

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP, WORKING CLASS
SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND SUPPORT FOR
THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

by

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ABSTRACT

This study begins with a detailed review of the literature on the relationship between trade union membership, working class self-identification and support for the New Democratic Party. This is followed by an empirical study of the relations among these variables. The study is based on data provided by the Clarke, et al., survey of the 1974 national election. There is one dependent variable, New Democratic Party voting; three independent variables: trade union membership, working class self-identification, and an interaction term; and, seven control variables: education, family income, religion, ethnicity, region, age, and gender. Correlational analysis is utilized because it allows for an assessment of the relative strength of the variables. The analysis will afford information that will supplement that provided by earlier studies on the topic.

The results indicate that there is a weak but significant relationship between trade union membership and New Democratic Party voting; that there is no statistically significant relationship between working class self-identification and New Democratic Party voting; and, finally, that the interaction effect of trade union membership and working class self-identification is not significantly related to New Democratic Party voting.

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TO SAM AND LUIS

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION - STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In comparative discussions of the political systems of Western democracies, Canada is often described as an anomalous case in which the relationship between socio-economic status and electoral politics is almost nonexistent. For example, Alford (1963) described Canada as a case of "pure non-class politics" (See also: Rose & Urwin, 1971; Lenski & Lenski, 1978)¹. Subsequent research seeking an explanation for the Canadian anomaly uncovered by Alford (e.g., Gagne, 1970; Ogmundson, 1972; Chi, 1973; Zipp & Smith, 1979; Myles, 1979) has generated a continuing debate on the nature of the relationship between social stratification and electoral politics (e.g., Ogmundson, 1975a, 1975b, Cheal, 1978; Lambert & Hunter, 1979; Schreiber, 1980).

An important branch of the literature on this topic is concerned with the social and economic characteristics of party supporters in Canada (e.g., Englemann & Schwartz, 1967; Meisel, 1967; Gagne, 1970; Terry & Schultz, 1973; Schwartz, 1974; Meisel, 1975;

¹"The term 'class' is not used in the Marxian sense in this literature. It is applied here to the conventional socioeconomic categories of North American sociology" (Lambert & Hunter, 1979:288).

Clarke, et al., 1979). Some of these studies indicate that there is a relationship between trade union membership, working class self-identification, and support for the New Democratic Party (e.g., Regenstrief, 1963; Regenstrief & Gagne, 1967; Baker & Price, 1967; Wilson, 1968; Chi, 1973; Chi & Perlin, 1979; Leggett, 1979; Keddie, 1980). The New Democratic Party is affiliated with trade unions and thereby purports to represent workers interests. Hence, one might anticipate a relationship between these social characteristics and support for that party.

In the thesis that follows, there will be a detailed review of the literature on the relationship between trade union membership, working class self-identification and support for the New Democratic Party. This will be followed by an empirical study of the relations among these variables. The study will utilize data provided by the Clarke, et al., survey of the 1974 national election. There is one dependent variable, New Democratic Party voting; three independent variables: trade union membership, working class self-identification, and an interaction term; and, seven control variables: education, family income, religion, ethnicity, region, age, and gender. Correlational

analysis will be utilized because it allows for an assessment of the relative strength of the variables. The analysis will afford information that will supplement that provided by earlier studies on the topic. The findings will be discussed in the final chapter.

Background of the Problem

In modern political sociology, an important school of thought holds that the electoral process will reflect basic societal cleavages and that political parties may represent particular socio-economic status groups (Downs, 1957; Butler & Stokes, 1974). One theory that has been influential in the past two decades is that developed by Seymour Martin Lipset (Lipset, 1963, 1971; Lipset & Rokkan, 1967).

Lipset claimed that voting is a major social mechanism of conflict and consensus in modern democracies (Lipset, 1963:12) and although his conceptualization of the issue became increasingly complex (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967), the basic theme has remained constant. In general, it is Lipset's view that political history is based on conflicts over the structure of the political community: between central and nation-building culture and the resistance of peripheral social groups; the place of the church within the nation-state; the extension

of the rights of collective bargaining and enfranchisement of the workers; and a perpetual conflict among social groups of the distribution of the national income (Lipset, 1963:71; Lipset & Rokkan, 1967:47). The fully modern political community, which evolves out of these conflicts, is based upon a competition among social groups over the relative shares of society's economic resources. The terminal stage in Lipset's evolutionary model of modern mass politics is referred to as "the politics of collective bargaining", that is to say, politics are reduced to the issue of which groups should secure what portion of society's economic pie (Lipset, 1971: 149). A principal generalization emerging from Lipset's work is that political parties in modern Western democracies basically represent a "democratic translation of the class struggle" (Lipset, 1963:230).

A significant elaboration of Lipset's theory was undertaken by Robert Alford (Alford, 1963, 1964, 1967, 1968). The central concern of Alford's research was an investigation of the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics and voting behavior in the Anglo-American democracies. In Alford's view these countries were at that time among the most industrialized and wealthy of the Western democracies (Alford, 1963: 32), and hence should thereby typify Lipset's final

stage of political development. Further, analysis of the party systems of these nation-states would not be complicated by extreme variation in political values and traditions (Alford, 1963:4, 1967:72), as for example would occur in a comparative analysis of Canada and countries of western Europe. Also, these countries are viewed by Alford as: 'pluralist'; sharing vestiges of British political traditions and values, and, also enjoying some degree of consensus on political structures and processes (Alford, 1963:1-4, 1967:68-73). Alford argued that the existence of an association in these societies between socio-economic status and voting behavior is to be expected given social stratification and the active soliciting by specific political parties of support from particular social strata (Alford, 1967:69). Provided the above criteria are met, Alford suggests that, "it would be remarkable if a relation between class position and voting behavior were not found" (Alford, 1967:69).

One prominent finding of Alford's research was that, "the association of social class and voting behavior, as measured by the index of class voting,"²

² This measure is created by "subtracting 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, 1963:79-80).

is lower in Canada than in any of the other Anglo-American countries" (Alford, 1963:250). This low association is attributed to a lack of national integration such that political parties are identified as representatives of religious, regional and ethnic cleavages (Alford, 1963:251, 1964:318, 1967:80, 1968:209).

Comparative studies of the relationship between socio-economic characteristics and voting behavior have tended to support Alford's conclusions. Ogmundson (1972), using the "Alford Index of Class Voting", reported Canada as having the lowest level of 'class' voting compared to Norway, Finland, United Kingdom, Australia, France, and the United States. Lenski and Lenski (1978), using the same measure of 'class' vote, found Canada to have the lowest level of 'class' voting compared to: Finland, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Sweden, Australia, Britain, West Germany, France, and the United States. Rose and Urwin (1971), using an alternative measure based on the social cohesiveness³ of political parties, found in a survey of seventeen countries, only

³ "As a general rule, two-thirds of a party's supporters must share an attribute for a party to be considered cohesive on this point. When a characteristic is held by more than 50 per cent but less than 83 per cent of the population, a party is normally regarded as cohesive only if its degree of homogeneity exceeds the national average by 17 per cent" (Rose & Urwin, 1971:218-19).

Ireland, the United States and Canada to be without a nationwide 'class-based' political party.⁴ Clarke, et al., (1979), in their data analyses of the 1965, 1968, and 1974 national election surveys conclude that the "...several measures of social class were but weakly related to voting behavior" (Clarke, et al., 1979:127). Thus, in the spectrum formed by the modern Western democracies it appears Canada is noteworthy for the absence of significant differences in political behavior between socio-economic strata.

It would be misleading to give the impression that this viewpoint has gone unchallenged. For example, there are at least four methodological problems regarding Alford's research. To begin with, the statistical techniques employed by Alford have been criticized by Myles (1979) and Chi (1973) argued that Alford's method of percentaging tables confounded his interpretation. Secondly, Zipp and Smith (1979) argued that Alford's method of occupational categorization influenced his measured rate of association. Thirdly, Ogmundson (1975a, 1975b) suggested Alford should separate the Liberals and the New Democratic Party for purposes of

⁴ See Horowitz (1966, 1968) for a discussion of Canadian political history in contrast to American history, and Hechter (1975) for a discussion on Irish political history for explanations on the historical factors underlying contemporary political cleavages in these societies.

analysis. Finally, other research pertaining to Alford's interpretation suggests he failed to consider some important social psychological variables. Ogmundson (1972, 1975a) using 1965 election data, reported an increase in the rate of 'class' voting as measured by the "Alford Index of Class Voting" when the political parties were classified according to voter perceptions. Further support for Ogmundson's position was recently provided by Lambert and Hunter (1979) using Ogmundson's method but updating the analysis to the 1968 general election. Furthermore, Meisel (1975) in his report on the 1968 national election argues that socio-economic status is an important dimension in explaining partisan choice in Canada. He argues, "after religion, it is the cluster of characteristics associated with status which reveals the greatest disparities between supporters of the various parties" (Meisel, 1975:3). Basing his interpretations of the 1965 federal election on a Canadian Institute of Public Opinion survey Gagne (1970) concludes that social stratification is an important factor in determining partisan choice in Canada but on a regional rather than a national level. The above considerations cast some doubt on Alford's characterization of Canadian

politics. Consequently it would be premature to reject the stratification model in the analysis of Canadian voting behavior. In sum, questions remain to be answered regarding the relationship between socio-economic characteristics and voting behavior.

The Problem - Statement of Hypotheses

One question that needs to be raised concerns the nature of support given to particular political parties. Little attention has been paid to the social basis of support which each party attracts. To begin with most of the literature tends to discuss all the parties with regard to commonly used social demographic variables such as age, gender, socio-economic status, religion, ethnicity, region, and rural versus urban residence (Terry & Schultz, 1973:252; Clarke et al., 1979:93-131). But this broad range of variables may not adequately tap variation in the social bases of party support in specific instances. For example, the New Democratic Party is affiliated with trade unions and at least purports to represent workers interests (Baker & Price, 1967; Englemann & Schwartz, 1967; Horowitz, 1968; Teeple, 1972; Penner, 1977; Chi & Perlin, 1979).⁵

⁵ Given the specific limitations of this study a detailed history of the CCF or the transition to the NDP will not be undertaken. The interested reader is referred to Baker and Price 1967 for a brief account, and to: Horowitz, 1968; Zakuta, 1964a, 1964b; Young, 1969; Penner, 1977 for detailed discussions.

Hence, one might anticipate a relationship between trade union membership, working class self-identification and support for the New Democratic Party even if no such relationship is found in other cases. If this relationship does exist, it may help to illuminate the conditions that give rise to 'class' politics.

The New Democratic Party and Trade Unions

A limited number of national studies have investigated the relationship between trade union membership and party choice in Canadian federal elections (Regenstrief, 1963, 1965; Alford, 1968; Chi, 1973). Regenstrief (1965), in an analysis of a Canadian Institute of Public Opinion survey of the 1953 general election, found trade union membership to be an important source of variation in both Liberal and New Democratic Party support. Based on data from a national sample of party supporters from each of the Progressive Conservative, Liberal, and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation parties, Regenstrief (1963), found trade union membership to be a significant factor in New Democratic Party support. Alford (1968), on the basis of Canadian Institute of Public Opinion data, suggested that union membership had a definite relationship to party preference in Canada, such that "...members

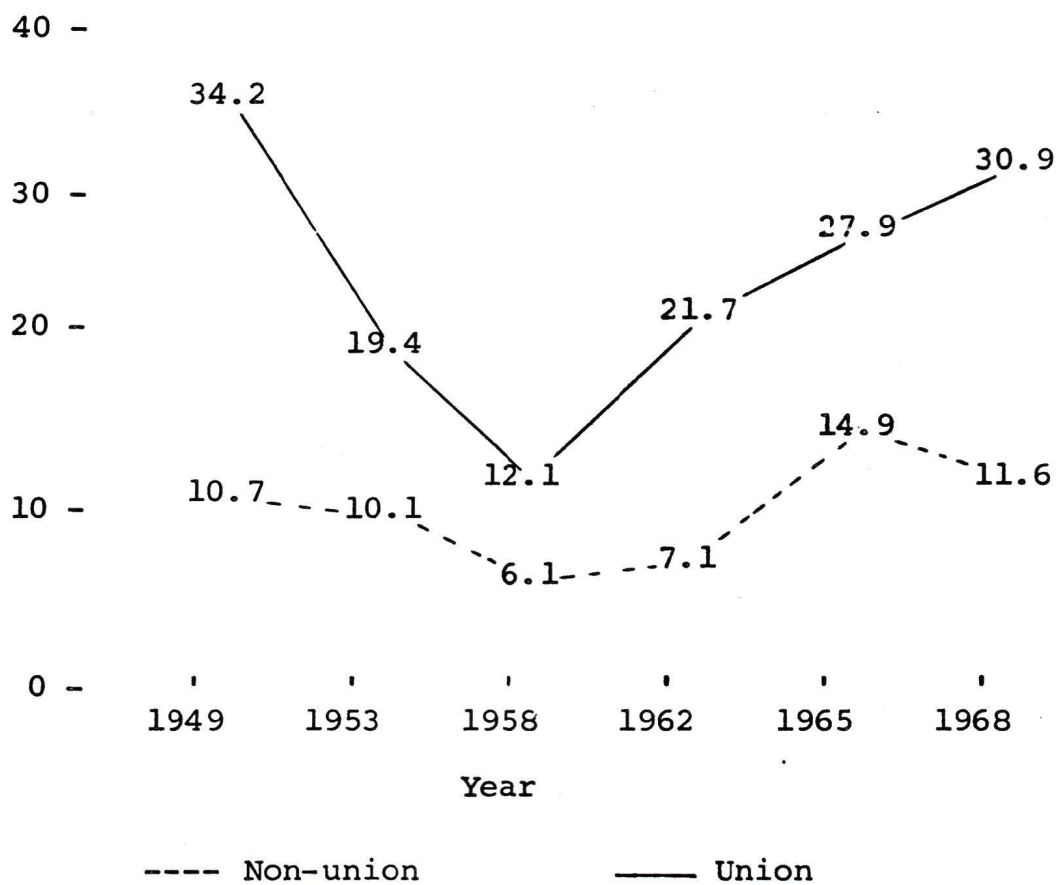
(are) distinctly less likely to have voted PC and more likely to have voted NDP than non-members" (Alford, 1968: 213). Basing his interpretation on the same data as Alford, but investigating the role of socio-economic characteristics in relation to party profiles Chi (1973) found trade union membership to be closely associated with the New Democratic Party.

One national study has investigated the relationship between trade unions and the New Democratic Party in Canadian federal elections. Chi and Perlin (1979:178-79), found trade union support for the New Democratic Party across the 1949, 1953, 1958, 1962, 1965 and 1968 elections to vary significantly. In 1968, 30 per cent of the union vote went to the New Democrats, which although less than the 34 per cent supporting the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in 1949, is a substantial increase from the 12 per cent attracted by the party in 1958 (See Table 1). Thus, the effects of trade union membership appear to be an important source of variation in support for the New Democratic Party.

Further support for the conclusions of Regenstrief (1963), Alford (1968), Chi (1973), and Chi and Perlin (1979) are provided by a regional analysis (Koenig, 1975), and five constituency studies (Peterson & Avakumovic,

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF UNION AND NON-UNION
VOTES OBTAINED BY THE CCF-NDP
IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS 1949, 1953,
1958, 1962, 1965, and 1968

Per cent



Source: Chi & Perlin (1979:179)

1964, Laponce, 1969; Regenstrief & Gagne, 1967; Leggett, 1979; Keddie, 1980). An analysis of voter intentions in Winnipeg North by Peterson and Avakumovic (1964) found union membership to be related to support for the New Democratic Party. Gagne and Regenstrief (1967:538) in an analysis of data collected in Sault Ste. Marie, Hamilton, Vancouver, and Toronto found that "when the voting habits of those from union and non-union households are compared, there is a much stronger tendency for those from union households to support the New Democratic Party". Laponce (1969) found the contrast between union support for the New Democratic Party versus non-union support for the Conservatives to be one of the four significant aspects relating social characteristics to support for political parties. This study was conducted in Vancouver-Burrard. Interpreting British Columbia data Koenig (1975) argued that electoral support for the New Democratic Party, a 'non-establishment' political party, will occur when individuals are involved in marginal or non-establishment subsystems such as unions. Keddie (1980:35) concluded that without trade unions there would be little support for 'social democracy' in Ontario. Keddie based his conclusion on the analysis of data collected from a total of 1,107 male respondents in

Sudbury, Lindsay, Hamilton, and Ottawa. Consequently, these studies provide further support for the contention that trade union membership is related to support for the New Democratic Party.

This thesis will re-examine the relationship between trade union membership and support for the New Democratic Party with national survey data collected following the 1974 general election. To our knowledge, such an analysis has not been undertaken on these data. The question we wish to address is whether trade union membership was related to New Democratic Party support in 1974. We hypothesize that it will be found to be so.

H1: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with trade union membership.

The New Democratic Party and Working Class Self-Identification

Mainstream sociology has tended to subscribe to the myth of a 'middle class' or 'classless' image of Canadian Society (Porter, 1965:3).⁶ In political sociology, it is argued that most Canadians perceive themselves as a homogeneous 'middle class' population

⁶ Porter presents this view of Canadian society while simultaneously questioning its validity.

(Schreiber, 1980). What this means is that Canadians tell researchers they perceive of themselves as living in and or belonging to the middle class. However, survey analyses of perceived social class are rare,⁷ and as will be seen the accumulating evidence suggests the existence of higher rates of class awareness than previously acknowledged.

The measure of subjective social class was developed by the authors of The American Voter (1960). They define class awareness as distinguishing between people who perceive themselves as members of a social class and those who don't and further suggest that class awareness is a precondition for the development of class identification. Class awareness, as used by Campbell et al., (1960:342-352) and Oberschall (1973:185), refers to the notion of a vague sense of commonality based on socio-economic condition. It differs from the notion of 'class consciousness' found in the Marxist literature in that it does not necessarily imply a notion of opposition or 'class conflict'. Class identification, on the other hand, refers to which classes - upper, middle, working, and lower - survey respondents place themselves in.

⁷ For example, Curtis and Scott (1973:8) describe Pineo & Goyder's article in their book as the "first systematic attempt to study the subjective class identification of Canadians".

Comparative discussions on the rate of working class self-identification have found Canada to be similar to other Western democracies. Rinehart and Okraku (1974: 201) report that working class self-identification in Australia varies from 47 to 48 per cent, in France from 45 to 55 per cent. National analyses of Canada report similar figures. Van Loon and Whittington (1976:249) in a national survey of Canada carried out in the 1960's found 49.6 per cent of the sample placed themselves in either the working or lower classes. Pineo and Goyder (1973) reported that 31 per cent of Canadians identified themselves as working class. Three other national analyses in 1965, 1968, and 1974, found working class self-identification rates of 45, 41, and 35 per cent respectively (Goyder & Pineo, 1979:437). Two regional analyses report 40 per cent working class self-identification in Ontario (Pineo & Goyder, 1979:437) and 53 per cent working and lower class self-identification in British Columbia (Koenig, 1975). Nine constituency analyses found varying rates of working class self-identification (Goyder & Pineo, 1979:437).

TABLE 2
 PROPORTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS VOTES
 RECEIVED BY EACH PARTY
 (Vertical Percentages)
 1968 ELECTION

	TOTAL	LIB	PC	NDP	RC & SC
SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL CLASS					
Upper	8	10	7	4	4
Middle	48	51	48	34	46
Lower	44	39	45	62	51
Total	100% (2172)	100% (1228)	100% (597)	100% (264)	100% (83)

Source: Meisel (1975:290)

The rates varied in these studies from a low of 27 per cent to a high of 54 per cent.⁸ For example, in an analysis of four urban Canadian cities, Gagne and Regenstrief (1967) reported 48 per cent identified themselves as working class; and in London, Ontario, Rinehart and Okraku (1974) reported 39.4 per cent working class self-identifiers. Although these results are not strictly comparable due to differences in methodology, rates of working class self-identification in Canada appear to be broadly similar to other Western democracies and a substantial portion of the population considers itself to be working class.

Since the pioneering work of Campbell et al., (1960), the measure of class self-identification has been routinely asked in surveys of political opinions. The impact of this variable was noted by Meisel (1975:13). He reported the New Democratic Party to be "... very strongly associated with the working class in the sense that almost 60 per cent of its vote was derived from laborers and those identifying with the working class". (See Table 2) A constituency analysis (Wilson, 1968:301) also found

⁸ An exception to this is the finding of 15% working class self-identification among those 25 to 35 years of age in Montreal and Toronto (Goyder & Pineo, 1979:437).

working class self-identification to be correlated with support for the New Democratic Party. In that study, 59 per cent of those who identified with the working class supported the New Democratic Party, while conversely 13 per cent of the working class self-identifiers supported the Liberals and 28 per cent supported the Progressive Conservatives. Thus, if there is any relationship at all between socio-economic status and voting behavior, it tends to be strongest in the relation between working class self-identification and support for the New Democratic Party.

This thesis will re-examine the relationship between working class self-identification and support for the New Democratic Party. The problem we present is whether or not working class self-identification was a significant source of variation in New Democratic Party voting in 1974. We hypothesize that it will be found to be so.

H2: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with working class self-identification.

New Democratic Party Support and Trade Union/Working Class Self-Identification

The formulations reported in the discussion of the relationships among working class self-identification, trade union membership, and support for the New Democratic Party, fail to consider the relationships among the variables involved. There are two clear propositions. First, there is one dependent variable - New Democratic Party vote - and two independent variables - trade union membership and working class self-identification. Second, the two independent variables are supposed to be positively correlated with the dependent variable. But one important question remains. Is there a unique effect on New Democratic voting by trade union membership and working class self-identification in combination? In other words, is New Democratic Party voting intensified by an interactive relationship between trade union membership and working class self-identification?

The interactive interpretation suggests that there will be greater New Democratic voting among trade union members with working class self-identification than expected from the individual effects of the two variables alone. In other words, the proportion of New Democratic Party support will be significantly greater when union membership and working class self-identification are combined, than would

be expected from the linear additive effects of the two independent variables.

Conceptualizing the same problem in a somewhat different manner, some theorists have suggested that trade union membership fosters the development of working class self-identification (Parkin, 1971; Leggett, 1968, 1979; Stevenson, 1977a, 1977b). Leggett (1968; 1979) posits that 'working class consciousness' is multifaceted and should be conceived as an ordinal or continuous variable and that there are two sources of 'working class consciousness'. First, economic insecurity which is a result of: agrarian - industrial mobility (eg. uprooted workers), tenuous occupational position (eg. unemployment), and, membership in a marginal racial or ethnic group (eg. American Blacks) [Leggett, 1968: 8]. The second, and considered to be the most important, source of 'working class consciousness' is 'working class' organizational affiliation which is defined as: unions, and neighbourhood organizations (Leggett, 1968:15-16). These two types of organizations are considered important because "... they have the potential to interpret events for workmen in terms of class categories and involve workers in confrontation or conflicts with business firms, the result of which creates consciousness" (Leggett, 1968:16) [emphasis added].

Leggett's thesis defines 'working class consciousness' as a developmental or step-by-step process ranging from: low or cognitive (inconsistent skeptics, class indifferents, class verbalizers), to medium or transitional (class skeptics), to high or action (inconsistent egalitarians, radical egalitarians, and class militants) [Leggett, 1979:244-46]. The first stage of this synthesis is working or subordinate class identification which can be measured by survey questions used in this study (see: Buttel & Flinn, 1979). Thus, the Leggett thesis postulates that there will be an interactive effect between trade union membership and working class self-identification. Leggett further argues that political behavior is a consequence of 'working class consciousness'. "Both economic insecurity and working-class organizational affiliation are the important sources of working-class consciousness in industrial societies, while class consciousness in turn helps to determine how people act politically" (Leggett, 1968:8). Specifically 'working class consciousness' will aid reform or labor political parties when: the working class is faced with economic crisis (eg. high unemployment), the party presents a pro-labor platform, a pro-labor candidate supports the party program, and, the union takes a pro-labor position.

This thesis will re-examine the relationship among these variables with data from the 1974 national election. To our knowledge, such an analysis has not yet been performed with these data. The question we wish to address is whether or not New Democratic Party voting is intensified by an interactive relationship between trade union membership and working class self-identification. We hypothesize that it will be found to be so.

H3: New Democratic Party support will vary positively and interactively when trade union membership and working class self-identification are simultaneously present.

Summary

In conclusion, the purpose of this thesis is to test the expectations which have been discussed in this chapter. This thesis presents the following three problems:

- 1) Is New Democratic Party support related to trade union membership?
- 2) Is New Democratic Party support related to working class self-identification?
- 3) Is New Democratic Party support related to an interaction effect occurring between trade union membership and working class self-identification?

⁹ The word interactively is used in the sense outlined by Blalock (1960:256-57).

The resulting three hypotheses are:

- Hypothesis One: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with trade union membership.
- Hypothesis Two: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with working class self-identification.
- Hypothesis Three: New Democratic Party support will vary positively and interactively when trade union membership and working class self-identification are simultaneously present.

In each case, the question will be examined with data and/or statistical methods which, to our knowledge, have not been used before in the exploration of these issues. The next chapter deals directly with the research methodology: the data base, operationalization of variables, and, an outline of statistical techniques. Chapter three presents the results of the data analysis. The final chapter examines the findings and provides a conclusion and brief discussion.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of: a description of the data used in the study; a specification of the constructs implied in the hypotheses stated in Chapter one; and an outline of the statistical methods used in the data analysis to test the expressed relations.

Data Base

The data base used in this study is from a survey conducted in 1974 by Leduc, Clarke, Jenson, and Pammett (Leduc, et al., 1974). The high cost of survey research at the national level, as well as time limitations, dictated my selection of previously existing data. The sample design is a multistage, stratified, cluster sample of 2562, weighted by province to allow for some systematic oversampling of smaller provinces, which produced an effective sample of 2445. The sample is self-weighting except for correction weights that are applied as a compensation for the over sampling of the smaller provinces. (See Appendix A for a Distribution of Sample by Province and Weights)

The sample frame was the enumeration list compiled for the 1974 national election. The use of enumeration lists is undertaken for two reasons:

- 1) it is a fairly accurate list of voters, achieving 90 to 95 per cent coverage of the total population, and,
- 2) it can be compiled in advance of the election.

The method of drawing the sample consisted of a three stage design. First, constituencies, already stratified according to province, were further stratified with regard to geographic position within province and rank ordered according to percentage vote for the second place party in the 1972 election. Selection was made from a random start, selecting two polls per constituency, with probability proportionate to size. Probability proportionate to size sampling ensures representativeness as in the final sample each element has an equal chance of selection and guards against undersampling of high population areas. (See Appendix B for the Calculated Sample Probabilities for Provincial Sub-samples) Secondly, polls were selected. Polls were grouped according to their rural or urban classification and rank ordered according to percentage of vote for the second place party in the 1972 election. In the final stage, eight respondents were selected from each of 429 polls by simple random procedure. It is acknowledged that the use of cluster sampling introduces two additional sources of sampling error. However, this procedure is more cost

efficient than the simple random sample. The larger sample size is preferable because of the increase in representativeness (Babbie, 1979).

Variables - Independent, Dependent and Controls

In this study, voting for the New Democratic Party is the dependent variable; trade union membership and working class self-identification are the independent variables. The following control variables have been selected: family income, education, religion, age, region, ethnicity and gender. These have been chosen because a survey of the literature by Terry and Schultz (1973) indicates that this would be appropriate.

Terry and Schultz (1973) concluded that of eighteen general propositions, only three specific to the national level of analysis could be considered as consistently scoring medium to high on the criteria. The criteria used were generalizability¹⁰ and verification.¹¹

¹⁰ Generalizability is defined as: "are there other contexts in which this has not been found to be true", or in other words, replication. (Terry & Schultz, 1973:249)

¹¹ Verification is defined as: "to what extent is that finding substantiated in the literature by corroborative results achieved through the use of different techniques", or in other words, validity. (Terry & Schultz, 1973:249)

These propositions were:

- 1) "The Liberals are strongly supported by Roman Catholics; the Conservatives by Protestants, especially United Church and Anglican voters; and the NDP by those with no religious affiliation or by Protestants" (Terry & Schultz, 1973:260).
- 2) "The Conservatives disproportionately attract those of British ethnic origin, Liberals those of French origin, and the NDP those of neither British or French origin" (Terry & Schultz, 1973:265).
- 3) "Region is related to party choice" (Terry & Schultz, 1973:271).

Thus, religion, ethnicity and region are related to electoral behavior.

In addition, specifically as regards New Democratic Party support, Terry and Schultz (1973) also found the four variables: income, education, age, and gender, important and useful in predicting the vote. For example, Scarrow (1964) found a relationship between New Democratic Party support and low income, and Laskin and Baird (1970) reported that low education was related to New Democratic Party voting (see Terry & Schultz, 1973:257). Terry and Schultz (1973) discuss other variables important in New Democratic Party voting. Citing Peterson and Avakumovic (1964), they state that, "Older voters tend to support the Conservative party, younger voters the Liberals, with NDP drawing the bulk of its support from middle-aged voters" (Terry & Schultz, 1973:258). One further variable is

considered important. "Men tend to vote NDP more than women, while women are more likely to vote Conservative than men" (Terry & Schultz, 1973:268). Thus, socio-economic status (income and education), age, and gender are related to voting for the New Democratic Party. (The operational measures of these, and other variables, used in this study are contained in Table 3)

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data followed the quantitative multivariate statistical technique of stepwise multiple regression available through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, et al., 1975) computer program. The procedure was modified as necessary for dummy variable regression analysis.

The analysis will be to produce two stepwise multiple regression equations. The first multiple regression equation will include all the control variables in the first step and the independent variable, trade union membership, in the final step. The partial correlation coefficient for the trade union variable will be computed and tested for statistical significance. The second equation will include all the variables though the stepwise procedure. The first step will be the inclusion of all the control variables. The second step will include

TABLE 3
OPERATIONAL MEASURES*

TYPE OF VARIABLE	NAME	CATEGORIES
Dependent	NDP vote	1. NDP voting 2. All other voting
Independent	Trade Union membership	1. Union Membership 2. Non-union
Independent	Working Class Self-Indentification	1. Working and lower class identifiers 2. All other class identifiers and those who do not perceive of themselves as belonging to a social class.
Control	Education	Number of years in school.
Control	Family Income	Income interval midpoints, except for the lowest level which was assigned and the highest level which was assigned \$20000.

TABLE 3

OPERATIONAL MEASURES cont'd

TYPE OF VARIABLE	NAME	CATEGORIES
Control	Religion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Catholic (including: Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic) 2. United Church and Presbyterian 3. Anglican 4. Fundamentalist (including: Baptist, Lutheran Pentacostal, Salvation Army, Jehovah Witness, Mennonite, Brethren, Evangelical, Christian Reformed, Latter Day Saints, Church of Christ, Church of God, Christian Science, Seventh Day Adventist, Christian Alliance) 5. Non-fundamentalist Christians (including: Christian, Protestant, other specific Protestant) 6. Jewish 7. Others (including: Greek Orthodox, Buddhist, Sikh, Moslem, Other vague answers) 8. No regular church and no religion
Control	Ethnicity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Irish 2. French 3. Scottish 4. Northern European (including: Finnish, Estonian, German, Austrian, Netherland, Beligian, Scandinavian)

TABLE 3

OPERATIONAL MEASURES cont'd.

TYPE OF VARIABLE	NAME	CATEGORIES
Control	Ethnicity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Southern Europeans (including: Greek, Maltese, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese) 6. Eastern Europeans (including: Czeckoslovakian, Slovakian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian) 7. Jewish, Hebrew 8. Non-European Minorities (including: Chinese, Japanese, other oriental, Native Indian or Eskimo, West Indian, African, Other Asian) 9. Combinations (Other European; British Isles, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh mixtures; British Isles and one or more other; English, French, British Isles and French; French and other (not British Isles); All other combinations) 10. English and Welsh
Control	Region**	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maritimes (including: Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island) 2. Prairies (including: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta) 3. Ontario 4. British Columbia

TABLE 3

OPERATIONAL MEASURES cont'd.

TYPE OF VARIABLE	NAME	CATEGORIES
Control	Age***	In years
	Gender	1. Females 2. Males

* The original questions and categories can be found in Appendices C through H.

** Region - Quebec is excluded from the analysis in this thesis for reasons of cultural and political distinctiveness (Ornstein, 1979) and for problems of multicollinearity between religion and ethnicity (Chandler, 1979; Blake, 1973).

*** Age - Terry & Schultz (1973) have argued that NDP support comes primarily from the middle age brackets, therefore this variable will be transformed into a first, second and third degree polynomial and tested for statistical significance before entered into analysis.

the independent variable, working class self-identification. The next step will include trade union membership. The final step will include the interaction term. Partial correlation coefficients will be computed and tested for statistical significance for the second and final steps in the analysis.

The null hypothesis is that the independent variables (trade union membership and working class self-identification) and the interaction term, will not add significantly to the explanation of variation in the dependent variable (voting for the New Democratic Party) once the effects of the control variables (religion, ethnicity, region, income, education, age and gender), have been taken into account. The F ratio will be used for tests of statistical significance. The level of significance will be set at the .05 level. (Labovitz, 1968, suggests that in the absence of any compelling reason to the contrary, .05 is conventionally used)

Chapter 3

RESULTS

The following is the presentation of the results of the data analysis. The three hypotheses being tested are:

- H1: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with trade union membership.
- H2: New Democratic Party support will vary positively with working class self-identification.
- H3: New Democratic Party support will vary positively and interactively when trade union membership and working class self-identification are simultaneously present.

Regarding the first hypothesis, the partial correlation coefficient for the trade union variable ($r^2_{1,9 \cdot 2-8} = .017$, $p < .001$), indicates that the variable is significantly related to New Democratic Party voting after taking into account the effects of the control variables. Thus, the first hypothesis is supported by the data.

So far as the second hypothesis is concerned, the results indicate that working class self-identification is not significantly related to New Democratic Party voting after taking into account the effects of the control variables. ($r^2_{1,10 \cdot 2-8} = .003$, $p > .05$) Therefore, the second hypothesis is rejected.

The results concerning the third hypothesis indicate that the interaction effect of trade union membership

and working class self-identification on New Democratic Party vote is not significant at the critical level once the effects of the control variables are taken into account. ($r^2_{1, 11.2-10} = .002, p > .05$) Therefore, the third hypothesis is not supported by the data.

Finally, the results presented in Table 4 indicate that taken together, all the variables account for 6.5 per cent of the explained variance in New Democratic Party voting. These results leave 93.5 per cent of the variance in New Democratic Party voting unexplained, which is a substantial amount.

This discussion can be summarized by the following diagram.¹²

¹² This model does not intend to be comprehensive and therefore does not take into account any of the indirect relationships which are not specific to this study.

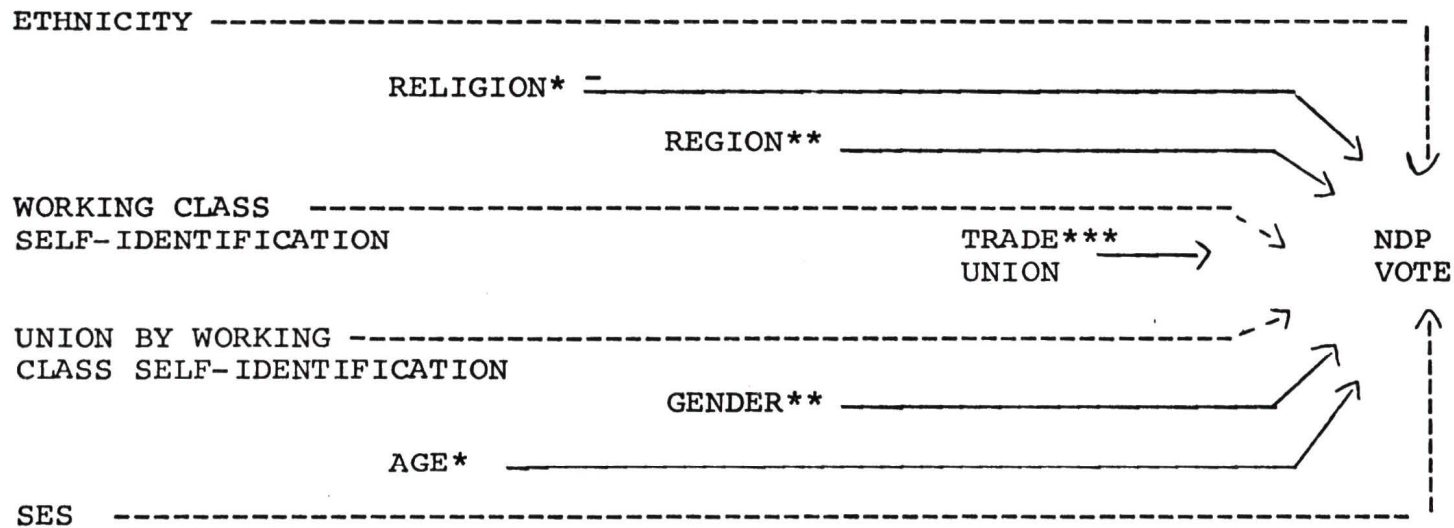
TABLE 4
 MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF
 THE INDEPENDENT AND CONTROL VARIABLES WITH
 NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY VOTING (N=1321)

VARIABLES	R^2
Controls*	.045***
Controls + union membership	.061***
Controls + working class self-identification	.048***
Controls + union + working class self-identification + interaction	.065***

* Statistical tests of significance on the second and third degree polynomials for age did not reach the critical level, therefore the age variable is included only as a linear variable. The control variables used are: education, income, religion, ethnicity, region, age, and gender.

*** $p < .001$

FIGURE I : PATH ANALYTIC CONCEPTUAL SCHEME



Weakest
Effects

Strongest
Effects

----- not significant
 _____ significant

*p < .05
 **p < .01
 ***p < .001

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION¹³

In summary, the results provided in the previous chapter indicate that there is a weak but significant relationship between trade union membership and New Democratic Party voting; that there is no relationship between working class self-identification and New Democratic Party voting; and, finally, that the interaction effect of trade union membership and working class self-identification is not significantly related to New Democratic Party voting. Also, a full explanation of New Democratic Party support in the Canadian electorate generally, and within trade unions in particular, must account for the effects of the control variables.

In conclusion, these results can be interpreted as confirmation of the relationship between trade union membership and New Democratic Party voting which is consistent with the findings reported by previous research (Regenstrief, 1963; Peterson & Avakumovic, 1964; Regenstrief, 1965; Gagne & Regenstrief, 1967; Alford, 1968; Laponce, 1969; Chi, 1973; Koenig, 1975; Leggett, 1979; Keddie, 1980). However, it must be

¹³ The reader is reminded that this study pertains only to Anglophone Canada, excluding Quebec.

kept in mind that although the greatest percentage of New Democratic support comes from labour, other numerically smaller groups may give proportionately higher levels of support; for example, the middle class intellectuals who comprised the Waffle (Surich, 1975). Further, the results of this study indicate that although working class self-identification may exist in the Canadian population, it is not related to New Democratic Party voting. Thus, this study casts some doubt on the generality of those studies (eg. Wilson, 1968; Meisel, 1975) which have proposed the existence of such a relationship. Our analysis, in contrast, supports those authors (Goyder & Pineo , 1979; Schreiber, 1980) who have suggested that the measure of class self-identification be used with extreme caution. Finally, the study does not support the contention by Leggett (1979) that there is an interactive relationship between working class self-identification and trade union membership and voting for the New Democratic Party. However, it must be kept in mind that these relationships will also be affected by the control variables and by the working class appeals and concerns articulated by the various candidates and/or parties.

One interpretation of the lack of the relationship between working class self-identification and voting for the New Democratic Party may be that those with working class self-identification may not view the New Democrats as representing their objective interests. It might be that all five political parties are 'bourgeois parties', and that the evidence presented here attests to the effects of a moderate amount of 'false consciousness' among the Canadian electorate (Lambert & Hunter, 1979). Indeed, Teeple (1972) has described the New Democrats as "Liberals in a Hurry". Furthermore these negative results can be interpreted as influenced by the political actions of the Party. In British Columbia, for instance, Leggett (1979:262) argued the New Democratic Party in power demonstrated two things:

- "1) The NDP most emphatically is not the party of class conscious labor;
- 2) Class conscious workers might well consider the creation of a Marxist Canadian Commonwealth Federation."

One methodological concern, which may be important for future research on this topic, is the clarification of working class self-identification and its relation to voting. Hence, the operationalization in this study may not have tapped the full meaning of the concept. To this end, questions regarding the salience of economic issues

to the electorate, as suggested by Ogmundson (1972), or the extent to which individuals are aware of economically based inequalities (Leggett, 1968, 1979) may increase the explained variation in the dependent variable. Also, it has been argued (Ogmundson, 1972) that it is important to account for the individual's perception of political parties as 'for the working class' or 'for the middle class'. Therefore, if a subjective measure is used, it becomes necessary to classify political parties on a subjective measure. Furthermore, working class awareness may also be measured in an objective fashion as in the rate of strike activity in Canada or the amount of industrial workplace acts of sabotage. The multiple measurement approach would at least provide some assurance that the variation of the concept had been tapped by the measurement process. The necessity of multiple measurement has been noted by other authors (Stevenson, 1977a, 1977b; Leggett, 1968; Lambert & Hunter, 1979). One further suggestion for research on this topic would be to investigate particular subsets of the population through the case study approach since in the present research the control variables had an impact on the dependent variable. However, this type of methodology suffers from lack of representativeness and needs controls for careful between-group comparisons.

In conclusion, the findings of this study are enlightening in three respects. First, they confirm the findings of previous research on the existence of a relationship between trade union membership and New Democratic Party voting. Secondly, the results do not support the contention of a relationship between working class self-identification and voting for the New Democratic Party. This relationship is often acknowledged as common sense, however, this study has tested those assumptions and found negative results. Third, there is no indication of an interactive relationship between trade union membership and working class self-identification which is related to support for the New Democrats. However, it must be kept in mind that even though a relationship reached the critical level of significance, the small coefficients ultimately represent weak relations among the variables. Therefore, although we may suggest trade union membership is related to voting for the New Democratic Party we can not argue that the relationship is strong, or even moderate. Indeed the evidence indicates that it is very weak. Perhaps future research should turn its attention to an alternative approach to the explanation of Canadian politics.

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APPENDIX A: Distribution of National Sample by Province

Province	# of Constit- uencies	# of Polls	Initial Sample*	Comple- ted inter- views	Per Cent Weight	Effect- ive Sample	Per Cent	
Ont.	28	117	936	702	27.3	1.25	878	35.8
Que.	28	117	936	702	27.3	1.00	702	28.6
N.S.	6	30	240	180	7.0	.50	90	3.7
N.B.	4	23	184	134	5.4	.50	67	2.8
Nfld.	4	17	136	102	3.9	.50	51	2.1
P.E.I.	4	17	136	97	3.9	.125	12	0.5
Man.	4	19	152	113	4.5	1.00	113	4.7
Sask.	4	17	136	101	3.9	1.00	101	4.2
Alta.	6	30	240	179	7.0	1.00	179	7.3
B.C.	8	42	336	252	9.8	1.00	252	10.3
Totals	96	429	3432	2562	100.0		2445	100.0

* Initial cluster size = 8; with projected 75% completion rate the final cluster size = 6.

Source: Leduc, et al., (1974:703), Clarke, et al., (1979:398).

APPENDIX B: Calculated Sample Probabilities for Provincial Sub-Samples*

Stage I	X	Stage II	X	Stage= III	Individual Probability	X ^{Weight} =	Adjusted Probability	Province
.31818		.01816		.03636	.00021	1.25	.00026	Ontario
.37838		.01820		.03774	.00026	1.00	.00026	Quebec
.54545		.02538		.03756	.00052	.500	.00026	N.S.
.40000		.03620		.00052	.00052	.000	.00026	N.B.
.57143		.02150		.04233	.00052	.500	.00026	Nfld.
1.00000		.05641		.03087	.00208	.125	.00026	P.E.I.
.30769		.02218		.03810	.00026	1.000	.0026	Man.
.30769		.01954		.04324	.00026	1.000	.0026	Sask.
.31578		.02027		.04061	.00026	1.000	.00026	Alta.
.34782		.02182		.03704	.00026	1.000	.00026	B.C.

* Based on averages for each province. Actual probabilities are in proportionate unit size. Note that third stage probabilities are inversely proportionate to unit size.

Source: Leduc, et al., (1974:706)

V161 (If voted) For which party did you vote?

- 00. Refused
- 01 Liberal
- 02. Progressive Conservatives
- 03. NDP
- 04. Social Credit
- 05. Other
- 06. Spoiled Ballot
- 08. D.K.
- 09. N.A.

APPENDIX D: Trade Union Membership

V475 Do you belong to a trade or labour union?

00. No
01. D.K. which one
02. United Steelworkers of America (U.S.W.A.)
03. United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (U.A.W.)
04. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
05. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America
06. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
07. Other Specific International
08. International Unspecified (C.I.O.)
09. Canadian Union of Public Employees (C.U.P.E.)
10. National Federation of Services
11. Quebec Teacher's Corporation
12. Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec (F.T.Q.)
13. Other Specific National
14. Other Specific National
15. Government Employees (Civil Service, Public Service Alliance - All Levels of Government, Federal, Provincial, Municipal)
16. Teacher's Federation of Association (All Levels)
17. Other Professional Federation or Associations (U.P.A.)

18. Farmers or Agricultural Groups
19. Labour Union Unspecified
20. Other vague answers (unable to determine whether international or national)
88. D.K.

APPENDIX E: Working Class Self-Identification

V448 (If aware of social class) Which one of the following five social classes would you say you were in: upper class, upper-middle class, middle class, working class, or lower class?

01. Upper Class

02. Upper-middle Class

03. Middle Class

04. Working Class

05. Lower Class

08. D.K.

09. N.A.

APPENDIX F: Income

V478 In which of these groups does the approximate income of the family fall, that is, the income or earnings of all the family members living here added together?

- 00. D.K. (no estimate)
- 01. Less than \$3000 per year
- 02. \$3000 - 4999 per year
- 03. \$5000 - 7499 per year
- 04. \$7500 - 9999 per year
- 05. \$10000 - 14999 per year
- 06. \$15000 - 16999 per year
- 07. \$17000 - 19999 per year
- 08. \$20000 or more per year
- 09. Refused (no estimate)

APPENDIX G: Religion

V454 What is your religion?

00. None
01. Roman Catholic
02. United Church
03. Anglican
04. Presbyterian
05. Baptist
06. Lutheran
07. Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic
08. Greek Orthodox
09. Jewish
10. Pentacostal
11. Salvation Army
12. Jehovah Witness
13. Mennonite
14. Brethren (Unspecified)
15. No regular church
16. Evangelical
17. Christian
18. Christian
19. Latter Day Saints
20. Church of Christ, Church of God
21. Protestant (Unspecified)

22. Christian Science
23. Seventh Day Adventist
24. Christian Alliance
25. Other Specific Protestant
26. Buddhist, Sikh, Moslem
27. Other Vague Answers
88. Refused, No Answer

APPENDIX H: Ethnicity

- V469 Can you tell me what ethnic or cultural group your ancestors who first came to North America belonged to? (on the male side)
01. Czeckoslovakian, Slovakian
 02. Chinese, Japanese, Other Oriental
 03. Englis
 04. Finnish, Estonian
 05. French
 06. German, Austrian
 07. Greek, Maltese
 08. Hungarian
 09. Irish
 10. Italian
 11. Jewish, Hebrew
 12. Latvian, Lithuanian
 13. Netherland (Dutch), Beligian
 14. Polish
 15. Scandinavian (Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Swedish)
 16. Scottish
 17. Russian
 18. Ukrainian
 19. Yugoslavian
 20. Welsh
 21. Native Indian or Eskimo

22. Spain, Portugal
23. West Indian
24. African
25. Other European (One Country)
26. Other Asian (One Country)
27. English, French, British Isles and French
28. British Isles, English, Irish, Scottish,
Welsh mixtures
29. British Isles and one or more other
30. French and other (not British Isles)
31. All other combinations
88. D.K.

VITA

Surname: BURNS Given Names: JANET MARY CHRISTINE

Place of Birth: Medicine Hat, Alta.

Date of Birth: August 18, 1952

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering
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Title of Thesis:

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP, WORKING CLASS SELF-IDENTIFICATION
AND SUPPORT FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Author:


Janet M.C. Burns

January, 1981