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AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN
PROVINCIAL BACKBENCHERS

Submitted to the Department of Political Science
of the University of Windsor in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

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1973.

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ABSTRACT

Provincial backbenchers' perceptions of policy are shaped by at least two sets of factors. First, the constitutional and institutional arrangements which exist at the provincial level determine not only the areas of policy with which provincial governments may legally concern themselves, but also at the micro level aid in delineating the policy role of a backbencher in the legislature.

Second, features of the provincial environment, political, social, and economic, shape the demands which the public will exert on its government. The Canadian provinces differ in terms of these environmental factors.

Economic and social issues have been selected as dependent variables for analysis because of their particular salience to provincial backbenchers. Previous studies in the literature suggest that the production of certain types of policy are related to the nature of the party system, the perception of ideological differences among the legislators themselves, the degree of party competition on a micro, or constituency level, level of urbanization, and degree of social integration of the legislator. These variables therefore, have been selected as independent variables.

There is a lack of consistent patterns or trends of association between these two sets of variables on a cross-provincial basis. What does emerge is the perception that backbenchers' views are the result, at least partially, of

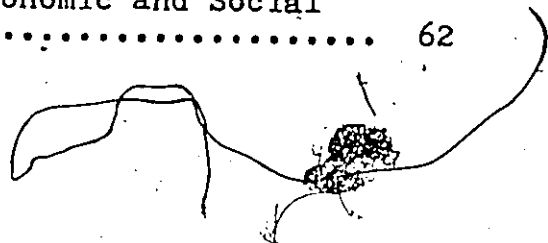
the unique patterning of three clusters of variables,
political, personal, and community, within each province.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This research seeks to examine the policy perceptions of provincial backbenchers as these perceptions are influenced by or associated with individual and environmental factors. It is believed that such a study will provide some insights into the relationship between a backbencher's personal background and political and institutional environment and the types of policy which he views as significant. The research has been prompted by the perception that existing studies of policy-making in Canada have been deficient in both scope and method.

The dearth of literature on provincial policy-making is surprising in view of the considerable responsibilities for the formulation of public policy which the provinces under the terms of the British North America Act must exercise (see Chapter 2). Yet a cursory analysis of the literature reveals that it is the federal government, particularly the federal executive which draws the most study.

The Biography of an Institution,¹ the history of the

¹J. E. Hodgetts, William McCloskey, Reginald Whitaker, and V. Seymour Wilson, The Biography of an Institution, Institute of Public Administration of Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972).

Civil Service Commission of Canada between 1908 and 1967 reveals the technical aspects of policy-making, as does Public Administration,² by J. S. Hodgson, a career public servant.

The literature on the federal executive's role in policy-making is quite formidable. One volume, for example, The Structures of Policy Making in Canada³ contains a chapter, "The Development of Policy Organizations in the Executive Arena,"⁴ which deals with the growth and development of the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council Office, particularly during the last twenty years; "The Role of Royal Commissions and Task Forces."⁵ "The Role of Functional Advisory Councils,"⁶ and "The Role of White Papers,"⁷ all examine other instruments of policy formulation which are available to the executive arm of the federal

²J. S. Hodgson, Public Administration (Toronto and Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

³Bruce Doern and Peter Aucoin, eds., The Structures of Policy Making in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).

⁴Bruce Doern, "The Development of Policy Organizations in the Executive Arena," in Doern and Aucoin, eds., The Structures of Policy Making in Canada, pp.79-112.

⁵V. Seymour Wilson, "The Role of Royal Commissions and Task Forces." in Doern and Aucoin, eds., The Structures, pp.113-129.

⁶Peter Aucoin, "The Role of Functional Advisory Councils," in Doern and Aucoin, eds., The Structures, pp.154-178.

⁷A. D. Doerr, "The Role of White Papers," in Doern and Aucoin, eds., The Structures, pp.179-203.

government, that is, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.⁸

One manner in which provincial policy-making is examined is within the context of federal-provincial negotiations. Much of the work of D. V. Smiley centres on this type of cooperation. In Conditional Grants and Canadian Federalism,⁹ he examines how formulae for financial arrangements are obtained, largely through federal-government conferences. These conferences are the subject of articles by Edgar Gallant and R. M. Burns, "The Machinery of Federal-Provincial Relations: I and II".¹⁰ The growth in these conferences and concomitant committees would indicate a substantial increase in the type of policy which they produce. Frequently overlooked in studies of this

⁸This list is by no means exhaustive. For other interpretations of the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council Office, for example, see Marc Lalonde, "The Changing Role of the Prime Minister's Office", and Gordon Robertson, "The Changing Role of the Privy Council Office", Canadian Public Administration, 14, (1971), pp.509 ff. For other articles on structures of executive policy-making, see also Bruce Doern, "The Role of Royal Commissions in the General Policy Process and in Federal-Provincial Relations", Canadian Public Administration, 10, (December 1967); Doern, "Scientists and Science Policy Machinery", in W. D. K. Kernaghan, ed., Bureaucracy in Canadian Government (Toronto: Methuen, 1969); J. E. Hodgetts, "Should Canada be De-commissioned? A Commoner's View on Royal Commissions", Queen's Quarterly, 70, (Winter 1964).

⁹D. V. Smiley, Conditional Grants and Canadian Federalism, Canadian Tax Foundation, (Toronto: 1963).

¹⁰Edgar Gallant and R. M. Burns, "The Machinery of Federal-Provincial Relations: I and II", Canadian Public Administration, 8, (1965), pp.515-534.

phenomenon, whether it is called "executive federalism",¹¹ or "consociational democracy",¹² however, are two vital facts; first, serious federal-provincial negotiations pertain largely to policy areas for which provinces are constitutionally responsible but for which they lack adequate funds, such as medical care and urban areas. These negotiations seldom include discussion of minor issues for which provinces are totally responsible, constitutionally and financially. The second fact is that these negotiations are not completely open-ended. That is, representatives of both levels of government attend these conferences with policy positions well established.¹³ The question is, therefore, "How are these policy positions established?"

These studies which have been cited are characterized by a historical-descriptive approach. They examine the institutionalized agents of policy-making, particularly the executive, rather than individual actors. While this approach may be limited it nonetheless points out the need for an understanding of the structures of policy-making as a determinant of the policy which is produced. For this reason,

¹¹D. V. Smiley, Canada in Question: Federalism in the Seventies (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972).

¹²Arendt Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy", World Politics, 21, (January 1969), pp.207-225. For a Canadian perspective on this theory, see S. J. R. Noel, "Political Parties and Elite Accommodation", in Peter Meekison, ed., Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality (Toronto: Methuen, 1970).

¹³This was observable at the recent First Ministers' conference at which the number one topic was health care. See "The Conference That Nobody Won", Time, 101, (June 4, 1973), p.6.

considerable attention is given in this thesis to the institutional and constitutional factors which influence provincial policy-making.

One notable exception to the historical-descriptive approach is that employed by Richard Bird in The Growth of Government Spending in Canada. Bird examines existing theories of expenditure as a measure of policy and concludes,

...many of these theories leave one with the impression that the level of government spending is set, as it were, in a vacuum... In reality the level of public expenditure in any country at any point in time is the result of an interlocking series of decisions ... made mainly by those who play the roles of "politicians" and "civil servants" in the society.¹⁴

Bird posits that the difficulty in analysing the political factors involved in the policy process has arisen because of the failure of political scientists to establish a coherent theory of the State.¹⁵ What is implicit in this statement is that the lack of an adequate theory of the State has compelled students of policy to ignore the entire concept of State and its concomitant political features.

In the United States, the states have been the focus of much policy research. Researchers have moved beyond a historical-descriptive approach to the study of policy-making, to studies of individual state policies and their relationship to specific political, social, and economic

¹⁴Richard Bird, The Growth of Government Spending in Canada, Canadian Tax Foundation (Toronto: 1970), p.123.

¹⁵Ibid., pp.128-132.

variables. In early studies, V. O. Key, Jr. examined political variables,- interparty competition, voter participation, and malapportionment and concluded that they were significant in determining policy output.¹⁶ He noted in particular that the presence or absence of a two-party system has a strong effect on the "conservatism" or "liberalism" of state public policies.

Daniel Elazar conceived three typologies of state political cultures and the role of government within each.¹⁷ While the typology has been criticized as being impressionistic rather than empirical, Ira Sharkansky has found some correlation between the cultural differences pointed out in Elazar's model and some kinds of public policy, notably the level of taxation.¹⁸ The model is also invaluable for the attention it gives to differences among the states, a phenomenon roughly equivalent to regionalism in Canada.

Thomas Dye, in Politics, Economics, and the Public, examined public policy as it was related to a state's industrialization, urbanization, wealth, and education, and four variables of its political system,- the party in control of

¹⁶V. O. Key, Jr., American State Politics: An Introduction (New York: Knopf, 1956); and Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Knopf, 1951).

¹⁷Daniel Elazar, American Federalism: A View From the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966).

¹⁸Ira Sharkansky, "The Utility of Elazar's Political Cultures: A Research Note", Polity, 2. (Fall 1969), pp.66-83.

the state government, interparty competition, voter turnout, and degree of malapportionment. He concluded that

Differences in the policy choices of states with different types of political systems turn out to be largely a product of differing socioeconomic levels rather than a direct product of political variables. Levels of urbanization, industrialization, income, and education appear to be more influential in shaping policy outcomes than political system characteristics.¹⁹

He further suggests that there has been a direct link between a state's environment and its policy, with political agencies playing only a minimal role. In an analysis of his own work and of Dawson and Robinson's, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the United States",²⁰ Dye writes that,

most of the associations which occur between political variables and policy outcomes are really a product of the fact that economic development influences both political system characteristics and policy outcomes.²¹

This theory of socioeconomic determinism has not been universally accepted. One argument against all such studies is that the number of policies analyzed has been small, and that a discussion of only expenditure is not a meaningful method to account for policy variations; and government

¹⁹Thomas Dye, Politics, Economics, and the Public (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 293.

²⁰Richard E. Dawson and James A. Robinson, "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," Journal of Politics, 25 (May 1963), pp.265-289.

²¹Thomas Dye, Understanding Public Policy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p.243.

produces policies which are more symbolic or affective than instrumental in nature, and to exclude this type of policy will distort the analysis.

While there is no real academic consensus on the primary determinants of American state policy,²² these American studies nonetheless indicate the importance of environmental variables and the value of empirical research in suggesting the link between these variables and the type of public policy which is produced.

The purpose of this thesis has been stated as "to examine the policy perceptions of provincial legislators as these perceptions are influenced by or associated with individual and environmental factors." The literature on the Canadian policy process, regardless of level, underscores the importance of the structures of policy making. The institutional-constitutional (that is, structural) variable is implicitly seen as important. Further, Bird has suggested that variables of the political system are the "missing link" in the study of policy-making. While much of the American literature tends to discount these political variables for the state policy process, no such conclusion can be drawn

²²The American literature suggests that, depending on the policy area, certain interest groups and pressure groups may exert considerable influence on the formulation and passage of public policy legislation. This influence is exerted on those individuals and groups who have power in the policy process in the United States, such as the executive and legislators. In Canada, both federally and provincially, executive domination is such that interest and pressure groups expend their resources to influence the executive, rather than backbenchers, who are less powerful in the policy process.

regarding the Canadian provincial policy process until these variables have been examined. Furthermore, the literature by American scholars suggest socioeconomic variables, the examination of which might prove fruitful in the Canadian provincial context.

It is perceived that an understanding of a backbencher's perception of policy necessitates a prior understanding of these two sets of variables,- structural and environmental. The next chapter deals intensively with a description of these two sets of variables.

The first, structural, is two-pronged. The constitutional provisions of the British North America Act are explicit; however, the dynamic nature of Canadian federalism since 1867 dictates that a simple list of provincial responsibilities under the 1867 Act will not lead to a complete understanding of provincial policy-making capabilities. It should be obvious, however, that an individual member's perception of what is a significant issue will be coloured by the legal restrictions on the areas of policy with which a provincial legislature may legally concern itself. The fluctuating form of Canadian federalism means, moreover, that at any given time, a provincial legislature may have more or less power than that which would be implied by the Act.

The institutional framework referred to is, in this instance, the body of conventions and traditions which shape the role of the backbencher. Since this study focuses on the

backbencher's policy perceptions, it is important to understand what his traditional role has been in the policy-making process. The necessity for party cohesion and discipline on the floor of the legislature is but one factor which has prevented the backbencher from assuming a more active role in this process. Other factors, albeit less important ones, are the problems of expertise and resources, which are not as accessible to backbenchers as to Cabinet members and party leaders.

The second set of variables, of the type suggested by Dye and other American scholars, will be briefly described in order to suggest reasons for disparities and cleavages within and among the Canadian provinces.

CHAPTER II
STRUCTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON
PROVINCIAL POLICY-MAKING

In any government, public policy is not formulated and enacted in a vacuum. Social, economic, and political forces in the environment, to a significant degree, shape it and determine its impact. These environmental factors exert pressure on the legal institutions of a nation. In a country governed by the rule of law, people look to their government to meet the challenges posed by these social, economic, and political forces.

In an analysis of the Canadian Public Service, J. E. Hodgetts has suggested that some environmental forces are subject to great change. The constitutional framework within which such changes must be accommodated, however, is quite rigid.¹ In this sense, then, public policy may be seen as legislation passed as a response to social, economic, and political challenges within the confines of constitutional restraints.

This chapter will discuss the constitutional and

¹J. E. Hodgetts, "Challenge and Response: A Retrospective View of the Public Service of Canada," in W. D. K. Kernaghan and A. M. Willms, eds., Public Administration in Canada: Selected Readings, 2nd edition (Toronto: Methuen, 1971), pp.85-96.

institutional bases of provincial policy-making. It will then, by means of a description of the social, economic, and political forces that exist in the provinces, suggest the manner in which to explore and explain the differences in policy perceptions among provincial legislators.

Constitutional-Institutional Influences

Legal-constitutional factors, generally less flexible than other facts of political life, determine how policy is formulated in terms of legislation, and in a federal state, at which particular level of government laws may be produced.

K. C. Wheare's definition of federalism, while perhaps simplistic in that it ignores patterns of social cleavages, nonetheless points out an important feature of federal government:

Federal government exists ... when the powers of government for a community are divided substantially according to the principle that there is a single independent authority for the whole area in respect of some matters and that there are independent authorities for other matters, each set of authorities being co-ordinate with and not subordinate to the others within its own prescribed sphere.²

What this passage illustrates is the concept of division of powers between two levels of government. This "principle" as Wheare terms it, is substantially embodied in Sections 91, 92, and 93 of the British North America Act of 1867 and amendments to these sections. While it is true that vital

²K. C. Wheare, Federal Government (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.35.

parts of the Canadian Constitution are unwritten and have evolved through convention and tradition, it is nonetheless true that the "Act is ... of fundamental constitutional importance; it gives the distribution of power between the Dominion and the provinces."³

Because this work focuses on provincial policy-making, the question to be asked at this point may be phrased in simple terms, "What are the areas of public policy with which provincial legislators may legally concern themselves?" The answer lies partially in sections 92 and 93 of the British North America Act.

Section 92⁴ states,

In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subject next herein-after enumerated; that is to say,-

1. The Amendment from Time to Time, notwithstanding anything in this Act, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the Office of Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes.
3. The borrowing of Money on the sole Credit of the Province.
4. The Establishment and Tenure of Provincial Offices and the Appointment and Payment of Provincial Officers.
5. The Management and Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon.
6. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Public and Reformatory Prisons in and for the Province.

³R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, 4th edition, revised by Norman Ward (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.61.

⁴Great Britain, British North America Act, 1867.

7. The Establishment, Maintenance and Management of Hospitals, Asylums, Charities and Eleemosynary Institutions in and for the Province, other than Marine Hospitals.
8. Municipal Institutions in the Province.
9. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer, and other Licences in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial, Local, or Municipal Purposes.
10. Local Works and Undertakings other than such as are of the following classes: a) Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals, Telegraphs and other Works and Undertakings connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the Limits of the Province; b) Lines of Steam Ships between the Province and any British or Foreign Country; c) Such Works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their Execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general Advantage of Canada or for the Advantage of Two or more of the Provinces.
11. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial Objects.
12. The Solemnization of Marriage in the Province.
13. Property and Civil Rights in the Province.
14. The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the Constitution, Maintenance, and Organization of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and of Criminal Jurisdiction, and including Procedure in Civil Matters in those Courts.
15. The Imposition of Punishment by Fine, Penalty, or Imprisonment for enforcing any Law of the Province made in relation to any Matter coming within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in this Section.
16. Generally all matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province.

Section 93⁵ confers the responsibility for education on the provinces, provided that provincial legislation does not conflict with minority rights guaranteed elsewhere in the Act.

According to the Confederation Debates in the Province of Canada: 1865⁶ the father of Confederation saw the provinces as administrative units rather than as political

⁵Ibid.

⁶P. B. Waite, ed., Confederation Debates in the Province of Canada: 1865 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

entities in their own right. For John A. Macdonald in particular, the provision for provincial governments was necessary to procure the entry of four disparate colonies into a fragile union. The functions of government deemed significant in 1867, such as trade and commerce, defence, and banking, were given unequivocally to the central government. The functions conferred on provincial governments, such as social welfare, education, and municipal government were seen at that point as matters of local interest and importance.

Much has been written of the industrialization of Canadian life and the resultant phenomena of urbanization, the growth of social welfare programmes and the development of mass education. While it is a truism to state that these developments have been noticeable particularly in this century, it is a truism which cannot be ignored. Moreover, as the focus of policy concern shifted from world to domestic issues in the post-World War Two era, would-be centralists found to their dismay that these domestic issues lie largely within the boundaries of provincial jurisdiction as defined by Sections 92 and 93 of the BNA Act. Just as the authors of the Act did not foresee the growth of provincial responsibilities, neither did they provide the provinces with adequate independent financial resources to meet these burgeoning responsibilities.

In the face of such difficulties, how is constitutional flexibility achieved? The answer to this question illustrates

the dynamic, rather than static nature of Canadian federalism. Since the original "federal bargain"⁷ of 1867, the Canadian Confederation has faced two world wars, a period of severe economic depression, real or perceived crises of internal security and periods of affluence and prosperity. As important as constitutional criteria are, they are not sufficient to explain Canada's response to these changes in economic, political, and social challenges. These responses have been the result of both formal judicial procedure and formal and informal political and bureaucratic cooperation.

In the immediate post-Confederation period, constitutional judgments rendered by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain tended to give the provinces greater power vis-a-vis the central government than had been anticipated by the writers of the Act. This was done largely through interpretation of the "Peace, Order, and Good Government" clause of Section 91 of the BNA Act. As Von Loon and Whittington state,

... by 1896 Section 91 had been interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in such a way that the once proud Peace, Order, and Good Government clause gave no exclusive legislative jurisdiction to the federal parliament, but rather

⁷William Riker, Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), p.2 ff.

only a residual power that permitted federal legislation with regard to a few matters that could be found neither in the enumerated sub-heads of Section 91 nor in Section 92.⁸

Between 1867 and the 1920's the Judicial Committee decisions persistently eroded the power of the Peace, Order, and Good Government clause, until by 1923 it was construed as a power to be exercised only in times of national emergency.⁹ As students of history no doubt recollect, Bennett's New Deal was rejected as "ultra vires" because the Depression of the 1930's was not deemed a national emergency.

A further restriction was placed on the power of the central government by judicial interpretations of Section 91(2), "the Regulation of trade and commerce." Committee lordships perceived that followed to its logical extreme, a strict reading of 91(2) would "authorize legislation by the Parliament in Canada in respect of several matters specifically enumerated in s.92 and would seriously encroach upon the autonomy of the province."¹⁰ For this reason, therefore, federal trade and commerce power was reduced.

Recent (that is, post-World War Two) judicial decisions have been less characterized by the strong one-sided trend discernible in earlier decisions. This is no small way due to the abolition of the Judicial Committee's position as

⁸Richard Van Loon and Michael Whittington, The Canadian Political Process (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p.182.

⁹Van Loon and Whittington, ibid. See pp.183-185 for a summary of the decisions which built this judicial framework.

¹⁰Montreal v. Montreal Street Railway (1912) 1 D.L.R. 681, p.687, in Van Loon and Whittington, ibid., p.187.

final court of appeal for Canada in 1949. The emergency doctrine of the "Peace, Order, and Good Government" clause has been questioned; Lord Simon's judgment that the real test of the residual clause lay not in the existence of an emergency, but rather in the subject matter of the legislation gave encouragement to centralists; yet as Peter Russell writes of an application of this doctrine,

It prevented a province from encroaching upon a field of legislation already occupied by the Dominion. It may well be that the Supreme Court would be less prepared to adopt Lord Simon's conception of "Peace, Order, and Good Government" if it was required to support the entry of Parliament into an activity already subject to provincial law.¹¹

However, recent judgments related to 91(2), the trade and commerce clause, "have generally leaned towards the expansion of the Dominion's powers."¹² Furthermore, these decisions were based not on a "watertight compartment" theory of division of powers, but rather on the changing needs of an expanding national economy.¹³ In this same manner, perhaps based on the same kind of judicial pragmatism, the "indirect delegation" device has been declared constitutionally valid. While one legislature may not delegate

¹¹Peter Russell, "The Supreme Court's Interpretation of the Constitution Since 1949," in Paul Fox, ed., Politics: Canada, 2nd edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p.120.

¹²Peter Russell, ibid., p.120.

¹³Peter Russell, ibid., p.122.

authority to another legislature, it may delegate to an agency or board of another government. This type of cooperation is significant in a nation in which formal constitutional amendment is very difficult. Other types of cooperation, both formal and informal are operative in Canada between the federal and provincial governments.

The second major constitutional feature is the form of government which all provinces possess, that is, a parliamentary monarchy. The preamble to the BNA Act states that Canada shall have "a Constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom," and this similar principle is embodied in the provincial governments as well, despite some moderate changes.¹⁴ This second aspect of the constitutional framework is important, for it brings us from the macro question, "What may provincial legislatures do?" to the micro question, "What may individual legislators do?"

The system of government which the provinces of the new Dominion of Canada inherited from Great Britain consisted largely of conventions and traditions which, although unwritten, were, and are, an intrinsic part of the British constitution. Furthermore, the Act was in some ways an affirmation of the system of responsible government which was established in the colonies prior to Confederation. In such a system, the executive is responsible, or accountable to the representatives, members of the Commons as it is known federally, or of the House or Assembly, as it is known

¹⁴One change which comes to mind is the unicameral legislature, rather than the bicameral parliament which exists on the federal level.

in the provinces.

Some of the problems which a modern legislature encounters vis-a-vis the executive are illustrated on the federal level; it must be kept in mind, however, that these general problems are compounded in the provinces by other factors which must be examined.

Backbenchers' role in the policy process at either the federal or provincial level are limited by a pair of inter-related factors. First, the advent of party government, first in Great Britain, and later in Canada, established the concept of party discipline. James Bryce, among others, singled out this feature as a particularly pernicious influence on the fate of legislative power over the political executive. "The discretion of representatives is narrowed... The member who speaks as he thinks is growing rare in English speaking countries."¹⁵

There can be little doubt that party discipline robs the individual legislator of much of his right to "speak as he thinks". At the present, however, the strength of party labels and the influence they have in the successful election of candidates, can be interpreted as a mandate given to the

¹⁵James Bryce, "The Decline of Legislatures," in Gerhard Loewenberg, ed., Modern Parliaments: Change or Decline (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), p.26.

executive (that is, the leaders of one party in the House) to formulate policy as it deems necessary.¹⁶

The importance of the political executive in any Canadian parliament can scarcely be overestimated and is the second limiting factor on backbenchers' roles in the policy process. Its general powers, regardless of level, are those attributed to the federal Cabinet by R. MacGregor

Dawson:

- a) The basic legislative power of the Cabinet is the general control which it is able to exercise over the House of Commons at all times ... The Prime Minister, assisted by the Cabinet, leads and directs the House in virtually everything it attempts to do ...
- b) The Cabinet dominates all organization ...
- c) The Cabinet controls all financial legislation ...
- d) The Cabinet, acting as the Governor-in-Council enacts subordinate legislation.¹⁷

What is important to emphasize here is that the Cabinet exercises control not only over the government caucus by means of party discipline but also over the entire House, at either the provincial or federal level, by its firm control over the agenda and procedure in the legislature.

In the Canadian provinces, some unique problems exist in the legislatures in addition to the general problems which are also found federally.

¹⁶John P. Mackintosh, "Reform of the House of Commons," in Loewenberg, ed., Modern Parliaments, p.35-36.

¹⁷R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, pp.226-231.

First, patterns of one party dominance in provincial politics appear to be the rule rather than the exception. In a study conducted by Lawrence LeDuc, Jr. and Walter White, it was hypothesized that this one party dominance may lead to patterns of opposition in which the official opposition party over time is, in effect, co-opted into cooperating with the government.¹⁸ If this is the case, then the opposition, as well as government backbenchers, may be little more than a rubber stamp for the Cabinet's policy proposals.

Second, C. E. S. Franks suggests that in Saskatchewan, and in all likelihood in other provinces, rules of procedure have developed in the House to "protect the Government from partisan attack."¹⁹ For example, in British Columbia, no published records of House debates are kept. The opposition therefore, has no way of reliably pointing out discrepancies in ministers' statements in the House.

On the federal level, Cabinet membership is approximately 10 per cent of the House of Commons. Provincial governments, however, may have the same size Cabinet drawn

¹⁸ Lawrence LeDuc, Jr. and Walter L. White, "The Role of Opposition in a One Party Dominant System: The Case of Ontario," Paper presented at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Montreal, June, 1972.

¹⁹ C. E. S. Franks, "The Legislature and Responsible Government", in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., Politics in Saskatchewan (Don Mills: Longman's, 1968), p. 21.

from a much smaller Assembly. In Prince Edward Island, the Cabinet accounts for nearly one-third of the seats in the House.²⁰ As Schindeler states, "Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of the House or the party taken up by the cabinet, the easier it will be for it to dominate proceedings."²¹ Schindeler further states that:

the size of the Cabinet vis-a-vis the party caucus is of the utmost importance. With a large number of cabinet positions to be allotted, aspiring politicians are inclined to be rather tractable.²²

The operation of committee systems in the provinces does little to hinder executive control of the legislature. The Ontario example is a good one.²³ Committees can meet on only three days, because Mondays are inconvenient and on Fridays, the House sits. Meetings are not well attended; MPP's frequently hold down other jobs, a fact which prohibits full-time attention to their legislature-oriented activities.

The short session which characterizes most provincial legislatures hinders the development of cohesive patterns of opposition to the Government within the House; there is simply not adequate time to fully scrutinize and criticize executive policy proposals.

²⁰F. F. Schindeler, Responsible Government in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 31.

²¹Schindeler, loc. cit.

²²Schindeler, ibid., p. 32

²³Schindeler, ibid., p. 102 ff.

Finally, Franks states that the traditional trend of provincial legislatures, particularly in the West, to unite against the federal government impedes the establishment of partisan competition within the provincial Assembly.²⁴ In other words, a feeling of "them vs. us" among provincial legislators hinders the development of effective opposition in the legislature itself.

The inability of provincial legislatures to nurture patterns of opposition creates a setting in which a governing party is free to enact its policies and programmes. Members of opposition parties have little influence. Furthermore, the disproportionate size of provincial Cabinets means that Government backbenchers are even more dominated than are their counterparts in Ottawa. It is scarcely an atmosphere in which backbenchers' inputs into the policy process are encouraged or influential.

The preceding discussion creates an image of an extremely rigid and inflexible legal framework in which public policy is made. While it is true that the role of a backbencher in the policy process is a minor one, one should not conclude from this that his interest in this process is also small. And minor though his part may be, he still must play a role by voting on legislation when it comes before the House. His views of what comprises an issue are therefore important.

²⁴Franks, "The Legislature and Responsible Government," p.21.

Furthermore, the scope of provincial legislatures' policy-making activity as a whole has changed in recent years. Cooperation between the federal and provincial governments, in the form of First Ministers' conferences, Deputy-Ministerial conferences and widespread formal and informal bureaucratic relationships, allows each level to maintain nominal authority over its particular sphere, while working closely with the other level to support and administer joint programmes. J. R. Mallory suggests, however, that this cooperative federalism has undergone a fundamental change since it was implemented after World War Two. Prior to 1960, it was characterized by a dominant central government, and "cooperation" meant, in effect, that provinces agreed to enter joint programmes under federally-imposed standards and controls. Since 1960, provincial bureaucracies have developed in terms of "experience and quality" and have demanded a larger role in policy planning.²⁵ Because of this, provincial governments have been less willing to rubber-stamp federal programmes, and present federal-provincial relationships are frequently characterized by genuine consultation and, in some cases, confrontation. Therefore, while recent judicial interpretations may have given some modicum of power back to the central government, the growth of provincial bureaucracies and the intrinsic

²⁵J. R. Mallory, The Structure of Canadian Government (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), p.392-393.

regionalism of Canadian government serve to temper any effort to decrease provincial autonomy.

The increasing vocalism of provincial governments has tended to centre on those areas for which provinces are constitutionally responsible but for which they lack adequate financial resources, such as social welfare programmes. While they need federal financial assistance in these areas, the provinces wish to administer them according to their own distinct needs. A second area of concern since the Second World War has been the development of provincial economies, with federal assistance when available, or with foreign investment when feasible and necessary.

One further facet of Canadian federalism should be mentioned at this juncture because of its relevance to this study. It must be emphasized that the foregoing analysis deals in general trends rather than in particular cases. It is probably correct to state that each province enjoys a unique relationship with the central government in some way. In fact, Van Loon and Whittington's perception that provinces now make demands on the federal government as a bloc²⁶ is an interesting hypothesis but begs empirical evidence. In an insightful article, "Symmetry and Asymmetry

²⁶Van Loon and Whittington, The Canadian Political Process, p.224.

as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation,"²⁷ Charles D. Tarleton hypothesizes that similarities between the units of a federal state, as well as the similarities between the units and the state as a whole have a direct bearing on the ability of the federalism to function as a whole. While it is not within the scope or purpose of this study to discuss federalism as a concept, or to directly link the activities of the various provincial governments to those of the federal government, Tarleton's article nonetheless points out a phenomenon which must not be overlooked,-- the distinctiveness of each province. Every Canadian province has its own particular economic base and demographic compositions. These factors in turn have created regional symbols and regional beliefs which find expression in voting habits and public policy demands. Economic disparities have been a constant problem since 1867; these disparities find expression in public demands on provincial legislatures who in turn pressure the federal government for equalization. The conflict between the "have" and "have-not" provinces is a historic one in Canada. What is being suggested here is not that the Canadian union is a fragile one because of the dissimilarities of the units, although this may be true. Rather it is being suggested

²⁷Charles D. Tarleton, "Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation," in Peter Meekison, ed., Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality (Toronto: Methuen, 1968), pp.30-36.

that any analysis of provincial politics must be preceded by an understanding that these dissimilarities do, indeed, exist.

Environmental Influences

Tarleton's model of federalism indicates that the differences among units of a federal system may be as significant as similarities in determining the nature of that federalism. Englemann and Schwartz write that the major divisions of Canadian society have been on "regional-ethnic and regional-economic" dimensions.²⁸ It is interesting, and important, to note that the common factor in these two dimensions is regionalism. The provinces vary sharply in many ways, including the nature of early settlement, the degree of economic development, the amount of industrialization, and the degree of urbanization.

Regional-ethnic dimension.-- It is true to state that the major ethnic cleavage in Canada lies between English- and French-speaking Canadians. Yet what this truth often obscures is that significant numbers of Canadians trace their ancestry to neither Britain nor France. In Saskatchewan, for example, the 1961 census revealed that 53.1 per cent of the populations belonged to ethnic groups other than French

²⁸Frederick C. Englemann and Mildred A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1967), p.16.

or Anglo-Saxon.²⁹ In Manitoba, the non-British groups of society have tended to form a lower class, distinct from those individuals of British origin, many of whom originally came to Manitoba from Ontario. The non-British groups include Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Quebecois, and, much earlier, Indians and Metis. From the earliest days of Manitoba's existence as a province, it has been characterized by ethnic diversity.

These facts are not intended to suggest that the French-English cleavage has been overestimated. The division is indeed a significant one. The province of Quebec is overwhelmingly French; in New Brunswick, 34.2 per cent of the population is French-speaking.³⁰ Large pockets of French-speaking Canadians are also found in eastern and in southwestern Ontario.

Regional-economic dimension.-- As Englemann and Schwartz state, however, the regional-ethnic dimension is but one of the major cleavages in Canadian society. The economic diversities in Canada are also expressed along regional and provincial lines. Since Confederation the individual provinces have developed in different ways; the issue of economic

²⁹John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, "Saskatchewan: Parties in a Politically Competitive Province," in Martin Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1972), p.305.

³⁰P. J. Fitzpatrick, "New Brunswick: The Politics of Pragmatism," in Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, p.117.

equalization among the provinces is a recurring one in Canadian political history.

Diversity is an important word to remember when discussing the economies of the Canadian provinces. The British Columbia economy is based on the extraction of natural resources. Under the BNA Act the provinces have control of their own natural resources, with only minor exceptions. The provincial government of British Columbia is, by virtue of the province's vast array of natural resources, very wealthy. The extractive nature of industry in the province has given rise to a class of entrepreneurs and another class consisting of labourers, frequently radical and militant.³¹ The lack of a major manufacturing industry has hindered the development of a large middle class. For this reason, British Columbia politics have polarized along class lines.

Agrarian interests in British Columbia have been traditionally conservative. Martin Robin writes:

The types of farmers that settled and cultivated these agricultural regions varied considerably but they generally shared an ideological and cultural conservatism which effectively prevented any fusion or cooperation between the farm and labour movement.³²

Furthermore, nearly all British Columbia farmers, as of 1961 approximately 85 per cent hold title to their land.³³

³¹Martin Robin, "British Columbia: The Politics of Class Conflict," in Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, pp.28-29.

³²Robin, ibid., p.32.

³³Robin, ibid., p.33

Also present in British Columbia is a severe regional conflict. The recent expansion of highways in the province has increased communication between the north and south regions, but the cleavage still exists. There is a historical cleavage, too, between the mainland and Vancouver Island. At the present, approximately two-thirds of the population is concentrated in the Lower Mainland region.³⁴ Apportionment laws, however, have not yet been adjusted to the burgeoning population in and around Vancouver. The result has been a consistent over-representation of rural interests.

The three prairie provinces have less urbanized populations than other provinces, especially Ontario, but have reacted in different ways to agrarian problems. In Alberta, the attempt at direct democracy by the United Farmers of Alberta was followed by the religious fundamentalism and political conservatism of the Social Credit movement.

Farming as an industry has declined in Alberta in recent years; the result has been a growing trend toward urbanization. At present, nearly 50 per cent of Alberta's population is found in Calgary and Edmonton.³⁵ Replacing farming as the province's major industry have been the extraction of natural resources, principally oil, and light

³⁴Robin, ibid., p.36

³⁵Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census of Canada, I(1-8), March, 1968, in J. A. Long and F. Q. Quo, "Alberta: One Party Dominance," in Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, p.22.

manufacturing.

In contrast to the increasing diversification of the Alberta economy is the persistent reliance of the Saskatchewan population on one crop, wheat, for its survival. The importance, therefore, of the farmer in Saskatchewan politics can scarcely be overestimated.

The CCF/NDP was born in Saskatchewan in the 1930's as the choice of agrarian interests in the face of severe economic depression. It is important to note, however, that

The CCF's success in 1944, ... was due to events - drought, depression, and war - and their accompanying frustrations more than to popular support for socialism... The aftermath of victory, therefore, was not a revolution in the provinces's institutions.³⁶

The province, according to Courtney and Smith, clings to its British traditions, and the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and other major provincial institutions have perpetuated this tradition.³⁷

The dispersal of a small population throughout a large geographical region has made it difficult for any one institution "to play any role in drawing the various individuals and groups together."³⁸ One process which is of interest to nearly all Saskatchewan citizens has been the process of partisan politics.

³⁶Courtney and Smith, "Saskatchewan," p.304.

³⁷Courtney and Smith, ibid., p.305.

³⁸Courtney and Smith, ibid., p.318.

Manitoba is a poor province. Soil conditions and rocky regions make the land unsuitable for major agriculture; economic development, after World War Two, provided the province with some measure of material prosperity. Yet the major issue in Manitoba politics would seem to be not economic expansion, although this is a significant issue, but rather how the various non-British ethnic groups might share in the results of what economic and social development does occur.³⁹

Ontario, the wealthiest province in Canada, has an extremely diversified economy. Agriculture, manufacturing, and the extraction of natural resources are all carried out on a major scale in the province.

Early settlement in Ontario was partially the result of United Empire Loyalist migration from the Thirteen Colonies at the time of the American War of Independence. These settlers brought with them staunch loyalty to British institutions and traditions.

Today, the ethnic groups in Ontario are more varied, and play a significant role in the electoral support of the provincial parties. In the megapolis area from Oshawa to the Niagara Peninsula are large groups of non-Anglo-Saxon individuals. These groups give much of their support

³⁹ Peterson, "Manitoba: Ethnic and Class Politics in Canada," in Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, p.69-105.

to the NDP and the Liberals on a provincial basis.

Despite the province's over-all wealth, certain areas are economically depressed. Eastern Ontario, for example lacks the rich natural resources of the north and the manufacturing capabilities of the urban areas.

In Quebec the major cleavage is that between the large French-speaking population and the English-speaking Canadians who still control major financial and commercial institutions in the province. The abrupt entry of Quebec into the twentieth century during the 1960's witnessed a rapid increase in economic diversification and development. The waning in importance of such traditional forces as the Church in recent years has been the result. This "quiet revolution" has been accompanied by increased demands on the part of Quebec governments for the federal government to recognize the province's unique place in Confederation.

The economic status of Quebec is closely interwoven with the nature of the major cleavage in the province, the ethnic factor. It is virtually impossible to discuss one without mentioning the other. While manufacturing is not as highly developed in Quebec as in Ontario, Quebec's natural resources make it a wealthy province.

The Atlantic provinces are the most economically backward in Canada. Except in New Brunswick, the region is not marked by severe ethnic cleavages. The reliance on the federal government for equalization payments and massive

subsidies perhaps explains the strength in these provinces of the two old parties which have also held office in Ottawa. That is, the need to obtain aid from Ottawa has perhaps prohibited the success of a minor party, which might have ineffectual bargaining powers vis-a-vis the federal government.

The static nature of the Atlantic economy and political setting may also be explained by the tendency of the young and the educated to leave the region for the more promising areas of central Canada. This means that the status quo may go largely unchallenged; the opposition tends to place itself in voluntary exile.

What emerges from this brief description of each province is the realization that the ten Canadian provinces vary sharply in terms of ethnic composition, economic development, industrialization, and urbanization. It is not yet known whether these socioeconomic variables play a determining role in the nature of public policy output. Yet they are a large part of the context within which such policy is made.

The studies conducted by Dye and other American scholars indicate that in the fifty American states, socioeconomic factors explain much of the variance in policy output from state to state. It is a hypothesis which merits exploration in the Canadian provincial setting.

For this reason, the following chapter will discuss

specific types of public policy and the degree to which provincial legislators' perceptions of them are influenced by at least one of these socioeconomic variables, the degree of urbanization in a community. The empirical analysis is based on the results of a mailed questionnaire, sent to all Canadian provincial backbenchers.⁴⁰

Both legislative behaviour and the relationship between this legislative behaviour and the larger political environment are the objects of considerable interest. An attempt has therefore been made to relate the statistical findings within each province not only to the unique socioeconomic factors which may have produced them, but also to factors which are more strictly political, such as the party label, the identification of a left-wing or right-wing ideology, and the degree of interparty competition on the constituency level.

Finally, a third type of variable has been employed in the following analysis of policy perceptions. The micro level will be examined, to determine if an individual member's level of education and degree of social integration influence his propensity to mention certain specific policy areas.

What is proposed, therefore, is a tentative response

⁴⁰Details of the questionnaire are provided in Appendix I; see Appendix II for a copy of the questionnaire itself.

to the question, "How are legislators' perceptions of significant issues influenced by (1) community variables, such as urbanization, (2) political variables, party membership, ideological identification, and inter-party competition and (3) personal variables, such as level of education and degree of social integration?"

CHAPTER III
THE ANALYSIS OF POLICY PERCEPTIONS OF
PROVINCIAL LEGISLATORS

In this chapter, the policy perceptions of provincial legislators are under examination as the dependent variable in association with specific independent variables.

Dependent Variables

The question used to probe for policy interests of provincial MLA's was originally found in Wayne Francis' Legislative Issues in the Fifty States.¹ Francis contended that

legislative issues cannot be treated as if they all ripened on the same tree and fell from the same branch. They need to be classified, so that their distinguishing features can emerge.²

Similarly, it was believed that a question asking for policy interest would allow for a scheme of categorization, which in turn would permit comparison from one provincial legislature to another. As Francis writes, "This information-gathering technique was used because it seemed that theories of legislative politics must account for differences in policy-making from issue to issue."³

¹Wayne Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p.10-11, 110.

²Francis, ibid., p.9.

³Francis, ibid., p.2.

Canadian provincial backbenchers were therefore asked the following question:

We are very interested in obtaining a more accurate picture of the kinds of issues which characterize our provincial legislatures. What would you estimate to be the most important matters of policy to come before the most recent session of your legislature? (egs. sales tax increase, education, municipal affairs, etc.). Please be as specific as possible in indicating important issues.

In this open-ended question, respondents were given four numbered spaces in which to rank the issues which they considered significant. The responses of all the backbenchers were then coded into twenty-three categories of issue areas. Two additional categories were included, one for those responses which could not be categorized in one of the twenty-three areas, and one for respondents who did not answer the question. The classification system was borrowed from Francis⁴ and revised. Some categories were deleted because they were not deemed applicable to the Canadian setting. Others were added to allow for the categorization of as many responses as possible; 237 respondents provided at least one issue mention in response to this question; all but five of these first issue mentions were coded according to the classification system. Therefore, 97 per cent of first issue mentions were categorized. The twenty-three categories were:

⁴Francis, ibid., p.9.

taxation
 electoral laws and apportionment
 education
 budget and finance
 labour and unemployment
 health
 business
 civil rights and language
 highways and transportation
 government administration and reorganization
 local and regional government
 social welfare
 courts; penal system; crime; justice
 liquor
 land
 constitutional review; federal-provincial relations
 water and resource management; environment
 agriculture
 economic and regional development
 tourism and recreation
 property improvement grants
 patronage
 social affairs

The two additional categories were:

not ascertainable
 no answer

The responses revealed considerable disparity in the provinces in terms of what issues were mentioned. When the total responses to the question of policy areas were broken down by province, the results were those recorded in Tables I to IX; Newfoundland has been excluded because of the inadequate size of the sample.

Issues dealing with the economy, such as taxation, economic development, and finance and budget, seemed to be particularly salient to provincial backbenchers. Taxation was ranked most important in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Alberta. Three of these,

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick are categorized as "have-not" provinces in economic terms. Interestingly, however, taxation was also the most important issue in Ontario and Alberta, two of the wealthiest provinces in Canada. Taxation is equally important as an issue in both rich and poor provinces.

In Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia, the most important issue was education. This may be the consequence of circumstances within each province at the time the survey was conducted. In Quebec, for example, a bill which would have reorganized boards of education in the province was before the Assembly; this, plus the traditional salience of the language issue in Quebec made education the focus of concern. Similarly, in Manitoba Premier Schreyer was attempting to extend provincial aid to separate schools. The historical conflicts over education in the province, dating back to the Manitoba School Question of the nineteenth century, resurfaced over this effort to give greater support to parochial schools and made the education issue salient in the province. Finally, the priority given to education in British Columbia is not so easily understood. There has been however, some difficulty, in recent years, with teachers' strikes in the province, and this may explain why backbenchers devoted so much attention to the education issue. Teachers' strikes have both economic and social impact.

The importance of the land issue in Saskatchewan is

related to a bill which sought to establish a land bank. The concern over such legislation is natural in a province whose economy is so closely tied to the production of wheat.

However, what Tables I through IX illustrate is that, with the exception of Nova Scotia, each legislature was characterized by a lack of consensus over the identification of one major issue. This may simply mean that the session of the legislature to which the policy question pertained was an insignificant one, and no legislation important enough to arouse the interest of all the legislators was introduced. Or it may indicate that except on very rare occasions, a provincial legislature is characterized by fragmentation of backbenchers' opinions of what is significant on matters of policy.

This lack of consensus may be the result of localism among provincial backbenchers. That is, they mention those issues which are of interest and concern to the constituency or region which they represent. It may also indicate that the high turnover rate among provincial legislators has an effect on the norms of legislative behaviour. Newly-elected or inexperienced legislators may not be aware of norms of consensus which exist in the provincial House. In fact, this high turnover rate may mean that the development of such "rules of the game" is impeded.

TABLE I⁵ -- Prince Edward Island: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------------|-------|
| taxation | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| education | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| agriculture | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| tourism and recreation | | 3 | 3 |
| electoral laws; etc. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| labour and unemployment | | 2 | 2 |
| social welfare | | 2 | 2 |
| economic and regional dev. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| health | | 1 | 1 |
| courts; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | 1 | | |

N = 12

⁵In tables I to IX, only those issues which were mentioned in the individual province have been listed. For a list of all twenty-three categories, see p.40.

TABLE II -- Nova Scotia: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| taxation | 17 | | 17 |
| labour & unemployment | | 9 | 9 |
| education | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| economic and regional dev. | | 4 | 4 |
| health | | 3 | 3 |
| government admin; etc. | | 2 | 2 |
| water and resources; etc. | | 2 | 2 |
| finance and budget | | 1 | 1 |
| local and regional gov't | | 1 | 1 |
| social welfare | | 1 | 1 |
| courts; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| agriculture | | 1 | 1 |
| tourism and recreation | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable | 1 | | |
| no answer | | | |

N = 19

TABLE III -- New Brunswick: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| taxation | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| local and regional gov't | | 6 | 6 |
| social welfare | | 6 | 6 |
| education | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| finance and budget | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| economic and regional dev. | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| civil rights; etc. | | 3 | 3 |
| electoral laws; etc. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| health | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| labour and unemployment | 1 | | 1 |
| highways and transportation | | 1 | 1 |
| courts; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| agriculture | 1 | | 1 |
| patronage | 1 | | 1 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | 4 | | 4 |

N = 21

TABLE IV -- Quebec: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| education | 8 | 9 | 17 |
| labour and unemployment | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| social affairs | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| economic and regional dev. | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| agriculture | | 6 | 6 |
| civil rights; etc. | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| constitutional review | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| health | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| water and resources; etc. | | 2 | 2 |
| electoral laws; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| finance and budget | 1 | | 1 |
| not ascertainable | | | |
| no answer | 1 | | 1 |

N = 30

TABLE V -- Ontario: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| taxation | 17 | 13 | 30 |
| education | 9 | 13 | 22 |
| government admin.; etc. | 5 | 13 | 18 |
| local and regional gov't. | 4 | 14 | 18 |
| health | 7 | 9 | 16 |
| finance and budget | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| social welfare | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| labour and unemployment | | 5 | 5 |
| water and resources; etc. | | 5 | 5 |
| economic and regional dev. | | 5 | 5 |
| agriculture | | 3 | 3 |
| civil rights; etc. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| highways and transportation | 1 | | 1 |
| tourism and recreation | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable | | | |
| no answer | 9 | 4 | 13 |

N = 59

TABLE VI -- Manitoba: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| education | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| taxation | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| local and regional gov't | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| social welfare | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| water and resources; etc. | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| labour and unemployment | | 3 | 3 |
| agriculture | | 3 | 3 |
| finance and budget | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| health | | 2 | 2 |
| government admin.; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | 1 | 1 | 2 |

N = 16

TABLE VII -- Saskatchewan: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| land | 19 | 9 | 28 |
| taxation | 5 | 16 | 21 |
| education | 1 | 16 | 17 |
| economic and regional dev. | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| government admin.; etc. | | 9 | 9 |
| electoral laws; etc. | | 7 | 7 |
| health | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| local and regional gov't | | 6 | 6 |
| agriculture | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| labour and unemployment | | 3 | 3 |
| civil rights; etc. | | 3 | 3 |
| water and resources; etc. | | 3 | 3 |
| social welfare | | 2 | 2 |
| property improvement | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | | 1 | 1 |

N = 37

TABLE VIII -- Alberta: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| taxation | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| finance and budget | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| agriculture | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| social welfare | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| civil rights; etc. | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| economic and regional dev. | | 7 | 7 |
| education | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| health | | 6 | 6 |
| local and regional gov't | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| labour and unemployment | | 4 | 4 |
| government admin., etc. | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| water and resources; etc. | | 3 | 3 |
| courts; etc. | | 1 | 1 |
| tourism and recreation | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | | 2 | 2 |

N = 30

TABLE IX -- British Columbia: Frequency of Issue Mentions

| Issue | 1st Mention | Other Mention | Total |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------------|-------|
| education | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| social welfare | | 10 | 10 |
| labour and unemployment | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| water and resources; etc. | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| finance and budget | 4 | | 4 |
| health | | 3 | 3 |
| local and regional gov't | | 3 | 3 |
| taxation | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| economic and regional dev. | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| tourism and recreation | | 1 | 1 |
| not ascertainable) | | | |
| no answer) | 2 | 1 | 3 |

N = 20

Thus far the study has discussed the policy mentions of backbenchers in nine provincial legislatures.⁶ While more detailed analysis of the policy question in all nine provinces is necessary, it was felt to be beyond the scope of this thesis. The number of tables would have been prohibitive. It was therefore necessary to somewhat narrow the scope of this study.

Four provinces were chosen for study,--Saskatchewan, Ontario, British Columbia, and New Brunswick. Several factors dictated this decision. First, the concepts of issue consensus and fragmentation were deemed highly significant. It would appear that despite the media, which frequently speaks of one "explosive" issue in a province at any given time, there is, in fact, no agreement among the legislators themselves over the identification of this one issue. Therefore, to observe differences in policy perceptions, it was necessary to study provinces in which there was noticeable conflict over what were, indeed, major issues. Because of strong issue consensus, for example, the Nova Scotia sample was rejected for analysis.⁷ Secondly, these four provinces provided enough cases for meaningful analysis. Thirdly, and rather fortuitously, the choice of these provinces provided

⁶As stated previously, the Newfoundland sample was not suitable for analysis because of insufficient size.

⁷The regional-ethnic dimension is an important one in Canadian politics. Unfortunately, at the time of this study the data for the province of Quebec were not available, and this province, therefore, could not be included in the analysis.

one from each region,--the Maritimes, Central Canada, the Prairies, and British Columbia. Furthermore, within this group of four provinces, there were two "have" provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, and two "have-not" provinces, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan. The "have"- "have-not" dichotomy is based on the economic status of the provinces. Those provinces which rely heavily on federal equalization grants to provide basic services to their citizens are classified as have-not; those provinces with greater wealth and higher per capita income, and not as reliant on equalization payments, are classified as "have" provinces. Since the conflict between the "have" and "have-not" provinces is a historic one in Canadian politics, it was perceived that interesting differences in behavioural patterns might be observable.

Several studies conducted in the United States have found a strong link between a state's level of wealth and specific types of policy. Solomon Fabricant's The Trend of Government Activity in the United States Since 1900,⁸ for example, found that three socioeconomic measures, per capita income, population density, and urbanization, were closely related to per capita expenditures of state and local governments.

⁸Solomon Fabricant, The Trend of Government Activity in the United States Since 1900 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1952).

Similarly, Thomas Dye contends that specific policies, such as education, are closely related to a state's level of wealth. He writes

Wealth (also) explains most of the differences among the states in measures reflecting the level of educational service, such as average teacher salaries and pupil-teacher ratios. In contrast, environmental resources are not as influential in explaining health and welfare expenditures as they are in explaining education expenditures...and this can be attributed to the effect of federal participation in welfare financing.⁹

It is a relationship worthy of study in the Canadian provinces.

To probe more fully for reasons why legislators might indicate a particular issue to be significant, respondents were asked the open-ended question, "Would you give a few reasons why you considered number one above to be of particular importance?" Francis' question to explore these reasons was closed.¹⁰ His scheme of classification of responses was not deemed suitable because of its close relation to the manner in which legislation is introduced and passed in state legislatures in the United States. For example, the suggested response, "The Governor was pressing hard for legislation in this area" allowed respondents in Francis' American sample to indicate varying degrees of executive pressure, depending on the policy area mentioned.

⁹Thomas Dye, Understanding Public Policy, pp.235-236.

¹⁰Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States, p.110.

In the parliamentary system which operates in the Canadian provinces, the executive introduces almost all legislation, and its survival as a government depends on its successful passage.

Responses were categorized according to type of impact mentioned, the areal focus of this impact, and the object of the impact.

Type of Impact

social
economic
administrative
general
cultural

Areal Focus of Impact

province
region
constituency
municipality
rural-urban
country
federal-provincial

Object of Impact

specific group
class
general public
constituents
personal goals
business
partisan interests

The classification system was suggested by Wayne Francis in his discussion of the "impact" of specific policy areas.¹¹ He indicated that specific piece of legislation

¹¹ Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States, /p.16.

might be of varying degrees of interest to different regions and groups of people within a state. Hence, the categories were drawn in this study for determination of the areal focus of the impact and the object of the impact. It also seemed important, moreover, to determine what the nature or type of impact of a policy was, as it was identified by backbenchers.

Table X -- Saskatchewan: Perception of Type of Impact, Areal Focus, and Object of Impact of First Policy Mention, by Party

| | Type of Impact | | | | | | | | | | N=28 | | | |
|---------|------------------|---|----------|----|----------------|---|---------|----|-------------|----|----------|----|-----------|------|
| | Social | | Economic | | Administrative | | General | | Cultural | | | | | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | | | | |
| Liberal | 0 | 0 | 100 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| NDP | 20 | 4 | 70 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | Areal Focus | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Prov. | | Region | | Const. | | Munic. | | Rural-Urban | | Country | | Fed-Prov. | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| Liberal | 100 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| NDP | 56 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Object of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Group | | Class | | Public | | Const. | | Personal | | Business | | Partisan | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| Liberal | 50 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 1 | 33 | 2 | |
| NDP | 43 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 43 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | N=13 |

NOTE-- Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Table XI -- Ontario: Perception of Type of Impact, Areal Focus and Object of Impact of First Policy Mention, by Party

| | Type of Impact | | | | | | | | | | N=23 |
|---------|----------------|---|----------|---|----------------|---|---------|---|----------|---|------|
| | Social | | Economic | | Administrative | | General | | Cultural | | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | |
| PC | 29 | 4 | 29 | 4 | 36 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Liberal | 50 | 2 | 50 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| NDP | 20 | 1 | 80 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |

| | Areal Focus | | | | | | | | | | | | N=8 | | |
|---------|-------------|---|--------|---|--------|---|--------|---|-------------|---|---------|---|-----|----------|--|
| | Prov. | | Region | | Const. | | Munic. | | Rural-Urban | | Country | | | Fed-Prov | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | |
| PC | 25 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Liberal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 1 | 33 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| NDP | 100 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 1 | |

| | Object of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | N=25 | | |
|---------|------------------|---|-------|---|--------|---|--------|---|----------|---|----------|---|------|----------|--|
| | Group | | Class | | Public | | Const. | | Personal | | Business | | | Partisan | |
| | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | |
| PC | 10 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 60 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Liberal | 17 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 83 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| NDP | 0 | 0 | 56 | 5 | 33 | 3 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |

NOTE -- Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Table XII -- British Columbia: Perception of Type of Impact, Areal Focus and Object of Impact of First Policy Mention, by Party.

| | | Type of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|---|----------|---|----------------|---|---------|---|-------------|------|----------|---|----------|---|
| | | Social | | Economic | | Administrative | | General | | Cultural | | | | | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | | | | |
| NDP | | 25 | 1 | 50 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Socred | | 14 | 1 | 71 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | N=11 | | | | |
| | | Areal Focus | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Prov. | | Region | | Const. | | Munic. | | Rural-Urban | | Country | | Fed-Prov | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| NDP | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Socred | | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | N=2 | | | | |
| | | Object of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Group | | Class | | Public | | Const. | | Personal | | Business | | Partisan | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| NDP | | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Socred | | 75 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | N=6 | | | | |

NOTE -- Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Table XIII -- New Brunswick: Perception of Type of Impact, Areal Focus and Object of Impact of First Policy Mention, by Party.

| | | Type of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|--|------------------|---|----------|---|----------------|---|---------|---|-------------|---|----------|---|----------|---|
| | | Social | | Economic | | Administrative | | General | | Cultural | | | | | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | | | | |
| Liberal | | 18 | 1 | 73 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| PC | | 20 | 1 | 67 | 2 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | N=15 | | | |
| | | Areal Focus | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Prov. | | Region | | Const. | | Munic. | | Rural-Urban | | Country | | Fed-Prov | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| Liberal | | 60 | 3 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| PC | | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | N=7 | | | |
| | | Object of Impact | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Group | | Class | | Public | | Const. | | Personal | | Business | | Partisan | |
| | | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| Liberal | | 43 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 57 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| PC | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | N=8 | | | |

NOTE -- Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

It was hoped that responses to this question in the survey would provide significant insights into the individual member's perception of what comprised a major issue. This hope was not realized for at least two reasons. First, the response rate to this question was not high. Whether this was because the legislators were unwilling to answer the question, or because they felt that the question itself was not clear is not known. Second, when responses were coded, the number of cases in each cell was, in most instances, not large enough to allow meaningful analysis.

What these tables do point out however, is a phenomenon which has appeared in previous Tables I to IX,-- that is, a lack of consensus. Based even on this limited data, there seems to be a high degree of fragmentation over the nature of an issue, and the area and the people who would feel its impact. This would therefore seem to be an area which would lend itself to further study.

The original twenty-three categories of issues were collapsed into seven broader issue areas. The nature of the responses suggested these areas; it was also perceived that analysis of areas would be more meaningful than analysis of specific issues. Francis suggested such a development in his study:

Evaluating state legislative activity through these more general policy areas, rather than through specific issues, is one of the basic features of this work; hopefully, this procedure will provide a higher level of generalization. As in any classification system,

variations within each class are lost, but this shortcoming must be balanced against the rewards of generalization.¹²

The seven issue areas were grouped as follows:

Economic Issues

taxation
finance and budget
labour and unemployment
business
tourism and recreation

Social Issues

health
social welfare
liquor
water and resource management; environment
social affairs

Administrative Issues

government administration and organization
local and regional government
economic and regional development

Highways

highways and transportation

Education Issues

education

Land Issues

land
agriculture
property improvement grants

Political System Issues

electoral laws and apportionment
civil rights and language
courts; penal system; justice
constitutional review; federal-provincial relations
patronage

The bulk of responses was in the areas of social and

¹²Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States, p.2.

economic issues. These issues appeared to be those which were most salient to provincial backbenchers. The percentage of responses which were of an economic or social nature is indicated in Table XIV. Note that the total number of responses is larger than the number of respondents. This is because each respondent was allowed up to four answers to the question on important issues.

Table XIV -- Percentage of Responses with Economic and Social Content, by Province

| Province | Economic Issues | Social Issues |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Saskatchewan N=115 | 21% | 14% |
| Ontario N=146 | 34% | 12% |
| British Columbia N=52 | 33% | 35% |
| New Brunswick N=46 | 28% | 17% |

Except in British Columbia, economic issues were more frequently mentioned than social issues. As stated previously, issues relating to the economy were of particular salience to provincial backbenchers. In Ontario, for example, there was a 22 per cent difference between economic issue mentions and social issue mentions.

It is interesting to note not only that social issues were more salient to British Columbia backbenchers than economic issues, but also that in this province social issues were mentioned more often than in the other three provinces

combined:

Independent Variables

These, then, are the dependent variables which have been chosen for analysis. They are to be studied in relationship with several independent variables,--party membership, left-right ideological self-identification, subjective determination of party competition on the constituency level, education level, the population of the member's residence and the length of time the member has lived in his constituency as a percentage of his life. There is considerable justification for the inclusion of each of these variables, which may be classified as 1) political: party membership, subjective ideological identification and subjective party competition; 2) personal: education, and length of residence in community as a percentage of one's life; and 3) community: the population of the backbencher's residence.

Party,-- V. O. Key, Jr. posited that a strong link existed between public policy output in the American states and certain political system variables. The saliency of political parties as elements of the political system was the most obvious reason for their inclusion as a variable. Whatever other orientations or predispositions provincial legislators bring to their jobs, they are elected as representatives of their party. While the old major parties in Canadian federal politics are noted more for their attentiveness to election results than to issue orientations, it is not

U
 automatically to be assumed that this is also the case on the provincial level. Also, the success on the provincial level of the so-called minor parties, historically more issue-oriented than the major parties, suggested that some differences in policy perceptions might be explained by party membership.

Ideology.-- The issue orientation of the minor parties also suggested that certain ideological positions are assumed by these parties. It was therefore perceived that the ideological variable might, in some areas, provide explanations not provided by the party variable. Subjective ideological identification was used because it was amenable to comparative study. That is, it would allow members to identify themselves in relation to someone else, members of their own and other parties.

The question in the survey was:

Where would you place yourself on the following scale?
 Please check the appropriate box.

left moderate left centre moderate right right

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|

Table XV -- Left-Right Ideological Self-Identification, by Province and Party (Row Percentages)

| | L | ML | C | MR | R | NA |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <u>British Columbia</u> | | | | | | |
| NDP (N=8) | 25 | 50 | 12.5 | | | 12.5 |
| Socred (N=10) | | 20 | 20 | 50 | | 10 |
| <u>Saskatchewan</u> | | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=12) | | 8.3 | 41.7 | 41.7 | 8.3 | |
| NDP (N=24) | 20.8 | 70.8 | | | | 8.3 |
| <u>Ontario</u> | | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=14) | | 50 | 42.9 | 7.1 | | |
| PC (N=30) | | 20 | 10 | 53.3 | 16.7 | |
| NDP (N=14) | 28.6 | 50 | 14.3 | | | 7.1 |
| <u>New Brunswick</u> | | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=13) | 15.4 | 30.8 | 38.5 | 15.4 | | |
| PC (N=8) | | 25 | 37.5 | 37.5 | | |

Table XV reveals the percentage distribution of ideological self-identification before the original five categories were collapsed into a simpler left-non-left dichotomy. It is contended that a dichotomous variable would facilitate simpler and more meaningful analysis. The left-non-left variable was established by classifying as left-wing those respondents who identified themselves in that manner, and by classifying as right-wing (actually "non-left") those respondents who did not identify themselves as left-wing.

The data in Table XV indicate that ideological self-identification varies sharply within parties as well as between them. For example, Liberals in Saskatchewan at the time of the survey saw themselves for the most part as centre-to-right. Members of the same party in Ontario,

however, identified themselves as centre-to-left. It would therefore appear that a legislator's self-identification is influenced by the operation of the party system in his province.

A party's ideological position was determined by taking the largest group, or in case of two columns having the same percentages the largest groups, from each party as an indicator of the party's ideological position as a whole.

Table XVI -- Ideological Position of Parties, by Province

| Province | Liberal | NDP | PC | Socred |
|------------------|---------|-----|------|--------|
| New Brunswick | C | _13 | C-MR | - |
| Ontario | ML | ML | MR | - |
| British Columbia | - | ML | - | MR |
| Saskatchewan | C-MR | ML | - | - |

The data in Table XVI suggests that a party's ideological identification is related to the nature of the party system within which it develops. Only the NDP shows any subjective consistency, ideologically, from one province to another.

The NDP is a newer, minor party and has not, except in Saskatchewan, held power as a government for any length of time. Even in Saskatchewan, the party's roots are less than fifty years old. As it survives longer, and forms the government in more areas, it may lose some of its ideological colouring. In a 1972 study of the Ontario legislature, Walter White and Lawrence LeDuc Jr. suggest a reason for NDP

13. Indicates that party was not represented in the Legislature.

"optimism" in the House that may also be a partial explanation of their ideological firmness in that province:

... most of the sitting NDP members are relative newcomers to the legislature, having been first elected in the NDP upsurge in 1967. As a result they generate an optimism which is perhaps rather uncharacteristic of the "third" party in a one party dominant system, and they have been subjected over a long period of time to a legislative system dominated by a seemingly secure governing party.¹⁴

Subjective inter-party competition,-- This variable was chosen to measure the effects of varying degrees of competition on policy orientations. Kornberg found that the areal focus of members was strongly influenced by their perception of party competition on the constituency level; those from highly competitive ridings showed a stronger constituency focus than did those members from non-competitive ridings.¹⁵ Does the perception of intense party competition on the constituency level also affect the type of policy which a backbencher sees as significant. The subjective perception of party competition was used because it was believed that it was the perception, rather than the actual existence of competition which might most influence a backbencher's view of what was, indeed, major policy.

Members were asked to classify the inter-party

¹⁴Lawrence LeDuc, Jr., and Walter L. White, "The Role of Opposition in a One Party Dominant System", p.22

¹⁵Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behaviour (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p.111.

competition in their constituencies as 1) very competitive; 2) moderately competitive; or 3) not competitive. The breakdown of responses to this question, by province, is illustrated in Table XVII.

Table XVII -- Subjective Micro Inter-Party Competition, by Province

| | Very Competitive | Moderately Competitive | Not Competitive |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| British Columbia N = 19 | 63.2 | 36.8 | .0 |
| Saskatchewan N = 36 | 61.1 | 33.3 | 5.6 |
| Ontario N = 59 | 54.2 | 42.4 | 3.4 |
| New Brunswick N = 19 | 52.6 | 42.1 | 5.3 |

Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

To achieve a dichotomous variable, these three categories were collapsed into two,-- those who claimed that partisan competition was very intense, and others. Rural-urban,-- The ever-growing urbanization of Canadian society has had political repercussions. The frequently opposing interests of agriculture in rural areas and industry in urban areas may create a rural-urban dichotomy in a legislative body, particularly in relation to policy.

The significance of this variable on the provincial level is an object of some interest. Does the member from an urban riding concern himself with issues different from those cited by members from rural areas?

American studies have found a link between degrees of urbanization and the nature of public policy output in the states. Thomas Dye's Politics, Economic, and the Public examined this variable and found that from state to state, it was linked with industrialization, wealth, and education, and explained much of the variance in state spending.¹⁶ Fabricant's study¹⁷ and that conducted by Glenn W. Fisher¹⁸ concluded that socioeconomic variables, of which urbanization is one, have had a strong positive effect on states' public policy outputs. It was therefore determined to examine this variable on the micro, or constituency level.

In the questionnaire, legislators were asked:

Where did you live most of the time until you were 18 and where do you live now?

up to 18 now

on a farm

¹⁶Thomas Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public, p.290 ff.

¹⁷Solomon Fabricant, The Trend of Government Activity.

¹⁸Glenn W. Fisher, "Interstate Variation in State and Local Government Expenditures," National Tax Journal, 17 (March 1964), pp.57-74.

In a community whose population was:
 under 1000 (rural)
 1000 to 9999 (town)
 10,000 to 99,999 (small city)
 100,000 to 249,000 (large city)
 250,000 or more (metropolis)

Backbenchers' responses to this question are shown in Table XVIII.

For the sake of achieving enough cases to allow meaningful analysis, these categories were collapsed into three,-- rural, under 1000 population; town or small city, 1000 to 99,000 population, and large city or metropolis, 100,000 or over.

Table XVIII -- Rural-Urban Identification, by Province

| | Rural | Town or Small City | Large City |
|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|---------------|
| British Columbia N = 19 | 5.3 | 47.4 | 47.4 |
| Saskatchewan B = 35 | 45.7 | 22.9 | 31.4 |
| Ontario N = 58 | 15.5 | 51.7 | 32.8 |
| New Brunswick N = 18 | 22.2 | 77.8 | .0 |

Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Education,-- A great deal has been written on the unrepresentative nature of legislative bodies, particularly in terms of educational vis-a-vis the total represented population.¹⁹ This lack of representativeness can be explained by several factors. An individual's level of education is closely related to the type of occupation which he has and his level of political socialization. Those with high educations generally have occupations which provide them with the financial resources to pursue a career in politics; these individuals, too, have a sense of political awareness developed enough to motivate them to pursue such a course.

What has not been fully explored, however, is the effect of higher education the individual's behaviour once he enters the legislature. The study conducted by Harold Clarke, Robert Krause, and Richard Price, found that,

level of education ... is inversely related to constituency attentiveness. Legislators with a high school education or less tend to be constituency oriented more often than representatives with some college or university experience, a college diploma, or a graduate or professional education.²⁰

¹⁹See, for example, Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behaviour, p.47, and David Hoffman and Norman Ward, Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Canadian House of Commons, Documents of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p.24.

²⁰Harold Clarke, Robert Krause, and Richard Price, "The Effects of Inter-Party Competition on Constituency Behaviour and Role Orientations Among Canadian Provincial Legislators," Paper presented at the forty-fifth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association; Montreal: August, 1973, p.31.

Are perceptions of policy similarly affected by the education level of the individual member? Does, indeed

Table XIX -- Education Level of Backbenchers, by Province

| | Public School or Less | High Sch- ool or Some High School | College or Some College | Graduate School |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------|
| British Columbia N = 19 | 0.0 | 42.1 | 26.3 | 31.6 |
| Saskatchewan N = 35 | 8.6 | 22.9 | 40.0 | 28.6 |
| Ontario N = 57 | 3.5 | 24.6 | 36.8 | 35.1 |
| New Brunswick N = 19 | 5.3 | 15.8 | 47.4 | 31.6 |

Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

the level of education determine or at least influence the views of policy which an individual possesses?

Length of residence in community.-- The final independent variable chosen for analysis was the length of a member's residence in the constituency as a percentage of his life. Clarke, Krause, and Price found in their study of inter-party competition that,

The amount of time a legislator spends as a constituency resident is positively associated with constituency behaviour and orientations. MLA's who spend over one-half of their lives as constituency residents are more constituency oriented (both behaviourally and attitudinally)

than MLA's who have spent less than one-half of their lives as local residents.²¹

What is perceived is that this variable is an indicator of the social integration of the member. That is, it is thought that the longer a legislator has lived in the constituency he represents, the more attuned he will be to the problems, priorities, and attitudes of his constituents.

To determine the individual's degree of social integration, backbenchers were asked the following question, "Do you live in the constituency you represent. 1)Yes 2)No . If "yes" how long have you lived in the constituency you represent? _____ years."

Table XX -- Length of Residence in Community as % of Backbencher's Life, by Province and Party

| | 0-10% | 11-25% | 26-50% | 51-75% | 75-100% |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| <u>Saskatchewan</u> | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=12) | 58.3 | 0 | 8.3 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| NDP (N=24) | 16.7 | 20.8 | 16.7 | 0 | 45.8 |
| <u>Ontario</u> | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=14) | 7.1 | 7.1 | 28.6 | 0 | 57.1 |
| PC (N=30) | 16.7 | 3.3 | 30.0 | 20.0 | 30.0 |
| NDP (N=14) | 42.9 | 14.3 | 28.6 | 0 | 14.3 |
| <u>British Columbia</u> | | | | | |
| NDP (N=7) | 14.3 | 14.3 | 42.9 | 14.3 | 14.3 |
| Socred (N=10) | 50.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 10.0 |
| <u>New Brunswick</u> | | | | | |
| Liberal (N=13) | 7.7 | 0 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 76.9 |
| PC (N=8) | 37.0 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 25.0 |

NOTE -- Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.

²¹Clarke, Krause, and Price, "The Effects of Inter-Party Competition," p.31.

The original percentage distribution of responses to this question is illustrated in Table XX. These percentages were achieved by using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Length of time lived in constituency}}{\text{age in years}} = \%$$

$$\text{eg } \frac{20 \text{ years in constituency}}{60 \text{ years of age}} = \% \text{ of life spent in constituency}$$

These five categories were then collapsed into four, 0-25%, 26-50%, 51-75%, and 76-100% for the purpose of analysis. These four categories provided sufficient cases for study.

The descriptions of these political, personal, and community variables show that there is a great deal of diversity among the four provinces under examination. That is, there are marked differences among the legislators in terms of party membership, subjective ideology, social integration, perceptions of constituency party competition, degree of urbanization, and education level. What this in turn may mean is that we may expect to see similar diversity in policy perceptions studied in association with these variables.

The Association Between Policy Perceptions and Political, Personal, and Community Variables

Two measures were employed to study the relationship between policy perceptions of provincial backbenchers and political, personal, and community variables. Using χ^2 , direct relationships were found between party and economic

issues and subjective ideology and economic issues in the province of Saskatchewan. However, using Kendall tau c. numerous associations became evident.

The data in Table XXI illustrate the associations between each of the independent variables and the two dependent variables in the four provinces, associations based on Kendall tau c. A cursory view of this table reveals that no one variable can explain variations in issue perceptions in all four provinces. Within each province, however, definite patterns are observable. This should come as no particular surprise to anyone who understands provincial disparities and differences as a basic fact of Canadian political life. What must be concluded is that policy perceptions and their determinants are regionally defined.

There are two ways in which this table may be studied. The first is to analyze each independent variable in those provinces in which Kendall tau c is significant for either economic or social issues or both. The second is to examine the two issue areas in each province in terms of those independent variables which are significant, in an attempt to draw some generalized statements about the link between historical and cultural factors and contemporary issue perceptions. The second approach would appear to be the most amenable to the stated task at hand, which is to hopefully draw some generalized statements, on a comparative

Table XXI -- The Association Between Economic and Social Issue Mentions and Political, Personal and Community Variables, by Province

| Province | Economic Issues | | | | Social Issues | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| | Party Left- Right | Party Comp. | Ed. Level | LRIC Rural- Urban | Party Left- Right | Party Comp. | Ed. Level | LRIC Rural- Urban | | | | |
| New Brunswick | -.22 | .03 | .05 | .23 | .13 | .00 | .06 | -.25 | .35* | .05 | -.12 | .02 |
| Ontario | .19* | -.16* | -.05 | .02 | .14 | .23* | .14 | .02 | .13 | -.03 | -.01 | .00 |
| Saskatchewan | -.40* | .53* | -.17 | .06 | -.16 | .16 | .14 | -.26* | .01 | -.09 | .26* | -.27* |
| British Columbia | .29* | .09 | .01 | -.28* | .61* | -.28* | -.37* | -.37* | -.29* | .22 | -.42* | .02 |

NOTE-- Decimal figures indicate Kendall tau c.
 * indicates significance level of at least .001
 LRIC indicates length of residence in community as a percentage of life

basis, about legislators' issue perceptions.

Saskatchewan,-- Economic Issues

| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------|-------------|
| -.40* | .53* | -.17 | .06 | -.16 | .16 |
| Social Issues | | | | | |
| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
| .14 | -.26* | .01 | -.09 | .26* | .27* |

In this province there are significant variables on both economic and social issues. Right-wing members and Liberals tended to mention economic issues more often than did left-wing or NDP members. Considering the political and social environment in Saskatchewan, this is not surprising. This province was the first area in North America to elect a socialist government; its history of "radical" politics is long, as is its history of polarized politics. Lipset found that the people of Saskatchewan are unusually politicized and participatory.²² The atmosphere would therefore appear to be highly charged politically. The province is basically rural; unlike the NDP in other areas of the country, the Saskatchewan NDP is a farmers' party, not a city-based workers' party. The opposition Liberals identified themselves as centre-to-right, ideologically; in fact, Saskatchewan was the only province in which the reasons given for naming a particular issue frequently had an ideological content. Furthermore, responses of this kind were invariably made by

²²Seymour Martin Lipset, Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

Liberals. The threat, or at least the perception of a threat of socialism has created a high level of polarization on economic issues.

On social issues the left-right dichotomy is also important. Mentions of these issues were most frequently made by left-wing members, rural area members and members who stated that they had lived in their ridings at least 75 per cent of their lives. It is interesting to note, however, that although these patterns were important, social issues were not frequently mentioned by Saskatchewan legislators in comparison with the mentions of economic issues. Saskatchewan, like New Brunswick, is a "have-not" province and this fact is apparently reflected in the legislators' greater emphasis on economic issues.

The left-wing parties are traditionally associated with social issues and this assumption is borne out in Saskatchewan. The fact, that mention of these issues was a direct function of the length of time a legislator had lived in his constituency and that these issues were mentioned by rural members are related to peculiarities of the Saskatchewan party system. As has been previously suggested, the strength of the left-wing party in Saskatchewan lies in rural, not urban areas; secondly, the largest group of NDP legislators in Saskatchewan, unlike the NDP in Ontario and British Columbia, have lived in their constituencies for a large percentage of their lives.

In Ontario, 42.9 per cent of the NDP members have lived in their constituencies between 0 and 10 per cent of their lives. In Saskatchewan, however, 45.8 per cent of the NDP members have lived in their constituencies at least 75 per cent of their lives.

What is interesting, however, is that there should be any noticeable polarization along rural-urban lines, even allowing for the traditional left-wing interest, rural in Saskatchewan, in social issues. It would seem that Saskatchewan's rural economy would preclude such a dichotomy.

| Ontario,-- | | Economic Issues | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|------|-------------|
| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
| .19* | -.16* | -.05 | .06 | .14 | .23* |
| | | Social Issues | | | |
| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
| .14 | .02 | .13 | -.13 | -.01 | .00 |

Ontario legislators are not differentiated in terms of concern over social issues. This may be because of the success of the governing Progressive Conservative party in espousing policies generally associated with parties more left-wing in orientation, such as universal hospitalization and medical care. John Wilson quotes Margaret Evans' description of successful Ontario governments that have professed "that particular blend of conservatism and reform, of caution and advancement."²³ It is perhaps an apt

²³John Wilson, "A Review," of Donald Swainson, ed., Oliver Mowat's Ontario (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), in Canadian Journal of Political Science, 6 (June, 1973), p.323.

description of the PC's who have governed Ontario for thirty years.

On economic issues, however, the data are very different. Thirty-nine of fifty-nine respondents mentioned these issues and this group differed significantly from the other twenty legislators in terms of party, left-right subjective identification and the rural-urban dichotomy.

It is perhaps to be expected that economic issues would be salient in Ontario. The province is the country's wealthiest. In terms of diversity, the economy is the most sophisticated. However, most of the manufacturing is concentrated in Southern Ontario, particularly between Oshawa and Hamilton. The primary or extractive industry is largely to be found in the northern areas of the province; the east, lacking both the agricultural wealth of Southwestern Ontario and the industrial wealth of the large cities is less prosperous. Regional disparities are to be found within provinces as well as between them.

Economic issues were more frequently mentioned by NDP legislators, those who identified themselves as left-wing ideologically and those who come from constituencies in a large city or metropolis than by right-wing or rural members from the other two parties. Notable, however, is the fact that the Liberals and NDP ranked closely in economic issue mentions (71% and 78% respectively); 56 per cent of the Ontario PC's mentioned economic issues.

In Ontario, the NDP is traditionally left-wing (in relation to the PC's) and strong in the cities; the PC's on the other hand are strong in the rural areas, particularly in the southwestern ridings and constituencies east of Toronto. Economic issues are less salient to these members than to others.

British Columbia,-- Economic Issues

| | | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------|-----------|------|-------------|
| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
| .29* | .09 | .01 | -.28* | .61* | -.28* |

Social Issues

| | | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------|-------------|
| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
| -.37* | -.37* | -.29* | .22 | -.42* | .02 |

The highest Kendall tau c reading in these four provinces was found in British Columbia in the area of economic issues. These issues were mentioned by Socreds, by members with low education levels, by rural members and by members who had lived in their constituencies for more than half of their lives.

Canada's westernmost province is unique in Canadian politics; the government and the official opposition are the so-called minor parties. At the time that the survey was conducted, the Social Credit party under W. A. C. Bennett were completing twenty years in office; the NDP was the opposition party.

British Columbia's political culture is characterized by a spirit of pioneerism and emphasis on economic expansion, unparalleled in the rest of the country. The nature of

industry, which is extractive, has hindered the development of a strong middle class between the entrepreneurs and the labourers. A radical labour movement, geographical cleavages between the North and the South, and between Vancouver and the rest of the province linked with the emphasis on economic issues has helped to create a party system characterized by left-right invective.

The under-representation of the urban areas in the provincial legislature has worked to the advantage of the Socreds, whose strength lies in the rural ridings. This factor, apparently coupled with the rural-urban dichotomy partially created by the economy, has led to the development of a rural-urban split among the legislators themselves.

The "length of residence in community" variable is particularly interesting in British Columbia. There is a direct relationship between it and economic issue; on social issues, there is an inverse relationship. That is, those members who have lived in their constituencies more than 50 per cent of their lives mention economic issues more frequently than do those who have spent less than 50 per cent of their lives in the ridings they represent; this group mentions social issues. Economic expansion and development have been a crucial issue in provincial politics for many years; if the length of residence in the community is a reliable indicator of social integration, then it would appear that the more socially integrated a member is, the

more likely he is to mention the issue which seems to be the major one in British Columbia. Those who are not as socially integrated are more likely to mention social issues. What can be hypothesized is that the level of social integration among British Columbia legislators heightens a legislator's awareness of what the major issue is in his constituency.

New Brunswick,-- Economic Issues

| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
|-------|------------|-------------|-----------|------|-------------|
| -.22 | .03 | .05 | .23 | .13 | .00 |

Social Issues

| Party | Left-Right | Party Comp. | Education | LRIC | Rural-Urban |
|-------|------------|-------------|-----------|------|-------------|
| .06 | -.25 | .35* | .05 | -.12 | .02 |

New Brunswick is apparently characterized by an almost complete lack of polarization on the two issue areas under study. The only exception is the significance of subjective party competition for the mention of social issues.

The lack of conflict over the importance of economic issues may be accounted for, at least partially, by the status of New Brunswick as an economically depressed province. That is, economic issues were mentioned by eleven of the twenty-one respondents in this province, but there were no differences between this group and those who did not mention economic issues that could be accounted for by the six variables studied. Concern over these issues appears to be evenly distributed; there is little obvious disagreement over the economic needs of this poor province.

The only significant variable in the area of social issues is subjective party competition. That is, those members from non-competitive constituencies were more likely to mention social issues (55.6 per cent) than those members from competitive ridings (20 per cent of this group mentioned social issues). This trend may be partially accounted for by the nature of New Brunswick politics. P. J. Fitzpatrick describes it as "The politics of pragmatism"²⁴; he creates a picture of a province where issues and bureaucratic efficiency (or lack of it) take second place to the rewards and abuses of the patronage system. The major role of a legislator in Fitzpatrick's view is to score points with the voter; perhaps it is only the member who is safely ensconced in a "safe" constituency who can allow himself the luxury of speaking of social issues in a province where economic depression is the fact of life most familiar to the average voter.

The dominant impression from the preceding analysis is that no one variable can explain all the differences in policy perception among the backbenchers in these four provinces. These perceptions would appear to be defined along provincial lines and to be influenced by factors unique to the individual province. It would seem difficult

²⁴P. J. Fitzpatrick, "New Brunswick: The Politics of Pragmatism," in Martin Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, p.116.

to make any generalized statements about legislators' policy perceptions on a cross-provincial basis. Rather, it may be more fruitful to attempt to discover a link between backbenchers' policy perceptions and the environment of the province in which they are found.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine provincial legislators' policy perceptions and to determine the relationship between these perceptions and political, personal and community variables. The findings were as follows:

1) In the four provinces studied, economic and social issues were very salient. In Saskatchewan, 35 per cent of the total issue responses were of an economic or social nature; in New Brunswick, 45 per cent; in Ontario, 46 per cent; and in British Columbia, 68 per cent. With the exception of British Columbia, economic issues in the provinces were more salient than social issues. This is interesting in view of the fact that under the terms of the British North America Act, the provinces have almost sole responsibility for social welfare; their responsibilities for their own economies are undisputed only insofar as no other province is involved. The national and provincial economies in the 1970's are integrated to such a degree that economic measures are largely a federal responsibility.

2) Using χ^2 significant relationships were found in only two instances. In Saskatchewan, party membership and subjective ideological identification were significant for

the mention of economic issues.

3) Using Kendall tau c as a measure of strength of relationship, many patterns of association were found. In Saskatchewan, a link was found between ideology, population of the member's residence, and the member's length of residence in the community and social issues; in Ontario between party, ideology, and population of residence and economic issues; in British Columbia between party, a legislator's education level and population of residence and economic issues; between party, ideology, subjective party competition and a legislator's length of residence in the community and social issues; in New Brunswick between subjective party competition and social issues.

4) The concept of impact was not particularly useful as a means by which to measure legislators' reasons for viewing an issue as significant. A large number of respondents did not answer the question asking for reasons; of those who did, many did not speak in terms of impact; nor did they mention to any significant extent one specific area of impact or object of impact.

The willingness of respondents to answer the policy question may indicate that failure to answer the question exploring reasons was based less on unwillingness than on an inability to understand the phrasing of the question.

The strongest single impression to be formed from the findings is a reinforcement of the perception of the

differences which exist among the provinces. Within the four provinces studied, no one variable is capable of explaining all the differences in policy perceptions. In fact, one variable could suggest two different explanations in two provinces. Consider, for example, the party variable in relation to economic issues in Ontario and Saskatchewan. The data in Table XXI indicate that in Ontario, economic issues were more frequently mentioned by members of the NDP, in Saskatchewan by Liberals. The ideological variable associates left-wing ideology and economic issues in Ontario, right-wing ideology and economic issues in Saskatchewan.

Policy perceptions among provincial legislators, therefore, like many other facts of Canadian political life, appear to be determined on a provincial basis. The peculiar set of social, economic, and political conditions combine with the historical issues within a province to produce a unique environment for the policy process. Legislators are one set of actors within this process.

What has this study contributed to our understanding of Canadian provincial policy-making as seen by backbenchers? On the macro level, it would appear that one tentative conclusion is that policy perceptions are provincialized. Therefore, it seems necessary to examine the provincial differences, to summarize what we have learned about policy perceptions in the four individual provinces.

Saskatchewan,-- In this province, 21 per cent of the total issue mentions were of an economic nature; 14 per cent were social. The only significant relationships using X^2 in this study of provincial legislators' policy perceptions were found in Saskatchewan, between party membership and economic issues and subjective ideological identification and economic issues.

The polarization on economic issues along the political dimension would appear to have its roots in the radical nature of Saskatchewan politics. The one party which indicated ideological consistency in the four provinces studied, (see Table XVI), the NDP, had its roots in Saskatchewan as the CCF, a farmers' party; the province is characterized by high levels of politicization and political participation. The success of the CCF-NDP over nearly half a century has apparently created an atmosphere highly conducive to left-right polarization.

The traditional identification of left-wing parties with social issues is borne out in Saskatchewan. There is an association between the ideological dimension and social issues. Interestingly, there is also a link between social issues and the population of a legislator's residence. Although Saskatchewan is a rural province, the legislators themselves are differentiated along a rural-urban dichotomy on social issues.

The degree of social integration in Saskatchewan is

associated with the mention of social issues. Those who have lived in their constituencies at least 50 per cent of their lives mention these issues.

Ontario,-- Ontario responses were heavily weighted in favour of economic issues,--34 per cent as compared to 12 per cent which had social content. The total lack of variations among backbenchers on social issues may be due to the fact that the party associated with more right-wing interests, the Progressive Conservatives, has successfully instituted gradual social reforms and social welfare programmes, thereby "stealing the thunder" of the left-wing parties.

On economic issues, patterns of association are discernible along the party, ideology, and rural-urban variables. The concern over economic issues is a reflection of the kind of economic development which exists in the province. Although Ontario is the wealthiest province, there are areas of economic depression and underdevelopment, particularly in the eastern counties.

Ontario is also the most heavily urbanized of the ten provinces. As such, the economic issues which concern urban areas and seek to confront urban problems are of particular interest. Furthermore, economic issues which do not focus specifically on urban problems apparently find legislators divided along rural-urban lines.

British Columbia,-- British Columbia is interesting for

two reasons. First, it was the only province in which backbenchers' responses were more frequently of a social nature, 35 per cent, as compared to 33 per cent which had an economic content. Second, there were equally strong differences among provincial backbenchers on both economic and social issues.

The mention of social issues, much higher than in the other provinces, is somewhat puzzling because of the traditional concern in British Columbia over issues of economic expansion and development. One possible explanation is that the survey was conducted just prior to a provincial election which saw the Social Credit government defeated by the NDP. Perhaps the frequency of social issues was the result of pre-election vocalism on the part of the NDP. A more likely explanation is that economic issues have become so dominant in British Columbia politics that their presence is taken for granted. Legislators are now concerned over social issues, as well as economic issues. Social issues were mentioned most frequently by NDP legislators, by those who identified themselves as left-wing, by legislators who stated that their constituencies were competitive, and by members who had lived in their constituencies less than 50 per cent of their lives.

Economic issues were mentioned by Social Credit members, by members with a high school education or less, by legislators from rural ridings and by those who stated

that they had spent at least 50 per cent of their lives in their constituencies. The economic expansion in British Columbia during the last two decades is associated with the Social Credit governments of W. A. C. Bennett. The association between social integration and the mention of economic and social issues is interesting. Despite the fact that social issues are mentioned slightly more than economic issues by British Columbia legislators, this is not to say that social issues are those which are most important to the general population of the province. In fact, the data would indicate that a high degree of social integration, as measured by the percentage of a member's life spent in the community, is related to the mention of economic, rather than social issues.

New Brunswick,-- In this province, economic issue mentions were 28 per cent of all issue responses; social issues comprised 17 per cent of all issue mentions.

New Brunswick is characterized by an almost total lack of differences in policy perceptions in relation to any of the variables employed in this analysis. The depressed status of the economy may mean that economic issues are of equal concern to all legislators. On social issues there was one noticeable association, along the subjective party competition variable. Those backbenchers who stated that their constituencies were not competitive were more likely to mention social issues than those who indicated

that their ridings were competitive. As stated previously, perhaps it is only the member from a "safe" riding who can allow himself the luxury of speaking about non-economic issues. P. J. Fitzpatrick suggests, too, that the "carnival" atmosphere of New Brunswick makes it less than conducive to a serious discussion of issues of any kind.¹

General Observations

A review of the data in Table XXI reveals some interesting patterns. On economic issues, political variables, (party, subjective ideology and subjective party competition), were significant for Kendall tau c in five cases out of twelve, or in 41.6 per cent of the cases. On these same issues, personal variables, (education and length of residence in the community), were significant in two of eight cases, or 25 per cent; the community variable, (rural-urban) was significant in two of five cases, or 50 per cent.

On social issues, political variables were significant in five cases out of twelve, or 41.6 per cent. Personal variables were significant in two of eight cases, or 25 per cent. The community variable was significant in one case of four, or 25 per cent.

What does this tell us? First, the strength of the

¹P. J. Fitzpatrick, "New Brunswick: The Politics of Pragmatism," in Robin, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, pp.122-133.

community variable for economic issues suggests that, in this one study, we have discovered a potential link between our findings and Dye's hypothesis that socioeconomic conditions, of which urbanization is an element, influence the production of certain types of policy. Second, the fact that the mentions of social issues are less differentiated in terms of this rural-urban variable may be the result of the nature of social issues themselves. That is, the most salient social issues were in the areas of health and social welfare; these programmes are egalitarian in purpose and universal in nature, at least in the sense that they do not discriminate between urban and rural areas.

It is necessary to point out that further study of more of these community variables is essential. What is suggested here is that the pattern of linkage between socioeconomic conditions and certain policy areas is evident.

The strength of the political variables in this study may suggest one of two things. The American literature, it will be remembered, indicated that socioeconomic variables explained more of the variance in policy outputs among the states than did variables related to the nature of the political system. In the Canadian provinces, however, the convention of party discipline in the legislature may induce a legislator to be more conscious of his party membership at all times than if he were able to decide his

legislative vote, free of such discipline. The influence of the ideological variable is perhaps the result of the success of "third" parties on the provincial level. These minor parties were, in many cases, founded in response to a particular problem within one province. The Saskatchewan CCF, for example, was a response to the demands and problems of the province's farmers. As such, its very foundation was issue-oriented. Newer than the major parties, they have had less time to acquire the non-ideological stance usually associated with electoral success in Canadian politics.

Secondly, the political system variables may be a reflection of the socioeconomic environment within which the political system operates. Lipset has posited that there is a strong link between economic development and the development of democratic ideals and practices.² Dye, too, has found that the degree of party competition, for example, is closely related to the levels of wealth, urbanization, and education in an American state;

Policy differences between competitive participatory states and noncompetitive, nonparticipatory states may really be a product of their differing levels of wealth, urbanization, and education rather than a direct product of competition and participation.³

²Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," American Political Science Review, 53 (1959), pp.69-105.

³Thomas Dye, Understanding Public Policy, p.251.

It is interesting, however, that except for the almost total lack of variance in policy perceptions in New Brunswick there is little observable difference among the legislators' perceptions in the four provinces that can be explained solely on the "have" or "have-not" economic dimension.

Given such cautious and tentative conclusions, the obvious next step is to suggest how future research might fruitfully proceed. There are two possible routes. The first would be to explore the relationship between economic variables and political system variables. An exploration of Dye's hypothesis, that the level of political development is a reflection of economic status, would determine whether or not political variables are the major influence on legislators' policy perceptions or merely a set of intervening variables between the socioeconomic environment and the policy process.

The second relates more closely to the problems encountered in this study. There was no difficulty in classifying respondents' issue mentions; what was difficult, however, was arriving at a suitable means of measuring the reasons for these issue mentions. The question intended to explore these reasons was not widely answered. Certain political, personal, and community variables indicate associations; future investigations might consider further study of these variables. Additional socioeconomic variables, such as levels of wealth and industrialization in a

constituency, might provide additional insights into the influences operating on an individual legislator. Also important, however, are a legislator's subjective impressions of what makes an issue significant. Wayne Francis' method of exploring these perceptions was unsuitable because of its close relationship to the manner in which legislation is introduced and passed in the legislatures of the American states.⁴

The question of impact could be explored by a more precise phrasing of the question which appeared in the survey,-- for example,--"Would you tell us what you consider would be the effect of the matter of policy which you named number one?"

This was intended as an exploratory study; as such it is highly speculative. The literature on provincial policy-making is scanty; that on provincial legislators' perceptions of policy is non-existent. Hence there were few suggestions as to how this research might fruitfully proceed. Those that did exist came, to a significant extent, from the work of American scholars; differing institutional frameworks, cultural beliefs, and party systems, however, dictated that considerable effort be made to place the variables suggested by the American literature within the context of the Canadian parliamentary setting.

⁴Wayne Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States, p.110.

The nature of the study also necessitated the drawing of only tentative conclusions. Yet even tentative, cautious conclusions can suggest patterns of behaviour, and indicate routes of future research..

It should come as no surprise that the policy perceptions of provincial backbenchers appear to be determined on a provincial basis. Much has been written of the effects of regionalism on the Canadian federalism; less is known of the divisions which exist on the provincial level and which must be accommodated by the provincial party system and which must be satisfied by the results of the legislative process, policy. Too little is understood about the policy process in the provinces in relation to the disparities within each province or variables of the political and socioeconomic environment. This study has suggested associations between these variables and the backbenchers' views of important policy areas. It has further pointed out that each cluster of variables, political, personal, and community, exerts some influence on the perceptions of policy which backbenchers develop. To study one cluster to the exclusion of the others in future research would appear at this juncture to be unwarranted. If this study has suggested one avenue which could lead to a better understanding of the policy process in general, or the legislators' perceptions of it specifically, then its purpose will have been well served.

APPENDIX I

The empirical analysis in the foregoing study was based on the results of a survey conducted by Harold Clarke, Robert Krause and Richard Price of the Political Science Department of the University of Windsor. A two-wave mailing was conducted between March and July of 1972⁴ both English and French questionnaires were sent to backbenchers in Quebec and New Brunswick and English questionnaires only to backbenchers in the other eight provinces. Of 489 questionnaires sent, 252 usable replies were received, for a return rate of 51.5 per cent.

The survey consisted of nine pages of structured questions, both open-ended and closed, designed, in the authors' words,

to elicit information on such diverse yet related aspects of legislative politics as political socialization, political recruitment, role orientations, as well as reports of actual legislative behaviour or experiences, eg. the amount of time a legislator spends on constituency problems.¹

Of particular interest for this study were questions relating to legislative activity such as policy-making.

Questions from other studies of Canadian and American

¹Clarke, Krause, and Price, "The Effects of Inter-Party Competition." p.4.

legislative behaviour were duplicated to facilitate comparative analysis.² In addition, standard questions regarding demographic and social background characteristics of M.L.A.'s were included.

²Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behaviour (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), Appendix II, pp.152-161; David Hoffman and Norman Ward, Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Canadian House of Commons (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), Appendix B, pp.240-252; Wayne Francis, Legislative Issues in the Fifty States, Appendix I, pp.108-111.

APPENDIX II

1. (a) What is your party affiliation?
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) Liberal | (5) Union Nationale |
| (2) Progressive Conservative | (6) Parti Quebecois |
| (3) New Democratic | (7) Ralliement des Creditistes |
| (4) Social Credit | (8) Other party |
- (9) Independent
- (b) Province _____
2. How many years have you been a member of the provincial legislature? number of years _____
3. (a) How many times have you been elected to the provincial legislature? number of times elected _____
- (b) Have you ever been an unsuccessful candidate for the provincial legislature?
- (1) Yes (2) No
4. Regarding the relative strength of the parties in your constituency, would you describe your constituency as:
- (1) very competitive (2) moderately competitive
(3) not competitive
5. Are you now or have you ever been a member of any legislative committee? (1) Yes (2) No
- If "yes", on which committees have you served?
- | | |
|-------|-------------------|
| _____ | from 19__ to 19__ |
| _____ | from 19__ to 19__ |
| _____ | from 19__ to 19__ |
| _____ | from 19__ to 19__ |
| _____ | from 19__ to 19__ |
6. How often have you abstained or voted against the majority of your party in the House?
- number of abstentions _____
- number of times voting against the majority of the party _____

Approximately how much of your working time as a legislator is spent on constituency problems?

- (1) no time spent working on constituency problems
- (2) 1-25% of time spent working on constituency problems
- (3) 26-50% of time spent working on constituency problems
- (4) 51-75% of time spent working on constituency problems
- (5) 76-100% of time spent working on constituency problems

8. Please indicate how extensive is your communication from constituents:

- number of letters per week _____
- number of telephone calls per week _____
- number of meetings with individual constituents per week _____
- number of meetings with groups of constituents per week _____

9. Do you think that most of the time you are aware of the attitude of the majority of the voters in your riding towards the major issues before the legislature?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

10. On an average, how often does your party hold caucus meetings during a legislative session?

- (1) more than once a week
- (2) once a week
- (3) less than once a week

11. How often do you attend caucus meetings?

- (1) always
- (2) most of the time
- (3) sometimes
- (4) seldom
- (5) never

12. What do you consider are the most important functions of the caucus?

- Please rank the following by order of importance: Rank
- to decide party strategy in the House _____
 - for party leaders to explain policy positions _____
 - for backbenchers to influence policy _____
 - for the party to ensure support for its policies _____
 - other functions (please specify) _____

13. Is a caucus decision always binding on all members?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

14. On the average how many times per month do you come into contact with the following?

- (1) the federal MP from your constituency? _____
- (2) other federal MP's _____

- (3) civil servants _____
 (4) interest groups _____
 (5) local party officials (eg. constituency president) _____
 (6) provincial party officials _____
 (7) national party officials _____
 (8) local elected officials (eg. mayor, reeve) _____

Are most of your contacts made: (1) when legislature is
 in session
 (2) when legislature is not
 in session

15. Some provincial legislators regard it as part of their job to inform and educate their constituents about what goes on in Parliament. How do you feel about this?
 (1) Agree (2) Disagree

If you agree, by what means do you normally communicate with your constituents? _____

When the House is in session approximately how many days
a month do you spend in your constituency?
 number of days per month _____

- 15a. Have you been assigned any particular role in the legislature by your caucus (eg. Education critic).
 (1) Yes (2) No

If "yes", please specify _____

16. How many times did you speak during the debates in the legislature during the last session?
 number of times _____

17. How many private member' bills have you introduced as a provincial legislator?
 number of private members' bills _____

18. How many questions did you ask during the last session question period?
 number of questions asked _____

19. We are very interested in obtaining a more accurate picture of the kinds of issues which characterize our provincial legislatures. What would you estimate to be the most important matters of policy to come before the most recent session of your legislature? (egs. sales tax increase, education, municipal affairs etc.) Please be as specific as possible in indicating important issues.

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____

Would you give a few reasons why you considered number one above to be of particular importance:

In addition to discovering what MPP's do as members of a provincial legislature we are interested in finding out how they acquired their interest in political affairs:

20. How interested in politics was your father?
 (1) very interested (2) quite interested (3) not interested

How interested in politics was your mother?
 (1) very interested (2) quite interested (3) not interested

21. When you were growing up, were there discussions about politics in your home?
 (1) yes, a great deal of discussion of politics in my home
 (2) yes, some discussion of politics in my home
 (3) no, politics was not discussed in my home

22. What political party did your parents favour in provincial politics when you were growing up?
 father's provincial party preference _____

mother's provincial party preference _____

Did your parents favour the same party in federal politics as they did provincially? (1) Yes (2) No

If "no" which party did your parents favour federally?

father's federal party preference _____

mother's federal party preference _____

23. Have any members of your family or any relative ever held public elective office?
 (1) Yes (2) No

- 24. Prior to becoming a member of the provincial legislature did you hold any other public elective offices?
 (1) Yes (2) No

If "yes" please specify all public elective offices (other than the provincial legislature) which you have held and when you held them:

_____ from 19__ to 19__
 _____ from 19__ to 19__
 _____ from 19__ to 19__
 _____ from 19__ to 19__

- 25. Prior to becoming a member of the provincial legislature did you work actively for a political party? (1) Yes (2) No

- 26. Have you ever held an office in a political party?
 (1) Yes (2) No

- 27. If for some reason you had to give up being a member of the provincial legislature next week, what would you miss most about the job?

- 28. Before your election to the provincial legislature how much did you know about what the job of being a provincial legislator would involve?
 (1) knew a great deal (2) knew a few things (3) knew virtually nothing

- 29. If you had some knowledge about what the job of being a provincial legislator would involve before being elected to the legislature where did you get your information about this job? Which source was most important?

Source applies Most important source
 from discussion with family or other relatives _____

Source applies Most important source

- from materials learned in public or high school _____
- from materials learned in college or university _____
- from discussion with people active in politics _____
- by following political affairs in the mass media (eg. TV) _____
- other source (Please specify) _____
- _____
- _____

30. Here is a list of reasons for becoming a member of a provincial legislature. Which applied in your case? Which one was the most important?

Applies Most important

- to launch or further my political career _____
- to improve provincial government _____
- to help my party achieve power out of loyalty to my party _____
- to help to put into practice the principles my party stands for _____
- for personal satisfaction, enjoyment, exhilaration _____
- to protect the interests of my constituents _____
- other reasons (Please specify) _____
- _____
- _____

31. Some members of a provincial legislature feel that their primary responsibility as a representative is to their constituency first and then to their province as a whole. Others feel differently. How do you feel about this matter.

- (1) my primary responsibility is to the province as a whole
- (2) I try to balance the interests of the province and the interests of the constituency.
- (3) my primary responsibility is to my constituency

32. What are the most important things you want to accomplish,

as a member of the provincial legislature?

33. When making decisions as a provincial legislator how important are each of the following for you?

my constituents' opinions (1) very important
(2) somewhat important
(3) not important

my own judgment and experience: (1) very important
(2) somewhat important
(3) not important

the opinions of my party colleagues in the House:
(1) very important
(2) somewhat important
(3) not important

my local party organization: (1) very important
(2) somewhat important
(3) not important

34. Generally speaking, have your ideas about what is involved in the job of being a member of the provincial legislature changed as a result of your actual experiences as a provincial legislator?

- (1) yes, my ideas have changed a great deal
- (2) yes, my ideas have changed somewhat
- (3) no, my ideas have not changed

Which of your actual experiences as a provincial legislator have been influential in shaping your ideas about what is involved in the job of being a member of the provincial legislature? Which experience has been the most influential?

| | Influential | Most Influential |
|--|-------------|------------------|
| talking informally with other provincial legislators | _____ | _____ |
| attendance and/or participation in party caucuses | _____ | _____ |
| attendance and/or participation in House debates | _____ | _____ |
| attendance and/or participation in House committees | _____ | _____ |

Influential Most influential

meeting and talking with various
interest groups
being instructed as to what is
expected of me as a legislator
by party leaders
other experiences (Please specify

35. We have been told that every legislature has its unofficial and informal "rules of the game"--certain things members do and certain things they must not do if they want the respect and cooperation of fellow members. Do you agree?
(1) Yes (2) No

If "yes" would you please specify some of the "rules of the game" a member must observe to hold the respect and cooperation of his fellow members:

36. In your view, what are the formal and informal methods available for use against those who refuse to follow the "rules of the game," that is, how are things made difficult for people who refuse to follow these "rules of the game."

37. When discussing political beliefs many people talk about "left" and "right" wing members of the legislature. How important do you think these labels are?
(1) very important (2) somewhat important (3) not important

38. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

(Please check the appropriate box)

| Left | Moderately Left | Centre | Moderately Right | Right |
|------|-----------------|--------|------------------|-------|
| | | | | |

38. What are your opinions on the following?

Most of the time front-bench policy is already decided before a backbencher has a chance to exert influence.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

The services a provincial legislator performs for his constituents are important in getting him re-elected.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

People tend to judge a party by the quality of its leader.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

Party discipline is too strict today.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

The legislature should equip itself with a more extensive professional staff in order to have its own source of technical information.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

Our parliamentary system assumes that back-benchers will play a minor role in framing legislation.
 Agree ___ Tend to agree ___ Not sure ___ Tend to disagree ___
 Disagree ___

Background Information

39. Your age _____

40. Place of Birth: City _____
 Province _____
 Country _____

41. Your sex: (1) Male (2) Female

42. Where did you live most of the time up until you were 18 and where do you live now?

Up to 18 Now

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| on a farm..... | _____ | _____ |
| In a community whose population was: | | |
| under 1000 (rural)..... | _____ | _____ |
| 1,000 to 9,999 (town)..... | _____ | _____ |
| 10,000 to 99,999 (small city)..... | _____ | _____ |
| 100,000 to 249,000 (large city).... | _____ | _____ |
| 250,000 or more (metropolis)..... | _____ | _____ |

43. What is your religion?

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Anglican _____ | 6. Pentecostal _____ |
| 2. Baptist _____ | 7. Roman Catholic _____ |
| 3. Greek Orthodox _____ | 8. United Church _____ |
| 4. Jewish _____ | 9. None _____ |
| 5. Lutheran _____ | 10. Other (please specify _____) |

44. What was your father's major occupation when you were growing up?

45. What is your present occupation (other than being a provincial legislator)? (If you are a housewife, give your husband's occupation and your occupation before you were married. Be as specific as possible). (If you are retired give your major occupation before retirement).

46. Do you live in a constituency you represent? (1) Yes (2) No . If "yes" how long have you lived in the constituency you represent?
 _____ years

47. What is your education level? (Please indicate highest educational level attained.)

| | |
|---|-------|
| some elementary school..... | _____ |
| completed elementary school..... | _____ |
| some high school..... | _____ |
| completed high school..... | _____ |
| some college or university..... | _____ |
| completed undergraduate studies at a college or university..... | _____ |
| attended graduate or professional school..... | _____ |
| hold graduate or professional degree or degrees | _____ |

48. If you hold college, university, graduate or professional

degrees please indicate which one(s) _____

49. Please indicate the general category which corresponds most closely to your family income: (excluding stipend you receive as a provincial legislature)

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. under \$7,000 _____ | 6. 17,500 - 19,999 _____ |
| 2. 7,000 to 9,999 _____ | 7. 20,000-24,999 _____ |
| 3. 10,000-12,499 _____ | 8. 25,000 and over _____ |
| 4. 12,500-14,499 _____ | |
| 5. 15,000-17,499 _____ | |

50. How would you characterize your constituency?
 (1) rural (2) partly rural, partly urban (3) urban

51. Are you a member of any of the following kinds of organizations? Indicate in the space provided on the right if you hold office in the organization.

| | Name of Organization | Hold Office |
|--|----------------------|-------------|
| Charitable (eg. Red Cross) | _____ | _____ |
| Service Club (eg. Rotary, Kiwanis) | _____ | _____ |
| Fraternal (egs. Masons, Knights of Columbus) | _____ | _____ |
| Business or Professional (eg. Jaycees) | _____ | _____ |
| Other occupational (eg. Trade Union) | _____ | _____ |
| Veterans (eg. Canadian Legion) | _____ | _____ |
| Graduates (eg. University Alumni) | _____ | _____ |
| Civic (eg. Ratepayers' Group) | _____ | _____ |
| Sport or Social (eg. country club) | _____ | _____ |
| Non-partisan political (eg. Canadian Institute of International Affairs) | _____ | _____ |
| Others (please specify) | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |

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