ELECTORAL CLEAVAGES

IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON

ELECTORAL CLEAVAGES IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON:

AN ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS,

1962 - 1972

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the electoral cleavages in
Metropolitan Hamilton as demonstrated during the 1963, 1967 and 1971
Provincial elections and the 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal elections.
Through the use of ecolgocial data found in the 1961 census bulletins and
the poll-by-poll election results for the above elections an effort is
made here to examine sources of consistent party support and areas of
fluctuation. Thus, this thesis has attempted to demonstrate that there
are distinct social class differences between sources of party support in
the study area. The data presented in this thesis is analyzed in order to
provide a descriptive picture of voting patterns in Metropolitan Hamilton
and the relationship this has with the nature of federal and provincial
electoral politics in the province of Ontario.

PREFACE

For someone who has a penchant for politics as I do, and in particular the political activity of party politics, voting patterns displayed in the electorate are often baffling. After all, as a party partisan, it is most difficult to recognize and accept the possibility that my viewpoint is not always clear or acceptable to others. The fact that this is the case ensures that those of us who are partisan undergo acute frustrations at election time. It is the frustrations of a partisan NDP'er resulting from the 1971 provincial election in Ontario and the 1972 federal election that gave birth to the idea behind this thesis.

The original concept of this study was similar to the efforts of most research projects at their inception: too big to handle. Starting out with visions of completing a major study of the NDP in Metropolitan Hamilton in terms of party organization during elections, election results and NDP party activity within the Metropolitan Hamilton region between elections, the constraints of time soon changed the nature of this thesis. Settling down to examining the voting patterns of Metropolitan Hamilton on the basis of the social characteristics of the population in the region as defined by the 1961 census, the thesis gradually became smaller and smaller. Even as this transformation took place, the result as presented here continues to lack the refinement of focus that I feel is needed.

An ecological analysis of voting behaviour is a very useful tool for Political Scientists and politicians alike in order to get 'a feel'

of what is occurring within the electorate. The ability to map out the geographical distributions of party support in conjunction with the dominant social characteristics enables one to paint a very clear picture of support patterns within physical units of a particular constituency or group of constituencies over time. For party election organizations this is important as they prepare the foundations of their electoral strategy. For Political Scientists, it is useful in their attempts to continually examine changes within the electorate.

While this study does not present any startling findings that will change the substance of existing knowledge, it has enabled me to see the patterns of electoral behaviour in a much clearer framework. To that extent this thesis is more descriptive than anything else.

There has been very little research into provincial politics in Ontario. If this thesis proves anything, it is probably the need to do much more work in this area, not only in terms of my original designs, but in terms of Ontario politics in general.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER I

"THE PROBLEM, SETTING AND TECHNIQUES"

CHAPTER I

A. The Problem

Fundamental to the objectives of political science is the goal of understanding the political behaviour of society. The vagueness of this goal as well as its broad implications has been a major factor in the development of specialized fields within the discipline. All of them are important and all of them are as interdisciplinary as the discipline itself. Consequently, international bargaining is, in part, studied through the use of psychological models of group behaviour; the study of disarmament is concerned with the impact of nuclear technology on decision-making; the student of political parties must be fully cognizant of historical traditions; and the individual's social and physical environment are of prime importance to the student of voting behaviour.

As this takes place, it becomes necessary for political scientists to refine their knowledge from the realm of speculation to that of patterns of human behaviour. If political scientists are to bridge this gap between knowledge and speculation it is incumbent upon them to continuously, and exhaustively examine and re-examine their theories on the basis of the known social characteristics of society. This, of course, can be done in many ways and this study illustrates the use of only one such research tool within the field of voting behaviour.

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In an effort to add to existing knowledge of society's political behaviour, this study is primarily concerned with the relationship of the social environment of the metropolitan Hamilton Area between 1962 and 1972, with political party polarization and particularly, this relationship within specified territorial units of the study area.

Before embarking upon this study, it is necessary to provide a brief description of the physical, time, data and research limitations.

B. Physical

Situated in the heart of industrialized Ontario, Metro-Hamilton is part of what urban planners consider to be a growing megopolis stretching along the shores of Lake Ontario from the City of Oshawa on the east side of Metro-Toronto to the City of Niagara Falls.[1] It is also a part of Ontario that is endowed with an abundance of natural beauty in addition to historical significance of early Ontario.[2]

In more recent years, Metro-Hamilton has been the scene of a great amount of change. While not unique in this respect from many

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1. For a fuller discussion of population changes and projections in the Metro-Hamilton Study Area see: Brief to the Hamilton-Burlington-Wentworth Local Government Review, submitted by the County of Wentworth, 1967. Of particular interest are tables 21.1 and 21.2, volume three.

2. For a brief summation of some of the local history, see: Ibid., volume one, p. 37-59.

other Canadian and south-western Ontario centres, the area has been and continues to be one of the most important industrial and urban centres in Canada. The large concentration of heavy industry and parallel employment opportunities have been a major factor in attracting large numbers of Canadians to the area and in providing, in many areas of the city, a distinct cosmopolitan flavour. The influx of immigrants into the region and the urbanization of the once agriculturally based Wentworth County and the Town of Burlington has created an urban metropolis which, according to the 1971 census has a population of one-half million.[3]

A comparison with the 1961 census[4] shows us that not only has the Metro-Hamilton population increased by 100,000 people in the past ten years, the population growth has been most dramatic in Burlington, East Flamborough, Dundas, Stoney Creek and Binbrook. All of the remaining municipalities with the exception of the Township of Glanford have experienced population growths far below the Metropolitan average increase of 26 percent. The City of Hamilton has experienced the lowest increase -- 12 percent.

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3. Statistics Canada, 1971 Census Tract Bulletin, Hamilton, number 95-709 (CT-9A).

4. Ibid., 1961, number 95-523, series CT.

Table 1-1 [5]

Population Distribution and the Percentage Population Increase

in Metro-Hamilton Study Region Between 1961 and 1971.

Municipality	Population		
	1961	1971	% Increase
Metro-Hamilton	395,189	498,525	26
Hamilton	273,991	309,195	12
Burlington	47,008	87,025	85
Waterdown	1,844	2,150	16
East Flamborough	4,334	5,980	37
West Flamborough	7,001	8,590	22
Dundas	12,912	17,052	33
Ancaster	13,338	15,325	14
Saltfleet	16,424	18,995	15
Stoney Creek	6,043	8,380	38
Beverly[6]	5,023	-	-
Glanford	4,714	6,111	29
Binbrook	2,557	3,830	49

5. This table was calculated on the basis of the information contained in the two Statistics Canada Bulletins 95-709 (CT-9A) and 95-523 series CT.

6. Beverly Township is not included in the 1971 Hamilton Census Tract Bulletin referred to above.

The large population increases in formerly semi-rural, small
town areas has helped to draw Wentworth County into the embrace of an
ever widening web of metropolitan growth centred around the city.
Reluctant to succumb to the dominance of Hamilton, the trend toward
urbanization has now culminated in the decision of the provincial
government to create a new regional municipality. This decision has
been the cause of prolonged and bitter debates between the City,
Wentworth County and the Provincial Government. At issue was the
insistance of the County that a two-tier governmental structure be
formed in order to preserve the identity and way of life of the semi-
rural areas. As part of Halton County, Burlington has not been
included in this new region, it has definitely been part of the growth
experienced by Wentworth County and stimulated by the urban-industrial
centre of Hamilton.

While one can speculate about the characteristics of the
people moving into the areas outside of Hamilton, no definite
assertions can be made until the full 1971 census is published. What
has been a characteristic of Burlington, East Flamborough , Dundas, Stoney
Creek and Binbrook is their greater than average support to the
Progressive Conservative Party in federal and provincial elections
throughout the decade of 1962 - 1972 compared to the entire metro-
politan area.[7]

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7. While the federal Liberal party was dominant in these areas during
   the 1965 and 1968 elections, the Conservative vote in these areas has
   remained considerably higher then the Metro-Hamilton average. The

What we do know about the characteristics of the metropolitan region is confined to the data provided in the 1961 census. Tables 1-2 to 1-4 provide a summary of some of these.

Table 1-2 provides us with a picture of the Metro-Hamilton region on the basis of ethnicity. While all areas are dominated by those of British descent, the City of Hamilton scores lowest with 58%. In fact, all other areas with the exception of the Township of Saltfleet (59% British) and Beverly Township (63% British) show a much higher concentration of people with a British background than the metropolitan average of 62%. The next highest ethnic group is the Italian community (8%) centred in the City. It would seem then, that while the non British community comprises 38% of the Metro-Hamilton population, this is concentrated within the boundaries of the City.

It is not surprising then to find in table 1-3 the largest percentage grouping of Roman Catholics in Hamilton. The 30% Catholic population in the City is higher than the Metro average and significantly higher than the other eleven municipalities. The reverse is true for the United Church population and to a lesser extent the Anglicans, Baptists and Presbyterians.

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one exception occurred in the Township of Binbrook during the 1971 provincial election. In that year, the Liberals won the township and the Conservative vote fell from 10% above average in 1967 to 10% below average in 1971.

Table 1-2 [8]

Percentage Population Distribution of Selected Ethnic Groupings

in Metro-Hamilton

Municipality   Ethnic Groupings

	British	French	German	Italian	Dutch
Metro-Hamilton	62	3	5	6	3
Hamilton	58	4	5	8	2
Burlington	70	3	4	1	5
Waterdown	78	2	6	0	1
East Flamborough	72	2	5	1	7
West Flamborough	66	4	8	1	8
Dundas	75	3	6	2	3
Ancaster	73	2	6	0	8
Stoney Creek	66	2	3	2	3
Saltfleet	59	4	6	2	9
Beverly	63	2	12	0	10
Glanford	71	3	7	1	7
Binbrook	73	2	6	1	7

8. Statistics Canada, op.cit., 1961.

Table 1-3 [9]

Percentage Population Distribution of Selected Religious Groups

in Metro-Hamilton

Municipality   Religion

Municipality	United Church	Anglican	Baptist	Presby-terian	Catholic[*]
Metro-Hamilton	24	20	4	10	26
Hamilton	20	19	4	10	30
Burlington	32	23	3	9	19
Waterdown	37	25	3	13	15
East Flamborough	40	17	6	8	15
West Flamborough	32	20	4	9	19
Dundas	29	24	5	12	18
Ancaster	35	24	3	9	13
Stoney Creek	34	24	2	10	16
Saltfleet	26	20	3	7	22
Beverly	41	10	6	14	11
Glanford	41	21	5	6	10
Binbrook	46	16	5	9	12

* This includes the Greek Orthodox, Ukranian Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic denominations.

9. Ibid.

This pattern continues when the measures 'average income per family' and 'median home values' are taken into consideration. Of the twelve communities, Hamilton ranks ninth for both of these measures while Ancaster, Burlington, Dundas and Stoney Creek rank as the top four.

For occupational groupings, the expected pattern, based on the above tables emerges. The managerial and professional people live outside the city, while more than the average number of craftsmen and production workers live in the city. The agricultural community is found in the occupational classification of primary. (See table 1-4, page 11).

In terms of federal and provincial constituencies, we are dealing with six provincial ridings in 1963 and seven constituencies in 1967 and 1971. There are five federal ridings for all four federal elections although boundary re-distribution took place in 1968.

Provincial Constituencies

1963	1967 and 1971
Halton (Burlington only)	Halton West (Burlington only)
Hamilton-Wentworth	Wentworth North
Wentworth	Wentworth
Wentworth East	Hamilton Mountain
Hamilton East	Hamilton East
Hamilton Centre	Hamilton West
	Hamilton Centre

Table 1-4 [10]

Percentage Population Distribution of Selected Occupation Groups

in Metro-Hamilton

Municipality   Occupation

Municipality	Management	Professional	Clerical	Sales	Transportation and Communication	Primary	Service	Craftsmen	Labourers
Metro-Hamilton	8	10	16	8	6	3	11	33	5
Hamilton	6	9	10	7	6	1	13	36	6
Burlington	17	15	14	10	4	5	7	24	3
Waterdown	12	13	15	9	7	3	13	23	3
East Flamborough	9	8	10	6	7	23	6	25	4
West Flamborough	9	12	9	6	7	15	7	29	4
Dundas	12	14	15	9	5	2	10	27	4
Ancaster	15	17	12	9	4	11	7	20	3
Stoney Creek	12	15	19	6	4	2	6	29	2
Saltfleet	7	6	12	6	7	7	8	40	5
Beverly	5	5	9	4	7	34	6	26	4
Glanford	7	7	12	5	8	14	7	33	4
Binbrook	5	6	8	4	7	26	6	33	5

10. Ibid.

Federal Constituencies[11]

1962 and 1965	1968 and 1972
Wentworth	Hamilton-Wentworth
Halton (Burlington Only)	Halton-Wentworth
Hamilton South	Hamilton Mountain[12]
Hamilton East	Hamilton East
Hamilton West	Hamilton West

C. Time Period

The Specified time period for this study is the decade 1962-1972. This time period was selected for two reasons: first, it comprised the first decade of the NDP as a political party and second, these ten years witnessed a number of important political events, particularly at the federal level; events which undoubtably have had a significant impact on the electorate.

Federally, this decade was marked by the defeat of the Diefenbaker government and Diefenbaker's replacement by Robert Stanfield

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11. Beverly Township in Wentworth County is included in the federal riding of Wentworth during the 1962 and 1965 elections. As a result of re-distribution in 1968, it has been placed in the riding of Wellington and thus lies outside of the study area.

12. Because the election returns for the 1972 election had not been published in time for use in this study, it was necessary to obtain them from each constituency returning officer. This was not possible for the riding of Hamilton Mountain.

as a national leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. The internal strife within the federal Progressive Conservative Party, accentuated by fundamental changes in leadership style, has been a major political event on the national level. Also, the elections during this time have produced four minority governments lasting a total of six years. The one majority administration came about primarily as a result of a change in leadership within the federal Liberal Party. However, the charismatic leadership of Liberal leader Pierre Trudeau, culminating in his 1968 electoral victory and his failure to duplicate this in 1972 brings haunting memories of the rise and fall of John Diefenbaker's Conservative government of 1958-1962.

The federal NDP did not undergo the alterations of the other two parties. While a new leader was elected in 1971, the impact of the change from T. C. Douglas to David Lewis was not as great as that experienced by the Progressive Conservative and Liberal parties. Of greater significance is the fact that in the political turbulance of the decade, the NDP would seem to have continued to consolidate its electoral support.[13]

Diagram 1-1 presents a graphical description of the varying

13. Some NDP'ers and political observers would suggest that this consolidation was only a failure of the NDP to make a significant impact on the electorate. The party, they would suggest, should have fared much better in 1972.

Diagram 1-1

Percent Liberal, Conservatives and NDP Vote During the Federal Elections

Held Between 1945 and 1972:   Province of Ontario

(percent turnout for the 1972 Federal Election was not available)

Percent
Popular
Vote

Percent Turnout

Percent Conservative

Percent
Liberal

Percent CCF/NDP

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

1945   1949   1953   1957   1958   1962   1963   1965   1968   1972

Year
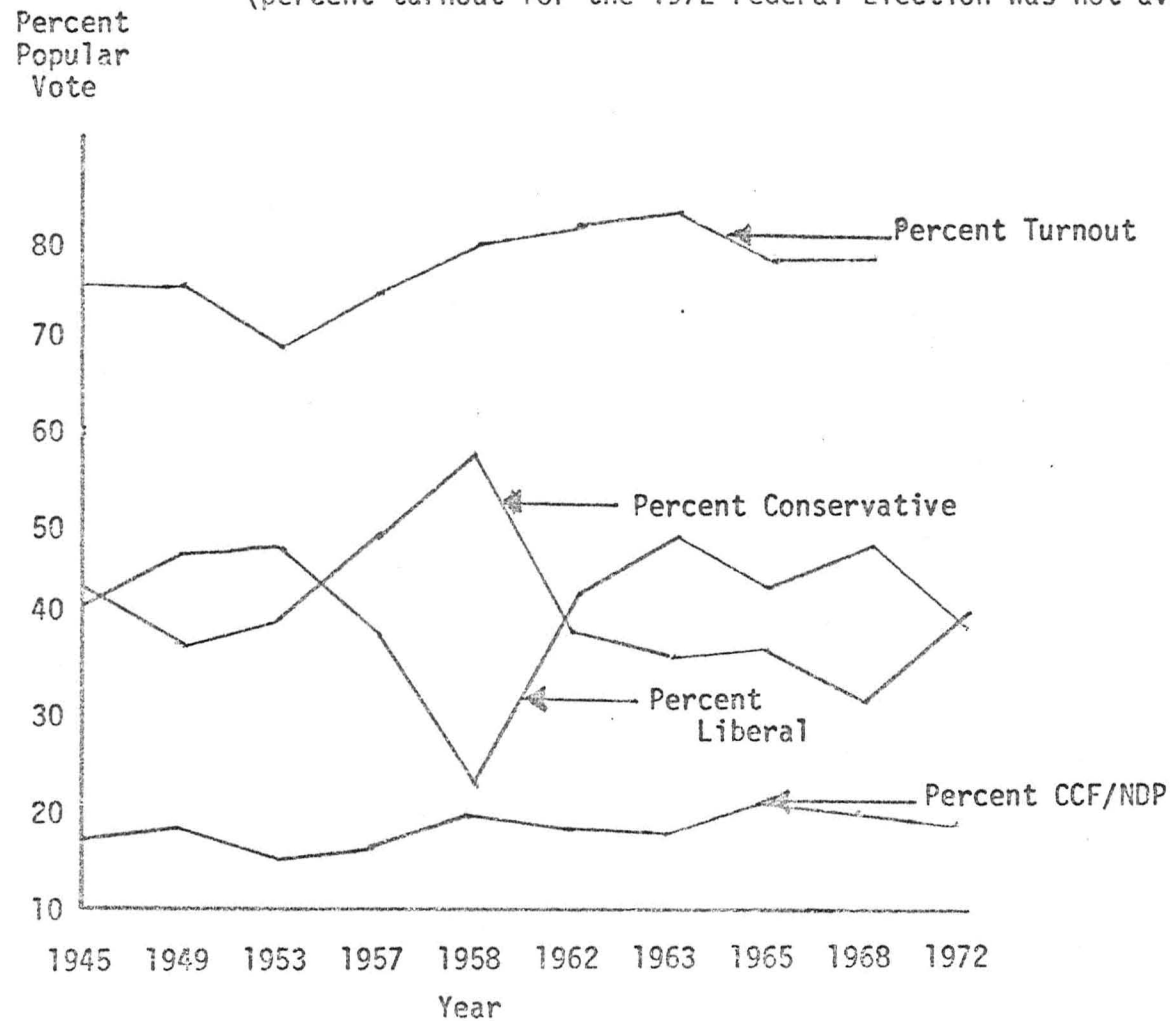
levels of party support in Ontario during federal elections held
between 1945 and 1972. While more will be said of the mirroring
fortunes of the Conservative and Liberal parties and the independent
nature of the NDP support later, the graph does illustrate a great
amount of movement within the electorate. Clearly, party politics at
the federal level in the Province of Ontario is characterized by a
great deal of movement within the electorate affecting the fortunes of
the Liberal and Conservative parties. While these two parties have
experienced large fluctuations in support, the NDP has seen its support
slowly increase, with little apparent relationship to the other two
parties.

Provincially, the past decade has not been as politically
volatile. New leaders emerged in the governing Progressive Conservative
party with Premier William Davis replacing John Robarts and Stephen
Lewis replacing Donald MacDonald as leader of the Ontario NDP. The most
significant event would appear to be the Progressive Conservative
victory in 1971, when the opposition parties with high hopes of making
significant electoral gains, actually experienced a loss of seats
in the legislature.

Diagram 1-2 graphically represents the levels of popular
support received by the three parties during Ontario provincial
elections held between 1943 and 1971. With a more detailed discussion
on the party support in Ontario to follow, the diagram presented here
indicates some very striking differences between the federal electoral

patterns (diagram 1-1) and those occurring during provincial elections.
Provincially the Ontario Liberal Party's electoral support is
independent of the support of the provincial Conservatives and the
Ontario NDP. The Conservative and NDP electoral support is not
only inversely related, they are also related to the changes in voter
turnout during provincial elections.

The study period then, is on two levels consisting of the
1962, 1965, 1968, and 1972 federal elections [14] and the 1963, 1967 and
1971 provincial campaigns.

D. Data Set

The use of ecological analysis as a research tool requires a
great deal of time and effort involved in data collection. This
data essentially involves two types: a) Census materials and b) Poll
by poll election results during both federal and provincial elections.

The census materials which describe what is termed here as the
social environment, are available through the 1961 national census
publications.[15] This data is organized on the basis of 65 territorial

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14. The 1963 election is ommitted in order to provide at least a three
    year time span between federal elections.

15. The 1961 census has been used exclusively because it has not been
    possible to get a completed copy of the 1971 census on the basis
    of census tracts.

Diagram 1-2

Percent Liberal, Conservative and NDP Vote with Percentage Turnout

for the Provincial Elections from 1943-1971

Percent
Popular
Vote

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

Percent Turnout

Percent Conservative

Percent Liberal

Percent CCF/NDP

1943   1945   1948   1951   1955   1959   1963   1967   1971

Year

17
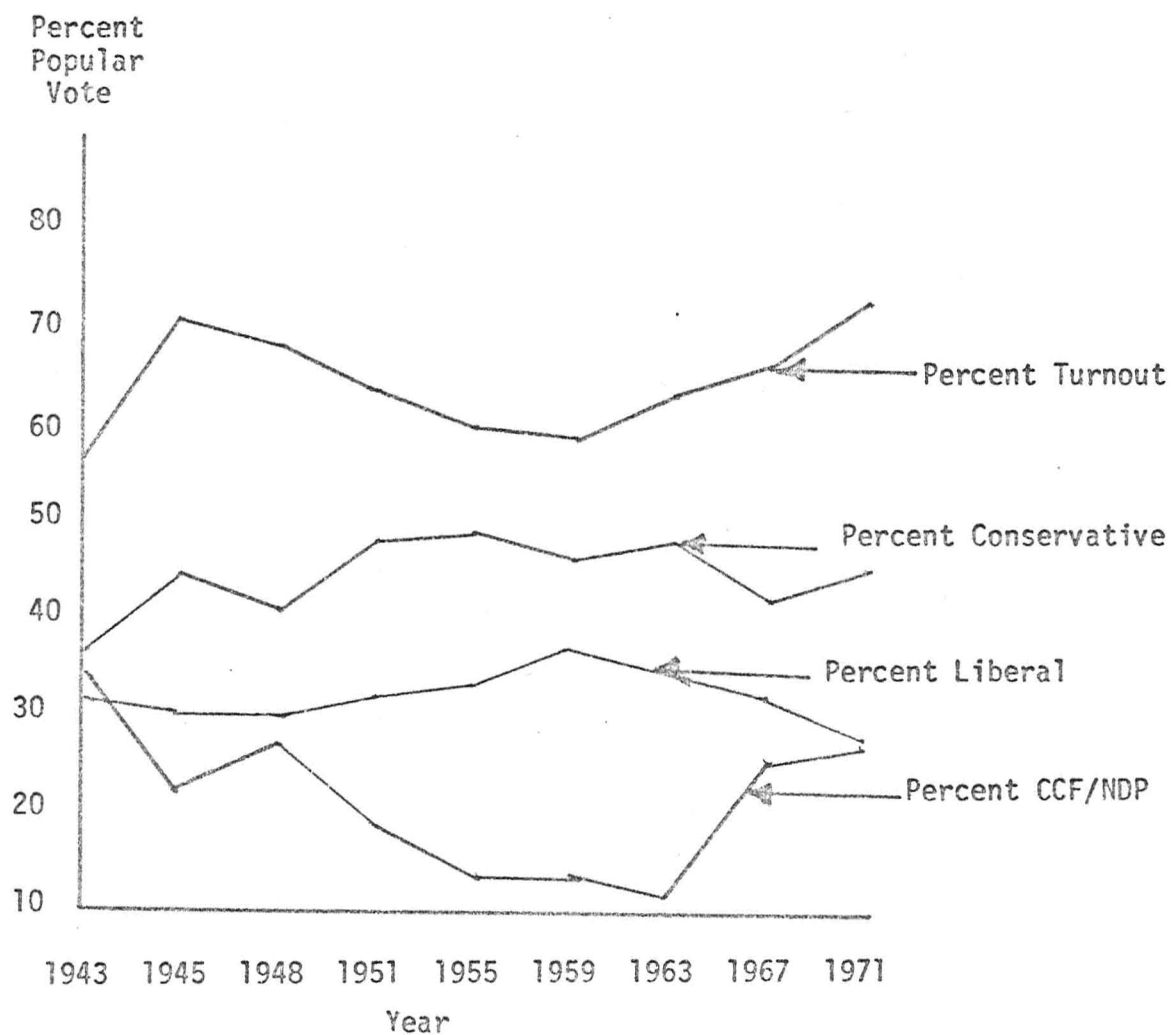
units (census tracts) for the City of Hamilton and six for the Town of
Burlington. The municipal units of Wentworth County are treated separately.

In combining this information with the election returns it was
necessary to place each polling subdivision for each election into the
relevant census tracts. Once this was completed, the election results
within each census tract for each of the three provincial and four federal
elections were calculated and coded along with the social characteristics
of the same tract.

The coding manual[16] consists of 79 cases numbered 1-81[17] and
contains 198 variables per case. Variables 001 to 136 define the
social characteristics and variables 137 to 198 contain the election
results for each territorial unit.

E. Research Tool

As a method of studying Canadian voting behaviour, ecological
analysis has been overshadowed by the more popular method of survey
research. While the reasons for this appear to be mainly methodological,
ecological analysis can offer to the social scientist a great deal of

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16. Appendix One.

17. Tracts number 58 and 65 are hospitals, and therfore, lack
    sufficient information for this analysis.

information and knowledge that will add to his efforts to understand and predict how and why people vote as they do.

As the term suggests, ecological analysis involves a study of the "adjustment of human beings to their environment."[18] As a rule, the environment is rigidly defined on the basis of the available census units, providing the researcher with small, comparable units of analysis. This means that a study of relevant characteristics on human behaviour can be pursued on a number of levels. In other words, a city of 200,000 people may be reduced to 40 territorial units. The researcher is then able to study the behaviour of population groups within each unit and to compare his findings with those units of common or dissimilar characteristics.

Generally then, ecological analysis means a study of territorial environments of human activity. Through it, it is not possible to measure a person's total environment, but it is possible, within specified boundaries, to study the behaviour of a number of people of like characteristics. Ecological analysis is not a study of individual behaviour, but a study of behavioural traits within "units at some level above the individual actor."[19]

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18. Dogan, M. and Rokkan, S., (eds.), Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, p. 4.

19. Ibid.

According to Dogan and Rokkan,[20] there are four levels on which a researcher can focus his study through the use of ecological data. He may study the variations at the level of the individual, or aim his attention to variations within a group of territorial units. Alternatively, the social scientist may either confine his study to one unit at a time or consider the processes of interaction between the two levels. Figure 1-1 below, taken from Dogan and Rokkan, outlines these options further.

Because it has not been possible to carry out a full micro-macro research design, this study is restricted to an examination of political choices on the basis of the known characteristics of the territorial units over time (option 11, figure 1-1).

A recurring theme in the use of ecological analysis centres around the level of inferences that can be made on the basis of ecological and aggregate data. If, as Erik Allardt states "the objective of the social sciences is to show causal explanations not demonstrations of correlations"[21] then this study can be seen in the perspective of demonstrating correlations which if utilized

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20. Ibid., p. 8.

21. Allardt, E., "Aggregate Analysis: The Problems of Its Informative Value", om Dogan and Rokkan, op.cit., p. 42.

Figure 1-1 [22]

Level of
Dependent
Variable

Focus of Attention

Individual	I. Either: individual data (e.g. from surveys) treated without reference to territorial context, or territorial aggregate data used to analyse individual variations.	III. Either: individual data used jointly with contextual data for territorial units, or aggregate/ global data used to get interaction between levels.
Territorial Unit	II. Aggregate/global data for territorial units used to describe and account for variations at the territorial level.	IV. Either: joint use of individual/aggregate/ global data to test sources of change in territorial structures, or aggregate/ global data used to test interaction between levels.

22. Ibid., The data terms are defined as:
   a) Individual data - personal attributes of behaviour;
   b) Global data - attributes characterizing the unit as a whole and not derivable from data on the individual in the unit;
   c) Contextual data - membership of, exposure to, territorial units of given global or aggregate attributes;
   d) Aggregate data - unit characteristics derived from distribution of individual attributes or behaviour.

further with studies at the individual level can develop suggestions towards causal explanations. As such this study can develop suggestions towards causal explanations. As such this study can only be viewed as a partial fulfillment of a larger research project.

The use of ecological analysis as an effort to accomplish the objectives stated above by Allardt means the combination of individual and aggregate data. This blending of research tools is becoming more and more popular and proving to be a fertile area of study.[23] A straight application of ecological correlations will tell us something about territorial units, but can provide only limited information at the important level of the individual. With the knowledge that voting patterns ultimately lie at the level of individual decisions based on the alternatives presented by each political choice, studies of voting behaviour cannot overlook the important impact the environment has upon a voter's perceived choices and his ultimate decision.

The level of valid inference on the basis of ecological

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23. Three good examples are:
    a) Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., "The Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Je. 1970, p. 177-204.
    b) Scheuch, E., "Social Context in Individual Behaviour" in Dogan and Rokkan, op.cit., p. 133-155.
    c) Laponce, J., "Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of Survey and Census Data", Ibid., p. 187-215.

correlations has caused social scientists to be very careful about statements based on this type of research. While the strong arguments of William S. Robinson[24] of twenty years ago have been primarily responsible for this, it is also true that more recently, social scientists have made concerted attempts to show that ecological correlations still continue to retain validity.[25]

However, it is also true that an understanding of the limitations of a research tool is valuable in determining and ensuring the informative level of generalizations produced by the study. In this study this means that the informative level of forthcoming generalizations are weakened by the lack of a combination of aggregate and individual data and this in turn weakens the empirical content of the conclusions since the "empirical content of a statement increases with its degree of falsifiability."[26]

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24. Robinson, W., "Ecological Correlations and Behaviour of the Individual", American Sociological Review, 15, 1950, p. 351-357.

25. The acceptable level of inference based on ecological analysis would appear to be the subject of a re-evaluation, see:
    a) Menzel, H., "Comment on Robinson's Ecological Correlations and the Behaviour of the Individual", Ibid., p. 674
    b) Allardt, E., op.cit.
    c) Howard, P., et. al., "An Ecological Analysis of Voting Behaviour in Baton Rouge", Social Forces, vol. 50, Sept. 1971, p. 45-53.
    d) Wilson, J., "The Use of Aggregate Data in the Analysis of Canadian Electoral Behaviour", an unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association Conference on Statistics, June 1967.

26. Popper, K., as quoted in Allardt, op.cit., p. 47.

The combination of aggregate and individual data, as stated above, can be fruitfully employed in macro-micro studies of electoral ecology. In this fashion, surveys can be utilized to test generalizations at the individual level.

If as social scientists, we accept the validity of structural-functional analysis, the combination of individual-aggregate data becomes a very important research tool, because it allows us to examine behaviour within the context of the social environment. It is in this way that it becomes possible to increase the falsifiability of our empirical generalizations and thereby increase the informative value.

While the necessity of further research along this line is apparent, it also promises to be a worthwhile endeavour. This does not mean, however, that ecological analysis is not important by itself. Ecological data allows the social scientist to reach generalizations about "small social groupings living in distinct areas that numerically extensive sampling would make too costly."[27] In addition, ecological analysis opens the way to the study of local political fractionalization; for looking at traditionalism in changing societies[28] and to examine the development of voting patterns in distinct territorial units over periods of time.

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27. Linz, J., "Ecological Analysis and Survey Research" in Dogan and Rokkan, op.cit., p. 100.

28. Ibid.

While a macro-micro research design may produce more extensive conclusions, a predominately macro study as this one is, is of great value in a field lacking in previous attempts on the same level of analysis.

F. Use of Ecological Analysis in
Canadian Voting Behaviour Studies

While ecological analysis is not a new research tool, it has in North American social sciences, and in studies of Canadian electoral behaviour in more particular, been treated in a secondary fashion to survey research. In 1967, John Wilson wrote, "the serious study of Canadian voting has, until quite recently, been left largely to the newspapers."[29] Since then there have been a number of published works based primarily on survey research.[30]

Given the easy accessibility, inexpensiveness and richness of the data available to the Canadian political scientist, it is surprising that more work has not been carried out in the field of ecological research, for as Wilson asserts, ". . .while it is

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29. Wilson, J., op.cit., p. 1.

30. The works here are too numerous to list. See the bibliographies in:
    a) Courtney, J., Voting in Canada, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1967.
    b) Thorburn, H., Party Politics in Canada, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1967.
    c) Fox, P., Politics: Canada, McGraw-Hall, Toronto, 1966.

impossible to prove the existance of a relationship between two variables on the basis of aggregate data alone. . . it is quite possible to show with such data that a suggested relationship could not possibly exist."[31] And even this problem can be greatly overcome by the blending of survey and ecological data into a macro-micro research design as mentioned previously.

As voting behaviour involves a study of individual choices and the influences upon that choice, it is important that research be carried out at the level of the smallest available unit. This can be done at the individual (micro) level or at a group (macro) level. As this study basically involves the group level, the choice of one's unit of analysis is very important. The existing literature demonstrates the use of two possible units of analysis: census tracts and/or constituencies. To base one'e unit of analysis upon the constituency level, however, discriminates against the examination of voting behaviour within the constituency. This is important. Constituencies are artificial groupings containing urban-nonurban mixes and/or significant differences in social characteristics of an urban or rural area. The use of census tracts within the constituency can aid significantly in separating these groupings and allowing the researcher to examine the behaviour of isolated groupings of individuals.

J. A. Laponce[32] encountered even another significant draw-back

31. Wilson, J., op.cit., p. 7.

32. Laponce, J., op.cit.

to using the constituency as the territorial unit. While the census
is published on the basis of census tracts, some information is
also provided on the basis of existing federal constituencies. The
data on the constituency level is not very adequate. Consequently,
Laponce was not able to utilize the class variable in his study
because that type of information was available only at the tract
level. This meant that Laponce was not able to examine one of the three
most important variables[33] in analysing electoral behaviour in
Canada.

In an article published as part of a larger study, Donald
Blake[34] also by-passes the use of census tracts in favour of the
constituency as a unit of analysis. For Blake, however, the
constituency as a unit, was more appropriate as he was examining
voting patterns within large regional blocs across the country.

The use of the census tract as a unit of analysis has been
less widespread.[35] Undoubtably, it requires more work on the part

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33. The other two being religion and ethnicity.

34. Blake, D., "The Measurement of Regionalism in Canadian Voting
Patterns", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol. v,
March 1972, no. 1, p. 55-80.

35. Some works in addition to those listed in notes 23 and 25 include:
a) Laponce, J., People vs. Politics, University of Toronto Press,
Toronto, 1969.
b) Reid, E., "Canadian Political Parties. . ." in Courtney,
op.cit., p. 72-80.
c) Smith, D., "Questionnaire Response, Voter Turnout and Party
Support" Ibid., p. 115-123.

of the researcher as he must fit polling subdivisions into the
census tract areas and if more than one election is being examined
this can be a formidable job since polling subdivisions change from
one election to another.[36] The stability and continuity afforded
by the census tracts are valuable in examining voting patterns
within the constituency boundaries.[37] As the tract areas allow the
social scientist to separate out the wide social-economic variations
within the constituency, he is able to maximize the informative
value of his research by using relatively homogeneous units of
analysis. As the analysis in this study progresses, it will become
apparent that this use of census tracts is essential not only in
mapping out and studying voting patterns of Metro-Hamilton, for each
election, but also in an effort to examine the trends over a ten
year period during which a major re-distribution of seats occurred at
both the federal and provincial levels.

Finally, it is necessary to demonstrate the use of ecological
analysis over time. While census tracts may undergo some boundary
changes from census year to census year, this would appear to happen
only as a result of divisions[38] within an existing unit and resulting

36. The number of polls range from a low of 110 in Wentworth North
     (1967 P) to a high of 215 in Halton-Wentworth (1972 F).

37. In the City of Hamilton the number of census tracts within
     constituencies varies slightly with approximately 15 per constituency.
     This is much lower for those ridings in Wentworth County and Burlington.

38. Most of the Metro-Hamilton census tracts have boundaries identical
     to those of 1961. Where changes have occurred the new tracts can
     be subsumed into the 1961 boundaries.

from a significant population increase.[39] As this study encompasses

a ten year time span, the stability of the territorial units is

important. The constituency boundaries in the 1967 and 1971 provincial

elections are not the same as those of 1963. Similarily, the federal

constituencies during the 1968 and 1972 campaigns are not the same as

those used during the 1962 and 1965 federal elections. By defining the

census tract as the primary unit of analysis it is possible to

examine changes over time irrespective of the constituency re-alignments.

As voting preferences undergo fluctuations and permanent change, an

examination of this phenomenon will be possible on the basis of

the prevailing characteristics of the territorial units.

An examination of both provincial and federal voting is

intended to provide an insight into the types of change occurring

within the electorate between these two levels of political activity.

The pattern of alternative party preferences between federal and

provincial elections is well known, but what are the characteristics

of the 'switchers'? Do they really exist in significant numbers or

do they constitute the non-voter during provincial elections?

Ecological analysis cannot provide information concerning

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39. The tremendous population increase in Burlington does present a
    real problem for this analysis. It is not possible to take
    account of the dynamics of change brought about by the increase.

the impact of the media, or the flow of information during the election campaign. Nor can it be used to talk about individual voting choices. It can, however, provide information about characteristics of group behaviour, and this in itself is very important in studying Canadian electoral behaviour. Even a politician on the hustings cannot appeal to the individual preferences of each voter. Consequently he bases his appeal on the characteristics of identifiable groups within the electorate. His gamble that the appeal will be meaningful to the individual group member is part of the game of politics. This is in itself a good justification, if any is needed at all, for an extensive use of ecological research in the study of Canadian electoral behaviour.

CHAPTER TWO

"SOME INFLUENCES UPON THE DEVELOPMENT

OF CANADIAN POLITICAL PARTIES"

CHAPTER II

The influences on and traditions of the Canadian political system are many and varied. For Charles Taylor[1], the Canadian system has been characterized by what he terms 'concensus politics'. To Taylor, this term refers to the influence on the Canadian system of the diverse interests that must be accomodated within the federal system. Over the years this perceived necessity within the Canadian system has been attributed to the late Prime Minister McKenzie King's ability to put this need for compromise into effect. As expressed by Frank Underhill, this ability of King's is very similar to the brokerage function of the political parties in the United States.

> "Mr. King's leadership in domestic matters was
> based upon two fundamentals. . .One was that
> Canada cannot be governed without the consent
> and co-operation of the French-Canadians and the
> other was that in a loosely knit continental
> community like ours, with all its diverse
> interest groups, political parties that aspire
> to the responsibility of government must not be
> class parties but must be a loosely knit
> representative collection of voters from all
> groups."[2]

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1. Taylor, C., The Pattern of Politics, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1970, page 1.

2. Underhill, F., "Concerning Mr. King" as quoted in: Wilson, J., "Politics and Social Class in Canada: The Case of Waterloo South", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Sept. 1968, p. 290.

To Taylor, concensus politics of this type has forced the Canadian political parties into the centre rendering the disappearance of fundamental differences within the political system.

> "The result of this is that the political confrontation engendered by the left's advocacy of its programme has been much less dramatic and apocalyptic. The drama of a frontal opposition between 'yes' and 'no' has been replaced by the evasive dialogue of 'yes' or 'we'll see'."[3]

As centrization and consensus are concommitant with the preservation of existing structures and institutions, any attempt to develop a working class orientated party, which is the logical means for a party of the left to achieve electoral support is viewed on unfavourably as Frank Underhill wrote above.

Indeed, for many Canadians, McKenzie King's style has become a watchwork for Canadian politics. To politicians, the media and the public, the practise of consensus politics has become sacred: it has become to be regarded as the only way by which national unity can be preserved. The Progressive Conservative and the New Democratic parties are considered to be regional parties because they have been unable to win substantial support in the province of Quebec. The Liberal party, unable to gain significant levels of support in

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3. Taylor, op.cit., p. 14.

Western Canada, is a national party because it is able to garner the support of both Ontario and Quebec. So goes the centrist version of Canadian political parties as it emanates from Central (centrist) Canada.

Consensus politics has been lamented by others as well as Charles Taylor. When Prime Minister Lester Pearson called the 1965 election on the theme of majority government Professor Bruce Hodgins wrote that the basing of an election on a plea for majority government was:

> "perhaps a logical if depressing consequence of
> having elections merely as a contest between one
> set of brokers and another."[4]

Similarily, John Porter has written in his book The Vertical Mosaic that "the most significant feature of Canada's two major parties is their espousal of the same conservative values; that reform and progressive legislation are achieved through the spirit of opportunism rather than from a basic orientation to social progress and change; and that by eliminating social differences, the Canadian party system obliterates the creative source of Canadian politics."[5]

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4. Hodgins, B., "The Bankruptcy of Consensus Politics in Canada" as quoted in: Beck , J., Pendulum of Power, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1968, page 395.

5. Porter, J., The Vertical Mosaic, as quoted in: Beck, J., op.cit.

The literature on Canadian electoral behaviour over the past ten years has, however, placed more emphasis upon an increased working class pattern of voting behaviour. In this regard, the major recipient of this growing trend has been the New Democratic Party.

In reporting on the 1968 federal election, J. M. Beck wrote: "For the NDP, it was a holding election: its representation rose from 21 to 22 seats, but its popular vote feel slightly below the 17.9% of 1965; its working class support stood the test, but not its middle class vote."[6]

Fred Engleman and Mildred Schwartz have written that:

"The relationship between class interests and parties in Canada is ambiguous. . .the CCF/NDP is the closest approach to a national class party. . .(although) its own spokesmen have come to avoid strong emphasis on its class nature."[7]

Later they also write:

"The vote in 1965 shows that the formation of the NDP may be turning into a belated success and that a politically relevant class cleavage may be developing."[8]

6. Beck, J., op.cit., p. 415.

7. Engleman, F., and Schwartz, M., Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1967, p. 55.

8. Ibid., p. 252.

John Wilson in his well known article "Politics and Social Class in Canada: The Case of Waterloo South" suggests from his data, that the class factor is a determinant only for the NDP support with the traditional religious and ethnic variables remaining the most valid explanators of Liberal and Conservative vote. [9]

In analysing the 1968 election, John Meisel found that:

". . .after religion, it is the cluster of characteristics associated with status which reveal the greatest disparities between supporters of the various parties. . ."[10]

Later Meisel states, ". . .sixty percent of its (NDP) vote came from labour and those thinking of themselves as lower or working class."[11]

Given the history and purpose of the CCF/NDP the findings reported above are not surprising. As a party of the left, the objective of the NDP has been the fulfillment of democratic socialism by means of economic and social change. This in itself is a rejection of consensus politics, or non-ideological politics. For a party of the left, politics must be ideological and thus the party appeal is based upon a maximization of electoral support from the social groups

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9. Wilson, J., op.cit., p. 302-303.

10. Meisel, J., Working Papers on Canadian Politics, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1973, p. 3.

11. Ibid., p. 46.

considered to be discriminated against by the existing social and economic values of the existing social system.

> "The old concept that wealth is might and might is right is outdated. Distorting human values, it fosters dangerous extremes of opulence and misery both at home and abroad.

> Patching up the old system cannot change its basic concept. Canada needs new ways, coupled with a new and higher purpose. The New Party, dedicated to these objectives stands for the application of moral principles to our social goals."[12]

While Canadian politics and the Canadian political parties have been greatly influenced by the United States (the brokerage theory), John Wilson also points out that the unwritten rule of appropriating a racial, regional and religious balance has existed since confederation. He also reminds us of the observations of Canadian politics by André Siegfried sixty years ago who wrote that the development of religious, racial or class parties would destroy the federalist structure of Canada.[13] The notion of a class party is not, however, a concept new to the political traditions of Canadians. Gad Horowitz presents a very good analysis of the influences upon Canadian political

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12. National Committee for the New Party, "Statement of Objectives", Draft Programme, May 1961, p. 7. Found in the appendix of Knowles, S., The New Party, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1961.

13. Wilson, J., op.cit., p. 288.

development. At the risk of treating an important and well stated argument too superficially, a brief summation of Horowitz's argument is useful. Horowitz's problem is essentially that of resolving the question he poses to himself: Why is organized socialism dead in the United States, but alive in Canada as a significant political force? The difference, he asserts can be found in a "comparative study of the English-Canadian and American societies", where he writes, "It will be shown that the relative strength of socialism in Canada is related to the relative strength of toryism, and to the different position and character of liberalism in the two countries."[14]

Employing the Hartzian model of studying new societies[15] Horowitz's interpretation of English Canada is premised on the view of English Canada as a " 'bourgeois fragment', founded by bearers of liberal individualism who have left the tory end of the spectrum. . .The significance of the fragmentation process is that the new society, having been thrown off from Europe, loses the stimulus to change that the whole provides."[16] The significance of this, is of course, that "the ideology of the founders is. . ., congealed at the point of origin."[17] The new society, leaving behind the past, leaves behind the ability to develop its ideology on the basis of continued contact with the past.

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14. Horowitz, G., Canadian Labour in Politics, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1968, p. 3

15. Hartz L., The Founding of New Societies, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., New York, 1964.

16. Horowitz, G., op.cit., p. 4.

17. Ibid., p. 5.

To Horowitz, the point of congealment in English Canada occurs much later than the point of influx of the United Empire Loyalists who brought to Canada a touch of 'toryism' which has had a significant impact upon the political development of the Canada as a group of colonies prior to Confederation and to Canada as a nation throughout its political development. The importance of the Family Compacts, 'tory' by philosophy and action, in providing an atmosphere in which there was an "acceptance of hierarchial patterns: the (Horatio) Alger dream was much weaker in the masses, so there was no need to harness it in order to keep the right wing in the saddle."[18] cannot be lost on the development of the Canadian system.

In this study, Horowitz's concern over the point of congealment of the ideology of English Canadians is of secondary importance. More important is his linkage of socialism in Canada to an earlier presence of toryism and this linkage is essentially that of a reaction to this 'tory touch' of elitism in English Canadian society. This tory influence combined with the liberal sentiments of the Jeffersonian Democrats in the United States, proclaiming the 'end of ideology' in North American culture, found its way into the English-Canadian bourgeoise society aiding and abetting the appearance of and continued existance of socialism founded on a clear and firm class base.

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18. Ibid., p. 14.

Horowitz's argument then is that, while American liberalism, characterized by its belief in the brokerage theory and identified with the Horatio Alger success story, has been a predominant influence on the Canadian political system over time, the non-liberal British influence has been great as well. It is this latter influence that W. L. Morton refers to when he writes that the Canadian Conservative Party can stand for 'peace, order and good government' as written in the the British North America Act as opposed to the 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'; found in the American constitution. The elitist nature of the Conservative party in Canada is analogous to the British Conservative party, conceiving "parliamentary democracy not as government by the people, but as government by ministers of the crown for the people."[19] Canadian conservatism does however have additional ingredients, comprising the tory-radicalism of John Diefenbaker and the 'red-tory' of George Grant, both products of the cross pressures within the Canadian experience.

It is on the basis of the traditional tory elements within the Canadian Conservative party that Canadian socialism is provided with the grounds for growth and status as a significant political force in Canadian politics. The influence on Canadian socialists was drawn mainly from British working-class and Fabian traditions. It is this

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19. Ibid., p. 21.

influence, based upon the tory past of the 'old world' and the
re-emergence of elements of this past in the Conservative party that
has enabled the CCF/NDP to develop the beginnings of a class base of
support in addition to social and economic ideological reasons for the
existance of a socialist party.

Canadian Liberalism, Horowitz argues, has not only been
influenced by socialism and toryism in Canada, the influence has been
reciprocal. Toryism and socialism have forced the Liberal party into
what Horowitz calls the 'centre' party.[20] Under King, the Liberals
were forced to react to the 'socialist challenge' of the CCF by
embarking upon a semblance of socialist policies. The basic difference
between the socialist and the liberal does, however, remain consistent
with the liberal emphasis on individualism. To the Canadian liberal,
consensus politics is nearly synonymous with good government.

> "It (the Liberal Party) claims to be based on no particular
> groups, but on all. It is not against any particular group;
> it is for all. The idea that ther is any real conflict
> between the interests of various groups -- the notion of
> class struggle, democratic or otherwise -- the very terms,
> 'right' or 'left' are explicitly rejected. . ."[21]

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20. Ibid., p. 29.

21. Ibid., p. 36.

In understanding the nature of electoral support of the three parties in Metro-Hamilton, the foregoing discussion, while all too brief is of great importance. It is through an understanding of the political traditions in Canada that associations between variables such as class indicators, religious affiliation, and ethnic background assume importance beyond that of outlining degrees or strengths of association.

The implications of the discussion are predictable. It is expected that true to the 'tory touch' the Conservative party would show a strong association with the 'elitist elements of Canadian society: upper income, high occupational status and the parallel social characteristics. The radical tory and 'red tory' elements, in part fostered by the uniqueness of the social composition of Canadian society, allow a significant allegiance to the Conservative party by other and more diverse social groups.

Similarily, the CCF/NDP impact as a socialist party is significant through its allegiance with organized labour and the willingness of Canadian society to accept the validity of a political party based on class allegiances. Not only does the socialist party have positive relationships with the class measurements, it is also negatively related to the strength of conservatism.

The Liberal party, forced as Horowitz writes ". . .into the European rather than the American position -- centre rather than

left"[22] becomes a party of the classless centre and often unrelated
to the factors which characterize the Conservative and CCF/NDP parties.

Caution, however, must be exercised as the images conjured up by
the above implications can be overblown. While class voting may be
built into the Canadian social structure, the impact of regional
differences, and intervening and/or dominant variables of religion and
ethnicity can be substantiated. These, plus the ability of the centrist
position in Canadian federal politics to be dominant over both the left
and the right -- a situation pointing to what Horowitz calls the
"unique character of English-Canada"[23] also forces "both right and
left to mitigate their class appeals and to become themselves, in a
sense, centre parties."[24]

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22. Ibid., p. 40.

23. Ibid., p. 44.

24. Ibid.

PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE

"AN OVERVIEW OF ONTARIO PROVINCIAL POLITICS"

CHAPTER III

Provincial politics in Ontario has been dominated since the early
1900's by the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party. Over the past
seventy years,[1] they have been defeated at the polls only by the United
Farmers of Ontario in 1919 and by the Liberal Party in 1934 and 1937.
Winning the provincial election in 1943 under George Drew, the Conservative
Party formed a minority government which lasted until 1945. Since
that time the Conservative party has formed a majority government.
Their popular vote has ranged between thirty-six percent in 1943 to
forty-nine percent in 1955. During the four provincial elections between
1951 and 1963, the Conservative Party's popular vote ranged from forty-
six and forty-nine percent. The party's legislative support has ranged
from forty-two percent of the seats in 1943 to eighty-eight percent in
1951. As table 3-1 illustrates, the popular vote and seat distribution
during provincial elections between 1943 and 1971, provides a glaring
example of the inequalities of the electoral system where a plurality
vote constitutes success.

In contrast with this formidable record of electoral success
has been the failure of the Ontario Liberal Party and the Ontario New

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1. The Conservative Party under the leadership of the Hon. James Pliny
Whitney defeated the Liberals in 1905 for the first time in the
history of Ontario politics.

Democratic Party to convince the electorate that either of them, as political parties, present an alternative to the ruling Conservatives. This trend has three sides to it. First, is that of a strong, and over-represented Conservative Party in the Ontario Legislature. Second, is the success and failure of the CCF/NDP to regain the level of popular support it held during the did to late 1940's. Third, is the apparent relationship between the CCF/NDP vote and the electoral fortunes of the other two political parties -- primarily the Conservative Party. The large gains and/or losses of the CCF/NDP popular vote during the 1945, 1948, 1951 and 1967 provincial elections are highly related to the Conservative Party's losses and/or gains for the same elections. (table 3-1).

The relationship of party vote to the number of seats won suggests that the under-representative nature of the legislative strength of the Liberal and NDP parties may in part be due to selective appeals these parties have based on regional and historical voting patterns in addition to those based on social characteristics of the voting population such as religion, ethnicity, and social class.

An overview of the voting behaviour in the 1963, 1967, and 1971 provincial elections would tend to support this observation. Where table 3-1 gives us a provincial summary of party support since 1943, our primary interests are with the 1963, 1967 and 1971 provincial elections. Here we see that in 1971, the Ontario Liberal party had lost twenty

Table 3-1 [2]

Percentage Distribution of Popular Vote and Seats for the Liberal, Conservative

and NDP Parties for the Provincial Elections Held Between 1943 - 1971

Year	LIBERAL		Vote Change	CONSERVATIVE		Vote Change	CCF/NDP		Vote Change	Total Seats
	%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		
1943	31	18	-1	36	42	+8	32	38	-10	90
1945	30	16	0	44	73	-3	22	9	+5	90
1948	30	16	+2	41	59	+7	27	23	-8	90
1951	32	9	+1	48	88	+1	19	2	-2	90
1955	33	11	+4	49	86	-3	17	3	0	98

(Table 3-1)

Year	LIBERAL		Vote Change	CONSERVATIVE		Vote Change	CCF/NDP		Vote Change	Total Seats
	%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		
1959	37	22	-2	46	72	+2	17	5	-1	98
1963	35	22	-3	48	79	-6	16	6	+10	108
1967	32	24	-4	42	59	+3	26	17	+1	117
1971	28	17		45	67		27	16		117

2. This is a shortened version of the table presented in, Wilson, J., and Hoffman D., "Ontario: a Three Party System in Transition", in Robins, M., (ed.), Canadian Provincial Politics, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1972, p. 205. The 1971 data was added by the author.

percent of its 1963 vote; the Conservative Party had lost six percent
and the NDP had increased by sixty-eight percent of its 1963 level of
electoral support.

If we differentiate on the basis of urban and non-urban
support for each party in each of these three elections, we find a
similar pattern emerging. (table 3-2). The declining support for both
the Liberals and the Conservatives is most dramatic in the non-urban areas,
while the NDP increases are consistent in both regions.

Table 3-2 [3]

Percentage of the Ontario Urban[4] Vote for Each Party

in the Ontario Provincial Elections of 1963, 1967 and 1971.

(numbers in brackets represent the percent of each party's vote coming

from urban areas)

Election

	Liberal	Conservative	NDP	Turnout
1963	33 (44)	46 (46)	21 (71)	60 (48)
1967	30 (54)	38 (51)	31 (70)	79 (57)
1971	26 (52)	42 (52)	33 (68)	86 (55)

3. This table was calculated on the basis of the election returns reported
    by the Chief Electoral Officer, Return from the Records of the General
    Election, 1963, 1967 and 1971.

4. The urban -- non-urban ridings were very loosely determined. Urban

Table 3-2 also shows distinct similarities between the urban and non-urban vote for both the Liberals and Conservatives. The percentage NDP urban vote is more than twice the size of its non-urban vote.

On the basis of this evidence, it is safe to say that the NDP is concentrated in urban areas while the other two parties are more evenly balanced between urban and non-urban districts. How does this coincide with geographical areas of party support?

In dividing Ontario into five sections[5], Western Ontario, Central Ontario, Eastern Ontario, Northern Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto-Niagara Penninsula we see a picture of the geographical representation of each party in the Ontario Legislature. With the exception of 1967,

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ridings were considered to those found within cities of a population of 50,000 or more. Because many constituencies encompass urban and non-urban areas, a quick look was made at the number of urban polls in the constituency before the distinction was made. The provincial urban vote was calculated on the basis of 47 of 108 ridings in 1963 and 52 of 117 ridings in 1967 and 1971.

5. Eastern Ontario: East of and including the Counties of Prince-Edward, Hastings and Renfrew (southern half).

Central Ontario: Counties of Peterborough, Victoria, Haliburton, Ontario, Northumberland, Muskoka, Simcoe and Dufferin.

Northern Ontario: North of and including the norther portion of Renfrew County and all of the District of Parry Sound and Nipissing.

Metro-Toronto and the Niagara Penninsula: Defined by the counties of York, Peel, Halton, Wentworth, Lincoln and Welland.

Western Ontario: West of and including the counties of Bruce, Grey, Wellington, Waterloo, Brant and Norfolk.

Central Ontario gave all of its seats to the Conservatives (two
seats went to the NDP in 1967). In eastern Ontario, the Liberals
managed to win one seat in each of the three elections while the NDP
won one seat in 1971. The Conservatives were successful in 16 seats
in 1963, 17 seats in 1967 and 16 seats in 1971. In both Central and
Eastern Ontario, the opposition parties did not win one rural or
non-urban constituency.

The other three regions of the province display a more equalized
two or three party system. In Western Ontario, the NDP has managed to
win only in Brantford and Windsor during the 1967 and 1971 elections.
The area however, presents a two party system under the criteria of
legislative representation. This area also provides the Liberal party
with its largest single bloc of support. The Metropolitan Toronto-
Niagara Penninsula region and Northern Ontario are the only areas where
it could be said a three party system is in existence, even if the
opposition parties are far behind the Conservatives in the Metropolitan
Toronto-Niagara Penninsula region. (see table 3-3)

We see then that the successes of the Ontario Liberals and
the Ontario NDP have been concentrated in specific regions of the
province. For the NDP, their urban orientation is seen by their success
in the Metropolitan Toronto-Niagara Penninsula region and their lack
of success elsewhere. For the Ontario Liberals, their strength,
concentrated in regions of Western Ontario must be viewed on the basis
of historical factors and the strong traditions of the early reform

Table 3-3

Legislative Seat Distribution* By Region and Party: 1963, 1967 and 1971

Party	Year	Western	Central	Eastern	Northern	Metro-Toronto and Niagara Penn.
L I B E R A L	1963	11 (46)	--	1 (4)	5 (20)	6 (25)
	1967	12 (42)	--	1 (3)	5 (17)	9 (32)
	1971	12 (60)	--	1 (5)	3 (15)	4 (20)
C O N S E R V A T I V E	1963	15 (19)	10 (13)	16 (21)	8 (10)	28 (36)
	1967	13 (19)	9 (13)	17 (22)	7 (10)	23 (33)
	1971	14 (18)	11 (14)	16 (21)	8 (10)	29 (37)
N D P	1963	--	--	--	1 (14)	6 (86)
	1967	3 (5)	2 (11)	--	5 (25)	11 (55)
	1971	2 (11)	--	1 (5)	6 (32)	10 (53)
N S E A T S	1963	26 (24)	10 (9)	17 (16)	14 (13)	40 (37)
	1967	28 (24)	11 (9)	18 (15)	17 (15)	43 (37)
	1971	28 (24)	11 (9)	18 (15)	17 (15)	43 (37)

* Figures in brackets represent the percent of each party's total number of legislative seats that come from each region in that particular election.

movement in rural sectors of Western Ontario. The Conservative party, on the other hand, shows a much more diversified pattern in keeping with its over-represented character in the legislature.

Basing their argument on the post 1943 Ontario political scene, and primarily on the differences between the 1963 and 1967 elections, Wilson and Hoffman in "Ontario: A Three Party system in Transition", have argued that the 1967 gains for the NDP in smaller cities of Southern Ontario resulting from the growth of "urbanization, industrialization and union organization. . .throughout Ontario. . .(points) to a much stronger competitive position for the NDP across the province in the future."[6] At the same time, they argue, Conservative strength will continue to flourish, primarily on the basis of their rural strength. In addition, they feel, there is no basis for believing that there is any "prospect of an immediate Liberal decline, if only because there is no prospect of the immediate disappearance of the combination of forces which promotes the party's survival."[7]

The general conclusion that Wilson and Hoffman present is that the 1967 election indicates a transformation in Ontario politics where the "electorate and the legislature reflect a more nearly equal

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6. Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., op.cit., p. 234.

7. Ibid., p. 236.

division of opinion."[8]

The historical pattern of the post 1943 elections would suggest
to us that the level of support gained in 1967 by the parties in the
legislature could not be sustained unless some fundamental transformations
had taken place in the electorate. Are the party organizations stronger?
Has there been a change within the electorate? In addition to these
questions, we must also recognize that a strong, competitive three
party system is very volatile. A minor change in the popular vote
will often determine the outcome of any election, if not the total
collaspe of a political party. This would not be a new occurance in
Ontario politics. In 1919 the United Farmers of Ontario won 45 seats
with 24% of the vote. The Conservatives won 25 seats with 33% of the
vote. In 1923, the Conservatives won 75 seats with 50% of the vote and
the United Farmers won 17 seats with 22% of the vote. As we have
already seen, the sharp changes in the CCF support in the 1943-1951 years
(see table 3-1) indicates a similar pattern.

The 1971 data, would support Wilson and Hoffman's argument. In
table 3-3, it was shown that all three parties retained their traditional
areas of legislative strengths with the exception of the Ontario Liberals.
This loss, primarily to the Conservatives in the Metropolitan Toronto-
Niagara Penninsula region is not, however, enough to destroy the three
party nature of Ontario politics developed during the 1960's. This will

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8. Ibid., p. 238.

not change unless the Liberals lose their support in Western Ontario, or the NDP loses its support in the Metropolitan Toronto-Niagara Penninsula region, or the Conservatives lose support in Eastern Ontario.

The 1971 provincial election is the first time in Ontario politics since 1943 that the electorate has indicated a willingness to sustain a three party division on the basis of popular vote and lesgislative strengths.

If this is continued in the future, not only will election outcomes become less predictable, but the political parties will continue to strongly identify with and rely on support from distinct groups within the voting population. In fact, in a three-party situation, the polarization between one party and the other two would be necessary for electoral success. It could be argued that during the 1960's this is, in fact what has occurred within the Ontario electorate. The choice for the voter, has been to vote Conservative or for one of the two opposition parties. While this is a normal situation in that one either votes for the incumbent party or not, for an opposition party to be successful in a three party system, it must succeed in clearly distinguishing itself from the other two. In other words, for the Liberal Party or the NDP to form a government in Ontario they must develop sufficient levels of distinct electoral support apart from the normal protest or anti-government vote. Electoral polarization then, means that at least one party is clearly

distinguishable from the other two on the level of the ecological characteristics of its supporters.

Polarization of this type means as well, that a provincial three-party system is essentially a composite of a number of regional variations, essentially two party in nature. We have seen in table 3-3 that this is the pattern in Ontario.

It is most difficult then to accept the notion of a strong three party system without a number of reservations. The appeal and orientation of the NDP and Liberals at the present time, have been far too limited; the appeal of the Conservative party has been diversified sufficiently to transcend the urban - non-urban gap.

CHAPTERN FOUR

"PROVINCIAL VOTING PATTERNS IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON:

1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections"

CHAPTER   IV

A.   General Voting Patterns in Metropolitan Hamilton:

   1963, 1967 and 1971 Ontario Provincial Elections.

In aggregate terms, provincial voting patterns in Metropolitan

Hamilton are different than those found across the province. This of

course, is to be expected. The three party system in Ontario is

characterized by a number of one and two party situations with the

Conservative party being a common party in all. As part of the area

identified in Chapter III, as the Metropolitan Toronto-Niagara Penninsula

region, Metropolitan Hamilton is part of a two party system in which

the Ontario Progressive Conservative and the Ontario NDP are the dominant

parties. The strength of this system is, however, greater in the

study area than is presented in Table 3-3. The solidification of

this system in Metropolitan Hamilton would appear to coincide with the

provincial trends.

The inability of the Ontario Liberal Party to win any of the

provincial ridings prior to and since 1959, plus that party's decline

in popular support since 1963, suggests that the three party system as

expressed in Chapter III does not exist. However, the Liberal Party

remains a strong electoral competitor, showing a small increase in

support between 1967 and 1971.

The CCF/NDP electoral support in Metropolitan Hamilton is consistently higher than what we observe to be the provincial pattern. At the same time, the popular vote fluctuations in the study area for the NDP are parallel to those evident in the province. The apparent exchanges between party vote would, however, indicate that there is a greater relationship during the 1967 provincial election between Liberal and NDP voting than appears across the province (see table 4-1). The CCF/NDP-Conservative relationship appears to be consistent. Provincial politics in Metropolitan Hamilaton is a Conservative-NDP contest with a relatively strong Liberal party bringing up the rear.

In the 1963, 1967 and 1971 elections, the Metropolitan Hamilton returns demonstrate substantial fluctuations in party support, particularly for the NDP whose votes between the 1967 and 1971 campaigns decreased by 20% (as opposed to an 3% provincial increase), while the Conservatives increased by 14% (with a 5% provincial increase) and the Liberal party increased 8% while decreasing 12% across the Province.

While this represents a considerable shift in voting patterns from that seen in the 1963-1967 elections, indications of electoral polarization between the NDP and Conservative and Liberal Parties remain.

The NDP strength has remained above that of the Liberal party and in 1967 they replaced the Conservatives as the dominant party at the level of popular vote for the first time. An examination of Map B outlining party support within the study area shows a very strong

Table 4-1 [1]

Percentage Distribution of the Popular Vote Turnout and Seat Distribution in Metropolitan Hamilton for the Provincial Elections Held Between 1943 and 1971

Year	Percent Turnout	Vote Change	LIBERAL		Vote Change	CONSERVATIVE		Vote Change	NDP		Vote Change	Total Seats
			%Vote	No. of Seats		%Vote	No. of Seats		%Vote	No. of Seats		
1943	59	+15	26	0	-3	30	1	+10	41	4	-11	5
1945	74	-6	23	0	-1	40	4	0	30	1	+8	5
1948	68	-10	22	0	+3	40	2	+6	38	3	-9	5
1951	58	-5	25	0	+3	46	5	-3	29	0	-2	5
1955	53	0	28	0	0	43	5	-4	27	1	+3	6
1959	53	+6	28	1	+1	39	3	+2	30	2	-1	6
1963	59	+7	29	0	-6	41	4	-4	29	2	+10	6
1967	66	+7	23	0	+2	37	4	+5	39	3	-8	7
1971	73		25	0		42	4		31	3		7

geographical polarization between the NDP and the Conservative party.

The Conservative strength is centred in two distinct areas. First in West Hamilton, the area south of King Street to the Mountain Brow, west of James Street to the City Limits, west of the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo railway tracts to the City Limits and North of King Street to the City Limits.[2] The second bloc of Conservative support is located on the mountain, between the Mountain Brow to the Sanitorium and between the Mountain Brow and Mohawk Road.[3]

For the NDP, consistent support in all three elections was given in the areas north of Cannon Street to the Harbour between James Street and Gage Avenue, north of Main Street to Lake Ontario between Gage Avenue and Kenilworth Street, the Mountain Brow to the Harbour east of Kenilworth Street to the City Limits.[4]

The support for the Provincial Liberals using the same criteria of dominance in all three provincial elections is confined to two separate areas -- tracts 6 and 28.

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1. This table was calculated on the basis of the Report of the Chief Electoral Officier of Ontario: Returns from the Records of the General Election, 1963, 1967 and 1971.

2. 1961 Census Tracts: 1-5, 9-12.

3. 1961 Census Tracts: 55,56, 59 and 60.

4. 1961 Census tracts: 14, 20-23, 30-31, 34-38, 41-44 and 62.

Map A

(Source: Census Tract Bulletin 95-523, Series CT)
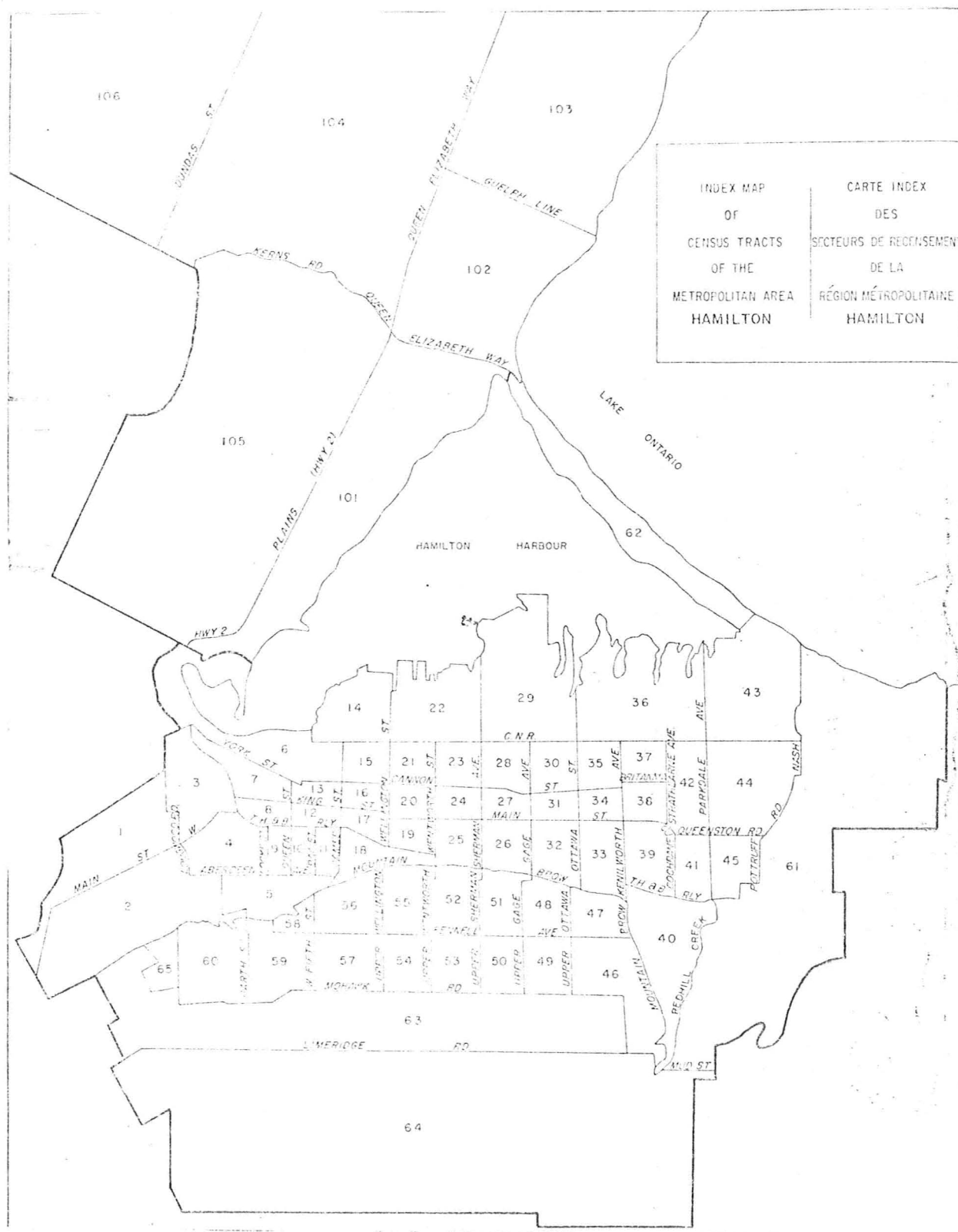
Map B

Geographical Distribution of Party Support in the Metropolitan Hamilton Region:
1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections
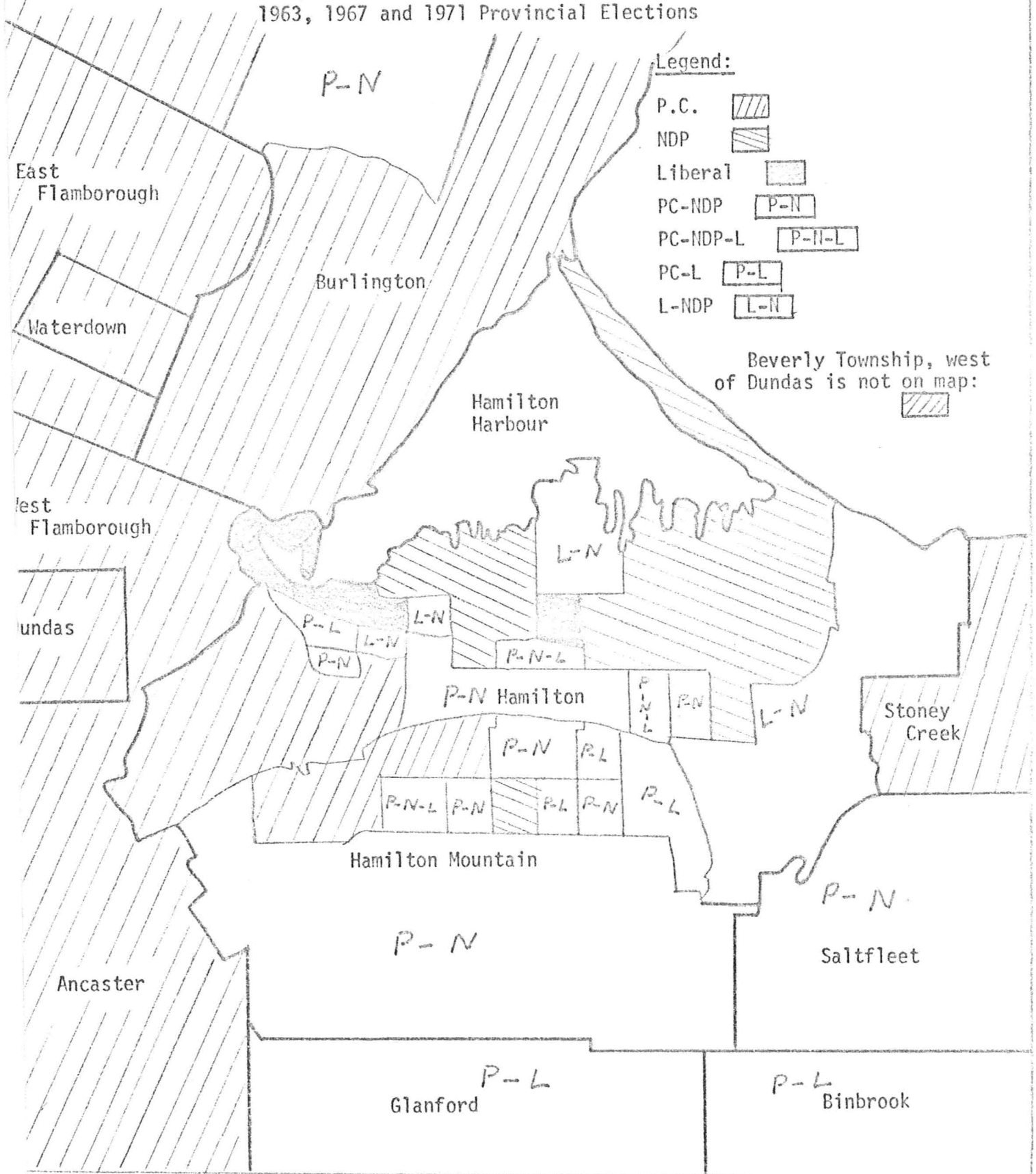
While all three parties receive in excess of twenty-three percent of the popular vote during the 1963, 1967 and 1971 elections, this division of the popular vote is not reflected through dominance of geographical regions of the City. This is also true for the areas of Metropolitan Hamilton that fall outside of the Hamilton City boundaries. Here, only the Conservative party has demonstrated consistent patterns of support. In fact, only Saltfleet Township (NDP, 1967 and 1971), Binbrook Township (Liberal 1971), Glanford Township (Liberal, 1963) and one tract in Burlington (NDP 1967) have deviated from the norm.

In carrying this distinction further we find in table 4-2 that in the areas outside of the City of Hamilton, the Conservative party has received a disproportionate amount of its total Metropolitan Hamilton vote in all three elections being considered. Just as we found the Ontario three party system to be broken into regional variations, the same pattern is evident within Metropolitan Hamilton.

On the basis of the evidence presented so far, the voting patterns of Metropolitan Hamilton have displayed a strong two party competition (in terms of geographical distribution of the popular vote and levels of the popular vote) between the NDP and the Conservatives. The provincial Liberal party, while commanding a substantial quarter of the vote is obviously the third party and has been unable to command sufficient support within definable physical

Table 4-2

Percentage Party Vote from Areas of Metro-Hamilton

Outside of the City of Hamilton:

1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections

(figures in brackets represent the vote as a percentage

of total Metro-Hamilton party vote and voter turnout)

Year	Liberal	Conservative	NDP	Turnout
1963	30 (31)	59 (43)	18 (19)	61 (30)
1967	21 (37)	45 (44)	32 (31)	68 (38)
1971	24 (33)	49 (43)	25 (30)	76 (35)

boundaries to capitalize upon its strengths.

In examining the percent popular vote for each party in each
census tract, the Liberal Party receives a relatively consistent
level of the vote in a substantial number of tract areas. (Diagrams
4-1 (a), 4-1 (b), and 4-1 (c). The party is unable, however, to be
dominant in any but a few tracts. An examination of these three
graphs also demonstrate the closeness of the NDP-Conservative
vote through all three elections. Showing the level of popular vote
in the census tracts, these three graphs enable us to visualize the

extent to which the NDP and Conservative parties are associated.

In terms of Horowitz's interpretation of liberalism in English Canada, this diffusion of support is to be expected, as the Liberal Party attempts to attract support from no population groups in particular, but all in general. The extent to which this actually occurs is another matter. The provincial Liberal Party has demonstrated very definite areas of support (rural, South-Western Ontario voters): support which ensures the continuance of the provincial Liberal party's existence and until now, that party's position as the Official Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. The graphs below would also suggest that there is a particular segment of the Metro-Hamilton population that will support the provincial Liberals through thick and thin.

In pursuing the analysis of provincial voting patterns in Metro-Hamilton, there are three primary questions that must be examined. First, what is the relationship of the party vote with selected variables describing the ethnic, religious and class characteristics of Metro-Hamilton? In the examination of individual census tracts, is it possible to identify areas of greater vote fluctuation? Third does the data demonstrate the existence of voting patterns across class lines?

Diagram 4-1 (a)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tract Areas in Which the Liberal,

Conservatives and NDP Parties Received A Specific Amount

of the Popular Vote* During the 1963 Provincial Election

```
* 1 =  0 -  9%        5 = 40 - 49%
  2 = 10 - 19%        6 = 50 - 59%
  3 = 20 - 29%        7 = 60 - 69%
  4 = 30 - 39%        8 = 70 - 79%
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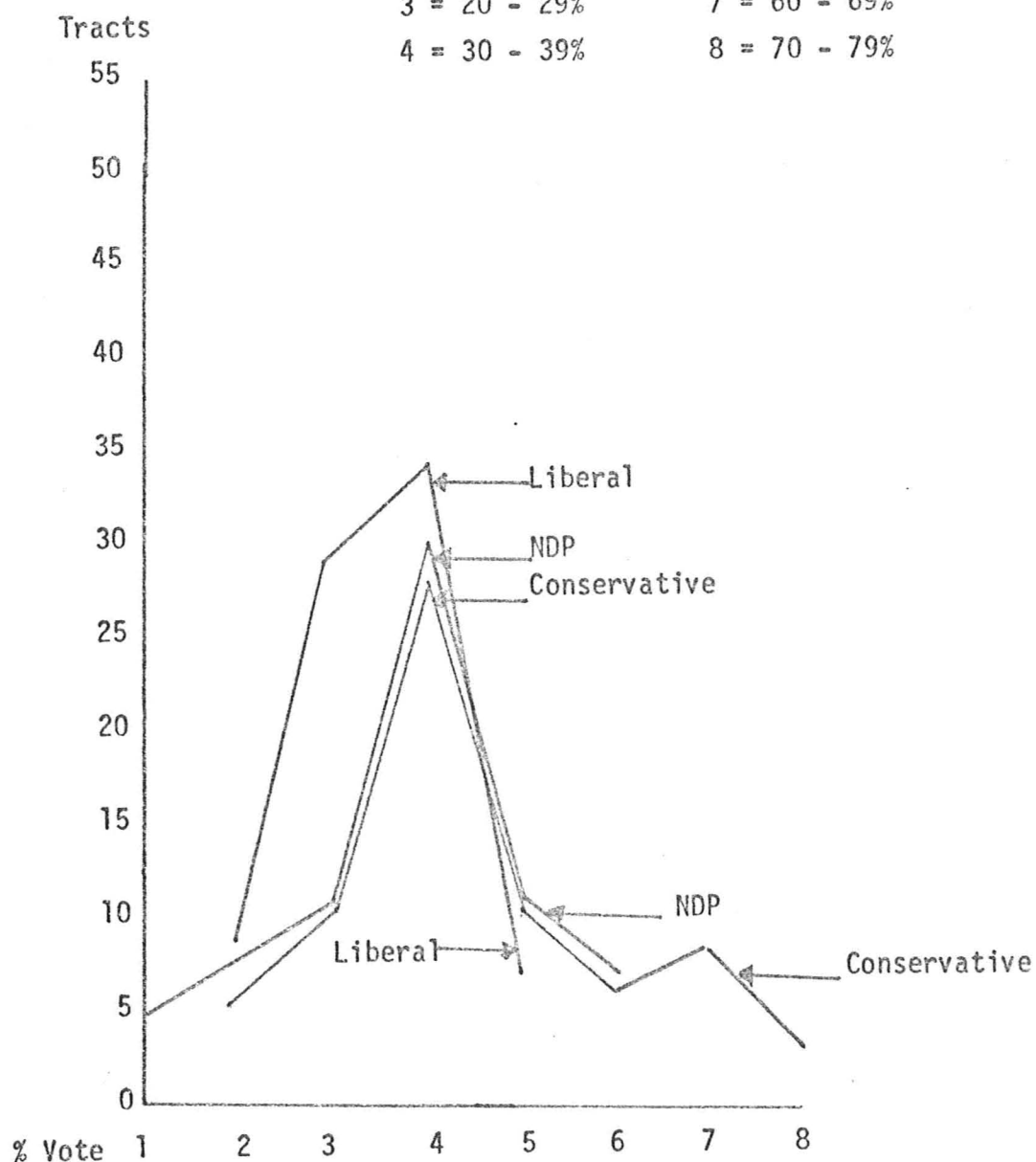
Diagram 4-1(b)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census TractsAreas

in Which the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Parties Received a Specific

Level of the Popular Vote* During the 1967 Provincial Election

*1 = 0 - 9%	5 = 40 - 49%
2 = 10 - 19%	6 = 50 - 59%
3 = 20 - 29%	7 = 60 - 69%
4 = 30 - 39%	8 = 70 - 79%

Tracts

50

45

40

35

30 ← Liberal

25

20 ← NDP

15

← Conservative

10

5

0

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
Percent Vote
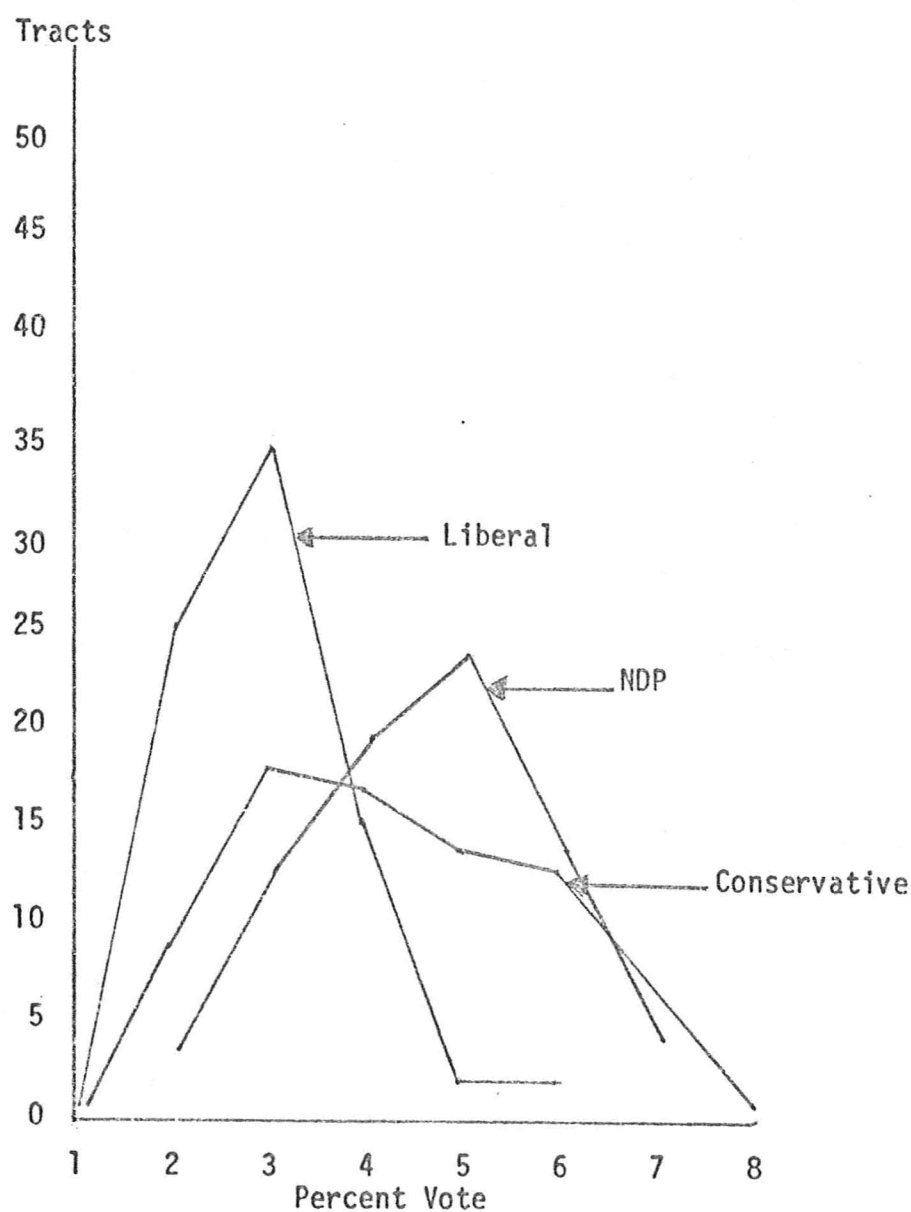
Diagram 4-1(c)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tract Areas in which

the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Parties Received

a Specific Level of the Popular Vote* During the 1971 Provincial Election

* 1 = 0 - 9%	5 = 40 - 49%
2 = 10 - 19%	6 = 50 - 59%
3 = 20 - 29%	7 = 60 - 69%
4 = 30 - 39%	8 = 70 - 79%
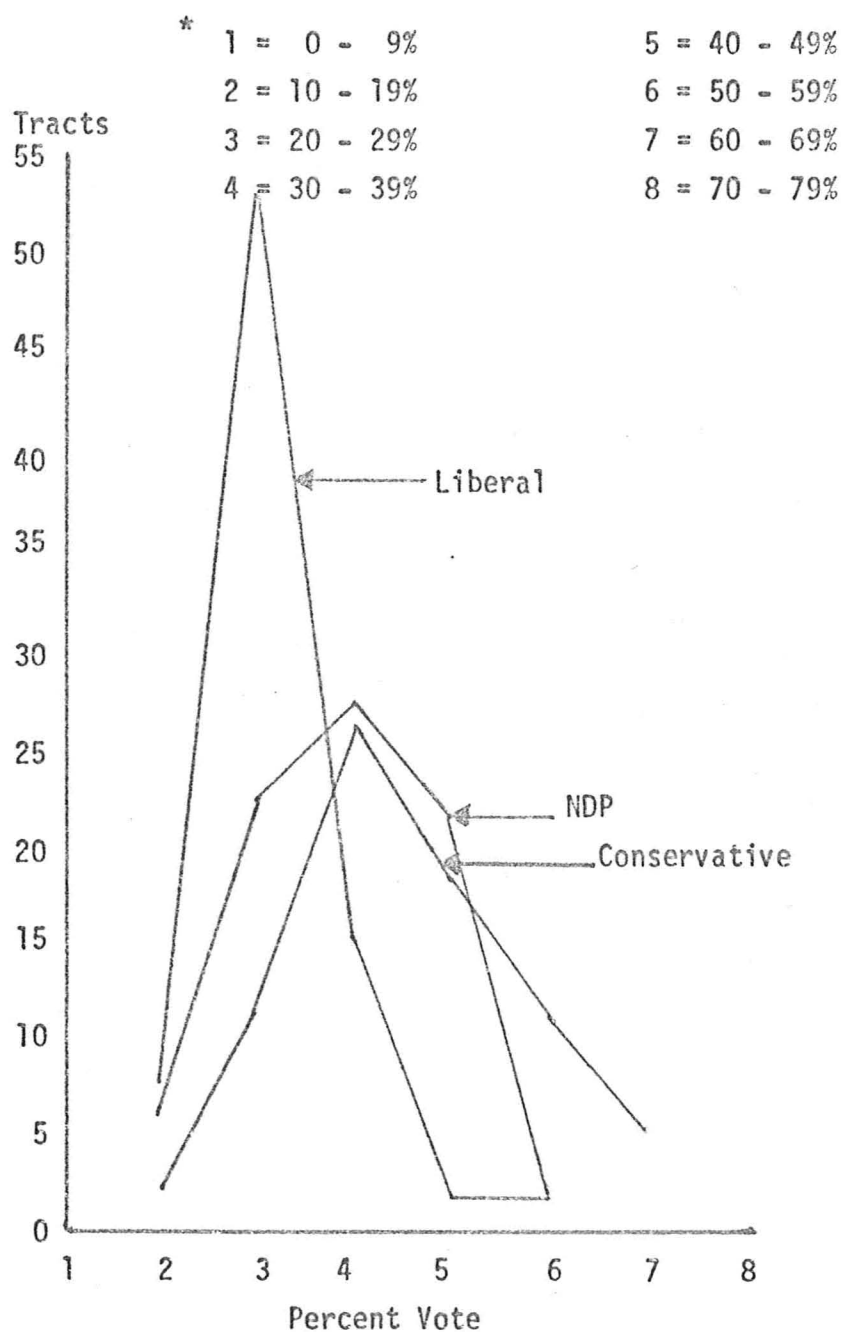
B.   Importance of Ethnicity, Religion and Social Class
          in the Voting of Metropolitan Hamilton:
              the 1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections

All of the evidence presented so far has indicated that there is little relationship between Liberal and NDP or Conservative vote. Indeed, a Pearson Product Moment Correlation test shown in tables 4-3 (a), (b) and (c) below shows that any existing correlations are negative ones between the NDP and Conservative parties.

Table   4-3(a)

Pearson Product Moment Correlations of Party Vote
During the 1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections
(figures in brackets represent the levels of significance)

LIBERAL

City of Hamilton (N=63)   Burlington and Wentworth County (N=16)

Conservative

	1963	1967	1971	1963	1967	1971
1963	-.7377 (.001)			-.4053 (.001)		
1967		-.1498 (.290)			-.3277 (.005)	
1971			-.3868 (.070)			-.5254 (.001)

Table 4-3(b)

LIBERAL

	City of Hamilton			Burlington and Wentworth County		
NDP	1963	1967	1971	1963	1967	1971
1963	.1674 (.268)			-.2115 (.049)		
1967		-.0718 (.396)			-.3177 (.006)	
1971			-.1140 (.338)			-.0519 (.344)

Table 4-3(c)

CONSERVATIVE

	City of Hamilton			Burlington and Wentworth County		
NDP	1963	1967	1971	1963	1967	1971
1963	-.7693 (.001)			-.7897 (.001)		
1967		-.9011 (.001)			-.5123 (.001)	
1971			-.8457 (.001)			-.7925 (.001)

The examination of voting patterns in Metropolitan Hamilton is more than the relationships between the votes each party receives during each election. Our analysis must go beyond, into the relationship between party vote and the ethnic, religious and social class characteristics of the general population. With what variables are the three parties most strongly associated and how is this translated into actual voting within individual census tracts?

To answer that question, party vote was tested for the degrees of association with a number of variables describing the population of Metro-Hamilton. The statistical measures are the Gamma and Chi Square. In addition a random selection of fifteen census tracts reflecting all areas of the study region were used to examine voting patterns on the basis of dominant relationships identified by the above measures.

Tables 4-4, 4-4, 4-6 provide a summary statement of the more significant Gamma and Chi Squre relationships with the selected variables describing the population of Metro-Hamilton and party vote. Table 4-4 shows strong relationships with the provincial Liberal vote and a few highly inter-related segments of the population: Eastern and Western Europeans, recent immigrants, Catholicism and low education. It is interesting to note here that in many cases, there was no relationship with the 1963 provincial vote. In addition, there is no indication that the provincial Liberal party has any appeal beyond that of these particular and highly inter-related groups.

Table 4-4

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2) [5] Relationships

Between Provincial Liberal Vote and Selected

Population Characteristics of Metropolitan-Hamilton

VARIABLE		YEAR		
		1963	1967	1971
Born outside Canada.	G		.72669	.43805
	x^2		78.05396	48.9354
	df		20	12
	sig		.0000	.0000
Immigrated 1946-1961.	G		.76858	.40416
	x^2		83.65430	42.84183
	df		15	9
	sig		.0000	.0000
Italian	G		.85419	.64411
	x^2		71.28842	28.20395
	df		20	12
	sig		.0000	.0052
Polish	G	.70881	.81893	.63248
	x^2	24.41865	43.92193	26.36381
	df	6	10	6
	sig	.0004	.0000	.0002

(Table 4-4)

VARIABLE		YEAR		
		1963	1967	1971
Ukranian.	G	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	x^2	10.4758	38.99359	25.65812
	df	3	15	3
	sig	.0153	.0000	.0000
Other European.	G		.82363	.58205
	x^2		28.18395	8.55403
	df		5	3
	sig		.0000	.0359
Catholic.	G		.52023	.52044
	x^2		90.51790	59.64883
	df		30	18
	sig		.0000	.0000
One plus years of Elementary School.	G		.55209	.53282
	x^2		42.85242	21.43532
	df		20	12
	sig		.0026	.0444

5. This table as well as tables 4-5 and 4-6 were constructed on the basis of a G greater than .3 and an x^2 significance level less than .05.

Tables 4-5 and 4-6 show that like the Ontario Liberal Party, the Ontario Conservative Party and the Ontario NDP have strong relationships with a very small number of variables, particularily the NDP. In terms of the population at large, however, these variables describe large segments of the Metro-Hamilton population.

The provincial Conservative party, in contrast to the high ethnic relationships with the provincial Liberal vote, is highly associated with British, protestant, high education, high occupational and high income groups. The provincial NDP, like the provincial Conservatives is not related to the ethnic groups associated with the provincial Liberals. The NDP, like the Conservatives, is related primarily to class variables -- in this case, production workers, low education and to some degree with the Catholic church.

Voting choice in Metropolitan Hamilton during provincial elections, appears then, to be highly related to class indicators for the Conservative and NDP parties, and related to ethnicity for the Liberals and the Conservatives. In examining our individual census tracts, it is anticipated that the vote for each party will closely follow the percentage of the population that could be identified with the above variables. In addition, the degree to which these variables can be combined (i.e. high British -- high production workers; high ethnic -- high production workers) is expected to have an impact upon the level of popular vote received by each party.

Table 4-5

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2) Relationships

Between Provincial Conservative Vote and Selected Population

Characteristics of Metropolitan-Hamilton

VARIABLE   YEAR

		1963	1967	1971
Born in Canada	G			.59853
	x^2			27.10217
	df			15
	sig			.0279
British	G	.56787	.72125	.69967
	x^2	54.74654	112.0090	68.52647
	df	30	30	25
	sig	.0038	.0000	.0000
Anglican	G		.34269	.32502
	x^2		100.07665	34.06074
	df		24	20
	sig		.0000	.0257
Jewish	G	.97241		
	x^2	16.52246		
	df	6		
	sig	.0112		
United Church	G	.63059	.70497	.64311
	x^2	62.25959	102.57984	56.90527
	df	24	24	20
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0000

(Table 4-5)

VARIABLE		YEAR		
		1963	1967	1971
Three to five years of High School.	G	.75390	.78356	.88588
	x^2	70.64549	77.60163	76.94134
	df	24	24	20
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0000
One plus years of University.	G	.88535	93764	.89755
	x^2	24.30870	27.49515	;9.42432
	df	6	6	6
	sig	.0005	.0001	.0016
Managerial	G	.76879	.68987	.74613
	x^2	34.47354	23.76498	21.33493
	df	12	12	10
	sig	.0006	.0219	.0189
Professional	G	.76950	.67450	.68306
	x^2	27.99417	35.37826	28.64618
	df	12	12	10
	sig	.0005	.0004	.0014
Primary	G	.77193		
	x^2	23.97574		
	df	12		
	sig	.0205		
$6,000. - $9,999.	G		.67341	.77240
	x^2		20.83753	24.88653
	df		12	10
	sig		.0528	.0056

In the random selection of fifteen census tracts[6], four have been consistently won by the Conservative party (tracts 1, 12, 67 and 73); four have been consistently won by the NDP (tracts 14, 37 and 44); one has been consistently won by the Liberal party (tract 6); and six have consistently voted for at least two of the three parties during the three provincial elections in question (tracts 15, 24, 33, 48, 54 and 77).

The fifteen selected census tracts, were categorized on the basis of ethnicity comprising of British, Italian, and other European (this includes Polish, Ukranian, Scandanavian, Russian and other European population groups).[7] Second the tracts were classified on

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6. The tract numbers were listed in order of a) Conservative dominance; b) NDP dominance; c) Liberal dominance and d) those that have 'floated' between two or more parties over the three elections. Every fifth tract was selected making a list of 15 tracts distributed as follows: four of 20 from the Conservative list; four of 18 from the NDP list; one of two from the Liberal list and six of 33 from the 'floater' list.

7. All classifications were taken from the 1961 census.

Table 4-6

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2) Relationships Between

Provincial NDP Vote and Selected Population

Characteristics of Metropolitan-Hamilton

VARIABLE   YEAR

		1963	1967	1971
Born out of Canada.	G	.46659		
	x^2	31.14882		
	df	20		
	sig	.0533		
Catholic	G	.66163		.60378
	x^2	59.41768		42.37819
	df	30		24
	sig	.0011		.0117
One plus years of Elementary School	G	.68256		.64007
	x^2	40.90389		36.04695
	df	20		16
	sig	.0038		.0029
Production Workers	G	.88071	.89549	.94049
	x^2	50.75392	91.8300	53.76533
	df	10	10	8
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0000

the basis of religion: Protestant (Anglican, United Church, Baptist and Presbyterian) and Catholic (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Ukranian Greek Orthodox). Third, the tracts were classified along the lines of education: one or more years of elementary school, one to two years of high school, three to five years of high school and one or more years of university. Fourth, the tracts were identified on the basis of occupation: managerial, professional and technical; clerical and sales; and production process, craftsmen and related workers.

On the whole, the above categories describe the majority of the population in each census tract, as well as comprising those categories showing the highest levels of association with the vote of the three provincial parties.

In examining the selected tracts, three questions were asked. First, where is the greatest variation of popular vote between 1963 and 1967? How does the popular vote for each party in 1971 compare to their 1963 vote? Are the vote changes for any one party related to a) an increase in voter turnout or, b) to one of the other two parties?

The nine census tracts that are predominately British can be categorized into two groups: high British-high protestant-high education-high occupation; high British-high production workers-low education-high protestant and are found in tables 4-7 and 4-8. In only two tracts (tracts 1 and 77) in these two tables did the NDP gain in its

Table 4-7

Percentage of Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately British With A Low Population of Production Workers: 1963, 1967, and 1971 Provincial Elections

Tract	1				12				67				73			
British	74				64				72				72			
Production Workers			24				24				23				27	
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1963	20	71	9	62	23	41	34	47	31	61	9	66	20	69	15	57
Change	+12	-18	+5	+7	+4	+4	-6	+6	-10	-9	+18	-2	-4	-14	+13	+11
1967	32	53	14	69	27	45	28	53	21	52	27	64	16	55	28	68
Change	-8	+2	+7	+10	-2	+3	-2	+19	-1	+7	-5	+7	+7	-3	-3	+9
1971	24	55	21	79	25	48	26	72	20	59	22	71	23	52	25	77

Table 4-8

Percentage of Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately British With A High Percentage

of Production Workers: 1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections

Tract	48				54				77				44				37			
British	65				71				59				66				65			
Pro-duction Workers			35				37				39				43				44
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1963	42	30	28	61	34	28	38	62	26	38	36	53	21	21	58	52	23	25	52	53
Change	-24	+15	+8	+11	-19	+9	+9	+3	-3	-8	+11	+14	-3	-6	+3	+8	-9	-3	+5	+12
1967	18	45	36	72	15	37	47	65	23	30	47	67	18	15	61	60	14	22	57	65
Change	+6	+7	-10	+9	+2	+9	-11	+13	-1	0	+1	+2	+11	+6	-11	+6	+8	+4	-6	0
1971	24	52	26	81	17	48	36	78	22	30	48	69	29	21	50	66	22	26	51	65

popular vote between the 1963-1967 and 1967-1971 provincial elections. In only one tract (tract 1) was the increase in the NDP vote significant.

Generally, however, the NDP made significant gains between 1963 and 1967. In the tract (tract 12) with the lowest number of production workers, the NDP lost votes in 1967 and 1971 from its 1963 level. Where the provincial Liberal party made a large gain in 1967 (tract 1) they lost it in 1971. Where they experienced a significant decrease in 1967 (tracts 67,48,54 and 65) the party was able to make this up in 1971 in only one tract (tract 37). Both the Conservaitve and NDP parties benefitted from the Liberal losses. Where the NDP lost votes in 1971, the recipient was usually the Conservative party (tracts 12, 67, 48 and 54). In areas with a high British population and low proportion of production workers, the increase in voter turnout does not seem to have appreciably affected the NDP vote. Except for tract 12, the NDP vote has risen considerably and remained at the new low (tracts 1 and 73).

In general terms, table 4-7 illustrates a weakening of provincial Liberal support in areas of high British and low percentage of the population in the occupational group classified as production workers. This table also displays a levelling off in 1971, of support for the Conservative and NDP parties, with the NDP vote coming more into line with the percent of the population identified with those variables earlier associated with NDP support.

Table 4-8 shows a similar decline of the provincial Liberal vote in tracts 48, 54 and 77. In tracts 48 and 54, the Conservative vote has increased considerably while the NDP vote in 1971 has fallen below its 1963 level. While the 1967 Liberal loses went to both the NDP and Conservative parties, the NDP loss in 1971 went only to the Conservatives. In tracts 44 and 37, the NDP loss went primarily to the provincial Liberals.

In each census tract there has been a significant increase in voter turnout. This has, perhaps, been part of the erratic nature of voting patterns displayed in tables 4-7 and 4-8. However, it is also true that the NDP underwent its heaviest losses in areas with a high proportion of British origin and production workers. It is this occupational group, highly unionized on whom the NDP relies for a great deal of its electoral strength in Metropolitan Hamilton. While this has occurred, Liberal strength has generally decreased where it was strong in 1971. In areas with a high population of production workers, the recipient of NDP losses has been the Conservative party. In areas with a low population of production workers, the NDP has increased primarily at the expense of the Conservative party.

The high turnout in 1971 would suggest that the voter re-alignments evident in the above tables are a fairly accurate reflection of the support for each party within the electorate on the basis of the percentage of the population that could be identified with the

variables employed in the table construction. This adjustment also indicates the stabilization of the three party system in the study area and in doing so reflecting some of the more dominant cleavages within the electorate. In this respect, the NDP increases in tracts 1, 67 and 73 would indicate the growing importance of social class as a major factor in provincial voting.

In areas with a high British population, the NDP vote closely parallels the level of the population identified as production workers. Following the 1963 provincial election, the Liberal party has not been able to substantially increase its vote, while the NDP has generally retained the level of support it was able to pull from the Conservatives in 1967.

The Liberal Party is highly associated with ethnic voting, be it Italian or what is classified here as other European. Six of the fifteen tracts randomly selected show a high ethnic or non-British population. Tract 6 is the only tract in which the Italian population is the largest single grouping (36%). This is followed by 21% and 24% in tracts 14 and 15 respectively. The remaining three tracts (24, 30 and 33) have a 50 to 55% British population and a 21 to 26% other European. In all cases, the occupational group of production workers formed the largest single occupational group ranging from 33% to 48%. As would be expected, the population is characterized by Catholicism (35-63%) and low education (34 to 57%) one or more years Elementary school.

From this description, it is expected that tracts 6, 14, 15, 24, 30 and 33 would display an NDP-Liberal electoral contest. Tables 4-9 and 4-10 illustrate the party vote fluctuations in those tracts displaying a low British -- high Italian (table 4-9) and low British -- high other European (table 4-10).

In all but one case (tract 33) the Liberal party has decreased its vote from its 1963 level. The NDP support is almost identical to its 1963 vote with the exception of tract 15. It has been the Conservative vote that has benefitted from the Liberal and NDP losses. These tracts also display a stronger three party competition than in the earlier tables. The pattern in tables 4-7 and 4-8 was that of significant losses of Liberal and Conservative votes to the NDP in 1967, with only the Conservative Party being able to win much of this vote back in 1971. While tables 4-9 and 4-10 show much smaller swings within the electorate, the loss of NDP votes to the Conservatives is generally consistent, with the exception of tract 33.

Where the Italian population is high, the principle contestants are the NDP and Liberals (tracts 6, 14 and 15). Where the percentage of the population is 50% or more British we find that the situation from tract to tract shifts. Tract 24 moved from the Liberal camp in 1963 to the NDP in 1967 to Conservative-NDP tie in 1971. Tract 30 has voted overwhelmingly NDP and tract 33 has gone from being strongly Conservative in 1963 to NDP in 1967 to Liberal in 1971.

Table 4-9

Percentage Changes in Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately Italian

With a High Percentage of Production Workers: 1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections

Tract	6				14				15			
Production workers	41				45				38			
Italian		36				21				24		
Other = European				18				16				18
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1963	48	16	34	58	34	12	44	56	41	22	35	51
Change	+13	-2	+2	+5	-3	+7	+6	+18	+2	-4	+4	+6
1967	51	14	36	63	31	19	50	74	43	18	39	57
Change	-6	+9	-5	0	-5	+11	-7	-5	-11	+8	+1	+5
1971	45	23	31	63	26	30	43	69	32	26	40	62

Table 4-10

Percentage Party Vote in Census Tracts With High Other European Population and High

Percentage of Production Workers: 1963, 1967 and 1971 Provincial Elections

Tract	24				30				33			
Production Workers	38				48				33			
Italian		14				9				7		
Other European				21				26				22
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1963	35	22	32	62	28	25	47	59	29	39	31	64
Change	-1	-7	+9	+2	0	-8	55	+5	+1	-10	+10	+4
1967	34	25	41	60	28	17	48	64	30	29	41	68
Change	-4	+10	-6	0	-2	+10	-7	-3	+10	+5	-15	+11
1971	30	35	35	60	26	27	48	61	40	34	26	79

Over the past three provincial elections there has been tremendous movement within the Metro-Hamilton electorate. Class, defined by education, and occupation appears to play a dominant role in affecting the levels of support realized by each party.

Where the British population is high and percentage production workers low, the NDP has increased its vote, with the 1971 vote closely resembling the dominant characteristics of the census tracts. In these areas the NDP has made significant gains at the overall expense of the Conservative Party. Where the level of production workers is high as well as the percentage of the population of British origin, the Conservatives have increased their vote, the increase greater as the level of production workers decreases. The 1967-1971 vote adjustments are NDP-Conservative in nature. In two tracts the NDP has lost votes to the provincial Liberal party. While these two tracts (44 and 37) do not have a higher non-British population than many other tracts, these two tracts do have the highest percentage of the population identifying with Catholicism (30% in tract 44 and 33% in tract 37) of the nine tracts in tables 4-7 and 4-8.

Where the Italian population is the strongest there is a Liberal-NDP contest. Where the ethnic population becomes more diffuse, the Conservative vote increases as the percentage of the production workers decrease.

The data concerning provincial voting patterns in Metro-Hamilton has given a picture of an electorate which will vote Liberal or Conservative on the basis of ethnicity while the NDP impact is primarily on the basis of class. Through class cleavages, the NDP is able to cross the barriers of ethnicity while it is much more difficult for the Conservatives to do well in working-class Italian or other European areas and for the provincial Liberals to do well in the working-class, British, or protestant areas.

How do these realtionships stand up during federal elections? Does the level of voter turnout appear to affect the levels of party support between the two levels of political activity? These questions are looked at in the following chapters.

PART THREE

CHAPTER   FIVE

"AN OVERVIEW OF FEDERAL VOTING PATTERNS

IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO"

CHAPTER V

Federal and provincial politics in Ontario appear to be distinctly different. The trend in Ontario has been to support one party at the provincial level and another at the federal level.[1] The reasons for this apparent anomaly have been the subject of many academic arguments, culminating in the now seldom postulated balance theory. According to this theory, the Ontario voter rationalized that he was better-off if he did not let one political party control both the federal and provincial governments at the same time.

The balance theory has been attributed to the historian Frank Underhill who in an article called "Canadian Liberal Democracy in 1955" wrote:

> "By some instinctive subconscious mental process, the
> Canadian people have apparently decided that since freedom
> depends upon a balance of power, they will balance the
> monopolistic power of the Liberal government at Ottawa
> by setting up the counter-veiling power not in Ottawa but
> in the capitals."[2]

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1. The best and most celebrated examples of this are the federal and provincial elections held in the late forties and early fifties. Invariably, the Provincie of Ontario gave overwhelming support to the Ontario Conservative Party during provincial elections and turned to the federal Liberal Party during federal campaigns.

2. As quoted in: Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., "The Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics", Canadian Journal of Political Science, June 1970, p. 180.

This argument is very unappealing to anyone who believes that voters cast their ballots for a particular party for a multitude of reasons. The voter's concerns and issue orientations are not the same at the level of provincial politics as they are at the level of federal political activity. Any discussion of federal-provincial voting patterns must be treated very carefully, mixing an appreciation of the practicalities of political party structures dictated by the federalist structure of Canada and the parallel regional alliances of the population. A theory of this nature also inhibits the importance of leadership images, policy, local candidate choice and voter satisfaction with the incumbent government. For two generations of voters in the twentieth century, the Liberal party has been synonymous with the federal governments while the Conservative party has been synonymous with the Ontario provincial government. The CCF/NDP has been synonymous with the West, and only recently with Western provincial governments.[3] This in itself presents a problem for the ability of a particular party to project itself as a viable national alternative or a viable provincial alternative without clouding the issue with the notion that 'freedom depends upon a balance of power.'

Where in chapters three and four we saw a trend towards a

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3. The federal Liberals have formed the national government almost continuously since 1896. This period has been broken by the Conservatives under Sir Robert Borden (1911-1920); Arthur Meighen (1920-1921); Robert Bennett (1930-1935) and John Diefenbaker (1957-1962). In the provinces there has been similar patterns with long periods of one party dominance.

Table 5-1 [4]

Percentage Vote and Seat Distribution for the Liberal, Conservative and
NDP Parties in the Province of Ontario During the Federal Elections
Between 1945 and 1972

Year Year	LIBERAL		Vote Change	CONSERVATIVE		Vote Change	CCF/NDP		Vote Change	Total Seats
	%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		%Vote	%Seats		
1945	41	42	+5	42	59	-4	14	0	+1	82
1949	46	68	+1	37	30	+3	15	1	-4	82
1953	47	60	-10	40	39	+9	11	1	+1	85
1957	37	25	-15	49	72	+8	12	4	+7	85
1958	22	18	+20	57	79	-18	20	4	-2	85
1962	42	53	+4	39	40	-4	17	8	-1	85
1963	46	52	-3	35	27	+1	16	6	+5	85
1965	43	60	+4	36	29	-4	21	11	-1	85
1968	47	75	-8	32	19	+8	20	7	-1	88
1972	39	42		40	46		19	13		88

three party system in Ontario, this is not evident at the federal
level. In fact in terms of the popular vote, the Liberal and
Conservative parties appear to receive relatively similar levels
of support. The CCF/NDP plays the role of a minor third party seldom
receiving more than twenty percent of the vote in any one election.
During the decade of 1962-1972, the Liberal party played the dominant
role across the province.

George Perlin and Patti Peppin have offered some suggestions
on this problem.[5] They found in a survey of those changing their vote
between the 1963 provincial - 1965 federal - 1967 provincial elections
in the ridings of Eglinton and Wellington South that reasons for
such shifts in party allegiances were largely determined by the national
leader and the local candidate at the federal level.

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4. This table was calculated on the basis of the reports of the
    Chief Electoral Officer, Report of the Chief Electoral Officer,
    for the years 1962, 1965 and 1968. The 1972 election results were
    obtained from the Globe and Mail, October 31, 1972. The 1945-1958
    election results are found in Beck, J., Pendulum of Power, Prentice-
    Hall, Scarborough, 1968.

5. Perlin, G., and Peppin P., "Variations in Party Support in Federal
    and Provincial Elections: Some Hypothesis", Canadian Journal of
    Political Science, June, 1968, p. 286,

Table 5-2

1963 Provincial - 1965 Federal Elections

	Federal	Provincial
Leader	29%	7%
Candidate	61%	47%
Past Record	13%	21%

1965 Federal - 1967 Provincial Elections

	Federal	Provincial
Leader	32%	8%
Candidate	61%	34%
Past Record	9%	26%

Provincial choices, however, were influenced by the local
candidate and the past party record. It is quite logical then that
a federal Liberal supporter could vote for the Ontario Conservatives
solely on the basis of that party's incumbent status. But suggestions
of this kind and variations of the balance theory such as Dawson's
notion of a cyclical pattern of changing party support [6] offer
insufficient explanations of the reasoning behind a voter's decision
once he enters the voting booth.

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6. Dawson, R., The Government of Canada, (fourth edtion), University
    of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969, p. 528.

It is sufficient at this point, however, only to note that the voters in Ontario have generally tended to support the Liberals federally and the Conservatives provincially. The reasons for this cannot be adequately explained, just as the study of electoral politics is not able to adequately explain or predict all the variances in the decision-making process undertaken by the individual voter.

This is not, of course, a situation unique to Ontario. Canadian federal politics must be studied on the basis of regionalism[7] as party support, shifts considerably from region to region. Consequently, we have a Conservative party in Saskatchewan that is strong federally but non-existant provincially. The Liberal party in Ontario is strong only at the federal level. This does not describe the pattern in each region but it does emphasize the need to temper one's analysis of Canadian politics to take into account the influence of the political environment of the voter when studying electoral behaviour.

On this level we can begin to see some of the more salient differences between the federal and provincial parties. Where the Ontario Liberal Party was found to be predominantly based in rural, South-Western Ontario, the federal party is predominantly urban. Where the Ontario Conservative party was found to be well represented

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7. See Blake D., "The Measurement of Regionalism in Canadian Voting Patterns", Canadian Journal of Political Science, March 1972, p. 55-80.

Table 5-3 [8]

Percentage of the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Vote

From Urban Ontario During the 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

(the figures in brackets represent the percentage of the urban vote as

a percentage of the total vote for each party)

Year	Liberal	Conservative	NDP
1962	43 (62)	36 (57)	21 (76)
1965	44 (65)	30 (58)	24 (73)
1968	49 (61)	28 (53)	22 (66)
1972	40 (61)	36 (54)	25 (62)

8. This table was constructed on the basis of the election returns reported by the Chief Electoral Officer for Canada, op.cit.; the urban - non-urban distinctions were made on the criteria outlined in chapter three. The federal urban vote was calculated on the basis of 39 of 85 constituencies in 1962 and 1965 and 44 of 88 constituencies in 1968 and 1972.

in rural and urban Ontario, the federal party is almost totally
eliminated from urban areas during the 1965 and 1968 elections. The
Conservative provincial base in Central and Eastern Ontario is trans-
lated into federal support, but weaker. Only the NDP displays a strong
consistency with its provincial strengths--the urban centres of
Southern Ontario and parts of Northern Ontario.

In looking at the differences between the levels of party
support between federal and provincial elections, urban areas are very
important. Table 5-3 provides a good illustration of the apparently
urban orientation for both the Liberals and the NDP. Considering
that the federal Conservatives failed to win any urban seat in 1965
and only won one urban seat (Hamilton West) in 1968, the percentage
of the Conservative vote originating from urban areas is higher than
one would expect. However, the large federal Liberal vote in urban
areas rekindles the old problem of accounting for the Liberal vote,
and constitutes a major point of discussion in the next two chapters.

Federally, Ontario appears to support a two party system.
The Liberal and Conservative parties appear to present quite
different appeals between the two levels of electoral politics
being examined here.

CHAPTER SIX

"VOTING PATTERNS IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON: 1962,

1965, 1968 AND 1972 FEDERAL ELECTIONS"

CHAPTER VI

In the discussion of provincial politics in chapter three,
it was suggested that polarization of the electorate is part of the
process of the development of a strong three party system. In the
more detailed examination of the Metropolitan Hamilton study area,
it was also suggested that this polarization has solidified over
the past two provincial elections apparently to the detriment of
the Ontario Liberal party. The implication was that a rigid polarization
could result in the squeezing out of one of the three parties culminating
in the development of a two party system. While no hard evidence of
this is presented, the recent provincial election in Manitoba would
seem to indicate that an NDP-nonNDP polarization there has resulted in
the drastic decrease in popular vote for the Manitoba Liberals between
1969 and 1973 provincial elections in that province.[1]

In examining the federal scene in Ontario, the case for class
polarization is weak because of the lack of a three-party system. While
the parties are the same in name and political philosophy at both the
federal and provincial levels, it would appear that the voters rank
the parties differently.

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1. Gonick, Cy, "Schreyer's New Democrats", Dimension, vol. 9, no. 6,
   1973. p. 5-7.

In Metropolitan Hamilton, we see that while the federal Liberals and the federal Conservatives battle for dominance, the NDP remains at a much lower level of support. (table 6-1) While this table might support the conclusion of Wilson and Hoffman[2] that a higher vote turnout during federal elections is a contributing factor to the higher level of support given to the federal Liberal party compared to that received by its provincial counterpart, it also appears to parallel the provincial scene, to some degree, with the Liberals and NDP reversing positions.

As a result of the high NDP support in the Metropolitan Hamilton area, the NDP cannot be considered to be the minor party that it appears to be during federal elections across the whole province. While the Progressive Conservatives and Liberals are the major contestants, table 6-2 suggests that the relatively high NDP vote is a factor in keeping Metropolitan Hamilton's federal Liberal vote significantly below the federal Liberal support across the whole province.

Not only is the unfairness of the Canadian electoral system evident in this table (also in tables 3-1 and 3-3), they demonstrate that there is a breaking point at which a party is either grossly

2. Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., "The Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics", Canadian Journal of Political Science, June 1970, p. 180.

Table 6-1 [3]

Percentage Vote Shifting Between Federal and Provincial Elections

in Metropolitan Hamilton for the 1962 Federal and 1963 Provincial Elections;

the 1967 Provincial and 1968 Federal Elections;

the 1971 Provincial and 1972 Federal Elections.

(percent change is indicated by figures in brackets)

Election Pairs	Eligible Voters	Turnout %	Liberal %	Conservative %	NDP %
1962 (F)	214,139	76	36	38	23
to		(-17)	(-7)	(+13)	(+6)
1963 (P)	217,781	59	29	41	29
1967 (P)	238,426	66	23	37	39
to		(+9)	(+18)	(-7)	(-11)
1968 (F)	248,061	75	41	30	28
1971 (P)	283,085	73	25	42	31
to		(+6)	(+8)	(+1)	(-8)
1972 (F)	290,658	79	33	43	28

3. Table was constructed on the basis of the election returns
   reported by the Chief Electoral Officer for Ontario, Returns
   From the Records of the General Election, 1963, 1967 and 1971;
   and by the Chief Electoral Officer for Canada, Report of the
   Chief Electoral Officer, 1962, 1965 and 1968; and the 1972
   election results reported in The Globe and Mail, October 31, 1972.

over-represented or vastly under-represented in the legislative chambers. In addition, it would appear that this breaking point is somewhat lower in Metropolitan Hamilton (38-41%) than throughout the province as a whole (approximately 42%). The lower figure for Hamilton is of course, indicative of the strength of three party competition.

If we weaken our requirements for a three party system to the distriubtion of the popular vote it would appear that, not only does Metropolitan Hamilton support a three party system provincially, but that it exists at the federal level as well. This is, in part, the reasons for the differences between the Metropolitan Hamilton federal voting patterns and the level of urban vote received by each party in the rest of the province (table 6-3). Only twice (1971 provincial election and 1972 federal election) has the NDP vote in Metropolitan Hamilton dropped behind its overall support in urban Ontario. In all cases, the Liberal support in urban Ontario was greater than it received in Metopolitan Hamilton. This is also true for the Conservatives for the three provincial elections and the 1965 federal election.

While direct comparisons between federal and provincial elections are not possible, the data presented points to the same conclusions for the existence of a three party system in Metropolitan Hamilton during federal and provincial elections.

If this is the case, we would also expect to find party

Table 6-2 [4]

Percent Vote and Percent Seats Won By Each Party in Metropolitan Hamilton and the Province in the 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections: Seats Are Indicated by the Brackets

Year	Liberal		Conservative		NDP	
	M-H	Ontario	M-H	Ontario	M-H	Ontario
1962	36	42	38	39	23	17
	(20)	(53)	(80)	(40)	(00)	(08)
1965	39	43	28	36	30	21
	(80)	(60)	(00)	(29)	(20)	(11)
1968	41	47	30	32	28	20
	(80)	(75)	(20)	(19)	(00)	(07)
1972	33	39	43	40	23	19
	(20)	(42)	(80)	(46)	(00)	(13)

4. Table was constructed on the basis of the election returns reported by the Chief Electoral Officer for Canada, op.cit. and The Globe and Mail, October 31, 1972.

Table 6-3 [5]

Differences Between Provincial Urban and Metropolitan Hamilton Vote for

Each Party - All Elections (Provincial Urban Vote in Brackets)

Year	Liberal	Conservative	NDP	Turnout
1962 (F)	36	38	23	76
	(43)	(36)	(21)	(77)
1963 (P)	29	41	29	59
	(33)	(46)	(21)	(60)
1965 (F)	39	28	30	75
	(44)	(30)	(24)	(76)
1967 ((P)	23	37	39	66
	(30)	(38)	(31)	(79)
1968 (F)	41	30	28	75
	(49)	(28)	(22)	(81)
1971 (P)	25	42	31	73
	(26)	(42)	(33)	(86)
1972 (F)	33	43	23	79
	(40)	(36)	(25)	(*)

* not available

5. Ibid.

polarization occurring within geographical areas of Metropolitan Hamilton for the federal elections under study here.

Map D describes the concentrations of party support in the Metropolitan study region. We find here that the geographical dominance of each party is much more restricted than was found provincially. This would appear to be the result of the Liberal dominance[6] in the Central-North end of the city, an area dominated on the whole by the provincial NDP. We find that in Map D the Conservative domination in Burlington and Wentworth County is confined to the Village of Waterdown and the Township of East Flamborough.

Polarization, however, remains evident and in a manner that suggests that the NDP and Conservative parties have been able to assert themselves within particular segments of the electorate as a party, distinct from the others. It would appear in terms of geographical vote distribution that this is an NDP-nonNDP polarization that remains consistent between federal and provincial elections.

To test this further, Pearson Product Moment Correlations were run on party versus party vote for each of the four federal elections,

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6. The census tract numbers are:
   Liberal - tracts 6, 20-32, 45 and 48;
   Conservative - tracts 1, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 12;
   NDP - tracts 35-38, 42-44, 53 and 49.

Map C

(Source: Census Tract Bulletin 95-523, Series CT)

INDEX MAP
OF
CENSUS TRACTS
OF THE
METROPOLITAN AREA
HAMILTON

CARTE INDEX
DES
SECTEURS DE RECENSEMENT
DE LA
RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE
HAMILTON

Map D

Geographical Distribution of Party Support in the Metropolitan Hamilton Region:
1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

P - L

P - L

P - L

East
Flamborough

Legend:

P.C.

NDP

Liberal

PC-NDP   P-N

PC-NDP-L   P-N-L

PC-L   P-L

L-NDP   L-N

Beverly Township is not
shown.
(1962 and 1965)

Burlington

Waterdown

P - L

Hamilton
Harbour

L - N

For Hamilton Mountain see
Legend for Map B, Chap. 4.

West
Flamborough

P - L

P-L

P-L

Dundas

P-L

P-L

P-L

P-L

L-N

Hamilton

P-L

P-L

P-L

P-L

P-N-L

P-N

P-L

L-N

L-N

P-L

Stoney
Creek
P-L

Hamilton Mountain

P-N-L

Saltfleet

Ancaster

L - N

P - L

P - N

Glanford

Binbrook

similar to that done in Chapter Four.

As found to be the case provincially, the Conservative-NDP correlations were the strongest. Liberal-NDP correlations are weak with the exceptions of the 1968 Hamilton City vote and the 1972 vote outside of the city. The Liberal-Conservative vote correlations are significant only within the City of Hamilton. Tables 6-4 (a), (b) and (c) are lacking in a meaningful number of significant correlations. The Pearson Product Moment tables found in chapter four show much stronger correlations between party vote.

Table 6-5 (a)

Pearson Product Moment Correlations of Party Vote During the 1962,

1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

(figures in brackets represent the levels of significance.)

LIBERAL

City of Hamilton (N=63)   Burlington and Wentworth County (N=16)

Conservative

	1962	1965	1968	1972	1962	1965	1968	1972
1962	-.5818 (.001)				-.4239 (.001)			
1965		-.4806 (.030)				-.1780 (.082)		
1968			.6470 (.004)				-.3828 (.001)	
1972				.8533 (.001)				.6720 (.001)

Table 6-5(b)

Liberal

NDP	City of Hamilton				Outside of City			
	1962	1965	1968	1972	1962	1965	1968	1972
1962	-.2480 (.184)				-.3346 (.004)			
1965		-.3126 (.120)				.3012 (.009)		
1968			.5029 (.024)				-.3096 (.007)	
1972				.3676 (.081)				.6975 (.001)

Table 6-5(c)

Conservative

NDP								
	1962	1965	1968	1972	1962	1965	1968	1972
1962	-.5669 (.012)				-.6447 (.001)			
1965		-.6246 (.005)				-.6350 (.001)		
1968			.2783 (.149)				-.7066 (.001)	
1972				.4791 (.031)				.3429 (.003)

On the basis of the evidence presented to this point, the
federal voting patterns in Metropolitan Hamilton has displayed a strong
two party system (in terms of the geographical distribution of the
popular vote and levels of the popular vote) between the Liberal and
Conservative parties. The federal NDP is very definitely a third party.
The geographical vote distribution does, however, display definite
electoral cleavages similar to those found during provincial elections.
This is also borne out in the graphs presented in the diagrams
6-1 (a), (b), (c) and (d). The relationship between the NDP and
Conservative parties demonstrated in diagrams 4-1 (a), (b) and (c)
is again evident.

The higher level of Liberal vote displayed in these diagrams could
be related to the function of consensus politics as discussed in
chapter two. This will be discussed further in the following section of
this chapter and in chapter seven. Diagram 6-1 (d) is very interesting,
displaying a distribution of popular vote through the census tracts that
presents a strong deviation from the general pattern. While aggregate
data does not provide enough information to discuss the 1972 election
fully, it merits discussion in terms of the data that follows in
section two of this chapter.

Generally, however, it would appear that the cleavages found
in the Metropolitan Hamilton electorage provincially have similar
patterns with federal voting patterns.

Diagram 6-1(a)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tracts Areas

in Which the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Parties Received a Specific

Amount of the Popular Vote* During the 1962 Federal Election

```
* 1 =  0 -  9%      5 = 40 - 49%
    2 = 10 - 19%      6 = 50 - 59%
    3 = 20 - 29%      7 = 60 - 69%
    4 = 30 - 39%      8 = 70 - 79%
```

Tracts

Diagram 6-1(b)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tracts Areas
in Which the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Parties Received a Specific
Amount of the Popular Vote* During the 1965 Federal Election

*1 =	0 - 9%		5 =	40 - 49%
2 =	10 - 19%		6 =	50 - 59%
3 =	20 - 29%		7 =	60 - 69%
4 =	30 - 39%		8 =	70 - 79%
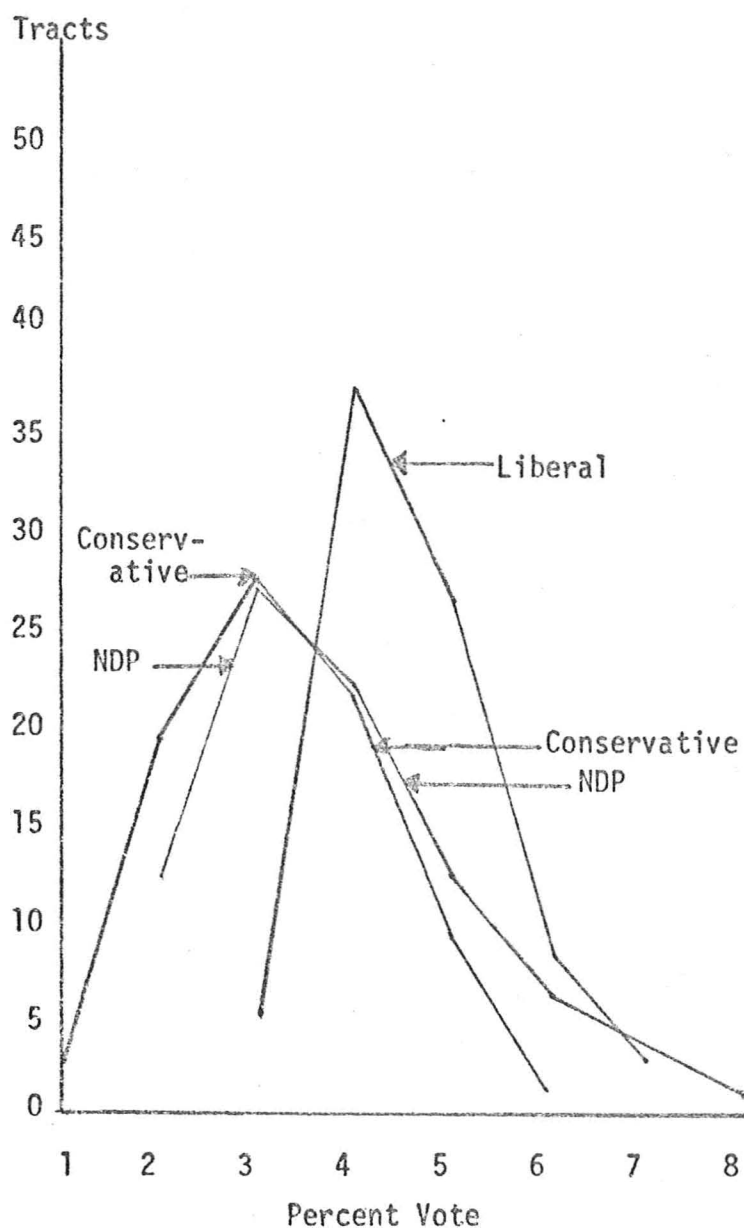
Diagram 6-1(c)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tracts Areas

in Which the Liberal, Conservative and NDP Parties Received A Specific

Amount of the Popular Vote* During the 1968 Federal Election

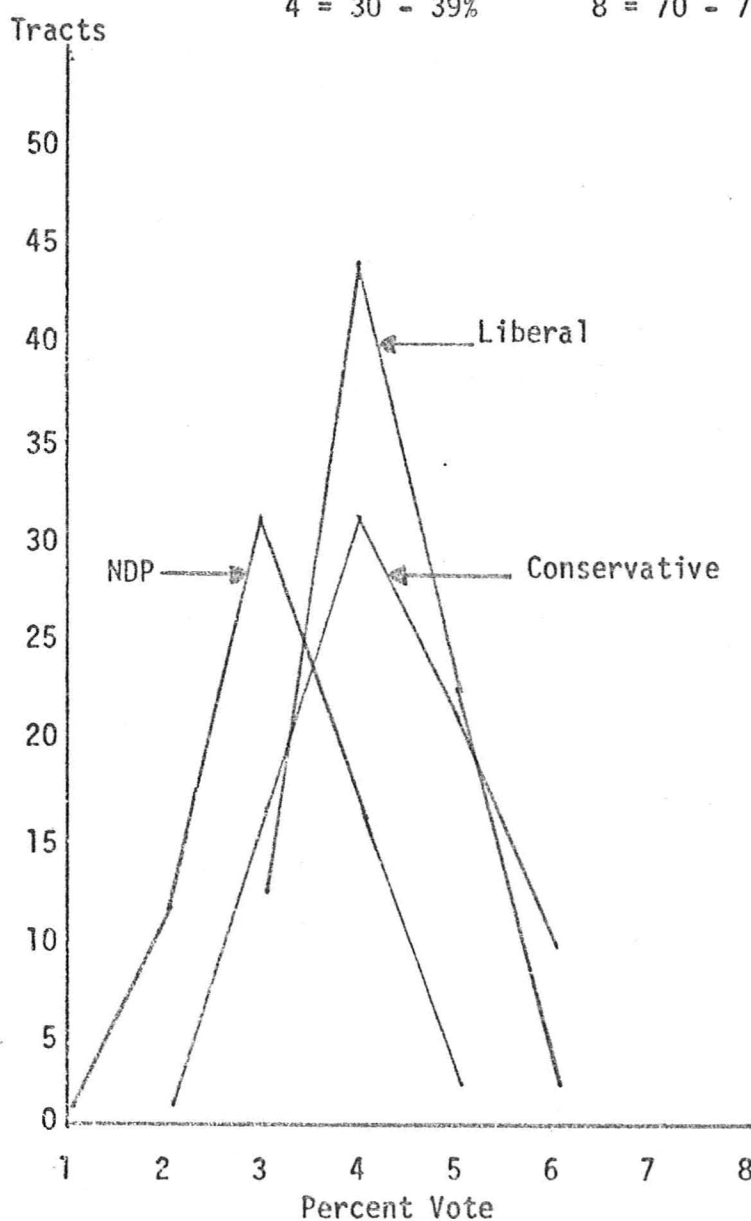|			
*1 =	0 - 9%	5 =	40 - 49%
2 =	10 - 19%	6 =	50 - 59%
3 =	20 - 29%	7 =	60 - 69%
4 =	30 - 39%	8 =	70 - 79%
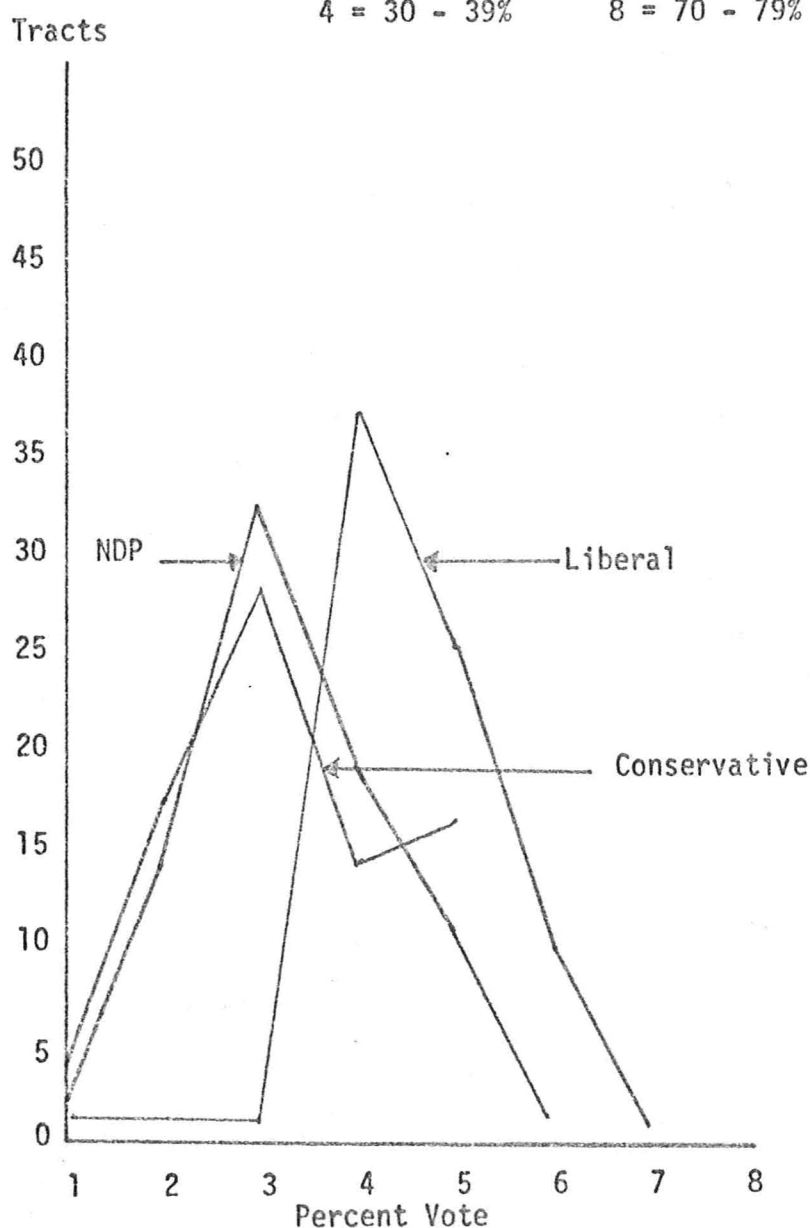
Diagram 6-1(d)

Graphical Description of the Number of Census Tracts Areas
in Which the Liberal, Conservaitve and NDP Parties Received a Specific
Amount of the Popular Vote* During the 1972 Federal Election
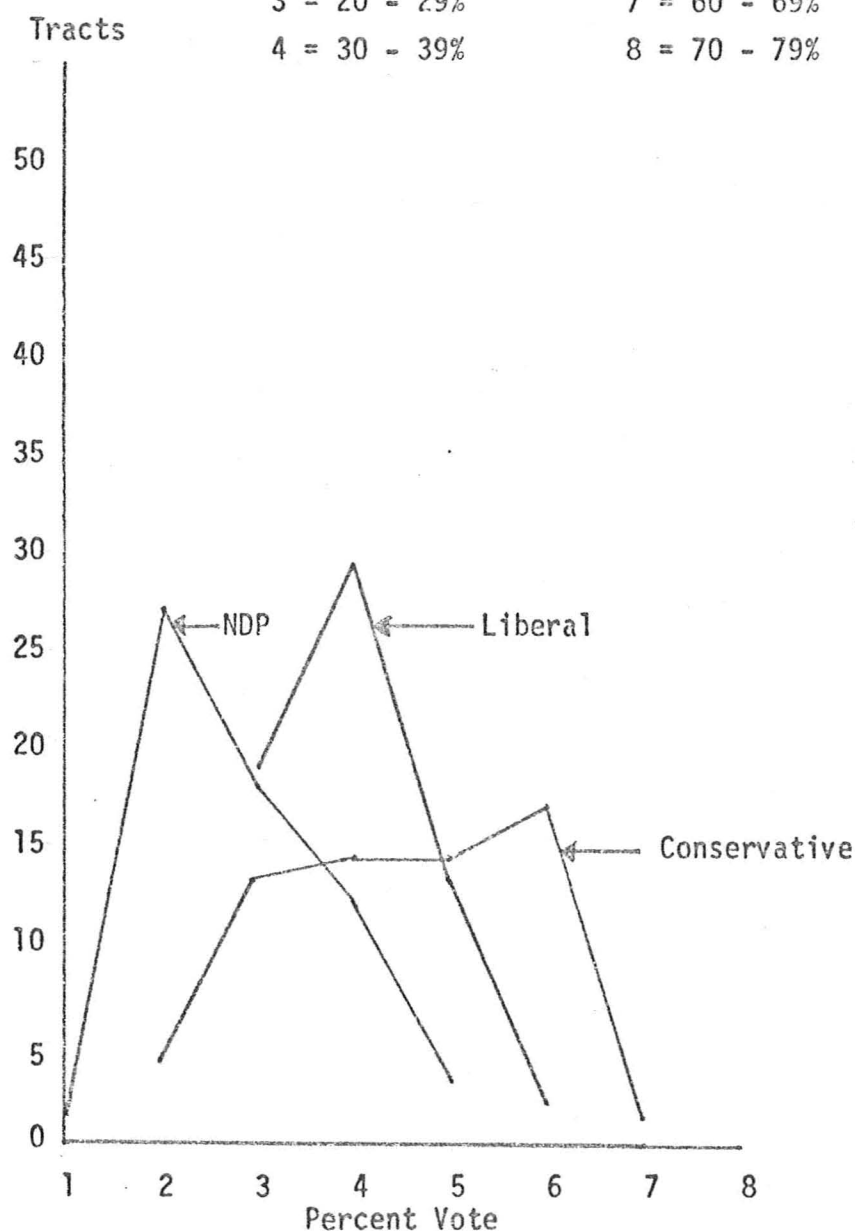
$*$ 1 = 0 - 9%   5 = 40 - 49%

2 = 10 - 19%   6 = 50 - 59%

3 = 20 - 29%   7 = 60 - 69%

4 = 30 - 39%   8 = 70 - 79%

Tracts

Importance of Ethnicity, Religion and Social Class in the

Voting of Metropolitan Hamilton: 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972

Federal Elections

In keeping with the pattern followed in Chapter four, party vote was related to some of the population characteristics of Metropolitan Hamilton through the statistical measures of the Gamma and Chi Square. Subsequently, individual census tracts were examined to see how this statistical association was reflected in actual voting patterns during the federal elections under study. The census tracts that are examined individually are those used in Chapter four.

Using the Gamma and Chi Square measures, the federal party vote was found to be associated with similar characteristics to those found during provincial elections.

Federal Liberal strength is (table 6-6) as was found to be the case provincially, highly associated with recent immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe and with Catholicism, low education and low income. However, the income relationships are sporadic enough to assert that the federal Liberal party does not appear to have electoral strengths outside of those found for the provincial Liberals. That is, the characteristics of the population voting Liberal remains essentially the same. The most significant difference between the federal Liberal and provincial Liberal voting support are those relating to 'Immigrants 1946-1961, income $1,000. - $1,999.' and

'$4,000. - $4,999.'. In all of these cases the 1962 associations with the federal Liberal vote is not transferred to the 1963 associations with the provincial Liberal vote.

Despite the fact that the federal Liberal vote in Metropolitan Hamilton has been considerably higher than the provincial Liberal vote it is interesting to note that the federal Liberal party would not appear to have significantly reached beyond this small inter-related group of variables. This certainly does not conform to the image of the Liberal party appealing to the electorate over and above existing cleavages. This is not the way consensus politics takes a practical form.

The fact that there is little difference between the base of each party's federal and provincial vote is evident in comparing tables 6-6, 6-7 and 6-8 with tables 4-4, 4-5 and 4-6.

Table 6-7 indicates the continued importance of a British, protestant and highly educated population for the Conservative vote. The strengths of the relationships in this table dealing with the federal Conservative vote are very similar to those found with the provincial Conservative vote in table 4-5.

Similarly, the federal NDP vote displays few relationships with population outside of those relating to social class and to some degree Catholicism. While the overall relationships

Table 6-6

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2) Relationships Between Federal

Liberal Vote and Selected Population

Characteristics of Metropolitan-Hamilton

VARIABLE		1962	1965	1968	1972
Born out of Canada	G		.49635	.43544	.74913
	x^2		39.00941	109.04552	138.42844
	df		16	24	16
	sig		.0011	.0000	.0000
Immigrated 1946-1961	G	.56330	.69037	.41566	.70118
	x^2	29.83487	55.54348	58.06540	55.86208
	df	9	12	18	12
	sig	.0005	.0000	.0000	.0000
Italian	G	.62526	.61254		.58786
	x^2	40.64572	47.99074		34.71949
	df	12	16		16
	sig	.0001	.0000		.0043
Polish	G	.79091	.69048	.93846	1.0000
	x^2	15.31893	19.34907	87.7726	94.80000
	df	6	8	12	8
	sig	.0129	.0131	.000	.0000
Ukranian	G		.91549	1.0000	.71880
	x^2		8.98878	79.0000	23.53770
	df		4	6	4
	sig		.0614	.0339	.0001

(Table 6-6)

Variable		1962	1965	1968	1972
Other European	G		.65328	.48842	.71880
	x^2		16.35527	13.64095	23.53770
	df		4	6	4
	sig		.0026	.0339	.001
Catholic	G	.45443	.57888	.41955	.59350
	x^2	77.87158	69.27339	60.59063	71.54166
	df	18	24	36	24
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0063	.0000
One plus years of Elementary School	G	.44011	.31559		.54620
	x^2	30.59210	45.84485		29.06733
	df	12	16		16
	sig	.0023	.0001		.0239
$1,000.- $1,999.	G	.65868			
	x^2	32.86553			
	df	10			
	sig	.0003			
$4,000- $5,999	G	.54405			.73579
	x^2	18.27843			23.3686
	df	5			4
	sig	.0026			.001

with income, education and religious variables do not change between the federal and provincial NDP vote, the federal party does show strong relationships with the $4,000 - $5,999 income bracket and one to two years of High School education. Provincially the NDP associates with one or more years Elementary education and non income variables. Retaining the relationship with Catholicism, the federal NDP is also associated, sporadically, with Presbyternians and Anglicans.

The relationships with federal and provincial party vote and those variables describing the general population of Metropolitan Hamilton are essentially the same. However, the levels of popular support received by each party changes considerably. This change is very evident within the selected census tracts. Why is there an increase in the Liberal vote during federal elections? Are they pulling the 'consensus' vote? Is the sign of class voting weaker during federal elections?

Given that the associations described in tables 6-6, 6-7 and 6-8 are similar to those in tables 4-4, 4-5 and 4-6 the distinctions used to differentiate between the census tracts in chapter four are retained here for the purpose of examining the federal vote.

The random sample in chpater four related very well to the actual areas of electoral domination by each of the three parties. Federally, the random sample includes four (tracts 6,24, 30 and 48) of the 16 census tracts that have consistently voted Liberal; two

Table 6-7

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2) Relationships Between

Federal Conservative Vote and Selected Population Characteristics

of Metropolitan-Hamilton

Variable		1962	1965	1968	1972
Born in Canada	G	.45008	.27715	.30250	
	x^2	23.98515	37.22257	25.78995	
	df	12	15	12	
	sig	.0204	.0012	.0115	
British	G	.59159	.51600	.40448	
	x^2	52.20969	54.7448	43.9537	
	df	20	25	20	
	sig	.0001	.0005	.0015	
Anglican	G	.27723	.23040	.24230	
	x^2	51.10177	62.55588	50.551110	
	df	16	20	16	
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0000	
United Church	G	.58768	.57205	.41805	.15345
	x^2	57.97833	64.55588	45.74244	56.42881
	df	16	20	16	24
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0001	.0002

(Table 6-7)

Variable		1962	1965	1968	1972
Three to five years High School	G	.75858	.63350	.63446	.24230
	x^2	85.61253	45.53584	43.53306	44.04434
	df	16	20	16	24
	sig	.0000	.0009	.0002	.0075
One plus years of University	G	.92974	.89838	.	.65238
	x^2	19.39930	19.90588		13.28069
	df	4	5		6
	sig	.0007	.0013		.0388
Pro-fessional and technical	G	.83804			
	x^2	27.49459			
	df	8			
	sig	.0006			
Primary	G		.93976		
	x^2		26.12872		
	df		10		
	sig		.0037		

Table 6-8

Significant Gamma (G) and Chi Square (x^2)

Relationships Between Federal NDP Vote and Selected

Population Characteristics of Metropolitan-Hamilton

Variable		1962	1965	1968	1972
Anglican	G			.32526	
	x^2			100.94371	
	df			10	
	sig			.0000	
Presby-terian	G	.33112	.35608		
	x^2	19.20767	82.59008		
	df	10	10		
	sig	.0377	.0000		
Catholic	G			.36451	.40931
	x^2			52.70146	42.44804
	df			30	24
	sig			.0064	.0115

(Table 6-8)

Variable		1962	1965	1968	1972
One to two years of High School	G		.55095	.47037	
	x^2		16.82935	9.78124	
	df		5	5	
	sig		.0048	.0817	
Production workers	G	.86677	.76657	.82187	.51310
	x^2	57.78635	42.74227	42.94805	27.5003
	df	8	10	10	8
	sig	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0007
$4,000.- $5,999.	G	.75171	.63966	.54967	
	x^2	23.05750	38.35491	24.15061	
	df	8	10	8	
	sig	.0033	.0000	.0022	

tracts 44 and 37) of the nine census tracts that have consistently voted NDP; and, seven (tracts 14, 15, 33, 67, 73, 54 and 77) of the forty-eight census tracts that have voted for at least two of the three parties during the four federal elections in this study.

The examination of the questions posed in chapter four (Where is the greatest variation of popular vote? How does the popular vote for each party in 1962 compare to the 1972 vote? Are the vote changes for any one party related to a) an increase in vote turnout or, b) to one of the other two parties?) is carried out here in a similar fashion.

Tracts 1, 12, 67 and 73 (table 6-9) are all characterized by a high population of British origin and a low percentage of the population identified as production workers. In each of these four tracts the NDP vote is considerably below the votes polled by the other two parties. Except for the sixteen percent decrease in NDP vote between the 1968 and 1972 elections in tract 12, the federal NDP vote does display a greater amount of stability than the other two parties. In fact the large fluctuations in the NDP vote in table 4-7 is not duplicated here while the general pattern of an increase in NDP vote from the early sixties to the mid-sixties and a decrease in the vote between the later six years of the 1962-1972 decade is the same. Given the generally small changes in the federal NDP vote in this table, as well as that party's relative stability from election to election, again with the exception of tract 12, it would seem that the

Table 6-9

Percentage Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately British With A Low Population

of Production Workers: 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

Tract	1				12				67				73			
British	74				64				72				72			
Production Workers			24				24				23				27	
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1962	29	54	10	82	34	45	18	62	37	51	14	76	33	50	15	80
Change	+11	-8	+3	-1	-1	-3	+6	+5	+5	-14	+6	-3	-4	-4	+8	-2
1965	40	46	13	81	33	42	24	67	42	37	20	73	29	46	23	78
Change	-1	+4	-3	-1	+2	-5	+3	-10	-1	0	-1	+4	+4	+1	-5	+9
1968	39	50	10	80	35	37	27	57	41	37	19	77	33	47	18	87
Change	-10	+7	+1	+5	-2	+27	-16	+12	-9	+12	-3	+1	-4	+6	0	-5
1972	29	57	11	85	33	64	11	69	30	49	16	78	29	53	18	82

increased strength of the federal Liberal party from table 4-7 to 6-9

has in part prevented the federal NDP from receiving the non-Conservative

vote it enjoys during provincial elections.

The dominant actors in table 6-9 are the Liberal and Conservative

parties. The movement within the electorate does not, however,

completely eliminate the pattern of the level of NDP vote being

determined by the level of Conservative support found in chapter four.

The decline of the provincial Conservative vote between 1963 and 1967

was seen to be replaced by both the Liberals and NDP. This is

repeated for the 1962 and 1965 federal elections. Where the federal

Liberal vote remained constant between 1965 and 1968, there were

minor changes in the vote of the other two parties as well. Between

1968 and 1972, however, the Conservatives drew significant levels of

support when the federal Liberals dropped. Again, tract 12 proves

to be an exception. Tract 12 is an interesting case. The level of

the percentage of production workers is not too dissimilar from

tracts 1, 67 and 73. The significant difference is the much lower

percentage of the population identified as British. In examining the

census data, we find that the Italian population is very small (3%)

and the classification of other Europeans is 13%. The federal Liberal

vote has remained at a constant 33-35%. This is roughly equal to the

non-British, non-protestant population. Similar to the inability of the

provincial Liberal party to draw greater support than the percentage

of the non-British, Catholic population, the federal Liberal party

shows the same tendency . Consequently the 1972 upsurge in Conservative

vote came primarily in areas of high British protestant population.

The relatively high levels of Liberal support in the rest of table 6-9 suggests that the Liberals were able to draw votes from the Conservatives much more successfully than the NDP. But again, the increases in Liberal vote beyond the expected level of Liberal support based on the non-British segments of the population, between 1962 and 1968 were lost between 1968 and 1972. Is this a result of a 'consensus' appeal of the federal Liberals or primarily a disaffection with the Conservative party under John Diefenbaker between 1962 and 1965? The question cannot be adequately answered on the basis of aggregate data. What ever the reasons was, however, the 1972 election is significant. The federal Liberal party cannot depend upon the stability of its vote in areas with a high British-protestant population. As long as the federal Liberal party is able to receive 30% of the vote in these areas, however, the NDP would appear to be relegated to a minor position.

Table 6-10 is characterized by a high percentage of the population classified as British in origin. The occupational group of production workers is also high. Where table 6-9 was composed of census tracts characterized by a British - non working class population, the tracts in table 6-10 are characterized by a large working class population of British and European backgrounds.

Table 6-10

Percentage Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately British With A High Percentage of Production Workers: 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

Tract	48				54				77				44				37			
British	65				71				59				66				65			
Production Workers				35				37				39				43				44
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1962	38	36	24	79	31	34	33	77	37	34	26	73	26	26	45	74	29	30	38	73
Change	+11	-15	+10	+3	+3	-15	+12	0	-3	-6	+12	-2	+7	-12	+7	-4	+3	-13	+12	-2
1965	49	21	34	82	34	19	45	77	34	28	38	71	33	14	52	70	32	17	50	71
Change	0	0	-5	0	+3	+4	-6	-2	+1	0	-2	+4	+2	+2	-6	0	+8	+12	+7	-8
1968	49	21	29	82	37	23	39	75	35	28	36	75	35	16	48	70	40	15	43	63
Change			NO DATA				NO DATA		-7	+11	-5	+3	-9	+10	-4	+2	-7	+12	-6	+11
1972			NO DATA				NO DATA		28	39	31	78	26	26	44	72	33	27	37	74

In each case of table 6-10 the voting patterns reflect a three party competition not seen in the previous table. In this table the NDP experienced a greater adjustment of its vote than was evident in table 6-9. Similarily the Conservative vote fluctuated greatly while the Liberals underwent the smallest change. With the exception of tract 48, the Liberal vote remained consistent with the percentage level of the non-British population. The British vote is more evenly distributed between the Conservatives and the NDP. During the 1962 and 1965 federal elections the Conservatives lost a great deal of support to the NDP in areas of a large population. The Conservatives, regaining some of this support in 1968 and 1972, were unable to regain it all. The Conservative increases between 1968 and 1972 came where the Liberals decreased. That is to say, the Liberal losses during the 1972 federal election were greater than or equal to the increases they experienced between the 1962 and 1968 elections.

In comparing this table with table 4-8, the most striking feature is the reverse positions of the NDP and Liberal parties. It appears that where the provincial NDP is able to draw support from the non-British groups in these tracts, this has not been the case during federal elections. With the high relationship between the Conservative and NDP support, the federal Liberal party appears to act as an intervening party at times dominating both the Conservatives and the NDP, but generally preventing the federal NDP from effectively capitalizing upon the potentially high vote it could receive, and does receive at the provincial level.

Table 6-11

Percentage of Party Vote in Census Tracts That Are Predominately Italian With A High Percentage of Production Workers: 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections.

Tract	6				14				15			
Production Workers	41				45				38			
Italian		36				21				24		
Other European				18				16				18
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1962	53	23	18	69	49	26	22	70	45	35	20	66
Change	+1	-3	+6	-1	+4	-7	+4	+1	+16	-19	0	+1
1965	54	20	24	68	53	19	26	71	61	16	20	67
Change	-4	+7	-2	+1	-20	+13	+8	0	-13	+9	+7	-1
1968	50	27	22	69	33	32	34	71	48	25	27	66
Change	-6	+7	-8	+2	-2	+15	-18	+3	-10	+13	-10	+1
1972	44	34	14	71	31	45	16	73	38	38	17	67

Table 6-12

✗N.B.

Percentage Party Vote in Census Tracts With A High Other European Population

and A High Percentage of Production Workers: 1962, 1965, 1968 and 1972 Federal Elections

Tract	24				30				33			
Production Workers	38				48				33			
Italian		14				9				7		
Other European				21				26				22
Party	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out	L	PC	NDP	Turn out
1962	45	33	22	76	40	24	34	77	35	40	22	78
Change	+4	-9	+2	-4	+3	-7	+4	-5	-4	-13	+11	0
1965	49	24	24	72	43	17	38	72	39	27	33	78
Change	+3	-3	+1	-2	+2	0	-2	-1	+12	-5	-10	-1
1968	52	21	25	70	45	17	36	71	51	22	23	77
Change	-6	+6	-1	+3	-5	+8	-3	+11	-10	+15	-3	+5
1972	46	27	24	73	40	25	33	72	41	37	20	82

In turning to those tracts displaying a high non-British population it will be recalled that in each case the percentage of the population classified as production workers is also high. In describing these tracts with a high non-British population a distinction was made on the basis of Italian and other European groups. In tables 4-9 and 4-10 dealing with provincial voting patterns the provincial Liberal vote was seen to have undergone little change from tract to tract. The only exceptions was the one tract displaying an Ethnic population greater than 50% (tract 6).

A similar situation is evident in tables 6-11 and 6-12 with the federal Liberal and federal Conservative vote much higher than exists provincially. More than was evident in tables 6-9 and 6-10, the federal Liberal party between the 1962 and 1968 elections, appears to draw support beyond the level of the existing ethnic population. The losses between 1968 and 1972 equalize this previous 'imbalance'. The high Conservative vote in these tracts suggests that at the federal level, the NDP is unable to capture the ethnic working-class vote nor is it able to retain the high level of support it receives from the British working class population during provincial elections.

Up until now little mention has been made of the level of voter turnout. Compared to the three provincial elections the percentage turnout during the four federal elections have been very stable.

Generally the small increases/decreases in the turnout would appear
to have had little affect on the support of the three parties at the
federal level. What is more striking is the higher turnout between
federal and provincial elections.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VII

The Liberal Problem

The attempt of this paper has not been to test Horowitz's interpretation of Liberalism, Conservatism and Socialism presented in chapter two as much as to utilize this interpretation as a framework for the ecological analysis of Metropolitan Hamilton. The data has, however, tended to support the assertion of Horowitz that there is a relationship between the Conservatives and the NDP.

> ". . .the relative strength of socialism in Canada
> is related to the relative strength of toryism. . ."[1]

In addition, the data has shown that the federal Liberal party attracts more support from non-British - protestant population areas of Metropolitan Hamilton compared to its provincial counterpart. While this has occurred, the case for consensus politics reflected in the Metropolitan Hamilton electorate remains weak. The Liberal vote is as much a product of social cleavages as is the support given to the Conservatives and the NDP. This is applicable to both the federal and provincial patterns of voting. The significant differences appear to be with the ability of the federal Liberals to succeed in British upper and middle class areas during the early and mid-1960's. This

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1. Horowitz, G., Canadian Labour in Politics, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1968, p. 3.

support, however, was also seen to be unstable.

Not only is the consensus appeal of the Liberal party in
Metropolitan Hamilton a tenuous one, it would appear to be tenuous
nationally as well. The success of the federal Liberal party is not
the result of a domination of the centre asserted by Horowitz but more
the ability of the Liberal party with its non-British support to
capitalize upon the Conservative-NDP cleavages within English
Canada. After examining the levels and areas of support for all three
parties on a national basis, Jean Laponce has concluded that:

> ". . .the Liberals who have controlled federal
> politics for most of the past three generations
> do not appear on the dominant side of any of
> the four cleavages (religion, region, language
> and social class). They show the least social
> class identification and are the only party to
> have been systematically associated over the
> past twenty years with the second province,
> the second language, and the second religion;
> an illustration of how to be second in order to
> be first."[2]

There is no mention here of a consensus appeal. Indeed, the
subtraction of the Liberal support in Quebec in terms of representation

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2. Laponce, J., "Post-dicting Electoral Cleavages in Canadian
   Federal Elections, 1949-1968: Material for a Footnote",
   Canadian Journal of Political Science, June 1972, p. 284.

in the House of Commons, would completely change the character of Canadian federal politics since World War II. Without Quebec, the Conservative party would likely to have formed the government in Ottawa continuously since 1957 if not at an earlier date.

In as much as there is an element of Liberal support in English Canada that is determined by the view of consensus politics, the withdrawal of English-French cleavages in the Canadian system would destroy the Liberal party as it exists today. Is then the difference between the federal and provincial Liberal support in Ontario and/or Metropolitan Hamilton due to this consensus appeal? The data in chapters three to six would suggest that such an impact has been small and unstable. John Wilson and David Hoffman[3] have examined this problem in greater detail and have concluded that the differences in the level of voter turnout between federal and provincial elections in urban areas has been a crucial factor in determining the electoral support of the federal and provincial Liberal parties. In the rural areas, however, they observed that ". . .in a number of rural constituencies the proportion of the registered electorate voting Liberal hardly changes at all, at whatever level the election is held. . ."[4]

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3. Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., "The Ontario Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics", Canadian Journal of Political Science, June, 1970.

4. Ibid., p. 185.

Table 7-1[5]

House of Commons Seats Won by Each Party Nationally and in English Canada

During the Federal Elections Between 1945 and 1972

Year		Liberal	Conservative	CCF/NDP	Créditiste, Social Credit & Others
1945	Nationally	125	67	28	25
	English Canada	72	65	28	12
1949	Nationally	193	41	13	15
	English Canada	125	39	13	15
1953	Nationally	171	51	23	20
	English Canada	105	47	23	15
1957	Nationally	105	112	25	23
	English Canada	43	103	25	19
1958	Nationally	49	208	8	0
	English Canada	24	158	8	0
1962	Nationally	100	116	19	30
	English Canada	65	102	19	4
1963	Nationally	129	95	17	24
	English Canada	82	87	17	4

(Table 7-1)

Year		Liberal	Conservative	CCF/NDP	Creditiste Social Credit & Others
1965	Nationally	131	97	21	16
	English Canada	75	79	21	5
1968	Nationally	155	72	22	15
	English Canada	99	68	22	1
1972	Nationally	109	107	31	16
	English Canada	56	105	31	0

5. This table is adapted from the tables presented in: Beck, J., Pendulum of Power, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, 1968, pages 257, 273,287,309,327,349,371,397,419.

Utilizing an aggregate data analysis on the basis of the census tracts, Wilson and Hoffman also found that the changes that "take place between federal and provincial elections are explained (federally) in terms of a shift from the Conservatives in the middle class. . .and (provincially in terms of) an increase in non-voting (almost entirely at the expense of the Liberals) in areas of working-class concentration."[6]

The data presented in chapters four and six would support that conclusion. For both federal and provincial elections the areas with the lowest turnouts are those characterized by a large working-class and a high non-British population - those areas where the Liberal party receives its strongest and most stable support.

It will also be recalled from chapter six in particular, that the federal Liberal vote was substantially higher than the provincial Liberal vote in almost every census tract considered. It was also seen in chapter six that the federal Liberal party appeared to receive little consistent electoral support beyond what would be expected given the level of non-British - working-class voters in any given census tract.

6. Ibid., p. 190.

Party Competition and Social Class

The traditional variables used in analysing Canadian voting behaviour have emphasized the differences of party support on the basis of religion and ethnicity. On those grounds substantial differences can be demonstrated and a case made for party cleavages along these lines. It is, however, the NDP that deviates from this pattern. John Wilson found that "there appears to be a broad connection between the relative class composition of the riding's (Waterloo South) religious groups and their propensity to shift to the NDP."[7] In other words, lower class identifiers are most likely to change their vote regardless of the religious affiliation. The importance of class to the NDP vote is supported by Meisel who found that "60% of its (NDP) vote came from labour and those thinking of themselves as working or lower class."[8]

Grace Anderson, in a study of the North End of Hamilton just prior to the 1962 election found that religious affiliation "is more influential in voting behaviour than any other variable tested."[9]

7. Wilson, J., "Politics and Social Class in Canada: The Case of Waterloo South", Canadian Journal of Political Science, September, 1967, p. 290.

8. Meisel, J., Working Papers on Canadian Politics, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1973, p. 3.

9. Anderson, G., "Voting Behaviour and Ethnic-Religious Variables: A Study of a Federal Election in Hamilton, Ontario", Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, February, 1966, p. 37.

She was, however, unable to test for the class variable in an area of the city where the NDP received twenty-two percent of the vote in the 1962 federal election and forty-four percent in the 1963 provincial election.

Lyn McDonald writes in her study of religion and vote in Ontario that the "NDP vote is not affected by Protestant-Catholic differences."[10]

It is repeated evidence of this type that reinforces the importance of studying the electoral behaviour of Canadians along several different dimensions. Party support varies from region to region and with that, the predictive variable used to analyse voting behaviour changes as well. More important, however, is the need to view the NDP as a party that has achieved a certain measure of success in its attempts at electoral polarization. To write that the NDP lacks support from the United Church adherents or, from certain income levels or, from some ethnic communities, constitutes a misunderstanding of the means by which the NDP achieves electoral success. If the means are different in an effort to achieve different goals (albeit through the same institution) the analysis of the process cannot be comparable. In other words, an

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10. McDonald, L., "Religion and Voting: A Study of the 1968 Federal Election in Ontario", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 6 (3), 1969, p. 135.

examination of the political process where the NDP consistently demon-
strates significant support (beyond that which would be considered a
'protest' vote) must be done on the basis of electoral polarization.
Until recent years, theories of brokerage and consensus politics have
typified studies of Canadian elections. As class polarization becomes
more and more apparent, it will be necessary to re-think the means of
analysis and foundations of Canadian political party support.

While the analysis in this paper has been incomplete in many
ways, it has been evident that there are consistent patterns between
the federal and provincial levels of political activity, demonstrating
significant electoral cleavages. The significant cleavage appears to
be that related to social class. It is significant because it is
through the accentuation of this cleavage in Metropolitan Hamilton that
the NDP is able to demonstrate considerably higher levels of support
than is evident in the rest of the province using the social class cleavage
to cross over the ethnic and religious cleavages.

While the polarization between Conservatism and socialism
that Horowitz outlines exists, the socialist challenge to the
Conservative party will be strongest where the Liberal impact is
minimal. The minimization of this impact will be possible only as the
consensus appeal of the Liberal party continues to weaken and as the
NDP attracts a higher and higher percentage of the non-British,
working-class vote.

The 1971 provincial and the 1972 federal election results in Metropolitan Hamilton are apparent examples of the interchange of Conservative and NDP voting support along the dimension of social class. In a 1972 election survey by Peter Regenstrief, Jerome Black and Barry Kay, it was found that:

> "The Conservatives cut into the Liberal lead through exchanges with third parties. . .especially the NDP. Only among unskilled labourers and French Canadians do the Conservatives fail to decrease the Liberal lead. Moreover, Conservative gains over the Liberals through the medium of NDP losses were from among the NDP's bastions. . .among the working-class, skilled labourers, labour unionists. . ."[11]

These findings very closely parallel the findings in chapter six. Without knowledge of the issues and mood of the electorate in 1972, such results would be a severe blow to the NDP attempt to strengthen class voting, or even to consider class voting as an important feature of Canadian electoral behaviour. The Conservative vote, was, however, very much a protest vote as the Regenstrief study found:

> "Anti-Trudeau and anti-Liberal sentiments are among the most important reasons for the September New

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11. Regenstrief, P., Black, J., and Kay, B., "Partisan Stability and Change in the Canadian Federal Election of 1972: Evidence From a National Panel Survey", an unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, August, 1973, p. 11.

Democrats to desert their party in favour of the
Conservatives in October which suggests that some
NDP'ers were sufficiently antipathetic to the
government to vote for a party other than their
own if they felt it had a better chance to defeat
the Liberals."[12]

We have seen that this type of interchange between the
Conservatives and the NDP occurs with regularity. Over the past
decade this interchange has been fluid, that is, the back and forth
relationships have normally been of equal size with the tendency
for Conservatives switching to the NDP more likely to remain there.
The inability of the Liberal party to recover the vote it has lost
to the Conservatives, in particular, in the past, harbours good
signs for the NDP in the future. It is quite possible then, that in
a future election the NDP will increase its federal share of the vote
at the expense of the federal Liberals. For class cleavages to be
a strong factor in Metropolitan Hamilton voting this must occur.

For Metropolitan Hamilton, any future study of voting
patterns must be based upon a recognition of a strong polarization within
the electorate. The characteristics of this polarization are also
important. First, ethnicity would appear to be the major factor in
determining Liberal vote both federally and provincially. Secondly,

12. Ibid., p. 16.

the Conservative vote is based on both the middle class and British backgrounds. Third, for the NDP, social class is paramount. The cleavage in Metropolitan Hamilton is not, however, strictly a matter of three preditive variables as much as the interplay of class variables with those who are of British or European background. At the present time, the NDP is more successful in winning support from the British working-class and recalling Horowitz this is to be expected. The future of the NDP as a major party federally as well as provincially lies not so much with the fortunes of the Conservative party as much as with the need of the NDP to make greater inroads into the Liberal party support amongst working-class, non-British voters. Gains in this sector of the electorate would appear to be crucial for the emergence of the NDP as a much more powerful political force in Canadian, Ontario and Metropolitan Hamilton politics.

APPENDIX

<u>CODING MANUAL</u>

SELECTED DATA FROM THE 1961 CENSUS FOR
METROPOLITAN HAMILTON WITH THE 1963, 1967
AND 1971 PROVINCIAL ELECTION RESULTS AND
THE 1962, 1965, 1968 AND 1972 FEDERAL
ELECTION RESULTS.

This data set consists of 79 cases numbered 1 - 81 (numbers 58 and 65 do not exist). Each case consists of 10 cards numbered 1 - 0. There are 198 variables.

Cards 1 - 7 (1/8 of card 7) comprise the relevant data from the 1961 census (135 variables). All the data is in raw numbers. Variable numbers 47, 56, 57, 69, 70 and 71 are index scores and are all two column fields (except 70 which is 1 column). For each of these variables, the decimal point is ommitted. Thus variable 70 if coded as a 7 should read .7 and variable 56 if coded as 12 should read 1.2. Note also that variables 65, 66, 73, 76 and 135 are dollar values. Thus if variable 135 is coded as 2954, it should read $2,954.

The federal and provincial election results for those elections held between 1962 and 1972 are found on cards 7 - 0. These results are coded in raw numbers as well as percentages. Note again the absence of decimal points in the coding of the percentages.

For tracts 46 - 60, 63, 64, the 1972 federal election results are missing. These tracts comprise the federal constituency of Hamilton Mountain. Data for Beverly Township (case #79) is missing for 1968 and 1972.

All data is right justified; missing data has been coded as blanks.

For all cards: column 1 = card number
                col. 2-3 = case number

Census Tract Number	Case Number
1 - 65	1 - 65
	(note there are no values for 58 and 65)

Burlington

101	66
102	67
103	68
104	69
105	70
106	71
Waterdown	72
East Flamborough	73
West Flamborough	74
Dundas	75
Ancaster	76
Saltfleet	77
Stoney Creek	78
Beverly	79
Glanford	80
Binbrook	81

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
1	Population 1961	I	4-8	

SEX AND AGE

2	Males	I	9-12	
3	Males 0-19 Years	I	13-16	
4	Males 20-24 Years	I	17-19	
5	Males 25-34 Years	I	20-23	
6	Males 35-44 Years	I	24-27	
7	Males 45-54 Years	I	28-30	
8	Males 55-64 Years	I	31-33	
9	Males 65 + Years	I	34-36	
10	Females	I	37-40	
11	Females 0-19 Years	I	41-44	
12	Females 20-24 Years	I	45-47	
13	Females 25-34 Years	I	48-51	
14	Females 35-44 Years	I	52-55	
15	Females 45-54 Years	I	56-58	
16	Females 55-64 Years	I	59-61	
17	Females 65 + Years	I	62-64	

BIRTHPLACE

18	Born in Canada	I	65-69	
19	Born Outside Canada	I	70-73	
20	Immigrated, 1946-1961	I	74-77	

ETHNIC GROUP

21	British Isles	II	4-7	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
22	French	II	8-10	
23	German	II	11-14	
24	Italian	II	15-18	
25	Netherlands	II	19-22	
26	Polish	II	23-25	
27	Ukranian	II	26-28	
28	Other European	II	29-32	Includes Russian and Scandanavian.
29	Other	II	33-35	Includes Asiatic.

RELIGION

30	Anglican	II	36-39	
31	Baptist	II	40-42	
32	Greek Orthodox	II	43-45	
33	Jewish	II	46-48	
34	Lutheran	II	49-51	
35	Presbyterian	II	52-55	
36	Roman Catholic	II	56-59	
37	Ukranian (Greek) Catholic	II	60-62	
38	United Church	II	63-66	
39	Other	II	67-70	

EDUCATION

40	Not Attending School	II	71-75	
41	One or More Years (Elementary)	II	76-79	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
42	One To Two Years (High School)	III	4-7	
43	Three To Five Years (High School)	III	8-11	
44	One Or More Years (University)	III	12-14	

HOUSEHOLDS

45	Households: Occupied	III	15-18	
46	Families	III	19-22	
47	Persons/Household	III	23-24	Index score.

By Number of Families

48	0	III	25-27	
49	1	III	28-31	
50	2 or More	III	32-34	
51	With Lodgers	III	35-37	

Families: By Number of Children

52	0	III	38-40	
53	1-2	III	41-44	
54	3-4	III	45-48	
55	5 or More	III	49-51	
56	Persons/Family	III	52-53	
57	Children/Family	III	54-55	

Families By Age of Head

58	Under 25 Years	III	56-58	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
59	25-34 Years	III	59-62	
60	35-44 Years	III	63-66	
61	45-54 Years	III	67-69	
62	55-64 Years	III	70-72	
63	65+ Years	III	73-75	
64	With Wage Earner Heads	IV	4-7	
65	Wage and Salary Income/Head	IV	8-11	Dollar Values.
66	Wage and Salary Income/Family	IV	12-15	Dollar Values.
	Occupied Dwellings			
67	Single Detached	IV	16-19	
68	Apartments, Flats	IV	20-23	
69	Rooms Per Dwelling	IV	24-25	Index Score.
70	Persons Per Room	IV	26	Index Score.
71	Crowded Dwellings	IV	27-29	
72	Owner Occupied Dwellings	IV	30-33	
73	Median Value	IV	34-38	Dollar Value.
74	Reporting a Mortgage	IV	39-42	
75	Tenant Occupied Dwellings	IV	43-45	
76	Average Rent Contract	IV	46-47	Dollar Value.

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
	Length of Occupancy			
77	Less Than One Year	IV	48-50	
78	One to Two Years	IV	51-53	
79	Three to Five Years	IV	54-57	
80	Six to Ten Years	IV	58-60	
81	More Than 10 Years	IV	61-63	
	Dwellings With:			
82	Furnace Heating	IV	64-67	
83	Flush Toilet (Exclusive Use)	IV	68-71	
84	Bath/Shower (Exclusive Use)	IV	72-75	
85	Refrigerator (Mechanical)	IV	76-79	
86	Home Freezer	V	4-6	
87	Television	V	7-10	
88	Passenger Automobile	V	11-14	
	Labour Force Population			
89	Population 15 Years and Over	V	15-18	
90	Males	V	19-22	
91	Females	V	23-26	
92	Labour Force	V	27-30	
93	Males	V	31-34	
94	Females	V	35-38	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
	Employment Status			
95	Males With A Job	V	39-42	
96	Males Looking For Work	V	43-45	
97	Females With A Job	V	46-49	
98	Females Looking For Work	V	50-51	
	Class of Worker			
99	Males: Wage-Earners	V	52-55	
100	Males: Self-Employed	V	56-58	
101	Females: Wage-Earners	V	59-62	
102	Females: Self-Employed	V	63-64	
	Occupational Division			
103	Males: Managerial	V	65-67	
104	Males: Professional and Technical	V	68-70	
105	Males: Clerical	V	71-73	
106	Males: Sales	V	74-76	
107	Males: Service and Recreation	V	77-79	
108	Males: Transport and Communication	VI	4-6	
109	Males: Primary	VI	7-9	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
110	Males: Craftsmen, Production Process and Related Workers	VI	10-13	
111	Males: Labourers	VI	14-16	
112	Females: Managerial	VI	17-18	
113	Females: Professional and Technical	VI	19-21	
114	Females: Clerical	VI	22-24	
115	Females: Sales	VI	25-27	
116	Females: Service and Recreation	VI	28-30	
117	Females: Transportation and Communication	VI	31-32	
118	Females: Primary	VI	33-34	
119	Females: Craftsmen Production Process, an and Related Workers	VI	35-37	
120	Females: Labourers	VI	38-39	
	Males: Wage and Salary Income			
121	Under $1,000.	VI	40-42	
122	$1,000. - $1,999.	VI	43-45	
123	$2,000. - $2,999.	VI	46-48	
124	$3,000. - $3,999.	VI	49-51	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
125	$4,000. - $5,999.	VI	52-55	
126	$6,000. - $9,999.	VI	56-58	
127	$10,000. and Over	VI	59-61	
128	Average Wage and Salary Income	VI	62-65	
	Females; Wage and Salary Income			
129	Under $1,000.	VI	66-68	
130	$1,000. - $1,999.	VI	69-71	
131	$2,000. - $2,999.	VI	72-74	
132	$3,000. - $3,999.	VI	75-77	
133	$4,000. - $5,999.	VI	78-79	
134	$6,000. and Over	VII	4-5	
135	Average Wage and Salary Income	VII	6-9	

Election Returns

Provincial 1963

136	Liberal	VII	10-13	
137	Liberal Percent	VII	14-16	Note: All percent variables are three column fields; decimal points have been ommitted.
138	Conservative	VII	17-20	
139	Conservative Percent	VII	21-23	
140	NDP	VII	24-27	
141	NDP Percent	VII	28-30	
142	Number on Voters' List	VII	31-35	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
143	Actual Voters	VII	36-40	
144	Actual Voters Percent	VII	41-43	
	Provincial 1967			
145	Liberal	VII	44-47	
146	Liberal Percent	VII	48-50	
147	Conservative	VII	51-54	
148	Conservative Percent	VII	55-57	
149	NDP	VII	58-61	
150	NDP Percent	VII	62-64	
151	Number on Voters' List	VII	65-69	
152	Actual Voters	VII	70-74	
153	Actual Voters Percent	VII	75-77	
	Provincial 1971			
154	Liberal	VIII	4-7	
155	Liberal Percent	VIII	8-10	
156	Conservative	VIII	11-14	
157	Conservative Percent	VIII	15-17	
158	NDP	VIII	18-21	
159	NDP Percent	VIII	22-24	
160	Number of Voters on List	VIII	25-29	
161	Actual Voters	VIII	30-34	
162	Actual Voters Percent	VIII	35-37	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
	Federal 1962			
163	Liberal	VIII	38-41	
164	Liberal Percent	VIII	42-44	
165	Conservative	VIII	45-48	
166	Conservative Percent	VIII	49-51	
167	NDP	VIII	52-55	
168	NDP Percent	VIII	56-58	
169	Number on Voters' List	VIII	59-63	
170	Actual Voters	VIII	64-68	
171	Actual Voters Percent	VIII	69-71	
	Federal 1965			
172	Liberal	VIII	72-75	
173	Liberal Percent	VIII	76-78	
174	Conservative	IX	4-7	
175	Conservative Percent	IX	8-10	
176	NDP	IX	11-14	
177	NDP Percent	IX	15-17	
178	Number on Voters' List	IX	18-22	
179	Actual Voters	IX	23-27	
180	Actual Voters Percent	IX	28-30	
	Federal 1968			
181	Liberal	IX	31-34	Beverly Township not included in 1968 data.
182	Liberal Percent	IX	35-37	

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	DECK NUMBER	COLUMN NUMBER	SPECIAL REMARKS
183	Conservative	IX	38-41	
184	Conservative Percent	IX	42-44	
185	NDP	IX	45-48	
186	NDP Percent	IX	49-51	
187	Number on Voters' List	IX	52-56	
188	Actual Voters	IX	57-61	
189	Actual Voters Percent	IX	62-64	

Federal 1972

190	Liberal	IX	65-68	No 1972 data available for Hamilton Mountain
191	Liberal Percent	IX	69-71	(cases 46,- 60, 63 and 64); and Beverly Township
192	Conservative	IX	72-75	(case 79).
193	Conservative Percent	IX	76-78	
194	NDP	0	4-7	
195	NDP Percent	0	8-10	
196	Number on Voters' List	0	11-15	
197	Actual Voters	0	16-20	
198	Actual Voters Percent	0	21-23	

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