STUDENT POLITICAL ATTITUDES

AT McMASTER UNIVERSITY

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by

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This thesis is a report of a survey

of political attitudes at McMaster University.   The results

are based on the data obtained in interviews with 193

undergraduates chosen in a random sample of the undergraduate

population.   This information was used to examine the level

of interest in politics among the members of the sample, and

the different ideological attitudes and party preferences of

the students interviewed.

     The different levels of interest in politics were

related to ecological factors such as family and school

background, socio-economic status, sex, group involvement

and place of residence.   Political preferences were
related to such factors as socio-economic status, religion,
family preferences and academic interests.

The more interesting conclusions might be summarised as
follows. The students as a whole are more apathetic towards
politics than might have been expected. Those who have an
above average interest in politics tend to be found among those
studying Arts subjects at Honours level and whose parents
also have an above average interest. They also tend to be male.

Students also tend to agree with their parents' politics,
except those who have a high level of interest in the subject.

Finally, the interested students tend to be more radical
(at least by the scale set up for this survey) than the apathetic.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an attempt to analyse the political opinions and attitudes of students at McMaster University and to apply to this group survey methods which have been used among groups of adult voters.

A considerable amount has been achieved by voting studies and opinion surveys conducted with adult citizens, particularly in the United States. There numerous studies of Presidential and other elections have been undertaken and this type of research has progressed sufficiently for students of the subject to begin a certain amount of theorising by way of a synthesis of the tested hypotheses.[1] The Canadian political scene has, however, been relatively neglected when it comes to the study of voting behaviour and attitude formation:

> Little is known of the social and ecological characteristics of Canadian voters. Research in voting behaviour similar to that done in the

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1. See, for example, P. F. Lazarsfeld, et al., _Voting_, University of Chicago Press, 1954; P. F. Lazarsfeld, et al., _The People's Choice_, University of Columbia Press, New York, 1944; A. Campbell, et al., _The Voter Decides_, Row Peterson & Co., 1954; S. M. Lipset, et al., "The Psychology of Voting - An Analysis of Political Behaviour", in G. Lindzey's Handbook of Social Psychology, vol. II, Cambridge, Mass., 1954; R. E. Lane, _Political Life_, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1959; E. Burdick and A. J. Brodbeck, _American Voting Behaviour_, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1959.

United States by such scholars as Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Key and many others is still to be undertaken in Canada. In the absence of such definitive data, most of what can be said about group alignments in Canadian politics must be inferential.[2]

The attitudes of young people, on the other hand, have largely been ignored, although again this is less the case in the United States where a number of studies of student opinion have been produced, such as Boroff's "Campus, U.S.A.", Haveman and West's "They Went to College", and Sanford's study of the psychological and sociological aspects of college and university life in "The American College". All of these touched upon the question of political attitudes and opinions among university students.

More directly concerned with student politics is Rose's study of student opinion during the 1956

2. D. H. Wrong, "Pattern of Party Voting in Canada", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 2, 1957, p.252. See also J . Meisel, "Analysing the Vote", Queen's Quarterly, vol. 13, no. 2, 1960, p. 349; D. H. Wrong, "Parties and Voting in Canada", Political Science Quarterly, vol. 73, no. 3, 1958, p. 398. It would appear that the type of studies which are so fashionable in the United States will soon come into prominence in Canada. See, for example, J. Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour; A Case Study", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 22, no. 4, Nov. 1956; and P. Jewett, "Voting in the 1960 Federal By-Elections at Peterborough and Niagara Falls; Who Voted New Party and Why?" C.J.E.P.S., vol. 28 no. 1, Feb. 1962.

Presidential Election in the United States which revealed some interesting differences between potential and eligible voters.[3]   Also a study has been made at New York's Washington Square College of the impact of participation in politics courses upon attitudes to political involvement and participation.[4]

In Canada, however, little is known about the attitudes of the inhabitants of higher educational institutions.   Yet these students, most of whom are still under twenty-one, constitute an important element in the body politic.   Their opinions, particularly their political opinions, are at a crucially formative stage.   Many of the affiliations and views adopted at this time will be adhered to long after the individual has secured the right to vote.   Many young people will be experiencing a new environment and a new socio-economic status, and, as a consequence, may be revising their attitudes.   They may even be anxious to break with their past family ties, perhaps by asserting their individuality in the adoption of political views and activities at variance with those of the members of their immediate family.   More

3.   P. I. Rose, "Student Opinion in the 1956 Presidential Election", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 21, 1957.
4.   A. Somit, et al., "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes towards Political Participation", American Political Science Review, Dec. 1958, (4), pp. 1129-1132.

important still, when these people reach voting age they will constitute a large source of potential support for one or other of the established political organisations.

It is therefore of importance and interest to enquire into the influences which contribute to the opinion forming processes of members of this pre-voting group. However, it is often suggested, in Canada at least, that one of the most striking characteristics of youth, including students at college, is its apathy towards political and governmental affairs. One task, then, should be to determine the extent of the apathy, and to try to account for its existence.

In general, the aim of the survey is to find if apathy towards politics is prevalent in a community where, due to the high educational level, one would expect to find an above average level of interest (assuming that apathy is frequently a function of low educational status). Secondly, it is to find where the opinions of this class of people differ from the attitudes of voters exposed in recent voting studies, and where attitudes are shared. Comparisons will, in the final analysis, be made with the results of American voting surveys (where these are of general applicability), and with studies of Canadian voting behaviour. The survey will ask, for example, whether young Catholics are as Liberal as their elders (see

Professor Meisel in the Canadian Journal of Economics
and Political Science, vol. 22, Nov. 1956), or if they
tend to falsify the hypothesis that there is a correlation
between Catholicism and Liberalism, just as the students
in the Cornell sample falsified the hypothesis that
Catholics tend to be Democrats, rather than Republicans.
It will ask also if the young are as inclined towards
degress of liberalism as is frequently asserted.   These
and other correlations will be examined in order to throw
some light on the structure of political attitudes and
opinions among Canadian students.

The survey was thus designed to collect data which
might prove useful for testing hypotheses which have been
suggested by other surveys in this field.   The study was
undertaken in the belief that the social scientist should
not concentrate on avoiding the duplication of research
topics, but should be prepared to check the results of
earlier work under varying conditions.   When hypotheses
are falsified by the data collected in this enquiry, the
tentative explanations offered must themselves be tested
in future surveys designed to collect specifically
relevant data.

It should also be noted that many of the explanations
of variables such as political apathy are essentially

psychological.   Political involvement has been found to
be obstructed by the individual's sense of fatalism when
confronted with the possibility of political action;
attitudes towards different political ideologies are
determined by psychological characteristics, such as the
relationships between individuals in the family and peer-group.
This study can only attempt to indicate the relationships
between certain social variables, such as education, religion
and social status.   It cannot investigate the psychological
processes which are ultimately basic to the individual's
attitudes towards politics.

The report of the survey findings follows this pattern:
Chapter 2 considers the use of the social survey as a tool
of social science, and a means of gathering scientific
social data.

Chapter 3 gives a brief description of the setting,
and the social composition of the University population,
with particular reference to student interests, including
political activities.

In Chapter 4 the specific techniques employed in
this survey will be outlined, including the sampling
technique, the construction of the questionnaire, and
interview techniques and procedures.

Chapter 5 presents the first part of the survey findings,

and discusses the quantitative aspects of campus politics. The level of interest is presented, and the importance of determining variables assessed, such as the students' families, friends, their sense of effectiveness in political life, their socio-economic status, sex, and field of study at University.

Chapter 6 continues the discussion of the level of interest (or apathy) in politics among students and suggests some reasons for the relatively low degree of political enthusiasm.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the qualitative aspects of political interest, - the political preferences of students. The influence of family and friends will again be considered, together with other variables such as socio-economic status, sex, and religion. Political attitudes will be compared with voting intentions, and the presupposed "liberalism" of University students will be considered in the light of conservative trends among students in other countries.

The summary of findings, and conclusions are presented in Chapter 8, and some problems for future research are suggested. Some comparisons are made between Canadian students at McMaster and the findings of American and British surveys in similar fields.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL SURVEYS

The social survey is essentially a tool for the
collection of facts which are the basis of scientific
social investigation, and which either suggest or test
the hypotheses and theories which combine to give form
to a body of knowledge about society and social relationships.
The survey has been defined as "an objective quantitative
approach to a study of the social process within a well-
defined area at a given time, through one or more
institutions, by means of the schedule and questionnaire;
and the data thus assembled are treated statistically."[1]

More recently, the survey has been seen as a
preliminary to social action, brought about by aroused
public opinion and the desire to see a solution to some
specific social problem.[2]

Whatever the motive behind them, the social survey in
general and the opinion survey in particular[3] constitute an

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1.   W. H. Odum, K. Jocher, _An Introduction to Social
Research_. Henry Holt & Co. New York, 1929, p. 246.   See
also A. A. Campbell, G. Katana, _The Sample Survey_ in
L. Festinger, D. Katz, _Research Methods in the Behavioural
Sciences_, Dryden Press, N.Y., 1953, p. 15.
2.   P. V. Young, _Scientific Social Surveys and
Research_, Prentice Hall, 3rd ed., 1956, p. 18.
3.   For the purpose of this discussion the comments
relating to the broad field of social survey work are
applicable to the particular realm of opinion research.

important element in scientific social research.   Opinion

research is essentially a scientific endeavour, or: "a

systematic effort to apply the fundamental methods and logic

of science to a major aspect of human social existence."[4]

Opinion studies are an integral part of the wider framework

of scientific social studies and "should not be viewed as an

independent science, but rather as only a subdiscipline or

specialized area of scientific research."[5]

Surveys thus involve the strict adherence to the

principles of scientific method and the direct application of

scientific attitudes and techniques (e.g. objectivity, accuracy

and statistical methods) to a particular problem.   They

should be characterised by the isolation, classification,

correlation and quantitative representation of the facts.[6]

The opinion surveyor follows the analytical processes which

are dictated by the methods of empirical research.

> The formal features of survey analysis are no different
> at an abstract level from the procedures of more
> traditional scientific work ... Survey research, like
> other forms of research, involves appropriate techniques
> of observation or measurement of phenomena, the
> detection of regularities or uniformities in these
> phenomena, the formulation of hypotheses and larger
> bodies of theory, and the accumulation of reliable
> knowledge of the phenomena and evidence in relation
> to these hypotheses.[7]

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4.   H. Alport, "Public Opinion Research as Science",
Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 20, no. 3, 1956, p. 494.
  5.   Ibid. p. 498.
  6.   Odum & Jocher, op. cit., p. 252.
  7.   H. Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis, The
Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 8.

The social survey is usually an inductive method of scientific analysis, building generalisation upon the basis of particular facts: "Facts are assembled, classified, tabulated, compared, and generalisations and conclusions drawn from the results."[8]

Despite the important role that opinion surveys have to play in scientific research their employers have been criticised for over-emphasising the empirical side of the method. There appears to have been a marked absence of theoretical formulation and useful generalisation.

> "Most research studies have avoided broad generalisation; skillful syntheses have been rare ..... There has been a plethora of description, a vast proliferation of empirical studies, and an understandable lack of integrated effort."[9]

Cogent as these criticisms may be (and they still largely apply today) the achievements of opinion research should not be underestimated. Firstly it must be remembered that even unrelated empirical projects and "overabundant amounts of raw empirical materials"[10] not only perform the important function of testing hypotheses, and examining new areas of uncharted data, but also contribute to the technical

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8.   Odum and Jocher, pp. 248-250.
9.   W. Albig, "Two Decades of Opinion Study: 1936-56", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 1, 1957, p. 15.   See also Alpert, op. cit. p. 498.
10.   Alpert, op. cit. p. 498.

problems of survey research.   Individual research projects
frequently improve upon the techniques of sampling, measurement,
interviewing, coding, and analysis and consequently enhance
the status of opinion research.

Secondly, the wealth of empirical data which has been
accumulated embraces many different fields of enquiry.   The
social survey is an interdisciplinary technique and is used
in many fields of behavioural science.   Economics, political
science, sociology, market research, journalism, and
jurisprudence have all benefited from the use of the survey.[11]

Finally, survey research has an important part to play
in bringing theories of social behaviour up to date.
Lazarsfeld[12] sees modern empirical research techniques as the
means of confirming and developing traditional theories of,
for example, the political process, while these theories
themselves (as found in the works of Bryce and Dicey) orient
future research by suggesting significant problems to solve.
Much of the evidence presented by past social research has
been descriptive rather than analytic and quantitative.
This kind of research, often based on observer participation

11.   See vol. 21, No. 1, 1957, of the Public
Opinion Quarterly, for a full discussion of surveys and
the diverse fields to which they have been applied.

12.   "Public Opinion and the Classical Tradition",
Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 1, 1957, p. 41.

techniques (as used in anthropology) must be combined with the more objective procedures offered by survey techniques if it is to be of any real scientific value.[13] Comparative opinion data can provide the social scientist with the conceptual tools for the job of re-evaluating traditional methods of political enquiry. Lasswell views public opinion research in the same light: "Modern survey institutions offer students of public opinion and the social process the possibility of keeping the fundamental propositions of social science continuously related to, and open to correction by, the current stream of events."[14]

However we see the function of the opinion survey, the accuracy of the final results of any such project is determined by the reliability of all stages in the survey process. Possible sources of error must be avoided, and this is accomplished by the careful design of questionnaire and sample. Faulty sample design and loose schedule construction account for the greater part of survey error.

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13. M. Parten, Surveys, Polls and Samples, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950, p. 82; B. Wootton, Testament for the Social Sciences, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1950. This is not to overlook the fact that subjective elements enter in, even in opinion research, and may affect the selection of hypotheses, the definition of concepts guiding research, the construction of questionnaires and the conducting of interviews - V. Van Dyke, Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis, Stanford University Press, 1960, p. 81.

14. H. D. Lasswell, "The Impact of Public Opinion Research on Our Society", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 1, 1957.

The object of using a sample is to estimate the character of a total population in a shorter time with less expense and inconvenience than it would take to analyse the whole from which it is selected. To be of value a sample should be selected so that it will yield results free from bias that can be tested statistically.

The reliability of the information obtained from the members of a sample also depends to a great extent on the design of the questions put to them, and the answers which these questions elicit. The questions should have a direct bearing on the investigation being carried out, and should be constructed to produce, as far as possible, truthful replies. They should only seek information which the respondent is qualified to give. Questions should be unambiguous and worded so that reliable and meaningful information is secured. Connotations which might prevent spontaneous responses should be avoided, and questions should be arranged in some logical order to give the whole questionnaire a consistent and co-ordinated character.

One qualification should be made. A survey of attitudes rests largely upon the assumption that not only will the respondents speak the truth, but that they are also able to judge accurately factors contributing to their attitudes. It must be acknowledged that a great deal of

uncertainty revolves around conclusions based on the individual's assessment of factors contributing to his psychological make-up, e.g., whether religion has influenced his political views.   It can only be pointed out that the replies of a reasonably intelligent and educated group can be relied upon to a considerable extent.

CHAPTER 3

THE SETTING

McMaster University is situated in the fashionable western outskirts of Hamilton, Ontario, a highly industrialised centre with a population of over 300,000. Designed by its founders to provide "a liberal education in a Christian atmosphere", the University was, until 1957, cont rolled by the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. In 1957, however, the University became a non-denominational private institution. Typical of the Canadian higher educational scene, McMaster is expanding rapidly, having increased its numbers of regular students by 15.8% in the 1960-61 session and by 17.8% in 1961-62.

At McMaster students can pursue a wide variety of subjects in the fields of arts, science, and engineering. For the purposes of administrative records no distinction is made between arts and science students, and they all fall within the jurisdiction of the same Faculty. The following table shows the distribution of students among the four Faculties of the University.

<u>Table 1</u>

Distribution by Faculty of

McMaster Students, 1961-62

(excluding extension students)

Faculty	Men	Women	Total
Arts and Science	51.3%	24.1%	75.4%
Engineering	10.6	.1	10.7
Graduate Studies	9.6	1.5	11.1
Divinity College	2.1	.7	2.8
Total	73.6	26.4	100.0

Source: McMaster University Calendar[1]

Most of the students at McMaster are residents of
Ontario, very few coming from the other Provinces of Canada.
The University also has quite a high proportion of overseas
students. Of those whose home is in Ontario a high
percentage actually live in the Hamilton area itself.
This is largely the result of the high cost of a University
education in general and of residence fees in particular.

The following table shows the geographical distribution
of McMaster students for the 1960-61 and 1961-62 sessions,
and reveals a small decrease (3.5%) in the percentage of
students living in the Hamilton area.

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1.   Unless otherwise stated, the source of the
tables presented in this thesis is the data obtained from
the sample.

Table 2

Geographical Distribution of

McMaster Undergraduates

Residents of:	1960-61	1961-62
Ontario	93.3%	92.8%
Hamilton	35.2	31.7
Other Provinces	3.0	2.6
Other countries	3.7	4.6

(Source: President's Report, 1962)

In the 1961-62 session 56.8% of the students were living
at home, and 18.0% were living in boarding houses in
Hamilton, a noteable decrease from the 31.3% of the previous
session. A proportion of students live in residences on the
campus. They increased in the 1961-62 session from 13.5% to 25.2%.
This was mainly due to the completion of two new halls of
residence in 1961, providing accommodation for 390 students.
Nevertheless the proportion of commuters increased slightly
from 20.3% to 25.2%.

As regards the socio-economic divisions within the
University, the only available figures were computed for a
fund-raising campaign in 1959. The socio-economic composition
of the present student body is therefore based on the occupations
of fathers of the members of the sample.

Table 3 below shows the distribution of undergraduates'
fathers (1961-62) by occupation.

Table 3

Occupational Grouping of

McMaster Undergraduates' Fathers

	1961-62 (sample)
Industrial Workers	24.8%
'White collar' occupations	24.8
Farm Owners	6.2
Merchants	10.4
Professional	14.6
Civil Servants and Teachers	9.3
Others (inc. unemployed, retired and deceased)	9.9
Total	100.0

These figures show that as many as 49% of the fathers
concerned were employed in industrial or 'white collar'
occupations during the 1961-62 session. When these two groups
were divided even further it was found that 30% of the fathers
were skilled or unskilled workers, office workers and factory
foremen. Of those in the professions 1.6% were in higher
professional occupations (i.e. doctors, dentists and lawyers).

The sample also revealed that 15.5% of the fathers were
employed as teachers, engineers and technicians. (In the

Table teachers are classed with Civil Servants, and constitute 9.3% of the total.)

Translated in terms of the Blishen Occupational Class Scale[2] we find 33.2% of the respondents' fathers in Class II, (mainly professional and managerial occupations), and 33.2% in Class V (skilled and semi-skilled trades). Only 3.2% are in Class I, the higher professional group (e.g. doctors, lawyers and engineers); and only 2% are in Class VII, the lowest graded unskilled occupations.

Classes III and IV embrace a large number of 'white collar', supervisory, lower professional and technical occupations. Only 16.5% of the students' fathers were occupied in these Classes of what might be losely called lower middle class occupations.

The many clubs and societies operating on the University campus cater to many of the students' interests. The Departmental societies, aiming at the development of interest in the specialised subjects which they represent, seem to be most popular among the students interviewed. Over a quarter of the 1961-62 sample belonged to one or other of

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2. B.R.Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 24, 1958.

the departmental societies relevant to the individual's course work.   Sport came a close second, with 20.6% engaged in some organised sporting activity on or off the campus.   Just over 8.1% of the undergraduates interviewed were active in youth organisations, such as the Y.M. or Y.W.C.A., and 4.6% had been elected to Student Council or one of the other student government bodies.   About 4.1% worked on the student newspaper and 3.6% of the men students were engaged in some sort of military activity, either off campus or in one of the University service units.

Participation and interest in politics on campus would seem to be relatively limited.   Only 11.8% of the sample belonged to one or other of the political clubs, including the Politics Society, an academic, non-partisan organisation, or the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.   It is interesting to note that only 17% of those participating in politics at some level were women.   The high level of interest in the activities of the Politics Society, with a membership of 90 and attendance at its meetings ranging from 15 to 40, suggests that much of the political thinking on campus is as yet non-partisan.

The climax of political activity on campus arrived with the first University Model Parliament.   The three parties on campus all put forward candidates, but despite this, the

advent of an independent party protesting against the
meaningless policy statements of the other parties, and one
or two claims of corruption, little impact was made on the
everyday life of the University.   In a pre-election
telephone survey, involving a random sample of 100 students,
it was found that only 9.8% of those interviewed had a great
interest in the Parliament, and that 19.6% had no interest
at all.   Attendance at the session of Parliament was low,
despite one or two interesting and unforeseen events such
as the defeat of the Conservative minority government and
the creation of a Liberal-New Democratic Party coalition.
In the election itself the Progressive Conservatives obtained
23 of the 60 seats, the Liberals won 18 and the N.D.P. 12.
The Independent Political Association took 7 seats.   A total
of 733 students voted, or 41% of the undergraduate population.
The Progressive Cons ervatives polled 292 votes, the Liberals
239, and the N.D.P. 151., with 91 for the I.P.A.

Religion plays a much more important role in the lives
of McMaster students than politics.   Over 88% of the sample
considered themselves to be of some denomination, and of
the 11.4% who said they had no religion, 82% were men.
Nearly a third belonged to one or more church organisations,
either through the young people's group at their family
church, or through one of the numerous religious organisations

on campus. Fifty-three percent attended church at least once a week.

The following comparative Table gives some idea of the relative unattractiveness of politics vis-a-vis religion, by showing the percentages of students belonging to political and religious organisations.

Table 4

Students Membership of Political

and Religious Organisations

	Members of Church Society or Organisation	Members of Political Society or Organisation
Men	25.9%	14.0%
Women	37.9	6.9

Although McMaster was originally a Baptist college there has, since 1951, been a decreasing proportion of Baptists in the University population. If we compare the figures from the President's Reports of the last three academic years this trend would seem to be continuing.

Table 5

Denominational Distribution of

McMaster Undergraduates

Denomination	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62
Anglican	15.2%	17.0%	18.8%
Baptist	15.3	13.8	11.8
Presbyterian	9.9	9.5	9.1
Roman Catholic	11.2	11.7	11.1
United Church	31.2	30.4	31.1
Hebrew	2.5	1.7	2.1
Lutheran	-	3.5	3.7
Others	14.7	12.4	12.3
	100%	100%	100%

Source: President's Report

Finally, we can get some picture of the ethnic parental background of students by computing the figures for the parents' national origin. The following table, showing the country of origin of the student's mother and father, reveals that while 12.5% of the students interviewed had parents who both came from Eastern or Western Europe, and 8.4% had parents from the United Kingdom, more than half of the undergraduates were from parents both born in Canada.

Table 6

Ethnic Origin of Undergraduates'

Parents, 1961-62

Mothers				Fathers				
	Canada	U.S.A.	U.K.	W.Eur.	E.Eur.	Asia	Other	Total
Canada	55.9%	2.2%	5.7%	.5%	1.0%	.5%	.5%	66.3
U.S.A.	3.1	1.0	-	-	.5	-	-	4.6
U.K.	4.2	-	8.4	-	.5	-	-	13.1
West Eur.	.5	-	.5	4.7	.5	-	-	6.2
East Eur.	-	-	-	.5	7.8	-	-	8.3
Asia	-	-	-	-	-	.5	-	.5
Other	.5	-	-	-	-	-	.5	1.0
Totals	64.2	3.2	14.6	5.7	10.3	1.0	1.0	100.0

From this brief glance at the different characteristics of t he student population at McMaster University we have some idea of the class composition of the student body, the geographical distribution of students, their religious and ethnic background, and their different interests and activities.

CHAPTER 4

TECHNIQUES

We must now turn to the specific procedures which were adopted in the gathering, ordering and presentation of the data upon which the present survey of student attitudes is based.

In a relatively closed community, such as that of a University, the observer can gain a fairly clear picture of the political interests of students just by being a member of the student body. However, subjective impressions based upon observer participation are of limited use as material for scientific investigation, and have to be augmented by more objective procedures and methods of enquiry.

This study, then, is based on the replies given by a sample group of under-graduates to a set of questions on politics and governmental affairs put to them during a series of personal interviews.[1] The interviews were conducted on the University campus during the Spring term of 1962.

Not all of the undergraduates in the University could be called on to participate in this survey even though the University population is a highly localised and accessible one.

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1. See Appendix for the Questionnaire.

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The results are therefore based on the information obtained from a representative sample of the undergraduate population. The sample was drawn in order to be as nearly representative and unbiased as possible in the sense of the following definition: "Sampling is the use of a definite procedure in the selection of a part for the express purpose of obtaining from it descriptions or estimates of certain properties and characteristics of the whole."[2]

Something which facilitates the sampling of a University population is the existence of a reliable source list from which the members of t he sample can be drawn. The University Directory, 1961-62, constitutes a complete list of the population of a clearly limited and defined universe. It therefore fulfills the necessary conditions of a sampling source.

A number of factors determined the size of the sample. The time available was taken into consideration, as was the fact that a relatively homogeneous population was being dealt with. It was thus felt that the sample could be fairly small, manageable, and not too time consuming. However, the optimum size was finally determined by statistical considerations; it was necessary to have a sample which would be large enough to permit statistical tests of

2. F. S. Stephan & P. J. McCarthy, Sampling Opinions, New York, J. Wiley & Sons, 1958, p. 123.

significance to be used effectively in the analysis of the results.

It was decided that a sample of one seventh of the University undergraduate population (after omitting visiting overseas students) would fulfil the necessary sampling conditions. The sample was selected systematically from the alphabetical list of names contained in the University Directory. Every undergraduate listed was numbered and the first number between one and seven was chosen from a table of random numbers. The corresponding name became the first of the sample. Thereafter every seventh name was selected. The completed sample contained 240 names.

In any sample it is important to represent all the groups in the universe in approximately the correct proportions. It was therefore necessary to check the survey estimates against any available known characteristics of the total population. The sample cases were thus compared with the total counts from the university records for sex, faculty, and religious denomination.[3]

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3.   See Appendix for tests of representativeness.

Table 7

Distribution of Undergraduates
by Sex, Year and Faculty, 1961-62

FACULTY	SUMMARY	OF ENROLMENT		SAMPLE *		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Arts & Science						
Year I	21.9%	11.2%	33.1%	25.8%	11.6%	37.4%
Year II	15.7	8.1	23.8	15.1	8.7	23.8
Year III	13.8	5.5	19.2	13.0	5.8	18.8
Year IV	6.7	2.1	8.7	6.2	2.5	8.7
Total	58.1	26.9	85.0	60.1	28.6	88.7
Engineering						
Year I	4.8	-	4.8	2.1	-	2.1
Year II	3.6	-	3.6	3.4	-	3.4
Year III	2.1	-	2.1	1.3	-	1.3
Year IV	1.7	-	1.7	.9	-	.9
Total	12.2	-	12.2	7.7	-	7.7
Divinity						
Year I	.6	.6	1.2	.8	.8	1.6
Year II	.6	.2	.8	.8	.4	1.2
Year III	.8	-	.8	.8	-	.8
Total	2.0	.8	2.8	2.4	1.2	3.6
	72.3	27.7	100%	70.2	29.8	100%

Source: University Calendar and Sample

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* Excluding overseas students

Engineers were slightly under-represented in the sample, while students in the Faculties of Arts and Science and Divinity were slightly over-represented. Statistically speaking, however, there were no significant differences at the 5% level between the sample and the counts for the total University population. First year students were slightly over-represented, and fourth years slightly under-represented, but again there was no significant difference. The distribution of the sample by religious denomination also corresponded quite closely to the distribution of the total population, the greatest divergence being between the minor denominations grouped as "others". Statistically, however, the differences in denominational distribution are not significant.

All the members of the sample whose telephone numbers were in the Directory were called, and appointments for interviews were arranged. Little difficulty was encountered in contacting most of the members of the sample, or in making appointments for interviews, especially when a centrally situated and well known location on the University campus was made available for the first wave of interviews.

The content of the interview schedule was determined by the information that was required for this survey, the hypotheses to be tested, and the achievement of previous

surveys of a similar kind.   The first draft was pre-tested
on a group of undergraduates in order to discover the most
suitable wording for the questions, the best order in which
they could be arranged, the relevant issues in the particular
area of investigation being examined, and the best method of
recording responses.

It was not possible to pre-test the questionnaire on
a large group drawn at random, so the pilot study was
conducted among the small group of sociology undergraduates
who were to assist with the first phase of interviews.
This group was obviously not representative of the total
university population, and, being better acquainted than most
with the subject matter of the enquiry and the methods employed,
was probably aware of the problems involved in an opinion
survey to a greater extent than the average student.

As a result many of the problems that might have arisen
were anticipated and a great many improvements were made in
the content and format of the questionnaire.   The exercise
also served to introduce the interviewing team to the survey
and to enable them to become better acquainted with its aims.

The personal interview method, rather than the mail
questionnaire, was chosen, mainly because of the low response
rate usually experienced in mail surveys, and also because
a University population is a relatively accessible one.

Personal interviews also allow the respondents greater scope in replying, and facilitate the collection of more exact information by clarification and "probing".

Many of the questions were open-ended since so many of the replies could not be fully anticipated. The free latitude given to the respondents in answering the questions reveals, it is hoped, the true nature of student attitudes by avoiding the forcing of replies into predetermined categories.

Every effort was made to abide by the "rules" of question construction. The questions, as far as possible, were unbiased, objective and unambiguous. The anonymity of the survey should have encouraged truthful responses (although no survey can be absolutely certain that what people say they feel and do is what they actually feel and do). Generally the questions included in the questionnaire conformed to the conditions necessary to elicit truthful responses.[4]

The refusal rate was quite low - only 4.1%. Of the total sample 1.7% had withdrawn from the University. The greatest losses were encountered among those who were only contacted by letter and not by a phone call (14.1%). This

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4. J. Madge, The Tools of Social Science, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1953, pp. 237-248. See the Appendix for the Questionnaire.

seems to support the hypothesis that once a personal contact (even if only over the telephone) has been established in an opinion survey, refusals are rare.[5] Related to this hypothesis is the high rate of non-response encountered in many mail questionnaire surveys.

As it was felt that those not interviewed were not significantly different in their characteristics from the main sample, they were not pursued by the interviewers through personal visits (lack of time and interview-assistance made such a venture virtually impossible anyway).

The results of the interviews are distributed thus:

Total attempts	240	(100%)
Completed interviews	193	80.1
Refusals	10	4.1
Withdrawals	4	1.7
Not contacted	33	14.1

Nearly all of the coding, or the determining of categories into which the responses could be divided for quantitative analysis, was carried out after the series of interviews had been completed. It was not until the responses had been accumulated that the really significant replies were revealed.

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5.   J. Madge, The Tools of Social Science, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1953, p. 249.

The tabulations were compiled by hand since the size of the sample and the relatively few subdivisions into which it was divided made machine methods unnecessary.

The results of the survey are only offered as applicable to McMaster University. If McMaster could be shown to be a "typical" Canadian University then it might be legitimate to extend some of the conclusions to embrace a larger university student population. Any support that is given by this study to any well-established hypotheses might also encourage the formulation of some theory of student attitudes and interests. If it does nothing other than stimulate further research in this field it will have achieved something useful.

CHAPTER 5

DETERMINANTS OF APATHY

For the most part this chapter will be concerned with the level of interest in political affairs exhibited by the students interviewed for this survey. It will try to explain some of the factors contributing to political apathy among University undergraduates. At the outset, then, an effort should be made to formulate a working definition of apathy, which can be utilised in the following pages.

Riesman and Glazier[1] have formulated a definition of apathy which is dependent on two dimensions of political involvement, "competence" and "affect". Competence is defined as a feeling of influence on political affairs, and affect is defined as a sense of attachment to the political world and a lively interest in or concern about it. Only those exhibiting a high level of activity in both dimensions are defined as involved or interested in politics. Individuals who show themselves to be oriented in only one dimension are classed as apathetic.

Thus a person may exhibit "frantic" political activity, yet be classed as apathetic, since his activity might arise

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1. D. Riesman, N. Glazier, "Criterion for Political Apathy", in A. W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership, New York, Harper Bros., 1950.

from "basic" psychological urges rather than from a real awareness of what is involved - "individual and social neurosis might also lead to frantic political activity, as an escape from the self - an activity which we would also tend to label as 'apathetic' in view of the quality of its origins".[2]

Whilst the concepts of affect and competence are undoubtedly useful in guiding attention to the factors which contribute to political apathy, and stimulated much of the present enquiry, this study deviates from this definition in a number of important ways. Apathy in the sense in which it is employed in this survey does not depend on the individual's ability to satisfy both criteria. In the present context, for instance, an individual will be considered politically involved, interested or non-apathetic if he exhibits affect without competence - if he has a strong interest in political affairs yet feels unable to influence them in any significant way. Incompetence may be the result of a temporary incapacity, as in someone of pre-voting age, or it may be a more permanent sense of frustration and impotency in the political process. Neither, it is suggested, should cause an individual to be classified as apathetic. The definition

2.   Ibid, p. 532.

of apathy adopted in this study therefore presents the word in a more popularised form and is based on the criteria of affect (an attachment to the world and a lively interest in it). Thus someone who is passionately interested in political affairs, but feels, for some reason, unable to determine the course of political action, will be labelled interested, or non-apathetic.

This is not to overlook the fact that a sense of incompetence in political affairs might contribute in some way to the presence of apathy (indeed one of the aims of this survey is to investigate such a possibility); but it is from the point of view of a possible "cause", rather than a component part, of apathy that we are interested in the concept of incompetence.

Levels of interest in politics, or lack of interest (apathy) were determined, in the present survey by the following factors, and attitudes: whether the respondent ever became "worked up" about political events; how frequently he or she discussed political topics, followed political affairs, read books on political subjects, or joined political organisations. These factors were felt to be most indicative of university students' interest in politics. The construction of an index of political interest on the basis of these factors is described in the Appendix.

From a review of the consideration which in studies
of political behaviour has been given to the questions of
political interest among young people it would seem that a
relatively low level of interest should be expected among
the members of a group of University age.[3]   The young, for
example, are usually considered less likely to exercise their
right to vote than older people.   Interest in politics does
not reach its peak until the individual reaches the 40 - 50
age group.   Young people are thought to have a generally low
emotional involvement in political affairs.

It is also hypothesised, however, that the higher up
the educational scale we find an individual of a low age
group, the more likely he is to be interested in politics.
Individuals with more educational achievement, for instance,
are likely to feel more politically effective than groups with
less, and their political interest will be stimulated as
a consequence.[4]   Conversely, those of low educational standing
are likely to experience "anomie" (a sense of alienation from
society, personal futility, social distrust, pessimism and

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       3.   H. Tingsten, Political Behaviour, London, P.S.King
& Son, Ltd., 1937, Ch.2;   S. M. Lipset et al., "The Psychology
of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behaviour", in G. Lindzey
Handbook of Social Psychology, vol. 2, pp. 1124-75, Cambridge
Mass., 1954, R. E. Lane, Political Life, Free Press, Ill.
1959, p. 219.
       4. Lane, op. cit., p. 149

despair) which contributes to political apathy and a sense of ineffectiveness.[5]

It might be expected, then, that interest in politics would be quite high at the University level, even though by far the greatest number of University students fall into the age group which is believed to be traditionally apathetic.

The relatively high level of apathy revealed in the present study would thus have come as a surprise, were it not for the results of more recent enquiries into student political attitudes which have been carried out in the United States and Britain and which will be compared with the results of this study in a later chapter.

In fact only 12.9% of the sample showed a high level of interest in political and governmental affairs, i.e., scored more than three in the index of political interest. A quarter of the students had a moderate interest, while well over half were of low interest. The following table presents the distribution of levels of interest between men and women students.

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5. P. F. Lazarsfeld, et. al., _Voting_, University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Table 8

Interest in Politics among

McMaster Undergraduates[6]

Sex	n.	High	Moderate	Low
Male	135	16.3%	28.9%	54.8%
Female	58	5.2	17.2	77.6
Total	193	12.9	25.4	61.7

$(x^2 = 9.4)$ See the Appendix for levels of

significance of all tables.

One interesting factor immediately presents itself, and
that is the quantitative difference between the interest
of men and women in political affairs. This survey thus
seems to support the hypothesis formulated on the basis of
earlier studies; "The culture emphasises moral, dependent
and politically less competent images of women which
reduce their partisanship and sense of political effectiveness
and define a less active political role for them."[7] This
generalisation designed for a mature female population, would
also seem to apply to the younger age groups, and helps to
explain the feeling among some of the female undergraduates
that it would be the young men among their friends, rather

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6.   See Appendix A for the criteria applied in
the construction of all indeces used in this thesis.
7.   Lane, op. cit., p. 215, Lazarsfeld, et. al.,
Voting: Tingsten, op. cit., pp. 10-37

than the young women, who had any degree of interest in politics. In fact while 16.3% of the men in the sample had a high level of interest in political affairs, only 5.2% of the women scored this high. Also over three quarters of the female respondents were of the low interest category, while only 54.8% of their male counterparts had as low an interest.

A clearer picture of the level of interest in politics among undergraduates, and of the importance of the different factors contributing to political involvement can be had from a more detailed scrutiny of the individual questions which together comprised the interest index. Thus we find that only 9.9% thought they frequently became "worked up" about political issues, and over half (55.4%) said they never did. Of the women 5.2% frequently became excited about political issues, compared with 11.9% of the men.

When it comes to the following political and governmental affairs in newspapers or on the Radio or Television, 45% just followed events from time to time. Over a third of the men followed political affairs regularly, while only 12.1% of the women were this interested. Slightly more than six percent never followed events of a political kind.

Political discussion seemed to be a more popular occupation, as might be expected in a University environment. A quarter of the students said they talked politics at least once a week, although 84% of these were men. Nine percent never discuss politics and 39.9% only engage in political conversations from time to time. Few books on politics are read outside of work for specific courses. Only 24.4% ever read political works in their spare time (and few of these do so frequently). Once again, most of these (87%) were men.

It is also interesting to know something about the type of people with whom students are more likely to discuss politics, and so the members of the sample were asked with whom they were most likely to "talk politics".

Among the men discussion with parents seemed to be definitely out (although not more than a couple actually said they would consciously avoid political discussions with their parents). Over 73% of the males in the sample said they would most likely discuss politics with their friends or class mates. Only 10.4% said they mostly discussed politics with members of their family. However, 9% said they discussed politics with both friends and family to the same extent. Six percent never discuss politics.

The same tendency seemed to appear among the women, although in a less pronounced way. Here 43.1% said they would more usually talk politics with friends or class mates, while 27.6% said they generally discussed political affairs and events with the family. Nineteen percent divided their attentions equally between family and friends, and 10.3% never discussed politics at all.

How can this relatively low interest in political affairs be explained? A number of possible answers have been suggested by students of voting behaviour in general and apathy (or non-voting) in particular. Firstly it appears that the sense of ineffectiveness, mentioned earlier in connection with the subject of apathy among lower educational groups, is prevalent among the politically apathetic. The feeling that individual action can influence political decisions is an important determinant of interest in politics and government.[8] This sense of political effectiveness has been defined as "the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact upon the political process ..... that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."[9] In short, if an individual feels incompetent in

8. A.Campbell et. al. "The Voter Decides, Row, Peterson & Co., 1954; Lazarsfeld, Voting.

9. A. Campbell, op. cit. p. 187; Riesman & Glazier, op. cit. pp. 512-517; S. M. Lipset, Political Man, Doubleday, & Co., New York, 1960, p. 181; Lane, op. cit. pp. 166-169.

the face of political and governmental affairs, he is more
likely than not to become apathetic when called upon to act
or vote.

This hypothesis was tested in the student attitude
survey carried out for this report.   The following table
gives the distribution of students according to their interest
in politics and their sense of effectiveness in political
affairs.

Table 9

Political Effectiveness and Undergraduates'

Interest in Politics

Interest		Sense of Effectiveness		
	n.	Great	Medium	Little, None
High	25	28.0%	24.0%	48.0%
Moderate	48	8.3	22.9	68.8
Low	118	7.6	20.3	72.1
Total	191*	10.5	21.5	68.0

$(x^2 = 10.6)$

* Two of the respondents were unable to answer.

Of those with a high level of interest in politics
fewer than might have been expected felt that they could have
any appreciable influence on the course of political events.
More specifically, only 28% of the highly interested felt

they could have a g reat influence, while 48% thought they
had little or no influence on the political process.   The
hypothesis, however, seems to be given greater support by
those in the low interest range.   Here only 7.6% thought
they could have a great influence, 20.3% thought they could
be of medium influence, and 72.1% thought they had little
influence or no influence at all.

The probability that feelings of impotency in politics
contributes to apathy seems to be substantiated, although
the possibility that the apathetic students realised their
own apathy and rationalised their lack of influence from
this cannot be dismissed.   The comparative absence of a
consistently high level of sense of effectiveness among the
highly interested students is more difficult to explain.
One possible explanation is that much weight is given to
the act of voting, and that as these students by and large
are of pre-voting age, they believe that they cannot yet
have any impact upon the political situation.

It has been suggested by studies in the field of
voting behaviour that the sense of fatalism and ineffectiveness
found among those who are politically apathetic will be
stimulated if the individual feels that political actions
and governmental activity have no real relevance to, or

influence upon, the lives of ordinary individuals with whom he associates himself.   It is found that interest in politics is greatest among those who feel the weight of governmental action the most, for example government employees or groups subject to economic pressure.[10]

In order to test this hypothesis the students in the sample used in this survey were asked how much influence they thought the government has on their day-to-day lives, and their responses to this question were compared with their levels of interest in politics.

Table 10

Influence of Government and Interest

Interest		Governmental Influence		
	n.	Great	Medium	Little, None
High	25	68.0%	8.0%	24.0%
Moderate	49	69.4%	8.2	22.4
Low	115	55.7	10.4	33.9
Total	189[*]	13.3	25.9	60.8

$(x^2 = 3.2)$

[*]Four students were unable to reply.

The table above shows the distribution of students in the Sample by interest in politics, and awareness of governmental influence.   It does not indicate a significant

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10.   Lipset, op. cit. pp. 186-190; Lazarsfeld et.al., "The Psychology of Voting", Riesman and Glazier, op.cit. p.520.

relationship between these two variables - awareness of the impact of government does not appear to have any significant influence on the individual's interest in the political process. Thus of those with a high or moderate interest in politics 68% thought that the actions of the government have a great influence on their day to day lives.   Even among those with a low level of interest 55.7% also believed that their lives were greatly affected by political actions, although 33.9% thought that the actions of the government have little or no influence on their day to day lives.

One possible explanation is that as individuals who are relatively highly informed, University undergraduates might well appreciate the influence of politics in their lives, even if they have little or no interest in the roots of this influence.   It should also be noted that in many cases the individuals questioned indicated that they thought the impact of government was frequently indirect (although strong) and not always appreciated.   It may be, then, that fewer people among the apathetic actually are as ignorant of the influence of government as previous studies have revealed; and that earlier studies have been too concerned with awareness of direct governmental impact.

A more likely explanation is that it is again a question of age, and that students will fit more neatly into

the accepted patterns of voting and political behaviour when
their interest in politics develops after having reached the
age of 21.

One further point must be considered. University
students do, to some extent, fall into that group of individuals
which was referred to earlier as being particularly sensitive
to the actions of one or other of the levels of government,
especially if they themselves are relying on financial
assistance to continue their studies. If they are considered
in this light it may go some way towards explaining the high
level of awareness of governmental activity.

What other ideas did the students interviewed have
about the role of the individual in the political process?
What obstacles did they see as having to be overcome before
the individual could really come to grips with what is going
on?

Generally speaking few felt that the problems were
too complex for the individual to understand (not surprisingly,
considering the group involved). Even among those with a
low interest in politics only 31% thought the problems might
be too complex. However, it was more widely felt that people
in many cases do not care about political events, and make
very few efforts to comprehend what is happening on the
national political scene. Just less than eight percent

disagreed with this proposition.   The rest saw it as a predominant problem.

Quite a high proportion felt that those in positions of political power do not do enough to create an active interest in politics, or to make political events more easily understandable.   Almost half the students thought that politicians could do more to clarify issues, but that they tended to obscure them in the interest of political expediency. It was often thought, however, that at least part of the fault lay with people in general who do not take sufficient interest in the subject to demand the clarification of issues, events and policies.

Perhaps the most interesting thing to come out of this part of the study was the attitude towards the role of schools in fostering political awareness.   Over 65% expressed the opinion that the schools do not do enough to stimulate interest in political affairs in particular and current affairs in general.   Less than a third were satisfied with the efforts being made by the schools in this field.   This third includes those who felt that the schools should avoid playing any part in stimulating interest in, or understanding of, political affairs.

It was therefore of interest to enquire into the problems of opportunities for discussion of political and current affairs

in schools, and to try to judge in a limited way the effect
that such opportunities might have had on the development of
an interest in politics in later life.   For this purpose
the following comparison was made between the level of interest
exhibited by the members of the sample, and this particular
aspect of their school experience.

Table 11

School Discussion and Interest in Politics

Interest		Opportunities for Discussion		
	n.	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely, Never
High	25	60.0%	4.0%	36.0%
Moderate	49	30.6	28.6	40.8
Low	119	26.1	19.3	54.6
Total	193	31.6	19.7	48.7

$(x^2 = 13.5)$

First, the table above shows that only 31.6% frequently
had the opportunity to discuss current and political affairs,
19.7% sometimes had the opportunity and 48.7% rarely or never
had the opportunity.

Second it can be seen from Table 11 that those with a
high or moderate interest in politics had more opportunities
at school for these sort of interests to develop.[11]   Of those

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11.   We should recognise at the outset that there
need be no cause and effect relationship here - the interested
students might themselves have sought out opportunities at
school for discussions of this nature.

with the highest interest score, 60% frequently had the opportunity for discussion of political topics at school. Of the quarter who have a moderate interest in politics 30.6% had frequent opportunity for political discussion and 28.6% sometimes had the opportunity. Well over half of the least interested in politics rarely or never had the opportunity while at school for discussions on politics and current affairs.

In the numerous discussions of voting behaviour which have been produced a great deal of attention has been paid to the hypothesis that there tends to be greater political participation and interest among those in higher socio-economic status groups. Thus Connelly and Field maintain that "the more economic security a person has, the more likely he is to participate in elections".[12] In the study of the 1948 Presidential Election in Elmira, New York, reported in Lazarsfeld's "Voting", it was also found that generally speaking the upper classes were politically more interested than the lower.

The results of an attempt to test this hypothesis in the University environment are shown in Table 12 below. The relationship between socio-economic status and interest in

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12. G. M. Connelly and H. H. Field, "The Non-Voter, Who He is, and What He Thinks", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 8, 1944, pp. 175-187.

politics seems to be of the kind anticipated in the case
of the lower status groups.   Of the 47.1% in the lower
middle and lower socio-economic groups combined, only 18.7%
had a high interest in political affairs, and 18.7% had a
moderate interest.   What stands out most significantly is
the 62.6% who had only a low level of interest in politics.

Table 12

Socio-economic status of Undergraduates

and Interest in Politics

S.E.S.		Interest		
	n.	High	Moderate	Low
High	70	7.1%	30.0%	62.9%
Middle	32	9.4	34.4	56.2
Lower-Middle	64	17.2	23.4	59.4
Lower	27	22.2	7.4	70.4
Total	193	12.9	25.4	61.7

$(x^2 = 10.6)$

While it would seem that the lower socio-economic
groups definitely show little interest, the upper status groups
display even less.   In fact only 7.8% of the 53% which falls
in this category were highly interested in politics.   Almost
a third were moderately interested, but over 60% were of the
lowest interest category.

How can we explain this relatively low level of political

interest among the members of a group which should, by all accounts, have the greatest interest in the subject of all the groups interviewed?

One possible explanation is that as members of a high social and economic status group these students are too satisfied with present conditions to worry about the political instruments of change and the knowledge which is the prerequisite of political action. While this may be a contributory factor it is probably more realistic to say that this apathy is just one other manifestation of the more widespread apathy which seems to exist among students in general.

Interest in politics is largely a question of stimulation. Thus an apathetic individual is more likely to be found to have friends and parents who are apathetic than someone who is active or interested in politics. Apathy may be self-reinforcing.[13]

Thus it is not surprising to find that 64% of those who were highly interested in politics had friends, most of whom were also greatly interested, and that 53% of those were of a similar degree of interest. Interest in politics is,

13. M. R. Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy". Of course it may be that a university student might seek out friends who share his own interests. Interest in politics is therefore more likely to be the result of stimulation within the family, than within friendship groups.

however, somewhat less shared by students and their parents.
Thus we find that 36% of the highly interested had parents
who were also highly interested, but that 28% had parents
who were only moderately interested, and that 36% had parents
who had little or no interest.   It does appear, however,
that apathy is self-reinforcing to some extent.   Of the
parents who themselves had little or no interest in politics,
73% had offspring who were also in the lowest interest group.

Table 13

Family-student interest in politics

Student Interest	n.	Family Interest		
		Great	Moderate	Little, None
High	25	36.0%	28.0%	36.0%
Moderate	49	24.5	46.9	28.6
Low	118*	11.9	35.6	52.5
Total	192	18.2	37.5	44.3

$(x^2 = 15.1)$

Another variable influencing the level of interest in
politics exhibited by an individual is group membership.
Because of the communication which is facilitated by social
intercourse, and the information and exchange of ideas which
is part of all organised group activity, membership of some
social organisation is likely to increase the individual's

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* One of the respondents was unable to answer.

awareness of affairs in general and political affairs in particular. "Political attitudes and behaviour are learned from associates, friends and co-workers, and the fellow-members of organisations to which a person belongs ..... The more politically conscious are a person's friends and associates and fellow-group members, the more likely he is to be politically conscious and active".[14] Mere membership of an organisation is likely to make a person more politically conscious. "Isolation tends to make a person politically apathetic: group memberships in themselves increase his political interest and activity".[15]

Table 14

Group Participation and Interest in Politics

Group Participation		Interest		
	n.	High	Moderate	Low
High	22	31.8%	18.2%	50.0%
Moderate	77	14.3	24.7	61.0
Low	94	7.4	27.7	64.9
Total	193	12.9	25.4	61.7

$(x^2 = 9.9)$

On the basis of this hypothesis we would expect to find that the students who are members of a number of social groups

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14. Lane, Political Life, p. 187
15. Ibid. See also Lazarsfeld et al., The Psychology of Voting, and Lipset, Political Man, pp. 190-200

are more interested in political affairs than the non-social. In one respect this seems to be the case.   Of those who scored low on the group participation index 65% were of the lowest interest group.   Only 7.4% were greatly interested in politics.   On the other hand, the members of the highly social group (with high group participation) were not predominantly at a high level of interest in politics. Only 32% could be said to be greatly interested in politics, while half were uninterested.

This seems to indicate that a wide variety of interests and group memberships does not necessarily imply, at University at least, a high level of political stimulation. Campus societies, organised for specific purposes, can satisfy students' interests without necessarily stimulating an interest in politics.   Also it should be recognised that this survey was only able to test the hypothesis from a quantitative angle, and does not account for the individual who may devote all his time to, and satisfy all his needs for social interaction through, one club or society.   A person might be extremely interested in politics, yet direct all his energies into one political or social organisation.

Two further factors remain to be considered at this stage, residence and course at University.   It is generally believed that urban populations tend to be less politically apathetic than any others.   "Political activity increases with the

density of population of an area because factors making for higher participation ..... have a higher incidence and prevail over counterforces in this area".[16] The factors usually referred to include ethnic and class tension, citizen duty, political effectiveness, organisation membership, the mass media and communications.

Table 15

Place of Residence and Interest in Politics

Residence		Interest		
	n.	High	Moderate	Low
City	100	15.0%	27.0%	58.0%
Suburbs	30	23.3	26.7	50.0
Small Town	45	4.4	24.5	71.1
Farm	18	5.5	16.7	77.8
Total	193	12.9	25.4	61.7

$(x^2 = 9.4)$

From Table 15 we can see that the inhabitants of farms and small towns are concentrated, as might have been expected, in the low interest range.   More specifically, 74% of the small town and farm dwellers have a low interest in politics. However, the expected cluster of city and suburbia dwellers at the higher levels of political interest does not emerge. Instead over half (57%) of the urban inhabitants are also apathetic - only 17.2% have a high level of interest in politics

16.   Lane, Political Life, p. 267

and only 25.9% have a moderate interest. It would appear
then that the hypothesis concerning the political habits
of urban dwellers outlined above does not wholly apply to
University students, although a smaller percentage of
students from farms and small towns are found to be in the
high or moderate interest range.

Finally we come to the question of the relationship
between a student's course of study at University and his
or her interest in politics. As it is popularly assumed that
scientists and engineers are lacking in interest in such subjects
as politics, it was not a surprise to find that only 10%
of this group had a high level of interest in political
affairs, that 30% had a moderate interest, and that 60%
had a low level of interest.

It is surprising, however, that 59% of the Humanities
students in the sample had a low level of interest in politics
and even more surprising that of the social studies students
(including those in Commerce) over 56% had little or no
interest in the subject. Only three of the thirty-two
social studies undergraduates registered a high level
of interest in politics

The following Table shows the distribution of students
in different courses by their interest in politics.

Table 16

Interest in Politics, and

University Course[17]

Course	n	Interest		
		High	Moderate	Low
Humanities (inc. General Studies)	84	17.9	20.2	61.9
Science (inc. Engineering)	71.	9.8	29.6	60.6
Social Studies (inc.Commerce)	32	9.4	34.4	56.2
Total	187*	13.4	26.2	60.4

$(x^2 = 4.7)$

* The 4 Divinity and 2 Physical Education students in the
sample were not included in the x^2 calculation.

The widespread apathy found among all groups suggests

that some of the hypotheses which aply to the adult voter are

not totally applicable in the student context. We have found that

high educational achievement does not necessarily stimulate

political interest, and that a high level of interest is not

always accompanied by a sense of political effectiveness. A

low level of political involvement does not necessarily imply

a lack of awareness of the impact of politics upon the life of

the individual.

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17. Since the chi square test shows no significant
relationship between these two variables it cannot be said that
the type of academic activity influences the level of interest
in politics.

We also find that the higher socio-economic groups do not exhibit the high level of interest in politics that we were led to expect; and that students do not necessarily follow their parents as far as their interest in politics is concerned. A high level of group membership is also not necessarily accompanied by a high level of interest in politics; and urban dwellers are not much less apathetic than rural and small town inhabitants. Finally, the students of courses which would have been expected to lead to a greater interest in political affairs are almost as prone to apathy as their colleagues in other departments.

In the following chapter the interested students will be singled out in an attempt to narrow down the factors contributing to an interest in politics among University Undergraduates.

CHAPTER 6

STUDENT POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Individually, the ecological and demographic variables which were considered in the previous chapter do not seem to have any significant influence on interest in politics within the undergraduate community with which this survey is concerned. Factors such as socio-economic status, residence and family interest cannot alone account for the political interest which some students have, or the apathy shared by many others. It is not possible to tell from these factors when treated separately if, and to what extent, they influence political interest, and whether their influence is being counteracted by the presence of other variables.

The next task, then, is to account for political interest, and the lack of it, by examining variables in combination to see what complex circumstances might influence the individual's interest in politics. In order to do this it is necessary to look more closely at the 12.9% of the sample who were very interested in politics to see what characteristics they have in common and to assess which of these factors contribute to this interest.

It would seem, from a closer scrutiny of the highly interested group, that the factors contributing to the relatively high level of political interest found among these students are the nature of the course in which these students are enrolled (Honours or Ordinary, Arts or Science), family interest in politics, and sex. Thus we find that 64% of those in the highly interested group are enrolled in an Honours course (35.2% of the sample were Honours students) and that of these 81% are in Arts. Of the students in this group 60% have parents who themselves are, we were told, highly or moderately interested in politics. Finally, 88% are males.

In order to test the hypothesis which seems to be suggested by these figures, that male Honours students in

Arts, from families with some degree of interest in politics, tend themselves to be interested in politics, we will have to look closely at the whole population defined in terms of these variables. Only by comparing the incidence of high, moderate, and low interest in politics in populations defined by the variables which appear to be influential can we assess the possibility that these factors have played some part.

First, the Honours students were selected, and distributed according to their levels of interest in politics. Table 17 shows this distribution, and makes a comparison with the distribution of the Ordinary Degree students.

Table 17
Interest in Politics of Honours Students ($N=68$)

	High	Moderate	Low
Non-Honours (125)	7.2%	28.0%	64.8%
Honours (68)	23.5	20.6	55.9
Difference	+ 16.3	- 7.4	- 8.9

$X^2 = 27.3$

As the table above shows, of those students enrolled in an Honours course 23.5% had a high level of interest in politics. The proportion of highly interested students therefore increases by 16.3 percentage points in a population defined by student enrollment. The moderately interested group, however, declines by 7.4 percentage points and the uninterested by 8.9 percentage points.

If the population to be examined is further limited, and defined in terms of Honours undergraduates in Arts the proportion of highly interested students increases still further, as the following table shows.

Table 18

Interest in Politics of Honours Students in Arts (N = 36)

		High	Moderate	Low
Honours Arts	(36)	36.2%	19.4%	44.4%
Others	(157)	7.6	26.8	65.6
Difference		+ 28.6	- 7.4	- 21.2

$X2 = 40.3$

Table 18 shows that the proportion of highly interested
students in the population of Honours students in Arts has
risen to 36.2%. This proportion is almost fiv e times larger
than its proportion of interested students in the remainder.
More significantly, perhaps, the proportion of students with
the lowest level of interest in politics declines to only
44.4% of those students in Honours Arts courses.

Two further variables, family interest and sex, remain
to be investigated.   When the level of interest of the
students' parents is added as a further indicator of political
interest the proportion of highly interested undergraduates
increases still further.   The following table gives the
distribution of the population defined by course (i.e.
Honours Arts) and a high or moderate interest in politics
found among the students' parents.

Table 19

Honours Art students, from families interested in
politics (N = 24)

	High	Moderate	Low
Honours Arts, from interested families (24)	37.5%	25.0%	37.5%
Others (169)	9.5	25.4	65.1
Difference	+ 28.0	- .4	- 27.6

$x^2 = 22.3$

Of the students in Honours Arts courses from families
with some interest in politics 37.5% have a high level of
interest in political affairs. The moderately interested
students now only differ by .4 percentage points from the
proportion of moderately interested students in the remainder.
More significantly, the proportion of students with the
lowest level of interest in politics now equals that of the
most interested, whereas the uninterested comprise 65.1%
of the remainder.

Finally, if we delimit the population by omitting all
females the trend is continued even further. We now find
that the highly interested have increased by 34.7 percentage
points and constitute 44.4% of this sub-group. The
moderately interested also increase in proportion to 27.8%
of this group and the decline in the proportion of students
with a low level of interest in politics gives a percentage
of 27.8, 37.3 percentage points less than the proportion in
the remainder with little interest in politics. This
distribution is given in the following table.

Table 20

Interest in Politics of Male Honours Arts Students
from interested families (N = 18)

	High	Moderate	Low
Sub-sample (18)	44.4%	27.8%	27.8%
Remainder	9.7	25.2	65.1
Difference	+ 34.7	- 2.6	- 37.3

$X^2 = 25.2$

What general conclusions can be drawn from these
figures? First, they suggest the hypothesis that the more
intellectually capable students are more likely to be
interested in politics. It would seem justifiable to
suggest this since we have seen that Honours students appear
more interested in politic s than those enrolled for a
General Degree, and since, by and large, students who enter

Honours courses generally are more successful academically than those who do not.

As might be expected Arts students tend to be more interested than scientists, especially if they are in Honours courses. This is no doubt due to the fact that in general Arts students are more exposed to wider cultural activities having more immediate implications for social and even political affairs. Family interest in politics, again as might have been expected, tends to intensify the interest in politics that a student might have. More than likely this interest found among the parents actually generates the interests which have been exposed in their offspring. Finally, as earlier studies in related fields have suggested, and as was indicated in the earlier stages of this one, males tend to be more interested than females.

This exercise also serves to demonstrate the need to look at combinations of variables and determinants of interest in order to assess their importance. The fact that a student is male does not, by itself, establish any pre-supposition that he will be interested in politics, even though we found that 16.3% of the men had a high level of interest as opposed to 5.2% of the women. If, however, a given student is male, is enrolled in an Honours course in the Faculty of Arts, and is from a family which would appear to have stimulated and nourished an interest in politics, he is much more likely to be interested in politics. The proportion of interested

students in the group defined in this way is approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than t he proportion in the population as a whole.

Having attempted to account for the factors contributing to political interest we might continue the investigation by asking what other attitudes towards political involvement are held by the McMaster group of undergraduates.

Firstly, it should be recalled that students do not appear to see themselves remote or detached from the influences of governmental actions and decisions. Nearly 60% of the students interviewed thought that governmental actions had a great influence on their day-to-day lives, either in a direct or indirect way. Well over half of these had a low interest in politics. Students would thus seem to be more aware of the effect of political decisions, yet find it unnecessary (at this stage, at least) to involve themselves with them.

We also find that an exceptionally high proportion of the sample thought that political affairs are important, and that everyone should know something about politics. Just over 92% expressed the view that a knowledge of political affairs should be achieved by everyone, even if not in any great detail. Nearly half thought that since politics affects all their lives they should know something about national and international affairs. It was their duty to be well-informed citizens. Another 32% pointed out that as the

voters (and even "leaders") of the future, it was their duty
to be in a position where they would be able to make an
intelligent choice when exercising their right and privilege
to vote.

In the light of this it is not surprising to find that
the vote is seen as an important instrument of political
action and expression.   Over 90% said that they would vote
if an election were held in the immediate future, even if
it meant looking into platforms, policies and candidates
about which they were then ignorant. Only 6.7% said they
would not vote, but only because they did not feel sufficiently
informed to make an intelligent choice. Only two students
would have abstained because they were dissatisfied with the
choice of parties open to them at the present time.

The attainment of voting age (or the "coming of age"
as one student expressed it) would seem to be a turning point
as far as political interests are concerned.   In actual fact
23% voiced the opinion that their low level of influence on
governmental affairs (67.4% felt that they could have little
or no influence on how the government runs things) was due
to their being below voting age. "What can I do? - I can't
even vote" was a recurring query throughout the survey.

The importance to the students of the vote as a means
to political effectiveness and the relatively high expectation
of political infl uence in the future seems to substantiate the
hypothesis that social pressures play an important role in

determining levels of political involvement.[1]   "Even if people are not aware of a personal stake in the electoral decision, they may be induced to vote by social pressures and inner feeling of social obligation."[2] In the case of students it would seem that, as the leaders and citizens of the future, they feel an obligation to become interested in political matters and to become informed so that the privilege of the vote might be exercised in a responsible manner.

Apathy, then, is not a function of cynical attitudes towards the political process.   Students do not see politics as a permanently fruitless line of interest. The importance attached to the act of casting a vote and to a knowledge of political affairs in general, and the possibilities of political effectiveness all seem to indicate that students do not underestimate their political potential.   We also find that when asked what kind of consideration they would expect if they presented a politician with a problem a large proportion exhibited considerable optimism.   Over 59% thought that they would receive at least consideration. Action would depend on such factors as the validity of their views, the support giv en to them by others, the numbers affected by the case in question, and the type of politician involved. Seventeen percent thought without qualification that they would receive not only consideration but remedial action.

1. Lipset, et al., "The Psychology of Voting", pp. 1132 ; 1134.
    2. Lipset, Political Man, p. 200

Admittedly these responses can in many cases be only classed as hypothetical in that very few of the students had any direct experience of this kind; but they nevertheless serve to illustrate the absence of cynicism as a factor contributing to political apathy.

There is always the possibility that university students simply do not have the time to pursue an interest in political affairs. While this might be given some support by the fact that only 24% ever found the time to read a book on politics, it does not seem to conform to the pattern established earlier, of Honours students tending to have a greater interest in political affairs. Since these probably have a heavier work load than other students, apathy cannot really be related to lack of time and opportunity.

For some students, University provides an introduction to subjects like politics, if only through the range of people of differing attitudes and interests that they meet. The foundations of political involvement may be laid at university. Thus we find that of the fifty percent who ever become aroused by political events, 38% have only become so since coming to University; and 39% of the whole sample indicated at some point in the interview that they thought their interest in politics had developed and deepened since they had been at University.

For the most part, however, attitudes towards political affairs and political involvement undergo little change during the student's university career. Even among the 49% who indicated that they became as "worked up" about political issues as private (and of these 19% only rarely did so), 43% said that they found political issues no more exciting now than before coming to University; and 19% thought that, if anything, they were more likely to become enthused before they embarked upon a university career. Similarly, nearly 50% of the sample said that they had experienced no change in their political attitudes in general since they began their studies at McMaster. Their interests had neither deepened nor changed in favour of another political attitude or ideology.

Generally students do not appear to be emotionally involved when it comes to politics. They tend not to experience changes in political attitudes, and tend rarely or never to become over-enthusiastic about political events. This may be partly a function of the educational standing of the group under consideration, but is more likely to be accounted for in the overall lack of interest in political affairs. This low emotional state is reflected in the objectivity exhibited by students towards politics.

This is illustrated firstly in the responses to the question of whether the students supported a political party. Only 51% considered themselves a supporter (not necessarily a

member) of one of the Canadian political parties.   A third
of the students could only say that their views "leant towards"
one or other of the existing parties, and 16% supported no
party at all.

Secondly, when the members of the sample were asked if
there was any type of person with whom they would tend to
avoid discussing politics 70% replied that they would be
prepared to discuss politics with anyone.[3]   Of those who
could think of some type that they would avoid if possible 43%
mentioned dogmatic or extremely prejudiced people, again
exhibiting a desire to be as objective as possible.   Only 6%
said they would not talk politics with people of opposite
political convictions to their own.

Thirdly, when asked if their political attitudes had
changed in any way since coming to University only 12.9%
mentioned an idological change (e.g. from conservatism to
liberalism or socialism).   On the other hand, 39% indicated
that they had acquired a deeper and more objective interest in
politics.   It often seemed as if objectivity in one's political
attitudes was, for the students, an ideal at which to aim, and
as if "partisans" or "dogmatists" were to be avoided.

An explanation of the objectivity shown by the McMaster
sample is that which contrasts partisanship with low interest

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3.   We will see, however, in Chapter 7, that in
some circumstances students do not live up to this aspect
of their declared objectivity.

and involvement in politics. The independent voter, of
high interest and low partisanship, has been shown to be a
deviant case,[4] the more common combination being high interest
and strong support for one line or party, or apathy and
objectivity. The latter complex is exhibited by the student
sample.

Table 21

Partisan Involvement and Political Interest

Partisanship		Political Interest		
		High	Moderate	Low
Supports a political party	(99)	15.2%	32.3%	52.5%
Leans Toward a party	(63)	12.7	22.2	65.1
Independents	(31)	6.4	9.7	83.9
Total	193	12.9	25.4	61.7

$(x^2 = 10.7)$

If support for a political party is held to be a criterion
for judging objectivity we see from Table 22 that objectivity
increases (and partisanship declines) with the decline in the
incidence of high levels of interest in politics. Thus we
find that of those students who definitely favoured one or
other of the existing Canadian political parties 15.2% had a

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4. Lazarsfeld, et. al., Voting, pp. 25-30. The
independents cannot be dismissed as merely ignorant of politics.
To do so would involve rejecting the political preferences of
the committed, or semi-committed students.

high level of interest in politics, 32.3% had a moderate interest and 52.5% had a low level of interest. The proportion of highly interested students declines to 12.7% and of moderately interested to 22.2%, of those students whose views were expressed to some extent by one political party or another, but who did not openly support the party (they have been referred to as "leaning" towards a political party in this report). The proportions decrease in size still further when we come to the independent group. Of these only 6.4% had a high level of interest in politics, and only 9.7% a moderate interest. On the other hand, 83.9% scored lowest in the interest scale - i.e., were apathetic.

This independence from any rigid political attitudes or "party line", a feature of American students' political attitudes exposed in "What College Students Think", seems to confirm the hypothesis, formulated in the Elmira study,[5] that a high level of interest in politics tends to be accompanied by partisan involvement, and the converse, that apathy is related to objectivity. The individual who is highly interested but who remains objective would appear to be a deviant case among students as among adult voters.

Compared to the political life of the United States Canadian politics often appears unimportant and uninteresting.

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5.   Lazarsfeld, et. al., Voting, pp. 25-30

It was thought that the relative lack of 'glamour' in Canadian politics might have been at least partly resposible for the apathy of this group of students. Slightly more than 25% registered a greater interest in American politics than Canadian and another 15.5% of those who were interested in the politics of the United States were as interested as they were in Canadian. The reasons given for their interest in United States politics might have been expected - the U.S.A. are 'more important in world affairs'; their politics are more publicised and more 'dynamic; political actions in the United States 'have a greater impact on world events!

If the politics of the U.SA. are more attractive for some, we might expect to find that these people tend to be apathetic towards Canadian politics. This, however, is not the case. In fact well over half (58.6%) of those students in the lowest interest group registered that they had even less interest in the political life of the United States. We cannot say that the inability of Canadian politics to match the standards of colour and influence set by the United States plays a part (consciously, at least) in producing apathy among Canadian students.

In fact Canadian politics were favoured by all groups in the sample. Of those with a high level of interest in politics 68% were more interested in Canada than the U.S.A.

Table 22

Attitude towards U.S. Politics and Apathy

Level of Interest	n.	More than Canadian	Same	Less than Canadian
High	25	24.0%	8.0%	68.0%
Moderate	49	30.6	20.4	49.0
Low	119	24.4	15.1	60.5
Total	193	25.9	15.5	58.6

$(x^2 - 3.4)$

The possibility, then, that politics south of the border might act as a distracting agent, whose interesting character emphasises the dullness of Canadian politics, encouraging apathy among Canadians, does not seem to be substantiated by the student attitudes. We have seen, however, that for quite a large proportion American political events have more appeal than Canadian.

If we again look in closer detail at the group of highly interested students we find that they differ in their attitudes towards politics only to an extent which can be accounted for in terms of their greater interest. Thus we find that while 79% of the less interested students thought that they should be interested in politics, and that politics was an important factor in everyone's life, everyone in the highly interested group thought this. We also find, understandably, the absence of cynicism which the total group exhibited. Of those with the highest level of interest in politics 92% said they would

vote, even if an election were held on the same day as they were asked the question.

The proportion who found that they had become excited about political affairs since coming to the University dropped slightly in the highly interested group, since more of these already had acquired an interest in politics before coming to McMaster.

Again, as might have been expected, the highly interested group was slightly less objective, in terms of party support, than the other students. Thus 60% supported the policy of one particular party in Canada and 32% leant towards a party. Only 8% remained independent.

There were slightly fewer "cynics" in the highly interested goup, which can again be accounted for in the high level of political interest shared by its members. A high proportion (64%) thought that they would receive satisfactory consideration if they were to lay a problem in the hands of their M.P. Finally, we find that 28% of the highly interested had a greater interest in American politics which constitutes no significant increase over those having more interest in American politics among the moderately interested and uninterested students. This confirms the conclusion arrived at earlier that the less interested are no more likely to be interested in American politics than the highly interested.

CHAPTER 7

STUDENT POLITICAL PREFERENCES

Having investigated some of the quantitative aspects of student political attitudes, and the possible determinants of political apathy among McMaster undergraduates, the next problem is that of qualitative attitudes or the differences in ideological outlook and party preferences shown by the McMaster group of students.

The task of testing hypotheses suggested by earlier studies in the field is made more difficult here by the fact that the studies which inspired this survey largely rely on observations of voting behaviour as indicative of qualitative political preferences. Most of the McMaster sample of course are not yet old enough to vote, and their ideas are still in a malleable stage. Statements about their political attitudes, which will be the subject of the next chapter, have to rely on much less concrete information, such as voting intention and subjective impressions of party images and preferences. Since this is the case, observations about the determinants of political behaviour among students can be made with much less certainty than those based on the voting behaviour of adults.

We asked what political parties the students favour, who they would vote for, and what attitudes they have towards

certain political issues, in order to determine the ideological differences among University undergraduates.

First, an attempt was made to determine which of the Canadian political parties the respondents supported, or felt their views were closest to. The political preference of the individual was based on replies to question of this kind, rather than to a question on how he or she would vote (although they were asked this, of course), since it was felt that this would reveal more permanent and subjective attitudes towards Canadian politics, attitudes which are more relevant when considering the influence of other variables, such as religion, ethnic background, socio-economic status, etc.

Table 23

Political Preference

Sex	n.	P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	S.C.	None
Male	135	44.4%	22.2%	16.4%	2.2%	14.8%
Female	58	36.2	29.3	13.8	1.7	19.0
Total	193	42.0	24.3	15.5	2.1	16.1

$(x^2 = 2.1)$

The pattern of political attitudes revealed when the respondents were asked how they would vote is similar to that exhibited in the Table above. There was, however, as the following Table shows, much less certainty about the political choices made. Many more felt they would be more likely to

vote for an individual rather than a party, and more were
undecided about a choice of party than before. Very few thought
they would not vote at all (if they abstained it would be
because of ignorance of the issues and policies involved).

Table 24

Comparison of party preference

and voting intention

	P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	S.C.	None	Total
Preference for:	42.0	24.3	15.5	2.1	16.1	100.0
Would vote for:	29.5	21.8	14.0	1.0	9.8	76.1

Would vote for candidate: 9.3

Undecided: 14.6

Table 24, comparing party preference with voting intention,
shows that while 42% of the students felt most sympathy for
the Progressive Conservative Party, only 29.5% said they would
actually vote P.C. (and one of these said he might vote
Liberal!). Liberal support also dropped, from 24.3% to 21.8%
which does not seem too great a loss, until it is pointed out
that 11.9% of those who said they thought they would vote
Liberal were extremely doubtful about it. Support for the
New Democratic Party dropped by 10% (from 15.5 to 14.0).
The N.D.P., however, might gain the support of 1.6% who said

they were undecided, but that their choice would be either
N.D.P. or Liberal.

More interesting, perhaps, is the relatively high
proportion who felt they would make their choice on the basis
of the individual candidate in the event of a national election.
Nearly 10% would rather vote according to candidate rather
than to party.

If we compare the difference bwtween the political
attitudes of men and women in the sample we find that the
pattern revealed in earlier studies emerge here also.   Thus the
study conducted by Rose[1] in the United States found that women
students were not more conservative than men, although studies
of adult voting behaviour have suggested they tend to be.[2]
In the present study it was found that in fact women were, if
anything, slightly more to the left politically than men,
although no significant relationship between sex and political
preference was exhibited.   Thus while 44.4% of the men favoured
the Progressive Conservatives, only 36.2% of the women did.
Also slightly more of the women felt their ideas to be closer
to the Liberal party, and 29.3% of the women shared this view.
Slightly fewer of the women, however, thought that the N.D.P.
came closest to their own political opinions - 13.8% of the
women as opposed to 16.4% of the male students.

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1.   P. I. Rose, "Student Opinion in the 1956
Presidential Election", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 21,
(Fall), 1957.
2.   For example see Tingsten, Political Behaviour

Recent studies of student political attitudes in the
United States and Britain have shown that the popular image
of the radical, leftist undergraduate[3] is not supported by more
up to date evidence.   Thus the study carried out by Rose at
Cornell found that the young are not more Democratic than their
elders.[4]   The conservatism of students today has also been
stressed by the few studies that have been carried out in the
United Kingdom.[5]   In general it is agreed that the myth of the
left-wing University student is largely based on the attitudes
of the post-depression generation, and that the "present generation
of college students ..... is politically disinterested, apathetic
and conservative.[6]

How do the results of this survey compare with these new
hypotheses that are being formulated about contemporary student
life?   First, it would appear that this group of Canadian students
are as conservative as previous studies would lead us to expect.
As we have seen, of those who felt that one of the existing
Canadian political parties reflected their own political views
50% thought that party was the Conservatives.   Of those who
knew how they would vote in a General Election 43.5% would vote

3.   Ibid., p.229
4.   Rose, op. cit; see also The Economist, Dec.30, 1961
5.   P. Marris, "Apathy in the Universities", New
Statesman, May 18, 1962; see also the Observer (London) Sunday,
March 4, 1962, p.24
6.   R. K. Golden, et. al., What College Students Think,
D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960, p. 199.

Conservative.   On the basis of party choice, then, this group

of Canadian students tends to be to the political right rather

than to the left as their predecessors were, despite the fact

that a recent by-election survey revealed a strong tendency

among young people to vote for the New Party.[7]

If, however, we measure conservatism and liberalism[8] by

criteria other than party preference or choice, a slightly

different picture emerges.   As Table 26 shows, only 9.7% can be

classed as right of centre on the basis of their attitudes

towards the Welfare State, Trade Unions, and education.   Over

63% were classed as middle-of-theroad, and 26.5% were classed

as being left of centre

Table 25

Party choice and political attitudes

	n.	P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	S.C.	None	Total
Left of centre	51	19.6%	29.4%	31.4%	2.0%	17.6%	100.0%
Middle of road	123	47.2	24.4	10.6	.8	17.0	100.0
Right of centre	19	68.4	10.5	5.3	10.5	5.3	100.0
Total	193	42.0	24.3	15.5	2.1	16.1	100.0

$(x^2 = 29.6)$

As might have been expected the number of liberals

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7. P. Jewett, "Voting in the 1960 Federal By-Election
at Peterborough and Niagara Falls", Canadian Journal of Economics
and Political Science, 28, no. 1, 1962
    8. "Liberals" or students who are "left of centre"
are defined as those who scored high positive marks on the
liberalism scale.   See Appendix, Part A.

increases the further away from the Conservative Party we move.
Even so, 19.6% of the liberals favoured the Conservative Party
more than any other.   Of the liberals 29.4% favoured the
Liberal Party, while 31.4% favoured the N.D.P., and 17.6% of
the liberals were undecided as to which party they found most
acceptable.   Understandably 68.4% of the conservatives found
the Progressive Conservatives most favourable - only 15.8%
would support the Liberals or N.D.P.

The most interesting aspect of this exercise is the large
number of "middle-of-the-roaders" who favoured the Conservatives -
47.2%.   This would seem to throw some light on the question of
student conservatism.   We might infer from the large
proportion of intermediate political attitudes that the
conservatism so frequently spoken of when student politics are
discussed may not be a traditional alliance with the Right, but
may reflect a more objective or dispassionate appraisal of the
political scene.   Thus students in America are able to combine
unfavourable attitudes towards welfare measures and state security
with attacks on "unnatural" government aids to business such as
tariffs and subsidies,[9] while over 60% of the present sample
who thought that some groups in society exercised a
disproportionate amount of power named industrial, financial
and "Big Business" groups.

Students therefore might appear conservative from the
point of view of party preference, but it is doubtful if they

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9.   See the Economist, Dec. 30, 1961.

are, in the Canadian framework at least, as conservative as some authors suggest. This is not to say that contemporary students are as radical as their predecessors were thirty years ago, although we should recognise of course that some of their demands would today sound paltry. It should also be remembered that students today do tend to be less interested and involved in politics anyway, and so are less likely to express what radicalism there might be within them by active participation in some left-of-centre organisation.

One further explanation, is that the Liberal Party might, as far as young people are concerned, have ceased to be the party of the moderate left that it is traditionally accepted as being. It might be that, despite its name, the Liberal Party is thought to be more pro-Establishment than the Progressive Conservative. If this were the case, then it becomes easier to understand why the expected relationship between liberalism and party support is not so strong, and why so many of the "middle-of-the-roaders" support the Conservatives.

Since it is often found impossible to distinguish the Liberals and Conservatives from the point of view of conservatism or liberalism, and since in this survey many Conservatives cannot be classified as "conservative", we might combine their supporters and compare them with the supporters of the New Party, in order to distinguish between the "radicals"

and the conservative, or right-of-centre, elements.

We found that the New Party supporters definitely tended to be left-of-centre to a greater extent than supporters of the two old parties. Of the former 53.3% are classed as left-of-centre, while 21.5% of the supporters of the other parties fall into this classification. Only one of the New Party supporters was classed as right-of-centre, while 18, or 11%, of the remainder were.

The large number of uncommitted, or middle-of-the-road, attitudes is due partly to the cancelling out of conservative attitudes by liberal ones, and partly to the fact that the objectivity of the students was again exhibited, in that they expressed attitudes which consistently attempted to see both sides of the argument and to remain aloof from any "stands" as far as opinions are concerned. It was thought that the uncommitted might be particularly uninterested in politics and it was found that they were slightly less interested as the following table shows.

Table 26

Interest in Politics of Uncommitted Students

		High	Moderate	Low
Committed	(70)	22.8%	20.1%	57.1%
Uncommitted	(123)	7.4	28.1	64.5
Difference		- 15.4	$\neq$ 8.1	$\neq$ 7.4

$(x^2 = 18.4)$

An example of the contradiction between party preference
and political attitude is illustrated if we examine the relation
between socio-economic status and attitudes in the light of the
hypothesis, suggested elsewhere,[10] which states that liberal
attitudes, such as they are, exist not among the lower social
groups but among the higher.   Youthful liberalism is said to
exist in the upper socio-economic groups, while the lower
classes show little or no tendency one way or the other - they
are not predominantly conservative, nor are they predominantly
left-wing.

If we look at the following table it would seem that, if
the individual's political attitudes are indicate by party
choice, the higher socio-economic classes tend to prefer the
Conservatives more than the Liberals or the N.D.P., which is
what one would expect if one accepts the traditionally defined
roles of Canada's political parties.   In fact 44.3% of those
students whose father's occupation brought them into the
highest socio-economic group, favoured the Conservative Party
to some degree, while only 20% favoured the Liberals and 7.1%
the N.D.P.   Again, 46.9% of the middle class favoured the
Conservatives, while 21.9% supported the Liberals and 15.6% the
New Party.   The lower middle class however, also tends to be
Conservative, with this party claiming 45.3% of their support.
It is not until one reaches the lowest socio-economic group

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10.   E. E. Maccoby, "Youth and Political Change".

that the expected tendency for the lower classes emerges.
Here 37.1% of the support goes to the New Democrats, 25.9% to
the Liberals, and 22% to the Conservatives.

Table 27

Socio-economic status in party preference

S.E.S.				Party			
	n.	n.	P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	S.C.	None
High	70		44.3%	20.0%	7.1%	4.3%	24.3%
Middle	32		46.9	21.9	15.6		15.6
Lower-Middle	64		45.3	29.7	15.6	1.6	7.8
Lower	27		22.2	25.9	37.1		14.8
Total	193		42.0	24.3	15.5	2.1	16.1

$(x^2 = 17.7)$

On the basis of party preference, then, it would seem
that the higher socio-economic groups favour the Conservatives,
while the lower favour the Liberals or N.D.P. However, if we
compare socio-economic status with the degree of liberalism or
conservatism shown by the students in their attitudes towards
specific political issues, a somewhat different picture emerges.
As Table 28 shows, the students in the high and middle status
groups tend to be liberal or at least middle-of-the-road, while
those of the lower classes tend also to be predominantly
liberal in their attitudes.

Table 28

Political Attitudes and S.E.S.

S.E.S.		Left of Centre	Middle-of-Road	Right of Centre	Total
High	70	28.6%	65.7%	5.7%	100.0%
Middle	32	18.8	65.6	15.6	100.0
Lower-Mid.	64	21.8	64.0	14.1	100.0
Lower	27	40.8	55.6	3.7	100.0
Total	193	26.5	63.8	9.7	100.0

$(x^2 = 8.1)$

Of those in the high socio-economic group, 28.6% were liberals by our scoring, while only 5.7% had a conservative score. By far the largest group in this high socio-economic class (65.7%) were middle-of-the-road, which, as the index described in the Appendix shows, means that these students either consistently expressed rather non-committal answers, or had liberal attitudes combined with, and counteracted by, conservative ones.

More students in the middle socio-economic group expressed conservative attitudes than in the high status group. Of the former 18.8% were liberal and 15.6% were conservative, but again the largest group was that of the centre, accounting for 65.6% of the students in this class. The lower middle class was slightly more liberal than the middle, and somewhat less so than the high. Here 21.8% were liberals, 64.0% were middle-of-the-road, and 14.1% conservative. Finally, in the low socio-economic status group, more were left of centre (as might be

expected). In this group 40.8% of the students appeared to be liberal, and only 3.7% were conservative. Once again the greatest concentration of students fell around the centre mark, with 55.6% expressing middle-of-the-road attitudes.

This would seem to reinforce the view that students are not as conservative as their party choices suggest, and indicates a considerable degree of independence from any party line, a factor which was exhibited by students in an extensive survey of American college life and student attitudes.[11] It helps to explain, too, the fact that the number of students who were actually certain of their party choice was far less than the number who only felt that one or other of the established parties was more or less acceptable to their own political attitudes.

It might also be that while students tend to follow their parents in their choice of political party, they follow the social and moral attitudes acquired at University when it comes to expressing an opinion on specific issues. For example, a student may favour the Conservative Party because it is the party of his parents, and one with which he is best acquainted, but may express liberal attitudes on issues such as the welfare state, education and the labour movement.

Earlier it was mentioned that quite a high proportion

11.   What College Students Think. p. 98

of students felt that business and financial interests exercised too much power in present day society. It should also be pointed out that a fairly clear pattern of attitudes emerged on the question of Union activity. First of all, of those who agreed that some groups are over-powerful (62.7% in all) 16.5% thought that Labour Unions have too much power and influence. Considerably more, however, thought there was something wrong in the way Unions conduct themselves and their affairs. Thus 22.8% of the whole sample voiced the opinion that while Unions had, in the past, done a great deal for the working man, they now exercise too much power over both their own members and the economy in general, and in many cases have outlived their usefulness.

The farming block was criticised by only 9.9% and religious organisations by 5.8%. Only 2.5% criticised politicians as having too much power.

Ony hypothesis to which recent studies of political attitudes among young people have not lent support is that the young tend to rebel against the attitudes of older people in general and their parents in particular. In fact it has been shown that there is considerable coincidence of political opinion between young people and their parents, and that the "political tradition of the family is reflected

in its younger members";[12]   "members of the same family, for
the most part, prefer the same political party."[13]

The same would appear to apply to University students.
Thus Rose found a high level of political agreement between
students and parents at Cornell.[14]   R. K. Golden and others
also found that present day college students in the United
States are not in revolt against their parents, and that
students-parent political attitudes showed a high degree of
coincidence especially among higher socio-economic status
groups.[15]   It was also found that should there be any break
away from family attitudes it was more likely to be pro-
conservative.   The following table shows how the different
socio-economic groups in the sample were distributed
according to the coincidence of students' and parents'
opinions

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12.   E. E. Maccoby, "Youth and Political Change",
Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 18, 1954; H. W. Riecken,
"Primary Groups and Political Party Choice", in E. Burdick,
A. J. Brodbeck, American Voting Behaviour, Free Press, Glencoe,
Illinois, 1959; Lazarsfeld, et.al. Voting, pp.88-89.
     13.   H. H. Remmers, "Early Socialisation of Attitudes",
in Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., p.60
     14.   See P. I. Rose: Student Opinion in the 1956
Presidential Election, p. 375.
     15.   R. K. Golden, op. cit. pp. 100-103

Table 29

S.E.S. and Family Agreement (n = 120)

S.E.S.		Family Agreement		
	n.	Always Agree	Sometimes Agree	Never Agree
High	46	71.7%	15.2%	13.1%
Middle	16	62.5	18.8	18.7
Lower-Middle	41	58.5	22.0	19.5
Lower	17	35.3	29.4	35.3
Total	120*	60.8	20.0	19.2

$(x^2 = 7.2)$

* 25.9% of those having some political preference (16.1% were "independent") either did not know their parents' political opinions, or had parents with no political opinions.

It would seem that, from the figures based on the McMaster sample, students from the higher socio-economic status groups do not necessarily tend to follow in their parents' footsteps politically more than those of the lower status groups. In fact there is no relationship between social status and family agreement. Thus of the 38% in the high socio-economic status group 71% always shared their parents' political preference, and 62.5% in the middle social class shared their parents' attitudes. The lower status students, also, did not adopt radically different attitudes to their parents. In the lower

and lower-middle socio-economic group 51.8% supported the same political party as their parents, 24.1% sometimes differed with the family, and 24.1% always differed. Little over 25% of the parents of students whose political attitudes were determinable supported no party at all, or would not disclose to their offspring which party they supported.

The hypothesis which does seem to be substantiated is that which closely correlates student political choice with parent attitudes. We find that 60.8% of the students who expressed some political preference shared the same political choice as their parents, and only 19.2% always differed. A surprisingly high proportion of the sample actually acknowledged the influence of their family on their political thinking. Slightly less than a half of the students interviewed said that they were influenced by their parents' political convictions, and of these 33.7% said they thought the influence had been exerted through the presentation of one set of political views, and the absence of opportunities to look into the "other side" of the matter. Only 11.6% thought that they had been encouraged to look into all aspects of the political issues which had come up, although 17.8% thought that they had been influenced by general political discussions. Only 5.3% believed that their parents' influence had led them to react against their political convictions, and 2.1% related

their own lack of interest in the whole subject to the apathy of their parents.

People are said to follow the political attitudes of their peer-group, especially their friends, as well as the attitudes of their family.[16] "In effect, then, people intended to vote with their friends, and felt most strongly about their own intention when there was political homogeneity in their friendship group."[17] A similar correlation was found among students in the United States.[18] The results of the test made at McMaster can only be presented tentatively, since it cannot be determined with certainty whether those that said some of their friends supported the same political party, and some supported other parties, were merely trying to emphasise their own objectivity and the quantity of their associates. Actually only 13% thought that all or most of their friends supported the same political party. Almost half thought that some of their friends shared their political attitudes but that other political convictions would be represented. This is perhaps understandable in a University community which is comprised of people with divergent attitudes. Direct questions

16.   E. E. Maccoby, op. cit.; H. W. Riecken, op. cit.; Berelson, et al., The Voter Decides; Lazarsfeld, et al., Voting, p. 96.
17.   A. S. Kitt, B. Gleicher, "Determinants of Voting Behaviour," Public Opinion Quarterly, 4, 1950, p.399.
18.   P. I. Rose, op. cit., p.376.

probably reveal more than inferences based on questions about whom the individual last discussed politics with. Even so, only 9.3% felt that few or none of their friends supported the same political party, and this indicates at least that friends tend to avoid talking about subjects over which they differ, even if we cannot go so far as to say students tend to agree with their friends' opinion.

Over a quarter of the students interviewed reported that very few or none of their friends supported a political party, and another 8% did not know their friends' political attitudes, which gives some idea of the extent of the overall lack of interest in political issues. The fact that 45% of those with no political preference thought that their friends in general were independent (or apathetic) seems to suggest that lack of conviction is also a shared attribute.

Almost half of the sample thought that they had been influenced by their friends in their political thinking, usually by discussions which stimulate and consolidate interests and attitudes, or bring about a broader, more objective understanding of issues and ideas. Only one student thought that his friends had influenced him negatively, that is, made him react against their political convictions consciously. On the other hand only one thought that his friends had changed his political convictions. Two acknowledged that their friends' lack of interest had contributed to their

own apathy.

One final point on the subject of friends and family influence must be made. Although the adoption of family political attitudes is the rule, obviously some students "reject" these attitudes and adopt new ones. It has been postulated, on the basis of some American studies, that when revolt occurs it is usually pro-conservative, and that consequently Republican families lose fewer of their offspring to the Democratic Party than Democratic parents lose to the Republicans.[19]

Does this hypothesis stand the test of Canadian evidence? Do Social Credit and Conservative families lose fewer of their sons and daughters to the Liberal or New Democratic Parties than the latter do to them?[20] It would seem not. As Table 31 shows 66.2% of the students with Progressive Conservative or Social Credit families themselves favoured one or other of these two parties, and 22.1% were "lost" to the Liberals or N.D.P. An added 11.7% were undecided. The Liberal and N.D.P. families, however, fared better. No less than 80% of their offspring chose to support, or felt their views to be close to, the

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19. E. Haveman, P. West, They Went to College, New York, 1952, p. 120; Golden, op. cit., p. 102

20. For the purpose of this aspect of the enquiry it is assumed that the Liberal Party in Canada stands significantly to the left ideologically of the Progressive Conservatives (as the Democrats in the U.S.A. do to the Republicans). It is recognised that this may soon prove to be a faulty assumption, leading to the complete reorientation of enquiries into Canadian political attitudes as revealed by voting statistics.

Liberals or New Party.   Only 17.8% had rejected their parents'
choice in favour of the Conservatives or Social Credit, and
only 2.2% were undecided.

Table 30

Family "losses"

Family's Politics		Student's politics		
	n.	P.C/Socred	Lib/N.D.P.	None
P.C/Socred	77	66.2%	22.1%	11.7%
Lib/N.D.P.	45	17.8	80.0	2.2
None, unknown or divided	71	36.6	33.8	29.6
Total	193	44.1	39.8	16.1

$(x^2 = 55.5)$

This tendency is emphasised if we look at the
characteristics of the fairly large group which, through
apathy or indecision, have been unable to make up their minds
politically.   As we saw earlier 16.1% were classed as
"independent".   Of these 29.1% had parents who were both
Conservative (or Social Credit),   Only one student had a
Liberal family, and remained undecided himself.   Over a third,
(38.7%) were of families who were also independent, and 12.9%
came from a family in which the parents held different
political views regarding choice of party.

A movement to the left, politically speaking, is not
only found among students who reject their parents' attitudes
when making their political choices.   It is also a

characteristic of those students who experience a change in their own political opinions. Thus while 47% said they had experienced no change in their attitudes to politics since coming to University 12.9% (25 students) said their attitudes had moved along the political spectrum in one direction or another. Of this small group of twenty five students only one said he favoured more right wing attitudes now than before he began at McMaster. The other twenty four said they had moved to the left politically.[21]

Finally, it can be seen from the above table that there is no significant difference in the distribution of the preferences of the students of uncommitted parents.

What else do we know about the group of students who consistently conflict with their parents over political opinion? We have seen that of those who had made a conscious choice between the political parties, and who were aware of the direction in which their parents prejudices lay, 19.2% reported that they always differed from their parents politically. We also know that these differences tend to be pro-Liberal and New Party, as 69.6% of this small group discarded the Conservative or Social Credit choice of their parents, and

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21. Bearing in mind that most of the students at McMaster have been brought up in a conservative environment (Southern Ontario) any movement in political attitudes is likely to be to the left - they are unlikely to become more conservative than their environment.

sided with the Liberals or New Democrats.   Only 30.4% moved
in the opposite direction.

If we look at this group more closely we also find that
they tend to have a greater interest in politics as a whole,
as the following table shows.

Table 31

Interest in Politics of Students who deviate from
Political Attitudes of Parents

		High	Moderate	Low
Non-deviants	(170)	10.0%	24.1%	65.9%
Deviants		34.8	34.8	30.4
		≠ 24.8	≠ 10.7	- 35.5

$(x^2 = 19.7)$

Table 32, which compares the incidence of interest among
non-deviants and deviants, shows that the highly interested
group increases by 24.8 percentage points and the moderately
interested by 10.7 percentage points.   The group with a low
level of interest in politics drops in proportion significantly
from 65.9% of the non-deviants to 30.4% of the deviant group.

Students would thus appear less likely to accept the
political norms of their parents if they are sufficiently
interested to look into the issues and problems involved.
It would seem true (not surprisingly) that the more a student
knows about, and is interested in, political affairs, the less
likely he is to take what he has learnt from his parents for
granted.

It also appears that the students who "rebel" against their parents' political preferences tend to talk politics more with their friends than parents. In table 32 below, giving the distribution of deviating students by discussion groups, and comparing this with the distribution into discussion groups of the non-deviants we find a considerable increase in the proportion of students who discuss politics with friends and class mates, rather than with parents. The proportion who discussed politics with friends increases by 25.8 percentage points and those who tend to discuss politics with family members declines by 2.9 percentage points. This is made more pronounced by the fact that whereas 14.1% of the non-deviants would discuss politics with friends and family, none of the deviants discuss it with both equally. As might have been expected in a group which, as we have just seen, tends to be more interested in politics, all of the deviants discuss politics with someone.

Table 32

Political Discussion among Deviants

		Friends	Family	Both	Never
Non-deviants	(170)	61.2%	15.9%	14.1%	8.8%
Deviants	(23)	87.0	13.0	-	-
Difference		$\neq$ 25.8	- 2.9	- 14.1	- 8.8

$(x^2 = 7.8)$

This evidence again seems to suggest that people tend to avoid talking about politics with people with whom they disagree, even though, as we saw in Chapter 6 earlier, 70% of the population said they were prepared to discuss politics with anyone.

Apart from these two variables, interest and discussion, the group of deviants does not differ in any significant way from the non-deviants in respect of other factors which might be thought to produce a tendency to reject parental politics. They are no more likely to be males than females - the men students do not appear to be more rebellious than the females. They do not come from families which have an interest in politics, any more than do their contemporaries.

There is further no significant difference between the age distribution of the group which seems to have rejected the family political choices and the age distribution of the non-deviants; it does not seem that those students who have been immersed in the University for two or three years are more likely to question the politics of their parents. There is no significant difference between the proportion of deviant students in their third or fourth year and the non-deviating third and fourth year students in this sample.

Two other variables, and their influence on political attitudes, remain to be discussed -religion and the course of study in which students enroll.

If we turn to the question of religion first we find a fairly substantial body of information on the subject based on American and Canadian voting studies, and therefore the interesting possibility of testing some of the hypotheses that have evolved from such studies.   One relationship has consistently evolved from voting studies among American adults.   It is found that Protestants tend to vote Republican, especially if they are native-born and white, while Catholics tend to vote Democrat, regardless of socio-economic factors, or the liberalism or conservatism of their attitudes.[22]

In Canada a similar tendency has been revealed, that is, Catholics tend to be Liberal while Protestants are largely Conservative.   Thus in Kingston Professor Meisel has shown that 83% of the Catholics in the area voted Liberal in 1953, and 56% of the members of the United Church voted Conservative. The Catholics who voted Conservative tended either to be young, of the higher managerial and professional class, or non-Irish.[23]

Consistent with this it was found in the Cornell study[24] that the young students who were members of the Catholic Church were not as Democratically inclined as had been expected.   It

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22.   See Lazarsfeld, Voting, pp. 64-65.
23.   J. Meisel, "Voting in Kingston", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 22, Nov. 1956.
24.   See Rose, "Student Opinion in the 1956 Presidential Election", p. 376.

is of interest therefore to test, within the context of a

Canadian University, the relationship between religion and

politics, bearing in mind some of the tendencies revealed

among religious groups by earlier work.

First, and as was expected, the Protestant groups were

predominantly Conservative.   Of the members of the United

Church, 46.9% supported the Conservative Party to some extent,

while 37.5% chose either the New Party or the Liberals.

Members of the Anglican Church were slightly more inclined

towards the Conservatives - 51.9% as opposed to 33.3% supporting

the Liberals or N.D.P.   The Baptists were the most Conservative

of all with 56.5% in favour of the Conservatives, and only 17.3%

in favour of Liberals or N.D.P.

Table 33
Religion and Politics

Denomination	Student's Politics					
	n.	P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	Socred	None
United Church	64	46.9%	28.1%	9.4%	-	15.6%
Anglican	27	51.9	18.5	14.8	3.7	11.1
Baptist	23	56.5	4.3	13.0	8.9	17.4
Roman Catholic	17	17.6	35.4	29.4	-	17.6
Presbyterian	18	50.0	27.8	5.6	-	16.6
Hebrew	6	33.3	33.3	16.7	-	16.7
Others	17	29.5	29.5	23.4	-	17.6
None	21	23.8	23.8	28.6	1.4	19.0
Total	193	42.0	24.3	15.5	2.1	16.1

$(x^2 = 15.6)$

The Catholics, however, did not show exactly what was expected; i.e., they _did_ seem to follow the pattern of party support of adult Catholics.   Bearing in mind the small size of the Catholic group in the sample, we find that they do tend to be slightly more "left-wing" than their Protestant counter-parts.   More specifically, 35.4% supported or favoured the Liberals and 29.4% the New Party, while only 17.6% favoured the Conservatives.   It would thus appear, in this particular case, that the Catholics who tend to favour the Conservatives are not found among young people, which is not entirely surprising when one considers that they follow the party choice of their parents, and, by and large, inevitably follow the same religious convictions.

Is it right, then, to infer some causal relationship between religion and politics among young people?   Might it not be just a question of inheriting religious and political convictions from their parents (whose religious and political attitudes might be related?)   One way of finding out just how far religion does influence the political thinking of university students is to ask them.   It is appreciated that the influence of something like religion is largely unrecognized by the individual, and is the product of his environment rather than of conscious choice and rationalisation.

In fact only a few students (18.2%) thought that their

political attitudes were in any way influenced by religion. The size of this proportion is particularly striking, in view of the fairly strong religious attachments of students in this University.[25]   A considerably larger number thought that religion played some role in Canadian politics.   Over a third of the sample thought that the Canadian political scene was at least partly influenced by religion.   Of these, 45% thought that the influence was felt in Quebec rather than on a national scale, and 33% felt that Protestants in general tended to vote Conservative, and Catholics Liberal.   Just over 11% thought that politicians had, for political reasons, to be of some religious denomination before they would be elected to Parliament.

For those who are interested in the kind of support which is behind the New Democratic Party, some tendencies might be indicated, although these are extremely tentative due to the small percentage (15.5%) of students which can be analysed in this connection.   Of all the religious groups into which the sample divided itself the Catholics seemed to be most in favour of the New Party.   Nearly 30% of the Catholics supported the N.D.P.   Of the students expressing no religious beliefs, 28.6% supported the New Party, and 23.4% of the

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25.   See Chapter 3, on the setting.   It also emphasises the cuation with which statements about religious influences must be accepted.

minority churches, such as the Menonites, and Ukranian Orthodox, were also in favour of the N.D.P. (which suggests that the New Party might pay more attention to the smaller ethnic groups).

It has also been postulated that participants in certain courses at University tend to share attitudes to politics. Thus students in social studies are said to be further left of centre than students in other disciplines, while the applied disciplines are found to attract more conservative individuals than the academic disciplines.[26] In the McMaster sample it was found that Arts students tend to be more liberal than scientists, until engineers are added. Of the Arts group 4.4% showed a conservative scoring in the attitude test, and 27% were left of centre, with 69% being classed as middle-of-the-road. Without including engineers the scientists tended to be conservative with only 17% in the liberal category, and 63% in the middle of the political spectrum. However, after including the engineering students, who were all either liberal or middle-of-the-road, the number of liberals increased to 22.5%, with conservatives at 16.9%, and the rest, as usual, in the centre. Table 35 below shows the actual distribution

26. N. Sanford, The American College, p. 569

among the different academic divisions within the University.

Table 34

Field of study and political attitudes

Course	n.	Left-of-Centre	Middle	Right-of-Centre
Arts	90	26.7%	68.9%	4.4%
Science (inc. Engineers)	71	22.5	60.6	16.9
Social Studies	32	34.3	56.3	9.4
Total	193	26.4	63.7	9.9

$(x^2 = 28.2)$

The social studies students were, as suggested, inclined to the left. Of the 16.6% of the sample engaged in social studies 35% scored high on the liberalism scale, while only 9% were conservative in their attitudes. Again, 56% were middle-of-the-road.

Having analysed the sample as a whole in terms of the variables which might have had some influence on student political attitudes, we should conclude by looking in more detail at the small, highly interested group, to see if the interest of these students has any influence on their political predispositions.

First, it would seem that the more interested students tend to be somewhat more left-wing than their less interested colleagues. Their party preferences and political attitudes

were compared with those of their less interested contemporaries in order to determine whether this group differed in attitude from the total sample.   The results of this"experiment" are set out in the following tables.   Table 35 shows the distribution on the basis of party choice and Table 36 on the basis of attitudes as tested by the liberalism-conservative index.

Table 35

Party choice of interested students

		P.C.	Lib.	N.D.P.	S.C.	None
Highly Interested	(25)	20.0%	24.0%	44.0%	4.0%	8.0%
Moderately or Un-interested	(168)	45.2	24.4	11.3	1.8	17.3
Difference		- 25.2	- .4	$\neq$ 32.7	$\neq$ 2.2	- 9.3

$(x^2 = 29.3)$

As regards party choice it can be seen that the proportion of Progressive Conservative supporters drops to 20% of the highly interested group, while the proportion of Liberals remains practically constant.   The proportion of New Democratic Party supporters, however, increases to 44% of the interested group, whereas only 11.3% of the others favoured the New Party.

The remainder, those who made no party choice, dropped from 17.3% of the total sample, to 8% of the sub-sample,

which suggests that the more interested student is more
likely to be in a position to make up his mind, politically.

Table 36

Political attitudes of interested students

		Left	Centre	Right
Highly Interested	(25)	48.0%	40.0%	12.0%
Moderately, or Uninterested	(168)	23.2	67.3	9.5
Difference		$\neq$ 24.8	- 27.3	- 2.5

$(x^2 = 9.5)$

A similar pattern emerges when we compare the distribution
of the two groups by political attitudes. The right-of-centre
students constitute 12% of the interested group, an increase of
2.5 percentage points. Those in the centre of the political
spectrum, however, fall to 40% of the group, while the students
with attitudes left of centre now constitute 48% of the sub-
population. They comprised only 23.2% of the moderately
interested and uninterested group.

It would appear, on the basis of these findings, that the
highly interested students in the sample tend to favour attitudes
left of centre to a greater extent than the remainder. The
incidence of New Party choice, and "liberal" attitudes, is
significantly greater among the group which has been defined
as highly interested in politics. This would seem to suggest

that the more interest a person has in the political process, and the more he finds out about it, the more likely he is to favour attitudes and policies which are usually accepted as "liberal" or "left wing".

Otherwise this group of students did not deviate from the pattern set by the other less interested students. We saw earlier that those who deviate from the political choices of their parents tend to be more interested, but as far as other variables are concerned the interested group exhibited tendencies which largely conformed to the pre-established pattern of attitudes.

In conclusion we can say that the hypotheses relating to student attitudes receive more support from the McMaster sample than those relating to interest and political involvement. However, there is still a need for more detailed and rigorous testing of established hypotheses in other University communities, and for the formulation of generalisations based on Canadian student data. Some possible areas of research will be suggested in the final chapter of this thesis, but it is obvious that the hypotheses tested here should be tested further under different conditions and within other academic institutions. Something approaching a theory of student attitudes can only be produced by the continual repetition of research projects under different circumstances.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Before making some comparisons with similar surveys that have been carried out in other countries, notably the United States and Britain, we should attempt to summarise the findings of this study.

As regards the level of interest in politics, we find considerable apathy among this group of students, despite the fact that the individuals with whom this survey was concerned have achieved a relatively high educational status. Over half of the students can be said to have little or no interest in politics, judging by their responses to questions on the extent to which they ever got "worked up" about political issues, followed political affairs, read books on political subjects, discussed politics and joined organisations.

In attempting to account for this apathy, and for the interest shared by the small group which scored high marks on the scale of interest, it was found that demographic factors, such as socio-economic status, place of residence, and group-participation, and "psychological" factors such as a feeling of "potency" in the political process, or awareness of governmental influences on the life of the individual, did not account for the different levels of interest in politics found

within this group, or for the extensive apathy.

It was found, however, that certain factors in
combination affected the frequency with which an interest
in political affairs was exhibited.   Honours students were
found to be more interested than Ordinary degree candidates,
and this tendency became more pronounced among those students
enrolled in Arts courses.   The incidence of interest in
politics increased even further when females and students
from families having little or no interest in political
affairs were excluded.

The results of the investigation into political preferences
were more along the lines predicted by other work in the field.
Almost half of the sample favoured the Progressive Conservative
Party to some extent.   There was, however, much less certainty
when voting intentions were revealed, and it was also found
that the students did not exhibit attitudes towards the welfare
state, education and Unions which were predominantly conservative.
This would seem to suggest that it is not sufficient to judge
a person's political attitudes by his choice of party (or by
simply asking how he has voted or would vote).   It also
suggests that the Progressive Conservative Party is not thought
to be as conservative as its name implies

A high level of agreement between the political attitudes
of students and their families was found, and those students
who deviated from the political predispositions of their parents

tend to have an above average interest in politics.   They also seem to prefer discussing politics with their friends, rather than with their parents, with whom they disagree.

The expected relationships between religion and political choice emerged.   Protestant students, particularly the Baptists, tend to favour the Conservative Party, while the Roman Catholics (and these conclusions are based on an extremely small group and should be accepted with reservation) tend to be Liberal or New Democratic.

Finally, the highly interested group seemed to favour liberal attitudes, and supported the parties of "the left", to a greater extent than the less interested group.

Having outlined the conclusions in broad terms we might now compare these findings with those of other studies in similar environments.   One or two preliminary, fact-finding surveys have been conducted among undergraduates in British Universities, and the findings bear some similarity to the conclusions reached here.   Thus of three hundred final year undergraduates in Cambridge, Leeds and Southampton over 50% had little or no interest in politics, and only one tenth considered themselves keenly interested[1] (between one-seventh and one-eighth of the McMaster sample had a high level of interest).   General lack of interest seems to be a feature of American University life, too.   For example, of Harvard's

1.   P. Marris, "Apathy in the Universities", New Statesman, 18th May, 1962

population of over 6,000 barely 700 belong to any political organisation.[2]   In Brooklyn College, with a student enrolment of around 17,000, there are about 60 students in all the political groups.[3]

When we turn to attitudes we find that the image of the radical young university student is no longer supported by the evidence available.   While the students at McMaster were not as conservative as their party choice seemed to indicate, they nevertheless cannot be thought of as exceptionally radical. It would seem that there is too much satisfaction with the present social and political environment to warrant any outcry against it.

This was also found to be the case among British students. In a survey conducted among nearly 1,000 men and women in their third year at four colleges of London University, it was found that 37.3% of the men and 33.4% of the women supported the Conservative Party, and 25.1% and 18.8% respectively, the Labour Party.   The conclusion drawn from these figures would fit McMaster perfectly: "The typical London third year student ..... is much less like the popular idea of the rebellious undergraduate and much more like the ordinary

2.   D. Boroff, Campus, U.S.A., Harper and Bros., New York, 1958, p. 11.
3.   Ibid. p. 12.   These figures only refer to membership of different groups, and does not reveal much about the interests of non-members.

middle-class citizen than you would imagine."[4]   In the survey
of Cambridge, Leeds and Southampton undergraduates it was also
found that while a quarter to one third favoured no party, or
did not know how they would vote, the rest were predominantly
Conservative.[5]

This survey is by no means an exhaustive account of
attitudes among students, even on the McMaster campus.   The
field is still ripe for a sociologist to enquire into the
social background of apathy, or a psychologist to analyse the
personal motives underlying attitudes towards political
participation.   Comparisons could be made between graduates
and undergraduates with regard to politics, and the relationship
between political attitudes and intelligence or academic
ability should be surveyed.   The effect of participation in
politics courses on political attitudes also deserves attention.

Here we were concerned with testing some of the hypotheses
which have been formulated about political participation, and
with suggesting some new ones.   The conclusions can be made
more meaningful and useful if similar studies are carried out
in other Universities in Canada.   In this way the possibility
of more generalised conclusions, and even the formulation of
some "theory" of student politics, becomes feasible.   Obviously
the conclusions based on the McMaster sample cannot be extended

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4.   Report of survey of university students in
The Observer, (London), March 4th, 1962, p.24
5.   Marris, op. cit.

to other Universities in Canada, and they are therefore of
limited interest. However, this study presents evidence
concerning one Canadian University, and as such represents
a beginning, and a guide to further enquiries of its kind.

APPENDIX

A. Indices

Index of socio-economic status

The students were classed according to father's occupation. These occupations were graded by the Blishen Occupational Class Scale, based on the 1951 Canadian Census, which rated occupations into seven classes according to income and requisite years of schooling. These factors were felt to be reliable indicators of a subjective evaluation of social status.[1]

Distribution of Cases	N.
Occupational Class I	6
" " II	64
" " III	12
" " IV	20
" " V	64
" " VI	23
" " VII	4
	193

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1.   B. R. Blishen, The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 24, 1958, pp. 526-530.

This distribution is presented in four groups:

High (I, II) 70   36.3%

Middle (III, IV) 32   16.6

Lower Middle (V) 64   33.2

Lower (VI, VII) 27   13.9
                                    ———   ———
                                  193   100.0

Index of political interest

This index was constructed from the following five questions: Question 2: "Do you ever get as worked up about something that happens in politics or public affairs as you do about something that happens in your private life?"

      Score: Those who get worked up frequently or sometimes 1

             Those who rarely or never get worked up 0

Question 5a: "To what extent do you follow political and Governmental affairs?"

      Score: Regularly 1

           From time to time or never 0

Question 6: "Do you ever read books on political subjects outside of your courses?"

      Score: Reads books on politics . . 1

           Reads no books on politics 0

Question 9a: "How often do you find yourself talking politics with other people?"

Score: "Nearly every day" or

"once a week" 1

"From time to time" or

"never" 0

Question 47: "To which clubs, societies, political or

social organisations do you belong?

Score: Those who belong to a

political club 1

Others 0

<u>Distribution of Cases</u>   <u>N.</u>

High (5)   9

High Middle (4)   16

Middle (3)   19

Low Middle (2) 30

Low (1)   53

Very Low (0) 66
                                   ———
                                   193

This distribution is presented in 3 groups:

High (5, 4)   25   12.9%

Middle (3, 2)   49   25.4

Low (1, 0)   119   61.7
                                   ———   ———
                                   193   100.0

<u>Index of Group Participation</u>

This index was compiled from Question 47: "To which

clubs, societies, political or social organisations do you

belong, both on the University campus and elsewhere?"

Score and Distribution of Cases

Respondents were scored quantitatively: Those belonging to more than three organised groups - High: Those belonging to two or three organised groups - Moderate: Those belonging to less than two organised groups - Low.

Distribution of Cases

	N.	%
High	22	11.4
Moderate	77	39.9
Low	94	48.7
	193	100.0

Index of Ideological Attitudes

This index was constructed from the following three questions:

Question 33: Would you agree or disagree with the view that the welfare state tends to destroy individual initiative?

Question 34: Some people argue that a college education should be free for all those who want it and meet the requirements, do you agree or disagree?

Question 35: Would you agree or disagree with the view that, by-and-large, the Trade Unions are doing a good job?

The scoring:

Responses favourable to the welfare state, free education, and Trade Unions were scored $\neq$ 1; unfavourable responses were scored - 1; all other responses were scored 0.

The Distribution of cases is presented in three groups:

Left-of-centre ($\neq$ 3, - 2) 51   26.5%

Middle-of-the-road ($\neq$1, 0, -1) .123   63.8

Right-of-centre(-2, -3) 19   9.7

193   100.0

B.   TESTS   OF   REPRESENTATIVES

(using the chi square test at the 5 per cent level of significance, an "x" denotes no significant difference)

Sex Distribution

	Sample		Summary of Enrolment
	n.	%	%
Male	168	70.2	72.3
Female	72	29.8	27.7

x^2 = .63 (d/f = 1) x

Faculty Distribution

Arts, Science	213	88.7	85.0
Engineering	18	7.7	12.2
Divinity	9	3.6	2.8

x^2 = 5.0 (d/f = 2) x

<u>Year Distribution</u>

	n.	Sample %	Summary of Enrolment %
I.	99	41.3	39.1
II	68	28.3	28.2
III	50	20.8	22.1
IV	23	9.6	10.4

$x^2 = .6$ (d/f = 3) x

<u>Denominational Distribution</u>

Anglican	36	15.0	18.8
Baptist	29	12.1	11.8
Presbyterian	21	8.8	9.1
Roman Catholic	21	8.8	11.1
United Church	76	23.7	18.1
Others	57	23.7	18.1

$x^2 = 6.7$ (d/f = 5) x

C. TESTS OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Chi square test was used to establish the significance
of the tables.   The following list of tables shows the values
of P, or the probability of securing a x^2 value as high or
higher with different observations from the same population;
thus if P. is greater than .05 the difference from expectation
could well have arisen from chance, and therefore the difference

does not indicate a significant digression from the expected.[2]

Table No.	Chap.	Page	Value of x^2	Value of P
8	5	39	9.4	.05
9	5	43	10.6	.05
10	5	45	3.2	.5
11	5	49	13.5	.01
12	5	51	10.6	.1
13	5	53	15.1	.01
14	5	54	9.9	.05
15	5	56	9.4	.05
16	5	58	4.7	.3
17	6	61	27.3	.001
18	6	62	40.3	.001
19	6	62	22.3	.001
20	6	63	25.2	.001
21	6	71	10.7	.05
22	6	74	3.4	.5
23	7	77	2.1	.6
25	7	81	29.6	.001
26	7	84	18.4	.01

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2.   For details of the chi square test see
J. Mounsey, Introduction to Statistical Calculations,
English Universities Press, London, 1952, pp.261-263; and
F. E. Croxton, D. J. Cowden, Applied General Statistics,
Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 195 3, pp. 333-337.
The chi-square values were, of course, computed
from the original figures and not from percentages.

Table No.	Chap.	Page	Value of x^2	Value of P
27	7	86	17.7	.05
28	7	87	8.1	.5
29	7	91	7.2	.3
30	7	96	55.5	.001
31	7	98	19.7	.01
32	7	99	7.8	.02
33	7	102	15.6	.05
34	7	106	28.2	.01
35	7	107	29.3	.001
36	7	108	9.5	.01

D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This survey is completely anonymous.   Your name is only
required to check the list of respondents, and will not
be entered anywhere on the questionnaire.

CHECK NAME ON LIST OF RESPONDENTS.

SEX:

1a.   We're conducting an objective survey of how people
      feel about politics.   Your name has been chosen
      for the sample, and we would be very grateful if
      you would answer a few questions about your own
      feelings on politics.   First of all, how much
      interest have you in Canadian polticis?

      Great   Much   Moderate   None.

1b.   How about American politics?

      Great   Much   Moderate   None.

      IF INTERESTED IN AMERICAN POLITICS ASK 1c, 1d.

1c.   Which political party in the United States do you favour?

      Republicans   Democrats   Other   None.

1d.   Would you say you have a greater interest in
      American politics than Canadian?

      Yes   No   Same   Other (specify)

1e.   Are you interested in international politics?

      Greatly   Much   Moderately   Little   Not at all

      IF "NONE" TO ALL PARTS IN NO.1, JUMP TO NO.11

2.   Do you ever get as worked up about something that
      happens in politics or public affairs as you do
      about something that happens in your private life?

      Frequently   Sometimes   Rarely   Never.

2b. Did you, before coming to college, ever get
worked up about political issues?

Frequently   Sometimes   Rarely   Never

3. Have you ever been active (e.g. worked for a party
or candidate) in an election campaign?

i) Regularly   ii) From time to time
iii) Once   iv) Never

If i, ii, iii, ASK

3b. Would you do it again?

Yes   No   Don't know.

4a. Have you ever participated in an election on a
non-party basis (e.g. as a returning officer)?

i) Regularly   ii) From time to time
iii) Once   iv) Never

If i, ii, iii, ASK

4b. Would you do it again?

Yes   No   Don't know

5a. To what extent do you follow political and
governmental affairs, regularly, from time to time,
or never?

Regularly   From time to time   Other (specify)
Never

IF RESPONDENT FOLLOWS POLITICAL AFFAIRS ASK

5b. Do you follow political affairs mostly
through radio, T.V., newspapers or
magazines? (Specify programmes and titles)

6. Do you ever read books on political subjects
outside of your courses?

Regularly   From time to time   Other (specify)
Never.

7. Compared with other people with whom you associate, are you more or less likely to be asked your views on politics?

   More   Less   Same   Don't know

8. If important political and governmental issues arise and you felt you don't know enough about them, what would you do to find out more about them?

9a. How often do you find yourself talking politics with other people, nearly every day, one time a week, from time to time, or never?

   i) Nearly every day   ii) Once a week   iii) From time to time   iv) Never

   IF i, ii, iii, ASK

   9b. With whom do you discuss politics most, the members of your family, friends, or class-mates?

       Family   Friends   Class-mates   Other (specify)

10. Are there any people you would tend to avoid talking to about political issues? Specify what kind of people.

11. How much interest would you say the members of your family have in politics?

    Father   Mother   Others - Great   Much
    Moderate   Little   None

12. Were the schools you attended ones in which you had the opportunity to express your opinions on current affairs, frequently, sometimes, rarely or never?

    IF RESPONDENT WAS ABLE TO EXPRESS OPINIONS ASK

12b. Did you yourself take part on these occasions?

    Frequently   Sometimes   Rarely   Never

13. How much interest would you say your friends have in politics?

    Great   Much   Moderate   Little   None.

14a. Do you think it is important for a young person like you to know something about politics? (Specify reasons).

What about other people?

15. It is sometimes said that political affairs are too complex for the average person to understand, Do you agree or disagree?

Agree   Partially agree (specify)   Disagree with qualification (specify)   Disagree Don't know.

17. Here are some reasons why it might be difficult for some people to understand political and governmental affairs.   Would you say whether you agree or disagree with these suggestions?

The problems are too complex.

People don't care and don't try to understand.

Those in power don't help you to understand.

Schools don't help you to understand.

Others (specify).

18. Do you think that people like you have a great influence on how the government runs things, much influence, moderate, little or no influence?

19. It is sometimes said that certain people or groups have too much influence on the way the government is run, and that the interests of the majority is ignored.   Do you agree or disagree?

20a. If the Dominion Government were about to do something you considered unjust, what do you think you would do?

IF RESPONDENT WOULD DO SOMETHING ASK 20b, 20c.

20b.   If you were alone in your action how successful do you think it would be, very, moderately, slightly, or would you be unsuccessful?

20c. What about if others joined in?

21. Have you ever tried to influence the course of
     Government action?

     Whenever necessary   Once or twice and don't
     plan to do so again.   Never.

22. How much influence do you think the actions of the
     government have on your day to day life?

     Great   Much   Moderate   Little   **None.**

23. If you had to take a problem to a politician, do
     you think your views would be given consideration
     and something done; that your views would be
     considered but nothing done; or that you would
     get little or no attention?

     Serious consideration and action   Consideration,
     but no action   Little attention   No attention
     Don't know.

24. If you were to take your views to a public official
     what would happen?

25a. Now we would like to know something about your
     political preferences and party choice. Generally
     speaking, do you consider yourself as Progressive
     Conservative, Liberal, N.D.P., Social Credit, **as**
     Independent or of no party?

     IF "INDEPENDENT" OR "NO PARTY" ASK

     25b. Towards which party do your views lean?

     IF RESPONDENT "SUPPORTS" OR "LEANS" JUMP TO 28
     IF RESPONDENT SUPPORTS, OR LEANS TO NO PARTY ASK
     26 AND 27, THEN 30.

26. Do the members of your family support a political
     party? (specify which party)

     Father   Mother   Others.

27. How many of your friends and acquaintances support a
     political party? Do most of them, some, few, or none.

28a. Do the members of your family support, or lean towards a political party?

IF "YES" ASK

28b. Do they support or lean towards the same party as you, do they sometimes differ, or do they always differ?

IF THE PARENTS DIFFER ASK

28c. If they differ, which party do they support?

29a. How many of your friends and acquaintances support a political party, most of them, some of them, few or none of them?

IF FRIENDS SUPPORT A POLITICAL PARTY ASK

29b. Would you say that all of your friends support the same party as you, that some do, or that none of them do?

30. Would you say your parents' views on politics influenced your own in any way? (specify)

31. Would you say your friends' views on politics influenced your own in any way? (specify)

32a. If an election were held today, and you were eligible, would you vote?

Yes   No   Don't know

IF "NO" ASK 32b

32b. Why?

IF "YES" ASK 32c

32c. For which party would you vote?

33a. Now we would like to ask you something about your views on one or two social issues. Would you agree or disagree with the view that the welfare state tends to destroy individual initiative?

IF "DISAGREE" ASK

33b. What do you personally think the general
      effects might be?

34. Some people argue that a college education should
     be free for all those who want it and who meet
     the requirements, do you agree or disagree?

35. Would you agree or disagree with the view that,
     by-and-large, the Trade Unions are doing a good
     job?

36. What do you, personally, count on as most
     effective in preventing war?

37a. Some people say that religion is an important
      factor in Canadian politics.   Do you agree or
      disagree?

IF "AGREE" ASK

37b. In what way do you think it might be
      important?

38. Have religious considerations influenced your
     political views in any way?

29a. Have your political attitudes changed since
      coming to university?

IF "YES" ASK

39b. In what way?

40a. Have any of your teachers at college influenced
      your political attitudes?

IF "YES" ASK

40b. In what way?

41. Would you mind telling me your age?

42. What course are you in at McMaster, and what year
     are you in?

43. Would you mind telling me your father's occupation?

44. Where have you spent most of your life, on a farm, in a small town, in the suburb of a big city, or in a big city?

45a. In which country was your father born?

45b. In which country was your mother born?

46a. Are you of any religious affiliation? (specify)

IF RESPONDENT IS OF SOME AFFILIATION ASK

46b. How often do you attend services, weekly (or more often), once in a while, on major festivals, or never?

47. To which clubs, societies, political and social organizations do you belong, both on the University campus, and elsewhere?

48. I wonder if you would tell me within which income group your family belongs?

```
Under $2,000 per year
From    2,000 to 2,999
        3,000 to 3,999
        4,000 to 4,999
        5,000 to 5,999
        6,000 to 6,999
        7,000 to 7,999
Over    8,000 per year
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