

RECRUITMENT OF CONSTITUENCY

ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

PARTY OFFICERS: A STUDY OF THE EXECUTIVES OF
LOCAL CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the nature of the political involvement of individuals in local constituency associations. Specifically, this study focuses on the socio-economic and demographic background of local party officers and their motivations. In order to carry out this study, a theoretical framework of the recruitment process is devised, operationalized, and applied to the executive officers of four local constituency associations. The results are analyzed to gain an understanding of why people become involved in politics and how their reasons might affect the organizational behavior of the constituency association.

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CHAPTER I

One of the problems in examining political parties or any aspect of them is the variety of approaches which can be used.¹ The numerous views of parties are indicative of the importance of the concept in both political and social analysis. Although it is taken for granted that any attempt to understand the political system must include a consideration of political parties, too often only the visible political aspects of the concept are recognized and discussed, and little or no attention is paid to its social aspects and the effect it may have on the political process.² Indeed, it seems superficial to study political parties by analytically dividing the concept into political and social elements and yet one is forced to do so if any systematic knowledge is to be compiled about them. It seems that

¹Parties generally have been viewed in Western democracies in light of their relationship with democracy. In exploring this relationship, parties have been studied in terms of their principles, policies, organizational arrangements, membership/social base, the electoral system, and formal governmental institutions. For a brief discussion of the approaches to the study of political parties see; Neil A. MacDonald, The Study of Political Parties, (New York: Random House Inc., 1955), chapters 1-2; F. C. Engelmann, "A Critique of Recent Writings on Political Parties", Journal of Politics, Vol. 19, 1959, pp 423-440; William J. Crotty, Donald M. Freeman, Douglas S. Gatlin, (eds), Political Parties and Political Behavior, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1968).

²A few social scientists have explored the social aspects of political parties. Notably they have been sociologists who have been more prone to see political parties as social organizations rather than political institutions. Foremost among these scholars are; M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1908); Roberto Michels, Political Parties, (New York: Collier Books, 1962); S. M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1968); Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964).

political parties can be understood in total, only when each of its constituent elements have been examined and attempts to relate one part to another have been made. However, there is always the danger that a discussion of any one constituent part of political parties will become too intense and inward-looking and as a result, not relate to other aspects of the concept. Prevention of this possibility can be stemmed only by the researcher who, in choosing a focus, must juggle manageability and meaningfulness in order to find the optimum breadth and depth which research resources will allow.³

I Focus

This thesis is concerned with the entry patterns of individuals into active party work and the effects these patterns have on the party organizations in which they participate. Specifically, this study will deal with the recruitment of party officers into the executive committees of their local party organizations in one federal constituency by undertaking a systematic examination of the following factors which comprise the focus of this paper;

- 1 the proposal of a theoretical scheme based upon an examination of the scholarly literature on political recruitment through which selected factors of the recruitment process can be studied
- 2 an analysis of the socio-economic/demographic factors of party officers
- 3 an analysis of the motivational factors of the party officers in terms of incentives and satisfactions
- 4 an analysis of the relationship between motivational factors and selected aspects of party activity orientation.

³R. T. Golembiewski, W. A. Welsh, and W. J. Crotty, A Methodological Primer for Political Scientists, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), chapter 11.

A paucity of scholarly research in this specific field, occurs in two ways. First, there seemed to be a lack of substantive information, both descriptive and explanatory, about the recruitment of local party officers in Canadian politics. Second, there seemed to be a lack of a coherent theoretical framework for the systematic analysis of the recruitment process. Both these factors prompted examination of the recruitment process of Canadian party officers at the constituency level.

The topic is a relatively narrow one, so in order to compensate for this shortcoming, it is hoped that the following few pages will serve to provide a perspective which will afford a clearer understanding of the research project.

II Perspective

Political parties cannot be studied separately from the social or political systems in which they exist because they gain their integrity as political institutions and social organizations from these systems. In order to gain some understanding of the position of political parties in relation to these systems, a view of society is necessary. Although it is not intended to set out a comprehensive view of society against which political parties are examined in this study, the following few pages will briefly outline the general perspective employed.

The conception of society employed in this brief is based upon Talcott Parsons' theoretical framework of human action.⁴ It has been

⁴For a summary of Parsonian social theory see; Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Towards a General Theory of Action, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962); William C. Mitchell, Sociological Analysis and Politics: The Theories of Talcott Parsons, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967).

stated of Parsons' scheme that;

"Concrete acts of human beings provide the starting point for all social sciences. Each discipline is a peculiar perspective on these acts, an abstraction from them with reference to its own orientation. Action itself becomes a perspectival or abstract concept and a system of action is the set of abstractions from the same particular perspective. The interconnections of the actions of an individual constitute the personality system. The social system abstracts from the process of interaction between two or more actors; the interaction process as such is the focus of the social perspective. A cultural system is constituted by the organization of values, norms, and symbols which guide the choices made by the actors".⁵

Keeping in mind that the individual operates within these three systems, (i.e. the individual's action can be conceptualized in terms of these three systems), for this study the focus is the social system in which society is defined as; "the theoretically limiting case of the social system which in its subsystems comprises all of the important roles of the persons and collectivities composing its population".⁶ The subsystems which contribute to the working of the social system are grouped according to the functions they perform. These functions are adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance/tension management. The adaptive process includes those actions which are performed to help the various actors, (individuals or collectivities), to attain goals. The goal attainment process is concerned with the organization of power in the social system pertaining to the mobilization of resources in order

⁵Samuel Z. Klausner, "Links and Missing Links Between the Sciences of Man", in The Study of Total Societies, Samuel Z. Klausner, ed. (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), p 26.

⁶Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society: A Study of the Integration of Economics and Social Theory, (New York: Free Press, 1964) p 60.

to achieve societal goals. The integrative process includes those acts which articulate the cultural value patterns in society and might be recognized in the embodiment of religious and familial institutions. A fourth subsystem is the pattern-maintenance process which is the maintenance of the general cultural patterns from which other systems draw specific norms and values. This subsystem also includes those process known as tension management which is the management of stresses which might affect the allocation of individual and social energies.

Within this general scheme of the social system, political parties and interest groups are thought of;

"as occupying an institutional location between the polity and the rest of society. While both collectivities are concerned with specification of societal goals and the mobilization of support, interest groups typically restrict their actions to affecting system goals and making demands on the political system while the parties attempt to capture the offices of the government and accept public responsibility for the decisions of the party".⁷

It is important to note that this is a view of political parties especially within the context of a democratic society. For example, S. M. Lipset has defined a democracy as;

"a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office".⁸

⁷William C. Mitchell, "The Polity and Society: A Structural-Functional Analysis", American Political Parties: A Systemic Perspective, edited by B. L. Crowe and C. G. Mayo, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967), p 52.

⁸Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p 27.

The social mechanism to which Lipset refers could very well be political parties. Indeed many scholars have seen political parties as an integral part of the functioning of a modern democratic political system.

E. E. Schattschneider explicitly states that his study, Party Government, "is devoted to the thesis that the political parties created democracy and that modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the party".⁹

Parties, then are viewed, as structures which mediate between the political and social systems in this study. Their specific tasks in occupying this position is also seen as being crucial to the operation of a democratic society. These tasks include;

- 1 the selection of candidates for elected office
- 2 the mobilization of support
- 3 the generation of public policy

In order to carry out these functions, political parties have taken on an organizational structure. The exact nature of this structure is set out in their constitutions which supposedly ensures the democratic functioning of the organization. In Canada the three main parties, Liberal, New Democratic, and Progressive Conservative, under consideration for this study, all have the constituency association as the basic organizational unit at the grass roots level. The party organizations are formally set up according to democratic principles in which power supposedly flows from the bottom up. According to this theory, this should make the local constituency association important since they form

⁹E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1942), p 1.

the primary intake of public opinion and convert it into active support for the party. Since this is the case ideally, it is important to study those people who shape the local riding associations in order to ascertain the degree to which the theoretical case is practiced. Local constituency organizations, being the organization unit closest to the citizenry, are important because they determine the degree and quality of grass roots democracy available in our political system. If this is the case, it is apparent that the study of party officers who are responsible for the operation of local constituency associations is very important in order to understand the nature of "grass roots politics".

III Methodological Note

This study was carried among the members of the executive of the federal and provincial and combined constituency associations of the Liberal, New Democratic, and Progressive Conservative parties within the federal riding of Hamilton Mountain. Lists of the party officers of the four riding associations were obtained from the secretary of each of the organizations. Each party officer was interviewed for at least one hour during the period, July 1969 to December 1969. A summary of the number of officers is given below.

Table I-I Summary of Officers Interviewed

<u>Association</u>	<u>Size of Executive</u>	<u>Number of Officers Interviewed</u>
Liberal (combined)	29	21
New Democratic (combined)	15	13
Progressive Conservative (provincial)	9	9
Progressive Conservative (federal)	6	6
Total	60	49

Of the Liberal officers, there were 6 outright refusals, 1 hospitalized, 1 moved and not replaced, and 1 died and not replaced; NDP, 1 outright refusal and 1 resigned and not replaced.

Besides their easy accessibility, the party officers and their respective associations of Hamilton-Mountain federal constituency were chosen for a number of other factors. Primary among them was the level of competition found in the riding among the three parties. Federally, since 1953, when Hamilton-South was created, all three parties have managed to hold the seat at one time or another.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hamilton-South was a federal riding up to 1968 when it became Hamilton-Mountain with the addition of a few rural polls and loss of a few urban polls. All figures taken from Reports of Chief Electoral Officer, Queens Printer, Ottawa.

Table I-II Electoral Record of Federal Constituency of Hamilton-South/
Hamilton-Mountain

<u>Hamilton South</u>	<u>Seat Won by</u>	<u>Vote %</u>				<u>% Turnout</u>	<u>Polls</u>		<u>No. of Electors</u>
		<u>LIB</u>	<u>NDP</u>	<u>PC</u>	<u>Other</u>		<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	
1953	LIB	40	30	21	9	63	180	0	47,797
1957	PC	28	27	38	7	72	204	0	56,860
1958	PC	21	23	53	3	77	212	0	58,689
1962	PC	31	31	34	4	76	260	0	66,210
1963	NDP	32	35	30	3	80	275	0	67,669
1965	NDP	36	41	20	4	77	289	0	70,402
<u>Hamilton Mountain</u>									
1968	LIB	40	34	24	2	79	221	8*	54,553

*8 Rural polls comprise 4% of the total electors in constituency and turnout in these 8 polls was 80% of actual voters.

For any one election, the percentage of votes won by any one party ranged between 20% to 40% with the exception of the Progressive Conservative candidate in 1958 due to the Diefenbaker phenomenon. Also, the average support won by each party over the seven elections is quite close, with the Liberals averaging 34%, the New Democratic 30%, and the Tories 31%. When one also considers the high turnout average for the constituency, (75%), it is apparent that competition among the parties at the federal level is quite high.

The relatively homogeneous nature of the constituency also influenced the choice of this riding. This factor was considered an asset because it meant the lack of any one variable having an over bearing effect on the politics of the constituency. Hamilton-Mountain is basically an urban residential area composed of approximately 100,000 working class and middle class people. The majority of these inhabitants are

employed in the plants and offices of heavy industries and the numerous secondary industries found in Hamilton. Unlike the area below the escarpment which has large ethnic communities, the Hamilton mountain area, having developed in the last two decades, has absorbed the second generation migration from the older fragmented areas of downtown. This basically suburban area does not have a large business section except for a line of small stores along the central mountain brow. Shopping plazas, scattered throughout the riding, seem to provide for the ordinary daily needs of inhabitants. This general lack of ethnic communities and of large concentration of business areas make the community basically residential and unfragmented. As a result, the constituency is relatively free of specific interest groups which could compete with the party organizations for issues, interest, and support. This meant that party organizations could be studied in a political milieu in which the constituency associations were highly competitive with one another, but were not in competition with other social organizations.

In the following pages an examination of one specific aspect of the recruitment process is undertaken. That aspect is the entry of individuals into executive positions with the local constituency association. It goes without saying, that in studying this particular aspect of political phenomena that the contributions of scholars whose works bear either directly or indirectly on the topic should be acknowledged. In the next chapter this task is undertaken with two distinct reasons in mind. One reason is to afford the reader a background in the kinds of academic efforts made in this field. The second reason is to establish a threshold from which to embark.

CHAPTER II

I Review of the Relevant Literature

In 1967 Donald V. Smiley summed up the state of the literature concerning the entry of activists into the Canadian political system by stating that; "we know almost nothing about the process of initial recruitment of political activists".¹ Although studies have been made concerning the recruitment of legislative elites,² little research has been conducted on the initial entry of individuals into party activity. Since Smiley pointed out this gap in the literature only two studies which bear directly on this topic, (which will be discussed below), have been completed. Voting studies such as Voting in Canada by John Courtney and Papers on the 1962 Election by John Meisel are analyses of party support and campaign activity, which given some insight into the types of people involved in party activity, but are of indirect relevance.³ These constituency studies do not systematically analyze party activity and the lack of a theoretical framework has inhibited the progress of comparative analysis. Another example of this type of study is Brian Land's interesting and insightful account of a Toronto

¹Donald V. Smiley, "Contributions to Canadian Political Science Since World War II", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 23, 1967, p 578.

²Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behaviour: A Study of the 25th Parliament, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1968)

³John Courtney, Voting in Canada, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1967) and John Meisel, Papers on the 1962 Election, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964)

constituency which does not contain any propositions which could be systematically applied to the study of other constituencies.⁴

Another body of literature, indirectly related to this study, is found in the few volumes which trace the formation of the major parties in Canadian politics. These works are concerned largely with the coalition of a variety of interests which shaped the party. Some deal with the key personalities whose activities played a major role in shaping the political party and only brief allusions are made to the minor (local) party activists.⁵

The only two studies directly related to the study of recruitment patterns are by Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, and David Bromley.⁶

⁴Brian Land, Eglinton: The Election Study of a Federal Constituency, (Toronto: Peter Associates, 1965)

⁵Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1950); Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); C. B. MacPherson, Democracy in Alberta: The Theory and Practice of a Quasi Party System, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953); Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); John A. Irving, The Social Credit Movement in Alberta, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); Heath MacQuarrie, The Conservative Party, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1962); John Granatstein, The Politics of Survival: The Conservative Party Canada 1939-1945, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). There is not a single comprehensive volume of the Liberal Party comparable to the texts written about the other parties. Foremost among the partial accounts of the Liberal Party is J. W. Pickersgill, The Mackenzie King Record, Vol 1, 1939-1944, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) and Peter C. Newman, The Distemper of Our Times, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968)

⁶Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, and David Bromley, "Some Differences on the Political Socialization Patterns of Canadian and American Party Officials: A Preliminary Report", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 2, 1969, pp 64-88.

By examining a sample of party officials from two Canadian cities and two American cities, the authors attempted to distinguish socialization patterns and to point out the differences between these patterns. The study was undertaken not with any definite theoretical framework but with the hope that: "exploratory analysis such as this will lead to the formation of a testable theory".⁷ They arrived at these conclusions:

- 1 Both American and Canadian party officials are over-representative of the higher social strata, giving some cause to believe that high prestige is attached to the holding of party offices.
- 2 Canadian party officials seemed to become politically aware and to form a partisan attachment at a later age than their American counterparts.
- 3 Canadian party officials also tended to change their partisan attitudes somewhat more frequently than American party officials.
- 4 Initial partisan identities of both sets of party officials had their origins in the family. The agents of socialization changed along with age; moving from family and school to common aspects of their social environment.
- 5 A large portion of both groups of party officials were interested in politics before they became active.
- 6 Those whose party identifications were the same as their parents and whose parents were politically active seemed to become active at an earlier age.
- 7 Canadians generally undergo the same political socialization process as Americans, but the events that comprise that process seem to occur later for the Canadians. Based on this observation, it is speculated that Canada has a less politicized environment.
- 8 The occurrence of politically socializing experiences at late ages also may indicate a greater element of partisan discontinuity in Canada. This was based on the finding that a large portion of Canadian officials were unaware of their parents' party preferences or indicated that their parents were not interested in politics.⁸

⁷Ibid., p 64.

⁸Ibid., p 86 ff.

Although the authors admitted that the study was exploratory, it is useful because it gives direction to further research. This is also accomplished by pointing to a body of literature concerning the recruitment process of local party activists and officers in the United States. Because there seems to have been a greater concentration in this area in American political research, the development of useful conceptual and analytical tools has occurred. In this next section of the review of the literature, a brief summary of the relevant portions of some of the American studies will be given with the intention of setting out the background of a theoretical scheme. Accordingly, the following discussion will be concerned more with theoretical approaches in these studies than with their substantive findings.

The literature examined seems to fall under the broad heading of political participation. Two books which give an overview of this topic are Lester Milbrath's Political Participation and Robert Lane's Political Life.⁹ Milbrath presents an interesting and comprehensive schema of the socio-psychological process which becomes manifest in the political behaviour of an individual. This schema provides a framework from which research findings can be examined in an orderly manner. In his "hierarchy of political involvement", Milbrath ranks a number of political activities on a continuum ranging from least active to most

⁹Lester Milbrath, Political Participation, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965) and Robert E. Lane, Political Life, (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

active.¹⁰ These activities are categorized into three groups; spectator, transitional, and gladiatorial activities and depending on the kind of activity a person undertakes, he is classified as a spectator, a transitional, or a gladiator. A person who is not active is called an apathetic. This study is concerned with "transitionals" and their recruitment into gladiator roles.

Robert Lane presents an overview of political participation from the stand point of the ordinary voter and the factors which influence him. The usefulness in examining this type of treatment of political participation is found in the background it provides for this study. Milbrath and Lane seem to place this research topic in the general setting of political participation.

Samuel Eldersveld's study of party activists and local political organizations in the Detroit area focused on several aspects of party officials, one of which bears directly on this study.¹¹ He used the concept of motivation to study the recruitment of party officials;

"First every individual has deeply imbedded 'needs' which he feels with greatly varying intensity, which must be fulfilled...these 'needs' lead to 'drives' or determinations to satisfy....'these needs' although again with varying intensity....the consequences of the activations of these 'drives' over time is a resultant feeling of some degree of fulfillment of 'needs' which can be termed satisfactions or dissatisfactions."¹²

¹⁰ Milbrath op. cit., p 18.

¹¹ Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964)

¹² Ibid., p 267.

By determining the nature of satisfactions or dissatisfactions, inferences can be made about needs and drives. Eldersveld cautions the reader against making inferences since he feels by studying satisfactions, only the surface level of motivation is being examined and, therefore, any inferences made about deeper needs and drives must be very tenuous.

Eldersveld continues his investigation by grouping the sources of involvement into three categories; outside influences which are stimuli external to the actor, self generating forces which are stimuli within the actor, and accidental involvement in which the actor finds himself in a position through the general flow of activity of the local organization.¹³ These three categories concerning recruitment are a source of confusion which stems from a lack of a clear definition. Eldersveld never clearly states whether his concept of motivation differentiates between perceptions of rewards and feelings of satisfactions. It is not clear whether the concept focuses on the object of the actor, i.e. rewards offered, or the feelings of the actor, i.e. satisfaction received. Furthermore the difference between active soliciting for party activists and the motivations of individuals for wanting to become party activists is not shown clearly.

These criticisms should not demean the usefulness of Eldersveld's concept, for its use has produced a variety of information concerning party activists and their reasons for joining and becoming active.

¹³ Ibid., pp 118-135.

Also, Eldersveld's concept of motivation crystalized the problem of having to distinguish between perceptions of reward and feelings of satisfaction.

A different way of looking at the entry of an individual into party activism has been developed by James Q. Wilson and Peter Clark, who introduced the concept of incentive systems in proposing a theory of organizational behaviour.¹⁴ These scholars theorized that incentives, which were seen as perceptions of reward, would influence behaviour within the organization. By stressing incentives, emphasis would be placed on examining the predominant source of motivation to participate in an organization and organizational behaviour would be studied in terms of incentives. Wilson and Clark grouped incentives into three classes: (1) material, which were tangible, monetary or economic incentives; (2) solidary, which were intangible social incentives such as status, friendship, or prestige; and (3) purposive which were intangible ideological incentives. Organizations are placed into three groups depending on the type of incentive which is predominant within the organization. The categories are: (1) utilitarian, in which material incentives are predominant; (2) solidary in which social incentives are predominant; and (3) purposive in which ideological incentives are predominant.

In using this approach to study the entry of individuals into party activity, the emphasis is placed on the political party organizations and the kinds of incentives it offers to its members. As a

¹⁴James Q. Wilson and Peter B. Clark, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 6, 1961, pp 129-166.

result it is possible to examine whether a particular party organization offers a specific kind of incentive for party activity. The usefulness of this concept stems from the fact that it forces the consideration of the actor, in terms of what rewards he perceives and of the organization, in terms of what satisfactions it offers. This affords a clearer view of the recruitment process.

Two studies which employed the concept of incentive were reviewed. In a study conducted by L. Bowman, D. Ippolito, and W. Donaldson, party officers' decisions to continue in party activity were examined in terms of incentives.¹⁵ They found that although ideological incentives were an important factor for initially becoming involved in party activity, continued involvement was related to the strength of attachment the individual felt for his party. They also found that material incentives were not important factors for party involvement among the party officers they studied.

In the other study carried out by M. Conway and F. Feigret, party officers from affluent suburban areas and from low income rural areas were compared in terms of a number of variables such as incentives for party activity.¹⁶ These authors found that party officers from the

¹⁵ Lewis Bowman, Dennis Ippolito, and William Donaldson, "Incentives for the Maintenance of Grassroots Activism", Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 12, 1968, pp 126-139.

¹⁶ Margeret Conway and Frank F. Feigret, "Motivation, Incentive Systems and the Political Party Organization", American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp 1159-1173.

wealthy areas tended to cite purposive incentives for party activity more often than the low income rural party officers. They also found that purposive incentives seem to be an important factor in initially becoming active, but "ideological or other impersonal appeals generally do not sustain activists in their performance of the party precinct leader roles".¹⁷

As with the immediately preceding two studies, the following theoretical framework employs the incentive or motivational approach, but with some modifications. This brief review of the literature provided the necessary background from which the theoretical scheme was drawn.

II The Theoretical Framework

The recruitment process of party officers is an important phenomena to study for two reasons. One reason is that party activists are a small group numerically in relation to the general population. In this sense, these people comprise an elite of grassroots political leaders and it is essential to know from which strata of society they are drawn and what their motivations are in order to fully understand the nature of this small elite. Also it is important to know the differences and similarities among party officers of different party organizations in order that a further understanding of the recruitment process into the leadership roles of different parties can be gained. Once the recruitment process has been delineated, some attempt must be made to relate that information with the actual operation of the party organization if a better understanding of the workings of the

¹⁷ Ibid., p 1172.

political party at the grassroots level is to be gained.

One of the primary considerations in choosing to study party officers is their importance to the operation of the local constituency organizations. As executive members of local party organizations, party officers are responsible for shaping much of the political activity at the constituency level. As the review of the literature showed, what party officers do as political activists and the degree to which they influence the operation of the local party organization is thought to be partially dependent upon those factors concerning their recruitment into party activity. The exact nature of this relationship has not yet been systematically examined. To accomplish this, the relationship must be placed in the form of testable hypothesis which may be disproved by the data collected. The following theoretical framework is devised in order to gain a specific understanding of the recruitment process and the relationship between recruitment variables and party activity orientation. Specifically this theoretical framework is designed to accomplish these objectives;

- 1 to undertake an analysis of the socio-economic and demographic background of the party officers
- 2 to undertake an analysis of the motivations of party officers for becoming active in party work
- 3 to examine the existence of a relationship between motivations and party activity orientation

The Recruitment Process

The recruitment process as it pertains to the assumption of a position in the executive committee of a local constituency association is conceptualized in terms of two sets of variables; socio-economic/demographic factors and motivational factors.

Socio-economic/demographic Factors

Party officers constitute a very unique group of political activists. In terms of their numbers, they are an elite. By using variables such as sex, age, marital status, religion, ethnicity, income, education, and occupation, it will be possible to determine whether or not a particular party organization draws its leadership from a specific stratum of society or from all quarters of society. Basically, these socio-economic and demographic variables will be used to compile a social background profile of each of the executive committees of the local constituency associations studied.

Motivational Factors

Motivations for becoming a party officer are viewed in terms of incentives and satisfactions. Incentives are perceptions of rewards or benefits of being a party officer held by the individual prior to his becoming a party officer. Satisfactions are the actual rewards or benefits received by the individual after he has become an officer. The classification of incentives and satisfactions used in this study were adapted from the concept of incentives devised by Wilson and Clark.¹⁸ In this project, incentives and satisfactions are grouped into four categories which include those formulated by Wilson and Clark, with

¹⁸Wilson and Clark, op. cit.

one additional category. These are;

1. associative incentives and satisfactions which include friendships, status, and prestige as perceptions of rewards and benefits received in becoming a party officer
2. ideological incentives and satisfactions which are based upon a desire to implement a specific policy or set of policies founded upon a brief in a party's ideology
3. instrumental incentives and satisfactions which are based upon a desire for tangible or material goods such as jobs or business contacts, which serve to enhance the welfare of the individual party officer
4. participatory incentives and satisfactions which are based upon the belief that an individual is obliged to participate in the governing of his community or country.

These categories will allow the systematic examination of incentives and satisfactions in the following ways. First, it will be possible to determine whether or not incentives vary among the party officers of the various constituency associations. Secondly, it will be possible to determine the kinds of satisfactions the party officers of each of the different constituency associations receive from their positions. Finally, because identical classification schemes were used for both variables, it will be possible to see whether or not a congruence exists between incentives and satisfactions among the party officers. Thus it will be possible to determine whether or not perceptions of rewards are being fulfilled. This in turn, will allow the examination of the effect of motivational factors on selected aspects of the constituency associations' activity orientation. This is discussed below.

Motivational Factors and Activity Orientation

The preceding portions of the theoretical framework provided definitions, both conceptual and operational, from which a typology of incentives and satisfactions were developed. In this portion of the

framework, the relationship between the motivational factors of the party officers and the activity orientation will be examined. In order to conduct this examination it is necessary to extend this theoretical framework to cover the operational aspects of the party organization. . Before delineating that aspect of the framework, it might be useful to set out what is meant by the term "activity orientation". This phrase refers to the general emphasis or tendency to emphasize certain kinds of party activity. For instance, some political clubs concentrate on running elections. Other organizations keep up a steady stream of activity between elections and at election time as well. Another example is the kind of activity undertaken by different party organizations. Some associations would like to see themselves serve the community in a welfare sense and other clubs would not. In this sense, it is possible to speak of the activity orientation of different constituency associations. The importance of this concept is based upon the thought that the political activity of a constituency association might account for the degree of political interest existant in the community. For instance, Kornberg pointed out that the fact that Canadian party officers experience a political socialization process at a later age than their American counterparts might indicate that the Canadian community is a less politicized environment.¹⁹ If this is the case, than it would seem that the activity orientations of the existing political clubs in the community are in part responsible for the political milieu of that community. A highly active club whose activities

¹⁹ Kornberg et al., op. cit.

are service-oriented might have the effect of raising the political interest in the community by allowing the party organization to come into contact with the people of the riding. In contrast, a party organization which tends to keep its membership restricted either consciously or not might have an adverse effect on stimulating political interest in the community. Before these questions can be fully explored it is necessary to examine the kind of activity orientation possessed by a party and to determine the kinds of factors which give rise to it. As mentioned earlier this necessitates an extension of the theoretical framework in order to examine the relationship between motivational factors of the executive with the activity orientation of the party organization, as viewed by the party executive. To a limited degree, this has been done by Wilson and Clark who have set out a theory of organizational behaviour based upon incentives.²⁰ They contend that organizations will demonstrate different behavioural characteristics depending upon the distributions of incentives within the organization. Although they have not operationalized their theory, it will be attempted here but only as the theory is seen to apply to the study of party organizations.

Clark and Wilson rest their theory on a primary assumption that organizations seek to maintain themselves. This assumption is seen to be applicable to party organizations as well, if the notion that parties as a form of social organization is accepted. Having made that assumption it is possible to develop a theory in which the motivational

²⁰Wilson and Clark, op. cit.

variables, as part of the recruitment process, can be seen as influencing factors on the kinds of activity undertaken by the party organization. Such a theory, which has been devised by Clark and Wilson, is focused on organizations in general. What is suggested in this study is focused on party organizations but nevertheless, is based upon the general theory of these two scholars. Adaptation of this general theory of organizational behaviour began with developing the typology of incentives and satisfactions discussed above. Furthermore, in operationalizing this theory, the notion of congruence between incentives and satisfactions was introduced. This served to afford a realistic view of what Wilson and Clark termed "predominant incentive system". Basically, this entailed the matching up of similar types of incentives and satisfactions found among each of the members of the executive committee. By taking this inventory based upon congruent motivational patterns for each executive member it is possible to determine the predominant motivational pattern for each of the three executives. This form of operationalizing the concept of motivational patterns incorporated the notion of what the officer anticipated as reward for taking office and what the organization offered as a reward for his participation. Also the idea of congruence between these two notions was incorporated in this form of operationalization. Upon establishing the predominant motivational pattern found within the executive, it is possible to revert to Wilson and Clark's typology of organizations and classify a particular type of party organization as either utilitarian, solidary, or purposive, (see Figure II-1 for a summary of the Wilson and Clark schema). It should be noted that a predominant participatory

Figure II-1

Typology of Organizations*

Utilitarian Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is instrumental. The organization's main concern is to be able to acquire instrumental rewards for its members. Consequently, the stated ends of the organization are not that important to the membership. Principles or an ideology is utilized to the extent that it compliments the efforts of the organization to attain instrumental rewards. As a result, such organizations will not take strong ideological positions and will tend to be flexible in the positions they take.

Solidary Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is associative. This type of organization depends on its ability to supply associative rewards to its membership. Like the utilitarian organization, this organization does not place that much importance on its stated goals, since its main concern is to be able to provide rewards such as friendship, status, and prestige. Stated goals are important to the extent that they provide a reason for getting together, generally providing an opportunity to reap such benefits as mentioned above. Such organizations are image conscious, since prestige and status are part of its reward system, and as a result will try to promote its stated goals publicly. Consequently, unpopular stands will not be taken very often. There is little commitment to the stated goals of the organization since the basis of involvement in the organization is founded upon associative rewards. Such organizations have the tendency to become personality oriented in that the lack of a strong commitment to an ideology or set of principles on the part of the membership makes it susceptible to centre around a few popular people. In the case of the political party organization, a few party notables could become the leaders of a very personal organization.

Purposive Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is ideological. This organization is staffed by individuals who are committed to the stated goals of the organization. As a result the actions of the organization, in order to maintain its membership must be in keeping with its stated goals. It has been pointed out that a purposive organization will have goals that are general, since it will tend to avoid a split in its membership over specific goals. However, in the case of a political organization, a purposive organization will probably be composed of like minded individuals who reflect a definite cleavage in society. These organizations will tend to attempt to implement their ideology in the form of policies.

* This typology has been adapted from that of Wilson and Clark.

motivation pattern was categorized as purposive. This was done on the basis that a participatory motivational pattern more often than not was closely associated with ideological motivational patterns. It should further be noted that another assumption was made in adopting Wilson and Clark's schema. It is assumed that the activity orientation of the executive committee represents the activity orientation of the local organization because the executive determines the kind of activity undertaken by the association. Wilson and Clark set out the behavioural characteristics of the three kinds of organizations which were adapted to the study of the activity orientation of local party organizations. Specifically, three hypotheses were drawn out which are set out below.

- 1 Solidary organizations will tend to emphasize campaign activities as opposed to organizational activities which will be emphasized by purposive organizations
- 2 Purposive organizations are more service-oriented than solidary or utilitarian organizations which will tend to emphasize social activities
- 3 Utilitarian and solidary organizations will stress the leader or candidate in elections whereas purposive organizations will emphasize the party platform

Each of the above hypotheses is designed to focus on a specific aspect of activity orientation. Hypothesis #1 is concerned with delineating the major area in which an organization is active. The distinction between campaign-oriented and organizationally-oriented activities is an important one to make because it indicates whether an association is active between elections or not. The difference is indicative of two distinct kinds of organizations which have been drawn out in the literature on Canadian parties. In studying parties at the national level, Engelmann and Schwartz used Duverger's typology of party organizations

to classify the Liberal and Conservative parties as cadre-type organizations and the New Democratic Party as a mass-type organization.²¹

This hypothesis will determine whether the distinction drawn at the national level holds at the riding level, at least in one riding.

Hypothesis #2 is aimed at the determination of the kind of activity undertaken by the different organizations. Whether an organization is service-oriented or socially-oriented is an important distinction to make because it indicates how the organization is operating in the riding. This, in turn, may lead to some understanding about the impact of the association on the degree and kind of political interest found in the riding. Hypothesis #3 is concerned with activity orientation in an election situation. A basic distinction between the politics of personality and the politics of policies has been drawn to see whether the organizations show any preference in election strategy. It is the intent of this hypothesis to gain some understanding of the political style of the party organizations.

These hypotheses were devised to facilitate the systematic examination the relationship between motivational factors and the

²¹The distinction between campaign-oriented associations and organizationally-oriented associations is based upon another distinction drawn by Duverger in his study of party organizations. Duverger specified two types of party organizations; cadre and mass. The primary characteristics of cadre-type parties include a loose structure, few dues paying members, and an emphasis on election activities. Characteristics of the mass-type parties include a tight organizational structure, a dues paying mass membership, and an emphasis on organizational-maintenance activities. See M. Duverger, Political Parties, (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1963), pp 63-71 and F. C. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1967), p 6.

activity orientation of constituency associations. A comprehensive discussion of these hypotheses is undertaken in Chapter V in which the relationships are tested.

Hopefully this chapter accomplished what it set out to do; basically to provide a background/perspective by which to view this study and to provide the theoretical scheme by which to undertake a systematic inquiry of the topic. In the next chapter the application of one portion of the theoretical scheme is undertaken in which the socio-economic background characteristics of the party officers are examined. It is expected that this portion of the study will afford some understanding of the social context from which the party officers are recruited. In this manner it will be possible to see whether specific party organizations attract individuals with certain kinds of socio-economic characteristics.

CHAPTER III

I Socio-economic and Demographic Profiles of the Executives of the Constituency Association

As an elite of "grass-roots political decision-makers" it is important to study party officers' socio-economic and demographic characteristics in order to determine differences in the composition of the three executives. This consideration is important for several reasons. First, as executive officers in the local constituency association, they shape the functioning of the organization by their plans and actions. Besides being able to show how background factors might affect the general nature of the associations, it is hoped that differences of these socio-economic and demographic factors found among the party executives will shed some light on the recruitment patterns of each executive. For instance, it might be speculated that a labor-oriented party would try to draw its leadership from the working-class. An examination of the New Democratic executive of the local association may either substantiate or disprove this speculation.

This section will attempt to compile a socio-economic and demographic profile of the party executives studied in the federal riding of Hamilton Mountain.

Age, Marital Status, and Sex

With increasing emphasis on youth, especially with a greater portion of the voters being under thirty years of age, one might expect the party organizations to be staffed with young people. This was not the case of the executives studied, for as Table III-1 shows,

the largest number of officers in each of the executives was found in the 41-50 category for all three parties. Only 4.8% of the Liberal executive and 20.0% of the Tory executives and 29.8% of the NDP executive were under thirty years old. Apparently the emphasis on youth found in other sectors of society has not occurred in the realm of local politics. However, during the federal election campaign of June, 1968, many of the canvassers were young highschool and university students. This may indicate that while the leadership is still in the hands of older people, youth was recognized as a useful political resource. In that campaign the Liberals seem to be the most successful in mobilizing the youth to work for their party and yet they had the smallest portion of executive members under thirty years of age. On the other hand, the NDP executive whose portion of youth was the largest at 31.0% seemed to take an alternative view as to the place of youth on their executive. These younger members of the executive admitted that they found themselves in conflict with the older members over some policy issues, but at the same time admitted that they received a fair hearing for their ideas. In other words, they believed that they could influence decisions and create policy if they could convince the rest of their fellow officers of the soundness of their ideas. The NDP have placed very young members on the executive hoping for a commitment from youth to strengthen themselves organizationally whereas the Liberal succeeded in mobilizing youth for electoral promotion. The Conservatives' use of youth did not figure too significantly in their organization. Although their executive had 20.0% of their total under thirty years old, their influence seemed limited in relation

TABLE III-1

Comparison of Executive Officers According to Party

	LIB	P.C.	N.D.P.
AGE	(N=21)	(N=15)	(N=13)
Less than 21	0	0	15
22 25	0	0	8
26 30	5	20	8
31 40	38	27	0
41 50	52	40	62
51 60	0	0	8
61 70	5	7	0
over 70	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	100	100	100
MARITAL STATUS			
Married	100	100	69
Single	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>31</u>
	100	100	100
SEX			
Male	76	40	85
Female	<u>24</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100

to the young members of the NDP executive. The cause for this might be found in the fact that both the Liberal and Tory executives had a considerable portion of their officers located in the 31-40 age group, (38% and 27% respectively), whereas the NDP had no one in that category. The significance of this factor could be that the people in the 31-40 group acted as a buffer in the discussion and adoption of ideas and actions between the younger and the older executive members. This would be more the case in the Tory organization than in the Liberal association since the Liberals have such a small number of youthful executive members. In the case of the latter the large portion of executive officers in the 31-40 category showed that the Liberals drew a considerable amount of their executive strength from a group not too young and yet not too old--an age that could be considered "relevant" by a youth-oriented society.

In terms of number, the largest portion of each executive was found to be in the 41-50 range. People of this generation experienced the Depression, the Second World War, and the Cold War. Their interest in politics indicated by their political activity were probably shaped by these forces. If power is measured in terms of numbers, then those in the 41-50 age range exercise a form of it; for if executive committee decisions are made by votes, this age group has the majority. It is clear that they have not yet given way to the rising voice of youth which is heard in other areas of our society.

It has been explained that age effects political participation in a number of ways.¹ These include age as an indication of the

¹Robert Lane, op. cit., p 78.

progression of man in becoming "a responsible citizen". For instance, Robert Lane notes that as man goes through life he becomes more susceptible to political activity as he acquires responsibility through marriage and ownership of property and loses the easier mobility of his youth. Indeed, among the party officers studied, all the Liberal and Tory executive members were married and those under thirty years of age were working and were property owners. In the NDP executive only 30% of the officers were not married and the majority of that group were students who could be considered very mobile and who did not own property. This idea of having a larger stake in the system as a reason for political activity would seem to bear directly to the executives studied.

In considering sex differences among the executives of the three parties, it was found that the males heavily outnumbered the females in the NDP and Liberal executives. Surprisingly in the Conservative executive women outnumbered the men, 60% to 40%. It is difficult to assess the importance of sex as a factor in intense forms of political activity. This difficulty occurs because political activity is affected by other factors such as jobs, life style, and perception of prestige with which the sex factor is interwoven. It can be pointed out that in the Conservative executive the majority of the women were housewives from the upper-middle social stratum in which their husbands were professionals. Two of the women were working mothers; one being a business lady, and the other a legal secretary and both were from households whose status were upper-middle. In the Tory executive, sex

was an important factor because of the majority of women in the executive. Their functions in the party organization were basically social, in that they organized such activities as card parties and other socials which brought out and kept members of the party together. Few of the ladies were actively involved in decision-making concerning other spheres of party activity such as election tactics and resolutions.

In the Liberal association, women comprised 24% of the total executive. Most of these ladies were from the lower-middle class. In comparing these ladies to their Tory counterparts it was quite clear that their role and functions were quite different. Liberal ladies were not relegated solely to perform social activities but seemed to be involved in all aspects of party activity. Those with experience in campaigns were asked to lead various elections committees and to help organize district and area conventions.

The New Democratic executive had only two women members; a housewife and a stenographer. The housewife admitted to becoming involved because her husband was so active in the party. The stenographer traced her interest to her parents who were strongly attached to the British Labor Party. Both these ladies held important posts in the executive and were involved in all party matters.

It has been found that women generally are not as active in politics as men. There seems to be a number of reasons for this, but most seem to stem from a traditional belief that politics is a man's game. In the United States, this has been overcome to some extent by a law stating that women must be represented in the party hierarchy. In Canada, there is no such law and the two old line parties started

a separate branch of a women's organization within the party hierarchy. This served to segregate women and their functions in party work, to a point where ladies were mobilized as party workers in election campaigns but were rarely brought solidly into party organizations at the leadership level.

In the Hamilton-Mountain constituency it seems that ladies are still not fully integrated into party work. Most of these ladies were involved mainly on the basis of their husbands' interest and activity in politics and only a small number became interested in politics on their own and were involved in the mainstream of decision-making in their respective executives. Also, another factor which must be taken into account especially in this particular riding, was the number of other activities available to women. Certainly free time for most housewives is at a premium when raising children and looking after a home. Any free time is probably spent in myriad other social activities available in suburban areas which compete with political activity for the ladies' time. So it seems as if ladies in intense forms of party activity will be found in lesser numbers than men for some time.

As for differences between the role of women found among the executives, it is quite clear that the Tories emphasize the social role for ladies while the Liberal and NDP executives do not seem to make any distinction as to role in terms of sex. It seems the Liberals and NDP have recognized more readily than the Tories that ladies can contribute more than social trimmings to party activity. On the other hand, it can be argued just as effectively that the strength of the Tory

organization lies in the skill of the ladies in putting on successful social affairs which sustain the party organization between elections. Which of these arguments is more valid is difficult to judge, but it seems that in the long run the NDP and Liberals may be able to make more effective use of women because of the fact that they did not specify any set function for the ladies and seemed to be more willing to accept these ladies as equals in all party matters.

Income, Education, and Occupation

It was found that all the executive members of all the parties came from a fairly wide range of income, educational, and occupational levels but that the distribution within each executive was somewhat different. These differences might indicate cleavages of Canadian politics in a class sense.

Table III-2 Income

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
4000 - 6999	14	0	23
7000 - 9999	33	7	54
10000 - 14999	33	33	15
Over 15000	<u>19</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>8</u>
	99%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

For instance when the executives are compared in terms of income, it was found that the Tory executive had the largest group which earned over \$15,000 per year, with 60%, the Liberals had 19% and the NDP 8%. At the other end of the income scale the New Democrats had the largest portion of officers earning in the \$4,000-\$6,999 category with 23%; the

Liberals came next with 14% and the Tories had none in that income range. The majority of the Liberal executive, 67%, fell into that income range between \$7,000-\$14,999. 93% of the Conservative executive were found to have incomes over \$10,000 and 77% of the New Democrats had incomes between \$4,000-\$9,999. It is apparent, when the income ranges in which the majority of each executive fall are examined, that the Tories draw their leadership from the upper reaches of the income scale, the Liberals, more or less, from the middle, and the NDP from the lower portion of the income scale.

There is no set pattern to occupational breakdown as there was to the income. This is partly due to the predominance of housewives in the Tory executive. However, again it must be noted that these housewives had husbands who are in the professional field, and tended households whose incomes were well over \$15,000 per annum. The Liberals drew 57% of their executive from the professional and managerial occupational category compared to 40% for the Tory executive, (this figure of 40% does not include the ladies who listed their occupations as housewives), and 31% for the New Democratic executive. If the categories of professional, managerial, and clerical are grouped together as a White Collar classification and skilled and unskilled labour groups combined to form a Blue Collar category, a more telling picture occurs. 62% of the Liberal executive, 60% of the Progressive Conservatives executive compared to 46% of the NDP executive came from the White Collar occupations. 31% of the NDP executive and 24% of the Liberal executive compared to 0% of the Tory executive came from Blue Collar occupations. The NDP relies quite heavily on the trade unions for its leadership,

Table III-3 Occupation

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Professional	29	33	31
Managerial	29	7	0
Clerical	5	20	15
Skill	19	0	23
Unskilled	5	0	8
Housewife	14	40	8
Student	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

and most occupations of the skilled category are unionized. 69% of the NDP executive had some member of the immediate family in a union compared to 33% of the Liberal party and 7% of the Progressive Conservative executive. The 31% portion of the NDP executive classified as professionals included two full-time union organizers for the United Steelworkers of America Union, one market analyst and one metallurgist. The Liberals and the Tories seemed to depend upon the law profession for a considerable portion of their leadership. 29% of the Liberal executive and 20% of the Conservative executive were lawyers. Invariably, the lawyers seem to hold the top positions in the party and other members in each of the executives seemed to refer to the "lawyers" as a group who were quite influential in these executives. The involvement of lawyers in politics can be partially accounted for by the nature of their profession; however, there are other reasons for their participation. Rewards for party work in the form of prestige and legal contracts induce the barristers to become active in politics. This idea will be more fully explored in the next chapter, in which incentives will be

discussed.

It is significant to note that in all three parties professionals comprise approximately 30% of the executive. Whether they are lawyers or union agents, it is quite evident that skills such as the capacity to administer, bargain, and handle information are required in all executives regardless of party and people with these skills seem to be found more readily in the professional ranks.

Another factor which is important to note is the small number of people found in the executives from the skilled and unskilled categories. The NDP draw 23% of their executive from the skilled group compared to 19% for the Liberals and 0% for the Tories. The NDP which is usually billed as the working man's party does not show a significantly greater representation of skilled workers than the Liberals. This may be indicative of the Liberals' strength since it seems that they have managed to recruit from the skilled class almost as well as NDP. They have also drawn from the managerial group (29%), whereas the NDP have no representation of that group in its executive. The Liberals have effectively brought together within their executive members from skilled labour, managerial, and professional occupations giving them a broad-based occupational representation in their executive. The NDP with their heavy reliance on the unions, both from "the shop floor" and the ranks of the professional union agents to staff their executive have an executive with a very narrow occupational base. Similarly the Tories who have drawn their executive members from among housewives and professionals have an executive with a narrow occupational base as well.

The educational background of the executives do not seem to be congruent with any pattern found in analyzing either income or occupation. There is a significant difference found in the portion of the executives having university degrees or certification from a technical college between the Liberals and the Conservatives on the one hand and the NDP on the other. The Liberals have 43% of their executive holding university or technical college degrees and the Conservatives have 33% compared to 8% of the New Democrats.

Table III-4 Education

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Completed Grade 8	0	0	8
Some High School	33	7	37
Completed Grade 12	19	27	23
Completed Grade 13	5	20	15
Some College	0	13	8
Completed College	33	20	8
Technical Degree	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

47% of the NDP executive have not completed high school compared with 33 of the Liberal executive and only 7% of the Conservative executive. It is apparent from examining the distribution of the executive members according to their educational background among the three executives, that the Liberal executive is composed of members with a variety of educational attainments. 33% of the Liberal officers have some high education, but did not complete high school, another one-third have university degrees and 19% have junior matriculation. The Tory

executive has a considerable number of officers (47%) with either some college, a college degree, of a diploma beyond high school, and another 47% with either junior or senior matriculation. This gives the Tories a very well educated executive. The NDP with 46% of their executive not having completed high school, 46% having completed high school, but not college, and only 8% with a college degree is not as well educated as the Tories. However both the NDP and Tories are similar in that both parties have executives with a narrow educational base; the Tories draw their leaders from relatively highly educated and the NDP from the less highly educated.

Having examined the executives in terms of income, occupation, and education some conclusions can be drawn. It is apparent that the Liberals are a party of the middle, at least in terms of the variety of occupational classes, income ranges, and educational background of their executive members. The idea that the Liberals wish to attract voters from all walks of life does find a convincing manifestation in the make-up of their executive. If this is a purposeful act, it can be said of the Liberals that they are conducting a policy of co-optation in which all elements of the community are persuaded to join the party. The upper-middle and upper class of the community in terms of income, education, and occupation are represented by the Tory executive. It will be remembered that Conservatives had an unduly large number of women executive officers and this factor must be mentioned for the life-style of these women were not of the working or lower-middle class but of the upper-middle class. Wives of professional men with well

functioning practices or secure managerial positions come from a level of society where the life-style is very different from that of the working class and lower-middle class. Although the following excerpt taken from the writings of participant-observer of the American political system is not totally analogous to the Canadian case, it does offer some insight into the involvement of upper-middle class women in political life.

"It is Republican women and not Democrat, who do the most productive campaigning because they tend to come from homes where it is traditional for women to take an active part in community life whereas Democratic women tend to come from social groups which expect their women to stay home. ...Republican women tend to spend more on their appearance and are thus unembarassed about appearing in public. And finally, Republican men have learned in business to trust women with important jobs, whereas men who tend to be Democrats have not yet enjoyed this experience to share responsibility."²

The New Democratic executive is basically a working-class, labor-oriented executive. It draws heavily from the ranks of the unionized Blue collar field for its leadership. The executive is not an overly educated one and the income range of its officers for the majority falls under \$10,000 per annum.

Finally then it seems as if the executives of each of the parties reflect in their composition the popular image of party alignment of the Canadian electorate. The Liberals appeal to all classes, in an urban area, the Tories appeal to the wealthier, and more established sectors of an urban society and the New Democrats appeal to the industrial unionized worker found in large cities.

²James A. Michener, Report of the County Chairman, (New York: Bantam Books, 1961), p 174.

Ethnicity

Before examining the ethnic and religious background of the executive members of each party, it may be useful to recount some of the popular ideas concerning the impact of these variables.

Nationally, Canada has been known as a bi-racial and bi-cultural country, with a French and British aspect. To a large degree this holds true although any scholar would admit that holding on to this distinction too tightly will lead to a false dichotomy and, in all probability, a misleading analysis of Canadian society. Although it is essential to be mindful of these two strains of influence which run throughout our society, it seems just as important to be aware of the succeeding waves of immigrants who have been coming into Canada since the turn of the century and to examine their relationship with the host communities. In the cities, former citizens of Eastern and Western Europe, Great Britain, and, to a lesser degree, of the Orient have taken up residence. How well they are able to adapt to new ways of life and indeed, how much they desire to adapt, can be partially assessed by observing their political participation in the local communities. For the immigrant, political activity can be entered with ease if the participant has a few resources. One resource is to speak English as well as his native tongue and another resource is to have a relatively large number of fellow immigrants who possess the right to vote. In some constituencies in the Hamilton area these factors have played a dominant role in shaping the political organization

of those ridings.³ In the constituency of Hamilton-Mountain, because there is no heavy concentration of any ethnic group in a physical sense, the role of ethnicity is a vague one to trace.

The effect of the ethnic factor on politics has been viewed in a variety of ways.⁴ These views are based on two distinct approaches. One is to examine ethnicity at the level of the individual and the socio-psychological reasons for his political behaviour and the other is to view ethnicity at the level of group action. Both these approaches make the following assumptions:

- 1 ethnic minorities as a group are not as well off as the rest of society in a social and economical and cultural sense.
- 2 ethnic minorities as a group are to a greater or lesser degree victims of discrimination.
- 3 ethnic minorities engage in political activity as a group or as individuals to alleviate these sources of discontent either at the group level or personal level.

Since this study is concerned with the executive members of party organization, the examination of ethnicity will be conducted on the basis

³H. J. Jacek et al., "Federal-Provincial Integration in Ontario Party Organizations: The Influence of Recruitment Patterns". Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association, Winnipeg, June, 1970.

⁴R. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting", American Political Science Review, December, 1967, pp 896-908. R. A. Dahl, "Who Governs", New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961. M. Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification", American Political Science Review, September, 1967, pp 717-726. E. Litt, "Ethnic Status and Political Perspectives", Journal of Politics, 1962, pp 276-283.

of the individual officer. However, where it is possible attempts will be made to relate the group implication of ethnicity as it affects the party organization and how the party organization deals with it.

In examining the ethnic background of the officers executive members by asking for the birth place of their fathers, it was found that 62% of the Liberal executive, 46% of the Tory executive, and only 15% of New Democratic executive had fathers who were Canadian born. It can be speculated from this data that the Liberals have drawn heavily from the Canadian stock, at least second generation, and the Conservatives slightly less, but that New Democrats much less. The old-line parties seem to attract the more established elements in terms of

Table III-5 Ethnicity: Father's Birthplace

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Canada	62	47	15
Great Britain	10	33	69
United States	5	0	0
West Europe	5	20	0
East Europe	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>
	101%	100%	99%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Table III-5a Ethnicity: Party Officer's Birthplace

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Canada	90	87	54
Great Britain	5	7	46
United States	0	0	0
West Europe	0	7	0
East Europe	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	101%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

"Canadian roots" as compared to the New Democratic executive which draws heavily for its leadership from newer groups of Canadian. In fact the NDP executive had 69% of its members having fathers born in Great Britain and 15% having fathers born in Eastern Europe. However; the Liberals had a sizable percentage (19%) of its executive with fathers born in Eastern Europe, but only 10% in Great Britain. The Conservatives had 33% of its executive of British descent and a surprising 20% of Western European descent. It seems that the "New Canadian" content of the NDP executive is partially explained by the theory stating that new ethnics who perceive or run into social acceptance obstacles in the established areas of social life tend to join the radical or dissenting party. This is partially true, but the high percentage of Britons from working class backgrounds who were influenced by the British Labor party also account for the strong "New Canadian" element in the NDP executive. The Liberal executive although consisting of a large group of members of at least second generation Canadian born also have a considerable number of executive officers of Eastern European descent. Their executive also includes some members of Western European, British, and American descent. (See Table III-5a). The Liberals display an ability to draw an executive with a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. The Tories were expected to have a strong British representation as well as old established Canadian which it turns out they did. However, that 20% of the Tory executive were of Western European descent was surprising and could indicate an attempt by the Tories to broaden the base of their executive. On the whole, the Liberals seem to form their leadership from a variety of ethnic strains,

while the Tories and the New Democrats seem to recruit more narrowly and draw heavily from those of Anglo-Saxon descent. The Tories rely on the older Canadian element and some British, while the NDP rely heavily on the new British element.

When the actual birth place of each of the officers was examined, it was seen that the Tories and the Liberals have an overwhelming majority of executive members that are Canadian born and a smaller portion, but still a majority of their executive, that had Canadian-born fathers. Another significant factor was that 46% of the NDP officers were born in Great Britain as compared to 5% of the Liberal and 7% of the Tory officers. It was also noted that both the Tory and Liberal executives had at least one member of their executive from some other country but the NDP officers were either Canadian or British-born. This may indicate a failure of the NDP to be able to attract other ethnic groups by relying too heavily on the British-born personnel for their leadership. Other ethnic groups might perceive the Britons to have a monopoly on the leadership posts and therefore are more attracted to other party organizations, especially the Liberals where vertical mobility in the party hierarchy does not seem to be restricted or limited due to ethnicity.

It was mentioned earlier that, as an influencing factor on political activity, ethnicity could be viewed along two dimensions; that of the individual interests and that of group interests. However, because the subject-matter is difficult to analyze in a precise manner since the effect of ethnicity on an individual's behaviour can vary greatly from person to person, any attempt to set forth an explanation should be accepted more for the insight it offers toward gaining an understanding,

rather than taken as a precise and absolute fact. With this caveat in mind, an interpretation of the possible implications of ethnicity as it affects the recruitment of party officials will be attempted.

The Liberal party was found to accommodate officers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. This can be viewed in two ways. It can be said that as an electoral organization, the Liberal party encourages the recruitment of party officers from a wide variety of backgrounds. The idea is not to offend any one ethnic group and to gain access through the party officer connected to the ethnic group. Indeed, in election time these officers are specifically charged with the responsibility of drawing out the vote of their fellow ethnics. On the other hand, the individual may base his involvement with a political party on his perception of self-interest. The process of adapting to a new way of life, a new social system with its different symbols of success may, in the mind of a second generation Canadian, include becoming politically active by gaining first a party post and later running for public office. He may see politics as a channel of social mobility and as a means to accommodate his ambitions for making business contacts and gaining some measure of recognition. It can also serve as an outlet for any feeling of obligation to participate. All these elements were found to exist among professionals whose parents were foreign-born within the Liberal executive. Most of these men were young lawyers who candidly admitted their personal ambitions as well as ambitions for his group. And yet if the general impression one received of the "New Canadians" in the Liberal Party was of striving

"to arrive," the impression one gained from the New Canadians in the NDP executive was very different. These people from Great Britain did not seem to see personal betterment and fulfillment in Canadian life in personal terms but in terms of the total society. They were an ethnic minority in a different sense because they were White Anglo-Saxon and, for the most part, Protestant. The basis upon which they perceived their own difference was their newness in a very rich Canadian life and not on the basis of cultural differences and disadvantages. These people seemed to hold the belief that the richness should be more equitably shared in the country as a whole and emphasized social class improvement rather than individual betterment. That all of these NDP officers of British origin were formally members of the British Labor Party undoubtedly provides a basis of an explanation. Finally the Tory executive which had officers of British and Western European origin showed a curious mixture of the extremes found in the upwardly mobile Liberal officers and the class conscious NDP officers. For although the Tory officers concerned here were professionals in their fields, (again law predominated), they freely admitted to an awareness of the personal gain in status and business contacts, also expressed a sincere concern about loss of individual freedom and initiative, and expressed a seemingly fundamental concern about the trend towards the welfare state.

The tentative distinctions which were drawn, in pointing out the effect of ethnicity on the composition of the executives and the recruitment process, can, at best, be described as subtle and fleeting; nevertheless, to ignore their existence would not contribute toward gaining an understanding of their effect.

Religion

It is difficult to understand the psychological nature of the commitment of an individual to his religious belief and to postulate the effect of that commitment on his political belief and behaviour. It may be more fruitful to study the effect of religion on individual political behaviour by making certain assumptions about the institutional aspects of religion. For instance, in the study of social behaviour it seems quite feasible to look upon religious affiliation as voluntary membership in a social organization. The extent to which a social organization serves as a source of gratification for his social needs such as friendship, influence, and involvement may be viewed as a factor effecting his political behaviour. Indeed, the literature on peer groups suggests that a person looks to these types of organizations for political norms as well as other norms.⁵

However, the web of relationships between religion as a social activity and political behaviour is much more complicated than the previous discussion implies for if politics is looked upon as a simple bargaining process in which votes are exchanged for favours then certainly the institutions of religion are very much a part of the political process. Party leaders who are in a position to influence policy, no matter how small their influence, are able to conduct deals and give favours for most institutions, including religious ones. It is not intended to imply that these activities are done surreptitiously but on

⁵S. Verba, Small Groups and Political Behaviour: A Study of Leadership, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1961.)

the whole, are done quite straightforwardly and openly. For instance, an elder in the church might be a local party official who happens to come across some political or policy information which may affect his church in some way. Obviously he will be able to pass this information to his church organization which can take steps to meet whatever exigencies occur. It seems that information networks occur due to multiple membership in church-related organizations such as men's or service clubs. The information provided by party members to such groups can be considered a resource in exchange for use of the information network at election time.

All these aspects concerning the effect of religion to political activity were not readily apparent among party officials and executives studied. Starting with a simple examination of the religious affiliation of the party officers certain patterns did seem to emerge. The Liberal executive contained a majority of Roman Catholics, 57%, and the Tory executive, a majority of Anglican, 53%. The NDP executive contained neither Roman Catholic nor Anglicans with the most sizable group, 30%, belonging to the United Church. The Liberal executive contained no Anglicans, whereas 53% of the Conservative executive were Anglicans. It seems as if the executives of the old-line parties draw their leadership from distinct religious groups. The Liberals with a very strong representation of Roman Catholics seemed to make use of the informal information network provided by the religious community. Their candidate was a member of the Knights of Columbus, a men's club, and quite active in the Catholic Church and undoubtedly could count on support

from that quarter. Also, many of the students from Catholic separate

Table III-6 Religion

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Anglican	0	53	0
Roman Catholic	57	13	0
Presbyterian	0	7	0
United	24	13	30
Other	10	7	30
No preference	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>39</u>
	101%	100%	99%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

schools were mobilized by the Liberal executive as canvassers, sign-makers, and "pollsters". The Tory executive, which has a heavy representation of the Anglican faith, also depends upon an informal network of the people active in church-related work. Many of the ladies in the Conservative executive belonged to the same church as the incumbent provincial member. Although 13% of the Tory executive were Roman Catholics, they did not seem to have any conflict with the Anglican members. Reason for this might be found in the fact that the Roman Catholic officers, although deeply religious, seemed to base their affiliation with the Conservative party on strong anti-welfare state ideology. Nevertheless, the Tories also made good use of the religious organizations in the provincial election of 1967. In the federal election of 1968, the Tories ran a Roman Catholic candidate of British descent but his campaign efforts were not strongly supported by the Tory executive since 40% of the officers admitted to being active only provincially, whereas none of the other executives had members

committed to only one level. The Tory officers who comprised this 40% were those ladies whose loyalty and devotion were directed to the provincial incumbent.

The NDP executive did not rely on the network of social ties through church-related activities in its electoral or organizational activities. This is indicated by the fact that 83% of the NDP executive were not regular church attenders compared to 19% of the Liberals and 36% of the Tories. As in the case of the Tory Anglican officers who displayed a strong ideological commitment against "creeping socialism", the NDP executive officers were committed to party ideals and goals and seemed to base their affiliation on these beliefs.

In this section the effect of religion on political activity was briefly set out. In the federal riding of Hamilton-Mountain there is evidence that the traditional association between the Roman Catholic Church and the Liberal party and the traditional tie between the Anglican Church and Progressive Conservative party found nationally holds true. The non-religious aspect of the party officers of the NDP and its seemingly low effect on party activity also can be understood in terms of the traditional anti-clerical stance taken by most parties which espouse socialism, especially the European based ones.

Political Socialization

How an individual is influenced into becoming politically active is a complicated matter to discuss. The factors are numerous and their collective effect upon an individual as to influencing him to become active or inactive in politics has not yet been determined.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to set out fully a socio-psychological scheme of the political socialization of the party officers; however, what is intended is to discuss briefly some aspects of that process which are known to influence an individual into political activity and to see whether these aspects are found to exist among the party officers of the various associations studied.

The family is one agent of political socialization which has been attributed with being a primary influence on party affiliation and political orientation.⁶ Party officers were examined to see whether they possessed the same party preference and affiliation as their parents. Among the executives it was found that 71% of the Liberal leadership and 53% of the Tory executive had fathers who shared the same party preference. In the NDP executive only 23% of the officers had fathers who shared the same party preference, but an additional 39% of the NDP officers had fathers who supported the British Labor Party. In the Liberal party only 10% of the executive held party preferences which differed from their fathers'.

⁶H. H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, New York, The Free Press, 1959, pp 51-66. Kenneth Langdon, Political Socialization, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969, Chapter 2.

Table III-7 Party Preference of Officer's Father

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Liberals	71	13	8
Conservatives	5	53	15
New Democrats	5	13	23
Other	0	7	39
Don't Know	<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	99%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Table III-7a Party Membership of Officer's Father

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Member in same Party	33	20	0
Member in different Party	0	0	39
Not a member of any Party	<u>67</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>61</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

33% of the Tory executive and 23% of the NDP executive had fathers of a different party loyalty. It seems as if the Liberal executive has the most consistent officer/father party preference pattern, followed by the Tories and the NDP. The Conservative executive displayed a relatively high percentage of those who shifted party preference from their fathers, but the reasons to account for this shift could not be specified. Also the shifts were not from one party but from several and could not be traced to any one factor.

When the officers were examined in terms of the party affiliation of their fathers, in the most minimal instance of their fathers'

holding a membership in the political party, it was found that only a minority of each of the executives had fathers who held a formal membership in a political party. In the Liberal executive only 33% of the officers had fathers as members and only 20% of the Tory executive. In the NDP executive the same 39% of the officers of British origin stated that their fathers held membership in the British Labor Party.

Where it has been argued that those who are active in politics are influenced by their parents, it is possible to see that influence stops at party preference and does not necessarily mean to spurn political activity even to the limited degree of taking out a party membership. That only a minority of the officers of each of the executives had fathers who were members of a party, whereas the majority of each executive had the same party preference as their fathers, rather clearly points this out.

Summary

In this chapter, an examination of the socio-economic and demographic background characteristics of the party officers was undertaken in order to compile a profile of the three executives committees. These are briefly summarized below.

The Conservative executive tends to be composed of officers from the upper portion of the socio-economic scale. They tended to be Protestant, especially Anglican, to come from established Canadian families, and were usually of British descent. Also, Conservative officers seemed to be drawn from the white collar ranks.

The Liberals drew their local party leadership from all sectors

of society. The majority of Liberal officers were drawn from the middle of the socio-economic scale. They tended to be Roman Catholic in religion. As far as ethnicity was concerned, Liberal officers tended to be Canadian-born of British or East European ancestry. The Liberal officers were drawn from both the white and blue collar ranks.

The New Democratic party leadership, relative to the Liberals and Conservatives, was definitely drawn from the lower portion of the socio-economic scale. The NDP officers were drawn from the ranks of unionized blue collar workers. They did not display a tendency to be of any one religious denomination, but certainly showed a tendency to be of the British working class in origin or of the Canadian working class.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter has shown rather clearly that the leadership of these three constituency associations are drawn from rather distinct sectors of society. In the next chapter, another aspect of the recruitment process is examined in which the motivations of these executive members are examined.

In this examination, the social context from which party officers have been recruited has been set out. In the next chapter, another aspect of the recruitment process is examined in which the motivations of these executive members are examined. This part of the study attempts to follow the individual from the social context into an organizational context in which his reasons for becoming a party officer are studied. In examining these reasons, the inquiry invariably becomes an exploration of the nature of the relationship between the

individual and the party organization. Viewed in this light, the study begins to focus upon the organizational context of the individual as a party officer.

CHAPTER IV

"The study of 'motivation' is admittedly a difficult undertaking, and we should be clear about the conceptual context in which it was pursued in our study. It is difficult for the researcher because of the many meanings and connotations attached to the term. It is difficult for the political leader who is asked direct and indirect questions about motivation either because he is unwilling to explain his motives frankly, or because he is confused about his actual primary and secondary personal interests in political party work."¹

Implicit in this statement by Eldersveld is a caveat concerning the concept of motivation. His warning concerns the importance of making the conceptual context of motivation clear. In heeding his advice, it will be useful to re-iterate the recruitment process as it is understood in this study and show how the motivational factors are related to it.

For this study the recruitment process has been limited to include only the assumption by an individual of an executive post in a local party organization. This specific process is studied in terms of two sets of factors. The first set, discussed in the preceding chapter, consists of socio-economic and demographic factors. The second set, to be discussed in this chapter, consists of the motivational factors.

Motivational factors are studied in terms of incentives, which are rewards perceived by the individual for taking an executive position. The other component of the concept of motivation is satisfaction, which consists of rewards that are actually received from holding an executive

¹Eldersveld, op. cit., p 276.

post in the party association. By studying the concept of motivation in this manner, it is possible to gain a unique view of the recruitment process. First, incentives, studied as rewards perceived, gives some indication of what the party organization could offer the individual for becoming a party officer. It is often assumed that an individual joins a political party and becomes active in it, in order to further implement his political beliefs. Although this may be generally true, there is evidence which indicates that other considerations influence the individual to become a party activist.² By studying what the individual thinks he will receive in becoming a party officer, it is possible to determine what other kinds of consideration influence his decision to become a party officer. Secondly, the study of satisfactions as rewards actually received by officers, once they assume executive posts, provides a view of the recruitment process from the point of view of the local party organization. Exactly what kind of rewards are being offered to the party officer by the organization can be determined. Finally, this view of the motivational factors of the recruitment process allows research to focus on the interaction of the individual with the party organization. By using the typology of incentives and satisfactions, (set out below), it will be possible to determine whether a specific party association fulfills the initial expectation of the party officer.

²For instance, Bowman, Ippolito, and Donaldson, *op. cit.*, show the importance of personal satisfactions for party activists contrasted with group satisfaction for the party, p 128.

The typology of incentives and satisfactions used in this study was based upon a similar one constructed by Wilson and Clark.³ The categories include;

associative incentives and satisfactions which are rewards such as friendship, status or prestige, or community recognition

ideological incentives and satisfactions are rewards based upon a desire to implement a policy or set of policies founded upon political beliefs which correspond to an ideology of an existing party

instrumental incentives and satisfactions which are tangible or material rewards such as jobs, government contracts, and serving to enhance the material well-being of the individual

participatory incentives and satisfactions are rewards based upon a deeply-felt obligation to participate in the political system.

The motivations of the party officers will be examined by using this typology. Hopefully, this will afford some understanding of the recruitment process.

I Incentives

In comparing the incentives of party officers of the different constituency associations it was found that 52% of the Liberal officers, and 60% of the Progressive Conservative officers viewed associative incentives for taking their executive posts, whereas only 8% of the New Democrat officers cited associative incentives. Also worth noting is the sizeable difference in proportion between officers of the two old-line parties who cited ideological incentives. Only 24% of the Liberal officers and 27% of the Conservative officers gave ideological

³Wilson and Clark, op. cit.

reasons for taking their present executive posts, compared to 69% of the NDP officers.

Table IV-1 Incentives

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Associative	52	60	8
Ideological	24	27	69
Instrumental	10	13	0
Participatory	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

This finding at the local level is consistent with that of Engelmann and Schwartz's classification of Canadian party organization on the national level.⁴ They classified the Liberal and Conservative parties as cadre parties and the New Democratic Party as a mass party on the basis of membership and organizational style. In keeping with this finding is the fact that associative incentives are predominant among officers of the old-line parties and ideological incentives are predominant among NDP officers.

In exploring further this distinction in distributions of associative and ideological incentives between Liberal and Conservative officers on the one hand, and the NDP officers on the other; the number of close friends of officers expressing the same political beliefs were tabulated.

Table IV-2 Friends Sharing Same Political Beliefs

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
All	0	7	23
Most	38	60	39
Some	43	27	15
Few	14	7	23
None	0	0	0
No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	101%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Of the Liberal and Conservative officers 38% and 67% respectively indicated that most or all their friends shared the same political views while 62% of the NDP officers indicated the same. From these findings it is difficult to present any one explanation. With the high predominance of associative incentives among Liberal and Conservative officers, one would expect a similarly high percentage of them to have friends with the same political beliefs. This was the case with the Tory officers but not with the Liberal officers. The NDP association had a predominance of officers with all or most of their friends sharing the same political beliefs. The Tory case might be explained by the fact that it is a highly personal organization which is centered around the present incumbent member of the provincial legislature. This man is a highly respected fellow, a former alderman, who brought his aldermanic campaign workers into the Tory organization when he successfully ran for the legislative assembly. In this way, the Tory organization exemplifies the cadre-type organizational style at the local level. The Liberal case might be explained by the fact that the

executive up to this point was newly formed by the amalgamation of the federal and provincial associations which were distinct local party organizations. The NDP situation might be explained by the fact that a relatively large portion of the officers were brought up in Britain. As a result, this homogeneity in background may account for the large portion of NDP officers having all or most of their friends who share political beliefs similar to themselves. On the other hand, another explanation for the NDP case might rest with the commitment to the party ideology held by the officers. It is conceivable that their psychological commitment to party ideology influenced the choice of friends such that persons of similar political belief tended to become friends. Unfortunately the data gathered on party officers would not allow further exploration of this aspect.

In examining the variation in incentives perceived by party officers of the different constituency associations, several observations can be made. First, associative incentives seem to play a much more important role among the old-line party organizations than the NDP. Among the Tory and Liberal officers emphasis is placed upon personal relationships with their elected members. In both these associations, which have an elected member sitting either in the federal or provincial legislature, a sizable portion of officers were friends of the successful candidate. Upon winning the election, these people took executive posts in the riding association. This is a significant finding as it indicates the potential importance of a winning candidate in forming a party organization. In a party system which is loosely

organized at the local level as the old-line party associations are, elections provide the focus upon which organizations gain a definite structure. A candidate, once he is nominated, forms his campaign organization, usually composed of friends, and if he is successful in winning the election a major portion of his campaign team forms the core of the constituency association. This is demonstrated by the fact that a sizable portion of the Liberal and Conservative officers, 38% and 47% respectively, indicated that being a personal friend of the incumbent played a major part in their decision to become a party officer. On the other hand, the NDP hold neither the federal or provincial seat. This finding, coupled with the fact that a very small portion of their officers cited associative incentives for taking executive posts, would seem to further justify this line of thought. On the whole, the NDP officers indicated ideological reasons for assuming executive posts. This can be attributed partly to the fact that the NDP is generally thought to possess a more coherent party ideology appealing to a distinct sector of society, the working class. This, in addition to the fact that the party is out of power in the riding and in the government, and has been traditionally known as a protest party, explains the predominance of ideological incentives cited by its executive members.

As far as patronage was concerned, in all parties, officers who cited instrumental incentives constituted a very small portion of the total executive. Only 10% of the Liberal officers and 13% of the Conservative officers candidly admitted that they had become officers with the hope of gaining some material reward. In all cases, officers

were lawyers who freely admitted that business contacts, government contracts; such as National Housing Mortgages and Veterans Loans administration; and recognition, such as being designated a Queen's Counsel, were rewards they sought in politics. As both the Liberal and Conservative parties hold power in either the federal or provincial house, the possibility of material patronage is quite high. Among NDP officers, not one of them gave instrumental incentives as a reason for becoming a party officer. Again, the fact that the NDP does not hold either the provincial or federal seat, or is not in power at the federal or provincial level, provides an explanation for the lack of expectations of instrumental rewards.

Only 14% of the Liberal officers and 23% of the NDP officers indicated they held participatory incentives. None of the Tory officers held participatory incentives. Those holding these incentives emphasized their deeply felt need to discharge what they considered their duties as citizens, namely to participate in the political system. The small number of officers indicating participatory incentives would seem to demonstrate that the popular ideal of participation is not as widely felt among these political activists. Associative and ideological incentives seem to have much more impact in motivating a party worker to become a party officer.

In summary then, it seems that associative incentives account for the major portion of the Liberal and Conservative executive becoming party officers. In the NDP association a majority of officers gave ideological reasons for assuming executive posts. Instrumental incentives are expressed by a few Liberal and Tory officers but not by NDP

officers. This was expected, as the NDP have neither an elected member in the federal or provincial constituency, and they also do not hold governmental power at these levels. As a result this party does not have any access to patronage.

Participatory incentives were held by only a few of the Liberal and NDP officers as reasons for taking executive posts in the riding associations. This would seem to indicate that party members are motivated to a higher level of party work due to reasons other than feeling obligated to participate in the political system. As an aside, it might be pointed out that citizen obligation may spur short-term political acts, such as voting and working on a campaign, but for longer term tasks, which come with taking a executive post, it is not a strong factor.

Satisfactions

In the immediately preceding section incentives were discussed as perceived rewards for assuming an executive post on the constituency association. In this section, satisfactions are discussed in terms of actual rewards received by party officers in holding their executive posts.

Table IV-3 Satisfactions

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Associative	62	60	23
Ideological	19	40	54
Instumental	10	0	0
Participatory	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>23</u>
	101%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

62% of the Liberal officers and 60% of the Conservative officers indicated that they received associative kinds of rewards from their present posts. In comparison only 23% of the NDP officers stated that associative rewards are their main satisfactions. The reverse distribution holds for ideological satisfactions; 19% of the Liberal officers and 40% of the Conservative officers indicated they received ideological satisfactions, compared to 54% of the NDP officers. It is clear that the NDP officers are motivated somewhat differently from the Liberal and Conservative officers. The predominance of ideological motivation among the NDP executive indicates that the leadership of the local constituency association has a strong ideological base. The reasons for this could be partly due to the fact that the NDP is out of power in the riding. It can be speculated that a minority party is more prone to attract those strongly committed to its political beliefs. Since the minority parties are out of power, they do not hold any expectation of being able to dispense instrumental rewards through patronage. Also, in the case of the NDP (which makes its appeal specifically to the working class) associative rewards, such as "hob nobbing with the society people", are non-existent. On the other hand, the predominance of the associative incentives and satisfactions found in the Liberal and Tory organizations, contrasts quite sharply with the NDP association, and gives some indication of the difference in organizational style. The Tory and Liberal organizations emphasize the social aspects of politics by having a variety of social affairs. The fact that both associations have an elected member facilitates this kind of political activity,

since high-ranking government leaders are induced to come and speak to members of the local riding association. The provincial Tory incumbent made it a regular habit to have a different cabinet minister come and speak to the association at least once every two months. These activities, augmented by card parties and dances with featured guests, create an appealing kind of social milieu. It is possible to see that ideologically motivated individuals would not predominate in such an environment.

Considering instrumental satisfactions received by party officers, only 10% of the Liberal officers admitted to actually receiving material rewards in holding a party office. None of the other officers, in either the Tory or NDP associations, admitted to receiving instrumental satisfactions. The fact that none of the Conservative officers admitted to receiving any instrumental satisfactions is interesting. Although the Tories are out of power federally in the riding they have a strong provincial organization which has an elected member at Queen's Park. As a result, one would think that some material rewards or patronage to dispense would be available to the association. Apparently, this is not the case, for in discussing patronage with a young Tory lawyer who was very active in the association, it was discovered that patronage has become somewhat institutionalized in the Tory organization. This discontented young lawyer candidly admitted he was after some recognition, such as being designated a Queen's Counsel or awarded a judgeship, but because the Tories have been in power so long patronage has become institutionalized in its dispensation to a few old-time party

stalwarts, usually "bagmen". He complained that younger people were not recognized by the party hierarchy and he thought this was generally bad for the party, since no tangible rewards were available to attract and hold aggressive young people in the party. The NDP, being out of power at both the federal and provincial level, did not have any patronage available to dispense. Also, the fact that the NDP does not appeal to small business men and other kinds of private entrepreneurs, who can benefit from any exchange of contacts, may account for the lack of instrumental satisfaction found among the NDP officers. Those Liberal officers who admitted to receiving material rewards were professional men. Although they played down the role of patronage, it became apparent that, as lawyers, they knew they stood to gain more from political activity than the officers who held other kinds of jobs. The elected member (federally) of the Liberal association explained that it was quite natural for lawyers to be involved with politics because of the similarity of skills and knowledge needed to participate in the legal profession and politics. Undoubtedly he is correct; however, he failed to mention that lawyers as party officers may have access to important information on policy change or development and as lawyers have the wherewithal to act upon it in such a way as to accrue material benefits. Whether the information concerns land use in development policy or the administration of the legal aspects of National Housing Act mortgages, lawyers can act upon it and stand to benefit materially.

As far as the importance of patronage is concerned in the local riding association it does not seem to be the over-riding motivation of the executive members of any of the parties. This could be due to the

fact that patronage might be dispensed at higher levels in the party hierarchy. The district level, which is active in collecting funds for a group of constituency associations, is more likely to have patronage to dispense than the local organizations. Generally, patronage for party activity at the local level does not seem to be that common.

Only 10% of the Liberal officers and 23% of the NDP officers claimed that they had received participatory satisfactions from holding office. These officers made it quite clear that they felt everyone was obligated to participate in governing themselves and that they felt they were doing their "bit".

Summary

Upon examining the distribution of incentives and satisfactions among the three executives of these local party organizations, it becomes clear that, for the most part, incentives have been satisfied. Officers of the Liberal and Conservative associations who assumed their executive posts upon perceiving associative incentives, indicated they received associative satisfactions. In the NDP organization, the officers who perceived ideological incentives indicated receiving ideological satisfactions from their executive posts. Clearly there is a difference in the kind of motivational factors involved in the recruitment of NDP officers and the officers of the other two parties. It seems that the NDP attracts those individuals to whom party ideology is the most important factor. Their commitment to their political beliefs is sustained through their work as party activists. On the basis of this finding it is possible to argue that the NDP officer's

feeling of personal satisfaction is grounded on the fact that he is working in the party organization to implement his political belief. This indicates a congruence between the personal goals of the individual NDP officer and the goals of the NDP party organization. On the other hand, both Liberal and Conservative officers indicated motivational reasons which were quite distinct from the ideology of the Liberal and Tory party. That is to say that the main reason for a large number of the Liberal and Tory officers for being executive members does not seem to be based upon a primary desire to further implement the party ideology. It would seem that the majority of the Liberal and Conservative officers held associative motivational factors such as friendships, social contacts, and personal prestige as being primary considerations in their becoming an executive member. There is a lack of congruence then, between the personal motivation of the party officers of these two old-line parties and the stated goals of the local constituency association.

These differences found in the motivational factors of the party officers of the three associations have some impact on the nature of the local constituency associations. The exact effects of these motivational factors will comprise the substance of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

In this chapter, discussion will centre on the impact of motivational factors of the recruitment process upon the party organization. Specifically, the discussion will focus on the effect motivational patterns have upon the organizational orientation and activity of constituency associations. The framework upon which this discussion is based stems from organizational theory premised upon the concepts of incentives and their distribution within an organization. Before undertaking such a discussion, which deals specifically with the findings of this study, it will be useful to set out briefly the theoretical basis of any such discussion, and in doing so, show how the factors of the recruitment process affect the party organization.

As social and political institutions, the political party lends itself to be studied as one form of social organization. In commenting on the study of party organizations in terms of organizational theory, Lee Anderson indicates that two general approaches exist.¹ The first approach is based upon the goals of an organization and consists of the study of the organization, its processes, and structures to attain these goals. The second approach recognizes the organization as a "natural whole" or system and views the expressed goals of the organization as only one component in the total functioning of that organization. This approach emphasizes the need or overall goal of the organization to maintain itself. Basically then, the approaches differ in their

¹Lee Anderson, "Organizational Theory and Party Organization" in Approaches to the Study of Party Organizations edited by William Crotty, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1968), pp 375-404.

orientation; the first approach focuses on the externally-oriented activities of the organization and the second approach emphasizes the internally-oriented activities of the organization. Although knowledge of the external relationships of a political party with society and the governmental system are integral to the understanding of the total political system, comprehension of the inner workings of a party organization or any of its component units seems just as crucial. Accordingly, this study will employ the second approach in which recruitment factors, especially motivational variables, are discussed in terms of their impact upon the party organization. The unit of analysis for this discussion is the executive committee of the local party organization. As the "grassroots leadership" of the constituency associations the three executives, their predominant views and activities, determine the nature of the party organization found at the constituency level. As such, it seems reasonable to view the three executives as representing the local party organization.

In studying local party organizations several characteristics peculiar to them must be noted. First, all constituency associations vary in form and structure. This lack of uniformity largely stems from the voluntary nature of political activity. Consequently, party organizations in order to maintain themselves in the way of members, leaders, and supporters are sensitive to the changes in the social and political milieu of the community in which they exist. As a result, local constituency associations are bound to vary in form and structure because these very things are dictated by the kind of members and leaders the

associations are able to attract. Several scholars have demonstrated this variance in the form of nature of party organizations by emphasizing various aspects of them. For instance, Robert Merton, in his study of urban machines showed that these urban party organizations existed because they could perform important social welfare functions for the poor, newly-arrived, immigrants in cities in which no other organization could or would perform.² In his study of Pennsylvania politics, Frank Sorauf found local party organizations varied with degree of competition and the kind of political culture existing in the electoral district.³ James Wilson's study of the rise of the reform clubs in urban centres demonstrated the effect of a changing membership on the political style of a party organization.⁴ To the degree that local party organizations must be sensitive to the political and social milieu, it cannot be assumed that these organizations are rigid and long-lasting in their form.

Another factor which must be considered in the study of party organizations is the nature of the manifest functions of these organizations. As it was mentioned earlier, one common approach to the study of organizations emphasizes the manifest functions of the associations. Party organizations are attributed three major functions which they are

²Robert K. Merton, "The Function of a Political Machine", in American Political Parties, G. Mayo and B. Crowe, (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp 423-440.

³Frank J. Sorauf, Party and Representation, (New York: Atherton Press, 1963).

⁴James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

to perform for the political system; namely, recruitment of public officials, generation of policy, and finally, the mobilization of electoral support. As a social organization, it is conceivable that a local party organization exists for other reasons and performs other functions, either in addition to these manifest functions or instead of them. If this is the case, the implications of this for the political system and society, especially in a democracy, are rather grave. The absence of a grassroots political interest within the existing party system may indicate the inability of that specific system to effectively deal with political issues. The ramifications of this possibility upon the party system are serious because it raises the question of the legitimacy of an integral component of the political system. In light of this thought, it is clear that the study of party organizations must extend beyond a preoccupation with the performance of manifest functions. The possibility that party organizations exist for reasons other than carrying out its ostensible goals does act as an indictment of an approach to the study of party organizations which is based upon the stated goals of the organization. Obviously, the need to study party organizations in terms of its "raison d'etre" and how this affects the nature of the organization is clear. One way of doing so, is to examine the motivations of those individuals who direct the party organization at the local level. In this manner it is possible to gain an understanding of why the individuals who direct that organization are involved in it. In order to gain this understanding, a theoretical framework was devised by which organizations

Figure V-1

Typology of Organizations*

Utilitarian Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is instrumental. The organization's main concern is to be able to acquire instrumental rewards for its members. Consequently, the stated ends of the organization are not that important to the membership. Principles or an ideology is utilized to the extent that it compliments the efforts of the organization to attain instrumental rewards. As a result, such organizations will not take strong ideological positions and will tend to be flexible in the positions they take.

Solidary Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is associative. This type of organization depends on its ability to supply associative rewards to its membership. Like the utilitarian organization, this organization does not place that much importance on its stated goals, since its main concern is to be able to provide rewards such as friendship, status, and prestige. Stated goals are important to the extent that they provide a reason for getting together, generally providing an opportunity to reap such benefits as mentioned above. Such organizations are image conscious, since prestige and status are part of its reward system, and as a result will try to promote its stated goals publicly. Consequently, unpopular stands will not be taken very often. There is little commitment to the stated goals of the organization since the basis of involvement in the organization is founded upon associative rewards. Such organizations have the tendency to become personality oriented in that the lack of a strong commitment to an ideology or set of principles on the part of the membership makes it susceptible to centre around a few popular people. In the case of the political party organization, a few party notables could become the leaders of a very personal organization.

Purposive Organizations

The predominant motivational pattern is ideological. This organization is staffed by individuals who are committed to the stated goals of the organization. As a result the actions of the organization, in order to maintain its membership must be in keeping with its stated goals. It has been pointed out that a purposive organization will have goals that are general, since it will tend to avoid a split in its membership over specific goals. However, in the case of a political organization, a purposive organization will probably be composed of like minded individuals who reflect a definite cleavage in society. These organizations will tend to attempt to implement their ideology in the form of policies.

* This typology has been adapted from that of Wilson and Clark.

displaying different behavioral characteristics could be distinguished on the basis of predominant incentive systems found within them. Clark and Wilson devised such a framework which is summarized with slight modifications in figure V-1. Basically, these scholars assumed that the primary goal of an organization was to maintain itself. This was done by the distribution of incentives within that organization and the kind of incentive offered by the organization. By making minor changes to Clark and Wilson's categorization of incentives it was possible to adopt their general framework of organizational behavior to the study of local party organizations. Although figure V-1 gives a summary of the framework, it might further facilitate understanding if a few basic points were set out. First, the typology of organizations is based upon the predominant motivational pattern found in the executives of each of the local party organizations. The predominant motivational pattern is based upon the majority of congruent sets of incentives and satisfactions found in an executive based upon the analysis in the preceding chapter. On the basis of the predominant motivational pattern, the associations are typed into one of three possible kinds of organizations, each with differing kinds of behavioural characteristics. The schema presented by Clark and Wilson pertain to organizations in general, so in order to focus the discussion on party organizations a few specific hypothesis which pertain directly to the organizational orientation and activity of a local constituency organization will be set out.

Hypothesis #1

Purposive party organizations are more service-oriented than utilitarian or solidary party organizations

This hypothesis is based upon the need of the executive to feel a sense of accomplishment, by performing services which are based upon party ideology. This serves to satisfy the needs of ideologically motivated individuals. In this sense, the continuing performance of these services by party members serves to replenish the incentive supply of the organization.

Hypothesis #2

Solidary organizations will tend to emphasize campaign activities as opposed to organizational activities

This hypothesis stems from the need for socializing experiences usually associated with campaigns which is an essential part of the incentive system of a solidary party organization. Activities such as fund-raising dinners, provide ample opportunity for people to meet cabinet ministers and other important figures. The importance place on these kinds of activities by people who hold associative incentives and satisfactions is reflected in the activity orientation of the party organization.

Hypothesis #3

Utilitarian and solidary organizations will stress the leader or candidate in an election campaign whereas the purposive organization will emphasize the party or platform.

This hypothesis flows from the preceding one, in that a purposive organization will always emphasize the party or platform which is

an embodiment of its ideology, while the utilitarian or solidary organization will emphasize the local candidate or the leader in order to win. The utilitarian organizations survive on their ability to be able to dispense material rewards. To retain this capability these organizations must maintain themselves in power, i.e. win elections. As a result, they will not commit themselves to any ideological base and will tend to fight elections which stress personalities. The solidary organizations which are dependent on their ability to dispense associative incentives will also stress personalities in order to win elections. They will do so because they are not strongly committed to an ideology and the importance attributed to social activities, friendships, and prestige by these organizations will facilitate a tendency to emphasize the personality rather than the party or platform.

The discussion will centre around these three hypotheses; however, before beginning that discussion, the party organizations must be categorized. This can be done by determining the predominant motivational pattern found within the executive of each of the party organizations being studied.

In the Liberal organization 91% of the officers had congruent motivational patterns. Of that amount 58% indicated possessing associative kinds of incentives and satisfactions. The next largest category of motivational patterns was ideological with 21%, followed by the instrumental and participatory categories with 11% each. As a result, the Liberal organization can be typed as a solidary organization.

Table V-1 Predominant Motivational Patterns: Congruent/Incongruent

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Congruent	90	80	77
Incongruent	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Table V-1a Congruent Motivational Patterns

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Associative	58	67	10
Ideological	21	33	70
Instrumental	11	0	0
Participatory	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>20</u>
	101%	100%	100%
	(N 19)	(N 12)	(N 10)

The Progressive Conservative organization had 80% of its executive possessing congruent motivational patterns. Of that portion, 67% of the officers had associative motivational patterns and 33% possessed ideological motivational patterns. On the basis of these findings, the Tory organization can be typed as solidary also.

In the NDP organization 77% of the executive had congruent motivational patterns. Of this group 70% possessed ideological motivational patterns and only 10% possessed associative motivational patterns. 20% of the officers possessed participatory motivational patterns. Clearly the predominant motivational pattern is ideological and upon the basis of that finding NDP organization can be classified as a purposive organization.

Having established the category of organizations in which these

local constituency associations fall, it is now possible to determine whether or not the hypotheses set out above are applicable to these party organizations.

According to the analysis of motivational patterns, two distinct kinds of organizations were found to exist among the three constituency associations studied. The Liberal and Progressive Conservative associations were classed as solidary organizations and the New Democratic Party association as a purposive organization. It is this basic distinction which will comprise the dominant theme of the discussion although differences between the two solidary organizations will be continually pointed out.

Hypothesis #1 stated that purposive organizations will be more service-oriented than solidary or utilitarian organizations. The reasoning behind this thought stems from the belief that purposive organizations, i.e. organizations with stated goals whose members base their involvement upon a commitment to those goals, will tend to undertake activities which can be interpreted as an implementation of party ideology. This process gives a sense of accomplishment to the organizational membership. These acts, which are interpreted by the membership as an implementation of their ideology, serve to sustain involvement by providing a feeling of accomplishment. In order to determine whether this hypothesis was founded in the case of these three constituency associations, each member of their executives was asked to rate how important he felt three kinds of service-oriented activities to be. In carrying out this analysis some difficulties were encountered which must be discussed before relating the findings.

In Canada, much of the welfare services are already provided by governmental agencies. These services include welfare, unemployment insurance, and medical insurance which are administered from a highly centralized bureaucracy, relatively insulated from the local constituency associations' influence. The only means of access for the local constituency association is to have the local MP or MLA to intervene on behalf of the citizen with a complaint or problem. As a result the party officers, unlike their American counterpart, can not intervene directly and have been reticent to do so. The consequences of this situation has been that party officers generally left the service functions to the MLA or MP to carry out and saw their function to bring citizen needs to the attention of the MLA or MP. In view of this situation, it was only possible to ask the party officers to indicate how important they felt it was for the party organization and the executive to perform service-type activities. Each of the executive members of the party organization were asked to rank in importance the following kinds of activities; to provide community leadership, to help people with governmental problems, and to look after the welfare of the voters in the riding. The results were as follows

Table V-2 The Importance of Community Leadership

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Not at all	0	0	0
Not too	14	27	0
Somewhat	38	20	15
Very	<u>48</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>85</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .079

Table V-2a The Importance of Helping People With Governmental Problems

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Not at all	0	20	0
Not too	27	20	0
Somewhat	19	20	23
Very	<u>52</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>77</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .068

Table V-2b The Importance of the Welfare of the Voter

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Not at all	24	27	15
Not too	19	27	8
Somewhat	19	27	8
Very	<u>38</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>69</u>
	100%	101%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .066

In each of these three areas it is clear that the majority of the NDP executive feel that service-type functions are very important compared to the executives of the other organizations. This is a significant finding in that implies a style of politics akin to that of the old machines. It has been pointed out that the old style political machines performed service functions for voters by becoming an intervening agent between the governmental agencies and the citizen. The kind of activity orientation found among the NDP executive would seem to suggest a willingness to return to that style of organizational activity. This is not altogether unusual, since the NDP has always found pride in its efforts

to build a strong organizational base at the constituency level. That base has usually been founded on the notion of becoming an integral part of the community. With this emphasis on building an organization and the commitment of its executive to ideological goals, the orientation toward the performance of service-type functions seems quite plausible.

The Liberal and Conservative organizations did not seem to indicate as strong a tendency as the NDP toward the performance of service functions. This can be accounted for, as mentioned previously, in terms of the motivational structure of the executive. The emphasis in these two organizations on associative incentives would seem to indicate an orientation toward these kinds of activities which bring people together in a social atmosphere. Indeed, according to Wilson and Clark's theory, the primary incentive for being involved in this kind of organization is to meet people or socialize for prestige, status, and friendship. In order to gain some indication for this view, each member of the three executives were asked what they would miss most if they quit party activity tomorrow. The results were typed according to the classification used to type the incentives and satisfactions.

Table V-3 Kind of Satisfaction Most Missed

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Associative	91	73	39
Ideological	0	7	54
Instrumental	5	0	0
Participatory	0	0	0
Nothing	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%	101%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .223

It is clear that in the two solidary organizations, the kinds of activities most missed by the executive members are of the associative category. From these results, it would seem that Hypothesis #1 has been borne out, at least in examining these three constituency associations.

Hypothesis #2 which states that solidary party organizations will tend to emphasize campaign activities as opposed to organizational activities is complimentary to the preceding hypothesis. The solidary organizations which depend upon social kinds of activities for sustaining membership find election activities a primary focus around which to hold dances, banquets, and other socializing events. Indeed, it is not uncommon for some constituency associations to become very active only at election time when it can offer these kinds of activities as social incentives. This thought is alluded to by R. M. Dawson when he stated that most constituency organizations of the old line parties fell dormant between elections and became active only after an election had been announced.⁵ In order to determine whether this hypothesis was valid in the study of these three constituency associations, the executive members were asked how much time they devoted to campaign activities and how much time they devoted to party work between elections.

⁵R. M. Dawson, Government of Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p 453 ff.

Table V-4 . Time Devoted to Party Work During an Election

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
Over 40 hr/week	32	40	31
25 - 40	21	7	23
10 - 24	21	27	39
1 - 9	21	27	8
Less than 1	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	101%	101%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .024

Table V-4a Time Devoted to Party Work During an Non-election Period

	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u>
3 hr & over/week	33	13	54
1 - 2	57	60	39
Less than 1	10	13	8
None	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	99%	101%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .041

From the results summarized in Table V-4 it is clear that the majority of the party executive is intensely active during the campaign, however during a non-election period, the NDP executive devotes far more time to organizational work than the other executives. Only 33% of the Liberal executive and 13% of the Tory executive is active more than three hours a week compared to 54% of the NDP executive. It is clear that constituency organizations of the two old-line parties center their activity around election campaigns whereas the NDP organization devotes more time to organizational work between elections. According to these findings hypothesis #2 would seem to be borne out.

The final hypothesis to be tested in this study has to do with an important function of the local party organization; that of successfully running a candidate and winning the seat in the constituency. It is hypothesized that an utilitarian or solidary organization will tend to stress the personality, (either party leader or local candidate), while the purposive organization will stress the party platform. From Table V-5 Emphasis in a Campaign

	<u>Liberals</u> (solidary)	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>New Democrats</u> (purposive)
Local Issues	14	0	39
Candidate	43	53	8
Party Platform	14	27	54
Leader	0	0	0
Other	<u>29</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	100%	100%
	(N 21)	(N 15)	(N 13)

Tau-Alpha = .124

Table V-5, it is apparent that the two solidary organizations seem to stress the candidate while the purposive organization does not. It is also clear that the purposive organization places far more emphasis on party platform than the other two organizations. This finding is significant because it gives us some insight into the differences between political parties as to the organizational style and orientation in running a campaign. The purposive organization run by an executive that is ideologically motivated will stress the party platform based upon the party ideology. In this case the party ideology of the NDP is founded upon a set of democratic socialist principles which is a much more cohesive party ideology than either of the other two parties.

The Liberal and Tory organizations whose ideological base is not so rigid and whose executive have motivational patterns which are associative, would tend to stress the candidate because their political involvement is based upon a social involvement in a group to which they look for friendship, social prestige, and status. These very rewards are seen by these people to be embodied in the candidate. If the candidate wins, such persons become friends of a MLA or MP and they perceive themselves to gain in social prestige and status by their association with him. To a large degree these kinds of organizations become very personal organizations in that the executive membership centres around the individual candidate. In this study, the Tory organization was found to be such an organization in which the young MLA was the focus of the association and to whom personal loyalty was given by the members of the executive. On the other hand, the NDP organization continually stresses its platform and its candidate is expected to articulate party policy. As a result the candidate is not accorded a prominent position in the NDP organization. The candidate is viewed as one member of a team whose efforts are directed toward winning the seat in order to get the party platform implemented.

Summary

In this chapter, a few aspects of the relationship between motivational factors and activity orientation were explored. The analysis seems to indicate that the motivations of the party officers do influence the kinds of activity and organizational style of the local constituency association. Specifically, a very distinct difference in

emphasis on the activity orientation was noted to exist between the NDP association on the one hand, and the Liberals and Conservatives associations on the other. The NDP stressed organizational activities, service-type functions, and party platforms in campaigns whereas the old-line party organizations stressed campaign activities, social-functions, and personalities in campaigns.

Another factor to be noted is the utility of the theoretical framework which enabled these findings to be gained. The fact that aspects of the recruitment process could be utilized to gain some understanding of the way in which party organizations behave is a significant finding in itself. In the next and final chapter these findings will be discussed along with the theoretical import of the framework.

CHAPTER VI

In this concluding chapter, discussion will center around two aspects; the substantive findings and the theoretical significance of this study.

In considering the substantive findings, a chart was devised to show the results of the various variables analyzed, (see figure VI-1). It is apparent that differences seem to occur between the NDP and the two old-line parties. This difference found at the most local level of the party organization is in keeping with conclusions made by Engelmann and Schwartz who considered parties at the national level.¹ These authors found the Conservative and Liberal parties to be basically the same in organization, interests, and general approach to politics, but very different from the NDP and Social Credit parties.

Certain differences which have come to light in this study do raise some question about some generalizations made about Canadian politics. For instance, it has been argued that Canadian politics is not based upon class cleavages.² An examination of the socio-economic and demographic composition of the party executive seemed to indicate distinct differences along class lines. The NDP executive did rank lower on the income, education, and occupational scales than the executives of the two major parties. Also the influence of the trade union movement was very much in evidence in the NDP executive. The Tories had

¹Engelmann and Schwartz, op. cit.

²Robert R. Alford, Party and Society, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963).

Figure VI-1

Summary of the Findings

Party	Socio-economic/Demographic	Motivations	Activity Orientations
Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generally from all sectors of society; middle of the income, education, and occupational scales - Canadian born of British or East European descent - tended to Roman Catholic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - predominant motivational pattern was associative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - campaign-oriented - socially-oriented - stresses personalities in campaigns
Conservatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generally from the upper portions of the socio-economic scale - Canadian born of British or West European descent - tended to be Anglican or at least Protestant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - predominant motivational pattern was associative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - campaign-oriented - socially-oriented - stresses personalities in campaigns
New Democrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generally from the lower portions of the socio-economic scale - Canadian born or British born of British descent - did not tend to be of any specific denomination, but were Protestant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - predominant motivational pattern was ideological 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - organizationally-oriented - service-oriented - stresses party platform in campaigns

an executive committee which definitely reflected the upper portions of the socio-economic scale. Finally, the Liberals, true to their popular image as a middle of the road party, drew their officers from nearly all sectors of society. They did not have union representation and within their professional ranks they seemed to draw from an East European ethnic base. These results concerning the background of local party officers would seem to indicate that there is a basis for class politics, at least, at the level of the local activists, even if voter behaviour does not demonstrate class based politics.

Substantial differences were noted in the motivational patterns of these local party organizations as well. The analysis indicated that NDP officers were ideologically motivated whereas the Liberal and Conservative officers were motivated for associative reasons. By employing the theoretical framework of organizational behaviour based upon motivational patterns it was possible to show how differences in those patterns affected the activity orientation of the various constituency associations. The Liberal and Conservative associations were found to be socially-oriented in their activities, to centre their activity around election campaigns, and to emphasize personalities in campaigns. On the other hand, the NDP was found to be service-oriented, to be more active in maintaining a permanent organization, and to emphasize the party platform in campaigns. These differences form the basis of two different approaches to politics or two different political styles. These differences in political styles correspond and compliment the distinction made by Engelmann and Schwartz between cadre-type and

mass-type parties, used in their study of parties nationally.³ The executive of the Liberal and Conservative constituency associations in Hamilton-Mountain riding did seem to fit the cadre category when one examined their associative motivational patterns and the campaign-oriented approach to politics. The NDP fit into the mass category just as easily on the basis of their ideologically motivational patterns and organizational-orientation.

The implications of the difference in approach to politics should not be overlooked, if an understanding of the political system is to be gained. One such ramification is the growing trend toward the politics of personalities. It has been argued that Canada is a diverse country and that national parties strive to exist and win by forming a broad coalition of interest. Since the natural tendency is to minimize cleavages in this kind of process, dividing issues have been played down, especially ideological ones, by the major parties. As a result, the attention of the electorate has become attuned to a personality, a national leader. This leader is given the trust of the public and the party is seen as his vehicle. Past electoral contests in Canadian politics gives this view some credibility. For instance the national popularity accorded to MacDonald, Laurier, King, Diefenbaker, and Trudeau provide some evidence for this view.⁴ More recently, Ontarians

³Engelmann and Schwartz, op. cit.

⁴J. R. Mallory, "The Structure of Canadian Politics" in Party Politics in Canada, edited by Hugh Thorburn, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall Ltd., 1963), pp 22-30.

experienced in electoral contest which was based upon leadership and this occurred in time of an economic slump. Upon examining the motivational patterns of the local Liberal and Conservative parties, it becomes apparent that the emphasis on personality is a natural one for them to have. Commitment to issues on an ideological basis is of secondary importance in relation to the friendship, status, and prestige sought in these organizations. Ideologically based politics is just not that salient to these officers and they are the ones who direct the activities of their local constituency associations. In contrast, the NDP have always emphasized the party platform and utilized their leaders to articulate the party ideology. In this ideologically motivated party organization, the primary importance is given to ideology and platform. This pattern is found to exist not only at the level of the national organization and provincial organization, but also at the level of the local constituency association. This places the NDP in a dilemma, because its political style is one which will not attract the electorate's attention. It would seem that the NDP is slowly trying to come to terms with this problem, although not without some agony. If the last two federal conventions are recalled, this debate is quite apparent. The Waffle movement can be seen as an attempt to keep the party entrenched in its ideology. The more moderate factions are viewed as opting for power. If the leader approach to power is accepted than the moderate faction must go beyond removing the socialist rhetoric from their speeches and begin cultivating a leader. It would seem that this is being done, for in Ontario, Stephen Lewis was faced with a

personality competition from William Davis. The attention paid to the leadership by the electorate could not be denied by the party, and although Lewis lost, more attention was paid to presenting a viable public leader by NDP than ever before. The full effect which this personalization of politics will have on the NDP cannot be estimated yet. Certainly the Waffle splinter group is one reaction, but whether a full party split will occur is unknown. The approach of the local constituency association to politics will play an important role in resolving the NDP dilemma. If the local organizations continue to be directed by highly ideologically motivated individuals it is difficult to see a rapid change in the NDP political style. If, on the other hand, the nature of its grassroots leadership change, (perhaps by an infusion of youth), the NDP will be able to make the switch, indeed if it chooses to do so, in its political style.

The theoretical significance of this study is found in the schema employed. One of the problems of studying party organizations was to be able to relate the individual's political involvement with the behaviour of the political organization with which he is involved. The organizational approach based upon the predominant motivational patterns in the organization is the first step toward solving that problem. Based upon Wilson and Clark's incentive approach to organizational behaviour, this schema has given some indication of the potential that approach possesses. In light of the need to generate testable hypotheses about party organizations, such a schema does seem to be useful. The nature of political organizations, especially parties, do not lend themselves to be studied

as formal organizations. In many ways these organizations are amorphous collectivities of individuals whose forms change with the coming and going of their personnel. In that sense, it is important to be able to focus upon those who staff such organizations and examine their relationship with the organizations. Perhaps it is the interaction of the individual with the organization that determines the behaviour of that organization. The theoretical framework used in this study is focused on that aspect. By examining the motives of an individual for becoming involved in a political organization, it is possible to gain an insight into the relationship between the individual and the organization. Next, by examining the kinds of activity undertaken by the organization as it is directed by the individual or set of individuals, it is possible to see the effect that motivations have on organizational behaviour. In examining the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the party officers, it was possible to gain an idea of the individual in a societal context as well as an organizational context. In this manner of conceptualizing the recruitment process, it is possible to follow the involvement of an individual from his social context into the political context and to determine the effect of his involvement on the organization. Operationalization of the concept of motivation into incentives and satisfactions, although it is a crude construction, is a beginning. Furthermore, the presence of a theoretical framework which enables the utilization of these concepts, in order to gain an understanding of organizational behaviour, will prompt the refinement of these new analytical tools.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this study cannot be fully recorded, for it is difficult to relate all the insights that one gains in talking and listening to people who are interested in politics. To the extent that the theoretical framework devised was able to order some of these insights into relevant information, this report will be of some good.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire for Party Officers

Code Name Respondent: _____

Time and Date of Interview: _____

Place of Interview: _____

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

We would just like to know what your opinions and positions on certain issues are. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential.

1. What is your official position or positions in the party organization?
2. How long have you held this (these) position(s)?
3. What duties does (do) this (these) position(s) entail?
4. What other positions have you held (and when)?
5. How many years have you been a party member?
6. What sorts of activities did you engage in during the last Federal campaign?
7. Did you:

A. Help raise funds for the party?	Yes ____	No ____
B. Help get voters to the polling station on election day?	Yes ____	No ____
C. Participate as an enumerator?	Yes ____	No ____
D. Participate as a scrutineer?	Yes ____	No ____
E. Distribute pamphlets?	Yes ____	No ____

7. continued

Did you:

- F. Talk with people in order to convince them to
vote for your candidate? Yes ___ No ___
- G. Put a party sticker on your car? Yes ___ No ___
- H. Contribute to the party funds? Yes ___ No ___
- I. Attend party rallies? Yes ___ No ___
- J. Help put up posters? Yes ___ No ___
- K. Work at campaign headquarters? Yes ___ No ___
- L. Attend the candidate nomination meeting? Yes ___ No ___

8. About how many hours a week did you engage in party activities during the last campaign?
9. About how many hours a week do you generally devote to party work (when no campaign)?
10. What do you enjoy about being a party member and officer, that is, if you had to quit party activity tomorrow, what would you miss most?
11. Among the cost of the party officers whose opinions do you find most persuasive?
12. What magazines, periodicals and newspapers do you generally read? Which do you find gives you the best information about Canadian affairs?
13. Among your close friends about how many would you say share your political sympathies? All ___ Most ___ Some ___ Only a few ___
None ___

14. What was your party's basic strategy in the last Federal election?

15. Why would you say most of the other party officers are in party work?

16. To expand on the above questions: There are a number of reasons often given for becoming active in party work. Which of these would you say are relevant to yourself?

	<u>Relevant</u>	<u>Not Relevant</u>
a. I had a personal friend for a candidate.	---	---
b. Politics is a major part of any life.	---	---
c. I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have with other workers.	---	---
d. I am trying to build a personal position in politics.	---	---
e. I like the excitement of campaigns.	---	---
f. I see party work as a means of influencing the policies of government.	---	---
g. I like the feeling of being close to people who are doing important things.	---	---
h. I am strongly attached to my political party.	---	---
i. Party work helps me fulfill my sense of community obligation.	---	---
j. Party work helps me make good contacts.	---	---
k. Party work gives me a feeling of recognition in the community.	---	---
l. Would you say that this reason for becoming active in party work is relevant to yourself? To help people with governmental problems.	---	---

17. Would you say you intend to become more active ____, less active ____ or about the same ____ in party matters?
18. Who among the party officers do you talk to between party meetings?
19. What don't, you enjoy about being a party member and officer?
20. Out of all your party activities, which do you regard as most important?
21. How adequate would you say your party's canvassing efforts were in the last campaign? Why would you say that?
22. Who do you especially admire among your fellow party officers?
23. What do you view as the role of political parties in Canadian society?
24. What is the role of your party in particular?
25. Why do people vote the way they do?
26. Why are most people not too actively engaged in politics?
27. Would you say voting against your party's candidate by a party member is ever justified? Yes ____ No ____ If yes, under what circumstances?
28. Would you say there are important differences between Canadian political parties? Yes ____ No ____ . If yes, in what ways are they different?

29. Have you ever been really disgusted with the campaign activities of anyone in other parties? Yes ___ No ___. If yes: without going into personalities, what sorts of activities were these?
30. Have you ever been really disgusted with the campaign activities of anyone in your own party? Yes ___ No ___. If yes: (as above)?
31. What sort of man makes a good candidate for Parliament?
32. What do you feel is the most important thing that the local party should emphasize during a campaign?
33. What is your overall impression of Prime Minister Trudeau?
34. What is the most important issue facing Canada today?
35. Should Canada recognize Red China? Yes ___ No ___. Why is that?
36. What do you feel about the growing student unrest these days?
37. Is Canada becoming too dominated by the U.S.? Yes ___ No ___.
If yes: in what way?
38. Does Canada need more social welfare legislation? Yes ___ No ___.
If yes: what in particular? If no: why would you say that?
39. Do you think the "Cold War" has "warmed up" since World War II?
Yes ___ No ___. Why would you say that?
40. What is your position on the Quebec issue? Would you advocate the use of force if Quebec were to

41. Do you favor Canada's expanding her role in the United Nations?
Yes ___ No ___ Why is that?
42. On the balance are labor unions good or bad for Canada?
Good ___ Bad ___ . Why would you say that?
43. What do you feel about the problems of our native populations,
the Eskimos and Indians?
44. Should Canada send forces to aid the U.S. effort in Viet Nam?
Yes ___ No ___ . Why would you say that?
45. What exactly were the circumstances of your first becoming active
in party politics beyond just voting or being a regular party
member? (prompt: friend influence; issues; own initiative)
46. With regard to your first becoming a member of the party executive,
what were the particular circumstances surrounding this event?
(nominated, asked to run, asked for position)
47. Is your present position different from your initial one?
Yes ___ No ___ . What were the specific circumstances of your
receiving this position? (as above)
48. We have discussed the circumstances surrounding your first becoming
active in politics. What we would now like to know is what exactly
motivated you to make this decision to become active? (what did
you expect to find satisfying?)

49. At the time you first became a party official, what sorts of satisfaction or benefits did you expect to receive from that position?
50. What sorts of rewards did you expect from your present position?
51. What sorts of rewards did you actually get?
52. In general would you say you are more concerned with community affairs, or with national and international events?
Cosmopolitan ___ Local ___.
53. How much influence would you say you have in the local constituency organization?
Would you say? A lot _____
A fair amount _____
Not too much _____
Very little _____
54. Before you became active in politics, did you have a friend, relative or family member who was active in politics? Yes ___ No ___
In what capacity? Did this have any influence on your willingness to become active in politics? Yes ___ No ___. In what way?
55. At what time in life did you first begin to feel strongly about politics? Why? When did you first begin to think of yourself as a . . . ?

56. Were you ever active in politics outside the Hamilton Area?

Yes ___ No ___. Where? When? Position?

57. What do you like about being a party officer?

58. In general, what do you do as a party official?

59. Party officials often vary in the types of activities they do.

Could you tell us how often you do the following?

	<u>Never</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Frequently</u>
a. Help people get welfare benefits.	___	___	___
b. Help people in trouble with the police.	___	___	___
c. Provide summer jobs for young people.	___	___	___
d. Systematic door-to-door canvassing.	___	___	___
e. Telephone canvassing.	___	___	___
f. Help unemployed find work.	___	___	___
g. Act as a contact with government agencies.	___	___	___
h. Take part in neighborhood activities.	___	___	___
i. Get people to work for the party.	___	___	___
j. Talk to people about public problems.	___	___	___
k. Talk to government officials about public problems.	___	___	___

60. Do you ever try to get people outside the party organization to take stands on issues? Would you say Never ___ Sometimes ___ Frequently ___.

61. I am going to give you a list of general types of possible riding activities. Please tell me how important you think these activities are to you as a party official.

	<u>Not at</u> <u>All:</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Too:</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>What:</u>	<u>Very:</u> <u>_____</u>
a. election activities	---	---	---	---
b. community leadership	---	---	---	---
c. helping people with governmental problems	---	---	---	---
d. educating voters on public issues	---	---	---	---
e. helping to build the party organization	---	---	---	---
f. providing for the welfare of voters in the riding	---	---	---	---
g. helping to build voter loyalty to your party	---	---	---	---

62. Could you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements (1 - agree strongly; 2 - agree somewhat; 3 - don't know or no answer; 4 - disagree somewhat; 5 - disagree strongly).

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
a. I don't think public officials care much about what local party officers like myself think.	---	---	---	---	---
b. The way people vote is the main theory that decides how things are run in this country.	---	---	---	---	---
c. Party officers like myself don't have any say about what the government does.	---	---	---	---	---
d. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that even party officers like myself can't really understand what is going on.	---	---	---	---	---

63. Have you ever received work on a job because of your position in the party? Yes ___ No ___
64. Does any one man, or group of men, seem to have more say in directing the party organization? Yes ___ No ___
Would you mind elaborating?
65. Is there any one not on the party executive who seems to be important in the local party organization in terms of policies, decisions, etc.?
66. Generally, would you say you are satisfied with the present organizational structure (the way the party is set up)?
(probe: power president, finances, etc.).
67. Where were you born?
68. In what year?
69. Where was you father born?
70. Your mother?
71. Where did you spend most of your life when you were growing up?
72. How many years have you lived in Hamilton?
73. What is your religion preference?
74. About how often do you attend religious services?
75. What social, professional or fraternal organizations, other than the party do you belong to?

Are you on the executive, or are you extremely active in any of these?

76. What is your occupation? (be specific!)

If retired, what was your occupation?

77. Are you married? Yes ___ No ___ Other ___

If yes: what is your wife's (husband's) occupation?

78. Have you ever been overseas or travelled abroad? Yes ___ No ___

79. What was the last grade you completed in school?

Your father?

Your mother?

80. What was your father's occupation while you were growing up?

81. What was your father's political preference?

Was he a party member? Yes ___ No ___

Your mother's preference?

Party member? Yes ___

No ___

82. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a class?

Yes ___ No ___

If you had to pick a class would you say you are working ___ or middle ___ class? Would you say you are upper ___ or about average ___ . . .class.

83. What was your occupation when you first became active in politics?

84. And last, about what was your family income last year?

(prompt if necessary to get an approximate answer)

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