

Class Voting in the 1984 Canadian General Election

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Abstract

This study is a replication of some of the more important aspects of Ogmundson's 1972 study. While Ogmundson's study was based on a survey of the 1965 federal election, the present study used the results of a survey on the 1984 federal election. Ogmundson's study was basically a critique of an earlier study on Canadian voting behaviour by Alford (1963). In his study of voting behaviour in four Anglo-Saxon societies Alford (1963) formed an index of class voting to measure the association between social class and voting. In doing so he cross-tabulated the class position of the major parties with the class position of voters. In the case of Canada Alford lumped the Liberals and the NDP together as the working class parties and set them against the Progressive Conservative Party as the middle class party. Alford's findings led him to conclude that Canada was a case of "pure nonclass politics". He interpreted his findings as evidence that individual Canadians are not interested in class.

Ogmundson criticized Alford on two accounts. Firstly, he pointed to the error of classifying the Liberals as a working class rather than a middle class party. Secondly, he pointed out that the low level of class voting in Canada is due to the desire of the elites (e.g., the parties) rather than the voters. Ogmundson's criticisms of Alford formed the central themes of this study. Accordingly, six hypotheses which directly addressed these two points were selected for examination. All these hypotheses, except for one, were previously tested by Ogmundson and others. The findings, in general, repeated those of Ogmundson's results.

The first hypothesis concerned the class position of the major political parties in Canada. It was established from both the respondents' point of view and the experts' point of view the Liberals and the Conservatives are the middle class parties and that the NDP is the only working class party in Canada. The second and the third hypotheses concerned the rate of class vote. It was shown that the rate of class vote increased for

almost all measures of respondents' social class status when the new measures of party class position was used. The fourth hypothesis concerned the political distinctiveness of the working class and the middle class in Canada (i.e., the proportion of support which a class gives to a given party). It was shown that when the measure of political distinctiveness is based on the voter perception and motivation the proportion of the middle class votes for the middle class parties is considerably higher than the proportion of the working class votes for the working class parties.

The fifth hypothesis, which was tested for the first time, was not confirmed by the data. The evidence suggests, contrary to what was expected, that those respondents who were *less "aware"* of social class tended to vote more in harmony with their social class status and the class position of the parties than those who were more "aware". The sixth hypothesis showed that class issues (defined in a broad manner) are more salient to Canadians than regional, ethnic, and religious issues.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Context and Purpose

The following thesis is located in the general context of the study of association between social class and political behaviour. The idea of an association between the two dates at least from the time of Aristotle, and again more recently from that of Karl Marx and Max Weber. The importance of social class, and its relationship to political behaviour, is noted by Inglehart who states:

Social class has long been regarded as a major influence — perhaps *the key* influence — on political behaviour (1977: 196).

This association has been subject to speculation and study by social theorists and social researchers. Sociologists and political scientists in particular are concerned with this topic and it is mainly from these two disciplines that much of this paper is drawn. Of special interest to many scholars is the association between political behaviour and social class in the Western industrial societies. In these countries, social class is widely expected to be one, if not *the* major basis of political cleavage (Alford 1963, chapter 9). Other significant cleavages common to Western societies are ethnicity, religion, language, and region. Class, however, is taken, by many to play a prominent role. Clarke et al. (1979) express this point of view by stating that:

[the] social and economic developments, characteristic features of many modern societies

in the 20th century, are expected to both sharpen social class cleavages and erode traditional, regional, religious, and ethnic bases of political conflict (p. 79).

One specific form of the relationship between political behaviour and class in liberal democratic societies is termed “class voting” which is defined as:

the relationship between the class of the voter and the class orientation of the party voted for (Erickson, 1981: 161).

To measure this relationship, Robert Alford (1963) devised an index of class voting which was used for a comparative study of four major Anglo-Saxon societies, including Canada. The index was constructed simply by subtracting the percentage of nonmanual respondents voting for the Left from the percentage of manual respondents voting for the Left. The table below shows his results.

It can be seen from Table 1.1 that the rate of class voting in Canada turned out to be exceptionally low. A number of following studies also showed similar results. Lenski and Lenski (1974: 356), for instance, found in a survey of nine countries that the association of social class with the vote, as measured by Alford’s Index of Class Voting, varied from a high of +58 in Norway to a low of +7 in Canada. Other more recent studies such as those by Table 1.2 shows Canada’s low level of class voting in relation to other countries in more recent times. The majority of studies thus seemed to concur with Alford’s conclusion that in Canada, the relationship between electoral politics and social class was “virtually non-existent”. Such findings were perhaps surprising since Canada has many of the same characteristics as other Western democratic societies. The country has had an advanced capitalist economy since the turn of the century and high levels of industrialization since the Second World War (Brodie 1980).

In the early 1970’s, Alford’s (1963) research and his interpretation of those findings, were challenged by a number of scholars who questioned his theoretical and methodological presuppositions. On the theoretical side, Alford had assumed that political parties behave according to the desires of the voters. The opposing view held that it is the parties themselves that determine the political behaviour of the voters rather than the reverse (e.g., Ogmundson 1975, Schwartz 1974, and Myles 1977). On

Table 1.1: The Mean Index of Class Voting in Four Anglo-Saxon Countries

+40	- United Kingdom
+33	- Australia
+16	- United States
+08	- Canada

Source: Alford (1963: 102)

the methodological side, Alford had based his estimate of class voting on the assumption that Liberals, together with NDP, formed the Left in Canadian politics. The opposing view saw the Liberals, together with the Conservatives, on the Right.

One of the leading scholars who opposed the conventional view and proposed alternative views is Rick Ogmundson (1975a) whose papers are considered to be among the most noted studies in the field of class voting in Canada (Zipp and Smith, 1982: 740; Gidengil, 1992).¹ In Gidengil's words:

The most forceful proponent of the argument that the low level of class voting in Canada is more apparent than real ... has been Ogmundson. (Gidengil, 1992: 223).

The significance of Ogmundson's work for research is acknowledged by Lambert and Hunter (1979) who state, "Ogmundson's work offers a potentially useful reorientation for research on the class component in voting behaviour" (p. 288). The impact of Ogmundson's participation in debate over the problem of class voting in Canada is also summarized by Johnston (1980):

In recent years, the tempo of the debate has quickened decidedly, in no small part due to the challenge put forward by Ogmundson (p. 147).

In light of the significance attached to Ogmundson's work, it was decided to replicate Ogmundson's study (1972) based on the 1965 election in this thesis, using the results of the 1984 post-election study.

The importance of replication as a research design in social science is emphasized by Babbie (1979) and Kidder (1981: 8). Both authors emphasise the importance of the two functions of replication i.e., a) reliability of results and b) generalizability of results. In Babbie's words:

¹Ogmundson's work refers to his thesis (1972) and a series of published articles (e.g., 1975a, 1982, etc.) based on his thesis. See the bibliography for a complete list of his work directly related to class voting.

Table 1.2: The Index of Class Voting In Five Western Democracies in Mid 1970's

+36	- Sweden, 1976
+30	- United Kingdom, 1976
+18	- United States, 1976
+15	- W.Germany, 1976
+04	- Canada, 1974

SOURCES: All figures, except that of Canada's, are extracted from Lipset (1985: 192). The Canadian figure is from Clarke et al. (1979: 87). All figures are converted from decimal into integer to be consistent with the previous table.

replication tests the breadth and limits of research generalisations and provides a safeguard against the danger of generalizing results beyond the specific observations upon which the results were based (p. 26).

One of the main objectives of this paper, in replicating Ogmundson's thesis, is to undertake the "test" and provide the "safeguard" of which Babbie writes. Such objectives coincide with those of Lambert and Hunter (1979), who also replicated Ogmundson's thesis with 1968 election data. Lambert and Hunter note that:

If levels of class voting comparable to those revealed in the 1965 federal election survey can be found in the 1968 data as well, this would do much to bolster our confidence that Ogmundson's findings reflect enduring features of the Canadian political landscape, rather than some temporary aberrations in voting practices or, indeed, than the purely random effects of sampling and/or measurement error (p. 289).

A broader objective in undertaking the following research is to enhance our understanding of Canadian society in general and Canadian politics in particular. It is true that the study of class voting is only a small segment of the whole body of work that furthers an understanding of Canadian society and politics. However, it is a significant segment that, at least potentially, has relevance for the society as a whole. It seems precisely for this reason that the study of class voting is such an active field containing so many participants with so many different points of views. Yet, in spite of the lively debate that still continues, our knowledge of the extent of class voting and its implications regarding the character of Canadian national politics remains, in Johnston's (1981: 147) words, "fraught with incompleteness, ambiguity, contradiction, and controversy". It is primarily in light of this problem, and with the hope of contributing to the ongoing debate, that the present paper is written.

1.2 The Outline of the Thesis

At the beginning of this introductory chapter the general context and purpose of this thesis was delineated. The relationship between class and political behaviour, and class and vote were briefly discussed. In relation to these, the case of Canada and its position with regard to other countries was outlined. Alford's seminal work in class voting and the significance of Ogmundson as the main critique of Alford were noted. We concluded the section by describing the significance of replication as a research method, the rationale for replicating Ogmundson's work, and the purpose of this paper.

The next chapter will begin with a discussion of the pioneering work of Robert Alford. This will be followed by an account of the "mass-explanation" perspective within which is located Alford's initial interpretation of class voting in Canada. Then discussion will turn to the "elite-explanation" perspective and the challenge that Ogmundson has laid against conventional views. Ogmundson's work will be explained in two sections: one dealing with his methodological innovations and one with his theoretical reformulation. The discussion on methodology will be general, leaving the more technical parts to a subsequent chapter. Finally in this chapter, the hypotheses which formed the basis of this study will be presented.

Chapter three, describes the methods used in this thesis. Problems such as the data base and measurement will be outlined. A brief descriptive account of the 1984 election will also be given.

Chapter four, presents the results. A number of tables will be presented, along with an account of the statistical analysis and a comparison of 1984 figures with previous years. Our account here will be more descriptive than interpretative, focusing on the more immediate implications of the results.

The final chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the general implications of the results. This section will also include recommendations and suggestions for future studies on class voting in Canada. Following Chapter five there are two appendices. Appendix 1 contains a list of all the questionnaire items extracted from the 1984 post-election study code book and used in this study. Appendix 2 contains

the computer instructions that were used for the analysis of data for this study.

Chapter 2

The Problem

2.1 The Theoretical Context

In the following section, a brief account of the theoretical context of the study of class voting will be given. The primary intention is to locate Ogmundson's work, which is to be replicated here, within the context of the study of class. Since the study of class voting is centred on class a discussion of this concept will be given beforehand.

Class is basically a European concept used particularly by Marx and Weber. Marx used the term to refer to:

social entities which are not directly observable, yet which are historically present, and the members of which are potentially aware of their common interests and consciousness (Keat and Urry, 1975: 94).

From this point of view the inequalities in different spheres of life such as wealth and education are only the symptoms of class. These symptoms have to be differentiated from the class structures which cause social inequalities. In Keat and Urry's (1975) words:

The meaning of the term "class" is not given by these inequalities. Rather, it is the structure of class relationships which determines the patterns of inequality (p. 95).

The class structure itself is formed by the division of labour; individuals in a given class are united by their relationships to the factors of production (Calvert, 1982: 11). When viewed in such a way class is treated as an "identification of empirical groups

of persons” (Halsey, 1978: 6, cited in Calvert, 1982: 178). This strict Marxist conception of class, however, does not lend itself easily to empirical studies and as a result it tends not to be used within the field of class voting (Robertson, 1985: 8). A new tradition, inspired by the modern or neo-Marxist theories, however, has recently emerged and, at least in the case of Canada, has growing influence; research by Zipp and Smith (1982), Hunter (1982), Johnston (1982), Brym (1989), and Nakhaie (1992) are examples of this tradition.

Within the context of “American positivism” the term “class” has a very different meaning. As Keat and Urry note, “The term has been imported into American social science and cast in a positivist framework” (p. 94). The individual, rather than the structure, is focused on. Instead of any single hierarchical ordering in society American positivists believe that:

there are a large number of dimensions of social and economic status, and that social stratification is a matter of average positioning of all these (Robertson, 1985: 9).

In other words, from the point of view of this tradition class is treated as an analytical relationship. In Hunter’s (1986) words, such a tradition deals with class in a “distributive socio-economic status sense” (239). The tradition, however, does not seem to enjoy the popularity it used to and is perhaps decreasing in importance (Robertson, 1985: 11).

The most prominent non-Marxist approaches to the study of social class use that conception of social class which defines class in terms of occupational hierarchy (Robertson, 1985: 9).² In Robertson’s words:

While such an approach is logically distinct from marxist models, which take property relations as class differentiations, it is still securely located within an economic perspective (p. 9).

Adhering to such a tradition does not seem to necessitate commitment to any general and broader theoretical orientation such as a Marxian or Weberian one. After all, it seems to be legitimate for social scientists to employ working definitions “with no

²Robertson (1985) believes that these approaches are European (p: 8). This, however, seems to be a mistake because as he himself notes later on (p: 18) in his classic study, Alford (1963), an American based in Berkeley, used occupation as the central variable.

particular theory to back them” (Robertson, 1985: 7). One leading researcher in the field of class study, Alford (1963), used such an approach employing occupation as the central variable and using no articulated general theory. Alford’s definition of class is quite broad. He chooses occupation as a measure because he believes that, among objective measures of class, the measure of occupation “tends to predict political attitudes and voting most efficiently” (A. Campbell, p. 344, cited in Alford, 1963: 74).

Alford’s work forms the background against which Ogmundson’s thesis is written. Ogmundson has criticized and modified Alford’s classification of political parties. He has, however, left Alford’s definition of class unquestioned. This becomes obvious when, in a footnote, Ogmundson declares his theoretical orientation by stating that he is going to use “the term “social class” in the very broad sense characteristic of literature on this topic” (1972: 10).

It can be concluded, therefore, that Ogmundson’s work does not fall into either a Marxist discourse or a *purely* American positivistic discourse. It falls within the “mainstream” tradition (similar to that of Alford’s) which uses a “broad” definition of class with no affiliation to any major social theory.

Now that the general context of the study is clear it is possible to turn to the narrower area of the study of class voting.

2.2 Conventional Views on Class Voting

The first major statement concerning the association between class and voting in Canada, supported by a large empirical survey, came out of Alford’s study of political behaviour in four Anglo-Saxon democracies. Central to Alford’s study was the concept of class voting. Formally, Alford defined the concept as “the degree to which classes divided in the support of *political* parties”. Operationally, however, he defined class voting as “the degree to which classes divide in support of *left* parties”. The shift between the two definitions, according to Myles (1981: 9), “constitutes a conceptual redefinition of the problem of some importance.” and is “one immediate source of confusion which seems to have generally gone unnoticed.” Myles argument

need not interrupt us at this stage. We will return to it later.

Alford's operational definition required the knowledge of both the voter's social class and the social class position of the party voted for in terms of "left" or "right". The voter's social class was determined in terms of manual/non-manual attributes of occupation. For the decision as to the social class position of the parties, Alford relied on the judgment of a "respected academic", namely, Dawson (1954: 491). This led Alford to lump together the Liberals and the NDP as the working class parties (Left) and the Conservatives and Social Credits as the middle class parties (Right).

On the bases of such conceptualizations, Alford produced the results shown here again (Table 2.1) and concluded that Canada was an exceptional case in the sense that there was virtually no association between class and voting. He interpreted his results by arguing that in Canada:

Neither class nor national identity are well developed, and the major diffuse solidarities or attachments of people are to regional and religious loyalties (1967: 257).

A number of other scholars applied identical methodological procedures and reached similar results. Lenski and Lenski (1974: 356), for instance, found in a survey of nine countries, that the association of social class with voting varied from a high of +58 in Norway to a low of +7 in Canada. Myles (1979: 1235) also empirically demonstrated that for the period 1962-1976 the Canadian class vote, as indicated by a mean index, had effectively disappeared. As a result of these empirical findings, Alford's contention that Canadian voting patterns are indicative of "pure nonclass politics" (Myles, 1981: 7) became widely accepted.

The interpretations given to these subsequent findings were similar to those of Alford's mentioned above. Englemann and Schwartz (1967), for instance, note:

His interpretation, [Alford's] compatible with our own view of Canadian society, is that regional-ethnic and regional economic interests and loyalties are so strong, that even in the case of economic interests they work against the emergence of national class oriented behaviour (p. 58).

Underlying Alford's, as well as Englemann's and Schwartz's interpretations, is a set of assumptions that forms an explanatory schema referred to by Ogmundson as the

Table 2.1: The Mean Index of Class Voting in Four Anglo-Saxon Countries

+40	- United Kingdom
+33	- Australia
+16	- United States
+08	- Canada

SOURCE: Alford (1963: 102)

“mass-explanation”. In broad terms, mass-explanation refers to a general discourse that considers individual citizens in a democratic society as the main determinant of the voting pattern. Contrasted with the “mass-explanation” perspective is the “elite-explanation” perspective which takes the elite, e.g., political parties, as the main determinant of the political structure.³

According to the mass-explanation perspective, the class nature of Canadian politics may be explained largely in terms of mass sentiments (See Alford 1963; McLeod 1966: 335; Fox 1966: 337; Englemann and Schwartz 1967; Smith 1967: 192; Beck 1968: 420; Meisel 1972: 60). Another proponent of this idea is Schreiber (1980), who argues from a “rational choice approach”⁴ and insists that in Canada, it is the electorate that “define the issues in election campaigns and hence decide what Canadian politics will be about” (p. 39).⁵ More recently, Pammett (1987) used the mass- and elite- explanation approaches to study the National Elections Study data and concluded that, “choosing between them [the two approaches] is currently impossible because of data limitations and level-of-analysis problems.” He, however, adds that, “The two lines of argument should be regarded as interactive and equally plausible.”

A majority of those who adhere to mass-explanation theory believe that

³There will be more discussion on the ideas of mass- and elite explanations in the next section.

⁴For a proper discussion of this approach and other prevalent approaches in voting behaviour see D. Kavanagh, 1983 and T. M. Enelow, 1984.

⁵Schreiber stands out among others in the field since, on the one, hand he articulates the position of a rationalist approach to class voting and, on the other hand, raises the most serious criticism against the opposing view in general and Ogmundson’s in particular.

Canadians in general are simply not as interested in class issues as people of the other Western industrialized countries. This is generally thought to be due to Canada's fragmented and heterogeneous social structure. In addition to social class, Canada is characterized by numerous other social cleavages e.g., ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional cleavages. Consequently, people are thought to be so concerned about these latter issues that the salience of social class has become greatly diminished. The fact that the major parties do not differentiate on the basis of class is thus felt to be a reflection of mass sentiments. The mass-explanation perspective, by placing the explanatory burden on the nature of mass social structure and public opinion, implicitly contends that Canadian political elites have been responsive to the desire of the citizenry. An underlying implication of this view is the opinion that the political process is functioning in accordance with democratic ideology. In other words, it implicitly legitimizes the present form of political arrangements by putting the onus for the status quo on the Canadian citizenry.

2.3 Challenge to the Conventional Views

Until about the mid 1970's, no empirical demonstration was produced⁶ to challenge Alford's initial contention. Later, however, a series of studies was undertaken that responded to Alford's findings and interpretation. There were two types of responses: the first is characterized by an attempt to adjust the theory to the facts. One example of this approach was a study by Horowitz (1968: 44), who attributed the absence of class voting in Canada to the persistence of the Tory fragment in Canada which has made the "classless appeal of ... centrism" the winning strategy in the electoral process.

A second and more recent response has been to question the facts themselves. For example, Zipp and Smith (1982) argued that class voting in Canada is higher than previously thought. Ogmundson attempted both to "adjust the facts", by proposing a major methodological innovation and "adjust the theory", by suggesting a major

⁶Ogmundson's thesis was completed by 1972 but articles based on his thesis were not published until 1975.

theoretical modification. Since the two sides of his work are equally important, each will be discussed separately in different sections of this chapter. However, it will be demonstrated later that the two are closely related.

2.4 Ogmundson's Methodological Innovation

Ogmundson's attempt to "adjust the facts" is demonstrated in terms of the introduction of a new measure of class voting. In the section that follows we discuss Ogmundson's innovation with respect to social class placement of political parties, and to the implications of the innovation for measurement of the rate of class voting. In the following section, in light of the new measure, we discuss the nature of class voting in terms of the measure of political distinctiveness.

2.4.1 Class Position of Parties and Class Vote

The standard measure of class voting contains three components: the class position of the parties, the class position of the voter, and the vote itself. Ogmundson's major innovation concerns the assignment of the class position of the parties.

The conventional classification of Canadian political parties for the purpose of measurement of the class vote has been that of Alford (1963: 13). Alford, as described earlier, relied on the judgment of a "respected academic", namely, Dawson, and lumped the Liberals and New Democratic Party together as "Left" and the Progressive Conservatives and Social Credit Parties together as "Right".

Ogmundson believes that the "custom of establishing party class position through the opinion of respected authority or a single empirical measure is inadequate" (1975a: 569). He does not reject the "custom" out of hand⁷ but believes that, "Academic opinion should be buttressed by empirical measures" (1975a: 569). In his study Ogmundson, accordingly, used six measures. They were: (1) other

⁷Ogmundson, in fact, *does* reject Alford's placement of Canadian's political parties altogether, by saying, at least in one occasion, that, "Alford classified the political parties incorrectly" (1980: 47). However, it seems that Ogmundson's objection is to the particular case of Alford, and not against the idea of "the expert's opinion" in general.

academic opinions (2) values of the elected members of the parliament (3) voter support (4) occupational status of the elected members (5) voter perception and (6) source of party funds. Of these measures the results of only one (values of elected members of Parliament) coincided with that of Alford's; the remaining five measures placed the NDP on the left and the Liberals and the Conservatives on the right (Ogmundson, 1975a: 565). He finds the conventional measure problematic in three ways. The first one has to do with the "subjectivity" involved in the measure. His objection is not against "subjectivity" as such, but against *whose* "subjectivity". In other words, he does not object to use a subjective measure as long as the element of subjectivity is from the participants (the voters) rather than from the observers (the academics). Ogmundson's rationale for this argument is that:

The opinion of the academics is "subjective" and nonempirical. Academics are subject to perceptual biases inherent in their atypical social location ... (1975a: 569).

A second problem with the conventional approach, in Ogmundson's view, is that there may be dissensus between the academics and the general population over the question of which party represents which social class. In his view, it is not necessarily true that:

the expert assessment of the scholar as to the position of the parties will be shared by the general population (1975a: 569).

Furthermore, and this is the third point of objection, he argues that the dissensus over the class position of parties may exist not only between academics and the general population, but also within the general population itself. Together, these sources of dissensus, in his view, distort the conventional measure of class voting and produce the unusual patterns of negative rates of class voting.

Ogmundson's suggestion, therefore, is an improvement of measure i.e., by allowing the voters, rather than academics, to assign the class position of parties. His approach, in his view, is not unique but part of a trend:

If a consensus methodology for the class positioning of political parties is developing, it would appear to be in the area of voter perception (1975a: 565).

To show the advantages for such a methodology Ogmundson cites Barnes and Pierce (1971) who argue:

This method of ordering the parties transfers the subjectivity involved in the measurement process from the researchers to the population involved. And the measurement technique permits us to report statistics at the ordinal level ... (1971: 646).

Ogmundson, thus, on the one hand shows the inadequacies of the conventional approach to the social class placement of political parties. On the other hand, he advances his own suggestion of using other empirical measures, especially the voter's perception, as the main criteria by which to determine the class position of the parties.

It is, on the basis of this approach to the selection of the class position of the parties, that Ogmundson puts forward his suggestion for the measurement of the rate of class voting. He puts this in the form of two hypotheses:

- (1) If the political parties are classified according to aggregate voter perception [i.e., controlling for the dissensus between the academics and the general population], the rate of class vote will increase (1972: 86).
- (2) If the political parties are classified according to the perceptions of the voters themselves, [i.e., controlling for the dissensus within the general population], the class vote increases again (1972: 94).

Table 2.2 shows the results of Ogmundson's study on 1965 election study data. It is clear from the table that in all cases the rate of class voting has shifted to a higher level confirming Ogmundson's hypotheses. The level of class voting, for instance, when class position of parties is determined by the conventional criteria (e.g., expert's opinion), and when occupation is the measure of social class of the respondents, is -.03. When the class position of parties is determined by the aggregate national perception the level shifts to the .08. When the class position of the parties is determined by the individual respondents the level of class voting again shifts to .11. This substantial increase in the level of class rate places Canada within the spectrum of other Western industrial societies and seriously questions the notion that the nature of politics in Canada is "classless".

The validity of Ogmundson's results was questioned by those who alleged that the "substantial increase in the level of class voting" was "artifactual" and that "the same increase would take place in any other country" (Ogmundson and Ng, 1982: 44). In response, Ogmundson, together with Ng, (1982) applied the same procedure to United Kingdom (e.g., controlled for the perception of respondents) and found that:

Table 2.2: Class Vote in 1965

The Canadian National Class Vote In 1965 As Measured By Tau Beta With Different Measures Of Respondent's Social Class And Different Classifications Of The Political Parties.

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	Alford	National	Individual-1	Individual-2
<u>Income</u>	-.09 (2106)	.03 (2106)	.11 (1996)	.125 (1212)
<u>Occupation</u>	-.03 (1863)	.08 (1863)	.11 (1786)	.13 (1093)
<u>Education</u>	-.01 (2171)	.07 (2171)	.12 (2050)	.18 (1246)
<u>Subjective Class</u>	-.06 (2088)	.10 (2088)	.18 (1992)	.21 (1213)

(a) Alford Classification:

The Liberals and New Democratic Party are classified as "Working Class" or Left and the Progressive Conservative Party, is classified as "Middle Class" or Right.

(b) National Perceptions Classification:

Parties are classified on the basis of national means of perception of the Canadian population. The Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties are seen as "Middle Class" while the others are seen as "Working Class".

(c) Individual Perceptions Classification -1:

A vote for a party viewed as being from 1 to 4 on scale from "for the middle class" at 1 to "for the working class" at 4 is classified as being middle class vote and vice versa.

(d) Individual Perceptions Classification 2:

Same as the previous category except that votes for parties viewed as "4" are removed

Source: Ogmundson 1975c P:150

the class vote in the United Kingdom does not increase when the national aggregate perception and individual perception classifications of the political parties are used (p.48).

As a result Ogmundson and Ng drew the conclusion that:

Hence, contrary to what critics had suggested, the increase in the Canadian class vote derived from the original use of this measure was not an artifactual one (p. 48).

Now, we turn to some of the uses and limits of Ogmundson's new measure.

The new rate of class voting achieves what Ogmundson initially intended:

One gets a better idea what the voter thinks he is voting for if one allows the voters to assign the class position of the parties.

In other words, the new approach is an improved measure of voter motivation. It should indicate the voter's interest in class issue more accurately than the conventional measure.

Ogmundson also mentions some of the limitations of this approach. One, for example, is that the new measure:

cannot tap that portion of the population which, while motivated to cast a class consistent vote, fails to try to do so because of the lack of a perceived or realistic choice (1975a: 511).

Another limitation, and probably a more important one, is that the new measure does not provide an objectively defined class vote. As Ogmundson states:

If a labourer votes Conservative and believes that this is a class consistent vote, this is important information if one is concerned about voter motivation. However, this does not mean that the social scientist must accept the voter's view that he is acting in such a way as to further his class interests (1975b: 511).

Ogmundson thus admits that the intended class voting revealed by the new measure is insignificant from the point of view of realities of power and the policy output of government. (1975b: 511).

The measure's limits in terms of "objectivity" is also repeated by Lambert and Hunter (1979), although from a Marxian perception. In their opinion, it might reasonably be argued that, "all five [parties] are essentially bourgeois parties", and that any evidence of class voting, therefore, indicates:

nothing more than the minor effects of some residue of false consciousness among the voters which makes some slightly more likely than others to vote for one party as against another (1979: 301).

When viewed from this angle, they believe:

a sociopsychological approach such as Ogmundson's might seem as either pointless or even theoretically and ideologically misguided (1979: 301).

However, Lambert and Hunter find Ogmundson's motivational approach to the measurement of class voting as a, "worthwhile attempt to determine if, how, and to what extent voters' behaviour may be shaped by it [consciousness]" (1979: 301). This,

they believe on the ground that:

certain kinds of people *are* somewhat more likely than others to vote for a particular party, and there is at least some suggestion their consciousness, whether false or not, *does* matter in the choices they make on election day (1979: 301).

Other neo-Marxist scholars, such as Zipp and Smith (1982), also appear to support Ogmundson's "psychological" approach, although they also stress that:

analysis also must be fundamentally structural to permit the assessment of the possibilities for expressing a class-related political choice (1982: 755).

Although it is true that Ogmundson's methodological innovation is "psychological" it has to be remembered, as earlier noted, that he does not treat his new measure as an alternative but rather a complement to conventional measures. The weight Ogmundson gives to structural and psychological factors appear to be quite similar to those of Lambert and Hunter (1979), and Zipp (1982). This becomes evident in Ogmundson's discussion on:

differences between the individualistic social-psychological paradigm (liberal ideology) which dominates North American sociology and the collectivist paradigms such as class and organization which dominates thinking elsewhere (1980: 45).

The paradigm, which is consistent with the notion of mass-explanation:

emphasizes the influence of mass public opinion which can be ascertained by an aggregation of individual views by survey research (1980: 45).

The paradigm, which Ogmundson finds himself in, and which indicates his emphasis on structure rather than the individual:

emphasizes the importance of decisions by class and/or organizational elites in determining the nature of our reality, including the shape of our public opinion (1980: 45).

2.4.2 Political Distinctiveness

The use of the new measure led to a revision of all calculations concerning class voting. Important among these calculations is the measure of the political distinctiveness of the working class and middle class in Canada. The need for obtaining this measure arises in light of the fact that Index of Class Voting "fails to measure the proportion of support which a class gives to a given party - the "political

distinctiveness” or “solidarity” of the class” (Alford 1967: 80). In other words, while the Index of Class Voting shows the degree and variation of class vote, it fails to illuminate the factors or components that determine it; it fails to illuminate the nature of the class vote.

Political distinctiveness is measured by obtaining the percentage of a class voting for the party or parties thought to represent the interests of that class (Alford, 1967: 81). The political distinctiveness of a class is usually found to vary from 50 to 70 percent, i.e., from 50 to 70 percent of a given class usually votes for the party or parties thought to represent the interests of that class (Alford 1967: 81). Alford’s study showed that the political distinctiveness of the middle class in Canada was extraordinarily low. Ogmundson found it “strange for the middle class to display less class solidarity than the working classes” (1975c: 170). On the one hand, in his view “Canada is a society which middle class and business groups dominate, with minimal challenge from working class or labour organizations”. And on the other hand, he saw both major parties representing the middle class interests. This anomalous pattern, in Ogmundson’s view, would likely be attributed by conventional analysis to “some peculiarity in the motivations of the Canadian middle class” (1975c: 171). To examine this line of reasoning, Ogmundson proposed new measures which will “allow us to tap voter perception and motivation much more accurately than conventional measures do” (1975c: 171). Ogmundson’s proposal was put in the form of a hypothesis in the following manner:

If the measure of political distinctiveness is based on the voter perception and motivation, we can anticipate discovering “a very high proportion of middle class votes for middle class parties and a relatively low proportion of the working class votes for the working class parties” (1972: 107).

Table 2.3 shows the results of Ogmundson’s analysis of 1965 election data concerning the political distinctiveness of the working class and the middle class in Canada.

The first column shows that when parties’ social class positions are determined in the manner that Alford had used, political distinctiveness of the working class is around 60 percent, which is normal, and the political distinctiveness of the middle class is around 30 percent, which is quite low. When parties social class positions are

Table 2.3: Political Distinctiveness in 1965

Political Distinctiveness of Middle and Working Classes by Different Party Classification

<u>Measure of</u> <u>Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>		
	<u>Alford</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Individual</u>
<u>Occupation</u>			
Middle Class	N=266/779 34.0%	N=635/779 81.5%	N=532/758 70.0%
Working class	N=686/1083 63.0%	N=276/1084 25.5%	N=417/1029 41.0%
<u>Education</u>			
Middle Class	N=266/734 36.0%	N=608/734 83.0%	N=515/712 72.0%
Working class	N=898/1437 62.5%	N=336/1437 23.0%	N=539/1342 40.0%
<u>Income</u>			
Middle Class	N=251/806 31.0%	N=643/806 80.0%	N=548/776 71.0%
Working class	N=774/1300 59.9%	N=293/1300 23.0%	N=485/1220 40.0%
<u>Subjective</u>			
Middle Class	N=361/1056 34.0%	N=869/1055 82.0%	N=741/1023 72.0%
Working class	N=622/1034 60.0%	N=265/1033 26.0%	N=438/969 45.0%

(a) Alford Classification:

The Liberals and New Democratic Party are classified as "Working Class" or Left and the Progressive Conservative Party, is classified as "Middle Class" or Right.

(b) National Perceptions Classification:

Parties are classified on the basis of national means of perception of the Canadian population. The Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties are seen as "Middle Class" while the others are seen as "Working Class".

(c) Individual Perceptions Classification -1:

A vote for a party viewed as being from 1 to 4 on scale from "for the middle class" at 1 to "for the working class" at 7 is classified as being middle class vote and vice versa.

(d) Individual Perceptions Classification 2:

Same as the previous category except that votes for parties viewed as "4" are removed.

Copied from Ogmundson, 1975c P:173

Source: Ogmundson 1975 P:173

determined in terms of the aggregate views of the respondents (the second column) the political distinctiveness of working class reduces to the low level of about 20 percent and the political distinctiveness of middle class drastically increases to the high level of about 80 percent, suggesting, in Ogmundson's words, "a high mobilization of the middle class in Canada and a low mobilization of the working class" (1975: 175). The third column shows that when parties' social class positions

are determined in terms of individual perception of respondents the political distinctiveness of the middle class decreases to around 70 percent which is normal, though still high, and the political distinctiveness of the working class increases to about 40 percent which is still below the normal international level. In Ogmundson's view this indicates:

a situation in which the middle class is mobilized at a high, though normal, level and in which the working class is mobilized at a minimum level in terms of their individual subjective perceptions (1975: 173).

2.4.3 Class Awareness and Class Vote

A related idea to the problem of class voting and its measurement is the concept of class awareness. Ogmundson does not seem to have paid much attention to this concept until his latest work (1982: 50), and there only in a footnote. There are, however, at least two reasons why this problem should be discussed here. One, is that Ogmundson himself points out to the importance and relevance of this problem (1982: 50). Another reason is that Schreiber (1980: 41) uses the concept to criticize both the "elite-explanation" model in general and Ogmundson's work in particular. Here, Ogmundson's discussion will be reviewed first. Then, a summary of Schreiber's discussion of this particular point will be given.

In the brief discussion in the footnote, Ogmundson (1982: 50) makes a distinction between "awareness of class membership" and "class self-identification". The former, according to him, refers to whether people think of themselves as being a member of a social class. The latter refers to the class people assign themselves to, when asked to do so, by an interviewer. After this clarification Ogmundson presents a hypothesis as follows:

It seems plausible to hypothesize that those who are aware of class membership would be more likely to class vote than those who are not (Ogmundson, 1982: 50)

Ogmundson himself did not test this hypothesis because the questionnaire item necessary to test it was not available in the 1965 survey data. For Schreiber (1980), the concept of "class awareness" is crucial in the discussion of class vote. This is well indicated in the title of his article: *Class awareness and class voting in Canada: a*

reconsideration of the Ogmundson thesis. The title is also a reminder of the dialogue between Ogmundson and Schreiber over the two contrasting perspectives of “elite explanation” and “mass-explanation”. As it was mentioned earlier Ogmundson emphasizes the priority of the elite variable and suggests that “Explanation of the lack of class politics at the federal level may lie more with elite activities than with mass sentiment (1976: 2).” In contrast to Ogmundson, Schreiber (1980) believes that, “Neither a “class” nor a “working class” orientation predominates in the collective mind of the Canadian electorates” (p. 41). The fact that Canadian politics is classless, in Schreiber’s opinion, reflects this reality. In other words, it is precisely because the elites (i.e., the parties) are responsive to the mass desires that Canadian politics is classless.

In support of his argument Schreiber suggests the following approach:

If one wanted to assess class interest in the Canadian electorate by means that were more direct than class voting, it would seem reasonable to ask Canadians to define themselves in class terms (40).

In operationalizing his approach he uses the questionnaire item included in 1968 and 1974 surveys: “Do you ever think of yourself belonging to a social class ?” A similar question appeared in 1984 surveys. In Chapter 4 of this thesis the results of Schreiber’s analysis (on 1968 and 1974 surveys) will be given. The questionnaire item mentioned above will also be used to test Ogmundson’s hypothesis. The difference between Schreiber’s approach and that of Ogmundson’s is that while the latter is studying interest in class issues via class voting Schreiber is studying it directly.

2.5 Ogmundson’s Theoretical Proposition

At the outset of his paper, Ogmundson makes the following preparatory statement which clearly indicates his theoretical orientation:

On an *a priori* basis it is conceivable that an explanation of the classless nature of Canadian politics may lie more with the nature of elite activities than with the nature of mass sentiments (1972: 42).

Here Ogmundson has shifted the ground of argument, for the explanation of class voting in Canada, from one of “mass-explanation” to one of “elite-explanation”. In

this attempt to “reformulate the problem” (1972: 42) Ogmundson derives his inspiration, amongst others, from Duverger (1954) who states, “the structure of public opinion is to a large extent a consequence of the party system” (p. 372) and from Schwartz (1967) who comments that in Canada, “class-based voting exists; what is missing are consistent class-base parties”.

On the basis of this theoretical orientation and his initial observations, Ogmundson makes the following general statement:

The classless nature of Canadian political parties has been a major factor in causing the classless nature of Canadian politics and the apparently low level of class voting exhibited by the Canadian population (1972: 47).

Ogmundson’s shift to the elite-explanation discourse indicates at least two things. First, it demonstrates the need to disprove the mass-explanation theories; principally to show that conventional understandings of class voting in Canada are erroneous and that individual Canadians, in general, are less satisfied with the status quo than has been thought. Second, it helps to explain why the status quo persists, demonstrating the role of the elite and its influence in forming the structure of Canadian political parties. These are central themes in Ogmundson’s thesis which will be discussed in some detail, in light of our findings, in the final chapter of this thesis. However, one point that needs to be elaborated at this stage, is the consistency between Ogmundson’s methodology and his theoretical approach. The recognition of this consistency is important, both for a better understanding of his work, and for inferences that can be had from our findings.

The consistency between the two aspects of Ogmundson’s work becomes evident, when one resolves what, at first, may look like a contradiction. The contradiction is that, on the one hand, Ogmundson emphasizes structures, such as class or organisation, and, on the other hand, he chooses a “psychological”, (i.e., subjective) methodology. This apparent contradiction resolves itself when one recognizes that Ogmundson’s work is holistic, in a sense that, he emphasizes:

the need for integrated conceptual frameworks which simultaneously consider both mass and elite variables (1975: 510).

This statement clearly demonstrates that, together with structure, he has the

“individual” central in his analysis. It is precisely because of this approach that he can lay so much emphasis on the voter’s motivation and, at the same time, try to work out the structural factors. Ogmundson seems to believe that the “collectivist paradigm”, within which his work is situated, has the capacity for a simultaneous consideration of mass and elite variables or of structural and individual factors.

2.5.1 The Theoretical Hypotheses

From the general statement mentioned earlier Ogmundson derives a number of hypotheses of which two were replicated here. It has to be remembered that the 1984 post-election study did not include all the questionnaire items that the 1965 study contained. As a result, some of the variables used by Ogmundson, such as “ideal party class image”, could not be measured and, therefore, could not be replicated.

The first hypothesis consists of two parts:

- (1) The two major parties (the Progressive Conservative and the Liberals) take very similar positions on the class issue and,
- (2) The position these parties take is middle class.

This statement is a logical derivation from the main hypothesis mentioned above. The implicit assumption is that the two dominant parties in fact minimize the class issue and it is this minimization which leads to the apparent classless nature of Canadian politics. In a more recent discussion, supporting Ogmundson’s view on both these accounts, Brodie states:

the programmes and policies of the Liberal and Progressive Conservatives parties, the two major parties in the federal system, reveal few real and consistent differences in the class interests that they claim to protect and advance ... the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives have a decidedly capitalist bias (1981: 189).

Second hypothesis: Ogmundson’s conversion from a “mass-oriented” explanation to an “elite-oriented” explanation requires the refutation of the conventional notion, well articulated by Alford (1967: 84) that in Canada, “ ... the major diffuse solidarities or attachments of people are to regional and religious loyalties”. In other words, it has to be shown that:

Canadian voters participate in a social culture which is at least normal in the nature of its class-related aspects (Ogmundson 1972: 28).

It is, therefore, consistent with the main hypothesis to state and examine the notion that:

class issues are more salient to Canadians than regional, ethnic and religious issues (Ogmundson 1972: 28).

For the sake of continuity the results of Ogmundson's analysis concerning this statement will be presented together with the 1984 results in Chapter 4 under hypothesis 6. Ogmundson's definition of "class issues" as against other issues, will also become clear within the context of the analysis in that chapter.

2.5.2 List of Hypotheses

All in all, six hypotheses were presented in this chapter; four in the methodological section and two in the theoretical section. For the sake of clarity they are repeated here in the form of a list.

- 1: (a) The two major parties (the Progressive Conservative and the Liberals) take very similar positions on the class issue and, (b) the position these parties take is middle class (Ogmundson, 1972: p.68).
- 2: If the political parties are classified according to aggregate voter perception [i.e., controlling for the dissensus between the academics and the general population] the rate of class vote will increase (Ogmundson, 1972: 86).
- 3: If the political parties are classified according to the perceptions of the voters themselves, (i.e., controlling for the dissensus within the general population), the class vote increases again (Ogmundson, 1972: 94).
- 4: If the measure of political distinctiveness is based on the voter perception and motivation, we can anticipate discovering a very high proportion of middle class votes for middle class parties and a relatively low proportion of the working class votes for the working class parties (Ogmundson, 1972: 107).
- 5: Those who are aware of class membership would be more likely to

class vote than those who are not (Ogmundson, 1982: 50, footnote).

- 6: Class issues are more salient to Canadians than regional, ethnic and religious issues (Ogmundson, 1972: 28).

Chapter 3

Method

3.1 Data Base

The data for this research came from the *1984 Canadian National Election Study* collected by R.D. Lambert, S.D. Brown, J.E. Curtis, and J.M. Wilson, all from University of Waterloo, and, B.J. Kay from Wilfried Laurier University. The study was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A detailed description of the data collection procedure was included in the code book that accompanied the data tape. Below, is a summary of the procedure as abstracted directly, though with slight modification, from the code book. The intention is to give the reader a general idea of the procedure employed. For exact detail the code book should be consulted.

“The universe for this survey was the population of Canada, aged 18 years and over”, with an exception of a few groups (which comprised 3% of the sample) such as “persons living on Indian reservations” or “members of the armed forces not living in Canada”. The rate of participation in the survey was 59%; 5742 people were contacted, 3377 of which were actually interviewed. The low turn out occurred despite the fact that four call backs were made (three in rural areas).

To determine the sample, “a four-stage sample selection procedure” was employed as follows:

Stage 1: On the basis of the size of the population each major geographical

area (i.e., province) was stratified into localities. “Using cumulative stratified population listings, 245 localities were selected as the master sample.”

Stage 2: “Further stratification was employed within the localities for the selection of the clusters or primary sampling units”. The criteria used here were those used for Enumeration Area which are of income in urban areas and geography in rural areas. “At this stage, the number of primary sampling units to be visited in each locality was determined.”

Stage 3: Within each cluster “a block was selected at random. The interviewer was then supplied with a detailed map showing the block, the road segments containing the block and a starting point. Interviewers began at the designated starting point and followed a fixed procedure for selecting the assigned households at which to interview. In this study, 15 households were assigned to each block”.

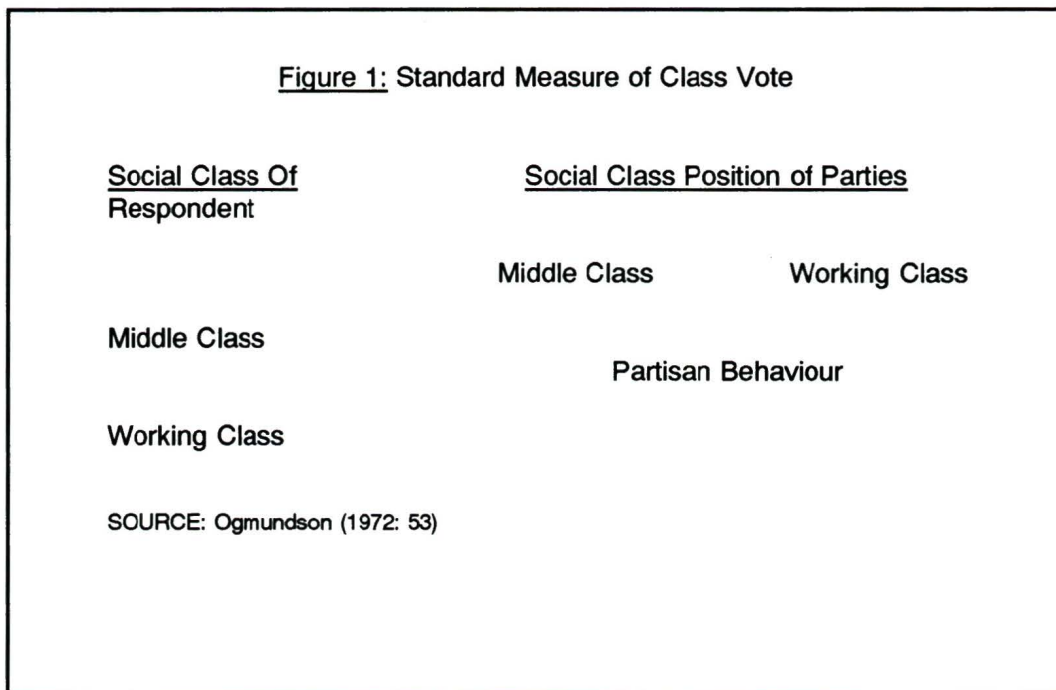
Stage 4: Within each selected household one person was selected for interview purposes. This selection was made from all qualifying members by “use of form selection matrices rotated over the sample”.

In order to make the data more representative a weighting procedure was applied. For example, the sample selection was made disproportionate in favour of the less populated regions.

3.2 Research Design

This study is a replication of Ogmundson’s 1972 thesis entitled *Social Class and Canadian Politics*. The rationale for this was given in the introductory Chapter of this thesis.

Ogmundson’s study was based on the data collected by Meisel in a national survey on the 1965 federal election. Some of the important aspects of Ogmundson’s thesis were replicated using 1968 election study data, e.g., Myles, 1979; Lambert and Smith, 1979; Ng, 1977. After 1968, however, none of the post-election studies contained the questionnaire items, such as party class image, which were essential for replicating Ogmundson’s thesis. The essential questionnaire items necessary for replicating his thesis are fortunately included in 1984 post-election survey. This makes replication possible. In the discussion section of this thesis, comparisons of the 1984 data will be made with previous researchers’ results when appropriate.



3.3 Background to the Election

It is perhaps appropriate at this stage to give a summary description of the 1984 election.

In some ways the 1984 election was quite different from previous elections. During the five year period before the election there were two general elections (in 1979 and in 1980) and three prime ministers (Trudeau, Clark, and Turner). The Liberal party which had dominated the Canadian politics throughout the 20th century suffered the worst defeat in its history. The Progressive Conservative Party led by Brian Mulroney took over the control of the government. The New Democratic Party (NDP) maintained its relatively strong position as a third party. Other small parties (e.g., Social Credit Party) played only an insignificant part. In terms of voting pattern the 1984 election was exceptional. Frizzel and Westell (1985) point out:

A crucial fact about the 1984 election is that the familiar pattern of voting was smashed: the Conservatives were the winning party in every province in terms both of the popular votes and of seats won in the House of Commons a fact not achieved even in the great Conservative landslide in 1958. (p. 15)

3.4 Measurement

A complete copy of the questionnaire items used in this study is provided in Appendix 1. This discussion describes the theoretical and practical considerations which were used in operationally defining the variables.

The central variable in this study is class voting. In estimating the rate of class voting, following Ogmundson, the statistic tau beta (or Kendal's tau) is used. This statistic summarizes the degree of agreement between a respondent's class and that respondent's vote for a party of the corresponding class, relative to the disagreement of the respondent's class and that respondent's vote for a party of corresponding class. In Agresti and Agresti's words,

“One of the most useful measures of association for fully ranked data is Kendal's tau ... It is a measure of association between two *ordinal variables* that takes into account the number of tied pairs on each of the variables”(1979:247).

Blalock elaborates on this by saying:

As long as both variables can be ranked[this measure] can be used to give correlations which is somewhat analogous to product-moment correlations (1972: 415).

The range of the measure varies between -1 and +1. The negative extreme (i.e., -1) shows a perfect disagreement between the two ranking systems while the positive extreme (i.e., +1) shows a perfect agreement. Point zero (tau=0) indicates the two variables are not related at all. This statistic was obtained by cross-tabulating the social class position of the respondents with the social class position of the political parties.⁸

For the calculation of tau beta and other relevant statistics in this study, the computer software *Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSSX)* was used. The

⁸Another method of estimating the same rate, which was used by Alford, and is commonly used in the literature, is:

subtract the percentage of persons in non-manual occupations voting for Left parties from the percentage of persons in manual occupations voting for Left parties (Alford 1963: 79).

The two methods virtually produce the same results although their statistical properties are different. This is best described by Lijphart (1979):

Alford's indices of voting, which are differences in proportion, can also be interpreted as the regression coefficients for the regression of party choice on the independent variables if these dichotomized variables are given the numerical values of 0 and 1. This important characteristic of the index makes it possible to use multiple regression analysis to compute controlled indices of voting. (p: 445)

instructions used to obtain the desired statistics are shown on the computer outputs in Appendix 2.

As Figure 1 indicates, the calculation of the class vote requires measures of three variables: the class position of the respondents, the class position of the political parties, and political partisanship. The measurement of each of these variables will be discussed below.

3.5 Measures of Social Class

The measurement of the individual's social class appears to be one of the most controversial aspects of studies in class voting. The root of the controversy seems to be located in the area of conflict between Marxist and non-Marxist perspectives about the way in which the concept of social class ought to be defined. Since a non-Marxist tradition is followed in this paper it is not necessary to get involved in the Marxist side of the controversy, although our discussion will be informed by that tradition.⁹ Several different indicators, or indices of indicators, have been used by previous researchers to measure social class. Traditionally, a manual-nonmanual occupational distinction is used to represent social class position of an individual. In conjunction with this, Ogmundson also used subjective class identification. To increase confidence, he also used education and income as indicators of social class. All the above measures were dichotomized in terms of working class vs. middle class. Ogmundson, however, does not elaborate on the criteria he uses to choose the cutting points for each measure, except for making the general statement that:

Since the main purpose of this research was to explore the political party variable, the measures of social class were dichotomized in the manner customary to studies of the class vote (1975b: 509).

Since some of these criteria are controversial, each of these measures will be discussed and qualifying points will be made in the subsections that follow. To obtain an overall impression of the relationship between each one of these measures and

⁹ Reference here is especially to the development of a neo-Marxist measure of individual social class which is used by some scholars in recent years, e.g., Zipp and Smith (1981), Brodie and Jenson (1980), and Hunter, (1982).

respondents' voting behaviour, cross-tabulations of these measures and parties voted for are undertaken. The results will be presented in the form of tables in related sections.

3.5.1 Occupation

Following Ogmundson, occupation is used in this project as one of the main measures of social class. Ogmundson used occupation as one of the basic measures of respondent's social class position apparently as a result of existing convention. Alford (1963), for example, had only used occupation. Campbell et al. (1960: 344) believed among the objective indicators of class (e.g., income, occupation, and education) "occupation tends to predict political attitudes and voting most efficiently". They used both occupation and class self-perception. Occupation has also been used by almost all researchers in the field of class voting in recent years. Among them are Lambert and Hunter (1979), Gerber (1986), and Zipp and Smith (1982). Despite the seeming existence of a general consensus on the use of occupation as a basic indicator of social class, the following qualifications have to be made.

Zipp and Smith (1982) mentioned a number of problems concerning the use of occupational categories. For instance they state:

even if one accepts the underlying rationale for this practice, recent theoretical analysis and empirical evidence suggests that the manual-nonmanual distinction is no longer the most salient in modern Western societies (1982: 740).

Furthermore, Zipp and Smith argued that such a practice, "assigns an effect to occupation *per se* rather than to those factors for which it may be an index" (1982: 740). Ingelhart also expressed doubts about the validity of occupational distinction, *per se*, as a measure of social class. He stated:

Many skilled manual workers now earn substantially more than lower-grade white-collar employees; it has been argued that the latter now constitute part of the Proletariat (1977: 203).

Gerber (1986: 129), also, found problems with the occupational categories presently used and suggested that, "survey research may benefit from further refinement of the manual/non-manual occupational categories".

Yet, despite all this, the measurement of an individual's social class position, based on the manual/nonmanual distinction, is certainly the most commonly used measure. The fact that the measure is used in conjunction with other measures should also increase confidence in the findings. Now it is possible to turn to a discussion of the technical details of measurement.

The main earner's occupation was obtained by asking the respondents the two questions shown in Table 3.1, with accompanying results. Ogmundson deleted the last two categories of the latter question (Homemaker/widow and student) from the calculations because of the difficulty in categorizing them (1972: 58). He considered "clerical" as "middle class" because traditionally it has been classified as such (Ogmundson, 1972: 58). For the purpose of this thesis the procedure as dictated by Ogmundson will be followed.

The class status of farmers has proved to be controversial. Ogmundson found it difficult to classify farmers because, "one has no idea as to their income, education, life style, and ownership position" (1972: 58). Lambert and Hunter (1979) also recognized the problem when they stated:

Where farmers "belong" presents a problem in classifying occupations as manual v. non-manual, blue-collar v. white-collar, or working-class v. middle-class (p. 292).

Alford side-stepped the problem by excluding the farmers from his analysis (1973: 73).

The source of the problem seems to be the difficulty in distinguishing farm owners from farm labourers. This difficulty is same as that which Gerber (1986) is also searching for an answer and becomes obvious when she emphasizes:

we have yet to come to grips with the peculiar combination of manual labour and entrepreneurship that makes the farm enterprise (p. 130).

The "peculiar combination" that Gerber describes is the same as that called by Hunter (1982: 28) "an admixture entrepreneurship" that is considered problematic by him as well.

Ogmundson does not seem to put as much emphasis on the problem of ownership. In his own words, "factors besides ownership are important to the reality of social class as it is experienced by different individuals" (1972: 58). Such a

Table 3.1: Occupation

Questions and the results regarding occupational status of respondents.

(A) What is your occupation?		(B) What actually do you do?	
%		%	
55	(1) R has occupation	13	(1) Professional
20	(2) Housewife	9	(2) Owner/manager/executive
10	(3) Retired	4	(3) Sales
8	(4) Unemployed	13	(4) Clerical
6	(5) Student	25	(5) Skilled labour
0	(6) Never worked	10	(6) Unskilled labour
		4	(7) Farmer
		20	(8) Homemaker/Widow
		0	(9) Student

perception allowed Ogmundson to try to determine the class status of farmers. In doing so, he seems to have relied, initially, on his personal general observations that is summed up in the following statement:

Canadian farmers exhibited working class attributes in terms of income, education, life style, class self identification, and economic security (1972: 59).

To support his views Ogmundson employed the 1965 data and the statistical result concerning the class self image of farmers. The data showed that “65% of farmers viewed themselves as working class” (1972: 60). According to his data, “This is greater than the percentage of skilled labour or service people who identified themselves as such” (1975c: 170). Ogmundson, thus, concluded that, “one may safely classify most Canadian farmers as working class” (1972: 58). To put his work, however, in harmony with conventional approach, such as Alford’s which excluded farmers altogether, Ogmundson made important calculations both with and without farmers. An important point, which lends support to Ogmundson’s method for the inclusion of farmers is noted by Gerber (1986):

The danger of ignoring farmers or farming areas in any attempt to explain national voting patterns (e.g., Alford 1963: 70) is that of omitting a highly significant determinant of party support- one representing over one-third of the Prairie population and possibly 90% in some ridings across the country (p. 129).

In the present study, following Ogmundson, important calculations will be made both

Table 3.2: Class in Terms of Occupation

Percentages of Social Classes in Canada in Terms of Occupational Categories (1984).

Farmers Are Included:

Middle Class	50%
Working Class	50%

Middle Class = Professional (13%) + Owner/Manager/Executive (9%) + Sales (4%) + Clerical(13%)

Working Class = Skilled labour (25%) + Unskilled labour (10%) + Farmers (4%)

Not included = Homemaker/Widow (20%)

Farmers Are Excluded:

Middle Class	53%
Working Class	47%

Middle Class = Professional (13%) + Owner/Manager/Executive (9%) + Sales (4%) + Clerical(13%)

Working Class = Skilled labour (25%) + Unskilled labour (10%)

Not included = Farmers (4%) + Homemaker/Widow (20%)

with and without farmers; when farmers are included, they will be classified as working class. The ways in which the variable of occupation is dichotomized are shown in Table 3.2.

A point of qualification has to be made at this point. The Canadian farmers' class self image in 1984 has, in comparison to 1965, changed considerably. This is, at least partially, due to mechanization and attrition of farm labourers in favour of capital intensive machinery. Table 3.3 shows that in 1984 only 46.1% of farmers perceived themselves as working class indicating a drop of 19% point when compared with 1965 figure (65%). The table also shows that the percentage of farmers who view themselves as working class (46.1%) is clearly below that of skilled labour (54.0%). The data for 1984, therefore, do not support Ogmundson's idea that farmers should be classified as working class. At the same time, however, the data do not give sufficient support to the idea of classifying farmers as middle class. So, the best alternative under these circumstances seems to be that of Alford's; exclude farmers altogether. Ogmundson's approach fortunately provides us with this alternative, although classifying farmers as working class will also be considered.

Table 3.3: Class and Occupation

A Cross-Tabulation of Main Earner's Occupation with Respondent's Class Self Image (1984)

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>
	%	%
Professional	87.7	12.3
Owners/ Mgr./ Exec.	76.3	23.7
Sales	66.4	33.6
Clerical	60.7	39.3
Skilled Labour	46.0	54.0
Unskilled Labour	39.4	60.6
Farmers	53.9	46.1
Homemaker/Widow	62.0	38.0

To give the reader a general impression of voting behaviour in terms of occupational categories, Tables 3.4 and 3.5 are presented. The relatively high percentage figures in the column titled PC, in Table 3.4, reflect the Conservative's landslide victory in the 1984 federal election. The same table shows that the percentage of those in the professional category who voted for the NDP is relatively high (20.9), especially when compared with those in the executive (9.9%) or sales (8.0%) category. Table 3.5 indicates that the support of the professionals for the NDP (18%) is considerable when compared with other occupational categories. This confirms the impression of many that the NDP receives a substantial portion of its support from the persons with advanced education (for more discussion of this please see the section titled "Education" in this Chapter). It has to be noted that the category "Unemployed" is missing in both Table 3.4 and Table 3.5 because the respondents were probed to state their *occupation* rather than the state of their employment at the time of interview.

3.5.2 Subjective Social Class

Subjective social class was measured on the basis of three inter-related questionnaire items. Table 3.6 shows the first questionnaire item accompanied by its results. Those respondents who answered "yes" were asked to indicate their social

Table 3.4: Occupation and Vote

Distribution of Votes Among the Three Federal Parties in Terms of Occupational Categories (1984)

	Liberal %	PC %	NDP %	Total %
Professional	24.0	55.1	20.9	100
Owner/Manager/Exec.	25.1	65.0	9.9	100
Sales	27.0	65.0	8.0	100
Clerical	27.5	55.0	17.5	100
Skilled labour	22.7	58.6	18.8	100
Unskilled labour	25.4	54.2	20.4	100
Farmer	13.7	61.1	25.2	100
Homemaker/Widow	27.3	61.0	11.7	100

N=2447.

Table 3.5: Occupation and Party

Distribution of Votes for Each Federal Party in Terms of Occupational Categories (1984).

	Liberal %	PC %	NDP %
Professional	13.9	13.4	18.0
Owner/Manager/Exec.	9.3	10.1	5.4
Sales	4.5	4.5	2.0
Clerical	15.1	12.7	14.3
Skilled labour	21.2	23.0	26.2
Unskilled labour	8.4	7.6	10.1
Farmer	3.0	5.6	8.1
<u>Homemaker/Widow</u>	<u>24.7</u>	<u>23.2</u>	<u>15.8</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=2568.

class position on a set of alternative categories shown in Table 3.7 accompanied by their results. Those respondents who answered “no” were persuaded to choose one of the class categories by reading to them a statement shown in Table 3.8 accompanied by the results. For this study, the results of the two questionnaire items were treated identically. A combination of the answers to the two items was thus used to measure the respondents social class in all calculations, except where otherwise noted. Table 3.9 shows the results.

Table 3.6: Class Awareness

One Hears a Lot About Different Social Classes. Do You Ever Think of Yourself as Belonging to a Social Class ? (1984)

49%	1. Yes
48%	2. No
01%	7. Refused
03%	8. Don't know

Table 3.7: Class Self Perception (voluntary answers)

(If 'yes, belong') which of the Following Social Classes Would You Say You Were In ? (1984)

00%	1. Upper Class
06%	2. Upper-Middle Class
29%	3. Middle Class
13%	4. Working Class
01%	5. Lower Class
00%	6. Refused
00%	7. Don't know
51%	9. Na

In the 1965 survey that Ogmundson used, there was only one item concerning respondents' self-perceived social class position (Ogmundson, 1972: 60). The item stated:

If you had to pick one, which of the following five social classes would you say you were in — upper class, upper-middle class, middle class, working class, or lower class.

As it is obvious from the above, this questionnaire item is similar to the two items in 1984 study. In other words, the question is “forced” on the respondents in such a way that both those who are reluctant and those who are not, are encouraged to give an answer.

Since the purpose was to measure self-perceived social class on the basis of dichotomous attributes (middle class vs. working class), the upper class, upper-middle class, and the middle class categories have been collapsed into a single middle class category, while the working class and lower class categories have been combined into

Table 3.8: Class Self Perception (persuaded answers)

Well, if you had to make a choice, which of these social classes would you say you were in ? (1984)

00%	1. Upper Class
02%	2. Upper-Middle Class
22%	3. Middle Class
22%	4. Working Class
02%	5. Lower Class
03%	7. Refused
49%	8. Don't know

Table 3.9: Class Self Perception (combined)

Social class self-identification in terms of 'voluntary' answers and 'persuaded' answers (1984).

0%	1. Upper Class
8%	2. Upper-Middle Class
51%	3. Middle Class
35%	4. Working Class
3%	5. Lower Class
3%	6. Refused

Percentage figures were produced by summing up the answers to two questionnaire items concerning the respondents' self-perceived social class position.

a working class category. In other words, the variable "subjective social class" was dichotomized in the following way:

Middle Class = upper class + upper middle class + middle class

Working Class = working class + lower class

To give the reader a general impression of voting behaviour in terms of respondents' class self perception Tables 3.10 and 3.11 are presented. Table 3.10 shows how those in various class self-identification categories distributed their rates. One finding is that the percentage of those who perceived themselves to be upper class and who said they voted for the NDP (12.5%) is surprisingly high considering the fact that the NDP is usually assumed to be a working class party. The same is true about the upper-middle class category (12.8%). Table 3.11 shows the proportion of a party's total support that came from each of the class categories. It shows that the

Table 3.10: Class Self Perception and Vote

Distribution of Votes Among the Three Federal Parties in Terms of Social Class Self Perception of Respondents (1984).

	<u>Liberal</u> %	<u>PC</u> %	<u>NDP</u> %	<u>Total</u> %
Upper Class	18.8	68.8	12.5	100
Upper-Middle Class	23.2	64.0	12.8	100
Middle Class	27.9	59.2	12.9	100
Working Class	20.3	56.9	22.8	100
Lower Class	22.1	55.9	22.1	100

N=2460.

Table 3.11: Class Self Perception and Party

Distribution of Votes for Each Federal Party in Terms of Respondents' Class Self Perception (1984).

	<u>Liberal</u> %	<u>PC</u> %	<u>NDP</u> %
Upper Class	0.5	0.8	0.5
Upper-Middle Class	7.7	9.0	6.4
Middle Class	61.0	54.3	42.2
Working Class	28.3	33.3	47.3
Lower Class	2.5	2.6	3.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=2460.

NDP, among the three parties, receives the highest proportion of its support from the self-perceived working classes (47.3%) while the Liberals receive their highest proportion of support from the middle classes (61%).

3.5.3 Education

The social class of respondents on the basis of education was determined, in line with Ogmundson's approach, according to the years of education as reported by the respondents. Those with "12 or more years of education" were considered middle class and those with less were considered working class.

Gerber (1986: 122), in her study of social class composition and party support in the electoral districts of Ontario, took “university education” as the cutting point between middle class and working class. She did not, however, provide a rationale for her decision.

Inglehart (1977:206) in his study of six European countries found:

In Britain, West Germany, France, and the United States, the most educated group was less likely to vote for the Right than those with a secondary school education.

Table 3.12 shows that the phenomenon that Inglehart observed is also true in Canada. 17.6% of votes for NDP came from those who had graduated from university as against 13.7% for Progressive Conservatives and 13.7% for Liberals. Clarke et al. (1980) also reported that:

In 1965 and 1974, the NDP received its strongest support from those with 17 or more years of education, with 18% of these respondents voting New Democratic in the latter year and 25% in the former (1980: 82).

Table 3.13 is also presented to give the reader a better impression of the relationship between education and political behaviour.

3.5.4 Income

The social class of respondents according to income was determined on the basis of the respondents’ total personal income as reported by the respondent. The criterion used for choosing the cutting point between working and middle class is similar to that used by Ogmundson for 1965 survey. Ogmundson chose \$6000 which was, on the one hand, close to the median income of the sample (\$5200) and, on the other hand, divided the respondents in proportion of about 60% below and 40% above it; 60% working class and 40% middle class. For 1984 data the sample’s median of income is \$30,000¹⁰ which divides the respondents to the proportion of 57% below and 43% above it; 57% working class and 43% middle class.

To give the reader an initial impression of the association between voting and income Tables 3.14 and 3.15 are provided. One may expect to see a lower level of

¹⁰ This figure corresponds closely with that reported by Statistics Canada (\$30,332). See Statistics Canada: catalogue 13-2081, 1983.

Table 3.12: Education and Party

Distribution of Votes For Each Federal Party in Terms of Educational Categories (1984).

	<u>Liberal</u> %	<u>P.C.</u> %	<u>NDP</u> %
Some elementary	9.2	6.4	4.7
Grad. elementary	7.6	6.6	7.1
Some high school	25.4	23.5	23.5
High school grad.	20.6	23.8	22.8
Some technical	5.8	5.8	3.4
Grad. technical	10.1	12.5	10.0
Some university	7.4	7.5	10.0
Grad. university	13.7	13.7	17.6
<u>No formal educ.</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=2568.

Table 3.13: Education and Vote

Distribution of Votes Among the Three Federal Parties in Terms of Educational Categories (1984).

	<u>Liberal</u> %	<u>P.C.</u> %	<u>NDP</u> %	<u>Total</u> %
Some elementary	33.5	55.1	11.4	100
Grad. elementary	27.1	55.9	17.1	100
Some high school	26.1	57.6	16.3	100
High school grad.	22.3	61.1	16.6	100
Some technical	26.3	63.2	10.5	100
Grad. technical	21.6	63.8	14.5	100
Some university	23.2	55.7	21.1	100
Grad. university	23.6	56.0	20.5	100
No formal educ.	12.5	50.0	37.5	100

Percentage figures represent the proportion of votes given by respondents in each educational category for the three political parties. N=2456.

income for the NDP supporters. Table 3.14 shows that this is not quite the case; none of the percentage figures for the NDP is considerably lower than the figures for the other two parties. In fact for the "\$30,000 - \$39,000" income category the ratio for the NDP is 14.5% which is greater than those of other parties (13.8% for the Liberals and 12.9% for the Conservatives). In terms of the distribution of votes among the three parties by income category (Table 3.15) there is no distinct pattern. The only

Table 3.14: Income and Party

Distribution of Votes for Each Federal Party in Terms of Income Categories (1984).

	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>NDP</u>
	%	%	%
Nothing	0.3	0.2	0.5
Under \$5,000	1.5	2.4	3.2
\$5,000 - \$9,999	7.6	5.7	5.9
\$10,000 - \$14,999	8.7	9.2	10.3
\$15,000 - \$19,000	7.6	9.6	8.1
\$20,000 - \$24,999	9.7	9.3	11.3
\$25,000 - \$29,999	9.1	9.6	12.0
\$30,000 - \$39,999	13.8	12.9	14.5
\$40,000 - \$49,999	10.2	11.0	9.3
\$50,000 - \$99,999	11.4	11.5	10.3
\$100,000 and over	1.6	1.9	1.0
Don't know	10.0	7.7	7.4
<u>Refused</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>9.0</u>	<u>6.4</u>
Total	100%	100%	100%
n=	(607)	(1445)	(408)

N=2460

Table 3.15: Income and Party

Distribution of Votes Among the Three Federal Parties in Terms of Income Categories (1984)

	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>NDP</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	
Nothing	28.6	42.9	28.6	100	n=7
Under \$5,000	15.8	61.4	22.8	100	n=57
\$5,000 - \$9,999	30.1	54.2	15.7	100	n=153
\$10,000 - \$14,999	23.2	58.3	18.4	100	n=228
\$15,000 - \$19,000	21.2	63.6	15.2	100	n=217
\$20,000 - \$24,999	24.7	56.1	19.2	100	n=239
\$25,000 - \$29,999	22.6	57.2	20.2	100	n=243
\$30,000 - \$39,999	25.5	56.7	17.9	100	n=330
\$40,000 - \$49,999	23.9	61.4	14.7	100	n=259
\$50,000 - \$99,999	24.9	59.9	15.2	100	n=277
\$100,000 and over	24.4	65.9	9.8	100	n=41
Don't know	30.2	55.0	14.9	100	n=202
Refused	24.6	62.8	12.6	100	n=207

N=2460

significant pattern that emerges from Table 3.15 is that the proportion of those with an income level over \$100,000 voting for the NDP decreases considerably (9.8%).

3.6 Measures of Party Class Position

The theoretical aspects of the measurement of party class position were extensively discussed in the second Chapter. It was pointed out that, while Ogmundson does not reject expert opinion as a measure of party class position, he stresses the importance of other objective and subjective measures. It was already mentioned that for his own work he used six measures, two of which (expert opinion and respondents' perception) were of particular importance. In the following section each of these two measures will be discussed. First, however, a point of qualification has to be made.

Almost all discussions of party class position in Canada, including Ogmundson's, up to late 1970's, were concerned with four political parties: Liberals, Progressive Conservative, NDP, Social Credit.¹¹ From the beginning of 1980's, however, the latter party has, for all intents and purposes, disappeared from the federal electoral scene. Brodie and Jenson (1981) observed, "the minor impact of the Social Credit Party appears to have finally faded away" (p. 190). The influence of the Social Credit party was disappearing even in mid-1970's; Zipp and Smith (1982) excluded them from their analysis of post-election study data. They gave two reasons to justify the exclusion:

- (1) a sizable number of Canadian voting studies limit their analysis to these three [Liberals, Progressive Conservative, and NDP] as the only true national parties, the Social Credit running candidates in few constituencies outside of Quebec; and (2) there were too few Social Credit voters for some of the analytical techniques (p.745).

The actual results of the election in 1984 (Frizzle, 1985) also shows that the Social Credit won only 1% of total vote, and none of the seats. The results of our own analysis (1984 post-election study) also indicate that only one person in a sample of 3377 respondents voted for Social Credit.

¹¹ The Social Credit Party, for the purpose of this paper, includes Creditiste Party in Quebec.

It was, therefore, reasonable, for the purpose of this thesis, to exclude the Social Credit and Creditiste parties from our analysis. (See also Le Duc, 1985).

3.6.1 Experts' Opinion

It is important to note that almost everyone in the field of voting behaviour agrees that party class position in Canada is a controversial issue (e.g., Johnston 1981: 158; Erickson 1981: 127; Zipp 1982: 739). The controversy persists even if, the fourth party, the Social Credit (and Creditiste), is excluded from discussion. The updated version of the traditional placement of the class position of political parties, as originally established by Alford (1963), and as it was mentioned in earlier chapters, would be NDP and Liberals lumped together as the working class parties set against the Progressive Conservatives as the middle class party. A more refined version of this view sees the Liberals as the centre party (e.g., Myles and Forcese, 1982: 5).

In contrast to these, Gerber's study (1986) led her to reach a dramatically different conclusion:¹²

the aggregate support patterns suggests that, if the parties must be placed on a left-right continuum, the NDP and the Liberals appear at the extremes with the Conservatives between them (p. 128).

Meisel (1972), whose results Ogmundson uses to support his thesis (1975a: 597), also found that in terms of voter support the NDP and the Liberals are placed at the extremes and the Conservatives in between.

Another alternative placement of the three federal parties in terms of social class is that which Erickson (1981) expresses well:

Overall, the NDP is clearly more working class than the main parties, which are in turn very similar (p. 127).

This is similar to Ogmundson's view (1972: 72) and most other scholars e.g., Gerber (1986), Myles and Forcese (1982), and Lambert and Hunter (1979). There appears to

¹² It has to be recognized that the comparison between the two dimensions (Left-right and working class-middle class) is quite controversial (Ogmundson, 1975a: 571; Erickson, 1981: 123). However, to the extent that these dimensions are similar — and this seems to be the case for Gerber as it is revealed from her text — the inclusion of her view here as an alternative conception of class position of parties is valid.

be a general consensus that NDP is a working class party. What kind of working class party it is, and what kind of characteristics are attributed to it, however, is a matter of dispute. Hunter (1986), for example, observes that, “the NDP is a labour party, but a social democratic, rather than a strictly socialist one”. Brodie and Jenson (1981) describe the NDP as “Canada’s self-styled social democratic party” (p. 189). They note that, most observers:

agree that there is a noteworthy difference between the two major parties and the NDP...

The two major parties are parties seeking consensus while the CCF/NDP is depicted as a mass party and a party of program, principle or protest (1981: 190).

It is predictable that the NDP is not assumed to be a genuine working class party by those of the far left. Johnston and Ornstein (1982), for instance, appear to take such a stand. They seem to deny the working class orientation of NDP when they say:

the absence of class-based voting is, in major part, due to the lack of a class-based political party with a strategy to mobilize support from voters on the basis of their class position (p. 5).

3.6.2 Electorate’s Own Perception of Party Class Position

The second method for measuring the party class position is to rely on the electorate’s own judgment. This can be achieved by using the information available in the 1984 election survey. The survey includes a measure of the class images of Canadian political parties in the form of a battery of semantic differential questions on party images. Respondents are asked to place parties on a seven-point scale on whether the parties were “for the middle class” or “for the working class”. Table 3.16 shows the results of this questionnaire item.

These items were supported by an almost similar set of items where the respondents were asked to place parties on a seven-point scale on whether each given party “favours middle class” or “favours working class”. The results of these items are presented in Table 3.17 only for the interest of the readers. In dichotomizing the variable party class image, the ratings of 1 to 4 were considered middle class and the scales of 5 to 7 were considered working class. In an attempt to refine the measure, Ogmundson elaborated on the meaning of “4” in the above scale. The response of “4”,

Table 3.16: Class Position of Political Parties

Federal Political Parties' Social Class Placement -As Perceived by the Respondents (1984).

	For the working class				For the middle class			No opinion	Mean
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	
Liberal %	2	4	9	20	19	15	15	16	3.17
PC %	3	4	9	18	15	17	16	19	3.16
NDP %	21	20	14	11	5	4	4	20	5.15

The respondents were asked 'Where would you place the federal Liberal party/ Conservative party/ NDP on this scale '. The scale was given in terms of '1' for the working class to '7' for the middle class.

Table 3.17: Which Class Favoured By Which Party

The Social Class Favoured by the Federal Political Parties -As Perceived by the Respondents (1984)

	Favours lower classes				Favours higher classes			No opinion
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Liberal %	1	2	6	24	22	21	15	10
PC %	1	2	6	26	23	20	10	11
NDP %	11	22	24	17	5	3	2	16

The respondents were asked 'Where would you place the federal Liberal party/ Conservative party/ NDP on this scale '. The scale was given in terms of '1' favours the working class to '7' favours the middle class.

on a scale from "for the middle class" at 1 to "for the working class" at 7, could be viewed:

as a precisely neutral or centrist response which essentially refuses to express a class preference (Ogmundson, 1972: 65).

This, in Ogmundson's view, could be seen as a response favourable to the status quo. Alternatively, the response of "4" can be viewed as a "noninvolved response characteristic of voters who do not know and who do not care much about politics" (p. 65). In this case "4" indicates a point of departure, or a neutral point, deviation from which shows the intensity of class feeling (Ogmundson, 1972: 66). Following

Ogmundson, this study both removed the responses of four, or included them as a middle class response in the analysis.

3.7 Measure of Political Partisanship

There are at least two ways of measuring political partisanship. One is partisan identification — that is, whether a respondent expresses identification with a given political party. The other is the actual vote in a given election. The second measurement is that which was employed by Ogmundson. Accordingly, the 1984 vote, as indicated by the respondents, is thus used here as a measure of political partisanship.

3.8 Summation

This Chapter has outlined the data to be used in this analysis. It has also compared the data from the 1984 election with the 1965 election data used by Ogmundson. This Chapter has also discussed various measures of social class of respondent, class position of political party and partisanship of respondent. In particular, several measures of social class have been discussed in some detail and their relationship to the vote explored. All this provides an essential basis to an understanding of the various calculations of the class vote that are outlined in the next Chapter.

Chapter 4

Analysis

In this chapter each of the six hypotheses discussed in the second Chapter will be examined in the light of the 1984 data. The order of examination of hypothesis will be same as the order of the list of hypotheses presented in the final section of the second chapter. Each section of this chapter starts by repeating the hypothesis that is to be examined. Because of the importance of the rate of “class vote” in the analysis that follows, we repeat here what is meant by that concept. The rate of class vote is the Kendal’s tau beta. This statistic summarizes the degree of agreement between a respondent’s class and that respondent’s vote for a party of the corresponding class, relative to the absence of any relationship between the respondent’s class and that respondent’s vote for a party of corresponding class. Tau beta is calculated from a cross-tabulation between the social class of the respondents and the class position of the political party for which the respondent voted. It is conceptually like a proportional reduction of errors in predicting respondent’s vote if the respondent’s social class is known. When the rate is positive, it means that the working class electorate has voted more often for the party thought to represent working class interests than for the political parties thought to represent middle class interest. When the rate is negative, it means that the working class electorate has voted more for the middle class party than for the working class party.

4.1 Hypothesis 1

(a) The two major parties (the Progressive Conservative and the Liberals) take very similar positions on the class issue and,

(b) the position these parties take is middle class (Ogmundson, 1972: 68).

This hypothesis is tested in terms of the respondents' image of the class position of the three federal parties. The method of measurement of class image was explained in Chapter 3, under "Electorate's own perception of party class image." The results are presented in Table 4.1. The table also includes the results of the 1965 and 1968 studies and their mean scores. It is clear from Table 4.1 that, from the respondent's¹³ point of view, the class position of the Progressive Conservative party (3.16) and the Liberal party (3.17) are almost exactly the same. It is also clear that both tend to be perceived by the respondents to be on the middle class end of the continuum rather than on the working class side. As for the NDP, it is evident that, in the respondents' view, its class position (5.15) is firmly placed towards the working class.

To facilitate the comparison of 1965 and 1968 with 1984 the mean scores of the former years and their difference from the 1984 are provided in the same table (Table 4.1). The table indicates that the scores for all three parties have moved to the middle class pole of the continuum while at the same time the gap between the NDP, on the one hand, and the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives, on the other hand, is widened. The Progressive Conservative party's image has moved by about .45 (from 3.71 to 3.16), the Liberals by about .43 (from 3.60 to 3.17), and the NDP by about .13 (from 5.28 to 5.15). The move to the middle class side is almost equal for the two major parties (.43 and .45) and is about three times more than that of New Democratic Party (.13). These figures are noteworthy to the extent that they show that the public perceives the two major parties as being for the middle rather than for the working classes. This can be taken to mean that there was more polarisation in 1984 than fifteen or twenty years earlier. Apart from this moderate increase in percentage

¹³It is tempting to generalize the results and speak in terms of "the public" or the "electorate", instead of, "the respondents". However, as it will become clear shortly, it is perhaps safer to restrict the analysis to the sample in hand.

Table 4.1: Class Image

Comparison Of The Class Images Of The Canadian Political Parties, 1965, 1968, and 1984

<u>Year</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>NDP</u>
1984	3.16	3.17	5.15
1968	3.80	3.60	5.30
1965	3.62	3.61	5.26
Mean (1965 & 1968)	3.71	3.60	5.28
Difference (1965+1968-1984)	.45	.43	.13

The numbers presented are mean scores. The higher the score the more "for the working class" the electorate's social class image of the three parties on a scale from 1 to 7.

Sources: The 1965 figures are taken from Ogmundson (1972:71) and the 1968 figures are taken from Lambert and Hunter (1979: 295) .

of middle class orientation of the three parties, especially the two major parties, there are no major differences between the 1984 results and previous results. Ogmundson's results are, therefore, repeated in the 1984 as well as the 1968 data.

4.2 Hypothesis 2

If the political parties are classified according to aggregate voter perception (i.e., controlling for the dissensus between the academics and the general population) the rate of class vote will increase" (Ogmundson, 1972: 86).

The first two columns in Table 4.2, titled "Alford" and "National", show the results of the analysis regarding this hypothesis. In the first column it can be seen that when parties are classified in the traditional manner (i.e., Liberals and New Democratic Party as "working class"), and when occupation is taken as the indicator of the respondent's social class, the rate of class vote is zero; in other words, no class vote occurs at all. Using the same classification, of the political parties, and subjective class identification as the measure of respondents social class, the rate of class vote is at the low level of 0.03. Both these rates increase when parties are classified according to the aggregate perception of the respondents.¹⁴ In particular, the rate of

¹⁴ The aggregate perception of the electorate was determined using "respondent's image of party class position" as explained in Chapter 3 section 3.6.2.

the class vote increases when class self identification is used as a measure of social class from 0.03 to 0.13. When education is used as an indicator of respondent's social class the rate of class vote moves in the opposite direction than that predicted by the hypothesis . This can be observed in the change from .03 to -.02 . When income is used as the measure of social class the rate of class vote moves from .01 to .03 which is consistent with the hypothesis although the level .03 is quite low. The findings, therefore, support the hypothesis in three of four cases.

4.3 Hypothesis 3

If the political parties are classified according to the perceptions of the voters themselves, (i.e., controlling for the dissensus within the general population) the class vote increases again (Ogmundson, 1972: 94).

Columns three and four of the previous table (Table 4.2) show the results concerning this hypothesis. When occupation is the measure of social class the rate of class vote increased, as predicted by the hypothesis, from .05 to .11. The table shows, however, that the rate has stayed intact (.13) when the subjective measure of social class is used. When income and education are used, the rates move, from .03 to .14 for the former and from -.02 to .08 for the latter. It is notable, as seen on the third column of the table, that the rates of class voting for three of the measures used are, for once, very similar (.14, .11, .13).

The fourth column of Table 4.2 shows the results of analysis when the "4" responses are removed from the calculation. The reader will remember that this seemed advisable to some because of the ambiguous meaning of a "4" response on a scale of seven. This results in an increase to a higher rate of class voting for all four measures of social class.

Now we turn to a comparison of these results with those of previous years. Table 4.3 shows the results. When occupation is taken as the measure of social class there is a pattern of increase in class vote for all three years. The rate of increase, when the parties are classified according to aggregate voter perceptions, is less in 1965 (.08) and 1984 (.05) than in 1968 (.14). This is surprising considering the relatively short length of time between 1965 and 1968. The relative similarity of the

Table 4.2: Class Vote in 1984

The Canadian National Class Vote In 1984 As Measured By Tau Beta With Different Measures Of Respondent's Social Class And Different Classifications Of The Political Parties.

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	Alford	National	Individual -1	Individual -2
<u>Income</u>	.01 (2051)	.03 (2051)	.14 (1831)	.14 (1406)
<u>Occupation</u>	.00 (1901)	.05 (1901)	.11 (1709)	.15 (1334)
<u>Education</u>	.03 (2456)	-.02 (2456)	.08 (2169)	.10 (1663)
<u>Subjective</u>	.03 (2460)	.13 (2460)	.13 (2173)	.17 (1667)

(a) Alford Classification:

The Liberals and New Democratic Party are classified as "Working Class" or Left and the Progressive Conservative Party, is classified as "Middle Class" or Right.

(b) National Perceptions Classification:

Parties are classified on the basis of national means of perception of the Canadian population. The Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties are seen as "Middle Class" while the others are seen as "Working Class".

(c) Individual Perceptions Classification -1:

A vote for a party viewed as being from 1 to 4 on scale from "for the working class" at 1 to "for the middle class" at 7 is classified as being middle class vote and vice versa

(d) Individual Perceptions Classification 2:

Same as the previous category except that votes for parties viewed as "4" are removed.

rates between 1965 and 1984, however, is pleasing. It indicates that Ogmundson's hypothesis is confirmed again after approximately twenty years when the most objective measure of social class (i.e., occupation) is used in these studies. When subjective class is used as a measure of the respondent's social class an almost similar pattern of increase in the rate of class vote appears for all three years. Moreover, when the subjective measure of class is used, the highest levels of class voting are produced. Turning to Education, the table shows that the rate of class voting for 1984

Table 4.3: Comparison of Class Votes Over Time

Comparison of the Canadian National Class Vote in 1965, 1968, and 1984 as Measured by Tau Beta with Different Measures of Respondents' Social Class and Different Classification of the Political Parties.

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	Alford	National	Individual -1	Individual -2
<u>Income</u>				
1965	-.09	.03	.11	.13
1968	-.11	.02	.15	.18
1984	.01	.03	.14	.14
<u>Occupation</u>				
1965	-.03	.08	.11	.13
1968	-.02	.14	.16	.17
1984	.00	.05	.11	.15
<u>Education</u>				
1965	-.01	.07	.11	.18
1968	-.08	.08	.14	.18
1984	.03	-.02	.08	.10
<u>Subjective</u>				
1965	-.06	.10	.18	.21
1968	-.02	.13	.18	.21
1984	.03	.13	.13	.17

For the description of headings see the previous table.

Sources: The figures for 1965 are from Ogmundson (1972). The figures for 1968 are from Ng (1977).

is well below those of 1965 and 1968, and in fact, well below the rates obtained by all other measures; when education is used as the measure of social class the lowest levels of class voting are produced. When income is used as the measure of social class a pattern of low rates of class voting for all three years (1965, 1968, 1984) is produced (.03, .02, .03). The pattern shifts to a much higher level when individuals' perception determines the class position of parties (.11, .15, .14).

In general, it is safe to say that the results support both hypotheses analyzed so far. The only problematic result seems to be the low level of class voting (.05) when occupation is used as an indicator of social class and when the parties' class position is defined in terms of the aggregate perception of the electorate. This result is of considerable importance for at least two reasons. One is that, as was already mentioned, occupation is the most objective of our measures of class position of

Table 4.4: Class Vote in Terms of Farmers

The National Class Vote In 1965 and 1984 With Farmers Both Excluded And Included In The Analysis.

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	Alford	National	Individual -1	Individual -2
1984				
Occupation:				
Farmers Excluded	.01 (1834)	.04 (1834)	.10 (1637)	.13 (1278)
Farmers Included	.00 (1901)	.05 (1901)	.11 (1701)	.15 (1334)
Subjective:				
Farmers Excluded	.02 (2316)	.12 (2316)	.13 (2042)	.16 (1567)
Farmers Included	.03 (2460)	.13 (2460)	.13 (2173)	.17 (1667)
1965				
Occupation:				
Farmers Excluded	.01 (1709)	.10 (1709)	.12 (1641)	.13 (1009)
Farmers Included	-.03 (1863)	.08 (1863)	.11 (1786)	.13 (1093)
Subjective:				
Farmers Excluded	-.04 (1940)	.12 (1940)	.19 (1852)	.22 (1131)
Farmers Included	-.06 (2088)	.10 (2088)	.18 (1992)	.21 (1213)

Source: Figures for 1965 are from Ogmundson (1972: 96 and 110). Figures in the brackets refers to the number of cases.

respondent. Another is that it is based on a class position of parties (NDP as working class and Liberals and Progressive Conservatives together as middle class) for which there is an almost complete consensus among both the electorate and the scholarly. This point will be discussed further in the final chapter of this thesis.

In Chapter 3, it was explained that farmers' class position is subject to some controversy and that as a result Ogmundson decided to make the important calculations with and without the farmers. Table 4.4 shows the findings. The upper half of the table shows the 1984 results. When farmers are removed from the calculation and when occupation is the measure of social class of the respondents the rate of class voting drops for all different classifications of political parties; e.g., for

“National”, it falls from .05 to .04. The lower part of the table shows that the removal of farmers for 1965 data had the inverse effect; the rate increased for three of the classifications (e.g., “National” increased from .08 to .10) and stayed intact for one (.13). It is difficult to account for this inverse effect. The most that one may say, especially with regard to the fact that the differences are not really considerable, is that these results confirm that the social class status of farmers is indeed complicated and dynamic.

4.4 Hypothesis 4

If the measure of political distinctiveness is based on the voter perception and motivation, we can anticipate discovering a very high proportion of middle class votes for middle class parties and a relatively low proportion of the working class votes for the working class parties (Ogmundson, 1972: 107).

Table 4.5 shows the results. The reader is invited to, first, look at the figures with percentage signs in front of them in the first column titled “Alford”. All the percentages for the middle class are in the high 50s and for the working class are in the low 40s. The gap is about 16 which is quite low: in other words, according to Alford’s measure, the proportion of middle class voters who have voted for the middle class parties is quite close to the proportion of working class voters who voted for the working class party. When the new measure of class voting based on perception of national aggregate is used, however, the percentages for the middle class vote increase to around 85 and for the working class decrease to around 20. The gap between the two sets of percentages increases to around 65 which is about four times larger than when Alford’s measure was used. In other words, when aggregate perceptions measure of class position of parties is used, it turns out that a relatively high proportion of middle class respondents (about 85 percent) voted for the middle class parties and a low proportion of working class respondents (about 20 percent) voted for the working class party. The hypothesis, that “a very high proportion of middle class votes for middle class parties and a relatively low proportion of the working class votes for the working class parties” is, therefore, confirmed when the aggregate classification of political parties is used.

Table 4.5: Political Distinctiveness in 1984

Political Distinctiveness of Middle and Working Classes by Different Party Classification

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>					
	<u>Alford</u>	<u>Gap</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Gap</u>	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Gap</u>
<u>Occupation</u>						
Middle Class	N=585/1004 58.3%	16.3%	N=843/1004 84.0%	63.9%	N=658/918 71.7%	32.6%
Working class	N=377/897 42.0%		N=180/897 20.1%		N=309/791 39.1%	
<u>Education</u>						
Middle Class	N=912/1522 59.9%	16.6%	N=1261/1522 82.9%	67.2%	N=950/1377 69.0%	31.8%
Working class	N=404/934 43.3%		N=147/934 15.7%		N=305/792 38.5%	
<u>Income</u>						
Middle Class	N=539/907 59.4%	17.5%	N=764/907 84.2%	66.0%	N=604/825 73.2%	33.3%
Working class	N=479/1144 41.9%		N=209/1114 18.3%		N=401/1006 39.9%	
<u>Subjective</u>						
Middle Class	N=926/1546 59.9%	16.7%	N=1346/1546 87.1%	64.3%	N=977/1375 71.1%	29.1%
Working class	N=395/914 43.2%		N=208/914 22.8%		N=335/798 42.0%	

The numerators represent the number of persons in each class who voted for a party 'for' that class. The denominators represent the total number of persons in that class. Percentages, therefore, are the proportions of persons in each class who voted for a party 'for' that class. The classification of political parties is same as those explained in previous tables related to the rate of class voting.

Now let's see what happens when individual voter's perception, rather than aggregate perception, of party class position is used. Column three shows the results. The percentages of middle class individuals voting for middle class parties for all measures of social class are around 70. The percentages of working class individuals voting for working class parties for all measures of social class are about 40. The gaps between the two sets of percentages are around 30, which is nearly twice as great as with Alford's measure, but about half of the previous measure. The hypothesis is,

therefore, confirmed again, although with less strength.

Let us now turn to a comparison of our results with the results of previous years. Table 4.6 shows the results. Let us look at the first column under “Alford”. It is possible to see, for the year 1984, a distinct rise in percentages for the middle class (around 59 percent) and a distinct fall for the working class (around 42 percent) when compared with previous years. These changes may be due to the fact that in 1984 the Conservatives won the election with a considerable majority. Considering the fact that Alford’s classification puts the Conservatives against the Liberals, the massive switch from the Liberals to the Conservatives that happened in 1984 election, is reflected in these results by an increase in the percentages of middle class votes and a decrease in the percentages of the working class votes.

Now, let us look at the second and third columns under “National” and “Individual”. The 1968 percentages are slightly higher than both 1965 and 1984 figures. There is, however, not much difference between the 1984 and 1965 percentages. The drastic increase in the gaps between the percentages of middle classes who voted for the middle class parties and the percentage of working class who voted for the working class party has occurred for all three years. Again, a reduction in the gaps occurs under the “Individual” classification for all three years. The overall comparison of the three years shows that Ogmundson’s findings in 1965 may be generalized to 1968 and to 1984.

4.5 Hypothesis 5

Those who are aware of class membership would be more likely to class vote than those who are not (Ogmundson, 1982: 50).

This hypothesis is tested by, first, calculating the rate of class vote for those respondents exhibiting “class awareness”, and then, again, calculating the class vote for those respondents exhibiting “class non-awareness”. Class awareness and “non-awareness” were measured by a question that was mentioned in the Method Chapter and is repeated in Table 4.7 accompanied by its results. Table 4.8 shows the results of the actual analysis in testing the hypothesis. The results of the analysis are

Table 4.6: Political Distinctiveness Over Time

Political Distinctiveness of Middle and Working Classes by Different Party Classification (1965, 1974, 1984)

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>								
	<u>Alford</u>			<u>National</u>			<u>Individual</u>		
	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1984</u>
<u>Occupation</u>									
Middle Class:	34.2%	27.1%	58.0%	81.5%	90.1%	84.0%	70.2%	76.0%	71.7%
	(779)	(760)	(1004)	(779)	(760)	(1004)	(758)	(749)	(918)
Working Class:	63.3%	66.9%	42.0%	25.5%	17.5%	20.1%	40.6%	38.1%	39.1%
	(1084)	(1186)	(897)	(1084)	(1186)	(897)	(1029)	(1158)	(97)
<u>Education</u>									
Middle class:	36.3%	26.9%	58.8%	82.9%	89.8%	81.4%	72.3%	76.8%	68.4%
	(734)	(765)	(1522)	(734)	(765)	(1522)	(712)	(753)	(1377)
Working class:	62.5%	66.0%	41.4%	23.4%	15.9%	15.0%	40.1%	37.8%	35.6%
	(1437)	(519)	(934)	(1437)	(1519)	(934)	(1342)	(1470)	(792)
<u>Income</u>									
Middle class:	31.2%	26.4%	59.2%	79.8%	85.4%	82.2%	70.6%	73.6%	68.8%
	(806)	(1123)	(907)	(806)	(123)	(907)	(776)	(1109)	(825)
Working class:	59.9%	62.7%	41.6%	22.6%	13.4%	15.6%	39.8%	39.7%	35.8%
	(1300)	(1056)	(1144)	(1300)	(1056)	(1144)	(1219)	(1016)	(1006)
<u>Subjective class</u>									
Middle class:	34.1%	30.5%	59.9%	82.3%	89.8%	87.1%	72.4%	74.7%	71.1%
	1055	1211	1546	1055	1211	1546	1023	1192	1375
Working class:	60.3%	67.4%	43.2%	25.6%	19.3%	22.8%	45.2%	42.4%	42.0%
	(1033)	(954)	(914)	(1033)	(954)	(914)	(969)	(920)	(798)

Percentage figures represent persons in each class who voted for a party 'for' that class. Figures in brackets are total number of persons in each class. The classification of political parties is same as those explained in previous tables related to the rate of class voting.

Sources: 1965 figures are from Ogmundson (1975: 170) and 1968 are from Lambert and Hunter (1979: 294).

Table 4.7: Class Awareness

One Hears a Lot About Different Social Classes. Do You Ever Think of Yourself as Belonging to a Social Class ? (1984)

49%	1. Yes
48%	2. No
01%	7. Refused
03%	8. Don't know

surprisingly contrary to the hypothesis. Table 4.8 shows when the rates of class voting between those “aware” and those “non-aware” are compared, ten of the “non-aware” rates are higher than the “aware”, one is equal and only three are greater. In other words, the rate of class voting is slightly higher for those who said they were not aware of class. When occupation is the measure of social class of the respondents, and when parties are classified according to the aggregate perception of the voters, the rate is .01 for those who are aware of class and a much higher level of .12 for those who are not aware¹⁵. In sum the results do not confirm Ogmundson’s hypothesis.

At this point it seems germane to return to Schreiber’s analysis of class awareness. Schreiber used three interconnected questionnaire items the first of which was used in the above section in testing Ogmundson’s hypothesis (Table 4.7).¹⁶ The results of the other two items are presented in a condensed form in Table 4.9. The next table (Table 4.10) shows the results of Schreiber’s analysis (on 1968 and 1974 surveys) together with the 1984 results. In discussing the results Schreiber points to the fact that the “yes” answers were in minority in both 1968 (39%) and 1974 (45%) surveys. He also points out that:

The respondents who were both “aware” of social class and also identified themselves

¹⁵ To refresh the reader’s memory, tau beta summarizes the degree of agreement between a respondent’s class and that respondent’s vote for a party of the corresponding class, relative to the absence of any relationship between the respondent’s class and that respondent’s vote for a party of corresponding class.

¹⁶ All three items were discussed in Chapter 3 under “Subjective Social Class”.

Table 4.8: Class Vote and Class Awareness

The Canadian National Class Vote In 1984 In Terms of Voters Who Were Aware of Class, Voters Who Were Not Aware of Class, and the Combination of the Two Groups

<u>Measure of Social Class</u>	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	Alford	National	Individual-1	Individual-2
<u>Income</u>				
Aware:	.03 (1037)	.03 (1037)	.12 (951)	.14 (757)
Non-aware:	-.01 (985)	.05 (985)	.15 (853)	.13 (631)
Combined:	.01 (2051)	.03 (2051)	.14 (1831)	.14 (1406)
<u>Occupation</u>				
Aware:	-.02 (968)	.01 (968)	.10 (891)	.13 (724)
Non-aware:	.02 (905)	.12 (905)	.14 (794)	.17 (592)
Combined:	.00 (1901)	.05 (1901)	.11 (1709)	.15 (1334)
<u>Education</u>				
Aware:	-.01 (1204)	-.08 (1204)	.07 (1093)	.10 (870)
Non-aware:	.07 (1211)	.05 (1211)	.08 (1040)	.09 (768)
Combined:	.03 (2456)	-.2 (2456)	.08 (2169)	.10 (1663)
<u>Subjective Class</u>				
Aware:	.03 (1206)	.14 (1206)	.14 (1095)	.16 (872)
Non-aware:	.05 (1213)	.13 (1213)	.14 (1042)	.16 (770)
Combined:	.03 (2460)	.13 (2460)	.13 (2173)	.17 (1667)

For the description of headings see the previous tables related to class voting. Numbers in the brackets refer to the number of cases.

Table 4.9: Social Class and Class Awareness

Respondents social class in terms of those who are 'aware', those who are 'not aware', and the combination of the two (1984).

	'Aware' %	'Non-aware' %	'Combined' %
1. Upper Class	0	0	0
2. Upper-Middle Class	6	2	8
3. Middle Class	29	22	51
4. Working Class	13	22	35
5. Lower Class	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Total who answered</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>97</u>
6. Refused	0	0	3
Total	49	48	100

The column titled 'aware' represents the percentage of those respondents who said they belonged to a social class. The column titled 'non-aware' represents those who said they did not belong to a social class but who were persuaded by the interviewer to place themselves in a social class category. The final column represents the combination of the two groups.

Table 4.10: Class Awareness Over Time

Class Awareness and Subjective Class Placement: Canada, 1968, 1974, 1984

'One hears a lot about different classes. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a social class?'

	1968	1974	1984
Per cent "yes"	39	45	49

[If 'yes, belong'] 'Which of the following five social classes would you say you are in- upper class, upper-middle class, middle class, working class, or lower class?'

"yes, belong" Respondents Only

Class Label	1968 %	1974 %	1984 %
Upper	1	1	0
Upper-middle	10	10	12
Middle	51	55	58
Working	36	30	27
<u>Lower</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Total per cent	100	99	99
N	(1080)	(1091)	(1644)
Per cent working class aware of total sample	14	14	13
	N= (2767)	(2445)	(3377)

Figures for 1968 and 1974 are from Schreiber, 1980: 42

Table 4.7 shows that the “yes” answers in 1984 was 49 percent, against 48% “no” answers, indicating that a bare majority of respondents who gave an answer were aware of being members of a class. The upper part of Table 4.9 indicates an increasing trend in the number of people who say they are aware of “class”; a considerable increase of 10% between 1968 and 1984.

The second part of Table 4.9 shows that there is also an increasing trend in the number of people who say they are middle class (51%, 55%, 58%) and a decreasing trend in the number of people who say they are working class (36%, 30%, 26%). The results of this part of analysis, therefore, support Schreiber’s contention that, “those who are class aware consider themselves to be some thing other than working class (p. 41). These results will be elaborated on in Chapter 5 under discussion section.

4.6 Hypothesis 6

Class issues are more salient to Canadians than regional, ethnic and religious issues (Ogmundson, 1972: 28).

In support of this statement Ogmundson employed the results of an open-ended questionnaire item in 1965 survey. Before getting involved in a discussion of results a methodological point has to be noted here.

The use of open-ended questions is a legitimate research technique and is encouraged by methodology experts such as Kerlinger (1973) who states:

Open or open-end items are an extremely important development in the technique of interviewing. Open-end questions are those that supply a frame of reference for respondent’s answers, but put a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression. While their content is dictated by the research problem, they impose no other restrictions on the content and manner of respondent answers... (p. 483).

One major disadvantage of the technique, however, is that each open-ended question can potentially result in many varied responses the coding of which can be quite difficult. The difficulty can be compounded in the case of replication that is the approach in this thesis. In spite of these difficulties, it was decided to take the opportunity and use the open-ended question available and replicate Ogmundson’s earlier research. This was done for two reasons. First, what the questionnaire item reveals is of great value to the general purpose of this thesis. Second, Ogmundson has

recoded the coded items in a simple and straightforward manner the replication of which is not too difficult. More details on this will be noted in the bottom of the relevant tables.

The open ended questionnaire item that was in the survey used by Ogmundson stated:

You hear a lot about the problems facing the country today and we are interested in getting opinions on these from you. In your opinion what problems facing the country are most important?

A similar item appeared in 1984 survey. The interviewers read the following statement to the respondents:

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the 1984 federal election. What, in your opinion, was the most important issue in the election?

For the purpose of this thesis it is assumed that these two statements convey the same meanings. The following three tables (Tables 4.11, 4.12, 4.13) show the summary results of these questionnaire items. The results of Ng's (1977) study on the 1968 survey is also presented. In the survey she used the questionnaire item stated:

What do you personally feel are the most important problems the government should try to take care of as soon as possible? (Cited in Ng, 1977: 40).

Although these tables are useful and informative as they are, it is possible to further simplify them to suit the study. Ogmundson divided the responses to the 1965 questionnaire item into two categories: "class related economic issues" and "non-class issues". He used a "face value" approach to place the responses into these categories. The same approach is used for the 1984 survey. Table 4.14 shows the results of the three years. Figures for 1984 are almost exactly similar to 1965's; in 1984, 60% of issues mentioned by the respondents concerned the economic problems while only 40% concerned the non-economic problems. The results, therefore, confirm the hypothesis.

4.7 Qualification of Results

It is necessary at this point to make reference to a paper entitled *The Use, Misuse, and Abuse of the National Election Studies* (Wiseman, 1985, 1990; Archer, 1990). The purpose of the paper clearly shows its relevance to this thesis:

Table 4.11: The Most Important Issue in the 1984 Election.

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1- Unemployment	28.1
2- Economy	11.0
3- Deficit	4.1
4- Taxes	1.0
5- Others (economic issues)	6.1
.....	
6- Time for a change	9.3
7- Leadership	2.8
8- Trudeau / get rid of	2.5
9- Women's issue	1.4
10- Youth problem	0.9
11- Patronage	0.6
12- Others (non-economic issues)	6.0
.....	
13- Don't Know	16.3
14- None	9.8

All items mentioned in the list are taken directly from the code book except for items 5 and 12. The former was formed by summing up 29 small percentage items which were, on the basis of their face value, judged to be economic in nature e.g., unemployment insurance, health programmes. The latter item was formed by adding 40 small percentage items considered to be non-economic e.g., testing of warheads, national unity. The figures presented are the first mentions of the most important problems. N=2825.

Table 4.12: The Most Important Problems Facing Canada, 1965.

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Economic problems	35.6
Political problems	21.5
Social security problems	17.0
Foreign relations	8.8
Social problems	2.8
All other problems	2.6
Labour-management problems, strikes	0.07
Religious and moral problems	0.07
Irrelevant, no special problems	1.0
Don't know/ NA	9.5

The figures presented are the first mentions of the most important problems. N=2721
Source: 1965 Canada National Survey Code Book. See Ogmundson, 1972.

Table 4.13: The Most Important Problems Facing the Government in Canada, 1968.

Issues	Percentage
Inflation, cost of living	18.6
Unemployment	10.5
Housing	10.4
Quebec in Confederation	7.3
Other welfare, including poverty	5.8
Taxes	4.8
Labour	4.6
Education	4.2
Medicare	3.4
Other	2.7
Wheat sales	2.0
Regional inequality	1.9
Problems with the political system (including majority government)	1.8
Farm problems	1.8
Foreign policy	1.7
Youth	1.1
Other social policy	1.1
Minority groups	0.9
Don't know/ NA	8.6

The figures presented are the first mentions of the most important problems. N=2767. (See Ng, 1977: 41). Source: 1968 Canada National Election Code Book.

Table 4.14: Salience of Economic Issues

The salience of class-related economic issues relative to non-class issues in Canada, 1965, 1968, and 1984

	<u>1984</u> %	<u>1968</u> %	<u>1965</u> %
Class-related economic issues	60.0	80.0	61.2
Non-class issues	40.0	20.0	38.8

The percentages above indicate the proportion of economic items and non-economic items. As it is customary in the literature the figures for 'Don't know' and 'none' are excluded from calculation. Source: The 1984 figures are from 1984 code book. The 1965 figures are from Ogmundson (1972) and the 1968 figures are taken from Ng (1977).

This paper questions the reliability, significance, and usefulness of much of the data generated by the National Election Studies conducted soon after recent Canadian federal elections (in 1965, 1968, 1974, 1979, and 1980) (p. 21).

Since the data used in this thesis (1984 data) are also generated by the National Election Studies (NES) it is necessary to examine it in the light of Wiseman's criticism.

Wiseman's thrust of criticism is the uncritical manner by which the survey research is employed in Canada. To quote him:

It is remarkable that although dozens of academic papers and books now rely on the survey data generated by these studies (National Election Studies) there has been little critical examination of the quality of the output and the assumptions underlying them (p. 22).

The result of such a neglect on the part of Canadian academics is that:

at least some of the most important "findings" of the National Election Studies are misleading, naive, and contrary to common sense (p. 22).

In illustrating his argument Wiseman takes up the *Political Choice in Canada* (Clarke, et al. 1979) as a "primary reference" because it is, "The most accessible and widely cited account of a single election study [1974 election]..." (p. 22). Wiseman begins his argument by making a distinction between "report" on reality which is extracted, say, from survey research and "reality" itself which is what actually exist. The procedure that inquires, through interviews, into respondents' political behaviour (i.e., electoral behaviour) results in a report on the behaviour of the respondents. No matter how accurate the procedure or how representative the sample the results do not necessarily have to correspond with the actual behaviour of the respondents (e.g., election results). This is because — and this is the core of Wiseman's argument — the respondent's reported behaviour does not always match with his or her actual behaviour. One may have voted for the NDP, for example, but, when asked in an interview, he or she may say they voted for the Liberals. Wiseman gives a number of reasons why people misreport their behaviour. One reason, for instance, is that "They may confuse their current preferences with their past behaviour" (p. 26). For example, the events taking place within the gap between the time of election and the time of survey (which is usually a few months in the case of NES) may influence the

respondents' views on parties, leaders, and so on.

Another explanation for misreporting, in Wiseman's opinion, is that, "the electorate, being human, may overreport its turnout and behaviour at the polls because of a "social desirability bias" (p. 26). In Wiseman's opinion "The authors of *Political Choice in Canada* ignore this glaring problem with reported data" (p. 23). Elaborating on this point Wiseman notes:

The principal investigators in the 1974 study, and others who have used their data, have accepted the responses at face value. They have accepted these responses even though some of the most crucial statistics are contradicted by readily available alternative data — the official election results — on the actual behaviour, rather than the self-reported behaviour, of the respondents (p. 22).

In supporting his argument with data Wiseman makes a number of comparisons between survey data (self-reported data) and actual data (election results). The first, and probably for our purpose here, the most important comparison concerns the percentage of electorate who voted for each party. Table 4.15 shows the results of comparisons for the years 1974 and 1984. The comparison of the columns titled "Gap" indicates that, (a) the difference between the actual report and the survey report for 1984 is slightly less than that of 1974, but, (b) the gap is still considerable. Another crucial comparison is between the actual turn out and the reported turn out. Table 4.16 shows that, again, the gap is less but quite considerable. The survey, for example, as the table shows, overreported the votes cast by the Canadian people as a whole by ten percent. Or, to give another example, the votes cast in Alberta are overreported by as much as 16 percent. Wiseman points out another example. To quote him:

The principal investigators of the 1974 study further complicate and distort our understanding of electoral behaviour by having asked the 1974 respondents to recall how they voted in earlier elections (p. 26).

Table 4.17 shows the results of the comparison between the similar questionnaire items in 1974 and 1984 studies. The 1984 gaps, as seen on the table, are not as bad as 1974's. The Liberal "gap" has dropped from 15.5% to a reasonable 3 percent. It is ironic that this result (3%) is much less than the result (8.4%) that was obtained in Table 4.15: the gap is expected to become wider when the distance between the time of interview and the time of election is longer. In conclusion to this section it is

Table 4.15: Reported Votes

Comparison of the Percentage of Actual and Self-reported Votes for Major Parties, 1974 and 1984.

	<u>1974</u>			<u>1984</u>		
	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %
Liberal	43.0	53.4	+9.6	28.0	26.0	-2.0
P. Conservative	35.0	31.1	-3.9	50.0	58.4	+8.4
NDP	15.0	12.1	-2.9	19.0	15.6	-3.4
Social Credit	5.0	3.3	-1.7	-	-	-
Others	1.0	-	1.0	3.0	-	3.0

Sources: Clarke et al., *Political Choice in Canada*, Table 12.2, p. 361; and Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1974 (Ottawa, 1975), Table 6, p. xix, and Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1984 (Ottawa, 1984), Table 5, p. xxvi

Table 4.16: Turn Out in Election

Comparison Between Actual Turn Out and Reported Turn Out, 1974 and 1984.

	<u>1974</u>			<u>1984</u>		
	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %
Newfoundland	57	80	23	65	75	10
Prince E. Island	80	93	13	85	89	4
New Brunswick	71	88	17	77	84	7
Quebec	67	82	15	76	86	10
Ontario	74	87	13	76	86	10
Manitoba	70	84	14	73	85	12
Saskatchewan	72	88	16	78	89	11
Alberta	67	80	13	69	85	16
British Columbia	72	96	24	78	84	6
Canada	71	-	-	75	85	10

Sources: Mishler, 1979, Table 2.2, p. 57; and Report of Chief Electoral Officer, 1984 (Ottawa, 1984), Table 1, p. ix

Table 4.17: Vote in Earlier Election

How Respondents Voted in Earlier Elections.

	<u>1972</u>			<u>1980</u>		
	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %	Actual %	Survey %	Gap %
Liberal	39.0	54.5	+15.5	32.0	37.5	+5.5
Conservative	35.0	28.3	-6.7	44.0	47.0	+3.0
NDP	18.0	13.2	-4.8	6.8	15.0	+8.2
Social Credit	8.0	3.8	-4.2	2.0	1.0	-1.0
Others	1.0	-	1.0	1.0	-	1.0

The survey figures excludes those who claimed not to have voted and those who claimed not to have been eligible to vote. Sources: Wiseman, 1986. Table 2 p. 24, and Report of Chief Electoral Officer, 1980 (Ottawa, 1980). Table 6. p. xxv.

possible to say that the discrepancies that Wiseman observed between the reported data and the actual data in 1974 also existed for 1984 data although to a more moderate degree. The major gaps that were observed in 1974 disappeared for 1984. These discrepancies reduce the extent of reliability of the results in this thesis and as a consequence all the findings in this paper have to be interpreted with these concerns.

4.8 Problems with *Political Choice*

In the previous section the book *Political Choice in Canada* (Clarke, et al. 1979 and 1980) was mentioned as the “prime reference” that Wiseman used for his criticism. The book is described as “the most extensive treatment of Canadian voting behaviour and partisanship currently available” (Whittington, 1984: 286). In Terry’s (1979) opinion, “*Political Choice*” will be the standard reference book on Canadian voting behaviour” (p. 633). The significance of the book makes it necessary to make reference to it in this thesis. The relevance of the book becomes even more obvious when one learns that the authors of the book have undertaken an extensive study of class voting in Canada on the basis of 1965, 1968 and 1974 data.

Unfortunately, however, there are some discrepancies between some of the

Table 4.18: Discrepancies in the Rates of Class Voting

Comparison of the Rates of Class Voting Between those of Clarke et al.'s and Those of Other Researchers.

	<u>Classification of Political Parties</u>			
	<u>Alford</u>		<u>National</u>	
	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>
Clarke et al.'s	-6.3	-2.6	2.4	8.8
Others'	-0.6	-0.2	10.0	13.0

Clarke et al.'s = rates calculated in 'Political Choice' (Clarke et al., 1980: 85).

Other's = rates calculated by Ogmundson (for 1965 only) and Lambert and Hunter (for both 1965 and 1968)

Measure of social class in all cases is respondent's class self-perception.

Sources: Clarke et al. (1980: 85); Ogmundson (1982: 43); Lambert and Hunter (1979: 294).

results of *Political Choice* and the results of previous works. Table 4.18 shows a comparison of the rate of class voting as presented in *Political Choice* and those of the previous studies. The discrepancies are quite considerable. As seen on Table 4.18 the rate of class voting for the year 1968, for example, when NDP is treated as the working class party and Liberals and Conservatives are treated as middle class parties is 8.7 as reported by Clarke et al. and 13.0 as reported by others. Unfortunately the authors of *Political Choice* have not made reference to the previous work on this topic (e.g., Ogmundson, 1972, Lambert and Hunter 1979, Myles, 1977). Their description of their method of analysis indicates that they have followed a similar procedure as Ogmundson and Lambert and Hunter. However, the description is not detailed enough to enable us to detect the source of discrepancies. Terry (1979) criticizes the authors of *Political Choice* for either ignoring or reducing to footnote the relevant literature (p. 631). Terry criticizes *Political Choice* as "atheoretical, poorly organized, and at times, superficial and/or trivial" (p. 632). He especially points to the authors' problematic treatment of social class and their oversight of researchers such as Ogmundson (p. 632).

The discrepancies observed in *Political Choice* and its authors' oversight of previous works compounds the problems that Wiseman has pointed out.¹⁷ These discrepancies and criticisms should justify the decision taken for the purpose of this thesis to overlook most of the results and analysis of *Political Choice*.

¹⁷ It has to be noted that despite the fact that Wiseman's criticism was primarily about studies based on National Election Studies as whole, many of his criticisms were directed solely at "Political Choice".

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Literature Review

An immediate objective of this thesis, as established in the introductory chapter, was to replicate some of the more important aspects of Ogmundson's study of class voting in Canada. While Ogmundson's study was based on a survey of the 1965 federal election, the present study used the results of a survey on the 1984 federal election.

Since Ogmundson's study was basically a critique of an earlier study on Canadian voting behaviour by Alford (1963) it became necessary to give a review of this latter author's work. Two aspects of Alford's work concerning Canadian class voting stood out. One was his method of determining the class position of political parties in Canada. Based on an expert's opinion (namely, Dawson) Alford's decision was to lump the Liberals together with the NDP as the working class and set them against the Progressive Conservatives as the middle class party. Another particularly relevant aspect of Alford's work was his conclusion that Canada was a case of "pure nonclass politics".

The brief review of Alford's work was followed by a summary of Ogmundson's work. This was done in the context of a review of literature in the field of class voting. Two closely intertwined aspects of Ogmundson's work were

identified. On the one hand, it was shown that Ogmundson had a methodological argument. He criticized Alford's classification method of political parties in Canada on two grounds. First, the use of only one indicator (expert's opinion), as Alford had done, was not adequate. Second, the class position of the Liberal party as established by Alford/Dawson was incorrect. It was shown that in his own study Ogmundson used 6 indicators, five of which reversed the class position of the Liberal party as established by Alford: it set the Liberals together with the Conservatives as a middle class party against the NDP as the working class party. One of the indicators that Ogmundson used and found of particular significance was the electorate's own perception of the class position of parties. In his view, this indicator taps the voters' perception and motivation and reveals to the researcher a crucial dimension of voting behaviour that cannot be reached by other commonly used indicators.

On the theoretical side, it was shown that Ogmundson objected to Alford's interpretation of low level of class voting in Canada. Alford was of the opinion that the low level of class voting in Canada reflects the desires of individual Canadians and their lack of interest in class issues. Ogmundson, as it was shown, believes that the class vote is low because the elite (e.g., the dominant political parties) manipulates the class issues out of the political agenda.

In classifying the contrast between his theoretical orientation and that of Alford's, Ogmundson suggested the distinction between the "mass-explanation" perspective and "elite-explanation" perspective. The significance of these two perspectives in understanding the nature of debate in the field of class voting was emphasized. It was also explained that Ogmundson's approach included both these perspectives, although his emphasis is on elite-explanation.

The review of Ogmundson's work led to the selection of six hypotheses which were thought to be the foundation of his work. Five of these have already been tested by himself and others. One hypothesis, concerning class awareness, was tested here for the first time. The measurement method and procedure used in testing these hypotheses were explained in Chapter 3. An attempt was made to follow Ogmundson's methods precisely although this was not always possible. The

classification of party class position, for example, had to take into account the virtual absence of the Social Credit party in the 1984 election.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first hypothesis, which in a sense formed the background to the study, concerned the class position of the major political parties in Canada. It was established that both from the respondents' point of view and from the experts' point of view the Liberals and the Conservatives are middle class parties and that the NDP is the only working class party in Canada. The analysis thus showed that the argument that the Liberals are the working class party or even the centre party is not supported by empirical evidence.

The two hypotheses concerning the rate of class vote formed the central core of this study. The results were generally quite similar to those of the 1965 and 1968 studies. The rate of the class vote increased for almost all measures of respondents' social class status when the new measures of party class position were used. For example, when Alford's method of classification of political parties was used and when occupation was used as a measure of the respondents' social class, the rate of class vote was zero. The rate increased to .05 when parties were classified according to the aggregate perception of the respondents. The rate, again, increased to .11 when the individual perception of the respondents, rather than the aggregate perceptions, were used to classify the social class position of the parties.

Since the social class position of farmers was found to be controversial, two separate analyses of rate of class vote were undertaken, one including the farmers and one excluding the farmers. When farmers were included in the analysis (classified as working class) the rates of class vote tended to be greater than when the farmers were excluded from the analysis. These results proved to be contrary to Ogmundson's findings on 1965 survey where the rates of class vote tended to be lower when farmers were included. This was found to be particularly surprising because a majority of farmers in 1984 perceived themselves to be middle class.

In testing the fourth hypothesis the nature of class vote was analyzed. Different

classifications of political parties were used to measure the political distinctiveness of working class and middle class voters in Canada. It was shown that when voter perception and motivation are used to determine the class position of parties a high proportion of middle class votes are cast for the middle class parties and a relatively low proportion of working class votes are cast for the working class parties. It was suggested that the results confirm the hypothesis in this section. The results are also similar to the results of the previous years.

The results of the analysis related to the fifth hypothesis were contrary to what was expected. Those respondents who were less “aware” of social class tended to vote more in harmony with their social class status and the class position of the parties than those respondents who were more “aware”. The same analysis also indicated that there is an increasing trend in class awareness among Canadians; 49% of the respondents in 1984 (as against 39% in 1965) reported awareness of class. Furthermore, the results indicated that there is an increasing trend among Canadians to place themselves in the middle class category; 58% of respondents in 1984 who said they were aware of class, as against 51% in 1965, placed themselves in the middle class category. This corresponds with a decreasing trend among Canadians to place themselves in the working class category; 27% of respondents in 1984 who said they were aware of class, for example, as against 36% in 1968, placed themselves in the working class category.

The results of the analysis on the class awareness hypothesis showed that a “face value” approach to the open-ended questionnaire items, that inquired about important issues in elections, confirm that class issues (defined in a broad manner) are more salient to Canadians than regional, ethnic, and religious issues. The importance laid on the class issues, as against non-class issues, in 1965 and 1984 was shown to be almost exactly the same. In other words, Canadians continue to be primarily concerned with class-related issues at the mass level.

In the final section of the last chapter it was necessary to make some qualifications with regard to the quality of data used in this study. Wiseman’s article was reviewed and his findings were updated with the 1984 data. It was found that the

discrepancies between the actual data and the reported data that Wiseman found in his study were a persistent feature of the Canadian National Election Studies. Another set of qualifications concerned the book, *Political Choice*. It was pointed out that *Political Choice* had the potential of being a key source of reference for this thesis. However, it was argued that some serious inadequacies in the text reduce its utility to a minimum.

5.3 Discussion

Two aspects of the results of this thesis stand out. One concerns the social class position of the federal parties in 1984 and the related rates of class voting, and another concerns the class “awareness” of the respondents. Each of these aspects will be discussed in turn.

The central problem in this study, as in that of Ogmundson, concerned the class position of political parties in Canada. In comparing the two studies the present work differs from that of Ogmundson not only in terms of the data used but also in terms of a change in the substance of Canadian politics in the interval between the two studies, namely, the virtual disappearance of the Social Credit party from the federal political scene. Beside the real and substantial implications, the absence of the Social Credit party resulted in the analytical simplification of the classification of the class position of federal political parties in Canada. Up to the late 1970's almost all researchers in the field of class voting, including Ogmundson, had to discuss, in relatively great length, the complicated class position of the Social Credit party and its relative position to other parties. Such a discussion was not necessary in this paper.

The existing political parties in Canada can now be classified in terms of social class with some ease into two relatively distinct groups; the working class party (i.e., NDP) and the middle class parties (i.e., Liberal and Conservative). The absence of the Social Credit party, in other words, has helped to show the polarization of political parties in Canada with more clarity. The polarization itself has grown sharper as indicated, first, by the comparison of the respondents' views in 1984 and 1965; the two major parties are perceived to be more towards the middle class end of the

spectrum and their distance greater from the NDP which is perceived to be on the working class end of the spectrum. Second, unlike the 1960s, there was a consensus among the academics and the experts that the Liberals were a middle class party; no experts such as Alford or Dawson were cited who believed the Liberals were a working class party. These all help to increase confidence in the accuracy of classification of political parties in the 1980's.

The implications of changes in the classification of political parties were shown in variation in the rates of class voting. As shown on Table 4.2 in the previous chapter when the class position of parties is classified according to the aggregate perception of the respondents and when the class position of the respondents is determined according to his or her occupation, the rate of class voting is .05. When, under the same classification of political parties, the class position of the respondents is determined by his or her subjective assessment the rate is .11. These rates can be compared with the rates from the previous years and shown graphically as in the following diagram (Figure 2). The graph is superimposed on another graph reporting the trends of class voting in four other Western democracies (extracted from Lipset, 1985: 192). The diagram shows that, when the subjective measure of class is used, the trend of class voting for Canada tends to stay constant. When the objective measure of class is used, the diagram shows that the trend is declining. When this latter trend is compared with the trend of class voting in other countries the diagram suggests that the decline of class voting in Canada during the last twenty years might be due to a factor that is not specific to Canada.

A discussion of the causes of the decline is not within the range of this thesis. However, one cannot help but perceive the general downward trend in class voting among these countries as a confirmation of the speculation Alford made over twenty years ago:

It might be argued that the level of class voting in Canada implies that it is the forefront of a trend in all of Anglo-American countries away from class politics (1963: 251).

In comparing the levels of class voting in Canada with those of other countries, special attention has to be given to the proportions of middle classes and working classes in each population. Differences in the proportions of classes may to some

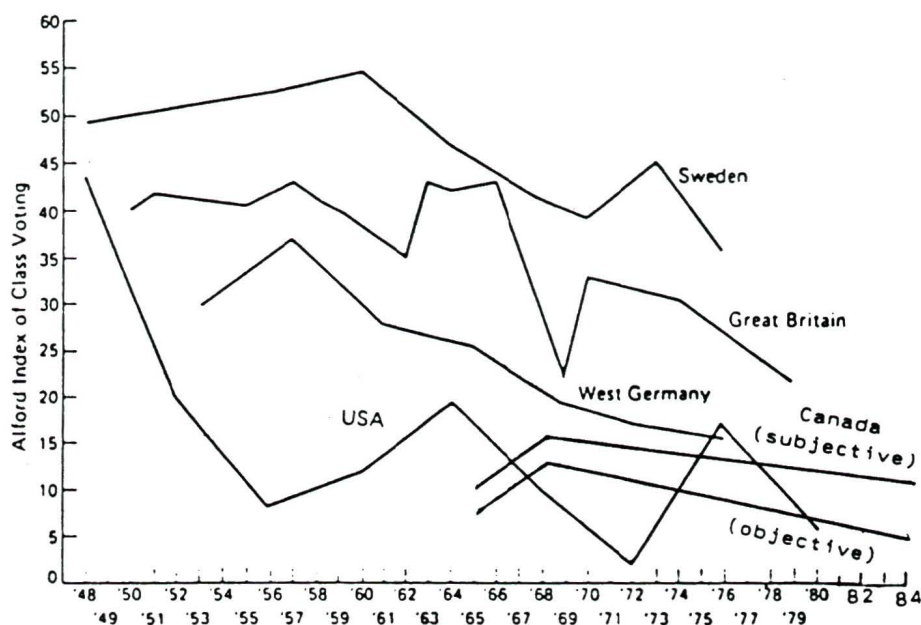


Figure 2: The Trend in Class Voting in Five Western Democracies, 1948-1984. The trend for Canada is measured in terms of rates of class voting calculated by Ogmundson (for 1965), Lambert and Hunter (for 1968) and the present study (for 1984). The graph for Canada is superimposed on that of Lipset's (1985: 192).

extent explain the differences in the levels of class voting. Table 5.1 shows an example of such comparison when class is defined in terms of the respondents' self-perception. As seen in the table the proportion of respondents who classify themselves as working class in the U.K. is considerably higher than in Canada (70% against 40%), while at the same time the level of class voting is also much higher in the U.K. (35 as against 13). Another important point that has to be taken into consideration when comparing the levels of class voting in Canada with other countries concerns the structure of the index of class voting. The index is central in Alford's analysis of class voting and, as shown in this paper, it has become the basis of many studies in the field of class voting. Robertson (1985) praises the index for its simplicity and points out that it:

summarises the complexity of voting patterns so that we can see at a glance how much class voting any set of data portrays. The Alford index ... does this without recourse to subtle statistics that often beggar interpretation (p. 18).

Table 5.1: Classes in Canada and U.K.

Comparison of the Proportion of Self-Perceived Social Classes in Canada and U.K. and Their Levels of Class Voting

	<u>Canada 1984</u>	<u>U.K. 1979</u>
Index of Class Voting (based on respondents' self-assessment)	11	35
Proportion of Middle Class	60%	30%
Proportion of Working Class	40%	70%
	— 100%	— 100%

All percentage figures are close approximations.

Sources: U.K.: Robertson, 1985: pages, 4, 26, 32; Canada: The 1984 survey

There is, however, at least one flaw in Alford's construction of the index that attention has to be drawn on. The flaw, put briefly, consists in the assumption that each of the four Anglo-American democracies under study contains two *major* opposing political parties (Alford, 1963: 82); the possibility that the working class opposing party in a country (e.g., Canada) may not be a major but a *minor* party is not considered. To make the implications of this clear let's look at the figures for 1984 data in Table 5.2. When Liberals are lumped together with the NDP (Alford's approach) 32% (=12% + 20%) of the respondents comprise the base for calculating the rate of class voting. However, as it was shown throughout this paper Ogmundson's findings and other studies including the present study, show that the only working class party in Canada is the NDP. As a result the rate of class voting is calculated on a very narrow base (in this study) of only 12%, which from a commonsensical point of view is doubtful as a reasonable base. In fact the structure of the index (and the resultant narrow base in the case of Canada) may account for the inconsistencies in the findings concerning class awareness.

Another aspect of the results of this thesis that stands out concerns the problem of class awareness. Two sets of analysis were applied to this problem. The first analysis tested and disproved Ogmundson's hypothesis that the rate of class voting in

Table 5.2: Allocation of Respondents' Votes, 1984

	%
Liberal	20
Progressive Conservative	45
NDP	12
Others	2
Refused	6
<u>Did not vote</u>	<u>15</u>
	100

Canada is positively related to class awareness. This was found surprising because it was against a commonsensical understanding of the relationship between class voting and class awareness.

The second analysis, concerning class awareness, up-dated Schreiber's findings. Whereas Schreiber had found a clear majority of respondents unaware of class in 1968 and 1974, the 1984 results showed that half of the respondents (in fact slightly more than half) were class aware. The results, however, showed that Schreiber's observation that a large majority of those who are class aware consider themselves to be middle class continued to be true in 1984.

The findings related to Ogmundson's and Schreiber's hypotheses are confusing and no general pattern emerges from them. It is, therefore, difficult to make a judgment on these findings at this stage. It is perhaps possible to find the sources of these inconsistencies in the ways the concepts of class and class awareness are conceptualized and measured. Erickson (1981) also seems to be pointing out the same problem when she says:

Both (Ogmundson 1980 and Schreiber 1980) are hampered by the lack of good measures of class or awareness (p. 140).

Schreiber's use and measurement of the concept of class awareness for example, can be criticized for the fact that he does not give an explanation as to why "belonging"¹⁸ is equated with "awareness".

¹⁸ To repeat the questionnaire item that measured class awareness in 1965 and 1984 National Election Surveys: "One Hears a Lot About Different Social Classes. Do You Ever Think of Yourself as Belonging to a Social Class?"

5.4 Future Research: Suggestions and Recommendations

The suggestions and recommendations regarding future research will be offered in terms of the discussion of the present problems within the field of class voting in general and a criticism of Ogmundson's approach in particular. The best starting point for such a discussion seems to be the theoretical aspects of studying the class vote. An overview of the field of class voting shows the existence of some major problems that are basically the result of negligence of theoretical elaboration. The field, as explained in the second chapter, is basically divided into two perspectives. One is based on the neo-marxist theories and one is based on the hierarchical ordering of occupation (e.g., Alford's model). The latter appears to be still the dominant approach (Robertson, 1985: Introductory Chapter) although the former seems to be establishing itself with some confidence. The criticisms that are going to be made here are directed at Alford's version of the latter approach upon which many Canadian studies on class voting are based, including Ogmundson's study and the present study. The central theme of the criticism is the lack of sufficient emphasis on the theoretical dimension. Wiseman seems to be addressing the same problem when he says:

Scientifically significant interpretations [of political behaviour] require high levels of abstraction and generalization (p. 34).

Johnston (1981) is also concerned with the same problem when he emphasizes that more care must be taken:

in setting out one's concepts so that they do, indeed, allow one to "tie into" theoretical frameworks such as the Marxist one or the Weberian re-statement of that view within the perspective of the "social action" school (p. 81).

Alford's work (1963) is placed within no articulated general theoretical perspective. This is best evidenced by the fact that, while class is the key concept in his work, there is almost no mention of Marx and only a minimal discussion of Weber in his book (1963: 77). He defines the concept of class broadly in terms of respondents' occupations. One consequence of such an approach to defining the concept of class is that it precludes the notion that class may not exist at all. This is expressed well by Robertson (1985) who comments on Alford's study of the four

Anglo-American societies:

Class exists in all these four countries, if only because we have defined it in such a way that it must exist, by objective occupational measurement (p. 23).

If a comprehensive theoretical elaboration were provided such a preclusion would be avoided or at least accounted for.

In addition to the theoretical problems, there are some problems concerning measurement and conceptualization that require attention. These problems, of course, are ultimately related to the broader problems of theory. One major problem has to do with the research method that is most commonly used for the study of class voting, namely, survey research. It is true that the survey method has some advantages. It is, for instance, a particularly useful method in describing the characteristics of a large population, and it is a flexible method in a sense that many questions can be asked on a given topic. The disadvantages of the survey method are, however, worthy of note. Babbie (1979) points out one major weakness of survey research that is particularly relevant to the study of class voting. To quote him:

By designing questions that will be at least minimally appropriate to all respondents, you may miss what is most appropriate to many respondents. It is in this sense that surveys often appear superficial in their coverage of complex topics (p. 346).

Considering the fact that class *is* one of the most complicated concepts used in social theory, it is possible to conclude that, at least on its own, survey research is not adequate and that other methods such as field research might well be employed. Wiseman (1986) also encounters the problems of superficiality with survey method and notes:

Surveys are useful and may help us understand how ordinary citizens think about politics, but we should never lose sight of the limitations of surveys, no matter how refined the technology. (p. 36)

Another major problem with the survey method is that it produces reported rather than observed data. In the discussion of Wiseman's article in the last chapter some important aspects of the problem of reliability of reported data were explained. In addition, reported data can be unreliable because they are not observed by the researcher. The respondents, for example, for a variety of reasons, may not say the truth, or they may misunderstand the questions. A questionnaire item such as occupation, in studies of class voting that has occupation as the central variable (e.g.,

Ogmundson's study) is too important to be left to the respondents to answer. If the occupations of respondents are observed by the interviewers rather than reported by the respondents themselves the reliability of findings increases considerably. This can be done, perhaps without much difficulty, by using the work place, rather than the residential area, as the criteria for selecting the respondents. The criteria of work place can be broadly defined so that all social groups, such as homemakers, can be included. For example, households that are managed by homemakers can be treated as a work place.

In conclusion, the need for theoretical clarification must be stressed again. The resolutions of technical problems become much easier when the theoretical ground is solid and cleared.

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Appendix A

List of Questionnaire Items Used in This Study

The following is the list of questionnaire items extracted from the 1984 post-election study code book together with their frequency distributions. Each variable is specified by the abbreviation “var” and a number (the number of variable) attached to it (e.g., var065). Most of the variables listed are used in this study; some, however, are listed only because of their general relevance to the work and the assumption that the reader might find them interesting.

Table A. 1

“var003”: Screener-region of interview

2 %	0. Newfoundland
1%	1. Prince Edward Island
3%	2. Nova Scotia
3%	3. New Brunswick
27%	4. Quebec
36%	5. Ontario
4%	6. Manitoba
4%	7. Saskatchewan
9%	8. Alberta
11%	9. British Columbia

Note: var 003 pertain to information that was recorded on the “screener sheet” for each respondent when the field staff first made contact with that person. (percentages are nationally-weighted values rounded to the nearest integer)

Table A. 2

“var 046”: Some people talk about social classes. Does the idea of social classes have any meaning to you?

55%	1. Yes
8%	2. Unsure/Don’t know
37%	3. No

Table A. 3

“var 047”: Here are ways that some people say social classes are different from each other. As I read them, tell me if you think each of them is an important difference or not really an important difference between classes in Canada today. The first one is religion. Is the religion that people belong to a very important difference between people from different social classes?

The religion people belong to.

0%	0. Refused
14%	1. Very important
26%	2. Somewhat important
56%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don’t know

Table A. 4

“var 048”: Their wealth, how much they own.

0%	0. Refused
43%	1. Very important
26%	2. Somewhat important
28%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don’t know

Table A. 5

“var 049”: How much education they have.

0%	0. Refused
41%	1. Very important
36%	2. Somewhat important
20%	3. Not important
2%	8. Don't know

Table A. 6

“var 050”: Where their ancestors came from.

0%	0. Refused
10%	1. Very important
26%	2. Somewhat important
60%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 7

“var 051”: How ambitious they are.

0%	0. Refused
41%	1. Very important
36%	2. Somewhat important
19%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 8

“var 052”: The way they were brought up.

0%	0. Refused
40%	1. Very important
39%	2. Somewhat important
19%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 9

“var 053”: Whether they were born in Canada or in another country

0%	0. Refused
11%	1. Very important
25%	2. Somewhat important
60%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 10

“var 054”: How smart they are.

0%	0. Refused
31%	1. Very important
39%	2. Somewhat important
27%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 11

“var 055”: How well-off their family was when they were growing up

0%	0. Refused
26%	1. Very important
34%	2. Somewhat important
37%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 12

“var 056”: The kind of work they do.

0%	0. Refused
33%	1. Very important
36%	2. Somewhat important
28%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 13

“var 057”: Their character.

0%	0. Refused
42%	1. Very important
35%	2. Somewhat important
21%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 14

“var 058”: How much they earn, their income.

0%	0. Refused
39%	1. Very important
30%	2. Somewhat important
28%	3. Not important
2%	8. Don't know

Table A. 15

“var 059”: Own their own business or work for somebody else.

0%	0. Refused
23%	1. Very important
32%	2. Somewhat important
42%	3. Not important
3%	8. Don't know

Table A. 16

“var 060”: Of those things you said were very important differences between social classes, which one is: The most important difference?

5%	1. Religion
22%	2. Wealth
10%	3. Education
1%	4. Ancestors
13%	5. Ambition
7%	6. How brought up
1%	7. Canadian born
4%	8. Smart
4%	9. Parents well-off
2%	10. Work
16%	11. Character
7%	12. Income
3%	13. Self employed
1%	88. Don't know
5%	99. NA

Table A. 17

“var 061”: Which one is the second most important differences?

3%	1. Religion
8%	2. Wealth
11%	3. Education
1%	4. Ancestors
12%	5. Ambition
9%	6. How brought up
2%	7. Canadian born
7%	8. Smart
5%	9. Parents well-off
5%	10. Work
11%	11. Character
11%	12. Income
4%	13. Self employed
1%	88. Don't know
9%	99.

Table A. 18

“var 062”: Where would you place the federal Liberal party on this scale?

0%	0. Refused
2%	1. For the working class
4%	2.
9%	3.
20%	4.
19%	5.
15%	6.
15%	7. For the middle class
16%	8. No opinion

Table A. 19

“var 063”: Where would you place the federal Progressive Conservative party on this scale?

0%	0. Refused
3%	1. For the working class
4%	2.
9%	3.
18%	4.
15%	5.
17%	6.
16%	7. For the middle class
19%	8. No opinion

Table A. 20

“var 064”: Where would you place the federal NDP?

0%	0. Refused
21%	1. For the working class
20%	2.
14%	3.
11%	4.
5%	5.
4%	6.
4%	7. For the middle class
20%	8. No opinion

Table A. 21

“var 065”: Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the 1984 federal election. What, in your opinion, was the most important issue in the election?

(Open-ended question)

Table A. 22

“var 124”: Now, thinking about this year’s federal election, we find that a lot of people were’nt able to vote because they were sick, or didn’t have time, or had some other reasons for not voting. How about you? Did you vote this time, or did something happen to keep you away from voting?

85%	1. Voted
15%	2. Did not vote
0%	3. Don’t know

Table A. 23

“var 125”: (if voted) For which party did you vote?

20%	1. Liberal
45%	2. Progressive Conservative
12%	3. NDP
0%	4. Social Credit/Creditiste
0%	5. Parti Nationaliste
0%	8. Communist
0%	9. Green Party
0%	10. Libertarian
0%	11. PCC-Commonwealth Canadian
0%	12. Rhino
0%	13. Spoiled Ballot
0%	14. All others
0%	15. Confederation of region of West
0%	16. Western Canada Concept
1%	20. Independent/None
0%	35. Would not vote
0%	40. Don’t know
6%	50. Refused
15%	80. NA

Table A. 24

“var 306”: One hears a lot about different social classes. Do you ever thing of yourself as belonging to a social class?

49%	1. Yes
48%	2. No
1%	7. Refused
3%	8. Don’t know

Table A. 25

“var 307”: Which of the following social classes would you say you were in?

0%	1. Upper Class
6%	2. Upper-Middle Class
29%	3. Middle Class
13%	4. Working Class
1%	5. Lower Class
0%	7. Refused
0%	8. Don't know
51%	9. NA

Table A. 26

“var 308”: Well, if you had to make a choice, which of these social classes would you say you were in?

0%	1. Upper Class
2%	2. Upper-Middle Class
22%	3. Middle Class
22%	4. Working Class
2%	5. Lower Class
3%	7. Refused
49%	8. Don't know

Some people believe that political parties favour particular social classes over other social classes. Here is a scale for describing each of the federal parties.

The closer to “1”, the more the party favours the lower social classes, and the closer to “7”, the more a party favours the the higher social classes.

Table A. 27

“var 311”: Where would you place the federal Liberal party on this scale?

1%	1. Favours Lower
2%	2.
6%	3.
24%	4.
22%	5.
21%	6.
12%	7. Favours Higher
10%	8. No Opinion
0%	9. NA
1%	0. Refused

Table A. 28

“var 312”: Where would you place the federal Progressive Conservative party on this scale?

1%	1. Favours Lower
2%	2.
6%	3.
26%	4.
23%	5.
20%	6.
10%	7. Favours Higher
11%	8. No Opinion
0%	9. NA
1%	0. Refused

Table A. 29

“var 313”: Where would you place the federal NDP?

11%	1. Favours Lower
22%	2.
24%	3.
17%	4.
5%	5.
3%	6.
2%	7. Favours Higher
16%	8. No Opinion
0%	9. NA
1%	0. Refused

Table A. 30

“var 362”: What is the highest grade or level of school you reached?
(If education was obtained outside Canada, give a Canadian approximation)

7%	1. Some elementary
6%	2. Graduated elementary
24%	3. Some high school
23%	4. High school graduate
7%	5. Some technical
11%	6. Graduated technical
9%	7. Some university
13%	8. Graduated university
1%	9. No formal school
0%	0. Refused/Don't know

Table A. 31

“var 439”: In which of these letter groups did your total personal income in 1983 fall, before taxes?

13%	01. Nothing
16%	02. Under \$5000
14%	03. \$5000 - \$9999
10%	04. \$10000 - \$14999
9%	05. \$15000 - \$19000
8%	06. \$20000 - \$24999
6%	07. \$25000 - \$29999
7%	08. \$30000 - \$39999
3%	09. \$40000 - \$49999
3%	10. \$50000 - \$99999
0%	11. \$100000 and over
2%	97. Don't know
8%	98. Refused
0%	99. NA

Table A. 32

“var 442”: In which of these letter groups did the total income of the family in 1983 fall -- that is, the income of all the family members living here added together, from all sources and before taxes?

0%	01. Nothing
2%	02. Under \$5000
5%	03. \$5000 - \$9999
8%	04. \$10000 - \$14999
8%	05. \$15000 - \$19000
9%	06. \$20000 - \$24999
9%	07. \$25000 - \$29999
14%	08. \$30000 - \$39999
11%	09. \$40000 - \$49999
13%	10. \$50000 - \$99999
2%	11. \$100000 and over
10%	97. Don't know
10%	98. Refused
0%	99. NA

Table A. 33

“var 524”: What is your occupation?

55%	1. R has occupation
20%	2. Housewife
10%	3. Retired
8%	4. Unemployed
6%	5. Student
0%	6. Never worked

Table A. 34

“var 525”: (If occupation is not clear, probe) What exactly do you do?

13%	1. Professional
9%	2. Owner/Manager/Executive
4%	3. Sales
13%	4. Clerical
25%	5. Skilled labour
10%	6. Unskilled labour
4%	7. Farmer
20%	8. Homemaker/Widow
0%	11. Student
0%	12. Refused
0%	13. Don't know

Appendix B

List of Computer Instructions Used for This Study

The following pages contain the main body of the computer instructions used to extract the statistical results for this thesis; they are not the complete list of instructions. Many of the results were obtained by making minor modifications in these instructions.

```

SUBTITLE 'STUDY ON 1984 FEDERAL ELECTION'
FILE HANDLE IN NAME='ELECT1 SPSSXFIL'
GET FILE=IN
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING INCOME VARIABLE - (TOTAL FAMILY INCOME) */
/*THE CUTTING POINT FOR DIVIDING THE INCOME TO MC AND WC*/
/*IS UNDER $30.000: THE CRITERION= 57% FALL UNEDER WC CATEGORY*/
RECODE VAR442 (1,2,3,4,5,6,7=1)(8,9,10,11,=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR442 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE OCCUPATION- */
/*1-PROFESSIONAL 2-OWNER,MANAGER,EXECUTIVE 3-SALES 4-CLERICAL */
/*5-SKILLED LABLUR 6-UNSKILLED LABOUR 7-FARMER 8-HOMEMAKER/WIDOW */
/*11-STUDENT 12-REFUSED 13-DON.T KNOW */
RECODE VAR525 (7,6,5=1)(4,3,2,1=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR525 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE EDUCATION*/
/*1-SOME ELEMENTARY 2-GRADUATED ELEMENTARY 3-SOME HIGH SCHOOL */
/*4-HIGH SCOOL GRADUATE 5-SOME TECHNICAL 6-GRADUATED TECHNICAL */
/*7-SOME UNIVERSITY 8-GRADUATED UNIVERSITY 9-NO FORMAL SCHOOL */
RECODE VAR362 (1,2,3,9=1)(4,5,6,7,8=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR362 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIALE SOCIAL CLASS SELF-PERCEPTION*/
/*VAR307= VOLUNTRY RESPONSES VAR308 = PERSUADED RESOPNSES.*/
/*WHICH OF THE CLASSES BELOW YOU ARE IN? 1-UPPER CLASS.*/
/*2-UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.3-MIDDLE CLASS 4- WORKING CLASS 5-LOWER CLAS
RECODE VAR307 TO VAR308 (7=0)(8=0)(9=0)
TEMPORARY
SELECT IF (VAR307 NE 0 OR VAR308 NE 0)
COMPUTE SUBCLASS = SUM (VAR307 + VAR308)
RECODE SUBCLASS (4,5=1)(1,2,3=2)
VALUE LABELS SUBCLASS 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*BEGINNING OF CROSSTAB INSTRUCTIONS*/
/*****/
/*LIMITING THE ANALYSIS ONLY TO THE 3 MAJOR PARTIES.*/
SELECT IF VAR125 LE 3
/*****/
/* ALFORD'S*/
/* VAR125 REFERS TO THE PARTY VOTED FOR */
/* LIBRALS AND NDP ARE PUT TOGETHER AS THE W.CLASS PARTY*/
/* PC IS TREATED AS THE M.CLASS PARTY*/
RECODE VAR125 (1,3=1)(2=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR125 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
CROSSTABS VARIABLES = SUBCLASS BY VAR125 /
                     VAR525 BY VAR125/
                     VAR362 BY VAR125 /
                     VAR442 BY VAR125/

STATISTICS ALL
OPTIONS 3,4,5
TITLE ' NATIONAL CLASSIFICATION'
SUBTITLE 'STUDY ON 1984 FEDERAL ELECTION'
FILE HANDLE IN NAME='ELECT1 SPSSXFIL'
GET FILE=IN
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING INCOME VARIABLE - (TOTAL FAMILY INCOME) */

```

```

/*THE CUTTING POINT FOR DIVIDING THE INCOME TO MC AND WC*/
/*IS UNDER $30.000: THE CRITERION= 57% FALL UNEDER WC CATEGORY*
RECODE VAR442 (1,2,3,4,5,6,7=1)(8,9,10,11,=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR442 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIABLE OCCUPATION- */
/*1-PROFESSIONAL 2-OWNER,MANAGER,EXECUTIVE 3-SALES 4-CLERICAL */
/*5-SKILLED LABOUR 6-UNSKILLED LABOUR 7-FARMER 8-HOMEMAKER/WIDOW */
/*11-STUDENT 12-REFUSED 13-DON.T KNOW */
RECODE VAR525 (7,6,5=1)(4,3,2,1=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR525 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIABLE EDUCATION*/
/*1-SOME ELEMENTARY 2-GRADUATED ELEMENTARY 3-SOME HIGH SCHOOL */
/*4-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE 5-SOME TECHNICAL 6-GRADUATED TECHNICAL */
/*7-SOME UNIVERSITY 8-GRADUATED UNIVERSITY 9-NO FORMAL SCHOOL */
RECODE VAR362 (1,2,3,9=1)(4,5,6,7,8=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR362 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIABLE SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS */
/*VAR307= VOLUNTRY RESPONSES VAR308 = PERSUADED RESPONSES.*/
/*WHICH OF THE CLASSES BELOW YOU ARE IN? 1-UPPER CLASS.*/
/*2-UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.3-MIDDLE CLASS 4- WORKING CLASS 5-LOWER CLASS
RECODE VAR307 TO VAR308 (7=0)(8=0)(9=0)
TEMPORARY
SELECT IF (VAR307 NE 0 OR VAR308 NE 0)
COMPUTE SUBCLASS = SUM (VAR307 + VAR308)
RECODE SUBCLASS (4,5=1)(1,2,3=2)
VALUE LABELS SUBCLASS 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*BEGINNING OF CROSSTAB INSTRUCTIONS*/
/*****/
/*LIMITING THE ANALYSIS ONLY TO THE 3 MAJOR PARTIES.*/
SELECT IF VAR125 LE 3
/*****/
/* NATIONAL*/
/* LIBRALS AND PC ARE PUT TOGETHER AS THE M.CLASS PARTY*/
/* AND THE NDP IS TREATED AS THE W.CLASS PARTY*/
RECODE VAR125 (3=1)(1,2=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR125 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
CROSSTABS VARIABLES = SUBCLASS BY VAR125 /
                        VAR525 BY VAR125/
                        VAR362 BY VAR125 /
                        VAR442 BY VAR125/

STATISTICS ALL
OPTIONS 3,4,5
SUBTITLE 'STUDY ON 1984 FEDERAL ELECTION'
FILE HANDLE IN NAME='ELECT1 SPSSXFIL'
GET FILE=IN
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING INCOME VARIABLE - (TOTAL FAMILY INCOME) */
/*THE CUTTING POINT FOR DIVIDING THE INCOME TO MC AND WC*/
/*IS UNDER $30.000: THE CRITERION= 57% FALL UNEDER WC CATEGORY*
RECODE VAR442 (1,2,3,4,5,6,7=1)(8,9,10,11,=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR442 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE OCCUPATION- */
/*1-PROFESSIONAL 2-OWNER,MANAGER,EXECUTIVE 3-SALES 4-CLERICAL */

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```

/*5-SKILLED LABOUR 6-UNSKILLED LABOUR 7-FARMER 8-HOMEMAKER/WIDOW */
/*11-STUDENT 12-REFUSED 13-DON.T KNOW */
RECODE VAR525 (7,6,5=1)(4,3,2,1=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR525 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE EDUCATION*/
/*1-SOME ELEMENTARY 2-GRADUATED ELEMENTARY 3-SOME HIGH SCHOOL */
/*4-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE 5-SOME TECHNICAL 6-GRADUATED TECHNICAL */
/*7-SOME UNIVERSITY 8-GRADUATED UNIVERSITY 9-NO FORMAL SCHOOL */
RECODE VAR362 (1,2,3,9=1)(4,5,6,7,8=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR362 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIABLE SOCIAL CLASS SELF-PERCEPTION*/
/*VAR307= VOLUNTRY RESPONSES VAR308 = PERSUADED RESPONSES.*/
/*WHICH OF THE CLASSES BELOW YOU ARE IN? 1-UPPER CLASS.*/
/*2-UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.3-MIDDLE CLASS 4- WORKING CLASS 5-LOWER CLASS
RECODE VAR307 TO VAR308 (7=0)(8=0)(9=0)
SELECT IF (VAR307 NE 0 OR VAR308 NE 0)
COMPUTE SUBCLASS = SUM (VAR307 + VAR308)
RECODE SUBCLASS (4,5=1)(1,2,3=2)
VALUE LABELS SUBCLASS 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*BEGINNING OF CROSSTAB INSTRUCTIONS*/
/*****/
/*LIMITING THE ANALYSIS ONLY TO THE 3 MAJOR PARTIES.*/
SELECT IF VAR125 LE 3
/*****/
/* INDIVIDUAL - 1 */
/*VAR062 TO VAR064 REFERS TO THE THREE */
/* VARIABLES THAT THE RESPONDENTS PLACED*/
/*THE CLASS POSITION OF EACH PARTY ON A SCALE OF ONE TO SEVEN.*/
RECODE VAR062 TO VAR064 (8=0)
SELECT IF (VAR062 NE 0 OR VAR063 NE 0 OR VAR064 NE 0)
/*THE VARIABLE 'PARTY1' MEASURES THE CLASS POSITION OF EACH PARTY A
/*PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS*/
IF VAR125=1 PARTY1=VAR062
IF VAR125=2 PARTY1=VAR063
IF VAR125=3 PARTY1=VAR064
RECODE PARTY1 (1,2,3=1)(4,5,6,7=2)
VALUE LABELS PARTY1 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
CROSSTABS VARIABLES = SUBCLASS BY PARTY1 /
                     VAR525 BY PARTY1/
                     VAR362 BY PARTY1/
                     VAR442 BY PARTY1/

STATISTICS ALL
OPTIONS 3,4,5
SUBTITLE 'STUDY ON 1984 FEDERAL ELECTION'
FILE HANDLE IN NAME='ELECT1 SPSSXFIL'
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/*****/
/*ADJUSTING INCOME VARIABLE - (TOTAL FAMILY INCOME) */
/*THE CUTTING POINT FOR DIVIDING THE INCOME TO MC AND WC*/
/*IS UNDER $30,000: THE CRITERION= 57% FALL UNDER WC CATEGORY*/
RECODE VAR442 (1,2,3,4,5,6,7=1)(8,9,10,11,=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR442 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE OCCUPATION- */
/*1-PROFESSIONAL 2-OWNER,MANAGER,EXECUTIVE 3-SALES 4-CLERICAL */

```

```

/*5-SKILLED LABOUR 6-UNSKILLED LABOUR 7-FARMER 8-HOMEMAKER/WIDOW */
/*11-STUDENT 12-REFUSED 13-DON.T KNOW */
RECODE VAR525 (7,6,5=1)(4,3,2,1=2)(ELSE=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS VAR525 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING THE VARIABLE EDUCATION*/
/*1-SOME ELEMENTARY 2-GRADUATED ELEMENTARY 3-SOME HIGH SCHOOL */
/*4-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE 5-SOME TECHNICAL 6-GRADUATED TECHNICAL */
/*7-SOME UNIVERSITY 8-GRADUATED UNIVERSITY 9-NO FORMAL SCHOOL */
RECODE VAR362 (1,2,3,9=1)(4,5,6,7,8=2)
VALUE LABELS VAR362 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*ADJUSTING VARIABLE SOCIAL CLASS SELF-PERCEPTION*/
/*VAR307= VOLUNTRY RESPONSES VAR308 = PERSUADED RESPONSES.*/
/*WHICH OF THE CLASSES BELOW YOU ARE IN? 1-UPPER CLASS.*/
/*2-UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.3-MIDDLE CLASS 4- WORKING CLASS 5-LOWER CLAS
RECODE VAR307 TO VAR308 (7=0)(8=0)(9=0)
TEMPORARY
SELECT IF (VAR307 NE 0 OR VAR308 NE 0)
COMPUTE SUBCLASS = SUM (VAR307 + VAR308)
RECODE SUBCLASS (4,5=1)(1,2,3=2)
VALUE LABELS SUBCLASS 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
/*****/
/*BEGINNING OF CROSSTAB INSTRUCTIONS*/
/*****/
/*LIMITING THE ANALYSIS ONLY TO THE 3 MAJOR PARTIES.*/
SELECT IF VAR125 LE 3
/*****/
/* INDIVIDUAL - 2 */
/*VAR062 TO VAR064 REFERS TO THE THREE */
/* VARIABLES THAT THE RESPONDENTS PLACED*/
/*THE CLASS POSITION OF EACH PARTY ON A SCALE OF ONE TO SEVEN.*/
RECODE VAR062 TO VAR064 (8=0)
SELECT IF (VAR062 NE 0 OR VAR063 NE 0 OR VAR064 NE 0)
/*THE VARIABLE 'PARTY1' MEASURES THE CLASS POSITION OF EACH PARTY A
/*PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS*/
IF VAR125=1 PARTY1=VAR062
IF VAR125=2 PARTY1=VAR063
IF VAR125=3 PARTY1=VAR064
RECODE PARTY1 (1,2,3=1)(5,6,7=2)(4=SYSMIS)
VALUE LABELS PARTY1 1'WORKING CLASS' 2'MIDDLE CLASS'
CROSSTABS VARIABLES = SUBCLASS BY PARTY1 /
                    VAR525 BY PARTY1/
                    VAR362 BY PARTY1/
                    VAR442 BY PARTY1/

STATISTICS ALL
OPTIONS 3,4,5

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Title of Thesis: **Class Voting in the 1984 Canadian General Election**

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Date

15th November 1993