POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

TO THE ONTARIO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY:

A RESEARCH SCHEMA

ABSTRACT -

Political recruitment is a process by which
individuals with certain expectations and occupying
certain specified social positions in their community
are screened by representatives of political instit-
utions for elective office.

In this inquiry, three pairs of variables
corresponding to the three elements of the process
-- resources, opportunities, and motivation (inter-
preted as expectations)-- are structured into a
research schema. This schema is applied to the
Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly with
the objective of identifying recurring uniformities
of activity among the recruitment experiences of
those political actors.

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

Numerous studies have been conducted in the social
sciences into the process by which private citizens become
elected public officials or political leaders. There are
two general classifications of these studies: one type,
mainly found in political science, has been concerned with
the institutions which are involved in this process (for
example, political parties, interest groups and electoral
systems). A second type has been concerned with the indiv-
iduals themselves; modern investigations of this type have
been grouped in three categories -- elite theories and
studies, studies of the social backgrounds and career ladders
of political leaders, and psychological theories and inves-
tigations.

Under the heading of "elite theories and studies"
would be classed works by Marx, Pareto and Mosca; these
men each contended that the control of the state was in the
hands of a small ruling group who, because of power in social
or economic terms, has come to hold political power as well.
More recent studies by Floyd Hunter and C.W. Mills have
identified powerful groups which hold political power
because of social or economic assets. Other analysts have
attempted to refute the elitist notion of political power,

and have concluded that several groups share power. These authors, and particularly the members of the "Yale School" (Robert Dahl, Nelson Polsby and Raymond Wolfinger), seem to move from an oligarchic to a polyarchic view of political leadership. In general, the elite studies have "identified elites, but they have neither explored their genesis nor examined the process by which certain individuals entered them while others, occupying similar social positions in the community, remain outside."[1] These are mainly descriptions of groups which are assumed to have political power, with little attention in them to the process by which these groups are formed, or how they actually use the power attributed to them.

One of the most frequent approaches to the examination of individual political actors has been to focus on the social backgrounds and career ladders of certain officials. The studies seem to be clustered at both ends of the political ladder. Some important studies have examined United States Senators (Matthews), Supreme Court Justices (Schmidhauser), and State Governors (Schlesinger), but these studies have concentrated on the paths of promotion leading up to these ranking positions, to the neglect of initial interest and participation in political activities. At the bottom of the

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[1] Herbert Jacob, "The Initial Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S. -- A Model", Journal of Politics, XXIV (1962), p.705.

ladder, studies of party workers have been made; these investigate initial recruitment into political activities, but fail to pursue the careers of those who enter electoral politics themselves. "In brief, such social background studies give us excellent examinations of segments of the recruiting process but fall short of fitting them together in a comprehensive theory of political recruitment."[2]

The third category of investigations attempts to discover why some individuals seek political office while others, in similar situations, do not. On the theoretical side of this subject, some important hypotheses about the personalities of politicians have been developed by H.D. Lasswell, although they have not been subjected to elaborate empirical examination. Several other studies have attempted in a more empirical fashion to isolate the motivations of office-seekers and office-holders (McConaughy, Rosenzweig). While more recent studies are considering the impact of personality and motivation on politics, the merging of such information into a theory of political recruitment has been attempted only modestly.

All of the studies mentioned above have contributed something to the understanding of the various factors which tend to have an impact upon the transformation of the private citizen into the political actor. But, for the most part,

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[2]Ibid., p.706.

these individual investigations have only been concerned with
one aspect of the process. Very few attempts have been made
to present a theoretical approach to the process known as
political recruitment, much less attempts to consider the
importance of both the institutions and the individuals in
the single process.

In this study, again, concern will focus mainly only
on one side of the process -- or at least the approach to
the process will be made from one point of view, although
it should be possible to learn something of the other "side".
Political recruitment will be treated in this inquiry in
terms of political behaviour research. As Eldersveld, et al.
point out, "The political behaviour approach is distinguished
by its attempt to describe government as a process made up
of the actions and interactions of men and groups of men.
. . . The study of political behaviour attempts to discover
the extent and nature of uniformities in the actual behaviour
of men and groups of men in the political process."[3]

Why is there now need for a theory of political re-
cruitment? "Every political system is continually involved
in recruiting individuals into political roles. We speak,
then, of the recruitment function, which must be performed
in all political systems if its roles are to be manned and

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[3]Samuel J. Eldersveld, et al., "Research in Political
Behaviour", in S. Sidney Ulmer, ed., Introductory Readings
in Political Behaviour (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961), p.8.

its structures are to function."[4] In general terms, the
cause of co:. .. .ve inquiry would inspire the need to
"systematize" the approaches towards such functional, uni-
versal political processes. Theorizing is a form of system-
atizing. Hans L. Zetterberg calls theories "systematically
organized, lawlike propositions . . . that can be supported
by evidence: this is 'theory' in the sense this word is
used in other sciences."[5] In this sense, then, political
science is an empirical science which does not aim simply
at a description of particular events, but which looks for
general principals which permit their explanation and pre-
diction. If a scientific discipline lacks these principles,
then it is unable to establish any connection between various
phenomena, and is thus inapplicable in predicting the impact
of one phenomenon upon another. "It is," writes Carl G.
Hempel, "of paramount importance for science to develop a
system of concepts which is suited for the formulation of
general explanatory and predictive principles."[6]

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[4]Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative
Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966),
p.22.

[5]Hans L. Zetterberg, On Theory and Verification in
Sociology (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster, 1965), p.22.

[6]Carl G. Hempel, "Fundamentals of Concept Formation in
Empirical Science", International Encyclopedia of Unified
Science, II no. 7 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1952),
p.20.

The political behaviour approach itself inspires the formulation of theory in its objective of identifying recurring uniformities of political activity. "To this end it requires the formulation of concepts that can be tested by successive researchers and that will facilitate the building of a body of systematic knowledge about this phase . . . of the political process."[7] There are two stages to an inquiry of this kind. First concepts, hypotheses and explanations in systematic terms must be formulated; some of these may be adapted from other social sciences. Since the actions of men and groups cannot be known without direct observation or inference from other behavioural data, empirical methods of research must follow, either adapted from other social sciences or developed distinctively.

One of the purposes of this study, then, is to attempt to propose a systematized approach to the study of political recruitment. It is hoped that by building upon aspects of the three types of approaches to political recruitment which concern the individuals themselves, a comprehensive, integrated theory may be developed -- one which earns "the saving quality of a theory", that is, it will "coordinate many methodologically imperfect findings into a rather trustworthy whole in the form of a small number of information-packed sentences or equations."[8]

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[7]Eldersveld, loc.cit.

[8]Zetterberg, op.cit., p.vii.

Before attempting to set up a theory of political
recruitment, the general boundaries of the subject should be
drawn somewhat more explicitly. It seems that the term
"political recruitment" is closely associated with two other
terms, namely "political socialization" and "political par-
ticipation". For the purposes of this paper, political
recruitment is a more specialized term than either of these.

The functional categories of inputs which Gabriel
Almond has developed in several studies include "political
socialization and recruitment". The two processes are
related. Succinctly, Almond calls political socialization
"the process of induction into the political culture."[9] All
members of the society experience some common socialization,
as well as particularistic introductions into specialized
groups. "The political recruitment functions takes up where
the general political socialization function leaves off. It
recruits members of the society out of their particular
subcultures . . . and inducts them into the specialized roles
of the political system, trains them in the appropriate
skills, provides them with political cognitive maps, values,
expectations and affects."[10] As Almond has recently added,

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[9]Gabriel A. Almond, "Introduction: A Functional Approach
to Comparative Politics", in Almond and James S. Coleman,eds.,
Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton Univ-
ersity Press, 1960), p.27.

[10]Ibid., p.31

"The recruitment function cannot be fully separated from the socialization function . . . The background of those who are recruited into political roles is bound to have some impact on their performance of those roles, no matter how thoroughly they are socialized into new values, attitudes, and skills once they have taken over their offices."[11] In sum, the process of socialization, and the nature of an individual's personality, will produce a number of receptive and eligible people; but, political recruitment is concerned with the way people of this sort are drawn into political activity.

However, people may be drawn into political life in varying forms and degrees of intensity and duration. Milbrath notes that "acting politically seems to have two types of contrasts: inactive and passive. Most citizens have both active and passive attitudes towards politics."[12] Thus, "active" may be considered the "positive" end of two related, though distinct continua -- one relating to support behaviour for the system or regime (active-passive) and the other relating to types of political involvement (active-inactive). The behavioural "scale" starts at the bottom level with

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[11]Almond and Powell, op.cit., p.48.

[12]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation(Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p.9.

"indifference" and ranges through expressive and instrumental
types of actions such as party activity and leadership
selection (i.e. voting). An individual's position on this
scale will be determined largely by the socialization process.
On the other "scale", inactivity may be thought of as the
zero or base point from which quantities of action may be
measured. Thus some citizens perform no political acts
whatever. Other citizens take part in minimal supportive
roles -- exposing themselves to political stimuli, voting, or
contacting public officials. Still other citizens, in much
smaller numbers, take part in these activities, but also
play more instrumental roles as they contribute increasingly
to the political process. The major clusterings of citizens
in these three role-areas were described by Milbrath as
"apathetics, spectators, and gladiators".[13] While he does
recognize that an additional role differentiation might be
made within the gladiatorial category to account for those
who make politics their profession, in most societies there
are not enough of these persons to provide a statistically
significant group. Thus, the definition of gladiator is
expanded to include any person whose participation is greater
than attending a meeting or rally; that is, persons who
contribute money, who take part in political campaigns or

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[13]_Ibid._, p.20

who hold office in the party or the community are considered
gladiators.

While these two hierarchies (and especially the involve-
ment hierarchy) seem to have a kind of internal logic -- a
natural progression of becoming more involved in politics,
which in turn means that although persons engaged in the top-
most activities are likely to engage in the behaviours
ranking lower, the reverse does not hold -- they are not
adequate enough distinctions to allow a clear conceptual-
ization of what the recruitment process describes. Nor do
the differentiations in citizen perceptions which Almond
and Verba present -- the parochials, subjects and par-
ticipants[14] -- contribute very much to such a clarification.
The major drawbacks of these studies is that the classif-
ication schemes do not take into consideration the trans-
formation in perspectives which accompanies increased or
changed activities.

Dwaine Marvick and Charles Nixon, in attempting to
demonstrate how American campaign-workers differ from either
voters or political leaders, point out the problems of
assuming all political activities as part of a single
hierarchy.

> The factors distinguishing barely interested,
> passive voters from highly interested, strongly

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[14]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture
(Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), pp.16-18.

partisan voters are presumed to be the same
factors distinguishing the latter from deeply-
involved, active campaign-workers. In significant
ways, however, an active worker's behaviour and
orientation to politics differs from a voter's,
however active and partisan he is, the campaign-
worker has joined an organization; the voter
has not . . . . The campaign-worker is engaging
in activities that focus his attention upon
influencing the electorate; the voter is intent
largely upon the candidates and issues from which
he must choose.15

The politician, even more than the campaign-worker, is

removed from a general continuum of political participation

because of his orientations, motivation and rewards. "There

is a considerable difference . . .between stopping for a moment

at the polls, mailing a check to the party, chatting about

the campaign, or stuffing envelopes for a few evenings and

undertaking to change one's occupation to politics."16

In a similar way, James C. Davies makes the contrast:

The ordinary citizen is taking part in the process
of making basic ends-and-means decisions for the
members of the society, for all people who are
physically located within the boundaries of the
state . . . . But the candidate differs from the
voter in that he is responsible for articulating
(i.e. giving coherent expression to) the publicly
manifest needs of the members of the society
and the public means appropriate for achieving
their satisfaction.17

15Dwaine Marvick and Charles Nixon, "Recruitment
Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups" in Marvick, ed., Political
Decision Makers (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961), p.194.

16James D. Barber, The Lawmakers: Recruitment and
Adaptation to Legislative Life (New Haven: Yale Press, 1965),
p.14.

17James C. Davies, Human Nature in Politics (New York:
Wiley, 1963), p.24.

Studies of political recruitment and political participation would include considerations of many of the same phenomena; while a distinction may be made between the roles of the voter, the campaign-worker and the politician in a participation or socialization study, in considering recruitment one would be concerned with the way certain aspects of those roles might influence the voter to become the campaign-worker or the campaign-worker to become the politician. In fact, the roles which individuals tend to play are rather stable; "by and large, personality and environment factors encourage persons to stay in their roles. There seems to be a kind of threshold that must be crossed before a person changes roles."[18] The focus of this study, then, will be on the factors, mainly environmental, which stimulate the movement of individuals across a threshold from non-political to political roles. Recruitment describes a process of moving from some role to another.

Further limitations on the term political recruitment have been made for this study to bring the subject into more manageable terms. A major part of Almond's definition -- "trains them in appropriate skills, provides them with political cognitive maps," etc. -- shall be considered a further socialization process within the political system,

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[18]Milbrath, loc.cit.

and not part of the process of crossing a boundary which

recruitment will imply. Also, the study of elite recruit-

ment (in the very narrow sense of the term "elite" -- "a

group of persons in any society who hold positions of

eminence"[19]) is, in terms of this study, a variety of

recruitment, and not something substantially different. If,

instead of a single empirical inquiry, it were possible to

observe individual career patterns, it might be possible

to include in the theory some consideration of recruitment

at more than one stage: into the legislature, into legis-

lative leadership positions, and/or into executive positions.

It was this sort of consideration which Seligman had in mind

when he suggested three types of recruitment[20] (moving up

to higher positions from the next lower level, advancement

by jumps, and entry from outside the political organ-

ization); in this study emphasis will be upon the shift

rather than either starting or finishing points, although

it has been necessary to select a certain "finishing point"

as a basis for empirical research.

The schema,[21] to which the paper now turns, is con-

cerned with the initial recruitment of individuals into a

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[19]Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class (New York: Random House, 1963), p.25 fn.

[20]Lester G. Seligman, "Recruitment in Politics", The American Behavioural Scientist (PROD), I (1958), p.15 Hereafter referrred to as "PROD".

[21]Although the author is tempted to label the succeeding proposal a "model" of political recruitment, such

Canadian provincial legislature; wider application of the theory will be possible, it is hoped, because of the similarities which may be noted in the initial entry into any elective office.

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terminology would not be accurate, for the structure to be described is mainly geared to organizing information about political recruitment, to explaining or hypothesizing (directly) about it. Thus, the term "schema" will be used to describe this research "structure".

CHAPTER TWO

A RESEARCH ·SCHEMA

"Model building should not be indulged in without
careful consideration of the tools necessary to measure the
variables selected for examination."[1] Since the study which
has been conducted in relation to this schema is confined to
a single-time inquiry, and is further limited in other aspects
(to be discussed later), it has been necessary to produce a
new research approach. At least two earlier attempts have
been made in the literature to produce a more rigorous frame-
work for inquiry into the process of political recruit-
ment; these models have provided a worthwhile starting point,
but, as mentioned, they must be modified to suit the research
techniques available to the analyst.

A preliminary definition of political recruitment may
be derived from Herbert Jacob's paper (1962), in which he
views "initial recruitment as a process by which individuals
possessing certain personality traits and occupying spec-·
ified social positions are screened by political institutions
for elective office."[2]

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[1] Jacob, op.cit., p.713

[2] Ibid., p.708.

From that basis, Jacob proposes a model of recruitment in which three factors have an impact on the outcome of the process: personality development, occupational choices and political opportunities. The model which he constructs he calls "longtitudinal" -- one in which a succession of events determine entry into politics. Thus, a man without the psychological syndrome which he describes would not likely be successful in politics; similarly, an individual who does not perform a brokerage occupation is also barred. Also, those who wish to participate must be accepted by the local political system. According to Jacob's model, the individual must, if he is to gain elective office, not be lacking in any of the three components. To some extent, success in one will make the individual eligible to achieve the next step.

Two major drawbacks exist in this model, at least from a research perspective. The first problem arises as one attempts to gather data for the succession of phenomena in the model, for a given moment collection of data makes reconstruction of a sequence of events somewhat difficult, especially when such phenomena occur over a long time period. Secondly, a major component of Jacob's model is personality; the hypothesizing, testing and analyzing of personality traits for politicians is outside the research capabilities of this study.

James Barber also presents a three-part model of

political recruitment. He points out that the study of
political recruitment and official behaviour has been
approached in at least three ways (very similar to the
distinctions in the various investigations made in Chapter
One). From these three types of studies Barber poses that,
in theory, motivations, resources, and opportunities are
the three fundamental elements of political recruitment,
providing three different analytical approaches. In this
case, also, proper forms of all three aspects must be present
for the candidate to be recruited.

The Barber model is also useful for the purposes of
this study, but is not without drawbacks. Since it is
Barber's intention to "maintain a focus on the political
significance of personality impact on the recruitment,adap-
tation, and performance of political leaders"[3], very similar
problems arise with the use of his motivational factor as
arose with the use of Jacob's personality factor. It is not
the intention of this analyst to negate or ignore the impor-
tance of personality in the political process; however, for
the purposes of this research, personality must be treated
as a "non-variant" factor.

Briefly, "elected officials have characteristic

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[3]Barber, op.cit., p. vii. Model developed in
Chapter 1, pp.10-15.

personality traits, the core of which consists of a greater need for prestige, power, helping others, and being in the public eye than the general population; they also rank lower in the need for establishing close personal friendships."[4] There are, in fact, many ideas of just what the political personality actually is. "The political 'type' is variously described in such terms as extrovert, other-directed, oral-optimist. And he is sometimes described by these traits, among others: gregarious, power-conscious, egoistic, affable, and out-going."[5] These are not by any means traits which are all evident in every elected official, nor are they a description of his whole personality. They are simply those characteristics that distinguish elected officials from the rest of the population.

The significant notion here is that psychological factors are not the only ones that recruit individuals into the political arena, "for not all who possess the politician's personality will enter politics or seek elective office. Some of these needs can also be satisfied in business or professional careers."[6] The basis of the present schema,

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[4]Jacob, op.cit., p.715.

[5]Bernard Hennessey, "Politicals and Apoliticals: Some Measurements of Personality Traits", Midwest Journal of Political Science, III (Nov. 1959), p.338.

[6]Jacob, op.cit., p.709.

then, will be, for the most part, "external" factors, or

environmental situations which transform the distinctive

personality type (however it may be described) into an

elected official. While Barber's terminology will be retained

in this schema, it must be remembered that his third cat-

egory -- motivation -- is somewhat beyond the bounds of

research, and thus will be amended to fit the schema to

follow.[7]

The research schema is a structure designed to test

the relationships between the following variables which seem

most important in the recruitment process:

    I - The Recruitment Base (resources)

        A. Social Position
        B. Entrance Assets

    II - The Selection Process (opportunity)

        A. Personal Attraction to Nomination
        B. Nature of the Party System

    III - The Career Perspective (motivation)

        A. The Role of the Legislator
        B. Individual Evaluation

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[7]In social psychology, motive refers to the state of
an organism in which energy is mobilized and directed in a
selective fashion towards goals. It is pointed out that motive
does not refer to the carrying out of behaviour, but to the
state of the organism that accounts for the fact that the beh-
aviour has direction toward a certain goal.
    In the present study, all respondents have made the
same "move", that is, they have all directed their energy to
the achievement of elected office. From that point of view
it might be possible to make some observations of the motivated
behaviour of a large number of persons to achieve some under-
standing of their underlying motive states. However, the drives
involved in most social behaviour are complex and difficult to

An explanation of the significance of each of the variables follows. An overview of the research model will conclude the chapter.

Two points may be noted before the variables are discussed. First, for the individuals themselves, recruitment involves two processes: the transformation from non-political roles to eligibility for influential political roles, and the assignment and selection of people for specific political roles. "Recruitment includes both eligibility for elite status and further selection or assignment to specific elite positions."[8] In some cases, Seligman has described the two portions as "recruitment" and "selection"; thus the term "recruitment" is used here for both a portion of and the whole process. In another case the distinction is drawn between two stages in the recruitment process: "certification includes the social screening and political

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isolate. Thus it is more convenient, and equally as useful, to label motives according to the goal rather than its source or state of drive.

In this study, then, the general term "motivation" is used to designate those factors which relate to the individual's application of his resources towards a particular goal. See Theodore M. Newcomb, et al., Social Psychology: The Study of Human Interaction (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp.21-24.

[8]Seligman, "Elite Recruitment and Political Development", Journal of Politics, XXVI (1964), p.612. Hereafter referred to as "ER & PD".

channelling that results in eligibility for candidacy,
while selection includes the actual choice of candidates
to represent parties in the general election."[9] Despite the
confusion likely to arise with the same term denoting two
overlapping processes, it was felt that the term "certif-
ication" implied too formal a process to be used in this
study. The distinction is very important; the terminology
is most acceptable in the form used.

The second point to note is that some attention will
be paid to comparative criteria, although it may not be
obvious. In other words, it will be necessary to point
out how the variables to be presented will contribute to
comparisons based on ascriptive or performance criteria
and particularistic or universalistic criteria.[10]

I - The Recruitment Basis

With the distinction made above in mind, these first
two variables refer to the environmental resources (as
opposed to personality resources) which provide individuals
with the incentive to perform political roles.

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[9]Seligman, PROD, loc.cit.. Seligman, "Political
Recruitment and Party Structure: A Case Study", American
Political Science Review, LV (1961), p.77. Hereafter
referred to as "Case Study".

[10]See Almond, "Introduction", p.32 and Almond and
Powell, op.cit., pp.47-48.

A. Social Position

It is widely held "public expectation" that legis-
lators will not only represent their constituents psychol-
ogically, but also "physically". That is, it is expected
that the legislator will identify with the values and reflect
the attitudes and aspirations of the constituents, as well
as being similar to them in such characteristics as religion,
ethnicity, and social class.[11] Seligman believes that the
politicians come from various strata and occupations, cor-
responding somewhat to the levels of political work which
may be chosen. Jacob also contends that, despite the assum-
ptions of the elite theorists, political officials in the
United States come from all levels of the social structure.[12]
Kornberg and Thomas attempt to refute this popular idea of
democractic representation, as does D.R. Matthews, whose
study of United States Senators suggested that legislative
bodies are not representative of the populations which elect
them. "In fact, Matthews argued that the more prestigious
the elected office, the higher the status of the office-
holder."[13]

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[11] Allan Kornberg and Norman Thomas, "Representative
Democracy and Political Elites in Canada and the United States",
Parliamentary Affairs, XIX (1965-66), p.91.

[12] Seligman, "Seminar on Comparative Political Elites",
mimeo, p.5. Hereafter referred to as "Seminar". Jacob, loc.
cit..

[13] Kornberg and Thomas, loc.cit.

While some preliminary investigations tend to support the latter contention -- that recruitment patterns tend to reflect the social system of stratification -- at least to the extent that the voter seeks "the successful, the respected man -- the common man writ large, so to speak"[14], such judgements are by no means conclusive. A minor objective of this study will be to examine the extent of social stratification among legislators. A second objective will be an evaluation of Matthew's contention that there will be a difference in status between the elected representatives in the various levels of a federal system.

An investigation of the "social position" of the elected representatives will be a crude measure of the extent of ascriptive or achievement criteria in the recruitment process. From a personal viewpoint, class origins, occupational status, and educational levels may be considered ascriptive criteria (although education is decreasing in importance in this area), while from a functional viewpoint, these are achievement criteria. Religious or ethnic affiliations may carry some particularistic importance.

Thus, the social basis from which elected officials begin will be of significance in a theory of recruitment, either because of the presence of large numbers who are

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[14]Frank J. Sorauf, _Party and Representation_ (New York: Atherton, 1963), p.81.

highly unrepresentative of the population of which they are a part (in terms of social origins, education, and primary occupations), or, almost equally important, the low frequency of such individuals.

B. Entrance Assets

In discussing elite recruitment in developing nations, Seligman has noted the blurred line between political and non-political roles; one result of this situation is that there is no clear idea of what preparation is necessary for those who fill political roles.[15] While we may agree that there does exist a more evident differentation between political and non-political roles in "western" societies, there is still no clear notion of what preparation for political roles should entail. Mitchell, in a study of the ambivalent social status of the American politician, suggest that "the fact that Americans have tended to regard political offices as not requiring any special training and the fact that political office has been so accessible to poor and formally uneducated has in turn attracted persons whose performances have not always been very exemplary. Thus, a vicious circle developed . . . ."[16] This variable attempts

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[15]Seligman, "Seminar", p.1.

[16]William C. Mitchell, "The Ambivalent Social Status of the American Politician", Western Political Quarterly, XII (1959), p.696.

to consider the preparation which elected officials made
before seeking office; it includes two categories -- occu-
pation or professional training (regardless of the "status"
of the occupation or profession) and pre-legislative
"political" experience.

In the Jacob model which was briefly examined earlier,
occupation was the crucial social variable, rather than
status alone. What Jacob considered important were the so-
called "brokerage" occupations: "certain occupations fre-
quently place their practitioners into bargaining roles
where they deal with outsiders (non-subordinates) and try
to reach mutually satisfying agreements."[17] The lawyer is
the most common example of the brokerage occupations; other
examples include insurance salesmen, realtors, independent
merchants, undertakers and local union officials.

While it will not be possible to test the longtitudinal
aspect of Jacob's model (that many of the individuals with
his political personality type go into such lines of work,
and thus increase their chances of being recruited), there
are other reasons which facilitate political activity by
"brokers". For one thing, the occupations often allow time
to seek office, either because of flexible daily hours or
because they can often be laid aside temporarily. Many

[17] Jacob, loc.cit.

brokerage roles are performed "at the fringe" of politics and may promote close contact with governmental officials or regulations. Also, brokerage roles allow the individual to develop many personal skills useful in political office (the skill of bargaining, the ability to convince, and the art of "inspiring trust and confidence", as Jacob described it).

Empirical research will be used to attempt to discover the occurrence of individuals with such occupations, as well as the status of any clusterings of such occupations. In this way, some inter-relationship between certain of the variables may be detected (that is, for example, there may be some relationship between the general status of the officials and the occurrence or non-occurrence of brokerage roles).

The second category which describes how an individual may prepare for an elected position concerns those activities in which the individual may gain political skills and support in essentially non-political roles (in terms of this particular reference, "political" means "legislative"). Many formal organizations in society display characteristics which are found in the more general political life of the community -- they recruit members, elect officials, spend money, perform services, etc. In such groups, then, it is possible for an individual to perform many roles which are very similar to roles he might perform as an

elected public official.

While there is a widely held popular view that candidates are self-starters, free of organized social or political relationships, some findings by Seligman in the United States indicate that candidates are the products of "group enterprise". In other words, the so-called self-generated entrepreneurial candidate was surrounded by a network of social relationships from which he gained support for his political aspirations.[18] Consideration of the social networks from which candidates are drawn, and, to some extent, the role played by the individual in those networks, is another rough attempt at discovering the occurrence of the performance or achievement criteria. Some of the networks from which individuals may be drawn include business or professional circles, church groups, service clubs, and in the situation to be investigated (i.e. the middle level of a federal system) local governmental bodies. Further, it is possible to speak of persons belonging to groupings even though there is no formal organization which they have joined. For example, ethnic minorities are often called political groups, for, despite their loose structure, such groupings have some impact on the political behaviour of the system, especially in terms of voting.[19] To some extent,

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[18]Seligman, "Case Study", p.85.

[19]See Milbrath, op.cit., p.131.

the success of individuals whose particular social netwo: ...

are of a certain variety will be a measure of the particular-

istic criteria in the recruitment process.

These, then, are some of the most important con-

siderations which arise in describing the resources of

potential politicians; the mere acquisition of such resources

will not, however, ensure entry into political life. There

must also be a suitable opportunity to apply such resources

in the political system.

II - The Selection Process

There are certain environmental situations which

provide individuals with the opportunity to perform political

roles. The variables to be discussed here are related to

the structuring of the presentation of the candidate to his

party for election.

A. Personal Attraction to Nomination

To be elected to the political roles under consider-

ation in this study, it is almost imperative to have the

support of a political party. The concern of this section is

the roles which the candidates played in the groups involved

in the instigation of their candidacies.

There are four types of "mechanisms of candidate

entry". When the party organization persuades one of its

activists to run, it is often a case where the party is in

a minority position, and feels unlikely to win the election.

This is conscription. When individuals present themselves
to the party organizations in the manner of an entrepreneur
-- eager to get ahead by his own efforts -- it is a situation
of self-recruitment. When the individual is involved in a
social network which is clearly removed from the political
conflict, and he is persuaded to seek election to enhance
public support for the party or the group, it is a case of
co-optation. In some cases the social networks, with or
without the leadership of the potential candidate, take
steps to secure the candidacy of certain individuals who
will act to represent the social network in the legislature.
This type of mechanism may be called agency.[20] It may also
be noted that conscription can also be found in a majority
party; Barber adds such an observation in his study of
Connecticut lawmakers. "When talents are in short supply
the dominant party may have to sell the nomination even more
vigorously than the minority party does, because the nominee
must be persuaded to take on two years rather than two weeks."[21]

It must be remembered that "the pure self-starter,
as defined as the person who files without circles of net-
works, is a rare case indeed. It is suspected that the belief
in this prevalence is a cherished 'myth' in an anti-party

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[20]Seligman, "Case Study", loc.cit.

[21]Barber, op.cit., p.28.

organization tradition."[22] We may say that the self-recruited
candidate is one who transfers himself from particular
social networks in which he has some support into control of
that social network which is geared toward political ends,
namely the party organization. In such a transfer, it would
be unlikely that the candidate brings into the party organ-
ization his circle of social networks; that occurrence would
be more like agency, where the party acts as the agent of
a network other than of its own. It is to be expected, in the
light of the myth of self-recruitment, that most respondents
would designate themselves self-starters; such designations
would have to be tempered by the nature of the social net-
works reported by the respondents and by information about
the party system of the constituency at the time of the
candidate's initial attempt to gain the nomination.

B. The Nature of the Party System

The recruitment of candidates is a basic function of
political parties; the party which cannot nominate can-
didates cannot hope to achieve political power. This variable
concerns the impact of the structure of the political system
on the recruitment of candidates, the structural index

22Seligman, "A Prefatory Study of Leadership
Selection in Oregon", Western Political Quarterly XII
(1959), p.163.

employed being the degree of party competition found in the political system.[23]

On the constituency level, the state of competition between parties will influence the type of recruitment process through which the candidate may pass. In areas safe for the majority party, the officials of that party may not have to instigate or promote individuals to seek the nomination. In such cases the political market is reasonably free for various groups and individuals within the party to promote candidates. In constituencies safe for one party, officials of the other party often have to conscript candidates; this is a case where recruitment may be almost entirely a party affair (i.e. very little interference by outside networks). In more competitive districts, the recruitment process becomes more diffuse as groups, party officials and self-motivateds all instigate and support candidacies.

On the aggregate level (in this case the province-wide level), the degree of party competition affects the status of the individuals recruited, as well as the type of experience which those candidates needed to gain the nomination. A four state study by Wahlke, Eulau, Buchanan and Ferguson suggests that the more competitive the state's

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[23]This type of index employed by John C. Wahlke, Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan, and LeRoy C. Ferguson in The Legislative System (New York: Wiley, 1962), p.119.

party system, the more likely it is for the legislators to have some previous governmental experience.[24] Kornberg further suggests that the more successful the party is electorally, the higher is the status of the candidates which it is able to recruit. Another connection between recruitment and the general political atmosphere is tested by Kornberg on the basis of suggestions by Eldersveld, Ranney, and Marvick and Nixon; this suggestion is that the status of the individuals recruited will vary with the party's position on an ideological continuum. The further right is the party on the continuum, the higher is the status of the candidates. Although some preliminary evidence tends to support Kornberg's own verdict that "in a gross sense the occupational status of Canadian M.P.'s does not vary with the ideological position of the parties but rather with how successful they have been", one of the purposes of the study will be to discover whether any status differentiations exist between the parties, whether based on "ideology" or success.[25]

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[24]Ibid., p.96.

[25]Allan Kornberg, "Canadian Parties as Recruiters", a paper presented to the American Political Science Association, 1966, mimeo.

III - The Career Perspective

When a particular opportunity is perceived in the light of particular resources, the action which will take place at that time will be stimulated by certain motivations. In this schema, as discussed earlier in this Chapter, those motives will be related to the perceptions which the candidate has of the elective offices available, and the evaluations which he has of his own position.

A. The Role of the Legislator

Since, as pointed out briefly, the political recruitment process describes a going from some role to another, this variable is a crude attempt at assessing the importance of the objective toward which the process is directed.

Since there are several facets to representative political work, it is likely that the primary orientation of the candidate will have some relevance to the recruitment process and pattern. Generally, politicians may be directed in any one of four directions: toward the title and its status, to the tasks or skills involved, to the significance of one's position in the larger community, or to a party or institution.[26] Depending upon the orientation which the politician feels that he is following, he may view himself as, for example, a representative, a negotiator, a "watchdog", a technical expert, or a parliamentarian.

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[26] Seligman, "PROD", loc.cit..

This variable is rather highly dependent upon the nature of some of the variables already discussed, and upon some of the assumptions of the schema, mainly the type of personality which the politician displays. A person who has a high status or a commitment to a particular social network may try to make opportunities for himself, while someone who perceives office holders as merely represent-atives of certain groups of people may wait for opportunities to present themselves. One of the interests of this study will be the relationship between certain recurrences in the recruitment basis and selection processes among the office-holders and particular roles which such office-holders might play.

B. Individual Evaluation

In the United States, the office of state legislator is the most common "port of entry" into a serious political career. At the same time, it is a rather non-professional introduction. Salaries are often rather low, meetings are in many cases rather infrequent, and the factor of biennial elections contribute to a rather high turnover in membership. Sorauf, in his study of legislative politics in Pennsyl-vania, found that members of the House of Representatives who stayed for more than two or three terms (and there was a high frequency for such an occurrence) seemed to be at the end of their political careers, or had limited political ambitions because they were content to make their career in

the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.[27]

One of the contentions of this schema is that
perspectives about the significance of a seat in a provincial
legislature in Canada will have some influence on the rec-
ruitment process, at least on the individual level. The
much longer period of office in a parliamentary legislative
system, plus the greater demands upon the time of the legis-
lators contribute to a greater professionalization of the
offices. A further measure of professionalization may be
made in relation to the level of party competition in the
system. Wahlke, et al., made the tentative inference that
in competitive party systems it is important for potential
legislators to have had some governmental experience before
seeking a seat in the legislature.[28] At the same time it may
be considered that professionalization arises also because
of the small turnover and long tenure in the membership of
the legislature. Thus, individual attitudes towards the
recruitment process and participation in that process, will
be significant if the hopeful candidate considers himself
a professional or at least knows that he faces the prospect
of becoming a professional politician.

Related to the above point is the importance which
the individual attaches to the office which he has attained

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[27]Sorauf, op.cit., Chapter 4, pp.63-94.

[28]Wahlke, et al., op.cit., p.98.

in relation to other elective offices or other areas of
"public service". The recruitment process through which
individuals pass may be influenced by the individual's
assessment of the alternatives which he has available.

IV - An Overview

The process with which this study is concerned, then,
is the one by which individuals with certain expectations
and occupying certain specified social positions in their
community present themselves and are screened by represent-
atives of political institutions for elective office.

In general terms, the three pairs of variables of
this schema correspond to the three main elements of the
process -- resources, opportunities and motivation (inter-
preted as expectations). This is not the longitudinal
schema of recruitment, as is Jacob's model. In that case,
a proper personality for political activity had to be
isolated first; very often, persons with such personalities
choose brokerage occupations. Finally, an opportunity in
the local political system would have to arise. The three
sets of variables in the present model will each simultaneously
although probably to different degrees, have some impact
upon the actual process by which a given individual moves
into elective office.

The variables, also, are not so clear-cut as Jacob's
variables. In fact, they are highly interdependent and re-
inforcing. The schema attempts to do what Barber considered

a model of political recruitment could not do: it treats
the three elements as three different approaches, although
to Barber from an operational, research perspective, it is
impossible to consider each element in isolation.[29]

The general applicability of the schema will hope-
fully be based upon the differences in emphasis among the
three variables as they are applied in several political
systems. "In every society there are more or less definable
grooves to political power. The determinateness of the
routes themselves distinguishes one political system from
another."[30] The value of this set of variables must come
from some application of them in an "experimental" situation.
The variables, then, have been transformed into several
hypotheses about the expectations which may be made about
their application to the political system known as the Province
of Ontario.

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[29]Barber, op.cit., p.15.

[30]Seligman, "ER & PD", p.620.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

"Geographically and historically, Ontario is, in
many ways, the keystone province of Canada. Centrally
located among the ten provinces, it links East and West.
Historically its resources, and the activities of its people,
have given it a major role, not only in the economy of the
country but in the development of its institutions, its
public policy and every aspect of its national life."[1]

While Ontario is not the largest province in terms
of land area (Quebec is larger), it is the largest in terms
population (in the 1961 census almost one in three Canadians
lived in Ontario) and the richest in terms of economic wealth
and development.

Ontario has the largest representation of all the
provinces in the Canadian Parliament, with 85 members in the
House of Commons and 24 Senators. As well, many key cabinet
posts are traditionally allotted to Ontario members.

As a separate political system, the Province of
Ontario is governed by a unicameral legislature which supports
an Executive Council (Cabinet) from within its membership.

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[1] George W. Brown, "Ontario", Encyclopedia Canadiana,
Vol. 8(Toronto: Grolier, 1965), p.29.

The Legislative Assembly had 108 seats for the 1963 General Election, and will have 117 seats when the next General Election is called. All members of the Assembly are elected by simple plurality in single-member districts for a maximum term of five years.

In the eight Federal General Elections since (and including) 1945, Ontario has swung from large support for the Progressive-Conservative Party in 1957 and 1958 to large support for the Liberal Party in the succeeding elections. The CCF-NDP during that time won only a very few of the Ontario seats, although their total has climbed slowly and consistently.

TABLE 3.1

Number of Seats Won in Ontario for Canadian House of Commons

ELECTION	TOTAL SEATS	PROG-CONS.	LIBERAL	CCF-NDP
1945	82	48	34	–
1949	83	25	56	1
1953	85	33	51	1
1957	85	61	21	3
1958	85	67	15	3
1962	85	35	44	6
1963	85	27	52	6
1965	85	25	51	9

(Source: Hugh G. Thorburn, Party Politics in Canada, 2nd edition (Toronto:Prentice-Hall, 1966), p.219)

In provincial politics, the story is rather different. In 1943, George A. Drew led the Conservative Party to victory over a Liberal Party which had formed the government since 1934. Since that time, the Progressive-Conservatives have

been immovable with Thomas L. Kennedy (1948-49), Leslie
M. Frost (1949-61) and John P. Robarts (1961-) succeeding
Mr. Drew as leader of the party and leader of Ontario. The
status of Official Opposition has recently been held by the
Liberal Party under a number of leaders, with the CCF-NDP
slipping to a rather minor role in the Legislative Assembly.

TABLE 3.2

Number of Seats Won in Ontario Legislative Assembly

ELECTION	TOTAL SEATS	PROG-CONS.	LIBERAL	CCF-NDP	OTHER
1937	90	23	63	–	4
1943	90	38	15	34	3
1945	90	66	11	8	5
1948	90	53	13	21	3
1951	90	79	7	2	2
1955	98	84	11	3	–
1959	98	71	22	5	–
1963	108	77	24	7	–

(Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1965, p.709)

The most conspicuous feature of Ontario politics, then,
is the absolute and continuous control which the Progressive-
Conservative Party has had over the province. To some extent,
however, certain areas of the province have maintained a
steady commitment to one or the other of the opposition
parties. Notable are the strong Liberal areas in some Toronto
suburbs and in many parts of western and southern Ontario, and
the traditional CCF-NDP core areas of Toronto and Hamilton.
The impact of the 1966 Representation Act, which has created
new electoral districts, may not be significant in terms of
traditional party support in Ontario. Twelve cities in

Ontario have a population greater than 50,000 people, and seven
of these are in metropolitan areas of more than 100,000
people.[2]   Ridings which may be considered rural may still be
in a majority because of the vast areas which the province
covers and the very high concentration of population along
the shores of the southern Great Lakes.

When this inquiry was directed to the Members of the
Ontario Legislative Assembly, there were, as mentioned, 108
seats.   In effect, though, there were 105 sitting members:
two veteran Cabinet Ministers had announced their retirement
from the Legislature.   The recent leader of the Liberal
Party in the legislature had effectively dropped out of
legislative activities because of poor health and was sub-
sequently appointed to the Canadian Senate for his services
to the Liberal Party in Ontario.

This, then, was the general setting in which this
study was conducted.

In order to apply the model of political recruitment
in a "complete" system, it was decided to direct an inquiry
towards the members of a provincial Legislative Assembly.
This is the first level in the hierarchy of political roles
for which party affiliations are relevant in Canada.   Further,

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[2]   Canada Year Book (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), p.190.
A rough calculation from the electoral maps show these twelve
cities have 29 seats; when metropolitan areas are included
the total is 49.

it is at the beginning level of policy-making and issue-
orientation in Canadian politics. While it is perhaps more
valuable to have some basis for comparison for results in
a study of this sort, the very tentative nature of this
particular study encouraged a simple observation of the
pattern in a single setting.

The obvious choice, of course, is the closest legis-
lature -- Ontario's. Several problems of inaccessibility
would have made significant returns from some other provinces
nearly impossible; several provinces held elections recently --
some in which new governments were formed. Such examples
would have provided useful contrasts with Ontario's case;
however, basic information about new members was not available.
Cross-cultural comparisons with the Province of Quebec was
felt to be too difficult at this stage of theory-building.
Further, the fact that the Ontario Legislature is accessible
in person to the analyst was of some significance in securing
the high proportion of returns which were obtained. This,
of course, would not be possible for the other provinces
within the time limits of this study. Some basic information
for inter-level comparisons for this study may be obtained
from such sources as the Canadian Parliamentary Guide, and
some published studies by Allan Kornberg and others.

The basic method of obtaining information was a
mail questionnaire which was sent to all 105 members of the
Ontario Legislative Assembly. In the questionnaire, respondents

were asked about personal aspects of their backgrounds (their own and their father's occupation, education, and social class); about previous party, governmental, and public activities; and about their feelings on and evaluations of the job they perform as M.L.A.'s. A complete outline of the questionnaire will be found in Appendix A.

The main reason that the questionnaire was sent to the entire membership of the legislature was, again, the very tentative nature of this study. The universe was small enough to reach in its entirety, but too large to cover completely in personal interviews. Any sampling in directing the questionnaires would be a very complicated and delicate process in such a small universe. In the distribution of the results, however, there is not a great deal of disparity between the actual distribution in the Legislative Assembly and in the returned questionnaires. The main drawback, and the biggest gap, in the returns lies in the government front benches. Of twenty-four Progressive-Conservative party leaders, responses were obtained from only thirteen. A possible explanation of this situation may be the double duties which these men perform; they are both members of the legislature and responsible executives in some of the largest employing and spending concerns in the provincial economy.

Questionnaires were delivered to the three party offices at Queen's Park at the beginning of the legislative

seesion which opened April 3, 1967 (the fifth session of

the Twenty-seventh Parliament). Returns were received

from that time. A follow-up personal visit was made in mid-

May, at which time second copies were left with some members,

reminders were left with several members, and several

completed copies were collected from other members. In all,

66 responses were included in the tabulations and evaluations.

TABLE 3.3

Proportion of Returns on Questionnaire to MLA's

PARTY	MEMBERS IN L.A.	RETURNS	PERCENTAGE RETURNED
P.C.	76	43	56.8
Lib.	21	15	71.4
NDP	8	8	100.0
	105	66	62.8

The questionnaire responses were transcribed into 145

"yes-no" questions for the purpose of computer tabulation

and correlation. One question from the questionnaire was

dropped from the computation, and information was added about

the nature of the respondent's constituency (as drawn from

electoral statistics and constituency descriptions). From

this form, aggregate data were obtained for use in this

study.

There are several drawbacks to this technique and

inquiry. A major defect may be the questionnaire method

itself, and especially as it is used here, for there is a

bias which this approach often introduces into the information

gathered. This is the problem of reactive measures. As

Webb, et al., note immediately in their book on the subject,

"Interviews and questionnaires intrude as a foreign element

in the social setting they would describe, they create as

well as measure attitudes, . . . they are limited to those

who are accessible and will cooperate . . . ."[3] Many of

the fifteen or more effects in measurement caused by this

technique are sure to be found in the responses analyzed for

this study; more specifically, response sets, role selection,

an awareness of being tested, population restrictions, and

interviewer errors will all be found, and hopefully will all

be noted, in the ensuing study. Some attempts are made,

however, to achieve a more integrative approach by the use

of some available records on the subjects, along with the

measures devised for this study. In addition, though, the

very tentative nature of this study, mentioned so often,

means that this is an initial step in what will hopefully

be a series of "linked critical experiments, each testing

a different outcropping of the hypothesis."[4] A second type

of defect concerns the sources of information in another

way. They are, of course, not the only ones involved --

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[3]Eugene J. Webb, et al., Unobtrusive Measures: Non-reactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p.1.

[4]Ibid., p.174.

a more accurate picture might be obtained from party
workers, defeated aspirants for the nomination, and other
persons involved in the party's nominating process. The
respondents, also, are only those who were successful in
making the transition from private life to the public office.
More information from those who were unsuccessful electoral
candidates and the whole range of persons involved in the
nomination of all of those persons would also be important.
Needless to say, the fact that all of the activity of this
sort which went on for the present members took place
several years ago, as well as the great difficulty of survey-
ing all such individuals means that the given study is
limited in its source of information. While such activity has
been in progress for an impending election, the uncertain
date of that event did not suit the demands of the present
academic year.

In sum, though, there is some merit in directing
the questions to only the successful candidates for the
office of MLA. While background information on the Members
which could be used for the first pair of variables could
be obtained elsewhere, for the most part it is insufficient
for the type of investigation embodied in this study. The
second variables are likely to be most disturbed by subjective
influences, but, as discussed just above, information about
these variables cannot be obtained economically from any
other source. The MLA himself must supply the answers to

judge the importance of the last set of variables, simply because those variables are related to the personal expectations of the individuals involved. For those reasons, then, this study may rely on the responses which the legislators give to this single set of questions.

The paper now turns to the actual results of the survey and their significance for the schema proposed earlier.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STUDY

In the present chapter, the schema described in
Chapter Two will be examined in terms of the Ontario Legisl-
ative Assembly. From information and impressions gained from
the literature, and from the author's subjective impressions
of the Ontario political system, a series of hypotheses will
be posed. For each of these hypotheses a number of questions
were asked in the questionnaire; the results of those questions
provide the basis for the acceptance or rejection of the
hypotheses, and hence, for the schema.

I - The Recruitment Base

A. Social Position

While one of "the most persistent images that Cana-
dians have of their society is that it has no classes",
John Porter has shown that the reality of Canadian society is
much different. He finds not only a vertical mosaic of
ethnically-based social classes, but is also able to observe
that "class differences create very great differences in life
chances, among which are the chances of individuals' reaching
the higher levels of political, economic or other forms of power".[1]

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[1]John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto:University
of Toronto Press, 1966), p.6.

As pointed out earlier in this study, there have been numerous investigations of the socio-economic backgrounds of politicians, or at least some attention has been paid to that aspect of legislative politics in broader studies of legislatures. In all cases which have been examined in the preparation of this study, there has been some consensus that "political decision-makers are not a cross-section of the society but . . . tend to come from near the top of society's system of social stratification."[2] Matthews suggests several reasons for the tendency to select decision-makers from among those with relatively high prestige positions. The first reason is that the recruitment process reflects, and thereby reinforces, the dominant values of the society. The individual who has achieved the symbols of a high social status has attained success according to the society's definition. He is likely to be considered a better man than those who have not acquired the symbols of success. (This point is not inconsistent with the comments from Mitchell supra, page 24. It is possible, in North America at least, to achieve the symbols of success without a corresponding level of personal "qualities".) Financial resources, free time, and the motivation necessary to achieve high elective office are also attributed to those with high status by Matthews.

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[2]Donald R. Matthews, The Social Backgrounds of Political Decision Makers (New York: Random House, 1964). p.56

The final factor is the inequality of opportunity to obtain requisite special training and skills needed to fill technical offices, all of which adds up to "substantial inequalities in political life-chances" in most societies.[3] We should not expect, though, that all decision-makers are of one class, or that they are a homogeneous group. In fact the expectation would be that there will be representatives of most strata of society in the various political activities of the society.

Further, the situation is likely to be one where persons with political resources will have a choice of the type of political office which they seek. This is mainly the case in a federal system where there are at least two legislatures (in the U.S. there may be four) for which the aspiring politician might strive, as well as numerous local offices. Matthews has expressed the expectation that governmental offices are class ranked -- the more important the office, the higher the social status of its normal incumbent. "A stratified society places different evaluation on various social positions, and the prestige of the office or position tends to be transferred to the person who fills it."[4] Thus, the esteem in which the community holds the political office determines, to some extent, which potential politicians seek

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[3]Ibid., p.57.

[4]Matthews, United States Senators and Their World (Chapel Hil: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p.45.

which elective office. "It seems likely that an individual must initially seek an office that commands about the same respect as his own social position."[5]

In the middle level of a federal system, then, we might expect, in the light of both the Matthews and Jacob comments, that the status of the elected members is of a median sort. We would expect that the situation is very much like the trend which Sorauf found in Pennsylvania; the social backgrounds indicated that the legislators came from "second-rung" elites in the status symbol of the districts. They are not part of the "favoured families" but are established and reputable in their own way. Below that, politics in the local areas remained in the hands of the middle or upper-middle status groups, who might use that activity as a means of rising in the local status system.[6]

It seems to the author that as far as this aspect of recruitment is concerned, there would be little significant change in a parliamentary system. Thus:

I - Hypothesis

H_1 Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly will have a generally lower status upon entering the legislature than will Ontario members of the Canadian House of Commons.[7]

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[5]Jacob, op.cit., p.711.

[6]Sorauf, op.cit., pp.75-76.

[7]At the same time, however, both legislatures will have a higher aggregate status than the general population.This

II - Results

The hypothesis may be accepted on a visual comparison of the distribution of the principal occupations of members of both legislatures. It is not possible to perform any other statistical tests between the distributions of occupations in the two groups because of the nature of the raw data on the members of the House of Commons.

In visual terms, then, a slight majority of Members of Parliament held occupations which are classed in the highest level. More than 90% of those legislators occupied the top three categories, while in the Legislative Assembly just over 80% of the respondents reached that level. The support for the hypothesis is based upon the apparent situation in which a greater proportion of MP's held occupations at each of the three highest levels of the occupational scale used.

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expectation is in keeping with the belief that "recent empirical studies of the social backgrounds of political decision-makers have rather effectively undermined the log-cabin-to-congress or for that matter a poverty-to-parliament conception of legislative leadership. The romantic notion . . . has been largely invalidated by the revelation that legislative leaders are elite groups which are highly atypical of their societies."

For support for this evaluation, see the bibliographical references in the article just quoted: Allan Kornberg, "The Social Bases of Leadership in a Canadian House of Commons", Australian Journal of Politics and History, XI (1965-66), 324-34.   Also: Sorauf, op.cit., p.72; Barber, op. cit., p.10; Matthews, Senators, pp.30-33, 44-46; Matthews, Social Backgrounds, pp.23-24, 28-30; Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.134; Kornberg and Thomas, op.cit..

III - Method of Investigation

To explore the relationship between social status
and political recruitment, one of the traditional factors
which contribute to social status was used to rank members
of both legislatures. While income, education, and occupation
as indices of class correlate highly, the most important
single criterion of ranking, and also the one obtained with
the least subjectivity and antagonism, was occupation. Many
scales of occupational ranking are available; the index which
was chosen (it is summarized in Appendix B) takes into
account education and income, as well as comparative nec-
essities. The major Canadian scale, developed by Bernard
Blishen[8], was unaccepted for use in this study because it was
based on the 1951 census and accompanying attitudes towards
the occupational hierarchy. As well, it was not as complete
a scale as the one chosen. Thus, a scale developed for com-
parative use, based on American evaluations of occupations,

The empirical evidence of the study may be compared roughly
to the approximate distribution of the Ontario labour force
in the 1961 census:

Managerial	9%
Professional & technical	9%
Clerical & sales	22%
Service & recreation	12%
Transportation & Communication	6%
Farmers & workers	7%
Fishing, trapping, logging	2%
Mining	3%
Crafts, production process	26%
Labourers & unclassified	9%

[8] Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an
Occupational Class Scale", Canadian Journal of Economics and
Political Science, XXIV (1958).

was employed in the belief that the evaluations embodied
in it were reasonably close to Canadian expectations.

For the MLA's, the basis of ranking is the responses
to questions about their principal occupations; for the
MP's, information about principal occupations was obtained
from the Canadian Parliamentary Guide.

Additional information on the formal educational
achievements of the members of both legislatures was obtained
in a similar fashion. Some comparative information has
also been drawn from other published studies.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The internal distribution of both legislatures
according to principal occupation shows a greater proportion
of MP's held the occupations in the highest rank, with
virtually all respondents in the three highest ranks. The
MLA's, on the other hand, were distributed almost evenly
among the three top ranks, with more in the second rank than
in the others.

TABLE 4.1

Distribution of Principal Occupations on Hollingshead Scale
for Ontario Legislators

OCCUPATION LEVEL	MLA'S	MP'S
One	30.3 % (20)	51.9 % (42)
Two	34.8 % (23)	23.5 % (19)
Three	27.3 % (18)	21.0 % (17)
Four	4.5 % (3)	1.2 % (1)
Five	1.5 % (1)	1.2 % (1)
Six	0.0 % (0)	0.0 % (0)
Seven	1.5 % (1)	1.2 % (1)
	100.0 % (66)	100.0 % (81)

In terms of this model, the fact that a greater proportion of Federal legislators hold higher status occupations would indicate that there may be a difference in the status of legislators in federal and provincial bodies even before entry into political roles.

This trend is further substantiated by the achievements in formal education reported by the two groups. These results show, again, a greater proportion of Federal legislators at higher levels of formal education than MLA's[9]; the suggestion is that differences in social status influences the choice of which electoral office to seek.

TABLE 4.2

Distribution of Formal Educational Achievements - Ontario
Legislators

	MLA's	MP's
Post-graduate*	22.7 % (15)	51.9 % (42)
Bachelor's	27.3 % (18)	17.3 % (14)
Other post-secondary school#	21.2 % (14)	4.9 % (4)
Sec'd'y school completion	9.1 % (6)	12.3 % (10)
Some sec'd'y school	13.6 % (9)	11.1 % (9)
Primary school compl'n	3.0 % (2)	1.2 % (1)
Less than prim.school compl'n	3.0 % (2)	1.2 % (1)
	99.9 % (66)	99.9 % (81)

*includes law training, medicine, etc.
#includes teachers college, business college, other forms of"semi-professional"training

[9]Further corroboration of the trends within these samples may be found, first, in tables presented by Kornberg and Thomas, op.cit., p.94 and p.96. In that case, findings are based on a random stratified sample of the 1962-1963 Parliament. There, 72% of respondents held college degrees, and 60% had some graduate studies. Fully 51% of his sample were listed as "professionals" (level one) and another 25% were"proprietors and executives" (mainly level two). Only 12% had "low status occupations".

Sorauf's study of Pennsylvania shows a great deal of

The occupations which account for the major status trends at each level are, for the House of Commons lawyers, and for the Legislative Assembly, independent businessmen and directors of small corporations. Corresponding to the status differences between the levels is a difference in "legislative competence", which may encourage lawyers to seek membership in the House and businessmen to seek membership in the Assembly. Further, the predominance of a "conservative" party in the Assembly may account for the large number of businessmen in that body.

Information about the social status of legislators in Ontario may permit some other discoveries about the recruitment process. One of these aspects concerns the concept of mobility.

This term is usually applied to an individual in relation to his social environment. The general expectation is that in politics, more than in most other professions, the actors will have moved from the status of their birth to a somewhat higher level before embarking on a political career, or will achieve that higher status by indulging in politics.

In the information available, it will only be possible

similarity with the trends among Ontario's MLA's. The Pennsylvania candidates were 27.8% "professional and semi-professional" (mainly level one) and 36.8% "proprietors, managers and officials" (level two). Sorauf, op.cit., p.71.

to look at the MLA's in the aggregate, but from that basis

some tentative conclusions may be drawn.

I - Hypothesis

H_2 Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly
occupy higher status positions than their
fathers.

II - Results

The hypothesis may be accepted on similar grounds

as the first hypothesis, that is, in a merely visual assess-

ment of the distribution of the respondents on the scale

employed.

From the point of view of principal occupation, the

factor which most often determines the social prestige of

the candidate's family in the community, it seems that most

Members came from middle-to-upper status families. The

greatest clusterings are in levels two, three and four, which

is lower than the major clusterings of the Members themselves,

in levels one,two and three. The simple, and perhaps

oversimplified, conclusion is that the candidates as a whole

pursue more prestigious occupations than their fathers, and

that this indicates the presence of upwardly mobile individuals.

III - Method of Investigation

The occupations of the MLA's were ranked, and

presented, for the discussion on Hypothesis I. Information

was collected and will be presented for the fathers of the

Members in the same manner.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The distribution of the fathers of the MLA's according to their principal occupation may be compared with the information on the MLA's in Table 4.1 page 53.[10]

TABLE 4.3

Distribution of Principal Occupations on Hollingshead Scale
for Fathers of Ontario MLA's

OCCUPATION LEVEL

One	13.6 %	(9)
Two	18.2 %	(12)
Three	22.7 %	(15)
Four	22.7 %	(15)
Five	10.6 %	(7)
Six	1.5 %	(1)
Seven	10.6 %	(7)
	100.0 %	(66)

Additional support for the upward mobility of the Members may be gained by a similar comparison with the level of formal education reached by fathers and sons. In comparing the educational patterns of the two groups, we find a large clustering of fathers (more than half) with less than secondary school completion. For the Members, on the other hand, just under one half completed at least one university degree, while almost half of that number pursued even higher studies.

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[10]Similar trends are seen in figures presented by Sorauf, op.cit., p.78, and Leon D. Epstein, Politics in Wisconsin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), pp.111-15.

TABLE 4.4

Distribution of Formal Educational Achievements-Fathers
of Ontario MLA's

Post-graduate	7.6 %	(5)
Bachelor's	10.6 %	(7)
Other post secondary	4.5 %	(3)
Secondary school completion	10.6 %	(7)
Some secondary school	27.3 %	(18)
Primary school completion	28.8 %	(19)
Less than primary school compl'n	10.6 %	(7)
	100.0 %	(66)

While there has been a growing trend towards more
formal education for the children of all classes, the Members
under consideration here were not, for the most part, con-
tinuing their studies at that time. Thus we may accept
this rough indicator of upward social status for the MLA's
in this study.

In summary, then, the Ontario Legislative Assembly
includes members from, mainly, "middle status" occupations,
although the group is not homogeneous in that respect.
The Members are also, generally, involved in higher status
occupations than their fathers. A supplementary indicator
of social status, formal education, indicates similar trends
on both counts.[11]   On both indices (occupation and education),
the Members of the Legislative Assembly ranked lower in status
than the members of the Canadian House of Commons from
Ontario.

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[11]In a subjective sense, upward mobility was not so
readily expressed by the MLA's. Respondents were asked to

B. Entrance Assets

As discussed briefly in Chapter Two, there are certain types of occupations which provide their holders with some advantages which may be applied directly to political office-holding. As Barber classifies the possibilities, he bases the distinction on the ability of the individuals to arrange their affairs to accommodate an extended commitment in a distant centre. Of the three types described, only one might be expected to be evident to any great extent in Ontario. The three are - those who can give up what they are doing with no financial sacrifice; those whose superiors are willing to release them for candidacy and office-holding; and those in flexible occupations who can postpone or temporarily pass on to others their current duties. In the first

rate themselves and their fathers on a scale of"social-class" based on income, education and occupation. There was considerable reaction to these questions, both in the form of critical comments and conscious omission of responses to the questions.

In the results there is some evidence of the "middle-class syndrome" which is common in Canada. (See Porter, op.cit., Chapter I)

TABLE 4.5

Subjective Assessment of Social Class - Ontario MLA's

CLASS	FATHER	INITIAL SELF*	PRESENT SELF*
upper-upper	1.5 % (1)	0.0 % (0)	1.5 % (1)
lower-upper	4.5 % (3)	4.5 % (3)	15.2 % (10)
upper-middle=	16.7 % (11)	36.4 % (24)	42.4 % (28)
middle-middle	28.8 % (19)	33.3 % (22)	28.8 % (19)
lower-middle	25.8 % (17)	9.1 % (6)	3.0 % (2)
upper-lower	12.1 % (8)	4.5 % (3)	1.5 % (1)
lower-lower	1.5 % (1)	0.0 % (0)	0.0 % (0)
NO RESPONSE	10.6 % (7)	12.1 % (8)	6.1 % (4)
	100.0 % (66)	100.0 % (66)	100.0 % (66)

*See questions 11 and 24 as presented in Appendix A for the meanings of these two categories.

case are found females (for the most part), the retired
and the independently wealthy. At present only one woman
sits in the Assembly, and many respondents indicated that
they had retired from their principal occupations just before
or after their initial election to the Assembly. Independent
wealth is not a political asset in terms of voting sympathy,
and thus all respondents claimed to have some occupation.
There would not be many in the second category of occupations
because of the partisan nature of participation in the
Assembly, and the reluctance of employers to be identified
in any way with any party. Further, the likely connection in
some form or another between the employer and legislative
responsibilities and the long time periods involved in legis-
lative sessions reduce the possibility of large numbers of
Members with occupations of this sort. The main expectation,
then, will be for individuals to have had some sort of
flexible occupation.[12] In addition, many of these occupations
combine free time with opportunities to develop wide circles
of acquaintances so necessary for political success, with
favourable vocational training and with social status.

It may be expected that, then:

I - Hypothesis

H_3 Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly

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[12]Barber, op.cit., pp.233-36.

will have had brokerage occupations before entering the Assembly.

II - Results

Both in visual terms, and in terms of the chi square test, neither group showed a high enough proportion of respondents with brokerage occupations to confirm the hypothesis. Thus, it seems that in Ontario, contrary to Jacob's expectation, a brokerage occupation is not a pre-requisite to entry into political life.

III - Method of Investigation

The principal occupations of the Ontario MP's and MLA's were classified as brokerage or non-brokerage according to Jacob's definition as cited in Chapter Two, pages 24 and 25. A listing of the occupations of respondents as either brokerage or non-brokerage is found in Appendix C.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The samples of the two legislatures displayed virtual equality in the proportion of respondents who held brokerage occupations before their election to the House or Assembly.

TABLE 4.6

Proportion of Ontario Legislators with Brokerage Occupations*

	MLA's	MP's
Total sample	66	81
Number of brokers	38	47
Proportion of brokers	57%	58%

df - 1 x^2 - 1.23   df - 1 x^2 - 1.78

*- for a breakdown by levels, see Appendix D.

The typical image of the political personality is one
of a gregarious person, "the active citizen". Although this
study has attempted to move away from the general "partic-
ipation" concept, there is considerable importance which may
be attached to the type and extent of community activities
in which elected representatives had participated. The
general, although often pejorative, description of this sort
of person as a "joiner" has some merit and political
relevance.

Some of the benefits of such activity was mentioned
in Chapter Two (political skills learned in non-political
organizations), but there are some other assets which the
political party might gain by seeking out such "joiners"
as potential representatives. "Participation in a wide
range of public activity ensures that the candidate has
at least a modest circle of acquaintances, that he is greg-
arious and a 'good mixer', that his peers have found him
socially acceptable, and that he will be known for his in-
terest in the community."[13] While membership can signify
many degrees of loyalty and involvement, at best it seems
that those persons who take part in community organizations
will be genuinely committed to the community's welfare
and have supported that commitment with time and effort.

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[13]Sorauf, op.cit., p.80.

"It would not be amiss to call these joiners the 'go-getters' of the community. Even though academics and intellectuals may dismiss them as Babbitts, they fill the average community's picture of the local leader."[14]

Political experience and involvement may also be gained in public office. In Canada there are (relative to the United States) few possible offices available at the local level for aspiring politicians. Thus, although there is a strong relationship between the activities of local and provincial governments, and considerable dependence upon the provincial government by local authorities, the number of elected members who have had experience in local government (defined simply as membership on any local authority, with no reference to the length or quality of the service), will be less than those who have been active in other forms of political "training".

Since there is no case of a successful candidate for the Legislative Assembly who has not had the backing of one of the three parties, it must be assumed that some experience in the party ranks is helpful in gaining the party's nomination. Even without information about the reasons for initial involvement in the party's activities, the commitment to the party may be measured through the assistance provided in several forms, and the holding of

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[14]Ibid..

executive positions in the party.

The expectation about pre-legislative experience will be that:

I - Hypothesis

H_4 In terms of the pre-legislative experience of the Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly:
(a) most will have had some experience in civic organizations.
(b) fewer will have had previous experience in political party activities.
(c) even fewer will have had experience in other governmental bodies.

II - Results

The hypothesis may be accepted as it is expressed, both in simple visual terms and also in terms of the chi square tests done on each category.

III - Method of Investigation

Questions were directed to the MLA's to indicate the type and extent of participation in "civic organizations", other governmental offices, and their political parties. Answers concerning the extent of that activity is used in the analysis of the hypothesis; answers about the type have been tabulated and are presented in an accompanying note in Appendix D.[15]

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[15]Comparative figures for these tables may be found in Epstein, op.cit., pp.181-207.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The proportion of respondents who indicated that
they had participated in the three types of activity declines
from civic organizations to party to other governmental
offices. The chi square tests of significance also decline
in value in the same pattern.

TABLE 4.7

Proportions of Ontario MLA's with Pre-legislative Experience
in Civic Organizations, Political Parties and Government

EXPERIENCE IN	(a)CIVIC ORG'NS	(b)PARTY	(c)GOVERNMENT
Yes	81.8 % (54)	71.2 % (47)	60.6 % (40)
No	10.6 % (7)	27.3 % (18)	39.4 % (26)
NO RESPONSE	7.6 % (5)	1.5 % (1)	0.0 % (0)
	100.0 % (66)	100.0 % (66)	100.0 % (660

$$df - 1 \quad x^2 - 34.7 \quad x^2 - 27.0 \quad x^2 - 2.59$$

Although we are not able to present the extent of
overlap between the three categories, it may be suggested
that, in aggregate terms, experience in civic organizations
is the most important type of experience which a would-be
candidate should have. Known support for the party,
expressed in terms of holding executive positions in the
constituency organization, is important, although somewhat
less important than the non-partisan activities. Experience
in office is important, although not so important as the
other two.[16]

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[16] It may be noted that Ontario legislators reporting
no party experience are far fewer in number than in any of

Although it has been pointed out that this study is
not concerned with political socialization, one aspect of
that phenomenon may have some relevance here. It has been
observed that, as a group, the MLA's are characterized by
upward status in relation to their fathers. In many cases,
though, political experience and involvement on the part of
a Member may be an extension of a family tradition. In a
case where a member comes from a family with strong political
orientations, he receives a considerable political education
and at the same time may acquire a political name.

Thus, while early family experiences and observations
have some impact on the socialization process which the
member experiences, they also may influence his recruitment.[17]

In Ontario, however, because of the extent of mobil-
ity, we do not expect that there will be a large number of
traditional families in provincial politics.

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the four states in the survey by Wahlke, et al..In one-
party Tennessee, 66% of the legislators reported no party
experience. The lowest proportion reporting no experience
was 41% in New Jersey. Thus, it seems, party activity is
an important asset for those seeking election to the Ontario
Legislative Assembly. Prelegislative experience, however,
conforms more to the patterns found in the Wahlke study.
Wahlke, et al., op.cit., p.95 and 97.

[17]Ibid., p.82-85, and Kornberg and Thomas, "The Political
Socialization of National Legislative Elites in the United
States and Canada", Journal of Politics, XXVII (1962),
pp. 761-75.

I- Hypothesis

H$_5$ The fathers of the Members of the Ontario
Legislative Assembly, because of their lower
social status, will not show a tendency for
political activity.

II - Results

The hypothesis may be accepted as expressed, both
in simple visual terms and because of the high chi square
result.

III - Method of Investigation

Respondents were asked to indicate whether their
fathers had been active in politics, either as a public
office-holder, a candidate or a party worker.

IV - Analysis and Comments

It seems that political experience and involvement
among the Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly is
largely a "first generational" phenomenon. We attribute
this pattern to the upward status of the Members over
their fathers.[18]

TABLE 4.8

Political Participation of Fathers of Ontario MLA's

| Fathers political actors | 28.8 % (19) |
| Fathers not active in politics | 71.2 % (47) |

df - 1 x^2 - 11.01

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[18]Sorauf finds very similar results -- 30.4% of his
candidates reported fathers active in politics (p. 85).
Wahlke, et al., find much higher proportions of legislators

Although there is not a necessity for candidates to live in the constitutions they represent, the actual degree of local involvement may be rather significant in the recruitment process.

The American case, where it is necessary for the legislator to live in his district, shows that legislators have very deep roots in their states, and near life-long attachments to their districts.

The questions which were directed to MLA's in this study only asked them to indicate the number of years in which they have lived in their constituencies. Although the information gained does not permit the pursuit of several interesting questions, it does allow a very crude assessment of the importance of local connections.

I - Hypothesis

H_6 Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly will have maintained long residence in their constituencies.

II - Results

The visual assessment of the distribution of res-ponses confirms the hypothesis, however tentative it might be. More than half of the respondents have lived in their constituencies for more than twenty-five years, many of them reporting life-long residence in the area. A further

with relatives (not just fathers) in politics (loc.cit.).

13.6% report residences of 16 to 25 years; in most cases
these represent most of the adult life of the respondents.

III - Method of Investigation

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of
years they have lived in their constituency.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The distribution of respondents reporting is the
only information available to confirm the hypothesis. There
is no other analysis which can be performed with the type
of data collected.

TABLE 4.9

Length of Residence in Constituency - Ontario MLA's

Never	7.6 %	(5)
Less than five years	1.5 %	(1)
Six to fifteen years	15.2 %	(10)
Sixteen to twenty-five years	13.6 %	(9)
More than twenty-five years	56.1 %	(37)
NO RESPONSE	6.1 %	(4)
	100. 0 %	(66)

Of the five who reported never having lived in the
constituency, all were in metropolitan areas, with the
Member simply living in another part of the urban area.
It may be suggested that any respondent who has lived from
16 to 25 years in his constituency could have settled in
that area after military service in the Second World War
and/or completion of university or other training. In these
cases, the respondents would have effectively established

local roots in his constituency.

In summary, the Members of the Ontario Legislative
Assembly gained some political skills from their occup-
ations, although the proportion which had this sort of
"entrance asset" was much smaller than the proportions who
gained their skills in their "leisure"time. Thus, the most
common form of experience came in civic organizations, with
party activities next in significance and other governmental
activities less important than the other two. Further
implications of these results may be derived from subsequent
portions of this study.

II - The Selection Process

A. Personal Attraction to Nomination

Without the device of the party primary, the selection
of candidates to run in an election in Canada takes place
within the party apparatus. There is no clear impression of
just how new candidates emerge to be chosen by the various
constituency associations, and just which groups have an
influence in that process.

It is known, to some degree, what both the party and
the constituency seek when they choose their candidate: they
try to select potential legislators who are attuned to the
values and interests of the party and who also will respond
to constituency values. Presumably, several persons will
have these orientations in each constituency, as well as some
assortment of the political resources we found relevant

in Ontario.

It is the contention of this analyst that the factor which determines how these "receptive and eligible" people are actually drawn into the contest for nomination is the degree of party competition at the constituency level. As discussed in Chapter Two, the relation of the individual to his original interest in seeking political office, and of the role which the constituency party played in choosing the candidate may be dependent upon the recent success of the party in the constituency.

While the Progressive Conservative Party has formed the government in Ontario for almost twenty-five years, many constituencies have changed hands, sometimes rather often, and sometimes among all three parties. The expectation which would be made is that if the constituency has been a strong-hold for any one of the parties, there will be considerable freedom in the support and selection of candidates within that party, and that the party would either be divided into two or more groups, each attempting to secure the nomination for its candidate, or it would take no large part in the promotion of potential candidates, leaving "outside" groups to rally behind any potential candidates. In the case where the constituency had given consistent support to some other party, it would be expected that people would be reluctant to seek the nomination in one of the minority parties because of their poor chances of success in the elections. In that

case it would be expected that individuals would be approached
by the party, and that it would have to persuade or encour-
age them to run in the name of the party. When the constit-
uency has a mixed tradition (i.e. it has changed hands
often), the case will be more like the former situation;
opportunities for success are possible in the election, so
there will be considerable activity on the part of many
groups in the contest.

        I - Hypothesis

           H_7 There is a definite relationship between the
nature of the selection process and the state
of the party competition in the individual
constituencies. In constituencies which
(a) were held consistently by the Member's
party before his first election, officials
of his party take the least active role
in recruiting candidates.
(b) were held consistently by a party other
than that of the Member before his first
election, the officials of his party
take the most active role in recruiting
candidates.
(c) had changed hands frequently before the
Member's first election, candidate rec-
ruitment is "wide-open."

      II - Results

In a very generalized fashion all aspects of the
hypothesis may be accepted. However, some aspects of the
responses are not consistent with the over-all picture.
In this case, again, acceptance of the hypothesis is based
on simple visual assessments of the distribution of the
alternative responses.

III - Method of Investigation

Using a statistical summary of the electoral dis-
tricts of Ontario, a summary prepared by the province's
Chief Elections Officer, trends in the individual cons-
tituencies for the five elections preceding the respondent's
first election were compiled. Respondents were then divided
into three groups according to the electoral tradition of
their constituencies. Category (a) includes constituencies
in which the respondent's party won at least three of the
five elections, including the last election; category (b)
includes constituencies in which the respondent's party lost
three or more of the elections, including the last election;
and in category (c) are constituencies which changed hands
at least twice, and especially cases where all three parties
won during the five elections.

Answers to questions concerning the Member's original
interest in the nomination, and about his perception of the
role of his constituency party in that original attempt to
gain the nomination, were compiled according to the first
division made in the responses.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The main interest in the data concerns the differ-
ences between the three types of constituencies, although
some connections between the two sections of the data may
have some importance.

TABLE 4.10

Interest in Nomination and Constituency Party Role -
                Ontario MLA's

Original Interest	CONSTITUENCY		TRADITION			
	(a)		(b)		(c)	
Own idea	18.2%	(6)	11.0%	(2)	25.0%	(4)
Suggested by party	21.2%	(7)	41.0%	(7)	12.5%	(2)
Suggested by friends	60.6%	(20)	47.0%	(8)	62.5%	(10)
Other	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)
	100.0%	(33)	99.0%	(17)	100.0%	(16)
Constituency Party Role						
Persuade	3.0%	(1)	17.6%	(3)	31.25%	(5)
Encourage	51.0%	(17)	35.2%	(6)	31.25%	(5)
Favoured other	3.0%	(1)	5.9%	(1)	0.00%	(0)
Support split	30.0%	(10)	29.4%	(5)	25.00%	(4)
No action	9.0%	(3)	5.9%	(1)	6.25%	(1)
NO RESPONSE	3.0%	(1)	5.9%	(1)	6.25%	(1)
	99.0%	(33)	99.9%	(17)	100.0 %	(16)

The typical pattern seems to be one where a group
of community minded individuals urges one of its members to
seek the nomination, and the leaders of the local party
organization (perhaps the same people) confirm support
to the candidate-to-be. These are cases where the primary
support seems to come from non-partisan sources, and sec-
ondary support is offered (rather than solicited) from the
party organization. The case where primary support came
from the party is found, as predicted, in cases where the
Member managed to win a riding which was traditionally in
the opposition's camp. We may suppose that for many of the
respondents the "friends and associates" to whom they give
credit for initial support are actually party workers, for,
as discovered in an earlier test, most Members were active
party workers before their election.

The evidence about the role of the majority party does not indicate either an internal "struggle" to secure the nomination, nor an idle party leadership in the nomination process. In all three categories, the largest proportion of responses came from Members who claimed that the party had to encourage them to seek office. In other words, there was some degree of interest in the possibility (the support of friends), so that perhaps the party was merely ensuring that such eligible people did not pass up the opportunity. We may take this to mean that, in Ontario, the majority of the politicians do not (publicly) regard their presence in the Legislature as the result of their own quest for power or status (the low amount of the upward trend re- ported between parts two and three of Table 4.5 may add support to this suggestion). The main feeling seems to be that they are in the Legislative Assembly because it provides them with an opportunity for public service, or because their constituency had needs which they hoped to satisfy, or because they wanted to advance their party's ideals.

Responses to one of the questions in the survey may also contribute to the foregoing discussion.

TABLE 4.11

Motivation for Election - Ontario MLA's

Professional skills to use	16.6%	(11)
Commitment to group or interest	3.0%	(2)
Commitment to party ideals	19.6%	(13)
Concern for constituency	16.6%	(11)
Opportunity for public service	43.9%	(29)
NO RESPONSE	0.0%	(0)
	99.7%	(66)

In summary, Ontario MLA's do not indicate widespread entrepreneurial activities or attitudes in securing nomination for election. For the most part, they attribute the original support for their candidacies to come, not from themselves, but from their "non-political" (as indicated by the alternative chosen -- friends rather than the party) associates; they further indicate, in general terms, support to have been forthcoming from the party since it actually encouraged them to seek the nomination, rather than seeking to block the candidate (perhaps all candidates the parties wanted to block were actually blocked), or simply sitting back to wait.

In the case where the winner broke traditional support against his party, there was a high proportion of cases where the respondent felt that the party had actually suggested his candidacy. In cases where the tradition was mixed, there was, except for the predominant tendency indicating support from friends, almost equal responses for all other alternatives, indicating that these situations were "wide open".

B. Nature of the Party System

The expectation made in the last section about the importance of the party's electoral success at the constituency level may also have some relevance at the "macro" level of this study, in other words at the province-wide level. While it is the method of recruitment which is influenced by

the state of party competition at the constituency level,
the general level of party success at the province-wide
level will, it is expected, determine the type of candidates
which the party is able to attract.

The relative success of the parties in electoral
activities may correspond to the relative individual "success"
of their candidates. It is expected that in Ontario, the
Progressive Conservative Party will, because of its long
tenure in office, be able to recruit the more "successful"
candidates, that is, those with the highest status. The
Liberals, as mentioned earlier, are reasonably strong in
some areas of the Province; they also have gained some status
of their own because of the successes of the federal wing of
the Party. In sum, they should be able to attract some
candidates from status occupations, although not so many as
the P.C.'s. The New Democratic Party had two very successful
elections in the P.C. era, but have not recently posed a
great threat to the government. Thus, the N.D.P. is not
expected to draw great numbers of high status occupations
because of marginal probability of success.

In Kornberg's 1966 paper to the A.P.S.A., he notes a
trend which was evident in three studies of candidates and
party workers; in those studies it seems that the status
of the recruits which the party was able to attract varied
on an ideological continuum. The further right the party,
the higher the status of the candidates. In the study which

he did himself, he found that this did not hold in the
Canadian House of Commons from 1945 to 1965. Rather, he found
that the variation was based on the relative success of
the parties in the electoral contests in that time.[19] It
would be helpful to test this proposition in the present
case; however, recent electoral successes in Ontario have
corresponded exactly with the right-left continuum -- the
most conservative party has been the most successful, and
the most socialist party has been least successful. Thus,
it seems that the test of such a proposition will not be
possible with the data available at present.

I - Hypothesis

H_8 The status of the Members of the Ontario
Legislative Assembly is directly related to
the competitive position of the parties.
The more successful the party's electoral
record, the higher the status of the party's
Members.

II - Results

In terms of a visual assessment of the principal
occupations of the Members, the hypothesis is not confirmed.
As supplemental measures, education also fails to confirm
the hypothesis, but perceived status supports the hypothesis.
The relationship between these two trends can, it is hoped,
be explained.

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[19]Kornberg, "Parties as Recruiters in the Canadian
Parliamentary System", a paper presented to the American
Political Science Association, 1966, mimeo.

III - Method of Investigation

The breakdown of the sample according to principal occupation, used in previous discussions, was further divided according to the party affiliations of the respondents. Tabulations on formal education and perceived class, as developed earlier, will be presented on party lines also.

IV - Analysis and Comments

Although the evidence does not support the hypothesis, the pattern which emerges in some aspects of the results are interesting in their relation to the recruitment process.

TABLE 4.12

Distribution of Principal Occupations on Hollingshead Scale
for Ontario MLA's - by Party

OCCUP'N LEVEL	P.C.'s	LIB's	N.D.P.'s
One	30.2% (13)	40.9% (6)	12.5% (1)
Two	46.5% (20)	20.0% (3)	0.0% (0)
Three	16.3% (7)	40.0% (6)	62.5% (5)
Four	4.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	12.5% (1)
Five	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	12.5% (1)
Six	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Seven	2.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
	100.0% (43)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (8)

TABLE 4.13

Distribution of Formal Educational Achievements - Ontario
MLA's by Party

	P.C.'s	LIB's	N.D.P.'s
Post Graduate	16.3% (7)	26.6% (4)	50.00%(4)
Bachelor	23.2% (10)	40.0% (6)	12.25%(1)
Other post second'y	23.2% (10)	13.3% (2)	12.25%(1)
Second'y compl'n	13.9% (6)	13.3% (2)	0.00%(0)
Some sec'd'y school	20.9% (9)	0.0% (0)	0.00%(0)
Primary school compl'n	2.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	12.25%(1)
Less prim.sch.compl'n	0.0% (0)	6.6% (1)	12.25%(1)
	99.8% (43)	99.8% (15)	100.00%(8)

The high proportion of lower status occupations among the N.D.P. is caused by two factors; the first is the leftist tendencies of the party, and its willingness to support for candidacies many who represent the occupational groups which support the party electorally. The second cause of a low concentration of occupations is based on the occurrence within the party membership of three respondents who held organizational posts in the Party or a trade union before their election to the Assembly. These men were highly educated (all three had done some graduate studies), but the posts are not high in the occupational status hierarchy. The image of the working man's party is evident in their perceptions of themselves as coming from lower class rankings, but not climbing into the upper levels because of their political successes.

The high proportion of Liberal respondents at the top end of the hierarchies is caused by the fact that the sample of Members is drawn from professionally trained occupations or from the group of independent businessmen or managers. In general, the group felt that it had middle class values, with only minimal shifts in status evident because of political office-holding.

It may be expected that since the Progressive Conservatives have been successful for so long, and with such wide recent majorities, that it is likely that there will be more diversity in the Party's membership. The large

number of businessmen draws the emphasis in the distrib-
ution of occupational status downward (although if economic
status were measured in this case, the pattern might be
considerably different), and since many are so-called "self-
made" men in the North American tradition, there would be
a lower average level of education in this group, since many
would have left school at an early age (in many cases before
or during the 1930's) to go into the commercial and industrial
world.

The pattern of perceived class among the parties, the
only case in which the hypothesis seems valid, might suggest
that the hypothesis could be supported in future tests.
This speculation is based on the suggestion that those Members
who consider themselves as having a high status have tended
to gather in the Progressive Conservative Party. The hypoth-
esis could be supported if it were established that these
Members were using the Progressive Conservative Party to
support their higher status.

TABLE 4.14

Subjective Assessment of Social Class - Ontario MLA's -
by Party

(a)PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVES

	INITIAL	PRESENT
upper-upper	0.00% (0)	2.3% (1)
lower-upper	6.97% (3)	20.9% (9)
upper-middle	34.88% (15)	41.9% (18)
middle-middle	34.88% (15)	23.2% (10)
lower-middle	4.65% (2)	0.0% (0)
upper-lower	4.65% (2)	2.3% (1)
lower-lower	0.00% (0)	0.0% (0)
NO RESPONSE	13.95% (6)	9.3% (4)
	99.98% (43)	99.9% (43)

TABLE 4.14, cont'd

(b)LIBERALS

	INITIAL	PRESENT
upper-upper	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
lower-upper	0.0% (0)	6.6% (1)
upper-middle	40.0% (6)	40.0% (6)
middle-middle	33.3% (5)	40.0% (6)
lower-middle	13.3% (2)	6.6% (1)
upper-lower	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
lower-lower	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
NO RESPONSE	13.3% (2)	6.6% (1)
	99.9% (15)	99.8% (15)

(c)NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

	INITIAL	PRESENT
upper-upper	0.00%(0)	0.00%(0)
lower-upper	0.00%(0)	0.00%(0)
upper-middle	37.75%(3)	50.00%(4)
middle-middle	25.00%(2)	37.75%(3)
lower-middle	25.00%(2)	12.25%(1)
upper-lower	12.25%(1)	0.00%(0)
lower-lower	0.00%(0)	0.00%(0)
NO RESPONSE	0.00%(0)	0.00%(0)
	100.00%(8)	100.00%(8)

In summary, there does not seem to be a direct correlation between party success and the status of its Members, at least so far as this study is concerned. Some evidence exists, in very tentative form, to suggest that such a correlation might be discovered in later tests.

III - The Career Perspective

A. The Role of the Legislator

In a parliamentary system, the legislator does not have the flexibility in his activities which the congressional member is able to attempt. The control of the Cabinet over the business of the Assembly and over the spending of money is rather strong. Cabinet Ministers, of course, have

some specialized roles in the legislature, as well as some
members of the opposition parties who take on specialized
critical roles. In fact, there are several roles which the
legislator might attempt to play to advance either himself
or some particular cause. We are interested in what the
Member believes he should do with the resources and oppor-
tunities which may give him access to political office.

The hope in this portion of the study is to establish,
again in aggregate terms, whether there are any similarities
in the responses to questions about the recruitment base,
the selection process, and the roles which Members attempt
to play in the legislature. In political systems where can-
didates may emerge from non-party groups to gain political
support, and/or the candidates themselves claim to be orig-
inators of their candidacies, the legislators will feel much
more disposed to play specialized roles in the legislature.
Such tendencies might be evident among those Ontario legis-
lators who fulfill those "requirements", or whose election
to the Assembly was based on some other special circumstances.

In most cases, hoever, there is not likely to be
great motivations toward playing specific roles in the Legis-
lative Assembly. This belief is based upon the trends
found earlier in this study; more specifically, the responses
outlined in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 seem to imply that Members
are not political entrepreneurs nor do they have support
from many non-party groups, at least in the nomination process.

I - Hypothesis

    H_9 The role which the Member of the Ontario
        Legislative Assembly tries to perform is
        directly related to the recruitment base
        and selection process which put him into
        political office. Specialized legislative
        roles will be played by those whose nom-
        ination involved some special circumstances.

II - Results

In general terms, the hypothesis may be accepted
as valid. In earlier discussions, certain patterns were
discovered; Table 4.10 shows that Members credited the
support of friends and associates for inspiring their
interest in political office. They also seemed to feel that
the party was a supporter of their political careers since,
for the largest number of respondents, the party encouraged
them to seek the nomination. In Table 4.11 the respondents
showed that most of their motivations toward the acquis-
ition of political office was based on "altruistic" motives;
most claimed that their interest was not based on personal
skills which they could use in politics, nor in the desire
to advance the cause of specific groups. Rather, responses
indicated interest in the "general welfare" of their cons-
tituencies or of the province itself through the advancement
of the ideals of his party, or simply through the Member's
wish to serve.

In harmony with these general trends are the roles
which the Members felt they were performing in the Legis-
lature. The pattern of those responses indicates an over-

whelming majority of the respondents played simply the role of "representative".

III - Method of Investigation

Tabulations were made earlier of the interest of the legislators in their original nomination, in the role of their constituency party, and in the motivations which they expressed as reasons for seeking election. Tabulations were made in this section on the roles which the Members felt that they were playing in the legislature. The cases of those who expressed specialized roles were examined to determine any trends or similarities in their experiences, both in nominating and before.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The contention here is that the occurrence of a large number of "representatives" may be related to the tendencies described above, where Members feel that they are not involved in political life for their own gain, but for what they can contribute to the party, the constituency, etc. At least two other factors, however, tend to detract from the validity of such a conclusion. For many respondents, the term "representative" was closest to the traditional idea of just what an elected legislator should be. Further, as pointed out, the parliamentary system prevents widespread variations in roles by Members of such bodies.[20]

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[20]A more rigorous discussion of legislative roles shows

Those who listed roles other than "representative" show a number of special circumstances in their backgrounds and selection experiences. Some of the special roles may be explained through perceptions of those trends by the analyst: one Cabinet Minister, a recent conscript from business, considered himself an expert; one N.D.P. Member felt that none of the headings were suitable because he considered himself a spokesman for his party's ideals. Most of those who considered themselves "parliamentarians" were either in the highest status groups, or had fathers or relatives who were active in politics (and thus perhaps felt that they had more knowledge about parliamentary life), or did not live in the constituency which they represented. While those who responded to specialized roles were not the only Members having these experiences, they could be interpreted as special cases which might tend to make the Member believe he had a special role to play in the Legislative Assembly.

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some interesting differences. The rejection of the terms "negotiator" and "spokesman" in this study are supported by the same results among Canadian legislators in the published work; American legislators chose that response in 11% of the cases. But the category of "ritualist" (roughly equivalent to "parliamentarian") was not accepted as a role by any Canadian legislators, but was by 15% of the American respondents. Kornberg and Thomas, "The Purposive Roles of Canadian and American Legislators: Some Comparisons", Political Science, XVIII (1965), p.40.

TABLE 4.15

Legislative Roles - Ontario MLA's

Representative	68.1% (45)
Spokesman	0.0% (0)
Expert	1.5% (1)
Negotiator	0.0% (0)
Watchdog	6.1% (4)
Pipeline	4.6% (3)
Parliamentarian	18.1% (12)
Other	
	99.9% (66)

While the test which has been made here is admittedly crude, and the inferences not entirely evident, it may be stated that the pattern of recruitment and selection seems to have a direct impact upon the roles which the Members perceive to be theirs. In the Ontario case where community interests seem to stimulate candidacy the most widely accepted role is the most generalized role. If there were substantial variations in the processes examined earlier, it may be expected that the elected Members will be more willing to perform more specialized roles in the Assembly.

B. Individual Evaluation

One of the earlier conclusions of this study was that individuals have clustered in the two available legislatures in such a way that the upper level has a greater number of higher status persons. The intention here is to examine, again in rather crude form, how or why individuals choose to seek election at a particular level of the governmental hierarchy. A part of the expectations which the candidate must have are his views upon the impact success will have

upon his occupational pattern; with the long-term nature
of the parliamentary legislatures in mind we would expect that
most members would not expect to be able to continue to
practise their regular occupations. Before proceeding any
further, it would be useful to examine one aspect of profes-
sionalization in Ontario politics.

I - Hypothesis

H_{10} Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly
will consider their political office to be
their principal occupation.

II - Results

The hypothesis is confirmed in terms of a visual
assessment of the responses, and in terms of the chi square
test performed on the results of the question.

III - Method of Investigation

A tabulation was made of the responses to a question
in the survey which asked Members whether they still consider-
ed the occupation indicated as their principal occupation
when they were first elected to the Assembly still could be
considered their principal occupation. If they indicated
that it was not, they were asked whether their political
office was not their principal occupation. Those respondents
who indicated that they still practised their principal
occupation were examined to discover any similarities in
their occupations, or in some other factor.

IV - Analysis and Comments

TABLE 4.16

"Professionalization" of Ontario MLA's

Still practising principal occupation   27.3% (18)
MLA now principal occupation   72.7% (48)

$$df-1 \qquad x^2 - 12.7$$

Of the eighteen respondents who did not feel that MLA
was their principal occupation, all but one were self-
employed, and still rely on these businesses as sources of
income. Five are lawyers in Metropolitan Toronto, and one
is a lawyer who can commute for daily sessions. Another
is a retail merchant in Toronto, and another is a manager
of his own company who can also commute. Two real estate
agents, one insurance agent, one lawyer and one undertaker
from scattered parts of the province would be able to keep
these enterprises in operation in their absence. Similarly,
two others are owners of their own companies and three are
farmers; all of these would be able to maintain some control
over these operations while fulfilling legislative duties.
The only employed respondent in this sampe is the director
of a large public association with headquarters in Toronto.
Thus, although these Members could not consider their legis-
lative office their principal occupation, they were able
to do that because of occupations which could be considered
flexible and/or compatible with legislative life.

A second aspect of professionalization, mentioned

earlier, concerns the relevance of previous experience in competitive political systems (competition again measured by the degree of competition among the parties). The inference made by Wahlke, _et al._, is that experience is necessary in competitive systems; in other words, tendencies towards professionalization will come in competitive systems.

I -Hypothesis

H_{11} Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly who have had previous governmental experience will display a greater tendency to be elected from competitive constituencies than from non-competitive constituencies.

II - Results

If competitive constituencies are those in which there is a two-party or even three-party contest, the results do not confirm the hypothesis. In cases where the individual party faces the greatest amount of competition to succeed (that is, it is a minority party), the expectations of the hypothesis are found.

III - Method of Investigation

A manual resorting of the respondents who claimed to have local government experience was made according to the competitive nature of the constituency (as defined in an earlier test). The proportion of respondents in each type of constituency who reported previous experience was calculated.

IV - Analysis and Comments

The significance of previous governmental experience was suggested earlier in this study. The findings here indicate that candidates who had this experience were very successful in winning constituencies in which their party had not been recently successful. Another related finding is that previous experience is a greater political asset in rural than in urban ridings.[21]

TABLE 4.17

Previous Governmental Experience - Ontario MLA's - by Constituency

TYPE OF COMPETITION	NUMBER OF CONSTITUENCIES	NUMBER WITH EXPERIENCE	PROPORTION WITH EXPERIENCE
Traditional support- Own Party	31	17 - 5 urban 12 rural	54%
Traditional support- Other Party	17	12 - 4 urban 5 rural	70%
Traditional support- Mixed	16	4 - 2 urban 2 rural	25%

Besides the feelings towards professionalization, though, the legislator will have made a more specific evaluation of his own resources in terms of the alternatives available. In Canada, the political career can begin at the municipal, provincial or federal level. It can also proceed

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[21]Some interesting suggestions about the relationship between previous experience and party competition are made by Wahlke, et al. They find that in competitive areas the partys are active in nominating those who have served the party at the local level. Such findings are not evident in Canada because of the non-partisan nature of local governmental offices. Wahlke, et al., op.cit., p.96.

through all three levels. A part of the evaluation of the
alternatives includes the perception of the political escal-
ator,[22] and whether the Members feel that they should attempt
to seek higher office, perhaps because of experience at
the lower level.

As discovered earlier, some sixty percent of the
respondents had some prior governmental experience before
entering the legislature. Only two of them had been elected
to the House of Commons at any time, so that for those two
Members there is not a strong likelihood that they would
consider re-election to be part of an upward trend in their
careers. For the remaining Members, though, it might be
expected that they would seek election at a higher office
if they felt that it could improve their political position.[23]
Those who are content to make a career of their Legislative
office will not indicate any interest in other elective
offices. In an effort to discover the extent of the
"political escalator" tendency in the Canadian federal
structure, it may be suggested that:

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[22]Seligman, PROD, loc.cit.

[23]Respondents tended to agree that there was another
possible office which would be higher in status than the
Legislative Assembly -- the Canadian House of Commons.
For the respondents' evaluations of the various public offices
in the Canadian political system, see Appendix D, "Ranking
of Positions of Public Interest and Service - Ontario MLA's."

I - Hypothesis

H_{12} Members of the Ontario Legislative Assembly who are disposed toward further service in other elective offices will have held previous public offices.

II - Results

Only a very small proportion of the respondents indicated that there were other possible offices which they considered, and even fewer felt that they would attempt to change at this time. Thus, we cannot accept the underlying assumption that there is a logical sequence in service from local to provincial to federal levels, at least in Ontario at the present time.

III - Method of Investigation

In this area, respondents were asked two questions. They were first asked whether there were any other elective offices which could provide them with the opportunity to achieve the ends which inspired their original decision to serve in the Legislative Assembly. Those who indicated there were other possibilities were examined in terms of their previous governmental experiences.

The second question asked whether the Member felt that he could make his greatest public contribution in certain alternative offices outlined in the question.

IV - Analysis and Comments

TABLE 4.18

(a) Other Possible Elective Offices - Ontario MLA's

Yes	21.2% (14)
No	75.8% (50)
NO RESPONSE	3.0% (2)

$$df - 1 \quad x^2 - 9.57$$

(b) Alternative Elective Offices and Experience - Ontario MLA's

Offices desired	Total	No.exper'd	No.non-exper'd
Municipal	3	2	1
MP	8	4	4
Cabinet	2	2	-
Bench	1	1	-
	14	9	5

TABLE 4.19

Career Expectations - Ontario MLA's

Remain in Legislative Assembly	86.4% (57)
Attempt to become MP	7.6% (5)
Enter local government	1.5% (1)
Engage in non-gov't activities	3.0% (2)
Other	0.0% (0)
NO RESPONSE	1.5% (1)
	100.0% (66)

The differences in responses reported in the two tables above may be explained from either one of two possible reasons. The first may simply be the nature of the questions which the Members were asked. The first question simply asked whether there were any possible offices which they might be able to enter, but the second did not ask whether the Member had any intentions (immediately or at some later time) of seeking some other office, but rather which office they felt that they could best fill. The second reason for differences in responses between the two questions would be

plain reality. In other words, because the Member would have to resign his seat and seek election in a legislature which is orientated to many different responsibilities, he would obviously feel that it is in his own best interests to "stay put". Further, if the Member is older, it will not be easy to embark on a new career; if he has considerable experience in the Assembly, he may be eligible for leadership positions in his party. The present Liberal strength in Ontario in federal politics would mean that most respondents in this study (PC's) would not have an easy time winning in federal contests; again, reality means that they will "stay put", and be content to make their provincial post a career.

But at the same time, these trends correspond to some extent with the findings made earlier in this study. The members are, for the most part, from the middle ranges of the status system, and consider themselves middle classes. They also, again in aggregate terms, consider the provincial legislature to be second in importance to the House of Commons. It might be suggested, then, that many Members do not have further ambitions because they realize that the provincial legislature best approximates the status, skills and ambitions which they bring into political life.

In summary, it has been found that most Members in the sample do not have upward ambitions in the federal structure of alternatives. These Members consider themselves professional legislators suited to the task of representing an

electorate in the fields of competence assigned to the
provincial legislature. It may be inferred from this
discovery that, in Ontario, there are two separate party
structures, each recruiting candidates for a different
electoral office. In other words, although there may be
some overlapping in the leadership of federal and provincial
constituency parties (it is usually necessary to have
separate organizations because of different constituency
boundaries), the two groups recruit basically different
people, and do not attempt (or are not successful in attempts)
to select candidates who have been elected at the other level.
Thus, Members of the Legislative Assembly are professionals,
both in their acceptance of the legislative role as a full-
time occupation, and in their desire to retain their membership
in the Assembly.

IV - An Overview

This study has discovered some new information
about the Ontario Legislative Assembly, and about the relation-
ships between and among aspects of the political recruitment
process. Without recapitulating the entire study, some main
conclusions may be drawn, both about the Assembly and about
political recruitment in Ontario.

The emphasis in the political recruitment process to
the Ontario Legislative Assembly is upon non-partisan
orientations, at least in an overt sense. This tendency is
evident in the high proportion of Members who participated

in civic organizations, often in executive capacities, and
who felt that their support for nomination was offered by,
rather than wrung from, the local political party. Most
respondents further felt that the role which they played
in the Legislature was basically one of representative --
a role which is highly compatible with the generalized type
of support which (to the candidates) underlies their cand-
idacies. At the same time, however, partisan activities
are important in the recruitment process for almost as
many Members as participated in non-partisan activities also
played active parts in their local party organization.

Recruitment to the Legislative Assembly has also been
easier for individuals who have achieved some form of
education beyond secondary school, and whose occupations
are of higher status than the population's average occupation.
It is easier, however, for individuals with lower status
occupations or class rankings to be recruited for the Legis-
lative Assembly than for the House of Commons. Most Members
of the Assembly are "professional provincial politicians" --
both in the sense that they have given up their pre-legislative
occupation (at least temporarily) in favour of their
elected position, and in the sense that they have not, to any
significant degree, indicated any political ambitions beyond
the Legislative Assembly. This apparent satisfaction with
the provincial legislature as the scene of a political
career, combined with the fact that only half the respondents

claimed to have had local government experience may be further support for the earlier contention that the Members displayed rather passive attitudes toward their recruitment into the Legislature. In other words, again, while the present position requires most of their attention, their evaluations of the resources which they have brought into political life, and of the various alternatives that the Canadian political system offers them, apparently leads them to accept provincial politics as the most relevant area in which to serve.

The study now concludes with a brief examination of the original schema in the light of the discoveries made in the empirical study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

Through a limited empirical inquiry, based on a narrow
definition of the topic, this study has attempted to
explore the process of political recruitment as a dependent
variable in the political system.

The use of this research schema has confirmed
several aspects of the political recruitment process which
have been examined individually elsewhere. For example, the
basis of social stratification and its articulation with
the political system have both been demonstrated throughout
this study. The upward status of politicians also seemed
evident in the study. The pre-legislative experience of
the legislators in civic and community organizations also
conformed to the expectation that political actors are often
"active citizens" before their election, and have had reas-
onably long association with their community's interests
and needs.

Expectations about other aspects of political recruit-
ment and legislative life were not confirmed in this study.
There was no indication that politics was a "family trad-
ition" among most respondents to the study. Most of the
legislators were content with the most generalized role in
the legislature, and most acknowledged a passive role in

100

their own nominations. A very high proportion were very active in the internal operations of their local political parties, in fact more than in similar studies in the United States.

Some newer aspects of the process were examined in this study, but the results of those investigations were not too successful. The connection between the electoral success of the parties and the status of their legislators, found in other studies, was not found in this case. The original attempts to discover the association between the legislators' interest in political office and the role of his constituency party was also not too successful.

The main drawback in the assessment of this model is based on the absence of clear comparative information. As for what the model set out to do, it is, I believe, reasonably successful. Information has been structured from at least three "directions" into an integrated pattern which may be substantiated by similar results which were observed in several parts of the study.

Further work on political recruitment as a dependent variable must be based, of course, on comparative information. Systems in which there have been recent changes of governments can be compared with those which have not changed; successful candidates may be compared with unsuccessful candidates; two levels of a federal system may be compared directly; or comparisons may be made between

recruitment processes and patterns in systems with different
cultural bases. Other "internal" aspects of the process
which could be examined and incorporated into the model
include, of course, personality and motivations (as proposed
by Barber, and to some extent by Jacob). Research directed
through the parties themselves, or through the constituencies,
will provide added insight from the micro level.

A further interesting variable, which was not
considered in this study, would be the level of salary paid
to the legislators. It would seem to this analyst that
the salary paid to the members might be inversely related to
the over-all status of the legislators; in other words, in
legislatures where Members receive very low pay, there will
probably be more legislators from higher status positions.
Where pays are high, more legislators may have come from
lower status occupations. Such a factor may also have some
bearing upon whether the legislator feels that he has improved
his status through political activities, and also upon the
general impression he has of his role as a legislator.

A most interesting comparative study in Canada
based upon salaries paid to legislators and the social status
of the Members could include Ontario, Quebec and the Canadian
House of Commons. The last group received an annual sessional
indemnity of $12,000 plus $6,000 as an expense allowance.
The Quebec Legislative Assembly, during a time when provincial
"nationalism" was very strong, awarded itself a salary and

expense allowance equal to the Canadian House of Commons; this level of pay would be only fitting, they believed, since they were the official parliament for the French-Canadian nation. Ontario Members receive a sessional indemnity of $8,000 with a $3,000 expense allowance for Members from Metropolitan Toronto, and $4,000 for all others.[1]

Political recruitment can also, of course, be treated as an independent variable. Once a refined model is developed, it can be used to investigate and reflect several other aspects of the political system. The development and stability of a system may be influenced by the political recruitment process of the system. The distribution of status and prestige may be influenced by the political recruitment process of the system. The distribution of status and prestige may be influenced by the political recruitment process of the system. Political recruitment will also have some impact on the political attitudes, and secondarily upon the policies enacted, in the legislative or executive offices of the system.

Thus, a research schema is only a very tentative beginning. Repeated applications and refinements must be made

[1] For all legislative salaries and allowances, see McGraw-Hill Directory and Almanac of Canada - 1967(Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

to achieve a praxiological model -- one from which maximum results may be obtained from the most streamlined approaches. The schema proposed here, while it "moves", requires considerably more molding before it is able to carry out the larger investigations which lie ahead.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO MEMBERS OF ONTARIO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

In those following questions which ask you to make a choice,
please place a check-mark in the space provided.

In the other questions, please write in the appropriate
responses.*

1. What was your principal occupation when you
   were first elected to the Legislative
   Assembly? _____

2. Do you still consider it to be your principal
   occupation? _____ Yes
               _____ No

   If your answer to the above is "No", do you
   consider your position as MLA to be your prin-
   cipal occupation?
                     _____ Yes
                     _____ No

3. What level of formal education did you receive?

   _____ post-baccalaureate studies
   _____ bachelor's degree
   _____ other post secondary school studies
   _____ secondary school completion
   _____ some secondary school studies
   _____ primary school completion
   _____ less than primary school completion

4. What was your father's principal occupation? _____

5. Was your father in politics (as a public office-
   holder, a candidate or a party officer?)
                     _____ Yes
                     _____ No

---

*- In this version, spaces for written answers
  reduced.

6. What level of formal education did your father
   receive?
   ____post-baccalaureate studies
   ____bachelor's degree
   ____other post secondary school studies
   ____secondary school completion
   ____some scondary school studies
   ____primary school completion
   ____less than primary school completion

7. If we use as general terms of reference the factors
   of income, education and income, in what "class"
   (or level of society) would you place your father?

   ____upper-upper
   ____lower-upper
   ____upper-middle
   ____middle-middle
   ____lower-middle
   ____upper-lower
   ____lower-lower

8. How many years have you lived in your constituency?

   _____Years

9. Before your first election to the Legislative
   Assembly, were you active in community organizations
   (professional groups, service clubs, etc.)?
                    ____Yes
                    ____No

   Which ones were most important to you?_____

10. Did you hold any elected positions in those organ-
    izations?
                    ____Yes
                    ____No

11. If we use as general terms of reference the factors
    of income, education and occupation, in what "class"
    (or level of society) would you place yourself
    before your first election to public office?
              _____upper-upper
              _____lower-upper
              _____upper-middle
              _____middle-middle
              _____lower-middle
              _____upper-lower
              _____lower-lower

12. Besides your present office, to what other public offices have you been elected? (please check as many as applicable)

_____local councillor

_____mayor or reeve

_____Federal MP

_____other? please specify

_____none

13. For what public offices have you run and not been elected (even if at another time you were elected)? (please check as many as applicable)

_____local councillor

_____mayor or reeve

_____Provincial MLA

_____Federal MP

_____other? please specify

_____none

14. For how many years have you been a registered member of your political party?

_____Years

15. Before your election to the Legislative Assembly had you ever held office in your party organization?

_____Yes

_____No

If your answer is "Yes", what office? briefly please _____

16. Had you been active in the party organization in any other way? (please check as many as applicable)

_____made monetary contribution

_____attended meetings

_____contributed time in political campaigns

_____other? please specify

_____no party activities

17. When you first sought the nomination for the Legislative Assembly, how had you happened to be interested?

_____pretty much own idea

_____suggested by party leaders

_____suggested by friends and associates

_____other? please specify

18. When you were first elected to the Legislative
    Assembly, was your constituency:
    _____ held by your own party
    _____ held by another party
    _____ a new constituency
    _____ other? please specify

    If your answer was "held by your own party",
    _____ did the member vacate the seat, and you
            won the nomination in an "open contest"?
    _____ did you win the nomination from the sitting
            member?
    _____ were there other circumstances? please
            specify _____

    If your answer was "a new constituency", did
    the area in which your new constituency was
    created show:
    _____ traditional support for your party?
    _____ traditional support for another party?
    _____ no clear support for any party?
    _____ unknown

19. When you first sought the nomination for election
    to the Legislative Assembly, what part did the
    leaders of your constituency organization play?
    _____ persuaded you to run
    _____ encouraged you to run
    _____ generally favoured another candidate
    _____ some favoured you, others did not
    _____ took no action or stand on the question

20. Which of the following descriptions best approx-
    imates the role which you try to fulfill as a
    Member of the Legislative Assembly? (Choose only
    one please)
    _____ a representative of all elements of your
            constituency
    _____ a spokesman for a particular group or
            interest
    _____ an expert on some more technical aspect
            of the responsibilities of the Provincial
            Legislature
    _____ a negotiator -- someone who offers services
            or support in return for benefits
    _____ a watchdog -- someone who attempts to protect
            the interests of the electorate and taxpayers
    _____ a pipeline for the dissemination of infor-
            mation between the electorate and the
            government

(20 -- continued)

_____a parliamentarian -- someone proficient
in the skills of representative democratic
government
_____other? please specify

21. Please rank the following positions of "public
interest and service" according to the order
in which you judge their importance: give #1 to
the most important, #2 to the next most important,
etc. *
_____Federal MP
_____Federal Senator
_____Provincial MLA
_____member of the Bench
_____member of local/county government
_____member of senior, non-elective civil service
_____leader of public association or interest group

22. Are there any other elective offices which could
provide you with the opportunity to achieve the
ends which inspired your original decision to
attempt to serve in the Legislative Assembly?
_____Yes
_____No

23. Do you think you could make your greatest
public contribution as an individual, considering
your skills, your goals, and your experience, by:
_____remaining in the Legislative Assembly?
_____attempting to become a Federal MP?
_____moving into local governmental activities?
_____engaging in non-governmental activities?
_____other? please spcify

24. Using the factors of income, education and occu-
pation as general terms of reference in what "class"
(or level of society) would you place yourself
at present?
_____upper-upper
_____lower-upper
_____upper-middle
_____middle-middle
_____lower-middle
_____upper-lower
_____lower-lower

---

*Responses to this question omitted from computer
tabulations.

25. Do any of the circumstances described below
    approximate the situation when you decided to
    seek the nomination for MLA? (check the most
    important one, please)
    ____you had professional status -- skills and
         experience gained from your profession which
         you wanted to use
    ____you were committed to a specific group or
         interest
    ____you were committed to your party's ideals
    ____you were concerned about the condition of
         your constituency
    ____you were seeking an opportunity for public
         service
    ____none of these

26. If you have the time, could you please attempt
    to expand your reasons for seeking election to
    the Legislative Assembly (as opposed to some
    other public body), and your reasons for seeking
    election when you did. Thank you for your time
    and consideration.

APPENDIX B

AN INDEX OF   SOCIAL POSITION

from A.B. Hollingshead, Yale University

Seven Socio-Economic Scale Positions

1.Higher Executives of Large Concerns, Proprietors and
      Major Professionals

   a. Higher Executives: (Value of corporations $500,000
                                 and above)
       Bank Presidents: Vice Presidents, and Assistant V-P's
       Businesses -- Directors, Presidents, Vice-Presidents,
       Assistant Vice-Presidents, Executive Secretaries,
       Research Directors, Treasurers

   b. Proprietors: (Value over $100.000
       Brokers   Dairy Owners   Lumber Dealers
       Contractors   Farmers

   c. Major Professionals:
       Accountants   Geologists
       Actuaries   Judges (superior courts)
       Srchitects   Lawyers
       Auditors   Military, Comm. Officer
       Clergymen(professionally   Officials of Exec.Br.
                    trained)   of Gov't(federal, prov-
       Dentists   incial or local)
       Economists   Physicians
       Engineers   Teachers, University

2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses,
       and Lesser Professionals

   a. Business Managers in Large Concerns (Value $500.000 plus)
          Advertising Directors   Manufacturers' Rep/
          Branch Managers   Office Managers
          Brokerage Salesmen   Personnel Managers
          Directors of Purchasing   Police Chief
          District Managers   Postmaster
          Executive Assistants   Production Mgr.
          Export Managers   Sales Engineer
          Gov't Officials (minor)   Sales Mgr.Nat'l Concern
          Farm Managers   Store Manager

b.   Proprietors of Medium Business (Value $35,000-
                                         100,000)

Advertising   Farm owners
Clothing store   Poultry business
Contractors   Real estate business
Express company   Rug business
Fruits, wholesale   Store
Furniture   Theatre
Jewellers

c.   Lesser Professionals

Accountants   Nurses
Chiropodists   Opticians
Finance writers   Pharmacists
Labour relations consultants   Social workers
Librarians   Teachers

3. Administrative Personnel, Owners Small Businesses, and
        Minor Professionals

a.   Administrative Personnel   ·

Advertising Agents   Section heads - gov't and
Chief clerks   business
Credit managers   Managers -Dep'ts
Insurance agents   Shops
Purchasing agents   Stores

b.   Small Business Owners ($6,000 - $35,000)
     for example -
     bakeries   garage
     dry goods   manufacturing
     food products   real estate
     funeral directors   restaurant
     furniture   trucking

c.   Semi-Professionals
     actors and showmen   publicity and p.r.
     appraisers(estimators)   reporters, newspapers
     interior decorators   surveyors
     physio-therapists   tool designers

d.   Farmers (own farm - $20,000 - $35,000)

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners
        Small Businesses (under $6,000)
   a.   Clerical and Sales Workers
        Bank Clerks and tellers   route managers
        Bookkeepers   sales clerks
        Business machine operators   shipping clerks
        Clerical or stenographic   supervisors,factories

b. Technicians

Dental technicians   Safety supervisors
Draftsmen   Technical assistants
Inspectors   Timekeepers
Lab.technicians
Locomotive engineers

c. Owners Small Businesses

Flower shop   News stand
Grocery   Tailor shop

d. Farmers (own farm - $10,000 - $20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees and Small Farmers

a. Skilled Manual Workers
   for example -

Bakers   Lithographer
Barbers   Machinist
Bulldozer operators   Mechanic
Diemakers   Painter
Firemen   Policeman
Foremen   Shoe repairman

b. Small Farmers

Owners (under $10,000)
Tenants with own equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-skilled Employees
   for example -

Aides, hospital   Receivers and checkers
Assembly line workers   Solderers
Drivers and delivery men   Steelworkers
Gas station attendants   Welders
Operators, factory machines Wood workers

7. Unskilled Employees
   for example -

Amusement park workers   Peddlers
Dairy workers   Porters
Domestics   Stevedores
Janitors   Street cleaners
Labourers, construction Unskilled factory workers
              unemployed. (no occupation)

APPENDIX C

BROKERAGE AND NON-BROKERAGE OCCUPATIONS

In this study, brokerage occupations were considered to be those occupations in which the practitioner is placed in a bargaining position in dealing with non-subordinate outsiders; the purpose of his mediating position is the achievement of mutually satisfying agreements with these individuals.

Those occupations reported in this study which were classed as brokerage include the following:

industrial supervisor	political organizer or
insurance agent	official
journalist	postmaster
lawyer	real estate agent
merchant-retail	sales manager
wholesale	stock broker
pharmacist(merchant)	undertaker
	union organizer

Among the occupations which were classed as non-brokerage were the following:

accountant	industrial worker
business executive	life underwriter
engineer	machinist
farmer	owner-manager small corp.
firefighter	physician
housewife	senior civil service

Only those occupations which fulfilled all aspects of the definition of brokerage roles were included in the category of brokerage occupations. Some of the occupations

which were not classed, though, provided certain resources
which could be applied to political activity in some form
or another. For example, physicians had wide contacts but
did not perform a mediating role; owners of small firms
(in manufacturing, etc.) would have some flexibility, some
independent sources of income but, again, would not have
a mediating role in everyday life; teachers and professors
might have social status, requisite skills in speaking and
handling people, but their relationship to their students
was not of the mediating, and, therefore, of the brokerage
type.

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

TABLE D.1

Distribution of Brokerage Occupations - Ontario Legislators

OCCUPATION IN LEVEL	MLA's			MP's		
	Total	Brokers	%Br's	Total	Brokers	%Br's
One	20	14	70 %	42	28	66%
Two	23	12	52%	19	8	42%
Three	18	11	61%	17	10	59%
Four	3	1	33%	1	1	100%
Five	1	0	0%	1	0	0%
Six	0	0	0%	0	0	0%
Seven	1	0	0%	1	0	0%
	66	38	57 %	81	47	58%

TABLE D.2

Previous Elected Offices - Ontario MLA's

Local council	50.0% (33)
Mayor-reeve	25.8% (17)
Member of Parliament	3.0% (2)
Other(mainly school board)	19.7% (13)
None	39.4% (26)

TABLE D.3

Electoral Defeats - Ontario MLA's

Local council	7.6% (5)
Mayor-reeve	6.1% (4)
MLA	9.1% (6)
MP	18.2% (12)
Other	4.5% (3)
None	66.7% (44)

TABLE D.4

Type of Party Activities - Ontario MLA's

Party officer	71.2% (47)
Donated money	50.0% (33)
Attended meetings	80.3% (53)
Contributed time in elections	80.3% (53)
Other	21.2% (14)
None	9.1% (6)

TABLE D.5

Ranking of Positions of Public Interest and Service -
Ontario MLA's

POSITION	FREQUENCY OF RANKING							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	TOTAL
Federal MP	29	12	4	4	1	0	0	50
Federal Senator	0	4	4	4	4	6	18	40
Provincial MLA	18	32	5	2	1	1	0	49
Member of the Bench	3	2	11	14	7	4	2	43
Member local/county gov't	5	4	20	7	10	5	2	53
Member senior civil service	3	3	3	8	14	7	3	41
Leader public assoc./ int. group	0	1	2	5	4	16	13	41

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