDP	Other (specify)	None	DNK	Refuse

If None, DNK, Refuse, Skip to 6.25

6.24 Would you say you felt strongly _____, quite strongly _____, not at all strongly _____?

Party	Very Strongly	Quite Strongly	Not at all Strongly	DNK

6.25 The very last questions. This is the list of candidates. ·If the
election were being held today, which of these candidates would
you vote for. You can vote for up to eleven of them. Or perhaps
you would not vote at all or perhaps you are still undecided.

Not vote ☐ ──────→Skip to 6.27
Undecided ☐

1. Douglas Auld
2. Doris Bannon
3. Susan Barabas
4. William Barnie
5. John Bartkiewicz
6. Peter Brazolot
7. Jake Brohman
8. Rick Charleton
9. Flora Evans
10. Ray Ferraro
11. Carl Hamilton
12. Kenneth O. Hammill
13. C.M. (Mac) Hammond
14. Patrick F. Hanlon
15. Alistair Haythornthwaite
16. Eden Haythornthwaite
17. James Fracis Howitt
18. David E. Kendrick
19. Anthony R.E. Laws

20. Larry Lewis
21. Pat Lindsey
22. Les Love
23. Margaret MacKinnon
24. Brian Mann
25. Kirk Frederick Maxey
26. Cynthia McMurtrey
27. Hayes Murphey
28. John F. O'Connor
29. Anne O'Malley
30. Peter J. O'Malley
31. Marion E. Ottaway
32. Michael Phillips
33. Jane Rodd
34. Robert L. Scammell
35. William G. Thomas
36. John K. Wilson
37. D. "Mico" Valeriote

6.26 Why would you vote for those candidates? (LIST NAMES, FILL IN
REASONS IF GIVEN)

	Name	Reasons
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		

6.27 Thank you for allowing me so much of your time. Before I leave, do
you have any additional comments about the candidates, the issues,
or the election?

COMMENTS:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Time: .... a.m. .... p.m.

TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEWER, AFTER INTERVIEW.

7.01 Sex of respondent

Male	Female

7.02 Type of residence

Single Family	Duplex	Townhouse	Apt. in Apt. Building	Apt. in House	Single Room	Other (Specify)

7.03 Did the respondent appear to be interested in the subject matter of the interview?

Not at all Interested	Not Very Interested	Quite Interested	Very Interested	DNK

7.04 Was the attitude of the respondent friendly or hostile towards you?

Very Friendly	Friendly	Not Very Friendly	Rather Hostile	Hostile	Very Hostile

7.05 Apart from the respondent, were other people present during all or part of the interview?

No One Else Present	One Person Present	Several People Present

APPENDIX II

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Respondent code _____ _____ / _____ _____ / _____
                 Interviewer #   Candidate #   Day

INFORMATION FLOW IN A MUNICIPAL ELECTION

QUESTIONNAIRE

FOR

CANDIDATES

We have been conducting a study on the nature of the aldermanic race within an at-large electoral system such as we find in the City of Guelph. We have been particularly interested in how well known aldermanic candidates are to the electorate of the city. To investigate this aspect of the study we interviewed over 400 potential voters in the city, during the week of November 27th to December 2nd.

We are now moving into the second part of the study, which involves interviewing all the aldermanic candidates. We are particularly interested in your views on certain issues raised during the pre-election period, on the channels you used to get your name and views known to the voters, and, of course, in certain personal data for each candidate.

I wish first to ask you some questions about your candidacy for alderman in the City of Guelph.

1.01 What previous experience have you had in public office in the City of Guelph? Have you, for example, been on City Council or the School Boards before, and when was that?

No previous experience	

Experience in Public Office	Time	

. If experience, skip to 1.04

1.02 How many times over the last two years have you attended Guelph City Council Meetings?

. Number times	

1.03 Have you on any occasion prior to this run for public office in the City of Guelph? What positions did you run for, and when did you run?

Not run previously	

Public Office run for	Time

1.04 What experience have you had in Community Affairs, in the City of Guelph? Have you been an active member or official of any community service organization? When was that?

No Community Affairs Experience	

Organization	Position	Time

1.05 What experience have you had in public office, and/or in Community
      Affairs, in a Community other than Guelph? And when was that?

	Place or Organization	Position	Time
Public			
Office			
Community			
Affairs			

1.06 What are your reasons for running for alderman on city council in
      this municipal election?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(... 4)

<u>Issues</u>

2.01 What do you personally see as the most important problems and issues facing City Council in Guelph?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2.02 Which of the issues that have been raised in the recent campaign do you consider important and what is your stand on the issues?

Issues	Stand

Next I'd like to ask you for some personal data.

3.01 Could you estimate how long you have lived in Guelph?

Years	DNK

3.02 Could you estimate how long you have lived at this address?

Years	DNK

3.03 Do you or your family own or rent this residence?

Own	Rent	NA

3.04 In which year were you born?

Year	Refuse

3.05 In which country were you born? Was it Canada or some other country?

Canada	Other(specify)

3.06 How old were you when you moved to Canada?

Age Moved to Canada

3.07 Which language do you speak at home with your family?

English	Other(specify)

3.08 What was the country of origin of your father, your mother?

	Father	Mother
Country		
DNK		

3.09 Would you include yourself within any of the following religious groups?

United	Roman Catholic	Presbyt.	Jewish	Anglican	Other(Specify)	None	Refuse

⟶ If None, Refuse, Skip to 3.16

3.10 Some people go to church regularly, others not so often. Would you say you went to church .... (READ OUT FROM BELOW)

More than once a week	At least once a week	Frequently	Occasionally	Never

(... 6)

3.11 Which of the following groups would you say you feel yourself to belong to?

Upper Class	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Working	None of These	Refuse

3.12 About your schooling, how many years of school have you attended in total?

# of Years

3.13 Have you had any training beyond high school?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 3.16

3.14 ·For how many years was that?

Less than 1	1-2	2-4	4 or more

3.15 Did you complete a formal degree?

Yes	No

3.16 What is your marital status?

3.17 What is your present occupation?

3.18 What is your present place of work?

3.20 Where is that located?

I am now going to ask you a series of questions about your meeting with friends or relatives, your membership in clubs.

4.01 During the last seven days have you visited with other people in their homes in this city, or have other people living in Guelph visited you?

	Yes	No	DNK
Visited others			
Visited by others			

→If both No, DNK Skip to 4.06

(... 7)

4.03 During the visits was there any discussion of the local election?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.06

4.04 Did you discuss any of the issues of the election?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.06

4.05 Which issues did you discuss?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4.06 Do you have any close relatives, I mean brothers or sisters, mother or father, or children, who are <u>not now living with you</u> but who live in Guelph?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.10

4.07 Have you had any discussion of the local election with <u>these</u> relatives?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.10

4.08 Did you discuss any of the issues of the election?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.10

4.09 Which issues did you discuss with your relatives?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4.10 Have you had any discussion of the local election with members of your household? Or do you live alone?

Yes	No	Live Alone

→If No, Live Alone Skip to 4.14

(....8)

4.11 Have you had any discussion of the local election with the members of your household?

Yes	No
→If No, Skip to 4.14

4.12 Did you discuss any of the issues of the election?

Yes	No
→If No, Skip to 4.14

4.13 Which issues have you discussed with members of your household?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4.14 Do you belong to any clubs, such as social clubs, sports clubs, clubs affiliated with a church, service clubs, political clubs etc, other than that you mentioned in relation to your community affairs activities?

4.15 What are the names of these clubs? (REPEAT FOR EACH TYPE OF CLUB)

4.16 What officeships have you held in these clubs?

	Yes	Name(s)	Officeships
Social			
Sports			
Church			
Service			
Political			
Other			

No   [   ]—→If No, Skip to 4.26

4.17 Have you addressed a meeting of these organizations of which you are a member, in the last three months? Which were they?

4.18 Have you addressed a meeting of any of these clubs of which you are a member, directly on the subject of your candidacy in the local election? Which were they?

4.19 Have you addressed a meeting of any such club of which you are not a member over the last three months? Which were they?

(... 9)

4.20 Have you addressed a meeting of <u>any</u> such clubs of which you are <u>not</u> a member on the subject of your candidacy in the local election? Which were they?

	No	Social	Sports	Church	Service	Political	Other
4.17 Addressed as Member							
4.18 Addressed as Member on Candidacy							
4.19 Addressed							
4.20 Addressed on Candidacy							

4.21 Have you had any discussion of the local election with fellow members of the clubs you belong to?

4.22 In which club or clubs did this discussion take place?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.26

	Social	Sports	Church	Service	Political	Other
Name						

4.23 Did you discuss the issues in the election?

4.24 In which clubs did this discussion take place?

4.25 Which issues did you discuss in this club?

Yes	No

→If No, Skip to 4.26

	Social	Sports	Church	Service	Political	Other
Name						
Issues						

(... 10)

4.26 Do you belong to any professional organi-   4.27 What organizations are
     zations such as a   Trade   these? (FILL IN NAMES)
     Association, Professional Organization?

                                                    4.28 What officeships have you
                                                         held in these organizations?

	Yes	Name	Officeships
Labour			
Trade			
Professional			
Other			

     No.   [   ] →If No, Skip to 5.01

4.27 Have you addressed a meeting of any of these organizations of which you
     are a member, in the last three months? Which were they? Was that in
     Guelph?

4.28 Have you addressed a meeting of any of these organizations of which you
     are a member, directly on the subject of your candidacy in the local
     election? Which were they?

4.29 Have you addressed a meeting of any such organization, of which you are
     not a member, over the last three months. Which were they? Was that
     in Guelph?

4.30 Have you addressed a meeting of any such organization, of which you are
     not a member on the subject of your candidacy in the local election?
     Which were they?

		No	Labour	Trade	Professional	Other	Guelph
4.27	Addressed as Member						
4.28	Addressed as Member on Candidacy						
4.29	Addressed						
4.30	Addressed on Candidacy						

                                                    (... 11)

4.31 Have you had any discussion of the local election with fellow members of these organizations you belong to?

4.32 In which organizations did this discussion take place?

Yes	No

→ If No, Skip to 5.01

	Labour	Trade	Professional	Other
Name				

4.33 Did you discuss the issues in the election?

4.34 In which organization did this discussion of issues take place?

4.35 Which issues did you discuss within this organization?

Yes	No

	Labour	Trade	Professional	Other
Name				
Issues				

I'd now like to ask you some questions about your own campaign for Alderman.

5.01 At your place of work, have you talked about your candidacy in this election: informally with your fellows; formally at a meeting concerning your candidacy

	Yes	No
Informally		
Formally		

5.02   What is the address of your campaign headquarters?

_____

5.03   Is that in your home, at your place of work, or some other place?

Home	Work	Other (Please specify)

5.04   How many assistants are working for you in this campaign?

#		→If None, Skip to 5.0

5.05   Are they all volunteers, or are some paid workers?

Volunteers	
Paid	

5.06   How many would you say are your family, how many are friends, are any associates from some organization? Which organization is that?

Family
Friends
Others
Organization Name

5.07   How many, roughly, campaign posters have been put up on your behalf?

#		→If None, Skip to 5.(

5.08   Which areas of the city have these been placed in? And in what proportions?

	Location	%
Randomly		
City centre		
Main highways		
Own locale		
Other (specify)		

(.... 13)

5.09 Approximately how many leaflets have you had distributed?

#	

If None,
. Skip to 5.11

5.10 Which location of the city have these been distributed in?

	Location	%
Randomly		
City centre		
Own locale		
Candidates night		
Other (Specify)		

5.11 About how many households have you or your assistants contacted by door-to-door canvassing?

#	.

If None, Skip to 5:13

5.12 In which areas of the city did you and/or your assistants canvass? What would you estimate as the percentage of total effort for each area?

#

	Location	%
Randomly		
Own locale	/	
Other(Specify)		.
	.	
	.	
	.	
.		

5.13 Apart from the "Meet the Candidates" night aired on CJOY and Cable 8 TV, and the articles in the Mercury on the candidates, which are public services, Have you used the local radio, or local newspaper to advertise your candidacy?

5.14 How frequently would you say you advertised over the media?

(.... 14)

5.15 What would you estimate as the cost of your radio advertisements, and your newspaper advertisements?

	No	Frequency	Cost
Radio			
Newspaper			

5.16 Which do you feel are the most effective ways of informing people about yourself and your candidacy?

	Addressing Meetings	"Meet the Candidate"	Posters	Leaflets	Canvassing	Radio	Newspap
Order of Importance							

Now about the support for your candidacy.

6.01 Are you directly sponsored as a candidate by any particular group or groups?

Yes	
No	

→If No, Skip to 6.03

6.02 Which group or groups sponsor you?

Sponsors

6.03 Has this group been able to offer you any financial assistance?

6.04 To what amount, approximately?

	Assistance	Amount
Yes		
No		

→ If No, Skip to 6.05

(... 15)

6.05 What would you estimate as your total campaign budget?

Budget	

6.06 What were the sources of these funds, apart from what you mentioned above?

	Amount
Self	
Others (specify)	

6.07 Apart from being directly sponsored do you feel that you as a candidate particularly appeal to any areas or segments of Guelph society?

	Name	No
Areas		
Segments		

→ If No, Skip to 6.08

6.08 Which areas or segments are these?

6.09 Why is it, do you feel, that you appeal to these particular areas or segments of Guelph society?

Areas or Segments	Reasons

Finally,

7.01 What is your political affiliation at the Federal, and the Provincial levels?

Federal	
Provincial	

7.02 Would you say you felt very strongly _____, quite strongly
_____, or not at all strongly _____, at the Federal;
at the Provincial levels?

	Very Strongly	Quite Strongly	Not at all Strongly	Party
Federal				
Provincial				

7.03 Please indicate into which of these groups the total income of your
family fell last year (BEFORE TAXES). (SHOW LIST)

Less than $3,000 ☐ $15,000 - $17,999 ☐
$3,000 - $5,999 ☐ $18,000 - $20,999 ☐
$6,000 - $8,999 ☐ $21,000 - $29,999 ☐
$9,000 - $11,999 ☐ $30,000 - $39,000 ☐
$12,000 - $14,999 ☐ $40,000 and over ☐

This is the end of the interview. Thank you for sparing me so much of your
valuable time. Before I leave, do you have any additional comments, about
the interview, about the election, about your candidacy in it?

Comments (SPECIFY WHETHER ON INTERVIEW, ELECTION OR CANDIDACY)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

(.....17)

TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEWER, AFTER INTERVIEW.

8.01 Sex of respondent

Male	Female

8.02 Type of residence

Single Family	Duplex	Townhouse	Apt. in Apt. Building	Apt. in House	Single Room	Other (Specify)

8.03 Did the respondent appear to be interested in the subject matter of the interview?

Not at all Interested	Not Very Interested	Quite Interested	Very Interested	DNK

8.04 Was the attitude of the respondent friendly or hostile towards you?

Very Friendly	Friendly	Not Very Friendly	Rather Hostile	Hostile	Very Hostile

8.05 Apart from the respondent, were other people present during all or part of the interview?

No One Else Present	One Person Present	Several People Present

Time _____ a.m. _____ p.m.

Interviewer: ....

Date: ....

Time: .... a.m. .... p.m.

Respondent code _____ / _____ / _____
                       Interviewer #   Respondent #   Day
                                                     from list

INFORMATION FLOW IN A

MUNICIPAL ELECTION

QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
ELECTORS

There are so many candidates, it is almost impossible to remember even a few names. Here is a list of them all: (UNDERLINE THE NAMES OF THE CANDIDATES MENTIONED IN 1.06)

1. Susan Barabas

2. Peter Brazalot

3. Mel Cochrane

4. Anne Godfrey

5. Ron Graydon

6. Carl Hamilton

7. Kenneth Hammill

8. "Mac" Hammond

9. Patrick Hanlon

10. David Kendrick

11. Marten Leerentveld

12. Margaret McKinnon

13. Clara Marrett

14. Joseph Mezey

15. Hayes Murphey

16. Alan Pickersgill

17. Bob Pierce

18. Floyd "Fred" Pierce

19. Chris Pollock

20. Robert Scammell

21. Tom Settle

22. Mico Valeriote

(TEAR OUT THIS PAGE AND SHOW TO THE RESPONDENT. REPLACE THE PAGE AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW)

Now I wish to ask you some questions about your visiting with neighbours and friends and relatives here in Guelph.

Here is a map of this area showing the houses on this street. Your house is here – (indicate on map).

1.24 Could you please show me on the map which families in the block you are friendly with, those you visit and who drop in on you.

If NONE, skip to 2.01

1.25 When you have visited with these families recently has there been any <u>discussion</u> of the local election?

Yes	No

——→ If No. Skip to 1.27

1.26 Would you please indicate on the map those families you discussed the election with?

1.27 Did you discuss any issues in the election with these people?

Yes	No

——→ If No, Skip to 1.29

1:28 Which issues did you discuss?

DNK	

_____

_____

1.29 Did you talk about any of the candidates for alderman?

Yes	No

——→ If No, Skip to 2.01

1.30 Would you please indicate on the map those families you discussed candidates with, and name those candidates you discussed.

6.25 The very last question   This is the list of candidates.   If the
election were being held today, which of these candidates would
you vote for?   You can vote for up to eleven of them.   Or perhaps you would
not vote at all, or perhaps you are still undecided.

```
┌──────────────┐
│ Not vote     │ ╲
└──────────────┘  ╲
                   ──→ Skip to 6.27
┌──────────────┐  ╱
│ Undecided    │ ╱
└──────────────┘
```
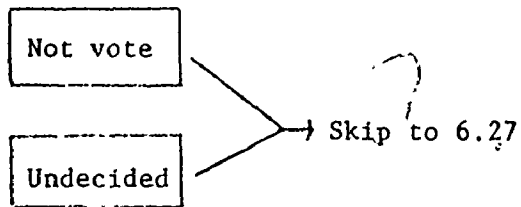
1.	Susan Barabas	12.	Margaret McKinnon
2.	Peter Brazalot	13.	Clara Marrett
3.	Mel Cochrane	14.	Joseph Mezey
4.	Anne Godfrey	15.	Hayes Murphey
5.	Ron Graydon	16.	Alan Pickersgill
6.	Carl Hamilton.	17.	Bob Pierce
7.	Kenneth Hammill	18.	Floyd "Fred" Pierce
8.	"Mac" Hammond	19.	Chris Pollock
9.	Patrick Hanlon	20.	Robert Scammell
10.	David Kendrick	21.	Tom Settle
11.	Marten Leerentveld	22.	Mico Valeriote