POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF URBAN PARTY ACTIVISTS

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ABSTRACT -

Political involvement is the process of becoming active in the particular political system. One of the most important areas of involvement is the political party. Differences exist among the major Canadian parties that allow them to be placed on a left-right continuum.

In this study, the focus is restricted to activity in local party structures. Four variables of the party involvement process -- political socialization, recruitment, motivation and socio-economic background -- are examined here to see if there are significant differences among the three major political parties in Canada and the personnel that makes up the local executives of their organizations. An analysis of these differences is undertaken to see if they can be explained by the ideological divisions that separate the party associations.

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

This is a study of party activists; it is concerned with the socio-economic background, political socialization, recruitment, motivations and activities of party workers. The purpose of the research is to determine whether there are inter-party differences in these areas mentioned above, and to explain why these patterns exist. (The specific hypotheses that form the basis of the study will be outlined in the following chapter). To provide some preliminary understanding in this new research focus on Canadian parties, this paper proposes a case study of party workers for the three major political parties in two urban, federal ridings. But before any presentation of this research can be undertaken, it might be useful to examine previous studies of party organizations and the politically involved.

Most of the research in the field of political parties has focused very generally on party systems, party leadership, and to a lesser extent on party organizations and voting behaviour. R. McGregor Dawson's The Government of Canada[1] was one of the earliest and most ambitious attempts. However, as Norman Ward noted in his revision of the work in 1963, "parts of his chapters on political parties paid more attention to the democratic facades which

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[1] R. McGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947),

the parties present than seemed realistic in the light of the parties' actual role in Canadian society."[2] Smiley's examination of contributions to Canadian Political Science since the Second World War concurred with Ward: "Although he (Dawson) dealt with political parties at some length, his treatment of the subject ... was much the least satisfactory part of his analysis."[3] Nor is Dawson alone in this regard. Hugh Thorburn's collection of readings Party Politics in Canada continues this historical approach to parties. The studies outline the development and background of major and minor parties in Canada, and include research on party election financing, party images, and leadership; but no attempt is made to deal directly with the activity of party members.[4]

This study proposes to help correct this imbalance by focusing directly on party activists- who they are, how they get involved in party work, the types of activities they perform, and what they expect to get from this activity. In dealing with what Eldersveld terms "the critical action locus of the party", that is, with its base, the research will omit national and provincial leadership and organizations. Instead it will deal with the organizations of the three major parties at the constituency level. While such an emphasis will not provide a complete picture of party activity, the research appears justified by the need to gain information in this neglected area of party studies.

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[2] Ibid., p.viii.

[3] D. V. Smiley, "Contributions to Canadian Political Science Since the Second World War", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 33, Nov. 1967, p. 570.

[4] H. G. Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

Much of this neglect is due to Michels and his early work, Political Parties. He dealt extensively with party organization. His thesis, based on an examination of the structure of socialist parties - especially the German Social Democracy - argued that the party was the ruling elite; that is, the executive officers were de facto the party. Indeed, he found the "Iron Law of Oligarchy" to be true for many mass organizations. Though the appearances of internal party democracy were consciously maintained and fostered, the oligarchy tended to retain and increase its power over an increasingly obedient membership.[5] Though his theory was based on observation of party organization, it obscured much of party activity rather than accounted for it. For by dealing almost exclusively with leadership[6] it did little to account for the activity of party members.

Maurice Duverger continued his emphasis in his Political Parties.[7] Duverger dealt with party systems, leadership and organization. While he does concentrate extensively on party structure (in terms of centralization and decentralization, pp.52-60; membership, pp.62-89; participation, pp.90-132, and parliamentary and party leadership pp.135-202) he, like Michels, fails to give any detailed explanation of why membership activity exists; for example,

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[5]R. Michels, Political Parties, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p.204.

[6]Eldersveld contends that Michels anti-authoritarian bias may explain this leadership emphasis. See S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1964), p.14.

[7]M. Duverger, Political Parties, (London: Metheun, 1964).

in examining membership, he explains the concept in terms of cadre and mass parties, and includes membership figures for major European parties -- but no detailed discussion of their activities. As such he misses an important facet of party life.

Duverger's main emphasis, however, is not so much with organization, as it is with electoral systems and their effect on the proliferation (or nonproliferation) of parties; that is, with party systems. While his concentration on electoral systems[8] may well have explanatory value in understanding the development of party systems,[9] it will be overlooked as beyond the scope of this study.

To gain an understanding of why the study of parties from the focus of its membership is important, it might be useful to examine some contemporary views of what the party is. Clinton Rossiter, in his study Parties and Politics in America, outlines eight different functions of political parties. These functions may be political, such as institutionalizing the struggle for power, acting as a personnel agency to fill offices, providing a source of public policy, and seeking to form the government (or opposition) or they may be social, like educating the public, providing a buffer

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[8] Ibid., pp.203-280 for a discussion of electoral and party systems.

[9] For other works on this topic see H. Valen and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway (London: Tavistock, 1964), pp.39-40. The authors agree with Duverger; they argue that the most important change in Norwegian party history was the introduction of proportional representation in 1920. See A. Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-65" Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.1, March, 1968, pp.55-80, for a similar discussion on Canadian parties.

between the individual and the state, and providing an object to which men can direct allegiance.[10]

In so doing Rossiter, like Sorauf, points out the need to view the party as more than a vehicle for election victory. Sorauf's Party and Representation contains a valuable critique of this orientation. In his examination of parties he argues that the reasons for this approach are largely methodological.

> "To study the party as victor we have at hand the necessary data, officially recorded and generally available. Moreover, those imposing columns of vote totals bear the hallmarks of unimpeachable objectivity and certainty. Data on other party activities and functions must, by contrast, be ferreted out by laborious field research.... It seems undeniable that, in the study of parties, the availability of data has determined both research priorities and the shaping of concepts to best accomodate the handy data."[11]

One important 'laborious field research' is Eldersveld's Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis. Rather than view the party as victor Eldersveld examines it as a social group "constantly plagued by the need to reconcile two divergent essentials: group solidarity (the conscious selection of members) and broad social representation (unrestricted entry into the organization).... Does the leadership recruit members and supporters at wide range seeking to maximize its vote potential, or does it consciously restrict itself to the need for congruence in

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[10] C. Rossiter, Party and Politics in America, (Toronto: Signet, 1964), pp.47-57.

[11] F. Sorauf, Party and Representation, (New York: Atherton, 1962), p.46.

social and political perspectives?"[12]

How different parties resolve this dilemma will be discussed in this research; for the way that each party attends to this problem will greatly affect its membership. By examining the socialization, recruitment, background, activities, and motivations of workers in the three major parties, some understanding of this and other organizational problems should result. (The details of how this will be carried out will be outlined in the following chapter.)

But why study political activists at all? Several scholars note the widespread lack of participation in party work. Alford and Scoble, in examining local political involvement, note that despite the legal norm of full adult participation, the actual level of local involvement is not high, though this differs greatly from group to group.[13] Woodward and Roper's index of political activity among Americans found only ten per cent to be very active, and another sixteen per cent active.[14] Lane, in Political Life, distinguished between local party officials, volunteer workers and opinion leaders, but concluded that together they comprised only about 22 per cent of the American electorate --

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[12] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.47.

[13] R. Alford and H. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement", American Political Science Review, December 1968, p.1192.

[14] J. Woodward and E. Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens" in N. Polsby et.al., eds., Politics and Social Life, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1963), pp.527-536, especially p.530 for activity index.

still a small figure for those ready to electioneer for the party or candidate of their choice.[15]

Campbell and his associates found only three per cent of American adults engaged in party work in both the 1952 and 1956 federal elections (although a somewhat larger percentage attended rallies or contributed money).[16] These figures are corroborated by Eldersveld's study of Detroit area party activists. He found four per cent active with party work in 1956, and a total of thirteen per cent who said that they had done some party work in the past.[17] This low level of involvement does not depreciate the influence of these activists, however. Rather, it accentuates it. For although it is difficult to equate activity with influence, a close relationship between the two appears certain.[18] And whatever that relationship actually is, the usefulness of examining this small percentage of politically involved, who act (more or less) for the large numbers of inactive, apathetic and/or alienated citizens, seems obvious. However, before any research can begin some discussion of the term 'political activity' might be of value.

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[15] R. Lane, Political Life, (New York: Free Press, 1959), pp.52-4.

[16] A. Campbell, et.al., The Voter Decides, (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp.29-30. And The American Voter, (New York: Wiley, 1960), p.91. Besides this involvement figure, an additional 2-3% reported belonging to a political club.

[17] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., pp.19-20.

[18] J. Woodward and E. Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens" op. cit., p.536 for a discussion of some of the problems involved in linking influence and activity. The authors argue that one can assume that the very inactive would have little influence, but one cannot assume the opposite. While their argument points out reasons for this, it is my contention that activity implies a greater degree of influence, relative to inactive citizens.

James Davies, in his Human Nature in Politics, distinguishes between political participation and political apathy. The latter refers to those "who are not involved, who neither care about taking part nor actually take part in making or implementing social decisions on ends and means. ... Politically they never use others, never act, never change themselves."[19] Political participation is "taking part in making the basic decisions as to what are the common goals of one's society, and as to the best ways to move toward these goals."[20] Davies distinguishes further between active participation -- the activity of the implementors and law makers -- and passive participation -- the activity of reading newspapers, talking politics with neighbours, attending rallies, meetings and voting. However, Davies' definitions do little to explain why the differences exist.

As Milbrath notes, activity requires two decisions; first, whether to act or not and secondly, in what direction to act.[21] He develops on Davies' point by constructing a hierarchy of political involvement. The classification includes apathetics who are completely uninvolved, spectators who vote, initiate political discussions, attempt to convince others to vote a certain way and wear campaign buttons or use car stickers, transitionals who contact public officials, contribute money to a candidate or party and attend political

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[19] J. C. Davies, Human Nature in Politics (New York: Wiley, 1963), p.25.

[20] Ibid., p.23.

[21] L. W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1965), p.6.

meetings and rallies, and finally gladiators, who give time to campaigning, become active party members, solicit political funds or become candidates for office, either public or party. Milbrath's hierarchy has a natural progression -- he found that persons involved at the top were likely to have been involved in the lower level behaviour as well.[22]

For Alford and Scoble "political involvement is an attribute of a politically organized stratum which -- like social class strata -- need not be cohesive, but may be internally divided and represent only partially consistent interests and values. (It) may thus be usefully conceived as a social role with attached normative expectations for self and others.... Involvement thus is connected with social and political structures through the processes of role definition and learning.... When a political role becomes permanent and central we normally refer to the professional politician -- but this is not the central role for most persons, and therefore the structural conditions under which political roles are played become important."[23]

The authors feel that the overemphasis on psychological conditions of involvement has led to an imbalanced focus upon participation as an individual act, and thus have sought to correct this oversight by emphasizing structural conditions for political activity. This research also notes this onesided view and hopes to combine structural and psychological factors in an attempt to gain a more complete under-

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[22] Ibid., p.17.

[23] R. Alford and H. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement", American Political Science Review, vol.LXII, Dec. 1968, p.1206.

standing of political activity -- both professional and amateur.

Nor are Alford and Scoble the only ones to distinguish between professional and other activists. Robert Merton, in his earlier work Social Theory and Social Structure, distinguished between cosmopolitans who are minimally tied to a locality, strongly attached to national and international problems, ideas and movements, join organizations - often comprised of other cosmopolitans -- with professional and civic flavour, and who are attached to symbols, and locals who are preoccupied with community and parochial affairs, have lived in the community for many years, join local organizations to avail themselves of the contacts, and from whose ranks the professional politicians are chosen.[24]

James Wilson, in The Amateur Democrat, draws on Merton's typology and distinguishes between amateur, who seeks satisfaction in the ends he serves, and professional, who gets extrinsic satisfaction out of participation in the form of power, income, status, or the fun of the game.[25] Wilson's main concern is with the nature of the organization and the constraints that these structures place on achieving organizational ends; that is, with the consequences of incentives on operation, structure and leadership. As such Wilson is concerned with how membership and organization co-exist.

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[24] R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp.387-420.

[25] J. Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) p.4.

Since this research is dealing with organizations also, it might be useful to examine what is meant by membership. According to Milbrath, "there are three ways in which a person could be said to be a party affiliate or member: i) psychological identification with a party; ii) formal membership through payment of dues; or iii) active participation in party affairs."[26]

De Grazia further refined this by distinguishing four groups: party officers, civil servants, interest group leaders and amateurs.[27] Marvick and Nixon classify 'functionaries' -- campaign managers, party officials and candidates; 'key figures' -- who are involved in party work other than the above; and 'steady workers' -- who are active in the lower echelon.[28]

For Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, the politically active are grouped into top party leaders, party workers, lay enthusiasts, and grass root supporters.[29] Similarly, Lane's study of Political Life, focuses on low level party officers (with official positions), volunteer workers who work without any official position, and opinion leaders, private individuals who discuss politics. Ostrogorski used a more formal

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[26]L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p.25.

[27]A. de Grazia, The Elements of Political Science, (New York: Knopf, 1952), p.83.

[28]C. Nixon and D. Marvick, "Active Campaign Workers: A Study of Self-Recruited Elites", Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Convention, Sept.1956, (mimeographed).

[29]B. Berelson, et. al., Voting, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p.169.

[30]R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp.52-53.

technique of dividing activists into officers or privates, depending on whether or not they held official party positions. This distinction will be utilized for the present research.[31]

What all of these studies have in common is the fact that they distinguish between rank and file membership and actual party officers or officials. In terms of organizational continuity, and degree of influence, such a distinction seems worthwhile: for there are obvious differences between a person whose only attachment to a particular party is psychological, and one who holds a position in the party organization. That difference, according to Valen and Katz, is in the level of commitment or degree of attachment to the party, and the degree of participation.[32] Lane further distinguishes between party officers and those who make financial contributions to a party:

> "A financial contribution to a party or candidate comprises a unique form of participation, involving as it does, the possession of 'surplus' resources. While other forms of participation demand the sacrifice of time, and possibly of energy, financial contributions do not require these forms of sacrifice.... For (several) reasons the size of the contribution, or even the ratio of contribution to income, cannot serve as a measure of intensity of motivation, and

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[31] M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Party System in the United States, (New York: MacMillan, 1910), pp.164-5.

[32] H. Valen and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway, op. cit., see pp.67-75 for a discussion of party membership.

> this phase of the problem must be left for more refined psychological interpretation."[33]

Similarly for purposes of this study, no attempt will be made to include those who contribute financially to a particular party. Instead the formal distinction between party officer and party worker will be maintained; specifically, this research will deal exclusively with the executive officials of the three major federal parties in two federal ridings. It will be left to future studies to examine the relationship of local, district, provincial and federal party organizations in Canada.

One final question remains to be answered before a detailed review of the literature on political socialization, recruitment, motivations and background of party activists can be presented. That is why this research should focus on the constituency level in a study of party workers. As mentioned earlier, this level has been almost totally neglected in Canadian party studies -- a fact bemoaned by Meisel in The Canadian General Election of 1957. Meisel's later study of the 1962 Federal Election makes a beginning at correcting this imbalance by including several 'constituency' views of the election.[34] The author also argues for the need for continued research at this level of party organizations.

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[33] R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

[34] J. Meisel, ed., Papers on the 1962 Election, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1964). See especially H. Scorrow, "Three Dimensions Of A Local Political Party", pp.53-67.

The constituency, riding or district is the lowest level in federal party organizations, and there has been an increasing emphasis of the decentralized nature of power in political parties, especially in American party studies.[35] The findings of these studies would indicate that much of the power in a political party is diffuse rather than at its apex.

Many party studies err when they attempt to aggregate their findings on one instance of local party activity, to explain all of party life. A constituency level study lacks the external validity to be generalized beyond that level. By examining two federal ridings, in two different urban, Ontario centres, an effort has been made to broaden this focus. As this research is a preliminary examination of the theory outlined below, such an emphasis appears worthwhile. For on the basis of this research, and others like it, a more complete understanding of party activists should result.

However, it must be stated that no claim is made about patterns of party activists (and their socialization, recruitment, motivations or socio-economic backgrounds),

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[35] See E. E. Shattschneider, Party Government, (New York: Rinehart, 1942), "Decentralization of power is by all odds the most important single characteristic of the American party"; p.129. And F. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964) pp.39-43. Sorauf emphasises the double decentralization of party power and organization -- at the state and local level -- with much of the power residing at the county or city organization of the party. And S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, op. cit., pp.9-10: power is mainly at the base ('the critical action locus') -- a stratarchy rather than an elite -- and therefore it is important to study activity at this level.

beyond these two electoral areas. Validation of the theory (outlined below) in these instances should point the way to a fruitful area of future party research.

This paper will now examine the literature on the political socialization, recruitment, motivations and socio-economic background of party activists, and show where certain inconsistencies have occurred -- inconsistencies that this study will attempt to resolve.

II THE LITERATURE

"The ratio of political activists to the general population ... has generally increased over the past fifty years, but this has not been accompanied by rising intensity in emotion. Political participation is a function of status, education, age, male sex.... Race, religion, and national origin are completely related to political activity of various specific kinds."[1] So Robert Lane sums up political activity. Just what all these factors, together with how and why activists get involved in party work is the central concern of this research. The obvious place to begin such an examination is with first political awareness and the process of political socialization.

A POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Most of the literature on this subject can be divided into two categories: those which deal with the socialization and background of candidates and elected officials, and those which examine the concept of socialization in a general sense. While both approaches may provide some understanding of the socialization of the politically involved, at the lower levels of party organization, it must remain for actual research to discover just how tenuous this relationship might be.

To begin with, "socialization is a process of social learning.... The fairly stable set of attitudes, beliefs, customs and value systems characteristic of a society constitute its culture. These social patterns incorporate the

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[1] R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., p.75.

social heritage of the past and are acquired by the members of each generation through their contacts with the members of the previous generation."[2]

The family, as the first social unit that most people participate in, is the obvious transmitter of social and political values. Davies feels that its importance is often underestimated:

> "The family ... is in many ways more significant politically than such readily recognizable political groupings as business, labour ... and political parties themselves. If an individual does not develop within the family, the sense of belonging, dignity, and indeed, individuality, which are necessary for him to become a relatively ... unique person, he is more likely to end up a ... social isolate than participate in anything."[3]

While it is conceivable that such individuals might seek compensation through group memberships as in political parties, the role of the family in the socializing process cannot be overemphasized. Herbert Hyman, in Political Socialization, noted that parents and children ranked more closely on social issues than did teachers and pupils on the same issues.[4] And on the importance of party identification, fully three-fourths of all Republicans and Democrats inherit their partisanship from their parents, when both parents belong to the same

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[2]J. Sawrey and C. Telford, Educational Psychology, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964), p.64. And see H. Johnson Sociology, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), for an outline of early (physical and emotional) development.

[3]J. Davies, Human Nature in Politics, op. cit., p.35.

[4]H. Hyman, Political Socialization, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959), pp.61-101.

party.[5]

Valen and Katz' study, Political Parties in Norway, also discovered relationships between political attitudes and family. They made the added distinction, however, between political leaders and voters. And their findings explain that "in comparison with leaders the ordinary voters show much more deviation from the political faith of their fathers.... Political socialization in the family is thus even more significant for political leaders than for voters in general". McClosky and Dahlgreen confirm the idea that "the family is the key reference group, which transmits, indoctrinates, and sustains the political loyalties of its members."[7]

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[5]A. Campbell, et. al., The Voter Decides, p.99; and The American Voter, pp.I46-7. H. Scarrow, "Distinguishing Between Political Parties -- The Case of Canada", Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol.9, I965, pp.6I-76; Scarrow suggests that the figures would be less in Canada, since Canadian voters neither identify as freqently, nor as faithfully with their parties. A. Kornberg, et. al., "Some Differences in the Political Socialization Patterns of Canadian and American Party Officials: A Preliminary Report", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.2, March, I969, p.66, extrapolate this fact to their group of party officials and state that "it seems reasonable to expect that Canadian party activists will identify with a party at a later age, and that their identification, with a single party, will be less constant than will the party identities of their American counterparts."

[6]H. Valen and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway, op. cit., pp.277-8. The authors note that further research is necessary to discover if this is the result of i) the fact that leaders come from homes where political indoctrination is more intense; ii) the attainment of political leadership may be easier if family background is a preparation; or iii) the commitment to a leadership role (versus voter) means more individual ideological involvement.

[7]H. McClosky and H. Dahlgreen, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty", in N. Polsby, et. al., eds., Politics and Social Life, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, I963), p.269.

Kornberg and associates argue that the effect of family on political socialization may differ with the particular political system and culture. They hypothesize in their study of socialization that Canadian party activists will cite the family as the agent that generated their initial interest in politics and public affairs more often than American party officials.[8] However their findings indicate that sixty-nine per cent of the American activists, versus fifty-four per cent of the Canadian workers, note family as the reason for their partisan involvement.[9] This paper will examine differences among the Canadian parties used in Kornberg's study.

Nor is political culture the only factor affecting political involvement. Another important agent is the degree of political activity on the part of the parents. Marvick and Nixon state that "families in which both parents agree politically have more influence on their children than those where parental examples are at odds with one another ...; (and) nearly two out of every five campaign workers in each party came from families in which at least one parent was active in politics. Only about one in five, on the other hand, came from families where the parents were neither interested nor active in political affairs."[10]

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[8] A. Kornberg, et. al., "Some Differences in Political Socialization Patterns of Canadian and American Party Officials", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.2, March, I969, p.67.

[9] Ibid., pp.67-7; see table IV.

[10] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups" in D. Marvick, ed., Political Decision-Makers, (Glencoe: Free Press, I96I), pp.208-9.

This finding is supported by Eldersveld's study of Detroit area activists. Political activity on the part of the fathers produced ninety-three per cent of the Democrats with continuous party service (as opposed to sixty-eight per cent with inactive fathers); and similarily for the Republicans -- eighty-five per cent compared with seventy-five per cent.[11] Valen and Katz show the cross national nature of this finding: their study on Norwegian local party leaders show that fourty-three per cent come from politically active families. In fact, a similar percentage stated that their parents had held public office. And again the authors note that leaders are more likely to have active parents, and are more likely to adhere to their father's party than ordinary voters.[12]

Family is not the only socializing agent, though. As Kornberg lists, "political socialization, and resocialization, is continuous, preferences and attitudes being under constant potential change through the influences of friendship and occupational groups. There are numerous agents of socialization that vary with different periods of life.... Aspects of the political socialization process vary with intelligence, sex, age, socio-economic status and background, religion and party affiliation. Variations in the socialization process affect subsequent political behavior, orientations and attitudes."[13] Jennings and Niemi also

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[11] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.139.

[12] H. Valen and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway, op. cit., pp.278-81.

[13] A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, (New York: Holt, Rinhart and Winston, 1967), pp.49-50. See also pp.57-62 for a complete bibliography on the subject.

raise reservations about viewing the family as the most important agent of socialization.[I4]

Apart from peer and occupational groups, and familial influence, voluntary association membership(s) appear to have an influence in socialization: the assumption being that participation in non political organization will increase participation in political ones. As Lane states:

> "A person gets his standard of judgement of right and wrong from a group. Here then he learns the nature and content of civic duty. In the same way he acquires beliefs about his social environment.... Joining an association redefines what is public and what is private. Goals become shared goals, attitudes shared attitudes, and proposed solutions come into relation with other people's solutions."[I5]

Much of the relevance of voluntary groups membership and political socialization stems from the fact that such membership represents a free choice, relative to family, school and (to a lesser extent) occupation. Its importance is also based on the fact that those who participate in non political organizations gain skills regarding decision-making and co-operation which are transferable to political life.[I6]

All of the above review of earlier studies of [I7]

[I4] M. K. Jennings and R. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child", American Political Science Review, vol.62, I968, pp.I69-84.

[I5] R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp.I89-90.

[I6] A. Rose, The Power Structure, (New York: I967), pp.246-52 for a discussion of the transferability of skills in politics.

[I7] For an examination of the theoretical literature on socialization, see D. Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.I, June I968, pp.I25-46.

political socialization shows the importance of examining this factor in any research attempting to understand party activists. The present research will examine many of the aspects outlined above. A more precise explanation of what this paper proposes with regard to socialization and Canadian party activists will be made when the theory and hypotheses are presented. To continue the review of political involvement, however, it would be useful to turn from socialization to the next -- and related -- step, that of recruitment into party work.

B POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

As with much of the literature on political socialization, a good deal of the scholarly writing on recruitment deals with candidates and elected officials. Little research has been done on the recruitment process as it relates to party workers. Some of the findings on candidate recruitment will be applied in this study of worker involvement, and, again, it must be left to this research (and others like it) to determine just how similar the two processes are.

The 'elite' studies form one type of recruitment research. Early works of Pareto and Mosca, and later power studies by Floyd Hunter and C. Wright Mills comprise much of this grouping. Their findings relate social and economic position with political power. Dahl and Polsby lead the pluralist group that argues against the elitist theory, contending instead that power is shared by many groups.[I]

[I] For a fairly complete review of these studies see R. E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power", American Sociology Review, vol.25, I960, pp.636-44.

Another type of recruitment study focuses on similarities and differences in characteristics -- both in the background and recruitment patterns -- of political activists. Donald Matthews outlines four basic questions that typify this approach: i) "From what social positions are political decision-makers recruited; ii) what are their skills and personality traits; iii) what are the inter-relationships between their characteristics and political change or revolution; iv) what are the effects of the characteristics of political decision-makers on the conduct of the government."[2]

However, as Williams states, "these studies have concentrated on the paths of promotion leading up to ... ranking positions, to the neglect of initial interest and participation in political activities."[3] And it is with this pre-elective stage of recruitment -- the initial involvement in party work, and related low-level recruitment patterns -- that this research intends to deal.

Kornberg and others provide some idea of this process of initial involvement. In his study of Canadian legislators, Kornberg found that fifty-three per cent of the Members of Parliament were recruited by the party, as opposed to twenty-three per cent self-starters, and the

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[2]D. R. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers, (New York: Random, 1954), p.6. A. Kornberg and N. Thomas, "Representative Democracy and Political Elites in Canada and the United States", Parliamentary Affairs, vol.I9, 1965-6, pp.91-102, present supporting data for Matthews' findings that legislative elites exist.

[3]R. Williams, Political Recruitment to the Ontario Legislative Assembly: A Research Schema, unpublished Masters Thesis, McMaster University, 1967, p.2.

remaining quarter were influenced by family and friends.[4] These findings support the idea that there is a substantial link between political socialization and recruitment patterns.

The findings also corroborate the results of Milbrath and Bowman and Boynton's studies. They found that there was a political activity threshold over which political activists had to be pushed.[5] Similarily Eldersveld examined initial recruitment. His study of Detroit area party workers discovered a high percentage of self-starters. "One third of all present leaders indicated strongly that they made the decision themselves to enter party work. In addition to self-starters and the party, other agents of recruitment were friends and relatives not in politics, occupational, ethnic and other formal, nonpolitical groups, as well as 'accidental involvement."[6]

This slight increase in the level of self-starters (between Eldersveld's study and that of Kornberg)

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[4]A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., p.53. F. J. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.95-6 notes that primary laws in the United States often have the effect of stripping the parties of their recruitment control, thus encouraging self-starting, independent and nonparty candidates. He also found, however, that a substantial number of legislators were initially recruited by the party. (About twenty-five per cent for both parties). Defeated candidates tended to be party recruited more often than winning candidates.

[5]L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp.20-21 and L. Bowman and G. R. Boynton, "Recruitment Patterns Among Local Party Officials", American Political Science Review, vol.60, 1966, pp.667-76.

[6]S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.128. One third also mentioned party as the initial recruitor.

might well be due to the differences between party workers and political leaders. The differences may be similar to those discovered by Dwaine Marvick and Charles Nixon, who compared party workers and voters in their study of recruitment:

> "The factors distinguishing between barely interested, passive voters and highly interested, strongly partisan voters are presumed to be the same factors distinguishing the latter from the deeply involved, active campaign workers. In significant ways, however, an active worker's behavior and orientation to politics differs from a voter's, however active he is. The campaign worker has joined an organization; the voter has not. This provides the worker with new sources of gratification ... not present for the voter. The campaign worker is engaged in activities that focus his attention upon influencing the electorate; the voter is intent, largely, upon the candidates and issues from which he must choose."[7]

Barber adds the feature that further distinguishes party workers from candidates for public office: "There is a considerable difference ... between mailing a check to the party, chatting about the campaign or stuffing envelopes for a few evenings, and undertaking to change one's occupation to politics."[8] However this distinction will be beyond the scope of the present study.

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[7] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts ..." op. cit., p.194.

[8] J. Barber, The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaption to Legislative Life, (New Haven: Yale, 1965), p.14.

Seligman, in his analysis of recruitment, outlines three distinct types of recruitment: i) entry from outside the organization; ii) moving up within the organization from one position to the next; and iii) moving more than one position at once within the organization.[9] This assumes that recruitment patterns are part of a one way process, and that there exists a definite ranking of positions.

For this study, the initial recruitment, or trigger event, which brings an individual into party work, the role of party youth organizations and other inter-party differences will be examined. The social backgrounds of party activists will be dealt with under a separate section, rather than included in this examination of recruitment, although any relationships between the two will be outlined in the analysis of involvement. Before a review of these background studies will be presented, an examination of political motivation and its relation to party activists will be dealt with -- just why people undertake party work.

C POLITICAL MOTIVATION

A political party, like any organization, must provide sufficient incentives to its members to meet each of their particular needs, and to induce them to seek the organizational ends of the party as well. These incentives may be in many forms; indeed no party organization is built on any one incentive, though the incentive structure will differ from party to party. Sorauf's study of political

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[9] L. Seligman, "Recruitment in Politics", American Behavioral Scientist, vol.1, 1958, p.15.

incentives in American parties notes this: If the party is to continue functioning as an organization, it must make 'payments' in an acceptable political 'currency' adequate to motivate and allocate the labours of its workers."[1] Sorauf also adds that "although we know a great deal about the effectiveness of economic incentives in allocating labour and resources, the nature and role of the incentives for political parties are less obvious.[2]

Part of the reason for this is the difficulty in systematically measuring motivations. To understand some of the difficulties, it might be worthwhile to examine some basic considerations about motivation. For Sawrey and Telford "motivational phenomena are those behaviors that seem to be guided by the biological functioning of the organism ... (and) also those behaviors that appear to result from acquired wants, wishes, desires, aversions, purposes, interests ... and a host of other related concepts."[3] The authors also note that "in order to understand the particular behavior of an individual, it is first necessary to know why the individual is active at all."[4]

Indeed, this appears to be the primary justification for examining the motives of party activists. Sawrey and Telford's study also includes the following definitions of motive: "a motive consists of an increase in drive plus its

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[1] F. J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System, op. cit., p.8I.

[2] Ibid., p.81.

[3] J. Sawrey and C. Telford, Educational Psychology, op. cit., p.275.

[4] Ibid., p.275.

related goal-oriented behavioral trends. A drive state which has acquired goal direction through learning constitutes a motive."[5] And Theodore Newcomb also views motivation as the application of an individual's resources toward a particular goal.[6] This is corroborated by Krèch and his associates in Individual In Society. They state that motivational analysis specifies a goal for which man expends energy. The forces may be positive or negative but both are seen as the initiating and sustaining factors in behavior. And they too propose that motives and goals are interdependent -- one does not exist without the other.[7]

One of the major problems in studying motivations, however, is in this relationship between wants and actions. It is necessary to explain this complexity as a critique of the present work (and others that propose to study this area of social psychology) and as a warning to the reader about applying this criteria alone to the understanding of political involvement.

Several factors affect the goal(s) each individual seek(s): they include cultural norms, values, biological capacity, personal experience, and accessibility of the goal in the physical and social environment. Much of man's wants appear to be affected by his self-concept. This is the individual as he appears to himself, and is more important than even the 'real' self in determining a person's behavior.

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[5] Ibid., p.309.

[6] T. Newcomb, et. al., Social Psychology: The Study of Human Interaction, (New York: Dryden, 1950), pp.21-24.

[7] D. Krech, et. al., Individual In Society, (Toronto: McGraw, Hill, 1962), pp.69-71. The authors acknowledge the complexity of this relationship: a) similar actions may be related to different motives; b) different actions may reflect similar motives; and c) although "behavior may reflect wants and goals it is not determined by them alone." It is also affected by situational conditions, cognitions, social habits and attitudes. In analysing motivations, this paper will note these complexities.

However "the self-concept is heavily infused with group membership.... People are influenced by and tend to accept as their wants and goals the values shared by members of their reference groups and, less directly, the values of their larger society. The 'desireable' tend to become the 'desired'. The self esteem of most men is based on the achievement of goals which reflect group values. And of these goals, the most important are those which represent the dominant values of their group."[8]

And what are these wants that induce people to political activity? The list in the literature is long indeed but I will attempt to outline the major contributions briefly and then comment on them. For Sorauf there were seven main incentives for political involvement; i) patronage, ii) preferments, iii) political career, iv) economic rewards, v) personal or social rewards, vi) desire to influence policy making, vii) ideological rewards. As well Sorauf added a secondary motive of loyalty to the organization itself.[9] Homans, in his study Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, noted social approval, status, and authority to be the major group incentives.[10] For Lasswell, emotional insecurity and low esteem of self, developed in early life, lead to political involvement, if other exterior factors are favourable. He argued that power was not necessarily the main motive for political leaders since this would likely make them inflexible, compulsive and therefore unsuccessful. Rather political leaders "are oriented toward power as a coordinate or secondary value

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[8] Ibid., pp.79-80.

[9] F. Sorauf, Political Parties ..., op. cit., pp.82-86.

[10] G. C. Homans, Social Behavior, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), pp.88-9; 149-53; 283-315.

with other values such as respect (popularity), rectitude (reputation as a servant of the public good), and wealth (livelihood)."[11]

Truman, in the Governmental Process, emphasises the social nature of participation:

> "The motives for participation in an electioneering machine, particularly at the local level, are often almost devoid of ideological or policy content. As in the case of other interest groups in the society, participation may be an end in itself. To be 'one of the boys', to belong to the group, to identify with a dramatic leader and the like, may satisfy deep-seated psychological needs in the individual almost regardless of what the group is doing. Where the element is not the exclusive feature of the local party organization, it is still likely to be of importance. The incentive to 'belong' is usually supplemented and reinforced by the distribution of patronage and other spoils through party channels."[12]

Roy Peel, in another study of political clubs in New York City, also comments on the social activity of these organizations.[13] And they are supported by James Davies' study of Human Nature in Politics. Davies emphasises that this social need is common to all individuals: "People become involved in public affairs both because some of their social needs have not been otherwise met, and because

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[11] H. Lasswell, "Effects of Personality on Political Participation" in R. Christie and M. Jahoda, eds., Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1954), p.221. See also Psychopathology and Politics, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930), and Power and Personality, (New York: Norton, 1948). J. D. McConoughy, "Certain Personal Factors of State Legislators in South Carolina", in American Political Science Review, vol.XLIV, 1950, pp.897-903, argues with Lasswell's hypothesis, as does R. P. Browning, Businessmen in Politics: Motivation and Circumstances in the Rise to Power, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1960, especially pp.92 ff.

[12] D. Truman, The Governmental Process, (New York: Knopf, 1951, p.279.

[13] R. Peel, The Political Clubs of New York City, (New York: Putnam's, 1935), especially pp.160-77, 179-90.

they find some inherent social satisfaction in political involvement."[14]

Marvick and Nixon, however, found that Republicans and Democrats scored highly in community obligation, party loyalty, and public issue concern.[15] Eldersveld combined both of these ideas in his study of political activists in Detroit. His findings indicate that social activity, community obligation, and a desire to influence governmental policy ranked highly.[16] Eldersveld also uncovered further phenomenon - a difference in motivations within parties, between high elites, and lower level activists. The top elite began with personal motives such as business contracts, economic remuneration and political advancement; while the lower elite (precinct level) began with impersonal needs and over time changed to personal ones- usually social contracts.[17] The findings showed a pluralistic motivational structure rather than a homogeneous one. However, one further fact should be noted: "no more than 10 per cent of the precinct leaders of the parties (actually only 3 per cent of the Democrats) were ideologically motivated in their work...."[18] While many may have begun as ideologues few remained so.

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[14] J. C. Davies, op. cit., p.34.

[15] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.208-209.

[16] S. J. Eldersveld, op. cit., p.131. The author notes that his data did not support simple explanations of career motivations... Rather, it is evident that for most party leaders motivations were diverse, multiple, and represented a synthesis of personal and impersonal interests." p.134.

[17] Ibid., pp.278-92.

[18] Ibid., p.303.

Nor did they seek patronage. For there appears to be little left for parties to dispense. Both Republicans and Democratic chairmen in the Detroit study de-emphasized patronage as a reward for party work.[19]

Sorauf provides the most complete critique of viewing patronage as an important element for fostering party support. For him, patronage is meagre, and fraught with self-destructive tendencies.[20] Jacob's study of "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S." similarily found that wealth was only of marginal importance in motivating political activity. He also found affiliation, and power needs low for officials.[21]

This economic emphasis may be partly the result of economic theory regarding organizations. According to Manzer, this theory "begins from the premise that individuals are rational and self-interested with respect to the decision to form an association. Each member reserves rewards from the organization in return for which he makes contributions."[22] March and Simon add that a person will join and continue to belong to an organization only if the benifits received are greater than his own costs for organizational membership.[23]

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[19] Ibid., p.42.

[20] F. J. Sorauf, "Patronage and Party", Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol.3, no.2, (May, 1959), pp.115-26.

[21] H. Jacob, "Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S.: A Model", Journal of Politics, vol.24, Nov. 1962, especially pp.709-15.

[22] R. Manzer, "Selective Inducements and the Development of Pressure Groups: The Case of Canadian Teachers' Associations", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.2, Nov. 1969, p.103.

[23] J. G. March and H. A. Simon, Organizations, (New York: Wiley, 1959), p.84.

Schlesinger's study of party organization found that parties using material incentives were far more flexible in establishing goals and the means for attaining them, than ideological organizations.[24] However, while such organizations may be more flexible, they also appear to be few in number.

Conway and Feigert examined motivation and party incentive systems. Their findings supported the idea that the type of organization (re: motivational type) was greatly affected by the local political culture. The initial motivation for political involvement in affluent communities was likely to be ideological or impersonal. While rural communities were more likely to be influenced by purposive or material rewards.[25]

Some of the confusion that has been noted is the result of a fundamental change in party organizations in the last fifty years. Most of the American studies in the 1920's and 1930's presented a model of party organization as attracting and disciplining workers through material incentives, non-ideological in its appeal, and oriented to obtaining votes for securing or keeping the party in control of the government.[26] As such they reflected a major feature of party incentives. However, with the decline of patronage as the major component of incentive systems, the more difficult matter of examining psychological needs has arisen. The literature reviewed above points to the inconclusive nature of this new emphasis in research. Two features of the recent research that appear common, though, are the fact that motives

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[24] J. Schlesinger, "Political Party Organization" in J. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), p.768.

[25] M. Conway & F. Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization", American Political Science Review, vol., 62, Dec. 1968 espec. pp.1164-67.

[26] Ibid., p.1159. See author's footnote for a list of these earlier studies.

tend to change over time - both individually and organizationally; and that it is useful to classify motives since there are so many. It should be explained that "all such classifications are arbitrary and become useful only within a limited context."[27]

One of the most inclusive motivational classifications is supplied by Krech and his associates, in their study Individual in Society. They see six major wants that influence the behavior of Western man: i) the affiliation want; ii) the acquisitive want; iii) the prestige want; iv) the power want; v) the altruistic want; and vi) the curiosity want.[28] While the authors' list is a very complete one, there appears to be a degree of overlapping and indistinctiveness. For example, the authors note that their curiosity want "frequently occurs in service of other wants."[29] For this reason the present research will neglect this latter motive for involvement.

Furthermore Krech's separate use of affiliation prestige, and power motives is not necessary; they all can be subsumed under one category. This is what Clark and Wilson attempt in their study of Incentive Systems. They

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[27] J. Sawrey and R. Telford, op. cit., p.309.

[28] D. Krech, et. al., op. cit., pp.93-99.

[29] Ibid., p.101.

distinguish between material incentives (such as money, and patronage), solidary incentives (intangibles such as identification, congeniality, socializing, prestige, status and power) and purposive rewards (such as organizational ends and ideological commitments.)[30] Clark and Wilson's findings also explain that "motivational trends considered here seem to be reducing the importance of material, and perhaps purposive, inducements. At the same time, solidary incentives are apparently increasing in importance. This suggests gradual movement toward a society in which factors such as social status, sociability, and 'fun' control the character of organizations, while organized efforts to achieve either substantive purposes or wealth for its own sake diminish."[31] This suggests a major area of emphasis for the present research; for it is with this aspect of incentives and party differences (or similarities) that much of the study is concerned.

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[30] P. B. Clark and J. Q. Wilson, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly, vol. 6, 1961, pp.134-35. This article provided much of the theoretical basis for J. Q. Wilson's The Amateur Democrat, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962). Here Wilson distinguished between amateur and professional politicians: the latter finding satisfaction in participating, and rewards like power, income, status or the fun of the game; and the former seeking a sense of satisfaction in participating in forming public policy, and in showing public concern and interest.

[31] Ibid., p.166.

Rather than use this typology, the more inclusive list of political rewards suggested by Hollander and Hunt, in their Current Perspectives in Social Psychology, will be utilized. The authors maintain material motivation, but they substitute the more inclusive social motivation for Clark and Wilson's solidary rewards, and the more political idea of ideological incentives for purposive needs.[32] It is a hypothesis for this study that the political parties in Canada will differ in terms of their particular organizational incentive systems with regard to these three types.

One further aspect of motivation remains to be dealt with: The relationship between organizational goals and individual needs, and the implied matter of leadership and followers. As mentioned above, S. Eldersveld found differences in motivations between upper and lower elites in the same party.[33] Whether this exists in Canada, and the organizational problems it creates will be a focus of this paper. Nor is this a minor problem for party organizations.[34]

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[32]E.P. Hollander & R. Hunt, eds., Current Perspectives in Social Psychology, (New York: Oxford Press, 1963).

[33]S. J. Eldersveld, op. cit., pp.278-92.

[34]See D. Truman, op. cit., pp.111-212 (especially Chapter 6) for a complete discussion of organizational problems and unity; H. Valen and D. Katz, op. cit., especially pp.95-8 for a discussion of organizational leadership in Norwegian Political Parties; S. M. Lipset, Political Man, (New York: Doubleday, 1960), pp.20-4; and T. Kotarbinski, Praxiology, (London: Pergamon, 1965), pp.65-70, 152.

As Johnson states, the participants in an organization have a variety of personal goals. And "although organizational goals should be distinguished from individual motives, the latter are of great importance to the functioning of an organization."[35] March and Simon expand on this: "the greater the number of individual needs satisfied with the organization, the stronger the identification with it.... The greater the extent to which organizational goals are perceived as shared, the stronger the identification."[36] And they also explain why organizational friction such as that mentioned by Eldersveld, should be kept to a minimum: "The less the competition within the organization, the stronger the identification."[37] Similarly, Sorauf finds this party dilemna. His study showed that individuals sought their own goals through party work. The party management had to seek to regulate and control the payment of scarce incentives to achieve party goals as well. The effectiveness of each party in resolving this problem is central to their continuance as a viable organization.[38]

A full understanding of party activists requires more than an understanding of their motivations, however: "psychological factors ... are not the only ones which recruit individuals into the political arena, for not all who possess the politician's personality will enter politics, or seek elective office...."[39] And so to complete the picture, it is necessary to turn to the socio-economic background of the politically involved.

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[35] H. Johnson, Sociology, op. cit., p.281.

[36] J. March and H. Simon, Op. cit., p.65-75.

[37] Ibid., p.75.

[38] F. J. Sorauf, Political Parties, op. cit., pp.86-90.

[39] H. Jacob, op. cit., p.709.

D SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

As with the earlier sections reviewed, much of the literature on the socio-economic background of the politically involved deals with elected officials rather than party workers.[1] And so, as before, much of their relevance to a study of party activists must depend on research such as this. Too examine what has been written on the subject it may be useful to categorize the review into its components.

1 Age

Milbrath's study of political participation shows that activity is highest in the forty-fifty age group, and lowers after sixty.[2] The author fails to make any inter-party distinctions, however. Marvick and Nixon are more specific. They state that Democrats draw on younger workers than do Republicans.[3] Samuel Eldersveld discovered the same phenomenon in his study of Detroit area party workers.[4] Age will be examined in the present study to see if inter-party differences occur regarding the age of initial political interest, first recruitment into party work, and earliest holding of party office. The review will now examine sex as a factor in political involvement.

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[1] See D. Matthews, op. cit., especially pp.22-30; and A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., pp.43-8, for a sample of background studies on American and Canadian political decision-makers.

[2] L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p.136.

[3] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., p.202.

[4] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, op. cit., pp.50,57.

2 Sex

There appears to be complete unanimity in this regard -- that men participate more in party work than women.[5] Although women comprised a larger group in the Republican party (56 versus 41 per cent) than in the Democratic party, Marvick and Nixon found that Democratic women had better chances than Republicans to share powerful party positions with men.[6] It would appear uncertain at this point, just what the role of women is in Canadian party life; hopefully the present report will uncover some data on the subject.

3 Income

In terms of voter turnout Lipset reports that high income correlates with high turnout, and low income with low turnout.[7] Marvick and Nixon relate that the Republican workers had higher incomes than did the Democrats.[8] And it would seem likely that such a relationship would exist in Canada, with the NDP lower than the Liberal and Conservative party workers; and between the latter two the Conservatives should prove to be slightly higher. Eldersveld discovered that "the wealthy (over $10,000) populated the lower reaches of the hierarchy (even one-fourth of the Democratic precinct

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[5] See S. Lipset, Political Man, op. cit., pp.187-9, 206-7,225. And F. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.66-67. Also, L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p.54; and R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., p.54, p.70.

[6] D. Marvick & C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.205-6.

[7] S. Lipset, Political Man, op. cit., pp.188-9. Also, see chart pp.224-5.

[8] D. Marvick & C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.202-3.

leaders are in this income bracket), but were not found in the top leadership nucleus in either party."[9] Other factors appear to determine that. Lane also found this to be so. "Joining political clubs is not related to income."[10] This will be examined for party membership in Canada.

4 Education

Sorauf found that party differences (among candidates) regarding educational background, was more the result of the constituency than the party. Republican legislators outdistanced their Democratic counterparts educationally, but the reverse was true for defeated candidates.[11] Marvick and Nixon showed that Republicans (workers) were better educated than Democrats.[12] As with income, Lipset correlated higher education with high turnout.[13] Eldersveld, however, reversed Marvick and Nixon's findings. He related that Democratic workers were more highly educated than Republicans.[14] The differences may be due to differences in the constituencies that were studied. The present research will attempt to resolve this difference, or at least to report party differences in one Canadian case. For it is important that education be examined; according to Campbell, increased education tends to produce greater political involvement:

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[9] S. Eldersveld, Political Parties., op. cit., pp.52-4.

[10] R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp.78-9.

[11] F. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.68-9.

[12] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.202-3.

[13] S. Lipset, Political Man, op. cit., p.189.

[14] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., pp.50-2.

> "Perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is the number of years of formal education. There are apathetic college graduates and highly involved people of very low educational level, but the over-all relationship of education and political interest is impressive.... Whatever the precise nature of the education process, it has clear effects on political interest."[15]

5 Occupation

Republican candidates hold higher status occupations than do Democrats.[16] And a majority of legislators tend to be lawyers.[17] Eldersveld and others found that the average occupational status levels of party recruits vary with the party's position on an ideological continuum.[18] Kornberg and Winsborough disagree with this. Their study of Canada noted that the Liberals recruited the most prestigious candidates. This may mean that occupation level recruitment is affected

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[15]A. Campbell, "The Passive Citizen", Acta Sociologica, vol. VII, 1965, p.20.

[16]F. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.70-3; and D. Marvick & C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.204-5.

[17]A. Brady, "Canada and the Model of Westminster" in W. Hamilton, ed., The Transfer of Institutions, (Durham: Burke, 1964), pp.59-80.

[18]S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.52; H. Valen & A. Ranney, "The Recruitment of Parliamentary Nominees in Norway", Scandinavian Political Studies, vol. 1, 1966, pp.121-66; L. Snowiss, "Congressional Recruitment and Representation", American Political Science Review, vol. 60, 1966, pp.627-39; and also V. O. Key, Southern Politics, (New York: Knopf, 1949), and American State Politics, (New York: Knopf, 1956).

more by a party's relative competitiveness, and success.[19] According to Lane's study, certain brokerage occupations like law, real estate, undertaking, and insurance offer their members advantages that are likely to result in their members being overrepresented.[20] Lane is supported by Jacob. According to his study, occupational role (not status) is the major factor in determining whether an individual will be politically active or not. Occupations such as those outlined by Lane provide individuals with an opportunity to acquire political skills.[21] Whether these findings relate to Canadian parties remains to be seen.

6 Religion

Most of the studies of candidates, voters or workers in America state that Democrats attract Catholics, Jews and Orthodox religions, while the Republicans, overwhelmingly, gain Protestant support.[22] Alford and Scoble concluded that Protestants were slightly more involved than Catholics.[23]

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[19] A. Kornberg and H. Winsborough, "Recruitment of Candidates for the Canadian House of Commons", American Political Science Review, vol. 62, 1968, p.1247.

[20] R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., p.54.

[21] H. Jacob, "Initial Recruitment...", op. cit., pp.709-12.

[22] F. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.68-9, and D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.202-3.

[23] R. Alford and H. Scoble, "...Political Involvement",

But Lipset[24] and Milbrath[25] both rank Jews as the most active, followed by Catholics, and finally Protestants. While there appear to be certain inconsistencies in these findings, no doubt exists that it has had, and continues to have, political importance.[26] What inter-party differences exist in Canada must await research. This study will test such commonly held beliefs as the Liberal Party and its Catholic support, and others.

7 Other Demographic Factors

While these six indicators are perhaps the main features of background studies, they are by no means exhaustive: voluntary organization and/or trade union membership, ethnic background, marital status, length of residence, and home ownership are others that this study will examine.

CONCLUSION

This review of earlier party studies has attempted to outline the major research, particularly as it relates to party activists (below the elective level). By dealing with the socialization, recruitment, motivations and backgrounds of party workers the review has tried to provide a comprehensive look at this 'critical' level of party organization.

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[24] S. Lipset, Political Man, op. cit., p.193.

[25] L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p.137.

[26] F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1967), "Yet historically it (religion) has been a major influence on political development and, for reasons specific to Canada, continues to be an important political force." p.17.

Inconsistencies have been pointed out, and questions raised, about the findings of many of these studies. These questions provide a basis for the present paper. Hypotheses will be set out relating these concepts and ideas to Canadian party organizations. Before this is done, however, the paper turns to a theory of party activity.

CHAPTER TWO

A THEORY OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Smiley's examination of contributions to Canadian Political Science since the Second World War notes that "we know almost nothing about the processes of the initial recruitment of party activists. Apart from the analysis of the late John Irving of Social Credit in Alberta, there has been no investigation of political leadership within the perspectives of modern social psychology."[1]

John Porter, in his study The Vertical Mosaic,[2] provides an example of the non-psychological type of examination political leadership and activists have received in Canada. While Porter's analysis of political power in Canada is extremely insightful, and his emphasis on social characteristics very useful, his oversight of psychological factors provides for a somewhat incomplete understanding of political involvement. This paper will examine local party leadership in terms of its social characteristics and background, and its recruitment patterns; and to correct the imbalance noted by Smiley, an analysis of psychological factors will be included to provide a more comprehensive view of party organization and activists.

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[1] D. V. Smiley, "Contributions to Canadian Political Science...", op. cit., p.578. Not only have there been few studies of political recruitment in Canada, there also have been few attempts to examine socialization, motivations, and background either.

[2] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1965).

However, as with many of the party studies reviewed earlier, this paper will be devoted largely to theory-building. This is not because theory is unimportant; quite the contrary. In fact "the goal of a science of political behavior is to establish general statements explaining the actions of persons and groups as these are observed in political situations."[3]

Thus Polsby and his associates introduce the role of theory in political behavior research. They further define theory as follows:

> "A scientific theory ... is a deductive network of generalizations from which explanations or predictions of certain types of known events may be derived. It is ... desirable that the generalizations embodied in the theory have universal application ... but universality and completeness are only aspirations as far as most scientific theories are concerned."[4]

This is especially true in the social sciences. Social Science is less dominated than Natural Science by highly formalized, explicit theories. This is party the result of the phenomena being studied. In Natural Science the phenomena cannot have any views of their own regarding their behavior; while in Social Science, our theories may conflict with the beliefs of the agents, or the phenomena may be altered on the basis of the knowledge of the prediction.

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[3]N. Polsby, R. Dentler and P. Smith, eds., Politics and Social Life, op. cit., p.68.

[4]Ibid., p.69.

This may (at least partly) explain why there are so few theories in political science that are in sufficient detail to suggest specific studies to test their validity. Thus research more often has the function of contributing to the development of theory rather than to its testing. Or, at best, limited, and often conflicting theories may be presented to explain 'localized' problems.

And so it is with the present study of political activity. Kornberg and his associates, in their preliminary report on Canadian and American party officials, note the lack of any (as yet) testable theory of political activity. The authors argue that this does not necessarily make such research fruitless, however:

> "Exploratory analysis such as this will lead to the formulation of testable theory. Until such analyses are possible, such reports are not without relevance for certain matters of theoretical concern. For example, the paucity of systematic and quantitative research generally, and the lack of such data on Canadian and American party activists in particular, justifies the study."[5]

While no general theory of political activity may be available, there are numerous -- though often conflicting -- micro-theories of political socialization, recruitment, motivations and incentives, and the socio-economic background of party personnel. Many of these studies, as reviewed in the opening chapter of this paper, refer to upper level party

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[5] A. Kornberg, et. al., "Some Differences in...Party Officials", op. cit., p.64; emphasis added.

leadership, but many of their findings appear applicable to the study of local party workers.

The theories on motivations[6] range from Truman's idea that local participation is a social phenomenon almost devoid of ideological content, through Eldersveld's study of Detroit party activists which presents a pluralistic conception of motives for party activity, to Hollander and Hunt's research, or that of Clark and Wilson who express the notion that an analysis of several kinds of incentive systems can provide "the rudiments of a predictive theory of organizational behavior."[7]

Besides theories on incentives, there are also theories on socialization[8] and party activists -- some generalize that family is the primary socializing agent. (Davies, Hyman, Campbell, Marvick and Nixon); others discuss differing conceptions -- political socialization (and re-socialization) is a continuing process (Kornberg); the family is not the primary influence in the acquiring of political attitudes (Jennings and Niemi); or participation in voluntary organizations increases participation in political ones (Lane).

The related process of recruitment[9] shows similar

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[6]The literature on political motivations is reviewed in Chapter One of this paper; pp.27-38.

[7]P. Clark and J. Wilson, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly, vol.6, 1961-2, p.130.

[8]The literature on political socialization is presented in Chapter One of this study; pp.16-22.

[9]For a review of the studies on recruitment see Chapter One, pp.22-26.

theoretical differences: some studies discuss the importance of primary group influence in the recruitment process (Kornberg, Eldersveld, Valen and Katz); these authors also note the high incidence of voluntarism in party recruitment; other studies point out the fact that voluntary association membership affects party recruitment patterns (Lane); while many studies rank the party organization itself as the most active agent in recruitment.

And many of the studies reviewed examine socio-economic differences as factors in party organizations. Lipset, Matthews, Milbrath, Eldersveld and others offer many conceptions of the socio-economic backgrounds of various strata of party officials.[10]

Many of these studies observe that parties differ in their recruitment patterns, their incentive systems, the backgrounds of party members, or their socialization, but most fail to note a more inclusive finding that appears common to much of their research -- namely, that parties of the Left (in an ideological sense) differ from parties of the Right. By looking at parties in this way, a more comprehensive theory of political involvement might be possible. It is the intention of the author to present such a theory in this paper.

However, before any theory of political involvement can be presented, it is necessary to briefly discuss the Canadian party system. For it is the contention of this

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[10]For a complete review of these background studies see Chapter One of this research, pp.38-43.

research that the three major political parties in Canada can be placed on a left-right continuum.

Robert Alford, in Party and Society, attempts such a continuum. However, he views (I think wrongly) the New Democrats as a party of the Social Democratic Left, the Liberals as a party of the Left of Centre, and the Progressive Conservatives as a party of the Conservative Right.[11]

Dawson would appear to be more correct when he states that "where the parties mainly differ is in the emphasis which they place on one or more (policy) points at various times, and on the proper devices to be used to attain the desired ends; on these bases they can be classified from right to left, but only within (by European standards) a narrow spectrum."[12]

Kornberg and Winsborough attempt such a continuum; they place the Canadian parties in the same order (in terms of their relation to each other) but with much less 'distance' between them.[13] Their continuum is supported by Dawson,[14] Kornberg in his earlier study of the federal legislature,[15]

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[11] R. Alford, Party and Society, op. cit., pp.10-18.

[12] R. M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., p.467.

[13] A. Kornberg and H. Winsborough, "The Recruitment of Candidates To The Canadian House of Commons", American Political Science Review, vol.62, Dec. 1968, p.1245.

[14] R. M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., p.506.

[15] A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., pp.83-92.

and by Horowitz.[16]

These studies all place the Liberals between the New Democratic Left and the right of centre Conservatives. Such a spectrum may be somewhat unrepresentative of political reality, however. By examining each of the parties in some detail, as well as reviewing conflicting views on party positions in such a schema, a synthesis of left-right opinions may be presented. And on this basis a more flexible continuum derived.

Carter argues that the two major parties (the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives) "are great holding companies, incorporating conflicting interests, and maintaining ... cohesion through the struggle for political power, rather than through principle or class interest.... At the national level, the major task is to maintain coordination between the various provincial organizations, and liaison between the parliamentary group and the rank and file throughout the country."[17]

As such their ideological content is minimal. This is especially applicable to the Liberal Party. For it is relatively free of any ideological rigidity. Indeed the

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[16]G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation", in H. Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, op. cit., pp.57-74.

[17]G. Carter, "The Commonwealth Overseas: Variations on the British Theme", in S. Neumann, ed., Modern Political Parties, (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1956), pp.61, 71.

point is made that the party is devoid of ideology.[18] The party consciously maintains and fosters the idea that it is a national party whose appeal transends ethnic, regional, class or other differences. In a very real sense the Liberal Party is the party of the 'triumphant centre' -- non-ideological, shifting slightly to the left or to the right depending upon the pressures of office or politics.[19]

And the pressures of office may have an 'ideological' effect upon parties. The nature of government appears to be

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[18] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., pp. 370-77. See also G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism ...", op. cit., pp.165-68. "The Liberals ... have not been a party of innovation. As a centre party, they have allowed the CCF-NDP to introduce innovations." Emphasis added. The non-ideological nature of purpose: "The Liberal Foundation of Canada shall seek to achieve a common ground of understanding between the different provinces of Canada.... Advocate and support Liberal principles and policies.... And promote the election of candidates of the Liberal Party to the Parliament of Canada." Constitution of the Liberal Federation of Canada, (Ottawa: National Liberal Federation, 1966), clause 1-B. Emphasis added.

No statement of principles, beyond this, is included in the party constitution. Party literature also promotes this 'ambiguous and ambivalent' approach. The principles of Liberalism include "the conviction that we are, and ever shall remain, ONE CANADA, ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE, INDIVISIBLE." Who Are We? Why Are We Here?, Convention pamphlet, National Meeting 1966 and Liberal Party Conference, (Ottawa: Oct. 10-12, 1966), p.2. The party literature further reminds Liberals that the party is a "Reform party ... the party of the individual, the little man ... pledge(d) to Democracy ... a party of peace (but more of freedom) ... (aspiring) to Greatness ... (and ensuring) to each and every Canadian full opportunity to fulfill his destiny." Ibid., pp.2-3. See also P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, (Toronto: Longman's, 1965), p.19.

[19] G. Horowitz, op. cit., p.168. "When the left is weak, as before and after the Second World War, the centre (Liberal) party moves to the right to deal with the Conservative challenge; when the left is strengthened, as during the war, and after the formation of the NDP, the centre moves to the left to deal with that challenge."

a conservative influence upon the governing party, while the party in Opposition may, in fact, become more radical. Witness the British Labour Party and its economic policies of recent years. With wage and price controls, the Labour Government has fought inflation and a weakened British currency. And in many ways has been more conservative in seeking political solutions than the Opposition Conservative Party.

And similarly in Canada, the present Liberal Party (which most research places as slightly left of centre, and certainly more left than the Conservative Party) is more right than the Progressive Conservative Party -- at least in pursuing domestic policy problems. Liberal anti-inflationary proposals have been accompanied by record high unemployment -- a fact the Liberals admit is regrettable but unavoidable if inflation is to be beaten.

For Porter, both the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties are oriented to the right. The only major goal of either is the maintenance of national unity, and this has prevented the polarizing of progressive and conservative forces in Canada.[20] But Porter's own bias may be a factor in where he envisages the 'centre' of Canadian politics to be. (See footnote #27). Horowitz seems more accurate to this author when he states that "the key to understanding the Liberal Party in Canada is to see it as a centre party, with influential enemies on both right and left."[21] Pearson sums

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[20] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., see Chapter XII, especially p.373.

[21] G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism...", op. cit., p.162.

up this dual tendency -- sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right: "Liberalism accepts social security but rejects socialism; it accepts free enterprise but rejects economic anarchy; it accepts humanitarianism but rejects paternalism."[22]

The most consistent of the major parties in Canada, and the one with the highest degree of ideological commitment is the New Democratic Party. All the party studies in Canada that utilize the idea of a continuum place the New Democrats (and the former CCF) on the political left. The current ideological struggle within the party[23] would indicate that the desire for increased electoral support has

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[22]L. Pearson, Introduction to J. Pickersgill, The Liberal Party, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962), p.x. See also P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., pp.20-1. "From the viewpoint of ideology ... the Liberal Government of the 1935-57 period ... in spite of the extensive social legislation it enacted ... was neither of the 'right' or 'left'; it simply had been 'governmental' or 'managerial'.

[23]The last Convention of the NDP saw a dispute between the reform 'Waffle Group' and the party establishment. The Waffle Group wanted a definite move to the left by the party: a return to the reform zeal of the CCF Regina Manifesto of 1933 -- in fact the reform policies were refered to as the 'Watkins' Manifesto'. The party leadership argued that the party must grow electorally, and that the left wing (even revolutionary) rhetoric only made the party less palatable to the general public. See D. Smith, Editorial, Journal of Canadian Studies, Feb. 1970, p.1.

A similar situation recently occured at the (NDP affiliated) Canadian Labour Congress Meeting. On a number of occasions, the 'youthful Reform Caucus' defeated CLC leadership recommendations for being 'wishy-washy'; and at one point, a Vice-President of the Congress was booed from the podium by delegates for arguing for adoption of one such leadership proposal. See "Rebels Score Shock Wins at CLC Meeting", The Telegram, (Toronto: May 20, 1970), p.1.

moved their focus toward the centre. Even if the desire for electoral success has moved the party from what Alford terms the Social Democratic Left,[24] the New Democrats are still the major party of the Left in Canada.[25] And they will be so placed on the party continuum used in this research.

The remaining major political party, the Progressive Conservatives, is generally placed to the right of the New Democratic and Liberal parties. Alford calls them a Conservative Right party,[26] while most other party studies view

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[24]R. Alford, Party and Society, op. cit., pp.10-18.

[25]See G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism...", op. cit., pp.159-61; R. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., p.468: "The NDP is ... clearly to the left"; F. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp.150-153; J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., p.297; G. M. Carter, "The Commonwealth Overseas: Variations on a British Theme", op. cit., p.71; P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., pp.173-74; W. Baker and T. Price, "The New Democratic Party and Canadian Politics", in H. Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, op. cit., pp.168-79, especially pp.168-72; for an actual presentation of New Democratic Party policies see "The Federal Program of the New Democratic Party", in P. Fox, ed., Politics: Canada, op. cit., pp.314-23.

[26]R. Alford, Party and Society, op. cit., p.13.

them as a right of centre party.[27] However, the Conservative Party has been the least consistent of the major parties in terms of ideology, support, and policy pursuits, and therefore, the most difficult to locate on a party continuum.

This point is raised by Engelmann and Schwartz in their examination of inter-party cleavages: "In the Conservative Party ... ideological differences emerged in the

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[27] R. M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., p.467; A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., pp.83-92; G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism...", op. cit., pp.156-59; G. M. Carter, "The Commonwealth Overseas: Variations on a British Theme", op. cit., pp.58-61; J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., p.373. Professor Porter places the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties as parties of the right, with only the New Democratic Party as a left of centre party. W. L. Morton places the Liberals and Socialists (NDP) as left wing parties with only the Conservatives on the political right. See W. L. Morton, "Canadian Conservatism Now", in P. Fox, ed., Politics: Canada, op. cit., pp.286-90, and "The Possibility of a Philosophy of Conservatism", in the Journal of Canadian Studies, Feb., 1970, pp.3-14 (especially pp.10-12): "As Liberal and Socialist, now with slight difference between them, seek to promote human welfare by means of state action, they are both equally statist.... Conservatives have the chance and duty to bring the controls of society once more under human direction." ("The Possibility of a Philosophy of Conservatism", pp.11,13.)

Both Porter's argument and that of Morton would still leave the three major parties in similar relation to each other (in terms of their positions on an ideological continuum), albeit with differing 'distances' between each other. The fact that Morton is a Conservative, and Porter a supporter of the New Democrats may partly explain their differences. That both place the Liberals with their 'opposition' may also be a further argument in support of the centerist position advanced earlier in this paper, for the Liberal Party.

Any party continuum is an abstraction of political reality, as well as an arbitrary measure of it. By presenting all of these (often conflicting) schema before arriving at the continuum to be used in this research, some synthesis of thought should result.

contrast between the fiscal orthodoxy represented by Bay Street interests in Toronto, and the prairie radicalism of Diefenbaker."[28]

Regenstreif was even more expressive of the fact that Conservatives are not always the party of the right in Canadian politics; although he did add that the Diefenbaker Conservatives were a different party than the norm: "Where formerly the Conservative Party had stood for balanced budget and restricted economic intervention by government, under the leadership of Diefenbaker, it now appeared to be favouring a welfare-statism that placed it to the left of the Liberals on the traditional left-right continuum."[29]

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[28] F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and The Canadian Social Structure, op. cit., p.51. G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism...", op. cit., states that the Diefenbaker phenomenon was more complex than simply attributing it to 'prairie radicalism', though this 'distortion' would not appear to be too great. P. Fox noted a similar distinction in his examination of this era: "The Diefenbaker Government now appears to have taken over the mantle of the Liberals as the party of moderate reform and progress, appealing to diverse geographical, economic, religious, and ethnic groups in the country." in P. Fox, ed., Politics: Canada, op. cit., p.283.

[29] P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., p.52, emphasis added. Diefenbaker's un-orthodoxy "alienated opinion leaders who ordinarily were in his party's camp.", p.53. See G. Grant, Lament For a Nation, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), for a "consistent description (of) why Diefenbaker raised the concentrated wrath of the established classes". (pp.2ff.).

Yet even if the Progressive Conservatives are less consistent than the other major parties in their ideological and/or policy emphasis, this fact need not distort the explanatory value of a party continuum. For no such schema should be so rigid as to (extensively) distort political reality.

As has been argued above, the New Democratic Party is the representative of the left in Canadian politics. This position may vary from the Social Democratic Left (as suggested by Alford) to the left of centre, a position dictated by the pressure of electoral success. In either case, it remains the leftist catalyst in any party continuum in Canada.

Similarly, Horowitz places the Liberals as the 'triumphant centre', yet admits that they move between the left and right to meet the electoral, regional or other political pressures of the moment. Their position as the party of the centre appears well established, and will be used in this research.

The Conservative, as have been shown, are viewed as a right of centre (even Conservative Right) party; and at times as a party left of the Liberal Party.[30] In either

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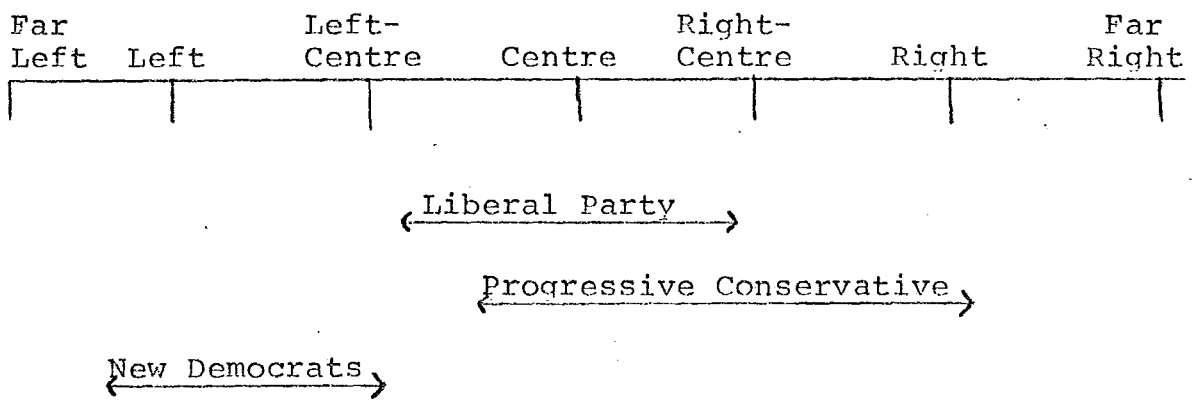
[30]The most obvious cases of Conservatives being 'left' of the Liberals resulted from a Liberal emphasis to the right, a Conservative move to the left, or perhaps both. For example, Diefenbaker's radicalism, combined with the bureaucratic, civil service-dominated, managerial Liberals of the immediate post St. Laurent (and C. D. Howe) era. See J. Meisel, The Canadian General Election of 1957, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1962) and P. Newman, Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1963). The present Liberal-Conservative position appears mixed. Domestically, the Opposition Conservatives might be placed to the left of the right of centre Liberals, but on foreign policy the Liberals are to the left of the Conservatives.

case, the argument may be made that they (P.C.'s) are more ideologically oriented than their Liberal counterparts, yet less so than the NDP; and therefore they fall between the two other major parties in the effect of ideology on their socialization and recruitment patterns, the motivations of their workers, and their backgrounds.

And so, in summary, the party continuum would appear thus:

CANADIAN PARTY CONTINUUM — Table 2.1



Before this continuum may be applied to a theory of political involvement, there is one further point that must be made: namely that regional differences within parties may not allow generalizations, from a preliminary study of Ontario activists, beyond that level. (Some references as to the 'typical nature' of the two ridings will be provided in the following chapter.)

Regenstreif stresses this fact in his analysis of parties and voting in Canada: "The basis of Canadian political

affiliations were largely regional."[31] Dawson takes similar note of this nature of party politics: "Regional support is, indeed, one of the major distinctions to be found among the parties...."[32] As this is a preliminary study of party activists, and only deals with Ontario organizations, no generalizations will be made regarding national patterns of party socialization, recruitment, motivations and backgrounds of party workers. Some suggestions will be made concerning the wider applicability of such research, however. The study now turns to the application of the above party continuum to a theory of party activity.

What this continuum, and the findings of the earlier party research, suggest is a theory of political involvement: a party's position on the left-right continuum will determine differences among the parties -- differences in the political socialization, recruitment patterns, motivations, and socio-economic backgrounds of urban party workers.

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[31] P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., p.24; See also H. Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, op. cit., section five: 'Regional Politics'; H. Scarrow, "Federal-Provincial Voting Patterns in Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol.26, May, 1960; J. Meisel, "An Analysis of the National (?) Results", in J. Meisel, ed., Papers on the 1962 Election, op. cit., pp.272-88; and F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, op. cit., especially pp.43-55,67-68.

[32] R. M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., p.468.

By examining urban party officials in two federal Ontario constituencies, the validity of this theory may be verified. As will be fully explained in the following chapter, these two ridings were closely matched (along with others) in terms of the ethnic backgrounds, religions, incomes, occupations, and educational levels of the population. The data was mainly from the 1961 Census of Canada, but was supplemented by the 1966 Census of Canada and more subjective sources such as party records.

Hamilton East and York South were found to be the 'most similar' in terms of these variables, with one notable exception: they differed in party position. That is, in Hamilton East the federal member is a Liberal Cabinet Minister, while the provincial ridings that comprise (roughly) the same area are New Democratic strongholds. In York South the federal representative is the Deputy-Leader of the National New Democratic Party. The provincial riding is represented by the New Democrat's provincial Leader -- although fringe areas of the federal riding are Liberal and Conservative provincial seats.

The ridings were chosen because they were demographically similar, yet electorally different, in order to examine 'within' party differences. That is, to see if a party's position of relative competitveness[33] affects this

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[33]The term 'relative competition' has used subjective and objective indicators for purposes of this study. Objectively it involves an examination of the party's electoral standings -- both provincially and federally -- for the period since the Second World War. Subjectively it involves replies from party officials about perceptions of the chances of party success in the area.

wider theory of political involvement and party position on a left-right continuum. Eldersveld points out differences between upper level leadership and lower level party workers in his Detroit area study,[34] but does not discuss the possibility of divisions within particular party levels that might be the result of a party's position of competition. At present no studies of this possibility have been undertaken.

It is hoped that this research will present some suggestions regarding this in its conclusions.

Primarily, however, this study is concerned with political involvement -- what people get involved in party work, and their early political socialization, how they get involved and why. By looking at each of these processes,[35] some understanding of party activists should result.

The relevance of the theory outlined in this chapter will be based on party differences among these four variables -- differences that this theory should be able to explain. This can only occur with the application of the theory to an actual and testable political situation. The variables have been transformed into several hypotheses. At a very general level the major hypothesis of the present research is that differences in party membership will explain

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[34] S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., see especially Chapter Three for a discussion of party divisions. pp.47-72.

[35] Working or operational definitions of these four concepts will be presented in Chapter four of this paper, as each of them is analysed.

differences in the political socialization, recruitment, motivations and backgrounds of the politically active. From this follow a series of secondary hypotheses that form the basis of the study.

After examining the background of this research, and the methods of data collection used, an analysis of these hypotheses will be presented.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

I. General Background

"To the layman, political parties are the most obvious feature of political life. Whether born a little Liberal or a little Conservative, or neither, we are likely to equate 'parties' and 'politics'."[1] The most obvious reason for this phenomenon is the fact that the whole development of early Canadian nationhood has been dominated by the two parties of Confederation -- the Conservatives and the Liberals.[2]

But the modern era of party politics did not begin until after the nationbuilding of MacDonald and Laurier, and the First World War. And the shape and structure of the present federal parties is largely a response to the protest, discontent and localized political action that characterized the period between the two world wars.

The first part of this era was symbolized by populist (and mainly agrarian) movements. In 1919 E. C. Drury led the United Farmers of Ontario in forming his provincial ministry -- a coalition of agrarian interests that lasted until the election of 1923. And in 1921 the United Farmers

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[1] F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, (Toronto, 1967) p.2.

[2] R. M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., for a short history of 'The Origins Of The Older Political Parties', pp.455-59.

of Alberta captured the government of that western province; while federally the Progressive Party elected sixty-four members (all but four from Ontario and the Prairies). These agrarian protest parties dissolved, however, because of their loose organization, and lack of strong central leadership.[3]

The vacuum created by the electoral failure of these populist parties and the depression accounted for the rise of two other parties. The Social Credit sprang up as an evangelical movement in the west; but despite the fact that it attained power in Alberta, and later in British Columbia, it failed to become a major party in federal politics. Also during the depression a party was formed "that attempted to fuse the agrarian interests of the west to the labour forces of the east ... with the cumbersome title of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation."[4] As the democratic socialist party it has formed the government in Saskatchewan, as well as the official Opposition in several other provinces (and most recently the government in Manitoba). In the last decade "the C.C.F. was merged, with the help of organized labour, into the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.) in an attempt to base the party more broadly in the farmer-labour foundation."[5] During this period its influence has been considerable, despite its inability to challenge the established parties in terms of elected members.

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[3]Notes taken by the author during an interview with Hon. E. C. Drury, in Dec. 1964. Mr. Drury described the U.F.O. as a group of like-minded (mainly farm) people who had little real organizational expertise.

[4]P. Fox, "Politics and Parties in Canada" in P.Fox, ed., Politics: Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p.284.

[5]R. M. Dawson, op. cit., p.464.

This brief sketch of party history provides some perspective on the present research, to show the general setting in which it was conducted.

Throughout the sixties no one party was able to achieve a majority of seats in the Canadian House of Commons, despite a plethora of elections. In 1958 John Diefenbaker received the largest majority in Canadian electoral history (208 seats), but by 1962 he was only able to achieve 116 seats while the Liberals elected 100 members. In this election twenty-six out of thirty Social Credit members came from Quebec -- a shift that signified the demise of the party as a federal force in the west.[6] The 1963 and 1965 elections saw the return of Liberal minority governments under Lester Pearson, with almost identical totals of 129 and 131 members.

In the fall of 1967 the Conservatives elected a new leader, and in the spring of 1968 the Liberal party did likewise. With new leadership in the two major parties, the June, 1968 election was fought. Pierre Trudeau was able to transform the excitement and enthusiasm generated by his leadership victory into the first majority government in almost a decade. In winning 154 seats, he reduced Conservative winnings to seventy-two -- their lowest electoral standing in fifteen years. The New Democrats, meanwhile, managed to maintain their position and actually added one additional member -- for a total of twenty-two. The Social Credit parties returned fourteen members, mostly from the province of Quebec.

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[6] Ibid., p.463.

For purposes of this study only urban party activists in Ontario are examined, however. Ontario, as a keystone province in forming any federal electoral majority, reflected the 1968 Liberal victory by returning sixty-three Liberals, a dozen more than in the previous election. The Conservatives, in a province that has elected a Conservative provincial government in every election since 1943, dropped from twenty-five to seventeen seats, while the New Democrats went from nine to six seats -- the number they elected in the 1962 and 1963 elections.[7]

This basically, was the general setting in which the present study was conducted. Before outlining a profile of the two federal ridings which form the basis of this research, a description of the methodology utilized will be presented.

II. Methods of Data Collection

Nothing is as basic to a particular field of enquiry as the way in which its subject matter is conceived. These conceptions not only delimit the scope of the field of study -- in this case a study of party activists -- but also govern, to a considerable extent, the procedure by which the analysis will be conducted. Indeed, conceptions of the nature of political behavior are often proposed because they suit a preferred, acceptable, or even convenient set of methods, rather than methods being worked out to suit conceptions of

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[7] H. G. Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, op. cit., pp.213-25 is the source of all the electoral data up to 1965. The 1968 results are from Toronto newspaper accounts of the June, 1968 election.

the subject.[8] For purposes of this research adequate methods of data collection exist and will be outlined below.

Rather than select a sample of party members (from the membership lists of each of the parties in the two federal constituencies selected) a 'total population' of all party officers in the ridings was utilized. There were a number of reasons for this: first, and most obvious, is the fact that party membership lists are often out of date, and only revised infrequently. Using these lists would have presented numerous sampling problems -- not the least of which would have been the absence of many of those who should have been selected.

Secondly, the universe was small enough that it could be examined in its entirety; and this small population allowed the author the opportunity of personally interviewing each of the respondents.

Thirdly, as mentioned in proposing this study, there are various ways in which a person could be said to be a party affiliate or member: i. psychological attachment; ii. formal dues paying membership; or iii. active participation.[9] Based on Valen and Katz' distinction between party affiliates and party officers -- on the basis of degree of commitment and degree of participation[10] -- the formal difference between officer and non-officer seems most manageable. For these three reasons the executive members of the three parties in the federal constituencies of York South and Hamilton East were selected as the study population.

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[9] L. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p.25.

[10] H. Valen, and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway, op. cit., pp.67-75.

There were some problems with the study universe that should be mentioned. The first is the variations in size of the three riding executives in each constituency. In Hamilton East the Liberal executive (with the sitting Member of Parliament) numbers fourteen officers and committee chairmen, while the New Democrats (who hold both provincial seats that constitute the riding) have nine members on their riding election committee; the Progressive Conservatives (who concede any hope of winning the riding in the near future) have a riding executive of seven members. This makes for a total of thirty party officers.

In York South the Liberals again have the largest executive with twenty-five members. The New Democrats, who hold the seat federally and provincially, have twenty officers, and the Conservatives, who have been able to capture the seat recently (in 1957 and 1958) have fifteen federal riding officers. These sixty officials make for a total population of ninety party activists, with the H.East officers.

A further problem occurred involving the time lapse between the first set of interviews in Hamilton East and those in York South. In Hamilton East, letters were sent out to all party officers during the first week of July, 1969, explaining the nature of the study, requesting their co-operation, and informing them that they would be contacted to arrange an interview time. Prior to this, permission had been received from the three riding associations to carry out the research. This party authorization was instrumental in obtaining a number of interviews, where respondents would have otherwise refused. Interviews were carried out throughout July and August, 1969. In all, twenty-nine of a possible thirty interviews were completed. (One Liberal officer was

not available during the period in which the interviewing took place).

In York South permission, from the executive of the three parties, to carry out the study was received in mid-January. Accordingly, letters were sent out during the last week of that month, to all parties, explaining the purpose of the study and notifying them that they would be contacted regarding convenient interview times. The interviewing began in the last week of January, 1970 and was completed by the end of the second week in February. In all, fifty-two of sixty interviews were completed: twenty out of twenty-five Liberals, nineteen of twenty New Democrats, and thirteen of fifteen Progressive Conservatives replied. A total of eighty-one of ninety activists -- or ninety per cent of the total universe were interviewed.

The factor of the (five-six month) time period between interviewing in Hamilton East and York South is not as crucial as may seem apparent, however. The interview schedule sought information on the political socialization, political recruitment, motivations and socio-economic status of party workers. The questions on early socialization depended on recall data about their early political experiences. This is unlikely to be affected by the different time periods. Similarly with the data collected regarding the party recruitment patterns, all the responses depended on data in their pasts. (No one was recruited during the period between interviews who appears in this study: both ridings elected their party executives in the late spring of 1969, so that the complete study involved party activists elected to office at the same time.) Likewise with the socio-economic backgrounds of the executive members, the questions ascertain objective

facts such as age, sex or level of education attained. This would remain unchanged by any intervening events.

The one area of the study that might be affected by a time lapse is the section on the political motivations of party workers. At least part of this dealt with recall data on original motives for party work and these should not change. The problem is more acute regarding present motives. By asking several follow-up questions of the York South respondents -- together with a question on motivational change in the original interview schedule -- a fairly clear understanding of any effects is possible. While numerous officers were active (to varying degrees) in the Toronto and borough elections in December, 1969, this event would appear to have had little effect on attitudes. The author found that the patterns of motivational change -- from initial entry to present time were fairly consistent within parties and between ridings. This is a further indication that the time difference should not be considered a crucial (or disruptive) factor in the present research.

A more important problem may be the method of enquiry itself. There are certain documented drawbacks to the interview or survey research method. Interviews or questionaires may be useful to ascertain objective facts such as age, income or occupation. In collecting such 'hard' data no major drawback is apparent. However, interview schedules also seek subjective facts and personal feelings as well as recall data from the respondents' past. Such is the case in the present research. Kerlinger, in Foundations of Behavioral Research,[11] outlines several 'biases' that a

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[11] F. N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp.473-75.

researcher must be concerned with: questions should be clear and unambiguous; they should not be leading questions that suggest certain answers; they should not demand information that the respondent does not have; they must be careful about personal and delicate information that the respondent might resist; and they should not be formed in terms of social desireability.

The most inclusive critique of survey research methods is presented by Webb and his associates, in Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Here the authors contend that "interviews and questionnaires intrude as a foreign element into the social setting they would describe, they create as well as measure attitudes, they elicit atypical roles and responses, they are limited to those who are accessible and will cooperate."[12] The author noticed a general hesistancy on the part of the Canadian party respondents to reply positively to questions regarding material incentives, while many party officers, especially in the Liberal and Progressive Conservative ranks had perceptions of fellow officers 'on the take' and often recounted instances of material rewards not only being available, but apparently being crucial in eliciting political action.[13]

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[12] E. Webb, et. al., Unobtrusive Measures:Nonreactive Research In The Social Sciences, (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1966), p.1.

[13] H. J. Jacek, Precinct Chairmen in the District of Columbia, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1969. This study found Washington party activists quite willing to discuss material incentives for party work. Perhaps differences in the Canadian political culture may explain the reluctance of Canadian party workers to discuss material rewards.

Some additional facts should be understood in terms of the study. One is the fact that this research has proposed to study two federal constituencies; while the Liberal and Conservative parties have associations for the provincial and federal constituencies, the New Democrats organize along provincial riding boundaries. For purposes of federal elections overlapping provincial constituency associations combine to set up a party election committee, or one association simply may become the federal committee in the federal riding.

In the case of Hamilton East (federal) the provincial ridings of Hamilton Centre and Hamilton East overlap to include the federal constituency. Both of these seats are held by the New Democratic Party. However for purposes of the last several federal elections, the federal election committee has been made up mainly of the Hamilton Centre (provincial) officials. A token number of workers from Hamilton East (provincial) are added to work in the east end of the riding and provide some coordination with the party election committee in the neighbouring riding of Hamilton Wentworth. In the federal election of 1968 seven of the nine members of the committee were also riding officers in Hamilton Centre, while the remaining two came from Hamilton East (provincial). In this study it was this latest federal committee that provided the New Democratic portion of the Hamilton study.

In York South a similar situation exists. For federal elections in this riding, however, the York South (provincial) executive provides the basis of the election committee. The Liberals and Conservatives in both ridings organize in associations that conform to both federal and provincial constituency boundaries, and it is with the riding executives

of the federal constituencies that this research dealt.[14]

Apart from these problems of data collection and methodology, there is also the factor that party executive members do not operate in a political vacuum. Their activities relate to low-level party workers and constituents, to candidates and Members of Parliament, to district, provincial and federal party leaders, to each other and opposition workers, and they in turn, are affected by each. However, it must remain for future research to attempt some overview of the relationships between (and among) each of these levels of party organization. Because of the complete lack of research on the subject of party activists in Canada, the author will be content if this study provides some understanding of the urban party worker -- his political socialization, party recruitment, motivations, and background. Before any background on party workers can be presented, though, it is necessary to provide some background on the two constituencies that were chosen for this study.

III. Riding Background

Hamilton East was the first federal constituency chosen. The riding was selected largely because of its proximity to the author. This closeness allowed an interview schedule to be presented to all party officers, rather than less satisfactory techniques like mail questionnairs.[15] This method of data collection was significant in obtaining

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[14]Additional information on these two ridings is outlined in the riding profiles, presented later in this chapter.

[15]Twenty-four of the twenty-nine respondents were interviewed by the author. The author is indebted to Ron Whyte (a fourth year student) for completing the remaining five.

the high proportion of returns upon which this study is based.

Historically, the east end of Hamilton -- the area of the city that includes the federal riding of Hamilton East -- has been the home of much of the city's working class population. The reason for this is obvious. If one could see through the waterfront smog and industrial haze along Burlington Street one could find the Steel Company of Canada, International Harvester Company, Hamilton By-Product Coke Ovens Ltd., Coal Carbonizing Company, Proctor and Gamble Company, Canada Steamship Lines Ltd., Hamilton Bridge Company, Dominion Foundaries and Steel Company, National Steel Car Ltd., Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, Canadian Westinghouse Ltd., and the Depew Street Sewage Disposal Plant and Municipal incinerator as riding residents.

As early as 1883 a Labour candidate, the first to ever run in the province, lost, in a close election to a Liberal, in the provincial riding of Hamilton. In 1894 the provincial riding of Hamilton East was established, and in 1902 the province's first Socialist candidate lost by one hundred votes, again to a Liberal. From 1906 until the election of 1923 the riding was represented by a Labour M.P.P. In that general election a Conservative (and the maternal grandfather of the present federal Liberal member) won the seat and a Cabinet appointment. Throughout the Depression, the Second World War and the post war reconstruction the area has been divided between the Conservatives and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.[16] The working class

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[16] In 1937 the last Liberal to win in the (provincial) area was elected. For a complete provincial election history see Roderick Lewis, Centennial Edition of a History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario, 1867-1968, Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, Province of Ontario, especially pp.125,127-31, and 406-07. All federal results were obtained from the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, Ottawa, Canada. See Report of the Chief Electoral Officer:Twentieth General Election-Twenty-Eighth General Election.

nature of the area is further reflected in the abundance of Independent Labour, Socialist-Labour, Communist, Labour-Socialist, Labour Progressive and Independent candidates that often split the labour vote in elections throughout this period.

Since 1959 the riding has been C.C.F.-N.D.P. With the Representation Act (Bill #92) much of the old riding became known as Hamilton Centre; the constituency of Wentworth East -- which included the eastern portion of the city and surrounding townships -- was abolished. This area, represented since 1955 by the C.C.F.-N.D.P., became part of Hamilton East. In the 1967 provincial election, Hamilton Centre, Hamilton East and Wentworth (including much of the old riding of Wentworth East) elected New Democratic Party members.

Federally the New Democrats have had much less success than provincially. The Liberals captured the seat in the general elections of 1945, 1949 and 1953. With the beginning of the Diefenbaker era the riding elected a Conservative, and again in the Diefenbaker landslide of 1958. In 1962 the riding again reflected the change of government, by electing the present Liberal member. And in successive elections in 1963, 1965 and 1968 returned this sitting member with increased majorities. In fact in every federal election since 1945, Hamilton East has reflected the party forming the government.

While this electoral history of Hamilton East provides some information on the study area, it is far from complete. It does show the influence of labour in the riding -- a fact verified by examining the eighteen census tracts that comprise the federal riding area. By examining

these census tracts other facts complete this demographic profile of the constituency, and supplement the electoral information provided above.[17]

The population of the constituency has remained very constant -- actually decreasing from 79,862 to 78,925 between 1961 and 1966. Over half of this population are reported to be British in ethnic origin; and a further eleven per cent stated that they were Western European in origin.[18] The second largest ethnic group in the constituency is the Eastern Europeans (and Italians). This group comprises almost one quarter

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[17]All the data in this demographic profile is based on 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), Catalogue 95-523, June 23, 1963, Bulletin CT-8; 1966 Census of Canada, DBS, Catalogue 95-610, August, 1968, Bulletin C-10; and 1966 Census of Canada, DBS, Catalogue 93-607, June, 1969, vol.2. The author is aware of the fact that a profile of a riding area, based on 1961 census data, may be crucially changed for a study completed in 1960-70. By supplementing the 1961 data with the less complete 1966 census findings, and the more subjective figures (and views) of party leaders in the riding, a somewhat 'truer' picture should result. As census data is the main basis of the profile, however, one is forced to point out that discrepancies may result. In keeping with the social scientific nature of the research the author has attempted to minimize this unknown factor in the above mentioned ways.

[18]Western Europeans include French, German, Dutch, and Scandinavians. The large number of Italians (almost 10,000) were classified with Eastern Europeans in this study. It was felt that this isolated this large group, without distorting the demographic profile of the riding. Poles, Russians and Ukrainians were the other ethnic groups making up Eastern Europeans.

(24%) of the riding. A further ten per cent have other European origins, while only three per cent report non-European and British origins.

The religious breakdown of the riding reflects this ethnic division. Slightly over half of the population report their religious preference as Protestant, while thirty-nine per cent state that they are Catholics.

The worker orientation of the riding is displayed in the occupational and educational data of the area. Over half (56%) report no schooling or elementary training, while only three per cent of the residents have attended university. In occupations less than one-tenth are classified as either managerial or professional. Over one-quarter fall into clerical, sales, service and recreation categories; almost two-thirds of the working males report primary, craft and labouring occupations. This, then, was the area of Hamilton East.[19] It might now be useful to outline the process of selecting the second constituency in this study.

In selecting the second riding there was the added problem of trying to match the constituency demographically with Hamilton East, while varying it electorally. As Hamilton East is a totally urban riding, the second district also had to be urban. The other Hamilton ridings were ruled out because they were also being utilized for party research.[20]

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[19]A more complete (and numerical) categorization of ethnicity, religion, occupation, and education is presented in tables numbered 3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, of this chapter.

[20]See Henry Jacek, John McDonough, Ronald Shimizu and Patrick Smith, "Federal-Provincial Integration in Ontario Party Organizations:The Influence of Recruitment Patterns", mimeographed paper, Canadian Political Science Association, June, 1970, for some of the data contained in these Hamilton East, Hamilton West and Hamilton Mountain studies.

To find a riding with similar population characteristics and size, yet close enough to allow easy access to, the Metropolitan Toronto area was chosen. In the 1968 federal election only three ridings elected non-Liberal representatives: Greenwood, Broadview, and York South; and in all three cases the elected members were from the New Democratic Party.

The next task was to find which of these constituencies came closest to matching the population of Hamilton East. All were fairly similar, in terms of total population, though York South was closest (with 81,252 compared with 79,862). By examining the critical variables of ethnicity, religion, occupation and education, it was found that York South was the 'most similar' of the three Toronto ridings.[21] An estimate of average wage and salary incomes (for males and females) similarly showed that York South was the best match for Hamilton East.

And like Hamilton East, York South has had consistent labour activity throughout its electoral history. The reason for this is readily apparent after a brief tour of the riding. The constituency is dominated by two major industrial belts. The first is adjacent to the Canadian Pacific Railway line at the border between the boroughs of York and North York, on what is appropriately called Industry Street. The second, and much larger of the two, follows two intersecting Canadian National Railway lines in the centre of the riding and spreads out north and south of the borough boun-

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[21] See appendix to this chapter for demographic tables.

daries. Apart from a few other small industrial areas, the rest of the riding is residential.

That is not to say that the residential areas of the riding are homogeneous however. Much of the riding (about 70%) lies in the borough of York. This area is dominated by single (and older) type housing, and until recently was the home of much of the riding's British population. Some of this area has become the centre of the increasing ethnic population. North York contains about twenty per cent of the constituents. This area is newer than York as is evidenced by the many apartment buildings, semi-detached housing and suburban developments.

The most (demographically) divergent section of the constituency is Forst Hill Village. This area, with ten per cent of the population, accounts for the most significant difference between York South and Hamilton East. Ethnically both ridings are similar except that York South has between four and eight per cent of its population of Jewish origin.[22] The only other major difference occurred in categorizing occupation. Only nine per cent of Hamilton East residents are managers or professionals, while eighteen per cent of York South was so categorized. This difference accounts for a similar discrepency at the lower end of the occupational scale -- and Forest Hill Village would appear to account for most of these differences between the two ridings.

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[22]DBS figures show 4% Jewish population re: ethnicity and 8% re: religion. Even if the higher figure is more accurate, Forest Hill would account for most of it.

These findings are verified in examining the electoral history of the area. Forest Hill is separate for provincial representation. In 1963 Toronto-Forest Hill elected a Conservative member, and in 1967 York-Forest Hill (a slightly redistributed area) re-elected the same Conservative representative.

York Township -- and more recently the Borough of York -- is the area represented by the provincial riding of York South. The riding had its inception in 1926 and was represented by a Conservative and later Cabinet Minister until 1943. In that election, which returned the province to the Conservatives under George Drew, Ted Jolliffe, the provincial leader of the C.C.F., was elected. In the 1945 election -- called by Drew to strengthen his position in the House -- a Conservative beat Jolliffe by seven hundred votes. In the same election a Labour Progressive candidate polled over one thousand votes, and an Independent split a further two hundred electors.

In 1948's general election Jolliffe was returned by a landslide. In the same year, in a York Township election William Beech was elected Reeve. In 1951 Beech ran against Jolliffe, for the Conservatives and won by five hundred votes. Again a Labour Progressive candidate polled enough votes to decide the election -- almost nine hundred.

Following his defeat Jolliffe resigned as provincial leader. In the ensuing leadership convention, Donald MacDonald (backed by federal party leader M. J. Coldwell) defeated Fred Young by seven votes. After winning the party leadership MacDonald took over Jolliffe's riding of York South and won from the sitting Conservative member in 1955 (thus freeing William Beech to run federally in 1957 and

1958). The 1959 general election saw MacDonald greatly increase his majority. With the formation of the New Democratic Party in 1960-61 MacDonald retained his leadership. And in subsequent elections in 1963 and 1967 York South has continued MacDonald as its New Democratic representative.

The federal riding also includes the southern sections of the provincial constituencies of Downsview and Yorkview. Downsview is represented by the Liberals, and Yorkview since its beginnings in 1963, has elected Fred Young, the man who lost to MacDonald in the 1951 C.C.F. leadership convention.

Federally, the riding has had an eventful history. In 1942 former Conservative leader Arthur Meighen stated that he wished to resign his seat in the Senate and return to the House of Commons. According to McInnis, Meighen had agreed to return to lead the Conservatives because Dr. R. J. Manion had proved an unable successor to R. B. Bennett.[23] The former Prime Minister proposed to do this by running as a Conservative candidate in the federal by-election in York South. Publicly M. King agreed that such a person should be allowed to return to the House and stated that no Liberal candidate would be nominated to oppose Meighen. The C.C.F. nominated Joseph Noseworthy, however, and King privately advised Liberals to work and support the C.C.F. candidate, a move that increased his chances of defeating King's old adversary. Noseworthy and the C.C.F. won the by-election and

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[23] E. McInnis, Canada, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966) p.501.

Meighen was left with neither Senate nor House seat.[24]

After defeating Meighen in 1942, Noseworthy proceeded to lose by three thousand votes to a Conservative, in the 1945 General election. The Liberal in this election polled twenty-five per cent of the vote. In the 1949 General election Noseworthy regained the seat for the C.C.F., and retained it in 1953.

As mentioned above, MacDonald (C.C.F.) defeated the provincial Conservative member in the 1955 election, thus freeing William Beech to run as a federal candidate in 1957. Riding the coattails of Diefenbaker, the Conservative defeated the C.C.F.; and with the Diefenbaker landslide of 1958 increased his majority to over ten thousand.

With the disaffection from Diefenbaker, the New Democrats were able to recapture the seat in 1962, only to lose it in 1963 to a Liberal. Lewis (NDP) was able to recapture the riding in 1965 and succeeded in (barely) resisting the Trudeaumania of the 1968 election.

CONCLUSION

It is with this period shortly following the election that this research took place. By examining party activists in two ridings, the study hoped to present wider evidence for accepting or rejecting the theory; the author also sought to gain some (preliminary) understanding of how critical a party's position of relative competitiveness was in deter-

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[24]This account of the 1942 York South by-election is the result of information provided by officers in all three parties. While facts like King's private interference are not verifiable, the fact remains that with no Liberal in the field the CCF won.

mining recruitment patterns, motivations, and types of activists vis a vis their background and socialization among the two major parties.

The two ridings chosen were Hamilton East and York South. Ethnicity, religion, occupation, education and average income were considered, and these two urban constituencies were found to be the most demographically similar.

While it is not the intention of this paper to generalize about party patterns in Canada, or even Ontario, it might be useful to examine how typical these two electoral districts are of demographic features in these broader arenas.

As was mentioned above, both ridings have sizeable 'ethnic' populations. When this ethnic breakdown is compared with Ontario, or Canada, the major difference appears to be a population change from Western European (at the broader levels) to Eastern European (at the constituency level).[25]

The two Ontario ridings appear more typical of the national scene when religious breakdown is considered. Though in the case of both Ontario, and Canada, the riding figures fall between those of the wider areas. Protestantism is inflated, and Catholicism lessened when Ontario is examined as a demographic entity. It is consistent with the larger Eastern European population, that the two constituencies would record slightly higher percentages of Catholicism than the rest of Ontario.[26]

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[25]For comparative figures on the two ridings and Canada, and Ontario, see Appendix, table 3-1.

[26]See Appendix, table 3-2, for national, provincial and riding figures on religious denominations.

When occupation is examined, the two ridings closely ressemble the similar Ontario and Canada figures on occupational breakdown. About half of all working males are involved in primary, craftsman and labouring occupations, and just over one-quarter fall into low-level white collar positions. The rest comprise the managerial and professional categories. In almost all cases the figures are close.[27] The one exception being a slightly inflated 'Labouring' group in the constituencies.

As with occupation, the two federal districts are fairly typical of Canadian and, to a slightly less extent, Ontario educational categories. The two ridings show somewhat larger groups of elementary-level education, and consequently lower high school and university level groups, however.[28] And when a rough estimate of average income is examined the constituencies show slightly less earned income than the Ontario urban average.

Apart from demographic similarities, the two ridings also may be compared with the electoral histories of the three major parties. Hamilton East is the most typical: the riding is considered a key 'swing' constituency in federal elections. In every general election since the Second World War the riding has returned a member of the governing party.

The electoral history of York South is much more erratic. The riding has generally been a C.C.F. seat, until

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[27]Occupational categories are examined in Appendix, table 3-4.

[28]See table 3-3, Appendix, for a breakdown of Canadian, Ontario, and riding educational categories.

the Diefenbaker era when it reflected the change of government. In 1962 the seat again fell to the New Democrats and contributed to the Conservative minority status. The riding mirrored Pearson's first Liberal government in 1963, but since has remained in the hands of the New Democratic Party Deputy-Leader.

The ridings appear somewhat more typical when their political histories are considered, than when a census breakdown of population characteristics is attempted. Though in both cases the resemblance to the national, and provincial, situation is quite marked.

This chapter has examined methodological problems and presented a profile of the two riding areas. The theoretical background of the study has been presented in the Second Chapter. So the paper now turns to an analysis of the results of the research.

Appendix

These tables were constructed from 1961 Census of Canada, DBS Catalogues 99-516, 99-520, 99-521, 95-530 and 98-501, Bulletin CT-15, July, 1963; 1966 Census of Canada, DBS Catalogue 95-620, Bulletin C-20, and 1966 Census of Canada, DBS Catalogue 93-607, vol.2, June, 1969.

Table 3.1 Ethnicity (%) totals

Riding	British Isles	W.Europe	Italt and E.Europe	Other Europe	Other
Hamilton East 79,862	(40,841) 51	(8804) 11	(19,445) 24	(7922) 10	(2577) 3
York South 82,250	(40,729) 51	(5639) 7	(23,486) 29	(4828) 6	(2347) 3
Green-wood 82,099	(56,551) 68	(7930) 10	(7040) 9	(5718) 7	(4728) 6
Broad-view 76,419	(46,747) 62	(9174) 12	(8168) 11	(8696) 11	(3503) 4
Ontario	59.5	20.9	9.4	5.6	4.6
Canada	63 (No Fr. Can.)	-14.5	11	5.5	6

Table 3.2 Religion (%) totals

Hamilton East	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish[1]	Other
	(41,926) 52	(31,710) 39	(506) .6	(6145) 8
York South	(40,561) 50	(30,725) 37	(6507) 8	(4007) 5
Green-wood	(56,148) 68	(20,602) 26	(288) .4	(5071) 6
Broad-view	(45,566) 61	(22,913) 30	(292) .4	(7630) 10
Ontario	61.3	31.0	1.8	5.9
Canada	46.0	45.7	1.4	6.9

[1] In Hamilton East, Greenwood and Broadview, the Jewish population is less than one per cent. In York South the residents reported between four and eight per cent Jewish. There did not appear to be any significant increase in activism on the part of the Jewish population in York South. This is partly explained by the fact that most of the Jewish population live in Forest Hill, at the eastern extremity of the riding. Provincially the area elects a Conservative, and federally many residents work in adjacent 'Liberal' or 'Conservative' constituencies.

Table 3.3 Education (those not attending school)
(%) totals

Riding	Elementary or none		Secondary School		University
Hamilton East	(31,484)	56	(23,167)	41	3
York South	(29,176)	53	(24,856)	44	3
Greenwood	(25,683)	44	(30,887)	52	4
Broadview	(29,630)	55	(23,079)	43	2
Ontario	43.8		50		6.2
Canada	46.8		47.1		6.1

Table 3.4 Occupation (working males)
(%) totals

Riding	Managerial or Professional		Clerical, Sales, Service, Rec'n, Communication		Primary, Craft, Labouring	
Hamilton East	(2289)	9	(6344)	28	(13,917)	63
York South	(4855)	18	(8625)	32	(13,872)	50
Greenwood	(4087)	18	(10,345)	41	(10,242)	41
Broadview	(2021)	10	(8678)	42	(9835)	48
Ontario	19.5		29.5		49 Unaccounted: 2%	
Canada	18.0		29.9		51 Unaccounted: 1.1%	

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STUDY

In this chapter the theory outlined in Chapter Two will be examined in terms of urban Ontario party activists. From an examination of the literature on party workers and organizations, and the author's subjective interpretations and understanding of Ontario party organizations, a series of hypotheses will be posed. In the case of each of these hypotheses, a number of questions were presented in the interview schedule. The findings from these questions form the basis for accepting or rejecting these hypotheses, and thus the theory. These results[1] will be presented under each of the four areas of party organizations that were examined -- political socialization, recruitment, motivations and background of party officials.

I Political Socialization

For purposes of this research, Sawrey and Telford's

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[1]An examination of these research results indicated that while there are inter-riding differences within particular party groups, the main dissimilarities occurred among parties irrespective of riding.

Thus, for purposes of this analysis, activists from both ridings are considered members of the same party group. Where important intra-party divisions do occur, they are presented in the text.

definition of socialization[1] is adapted to political socialization to mean the process of acquiring political attitudes and values. To utilize the concept in research, however, it must be operationalized.[2] In this sense, the term is defined by the amount of family and peer-group influence, the age of initial political interest, the degree of family political discussions, and the effect of voluntary association membership (and officership) on the politically active.

As mentioned in proposing this study, the research must (necessarily) be largely theory-building; for there are no party studies to the present that link ideological differences and socialization with party organizations. And as has been argued, this theory presented above is merely a preliminary attempt to examine party life at a somewhat more systematic level than has been previously done.

For very little has been done in party research to relate differences in socialization patterns to party organizations. Most of the previous studies (Valen and Katz, Eldersveld, Lane) explain differences between activists and non-activists, between leaders and followers. Because of this paucity of information and research, the findings and

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[1] J. Sawrey and C. Telford, Educational Psychology, op. cit., p.65.

[2] F. N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, op. cit., p.34. Kerlinger states that "an operational definition ... assigns meaning to a construct or a variable by specifying the activities or 'operations' necessary to measure the construct or variable."

hypotheses of this paper, that relate party position on the left-right continuum and political socialization patterns, must remain tentative. The findings should (at least) point the way to future research.

As political socialization is the first process leading to activity, it is the most likely place to begin an examination of party workers. And, for most people, the process of acquiring political predispositions begins in the family. Indeed, much of the research reviewed in Chapter One places the family as the primary agent in political socialization.[3] Valen and Katz, in their study of Political Parties in Norway, add that family is not only important in the general socialization process, but also that it is even more significant when political leaders are compared with ordinary voters.[4]

And Kornberg makes a further distinction between political cultures and the role of family in socialization. Their study of Canadian and American party activists rejected the hypothesis that Canadians, more often than Americans, would cite family as the agent responsible for initial political interest.[5] But no discussion was made regarding inter-party differences within particular political cultures. In fact, there are very few studies that link

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[3]J. Davies, op. cit., p.35; H. Hyman, op. cit., pp.61-101; A. Campbell, et. al., op. cit., p.99; H. McCloskey and H. Dahlgreen, op. cit., p.269.

[4]H. Valen and D. Katz, op. cit., pp.277-8.

[5]A. Kornberg, et. al., op. cit., p.67. The authors found that 69% of the American activists, versus 54% of the Canadian workers, cited family as the primary influence in initial political interest. In this study almost 49% of all activists so indicated, therefore substantiating Kornberg's findings.

party positions and socialization patterns.

Eldersveld's study of Detroit party organizations is one of the few. Here he found that Democrats with continuous service scored slightly higher (93%) than Republicans (85%) concerning the political activity of their fathers.[6]

Combining this finding with the party continuum we might hypothesize that there would be little significant change in Canada. Thus:

Hypothesis I

> New Democratic Party activists will rank highest in terms of parents' political activity, followed by (slightly lower) Liberal officials, and finally Progressive Conservative party workers.

Results.

There are several indices of activity. In this research, data was collected on i) whether family was active in politics, ii) whether parents ever held party membership, iii) whether any family member was ever a party official, and finally iv) if any family member ever held any public (i.e. elective) office.

An overall view of the findings would indicate that the evidence gathered is rather inconclusive. New Democrats had the highest percentage of family members holding public and party office, and were close to the Liberals in terms of family activity in politics at any level. But the figures in most cases involve relatively few persons: the majority of all party activists appear to come from families where

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[6] S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.139.

political activity is not an important feature. At best, the results might indicate that there is some slight relationship between party position on an ideological continuum and family political activity levels.[7]

But activity is not the only feature of family socialization. Indeed, if the evidence of this research, and that of Valen and Katz' study of party activists in Norway, is correct, then less than half of all party workers come from politically active families.[8]

Family discussions and parents' party choice are also factors that greatly affect initial interest in parties and politics. Much has already been written on the fact that parents' party is a primary indicator of the party choice of their offspring.

However, one feature of Canada's party development makes generalizations about this difficult: namely, the recent formation of the New Democratic Party. Formed in 1960-61 as an alliance of the Canadian Labour Congress and old C.C.F. interests, it was at once a less radical party than its predecessor. This move toward the centre by the 'new' party is witnessed by the present struggle within the NDP, between the Waffle Group and the party Establishment. If indeed the NDP is a different party than the C.C.F., in terms of its policies and support (and I would so contend)[9]

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[7]As this evidence is not conclusive it will be presented in tables in appendix B of this study.

[8]H. Valen and D. Katz, Political Parties in Norway, op. cit., pp.278-81. The findings of this study closely resemble Valen and Katz' figure of 45% of all activists coming from active families.

[9]See L. Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed:A Study Of Change in the C.C.F., (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1964); also F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, op. cit., pp.133-38.

then discussions about the affect of parents' party selection may be distorted.

The evidence collected in this study would indicate so. Liberal activists showed the highest level of adherence to the party of their fathers (88%), with the Conservatives next (70%). In the New Democrats only half (53%) belonged to the same party as their fathers. Six of the remaining thirteen NDP workers stated that their fathers belonged to no party, or they were unaware of their fathers' political preference. When mothers' party preference was considered, the New Democrats again ranked below the Liberals and Conservatives, though in all cases this appeared to be a weaker indicator of present party choice, than fathers' party.[10]

While New Democrats showed the least degree of adherence to the party of either parent, the above reasons would appear to make the results less significant. What may be a more useful index of family involvement is the age of initial political interest for present party officers. Marvick and Nixon state that Democrats draw on younger workers than do Republicans.[11] Applying this to Canada, the following may be hypothesized:

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[10] In this analysis each Liberal equals 3%, each New Democrat 3.6%, and each Conservative 5.0% of their party totals (in percents). In most cases percentage totals are utilized in discussions; all tables include actual and percentage figures.

See Appendix B for tables on Father's and Mother's party preference.

[11] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "...Rival Campaign Groups" op. cit., p.202. S. Eldersveld, op. cit., found a similar result in his Detroit study. Pp.50,57.

Hypothesis 11

New Democratic Party officials will show initial political interest at a younger age than Conservative activists; Liberal workers will fall between these two parties.

Results.

The evidence corroborates the hypothesis, though there is only slight difference between the New Democrats and Liberals. New Democrats have seventy-nine per cent of their present officers who were interested in politics before they were able to vote. They also had the largest group (97%) who showed interest before thirty. Three-quarters of all Liberals stated that they were initially interested in politics before twenty-one, while only sixty per cent of the Conservative workers did.

Table 4.1

Age of Initial Political Interest: Party Distribution

Age of Initial Interest	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Under twenty-one.	22 (78.6%)	12 (60.0%)	25 (75.8%)
2. Between twenty-two and thirty.	5 (17.9%)	6 (30.0%)	3 (9.1%)
3. Over thirty.	1 (3.6%)	2 (10.0%)	5 (15.2%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .04

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[12]The Tau-Alpha, developed by Goodman and Kruskal, measures the percentage increase in our ability to predict the dependent or alpha distribution (age of initial interest) among officials when we know the marginal distribution of officials on the independent or beta variable (party). For a more complete discussion of this measure of association see L. A. Goodman and W. H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classification", Journal of the American Statistical Association, IL, (1954), pp.732-64, and H. Blalock, Social Statistics, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1960), pp.225-39.

And if we can expect that New Democrats and Liberals (to a slightly less extent) will become interested in politics at a younger age, it is reasonable to expect that family is a primary influence in promoting this interest. The most obvious way of doing this is by discussing politics at home. Thus we may hypothesize:

Hypothesis III

> New Democratic Party workers will show a higher incidence of family discussions of politics than Progressive Conservative activists. Liberal Party officers will follow closely the level of family discussions found in the New Democratic ranks.

Results

Liberal and New Democratic activists ranked equally high (almost half) when asked if politics were discussed often in their homes. Conservatives showed the least penchant for political discussions. Forty per cent of all Conservatives seldom had political discussions while they were growing up.

There is a fairly close resemblance of the findings with the hypothesis, though the Liberals did rank somewhat higher when the first two categories were combined.

All the evidence on socialization to this point has focused on family influence. Voluntary association membership is another primary factor in the process. Its importance stems from the fact that such memberships involve a relatively free choice, and those who participate in such associations often acquire political skills that are then transferable to political organizations.[13]

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[13] A. Rose, The Power Structure, op. cit., pp.246-52, regarding the transferability of skills in politics.

According to Lazarsfeld and associates, membership in formal social or other voluntary groups is a more common feature of upper and middle-class persons.[14] Liberal and Conservative activists are more likely to belong to 'several' of these social associations. Thus:

Hypothesis IV

> New Democratic officials will belong to fewer voluntary associations than either Liberals or Conservatives. And the scope of their organizations (i.e. NDP) will be more ideological and/or cosmopolitan than those of the latter parties.

Results.

The hypothesis is confirmed by an assessment of the results. Almost half (48%) of all Liberal Party workers belong to six or more different voluntary associations, while only slightly less do so in the Conservative ranks. Only fourteen per cent (four of twenty-eight) of the New Democrats belong to as many voluntary groups. Even when this category is combined to include all those belonging to more than three such organizations, the New Democrats still rank lowest.[15]

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[14] See P. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, The People's Choice, (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), pp.146-47.

[15] New Democrats were also the least likely to hold several official positions in these voluntary associations. For these figures see Appendix B.

TABLE 4.2
Voluntary Organization Membership:
Party Distribution

Number of Groups	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. None to two.	8 (28.6%)	3 (15.0%)	1 (3.0%)
2. Three to five.	16 (57.1%)	9 (45.0%)	16 (48.5%)
3. Six or more.	4 (14.3%	8 (40.0%)	16 (48.5%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .062

What is more interesting is the type of organization to which activists belong. While the overwhelming majority of all organizations is local in scope, the New Democrats have the only sizeable number of activists whose associational interests are other than purely local in focus.[16] An examination of all responses indicates that their (NDP) organizational bias is ideological rather than social. These activists belong to trade unions, tenants' groups, ratepapers' associations, consumer protection groups, grape (and other product) boycott organizations, and ecological pressure groups.

Conclusion

In summary, most New Democratic activists became initially interested in politics at a younger age than Liberals. Conservatives were most likely to show interest at

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[16] All Conservatives, and all but one Liberal, belonged to purely local organizations. Four New Democratic officers (15%) held memberships in groups whose focus could be termed national or international.

a later age. New Democrats also tended to come from more active families (though these indicies were somewhat mixed).

Liberal and Conservative workers belonged to more voluntary associations (and held more offices) than did New Democrats. But the organizational focus of almost all these groups was purely local. While most New Democrats showed a similar focus in the voluntary associations they chose, several belonged to 'cosmopolitan' organizations.

New Democratic Party activists, and the Liberal officials were most likely to come from homes where political discussions were frequent; but New Democrats showed the least degree of adherence to the party preference of either parent.

These indices do not constitute a comprehensive review of the whole process of socialization. Nor was there any such intention when this study was undertaken. What has been attempted is simply an analysis of certain important features of the political socialization process.

Certain differences among the major party organizations have been revealed by the research. The theory posited in Chapter Two of this paper has only been partly successful in explaining these differences. It has been useful to follow the examination of the political socialization of party activists in this way, however. For most of the research on party involvement has made no attempt at theory-building. Even this preliminary, and not altogether successful, approach to the study of political activists provides some systematic focus previously lacking. How useful it may be depends on a more complete understanding of its applicability. Thus the analysis turns to political recruitment.

II Political Recruitment

There is a substantial link between political socialization and recruitment patterns; for many of the socializing agents responsible for any initial interest, are also responsible for the actual recruitment of activists into party work.

For this study, recruitment involves that process of actual involvement in party work below the candidate level.[1] More particularly, this study is interested in the initial recruitment (or trigger event) of party activists, and the recruitment of party officers. The role of party youth organizations, as well as party officer activities, will also be examined.

Most of the research on recruitment to the present deals with candidate selection. While many of these study findings will be applied to party workers it is only with the knowledge that the process of candidate recruitment may be different from that of worker recruitment. And as with the analysis of socialization of party officials, this analysis must remain tentative until further research is completed. Differences do exist in the recruitment patterns of the major party organizations, however; and it is with these differences that this study will deal.

The most obvious place to begin an analysis of party recruitment patterns is with the initial entry into party work -- the trigger event. In the examination of

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[1]For examples of these candidate recruitment studies see F. J. Sorauf, Party and Representation, op. cit., pp.95 ff. and A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., pp.53 ff.

political socialization, Liberal and Conservative party activists showed a much higher level of adherence to the party of their parents than did New Democrat officers. It seems consistent with this that family would be more important in the recruitment process for the former parties than the more ideological New Democrats.[2] Thus we may hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1

> Ideology will be the primary trigger in recruiting New Democrats, while Liberals and, to a lesser extent, Conservatives will rank family, and other social and material considerations as more important.

Results,

An analysis of the data suggests that the hypothesis is only partly established. To an overwhelming degree (82%) New Democrats stated that ideological considerations were the primary factor in triggering their initial entry into party work. A further seven per cent noted party and/or candidate attraction; the remaining workers indicated that family and friends were the agents responsible for their actual recruitment into party ranks.

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[2] The New Democrats' position on the party continuum places them furthest from the political 'centre' of the spectrum.

TABLE 4.3

Trigger Event:

Party Distribution

Trigger Event	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Personal Influence: Family and Friends.	3 (10.7%)	13 (65.0%)	22 (66.7%)
2. Ideology.	23 (82.1%)	2 (10.0%)	2 (6.1%)
3. Party and Candidate attraction.	2 (7.1%)	4 (20.0%)	8 (24.2%)
4. Material rewards.	0 (0.0%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (3.0%)
	28 (99.9%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .316

Ideology was totally unimportant to Liberal or, unexpectedly, to Conservative activists. Only two officers from each of these parties considered it crucial to their recruitment to party activity. Two-thirds of both Liberals (67%) and Progressive Conservatives (65%) ranked personal influence such as family or friends as the means of their recruitment. One-quarter of the Liberals considered candidate attraction important -- a fact borne out by the personal (even rather than party) loyalty gained by the Liberal candidates in both ridings.[3] Party and candidate attraction was equally (20%) important for Conservative officers.

Candidate attraction raises another method of viewing

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[3]See H. Jacek, et. al., "Federal-Provincial Integration in Ontario Party Organizations: The Influence of Recruitment Patterns", mimeographed paper, Canadian Political Science Association, June 1970, p.14: "The organizational bond of the Hamilton East Liberals is cemented by the deep respect and affection felt for Health Minister John Munro. In fact, the officials argue that the personal bond to the M.P. is even more important than the federal patronage he does produce." A similar candidate loyalty exists in the York South Liberal organization.

recruitment: this involves the degree of cooptation and voluntarism in party recruitment. Kornberg, in his candidate study, found that one quarter of the Canadian legislators he interviewed indicated that they were self-starters.[4] And Eldersveld's study of Detroit party workers discovered that one-third of all officers "indicated strongly that they made the decision themselves to enter party work."[5]

The research of Hamilton area party activists by this author, Jacek and others indicates that method of recruitment may be crucial in understanding tendencies in party organizations toward specialization or diffusion of activity.[6]

It is consistent with the first hypothesis, and the research findings, that the more-ideologically oriented New Democrats should also be more voluntaristic in their recruitment patterns. Thus:

Hypothesis II

> New Democrats will show the highest degree of voluntarism in recruitment, while Liberals, and Conservatives, will most often be coopted.

Results.

The hypothesis may be accepted as valid. Most New Democrats (93%) indicated that their recruitment into party

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[4] A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior, op. cit., p.53 ff.

[5] S. J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, op. cit., p.128.

[6] H. Jacek, et. al., "...The Influence of Recruitment Patterns", op. cit., p.18: "it appears that voluntarism among parties leads to diffuse activity patterns while cooptation seems to be a force for specialization."

work was volunteered by themselves. In some of the cases party activity resulted from union involvement but in almost all instances the activists considered themselves self-starters.

The more highly personalized Liberal and Conservative organizations showed high degrees of cooptation as the main method of recruitment. In the case of the Liberal organizations, much of the cooptation (91%) involved the party candidates. In one instance, in a Liberal association, an executive officer agreed to meet the author to 'talk' but refused to be interviewed because he did not even consider himself a Liberal supporter, let alone a Liberal Party official. He stated that he had been placed on the executive list, against his wishes, by the Liberal candidate, whom he knew.

TABLE 4.4
Method of Recruitment:
Party Distribution

Method of Recruitment	NDP	Conservatives	Liberal
1. Cooptation	2 (7.1%)	19 (95.0%)	30 (90.9%)
2. Volunteer	26 (92.9%)	1 (5.0%)	3 (9.1%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .8

The Conservative activists showed equally high levels of cooptation (95%) but the process seemed much less formalized than in Liberal constituency organizations. Many of the Conservative workers were asked to join by family or friends. In the Liberal and Conservative associations the author discovered several respondents who were unaware that

they were executive members, or who did not know their executive position.

With the more highly personalized type of organization found among the Liberal and, to a lesser extent, the Conservative ranks, these parties would appear more likely to recruit workers whose activity is restricted than the voluntaristic New Democrats. Thus it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis III

> Liberal party activists will be the most specialized in their activity scope; while ideologically-oriented New Democrats will be more active at different governmental levels. Conservative officers will fall between these two party positions.

Results.

The hypothesis proves to be correct. Liberals, in the two Ontario constituencies, showed the highest degree of specialization. Most of those interviewed (85%) indicated that they were active only at the federal level. This is not surprising since a majority of the officers were personally recruited by the federal party candidates.

The Conservative activists showed a high degree of activity at both the federal and provincial levels (70%), though one-third of the activists in the Conservative associations stated that their activity was confined to the federal scene.

TABLE 4.5

Level of Party Activity:
Party Distribution

Activity Levels	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Provincial	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
2. Federal	0 (0.0%)	6 (30.0%)	28 (84.8%)
3. Both	28 (100.0%)	14 (70.0%)	5 (15.2%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .572

New Democrats, on the other hand, were totally (100%) diffuse in their activity levels. All party officials indicated that they were active federally and provincially. It may be argued that this is the result of structural rather than ideological differences,[7] but an analysis of further data on the York South organizations would suggest that the 'structural' argument is not acceptable.

One of the questions asked of all respondents in York South concerned their degree of activity in the December, 1969 municipal elections in the Metropolitan Toronto area.[8] The findings here would indicate that the Liberals are the most highly specialized organization, and the New Democrats the least so.

Despite the fact that party politics was introduced for the first time at the municipal level, half of the Liberals were not involved in the local elections. Most (84%) of the New Democratic officers were highly involved in electoral work at this level. As with the federal-provincial distribution the Conservatives fell between these two extremes, despite the fact that the majority of borough offices are held by known Conservatives.

Besides recruiting workers to be active at these various levels, party organizations also recruit in different

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[7]As was explained in Chapter Three, the New Democrats organize along provincial constituency boundary lines, and utilize these organizations for all federal elections, rather than having formal distinctions in structures and personnel as the other two major parties do,

[8]The question was one of several ostensibly designed to determine whether any 'intervening events' during the period between the first set of interviews in Hamilton East and those in York South, might have affected the research or its findings. The problems involved are discussed fully in Chapter Three of this paper under methodology.

ways. The role of family and friends, and that of voluntary association membership, have already been examined; as has been the degree of voluntarism and cooptation in party organizations. Parties themselves also actively recruit members. One of the most obvious methods is the party youth group. In terms of party hierarchy patterns these bodies sit at the lower end of the organizational charts, but parties emphasize their importance in bringing new, young recruits into party work.

As New Democrats tend to show political awareness at an earlier age, it might be expected that youth organizations would be more predominant in the New Democratic Party than in the other major parties. The author's own impression of political youth associations would indicate that this was so, although there is no 'hard' evidence available.[9] And while it may be true that youth organizations are a more prominent feature of the New Democratic Party, the evidence of this is not apparent in analysing party activists in Toronto and Hamilton.

For the same reasons outlined in examining socialization -- namely, the recent formation of the New Democratic Party -- the findings on youth group membership is inconclusive. Over three-quarters of all party activists stated that they had never belonged to any party youth organization.

A more useful indicator of recruitment and party membership may be how long an officer has belonged to the

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[9]The author's impressions are based on actual participation in party youth groups, and in directing the establishment of other such groups (e.g. party groups in secondary schools, and community colleges). The main purpose of these associations was to ensure a steady 'flow' of new party followers and personnel.

party, and how long he has been a party official. Regenstrief[10] and others note that Conservative voting support is more likely to come from older age groups. This pattern appears to exist in party organizations as well.[11] Thus it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis IV

> Conservative party activists will have held party membership longer than Liberals. New Democrats will have the greatest percentage of 'new' members. And a similar pattern will exist regarding the length of time party executive positions have been held.

Results.

The hypothesis was borne out. Two-thirds of the Conservative Party officers have held party membership for more than a decade. This figure is closely resembled by the Liberal activists (61% versus 65%), while only one-third (36%) of the New Democrats fall into this category. Of the remaining New Democratic officials, almost half (43%) reported that they had held membership for under four years.

This pattern is consistent, though less drastic, when officeholding is examined. Almost three-fourths of the New Democrats (72%) are new officers with less than four years' experience. Conservatives ranked slightly higher (55%) than Liberals (48%) when executive positions over five years

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[10] P. Regenstrief, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., pp.85-89.

[11] The results of this study indicate that seventy per cent of all Conservative officers are over forty. Fifty-five per cent of the New Democrats are in the under-thirty group.

were considered.

When age is controlled for, however, most of these inter-party differences disappear. New Democrats not only have the least degree of organizational experience, they are also the youngest. And, conversely, the more experienced Conservatives form the oldest of the three party groups.

While recruitment is an important event, the process of what party members do after being recruited is equally relevant to organizational vitality and electoral success. And in many ways, member activity is related to grooming for recruitment to an official party position from party worker status.[12] By examining party activity within six constituency organizations, some understanding of the tasks performed at this level of the party should result.

It might be useful to begin this examination with officers' perceptions of the duties of an ideal party official. The ideological New Democrats should be more apt to stress 'educational' activities than either of the other parties. Thus:

Hypothesis V

> New Democratic Party Officials will stress political education activities more than the Liberal counterparts. The Conservative activists should be between these two 'ideal perceptions'.

Results

The hypothesis holds for the New Democrats, but the

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[12] See L. Seligman, "Recruitment in Politics", op. cit., p.15, for a description of types of recruitment. Seligman makes the point that recruitment is a process, rather than a singular event.

Conservatives, to an overwhelming degree (95%), and slightly more than the Liberals (88%), stress party organization. Almost half of the New Democrats (47%) state that the ideal party official should be involved in activities connected with political education; an equal number (43%) stress organizational work.

TABLE 4.6

Perceptions of Ideal Officer Duties:

Party Distribution

Ideal Duties	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Election Activities.	3 (10.7%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.1%)
2. Organizational Activities.	12 (42.9%)	19 (95.0%)	29 (87.9%)
3. Constituency Services.	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.1%)
4. Political Education.	13 (46.4%)	1 (5.0%)	0 (0.0%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.1%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .24

When ideal perceptions are contrasted with actual activities, Liberal and Conservative officials show a high level of consistency, while New Democrats are much less so.[13]

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[13] 88% of the Liberal activists considered organizational activities important, while 85% reported that they were actually engaged in such activities; and 95% of the Conservative party officials had ideal perceptions about organizational work, while 85% were so involved. Though almost half (47%) of the New Democrats stated that the ideal party officer activity should be political education, only one worker considered that he was primarily involved in such activity. Three-fourths (75%) stated that their activities would generally be considered organizational. See appendix B for tables of officer perceptions and activity.

Almost all of the workers in the three parties are involved in either organizational or electoral activities.

Besides personal activities, there are also party activities. Again New Democrats show the greatest likelihood of emphasizing educational pursuits at the party level. Thus:

> Hypothesis VI
>
> New Democrats will regard political education as a more important party activity than Conservatives, or finally Liberals; though all parties will stress electoral work as most important.

Results.

An assessment of the data indicates that the hypothesis is valid. While all parties emphasize electoral tasks, one-third of the New Democratic officers (32%) indicate that the most important party activity is political education. Conservatives (15%) view educational activities as only slightly more crucial than do the Liberals (12%).[14]

While all parties stress electoral activities in their perceptions of party work this may not be the best indicator of actual electoral involvement; the amount of time spent in electoral work by party activists may be a more useful index.

Canadian political folklore includes an image of the

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[14] When these activities are considered individually, New Democrats rank as most important those specific activities of an ideological nature, while the other two parties tend to stress personally-oriented activities.

All party activists regard elections as very important. See Appendix B for tables of these results.

New Democratic Party as the 'complete' electoral machine, with waves of campaign workers repeatedly 'blitzing' constituency areas, while other parties often appear to have difficulty in canvassing all constituents even once. This image is most apparent (and fostered) in by-elections and provincial elections, when the riding or province is deluged with party workers from other areas and party headquarters. Thus it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis VII

New Democratic Party officials will be more active in elections than Conservatives, or, finally, Liberals.

Results.

The hypothesis is confirmed. Three-quarters of all New Democrats spent more than twenty hours a week in party electoral work, with half of the officers working over forty hours during campaigns. Almost half of the Liberals (49%) were involved in less than twenty hours of campaign work. In the Conservative ranks, sixty per cent indicated that their electoral activities involved over twenty hours of work, with almost half (45%) spending more than forty hours a week during electoral campaigns.[15]

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[15]When riding was controlled for, the New Democrats and Liberals in both ridings showed little difference in their election involvement. It would appear that the relative competitiveness of the Conservatives in York South, as opposed to Hamilton East, would account for the greater degree of involvement on their part in the Toronto constituency.

TABLE 4.7

Amount of Time Spent in Electoral Campaigns: Party Distribution

Electoral Hours	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Under 20 per week.	7 (25.0%)	8 (40.0%)	16 (48.5%)
2. 21 - 39 hours.	7 (25.0%)	3 (15.0%)	5 (15.2%)
3. Over 40 hours.	14 (50.0%)	9 (45.0%)	12 (36.4%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.1%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .03

When non-election hours of party work are considered New Democrats again rank highest in levels of party activity. Over one-third of the New Democrats interviewed (39%) were engaged in more than three hours of party work a week, outside campaigns; and half of these spent six hours or more per week on party work. Most Conservatives (85%) and Liberals (79%) stated that they were totally uninvolved outside of elections, or spent less than two hours a week doing party tasks, though when riding was controlled for, the Hamilton East Liberals showed a much higher (54%) level of involvement than their York South counterparts. The other party groups were fairly similar in their activity levels.

The only aspect of activity remaining involves the types of activities that various party workers undertake. These types of work may be broken down into three categories: i) political education tasks; ii) organizational work; and iii) local and neighbourhood activities.

As New Democrats viewed educational activities as more important than either Liberals or Conservatives, it is consistent that this should remain constant when actual activities are considered:

Hypothesis VIII

> New Democratic Party officials will be more involved in 'political education' tasks than will Conservatives, or, finally, Liberals.

Results.

When activists were asked if they tried to get people to take a stand on public issues, three-quarters (75%) of the New Democrats indicated that they did so frequently (and a further fourteen per cent stated that they sometimes attempted such persuasion). Unexpectedly, however, over three-fourths (82%) of the Liberal officials agreed that they were engaged in such tasks to varying degrees, compared with just over half (55%) of the Conservatives.

When local problem discussions were considered, an equivalent number of NDP activists (75%) expressed the view that this was a frequent activity. Only two workers stated that they seldom or never undertook such tasks. In this case the Conservatives were much more likely (80%) than the Liberals (64%) to engage in such educational discussions.

The evidence would indicate that the hypothesis is valid -- though the pattern of Liberal-Conservative emphasis is less clear than that of New Democratic workers.

When organizational activities are examined certain interesting patterns also develop. Since New Democrats are more voluntaristic, more ideologically oriented, and less specialized in scope, it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis IX

> New Democrats will show more organizational diversity in the activities that officers undertake, than Conservative officials. Liberal activists will exhibit the highest degree of organizational specialization.

Results.

A general assessment of the findings shows that the hypothesis is confirmed, (though certain discrepancies between the Liberals and Conservatives do occur).

The specialization of activity in Liberal organizations is most apparent in examining the frequency of full executive meetings of the constituency associations. Two-thirds of all Liberal activists (64%) reported that they seldom or never had meetings with their local executive. This can be taken as a rough indicator of the degree of involvement each party allows in the handling of party work. This was more true in York South than in Hamilton East, and, in fact, was a source of irritation to many executive members.

TABLE 4.8

Meeting Frequency:
Party Distribution

Meetings	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Never or seldom.	0 (0.0%)	4 (20.0%)	21 (63.6%)
2. Once per month.	21 (75.0%)	16 (80.0%)	10 (30.3%)
3. Two-three per month.	6 (21.4%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
4. Four or more per month.	1 (3.6%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.1%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .256

Over three-quarters (80%) of the Conservatives held or attended executive meetings once a month. And all of the New Democrats (100%) met at least once a month; one-quarter (25%) of these met as a group three or more times in the

same period.[16]

The diversity of association tasks is also evident when activists were asked if they were involved in collecting money for party finances. Seventy-five per cent of the New Democrats were active to some degree in collecting party finances, and half of these stated that they were very active in this regard.

The notion of the Liberal and Conservative 'bagman' is not repudiated by the findings of this paper -- though it may be extended to include several party officers. Over half of the Liberal (55%) and Conservative (60%) officers have nothing to do with collecting money to finance the local party organization. And there are indications, though no 'hard' evidence exists, that most of those involved in the collection of party money are actually responsible for only a very small percentage of the total financial arrangements.[17]

All New Democratic officials are active to varying degrees in the recruitment of other workers, and most of these (88%) stated that they frequently undertook recruitment tasks. While most of the workers in the other parties were also thus engaged, the frequency of their activities was considerably less than that of the New Democratic officers.

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[16]When riding is controlled, New Democrats still showed the highest degree of solidarity. Conservatives were more likely to meet regularly (once per month) in York South (92%) than in Hamilton East (57%). A wide division occurred in the Liberal ranks however: while all Liberals in the Toronto riding reported that they seldom or never met as an executive, only one official so reported in Hamilton East.

[17]Discussions with Liberal and Conservative officials left the author with the impression that few persons were involved in the collection of most of the party finances. Most of those who so stated were actually involved in organizing party social events. While money was collected by these activists, the primary goal was social. In the NDP most of these gatherings appear to be to collect money for the local party coffers, as well as fulfill a social function.

And finally, when contact with the provincial executive is analysed, the New Democrats again show the most diversity. While most of the Liberals (70%) seldom, if ever, have contact with their party's provincial executive, eighty-six per cent of the New Democrats report some or frequent contact with their provincial body. Over half of the Conservative activists (60%) indicated that their association with provincial executive members was minimal.

Besides these organizational, and educational, activities, it might be useful to also examine the degree of purely local work undertaken by the various party associations. The generally higher status of Conservative supporters[18] should present a lower degree of need amongst party followers, while the amount of New Democratic Party involvement in local groups such as ratepayers' associations and tenants' groups might lead us to hypothesize:

Hypothesis X

> New Democratic Party officers will show a higher degree of local political involvement than Liberals. Conservative officials will be least likely to provide (or need to provide) local help.

Results.

The hypothesis is valid when party groups are taken together. New Democratic officials are most likely to be locally engaged: they show the highest degree of providing welfare help to constituents; they are most likely to seek legal help for neighbours; they work more than any other party to find work for the unemployed; they are most active in neighbourhood activities; they are equally as apt to act

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[18] See P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., p.27,39, and R. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., pp.466-69.

as a contact with governmental agencies for local people who need such help; but because of their occupational positions they are generally unable to provide summer jobs for young people, though almost one-quarter (21%) indicate that they are so involved.

However, when riding is accounted for, different activity patterns emerge: the Hamilton East New Democrats are most active in providing welfare, legal and employment help, but are followed closely (in level of activity) by the Liberals of John Munro's organization. And when providing neighbourhood help, and acting as a contact with government agencies are considered, the Hamilton East Liberals rank highest, though their New Democratic opposition is only slightly less involved. New Democrats in both constituencies show the least degree or ability to provide summer jobs for the youth of the area.

In most instances (welfare, government agency contact, and neighbourhood help) the York South New Democrats are almost as active as their Hamilton counterparts and the Hamilton East Liberals. They do, however, follow the Hamilton Conservative group in providing employment or legal aid to their constituents.

The York South Liberals are perhaps the least active group in any instance, though the Conservative executive in both cities are only slightly more involved in providing these local constituency services.[19]

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[19]See Appendix B for tables on all these factors.

Conclusion

In conclusion, New Democrats are more likely to volunteer their services than any other party activists; and ideology appears to be the 'trigger' that produces this response. Family and peer group influence is more crucial for the other party organizations.

This ideological orientation produces greater diversity of activity in scope and level for New Democrats. The more ideological Conservatives also express more diversity in activity patterns than centre-position Liberals.

Conservative activists generally have held party membership, and executive positions longer than Liberals. New Democratic officials tend to be the newest in organizational experience -- at both the worker and executive levels, though inter-party age differences would appear to account for this phenomenon.

This ideological emphasis in the New Democratic Party is witnessed by their greater concern with activities of an educational nature. Liberals are the least likely to consider this type of political work crucial, at either the individual or party level.[20]

This feeling of need to educate voters means that New Democrats spend more time in organizational work during, and between, elections. Liberals again show the least pen-

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[20] See H. Jacek, R. Shimizu, and P. Smith, "Party Organization and Functions in the United States and Canada", paper prepared for the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1970, (mimeographed), for a discussion of the functions of party officials, as defined by role activity and role perceptions.

chant for electoral and organizational work.

The amateur nature of the New Democratic organizations is evident when association activities are examined. All work tends to be shared in the NDP, as contrasted with the specialization of task in the Liberal organizations.

Most of these party differences can be explained by the dissimilarities between a political 'movement' such as the ideological and multi-functional New Democratic Party, and the "brokerage-electoral' type of party as represented by either of the two old line parties.

As with socialization, the theory presented in this paper appears to have some explanatory value in the examination of the process of political recruitment. But before its usefulness can be accepted, it should be applied to other aspects of local political involvement. We have examined already when people get involved in politics, and how; the paper now turns to why activists undertake party work -- their political motivations.

III Political Motivation

The focus of this section of the research is to determine if there are inter-party differences in the political motivations of party activists. For purposes of this research, motivation is regarded as the application of an individual's resources toward a particular goal.[1] The study examines the reasons why people become involved in party

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[1]This definition is posited by T. Newcomb, et. al., Social Psychology, op. cit., pp.21-24. Similar definitions are presented in J. Sawrey and C. Telford, Educational Psychology, op. cit., p.275, and D. Krech, et. al., Individual in Society, op. cit., pp.67-71.

work, why they take executive positions, their perceptions of other officers' motives, the degree their motives change, what they view as the most important reason for involvement, as well as how important they rank specific reasons for party activity.

Initial reasons for joining a party are closely related to initial recruitment into party work. Thus it may be hypothesized:

> Hypothesis I
>
> New Democratic Party members will be initially motivated by ideological considerations, while Liberal activists will be more personally motivated. Progressive Conservative party members will be between these two party positions.

Results.

The hypothesis is acceptable. The findings indicate that there are substantial differences among the three parties.

The ideological orientation of the New Democratic Party and its members is broadly explained when activists were asked what first motivated them to become party members. Most of the New Democrats (89%) indicated that they joined the party because of ideological considerations.

And the non-purposive position of the Liberal Party on the left-right continuum is likewise substantiated. Three-quarters (76%) of the Liberal activists stated that they initially joined the party because of family and peer group involvement.

TABLE 4.9

Initial Membership Motives:

Party Distribution

Initial Motives	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Material motives, influence, prestige, power.	1 (3.6%)	2 (10.0%)	2 (6.1%)
2. Social motives.	0 (0.0%)	4 (20.0%)	3 (9.1%)
3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented motives.	25 (89.3%)	4 (20.0%)	3 (9.1%)
4. Family, Friends.	2 (7.1%)	10 (50.0%)	25 (75.8%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.1%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .365

While family and friendship group membership was also most important for new Conservative Party members (50%) it was much less so for their Liberal counterparts. On the party continuum Conservatives stress ideology more than the centre Liberals, and this is witnessed by an examination of the importance of ideology as an initial reason for involvement: ideology appears more crucial to new Conservative Party members (20%) than to Liberals (9%).

All of the party members in this particular study became officers, however. If the parties show any level of consistency it should be true that:

Hypothesis II

> New Democratic officers will be initially motivated by ideology, while Liberal officials will rank highest on personal motives; Conservative executive members will be between these two organizational types.

Results.

New Democratic officers again rank ideology as the primary reason involved in their election to party office. In fact, all (100%) of the party officials expressed the view that ideology was the reason they became executive members.

While over half (60%) of the Conservatives regarded social and material motives as important, a very sizeable group (40%) indicated that ideology was primary in their undertaking official party work.

Centrist Liberals showed the least emphasis on ideology: only one-quarter of the Liberal respondents regarded it as the reason they became party officers. As many Liberals (27%) stated that material rewards were involved in their executive appointments; while the rest agreed that social motives produced their rise to official positions.

TABLE 4.10
Initial Officer Motives:
Party Distribution

Initial Motives	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Material motives, influence, power, prestige.	0 (0.0%)	3 (15.0%)	9 (27.3%)
2. Social motives.	0 (0.0%)	9 (45.0%)	16 (48.5%)
3. Ideological motives.	28 (100.0%)	8 (40.0%)	8 (24.5%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .304

Given the major parties' positions on the left-right continuum, the above findings are not unexpected. According to Clark and Wilson, however, material and purposive (ideological) motives are declining as inducements to party work. In their study of organizations and incentive systems they note

that

> "the motivational trends considered here seem to be reducing the importance of material, and perhaps purposive, inducements. At the same time, solidary incentives are apparently increasing in importance. This suggests gradual movement toward a society in which factors as ... sociability ... control the character of organizations."[2]

Eldersveld, in his Detroit area study, similarly notes the widespread tendency of ideologues to change motives for party work (from impersonal to personal) when compared with those entering politics for personal reasons. This latter group maintained their initial reasons for party work fairly consistently.[3] Their findings provide the basis for the third hypothesis:

> Hypothesis III
>
> New Democratic Party officers will report a higher level of motivational change (from point of entry into party work to the present) than the Conservatives. The Liberal activists will show the most stable motivational patterns.

Results.

The data completely reverses the arguments of Clark and Wilson, and of Eldersveld. Instead of finding motivational instability among the ideologues -- the New Democrats -- the findings disclose that the Liberals are most likely to

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[2]P. Clark and J. Wilson, "Incentive Systems", op. cit., pp.134-35.

[3]S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., pp.278-92.

change their motives from the time of entry into politics until the present. The New Democratic officials reported a very high level of motivational stability (89%) over time. The Conservatives again fell between these two parties. As a more ideological party than the Liberals, they were expected to show more change in members' motives. Instead they exhibited a fairly high level of stability (65%), compared with only one-half (51%) of the Liberal activists.[4]

The somewhat tentative nature of the research does not allow the conclusion that this will always be the case. However, this finding does point to a possible difference in motivational patterns between Canadian and American party organizations and activists. Only with more widespread research can this result be proven or disproven.

If ideology is the initial and consistent motive for NDP involvement, it seems likely that New Democrats will perceive similar motives for their fellow officers. Thus:

Hypothesis IV

> New Democratic officers will tend to perceive the motives of other party officers as being ideological, while the Liberals will expect personal inducements as the major reason for why other officers work. And Conservative officials will view both reasons as important (each to a lesser degree).

---

[4]In most instances (see table 4.9) Liberals (76%) became involved through cooptation by family, friends or party personnel, and had no clear motivational goal; a somewhat similar situation existed in Conservative ranks where half of the officials became involved in the same manner.

A majority of Conservatives remained in party work because of social considerations, while one-third (33.3%) of the Liberals presently involved expected to decrease their level of party activity or leave party work entirely. A further twenty per cent indicated that material incentives were crucial to their present involvement. (See table 4.12).

Results.

It seems natural that party activists who have already reported their initial membership and executive motives, would also perceive the needs of other officials to be the same. And so it is: an analysis of the findings shows that the hypothesis is valid. Almost all the New Democrats (89%) noted that they were first motivated by ideology. A similar percentage (89%) expressed the view that the other officers in their party were similarly motivated by ideological considerations.

While one-quarter of the Liberal activists (27%) stated that they were motivated by material incentives (or prestige and power considerations) over half of the Liberals (58%) had views of other officers 'on the take'.[5]

Though material and social motives were perceived by Conservatives for fellow officers, almost half of the party activists (45%) felt that other officers in their party were motivated by ideology.

TABLE 4.11

Perceived Officer Motives:

Party Distribution

Perceived Motives	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Material, influence, power, prestige.	1 (3.6%)	6 (30.0%)	19 (57.6%)
2. Social motives.	2 (7.1%)	5 (25.0%)	7 (21.2%)
3. Ideological motives.	25 (89.3%)	9 (45.0%)	7 (21.2%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .242

[5]The author noted several instances when an officer would state that material rewards were totally unimportant, and then discover that this official had received a patronage position for his party work. See pp.71-73 of this paper (and footnotes for a discussion of this.

When present motives are considered, it might be expected that the New Democrats will again show considerably higher levels of ideological-type reasons for involvement in party work, than the other major parties. This may lead us to hypothesize:

Hypothesis V

> New Democratic Party officers are most likely to be motivated by party and ideological considerations, while Liberals will show high levels of personal motivation. Conservative officials will be between these two parties.

Results.

An assessment of the findings suggest that the hypothesis is generally acceptable. A large percentage of the New Democrats (86%) report that they are presently motivated by ideology, as they have been in the past. Only one member of the Conservative Party and two Liberals indicated that their present reason for involvement was ideological. This is somewhat unexpected on the part of the Conservative respondents, since they were expected to report higher levels of ideological commitment.

Most of the Conservatives (80%) admitted that they were motivated by social reasons. This emphasis was slightly higher than those Liberals (73%) reporting similar motives. Almost one-quarter of the Liberals (21%) stated that material inducements, and prestige and power considerations, were crucial to their present involvement, as well.[6]

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[6]When riding is controlled for the same pattern exists for the Liberal and New Democratic groups; the York South Conservatives are much more likely to be motivated by social rewards (92%) than the Hamilton East party executive (57%), though this is still their central motivational pattern. (See Appendix B for exact figures on this riding difference.) That is, social rewards are most important in both Conservative groups, only more so in York South.

TABLE 4.12

Present Officer Motives:

Party Distribution

Present Motives	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Material motives, influence, prestige, power.	0 (0.0%)	3 (15.0%)	7 (21.2%)
2. Social motives.	4 (14.3%)	16 (80.0%)	24 (72.7%)
3. Ideological motives.	24 (85.7%)	1 (5.0%)	2 (6.1%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .413

As with the officer perceptions of fellow officers, it may be useful to compare the present motivational patterns of executive groups with their perceptions of the most important motive for involvement in party work. It appears likely that New Democratic Party activists will stress purposive reasons far more than their Liberal or Conservative counterparts. Thus:

Hypothesis VI

> New Democrats will perceive ideological reasons as the major factor in explaining political involvement, followed by Conservative activists, and finally Liberals.

Results.

The data would indicate that party workers perceive ideology as the major reason for political involvement. As hypothesized, the leftist New Democrats reported total unanimity (100%) with regard to the prominence of ideology as incentive.

A majority of both Conservative and Liberal activists also expressed similar perceptions. The more ideological Conservatives recorded somewhat higher tendencies (65%)

on this issue than did Liberals (58%).

TABLE 4.13

Perceptions of Most Important Involvement Motive: Party Distribution

Most Important Motive	NDP	Conservative	Liberal
1. Material motives, influence, prestige, power.	0 (0.0%)	2 (10.0%)	6 (18.2%)
2. Social motives.	0 (0.0%)	5 (25.0%)	8 (24.2%)
3. Ideological motives.	28 (100.0%)	13 (65.0%)	19 (57.6%)
	28 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .135

And while close to half (42%) of the Liberal officers stated that material and social incentives were the most important involvement reason, all parties were in majority agreement -- ideology is the most important reason for political involvement.

These findings would indicate that while Liberals and Conservatives are not often motivated by ideology in particular cases, they still regard ideological and party considerations as central to involvement. Whether out of respect for the past, or general public pressure, the myth of the amateur, of activity based on considerations of civic duty, service to the party and the betterment of man appears to prevail.

Canadian party officials seem more similar to their British, than American, counterparts: for while the era of the professional politician is plainly evident, the mythology of the past must be acknowledged and retained. Just as

Machiavelli explained religion and liberality[7], so too politicians and party workers must honour the myths and political deities in word, if not in deed.

The acceptance of this hypothesis completes the first part of the presentation of the findings on incentives. All of the analysis has dealt very generally with motives and perceptions of motives. And the findings tend to support the theory that a party's position on a continuum will determine the incentive pattern upon which it is based.

What remains to be done is to examine specific motives and the reactions of party officers to these. Some of those chosen represent social and material rewards, and others are ideological or party oriented. It is expected that motivations and perceptions about types of incentives will be fairly consistent.

There is some overlap between what has been reported already and the findings about to be presented under the remaining hypothesis. This is intended to clarify our knowledge on the subject of political motivations, and to act as a check on the validity of the earlier data. The results of the seventh hypothesis are based on a series of thirteen specific reasons for political involvement. It is expected that:

Hypothesis VII

> Liberal officers will rank highest on specific material and social motives, while New Democrats will report higher degrees of party and ideological motivation. Conservatives will rank between these two party positions.[8]

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[7] N. Machiavelli, The Prince, (New York: Random, 1950): "In the first case ... liberality is harmful; in the second, it is necessary to be considered liberal." P.59; and The Discources, (New York: Random, 1950); here he discusses the use of a national religion for state purposes; p.149

[8] See appendix A, questions 27-39 for a list of these questions.

Results.

On the basis of the majority of the questions asked, the hypothesis is, at least, partly accepted. Questions dealing with specific ideological and party considerations produced data that re-emphasizes the ideological preoccupation of New Democratic Party activists. In all cases the NDP ranked substantially higher than Liberal or Conservative party officers. In some cases the latter two parties reported similar emphasis, but the remaining findings indicated that the Progressive Conservative officials considered party and ideological incentives more crucial than Liberal workers.

When specific material incentives, such as involvement for financial rewards or business contacts, are examined, all parties, to an overwhelming degree, reject these as inducements. In both cases, however, the remaining activists who consider these motives important tend to be Liberals.

For purposes of this research, prestige, power and influence were considered separate motives from the more general social incentives of friendship and association. In these former cases, NDP activists consistently report lower emphasis than either of the other party groups. There appears to be little difference between the latter two parties regarding such incentives, however.

When the more social inducements are analysed, the Conservatives show a greater emphasis on friendship, and the excitement of campaigning and elections, than each of the other major parties. New Democrats do not regard these as major inducements to party involvement.

All party organizations consider helping candidates who were liked and respected as important; and there is an equal emphasis (though to a slightly lesser degree) on civic

duty as an agent for involving persons in politics and party activity.

Conclusion

Clark and Wilson's typology of specific incentive types dominating particular party organizations does not appear to be borne out completely. While the New Democrats may be regarded as an ideological party it still possesses and uses social incentives, and prestige and power inducements, to maintain member involvement; though it does this to a much smaller degree than the two old line parties.

The other major parties are even less specialized in terms of specific incentives. The Conservatives appear to be more ideological than the Liberals, in terms of their position on the party continuum and the findings of this study; but they also place much emphasis on social rewards, and some on 'power' incentives.

The Liberals show the least likelihood of using ideology as an incentive. Instead, they rely on social, material and related power-prestige inducements. But like the Conservatives, no primary incentive type is apparent from this research.

The fact that there has been some consistency in the study between related questions, and between motivations over time, would indicate that these findings are highly useful. And the theory outlined in Chapter Two of this paper appears generally successful in accounting for certain of these patterns.

The paper now turns to an analysis of the effects of socio-economic factors on political involvement.

IV Socio-Economic Background

The role of social characteristics and their effect on party organizations in Canada is not readily apparent. Much of the earlier research dealt with differences between party personnel and political followers. The studies that did examine inter-party differences of a demographic nature were mainly on American party organizations. This paper will draw on these latter findings, though the relevance of this data to Canadian parties must remain tentative.

Certain key demographic variables will be analysed here to see if they are predictive of party affiliation -- at least in the two constituencies of this study. Ethnicity, education, religion, occupation and income are perhaps the most important indicators, though by no means the only ones. Age, sex, marital status, birthplace, home-ownership, subjective class feelings and certain parent-related data will also be examined here.

Perhaps the most critical social variable in Canada is ethnicity. Because of the mosaic that Porter describes in his analysis of social class and power in Canada,[1] this factor is a highly complex constant in Canadian politics. Regenstreif sums it up best: "Since 1763, ethnicity has been the most important social variable, subjectively and objectively, in Canadian political life, and it gives every indication of continuing to be crucial in the future."[2]

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[1] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., pp.389-90, for a description of ethnicity in Canada.

[2] P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., p.90. For this study, ethnicity is defined as "descent from ancestors who share a common culture based on national origin, language, religion, or race, or a combination of these." From F. Vallee, et. al., "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol.23, (Nov., 1957), p.541.

By historical development, the Conservatives are generally regarded as the party of the several-generation Canadian, and the British, while the Liberals have been the party of French Canada and the vehicle of mobility for new ethnics, especially Italians and Eastern Europeans. The New Democrats appear to attract working-class British immigrants and, consciously, the lower status ethnics.[3]

If there is any connection between a party's support and the types of workers it recruits, it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis I

> Conservative Party activists will tend to be older generation Canadians or British immigrants, while Liberal officials will be comprised of the largest number of recent ethnics, especially Italians and Eastern Europeans. Most New Democrats will be from diverse (especially British working-class) ethnic groups, and recent immigrants to Canada.

Results

An assessment of the responses indicates that the hypothesis is valid, when parties are taken as single groups. The Conservatives comprise the most ethnically specialized of the three party executives. Almost all of the party officials stated that they were of Canadian (45%) or recent British (40%) origin. And over two-thirds (70%) of the association indicated that they themselves were born in Canada, mainly (60%) in Hamilton or Toronto.

While more Liberals (82%) reported that they were born in Canada, their ethnic origins were significantly different: half of all the Liberals (49%) signified that their parents were from Italy or Eastern Europe, and that they were 'first-generation' Canadians.

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[3] R. Dawson, The Government of Canada, op. cit., pp.466-9.

As expected, the NDP showed diverse ethnic patterns: one-quarter of the party executive is of recent British (trade union) background. Surprising, however, was the high percentage (33%) of officers with Italian and Eastern European parents. And the remaining party officials were divided between Canadian (22%) and those who fall into none of the above categories (18%).

However, when riding is controlled for, major intra-party differences occur: all of the Conservative officials in Hamilton East have fathers who were born in Canada, while only sixteen per cent of the other activists reported a similar background. Almost two-thirds (62%) of the Toronto executive has fathers who were born in the British Isles.

A similar division occurred in the NDP ranks, though the riding figures were reversed: while close to half (44%) of the Toronto New Democrats had British fathers, only sixteen per cent of the Hamilton officials did.

Table 4.14

Father's Birthplace:

Party Distribution With Riding Control (%)

Party i) / ii)	Hamilton/ Toronto		Ontario		Canada		Italy/E. Europe		British Isles		Other	
NDP	(0)	0	(1)	50	(0)	0	(3)	25	(4)	80	(1)	50
Conservative	(4)	67	(1)	50	(2)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0
Liberal	(2)	33	(0)	0	(0)	0	(9)	75	(1)	20	(1)	50

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .283

Party (ii)												
NDP	(2)	50	(0)	0	(3)	75	(7)	47	(3)	23	(4)	50
Conservative	(1)	25	(0)	0	(1)	25	(1)	7	(8)	62	(2)	25
Liberal	(1)	25	(8)	100	(0)	0	(7)	47	(2)	15	(2)	25

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .424

In the Hamilton Liberal group, over two-thirds (69%) stated that they were of Italian or Eastern European ethnic background, while only one-third (35%) so stated in York South. And over half of the Toronto Liberal officials had fathers who were born in Canada, compared with only fifteen per cent of the Hamilton party executive.

And when Mother's birthplace is considered a still different finding is presented. While fifty-nine of the party activists reported non-Canadian fathers (forty in York South and nineteen in Hamilton East) only thirty-three so reported when asked about mother's birthplace, (twenty in Toronto and thirteen in Hamilton).[4]

Some association is discernible between ethnicity and religion: according to Porter, "Catholic religious affiliation tends to be associated with minority group status."[5] Regenstreif adds "that a considerable portion of its (Canada's) political history revolves around the existance of extensive religious cleavage .... If religion is important (today) in partisan choice, the partisan cleavage is between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and the choice generally involves the major parties. This religious factor is not especially important for the NDP ...."[6]

If these patterns are applicable to party organizations, it may be hypothesised:

Hypothesis II

> Conservative activists will comprise the largest group of Protestant workers. Liberals will have the most Catholics and Jews, while New Democrats will be the least religious and most diverse group.

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[4] See Appendix B for tables on Mother's Birthplace.

[5] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., pp.389-90.

[6] P. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, op. cit., p.92.

Results

The hypothesis may be accepted as valid. An overwhelming percentage of Progressive Conservative officers (80%) reported that they had Protestant religious preferences (over half of these [50%] Anglican). And over half of these officers could be termed religious: sixty per cent indicated that they attended church regularly, that is, every week or at least once a month.

While one-quarter of the Liberal activists were Protestant, the majority (58%) were, as expected, Roman Catholic. An equal percentage (58%) reported that they were regular church attenders. And though there were only three Jewish activists in the population (of this study), two of them were in the Liberal group.

The New Democrats had no Jewish officers in the two constituencies. Over one-third (39%) stated that they were Protestant, though almost half of these were not Anglicans; and a further quarter (25%) indicated that they were Catholic. One third (32%) of the New Democrats stated that they had no religious preference, and although the remaining officers reported some religious identification, most party officers (79%) rarely or never attended church services.[7]

Certain important differences should be noted within particular party groups, however: while none of the New Democrats in Hamilton were Catholics, over one-third of the party executive in Toronto so reported. This is consistent with the considerably higher Italian and Eastern European group found in the York South association.

There was also a much higher number of Protestants (92%) in the Toronto riding Conservative executive than in the Hamilton party group (57%). And in Hamilton, the Liberal

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[7] New Democratic officials on Church Attendance, ranked significantly lower than the other party groups.

Party officials are either Catholic (69%) or Protestant (31%), while in York South there are two Jewish officers and four non-religious activists in the party.

Table 4.15
Religious Preference:
Party Distribution (%)

Hamilton Party	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	None	All Other
NDP	(7) 47	(0) 0	(0) 0	(2) 67	(0) 0
Conservative	(4) 27	(1) 10	(0) 0	(1) 33	(1) 100
Liberal	(4) 27	(9) 90	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .929

Toronto Party					
NDP	(4) 20	(7) 41	(0) 0	(7) 64	(1) 100
Conservative	(12) 60	(0) 0	(1) 33	(0) 0	(0) 0
Liberal	(4) 20	(10) 59	(2) 67	(4) 36	(0) 0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .242

Besides ethnicity and religion, occupation is a primary indicator of background differences. New Democrats tend to cluster in lower level occupations, while Conservative activists are generally found in upper level positions.

Hypothesis III

> New Democrats will occupy more lower status occupations, both in terms of father's occupation and their own. Conservative workers will be in the highest occupation groups, and Liberals will tend toward higher occupations, especially in terms of upward mobility from their fathers.

Results

The New Democrats are the most occupationally deprived party group. Two-thirds of the fathers of present officials were involved in labouring, skilled or clerical work. And when present occupations are considered, a reverse mobility appears to have been in effect: while one-third of the NDP

fathers were small business owners, no present officer falls into this or any higher status occupation. Except for one housewife, all party activists are either skilled, clerical or primary labouring occupations.

Over three-quarters (80%) of the Conservatives' fathers were in white collar positions -- most (70%) as small business owners. This pattern is fairly consistent when present officer occupations are considered. Eighty per cent of the Conservative activists fall into small business, professional or executive categories.[8] Only one party officer indicated that his occupation was in the skilled labour level.

Table 4.16

Occupation and Social Mobility:

Party Distribution (%)

Father's Occupation / Party	Managerial/ Executive		Lawyer/ Professional		Small Business Owner		Clerical/Clerk/ Skilled/ Salesman		Service/ Unskilled	
NDP	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(10)	28	(18)	50
Conservative	(1)	20	(1)	50	(1)	50	(14)	39	(4)	10
Liberal	(4)	80	(1)	50	(1)	50	(12)	33	(16)	40

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .092

Present Officer Occupation / Party										
NDP	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(23)	73	(5)	25
Conservative	(2)	29	(1)	10	(6)	50	(2)	6	(9)	45
Liberal	(5)	71	(9)	90	(6)	50	(7)	21	(6)	30

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .197

[8]Most studies place housewives into the same category as the husband. While all parties in this study have an equal number of female officers, the Conservatives have the highest percentage (30%) who do not work.

Unlike the New Democrats, the Liberals showed high degrees of occupational mobility. While half of the officers' fathers were involved in clerical or blue collar occupations, less than one-quarter (21%) were presently so involved -- and most of those who were, were first-generation Canadians. The mode of upward mobility is apparent when specific occupational levels are reviewed: one-quarter (27%) of the Liberal officers are professionals (in almost all cases lawyers);[9] the remainder were executives (15%), small business owners (18%), sales, clerical or skilled workers (21%) and housewives (15%). There was also one official who was a student.

Occupational levels are intricately connected with educational attainment and income. According to Campbell, education is the "surest single predictor of political involvement."[10] Just what its role is, is not readily apparent when previous research findings are examined, however. Marvick and Nixon argue that Republicans are better educated than Democratic party workers.[11] Lane found a similar relationship for elected (though not defeated) party legislators.[12] Yet Eldersveld's research of Detroit party organizations reversed these findings.[13]

It seems likely that New Democrats will show lower levels of educational attainment than other party groups. And if Eldersveld's research is correct, we may hypothesize:

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[9]Liberals comprised ninety per cent of this category. Only one Conservative, and no New Democrats, were considered professionals.

[10]A. Campbell, "The Passive Citizen", Acta Sociologica, vol.VIII, 1965, p.20.

[11]D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "... Rival Campaign Groups", op.cit., pp.202-03.

[12]R. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp.78-9.

[13]S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., pp.50-2.

Hypothesis IV

New Democratic officials will have the lowest formal education of the three party groups. Liberals will show somewhat higher educational advancement than their Conservative counterparts.

Results

An analysis of the data suggests that the hypothesis is valid. Almost all of the New Democrats (85%) have only secondary schooling or less, and none of the remaining party officials who attended college completed degree requirements.

Slightly over half (55%) of the Liberals and Conservatives had primary or secondary education, while the rest had some university education. Liberals were only slightly better educated than their Conservative rivals. While equal numbers (45%) went to college, more Liberals attained degrees and pursued post-graduate (usually L.L.B.) work.[14]

Table 4.17

Education and Social Mobility:

Party Distribution (%)

Father's Education / Party	Elementary/ No Schooling	High School	College or University
New Democratic	(18) 38	(9) 33	(1) 14
Conservative	(8) 17	(10) 37	(2) 29
Liberal	(21) 45	(8) 30	(4) 57

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .041

[14]When father's education was considered, Conservatives ranked highest. Liberals were only slightly better educated than New Democrats, which shows the rather marked differences in mobility patterns between these two parties.

Table 4.17

Present Officer Education (%)

Party	Elementary/ No Schooling	High School	Some College	College Graduate	Post Graduate
New Democratic	(6) 67	(18) 41	(4) 31	(0) 0	(0) 0
Conservative	(2) 22	(9) 20	(5) 38	(2) 33	(2) 22
Liberal	(1) 11	(17) 39	(4) 31	(4) 67	(7) 78

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .111

As mentioned above, income is related to educational and occupational positions. If these patterns are consistent, then it may be hypothesized:

Hypothesis V

New Democrats will show lower levels of income than other party groups. Conservatives should show slightly higher income levels than Liberal activists.

Results

The New Democrats are, by far, the lowest income group. Almost two-thirds (61%) fall into the lowest income category (under $8000.) and all the rest earn less than fourteen thousand dollars annually.

Unexpectedly, however, the Liberals showed a similar income level to the Conservatives. In the top two categories (over $30,000. and between $16,000. and $29,000.) the two parties were comparable. And almost all of the Liberals (88%) and the Conservatives (85%) reported incomes of over nine thousand dollars annually.

Closely related to these latter three indices (income, occupation and education) and to the ideological positions of the parties on the left-right continuum, are feelings of

class consciousness. According to Alford, Canada's politics is 'pure, non-class'.[15] Engelmann and Schwartz state, however, that "there is much objective evidence (though much less individual perception) of class-like status divisions in Canadian society.[16]

It seems likely that the New Democrats -- the most ideological party, and the lowest status in terms of income, occupation. and education -- would be the most class conscious. And the centerist Liberals should be least.

Hypothesis VI

> New Democratic Party Officers will be the most class conscious of the three parties, and will perceive their class to be lower than the other party groups. The Liberal activists will be the least conscious of class differences.

Results.

Class feelings appear to be reasonably significant, in the two constituencies studied. As hypothesized, the NDP do show the highest level of class awareness: over one-third (39%) indicated that they considered themselves members of a social class, and felt that such class divisions were very real constructs in Canadian political and social life.

The Liberal party consciously plays down any argument for class divisions in Canada. And in this study, the Liberal activists mirror this 'classlessness'. In fact, many Liberals

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[15] R. Alford, Party and Society, op. cit., Chapter Nine.

[16] F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, op. cit., p.133.

were openly annoyed about the question concerning class position and feelings; no other activist from the other party organizations were bothered by these questions. Almost all (85%) of the Liberals stated that there were no class distinctions in Canada.

The Progressive Conservative party activists were close to the position of the Liberals, although one-quarter (25%) of the executive members did indicate that they felt there were social classes.

Table 4.18
Subjective Class Feelings and Position:[17]
Party Distribution (%)

Class Feelings:	Yes	No
Party		
New Democratic	(11) 56	(17) 28
Conservative	(5) 22	(15) 25
Liberal	(5) 22	(28) 47

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .062

Class Position:	Upper	Middle	Lower
Party			
New Democratic	(0) 0	(8) 14	(20) 95
Conservative	(1) 100	(18) 30	(1) 5
Liberal	(0) 0	(33) 56	(0) 0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha = .572

[17] No objective 'class criteria' was applied in attempting to measure the effect of class on party organizations.

When asked to place themselves in a social class (even if they did not feel such divisions existed) the patterns that emerged were even more significant. As expected, the New Democrats mainly agreed that they were working class. The Liberal activists all stated that they considered themselves middle class, as did most (90%) of the Conservative officials. Only one party worker, a Conservative, perceived himself to be upper class.[18]

The only remaining demographic indicators are marital status, sex and age breakdowns, and local ties. According to Marvick and Nixon, women are more likely to work for Republicans than Democrats.[19] If this is true in Canada, then more female workers should work for the Conservative organizations than for the other party groups. The findings do not substantiate this hypothesis however: all parties showed an equal likelihood for engaging female officers. Just over one-quarter of the three parties was made up of women.

Earlier research of party support indicates that Conservative support tends to come from older age groups, and New Democrats receive younger support. If this may be extended to party activists the:

Hypothesis VII

> New Democratic Party workers will be younger than other party activists, while Conservatives will tend to be older. Liberal officials will fall between these two positions.

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[18] No definition of class was posited by the author during interviewing. The result may have been a multiplicity of meanings of the term, but this seemed a more worthwhile method of measuring subjective feelings about the subject, than recording reactions to an 'outside' definition.

[19] D. Marvick and C. Nixon, "... Rival Campaign Groups", op. cit., pp.205-206.

Results.

The hypothesis is acceptable. Half (50%) of the New Democrats are under forty. Most of the Conservative activists (70%) are over forty. The largest percentage of Liberals (72%) are between thirty and fifty.[20]

The final indicator to be examined is local ties. Local ties are measured by examining where the present officers spent their adolescence, how long they have lived in the present federal constituency area, and if they own a home or occupy rented accommodation. The professional Liberals should display stronger local ties than the Conservatives or the New Democrats.

Hypothesis VIII

> New Democratic activists will exhibit the least degree of local bonds. The more professional Liberal organizations will have more ties of this nature, while the Conservative officials will fit between these two positions.

Results.

The findings indicate that the hypothesis is generally valid. New Democratic Party workers have lived in their constituency the least time, tend to come from outside the two metropolitan areas utilized in this study, and are least likely to presently own a home.

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[20]These age categories reflect differences in the marital status of party workers. Eighty-eight per cent of the middle-aged Liberals were married, compared with seventy-five per cent of the older Conservatives, and seventy-nine per cent of the New Democrats.

The Progressive Conservative officials tend to have lived longer in their particular constituency than Liberal workers, though more Liberals grew up in Toronto or Hamilton than for any other party group. Liberal mobility patterns appear to include moving within the area of their place of birth. This is consistent with the 'professional' and the need to develop local ties. And these local roots are further strengthened by owning a home: Liberal Party activists have the highest percentage of home-ownership of the three party groups.

Conclusion

All of these demographic indicators provide some picture of party organizations. The analysis discovered that Conservatives are the most specialized in ethnic and religious background. And that the Liberals have the largest number of Catholic, Italian and Eastern European immigrants. It was also discovered that the New Democrats were the least religious and the most ethnically diverse of the three party groups, though there were important intra-party differences on both of these indicators.

In terms of occupation, income and education, the NDP are the most 'locked out'. This may be the basis for Engelmann and Schwartz' statement that "the ... NDP ... may be developing into a party which is differentiated along social class lines on a national scale."[21]

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[21] F. Engelmann and M. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, op. cit., p.240. Emphasis added.

Liberals tend to be better educated than Conservative party officials, though both are equally affluent. And the professional orientation of the Liberal activist is evidenced by the strong local ties developed by party officers. The more cosmopolitan NDP appear least likely to develop these attachments.

New Democrats are younger, and Conservatives older, but sex is no indicator of party preference in this study. While marriage is the norm in all parties it is slightly more evident in Liberal ranks.

Subjective feelings of class are more important to the New Democrats, yet appear to be significant in all of the three party organizations. The author's own impressions were that class consciousness will continue to be (at least as) crucial in the future.

All of these social variables provide some understanding of the socio-economic backgrounds of activists in the three parties -- at least in the two federal ridings. Party position on an ideological continuum would not appear to be an important factor in these background differences.

The study now turns to some general concluding remarks about the complete research, and posits some suggestions for future related work in this field.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT: SOME CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to explore the process of political involvement through a limited empirical enquiry. By examining the political socialization and recruitment patterns, the motivations, activities and socio-economic background of urban party workers in two federal constituencies, the present research has confirmed certain aspects of political activity - especially as it relates to "the critical action locus" of party organization.

Perhaps the most significant finding, was the fact that the major inter-party differences appear to be between the New Democratic Party and the two old-line parties. In this instance, for example, New Democrats were found to be highly voluntaristic, while Liberal and Conservative recruitment patterns usually involved the cooptation of party members and officials. Or New Democrats were found to be consistently motivated by ideological or party considerations, while the officers of the two older parties seemed to view material or social inducements as more crucial.

The findings did not discover that ideology, for example, was the singular motive of a majority of New Democratic officers; just as it was not discovered that only material or social considerations were important to Liberal or Conservative activists. Rather as in Eldersveld's study of activists in Detroit, it was evident that for most party leaders, motivations were diverse, multiple, and represented a synthesis of personal and

impersonal interests."[1]

The difficulties involved in measuring motivations was not the only limitation of the study, however. There were also certain structural confines -- of time and space. For party officials, as in this study, do not operate in a political vacuum: they react to other levels of their party organization, to their political opposition, and to each other; and they, in turn, are affected by, simply, the passage of time and external events.

Future researchers might find it useful to examine the relationships between (and among) the various levels of party structure, and the effects they have on each other.

And to the present, there has been little effort to account for the continuity and fluidity of party organizations at any level.[2] Only such over-time studies will disclose a 'real' (as opposed to a static) view of party life.

It might also be fruitful to examine urban-rural differences among, and within, party groups. Intra-party divisions in these terms may be as significant as those between particular urban party associations.

There is, too, reason to believe that cultural differences make findings of other (e.g. American) party studies peculiar to their own cultural environs. If so, then the need for research of this type is even greater.

Only future studies will discover how relevant the findings of this paper are to party life in Canada. The author makes no claim to represent patterns of socialization, recruitment, motivations or background beyond the two constituencies in this study. Though much of the data would suggest that factors such as a party's position of relative

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[1] S. Eldersveld, Political Parties, op. cit., p.134; emphasis added.

[2] M. Duverger, Political Parties, op. cit., for a brief discussion of 'fluidity' in party memberships; pp.79-90.

competitiveness have a very real effect on local party functioning. Important differences were noted within the two riding groups of each party in this research.

Yet all of these limitations appear unimportant when one considers the fact that there is no (as yet) testable theory of political involvement. This study has attempted to develop a preliminary theory to provide some systematic way of viewing party activity. For while no theory of involvement of party activists has previously been outlined, it is only by seeking such predictive schema that any theoretical progress can be made. As Selltiz states, "research and theory must proceed together toward an increase in knowledge. Each has a contribution to make to the other.... Theories -- even fragments of partially developed theory -- provide an important guide for the direction of research by pointing to areas that are likely to be fruitful."[3]

The theory presented here, while only a preliminary attempt to explain local political involvement, shows a degree of explanatory power that would indicate its usefulness.

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[3]C. Selltiz, et. al., Research Methods in Social Relations, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p.487.

APPENDIX A

PARTY WORKERS: HAMILTON EAST AND YORK SOUTH
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This study is interested in your opinions on party activity. All of your responses will be kept confidential.

DECK 01

Column Number	N	Question and Code
01-02		Respondent identification number.
03		Data card number.
04-05		How long have you been a party member?
	29	1. One to four years. (Actual years)
	9	2. Five to nine years.
	43	3. Ten or more years.
06-07		How long have you been a party officer?
	46	1. One to four years. (Actual years)
	18	2. Five to nine years.
	17	3. Ten or more years.
08		Have you ever been a member of the party's youth organization?
	15	1. Yes.
	66	2. No.
09-10		How old were you when you first became interested in politics? (Actual age)
	59	1. Under twenty-one.
	14	2. Between twenty-one and thirty.
	8	3. Over thirty.
11		What first motivated you to become a party member?
	5	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	7	2. Social rewards.
	32	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
	37	4. Family and friends.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
12		What first motivated you to become a party officer?
	12	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	25	2. Social rewards.
	44	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
13		Why would you say that most party officers are in party work?
	26	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	14	2. Social rewards.
	41	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
14		What events triggered your entry into politics?
	38	1. Personal influence: family and friends.
	27	2. Ideology.
	14	3. Party and candidate attraction.
	2	4. Material consideration and rewards - of both a group and individual nature.
15		Were any of your immediate family, close relatives or close friends active in politics?
	31	1. Yes.
	50	2. No.
16		Have you ever held any public office?
	7	1. Yes.
	74	2. No.
17		What was your Father's political preference?
	58	1. Same party.
	12	2. Different party.
	11	3. Don't know, not interested in politics.
18		What was your Mother's political preference?
	48	1. Same party.
	17	2. Different party.
	16	3. Don't know, not interested in politics.
19		Were either ever a party member?
	13	1. Both.
	9	2. Father only.
	4	3. Mother only.
	55	4. Neither.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
20		Has any member of your family ever held public office?
	10	1. Yes.
	71	2. No.
21		Has any member of your family ever held party office?
	21	1. Yes.
	60	2. No.
22		When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home?
	20	1. Never or seldom.
	27	2. Sometime.
	34	3. Often.
23		What rewards did you expect to get out of politics when you first entered; that is, what did you expect to achieve?
	7	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	30	2. Social rewards.
	44	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
24		Have your expectations changed?
	26	1. Yes.
	55	2. No.
25		What do you enjoy most about being a party officer? That is, if you had to quit party activity tomorrow, what do you think you would miss the most?
	10	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	44	2. Social rewards.
	27	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
26		There are many reasons for being involved in party work. What would you say was most important?
	8	1. Material rewards, influence, power and prestige.
	13	2. Social rewards.
	60	3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-oriented rewards.
		People enjoy politics for different reasons. How important are each of the following for you?

Column Number	N	Question and Code
27		The fun and excitement of campaigns.
	27	1. Not important.
	34	2. Important.
	20	3. Very important.
28		Making social contacts and friends.
	30	1. Not important.
	36	2. Important.
	15	3. Very important.
29		Politics is a part of my way of life.
	18	1. Not important.
	48	2. Important.
	15	3. Very important.
30		Helping candidates I like or respect very much.
	17	1. Not important.
	29	2. Important.
	35	3. Very important.
31		Satisfaction of fulfilling my duty as a citizen.
	11	1. Not important.
	45	2. Important.
	25	3. Very important.
32		Furthering my political ambitions.
	63	1. Not important.
	13	2. Important.
	5	3. Very important.
33		Helping my party.
	9	1. Not important.
	27	2. Important.
	45	3. Very important.
34		Being close to influential people.
	49	1. Not important.
	29	2. Important.
	3	3. Very important.
35		Concern with public issues.
	4	1. Not important.
	32	2. Important.
	45	3. Very important.
36		Making business contacts.
	67	1. Not important.
	14	2. Important.
	0	3. Very important.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
37		Financial rewards.
	77	1. Not important.
	3	2. Important.
	1	3. Very important.
38		Helping to influence the policies of government.
	15	1. Not important.
	30	2. Important.
	36	3. Very important.
39		Prestige in my community.
	51	1. Not important.
	27	2. Important.
	3	3. Very important.
40-41		About how many hours a week do you devote to party work during a campaign?
	31	1. Under twenty hours. (Actual hours)
	15	2. Twenty-one to thirty-nine hours.
	35	3. Over forty hours.
42-43		And when no campaign is in progress?
	59	1. None to two hours.
	16	2. Three to six hours.
	5	3. Over six hours.
44		In general, what do you do as a party officer?
	14	1. Election and registration activities.
	66	2. Organizational work.
	0	3. Constituency services, including representation.
	1	4. Political education.
	0	5. Community leadership; contact people in the constituency.
45		In you opinion, what would the ideal party officer do?
	5	1. Election and registration activities.
	60	2. Organizational work.
	2	3. Constituency services including representation.
	14	4. Political education.
	0	5. Community leadership; contact people in the constituency.
46		What would you say was the most important party activity?
	44	1. Election and registration activities.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
	19	2. Organizational work.
	1	3. Constituency services including representation.
	16	4. Political education.
	1	5. Community leadership; contact people in the constituency.
		Here is a list of general types of party activity. Please rank each according to how important you think it is.
47		Election and registration activities.
	2	1. Not important.
	21	2. Important.
	58	3. Very important.
48		Community leadership.
	12	1. Not important.
	40	2. Important.
	29	3. Very important.
49		Educate the voters on public issues.
	12	1. Not important.
	23	2. Important.
	46	3. Very important.
50		Build party organization.
	5	1. Not important.
	41	2. Important.
	35	3. Very important.
51		Build voter loyalty to your party.
	17	1. Not important.
	47	2. Important.
	17	3. Very important.
52		Provide for the welfare of your constituents.
	10	1. Not important.
	35	2. Important.
	36	3. Very important.
53		In general, would you say that you are more conserned with community and constituency affairs, or with national and international events? (Subjective scope)
	36	1. Local.
	45	2. Cosmopolitan.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
54		Objective scope of interest. Based on Column 15, Deck 02, and types of organizations to which respondent belongs.
	77	1. Local. (Objective scope)
	4	2. Cosmopolitan.
55		Do you think of yourself as belonging to any social class?
	21	1. Yes.
	60	2. No.
56		If you were to place yourself in one of these groups, would you then say you were:
	1	1. Upper.
	59	2. Middle.
	21	3. Working class.
57		How much influence would you say you have in the running of the party's riding association?
	1	1. Little or none.
	17	2. A small degree.
	39	3. Some.
	24	4. A great deal.
58		How much influence would you say that local party officers like yourself have in the party as a whole?
	3	1. Little or none.
	30	2. A small degree.
	29	3. Some.
	19	4. A great deal.
59		In connection with party work, how much direct contact have you with your party's leaders at the provincial (executive) level?
	5	1. None.
	34	2. Little.
	24	3. Some.
	18	4. Frequent.
60		Are you thinking of continuing to be about as active politically as you are now, or do you think that your activities will increase or decrease in the future?
	18	1. Decrease.
	33	2. Same.
	30	3. Increase.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
61		Why are most people not too actively engaged in politics?
	1	1. Don't know.
	65	2. Apathetic, lack of interest, feeling of inefficacy.
	9	3. Too many other non-political involvements; lack of time.
	6	4. Lack of political education.
62		What do you think your party's chances for election (or re-election) are in Hamilton East/York South in the near future?
	27	1. Not good.
	9	2. Don't know.
	45	3. Good.
63		What tactic do you feel would be most likely to increase your party's support in Hamilton East/York South in, say, the next federal election?
	8	1. Make a more specific appeal to a group in the constituency.
	18	2. Make a more general appeal to the whole constituency.
	18	3. Break the traditional support for another party of a specific group.
	28	4. Develop even more strongly the support base the party already has.
	9	5. Somehow convince the voters of the feasibility of party success.
64		Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements. I don't think public officials care much about what people like myself think.
	13	1. Agree.
	3	2. Don't know.
	65	3. Disagree.
65		The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.
	39	1. Agree.
	1	2. Don't know.
	41	3. Disagree.
66		People like myself don't have any say about what the government does.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
	12	1. Agree.
	1	2. Don't know.
	68	3. Disagree.
67		Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like myself cannot understand what is going on.
	18	1. Agree.
	2	2. Don't know.
	61	3. Disagree.
68		Index of political efficacy. (Summary of Columns 64-67).
	3	1. All negative responses. (inefficacious)
	19	2. One or two positive responses.
	33	3. Three positive responses.
	26	4. All positive responses. (Strong feelings of efficacy).

DECK 02

01-02		Respondent identification number.
03		Data card number.
04		Party officers often vary in the types of activities they do. Please tell me how often you do each of the following. Help people obtain welfare benefits.
	39	1. Never.
	26	2. Sometimes.
	16	3. Often.
05		Help those in trouble with the law.
	54	1. Never.
	19	2. Sometimes.
	8	3. Often.
06		Provide summer jobs for young people.
	52	1. Never.
	18	2. Sometimes.
	11	3. Often.
07		Help the unemployed find work.
	36	1. Never.
	32	2. Sometimes.
	13	3. Often.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
08		Act as a contact with government agencies.
	34	1. Never.
	29	2. Sometimes.
	18	3. Often.
09		Take part in neighbourhood activities.
	35	1. Never.
	31	2. Sometimes.
	15	3. Often.
10		Collect money to finance campaigns.
	37	1. Never.
	19	2. Sometimes.
	25	3. Often.
11		Get people to work for the party.
	4	1. Never.
	23	2. Sometimes.
	54	3. Often.
12		Have meetings with party leaders.
	25	1. Never or seldom.
	47	2. Once a month.
	6	3. Two or three times per month.
	3	4. Four or more times per month.
13		Try to get people to take a stand on public issues.
	18	1. Never.
	35	2. Sometimes.
	28	3. Often.
14		Talk to people in the constituency about local problems.
	18	1. Never.
	30	2. Sometimes.
	33	3. Often.
15-16		Here is a list of different kinds of clubs and organizations which are found in Hamilton/Toronto. Which of these do you belong to?
	12	1. None to two.
	41	2. Three to five.
	28	3. Six or more.
17		Primary scope of organizations.
	76	1. Municipal.
	5	2. National or international.
	0	3. No organizations.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
18-19		Are you an officer in any of these organizations? (Actual number of offices).
	41	1. None or one.
	33	2. Two to four.
	7	3. Five or more.
20		Would you say there are important differences among Canadian parties, or do you feel they are pretty much the same?
	11	1. Same.
	0	2. Don't know.
	70	3. Different.
		If different, how are they different?
21		Where were you born?
	39	1. Hamilton/Toronto.
	5	2. Ontario.
	13	3. Canada.
	9	4. British Isles.
	11	5. Italy and Eastern Europe.
	4	6. Elsewhere.
22-23		In what year? (Actual age).
	12	1. Under thirty.
	23	2. Thirty-one to forty.
	25	3. Forty-one to fifty.
	21	4. Over fifty.
24		Where was your Father born?
	10	1. Hamilton/Toronto.
	10	2. Ontario.
	6	3. Canada.
	18	4. British Isles.
	27	5. Italy and Eastern Europe.
	10	6. Elsewhere.
25		And your Mother, where was she born?
	9	1. Hamilton/Toronto.
	12	2. Ontario.
	11	3. Canada.
	16	4. British Isles.
	25	5. Italy and Eastern Europe.
	8	6. Elsewhere.
26		Are you a homeowner?
	56	1. Yes.
	25	2. No.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
27-28		How long have you lived in this riding?
	19	1. Under five years. (Actual years)
	24	2. Six to fifteen years.
	20	3. Sixteen to twenty-five years.
	18	4. Over twenty-five years.
29		Where did you spend most of your life when you were growing up?
	47	1. Hamilton/Toronto.
	9	2. Ontario.
	8	3. Canada.
	17	4. Outside of Canada.
30		What is your religious preference?
	35	1. Protestant.
	27	2. Catholic.
	3	3. Jewish.
	14	4. None.
	2	5. Other.
31		How often do you go to church?
	31	1. Every week. (Active).
	6	2. Once a month.
	28	3. Rarely.
	18	4. Never.
32		What is your occupation? If housewife ask husband's; if retired, ask what occupation was.
	7	1. Executive, manager.
	10	2. Lawyer or other professional.
	12	3. Small business owner.
	32	4. Skilled worker, salesman, clerical.
	20	5. Unskilled worker, service worker, store clerk, housewife, student.
33		What was your Father's occupation?
	5	1. Executive, manager.
	2	2. Professional, small business owner.
	36	3. Skilled worker, salesman, clerical.
	38	4. Unskilled worker, service worker, store clerk, farmer.
34		What was the last grade you completed in school?
	9	1. Elementary.
	44	2. High school.
	13	3. Some college.
	6	4. College graduate.
	9	5. Post graduate.

Column Number	N	Question and Code
35		What was the last grade your Father completed in school?
	47	1. No schooling or elementary level.
	27	2. High school.
	7	3. College or university.
36		What is your marital status?
	15	1. Unmarried.
	66	2. Married (widowed, divorced, separated).
37		Sex?
	58	1. Male.
	23	2. Female.
38		Party label?
	33	1. Liberal.
	28	2. NDP.
	20	3. Conservative.
39-40		What was your family income last year?
	23	1. Under $8,000.
	29	2. $9,000-15,000.
	14	3. $16,000-29,000.
	15	4. $30,000 and over.
41		Method of recruitment?
	51	1. Cooptation.
	30	2. Volunteer.
42		Level of party activity?
	0	1. Provincial.
	34	2. Federal.
	47	3. Both.
43		Were you active in the last municipal election? (For York South only.)
	17	1. Not active.
	15	2. Active.
	20	3. Very active.
44		Riding?
	29	1. Hamilton East.
	52	2. York South.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (%)

TABLE B.1

Family Involvement

Familty Political Activity	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Yes	(11) 39.3	(5) 25.0	(15) 45.5
2. No	(17) 60.7	(15) 75.0	(18) 54.5

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .03

TABLE B.2

Parent Party Membership

Parent Party Member	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Both	(5) 17.9	(1) 5.0	(7) 21.2
2. Father	(3) 10.7	(1) 5.0	(5) 15.2
3. Mother	(o) 0	(3) 15.0	(1) 3.0
4. Neither	(20) 71.4	(15) 75.0	(20) 60.6

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .03

TABLE B.3

Family Party Officership

Family Officership	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Yes	(10) 35.7	(1) 5.0	(10) 30.3
2. No	(18) 64.3	(19) 95.0	(23) 69.7

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .08

TABLE B.4

Family Public Office

Public Office	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Yes	(5) 17.9	(3) 15.0	(2) 6.1
2. No	(23) 82.1	(17) 85.0	(31) 93.9

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .03

TABLE B.5

Father's Party

Father's Party	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Same	(15) 53.6	(14) 70.0	(29) 87.9
2. Different	(7) 25.0	(2) 10.0	(3) 9.1
3. None/Don't know	(6) 21.4	(4) 20.0	(1) 3.0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .08

TABLE B.6

Mother's Party

Mother's Party	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. Same	(14) 50.0	(12) 60.0	(22) 66.7
2. Different	(8) 28.6	(4) 20.0	(5) 15.2
3. None/Don't know	(6) 21.4	(4) 20.0	(6) 18.2

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .02

TABLE B.7

Organizational Offices

Number of Offices	New Democratic	Conservative	Liberal
1. None or one	(19) 67.9	(8) 40.0	(14) 42.4
2. Two to four	(8) 28.6	(10) 50.0	(15) 45.5
3. Five or more	(1) 3.6	(2) 10.0	(4) 12.1

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .044

TABLE B.8

Perceptions Of Most Important Party Activity

Ideal Activity	New Democrat	Conservative	Liberal
1. Election work	(14) 50.0	(11) 55.0	(19) 57.6
2. Organization work	(5) 17.9	(6) 30.0	(8) 24.2
3. Community service	(0) 0	(0) 0	(1) 3.0
4. Political Education	(9) 32.1	(3) 15.0	(4) 12.1
5. Community leadership	(0) 0	(0) 0	(1) 3.0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .02

TABLE B.9

Perceptions of Most Important Party Activity for Officers

Activity	New Democrat		Conservative		Liberal	
1. Election work	(3)	10.7	(0)	0	(2)	6.1
2. Organizational work	(12)	42.9	(19)	95.0	(29)	87.9
3. Community service	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	6.1
4. Political Education	(13)	46.4	(1)	5.0	(0)	0
5. Community leadership	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .240

TABLE B.10

Present Motivation

Motives: Hamilton.	New Democrat		Conservative		Liberal	
1. Material, influence, prestige, power.	(0)	0	(2)	28.6	(2)	15.4
2. Social Motives.	(2)	22.2	(4)	57.1	(10)	76.9
3. Ideological-, party- and candidate-motives	(7)	77.8	(1)	14.3	(1)	7.7

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .285

Motives: Toronto.						
1. Material, influence, prestige, power.	(0)	0	(1)	7.7	(5)	25.0
2. Social Motives.	(2)	10.5	(12)	92.3	(14)	70.0
3. Ideological-, party- and candidate motives.	(17)	89.5	(0)	0	(1)	5.0

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .522

TABLE B.11

Mother's Birthplace

Party	Hamilton		Ontario		Canada		British		Italy and E.Europe		Other	
1. NDP	(0)	0	(1)	33	(1)	33	(4)	67	(3)	27	(0)	0
2. P.C.	(3)	75	(1)	33	(2)	67	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	50
3. Lib.	(1)	25	(1)	33	(0)	0	(2)	33	(8)	73	(1)	50

Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .312

Party Toronto. Goodman and Kruskal Tau-Alpha= .199

1. NDP	(0)	0	(2)	22	(4)	50	(5)	50	(7)	50	(1)	17
2. P.C.	(2)	40	(1)	11	(4)	50	(4)	40	(0)	0	(2)	33
3. Lib.	(3)	60	(6)	67	(0)	0	(1)	10	(7)	50	(3)	50

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