Political participation in local government: a case study of extension students in Windsor and Chatham.

Phil. Bezaire
University of Windsor

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POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF EXTENSION STUDENTS IN WINDSOR
AND CHATHAM

by

Philip J. Bezaire, B.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Political Science in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1975
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the antecedents of political participation in local government and takes the form of a case study of University of Windsor extension students at the Windsor and Chatham campuses. The data used to carry out this study were collected by administering a questionnaire to these students during class time.

Three types of political participation are studied: local election campaign activity, political information pertaining to local government, and local council meeting attendance. These were related to various independent variables, including city size; the perception of the major actors in municipal government; voluntary association membership and; social background characteristics.

A number of interesting findings emerged, perhaps the most significant being the importance of distinguishing among types of political participation at the local level. While some independent variables were found to be good predictors of one type of activity, these same variables proved to be of less value in predicting other modes of political participation.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of some future avenues of research in the study of political participation in municipal government.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is particularly indebted to Professors Trevor Price and Richard Price who helped in virtually all aspects of the thesis work. Both men proved invaluable in the construction of the questionnaire used in the study, in focusing the direction of the research, and in reading earlier drafts of this thesis. I am especially indebted to Professor Richard Price for the guidance he provided in the data analysis stage of this project. Thanks is also due to Dr. S. Ramcharan for his careful reading of this thesis and his helpful suggestions. I am also grateful, of course, to each professor who gave up class time in order that I might administer questionnaires to their students. Without their co-operation, this research would have been impossible.

Special thanks must be accorded the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation as well as the Department of Political Science for their financial support during my graduate year.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Political participation, as an area of interest within the subfield of political behaviour, has generally been an area of intensive investigation, principally because of its importance in any discussion on the nature of democracy. From the perspective of "participatory democracy", the latter is founded upon the value of continuing citizen participation in the affairs of government. Beginning with the Greek city-state, democracy took the form of direct citizen participation in the management of community conflict.¹

As direct democracy became unmanageable, the system evolved into one where the citizen transmits his demands to elected representatives standing ready to fulfill the majority wish. The notion that each citizen has an equal opportunity to transmit demands and that the majority wish is implemented became entrenched aspects of democratic systems.²


With this change in the operational definition of democracy came new definitions of political participation. Witness the following explanation of "intelligent, responsible participation."

Intelligent participation requires that the citizen be able to judge the character and qualifications of those who ask for his vote, and to understand the platforms he is asked to support or reject. Responsible participation requires that the citizen, as he votes, should realize that his vote affects the public welfare. He must, therefore, watch his elected representatives and the working out of programmes in practice so as to rectify errors at the earliest possible moment.

A number of sociological studies however, have been instrumental in challenging such idealistic definitions of participation and their consequences. Floyd Hunter and C. Wright Mills, to mention but two, compiled evidence demonstrating that the power of decision-making lies beyond the grasp of the average citizen "keeping a watchful eye over his elected representative." The point here is that political power is beyond the reach of formal participants, for they may somewhat successfully influence "official" decision-makers yet those very persons are not those who really rule either the local or national community.

3 Corry and Hodgetts, p. 624. The literature contains many such references, thus no attempt will be made to itemize these here. An interesting extension of this notion however -- that is scrutiny beyond programs to more deep-seated human needs -- occurs in Christian Bay, "Needs, Wants, and Political Legitimacy," Canadian Journal of Political Science 1 (September 1968):241-260.

Other scholars witnessing low levels of voter turnout and what is often deemed a lack of voter rationality, have attempted to justify a poor quality of participation with a "too many chiefs" argument, thereby promoting the notion of efficient government at the expense of citizen involvement.

The debate continues however, and on the basis of the empirical evidence that has been gathered to date, one might be tempted to concur with those advocating a formula of low participation and efficient government. Political Science studies have demonstrated that not only are the opportunities to participate ignored by a substantial proportion of the citizenry, but also that certain social groups are effectively excluded from such activity by a number of factors such as social class, to cite the most documented.

These low levels of political participation apparently


pervade each governmental level within the federal systems of both Canada and the United States. The problem seems most acute however at the local level, for local government seems least capable of generating the motivation necessary for extensive citizen participation. Many find this lack of participation reasonable and acceptable given the mundane jurisdiction of local government and the absence of political parties with their intention of mobilizing the voter. Yet the ideal of democracy can be:

...much more closely approximated in local government and politics...The citizen sees with his own eyes how the men he has elected behave. He can see whether the policies being followed by his local government work well or ill. It is possible for people, even as they go about their own work, to keep track of their local government.7

The study of local political participation is appropriate, then, because of its potential to shed light on the nature of democracy both ideally and as it is practised. In essence, then, the purpose of this thesis is threefold:

(1) to investigate the possible effect of characteristics unique to local government on political participation within the municipal system;

(2) to confirm the effect of variables of demonstrated significance regarding participation at the local level such as voluntary association membership and social background variables;

(3) and, as a desired consequence of purposes (1) and (2), to add to the discipline's understanding of political participation within local government.

7 Corry and Hodge. p. 624.
Before these goals can be achieved however, the concept of political participation as it applies to this thesis must be developed fully. The next section of this chapter then will review the literature pertinent to political participation at the local level as well as present a discussion of the operationalization of the concept of participation for this research.

Political Participation and Local Government

For the most part political participation has generally been conceptualized along the lines of campaign activity. A number of acts are included here within the three broad activity categories of gladiatorial, transitional and spectator as per Milbrath’s hierarchy.\(^8\) (See Figure 1.1).

While this conceptualization is indeed a legitimate focal point for the study of participation, a number of scholars have advanced the argument that its range is too constrained to effectively measure the citizen’s commitment to the polity.\(^9\) Political campaigns occur at scheduled intervals and hence do not permit the researcher to tap continuous levels of local political involvement. A corollary to this is that the analysis of campaign activity alone neglects other forms of participation, forms equally legitimate and perhaps of more importance to the

---

8 Milbrath, p. 18. A modified version of this hierarchy appears in Van Loon, p. 378.

**Figure 1.1: Milbrath's Hierarchy of Political Involvement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLADIATORIAL ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>Holding public and party office.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being a candidate for office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soliciting political funds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Becoming an active member in a political party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contributing time in a political campaign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIONAL ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Attending a political meeting or rally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contacting a public official or a political leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPECTATOR ACTIVITIES</td>
<td>Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initiating a political discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exposing oneself to political stimuli.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APATHETICS**


average citizen. This is particularly the case regarding local government. A number of factors (to be discussed later in this chapter) tend to depress participation in local campaigns. Consequently, the construction of the participation variable for this paper involves conceptualizing participation on a slightly broader scope -- one that will allow the researcher
to tap modes of participation which have greater application to local politics.

Three questions, then, will determine the individual's rate of participation:

(1) Is the individual politically informed about the community?
(2) Does he exercise his right to attend city council meetings?
(3) Does he vote in local elections and is he active during local election campaigns?

The work that has been accomplished on these types of participation as well as a justification for their inclusion in this research work is presented below.

(1) Political Information

Democratic competence is closely related to having valid information about political issues and processes, and to the ability to use information in the analysis of issues and the devising of influence strategies.10

"Valid information" is viewed by the authors of *The Civic Culture* as an integral part of the individual's capacity to participate effectively within the local democratic process. Information can be effectively conceptualized in various fashions, but for the purposes of this thesis the review will limit itself to one type of information, that is the individual's ability to identify local political leaders.

Generally, individuals are quite proficient in identifying those involved in local government. In their study of

political participation in the United States, Verba and Nie found that nearly 60% of their sample could correctly identify the head of the local government as well as the head of the local school system. 11

It should be noted here that such knowledge is indeed a participatory act within the context of local government. Given the media's concentration on national figures, an individual must actively seek out material dealing with local affairs if he is to become capable of identifying such leaders. The fact that over 60% of a given group of individuals know who these leaders are is an important aspect of the participation question. In a sense the ability to identify political leaders constitutes a form of pre-cursive political participation, i.e. it necessarily precedes some types of participation like corresponding with a government official for the redress of a personal grievance. Hence, the acquisition of political knowledge may intentionally precede individual instrumental participation.

(2) Public Meeting Attendance

Patterns of public meeting attendance have never been fully explored. The work that has been accomplished tells us little about the reasons for attending meetings primarily because such attendance is usually treated as one act to perform within a total participation scale. For example, in their study

11 Verba and Nie, p. 369.
of four cities in Wisconsin, Alford and Scoble constructed an index of attendance,

...based on three questions asking, "within the past two years," if respondent had attended a public-issue discussion meeting, a political party meeting, and a city council (or school board) meeting. 12

This index was then combined with three other indexes to form a composite index of local political involvement. The prediction of meeting attendance from this point was subsequently lost within the respondent's composite score.

In general however, the work that has been done indicates that roughly 20% of a given study sample will avail itself of the opportunity to attend public municipal meetings. 13

Clearly then, a minority of citizens are motivated to attend municipal meetings.

Such a finding is indeed deserving of further examination, given local council's physical proximity to the citizen and Corry's postulate that local government is the most appropriate setting for the achievement of "democracy". Given the fact that local citizens need overcome relatively few obstacles in order to attend meetings it is important to ascertain what kinds of men and women make use of this opportunity generally absent vis-a-vis other legislative institutions. Implicit here is the idea that participation, at least when manifested through this type of participation, is primarily discouraged by physical and/or monetary resources rather than psychological ones.

12 Alford and Scoble, p. 1193 (footnote 4).

(3) Voting and Campaign Activity

In general, the citizenry's performance on the full spectrum of campaign activity at the local level has not been subjected to an intensive examination by political scientists. This is more than likely the case because voting -- supposedly one of the easiest tasks to perform -- has been characteristically low at the local level. For example, data gathered within Ontario municipalities reveals the following voter turnout patterns (see Table 1.1) over a period of roughly 8.2 years.¹⁴

These data show that voter turnout in municipal elections varies considerably from one municipality to the next. Of the 4 million citizens represented in Table 1.1 slightly more than 42% exercised their municipal franchise -- a figure small in comparison to national and provincial turnout rates which usually hover around 70%.

These low levels of voter turnout have been of considerable interest to political scientists, thus accounting for a substantial amount of research on municipal voting alone. Because voting is supposedly the easiest campaign activity to perform, it follows, then, that in most cases the individual who does not vote will not be likely to perform other campaign activities of a higher order. Thus, a review of the antecedents of municipal voting is indeed appropriate so as to shed some light on the performance of other campaign activities (such as

¹⁴ The study, conducted by Trevor Price and Richard Price of the University of Windsor, consisted of a mail questionnaire sent to cities throughout the province. This table represents data from those cities responding to said questionnaire.
Table 1.1: Municipal Voter Turnout in 30 Ontario Cities (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities (ranked)</th>
<th>Population (a)</th>
<th>Election-Span (b)</th>
<th>Turnout(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Cornwall</td>
<td>44,914</td>
<td>1962-1971</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. North Bay</td>
<td>41,168</td>
<td>1965-1971</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Timmins</td>
<td>27,957</td>
<td>1962-1970</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Niagara Falls</td>
<td>59,999</td>
<td>1962-1969</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ottawa</td>
<td>291,084</td>
<td>1960-1969</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sudbury</td>
<td>86,609</td>
<td>1965-1972</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Port Colborne (c)</td>
<td>19,692</td>
<td>1967-1971</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Peterborough</td>
<td>55,233</td>
<td>1965-1972</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Windsor (d)</td>
<td>194,189</td>
<td>1948-1971</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Woodstock</td>
<td>24,599</td>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sarnia</td>
<td>55,776</td>
<td>1963-1970</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Burlington</td>
<td>77,308</td>
<td>1963-1970</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>292,769</td>
<td>1962-1970</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Stratford</td>
<td>23,142</td>
<td>1963-1970</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Oshawa</td>
<td>87,278</td>
<td>1962-1970</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Toronto (e)</td>
<td>677,590</td>
<td>1954-1972</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterloo</td>
<td>32,944</td>
<td>1963-1971</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. York</td>
<td>140,310</td>
<td>1960-1969</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Scarborough</td>
<td>293,937</td>
<td>1960-1969</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Mississauga (c)</td>
<td>137,341</td>
<td>1965-1970</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) population averaged from 1966-1971.
(b) refers to 5 elections unless otherwise indicated.
(c) refers to 3 elections.
(d) refers to 13 elections.
(e) refers to 10 elections.

Mean turnout = 42.0%
Median turnout = 38.4%

running for office), as well as levels of political information and meeting attendance. This section then, will concentrate primarily on the voting literature as well as cover the material that has been produced on the gamut of campaign activities at the local level.

(i) Patterns of voter turnout

Although the absence of political parties hinders turnout at the local level, various patterns have nonetheless been isolated, particularly through examinations of referenda voting. For example, O'Rourke's study of the 45 cities of Los Angeles County revealed the following:

1. People tend to vote against candidates and propositions.

2. Turnout depends on opposition felt by voters.

3. Many citizens who vote at the state and national level never vote locally.

4. A small core of citizens in each city sustain local government by voting.15

In general then, electoral patterns at the local level are somewhat unique. Voters do not rush to the polls to voice support for their favourite candidates. In effect, many make virtually no attempt to vote municipally, even though these same constituents are fervent "politicos" within the context of senior levels of government. Those that do vote, approach the decision in negative terms, so as to crush a given candidate or issue.

(ii) Factors influencing voter turnout

Factors influencing voting and levels of voter turnout within local government have not been the subject of widespread attention, particularly in Canada. The work that has been carried out has usually involved the analysis of aggregate data, such as that of Alford and Lee's study of turnout in 282 American cities. Their major findings are presented below:

1. Form of government has a stronger relationship to turnout than form of election.
2. Turnout tends to be lower in council-manager and non-partisan systems.
3. Highly ethnic or less well-educated populations turn out in greater numbers.
4. The older the city and the less mobile its population, the lower the turnout.
5. Eastern cities have a higher turnout rate than Far Western cities.16

From the evidence on turnout alone then, one would intuitively expect to discover an even smaller nucleus of persons active in local politics, exclusive of elections, than one would find at the federal and provincial level. This does indeed seem to be the case, as evidence exists to demonstrate that campaign activity for most is restricted to voting plus one or two physical cost items.17


The Study Group

The data used in this study were collected from the administration of a questionnaire, during the last two months of 1974, to a group of University of Windsor extension students at both the Windsor and Chatham campuses. To qualify as study units, respondents had to be enrolled in an extension course as well as reside in either Windsor or Chatham. Questionnaires were hand delivered to the respondent upon which the procedure was briefly explained to him. Respondents completed the questionnaire during class time — completion time averaging 25 minutes.

Permission was secured from the professor of each class for the distribution of questionnaires. Of the 160 professors contacted, 36 responded affirmatively, yielding a total sample size of 292 (Windsor = 188; Chatham = 103; NA = 1), or 47.6% of class enrollment. Although a more sophisticated type of sample would have been desirable, the students enrolled in the courses enumerated represent a population readily accessible, thereby substantially reducing survey costs, as well as a group of individuals well-suited for the purposes of this study.

This study group has obvious peculiarities. The mean age, for example, is 28.4 years. Although this encompasses the median age group for Ontario as of 1961 it does skew the sample to some degree. Level of education also poses a

18 For a breakdown of the study group by city and course, see Appendix B. The questionnaire used appears in Appendix C.

problem. As of 1971, the percentage of the population holding university degrees in both Windsor and Chatham hovered above 4%, compared to the study group's mean educational attainment of 4 to 6 university courses. This bias precludes any generalization to the population at large, but should prove useful in terms of gaining an expanded insight into the educated segment's commitment to local government.

Methodology and Thesis Outline

The three questions posed earlier in this chapter will form the basis for the construction of the dependent variable -- political participation. Questionnaire data have been used to construct three separate Guttman scales measuring political information, public meeting attendance, and campaign activity at the local level. 21

Measured as such, the extension student's participation in local government will be examined in terms of the following factors or set of factors comprising a single thesis chapter.

Chapter 2 will concern itself primarily with the relationship between the size of city and political participation. Community size, as a factor affecting political participation, has yielded evidence of mixed significance from which two models have evolved: (1) the decline-of-community model and; (2) the mobilization model. The former stresses the negative


21 For a description of scale components, evidence of scalability and a brief explanation of Guttman scale analysis, see Appendix A.
effects of modernization and bureaucratization associated with urbanization. The latter stipulates that these forces act as stimuli for the individual to participate politically.

Given the dearth of material favouring the decline-of-community model and the imprecision of the behavioural literature in this respect, the following hypothesis will be tested:

(1) That size of city will have a negative effect on political participation, that is that levels of participation will be higher in Chatham (pop.: 35,500) than in Windsor (pop.: 198,000).

Included in this chapter will be an examination of the relationships between the citizen's perception of the mayor and city manager and participation. Given the absence of political parties at the local level, an important source of motivation for the citizen to participate is lost. Thus, the impact of the two most important political actors will be analyzed in the form of the following hypotheses:

(2) That a direct relationship will exist between high levels of political participation and positive perceptions of the mayor and city manager.

The third chapter of this thesis will aim to identify the strength of the relationship between membership in voluntary associations and political participation. Generally, a high level of activity within voluntary associations is directly related to high levels of political participation. In this light, then, two formal hypotheses will be examined.

(3) That membership in voluntary associations will be positively related to political participation.

(4) That high levels of activity within associations will be positively related to political participation.

Chapter 4 involves an analysis of the relationship between social background variables and political participation. Here such standard social background variables such as sex and socio-economic status will be related to participation, with special attention paid to the education variable -- a variable of particular importance to this study.

A great deal of bivariate analysis has been undertaken in order to link social background data to levels of political participation. A number of postulates have emerged and these will be tested within the special circumstances of the data set to be used.23 The rationale underlying each hypothesis is advanced in Chapter 4 itself, so for the purposes of this chapter the propositions dealing with social background characteristics and political participation need only be stated as follows:

(5) That given the commonality of education in the study group, no relationship will exist between sex and political participation.

(6) That level of education will have no independent relationship with political participation.

(7) That home owners will be more likely to participate in local politics than non-owners.

(8) That Catholics will demonstrate lower levels of political participation than individuals of other religious faiths.

(9) That no difference in political participation will exist between members of "charter" ethnic groups (British and French) and members of "other" ethnic groups.

23 For a complete listing of these postulates, see Milbrath, pp. 110-141.
(10) Individuals of low income, education and occupational status will exhibit low levels of political participation.

(11) That at best, a small amount of variance in participation is explained by an individual's social background characteristics.

The final chapter of this thesis will summarize the findings presented and comment on the overall significance of each independent variable on the performance of each mode of activity. It is hoped that the insight provided by this analysis will yield information capable of clarifying the antecedents of political participation in local government as well as lead to further research in this area.
CHAPTER 2

THE EFFECT OF CITY SIZE AND THE PERCEPTION OF MUNICIPAL ACTORS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the significance which factors unique to local government have on political participation. Two rather different variables will be included in the analysis: (1) the macro-variable of city size; and (2) the micro-variable of perception of the major municipal actors in Chatham and Windsor.

The bivariate analysis of such relationships will be supplemented by the addition of intervening or control variables thus permitting one to assess causal relationships from a multivariate perspective. For example, situational variables such as length of community residence will be injected into the analysis of the effect of city size. These same research strategies will be used to explore the significance of the perception of actors as it relates to political participation, coupled with the impact of federal party identification. Since local government operates in a non-partisan setting it is reasonable to expect the individual's "partisan self-image" to play a role in his perception of the mayor and city manager. Strength of partisanship, then, will be linked with the respondent's perception of local actors in order to isolate its relationship to political participation.
The Experience of Community Size

A good deal of research has been devoted to the effect of city size on political participation, yet conflicting findings have emerged. Milbrath posits that "...the larger the community the higher the rate of participation."\(^1\) Normative theorists stipulate there is an inverse relationship between urbanization and participation because of the city's tendency to minimize the individual's societal importance.

The dual line of thought described here has been reduced to model form in other research work.\(^2\) Consistent with Milbrath's mobilization model, Verba and Nie similarly argue that participation increases within an urban setting because the individual finds himself intensely stimulated by that setting. Mobilization as a concept is in harmony with Deutsch's classic work, where he defines social mobilization as:

...the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior.\(^3\)

Thus, in the urban setting individuals become less attuned to personal needs and wants (since the process of modernization, inherent to urban life, meets these needs) and become more aware of the need to participate in shaping the destiny of


\(^2\) Verba and Nie, pp. 229-232.

society as a whole.

The normative argument advanced earlier is embodied in the decline-of-community model reflected in the work of Kornhauser and other mass society theorists. Such arguments usually take the direction of the following passage.

The growth of the metropolis atomizes community and the growth of bureaucracy thrusts decision-making centres beyond the effective range of understanding and influence, leaving only the isolated and exposed individual.4

Modernization, in this context, erodes the individual's sense of identity, leaving him insecure and incapable of fulfilling his civic duty. Definitive findings capable of supporting either model simply do not exist. Regarding the notion that participation increases with size of city, data from the 5-nation study revealed that:

Place of residence is no predictor of political activity....It appears that living in an urban area has no significant independent effect on rates of national participation but that urbanization is associated with higher social status which does increase political participation.5

Therefore, urbanization (or place of residence) is associated with increased political participation by virtue of the intimate relationship between urbanization, increased social status, and the consequent effects of the latter on attitudes connected to political participation. In less urbanized areas the


individual's status will result, in part, from participation in a known and used local organizational structure and from family ties that are publicly understood. In highly urbanized areas however "...social participation is organized around position in other organization contexts, as for example, the corporation, politics, the labour union..."7

From a causal perspective, then, Nie and others argue that the statistical relationship between community size and levels of participation is spurious. This is consistent with Fischer's work8 as well as the findings of the Verba-Nie study. Size of community, in both studies, produced no basic relationship with political participation. However, when the latter controlled for the degree of "boundedness" (boundedness referring to "...the extent to which the community is an autonomous political, social, and economic unit")9, higher levels of participation were discovered in well-defined political units as opposed to small suburbs.10

Thus, the major discoveries relating community size to participation have come full circle. Early in the investigative work on political participation scholars discerned a relation between large cities and high levels of participation,

6 Greer, p. 33.
7 Ibid, p. 33.
9 Verba and Nie, p. 243.
voting in particular. This relationship was later proven spurious due to the overriding effect of socio-economic status. Further work has maintained this finding, but has pointed to the qualifying impact of the degree to which the community is a well-defined political unit.

**Community Size: Method and Findings**

Given the recent support for the decline-of-community model then, and the fact that both study cities are well-defined politically in the sense that only residents of each city proper responded to the questionnaire, the following hypothesis was tested:

(1) That city size will have a negative effect on political participation, that is that levels of participation will be higher in Chatham than in Windsor.

From previous work on the topic it follows then that political participation in the smallest city should be higher.

Basic tests of statistical significance failed to confirm the hypothesized relationship, as is apparent in Tables 2.1 through 2.3. Tau C correlations give Windsor a slight advantage in all three modes of participation, yet these data can hardly be labelled definitive.\(^\text{11}\) City size appears to have no significant relationship to political participation. Further, the

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\(^{11}\) Zero order partial correlation coefficients (or Pearson's r) were computed for these relationships, resulting in scores of -.07, -.03 and -.04 for campaign activity, political information and meeting attendance respectively.
Table 2.1: Size of City by Levels of Political Information (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Chatham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>failed to identify at least the mayor</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>identified only the mayor</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>identified the mayor and 2 aldermen</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>identified the mayor, 2 aldermen and the city manager</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(188)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\gamma = -0.07
\]
\[
x^2 \text{ significant at the .02 level.}
\]

Table 2.2: Size of City by Levels of Campaign Activity (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Chatham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>no activity performed</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+ voting</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ discussion</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ proselytizing</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ meeting attendance</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+ time contribution</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>+ poll work</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>+ candidacy</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td></td>
<td>(157)</td>
<td>(87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\gamma = -0.07
\]
\[
x^2 \text{ significant at the .14 level.}
\]

(*) Totals not equal to 100.0% due to rounding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Chatham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>never attended</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>attended 1 meeting</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>attended 2 or more meetings</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>attended as part of a delegation</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>attended as the head of a delegation</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>(175)</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\tau C = -.04$

$\chi^2$ significant at the .04 level

(*) Totals not equal to 100.0% due to rounding

building of cities, indeed:

...does not, in itself, change the basic structure of human life. It is change in the basic political economy of the society which allows -- indeed forces -- the creation and growth of cities.12

Thus, societal pressures and the resultant transformation of societies pre-date the emergence of the city. If this is indeed the case, as simple logic assures us that it is, then it is unlikely that the municipality's physical size, measured by population alone, will generate high levels of political participation.

Before rejecting the hypothesis however, further investigation is necessary in order to remove the effect of situational variables which could be masking a statistically significant relationship between city size and political participation.

12 Greer, p. 281.
These variables, and their construction appear below in Figure 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LCR</td>
<td>length of community residence.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 years or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 years or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAR</td>
<td>length of residence at present address.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 years or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 years or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>type of community in which the respondent was raised</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>rural (pop. &lt; 1,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>urban (pop. 1,000+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>number of times respondent has moved</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>twice or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>three or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each variable described above has properties capable of distorting the individual's orientation to city size as it is assumed in the decline-of-community model. This distortion would then be subsequently capable of affecting patterns of political participation implicit to the model. For example, if the respondent has lived in his present community for a long period of time, it is indeed likely that the hypothesized effect of city size will be significantly moderated. The same rationale holds for his length of residence in his present home as well as that for his dwelling mobility. Both of these variables tap his neighbourhood ties in order to discern whether or not ties consistent with the ideal of small town life (i.e. long-term residence) have an effect on the relationship between city size and political participation. Coupled with
these notions is the impact of the type of community in which the individual was raised. We would expect the individual, whose childhood was spent in an urban area to be better adapted to urban life as an adult. His rate of political participation should then be higher than the individual whose environment has changed significantly from childhood to the present, regardless of city size.

Partial correlation coefficients were computed in order to test these assumptions and appear in Table 2.4.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation mode</th>
<th>Original Relationship</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>LCR</th>
<th>LAR</th>
<th>DM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(202)</td>
<td>(201)</td>
<td>(201)</td>
<td>(201)</td>
<td>(201)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Partial correlation analysis "...involves the use of a mathematical device which cancels out any influence that the independent variable might have on the dependent variable through their mutual relationship with the control variable, and only measures the direct influence (if any) that the independent variable has on the dependent variable," in E. Terrence Jones, Conducting Political Research, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 146-152. The partial coefficient is similar to Pearson's r in that it measures linearity, ranges from -1.0 to +1.0, and when squared refers to the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables entered into the equation.
The data presented in Table 2.4 are disappointing in light of the hypothesis, but important nonetheless. City size, when controlling for factors which would tend to qualify and perhaps even diminish its independent significance, does not emerge as a variable of any prominence. Indeed, city size appears to have virtually no relationship whatsoever to levels of political participation from the point of view of the amount of variance explained. Neither the original relationship, nor the controlled relationship is capable of explaining over 0.5% of the variance in political participation. Clearly, then, neither model -- mobilization or decline-of-community -- is supported by those data presented above. Cause for eliminating this variable as an important explanatory source in understanding levels of political participation seems best explained by Greer's point that the city is indeed complex -- size being no predictor of complexity in the individual's mind. However, the reader should bear in mind the fact that the population examined is not a sample of either Chatham or Windsor residents. Rather, since the respondents were all university students their level of education, itself atypical of each city's population, may well dwarf normal differences in levels of political participation.

Another aspect, capable of explaining this absence of relationship, is the fact that only 2 cities are included in the analysis. Windsor's population exceeds that of Chatham's by roughly 150,000. The former is a more industrialized border town and is perhaps more "cosmopolitan" than the latter. Yet
both cities share a number of common characteristics such as modal ethnic (British) and religious groups (Roman Catholic), as well as council-manager systems of local government. The point to be made here is that given a larger sample of cities, individual city differences may be suppressed by the commonalities of all cities within a given population category, this suppression yielding relationships supporting either model. In a sense, this analysis benefits from the lack of a large number of cities within the sample, thereby avoiding this analytic pitfall. Cities are indeed complex entities and the analysis of two cities alone accentuates these complexities.

Further analysis, then, is necessary in order to confidently argue that city size has no independent effect on levels of political participation. Within the next section of this chapter, then, a trait common to both cities, i.e., the council-manager system will be discussed in terms of its effect on political participation.

The Perception of Actors

The emphasis on perception of important municipal actors is worthwhile for two related conditions: (1) the absence of political parties at the local level, and; (2) the presence of council-manager systems in both Windsor and Chatham. Given these shared conditions, it is entirely likely that individual perceptions of the mayor and city manager will affect political participation, specifically whether or not one votes, as well as who he or she votes for. Factors affecting this perception,
such as situational variables and federal partisanship, must also be explored.

The citizen's perception of municipal actors at the local level has yet to be researched. A substantial amount of literature, however, does exist which deals with the perception of national leaders and local candidates for federal office as well as the effects of candidate image on voting. Cunningham speculates that the local candidate is uniquely responsible for 10% of the vote, while Wilson maintains that partisanship in all cases takes precedence over candidate evaluation. Researchers have also pointed to the potential of national party leader evaluation for producing significant changes in an election. The association of leader image with vote switching has been seriously questioned however, and for all practical purposes the favourable perception of a candidate has been linked to party identification.


In essence, two theories exist regarding political perception of candidates. The first, advanced by Heider, posits that the individual "...will see in a preferred candidate what (he) wish(es) to see -- even if it is unrelated to objective reality." Thus, this perceptual balance theory anchors itself on the notion that the individual, so as to avoid dissonance, will align his perception of a given political actor to that which coincides with his own set of political values and beliefs, usually embodied in a party identification. This is discussed elsewhere in terms of selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention.

That is, because most people already have actual or latent predispositions to support one party over another, they will tend to expose themselves disproportionately to the communications of the candidate and party they already support, to perceive only those aspects of the political world which already fit in with their preconceived notions, and to retain those impressions which are congruent and congenial with their present predispositions and information about the parties and candidates.

The image theory, advanced by Lippman, on the other hand,...holds that the image voters have of a candidate is not perceiver-determined but candidate or stimulus-determined. This theory maintains that candidates, by their appearance, speeches, stands on


issues, etc. convey a specific image. The image emanating from the candidate accounts for the public's perception of that candidate.\textsuperscript{20}

In this light, then, the candidate casting the most favourable image is capable both of winning elections and gaining popular support for his stands on issues, once elected.\textsuperscript{21}

These theories are indeed relevant due to the dependency of actor evaluation on partisanship "...especially during periods of weak ideological focus..."\textsuperscript{22} Local government becomes an interesting research site here, for not only are parties absent but the identification of ideology is virtually impossible given the tendency towards "issueless and placid" municipal elections.\textsuperscript{23} Were political parties present, we would expect these to have an effect on candidate evaluation. Their absence then is conceivably compensated by an evaluation of the mayor, a process subsequently re-inforced by party identification as suggested by the perceptual balance theory.


\textsuperscript{21} The ability to mobilize support is particularly important in local politics. For a discussion of this, see Jeffrey L. Pressman, "Preconditions of Mayoral Leadership," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 511-524.


The lack of parties at the local level also underscores the importance of citizen perception of the city manager as a variable conditioning political participation. Urban parties failed to develop in Canada for a number of reasons including slow urban growth and local homogeneity. Of even greater importance however, was the influence of the American municipal reform movement on local politics in Canada, a reform designed to replace "machine politics" with non-political administrative systems such as the council-manager system, thereby actually removing "politics" from urban government.24 Politics, however, was not removed from local government for a variety of reasons.

The expectation that a manager should be an inconspicuous, expert errand boy for the council could not square with the facts of community political life. For it is difficult for an amateur council, meeting only a few hours a week, to act as an articulator of problems, or issues, much less act as a broker for conflicting political interests or the general planner for a rapidly changing environment.25

The city manager can be seen as a political actor in the sense that the evolution of the council-manager system has added a political dimension to his role from a policy making

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perspective. Yet the fact that the city manager is not overtly political complicates the analysis. It is likely that most citizens will fail to recognize the city manager's political role given that over 60% of this study group could not provide even basic information such as his name. Yet, we should expect his political dimension to shape the decision to participate for some respondents, especially for those closely tied to the community. Long-term residents for example, experiencing the operation of a council-manager system for a greater period of time would be more likely to observe the political side of the city manager's office than would newcomers.

Coupled with this, some studies have linked participation to levels of bureaucratic development. Alford's study of four cities in Wisconsin revealed the highest levels of political participation in the city (Madison) that was most bureaucratized. Since both Chatham and Windsor have council-manager systems of government, this distinction cannot be made. Yet this finding as well as the expected significance of the city manager's political role should yield a substantial relationship between individual perceptions of this actor and levels of political participation.

The Perception of Actors: Method and Findings

In order to assess ideas found throughout the literature reviewed the following hypothesis was tested:

(2) That a direct relationship will exist between high levels of political participation and positive perceptions of the mayor and city manager.

As a subset to this we should expect,

2a. That party identification will be directly related to a positive perception of the mayor which in turn will be directly related to political participation.

2b. That party identification will show no relationship to positive perceptions of the city manager, but that situational variables will intervene in the manager-participation relationship.

The first analytic step then, involved computing the correlations between perception and participation.\(^{27}\) As indicated in Table 2.5, positive correlations do exist across all modes of activity. In most cases, however, little variance is explained. Perception of the mayor and city manager are equally capable of predicting 2.25% of the variance in campaign activity. Perception fails to account for at least 2% of the variance or more in meeting attendance. Modest levels of prediction are achieved regarding political information. Perceptions of the mayor and city manager respectively explain 5.7% and 9.6% of the variance in this mode of participation. In sum however, these data are not especially revealing.

\(^{27}\) The construction of each perception variable is described in Appendix A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
<th>City Manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 150

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Zero-Order Partial</th>
<th>Intensity Cont.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>(CM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>(CM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = (87) (86)
### Table 2.7: Partial Correlation Coefficients for Participation by Perception of Actors among Progressive Conservative Party Identifiers, Controlling for Intensity of PC Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Zero-Order Partial</th>
<th>Intensity Cont.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>(CM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = (20) (19)

### Table 2.8: Partial Correlation Coefficients for Participation by Perception of Actors among New Democratic Party Identifiers, Controlling for Intensity of NDP Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Zero-Order Partial</th>
<th>Intensity Cont.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>(CM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = (21) (20)
When controlling for partisanship, however, interesting variations emerge.28 (See Tables 2.6 through 2.8). The data in these tables demonstrate that partisanship has discontinuous effects on the actor perception-participation relationship. With the exception of Liberal party identifiers, partisanship adds significance to what were originally very weak correlations. This is especially true among Conservatives and New Democrats in terms of their perception of the mayor as it relates to campaign activity. Conservative partisanship emerges as a strong predictor here, explaining 16% of the variance, increasing total variance explained by roughly 14%. Similarly, an increase of 4.5% is witnessed among NDPers. For both groups then, campaign activity increases significantly, given positive perceptions of the mayor. Among Tories, this held true for meeting attendance as well. Political information was left relatively unchanged with the exception of its relationship with the city manager among Tories. Pride in administrative efficiency cha-

28 Respondents were asked the following questions with regard to federal partisanship:

"Thinking of national politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, Conservative, NDP, or what?"

"How strongly do you feel about your association with this party?

0. not very strongly
1. fairly strongly
2. very strongly

These two questions were combined to form separate indexes of partisan intensity for Liberal, Conservative and NDP identifiers. Weak partisans were scored 0; strong partisans were scored 1. Zero-order partials are calculated by means of physically controlling for partisanship. Intensity of partisanship is controlled for statistically.
racteristic of provincial Conservatives no doubt goes a long way in explaining this finding. 29

The fact that the amount of variance among NDP identifiers increases by four times its size gives solid evidence favouring the perceptual balance theory. The age distribution of the study group precludes most respondents from having ever campaigned for a mayoral candidate who could be labelled a New Democrat. An increase in participation then, coupled with a positive perception of the mayor would seem adequate in proving that partisanship acts in an intervening fashion within the non-partisan setting of local government. As shown in the two right-most columns of Table 2.6 through 2.8, the intensity of party identification has only a marginal effect on the relationship between the evaluation of non-partisan political actors and political participation.

That Liberal partisanship produces no relationship whatsoever is at first somewhat disturbing. Why would the characteristics of party identification, supposedly consistent across parties, fail to register an effect among Liberals as opposed to the PCs and NDPers?

The answer seems to lie in the nature of Liberal support across governmental levels. Wilson and Hoffman's revealing study of this phenomenon failed to include the local level for

29 This aspect of Conservatism is journalistically treated in Jonathan Manthorpe, The Power and The Tories, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1974).
obvious reasons. Yet their argument can and should be extended to the matter at hand. Federal Liberals, especially intense ones, have been found to switch parties or abstain altogether at the provincial level. A number of explanations have been advanced -- a disinterest in provincial politics, discouragement due to the provincial Liberal's dismal record, and so on. Indeed

...when surveyed in the early spring of 1967 they (Liberals) were more inclined than Conservatives or New Democrats to say either that there was nothing in particular they liked about their party or that they did not know what they liked about it.31

Given this lack of partisan continuity from the federal to the provincial level, it is entirely appropriate to discover an even weaker relationship at the local level (a level admittedly even less dynamic than the provincial).

The next step in the analysis is to test the applicability of the image theory by examining the relationship between perceptions of the city manager and local political participation. Four situational variables were used as control variables -- the assumption being that one whose stay in the community was not consistent (i.e. had moved often (DM)), had lived in the community a short time (LCR), had lived at present address a short time (LAR), and who was raised in a rural setting (TR).32


32 See Figure 2.1. These variables are treated here in the same manner as in the previous section of this chapter.
would have less of an opportunity to formulate an adequate image of the actor in question. These variables were included in a partial correlation exercise, the results of which are displayed in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9: Partial Correlation Coefficients for Political Participation by Perception of the City Manager, Controlling for Situational Variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Zero-Order</th>
<th>Controlling for...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of this multivariate strategy do not permit one to accept the hypothesis that situational variables intervene in the relationship under study. Data of a more sophisticated nature would be necessary to fully explore the relationship between the city manager and levels of political participation. Probes would be necessary to discern the image of the city manager held by the voter and how this leads to higher levels of political participation. The major question here would deal with ascertaining whether or not this administrative officer is perceived as a "de facto" political actor. The absence of such data seriously inhibits the analysis -- without detracting albeit from the intuitive applicability of the image theory to
the role of the city manager in the participation equation.

Summary

The data suggest, in summary, that perceptions of the major political actors in Windsor and Chatham are positively related to modes of participation, especially in the case of perceptions of the mayor among party identifiers. Size of city alone seems to account for little actual variance in participation.

These findings are indeed consistent with the body of literature dealing with political participation in the total behavioural context. Ecological variables such as city size have rarely been significant factors in understanding political behaviour. The perception of candidates on the other hand, has increased in significance due to the recent work of Cunningham and others. Given party identification's consistently strong association with political participation it is to be expected that in a non-partisan setting such identification will colour the respondent's perception of local actors. The emergence of these patterns then, is an important clue in understanding differential levels of political participation at the local level.
CHAPTER 3

THE EFFECT OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP ON
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction

Ecological and psychological variables of the type discussed in Chapter 2 are not solely responsible for patterns of local political participation. Variables of a sociological nature are equally important and hence deserve considerable discussion in order to do justice to the question of who participates politically and why. The objective of this chapter, then, is to isolate the effect of voluntary association membership on local political participation.

The selection of membership in these associations as an independent variable is not at all random. Voluntary associations assist in a number of functions which tend to place the citizen in a better position to participate politically. First, these associations aid in the distribution of power and influence within the society. Strength in numbers and resources equips the affiliated individual with the tools necessary to exert influence. Second, interest representation by the voluntary association has the potential of initiating social change through mediation between the member and the state. Third

...associations provide a sense of satisfaction with modern democratic processes because they help the
ordinary citizen to see how the process functions in limited circumstances, of direct interest to himself, rather than as they grind away in a distant, impersonal, and incomprehensible fashion.1

Finally, membership in voluntary associations serves socio-emotional needs by promoting fellowship as a result of the common interests shared by the members.2 Given these four functions performed by the voluntary association, it is clear that the affiliated individual benefits from the absence of a number of obstacles hindering political participation.

These functions are particularly relevant at the local level. Indeed, there is evidence that voluntary associations increase in number as urban life becomes more complex. In


their study of a small Danish town, Anderson and Anderson found an increase in associational affiliations as the importance of older institutions (the family, the church) decreased.\textsuperscript{3} Eckstein maintains that the extensive organizational network in urban Norway "...provides an element of concrete homogeneity to support the Norwegians' sense of community."\textsuperscript{4} -Zisk maintains that urban life in general "...implies a social, racial, religious, and economic heterogeneity which is likely to give rise to an active and varied organizational life and a high volume of political communications from such groups."\textsuperscript{5} It appears, then, that voluntary association membership is implicit to urban life. Putnam further argues that this connection reinforces the voluntary association's function of transmitting democratic norms.

Group members are more exposed to dominant community opinions and are more sensitive to those opinions. Thus, in a community where sentiments favor democratic processes and values, group membership would tend to encourage the development of democratic attitudes...\textsuperscript{6}


Thus the connection between urban life and voluntary associations, coupled with the individual and societal functions performed by membership in these social groupings provides an excellent conceptual link between membership and participation. The individual, motivated by the complexities of urban life, joins an association where he subsequently becomes sensitive to the democratic process and its norms through the association's involvement in local affairs. It follows then, that the affiliated individual should be more likely to participate in local politics than the non-member. Thus the purpose of this chapter -- i.e., to study the relationship between membership in voluntary associations and rates of local political participation among extension students.

Voluntary Association Members and the Characteristics of Membership

Before one can possibly hope to understand the relationship between voluntary association membership and activities vis-a-vis local political participation, one must first gain some insight into the nature of voluntary associations themselves.

Mixed findings have emerged regarding the pervasiveness of membership. Babchuk's study of a Nebraskan sample yielded 80% membership. Verba and Nie's investigation revealed 62% of their sample reporting membership. Scott, in his study of


8 Verba and Nie, p. 176.
Bennington, New Jersey reported that 35.5% belonged to no voluntary association other than church related affiliations. A study in Flint, Michigan found differential levels of membership in the central city as opposed to the suburbs. The suburban sample reported 64% membership compared to 56% in Flint proper. Research conducted by Wright and Hyman has shown an increased tendency towards membership over a seven year period. Their secondary analysis of NORC data revealed 36% membership in 1955, 43% in 1962. Canada, it seems, falls into the pattern witnessed in the United States. As shown in Table 3.1, Curtis' analysis of the 1968 Canadian National Election Study data as well as the 5 Nation Study data reveals higher levels of membership in the Canadian setting than in the United States. These data demonstrate quite effectively that membership in voluntary associations is not enjoyed universally. Who, then, belongs to associations?


Table 3.1: Rates of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States and Canada broken down by Sex and Education (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school or less</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some University</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N =</td>
<td>(2767)</td>
<td>(970)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addressing themselves to this very question, Wright and Hyman discovered the following characteristics common to a majority of association members:

1. Whites are more prone to membership than blacks and are more likely to hold multiple memberships.

2. Jews rank highest among membership, followed by Protestants, then by Catholics.

3. A direct relationship exists between socio-economic status and membership.

4. The majority of the business and professional classes belong to associations.
5. Membership is not related to situational factors such as length of residence. 13

The key finding here, then, is that socio-economic status is the most important determinant of membership. Indeed...

...high status represents a convergence of many kinds of interest arising in part from higher education, more and varied contacts, and interaction arising from demands of the occupational role. 14

Consequently, the reader should bear in mind that group membership represents the convergence of high socio-economic status and an interest in public affairs.

Membership itself, then, is complex. Membership in voluntary associations seems to be restricted to roughly 50% to 60% of the adult population of Canada and the United States, this restriction largely determined individually by socio-economic status. It is not within the scope of this chapter to give a descriptive account of the idiosyncracies of membership or their consequences for political participation. The fact remains, however, that the concept of membership itself has proven to be a partial predictor of political participation. While a review of the pertinent literature will add substance to this statement the reader should keep in mind the characteristics of membership in voluntary association noted above, both in the following review as well as in the presentation of this study's findings.

13 Wright and Hyman, pp. 284-294.

The Experience of Voluntary Association Membership and Local Political Participation

Regarding participation, the evidence is clear that voluntary association members are generally more active politically than non-members. Further, the degree of individual levels of activity within the association usually correspond to levels of political participation. In other words the inactive voluntary association member is unlikely to be a highly active political participant. On the other hand we would expect the active member to be equally active politically.

In terms of simple membership, Almond and Verba, for example, discovered that group membership (political or non-political) accounted for higher levels of participation.¹⁵ Further analysis of these same data found organizational involvement capable of predicting 18% of the variance in political participation, surpassing the predictive capacity of both socio-economic status and a five variable attitudinal index.¹⁶ Other research work revealed voluntary association membership accounting for 12% of the variance in voting and 11% of that in other political campaign related activities.¹⁷

In terms of local political participation a similar relationship seems to exist between voluntary association membership and participation. Maccoby discovered that association

¹⁵ Almond and Verba, p. 253.


participants as a group,

...were politically different from other persons in the community in at least three respects: they were much more likely to be voters; they were somewhat more likely to remain voters; and they were much more likely to become voters if they had been non-voters.18

The Verba-Nie study of participation added even further credence to these findings. Indeed, they remarked that these data "...strongly suggest that affiliation with associations relates to increased political activity because it affords the individual an opportunity to be active within the organization."19

In this writer's own analysis of these data, group membership and activity levels within the membership yielded interesting results. The data in Table 3.2 suggest that members, especially active members, differ significantly in demonstrated levels of participation. As a result, membership in voluntary associations (plus the demographic characteristics associated with membership) are key factors in municipal political participation.

Given the strength of the relationship between voluntary association membership and political participation, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize:

(1) That membership in voluntary associations will be positively related to political participation.

(2) That high levels of activity within organizations will be positively related to political participation.


19 Verba and Nie, p. 186.
Table 3.2: Local Political Participation by Membership and Activity of Membership in Voluntary Associations (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Participation Score</th>
<th>No Membership</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Active Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(1195)</td>
<td>(1609)</td>
<td>(249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tau C = .25
x² significant beyond the .001 level


Figure 3.1: Hypothesized Rates of Participation according to Level of Activity within Voluntary Associations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Campaign Activity</th>
<th>Political Information</th>
<th>Meeting Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No membership</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 The local participation score is a simple Lichert scale, each item (voting, contacting, and issue discussion) scored 0 or 1. Scores are summed to yield a minimum of 0 (no participation) and a maximum of 3 (high participation). This same exercise yielded a Pearson's r of .32, indicating a relatively solid relationship by comparative standards.
We should expect to find a hierarchy of municipal political participation among this population of students. (See Figure 3.1). Those at the top of this hierarchy (the active members) should be the most active political participants across all modes. Moderately active and passive members should display corresponding levels of political participation. Of the group represented here, non-members should then be the least active during local political campaigns, the least informed politically, and the least likely to attend local council meetings.

Voluntary Association Membership: Method and Findings

Some basic problems are endemic in any attempt to relate voluntary association membership to political participation. The researcher is initially confronted, for example, with the problem of defining activity. For example, which individual should be classified as the more active member: (A) who holds a single membership, attends all meetings, and has held and/or holds a group office, or; (B) who is a member of several voluntary associations, attends few meetings, and holds no official elected or appointed office within any group? The problem is a real one, for various factors are at work on both (A) and (B) which could possibly lead to high rates of political participation. (A), for example, might find himself induced to participate politically because his active group affiliation
has given him the confidence to do so (as per the functions performed by voluntary associations outlined previously), or because he sees such action as capable of realizing a group objective. (B) is also likely to participate politically. His affiliational ties are admittedly weak, yet these ties could conceptually act as sources of political stimuli leading to political participation. His exposure to the groups does provide him with various reference points (group leaders, group purpose, etc.) which could enter into his decision to participate.

The analysis controls for this problem in the following manner. Political participation will first be correlated with the number of memberships. Second, the impact of voluntary organization office-holding will be assessed as it relates to local political participation. Third, an index of membership(s) activity will be linked to the dependent variable in two ways: (1) membership(s) activity will be directly correlated to levels of political participation and; (2) the activity index will be controlled for in order to judge the importance of single membership versus multiple membership vis-a-vis local political participation. Finally, an index of overall voluntary association membership, including membership(s), office-holding and activity levels, will be constructed and correlated with the measures of political participation. This overall index will be consistent with the hierarchy displayed in Figure 3.1 and will assist the reader in judging the overall significance of
membership in voluntary associations for political participation.

The hypotheses presented earlier can now be refined into more particularized or "narrow range" hypotheses:

1.1: That multiple membership will correlate with participation to a greater degree than single membership.

2.1: That frequency of association meeting attendance will be directly related to differential levels of political participation.

2.2: That voluntary association office-holders will participate politically to a greater extent than non-office-holders.

Simple Association Membership and Local Political Participation

In order to test the hypotheses presented above, an index of group membership was constructed by summing the memberships indicated by the respondent. This index appears in Table 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3: Voluntary Association Membership Index -- Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of memberships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 For a full listing of these groups see the questionnaire in Appendix C.
In terms of participation, members demonstrate higher rates across modes. In a simple analysis of percentage differences, this index yielded Tau scores of .20, .14 and .13 respectively for campaign activity, political information and meeting attendance. In terms of variance explained, the membership index proved capable of explaining roughly 7.0% of the variance in campaign activity, 3.0% of that in political information and in meeting attendance. (See Column 1, Table 3.5). 22

Membership, by itself, does not appear to be the key to understanding political participation at the local level. Yet, one must bear in mind that this is a study of extension students, education being one of the important distinguishing characteristics between members and non-members. In essence, then, education is held constant, thus eliminating one of the differences between members and their unaffiliated counterparts. Given this, the fact that membership is capable of predicting from 3 to 7 percent of the variance in participation, one can posit that membership per se is perhaps more significant than these data suggest.

Association Office-holding and Local Political Participation

Of the 169 voluntary association members in the study group, 57 (33.7%) held or had held an office within at least

22 In order to reduce the number of tables presented in this chapter, three separate tables have been combined to form Table 3.5.
one association. Intuitively one would expect these indivi-
duals to demonstrate higher levels of political activity. Hol-
ding office within a group immediately conjures up visions of
goal formulation, recruitment of new members, and generally
intense in-group participation. Thus, given the preceding dif-
ference between members and non-members with regard to parti-
cipation, the difference between officials and non-officials
should be of equal, if not of greater significance.

The testing of this logic, however, proved disappoin-
ting, if not totally contradictory. Bivariate analysis yiel-
ded Tau scores of .12, .07 and .05 for campaign activity,
political information and meeting attendance. Holding office
in a voluntary association accounted for roughly 2.7% of the
variance in campaign activity and less than 1% of the other
modes of participation. (See Column 2, Table 3.5). Group
officials then were slightly more likely to participate than
non-officials -- but only slightly indeed.

Clearly then, office-holding in itself is not a good
predictor of political participation in local government. This
runs contrary to common sense and to fully understand the find-
ings here, one would need information dealing with the quality
of officialdom within the group, i.e. the position held and
its status in the organization, the size and nature of the
organization and the mode of recruiting officials. Unfortunately
this information lies beyond the scope of this study. One such
measure, however, is available and is injected into the analysis in the following section of this chapter.

Membership Activity and Local Political Participation

The third step in the analysis of the effect of voluntary association membership on local political participation is the study of the impact of active versus passive membership on such political activity. In order to operationalize the concept of membership activity an index was constructed, the

23 This index, as is most often the case with additive indexes, has obvious deficiencies. The activity question, appearing below, was asked separately for each group type:

How often do you attend organization meetings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Assigned Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almost always</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses for the 11 group types were then summed, yielding an index ranging from 0 to 33 (although no respondent scored above 12). These scores were then recoded as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sum of Assigned Scores</th>
<th>Recoded Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An individual belonging to three groups, attending each group's meeting "sometimes" would score a single point for each "sometimes" recorded, yielding a sum of 3. He would thus achieve a recoded score of 2. Similarly, an individual holding a single membership, yet attending association meetings "always" would have an assigned score of 3 and hence a recoded score of 2. Although differences might be expected between these two types, for the purposes of this study they will be considered equal. The index's value lies in the fact that its minimum and maximum scores represent inactives and actives respectively.
Table 3.4: Index of Voluntary Association Membership Activity — Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Score</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

results of which appear in Table 3.4.

In terms of the relationship between activity of membership and political participation significant findings emerged. A Tau score of .26 was recorded between the activity index and campaign activity, exceeding that of the membership variable by .06. Although group activity yielded a Tau equal to that of membership with regard to political information, a score of .19 resulted in the correlation of activity and meeting attendance.

Table 3.5: Political Participation by Membership, Office-holding and Activity of Membership within Voluntary Associations (Pearson’s r).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Office-holding</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = (142) (142) (142)
In terms of the variance explained, Table 3.5 demonstrates that organizational activity accounts for roughly 10% of that in campaign activity, 2.4% in political information and fully 5% in terms of meeting attendance. In relation to the performance of the other independent variables made use of here, activity within the group emerges as an important predictor. In addition, this variable is particularly enlightening in the sense that, to this point, it is the best predictor of local council meeting attendance.

Two problems, however, remain unsolved: (1) the curious finding that voluntary association office-holders are only slightly more likely to participate politically than non-office holders, and; (2) the problem of our hypothetical group members (A) and (B) expressed earlier in the chapter. Given the strength of in-group activity levels in predicting local political participation, it was felt that were the effects of this variable to be controlled, we could discern (1) why office-holders did not demonstrate expected levels of political activity, and; (2) which variable, multiple membership or in-group activity, was the better predictor of local political participation.

As demonstrated in Table 3.6, activity held constant reduces the predictive capacity of both membership(s) and office-holding to 1% or less across all modes. Clearly then, active membership is a more reliable determinant of political participation than the number of memberships held.

The emergence of membership activity as an intervening
Table 3.6: Partial Correlation Coefficients for Political Participation by Membership and Office-holding in Voluntary Associations Controlling for the Activity of Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Office-holding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>(141)</td>
<td>(141)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

variable here, explains a great deal of the scholarly confusion over the seemingly inexplicable behaviour of organization office-holders. This analysis of office-holders assumed, as has most research, that organizational position automatically involved a high level of in-group activity. This does not seem to be the case for this particular study group, however. Fully 18 of the 57 office-holders in this analysis attended association meetings "never" or "sometimes", indicating very little activity on their part. Given the importance of activity levels from the preceding discussion, such a finding partially accounts for the low correlation between office-holding in voluntary associations and political participation. In sum then, it would appear that the member's level of in-group activity precedes any tendency towards local political participation.
Voluntary Association Membership, Office-holding, Activity and Political Participation -- An Overview

Separate components of the voluntary association question have been considered, with both membership and office-holding yielding positive correlations, subject to the intervening effect of activity levels within groups.

One question yet remains, however, and it involves the overall effects of group activity on political participation. That is, what is the combined effect of membership(s), office-holding and in-group activity on political participation in local government? In order to explore this issue an index of group activity was constructed by summing the scores of each index (membership, office-holding and activity) used in this chapter.\textsuperscript{24} The frequency distributions for this Voluntary

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Variable & Score Range \\
\hline
Membership Index & 0-3 \\
Office-holding & 0-1 \\
Membership Activity Index & 0-3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{24} The index was constructed by summing the scores for the following three variables:

The resulting index (with a range of 0 to 7) was then recoded into the following categories:

\begin{tabular}{|c|l|}
\hline
Original Summed Score & Recoded Score for the Voluntary Association Activity Index \\
\hline
0 & 0 (none) \\
1-2 & 1 (low) \\
3-4 & 2 (medium) \\
5-7 & 3 (high) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
Table 3.7: Voluntary Association Activity Index -- Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAA Index</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low activity</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium activity</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High activity</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Association Activity Index appears in Table 3.7.

The correlations between the Voluntary Association Activity Index and the local political participation scales, as displayed in Table 3.8 proved to be somewhat significant.

Table 3.8: Local Political Participation by Voluntary Association Activity Index (Pearson's r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Pearson's r</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group activity, in its entirety, is capable of predicting 9.0% of the variance in campaign activity, 2.5% of that in political information and 3.8% of that in meeting attendance. The findings are particularly interesting in light of the nature of voluntary associations. Where direct physical action is involved, the index of activity explains a moderate amount of variance.

Political information, however, does not correlate as strongly:
It appears, then, that the extension student, as a member of a voluntary association, will participate in local political campaigns and attend local council meetings at a rate that is inconsistent with his knowledge of local political actors. This seems consistent with the notion of group activity expressed in other research work.

Membership in voluntary associations allows the individual to anchor himself to a collection of individuals with specific interests in mind, interests which vary widely with the type of group. Thus, given the presence of political stimuli, the active group member will perhaps participate in the local political arena not on the basis of a close study of the political situation but on the basis of what he perceives to be of benefit to the group. This perception will be determined by informal conversations with other group members, issues discussed at formal group meetings, self-perception as a group member, and so on. Thus the individual's motive for participating in political campaigns and local council meetings will not be candidate based, for example, but based rather on group-oriented motives. In the case of campaigning, for example, the group member will work for a candidate because that candidate appears to reflect the interests of the group and thus becomes worthy of election. Candidate appeal, then, is determined by his fulfillment of group criteria — a knowledge of other actors, while important, is not as important as that of the actor representing the group's interests. Such a ration-
ale is indeed intuitive, but given the functions performed by the voluntary association as expressed by Cutler and others, it seems capable of explaining this study's finding of high levels of campaign activity accompanied by low levels of political information for voluntary association members.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to link membership in voluntary associations to political participation. The findings proved consistent with that of other research work in that members participated more than non-members, active members participating more than inactives. Although office-holders did not fit the expected pattern, overall levels of activity proved consistent with the hypothesized hierarchy in Figure 3.1 -- that is that activity within local government is directly proportional to activity within the group.
CHAPTER 4
THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS ON
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction

The postulate that an individual's level of political participation is directly affected by that same individual's social background characteristics has become one of the most solidly entrenched truisms in political science research. Variables of such a concrete nature are indeed important, for "...social background categories are related to attitudes, and ipso facto to behaviour, with sufficient consistency to serve as reliable attitudinal or behavioral indices."¹

Regarding political participation, the discipline has accorded these characteristics considerable attention. A number of findings have emerged and their consistent predictive strength has led the discipline to cast these as important factors antecedent to political activity.² Given the importance of these characteristics, then, it was felt that a concentrated


66
examination of social background characteristics was both appropriate and essential to an understanding of political participation in local government.

The purpose of this chapter then, is to accomplish such an examination. A number of social background characteristics will be examined -- including sex, religion, education, income, occupational status, home ownership and ethnicity. In the case of each variable a review of the appropriate literature will precede the presentation and analysis of the data.

The nature of this particular study group, however, injects a degree of complexity into the analysis which deserves discussion. First, with regard to mass political participation, the reader must bear in mind that previous investigations generally employ a random probability sampling technique or some variant thereof. The findings of such studies refer to a cross-section of the population under study. This study group of urban residents in Chatham and Windsor refers to no such cross-section and thus, in the absence of any standard sample population it is impossible to generalize from the sub-group to any larger population of students or urban residents. However, even though the study group is to some extent atypical of larger urban populations it is not unrepresentative of that sector of the population normally inclined to participate in politics. For example, the heavy concentration of teachers and those of other high ranking occupational status is atypical of the popu-

---

Figure 4.1: Occupational Status Distribution among Extension Students according to Duncan's Population Decile Score.  

The mean population decile score for this group of extension students is 7.9; the mean Duncan Socio-Economic Index score is 60.65, compared to the mean Blishen score for Ontario in 1961 of 39.61. The measures compared here are not identical but the correlation of .94 between the Duncan and Blishen indices permits a relatively safe comparative base. See Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada," in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, 3rd ed., edited by Bernard R. Blishen et al., (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968), pp. 741-753.
chapter will necessarily be affected by the fact that the study group is one composed of individuals who share a reasonably high degree of education and its co-linearity with levels of income and occupational status. Not all demographic variables to be used in this analysis will be affected by this commonality of high socio-economic status, however. Indeed, such variables as sex, ethnicity and religion need not be biased and could yield findings characteristic of their corresponding groups in a random probability sample of urban residents.

The examination proceeds, then, with these two assumptions forming the analytic setting:

1. That variables closely associated with education (such as occupation) will yield results atypical from conventional political research regarding political participation.

2. That variables clearly independent of education will substantiate established patterns of political participation.

Hypotheses advanced later in this chapter, then, will reflect these two assumptions.

Sex and Political Participation

Given the current debate on sexual equality it seems entirely appropriate to devote a section of this paper to re-examining presumed differential rates of political participation between men and women, for the finding "...that men are more likely to participate in politics than women is one of the most thoroughly substantiated in social science." 6

6 Milbrath, p. 135.
A number of theories have been advanced in order to explain sex differences in political participation. Almond and Verba, for example, link different rates of political participation to the degree of "openness" in the family. Lane posits that:

culture emphasizes moral, dependent, and politically less competent images of women which reduce their partisanship and sense of political effectiveness and define a less active political role for them. Recent research has qualified this finding with the effect of down-playing the notion that men simply are more likely to participate in politics than women. Nie and Verba's typology of political activists shows a slight "overrepresentation" of men within the more activist groups of participators, but reveals virtually no sex differences among the relatively passive political activists. Van Loon's study of Canadian political activists, however, confirmed the effect of sex on political participation as reported by Lane and others. Yet, in controlling for education it was revealed that for:

...virtually any form of participation except voting, in groups with less formal education men are much more active than women but the differences disappear among the more highly educated.

---

7 Almond and Verba, p. 328.
9 Verba and Nie, pp. 95-101.
10 Van Loon, p. 389.
Similar findings are reported by Lansing, where she finds little difference in voter turnout between highly educated men and women in the United States over a period of 16 years (1948-1964) and 5 presidential elections.¹¹ (See Table 4.1). In light of these findings then, it is reasonable to advance the following hypothesis:

(1) That given the commonality of education in the study group, no relationship will exist between sex and political participation.

The data in Table 4.2 tend to support this hypothesis. Column 1 shows a positive relationship between sex and political participation, but in each case 4% or less of the variance is explained. Thus, in the study group as a whole, men are only slightly more likely to participate in local politics than are women. Controlling for education produced no change in the amount of variance explained.¹²

The partial correlation coefficients displayed in Table 4.2 however, conceal an interesting relationship discovered by means of physical control. (See Table 4.3). To a certain extent, Van Loon's observation as well as Lansing's, are confirmed for as education increases the difference in levels of campaign activity diminishes from .35 to .14. In terms of

¹² The education variable is treated as a "dummy variable in this table. A value of 0 was assigned to those who had not completed at least one university course, these respondents being "new to university." A value of 1 was assigned to those who had completed one or more university courses.
Table 4.1: Relation of Education by Sex Differences in Voting for President* (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Election</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>57/48</td>
<td>+9</td>
<td>72/58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>66/47</td>
<td>+21</td>
<td>74/69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>70/52</td>
<td>+18</td>
<td>80/68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>74/52</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>80/66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>64/59</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>73/70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *Figures in this table are based on a combination of data from the national election samples. The primary percent entries in each cell represent a simple subtraction of the proportion of women within the category voting for president from the same proportion among men. Positive percentages indicate that men turned out to vote at a higher rate than women. Negative percentages indicate higher female vote proportion.*(p. 9)

Table 4.2: Partial Correlation Coefficients for Political Participation by Sex, Controlling for Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Original Relationship</th>
<th>Education Controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(224)</td>
<td>(223)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Tau C Correlations for Political Participation by Sex, Controlling for Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Original Relationship for Sex</th>
<th>New to University</th>
<th>At least 1 course completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Political information and meeting attendance however, higher levels of education seem to have a slightly greater effect on men, leading them to be better informed politically and attend municipal council meetings more often. Granted, the differences are slight, but some important conclusions can be drawn here. First, it appears that in terms of the relationship between sex differences and campaign activity, education is a significant force in eroding the male's dominance of politics. The
findings of this study confirm the findings of Van Loon and Lansing, even though the range of educational differences is much more restricted. Second, the importance of distinguishing types of political participation is accentuated. Although campaign activity fits the expected pattern of sex equality among the highly educated, political information and meeting attendance do not. The respondent's sex, then, can still be viewed as an important variable in the prediction of certain types of political activity even when the effect of education is removed.

Education and Political Participation

Education, as a correlate of political participation, has always been an important predictor of voter turnout and campaign activity in national settings. The authors of The American Voter maintain that education, in the American setting, is of considerable significance.

Higher status people tend to take a more active role in politics, and, although education is secondary to occupation as a factor for partisan differences, it is the dimension of status that seems most central in matters of political participation.

Cross-nationally, the authors of The Civic Culture indicate that...

...the educated classes possess the keys to political participation and involvement, whereas those with less education are less well equipped. In each nation the educated classes are more likely to be aware of politics...to have political opinions on a wide range of subjects, and to engage in political discussions.

13 For a review of this literature, see Milbrath, pp. 122-124.

14 Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 251.

15 Almond and Verba, pp. 318-319. Van Loon confirms this finding with reference to federal voting in Canada in Van Loon, p. 385 (Table II).
With reference to the local setting, however, the evidence is somewhat mixed. Alford and Scoble's study of local political involvement reveals social status variables to be excellent predictors of local political participation -- occupation and education emerging as the strongest among these. 16 Alford and Lee's aggregate data analysis produced dissimilar findings in terms of voter turnout. Weak negative correlations emerged when education was correlated with turnout, denoting the tendency for well-educated individuals to ignore local politics and government. 17

In light of previous research regarding the effects of education on political participation, the following was tested with regard to local non-partisan political activity.

(2) That level of education will have no independent relationship with political participation.

The nature of the study group was the major factor involved in the decision to advance a hypothesis which clearly conflicts with most of the literature on political participation. The group being studied is homogeneous in the sense that all respondents have completed high school. As shown in Table 4.4, a majority of students have progressed well beyond high school, approximately one-fifth having obtained university degrees. Hence, given only moderate differences in levels of education, it is unlikely that participation will vary significantly from one level to the next.

17 Alford and Lee, p. 94 (Table 1).
Table 4.4: Educational Attainment Levels of Extension Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary Certificate(s)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 University Courses</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 6 University Courses</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 or more Courses</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree(s)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis yielded results generally consistent with the hypothesis. A bivariate analysis yielded Tau C correlations of .03, .01 and .08 respectively for campaign activity, political information and local council meeting attendance. In general then, political participation increases as one reaches higher levels of education, but the increase is very slight.

In order to further clarify these findings, polar positions along the education continuum were correlated with types of political participation. Correlations increased slightly for campaign activity (Tau C = .09) and political information (Tau C = .03). Local council meeting attendance, however, produced findings uncharacteristic of the latter.

As shown in Table 4.5, holders of a university degree are more likely to have attended council meetings and to have attended as members of a delegation than those who have completed secondary school.

18 These positions are those with a high school education and those already holding a university degree or degree.
Table 4.5: Local Council Meeting Attendance by Extreme Levels of Educational Attainment (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Council Meeting Attendance Scale Score</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\tau C = .20$

$x^2$ significant at the .09 level

Why this is so is not immediately explicable. Given the traditional explanation of the degree-holder's "broadened horizons" it is not entirely clear why this should not apply to campaign activity and political information as well. Yet, council meeting attendance is a clear-cut form of local political participation. Whereas campaign activity and political information at the local level parallel similar activities at the senior levels of government, council meeting attendance is uniquely related to local government. It is quite possible, then, that the holder of a university degree finds himself induced to attend local council meetings as a consequence of his wider scope of interest -- this interest clearly equating meetings with matters of importance to the local citizenry.

In summary then, educational levels among members of
this study group have only a weak substantive effect on modes of political participation. Extreme levels of education show little effect on these modes except in the case of meeting attendance where it would seem that a university education has a slight independent impact on local political participation.

Home Ownership and Political Participation

Although not generally recognized as a social background characteristic, home ownership is a variable of particular interest in understanding political participation at the local level for it brings individuals in direct contact with local government.

In maturity certain things occur in the normal lifetime which tend to increase the motivation and the pressure to take part in the political life of the community. A person acquires property, hence one of the most important forces politicizing the local citizen comes to bear on him — the question of assessment and tax on his house. 19

Whereas the homeowner is periodically confronted with his municipal assessment notice, individuals renting property in one form or another avoid this continuing physical confrontation since the assessment is neatly hidden in monthly rental payments. It is not implausible, therefore, to hypothesize:

(3) That homeowners will be more likely to participate in local politics than non-owners.

In this instance the phenomenon of home ownership does

19 Ione, Political Life, p. 218.
Table 4.6: Tau C Correlations between Home Ownership and Differences in Local Political Participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Tau C</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

affect local political participation.\textsuperscript{20} As shown in Table 4.6, all Tau C correlations were positive.\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{20}} When correlated with campaign activity home ownership yielded a Tau C of .21, with political information .32 and with meeting attendance .04. These correlations seem consistent with the argument advanced by Sproule-Jones and Hart that variables of an economic nature are indeed important in understanding political behaviour.\textsuperscript{21} Their research involved the inclusion of benefits and costs, both public and private, and individual resources in an analysis of political participation. These variables, all of an economic nature, were consistently capable of predicting an additional 5\% to 8\% of the variance in political participation over and above the capacity of standard sociological models as used by Nie et al.\textsuperscript{22} Of importance to this study is the fact that

\textsuperscript{20} Home ownership here is dichotomized into owners and non-owners. Non-owners includes those renting apartments, rooms or houses, those living in on-campus student residences and those living with their parents.

\textsuperscript{21} Sproule-Jones and Hart, pp. 175-194.

\textsuperscript{22} Nie et al, II, pp. 808-832.
included in this list of economic variables were five scales dealing with "absolute tax levels" such as property assessment.  Given the strength of their findings, the emergence of home ownership among this group of extension students as a strong correlate of political participation seems entirely plausible.

There is other evidence which would tend to support the importance of home ownership in discussions of local political participation. Ratepayers' associations have existed in Canada since the 1920s and have indeed become visible since the 1960s. Perhaps the most famous of these, the Trefann Court Resident Association (TCRA), fought with Toronto's municipal government to save its neighbourhood from destructive urban renewal schemes. Although the TCRA's goals of neighbourhood restoration were never fully realized, the association's performance does bear testimony to the link between home ownership and political participation, and, further supports this study's finding that home ownership is strongly related to local political activity.

23 Sproule-Jones and Hart, p. 184.


Religion and Political Participation

In sharp contrast to partisan political participation (particularly voting) little research has linked religion to political participation in local government. That which does exist deals primarily with participation in the United States. Milbrath points to a higher rate of participation among Catholics than among Protestants and Verba and Nie point to "...a difference in political style between Protestants and Catholics, with the latter more likely to be involved in partisan activity." As for the role of religion in Canadian politics, a survey of the literature reveals a strong correlation between various denominations and differences in preferred partisanship. The Catholic Liberal and the Protestant Tory have been with us long before the use of quantitative analysis which has, time and again, proven the strength of these associations.

26 Milbrath, p. 137.
27 Verba and Nie, p. 101.
Given the experience in both American and Canadian settings, then, we should expect the absence of partisanship at the local level to erode some of the "participation proneness" of Catholics vis-a-vis non-Catholics. Hence we hypothetically expect:

(4) That Catholics will demonstrate lower levels of political participation than individuals of other religious faiths.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>SES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Column 1 of Table 4.7 tend to support this hypothesis in that very weak Tau C correlations demonstrate higher levels of political participation among non-Catholics. When socio-economic status is held constant, however, interesting variations emerge. Working class Catholics are much more likely to be politically informed (Tau C = -.18) and active in

29 Religion is treated as a dummy variable here. Catholics were assigned a score of 0, non-Catholics, or all other religious denominations represented in the study group, a score of 1.

30 For a description of the SES index see Appendix A.
local political campaigns (\( \text{Tau C} = -.29 \)). Virtually no relationship emerges between religion and meeting attendance when the effects of SES are controlled. A similar pattern emerges among the middle class. Middle class non-Catholics participate to a greater extent than their Catholic counterparts in each mode of political participation represented in Table 4.7. The \( \text{Tau C} \) correlations are much weaker, however, among this group. Religion appears to be of significance for middle class non-Catholics only with regard to local political campaign activity.

In summary then, religion does not appear to be a significant factor in local political participation. Yet, among working class Catholics, this is not the case. The evidence presented here suggests that those of a traditionally higher socio-economic group, such as Protestants, tend to place a greater emphasis on more senior levels of government in terms of their political participation.

**Ethnicity and Political Participation**

The ethnic group is a salient characteristic of Canadian social life and has been accorded considerable attention. While one would be hard pressed to dismiss the immigrant contribution to the development of urban culture in North America, detailed studies of local political participation among various ethnic groups are few in number.

In the United States, Campbell and associates discovered that certain ethnic groups were more likely to vote for the

---

31 For a socio-economic breakdown of ethno-religious groups, see Laumann, pp. 58-67.
Democratic candidate in presidential elections and that these were also more likely to vote in greater proportions. Lane maintains that:

(u)Unlike subordinate class status, subordinate ethnic status is, in general, unlikely to depress political interests... On the whole, as might be expected, those nationality groups that settled in the cities (Irish, Italian, Polish) have somewhat higher rates of participation than those who have substantial proportions in rural areas (German, Scandinavian), and, it may be noted, each group has slightly higher rates than the natives in circumstances similar to its own.

On the other hand at the national level in Canada, Van Loon discovered virtually no difference in patterns of political participation between the nation's two "charter" ethnic groups, i.e. the English and the French.

Locally, there is some evidence pointing to differential levels of community attachment among ethnic groups revealed through referenda voting analysis. Poles and Czechoslovakians in one study were shown to have a strong distaste for public expenditure. Coupled with O'Rourke's discovery of a


33 Lane, Political Life, pp. 235-236.

34 Van Loon, pp. 387-388.

linear relationship between increased voter turnout and voter opposition, we might expect this to carry over into levels of electoral turnout at the local level. Other studies have pointed to highly ethnic populations as being more likely to vote locally. Pomper notes that nonpartisan municipal elections elevate the importance of ethnicity and cause the identification of a candidate's ethnic origin to replace partisanship as a precipitant of voting. This identification could possibly have an effect similar to that of party identification vis-a-vis partisan political participation.

Given this literature we could expect certain ethnic groups to be more likely to participate politically than others. However, given the size of the study group and the commonality of education within it, it is hypothesized:

36 Adrian and Press, p. 145.

37 Alford and Lee, p. 94.


39 In order to determine the respondent's ethnic origin, the following open-ended question was asked: "Aside from your Canadian citizenship, what is your ethnic origin?" Only 67.4% of the study group listed a single ethnic group, 95 listing combined ethnic origins such as English-Ukrainian. Only those listing a single ethnic origin were used in the analysis. The ethnic variable itself was constructed as follows: members of "other" ethnic groups were assigned a score of 0; British and French respondents, a score of 1.
(5) That no difference in political participation will exist between members of "charter" ethnic groups (British and French) and members of "other" ethnic groups.

As shown in Table 4.8 the findings are of mixed significance. Extension students of British and French origin do not differ significantly across modes of political participation. Only in political information do they report high levels, these accentuated among members of the middle class (Tau C = .21). Working class members of "other" ethnic groups seem to participate more than their "charter" group counterparts, but only to a slightly greater extent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>SES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Little conclusive evidence can be drawn from the data in Table 4.8. The tendency for British and French respondents to be better informed politically might root itself in the fact that members of "other" groups are not yet acclimatized to the institutional aspect of local government in Chatham and
Windsor, and hence are unable to identify the city manager of their city.

Socio-Economic Status and Local Political Participation

Any discussion of social class and its effects on political participation in local government deals with an important aspect of Canadian society in general.

One of the most persistent images that Canadians have of their society is that it has no classes. This image becomes translated into the assertion that Canadians are all relatively equal in their possessions, in the amount of money they earn, and in the opportunities which they and their children have to get on in the world. An important element in this image of classlessness is that, with the absence of formal aristocracy and aristocratic institutions, Canada is a society in which egalitarian values have asserted themselves over authoritarian values. 40

Porter's observations seem to be confirmed by patterns of Canadian voting behaviour. One would expect class voting to exist in a highly polarized system. In Norway, for example, the Socialist party is usually supported by 80% of the working class. 41 In Britain, roughly 75% of each class identifies with the party espousing its interests. 42

A lack of class voting is evident in Canada (perhaps painfully so to the NDP). Alford concedes the existence of


42 Butler and Stokes, p. 56 (Table 4.8).
classes in Canada, but his analysis of CIPO data fails to reveal any voting based on class differences. Various scholars have pointed to the Canadian class system's potential for supporting class politics, and have found evidence supporting this hypothesis in regional and local studies. Lipset has attributed the rise of the CCF in Saskatchewan to a class-based electoral system. Robin labels the NDP's prominence in British Columbia's politics to the province's deep class cleavage. In Quebec, Pinard explains the absence of class voting (or negative class voting, to use his terminology) as due to the effect of the Liberal party's dominance both federally and provincially. Should a balanced party system develop, a class-based system of politics would emerge. Local studies have linked NDP voting to working class individuals and these scholars attest to an "institutionalization" of the NDP as forthcoming.

43 Alford, in Meisel; also by the same author Party and Society, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 250-286.


however, scholars have been hard-pressed to isolate definite patterns of class voting throughout Canada.

Such a cursory examination of class and voting behaviour in Canada is justified only in its connection to political participation. Given what seems to be a continuing lack of class voting in Canada, it is unlikely that social class per se will have a significant impact on political participation locally. It is entirely possible, however, that social class is linked to attitudinal variables like political efficacy, often associated with voting, but we should not expect such a linkage to explain a substantial amount of variance in political participation.49 As a consequence we might re-formulate the hypothesis in Chapter 1 which read that:

Individuals of low income, education and occupational status will exhibit low levels of political participation.

This hypothesis should be changed so as to reflect the literature cited here, to read that:

(6) Social class will have little effect on rates of political participation at the local level.

As shown in Table 4.9, social class is clearly not capable of predicting political participation among this group of extension students. The findings reveal a slight tendency towards higher rates of participation among those of lower status, reflecting the negative Tau C correlations between ethnicity.

49 In this writer's analysis of the 1965 Canadian National Election study data, a class variable composed of the respondent's subjective and objective social class was capable of predicting a mere 6% of the variance in a four-point federal campaign activity scale.
Table 4.9: Correlation Coefficients for Political Participation by Socio-Economic Status (Pearson’s r).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
<th>SES</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Information</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

religion and political participation when socio-economic status was held constant. In sum, however, little variance is explained -- SES predicting 1.2% of the variance in campaign activity and less than 1% in political information and meeting attendance.

Caution must be exercised in the interpretation of these findings, however. The lack of variance in education and occupation (see Figure 4.1) seriously inhibits the construction of social class indicators which are truly representative of the working class. That the "working class" members of this study group participate more in local politics could possibly suggest that data gathered by means of a legitimate random sampling technique would show a greater orientation toward local politics among members of the upper-working and lower-middle classes.
Social Background Characteristics and Local Political Participation

Given the findings of this chapter we should expect

(7) That at best, a small amount of variance in participation is explained by an individual's background characteristics.

Table 4.10 demonstrates this quite effectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Background Characteristics</th>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meeting Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>.00169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Ownership</td>
<td>.03790*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.00423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.02850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.00397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Variance Predicted</td>
<td>.07629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) indicates best predictor
N = 111

No more than 10.5% of the variance is explained across all three modes of political participation when social background variables are used as predictors.50 Consistent with the 50 All variables in this regression exercise are dichotomized in the form of dummy variables. Their actual makeup is as follows:

Ethnicity: 0. Other 1. British, French
Home Ownership: 0. Non-owners 1. Owners
Religion: 0. Catholics 1. Non-Catholics
Sex: 0. Females 1. Males
SES: 0. Working 1. Middle
findings of this chapter, home ownership emerges as the best predictor of campaign activity and levels of political information -- sex, the best predictor of meeting attendance.

On the whole, then, social background characteristics appear to be of little significance in understanding local political behaviour. One must keep in mind the nature of this study group. Variables that were clearly independent of education, especially sex and home ownership emerged as fair predictors of political participation. Given an adequate cross-section of the Windsor and Chatham citizenry, social class might emerge as a more reliable predictor. For extension students however, such is not the case.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY

Various issues of relevance to political participation in local government have been explored throughout this thesis. A number of findings have surfaced and the aim of this final chapter is to give the reader a composite sketch of political participation in local government as it is affected by each independent variable examined within this study. Thus, the important aspects of this thesis will be reviewed and commented upon, beginning with a discussion of the peculiarities of the study group employed in this research project in order to determine its applicability to the municipal populations of Chatham and Windsor. Following a presentation of the major findings of this research, the writer will comment on the utility of differentiating among modes of political activity, i.e. campaign activity, political information and public meeting attendance. Finally, future avenues of research will be suggested which could prove fruitful in gaining a better understanding of local political activity.

The Applicability of the Study Findings

As mentioned throughout this thesis, the group studied in this research exercise is atypical of the population at
large in that each respondent has completed a high school education. Characteristics coloured by a high level of education such as income and occupational status are also partly skewed as a result of this homogeneity. This overriding characteristic of the study group presents the researcher with a number of analytical problems -- the most important being that it is difficult to generalize to "other" populations. One cannot honestly generalize to the electorates of Chatham and Windsor because the study group is clearly unrepresentative of these populations. Nor can one generalize to extension students at the University of Windsor, for the study group is not a representative sample of these students.

This inability to generalize to larger populations, however, should by no means restrict this researcher from commenting on the findings, for these do give us a solid basis for understanding political participation among individuals who have completed high school. At first glance, the reader might not find this statement exceptionally startling, yet one must keep in mind the literature cited in Chapter 4 with reference to education. A number of scholars document education as "central" in understanding why people participate in politics. Simply stated, the literature would lead one to expect high rates of political participation among members of this study group, primarily because of the high level of education common to all. Keeping this in mind then, the findings
of this study should give us a good idea of the antecedents of political activity in local government. These findings appear in the following section.

Summary of Findings

Extension students in Windsor and Chatham are not active political participants in local government. Roughly one-third of the study group could identify the mayor, at least two aldermen and the city manager. The mayor of the city was the only known local leader for slightly less than one-third of the study group. For most, activity during local election campaigns consists of trying to convince someone to vote a certain way or some less costly activity. Very few members of the study group perform higher order activities during local elections, such as contributing time to a candidate's campaign. Local council meeting attendance seems to be the type of political activity performed least often. Fully 83% have never attended a local council meeting. Needless to say, the more difficult items in the meeting attendance scale show very low frequencies.

The results reported in the preceding paragraph were to be expected however, given the findings of municipal voter turnout studies. What of the effects of the independent variables studied in this research? These are summarized in Table 5.1 and are discussed below.

(A) Size of City

City size is no predictor of political participation,
Table 5.1: Summary Table of the Percentage of Variance in Political Participation Explained by Each Major Independent Variable. (Pearson's $r^2 = .100$).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Participation Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) Size of City</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Perception of Mayor</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Perception of City Manager</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Voluntary Association</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Voluntary Association</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office-holding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) Voluntary Association</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership Activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) Social Background</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

explaining less than 1% of the variance across modes. Controlling for factors related to urban life such as length of community residence has virtually no effect on the relationship between city size and political participation. A certain amount of caution must be exercised in interpreting this finding for only two cities were included in the analysis, one of medium size (Chatham: 35,500) and one large city (Windsor: 198,000). That no relationship exists is consistent with recent work on the subject which demonstrates that neither the mobilization model nor the decline-of-community model apply to political participation. Further analysis seems necessary, an analysis which would employ a more sophisticated conceptualization of "city" and a larger sample of municipalities.
(E) The Perception of Actors

The citizen's perception of the mayor and city manager is important insofar as it affects campaign activity and political information. Positive perceptions of the mayor account for roughly 6% of the variance in political information -- positive perceptions of the city manager accounting for 9.6% within this same mode of activity. One must bear in mind that the political information scale involves the identification of these actors. Logically then, a knowledge of the man and/or the office he holds precedes the respondent's ability to evaluate him. Thus, the interconnection between the perception indices and the political information scale obscure the findings to a certain extent.

The original relationship between the perception of the mayor and campaign activity is quite weak with only 2.2% of the variance explained. It was discovered in Chapter 2, however, that among Progressive Conservatives, perception of the mayor accounted for 16% of the variance in campaign activity. Corresponding relationships were not found among Liberal and New Democratic Party identifiers leading one to conclude that party identification per se has an impact in the non-partisan setting of municipal politics. The small number of cases (FC:N = 20), however, does not permit a clear cut acceptance of this relationship but it does support the trends in partisanship, discovered by Wilson, between the federal and provincial level.
Voluntary association members participate more than non-members. Similarly, the individual holding a number of memberships is prone to higher levels of participation than is the member of one group. Membership seems particularly important within the context of participation during local political campaigns in relation to the predictive strength of other variables used here. Office-holding within an organization is no predictor of political activity, primarily because a high level of activity within the voluntary association is not implicit to office-holding. The extent to which a voluntary association member is active within the group seems to be the key to understanding the relationship between membership and political participation. Active membership explained over 10% of the variance in campaign activity and over 5% of the variance in council meeting attendance, the largest amount explained by any variable in these two modes of participation. Further analysis revealed that with the effect of membership activity partialled out, simple membership and voluntary association office-holding were reduced in predictive strength to less than 1% across all modes. It would appear, then, that only the active voluntary association member is likely to participate in local politics. His passive counterpart is virtually no different from the non-voluntary association member in terms of the extent of his political participation in local government.
Social Background Characteristics

Of the independent variables used in this study, social background characteristics as a whole proved to be consistent in explaining moderate amounts of the variance in each mode of political activity and especially in political information. Here social background characteristics explained 10.4% of the variance; 7.6% of the variance in campaign activity; and 3.2% in meeting attendance. In terms of the explanatory strength of most other variables, social background characteristics emerge as important determinants of political participation.

Individually, however, their importance is of mixed significance. The total amount of variance explained by social background characteristics in each mode of political activity is largely due to the effects of home ownership and sex. Owning a home emerged as the best predictor of local campaign activity and local political information accounting for roughly half of the variance explained in each mode by the full list of social background variables. Similarly, sex proved most important in determining the extent of council meeting attendance, this relationship holding true even when education was held constant. Religion, ethnicity and socio-economic status revealed little as predictors. However, it was noted that the educational homogeneity of the study group most likely confounded the significance of these latter characteristics. A more representative sample might reveal social class as a better determinant of political participation. Yet for this group of
extension students, owning a home and consequently paying property tax seems an important determinant of all but levels of public meeting attendance. Here sex proves to be the deciding factor, men proving to be more likely to attend local council meetings than women.

The Utility of a Tri-Modal Approach to the Study of Political Participation

The research scheme employed in this thesis involves the use of three different measures of political participation: (1) campaign activity; (2) political information; and (3) local council meeting attendance. Such an approach to the study of political participation strays from the standard approach of Milbrath, Van Loon and others who conceptualize political activity solely along the lines of participation during election campaigns. Recently, various scholars have expanded this conceptualization. Verba and Nie, for example, treat political participation as involving voting, campaign activity, communal activity and the particularized contacting of elected officials. This strategy was employed in their study of the United States primarily because of the sporadic nature of political campaigns, thus prohibiting the recording of continuous patterns of political participation.

This same rationale underlies the use of the three modes of political participation used in this thesis. Participation

1 For a description of these measures, see Verba and Nie, pp. 25-81, 350-362.
in political campaigns is indeed a political act. Yet, in Windsor and Chatham, elections occur but once every two or three years. Studying campaign activity yields important information about rates of political participation. It tells us little, however, about the extent of the campaign activist's participation between local elections. It was with the hope of getting a more complete picture of patterns of political participation that this tri-modal approach was used.

Has this strategy proved fruitful? Figures 5.1 through
Figure 5.2: Seven Variable Model's Ability to Predict Rates of Political Information among Extension Students.

Figure 5.3: Seven Variable Model's Ability to Predict Rates of Local Council Meeting Attendance among Extension Students.
5.3 demonstrate that this approach has yielded important information. Social background variables and voluntary association membership (with the intervening effect of the activity of membership) proved to be good predictors of campaign activity during local elections. Social background variables retain their importance in predicting levels of political information unlike the voluntary association variables. These latter variables are reduced to explaining less than 5% of the variance in the respondent's ability to identify local leaders, i.e. the mayor, two aldermen and the city manager. In the case of political participation, a positive perception of the mayor and city manager is closely allied to the respondent's knowledge of community leaders. In terms of local council meeting attendance, only active voluntary association members are likely to attend. Simple membership, the perception of municipal actors and social background characteristics are not important antecedents of this type of political activity.

It appears, then, that individuals with certain characteristics are more likely to prefer one type of political act over another. Had the researcher neglected the study of political information and local council meeting attendance, conclusions would have focused on social background variables and voluntary association membership as determinants of political participation. The former is not a good predictor of meeting attendance for extension students -- the latter plays but a

2 The alphabetic key used in Figures 5.1 through 5.3 corresponds with that appearing in Table 5.1.
small role in explaining the variance in political information. This being the case, it seems advisable that if political scientists are to continue the study of political activity, a broad operationalization of the concept must be employed.

**Future Avenues of Research in the Study of Political Participation in Local Government**

The research for this thesis has raised a number of questions, which due to restrictions of time and space, must go unanswered here, but should be pursued further. As should be apparent by now, a number of factors shape and colour individual levels of political participation. This research has but scratched the surface.

For the most part, factors motivating the citizen to participate federally and provincially operate similarly at the local level. The difference, however, is that political participation in local government is generally lower than that witnessed at the senior levels of government. Yet, certain differences do emerge. These should be the subject of further study in order to: (1) add to political science’s understanding of local government as a political system; and as a consequence (2) to make a sophisticated body of information available to government officials charged with the task of ensuring effective local government for its citizens.

The findings of this study would seem to suggest three avenues for future research into political participation in
local government: (1) the importance of the perception of municipal actors in a non-partisan setting; (2) the impact of voluntary association membership on political participation; and (3) the antecedents of public meeting attendance among the local citizenry.

The findings relating to the perception of municipal actors revealed that among small subsets of the study group, federal party identification coloured the respondent's perception of the mayor. It was suggested that for Progressive Conservatives (and to a lesser extent New Democrats) the mayor was perceived positively because he was seen as a fellow party identifier. This conclusion is somewhat tenuous, however, due to the small number of cases involved in the computations. It would seem reasonable that the individual, dependent on a party identification to guide his political activity at the federal and provincial level, would need a similar mechanism to guide this activity locally. The findings here suggest that he "pigeon-holes" non-partisan municipal actors into a convenient partisan slot in order to avoid psychological dissonance. Efforts should be made to further test this notion. Not only would such a strategy make inroads into the complexity of local political participation, but greater insight into the role of party identification generally would result.

Voluntary association membership and its effect on political participation is well documented. Many questions remain unanswered, however, which could potentially clarify
this relationship. Which voluntary associations are more likely to have active political members? Does the motivation to participate pervade the membership horizontally or is the association executive responsible for this motivation? In either case, how is this motivation instilled? Is it by means of issue discussion, recruitment of political actives or other factors? Does the voluntary association play a greater role in a non-partisan setting than in one of a partisan nature? Obviously, these questions need a good deal of study to be answered effectively. Such answers would go far in further explaining the relationship between group affiliation and political participation.

Finally, the importance of political participation via local meeting attendance must be determined. What draws the citizen into council chambers? Is it a salient issue, curiosity, a search for "entertainment", or other factors? What factors induce the citizen to join or head a delegation to council? These meetings are important for it is here that the municipality's direction is legislated. It is thus important to gain an understanding of public input at these meetings if a solid understanding of local government as a political and democratic system is to be established. At no other level is the opportunity to be an eyewitness to democracy so readily available. Efforts should be made to take advantage of this opportunity.
It is indeed possible that the answers to these questions, among others, will prove valuable in further understanding the operation of local government in Canada, an understanding which at this point seems sketchy at best.
APPENDIX A

The Measures of Participation

Guttman scale analysis (upon which the participation scales of this thesis are based) is essentially a means of analyzing the underlying properties of a given set of items, thereby allowing the researcher to determine if the items are: (a) unidimensional, and: (b) cumulative in nature. Once these criteria have been established, the use of such an ordinal scale has been justified.

Items are arranged in terms of their difficulty, i.e. from least difficult to most difficult. Should scalability be achieved the individual's response pattern is thus predictable on the basis of a single score.¹ For example, in the campaign activity scale used in this thesis, a respondent has performed the following activities within the context of local government:

voted, started a political discussion, proselytized, attended a campaign meeting and contributed time to a campaign. He has not, however, worked at the polls, nor has he ran for local office.

Such insight into response patterns is of great value, for it affords the researcher a greater degree of precision in interpreting findings. The use of Guttman scaling assures the researcher that his assessment of an individual's participation pattern will be correct at least 9 out of 10 times. This probability is based on two statistics -- the coefficients of reproducibility (CR) and scalability (CS). Both coefficients range from 0 to 1.0, 0 indicating a total absence of scalability, 1.0 indicating a perfect scale. A CR score of .90 or above is usually considered adequate for the construction of a Guttman scale. So as to eliminate the achievement of such a score by chance, CS is computed. Should CS equal .60 or above and CR, .90 or above, grounds for the construction of a Guttman scale have been established. Item scores are then summed so as to assure that statements are cumulative.

Presented below, then, are the participation scales used throughout this thesis. In each case, scale components are displayed first in terms of frequency distributions on a pass-fail basis (1 indicating a pass or performance of the item; 0 indicating failure to perform); second, in terms of scalability coefficients; third, in the form of a Yule's Q correlation ma-

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2. These coefficients are discussed in Jones, pp. 39-40, as well as in Nie et al, p. 201.
trix,3 and finally in terms of frequency and percentage distributions for scale scores.

The Political Information Scale

This scale consists of three variables, each one measuring the respondent's ability to identify specific municipal actors.

Pass-Fail Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CR = .9315
CS = .8095

Correlation Coefficients (Yule’s Q)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ability of Extension Students to Identify Local Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>failed to identify at least mayor</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>identified only the mayor</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>identified the mayor and 2 aldermen</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>identified the mayor, 2 aldermen and the city manager</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Yule’s Q is a correlative measure used to assess the strength of the relationship between two variables (usually dummy variables, i.e. having values of 0 and 1). It ranges from -1.0 to +1.0, a negative value indicating an inverse relationship; a positive value indicating a direct relationship, 0 indicating the independence of the two variables. Since dummy variables are implicit to Guttman scale analysis, the use of Yule's Q is entirely appropriate here.
The Campaign Activity Scale

This scale consists of seven variables forming an eight point Guttman scale. A failure (0) here, denotes an activity never or seldom performed and a pass (1), an activity often or sometimes performed.

Pass-Fail Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>How often do you vote in municipal elections?</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Have you ever started a political discussion?</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>Have you ever tried to talk people into voting a certain way?</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>Have you ever attended a political meeting during a campaign?</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>Have you ever contributed time to a candidate's campaign?</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>Have you ever worked at the polls on election day as an official or scrutineer?</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>Have you ever been a candidate for municipal office?</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CR = .9192
CS = .6462

Correlation Coefficients (Yule's Q)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
<th>(e)</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>(g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Campaign Activity among Extension Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>no activity performed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+ voting</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ discussion</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ proselytizing</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ meeting attendance</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+ time contribution</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>+ poll work</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>+ candidacy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NA** 48

### The Meeting Attendance Scale

The meeting attendance scale consists of the following four items, forming a five point scale.

**Pass-Fail Frequencies**

- (a) Have you ever attended a city council meeting? 231 45
- (b) Attendance at 2 or more meetings 243 33
- (c) Have you ever been part of a delegation to city council meetings? 263 13
- (d) Have you ever spoken before council as the head of a delegation? 273 3

CR = .9909
CS = .8936
Correlation Coefficients (Yule's Q)

(a)  (b)  (c)  (d)
(a)  1.00  1.00  .97  .82
(b)  1.00  .91  .87
(c)  1.00  .95
(d)  1.00

Local Council Meeting Attendance of Extension Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>never attended</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>attended one meeting</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>attended 2 or more meetings</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>attended as part of a delegation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>attended as the head of a delegation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon introducing these scales, the question must be raised as to whether these items are useful measures in determining levels of participation. The concept, as mentioned in the body of the thesis, has for the most part been conceptualized along the lines of campaign activity. Thus, political information and meeting attendance, to be labelled as adequate measures of participation should correlate with the latter mode. In order to test this methodological hypothesis, Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients were computed between the respondent's activity as measured by the campaign

4 Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient (r) is a correlative measure ranging from -1.0 to +1.0, a positive correlation denoting a direct relationship. For further discussion of this statistic see George A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education, 3rd ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 99-100.
activity scale and those of political information and meeting attendance. Scores of .41 and .28 were achieved respectively for those items -- scores that indeed verify the hypothesis advanced and allow the researcher to confidently proceed with the research.

The Perception of Actors:
The Semantic Differential Scales

In order to tap individual perceptions of both the mayor and city manager, the respondent was presented with 15 word pairs in the form of seven-point semantic differential scales. Of these the following five pairs were selected on the basis that these measured the respondent's evaluation of the actor in question:

- important -- unimportant
- honest -- dishonest
- good -- bad
- competent -- incompetent
- clever -- stupid

Each variable was trichotomized into categories of indifferent, negative and positive perceptions. These were subsequently summed and trichotomized into the same categories once again to form a single variable evaluating the mayor and the city manager.

---

The Socio-Economic Status Index

The Socio-Economic Status Index is an additive index made up of three variables: (1) the respondent's occupational status; (2) the level of education attained by the respondent and; (3) his family income. The construction of this SES index is as follows:

**Occupation**

Occupational status was measured by means of the Duncan Population Decile Score. Its 10 point range was divided into three groups and assigned the following values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duncan Score</th>
<th>Assigned Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education**

Education was also trichotomized. Respondents having completed high school scored 0; those with some post-secondary training scored 1 and those holding university degrees scored 2.

**Income**

The respondent's family income was divided and scored as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Assigned Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than $12,500</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$12,500 to $19,999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 and over</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These three variables were summed, yielding a seven point SES index which was dichotomized into a working class category (the respondent scoring 3 or less) and a middle class category (the respondent scoring 4 or more).
APPENDIX B

Breakdown of the Study
Group by Course and by City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>CHATHAM</th>
<th>WINDSOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication Arts 101</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology 319</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History 333</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Science 311</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology 115a</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology 226a</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology 100a</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology 224</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Drama 208</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*English 247</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*French 112</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Psychology 329</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total N = 292
The attrition rate, evident in the Study N column, is due to a number of factors including absenteeism, enrollment in more than one course, or residence in a municipality other than Windsor or Chatham.

Courses marked with a star (*) signify that Chatham residents were enrolled in courses offered at the Windsor campus. These respondents were instructed to answer questionnaire items pertaining to Chatham. Similarly, courses marked with a double-star (**) signify that Windsor residents were enrolled in courses offered at the Chatham campus. These answered questions pertaining to Windsor.
APPENDIX C

The Questionnaire

Pages 120 through 134 display the questionnaire administered to extension students in Windsor and Chatham in its original format.
Municipal Government Study

Within the last decade, a great deal of attention has been devoted to municipal government. Many aspects of Canadian local government have been examined, but much more knowledge is needed, before scholars and government officials can achieve a complete understanding of how local government functions. If the required information is to be obtained however, your help is necessary. This project, operating by means of a grant from the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, seeks to acquire information about political participation in municipal government -- an area yet to be fully investigated in Canada. Please read each question carefully, and place a check (✓) next to the appropriate answer. Be assured that your answers will be held in the strictest confidence.

First of all, I would like to ask you a few questions about politics in general.

1a) How often would you say that you follow news about politics in the newspaper?

always
sometimes
never

1b) How often would you say that you follow news about politics on television?

always
sometimes
never

1c) How often would you say that you follow news about politics on radio?

always
sometimes
never

2. Some people feel that political affairs are important and others feel that they are not so important. Thinking back over the last few months how interested have you been in political affairs?

very interested
somewhat interested
not interested
3. Now, I'd like to have you identify some people in politics and government. Could you write down the names of the persons holding the following positions:

Please indicate the name of your city

Mayor
City Manager
Any six city aldermen

4a) Thinking of national politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, Conservative, NDP, or what?

Liberal
Conservative
NDP
other (please specify)

4b) How strongly do you feel about your association with this party?

very strongly
fairly strongly
not very strongly

4c) Now, think of the last national general election, the one last July in 1974, when the Liberals were led by Prime Minister Trudeau, the Conservatives by Robert Stanfield and the NDP by David Lewis. Did you vote then?

yes no

4d) If "yes", which party did you vote for?

Liberal
Conservative
NDP
other (please specify)

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about local government and politics.

5. Generally, how interested would you say you are in municipal politics?

very interested
somewhat interested
not interested
6. As far as you are concerned personally, which government is more important in affecting how you and your family get on, the national government in Ottawa, the provincial government here in Ontario, or the municipal government here in your city?

- national
- provincial
- municipal
- all about equally
- national and provincial equally
- national and municipal equally
- provincial and municipal equally

7a) Have you ever contacted any municipal public officials or politicians to let them know what you would like them to do on something you were interested in?

- yes
- no

7b) If "yes", could you please explain, in a sentence or two, why you contacted this official or officials?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

7c) Please identify which official or officials you have contacted by checking (✓) all the appropriate categories.

- mayor
- city manager
- alderman
- department head
- department member
- commission head
- commission member
- other (please specify)

7d) If you did contact an official or politician, how did you go about contacting him?

- telephoned him
- talked to him personally
- wrote him a letter
- other (please specify)

7e) Thinking back over the last two years, how often would you say that you have contacted municipal public or elected officials?

- once
- twice
- three times
- four or more
8a) Have you ever attended a city council meeting?
  yes     no

8b) If "yes", approximately how many meetings have you attended?

8c) If you have attended city council meetings, would you please explain, in a sentence or two, your reasons for attending.

8d) Have you ever been part of a delegation to city council meetings
  yes     no

8e) Have you ever spoken before city council as the head of a delegation?
  yes     no

QUESTIONS 9a AND 9b FOR CHATHAM RESIDENTS ONLY

9a) In 1972, here in Chatham, Mr. Allin ran for mayor against Mr. Claridge and Mr. Walsh. Did you vote in that election?
  yes     no     don't know

9b) If "yes", for whom did you vote?
    Allin    Claridge    Walsh

QUESTIONS 10a AND 10b FOR WINDSOR RESIDENTS ONLY

10a) In 1971, here in Windsor, Mr. Wansborough ran for mayor against Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Morgan. Did you vote in that election?
  yes     no     don't know

10b) If "yes", for whom did you vote?
    Morgan    Rutherford    Wansborough
11. Here are some statements about local politics and government. Now would you please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local clubs and associations rather than large nation-wide organizations.

2) Despite all the newspaper and TV coverage, national and international happenings rarely seem as interesting as events that occur right in the local community in which one lives.

3) No doubt many newcomers to the community are capable people; but when it comes to choosing a person for a responsible position in the community, I prefer a man whose family is well established in the community.

4) Big cities may have their place but the local community is the backbone of Canada.

5) I have greater respect for a man who is well-established in his local community than a man who is widely known in his field but who has no local roots.
12. We would like to find out what you think of the mayor of this city. Below is a series of descriptive scales, each having seven (7) positions. For example, if you think that the mayor is very important, you would put a check mark in the box on the left end of the scale. If you feel he is very unimportant, you would check the box on the right end of the scale. If you are completely neutral on an item, place your check mark in the centre space. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, your immediate responses that are important. Do you think the mayor is:

important ________________________ unimportant
dishonest ________________________ honest
weak ____________________________ strong
wise ____________________________ foolish
bad ____________________________ good
out of date ______________________ modern
dull ____________________________ exciting

personal ________________________ impersonal
fair ____________________________ unfair
slow ____________________________ fast

competent ________________________ incompetent
weak-minded ______________________ strong-minded

passive __________________________ active
clever __________________________ stupid
devious __________________________ straightforward
13. Now we would like to find out what you think of the city manager of this city. Below is the same series of descriptive scales that appeared in question 12. Here, again, place your check mark next to the appropriate adjective or somewhere between these two extremes. Do you think the city manager is:

important  ________ unimportant
dishonest ________ honest
weak ________ strong
wise ________ foolish
bad ________ good
out of date ________ modern
dull ________ exciting
personal ________ impersonal
fair ________ unfair
slow ________ fast
competent ________ incompetent
weak-minded ________ strong-minded
passive ________ active
clever ________ stupid
devious ________ straight-forward

14. People get information about political affairs in different ways. How do you get most of your information about municipal affairs?

newspapers ______
radio ______
television ______
talking with people ______
15a) Are you a member of any of the following kinds of organizations? Indicate in the space provided on the right if you hold office (or have held office in the past) in the organization?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Hold</th>
<th>Have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charitable (eg. Red Cross)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Club (eg. Rotary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal (eg. Masons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or Professional (eg. Jaycees)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupational (eg. Trade Unions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans (eg. Canadian Legion)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates (eg. University Alumni)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic (eg. Ratepayers Group)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport or Social (eg. Country Club)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan political (eg. Canadian Institute of International Affairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15b) I would like some information about the organization(s) to which you belong. First, is there any discussion of public affairs or municipal politics at the meetings of this (or these) organization(s)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charitable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport or Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


15c) Does this (or these) organization(s) to which you belong do anything to try to solve individual or community problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charitable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport or Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15d) How often do you attend organization meetings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Almost</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>almost</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charitable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business or Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport or Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. How often do you vote in municipal elections?

- often
- sometimes
- seldom
- never
17. Below is a list of things that people sometimes do in a municipal election. Could you indicate how often you have done these things by placing a check (✓) in the appropriate column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you follow news about the campaign in the media?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever started a political discussion?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever attended a political meeting during a campaign?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever tried to talk people into voting a certain way?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever contributed time to a candidate's campaign?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever worked at the polls on election day as an official or scrutineer?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever been a candidate for municipal office?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you hold, or have you ever held a municipal office?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Here are some statements about local politics and government. Now, would you please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People like me don't have any say about what the municipal government does.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how the local government runs things.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes local politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. A number of issues have appeared on the local scene in Windsor over the past year. Here are a few key words, associated with local issues that have been reported on in the Windsor Star. These issues have generated controversy within the city. Could you please describe, in one or two sentences, the nature of the controversy for each issue.

Valhalla:


Regional Government:


Roseland Golf Course:


Any other issue that you feel is (or was) important:
THIS QUESTION FOR CHATHAM RESIDENTS ONLY

20. A number of issues have appeared on the local scene in Chatham over the past year. Here are a few key words, associated with local issues that have been reported on in the Chatham News. These issues generated controversy within this city. Could you please describe, in one or two sentences, the nature of the controversy for each issue.

Fluoridation:

_________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Regional Government:

_________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

The underpass at LaCroix St. and Park Ave.:

_________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Any other issue that you feel is (or was) important:

_________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Now I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

21. Your age

22. Place of birth:
   City______________ Province______________ Country______________

23. Your sex: Male________ Female________

24a) What is your religion?
   Anglican _______ Pentecostal _______
   Baptist _______ Roman Catholic ______
   Greek Orthodox ______ United Church ______
   Jewish ______ None ______
   Lutheran ______ Other ______
   Presbyterian ______

24b) How often do you attend church services?
   always ______
   almost always ______
   sometimes ______
   never ______

24c) Is there any discussion of public affairs or municipal politics at or during these services?
   yes____ no____

24d) Does the congregation to which you belong do anything to try to solve individual or community problems?
   yes____ no____

25. Where did you live most of the time up until you were 18 years of age?
   on a farm ______
   in a community whose population was:
   under 1,000 (rural) ______
   1,000 to 9,999 (town) ______
   10,000 to 99,999 (small town) ______
   100,000 to 249,000 (large city) ______
   250,000 or more (metropolis) ______

26. What is your present occupation? (Be as specific as possible)
27. What was your father's usual occupation when you were growing up? (Be as specific as possible)

28. Aside from your Canadian citizenship, what is your ethnic origin?

29. How long have you lived in this city?

   0 to 5 years   ___
   6 to 10       ___
   11 to 20      ___
   21 to 30      ___
   31 to 40      ___
   41 to 50      ___
   51 or more    ___

30. Do you own your own home, rent an apartment or what?

   own home       ___
   rent apartment ___
   other (please specify)  

31. If you rent your place of dwelling, did you ever own a home?

   yes     ___  no    ___

32. Approximately how many times have you moved since leaving your parents' dwelling?

   never moved    ___
   once           ___
   twice          ___
   three times    ___
   four times     ___
   five or more   ___

33. How long have you lived at your present address?

   0 to 5 years    ___
   6 to 10        ___
   11 to 20       ___
   21 to 30       ___
   31 to 40       ___
   41 to 50       ___
   51 or more     ___
34. What is your marital status?
- married
- widowed
- separated
- divorced
- single

35. Approximately what level of education have you attained?
- high school
- community college
- post-secondary certificate(s) or special certificate(s)
- 1 to 3 university courses
- 4 to 6 university courses
- 7 or more courses
- degree(s)

36. What is your major subject of study now?

37. Please indicate the general category which corresponds most closely to your family income:
- under 8,000
- 8,000 to 9,999
- 10,000 to 12,499
- 12,500 to 14,499
- 14,500 to 17,499
- 17,500 to 19,999
- 20,000 to 24,999
- 25,000 and over

Thank you for your time, and co-operation.
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Books


O'Rourke, L.W. *Voting Behavior in the Forty-five Cities of Los Angeles County.* Los Angeles: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, 1953.


Articles


VITA AUCTORIS

Family

Philip Joseph Bezaire, son of Mr. and Mrs. Romeo
Bezaire; born October 11, 1952.

Education

Received elementary education at St. Ursula's Catholic
School, McGregor and secondary education at General
Amherst High School, Amherstburg. Senior matricula-
tion, 1970.

Received Honours Bachelor of Arts degree in Political
Science from the University of Windsor, in May, 1974.

Registered as a graduate student in the Department of
Political Science. Candidate for the degree of Master