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The effects of images of party leaders on electoral choice in Canada.

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THE EFFECTS OF IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS ON ELECTORAL CHOICE
IN CANADA

by



Marianne Catherine Stewart

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through
the Department of Political Science in
Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1980

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS ON ELECTORAL CHOICE
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Many people simply have assumed that short-term factors such as images of party leaders are important in determining the electoral choices of Canadians. Indeed, with the exception of studies conducted by Winham and Cunningham and by Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc, and Pammett, very little empirical information is available. Accordingly, the purpose of this five-chapter thesis is to provide answers to research questions on whether or not and the extent to which party leaders, as major actors in Canadian politics and society, create affective feelings and evaluations, that is, images of themselves, which determine electoral choices. To achieve this end, four chapters of information are reported.

The first chapter reviews existing literature on the electoral impact of images of party leaders, which have been conceptualized as a short-term force and which occupy a major position in a controversy over which forces, including party identification, exert the greatest effects on voting. The chapter also examines the conduct of electoral campaigns in 1968 and 1974; advances three sets of expectations regarding distributions of images of party leaders, their relationship with party identification, and their effect on direction of voting; presents the data which are drawn from the 1968 and 1974 Canadian National Election Studies, measures, and methods which comprise histograms, tabular distributions, one-way analyses of variance, partial correlations, and analyses of commonalities that are used to test the expectations; and introduces briefly topics of the three analytical chapters and one concluding chapter.

Chapter 2 is the first analytical chapter, testing a set of expectations on distributions and sources of two components of images of party leaders. These components are affective and evaluative, with the latter being studied in terms of frequency, direction, and content. It was found that more people felt more warmly about Pierre Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, than about other leaders, especially Robert Stanfield, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party; that feelings about leaders declined in magnitude between 1968 and 1974; and that the personalities and styles of leaders were mentioned more frequently than were their positions on issues. Chapter 3 reflects an attempt to further the investigation by employing the concept of party identification, which has been thought to operate as a perceptual screen. It was discovered that Liberals, Conservatives, New Democrats, and Social Crediters averaged more favourable than unfavourable perceptions of Trudeau, Stanfield, Tommy Douglas and David Lewis, and René Caouette, respectively; that intense, stable, and/or consistent partisans tended to report more positive and negative images of own and other leaders than did their weaker, unstable, and/or inconsistent counterparts; and that people's images of party leaders can facilitate the adoption and maintenance or erosion of a partisan label. Chapter 4 provides an assessment of the impact of images of party leaders on direction of the vote. Briefly, it was revealed that party leaders were cited as having been most important in determining the voting decision more often than were local candidates but less often than were the parties; that persons who reported relatively high levels of affect for a particular leader tended to vote for that leader's party more frequently than did respondents who felt less warmly about him; and that voting effects are mixed according to which group of the electorate houses a respondent, with the groups being based on

stability of party identification, level of political interest, and past voting record.

Based on the findings, Chapter 5 advances three observations which may be characterized as theoretical, conceptual, and methodological. The first observation raises the question of "so what?" that must be faced by any piece of research. The second observation involves revision of the classic Michigan causal model of voting behaviour. The third observation calls for a more rigorous construction of and the use of more sophisticated analytical techniques for estimating models. That this thesis has tried to move towards the objectives lying within the three observations is its most original contribution to the study of voting behaviour in Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In attempting to provide answers to the research questions on the effects of images of party leaders on electoral choice in Canada posed by this thesis, I received academic, professional and personal advice, assistance, and encouragement from several people. They are Lawrence LeDuc of the Department of Political Science, University of Windsor, who chaired the thesis committee; Allan Kornberg of the Department of Political Science, Duke University and J. Alex Murray of the Faculty of Business Administration, University of Windsor, who served as members of the thesis committee; Kai Hildebrandt of the Department of Political Science, University of Windsor, who read the thesis and offered comments on it; and members of my family, including my father whose interest in politics served to ignite my own interest, and especially my husband, Harold Clarke of the Department of Political Science, University of Windsor, who facilitated the transformation of my own interest in politics into a professional research interest. I appreciate greatly their advice, assistance, and encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH QUESTION: THE ELECTORAL EFFECTS OF IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS

Introduction

According to classical and contemporary political theories, the extent to which mass political participation is fostered by institutional guarantees largely characterizes the presence of a democratic polity. Particularly noteworthy among the guarantees listed by Robert Dahl is the citizenry's right to select and thereby to exercise control over its leaders during periodic, competitive elections. In light of the resources conventionally associated with other forms of political participation, this act of voting constitutes one of a few meaningful opportunities available to most people to experience direct involvement in the political process.¹ Yet, although the significance of voting long has been recognized by empirically-oriented social scientists,² a dearth of methodological approaches and data-processing techniques prohibited large-scale, systematic inquiries into the nature of electoral behaviour prior to the late 1950s. Since that time, restrictions virtually have been eliminated and the amount as well as quality of research have increased substantially. To a considerable extent, this growth is attributable to the continuing series of biennial sample surveys of the American electorate conducted by the University of Michigan and the data-archiving efforts of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Moreover, the explosion of research on voting behaviour has not been confined entirely to investigations conducted in the United States. Indeed, studies involving the populations of Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Scandinavian countries³ bear eloquent testimony to the widespread interest in the electoral decision-making processes of other western democracies. Stoked by this proliferation has been a major controversy focusing on the precise operation of various "long-term" and "short-term" determinants of electoral choice. This controversy provides the context within which the research question on whether or not images of party leaders, who are key actors in the political process, function as a short-term force among the Canadian electorate can be answered. Provision of an answer is the purpose of this thesis. Preparatory to beginning this provision, the present chapter reviews existing research on the electoral influence of images of party leaders, discusses the conduct of election campaigns in 1968 and 1974, advances some expectations, presents the data, measures and methods that are used for analysis, and introduces briefly the topics of the three analytical and one concluding chapters.

The Current Controversy: Long-term versus Short-term Determinants of Electoral Choice

Definition of Long-term and Short-term Determinants

In an essay recently written by Converse, long-term forces were defined as nonpolitical factors which are distant from the voting decision, such as membership in a social class or ethnic group.⁴ Equally plausible, however, is the conceptualization of long-term forces as embodying a political substance pertinent to electoral choice, for example, party identification or ideology. Similarly, short-term forces which are by their nature much more proximal to the voting calculus may be either

nonpolitical or political. Illustrative of the former is the imposition of a spouse's personal preferences while the latter has been exemplified by images of candidates and concerns about issues.⁵

Given that the current debate explicitly refers to the importance of political forces, it additionally is necessary to understand the affective or the instrumental orientation which comprises the nature of the voting decision itself. Affective orientations involve the degree of "like" or "dislike" expressed by an individual for a particular political party or leader. Instrumental orientations consist of evaluations of issues or ideological commitments.⁶ In brief, then, the juxtaposition of the nature of the voting decision with the nature of forces affecting the voting decision permits specific forces to be classified as either affective long-term or short-term as opposed to instrumental long-term or short-term. This classification scheme or typology is depicted diagrammatically in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Typology of Nature of Forces Affecting Voting Decision and Nature of Voting Decision

		Nature of Forces Affecting Voting Decision	
		<u>Long-term</u>	<u>Short-term</u>
Nature of Voting Decision	Affective	party identification	images of party leaders
	Instrumental	ideology	concerns about issues

It is the categorization of specific forces according to the dimensions of this typology, for example, whether or not images of party leaders are affective and/or instrumental in the nature of the voting decision, the inter-relationship between forces, most notably the impact of party

identification on perceptions of candidates and issues and vice-versa, and the direct and indirect electoral effects of each force which comprise cruxes of the existing controversy.

The Current Controversy in the United States and Canada

The historical antecedents of the controversy embrace the pioneering efforts of Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes and their use of reference-group theory to formulate the concept of party identification, that is, "the sense of personal attachment which the individual feels toward . . . parties as groups."⁷ In studies of the American electorate conducted during the 1950s and early 1960s, it was revealed that identifications are acquired early in life, tend to be stable over time, are affective, determine perceptions of political objects such as leaders and issues, and facilitate the performance of political activities in addition to guiding electoral choice.⁸ More recently, Converse has argued that partisan loyalties not only assumed a prominent attitudinal position but they also overshadowed concerns about issues and candidates due to widespread voter disinterest and a lack of ideological and policy differences between the major parties.⁹ Harrop has interpreted this situation as representing an unusually placid period in American politics.¹⁰ Attendant upon this observation is the possibility that the concept of a normal vote, which describes the electoral decision as a product of the interaction between partisan allegiance and short-term forces,¹¹ may only be applicable to the pre-1964 era.

If the absence of inflammatory political issues characterizes the 1950s and early 1960s, then the post-1964 period may be distinguished by social dislocations and intense issue cleavages exacerbated by the Vietnam War. Indeed, Burnham cites 1964 as the beginning of a fourth

"critical realignment sequence" of elections,¹² Miller and Levitin designate it as the origin of a "new politics,"¹³ and Nie, Verba and Petrocik interpret it as the crucial transitional year between partisan commitments and issue orientations.¹⁴ These observations are based on a series of studies documenting declines in the incidence, strength, and operational screening power of party identification, as evidenced by fewer references to a political party as a reason for liking or disliking a candidate, as well as its effect upon voting. Concomitant with the overall demise of partisanship, there have been increases in the number of Independents and the significance of issues and images of candidates among the American electorate.¹⁵

Beyond encompassing much of the literature on American electoral behaviour, the current debate over long-term and short-term forces has been injected into research conducted in other political milieux, particularly in Britain. Butler and Stokes, for example, documented the high incidence and stability of party identification and its strong correlation with the vote in panel surveys of the British electorate. According to them, 76 per cent of respondents in the 1956 to 1960 panel of the American election studies demonstrated stable partisan self-images and direction of the vote over time, whereas 75 per cent of individuals who comprised the 1963 to 1966 panel of the British election studies did the same.¹⁶ Further, an almost identical percentage (73.6) of persons in the 1970 to 1974 British panel revealed a pattern of stable party identification and stable vote.¹⁷ Contrariwise, Crewe, Sarlvik and Alt, and Harrop observed increases in concerns about issues and issue-voting among British respondents.¹⁸ To a lesser extent, the debate also has surfaced in writings about other countries, particularly Australia, France, West Germany, Israel, and Italy.¹⁹

Until recently, the state of research on Canadian electoral behaviour had not achieved the volume, availability of panel data, and methodological sophistication exhibited by the American and British studies. The literature, however, has addressed two questions. One involves documentation of the electoral effects of cleavages in the Canadian socio-political fabric. Scholars and journalists have accorded special prominence to the impact of provincialism or regionalism due to the complexity of the federal system and its disparities based on economics, industrialization, and urbanization,²⁰ and they have recorded Quebec's traditional reputation as a Liberal bastion and a propensity in the Prairie provinces to support the CCF-NDP, which sprang from populism of the 1930s, or to elect Conservative candidates since the sweep by John Diefenbaker in 1958.²¹ Aside from provincial or regional differences, two other significant cleavages are religion and ethnicity. Analyses of voting behaviour have witnessed the tendency of English-Canadians and Protestants to select the Conservative Party, while Liberal strength has derived from French-Canadians, Catholics, and smaller ethnic and religious groups.²² Another important variable is social class such that although contrary arguments have been advanced by Alford, Blake, and others, several scholars such as Chi and Wilson have maintained that the "conditions for class politics" currently exist in Canada, and that the Conservative Party and the NDP attract votes from the middle and working classes, respectively.²³ Moreover, Lemieux and Pinard have characterized Social Credit voters as hailing disproportionately from the lower and working classes.²⁴ Two other variables that have received some attention are age and urban-rural residency. With respect to the former, it is found that older people tend to prefer ideologically conservative parties and in Canada, despite attempts to play the game of brokerage politics, this type has been the

Conservative Party.²⁵ With respect to the latter, it is evident that individuals from rural areas and small towns vote Conservative or Social Credit if possible, whereas Liberal or NDP voters live in large, industrialized areas.²⁶ In summary, then, analyses have revealed that Liberal voters include residents of Quebec, Catholics, French-Canadians, young people, urban dwellers, as well as the university-educated and persons with prestigious occupations. Conservative strength derives from the Prairie provinces, Protestants, English-Canadians, members of the middle class, older people, rural inhabitants, and the non-university-educated. The Social Credit Party also appeals to Catholics, the French, the lower and working classes, and individuals residing in small communities or lacking a university education. Finally, the New Democratic Party receives its electoral support from major English and Protestant groups, the working class, persons living in large cities, and the university-educated.

The second question is pertinent directly to the present inquiry and it revolves around the concept and properties of party identification. Specifically, the dispute received impetus from a challenge to the "textbook theory" of Canadian partisan politics by Sniderman, Forbes and Melzer.²⁷ Conventional wisdom maintains that a lack of ideological and policy differences between the Conservative and Liberal parties has served to enfeeble partisan ties, which has resulted in electoral volatility. The three authors, however, employed data from the 1965 and 1968 Canadian National Election Studies to assert that identifications can be inherited, are stable, and do guide electoral choice. They found that fully 79 per cent and 84 per cent of the 1965 and 1968 respondents, respectively, identified with a political party, and 51 per cent and 49 per cent reported stable identification and stable voting.²⁸ The conclusion

that the stability of party identification can affect voting has not been disputed by other scholars, but much of their research, notably that of four people who conducted studies of the Canadian electorate in 1974 and 1979, Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett, does bolster the textbook theory given that high levels of weakness, instability, and vote-switching have been detected.²⁹ These characteristics of partisanship have been attributed to the failure of familial processes of transmission, the policy re-orientation of the Conservative Party during the early 1960s, and the emergence of a brokerage political style in the Conservative and Liberal parties.³⁰ Because these parties increasingly have pursued centrist policies and have avoided divisive ideological questions, it has been suggested that their supporters would experience little difficulty in transcending the narrow gap between them in response to the short-term forces of issues and images of party leaders.³¹

Yet, until Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett introduced the first systematic, empirical appraisal of voting behaviour in Canada, entitled Political Choice in Canada,³² to the scholarly literature, few attempts had been made to assess the significance of short-term electoral forces. Rather, many people simply assumed that these forces are important. As an example, Mallory and Dawson and Ward proposed that the existence of factional tendencies and the concomitant obsession with preserving national unity in Canada have engendered the "politics of personalities," a phenomenon which entails the party leaders' adoption of salient, unifying roles in party organizations and election campaigns as well as their ability to influence voting decisions.³³ Moreover, Dawson observed that the leaders' "personalities and qualities often become more decisive factors in the election than the issues themselves"³⁴ without benefit of concrete data. Such impressions about the operation of electoral forces

gradually came to be tested with information gathered by the survey method when the behavioural approach in the discipline of Political Science and the 1965 and 1968 national election studies by John Meisel and his colleagues appeared in Canada. Soon to accompany these two large studies was a series of smaller investigations, several of which were executed in constituencies comprising the city of Hamilton, Ontario.

One investigation was conducted by Winham and Cunningham prior to the 1968 federal election, and it was a first serious attempt to examine specifically the impact of people's images of party leaders on direction of their voting. It was found that fully 85 per cent of the sample were either moderately or very interested in the campaign in 1968 due to the "newness" of party leaders, particularly Pierre Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party. Moreover, although party identifiers generally intended to vote for their party regardless of its leader's images and perhaps because no single issue dominated the campaign, one-quarter of the uncommitted respondents planned to cast their ballots for a party whose leader evoked a favourable impression.³⁵ Such images of leaders also have been discovered as capable of altering party identification. One-quarter of the respondents in the 1974 study mentioned the leaders as providing reasons for changing their partisanship and, among those who affiliated originally with the Liberal Party in 1968, 64 per cent mentioned motivations relating to leaders.³⁶ Another initial analysis of the 1974 data, however, revealed that none of three campaign issues, including leadership, adequately fulfilled the three conditions prescribed by Butler and Stokes for an issue to influence the vote,³⁷ but that some effect had been exerted by a combination of concerns about issues and leaders. That is, references to policy positions, especially those pertaining to economic matters, occurred frequently among 33.7 per cent and 39.0 per cent

who rated leaders as either the most or second most important factor, respectively, in their voting decision.³⁸ In the book employing the same data, the simple question of whether images of party leaders exert a small or large effect finally receives the analysis that it warrants by becoming transformed into a necessarily complex one, whose answer treats the magnitude of their effect as relative to the sizes of influences of other forces and dependent upon which types of partisanship and voting history are exhibited by a respondent.³⁹

That party leaders potentially may influence voting choice and actually do so among some subgroups of the electorate constitutes an idea and a finding that easily are interpretable in light of the importance and salience of leaders in Canadian society. Yet, despite the significance assigned to them, which is discussed in greater detail in the following section, entitled "Expectations," information concerning popular affect for and evaluations of leaders scarcely exists beyond the above citations to Winham and Cunningham, and to Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett. Accordingly, the purpose of my thesis is to contribute to our knowledge of electoral determinants by analyzing images of party leaders. These images may be expected to manifest certain patterns, and such patterns are discussed below, subsequent to a brief review of the conduct of the election campaign in 1968 and 1974.

The 1968 and 1974 Federal Election Campaigns

Prior to the formulation of expectations, it is necessary to gain an appreciation of the conduct of the federal election campaigns in 1968 and 1974. That is, certain patterns of responses may be expected because both campaigns featured prominently the party leaders. Indeed, the 1968 campaign is remembered chiefly in terms of the extent to which differences

between personalities rather than policies dominated the attention of the media and the electorate. Robert Stanfield, leader of the Conservative Party, attempted to rouse public concern over economic problems, and this attempt was undermined seriously by the contrast between his dull image and the excitement generated by Trudeau. Women and young people were presumed to have been particularly susceptible to the Liberal leader's appeal, and "Trudeaumania" quickly became the catchword of the campaign in 1968.⁴⁰

In 1974, both leaders and issues were emphasized during the campaign. Based upon perceptions of Stanfield as the Conservatives' major liability, the Liberals entered the campaign stressing leadership as the issue and positive aspects of Trudeau's style, such as charisma and competence. The significance of inflation was downplayed by arguments that its effects could only be mitigated due to its status as a global phenomenon. Contrariwise, the Conservative Party's assessment of inflation as a national problem provided it with a campaign platform. Stanfield, however, issued evasive, contradictory statements indicating that there would be exemptions from controls on wages and prices. Such announcements afforded the Liberals with an opportunity to emphasize Trudeau's qualities of leadership and reliability at the expense of Stanfield, furnished the NDP and its leader, David Lewis, with sufficient ammunition to challenge the credibility of the controls, and resurrected factionalism within the Conservative Party.⁴¹

Expectations

The expectations pertain to the distribution of affect for and images of party leaders among the electorate, the relationship between images of party leaders and party identification, and the relationship

between these images and direction of the vote.

Images of Party Leaders

As stated above, conventional wisdom about party leaders dictates that they are important and salient in Canadian society. They are important because the fractional character of as well as ideological and policy similarities between Canadian parties thrusts them into the limelight as speaker for and symbol of their respective parties. Moreover, each leader's personality, style, attitudes, and experiences can serve to meld his party's organizational units, to weave together electoral coalitions from socioeconomic and demographic groups, and to act in tandem with other elites in order to help or to hinder the formulation and passage of legislation in parliament.⁴² These policy- and law-making efforts betray a consensus which is central to the political process and is characterized as consociational democracy, elite accommodation, administrative or executive federalism, or federal-provincial diplomacy.⁴³ Party leaders also are salient because the media of communications deem that facets of their personalities as well as private and public behaviours are newsworthy and, thus, they are publicized. In particular, the leader of the governing party, the prime minister, captures much attention since he operates in domestic and international arenas where stakes are high and conflict occurs frequently, as exemplified by the Federal-Provincial Conference of First Ministers, which is one institutional setting for the operation of executive federalism,⁴⁴ and various meetings of foreign trading partners. The importance and salience of party leaders and the conduct of the election campaigns in 1968 and 1974 permit several expectations about the distribution of affect for and evaluations of party leaders to be forwarded.

One expectation concerns the affective component of images of party leaders, and it is that large numbers of Canadians would have felt more warmly about Trudeau than about other leaders, particularly Stanfield. This expectation is grounded in the reasoning that popular perceptions of political objects, particularly politicians, tend to fluctuate dramatically over time,⁴⁵ and would have been given opportunities to tilt favourably towards Trudeau by his magnetism, vivacity, confidence in abilities of leadership, and attempts to downplay arrogance, and to avoid offending voters through word or deed, while Stanfield advocated an unpopular policy of controls on wages and prices. Specifically, Trudeau should have appealed to young people and to women than to other segments of the electorate if his youthfulness, sense of daring, and sexual attractiveness, as elements of the phenomenon of Trudeaumania, reflected reality more than media hype.

Other expectations bear on the evaluative component of images of party leaders, which can be discussed in terms of number, direction, and content. With regard to the number of evaluations, it is suggested that many voters should have been able to voice some image(s) of a party leader, particularly of Trudeau and Stanfield, given that all leaders used the media for conveying messages to the public and that Trudeau as prime minister and Stanfield as leader of the opposition received ample exposure. Further, mentions of Trudeau, as well as of Tommy Douglas and David Lewis, leaders of the NDP in 1968 and 1974, respectively, and Real Caouette, the Social Credit Party's leader, should be more positive than negative in direction, while those of Stanfield would exhibit the converse pattern since his maladroitness and economic policies were assailed by other leaders and by the media acting in their role as opinion-shaper. Another expectation, which hinges on the flow of images via the media to

receptive members of the public and on the assumption that very politically-interested persons would have a large amount of information at their disposal with which to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of party leaders; is that these people should be more capable of advancing both negative and positive images than should be their less interested counterparts.⁴⁶ The remaining expectation to be forwarded is related to the content of images of party leaders. Among these images, mentions of personality and style should bulk large for 1968 due to newness of the leaders, the contrasts between Trudeau and Stanfield made by the media, and the nonexistence of campaign issues. Such references also are likely to occur for 1974. For both years, voters should describe frequently Stanfield's personality, style, and policies as dull, awkward, and unfeasible or undesirable. In assessments of Trudeau's images, words such as youthful, interesting, intelligent, and capable would be used often. Moreover, emphases of the Conservative and Liberal parties on the issues of inflation and leadership, respectively, suggest that Stanfield and Trudeau might be linked to these issues. That is, it is possible that Stanfield was connected negatively with leadership and positively with inflation since he proposed controls on wages and prices as a solution to the problem of inflation. At the same time, his indications that some groups would be exempted from the controls might have led some people to be antagonized enough so as to associate him negatively with inflation. Correspondingly, Trudeau should be related positively to leadership and negatively to inflation. Lastly, Douglas, Lewis, and Caouette would be characterized as good, entertaining speakers.

Images of Party Leaders and Party Identification

To advance the discussion of images of party leaders, it is

necessary to employ the concept of party identification. Consistent with previous research, it is argued that the perceptual screening power of partisanship will be strong among people whose loyalty to a party is intense, stable, or consistent between the federal and provincial levels of government.⁴⁷ Thus, high levels of affect for and positive images of their own leader, as well as negative perceptions of other leaders should occur among these three groups. For example, intense, stable, or consistent Liberal identifiers should evaluate the Liberal leader much more favourably than the Conservative, New Democratic, or Social Credit leader. Moreover, it is possible that intense, stable, and consistent partisans would perceive their own leaders more positively and other leaders more negatively than their counterparts who do not manifest all three characteristics.

Conversely, for individuals whose partisan attachments are weak, unstable, or inconsistent, the filtering function should be weak. Hence, these partisans' orientations toward their own leader and other leaders would be less positive and less negative, respectively, than the perceptions of their strong, stable, or consistent counterparts. In addition, the former groups' evaluations of their own leader may not be much more favourable than their perceptions of other leaders.

Images of Party Leaders and Voting Behaviour

The ultimate concern of the present inquiry is to assess the impact of images of party leaders on direction of the vote in 1974. In conjunction with the arguments advanced by Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, and other scholars⁴⁸ that party identification influences perceptions of the political universe and determines electorate choice, it is reasoned that the electoral effects of images of party leaders would be

weakest while those of party identification will be strongest among stable partisans who exhibit a low level of political interest. The impact of images and party identification, however, should be stronger and weaker, respectively, among respondents with unstable identifications and a high degree of political interest. These two groups, as well as their counterparts, that is, persons having a stable identification and a high level of interest or an unstable identification and a low or moderate degree of interest in politics, define four groups of the electorate for whom the impact of short- and long-term forces will be examined.

In addition to attitudinal and psychological variables being employed to describe the electoral behaviour of Canadians, behavioural variables based on past voting records of individuals may be used to understand which forces have the greatest effects. The records developed by the authors of Political Choice in Canada⁴⁹ can be utilized profitably here. They include people who switched their votes by casting ballots for one party in 1972 and a different party in 1974 ("switchers"), who voted in the 1974 election but did not vote in 1972 or mentioned that they do not always vote in federal elections ("transients"), or who first become eligible to vote in 1974 ("new voters"). For switchers, it is expected that the impact of images of party leaders would exceed that for party identification, while the converse would be true for transients and new voters whose failure to be politically implicated and sophisticated suggests that only partisanship might fill the void for their electoral decision-making processes.

Data, Measures and Methods

Data

To examine the distribution and the electoral effect of images of party leaders among Canadian voters, data from the 1968 and 1974 Canadian National Election Studies are employed. Both studies are appropriate because they were conducted immediately after campaigns that prominently featured party leaders, and because they contain similar questions designed to tap attitudes about the leaders. The 1968 study was conducted by John Meisel and it consists of a multi-stage, stratified, cluster sample of 2761 respondents. Neither weighting techniques nor half-sample items were employed. Thus, questions regarding levels of affect for and images of party leaders were asked of all respondents.⁵⁰ The 1974 study was administered by Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett. It comprises a multi-stage, stratified, cluster sample of 2562 respondents, weighted by province in order to permit some oversampling of the smaller provinces. The questions regarding affect were asked of all respondents, weighted to a national sample size of 2445, while the questions about images of party leaders were posed to a random half-sample of 1262 respondents, weighted to a national sample size of 1203.⁵¹

Measures

Levels of Affect for Party Leaders

Previous research has documented the utility of employing "feeling" thermometers in order to assess effectively levels of affect for party leaders and local candidates.⁵² Subsequent analyses will determine these levels through the application of one hundred-point thermometer scales in which increasing degrees of "dislike" are rendered by scores of less than fifty. Scores exceeding the neutral point of fifty depict

rising rates of positive affect. The question used in the 1968 study reads:

There are many aspects of political parties which strike Canadians in different ways. We are interested to see how you liked the leaders, the work of the members of the various parties in Parliament which sat before the last election, the party's candidate in your riding in the last election, the party campaign in the last election, and the party as a whole. You'll see here a drawing of a thermometer. It's been called a "feeling thermometer" because it helps measure one's feelings toward various things....Let's start with the Liberals. How much do you like their leader, Mr. Trudeau? Where would you place him on the thermometer? [repeated for Messrs. Stanfield, Douglas, Caouette, and Patterson]⁵³

Although the instructions relating to the assessment of leaders parallel those for 1968, the wording of the 1974 question differs:

There are many aspects of political parties which strike Canadians in different ways. We would like to get your feelings towards some of these aspects of our parties. We are interested to see how you liked the leaders, the party's candidate in your riding in the last election, and the party as a whole. We will use the feeling thermometer again for these questions....Let's start with the Liberals. How much do you like their leader, Mr. Trudeau? Where would you place him on the thermometer? [repeated for Messrs. Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette]⁵⁴

The data obtained from these questions permit construction of several measures of affect for party leaders. They include an interval-level variable, relative affect for party leaders, mean party leader thermometer scores, and standardized party leader thermometer scores. The interval-level variable divides the one hundred-point thermometer scale into ten categories with each category consisting of ten points. Relative affect for party leaders is a variable which is built by subtracting the score given to one leader by a respondent from the score received by another leader. The resulting scores for the entire sample subsequently are classified into an interval-level variable of seven categories. The categories, which reveal thermometer-score differences between two leaders, are -21 or less, -20 to -11, -10 to -1, 0, 1 to 10, 11 to 20, and 21 or more points. The mean party leader thermometer scores

are obtained by adding all scores received by a leader among a particular group and dividing the sum by the number of respondents in that group. The standardized party leader thermometer scores are employed to minimize the problem created by respondents' different perceptions and use of the thermometer scales. For example, one respondent might interpret a score of 75 while another respondent would think of 90 as indicating a very high degree of affect for a particular leader. The formula for the standardized scores⁵⁵ is:

$$Z = \frac{X - \bar{X}}{s}$$

where Z is the standardized score for a particular party leader per respondent. It is interpreted in terms of the number of standard deviations above or below a respondent's mean score. \bar{X} is a particular score for a leader per respondent. \bar{X} is the mean of all scores per respondent. s is the standard deviation of the respondent's score distribution.

Images of Party Leaders

An appreciation of the number and content of images of party leaders is gained by referencing a series of open-ended questions. The 1968 sequence reads:

What did you like best [least] about Mr. Trudeau? [repeated for Messrs. Stanfield, Douglas, and Caouette]⁵⁶

The maximum number of images accepted from a respondent is sixteen, that is, two positive and two negative mentions for each of the four party leaders. The total number of responses was reduced to sixteen variables with each variable employing the same list of seventy-seven codes. The 1974 sequence of questions was worded:

Now, we would like to ask you your impressions of the various leaders of the federal political parties. Is there anything in particular that you like [dislike] about Mr. Trudeau? Anything else? [repeated for Messrs. Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette]⁵⁷

The maximum number of images accepted from a respondent is twenty-four,

that is, three positive and three negative mentions for each of the four party leaders. Responses were categorized into twenty-four variables with each variable having its own list of codes.

The measures that utilize responses to the two questions are image of a party leader, total images of a party leader, content of images of party leaders, and the own-other distinction between leaders. Image of a party leader is a variable that includes the sixteen 1968 variables or the twenty-four 1974 variables. It is the sum total of responses to questions about images of party leaders. Positive images of a leader entail the eight "best" 1968 variables or the twelve "like" 1974 variables. The responses to each set are aggregated. Negative image of a party leader is based upon the eight "least" 1968 variables or the twelve "dislike" 1974 variables.. The responses to each set are added.

The total images of a particular leader is a variable including the "best" and two "least" 1968 variables or the three "like" and three "dislike" 1974 variables pertaining to a leader. It is the sum total of responses to questions about a leader's image. The positive images of a leader include the two "best" 1968 variables or the three "like" 1974 variables. The responses to each set are aggregated. The negative images of a leader are gained from the two "least" 1968 variables or the three "dislike" 1974 variables, with the responses to each set being combined. These three types of images, that is, total, positive, and negative, are compiled for each party leader.

The content of images of party leaders is a nominal-level variable based on a subjective classification scheme which involves responses to the questions about images of party leaders. The scheme is constructed from a detailed inspection of the raw frequencies corresponding to the different codes as well as a priori consideration of important categories.

The latter line of reasoning is guided by previous research,⁵⁸ a desire to preserve the central themes of the 1968 and 1974 campaigns, and an attempt to achieve an economically-analytical approach. Accordingly, the multifarious content of the variables pertaining to images of party leaders is collapsed into eight categories. They are personality and personal characteristics, style and approach, leadership, economic issues including inflation, Quebec-related references such as separatism and bilingualism, groups and regions excluding francophones and Quebec, other issues, and other references.

The own-other distinction between party leaders is constructed in terms of party identification. For example, own leader is Trudeau for Liberal party identifiers. These identifiers' total images, positive images, and negative images of own leader, respectively, encompass all responses, positive responses, and negative responses to the questions about Trudeau. Conversely, Liberal partisans' images, positive images, and negative images of other leaders consecutively embrace all, positive, and negative references to questions about Stanfield, Douglas, Lewis, and Caouette. The same procedure is repeated for Conservative identifiers (Stanfield versus Trudeau, Douglas, Lewis, and Caouette), New Democrats (Douglas and Lewis versus Trudeau, Stanfield, and Caouette), and Social Credit partisans (Caouette versus Trudeau, Stanfield, Douglas, and Lewis).

Socioeconomic-Demographic Variables

The socioeconomic-demographic variables include province of residence, religion, ethnicity, social class, age, sex, and community size. Province of residence consists of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Religion is a recoded variable of five

categories which are Anglican, Presbyterian and United, other Protestant, Catholic, other, and none. Ethnicity is a recoded variable composed of five categories. They are Anglo-Celtic, French, Northern and Western European, Eastern European, and other.

The measures of social class include subjective social class, objective social class, and education. Subjective social class is a recoded variable having three categories. They are upper and upper-middle, middle, and working and lower. The questions used to construct this variable are:

One hears a lot about different social classes. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a social class?
 [If yes] 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?
 [If no] Well, if you had to make a choice, would you say you were in the upper class, upper-middle class, middle class, working class, or lower class?⁵⁹

Objective social class is a variable that consists of four categories of occupational prestige. The categories are low, moderately low, moderately high, and high. The variable is constructed by employing Blishen scores, which range between 14.41 and 80.0,⁶⁰ and calculating the mean score. Figure 1.2 depicts this construction.

Figure 1.2. Construction of Measure of Objective Social Class

$\bar{X} = 42.4$							
-1s	<	-1s		+1s		>	+1s
14.41	27.8	27.81	42.4	42.41	57.0	57.01	80.0
low		moderately low		moderately high		high	

The third measure of social class is education. In advanced, industrial societies, it conventionally is assumed that education is a sensitive

predictor of class position.⁶¹ The variable of education is composed of five categories. They are elementary or less, some secondary, completed secondary, some college or university, and completed college or university.

Of the three remaining socioeconomic-demographic variables, age consists of 18 (21) to 29 years, 30 to 45 years, 46 to 59 years, and 60 or more years;⁶² sex is male and female; and community size is composed of farm or rural non-farm, 1,000 to 9,999, 10,000 to 99,999, 100,000 to 500,000, and more than 500,000 inhabitants.

Index of Political Interest

The index of political interest is a composite measure⁶³ constructed from the questions:

We have found that people sometimes don't pay too much attention to elections. How about yourself? Would you say that you were very interested in the recent federal election, fairly interested, slightly interested, or not at all interested in it?

We would also like to know whether you pay much attention to politics generally; I mean from day-to-day, when there isn't a big election campaign going on. Would you say that you follow politics very closely, fairly closely, or not much at all?⁶⁴

The categories of the measure are high, moderate, and low, and their construction is demonstrated in Figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3. Construction of Index of Political Interest

		Degree of Attention to Politics		
		<u>very closely</u>	<u>fairly closely</u>	<u>not very closely</u>
Degree of Electoral Interest	very interested	high	high	moderate
	fairly interested	high	moderate	low
	slightly interested	moderate	low	low
	not at all interested	moderate	low	low

Components of Federal Party Identification

The components of federal party identification are direction, intensity, stability, and consistency. The direction of identification involves Liberal, Progressive Conservative, New Democrat, Social Credit, and nonidentifier. It is ascertained by combining the numbers of self-classified identifiers and "leaners." The numbers derive from the questions:

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Conservative, Liberal, Social Credit, Cr ditiste, NDP, Union Nationale, or what? [If no] Well, do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? [If yes] Which party is that? [1965, 1968]⁶⁵

Thinking of federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, Conservative, NDP, Social Credit, or what? [If no] Still thinking of federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as being a little closer to one of the parties than to the others? [If yes] Which party is that? [1974]⁶⁶

The intensity of identification is formed from very strong, fairly strong, and weak identifiers. Nonidentifiers are excluded from this variable.

The questions used to determine intensity are:

How strongly _____ do you generally feel - very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly? [1965, 1968]

How strongly do you feel about _____, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly? [1974]⁶⁷

The stability of identification is a dichotomous variable consisting of stable and unstable identifiers. Nonidentifiers are excluded from this variable. Stability is assessed using the questions:

Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closest to any other party in Canada? [1965, 1968]

Still thinking of federal politics, was there ever a time when you felt closer to any other party? [1974]⁶⁸

The consistency of identification is a dichotomous variable containing consistent identifiers, that is, people who identify with the same party at both the federal and provincial levels of government, and inconsistent

identifiers, that is, respondents who identify with one party federally and another party provincially. Nonidentifiers are excluded from this variable. Consistency is rendered by the questions:

When you say you are a _____, are you thinking of national politics, politics here in this province, or both?

[If national] Well, how about politics here in _____? How do you think of yourself?

[If provincial] Well, how about national politics? How do you think of yourself? [1965, 1968]⁶⁹

Unlike the 1965 and 1968 studies, the 1974 sequences of questions about federal and provincial identifications were separated in the questionnaire. The two sets of questions are contrasted in order to yield the variable of consistency. The federal sequence is discussed above under direction of identification. The provincial sequence reads:

Thinking of provincial politics here in _____, do you generally think of yourself as a Liberal, Conservative, NDP, Social Credit, or what? [In Quebec] Liberal, Parti Québécois, Social Credit, Union Nationale, or what?

[If no] Well, still thinking of provincial politics here in _____, do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than to the others?

[If yes] Which party is that? [1974]⁷⁰

The number of deviations from strong, stable, and consistent identification is an index developed by Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett,⁷¹ and it is composed of one, two, and three deviations. The index is constructed by assigning an individual one point for weakness of identification, one point for instability, and one point for inconsistency. Thus, an individual with weak, unstable, and inconsistent identification scores three deviations away from the classic pattern.

Nonidentifiers are excluded from the index.

Party Closest on Most Important Issue

Party closest on most important issue in 1974 is a variable of three categories. They are Liberal-other, Conservative-other, and NDP-

other. Missing data are excluded from this variable. The questions are:

Now, I would like to ask you some more specific questions about the recent federal election. What, in your opinion, was the most important issue to you, personally, in that election? Which party is closest to you on this issue?⁷²

Direction of Voting Behaviour

Direction of Voting Behaviour in 1974 is a variable that consists of three categories. They are Liberal vote-other, Conservative vote-other, and NDP vote-other. Respondents who did not vote in 1974, who voted for Social Credit or other minor parties, or whose votes are not ascertainable are excluded from the variable. The construction of the variable in this manner is guided by considerations relating to the subsequent use of partial correlations and regression analyses. The questions employed to construct the variable are:

Now, thinking about this year's July federal election, we find that a lot of people weren't able to vote because they were away, or had some other reasons for not voting. How about you? Did you vote this time, or did something happen to keep you from voting?
[If voted] For which party did you vote?⁷³

Voting Behaviour in 1972 is constructed in the same manner as the variable of voting behaviour in 1974. The questions are:

The last federal election before the one in July was in October, 1972. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted in that election? [If voted] Which party did you vote for?⁷⁴

Methods

Histograms

The histogram conventionally is used to show visually a frequency distribution. It is constructed with bars that represent the relative sizes of intervals in the distribution.⁷⁵ The thesis displays seven histograms (that is, Trudeau for 1968 and 1974, Stanfield for 1968 and 1974, Douglas for 1968, Lewis for 1974, and Caouette for 1974; see Figure 2.1) in order to depict the distribution of party leader thermometer

scores. Each histogram consists of ten intervals with each interval composed of ten points. The heights of the bars are determined by the percentages of respondents falling into the intervals.

Tabular Distributions of Thermometer Scores and Images of Party Leaders

These tables include relative affect for party leaders (see Table 2.1), images among the electorate (see Table 2.4), content of each leader's image (see Table 2.6), and images among party identifiers (see Table 3.3). For each table, the data are reported as percentages. Also examined are mean party leader thermometer scores by province (see Table 2.2), mean numbers of images of party leaders by direction of party identification (see Table 3.3), and direction of the vote by socioeconomic-demographic variables (see Table 4.1) and by party leader thermometer scores (see Table 4.2).

One-Way Analysis of Variance

This procedure is used to test for differences between the means of more than two samples and, thus, it can be employed in testing for the presence of a statistically significant relationship between a nominal or higher-order scale, that is, the independent variable, and an interval-level scale.⁷⁶ A series of one-way analysis of variance tests is performed to determine whether or not there are differences in levels of affect for various party leaders within different groups of the electorate. One part of the series involves thermometer scores as the interval-level scale and religion, ethnicity, subjective social class, objective social class, education, age, sex, and community size (see Table 2.3), as well as direction and intensity of party identification (see Table 3.2) as the independent variables. The second part of the series employs the number

of images of party leaders as the interval scale and the index of political interest (see Table 2.5), the components of party identification, and the index of deviations from strong, stable, consistent identification (see Tables 3.4 and 3.5) as the independent variables.

Partial Correlations

Partial correlation is a multivariate technique which is used to demonstrate the relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables, while controlling for one or more other independent variables.⁷⁷ In this thesis, three categories of the variable involving direction of the vote in 1974, that is, Liberal vote-other, Conservative vote-other, and NDP vote-other, constitute the three dependent variables. There also are three independent and several control variables. The independent variables are the thermometer scores for Trudeau, Stanfield, and Lewis. The control variables include party closest on most-important issue, direction and stability of party identification, and feelings about other leaders (see Table 4.3).

Analysis of Commonalities

Analysis of commonalities is a variant of linear, stepwise regression analysis. The latter is a procedure that reveals the zero-order relationships between the dependent and independent variables, predicts the exact value of change in one variable from other variables, and permits the variables to be rank-ordered in terms of their significance as predictors. The regression equation⁷⁸ is:

$$Y = a + b_1 X_1 + \dots + b_n X_n + e$$

where Y is the dependent variable

a is a constant, the intercept of the regression line with the Y-axis

b₁ through b_n are the unstandardized regression coefficients upon which the standardized regression coefficients (Betas)

are calculated
 X_1 through X_n are the independent variables
 e is an error term

As a variant of this procedure, analysis of commonalities specifies two equations, reverses their order of entry, and allows the results to be decomposed into unique and joint effects, that is, the proportions of variance due to the individual and combined effects of each variable can be identified.⁷⁹

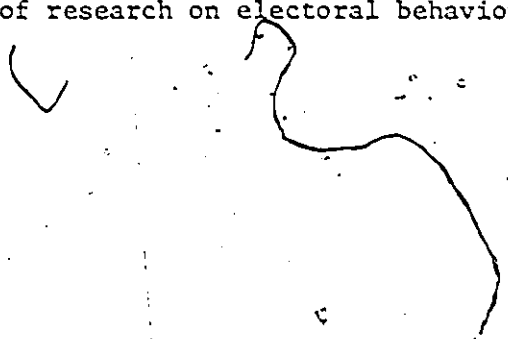
In this thesis, the analysis is performed for each subgroup of the electorate - stable party identifiers with a low-moderate or a high level of political interest, unstable partisans having a low-moderate or a high degree of interest, nonidentifiers, switchers, transients, and new voters. It separates the percentage of variance in Liberal, Conservative, or NDP voting that is attributable to socioeconomic-demographic variables from that traceable to party identification, feelings about party leaders, and party closest on a most important issue⁸⁰ (see Table 4.4).

Summary

A major idea to emerge from this chapter concerns the paradoxical position occupied by long-term forces in the scholarly literature on electoral behaviour in Canada. On the one hand, such forces as region, religion, and ethnicity have been found to exert a significant influence on voting. On the other hand, although party identification has been discussed as a long-term force, its tendencies towards weakness and instability among Canadian voters suggest that short-term forces could affect electoral choice. In particular, party leaders should be important, an idea which is central to the brokerage theory of Canadian partisan politics. Yet, to date, the nature of images of party leaders and their

effects on voting have not been examined in a rigorous manner.

Accordingly, the purpose of my thesis is to advance our knowledge by examining the distributions and impact of images of party leaders. Towards this end, the present chapter reviews existing literature, formulates some expectations, and discusses the data, measures, and methods that are used to test them. The tests occur in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Chapter 2 investigates distributions and types of images of party leaders. Chapter 3 studies their relationship with party identification. Chapter 4 presents data with which to assess the effect of images on voting behaviour. Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the major findings and forwards some thoughts about the state of research on electoral behaviour generally and in Canada particularly.



FOOTNOTES

¹See Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943); p. 269; Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), ch. 6; Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), ch. 1; Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-5; Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), ch. 1; Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-On Kim, Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); and William Mishler, Political Participation in Canada: Prospects for Democratic Citizenship (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), ch. 1.

²See, for example, André Siegfried, Tableau Politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République (Paris: Armand Colin, 1913); Herbert Tingsten, Political Behavior: Studies in Election Statistics (London: P. S. King, 1937); Charles E. Merriam and Harold Gosnell, Non-Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924); Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944); and Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

³These studies are reported in Don Aitkin, Stability and Change in Australian Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain, second edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974); John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, second enlarged edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975); Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc, and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979); Bruce A. Campbell, "The Future of the Gaullist Majority: An Analysis of French Electoral Politics," American Journal of Political Science 18 (February 1974): 67-94; W. Phillips Shively, "Voting Stability and the Nature of Party Attachments in the Weimar Republic," American Political Science Review 66 (December 1972): 1203-1225; Kendall L. Baker, Russell J. Dalton, and Kai Hildebrandt, "Political Stability in Transition: Post-War Germany," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, September 1975; Kendall L. Baker, Russell J. Dalton, and Kai Hildebrandt, West German Politics in Transition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Samuel H. Barnes, Representation in Italy: Institutionalized Tradition and Electoral Choice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Akira Kubota, "Party Identification and Social Cleavage in Japan," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1974; Pertti Pesonen, "Finland: Party Support in a Fragmented System," in Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook, ed. Richard Rose (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 271-314.

⁴Philip E. Converse, "Public Opinion and Voting Behavior," in Handbook of Political Science, Vol. 4, eds. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 113.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., pp. 113-134; and Martin Harrop, "Beliefs, Feelings and Votes: The British Case," British Journal of Political Science 7 (July 1977): 305-313.

⁷Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 88-89.

⁸Research on the characteristics of party identification is extensive. As examples of this research, see Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, The Voter Decides, passim; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960), chs. 4, 6, 7; Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-261; M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review 62 (March 1968): 169-184; Norval D. Glenn and Michael Grimes, "Aging, Voting, and Political Interest," American Sociological Review 33 (September 1968): 564-575; Arthur S. Goldberg, "Social Determinism and Rationality as Bases of Party Identification," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969): 5-25; Philip E. Converse, "Of Time and Partisan Stability," Comparative Political Studies 2 (July 1969): 139-171; Neal E. Cutler, "Generation, Maturation and Party Affiliation: A Cohort Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 33 (Winter 1969): 583-588; Jack Dennis and Donald J. McCrone, "Pre-adult Development of Political Party Identification in Western Democracies," Comparative Political Studies 3 (July 1970): 243-263; Donald D. Searing, Joel J. Schwartz, and Alden E. Lind, "The Structuring Principle: Political Socialization and Belief Systems," American Political Science Review 67 (June 1973): 415-432; Paul Allen Beck and M. Kent Jennings, "Parents as 'Middlepersons' in Political Socialization," Journal of Politics 37 (February 1975): 83-107; Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, William Lyons, and Michael R. Fitzgerald, "Candidates, Parties, and Issues in the American Electorate: Two Decades of Change," in American Electoral Behavior: Change and Stability, ed. Samuel A. Kirkpatrick (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), pp. 35-71; and Charles J. Helm, "Party Identification as a Perceptual Screen: Temporal Priority, Reality and the Voting Act," Polity 12 (Fall 1979): 110-128.

⁹Converse, "Public Opinion and Voting Behavior," pp. 118, 125-134.

¹⁰Harrop, "Beliefs, Feelings and Votes," pp. 301-303.

¹¹Philip E. Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote," in Elections and the Political Order, eds. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes (New York: John Wiley, 1966), pp. 9-39.

¹²Walter Dean Burnham, "The United States: The Politics of Heterogeneity," in Electoral Behavior, ed. Rose, pp. 667-669.

¹³Warren E. Miller and Teresa E. Levitin, Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate (Cambridge: Winthrop, 1976), pp. 54-56.

¹⁴ Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 166-169, 307.

¹⁵ See David E. RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," American Political Science Review 65 (June 1971): 389-400; Gerald M. Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 415-428; Richard A. Brody and Benjamin I. Page, "Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam Issue," American Political Science Review 66 (September 1972): 979-995; Gerald Pomper, Voters' Choice: Varieties of American Electoral Behavior (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975), ch. 2; Paul Abramson, "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification in America," American Political Science Review 70 (June 1976): 469-478; and Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, enlarged edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), chs. 4, 10, 18. An extensive bibliography of the literature is provided by John Kessel, "Comment: The Issues in Issue Voting," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 459-465.

¹⁶ Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 22-28, 36-43.

¹⁷ Marianne C. Stewart, "The Roles of Party Identification and Social Class in British Electoral Politics, 1970-74," (Term paper, Department of Political Science, Duke University, 1979), pp. 13, 25. The data were collected and made available by Ivor Crewe, Bo Sarlvik and James Alt, the British Election Survey at the University of Essex.

¹⁸ See Ivor Crewe, "Party Identification Theory and Political Change in Britain," in Party Identification and Beyond, eds. Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe, and Dennis Farlie (London: Wiley, 1976), pp. 33-61; James Alt, Bo Sarlvik and Ivor Crewe, "Partisanship and Policy Choice: Issue Preferences in the British Electorate, February 1974," British Journal of Political Science 6 (July 1976): 273-290; Ivor Crewe, Bo Sarlvik and James Alt, "Partisan Dealignment in Britain, 1964-1974," British Journal of Political Science 7 (April 1977): 129-190; Harrop, "Beliefs, Feelings and Votes," *passim*; Paul R. Abramson, "Generational Replacement and Partisan Development in Britain and the United States," British Journal of Political Science 8 (October 1978): 505-509; and Anthony Mughan, "Party Identification, Voting Preference and Electoral Outcomes in Britain, 1964-74," British Journal of Political Science 9 (January 1979): 115-122.

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²¹ For evidence of these electoral trends in Quebec and in the Prairie provinces, see J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), passim; Richard M. Scammon, "Appendix: A Summary of Canadian General Election Results, 1968-74," in Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1974, ed. Howard R. Penniman (Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975), pp. 292-301; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 96-97, and its abridged version, p. 264.

²² The impact of religion and ethnicity on electoral behaviour has been discussed by Robert R. Alford, Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), ch. 8; John Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study," in Voting in Canada, ed. John C. Courtney (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 144-161; Jean Laponce, "Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of Survey and Census Data," in Quantitative Ecological Analyses in the Social Sciences, eds. Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 187-216; and William P. Irvine, "Explaining the Religious Basis of the Canadian Partisan Identity: Success on the Third Try," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (September 1974): 560-563. The correlates of partisan support are examined by Mildred A. Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," in Electoral Behavior, ed. Rose, pp. 543-617; John Meisel, "Recent Changes in Canadian Parties," in Party Politics in Canada, second edition, ed. Hugh G. Thorburn (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 47, 51; and Arend Lijphart, "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting: The 'Crucial Experiment' of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland," American Political Science Review 73 (June 1979): 442-458.

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²⁵See several of the essays in Electoral Behavior, ed. Rose, for example, Keith Hill, "Belgium: Political Change in a Segmented Society," pp. 91-94; Derek W. Urwin, "Germany: Continuity and Change in Electoral Politics," pp. 156-158; Samuel H. Barnes, "Italy: Religion and Class in Electoral Behavior," pp. 191-193; Arend Lijphart, "The Netherlands: Continuity and Change in Voting Behavior," pp. 252-254; and especially Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," pp. 599-600. The brokerage style of the Liberal and Conservative parties has been a familiar theme in the scholarly literature. See, for example, H. M. Clokie, Canadian Government and Politics (Toronto: Longmans Green, 1944), pp. 81-83; R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, third edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 508; Alexander Brady, Democracy in the Dominions, third edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 102; Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 373-377; Engelmann and Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, pp. 222-239; Frederick C. Engelmann and Mildred A. Schwartz, Canadian Political Parties: Origin, Character, Impact (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1975), pp. 308-309; Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process, second edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 230-232; and Conrad Winn and John McMenemy, Political Parties in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 89,

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²⁶See Regenstrief, The Diefenbaker Interlude, ch. 5; Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, pp. 10-11; and Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," pp. 593-597.

²⁷Paul M. Sniderman, Hugh D. Forbes, and Ian Melzer, "Party Loyalty and Electoral Volatility: A Study of the Canadian Party System," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (June 1974): 268-288.

²⁸On the lack of ideological and policy differences between the Liberal and Conservative Parties, and their adoption of a brokerage political style, see the references in f. 25 above. On the frequency, stability, and electoral impact of party identification, see Sniderman, Forbes, and Melzer, "Party Loyalty and Electoral Volatility," pp. 275-277, 283-286.

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³⁰See Jenson, "Party Loyalty in Canada," passim; Jenson, "Party Strategy and Party Identification," passim; and the references in f. 25 above.

³¹See the references in f. 25 above.

³²The full citation to this book is given in f. 29 above.

³³The importance of party leaders in Canadian politics has been discussed by R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, second edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 226; Regenstrief, The Diefenbaker Interlude, ch. 4; J. R. Mallory, "The Structure of Canadian Politics," in Party Politics in Canada, ed. Thorburn, pp. 28-29; J. M. Beck and D. J. Dooley, "Party Images in Canada," in Party Politics in Canada, ed. Thorburn, p. 82; Allan Kornberg, "Parliament in Canadian Society," in Legislatures in Developmental Perspective, eds. Allan Kornberg and Lloyd D. Musolf (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 73-77; J. R. Mallory, The Structure of Canadian Government (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 204-212; William P. Irvine, "An Overview of the 1974 Federal Election in Canada," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, p. 43; George Perlin, "The Progressive Conservative Party in the Election of 1974," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, p. 102; Whittington, The Canadian Political System, p. 242; Frederick J. Fletcher, "The Prime Minister as Public Persuader," in Apex of Power: The Prime Minister and Political Leadership in Canada, second edition, ed. Thomas A. Hockin (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 86-111; S. J. R. Noel, "The Prime Minister's Role in a Consociational Democracy," in Apex of Power, ed. Hockin, pp. 154-158; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, p. 207.

³⁴Dawson, The Government of Canada, p. 226.

³⁵Gilbert R. Winham and Robert B. Cunningham, "Party Leader Images in the 1968 Federal Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (March 1970): 37-55. Of related interest are Leon J. Kamin, "Ethnic and Party Affiliations of Candidates as Determinants of Voting," in Voting in Canada, ed. Courtney, pp. 191-198; and Jerome H. Black, "The Multicandidate Calculus of Voting: Application to Canadian Federal Elections," American Journal of Political Science 22 (August 1978): 609-638.

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³⁷Jon H. Pammett, Lawrence LeDuc, Jane Jenson, and Harold D. Clarke, "The Perception and Impact of Issues in the 1974 Federal Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 10 (March 1977): 93-126; and Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 166-195.

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³⁹Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 343-348.

⁴⁰See Beck, Pendulum of Power, ch. 28.

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and the Horse," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 75-85; Perlin, "The Progressive Conservative Party in the Election of 1974," pp. 103-118; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, ch. 9.

⁴²On the cohesive roles of party leaders, see the references cited in f. 33 above.

⁴³These terms were developed and/or used by S. J. R. Noel, "Con-sociational Democracy and Canadian Federalism," Canadian Journal of Political Science 4 (March 1971): 15-18; S. J. R. Noel, "Political Parties and Elite Accommodation: Interpretations of Canadian Federalism," in Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality, third edition, ed. J. Peter Meekison (Toronto: Methuen, 1977), pp. 64-83; Robert Presthus, Elite Accommodation in Canadian Politics (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973); Donald V. Smiley, Canada in Question: Federalism in the Seventies, second edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976); and Richard Simeon, Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

⁴⁴The operation and effectiveness of this forum are discussed by Smiley, Canada in Question, pp. 57-64; and Edgar Gallant, "The Machinery of Federal-Provincial Relations," in Canadian Federalism, ed. Meekison, pp. 216-228.

⁴⁵See Lawrence LeDuc, "The Measurement of Public Opinion," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 209-241, especially p. 239.

⁴⁶See Campbell, et al., The American Voter, pp. 101-110; Philip E. Converse, "Information Flow and the Stability of Party Attitudes," in Elections and the Political Order, eds. Campbell et al., pp. 136-157; Rick Van Loon, "Political Participation in Canada: The 1965 Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (September 1970): 381, 395-396; and Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie and Jae-On Kim, The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison (Beverly Hills: Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics 2, no. 01-013, 1971), pp. 44-53.

⁴⁷See, for example, Campbell et al., The American Voter, chs. 4, 6, 7; and Helm, "Party Identification as a Perceptual Screen," passim. The components of party identification of incidence, direction, intensity, and stability have been used extensively in analyses, but consistency has not, with the exceptions of M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government," American Journal of Sociology 72 (July 1966): 86-101; Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 138-145; and Jerry Perkins and Randall Buynes, "Federalism and Partisanship," Publius 9 (Summer 1979): 57-73.

⁴⁸See the references cited in fs. 8 and 46 above.

⁴⁹Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 307-308.

⁵⁰See John Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Selection Study Codebook, (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, n.d.), pp. ii, 1-5. The data for the 1968 study were collected originally by John Meisel of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, and were made

available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research for use in this thesis. Neither the original collector of the data nor the Consortium bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here. Due to a lack of comparability on questions pertaining to images of party leaders, the 1965 election study, of which Meisel was co-investigator, could not be used by this thesis.

⁵¹ See Lawrence LeDuc, Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson and Jon Pammett, "A National Sample Design," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (December 1974): 701-708; Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon Pammett, 1974 Canadian National Election Study Codebook (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1977), pp. I-V; or Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix A: Sampling Information and Methodology," pp. 397-400. The data for the 1974 study were collected originally by Harold Clarke and Lawrence LeDuc of the University of Windsor in Windsor, Ontario and by Jane Jenson and Jon Pammett of Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, and were made available by the collectors for use in this thesis. They do not bear any responsibility for the analysis or interpretations presented here.

⁵² Some works which have employed feeling thermometers are Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Jerrold D. Rusk, and Arthur C. Wolfe, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review 63 (December 1969): 1088-1090; Herbert F. Weisberg and Jerrold D. Rusk, "Dimension of Candidate Evaluation," American Political Science Review 64 (December 1970): 1167-1185; and Arthur H. Miller, Warren E. Miller, Alden S. Raine, and Thad A. Brown, "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election," American Political Science Review 70 (September 1976): 771-773.

⁵³ Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, p. 51.

⁵⁴ Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 421.

⁵⁵ Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics, second edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 100-101; Jacob Cohen and Patricia Cohen, Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1975), pp. 28-32.

⁵⁶ Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁷ Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 422.

⁵⁸ See Donald Stokes and Warren E. Miller, "Components of Electoral Decisions," American Political Science Review 52 (June 1958): 369-387; Angus Campbell and Donald Stokes, "Partisan Attitudes and the Presidential Vote," in American Voting Behavior, eds. Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 353-371; Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 55-59; and Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 377-381.

⁵⁹ Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, p. 70; Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 433.

⁶⁰ On the exact assignment of scores to occupations, see Bernard R. Blishen and Hugh A. McRoberts, "A Revised Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 12 (February 1976): 71-79.

⁶¹ This assumption is forwarded, for example, by Ronald Manzer, Canada: A Socio-Political Report (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1974), pp. 188-206.

⁶² It should be noted that the voting age was lowered from twenty-one years to eighteen years in 1971.

⁶³ This measure was created originally by Clarke, Jenison, LeDuc, and Pammett. See Lawrence LeDuc, Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, and Jon Pammett, "Partisanship, Political Interest, and Electoral Campaigns in Canada," paper presented at the Twelfth Congress of the International Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, August 16-21, 1976; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 401.

⁶⁴ Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 400.

⁶⁵ Philip Converse, John Meisel, Maurice Pinard, Peter Regenstreif, and Mildred Schwartz, 1965 Canadian National Election Study Codebook (Ann Arbor: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1972), pp. 98, 101. The data for the 1965 study were collected originally by Converse et al., and were made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research for use in this thesis. Neither the original collectors of the data nor the Consortium bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here. See also Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, p. 52.

⁶⁶ Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 412.

⁶⁷ Converse et al., 1965 Canadian National Election Study Codebook, pp. 98-99; Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, p. 52; Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 412.

⁶⁸ Converse et al., 1965 Canadian National Election Study Codebook, p. 99; Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, p. 52; Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," p. 412.

⁶⁹ Converse et al., 1965 Canadian National Election Study Codebook, pp. 99-100; Meisel, 1968 Canadian Federal Election Study Codebook, pp. 52-53.

- ⁷⁰ Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, "Appendix B: Measures and Questionnaire," pp. 424-425.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 155-161, 412-413.
- ⁷² Ibid., p. 408.
- ⁷³ Ibid., p. 417.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 419.
- ⁷⁵ See Blalock, Social Statistics, pp. 48-50; and Thomas H. Wonnacott and Ronald J. Wonnacott, Introductory Statistics, third edition (New York: John Wiley, 1977), pp. 14-15.
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- ⁷⁷ Blalock, Social Statistics, pp. 433-440; Cohen and Cohen, Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis, pp. 73-97.
- ⁷⁸ Maurice M. Tatsuoka, Multivariate Analysis: Techniques for Educational and Psychological Research (New York: John Wiley, 1971), pp. 27-39; Cohen and Cohen, Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis, passim; Jae-On Kim and Frank J. Kohout, "Multiple Regression Analysis: Subprogram Regression" and "Special Topics in General Linear Models" in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, eds. Nie et al., pp. 320-367 and 368-397, respectively; and Eric A. Hanushek and John E. Jackson, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists (New York: Academic Press, 1977), chs. 2, 3, 4, 6.
- ⁷⁹ See Fred N. Kerlinger and Elazar J. Pedhazur, Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 297-305; Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, p. 303; and Kim and Kohout, "Special Topics in General Linear Models," pp. 389-392.
- ⁸⁰ There are seven orders of entry into the analysis of commonalities for the four sets of variables, that is, socioeconomic-demographic characteristics (religion, region, ethnicity, objective social class), direction and intensity of federal party identification, feelings about party leaders, and perceptions of a party being closest on a most important issue for each of the Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting groups. With the exception of the set of feelings about party leaders, the other sets required transformation into interval-level data by turning their categories into 0-1 dummy variables. On this transformation, see Kim and Kohout, "Special Topics in General Linear Models," pp. 373-375; Hanushek and Jackson, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists, pp. 101-108; or Wonnacott and Wonnacott, Introductory Statistics, pp. 385-390. Several of these dummy variables then were suppressed in the analysis. The orders of entry and exact categories of variables included in the analysis are discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 2

IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, Canadian party leaders are regarded as important and salient actors on the political stage. They are important because they play unifying roles in their respective party organizations, are spokesmen for their parties, forge coalitions of voters, and play a major role in formulating policies and laws of the land.¹ They are salient since aspects of their private and professional lives receive considerable coverage from the media of communications. Given these features about party leaders, they should be capable of projecting images of themselves onto members of the public. These images are expected to display certain patterns which may be recapitulated from the section entitled "Expectations" in Chapter 1.

Briefly, with respect to the affective dimension of images of party leaders, one expectation is that a large number of voters, especially those who are residents of Quebec, young, or female, would have felt more warmly about Pierre Trudeau, the Liberal Party's leader, than about other leaders, particularly Robert Stanfield, leader of the Conservative Party. The evaluative dimension of images may be discussed in terms of their frequency, direction, and content. That is, it is anticipated that many voters should be able to express an image of a party leader, especially of Trudeau and Stanfield. For Trudeau, the references should be more positive than negative in direction. Mentions of

Stanfield's images, however, are expected to display the converse pattern since his personality and economic policies had tended to alienate people. Another expectation, which hinges on the flow of images through the media to receptive members of the public and assumes that very politically-interested persons have a larger amount of information at their disposal with which to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of party leaders, is that they should be more capable of advancing positive and negative images than would be their lower interested counterparts.² A remaining expectation to be advanced is that words portraying Stanfield's personality, style, economic policies, and leadership ability as poor would emerge from analyses of the content of his images. In descriptions of Trudeau's images, complimentary adjectives should figure prominently.³ To probe the validity of these expectations is the function of this first analytical chapter.

Findings

The Affective Component of Images of Party Leaders

To assess levels of affect for party leaders, the 100-point thermometer scales⁴ were employed. The data derived from these scales are presented in Figure 2.1. With regard to the extreme ends of the scale, the figure reveals that Trudeau was assigned a score between 0 and 20 by 8.3 per cent and 12.7 per cent, but between 80 and 100 by 29.9 per cent and 21.1 per cent, of the 1968 and 1974 respondents, respectively. Standing in opposition to the pattern for Trudeau is that for Stanfield - 9.2 per cent and 21.0 per cent allotted him a score between 0 and 20, while merely 9.2 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the 1968 and 1974 samples placed him in the category of 80 to 100. The corresponding figures for Tommy Douglas and David Lewis are 12.3 per cent and 21.6 per cent in the

Figure 2.1. Distribution of Party Leader Thermometer Scores, 1968-74
(percentages of respondents)

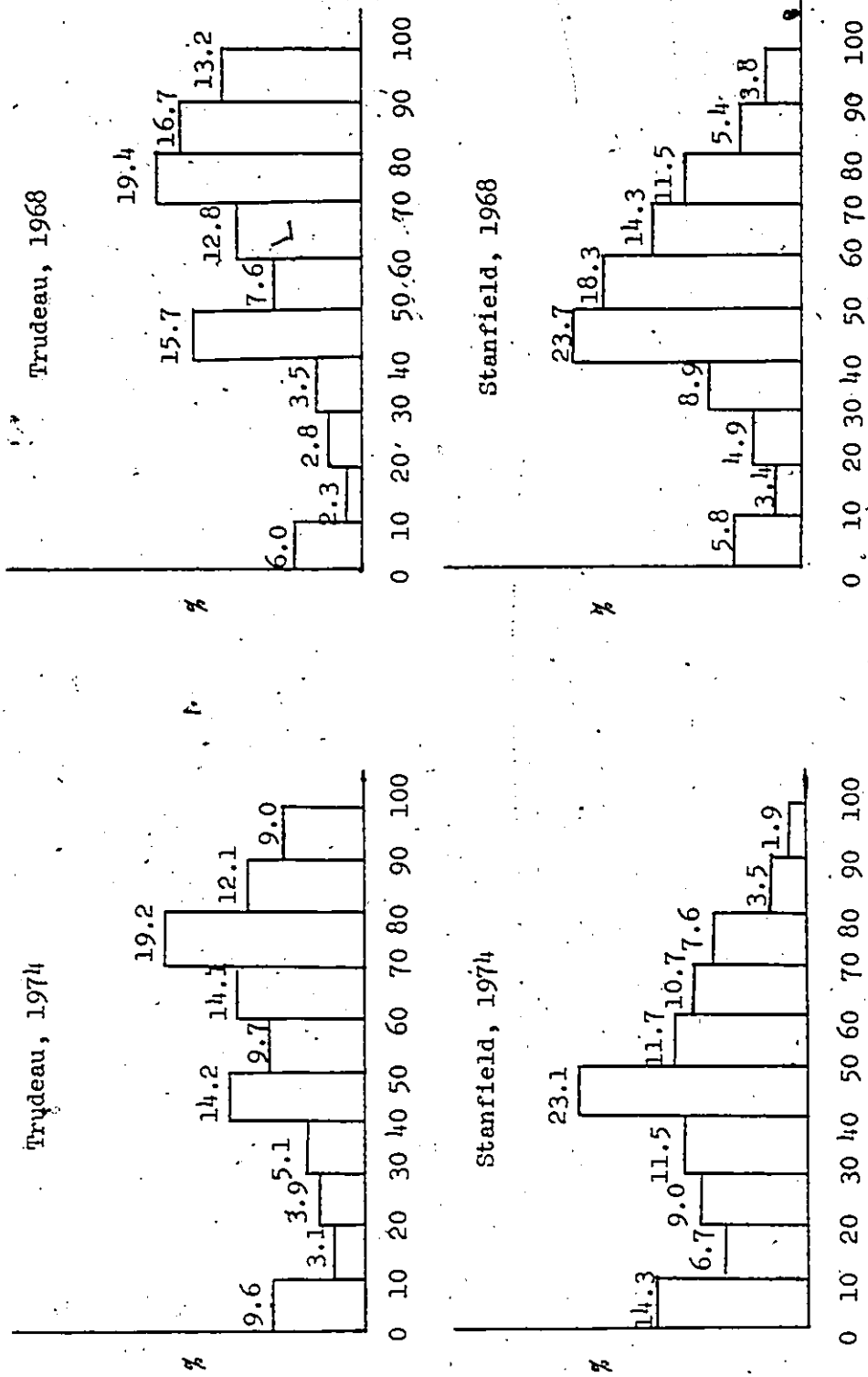
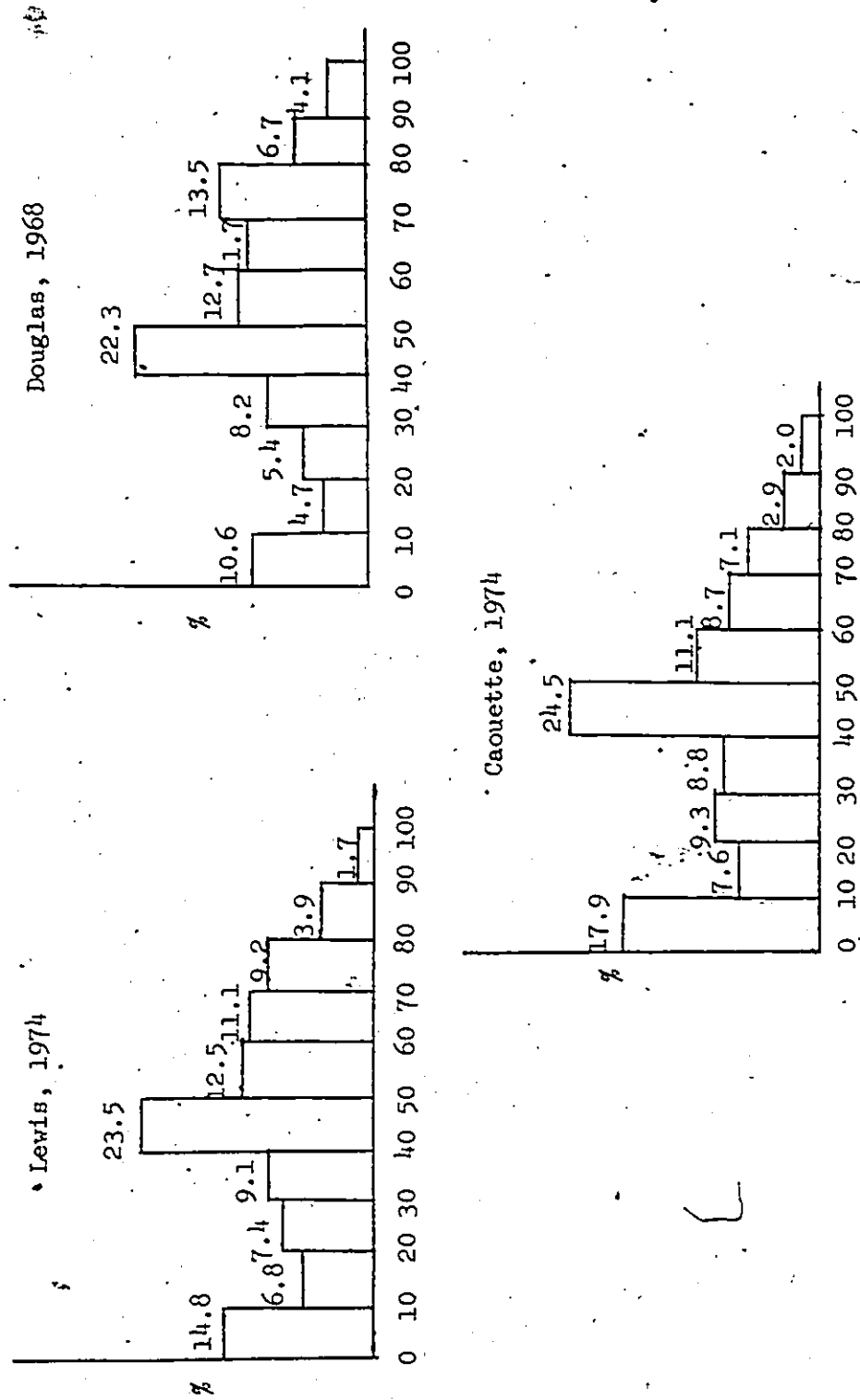


Figure 2.1 (continued)



former category, and 10.8 per cent and 5.6 per cent in the latter one.

Another view of the data involving levels of affect for the four party leaders is gained by aggregating the scores of 0 to 49 inclusive into a general category of negative affect. As a result of this procedure, it appears that while 35.9 per cent of the 1974 voters felt negatively about Trudeau, 64.6 per cent, 61.6 per cent, and 68.1 per cent did so about Stanfield, Lewis, and Real Caouette, respectively. These patterns of affective feelings largely replicate those existing in 1968. That is, Trudeau, Stanfield, and Douglas were included in the broad range of negative affect by 30.3 per cent, 46.7 per cent, and 51.2 per cent of the 1968 voters.

Overall, then, while it is recognized that public opinion polls have documented a tendency for popular perceptions of party leaders to fluctuate dramatically over short time-periods and that the data were not gathered as a panel study, Figure 2.1 offers indication of a small change in feelings about each party leader between 1968 and 1974. Further, it demonstrates a propensity for Trudeau to have garnered favourable perceptions among more Canadian voters than did other leaders and, in several instances, that leaders of the two minor parties, particularly Lewis and Douglas, were more positively rated than was Stanfield.

Additional evidence of the findings from Figure 2.1 is displayed in Table 2.1.⁶ The table shows that although Trudeau scored twenty-one or more points behind Stanfield for 14.6 per cent and 14.8 per cent of the 1968 and 1974 voters, respectively, fully 35.2 per cent and 42.9 per cent ranked the Liberal leader twenty-one or more points ahead of the Conservative leader, and only 7.0 per cent and 10.4 per cent rated them equally. Similarly, 39.1 per cent and 43.3 per cent of the 1974 respondents accorded Trudeau a score which exceeds that for Lewis or Caouette by

Table 2.1. Distribution of Relative Affect for Party Leaders, 1968-74
(percentages of respondents)

		Thermometer Score Differences						
		-21 or less	-20 to -11	-10 to -1	0	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 or more
<u>1968*</u>								
Trudeau vs. Stanfield		14.6%	5.3	7.0	11.2	12.2	14.4	35.2
Douglas		13.3%	4.7	6.3	12.8	13.6	12.1	37.2
Stanfield vs. Douglas		17.4%	8.3	11.2	18.1	13.7	10.3	21.0
<u>1974</u>								
Trudeau vs. Stanfield		14.8%	5.6	6.0	10.4	8.5	11.8	42.9
Lewis		14.0%	4.9	7.5	11.4	11.8	11.3	39.1
Caouette		11.1%	4.5	5.7	12.4	10.5	12.7	43.3
Stanfield vs. Lewis		21.7%	9.4	10.4	18.2	12.5	9.9	18.0
Caouette		18.4%	7.7	9.9	20.3	11.7	10.1	21.9
Lewis vs. Caouette		17.7%	5.9	7.4	21.9	13.3	11.1	22.7

*Caouette was excluded from the 1968 analysis because thermometer questions were asked of Quebec respondents only.

twenty-one or more points. These two leaders, however, fared better than the Liberal leader by the same amount of points for 14.0 per cent and 11.1 per cent. This trend also is evident from a comparison of the scores assigned to Trudeau and Douglas in 1968. A more obvious indication of the extent to which the Liberal leader was ranked more highly than were other leaders is available by aggregating the three categories on the right side of the continuum. When this is done, it becomes apparent that 63.2 per cent, 62.2 per cent, and 66.5 per cent of the 1974 electorate favoured Trudeau over Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette. This finding obtains for the 1968 respondents as well. The trend clearly favouring Trudeau, however, is not readily apparent in comparisons among the Conservative, New Democratic, and Social Credit leaders. As an example, although 21.0 per cent of the 1968 voters ranked Stanfield twenty-one or more points ahead of Douglas, and 18.0 per cent and 21.9 per cent of the 1974 respondents gave him an average twenty-one or more points beyond scores for Lewis, and Caouette, respectively, nearly equivalent percentages of respondents, that is, 17.4 per cent, 21.7 per cent, and 18.4 per cent, put the other leaders more points ahead of Stanfield. This pattern also is manifested when Lewis' scores are contrasted with those of Caouette.

In summary, the findings presented in Figure 2.1 and Table 2.1 permit three observations to be advanced. First, each party leader, including Trudeau, experienced a small net decline in levels of affect between 1968 and 1974. Second, it is evident that positive feelings about Trudeau overshadowed those about Stanfield, Douglas and Lewis, and Caouette in both 1968 and 1974. Third, levels of affect accorded to the latter four leaders varied only moderately. In some instances, however, the other leaders fared slightly better than did Stanfield.

Distributions of Affect Among Socioeconomic-Demographic Groups

To describe in greater detail the affective component of images of party leaders, the thermometer scores assigned to them were cross-tabulated with several politically relevant socioeconomic-demographic variables that have been found to correlate with party identification and voting behaviour, particularly provincialism or regionalism, religion, and ethnicity.⁷ The data on provincial variations in affective feelings about the leaders are presented in Table 2.2.⁸ In Newfoundland, Trudeau ranked fully 18.6, 14.9, and 29.9 points ahead of Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette, respectively. Similarly, although not unexpectedly given Quebec's traditional reputation as a Liberal bastion⁹ and Trudeau's French-Canadian origins, his highest scores of 71.6 in 1968 and 68.7 in 1974 were rendered by this province, and they surpass the scores given to Stanfield and Douglas in 1968 by 29.9 and 25.6 points, and Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette in 1974 by 28.5, 25.2, and 19.0 points, respectively. The distributions for Newfoundland and Quebec are more or less replicated for Ontario, British Columbia, and the three Prairie provinces. That the people of Manitoba and Saskatchewan should have a higher regard for Trudeau than for Stanfield or Lewis is unexpected in light of their propensity to elect Conservative candidates since the Diefenbaker sweep in 1958 and their support of the CCF/NDP since the 1930s. Even in Alberta, a province which gave nearly all of its seats to the Conservatives in 1968 and 1972,¹⁰ Trudeau outscored the Conservative leader by an average of 8.5 points in 1974. Nova Scotia, Stanfield's own province, was the only one that deviated from the national patterns of both 1968 and 1974. Yet, even in this province, the level of affect accorded to him did not exceed greatly that received by Trudeau -- 70.7 versus 61.1 in 1968, and 61.6 versus 55.8 in 1974.

Table 2.2. Distribution of Mean Party Leader Thermometer Scores by Province, 1968-74

Province*	Trudeau		Stanfield		Lewis/Douglas		Caouette	
	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968**	1974
Newfoundland	66.7	66.1	70.2	47.5	53.7	51.2	36.2	36.2
Prince Edward Island	57.5	65.5	70.6	58.5	66.1	52.4	40.1	40.1
Nova Scotia	61.1	55.8	70.7	61.6	56.4	51.5	32.2	32.2
New Brunswick	61.2	64.8	71.0	57.0	58.4	48.0	45.6	45.6
Quebec	71.6	68.7	52.0	40.2	41.7	43.5	46.0	49.7
Ontario	68.6	61.8	56.1	48.3	58.4	50.5	40.9	40.9
Manitoba	71.6	49.5	53.2	48.6	61.7	44.8	42.8	42.8
Saskatchewan	56.2	54.9	58.2	42.7	60.7	51.6	39.0	39.0
Alberta	61.4	53.8	58.4	45.3	53.3	41.7	41.4	41.4
British Columbia	68.4	57.2	52.9	48.2	56.6	46.2	40.3	40.3
National Total	67.7	61.8	56.4	46.3	54.0	47.2	43.8	43.8

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .001 level.

**Caouette was excluded from the 1968 analysis because thermometer questions were asked of Quebec respondents only.

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The data in Table 2.2 also demonstrate the existence of a decline in levels of positive affect for each party leader between 1968 and 1974. For example, Stanfield's mean thermometer scores reflect a reduction in virtually every province, ranging from 4.7 points in British Columbia to 22.7 points in Newfoundland. Corresponding figures for Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia are 7.8, 11.8, and 9.1, respectively. Similarly, Lewis did less well than did his predecessor, Tommy Douglas, in every province but Quebec. As for Trudeau, his average rankings decreased in Newfoundland, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and Manitoba, but they increased in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Consequently, his average national ranking declined less precipitously than did that of each of his rivals.

With respect to the effects of several socioeconomic factors on voters' feelings about party leaders, the data in Table 2.3 reveal that Trudeau's mean 1968 and 1974 scores among Canadians who were Anglicans, Presbyterians, or members of the United Church were 65.9 and 54.5, whereas his mean rankings among Catholic respondents were 71.7 and 68.0. Caouette also was perceived more favourably by Catholics. Stanfield, on the other hand, did poorly in this group with rankings of 53.6 in 1968 and 43.4 in 1974. His ratings among the major Protestant denominations were 58.6 and 50.4. Similarly, Douglas and Lewis achieved higher mean thermometers among Protestant than among Catholic voters.

Yet, despite these trends in levels of affect for the Conservative and New Democratic leaders, as well as a net decline in each leader's scores among every religious group between 1968 and 1974, Trudeau outranked the other leaders. Illustrative of this phenomenon are the differences between Trudeau and Stanfield of 7.3 and Trudeau and Douglas of 6.8 in 1968, as well as those between Trudeau and Stanfield of 4.1,

Table 2.3. Distribution of Mean Party Leader Thermometer Scores by Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables, 1968-74

	Trudeau		Stanfield		Lewis/Douglas		Caouette
	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968	1974	1974**
<u>Religion</u>							
Anglican, Presbyterian, United	65.9	54.5	58.6	50.4	59.1	49.6	40.8
Other Protestant	59.6	51.1	61.1	48.2	58.2	51.0	40.4
Catholic	71.7	68.0	53.6	43.4	46.6	45.5	47.5
Other	63.7	58.5	57.7	49.1	57.0	45.5	43.6
None	68.9	56.6	49.9	43.0	57.5	52.0	43.0
F =	19.2*	14.0*	9.9*	4.9*	25.9*	2.3	2.8*
<u>Ethnicity</u>							
Anglo-Celtic	66.2	56.8	58.8	48.9	58.4	50.4	40.4
French	74.2	68.6	51.4	42.6	46.4	45.1	50.0
Northern, Western European	67.3	59.0	56.8	48.4	56.5	46.8	41.3
Eastern European	69.4	61.6	51.9	45.3	57.8	45.3	46.0
Other	76.1	69.5	53.7	36.5	63.6	42.8	40.7
F =	5.7*	7.3*	9.2*	4.9*	10.2*	2.1	5.4*
<u>Subjective Social Class</u>							
upper, upper-middle	74.0	66.5	56.3	47.2	54.1	45.6	41.7
middle	70.3	62.0	56.4	45.7	52.4	46.8	44.5
working, lower	64.0	58.3	56.2	46.8	55.7	49.3	43.9
F =	12.9*	2.2	0.8	1.1	3.6	3.4*	0.3
<u>Objective Social Class</u>							
low	62.1	62.0	59.1	47.2	54.4	47.7	47.8
moderately low	66.7	57.1	53.7	45.3	54.6	46.5	43.4
moderately high	72.6	62.7	55.6	46.4	52.2	47.3	42.7
high	73.9	64.1	57.5	48.2	57.0	50.5	44.8
F =	22.3*	4.0	7.1*	0.7	2.1	1.3	1.4


Table 2.3 (continued)

	Trudeau		Stanfield		Douglas/Lewis		Caouette	
	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968	1974
<u>Education</u>								
elementary or less	63.2	64.5	56.2	47.7	50.2	44.2	49.3	41.8
some secondary	67.8	58.9	57.2	48.0	57.0	48.2	41.9	41.6
completed secondary	71.2	60.5	56.2	45.4	54.4	44.4	43.4	6.9*
some college or university	73.4	60.7	53.0	44.9	53.2	49.9		
completed college or university	76.0	64.5	56.9	44.5	56.4	51.0		
F =	16.6*	4.4*	1.3	2.1	7.3*	6.6*		
<u>Age</u>								
18/21 - 29 years	68.5	59.7	55.6	42.7	50.4	48.3	43.5	
30 - 45 years	69.5	60.9	55.3	43.9	55.2	47.6	44.8	
46 - 59 years	65.4	60.6	56.4	47.8	54.9	49.2	45.1	
60 or more years	66.5	62.3	59.2	55.3	54.5	45.0	43.2	
F =	4.1*	0.4	3.5*	13.2*	4.3*	1.2	0.3	
<u>Sex</u>								
Male	67.2	59.5	54.6	47.2	54.9	48.3	44.8	
Female	68.1	61.8	58.2	46.1	52.9	47.1	43.6	
F =	0.9	1.9	18.3*	0.5	3.8	0.7	0.6	
<u>Community Size</u>								
farm	61.4	54.6	61.2	52.4	53.0	44.5	47.3	
1,000 - 9,999	66.8	59.1	59.1	48.7	53.0	44.8	45.6	
10,000 - 99,999	67.3	62.2	57.0	48.1	51.3	48.2	44.3	
100,000 - 500,000	68.0	62.6	55.3	45.8	56.9	50.2	45.3	
over 500,000	73.3	61.5	51.4	44.0	54.6	49.0	42.4	
F =	21.0*	1.4	20.8*	2.8	2.7	2.0	0.9	

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .01 level.

##Caouette was excluded from the 1968 analysis because thermometer questions were asked of Quebec respondents only.

Trudeau and Lewis of 4.9, and Trudeau and Caouette of 13.7 in 1974 among Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church respondents. The corresponding figures for Catholics are 18.1 and 25.1 in 1968, and 24.6, 22.5, and 20.5 in 1974. Moreover, Lewis was perceived more favourably than was Stanfield by the former group in 1968 and by the latter group in 1974.



An inspection of the mean scores received by party leaders from the major ethnic groups discloses that Trudeau's 1968 and 1974 rankings were higher among persons of French rather than of Anglo-Celtic origin. In the former group, the scores were 68.6 and 74.2, and in the latter group they were 56.8 and 66.2. Caouette also did well among French-Canadians in 1974, while Stanfield, Lewis, and Douglas were regarded more favourably by those of Anglo-Celtic or of Northern or Western European descent. Overall, Trudeau ranked ahead of the other party leaders among each ethnic group, outscoring the Conservative, New Democratic, and Social Credit leaders by 7.9, 6.4, and 16.4 points among persons of English extraction; by 10.6, 12.2, and 17.7 points for Northern or Western Europeans; and by fully 26.0, 23.5, and 18.6 points for respondents of French backgrounds. The 1968 data display an identical pattern.

Another variable which has been used extensively in research on political attitudes and behaviour is social class. In the table, three measures of social class¹¹ are employed. The first measure includes respondents' subjective ratings of their class status. In 1968, among persons who perceived themselves as working or lower, middle, or upper-middle or upper class, Trudeau's mean thermometers were 58.3, 62.0, and 66.5. His 1974 ratings were 64.0, 70.3, and 74.0, thereby indicating that the Liberal leader particularly appealed to upper-middle or upper class individuals¹² and that, despite this fact, he received higher scores from all three classes of Canadians than did his rivals. Among

the upper-middle or upper class, for example, Trudeau outranked Stanfield by 19.3 points, Lewis by 20.9 points, and Caouette by 24.8 points. The only other leader whose average scores varied with class perceptions is Lewis. His standings were 45.6, 46.8, and 49.3, respectively.

The second measure of social class is an objective one depicting variations in occupational prestige. Use of this measure upholds the finding that social class does not substantially affect Canadians' feelings about party leaders, with the exception of Trudeau, but some differences between leaders do exist. That is, Trudeau outranked Stanfield, Douglas, Lewis, and Caouette. Among respondents of lower occupational prestige, the differences are 13.0 between Trudeau and Stanfield, and 12.1 between Trudeau and Douglas. In 1974, the Liberal leader exceeded Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette by 11.8, 10.6, and 13.7 points, respectively. Trudeau also did better with persons of high occupational status, surpassing Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette by 15.9, 13.6, and 19.3 points, respectively. This discovery further holds true for the low and moderately high occupational categories.

The third measure of social class is predicated upon the conventional assumption that education is a sensitive indicator of class position in an advanced, industrial society.¹³ Education seemingly does influence feelings about leaders in some intriguing ways. One difference involves more positive perceptions of Stanfield and Caouette among persons with low as opposed to high educational attainment. In contrast, the NDP and Liberal leaders were favoured by the university-educated groups. Among individuals who had completed college or university, scores for Douglas and Lewis were 56.4 and 51.0, and 76.0 and 64.5 for Trudeau in 1968 and 1974, respectively. At the other end of the continuum, for persons who had experienced an elementary or less education,

the figures are 50.2, 44.2, 63.2, and 64.5, respectively. On the basis of these data, it is clear that Trudeau outranked the two New Democratic leaders for both groups. Moreover, he scored higher than did Caouette and Stanfield for both the former and latter educational categories, as well as for persons with either secondary or some university education.

Finally, given the repeated discovery that factors such as age, sex, and urban-rural residency correlate with voting behaviour in some political milieux, these three variables were crosstabulated with mean thermometer scores on the assumption that voting behaviour is not independent of people's evaluations of party leaders. An inspection of the distributions by age in Table 2.3 discloses that Stanfield was held in higher esteem by older than by younger Canadians. Indeed, his scores were 59.2 in 1968 and 55.3 in 1974 among persons sixty years of age or older, and 55.6 and 42.7 for the youngest respondents. Douglas' scores also tended to increase as one moves across the categories of age, while Trudeau was favoured highly by the younger people in 1968. For Trudeau, Lewis, and Caouette in 1974, no significant age-related difference in affective feelings is revealed by the data. Moreover the other leaders' thermometers pale in light of those of Trudeau. Among the youngest group, the Liberal leader received 17.0, 11.4, and 16.2 points more than did Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette, respectively. This finding is echoed by patterns for the other age groups in both years.

Upon turning to the sex variable, it is surprising to learn that, given Trudeau's presumed appeal to the female segment of the Canadian electorate in 1968,¹⁴ men and women did not differ drastically in the scores assigned to the Liberal leader. The same finding occurs for 1974. Nor are there sex-related differences in the rankings of Caouette, Douglas, Lewis, and Stanfield, with the sole exception to this trend

being Stanfield in 1968. His two scores of 54.6 for men and 58.2 for women imply a preference among the latter as opposed to the former group for the Conservative leader. Nevertheless, Trudeau's score does exceed that assigned to Stanfield for both sexes in that year, and he also out-ranked the New Democratic and Social Credit leaders.

In terms of urban-rural differences in levels of affect, it is evident that Trudeau's scores were highest in cities with between 100,000 and 500,000 or over 500,000 inhabitants. In such areas, his scores were 68.0 and 73.3 in 1968, and 62.6 and 61.5 in 1974. From these apices, the rankings decline, but even though his lowest standings are 61.4 in 1968 and 54.6 in 1974, as assigned to him by occupants of farming areas, they obviously are positive. Similarly, Douglas and Lewis were perceived more favourably by the residents of large cities rather than of small towns or agricultural districts. On the other hand, Stanfield's most positive rankings were accorded to him by the farming communities - 61.2 in 1968 and 52.4 in 1974. From these levels, his scores decrease monotonically until attaining the lowest averages of 51.4 and 44.0 among inhabitants of the largest cities. Caouette's distribution resembles that of Stanfield. Despite these trends for the Conservative and Social Credit leaders, however, Trudeau's scores exceed them and the New Democratic leaders in all sizes of community of residence for both years. For example, in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 dwellers, the differences between Trudeau and Caouette, Douglas, Lewis, and Stanfield in 1968, and Stanfield in 1974 are 17.3, 11.1, 12.4, and 12.7 and 16.8 points, respectively.

In summary, the data displayed in Table 2.3 offer distinct evidence for the tendency of various cleavages in Canadian society to account for differences in feelings about party leaders. Trudeau derived his highest 1968 mean thermometer scores from Catholic, French, and

upper-middle or upper class respondents. He also was perceived most favourably by individuals having highly prestigious occupations, residents of large cities, young people, and those who had received a college or university education. The only exception to this portrait of affect for Trudeau in 1974 is that he was regarded well by all age groups. In marked contrast to Trudeau's pattern is that of Stanfield. The highest estimations of him came from people whose religious denomination is Anglican, Presbyterian, or United Church; whose ethnicity is Anglo-Celtic or Northern or Western European; who are forty-six years or older; and who resided in small towns or farming communities. Women also ranked him more favourably than did men in 1968, but not in 1974 when no sex-related differences were apparent. The other inconsistency between 1968 and 1974 involves levels of education, that is, no educational variations occurred in 1968 whereas higher evaluations of Stanfield were given by the non-university rather than university-educated in 1974. Caouette's sources of affect resemble those of Stanfield in terms of appealing to respondents with elementary school backgrounds and residency in small communities, but also those of Trudeau vis-à-vis the Catholic and French rankings. The picture for Lewis is contrary to that for Caouette. The NDP leader scored well among major English and Protestant groups, the university-educated, and persons living in large cities. This also is true for Douglas, but he additionally was ranked highly by members of the working or lower class, and young respondents, while no social class and age differences were evident for Lewis in 1974.

Two other findings emerge from Table 2.3. One pertains to the propensity for Trudeau clearly to have outranked the other party leaders among almost every socioeconomic or demographic group. This finding is buttressed by recognition of the additional fact that Trudeau's 1968 mean

scores not only surpassed the level of 60, but often extended beyond 70. The rankings received by Stanfield and Douglas, however, rarely exceeded 60, were principally confined to the range of 50 through 59, and sometimes plunged below 50. For 1974, thermometers in the upper 50s and low 60s characterized Trudeau. These rankings vary sharply from those of Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette who mainly were situated within the range of 40 through 49. The other finding relates to a net decline in each leader's mean scores for all groups between 1968 and 1974. To illustrate this phenomenon, it can be cited that the net negative changes in mean scores between the two years for Trudeau among persons who were Catholic, French, university or college-educated, between the ages of thirty and forty-five, and/or resided in large cities are 3.7, 5.6, 11.5, 13.4, and 11.8 points, respectively. Corresponding differences in Stanfield's levels of affect for respondents of Anglican, Presbyterian, or United Church denomination, Anglo-Celtic descent, elementary-school education, sixty years of age or older, or farming communities are 8.2, 9.9, 8.1, 8.5, and 8.8 points, respectively. The variation among women is 12.1 points. With regard to the NDP leader, depreciations of 8.0, 8.6, 5.4, and 6.7 points occur between Douglas' 1968 rankings and Lewis' 1974 scores for the major English and Protestant groups, persons who had finished university programs, and residents of cities with populations ranging between 100,000 and 500,000, respectively. The score changes by 6.4 points among respondents who subjectively rated themselves as members of the working or lower class.

Overall, the three findings revealed by Table 2.3 introduce an interesting research question. This question pertains to the evaluative component of images of party leaders held by Canadians. It is explored in the following section of this chapter.

The Evaluative Component of Images of Party Leaders

An appreciation of the number, direction, and content of images of party leaders may be ascertained from a series of open-ended, like-dislike questions about each leader.¹⁵ The number and direction of images are reported in Table 2.4.¹⁶ Perhaps the most remarkable finding demonstrated by this table is that 93.8 per cent of the 1974 sample of voters had some image of a party leader, with the average number of images per respondent being 5.9. Equally interesting are 83.3 per cent and 79.8 per cent of the respondents who offered positive and negative images, respectively. The mean number of positive images is 3.5 and for negative images it is 2.4. These data indicate that voters in 1974 were slightly more favourably rather than unfavourably disposed towards the party leaders.

In terms of images of each leader, those of the two major party leaders figured prominently in the electorate's mind. Fully 86.6 per cent and 76.6 per cent evaluated Trudeau and Stanfield, respectively, while 59.0 per cent and 48.5 per cent did so for Lewis and Caouette. The mean numbers of images, taken in turn, are 2.2, 1.6, 1.2, and 0.9. When these general images were differentiated according to their positive or negative direction, the largest percentage of respondents, 72.3 per cent, presented a favourable picture of Trudeau, and the lowest percentage, 37.9 per cent, ventured such a perception of Caouette. The average numbers of positive images of Trudeau, Stanfield, Lewis and Caouette are 1.4, 0.7, and 0.6, respectively. The largest percentage of respondents, 59.1 per cent, viewed the Conservative leader in negative terms. Similar perceptions of Trudeau, Lewis, and Caouette obtained from among 54.1 per cent, 34.0 per cent, and 24.5 per cent in 1974. In brief, then, Table 2.4 offers two findings: a significantly large number of respondents

Table 2.4. Number and Direction of Images of Party Leaders, 1974

	<u>Percentage*</u>	<u>Mean Number of Images</u>
Image of a party leader	93.8	5.9
Positive image of a party leader	83.3	3.5
Negative image of a party leader	79.8	2.4
Total images of Trudeau	88.6	2.2
Stanfield	76.6	1.6
Lewis	59.0	1.2
Caouette	48.5	0.9
Positive images of Trudeau	72.3	1.4
Stanfield	49.2	0.7
Lewis	46.4	0.7
Caouette	37.9	0.6
Negative images of Trudeau	54.1	0.8
Stanfield	59.1	0.9
Lewis	34.0	0.4
Caouette	24.5	0.3

*Percentages are based on a weighted half-sample size of 1203.

reported images of party leaders, and there is a tendency for Trudeau to have been perceived more favourably than were the other party leaders.

One possible explanation for variation in the mean number of images of party leaders rests on political interest.¹⁷ Its influence is assessed in Table 2.5. From the table, it is obvious that persons who were very interested in politics averaged 1.6, 1.0, 1.0, and 0.1 positive images and 1.0, 1.1, 0.6, and 0.4 negative images of Trudeau, Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette, respectively. From these magnitudes, the mean numbers of images decline monotonically through the moderate to low categories. The latter group offered only 1.2, 0.5, 0.1, and 0.1 favourable and 0.7, 0.8, 0.3, and 0.3 unfavourable evaluations of the Liberal, Conservative, New Democratic, and Social Credit leaders. Another discovery in Table 2.5 is that Trudeau again had more positive images than did the other party leaders. Among persons who professed to have been moderately interested, the differences of means between Trudeau and Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette are 0.7, 0.7, and 1.4, respectively. Accompanying this trend is the fact that Stanfield accumulated 0.2, 0.5, and 0.7 more negative images than did Trudeau, Lewis, and Caouette.

The data examined thus far present the numbers and the direction, but not the content of images of party leaders. The latter was collapsed into eight categories.¹⁸ These categories not only constitute an economically-analytical approach but also preserve the central themes of the 1968 and 1974 election campaigns. The percentages of respondents located in the categories are exhibited in Table 2.6. Immediately clear from an inspection of the 1974 data is the finding that personality and style dominated the responses for each party leader. Nearly one-half and slightly over one-quarter of the voters referred positively and negatively to Trudeau's personal characteristics, 36.2 per cent and 17.0 per cent

Table 2.5. Distribution of Mean Number of Images of Party Leaders by the Index of Political Interest, 1974

Index of Political Interest	Trudeau		Stanfield		Lewis		Caouette	
	positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
low	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3
moderate	1.5	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.3
high	1.6	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.1	0.4
F =	22.3*	11.1*	35.3*	18.4*	32.5*	28.5*	4.1	3.2

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .001 level.

mentioned favourable and unfavourable elements of his style or approach, and only 12.4 per cent and 6.9 per cent alluded approvingly as opposed to disparagingly to the factor of leadership in his image. This finding is consistent with previous research and with the Liberal Party's accentuation upon the competence of Trudeau.¹⁹ Illustrative of the general types of personality, style, and leadership are positive comments concerning his energy and dynamism, intelligence and honesty, and job performance (see Appendix). As an example, a forty-four years' old, British Columbian housewife who was married to a contract miner stated: "I like his frankness. I appreciate that. He has a nice personality - a charming person." Among negative opinions, arrogance, excessive travelling, and a failure to attend to business figured most prominently. Such sentiments were expressed by a sixty years' old, Albertan housewife who was married to a retired oil salesman: "Trudeau is too self-centred. He is always looking for personal gain. The dollar-and-cent sign is for himself and not for the country. He's not helping the countryside and is too persuaded by the East [provinces beyond the eastern boundary of Manitoba]. He takes too many holidays and, on his visits to foreign countries, he doesn't get down to real facts." Another respondent, a young university student living in Ontario attempted to explain Trudeau's alleged aura of arrogance. She maintained that: "I think because of his intellectual and cultural outlook, he can be a bit of a cold fish when dealing with the ordinary man in the street. He has a dictatorship attitude. I think he'd love to be one and have the power of one." On the other hand, a public school teacher announced that he liked Trudeau's "detachment"... "things happen around him and he sits unruffled."

The failure of economic issues, most notably inflation, to enter into Canadians' evaluations of Trudeau is somewhat surprising given that

Table 2.6. Content of Images of Party Leaders, 1968-74
(percentages of respondents)

Content	Trudeau		Stanfield		Douglas/Levis		Caouette									
	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968*	Negative 1974								
personality, pers. chars.	49.6	47.5	19.4	26.0	39.4	32.5	15.8	33.8	27.4	22.8	7.6	6.7	11.7	17.8	6.9	2.6
style, approach	25.2	36.2	21.5	17.0	16.0	12.2	29.7	23.6	25.9	18.6	7.6	10.2	16.8	20.5	10.7	7.7
leadership	2.0	12.4	0.8	6.9	2.0	3.4	3.0	1.7	1.7	4.3	1.2	1.6	0.7	1.8	0.7	1.2
ec. issues incl. infl.	0.4	0.6	0.2	6.0	0.7	3.4	1.5	0.2	1.4	0.6	1.1	0.4	0.3	1.1	1.6	0.1
Quebec, sep., bilingualism	4.3	1.8	2.0	3.7	0.8	0.2	1.6	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.4	1.8	0.8	4.2	3.3
other issues	20.9	7.4	7.0	6.3	5.6	3.3	7.3	5.8	7.3	6.8	12.5	10.2	4.2	4.6	8.5	8.9
grps., regions excl. Quebec	0.4	3.7	0.3	6.4	1.5	1.7	0.5	1.9	3.4	3.7	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.8	0.1	3.3
other references	3.3	3.0	5.5	7.0	2.1	6.1	3.9 ^h	6.4	1.4	6.5	8.3	6.2	0.8	2.7	3.7	4.7

*Caouette was included in the 1968 analysis but the questions about images were asked of Quebec respondents only.

voters might be expected to have perceived the Liberal Party's leader, then also the prime minister, as accountable for and Stanfield's policies as the antidote against inflation.²⁰ As stated, this did not occur, with only 1.9 per cent of the respondents criticizing Trudeau for not taking measures to combat inflation. Yet, any apprehension about economic matters did not benefit Stanfield either. Only 2.3 per cent and 3.4 per cent positively and negatively connected this issue with his image. Typical of the former attitude is the British Columbian housewife's feeling that "he recognized the problem of prices and costs, and although his way of solving it wasn't right, he did have a solution to try." Nor was leadership a major ingredient of Stanfield's image, as merely 3.4 per cent and 1.7 per cent mentioned it positively as opposed to negatively. A number of people, however, did forward impressions of his personality and style. That is, 32.5 per cent and 33.8 per cent disclosed positive and negative personality-related evaluations. Another 12.2 per cent discovered an element of his style that appealed to them, but 23.6 per cent expressed dislike of some stylistic dimension. References to Stanfield's approach and personal characteristics tended to comprise a lack of dynamism, poor oratorical ability, a "good man," and honesty. These qualities are illustrated by the ambivalent responses of a thirty-five years' old bank manager: "He is extremely honest. His foresight is probably excellent for the country. Down to earth. He listens...his public image is god-awful, terrible public-speaking wise." Similarly, a forty-eight years' old manager of a pulp mill in Nova Scotia declared that "Stanfield is basically honest - his big drawing card...he doesn't seem to have the personality that other leaders have - charm, that is." Another respondent, an unemployed young man from Quebec, admired "his sympathy for the downtrodden. He likes the Quebec people - he refused to

accept Mayor Jones [the former mayor of Moncton, New Brunswick who was credited with making anti-French comments]" but he also admitted that "he's slow, not lively, a bit naïve."

The extent to which Stanfield's images relating to personality and style prevailed among Canadians denotes that considerable attention had been deflected away from the issue of inflation during the 1974 campaign. Stanfield himself probably was responsible for this phenomenon by issuing evasive, contradictory statements which indicated exemptions from controls on wages and prices. Such statements furnished the Liberal Party and the NDP with ammunition to challenge the credibility of Stanfield's leadership and policy.²¹ This attack and a concomitant criticism of corporate power, however, were not associated with the NDP leader's image. Only 1.5 per cent and 1.4 per cent of the voters in 1974 positively and negatively equated economic issues with Lewis. Similarly, mentions of leadership occurred infrequently. Rather, like Trudeau and Stanfield, many people were captured by facets of Lewis' personality and style. Indeed 22.3 per cent and 6.7 per cent positively and negatively referred to his personality, while 18.6 per cent and 10.2 per cent in like manner alluded to his style. Foremost among his images were honesty and a good speaking ability. For example, a university student expressed a liking for Lewis as "he's in close contact with the working man's mentality and he really tries to do something to help him improve his conditions. He's a very good orator and makes sense when he speaks. He doesn't waste words." Another interesting evaluation of Lewis pertains to the 2.1 per cent who negatively attributed responsibility for forcing the election to him. Indicative of this opinion is the twenty-four years' old, male computer operator from British Columbia who asserted: "I feel that in the last session of parliament he and his party brought

down the Liberal government when they were trying so hard to do a good job. Also, I dislike what he stands for - socialism for Canada."

More generally, references to the Social Credit leader's image duplicate experiences of the other party leaders. That is, the most frequently-mentioned images include personality and style. Fully 17.8 per cent and 20.5 per cent offered positive comments about these two dimensions, respectively, and 2.6 per cent and 7.7 per cent did so negatively. For example, one respondent liked "his fiery Frenchness. He is amusing and vivacious." Another respondent, a young Québécois, stated: "I like his personality, his desire to win. He debates like a devil in the House. As long as he's there, the government won't be able to trick the public." Conversely, few respondents considered leadership to be a principal component. Nor did economic and Quebec-related issues appear often, despite the party's attempts to incorporate its unusual economic principles and bilingualism into the 1974 campaign platform under Caouette's leadership.

In brief, then, an incongruity exists between party platform and actual content of images, with personality and style receiving principal attention. This incongruity not only characterizes Caouette, but Trudeau, Stanfield, and Lewis, and it is the first major finding in Table 2.6. The second finding concerns a tendency for more people to have offered positive rather than negative evaluations of the facets of personality, style, and leadership of the Liberal, New Democratic, and Social Credit leaders' images. The Conservative leader's images were somewhat more negative than positive. Another discovery pertains to the inclination of a larger number of voters to have viewed Trudeau positively rather than the other party leaders. With regard to personality, the number favourably referring to Trudeau differs from Stanfield, Lewis,

and Caouette by 15.0 per cent, 25.2 per cent, and 29.7 per cent, respectively. The Liberal leader also exceeds each of the other leaders on the component of style. The theme of leadership further manifests variations, with 9.0 per cent, 8.1 per cent, and 10.6 per cent of the respondents having evaluated Trudeau's quality more favourably than that of Stanfield, Lewis, or Caouette, respectively. The issue of inflation is slightly inconsistent with this trend, given that 1.7 per cent, 0.9 per cent, and 0.5 per cent equated the Conservative, New Democratic, and Social Credit leaders more favourably than Trudeau with it. Additional inspection of the negative direction of each image category shows that more people disapproved of Stanfield's personality and style than of those of Trudeau, Lewis, or Caouette.

Stanfield's style also struck a dissonant rather than pleasant chord more often in 1968, but his personality was viewed favourably by more people. The personalities and styles of Trudeau, Douglas, and Caouette likewise emerged prominently and positively, and Trudeau generally exerted more appeal than did the other leaders. Consequently, the fourth finding arising from Table 2.6 involves congruity in the context of images of party leaders between 1968 and 1974. In particular, not only were issues mentioned less often than were personal characteristics and style, but Trudeau emerges as the clear victor in two election campaigns which involved a confrontation between personalities as much as between party platforms.

Summary

In summary, it can be stated that expectations concerning distributions of the affective and the evaluative components of images of party leaders that were advanced in Chapter 1 and repeated briefly at the

beginning of this chapter are supported to a considerable extent by the data. More specifically, they reveal that Trudeau was accorded higher levels of affect by Canadian voters in 1968 and 1974. Moreover, his highest scores occurred among people who were living in Quebec, French, Catholic, upper-middle or upper class, in prestigious occupations, young, university-educated, or urban dwellers than among other socioeconomic-demographic groups. His scores, however, unexpectedly did not vary by sex. Stanfield was rated most highly by inhabitants of the four Maritime provinces in 1968 and by those of only Nova Scotia in 1974. Although this fact suggests the operation of a regional effect for Stanfield, it should be recognized that his scores exceeded barely those of the Liberal leader in these provinces. The same is true for Alberta. Stanfield also evoked warm feelings from Anglo-Celtic, Northern or Western European, Anglican or Presbyterian or United Church, older, or non-university-educated respondents, as well as from residents of small towns or farming districts. Caouette's pattern resembles that of Stanfield in terms of appealing to voters who had an elementary-school education or resided in small communities but, like that of Trudeau, he was liked by French and Catholic respondents. A different pattern obtains for the NDP leader with his highest mean thermometers coming from those in the major English or Protestant, university-educated, or urban-dwelling groups.

Another expectation that is confirmed empirically is that a large number of voters in 1974 did express an evaluation of a party leader, and the images of Trudeau, Lewis, and Caouette more frequently were positive than negative in direction, while those of Stanfield exhibited the converse pattern. Further, Trudeau received favourable mentions more often than did the other leaders. Also as anticipated, persons who felt a keen interest in politics offered larger numbers of

approving and disparaging comments about each leader than did their less interested counterparts. Finally and perhaps most interestingly, larger numbers of Canadians in 1968 and 1974 were impressed by the personalities and styles of party leaders, especially those of Trudeau, rather than by their positions on issues. This last finding is consistent with much of the research on voting behaviour²² - research which additionally has emphasized that images of a party leader are shaped by an individual's sense of party identification, and that both of these variables can determine direction of the vote. Thus, antecedent to analyzing the electoral effects of images of party leaders, their relationships with party identification are explored in the next chapter.

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FOOTNOTES

¹The importance of party leaders in Canadian politics has been discussed by R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, second edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 226; Peter Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude: Parties and Voting in Canada (Toronto: Longmans, 1965), ch. 4; J.R. Mallory, "The Structure of Canadian Politics," in Party Politics in Canada, second edition, ed. Hugh G. Thorburn (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 28-29; J.M. Beck and D.J. Dooley, "Party Images in Canada," in Party Politics in Canada, ed. Thorburn, p. 82; Allan Kornberg, "Parliament in Canadian Society," in Legislatures in Developmental Perspective, eds. Allan Kornberg and Lloyd D. Masoff (Durham: Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 73-77; J.R. Mallory, The Structure of Canadian Government (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 204-212; William P. Irvine, "An Overview of The 1974 Federal Election in Canada," in Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1974, ed. Howard R. Penniman (Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975), p. 43; Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process, second edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 242; Frederick J. Fletcher, "The Prime Minister as Public Persuader," in Apex of Power: The Prime Minister and Political Leadership in Canada, second edition, ed. Thomas A. Hockin (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 86-111; S.J.R. Noel, "The Prime Minister's Role in Consociational Democracy," in Apex of Power, ed. Hockin, pp. 154-158; and Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 207.

²See Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960), pp. 101-110; Philip E. Converse, "Information Flow and The Stability of Party Attitudes," in Elections and The Political Order, eds. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes (New York: John Wiley, 1966), pp. 136-157; Rick Van Loon, "Political Participation in Canada: The 1965 Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (September 1970), 381, 395-396; and Sidney Verba, Norman E. Nie and Jae-On Kim, The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison (Beverly Hills: Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics 2, no. 01-013, 1971), pp. 44-53.

³See Irvine, "An Overview of The 1974 Federal Election in Canada," pp. 39-46; Stephen Clarkson, "Pierre Trudeau and The Liberal Party: The Jockey and the Horse," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 81-83; and George Perlin, "The Progressive Conservative Party in the Election of 1974," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 109-114.

⁴These scales were designed to tap varying degrees of "like" or "dislike" for political objects, including party leaders. See pp. 17-19 of this thesis.

⁵See Lawrence LeDuc, "The Measurement of Public Opinion," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 209-241, especially p. 239.

⁶ These data are exhibited diagrammatically in Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, p. 211, Figure 7.1.

⁷ Regional variations in Canadian voting behaviour have been studied by Alan Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965," Canadian Journal of Political Science 1 (March 1968): 55-80; Donald E. Blake, "The Measurement of Regionalism in Canadian Voting Patterns," Canadian Journal of Political Science 5 (March 1972): 55-81; Richard Simeon and David J. Elkins, "Regional Political Cultures in Canada," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (September 1974): 397-437; and Mildred A. Schwartz, Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), pp. 148-157.

On the impact of religion and ethnicity on Canadian electoral behaviour, see Robert R. Alford, Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), ch. 8; Grace M. Anderson, "Voting Behaviour and the Ethnic-Religious Variable," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32 (February 1966): 27-37; Lynn McDonald, "Religion and Voting: A Study of the 1968 Canadian Federal Election in Ontario," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 6 (August 1969): 129-144; Jean Lapointe, "Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of Survey and Census Data," in Quantitative Ecological Analyses in the Social Sciences, eds. Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 187-216; William P. Irvine, "Explaining the Religious Basis of the Canadian Partisan Identity: Success on the Third Try," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (September 1974): 560-563; Mildred A. Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," in Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook, ed. Richard Rose (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 574-583; John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, second edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), ch. 6; Van Loon and Whittington, The Canadian Political System, pp. 58-64; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, ch. 4.

⁸ These data are similar to those presented in Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, p. 209, Table 7.1.

⁹ The following election results demonstrate Liberal strength in Quebec. The total number of seats in the province is seventy-four until 1974, and seventy-five in 1979 and 1980.

<u>Election</u>	<u>Liberal Seats</u>	<u>Liberal Pop. Vote</u>
1963	47	46%
1965	56	44%
1968	56	54%
1972	56	49%
1974	60	54%
1979	67	62%
1980	73	-

The 1963, 1965, and 1968 figures derive from J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 370-372, 396-397, 418-419. The 1972 and 1974 figures come from Richard M. Scammon, "Appendix: A Summary of Canadian General Election Results, 1968-74," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, pp. 296-299. The 1979 figures are from Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc,

and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada, abridged edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), p. 264, Table 13.1.

¹⁰The following election results show the strength of the Progressive Conservative Party in Alberta, which had a total number of seats of seventeen until 1968, nineteen in 1972 and 1974, and twenty-one in 1979 and 1980.

<u>Election</u>	<u>P.C. Seats</u>	<u>P.C. Pop. Vote</u>
1963	14	45%
1965	15	47%
1968	15	50%
1972	19	58%
1974	19	61%
1979	21	67%
1980	21	-

The 1963, 1965, and 1968 figures are from Beck, Pendulum of Power, pp. 370-371, 396-397, 418-419. The 1972 and 1974 figures are taken from Scammon, "Appendix," pp. 296-299. The 1979 figures come from Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, abridged edition, p. 264, Table 13.1.

¹¹The three measures of social class are subjective, objective, and educational. For a discussion of their constructions, see pp. 22-23 of this thesis.

¹²This finding is supported by the works of Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, p. 39; and John Meisel, "The Party System and the 1974 Election," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, p. 12.

¹³See, for example, Ronald Manzer, Canada: A Socio-Political Report (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), pp. 188-206.

¹⁴The phenomenon of "Trudeaumania" has been discussed by Beck, Pendulum of Power, pp. 402-403, 406-407, 409; and Irvine, "An Overview of the 1974 Federal Election in Canada," pp. 42-43.

¹⁵The series of open-ended, like-dislike questions employed in the 1974 study is very similar to that used in the 1968 study, and it was asked of a random half-sample of respondents (weighted N = 1203). For the wording of the series, see pp. 19-21 of this thesis.

¹⁶These data resemble those reported by Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, p. 230, Table 7.5.

¹⁷The composite measure of political interest, with its categories of low, moderate, and high, is constructed from questions cited on p. 23 of this thesis.

¹⁸The type of classification scheme that divides images of party leaders into personal qualities, philosophy and issues, and qualifications and abilities was devised by Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 55-59; and David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain, first edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), pp. 377-381.

¹⁹Irvine, "An Overview of the 1974 Federal Election in Canada,"

pp. 39-42; and Gilbert R. Winham and Robert B. Cunningham, "Party Leader Images in the 1968 Federal Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (March 1970): 40-42.

²⁰ Irvine, "An Overview of the 1974 Federal Election in Canada," pp. 39-42; and Jo Surich, "Purists and Pragmatists: Canadian Democratic Socialism at the Crossroads," in Canada at the Polls, ed. Penniman, p. 138. The finding is reinforced by an analysis which showed that the issues of inflation, leadership, and majority government in the 1974 campaign did not fulfill adequately the three conditions prescribed by Butler and Stokes for an issue to influence voting. See Jon H. Pammett, Lawrence LeDuc, Jane Jenson, and Harold D. Clarke, "The Perception and Impact of Issues in the 1974 Federal Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science 10 (March 1977): 93-126; and Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 166-194.

²¹ Irvine, "An Overview of the 1974 Federal Election in Canada," pp. 39-42.

²² The idea that party identification acts as an experiential filter for perceptions of political objects such as party leaders has been discussed by Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 215-233; Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 120-145; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 81-83; Donald E. Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements in Contests for the Presidency," American Political Science Review 60 (March 1966): 19-28; Stanley Kelley and Thad W. Mirer, "The Simple Act of Voting," American Political Science Review 68 (June 1974): 572-591; and Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, William Lyons, and Michael R. Fitzgerald, "Candidates, Parties, and Issues in the American Electorate: Two Decades of Change," in American Electoral Behavior: Change and Stability, ed. Samuel A. Kirkpatrick (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), p. 65.

Chapter 3

IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

During the past two decades, the concept of party identification has been a subject of scholarly debate. On one side of this debate, people analyzing data from early American election studies have argued that party identification is acquired during childhood or adolescence, tends to be stable over time, is affective, influences perceptions of political objects including party leaders, and determines electoral choice as well as encouraging other forms of political participation.¹ On the other side, those engaged in performing secondary analyses of the early and more recent data have asserted that the incidence, intensity, and perceptual screening power of party identification have been declining, while the number of individuals designating themselves as "independent" and the electoral significance of short-term forces such as candidates and issues have been increasing since 1964.² This year has been viewed as marking the beginning of a crucial transition in American politics.³

The debate concerning the ambiguous status of party identification as an electoral force in the United States has been replicated in research conducted in other political milieux, such as Britain, Canada, and France. In Canada, the disagreement over properties of party identification gained momentum when the textbook theory of party politics was challenged by Sniderman, Forbes and Melzer. Briefly, the theory states that ideological and policy similarities between the Conservative

and Liberal parties as the two major parties have been instrumental in weakening partisan loyalties which, in turn, have contributed to electoral volatility.⁴ Sniderman, Forbes and Melzer, however, used information from studies of the 1965 and 1968 electorates to contend that party identification is transferred intergenerationally, is stable, and does influence the voting decision.⁵ Although other scholars have agreed with the conclusion that stability of party identification affects electoral choice, the bulk of their research lends support to the textbook theory given that high levels of weakness, instability, inconsistency, and vote-switching have been detected.⁶

It will be recalled that these opposing characteristics of party identification were referred to in expectations set forth in Chapter 1.⁷ These expectations address how Canadians perceived party leaders. Summarily, it was proposed that the perceptual screening power of party identification should be strong among intense, stable, and/or consistent identifiers such that they would manifest high levels of affect for and very positive images of their own leader but have negative feelings about other leaders. Unlike these groups, however, orientations toward their own leader and other leaders would be less positive and negative, respectively, among weak, unstable, and/or inconsistent partisans for whom the filtering capacity of party identification should be less potent. To test these propositions, data on distributions of the components of party identification and on its relationship with images of party leaders are displayed in this chapter. The display is essential to a full assessment of the relative effects of both forces on voting behaviour, which appears in the two remaining

chapters of the thesis.

Findings

Distributions of the Components of Party Identification

The distributions of the components of party identification in Canada are exhibited in Table 3.1. Immediately obvious from an inspection of this table is the large incidence of party identification among Canadians. Although the number of persons refusing to affix a partisan label to themselves has embodied continually approximately 10.0 per cent of the electorate, an overwhelming 89.3 per cent, 91.2 per cent, and 88.8 per cent of the 1965, 1968, and 1974 samples, respectively, expressed a federal partisan preference. The actual direction of these attachments has been oriented undeniably towards the Liberal Party; slightly over 40.0 per cent of the 1965 respondents and fully one-half of the 1968 and 1974 voters claimed an attachment to this party. The remaining approximately 40.0 per cent of each electorate selected the other major and the two minor parties as objects of their identification, with the percentages of individuals professing a Conservative, New Democratic, or Social Credit partisan predisposition hovering around 25.0, 10.0, and 5.0 respectively.

Beyond rendering a preliminary insight into the existence and direction of party identification, however, these figures do not serve to establish an understanding of partisanship as a firmly-rooted attitude in the mind of the electorate. This information is pertinent to subsequent analyses which seek to delineate the operation of a psychological screening mechanism involving images of party leaders. Thus, it is necessary to examine the three components of intensity, stability,

Table 3.1. Components of Federal Party Identification, 1965-68-74
(percentages of respondents)*

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>
<u>Direction</u>			
Liberal	42.2%	50.0%	50.1%
Progressive Conservative	28.2	25.3	24.2
New Democrat	12.5	10.9	11.1
Social Credit	6.4	5.0	3.4
Nonidentifier	10.7	8.9	11.1
<u>Intensity</u>			
very strong	26.5%	27.1%	31.2%
fairly strong	47.5	48.5	46.3
weak	26.0	24.4	22.5
<u>Stability</u>			
stable	61.7%	64.1%	61.7%
unstable	38.3	35.9	38.3
<u>Consistency</u>			
consistent	71.1%	74.0%	64.6%
inconsistent	28.9	26.0	35.4
<u>Number of Deviations from Strong, Stable, Consistent Identification</u>			
none	37.7%	42.7%	42.4%
one	36.8	34.4	35.7
two	21.0	17.5	16.8
three	4.5	5.4	5.1

*Missing data were excluded. Nonidentifiers were excluded from calculations of intensity, stability, consistency, and the index of deviations.

and consistency. The first component of intensity is distributed in such a way that only 26.5 per cent, 27.1 per cent, and 31.2 per cent of the 1965, 1968, and 1974 respondents were very strong identifiers. This small increase between the three years is matched by a small decrease in the number of weak partisans, ranging from 26.0 per cent in 1965 through 24.4 per cent in 1968 to 22.5 per cent in 1974. Dissimilar to these two groups, the portion of the electorate with fairly strong identifications has not only remained relatively constant, but also has constituted a majority of each sample. In terms of the component of stability, it appears that a sizable proportion of voters has maintained the same partisan orientation over time. Fully 61.7 per cent of each of the 1965 and 1974 respondents and 64.1 per cent of the 1968 interviewees had stable identifications, whereas 38.3 per cent and 35.9 per cent did not. With respect to the third component of consistency, given the different types of party competition and party systems at the provincial as opposed to federal levels of government,⁸ Canadians were surprisingly loyal to the same label at both levels. Nearly three-quarters of the 1965 and 1968 respondents and two-thirds of those interviewed in 1974 reported a consistent identification. Finally, for the summary measure of partisanship,⁹ it is evident that the category containing the largest percentages of individuals is that of strong, stable, and consistent identification. Indeed, it captures 37.7 per cent, 42.7 per cent, and 42.5 per cent of the 1965, 1968, and 1974 voters, while one deviation from this classic pattern was recorded by approximately 35.0 per cent of each sample and fully three deviations characterize no more than 5.5 per cent. The total percentages of deviants are 62.3 for 1965, 57.3 for 1968, and 56.6 for 1974.

Briefly, then, several findings emerge from Table 3.1. The first pertains to the considerable incidence of party identification and the extent to which it has been directed towards the Liberal Party. The second concerns a general tendency for people to adhere to the same label over time and across the two levels of government. In absolute terms, these findings might imply that partisanship has been a potent psychological force among the Canadian electorate, but the prematurity of such an inference is suggested by the fact that a fair number of people have not experienced an intense partisan commitment. Nor have they been completely strong, stable, and consistent identifiers. To ascertain whether or not individuals with varying types of party identification feel about and evaluate party leaders differently is the task of the following analytical sections.

The Impact of Party Identification on Affect for Party Leaders

An inspection of the mean thermometer scores¹⁰ in Table 3.2 offers support for the hypothesis that strong party identifiers would express much higher levels of affect for their own party leader than for other leaders. For example, intense Liberals accorded Pierre Trudeau a ranking of 85.8 on the 100-point scale, a score which easily exceeds their ratings of Robert Stanfield, David Lewis, and René Caouette by 49.1, 44.4, and 41.9 points, respectively. That the same differential pattern was revealed by persons with strong Progressive Conservative attachments is indicated by Stanfield's thermometer of 70.1 which surpasses consecutively scores for Trudeau, Lewis, and Caouette by 36.0, 28.2, and 30.9 points. The New Democratic leader likewise evoked much affect from his party's strong adherents with his

Table 3.2. Distribution of Mean Party Leader Thermometer Scores by Direction and Intensity of Party Identification, 1968-74

	Trudeau		Stanfield		Douglas/Lewis		Caouette	
	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968	1974	1968**	1974
<u>Liberal</u>								
very strong	87.6	85.8	47.6	36.7	46.7	41.4	34.8	43.9
fairly strong	82.2	75.7	52.3	41.6	50.7	45.7	39.9	42.2
weak	72.6	67.3	53.7	42.4	53.4	44.4	42.0	42.0
Grand Mean	81.2	77.1	51.4	40.2	50.2	44.1	39.4	42.7
F =	76.1*	63.9*	8.3*	4.4	4.3*	3.0	1.4	2.9
<u>Progressive Conservative</u>								
very strong	43.8	34.1	77.2	70.1	52.9	41.9	59.3	39.2
fairly strong	52.8	45.6	70.4	63.3	53.8	46.1	47.1	44.9
weak	55.7	48.5	64.6	54.8	52.1	41.9	43.2	38.8
Grand Mean	51.2	42.9	70.8	63.1	53.1	43.8	47.5	41.8
F =	11.3*	9.7*	19.0*	12.6*	0.3	2.0	1.4	1.9
<u>New Democrat</u>								
very strong	49.4	37.7	48.1	35.9	84.8	79.1	38.2	37.1
fairly strong	57.7	48.4	50.1	41.1	78.7	72.0	36.4	40.4
weak	57.2	47.2	51.7	41.1	75.1	66.3	62.9	42.2
Grand Mean	54.7	45.0	49.8	39.6	80.0	73.2	47.9	39.7
F =	3.0	3.7	0.6	2.0	7.4*	7.1*	2.9	0.5
<u>Social Credit</u>								
very strong	45.1	50.7	49.9	37.0	33.0	37.2	91.7	84.6
fairly strong	50.5	55.3	51.3	40.0	39.1	34.8	77.1	73.5
weak	62.1	37.8	53.9	31.8	47.6	29.7	78.8	71.3
Grand Mean	51.1	50.4	51.4	37.6	38.8	34.3	80.5	77.3
F =	3.4	2.3	0.3	0.8	2.2	0.6	2.9	3.0

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .01 level.

**Caouette was included in the 1968 analysis but the thermometer questions were asked of Quebec respondents only.

mean score of 79.1 overshadowing those for the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit leaders by 41.1, 43.2, and 42.0 points. Among intense Social Credit identifiers, Caouette's ranking of 84.6 is 33.9, 47.6, and 47.4 thermometers higher than levels attained by the Liberal, Conservative, and New Democratic leaders, respectively.

An examination of the data in Table 3.2 also tends to confirm the expectation that weak party identifiers would claim some affinity for their own leader as opposed to other leaders. Respondents professing weak Liberal attachments, for example, placed Trudeau 24.9, 22.9, and 25.3 points ahead of Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette, respectively. Persons with weak Conservative identifications assigned Stanfield a score of 54.8, a figure which exceeds Trudeau by 6.3, Lewis by 12.9, and Caouette by 16.0 points. Similarly, weak New Democrats accorded Lewis a rating which is greater than those for the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit leaders by 19.1, 25.2, and 24.1 points. Caouette also was held in higher esteem by persons with tenuous ties to his party, consecutively eclipsing Trudeau, Stanfield, and Lewis by 33.5, 39.5, and 41.6 points.

Indicative of another discovery that differences of feeling do not always mirror differences in the strength of party identification are variations in means between weak, fairly strong, and very strong Liberal partisans. In their appraisals of Trudeau, the third group exceeded the first and second by 18.5 and 10.1 thermometer points, respectively. The scores received by Stanfield, Lewis, and Caouette, however, reveal negligible differences, with those between weak Liberal identifiers and their fairly strong and intense counterparts being only 0.8 and 5.7 points for Stanfield, -1.3 and 3.0 points for Lewis, and

-0.2 and -1.9 points for Caouette. This pattern is revealed further by Conservative identifiers. Intense Conservatives conferred 6.8 and 15.3 more thermometer scores upon Stanfield than did their fairly strong and weak colleagues, respectively. This last group's estimations of other party leaders, however, differ from the fairly strong and very strong groups by 2.9 and 14.4 for Trudeau, -4.2 and 0.0 for Lewis, and -6.1 and -0.4 for Caouette. Investigations of the comparisons among persons with New Democratic or Social Credit allegiances indicate that the trend is perpetuated. Lewis was given 7.1 and 12.8 more points by intense as opposed to fairly strong and weak New Democrats, respectively. Trudeau, Stanfield, and Caouette, however, record variations of only -1.2 and 9.5, 0.0 and 5.2, and 1.8 and 5.1 thermometer scores when ratings given by fairly strong and very strong identifiers were subtracted from those of the weak partisans. Correspondingly, very strong Social Crediters ranked Caouette more positively than the fairly strong by 11.1 points and the weak by 13.3 points. The first group also rated Trudeau, Stanfield, and Lewis more favourably than did the second and third groups.

A brief review of the 1968 data corroborates the expectations. Among weak, fairly strong, and very strong Liberals, Trudeau's average scores of 72.6, 82.2, and 87.6 are much greater than the ratings received by Stanfield, Douglas, or Caouette. When these figures are compared with the 1974 data, however, it is apparent that Trudeau has experienced a net decline in affect between the two years, ranging from 5.3 for the weak through 6.5 for the fairly strong to 1.8 for the intense identifiers. The same pattern holds for corresponding categories of Conservative partisans who accorded Stanfield thermometers of

64.6, 70.4, and 77.2, which are 7.1, 7.1, and 9.8 points higher than those for 1975. Douglas' standings of 84.8 for intense, 78.7 for fairly strong, and 75.1 for weak New Democrats likewise indicate that he was not only more positively regarded than were the other party leaders, but he also exceeds Lewis by 5.7, 6.7, and 8.8 thermometers. Finally, Caouette received very favourable ratings from Social Credit identifiers, ranging from 78.8 for the weak, through 77.1 for the fairly strong, to 9.7 for the very strong. Similar to the tendencies for other leaders, these scores surpass his 1974 figures by 7.5, 3.6, and 7.1 points, respectively. Moreover, the experience of "own" leader is paralleled by that for each of the other leaders whose average scores decline between the two years among weak, fairly strong, and very strong identifiers.

In summary, three basic findings emerge from data reported in Table 3.2. First, it is obvious that party identifiers tended to grant higher thermometer scores to their own leader rather than to other leaders. Liberals felt most warmly about Trudeau, while Conservatives, New Democrats, and Social Crediters preferred Stanfield, Lewis and Douglas, and Caouette, respectively. Parenthetically, it also is interesting to observe that other leaders evoked more positive feelings among their respective supporters than did Stanfield among Conservatives. Second, the scores assigned to own leader by weak, fairly strong, and very strong identifiers are consistent with expectations, that is, intense Liberals rated Trudeau more highly than did their weaker counterparts. Conversely, although larger scores for other leaders were anticipated from weak partisans, the three Liberal groups do not differ greatly in the negative feelings about Stanfield, Lewis

and Douglas, and Caouette. Minimal differences further are registered by Conservatives, New Democrats, and Social Crediters, with the exception of Trudeau's scores in 1974. That these leaders' scores tend to cluster together suggests that their faults and merits were neither magnified nor ignored more by one group in contrast to any other group of respondents. Thus, given that this component of intensity of partisanship apparently fails to discriminate between positive and negative types of information pertaining to other leaders,¹¹ its contribution to the functioning of party identification as a perceptual screen is somewhat lopsided. Finally, the information in Table 3.2 discloses a net decline in affective levels for all party leaders, regardless of own or other status, between 1968 and 1974.

The Impact of Party Identification on Evaluations of Party Leaders

To determine people's positive and negative images of their own and other party leaders, the series of open-ended, like-dislike questions¹² referred to earlier in Chapters 1 and 2 are used in Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5. Table 3.3 demonstrates that fully 89.4 per cent and 89.1 per cent of the 1968 and 1974 respondents entertained an image of their own party's leader, while 88.8 per cent and 89.2 per cent possessed some idea about other party leaders. The average numbers of images per individual are 1.8 and 2.2 for own leader, and 3.5 and 3.9 for other leaders. It is equally intriguing that more of these persons offered a positive rather than negative picture of own leader, coupled with fewer favourable as opposed to unfavourable evaluations of other leaders. Indeed, 85.8 per cent and 82.8 per cent of the 1968 and 1974 samples were oriented affirmatively towards their own leader, while 41.7 per

Table 3.3. Number and Direction of Images of Party Leaders among Party Identifiers, 1968-74

	Percentage*		Mean Number of Images	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1974</u>
Image of own party leader	89.4	89.1	1.8	2.2
Positive image of own party leader	85.8	82.8	1.3	1.6
Negative image of own party leader	41.7	43.3	0.5	0.6
Image of other party leaders	88.8	89.2	3.5	3.9
Positive image of other party leaders	78.9	73.0	1.9	2.0
Negative image of other party leaders	75.3	76.2	1.7	1.9

*Percentages for 1974 are based on a weighted half-sample of 1203.

cent and 43.3 per cent felt otherwise. As expected, these latter figures are considerably lower than those for respondents who presented corresponding images of other leaders--75.3 per cent in 1968 and 76.2 per cent in 1974 rated these leaders negatively. Yet, nearly identical percentages, 78.9 per cent and 73.0 per cent, also reported positive images of these leaders. Respondents averaged more favourable than unfavourable images of their respective leaders, but their report of other leaders' positive and negative attributes do not significantly differ, the former being only slightly higher than the latter.¹³

Collectively, then, these data not only reflect the findings discussed in Table 3.2, but also lend more credence to the notion that party identification may be performing a filtering function in terms of enhancing the positive while abbreviating the negative qualities of one's own leader. Contrariwise, since respondents appeared equally cognizant of both favourable and unfavourable types of information relating to other leaders, the screening ability of partisanship with respect to other leaders is dubious. These two implications further emerge from an examination of the following two tables.

In Table 3.4, the mean number of images of party leaders is presented according to the direction of party identification. Immediately demonstrated by these data is the propensity for Liberal partisans to have offered more positive than negative images of Trudeau: 1.5 versus 0.5 in 1968, and 1.8 versus 0.6 in 1974. For the former year, respondents also evaluated Douglas, Caouette, and Stanfield slightly more favourably, unfavourably, and equally. In 1974, Lewis and Caouette narrowly were referred to in complimentary terms, while Stanfield received an average of 0.5 positive as opposed to 0.9

Table 3.4. Distribution of Mean Number of Images of Party Leaders by Direction of Party Identification, 1968-74

Direction	Trudeau		Stanfield		Douglas/Lewis		Caouette									
	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968	Negative 1974	Positive 1968*	Negative 1974								
Liberal	1.5	1.8	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4			
Progressive Conservative	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.2	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3		
New Democrat	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3		
Social Credit	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7	1.9	0.3	0.5	
Nonidentifier	0.9	1.1	0.5	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.3

*Caouette was included in the 1968 analysis but the questions about images were asked of Quebec respondents only.

negative mentions. Nor did he fare well among mentions of other leaders by NDP partisans, Social Crediters, and nonidentifiers who respectively were most impressed by Trudeau (0.9 positive versus 0.5 negative images in 1968, 1.1 versus 1.0 in 1974), Douglas (1.4 versus 0.3) and Lewis (1.4 versus 0.4), and Caouette (0.7 versus 0.3 in 1968, 1.9 versus 0.5 in 1974). That is, although the merits rather than the faults of party leaders were emphasized by nonidentifiers in 1968, only the Conservative leader failed to make a favourable impression on them in 1974. Similarly, while New Democrats had more positive than negative images of Trudeau and Caouette and were ambivalent about Stanfield in 1968, only the Social Credit leader was more favourably than unfavourably mentioned by them in 1974. Among Social Credit supporters in the former year, the mean number of positive images of Trudeau and Stanfield slightly exceeds that of negative images, and Douglas was accorded identical numbers of both types. In 1974, however, Trudeau and Lewis exhibit a higher average amount of positive impressions but Stanfield, recapitulating his experience with Liberals, New Democrats, and nonidentifiers, received more negative assessments. Conversely, Conservatives constitute the only partisan group that consistently averages more favourable than unfavourable images of Stanfield: 1.1 versus 0.6 in 1968, and 1.2 versus 1.0 in 1974. These individuals also tended to have felt somewhat positively about Douglas and Trudeau in 1968 and Lewis and Caouette in 1974, but neutrally and negatively about Caouette in 1968 and Trudeau in 1974, respectively. Thus, while it is recognized that these trends are built upon a rather frail foundation of small differences of means, the conclusion remains that images of one's own party leader appear to have

been uniformly positive among the electorate while evaluations of other party leaders occasionally are favourable and fluctuate.

To a similar extent, the above findings issue from the data available in Table 3.5: This table investigates images of party leaders in terms of the major components of party identification. Congruent with the hypothesized attitudinal screening power of partisanship, the mean numbers of positive and negative images of own party leader increase and decrease, respectively, as the intensity of partisanship expands. In 1968 and 1974, weak, fairly strong, and very strong identifiers consecutively averaged 1.3 and 1.2, 1.6 and 1.4, and 1.8 and 1.4 positive perceptions of their own party leader. The corresponding negative figures for the three groups are 0.8 and 0.5, 0.6 and 0.5, and 0.5 and 0.4. This pattern is not replicated by an inspection of mentions of other party leaders, such that weak, fairly strong, and intense partisans do not vary significantly in their favourable and unfavourable assessments. The component of stability of partisanship, however, does disclose variations with stable adherents offering 1.8 positive evaluations of opposing leaders for both years, whereas unstable partisans manifested 2.4 and 2.2 images in 1968 and 1974, respectively. At the same time, this latter group stressed the faults of these other leaders in larger numbers than did the former group. The unstable identifiers also advanced a higher, significant mean number of negative images of their own party leader in both 1968 and 1974. Similarly, the consistency dimension of party identification discriminates partially among orientations toward party leaders. That is, inconsistent respondents volunteered a larger average number of positive and negative opinions about other leaders in

Table 3.5. Distribution of Mean Own and Mean Other Images of Party Leaders by Components of Party Identification, 1968-74**

	Total Images			Positive Images			Negative Images		
	Own	Other	F	Own	Other	F	Own	Other	F
<u>Intensity</u>									
very strong	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.8	0.4	0.5	1.7
fairly strong	1.9	2.2	1.9	1.4	2.0	2.1	0.5	0.6	1.7
weak	1.7	2.1	1.7	1.2	1.9	2.0	0.5	0.8	1.6
F =	5.9*	3.0	5.9*	19.4*	7.8*	0.6	5.1*	6.7*	1.8
<u>Stability</u>									
stable	1.8	2.1	1.8	1.3	1.8	1.8	0.4	0.5	1.5
unstable	1.9	2.6	1.9	1.4	2.2	2.4	0.5	0.8	1.9
F =	13.7*	23.7*	13.7*	4.2	47.3*	15.5*	11.8*	24.7*	35.7*
<u>Consistency</u>									
consistent	1.8	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.9	0.5	0.6	1.6
inconsistent	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.3	2.1	2.3	0.5	0.7	1.8
F =	2.1	1.0	2.1	6.9*	22.5*	8.9*	0.5	0.8	13.3*
<u>Number of Deviations from Strong, Stable, Consistent Identification</u>									
none	1.8	2.1	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.8	0.4	0.5	1.6
one	1.8	2.2	1.8	1.3	2.0	2.0	0.5	0.7	1.7
two	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.2	2.0	2.4	0.5	0.7	1.7
three	2.0	2.6	2.0	1.4	2.4	2.5	0.6	0.9	2.0
F =	2.2	2.5	2.2	6.2*	15.2*	4.6*	3.5*	78.0*	6.2*

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .01 level.

**Nonidentifiers were excluded.

both years and in 1968, respectively, than did consistent partisans who forwarded more favourable impressions of own leader than did the former group in 1968. The differences are 2.3 versus 1.9 and 2.1 versus 1.8, 1.8 versus 1.6, and 1.4 as opposed to 1.3. On the other hand, no important variations are detected between the two groups pertaining to positive own and negative other leader images in 1974 and negative own leader images for both years.

Lastly, the index tapping the number of deviations from strong, stable, and consistent identification exposes parallel mean numbers of favourable own and unfavourable other leader mentions among persons who exhibited none, one, two, or three fluctuations. Yet, diversities between the four groups are evident relating to the merits and faults of own and other leaders in 1968, and negative own and positive other leader images in 1974. Each instance shows that individuals who departed most from the classic pattern of partisanship offered more images than did their successive counterparts. Particularly striking is the statistically significant relationship involving the mean numbers of positive references to other leaders in 1974. These figures include 1.8, 2.0, 2.4, and 2.5 for respondents consecutively manifesting no, one, two, and three deviations.

In brief, then, a potpourri of findings concerning the relationship between images of party leaders and the various components of party identification surfaces from Table 3.5. Although the actual differences between group means tend to be small and some of these relationships are statistically insignificant, a propensity does exist for intense partisans to have reported more positive and fewer negative impressions of their own leader than is the case for fairly strong or

weak identifiers. The former group also offered lower and higher mean numbers of favourable and unfavourable opinions about other leaders than did the latter groups. These patterns imply that party identification serves to magnify the merits of one's own party's leader and the faults of other leaders among persons with intense allegiances, but it fails to structure the impressions of weak identifiers. Unstable and inconsistent identifiers likewise appeared more willing to entertain positive images of other leaders than were their stable and consistent counterparts. The former two groups of respondents further gave larger average numbers of negative other leader as well as favourable and unfavourable own leader evaluations. This trend is equally apparent when individuals who fully deviated from strong, stable, and consistent identification are compared with those having two, one, or no fluctuations. Thus, respondents who do not experience a potent psychological tie to a party are generally susceptible to the onslaught of various types of images of leaders.

Ut supra an attempt has been made to document the impact of party identification on people's images of party leaders. A supplemental question to be posed, however, if we want to understand whether or not these two forces act separately or together and the magnitudes of their effects on electoral choice, concerns the extent to which images of party leaders are instrumental in the formulation and the maintenance or erosion of partisanship. A preliminary answer to this question can be provided by inspecting data from a 1967 study conducted in two Canadian cities, Vancouver and Winnipeg¹⁴ (data not shown in tabular form). In the study, 32.6 per cent of the people who were active in a political party, 33.1 per cent of their neighbours, and 30.4

per cent of the general public reported that "public figures" had been agents involved in the acquisition of their first party identification. Moreover, 37.6 per cent, 46.6 per cent, and 39.8 per cent of the first, second, and third groups, respectively, claimed that these figures were responsible for their current partisanship. The data suggest, then, that party leaders can serve to induce and to reinforce a partisan affiliation. Yet, that 16.6 per cent of the 1965 national sample of the electorate, and 26.7 per cent and 25.1 per cent of the 1968 and 1974 samples claimed that they changed their identifications of the basis of considerations about the leader(s), leadership, or "the man" suggests that the individuals who populate the leadership positions in political parties not only attract identifiers to their party but also repel them.

Summary

The data in Chapter 3 are presented with the intent of limning a picture of the incidence, intensity, stability, and consistency of party identification among the Canadian electorate, and then relating these components with images of party leaders in order to determine whether or not party identification filters perceptions of such political objects. Table 3.1 demonstrates that many persons reported partisan ties, and that approximately 50.0 per cent of each sample preferred the Liberal Party. In absolute terms, large numbers of Canadians also were inclined towards identifications that were fairly or very strong, persist over time, and were federally and provincially congruent.

With respect to the affective dimension of images of party leaders, Table 3.2 indicates that Liberals, Conservatives, New Democrats,

and Social Crediters accorded significantly higher mean thermometer scores to their own party's leader, that is, Trudeau, Stanfield, Douglas and Lewis, and Caouette, respectively, than to the leaders of other parties. Moreover, weak partisans felt less warmly about their own leader than did fairly or very strong supporters, but the three groups did not differ significantly in their levels of affect for other leaders.

In terms of the evaluative dimension of images of party leaders, Table 3.3 shows that preponderant proportions of people in both 1968 and 1974 expressed images of party leaders and, while most of them viewed their own leader favourably, neither the percentages of respondents advancing positive as opposed to negative impressions of other leaders nor the mean numbers of such images vary substantially. The former finding also surfaces from Table 3.4. That is, Liberals and non-identifiers, Conservatives, New Democrats, and Social Crediters averaged more favourable than unfavourable perceptions of Trudeau, Stanfield, Douglas and Lewis, and Caouette, respectively. They further emphasized slightly the merits of other leaders in some instances, with the only real exception to this statement being Stanfield. Table 3.5 illuminates several variations in the mean numbers of images of own and other party leaders by the components of party identification. Intense, stable, and/or consistent partisans tended to report more positive and negative images of own and other leaders, respectively, than did their weaker, unstable, and/or inconsistent counterparts. Finally, it is evident that people's images of party leaders can facilitate the adoption and the maintenance or erosion of a partisan label.

Accordingly, the tables located in Chapter 3 permit at least

one major comment concerning the nature and possible electoral impact of party identification and images of party leaders on Canadian voters. It is that because identifiers, particularly those with strong or stable attachments, evaluated their own leader more positively than other leaders, and because the stable or consistent partisans presented fewer but equal numbers of positive and negative estimations of other leaders than did their unstable or inconsistent counterparts, party identification can operate as a perceptual screen determining feelings about one's own leader. In turn, this implies that partisanship can influence significantly electoral decision-making, most notably that of the very strong or stable adherents. Conversely, since weak or unstable identifiers offered fewer positive assessments of own leader, only a feeble filtering function may have existed for them, and they especially might be vulnerable to the electoral appeals of other parties.

The expectations tested in this chapter on the relationship between images of party leaders and party identification have received empirical support from the data. The impact of these two forces on voting behaviour, notably the extent to which the effects of party leaders on different partisan groups of the electorate vary, remains to be considered. An assessment of their impact is the task of the following analytical chapter.

FOOTNOTES

¹Research on the characteristics of party identification is extensive. As examples of this research, see Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), passim; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960), chs. 4, 6, 7; Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-261; M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review 62 (March 1968): 169-184; Norval D. Glenn and Michael Grimes, "Aging, Voting, and Political Interest," American Sociological Review 33 (September 1968): 563-575; Arthur S. Goldberg, "Social Determinism and Rationality as Bases of Party Identification," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969): 5-25; Philip E. Converse, "Of Time and Partisan Stability," Comparative Political Studies 2 (July 1969): 139-171; Neal E. Cutler, "Generation, Maturation and Party Affiliation: A Cohort Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 33 (Winter 1969): 583-588; Jack Dennis and Donald J. McCrone, "Pre-adult Development of Political Party Identification in Western Democracies," Comparative Political Studies 3 (July 1970): 243-263; Donald D. Searing, Joel J. Schwartz, and Alden E. Lind, "The Structuring Principle: Political Socialization and Belief Systems," American Political Science Review 67 (June 1973): 415-432; Paul Allen Beck and M. Kent Jennings, "Parents as 'Middlepersons' in Political Socialization," Journal of Politics 37 (February 1975): 83-107; and Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, William Lyons, and Michael R. Fitzgerald, "Candidates, Parties, and Issues in the American Electorate: Two Decades of Change," in American Electoral Behavior: Change and Stability, ed. Samuel A. Kirkpatrick (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), pp. 35-71.

²See David E. RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," American Political Science Review 65 (June 1971): 389-400; Gerald M. Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 415-428; Richard A. Brody and Benjamin I. Page, "Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam Issue," American Political Science Review 66 (September 1972): 979-995; Gerald Pomper, Voters' Choice: Varieties of American Electoral Behavior (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975), ch. 2; Paul Abramson, "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification in America," American Political Science Review 70 (June 1976): 469-478; and Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, enlarged edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), chs. 4, 10, 18. An extensive bibliography of the literature is provided by John Kessell, "Comment: The Issues in Issue Voting," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 459-465.

³The year of 1964 has been claimed as representing a major transition in American politics by Walter Dean Burnham, "The United States: The Politics of Heterogeneity," in Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook, ed. Richard Rose (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 667-669; Warren E. Miller and Teresa E. Levitin, Leadership and

Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop, 1976), pp. 54-56; and Norman R. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, first edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 166-169, 307.

⁴See Paul M. Sniderman, Hugh D. Forbes, and Ian Melzer, "Party Loyalty and Electoral Volatility: A Study of the Canadian Party System," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (June 1974): 269-273. The lack of ideological divisiveness between the Liberal and Conservative parties and the adoption of a brokerage political style have been discussed by H. M. Clokie, Canadian Government and Politics (Toronto: Longmans Green, 1944), pp. 81-83; R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, third edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 508; Alexander Brady, Democracy in the Dominions, third edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 102; John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 373-377; Frederick C. Engelmann and Mildred A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 222-239; Frederick C. Engelmann and Mildred A. Schwartz, Canadian Political Parties: Origin, Character, Impact (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1975), pp. 308-309; Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure, and Process, second edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 230-232; and Conrad Winn and John McMenemy, Political Parties in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 89, 91-92, 99-100.

⁵Sniderman et al., "Party Loyalty and Electoral Volatility," 275-277, 283-286.

⁶See Howard A. Scarrow, "Distinguishing Between Political Parties - the Case of Canada," Midwest Journal of Political Science 9 (February 1965): 72-76; S. Peter Regenstrief, The Diefenbaker Interlude: Parties and Voting in Canada (Toronto: Longmans, 1965), p. 169; Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, and David Bromley, "Some Differences in the Political Socialization Patterns of Canadian and American Party Officials: A Preliminary Report," Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (March 1969): 74-81; Lynn MacDonald, "Party Identification, Stability and Change in Voting Behaviour: A Study of the 1968 Canadian Federal Election in Ontario," in Canadian Political Process: A Reader, first edition, eds. Orest M. Kruhlak, Richard Schultz, and Sidney I. Pobihushchy (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 267-283; George Perlin and Patti Peppin, "Variation in Party Support in Federal and Provincial Elections: Some Hypotheses," Canadian Journal of Political Science 4 (June 1971): 280-286; Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, first edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), pp. 67, 113; William P. Irvine, "Explaining the Brittleness of Partisanship in Canada," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, June 1975; Jane Jenson, "Party Loyalty in Canada: The Question of Party Identification," Canadian Journal of Political Science 8 (December 1975): 543-553; Jane Jenson, "Party Strategy and Party Identification: Some Patterns of Partisan Allegiance," Canadian Journal of Political Science 9 (March 1976): 27-48; Jane Jenson, "Comment: The Filling of Wine Bottles Is Not Easy,"

Canadian Journal of Political Science 11 (June 1978): 437-446; and Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc, and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), chs. 5, 11.

⁷See pp. 14-15 of this thesis.

⁸See Engelmann and Schwartz, Canadian Political Parties, ch. 15; Jane Jenson, "Party Systems," in The Provincial Political Systems: Comparative Essays, eds. David J. Bellamy, Jon H. Pammett, and Donald C. Rowat (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), pp. 118-131; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 138-139.

⁹The summary measure of partisanship was constructed by assigning to an individual one point for weakness, one point for instability, and one point for inconsistency. This measure was devised by and employed in Lawrence LeDuc, Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, and Jon Pammett, "Partisanship, Political Interest, and Electoral Campaigns in Canada," paper presented at the Twelfth Congress of the International Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, August 16-21, 1976; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 155-161.

¹⁰These scores are based on 100-point thermometer scales that depict varying degrees of "like" or "dislike" for political objects, including party leaders. See pp. 17-19 of this thesis.

¹¹Despite arguments to the contrary, this finding is not new. Indeed, several studies have documented the appeals of Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy to both their own and other partisan supporters. See, for example, Campbell et al., The American Voter, pp. 129-131; Philip E. Converse and Georges Dupeux, "DeGaulle and Eisenhower: The Public Image of the Victorious General," in Elections and the Political Order, eds. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes (New York: John Wiley, 1966), pp. 292-345; John E. Mueller, War, Presidents, and Public Opinion (New York: John Wiley, 1973); and Arthur H. Miller, Warren E. Miller, Alden S. Raine, and Thad A. Brown, "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election," American Political Science Review 70 (September 1976): 771-773.

¹²The series of open-ended, like-dislike questions employed in the 1974 study is very similar to that used in the 1968 study, and it was asked of a random half-sample of respondents (weighted N = 1203). For the wording of the series, see pp. 19-21 of this thesis.

¹³It should be noted that correlations between party identification and images of party leaders persist in the face of controls for level of political interest. This variable alone has been found to reveal statistically significant relationships with images of party leaders as listed in Table 3.3.

¹⁴The 1967 study of party officials, high-dwellers, and the general public in the two Canadian cities of Vancouver and Winnipeg was conducted by Allan Kornberg and Joel Smith. A brief description of the design of the study and a report of the agents stimulating a party identification may be found in Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, and Harold D. Clarke, Citizen Politicians - Canada (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1979), pp. ix-x, 47-51.

CHAPTER 4

IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, the act of voting constitutes one of a few meaningful ways by which most people can experience direct involvement in the political process.¹ Yet, an assessment of why people vote and the consequences of doing so, which lies within the realm of studies on modes of political participation, is not the principal aim of the present inquiry. Rather, it seeks to ascertain why Canadians voted for particular parties in the 1974 federal election. More specifically, it examines, in this chapter, the extent to which images of party leaders, as a short-term force, exerted an impact that is independent of the effects attributable to concerns about issues, as another short-term force, and socioeconomic-demographic characteristics and party identification, as long-term forces, on the vote. The examination is guided by a considerable amount of previous research on determinants of voting behaviour,² especially on the ability or inability of party identification to operate as a perceptual and experiential filter, and this research permits formulation of the propositions advanced in Chapter 1. To recapitulate them briefly, it is expected that the electoral influence of party identification significantly will overshadow that of images of party leaders among voters who manifested stable partisan attachments and a moderate or low degree of political interest. However, the magnitude of difference between effects of the two forces should be reduced among and

images will play a greater role in shaping the electoral decisions of other subgroups of the permanent electorate,³ notably unstable identifiers with a high level of political interest, nonidentifiers, and switchers. These propositions are tested subsequent to a presentation of some basic data on distributions of the vote among socioeconomic-demographic groups, and on relationships between voting and its determinants.

Findings

Distributions of the Vote Among Socioeconomic-Demographic Groups

In the 1974 federal election, 53.1 per cent of the study's respondents casted their ballots for the Liberal Party, while 31.1 per cent, 12.3 per cent, and 3.5 per cent voted Conservative, NDP, and Social Credit, respectively. As revealed by the scholarly literature cited in Chapter 1, these voting patterns may have been rooted in socioeconomic-demographic differences, particularly those of a regional, religious, or ethnic nature.⁴ Subsequent to a detailed analysis of these variables as a long-term force, a simpler assessment of their relationships are reported in Table 4.1, which yields findings consistent with those of previous research on Canadian electoral behaviour. The table demonstrates that significantly larger numbers of Quebec residents, Catholics, and other or French-Canadian ethnic groups voted Liberal in 1974 than did members of the remaining regional, religious, and ethnic categories. For example, whereas 70.4 per cent, 68.2 per cent, and 73.9 per cent or 71.1 per cent of the former four sets, respectively, elected this party, only 36.0 per cent of inhabitants of the Prairie provinces, 37.0 per cent of those belonging to a minor Protestant denomination, and 44.2 per cent of English-Canadians did so. When compared with other groups in the electorate,

Table 4.1. Direction of Vote by Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables, 1974

	Direction of Vote				Social Credit	(N)
	Liberal	Progressive Conservative	New Democrat			
<u>Region</u>						
Maritimes	54.2%	38.9	6.6	0.3	(171)	
Quebec	70.4%	11.7	6.3	11.5	(477)	
Ontario	52.8%	32.8	14.3	0.0	(724)	
Prairies	36.0%	48.2	14.0	1.8	(278)	
British Columbia	36.6%	40.5	21.5	1.5	(205)	
Cramer's V = +.24 ^a						
<u>Religion</u>						
Anglican, Presbyterian, United	41.2%	45.6	12.7	0.6	(705)	
Other Protestant	37.0%	42.5	18.1	2.4	(127)	
Catholic	68.2%	15.4	9.0	7.3	(759)	
Other	52.5%	34.6	12.9	0.0	(161)	
None	43.6%	28.9	26.4	1.0	(100)	
Cramer's V = +.21 ^a						
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Anglo-Celtic	44.2%	40.8	13.7	1.3	(864)	
French	71.1%	12.7	8.1	8.0	(387)	
Northern, Western European	48.0%	35.4	14.4	2.1	(281)	
Eastern European	57.5%	27.4	13.9	1.2	(164)	
Other	73.9%	14.2	10.4	1.5	(67)	
Cramer's V = +.18 ^a						
<u>Subjective Social Class</u>						
upper, upper-middle	63.7%	30.2	4.3	1.8	(169)	
middle	53.0%	31.6	12.0	3.4	(916)	
working, lower	51.2%	29.8	15.2	3.8	(664)	
Cramer's V = +.07 ^b						

Table 4.1 (continued)

Objective Social Class	Liberal	Progressive Conservative	New Democrat	Social Credit	(N)
low	57.2%	26.6	9.9	6.3	(307)
moderately low	53.0%	28.0	14.7	4.2	(661)
moderately high	53.4%	33.7	10.5	2.4	(496)
high	50.4%	36.0	12.6	1.1	(380)
Cramer's V = +.08 ^a					
Education					
elementary or less	56.8%	28.6	8.7	5.9	(450)
some secondary	52.6%	30.6	13.1	3.6	(496)
completed secondary	52.0%	33.7	11.2	3.1	(318)
some college or university	49.3%	36.5	13.5	0.8	(266)
completed college or university	53.2%	28.4	16.2	2.1	(326)
Cramer's V = +.08 ^a					
Age					
18 - 29 years	52.0%	25.8	16.8	5.4	(500)
30 - 45 years	53.8%	29.7	13.3	3.1	(515)
46 - 59 years	54.3%	34.7	8.5	2.5	(455)
60 or more years	52.8%	35.2	9.6	2.4	(379)
Cramer's V = +.08 ^a					
Sex					
Male	49.9%	32.0	15.0	3.1	(879)
Female	56.1%	30.3	9.8	3.7	(976)
Cramer's V = +.09 ^b					
Community Size					
farm	45.7%	39.3	9.8	5.3	(423)
1,000 - 9,999	41.9%	41.6	9.8	6.6	(196)
10,000 - 99,999	60.5%	23.8	11.5	4.1	(241)
100,000 - 500,000	52.7%	30.0	13.7	3.6	(279)
over 500,000	58.4%	26.3	14.2	1.1	(717)
Cramer's V = +.11 ^a					


^aRelationships are significant statistically at the .001 level; ^bat the .01 level.

Quebecers, Catholics, and French-Canadians also more frequently selected the Social Credit Party, but they least often voted Conservative or NDP. To illustrate these findings, several comparisons can be made from this table. One such contrast occurs between 11.5 per cent, 7.3 per cent, and 8.0 per cent of the three consecutive groups above, and 1.8 per cent of Prairie residents, 0.6 per cent of those professing a major Protestant religion, and 1.3 per cent of persons with Anglo-Celtic origins who voted Social Credit. Rather, respondents in each of these latter three categories tended to favour the Conservative Party with 48.2 per cent, 45.6 per cent, and 40.8 per cent, respectively, as opposed to 11.7 per cent of Quebecers, 15.4 per cent of the Catholics, and 12.7 per cent of individuals of French descent having elected this party. Lastly, NDP voting was concentrated more among people dwelling in British Columbia, expressing no religious preferences, or hailing from other northern and western European backgrounds than among any other regional, religious, or ethnic groups.

Of somewhat less significance than region, religion, and ethnicity for charting differences in voting behaviour are the remaining socioeconomic-demographic variables in Table 4.1. That is, these other variables evince modest inter-group variations in voting. For example, although respondents who subjectively classified themselves as upper or upper-middle class chose the Liberal Party more often, which may be an artifact of this group's relatively smaller size, and the NDP less often than did members of the middle and working or lower classes, all three groups exhibit a similar propensity to have voted Conservative or Social Credit. Indeed, whereas 63.7 per cent and 30.2 per cent of the subjectively classified upper or upper-middle class selected the Liberal and Conservative parties, respectively, comparable figures for individuals

Identifying with the middle or working and lower classes are 53.0 per cent versus 31.6 per cent, and 51.2 per cent versus 29.8 per cent. This overall pattern of voting for the subjective social class variable, however, does not achieve direct counterparts for the other two indicators of social class status, that is, objective social class and education. In fact, the pattern for the former indicator differs markedly, such that respondents who occupy the highest class position voted Conservative more frequently and Liberal or Social Credit less frequently than did persons in the moderately high, moderately low, or low categories. Moreover, although the moderately low group exceeds the high as well as the two other classes in terms of the frequency of voting NDP, the differences between these classes are small. Regarding the variable of education, the distribution of voting is mixed again and the general pattern is not sharply defined. That is, respondents who completed college or university elected the NDP and the Social Credit Party more and least often, respectively, than did persons in each of the less educated categories, but they vary slightly in their tendency to have voted Liberal or Conservative. Indicative of these findings are the contrasts that obtain between 16.2 per cent of those having completed college or university as opposed to 8.7 per cent of individuals with an elementary school or less education who voted NDP, while 28.4 per cent and 53.2 per cent of the former group and 28.6 per cent and 56.8 per cent of the latter, chose the Conservative and Liberal parties, respectively.

Of the three variables remaining to be discussed in Table 4.1, that is, age, sex, and community size, the third of them affords a clear picture of differences in voting. With respect to the first variable, it is evident that the youngest respondents voted NDP more frequently, Social Credit somewhat more frequently, and Conservative less often than did



persons in each of the older age groups. Moreover, the oldest group, which is sixty or more years of age, elected the Conservative Party in larger numbers than is the case for younger people. Differences between the age groups in the proclivity to have voted Liberal, however, are only marginal. With regard to the second variable, it appears that more women than men voted Liberal, while a larger percentage of the latter than the former selected the NDP, and members of both sexes manifest an almost equal tendency to have chosen the Conservative or Social Credit parties. The last variable, community size, demonstrates greater variation in voting behaviour, with an urban-rural distinction being obvious. That is, residents of larger communities voted Liberal or NDP more frequently, but Conservative or Social Credit less often, than did inhabitants of smaller cities, towns, or rural areas. As an example, whereas 58.4 per cent and 26.3 per cent of the respondents located in cities with over 500,000 residents casted ballots for the Liberal and Conservative parties, respectively, 45.7 per cent and 39.3 per cent of those living on farms or in other rural places did so.

Briefly, then, the data on distributions of the vote by socio-economic-demographic variables, as presented in Table 4.1, suggests that region, religion, ethnicity, and community size provide a somewhat better account of differential voting patterns than do the three social class variables, age, and sex. To achieve a fuller understanding of the operations of all of these variables, they are analyzed as a long-term determinant of electoral behaviour for different types of voters in the final table of this chapter. Prior to the presentation of this table, relationships between other long- and short-term forces, particularly images of party leaders, and the vote are explored.

Relationships Between Short-term and Long-term
Forces and the Vote

To gain an initial appreciation of the electoral effects of images of party leaders as a short-term force, relative to those of other short- and long-term determinants, an inspection may be made of answers stemming from two questions (data not shown in tabular form). One question was closed-ended and designed to elicit the primary significance of particular factors in framing the voting decision.⁵ Of these factors, party leaders were cited as having been most important more frequently than were local candidates but less often than were the parties. The relevant figures are 33 per cent of the 1974 voters who mentioned party leaders vis-à-vis 27 per cent for local candidates and 40 per cent for the parties. When probed further, of those who cited party leaders, 58 per cent and 42 per cent referred to their issue positions and personal qualities, respectively. The corresponding percentages for persons designating local candidates are 48 per cent and 52 per cent. Of respondents who mentioned the parties, 43 per cent indicated a party's stance on certain issues and 57 per cent spoke of its general approach as being significant to their voting decision. The second question was open-ended and intended to capture the "real reasons" that informed an individual's electoral choice.⁶ Included among the many reasons are party leaders and leadership, local candidates, parties, and issues. The frequencies of mention of the first two factors, however, are lower than those from the first question while the percentages citing parties remains the same. That is, 28 per cent, 14 per cent, and 40 per cent specified leaders or leadership, local candidates, and parties, respectively. In terms of issue mentions, 22 per cent cited inflation, while 7 per cent, 9 per cent, and 36 per cent consecutively referred to controls on

wages and prices, other economic matters, and other issues. Yet, it can be argued that the responses to both questions reflect rationalization of an electoral decision that was based on other factors. Given this possibility, more sophisticated analysis of the relationships between long- and short-term forces, particularly images of party leaders, and voting are required.

Accordingly, the next step leading towards a more thorough analysis of voting behaviour is offered by the data arrayed in Table 4.2. These data consist of correlations between affect for a party leader, as measured by the thermometer scores, and direction of the vote. An inspection of the correlations yields the major finding that persons who reported relatively high levels of affect for a particular leader tend to have voted more frequently for that leader's party than did respondents who felt less favourably about him. For example, whereas 85.2 per cent of those most positively evaluating Trudeau elected the Liberal Party, only 5.8 per cent of the group least liking him selected it. Alternatively, it can be stated that while 14.8 per cent of the individuals who assigned the highest rankings to Trudeau voted for another party, 71.7 per cent of those who were neutral about him and fully 94.2 per cent of the respondents who expressed their greatest displeasure with him by giving him a score of twenty-five or lower did so. This general pattern also is evident in the relationship between affect for Stanfield and Conservative voting. That is, 74.1 per cent of those who most liked Stanfield but only 8.6 per cent of the people least favourably disposed towards him chose the Conservative Party, while 25.9 per cent of the former group, 91.4 per cent of the latter, and 75.2 per cent of the respondents who felt neutrally about him casted their ballots for a different party.

- Similar to these patterns for Trudeau and Stanfield are those

Table 4.2. Direction of Vote by Party Leader Thermometer Scores, 1974*

		Trudeau				
<u>Liberal Vote</u>	<u>1 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 49</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>51 - 75</u>	<u>76 - 99</u>	
No	94.2%	90.2%	71.1%	46.2%	14.8%	
Yes	5.8	9.8	28.9	53.8	85.2	
(N =)	(225)	(165)	(213)	(481)	(737)	
Cramer's V = +.61						
		Stanfield				
<u>Progressive Conservative Vote</u>	<u>1 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 49</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>51 - 75</u>	<u>76 - 99</u>	
No	91.4%	80.7%	75.2%	53.6%	25.9%	
Yes	8.6	19.3	24.8	46.4	74.1	
(N =)	(388)	(370)	(384)	(444)	(223)	
Cramer's V = +.45						
		Lewis				
<u>New Democrat Vote</u>	<u>1 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 49</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>51 - 75</u>	<u>76 - 99</u>	
No	99.6%	95.2%	92.9%	79.3%	60.5%	
Yes	0.4	4.8	7.1	20.7	39.5	
(N =)	(389)	(277)	(368)	(436)	(235)	
Cramer's V = +.38						
		Caouette				
<u>Social Credit Vote</u>	<u>1 - 25</u>	<u>26 - 49</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>51 - 75</u>	<u>76 - 99</u>	
No	99.5%	100.0%	97.6%	94.3%	78.8%	
Yes	0.5	0.0	2.4	5.7	21.2	
(N =)	(371)	(261)	(338)	(314)	(163)	
Cramer's V = +.31						

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .001 level.

involving leaders of the two minor parties, although a small difference does exist. That is, the tendency persists for respondents who felt most positively about a leader to have voted for that leader's party more frequently than did their less favourably inclined counterparts, but the percentages are lower. As an example, whereas slightly over four-fifths of the people who most liked Trudeau and three-quarters of those feeling the same way about Stanfield elected the Liberal and Conservative parties, respectively, 39.5 per cent of the group expressing the highest levels of affect for Lewis, which also can be compared with 0.4 per cent of those least liking him, voted NDP. Correspondingly, fully 60.5 per cent of the respondents who rated Lewis at seventy-six points or higher on the thermometer scale, 92.9 per cent of the individuals who accorded him a neutral score of fifty, and 99.6 per cent of those most negatively disposed towards him did not vote NDP. The relevant figures for Caouette include 21.2 per cent and only 0.5 per cent of the people who most and least liked him, respectively, voted for the Social Credit Party. The remaining 78.8 per cent of the former groups, 99.5 per cent of the latter, and 97.6 per cent of the respondents feeling neutrally about him selected another party.

Taken together, then, the data in Table 4.2 demonstrate that affective feelings about a leader can serve to stimulate voting for that leader's party. However, a decline in the intensity of these feelings is accompanied by a decrease in the propensity to choose that party, such that disaffect may be expressed in terms of electing another party. Thus, it appears that leaders possess the capacity of simultaneously attracting and repelling electoral support. With respect to this finding, it should be noted that the relatively higher percentages of respondents who expressed affect for Lewis or Caouette but refrained from

voting for their respective parties do not reflect necessarily the failure of either leader to draw voters to his party. Rather, they address the fact that opportunities available for converting affect for each leader into votes were curtailed by the NDP's noncompetitive status and the Social Credit Party's nonexistence in many federal constituencies. Moreover, they warn against making and placing confidence in comparisons between the "pull and push" effects of leaders which are based on bivariate analysis. These analyses, by definition, ignore the operations of other factors in the voting decision, an omission which is neither grounded in reality nor substantiated by previous studies of electoral behaviour. Indeed, these studies reveal that some relationships which are significant in the bivariate case can become insignificant with the introduction of such other factors into the analysis. Accordingly, they should be considered by any interpretation of leader effects. The basis for such a consideration is furnished by Table 4.3.

In Table 4.3, the correlations between direction of the vote and party identification, perceptions of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue, and affect for the party leader, both alone and with controls for the former two variables as well as for feelings about other leaders, are displayed. From this table, at least three major findings emerge for each of the four groups of party voters. The first finding is that the zero-order relationships between voting and the three independent variables are not only statistically significant at the .001 level, but also that their directions are consistent with the expectations discussed in Chapter 1. That is, people who identified psychologically with a particular political party, felt that it reflected their views on an especially important issue, or liked its leader elected that party more frequently than did respondents who did not share these

Table 4.3. . Direction of Vote by Party Leader Thermometer Scores
Controlling for Other Short- and Long-term Variables, 1974*

	r
<u>Liberal Vote x</u>	
Liberal party identification	.77
Liberal Party closest on most important issue	.62
Trudeau thermometer scores	.63
Trudeau thermometer scores x Liberal Party closest on most important issue	.45
Trudeau thermometer scores x Liberal party identification	.31
Trudeau thermometer scores x Liberal party identification, other leaders' thermometer scores	.28
Trudeau thermometer scores x Liberal party identification, Liberal Party closest on most important issue	.24
<u>Progressive Conservative Vote x</u>	
Progressive Conservative party identification	.76
Progressive Conservative Party closest on most important issue	.61
Stanfield thermometer scores	.49
Stanfield thermometer scores x Progressive Conservative Party closest on most important issue	.35
Stanfield thermometer scores x Progressive Conservative party identification	.27
Stanfield thermometer scores x Progressive Conservative party identification, other leaders' thermometer scores	.24
Stanfield thermometer scores x Progressive Conservative party identification, Conservative Party closest on most important issue	.22
<u>New Democrat Vote x</u>	
New Democrat party identification	.77
New Democratic Party closest on most important issue	.49
Lewis thermometer scores	.44
Lewis thermometer scores x New Democratic Party closest on most important issue	.37
Lewis thermometer scores x New Democrat party identification	.17
Lewis thermometer scores x New Democrat party identification, other leaders' thermometer scores	.16
Lewis thermometer scores x New Democrat party identification, New Democratic Party closest on most important issue	.14
<u>Social Credit Vote x**</u>	
Social Credit party identification	.81
Caouette thermometer scores	.31
Caouette thermometer scores x Social Credit party identification	.10
Caouette thermometer scores x Social Credit party identification, other leaders' thermometer scores	.09

*Relationships are significant statistically at the .001 level.

**The variable of Social Credit Party closest on most important issue was excluded from the analysis due to a small number of respondents.

sentiments. More specifically, it appears that Liberal partisans, individuals who perceived the Liberal Party's position as coinciding closely with their own issue concerns, and those who felt positively about Trudeau voted Liberal more often than did their counterparts who did not associate themselves with the party, did not consider it as representing their opinions on issues, or advanced negative feelings about Trudeau. Similarly, Conservative identifiers, members of the electorate who regarded the Conservative Party as being nearest to them on a very significant issue, and persons who held Stanfield in high esteem casted Conservative ballots more frequently than did respondents who expressed dissimilar feelings. Tantamount to these patterns of influences on Liberal or Conservative voting are those involving selection of the NDP or the Social Credit Party. That is, individuals who reported a NDP attachment, viewed the party as most proximal to their stances on issues, or liked Lewis chose the NDP in larger numbers than did people who were not NDP adherents, did not perceive the party as echoing their issue concerns, or entertained unfavourable perceptions of Lewis. With respect to Social Credit voting, those who identified with this party or evaluated Caouette positively selected it more often than did respondents who did not experience these orientations.

The second finding rests upon the magnitudes of the correlations between voting for a particular party and the three independent variables. Briefly, an inspection of them reveals that the strongest relationship with voting involves party identification, followed by perceptions of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue, and the weakest association occurs with affect for a party leader. Illustrative of this trend are the figures for Liberal voting which demonstrate that the propensity to have elected this party was influenced

more by whether or not a respondent psychologically identified with it ($r = .77$) than by perceptions of the closeness of the party's issue position ($r = .62$) or of Trudeau as the party leader ($r = .62$). Among Conservative voters, party identification also exerted the greatest impact on their electoral choice ($r = .76$), while evaluations of the party's approach to a very important issue were more instrumental in this choice ($r = .61$) than were feelings about Stanfield ($r = .49$). Similarly, partisanship played the largest role in deciding whether or not to select the NDP, but the electoral effect of an appreciation of the proximity of the party's issue concerns ($r = .49$) does not overshadow significantly that of affect for Lewis ($r = .44$). The same tendency occurs for Social Credit voting, with party identification exerting a greater impact on the choosing of this party than did perceptions of Caouette.

Attendant upon this second finding that affect for a leader bears the weakest of three relationships with direction of the vote is the third finding that, not surprisingly, the magnitude of this association declines when the other independent variables are introduced as controls. Moreover, the extent of this decrease is most precipitous for the second-order partial correlations involving party identification. As an example, the correlation between Liberal voting and affect for Trudeau diminishes from .62 to .45, .31, .28, and .24 when controls for perceptions of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue and party identification, both singly and in conjunction with feelings about other leaders and issue perceptions, respectively, are introduced. Comparable figures for the relationship between selection of the Conservative Party and feelings about Stanfield range from .49 to .35, .27, .24, and .22 as assessments of the party's issue position and Conservative partisanship, alone and together with evaluations of other leaders and

the party's approach to a very important issue are included in the analysis. Identical to these patterns are those involving the associations between electing the NDP and rankings of Lewis which decline from .44 to .14, and between voting Social Credit and affect for Caouette which drops from .34 to .09 when other electoral factors are considered.

On the basis of these findings from Table 4.3, two observations on the relationship between affect for a party leader and direction of the vote can be advanced. One is that although positive feelings about a leader tend to induce voting for that leader's party while negative sentiments stimulate selection of another party, this association pales in comparison to that between voting and party identification or, to a lesser extent, perceptions of the party's closeness on a most important issue (with exception of Liberal voters). Consistent with previous research, the other observation is that part of the total relationship between affect for a leader and election of his party appears to be spurious, that is, accounted for by the impact of partisanship or issue perceptions on evaluations of the leader. These observations are tested and the question of whether or not the electoral influences of feelings about leaders and other factors differ between groups of voters is probed in the remaining analytic section of this chapter.

The Electoral Impact of Party Leaders and Other Forces on Groups of Voters

As described by Nie, Verba and Petrocik,⁷ analysis of commonalities is a technique that entails a stepwise regression procedure that specifies two equations, reverses their order of entry, and permits the results to be classified into unique and joint effects. For present purposes, this method can be used to delineate more precisely the electoral

impact of party leaders as a short-term determinant, relative to the influences of other short- and long-term forces. More specifically, it is employed, with direction of the vote as the dependent variable, in order to separate the percentage of explained variance in voting that is attributed directly to affect for a party leader from that connected directly with perceptions of the party's closeness on a most important issue, the direction and stability of party identification, or the socioeconomic-demographic variables of region, religion, ethnicity, and objective social class as a long-term force, and to identify the proportion of variance in voting that is due to these variables⁸ for each of the eight groups of voters. It may be recalled that these groups include respondents who reported a stable or an unstable party identification and a low to moderate or high level of political interest, as well as those who did not identify with but voted for a political party in 1974 (non-identifiers), voted for different parties in the 1972 and 1974 elections (switchers), did not vote in 1972 but did vote in 1974 or claimed to have voted not always in federal elections (transients), or first were eligible to vote in 1974 and did so (new voters).⁹ Results of the analysis for each group are displayed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 demonstrates that for the first group, which is composed of individuals who declared a stable partisanship and a low or moderate degree of political interest, party identification singularly accounts for a larger percentage of the explained variance in direction of the vote than do feelings about the party leaders, perceptions of the party's closeness on a most important issue, or the socioeconomic-demographic variables whose effects do not exist. In addition, the impact of party identification was felt more keenly by members of this group who selected the NDP than by those who chose the Liberal or

Table 4.4. Unique and Joint Effects of Affect for Party Leaders and Other Short- and Long-term Variables on Direction of Vote among Groups of Voters, 1974

	Direction of Vote		
	Liberal <u>Vote</u>	Progressive Conservative <u>Vote</u>	New Democrat <u>Vote</u>
<u>Stable party identification, low or moderate political interest</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	5% ^a	2% ^a	2% ^a
party closest on most important issue	5% ^a	2% ^a	1% ^a
party identification	10% ^a	16% ^a	24% ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	1% ^c	1% ^c	0
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	2	2	3
affect for party leaders, party identification	11	12	17
party closest on most important issue, party identification	6	7	8
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identi- fication	20	14	7
other	10	11	4
Total variance explained =	<u>70%</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>66%</u>
<u>Stable party identification, high political interest</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	2% ^a	2% ^a	0%
party closest on most important issue	5% ^a	8% ^a	1% ^a
party identification	6% ^a	8% ^a	28% ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	1	1	1
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	3	2	0
affect for party leaders, party identification	6	2	5
party closest on most important issue, party identification	9	9	22
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identi- fication	29	24	13
other	15	17	4
Total variance explained =	<u>76%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>74%</u>

Table 4.4 (continued)

	Liberal Vote	Progressive Conservative Vote	New Democrat Vote
<u>Unstable party identification, low or moderate political interest</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	2 ^a	6 ^a	3 ^a
party closest on most important issue	4 ^a	5 ^a	3 ^a
party identification	15 ^a	11 ^a	21 ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	3 ^b	2 ^c	1
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	3	4	1
affect for party leaders, party identification	5	7	11
party closest on most important issue, party identification	6	3	7
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identification	15	12	1
other	4	12	9
Total variance explained =	57%	62%	57%
<u>Unstable party identification, high political interest</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	4 ^a	3 ^b	2 ^c
party closest on most important issue	2 ^c	4 ^a	5 ^a
party identification	9 ^a	7 ^a	17 ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	3	2	3
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	1	3	0
affect for party leaders, party identification	6	5	5
party closest on most important issue, party identification	6	6	14
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identification	21	13	12
other	13	13	0
Total variance explained =	65%	56%	58%
<u>Nonidentifiers</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	9 ^a	14 ^a	11 ^a
party closest on most important issue	11 ^a	10 ^a	12 ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	9 ^c	7	6

Table 4.4 (continued)

	Liberal Vote	Progressive Conservative Vote	New Democrat Vote
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	14	11	2
other	2	7	1
Total variance explained =	<u>45%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>32%</u>
<u>Switchers</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	4 ^a	9 ^a	4 ^a
party closest on most important issue	10 ^a	9 ^a	4 ^a
party identification	0	0	5 ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	8 ^a	8 ^a	2
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	6	10	3
affect for party leaders, party identification	1	0	6
party closest on most important issue, party identification	2	1	4
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identi- fication	4	4	5
other	2	4	0
Total variance explained =	<u>37%</u>	<u>45%</u>	<u>33%</u>
<u>Transients</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	5 ^c	1 ^c	1 ^c
party closest on most important issue	2 ^c	2 ^c	0
party identification	10 ^a	18 ^a	29 ^a
socioeconomic and demographic variables	10 ^c	12 ^c	1
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	0	3	0
affect for party leaders, party identification	13	7	17
party closest on most important issue, party identification	7	7	16
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identi- fication	17	10	21
other	4	11	9
Total variance explained =	<u>68%</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>94%</u>

Table 4.4 (continued)

	<u>Liberal</u> <u>Vote</u>	<u>Progressive</u> <u>Conservative</u> <u>Vote</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Democrat</u> <u>Vote</u>
<u>New Voters</u>			
Unique effects of:			
affect for party leaders	5 ^a ₆ ^b	5 ^c	3 ^a ₈
party closest on most important issue	3	0	8 ^a
party identification	6 ^a	9 ^a	6 ^b
socioeconomic and demographic variables	3	5	8
Joint effects of:			
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue	6	1	0
affect for party leaders, party identification	7	8	6
party closest on most important issue, party identification	6	3	10
affect for party leaders, party closest on most important issue, party identification	23	10	10
other	8	14	7
Total variance explained =	<u>67%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>58%</u>

^aRelationships are significant statistically at the .001 level; ^b at the .01 level; ^c at the .05 level.

Conservative Party. Illustrative of these two patterns are the data that party identification contributes 10 per cent, 16 per cent, and fully 24 per cent while affect for the leaders is responsible for 5 per cent and only 2 per cent and 2 per cent of the explained variance in willingness to have voted Liberal, Conservative, or NDP respectively. The prevailing electoral influence of party identification is evident further in the effects that it jointly shares with evaluations of the leaders, issues, or both, such that the magnitudes of the three combinations exceed that exerted by leaders and issues acting together. As an example, for persons who belong to this group and elected the Liberal Party in 1974, the percentages of variance explicated by party identification operating in concert with leaders, issues, and both leaders and issues are 11, 6, and 20 respectively, as opposed to the mere 2 per cent imparted jointly by leaders and issues. This trend also holds true for Conservative and NDP voters but, for the latter, party identification, both alone and in conjunction with other forces, accounts for sizable portions of the total 70 per cent, 67 per cent, and 66 per cent of variance explained in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting respectively.

Slightly dissimilar patterns to those exhibited by individuals with a stable party attachment and a low or moderate level of political interest exist for their counterparts who manifested the same stability of partisanship but a large measure of interest. That is, party identification continues to play a primary role in determining the electoral decision, but differences between sizes of the four unique effects, including those involving party identification, are less pronounced among Liberal and Conservative voters, while variations between magnitudes of the joint effects are more acute among each subgroup of party voters. The former tendency is exemplified by party identification uniquely

accounting for 6 per cent of the explained variance in Liberal voting, and it is followed closely by perceptions of the party as being nearest on a most important issue and affect for leaders which individually elucidate another 5 per cent and 2 per cent of this variance. The corresponding figures for respondents who casted Conservative ballots are 8 per cent, 8 per cent, and 2 per cent. Among NDP voters who manifested a stable partisan attachment and a high level of political interest, however, the discrepancy between the amount of explained variance singularly attributable to party identification and that owing to the other electoral forces is substantial again, with the former expounding fully 28 per cent of the explained variance in NDP voting while issues and leaders are responsible for only 1 per cent and nothing, respectively. In addition, it should be noted that, for each subgroup or party voters, the effects of the four socioeconomic-demographic variables are minimal. In terms of the joint effects delivered by the independent variables, those involving party identification, particularly in combination with issues and leaders for Liberal or Conservative voters or simply with issues for NDP voters, overshadow the collective impact of leaders and issues. As an example, when party identification operates in tandem with evaluations of leaders or the party's position on a most important issue or both of these political objects, they contribute 6 per cent, 9 per cent, and 29 per cent to the explained variance in Liberal voting, respectively, while the joint effect of leaders and issues accounts for only 3 per cent. When these figures are aggregated with those of the other joint and unique effects, they represent fully 76 per cent of the explained variance in Liberal voting. The analogous percentages for Conservative and NDP voting are 73 per cent and 74 per cent, respectively.

For the third group of voters, which is composed of people whose

partisanship is unstable and level of political interest could be classified as low or moderate, the pattern of findings, however, bears a lesser resemblance to that for the second group than it does for the first group, which consists of individuals with stable identification but the same levels of interest. That is, although party identification remains as the major determinant of direction of the vote among this third group, the magnitude of its effect does not outweigh greatly that associated with each of the other unique effects, except among those who chose the NDP. Illustrative of this pattern are the data that partisan attachment uniquely accounts for 15 per cent, 11 per cent, and 21 per cent of the explained variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting, respectively. Of secondary importance for these respective groups are issue concerns, leaders, and issues and leaders equally. Of least significance for understanding why individuals in either of the three groups voted as they did are effects of the socioeconomic-demographic variables, although 3 per cent of the explained variance in Liberal voting is traceable to them.

The large influence exerted by party identification also is apparent in the joint effects that it has with other electoral forces. When coupled with these forces, that is, leaders, issues, and both leaders and issues, it accounts for 5 per cent, 6 per cent, and 15 per cent, or an additional 26 per cent of the variance in Liberal voting; 7 per cent, 3 per cent, and 12 per cent, or another 22 per cent of the variance in Conservative voting; and 11 per cent, 7 per cent, and 1 per cent, or 19 per cent more of the variance in NDP voting. In comparison to these figures, the joint effects of leaders and issues are quite small, explaining 4 per cent or less of the variance in voting for any one of the three parties. With respect to the total amounts of explained variance,

that is, 57 per cent for both the Liberal and the NDP subgroups and 62 per cent for Conservative voters, they are large but less than those reported for the preceding two groups.

For the next group of voters who displayed unstable party identification and a high level of political interest, the pattern of effects is similar to that revealed by the second group which also has high interest but stable partisanship. The pattern is such that while party identification accounts for the largest percentage of variance in voting, differences between the magnitude of its effect and that for each of the other forces are not substantial, with one exception being NDP voters for whom the impact of party identification is greatest of the three groups. In contrast, the unique effects of the socioeconomic-demographic variables are almost nonexistent. In terms of the effects jointly exercised by combinations of forces, the largest one is associated with leaders and issues acting together for Conservative and Liberal voters who admitted to unstable partisanship and were very politically interested, whereas issues and party identification, followed closely by party identification, leaders and issues, were responsible for the biggest shared effects among NDP voters. When these joint effects are combined with all other joint and unique effects, the total percentages of explained variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting are 65, 56, and 58 respectively.

Among nonidentifiers, for whom the effects of party identification on direction of the vote are expected to be null, perception of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue exerts the greatest unique influence on those who selected the Liberal Party or the NDP. This factor contributes 11 per cent to explained variance for the former and 12 per cent for the latter. In comparison, evaluations of

the leaders had the most considerable unique effect on individuals who selected the Conservative Party, accounting for 14 per cent of the explained variance. Succeeding these forces in magnitude are leader effects for both Liberal and NDP voters who professed no partisan affiliation, and issue effects for Conservative voters. The remaining category of unique effects is the socioeconomic-demographic variables. These variables are statistically insignificant for explaining Conservative or NDP voting, but they do affect the decision made to have voted for the Liberal Party. Finally, the joint effects of leaders and issues produce 14 per cent, 11 per cent, and only 2 per cent of the explained variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting respectively. An addition of all of these effects yields total percentages of explained variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting of 45, 49, and 32, percentages that are appreciably lower than those for the four previous groups of voters who experienced the electoral impact of party identification.

For people who switched their votes, that is, they casted ballots for one party in 1972 and a different party in 1974, partisanship influenced only those who elected the NDP and, for them, it had the largest effect. It is followed in size by leaders and issues which explain equal percentages of variance, while the socioeconomic-demographic effects are miniscule. Party identification, however, does fail to exert any impact on those switchers who chose the Liberal Party or the Conservative Party in 1974. For the former subgroup, the largest effect is attributable to issue concerns which comprise slightly over one-quarter of the total explained variance. For the latter subgroup, this status is shared by leaders and issues. For the remaining category of unique effects which are due to the socioeconomic-demographic variables, it is surprising, given that their impact is small for the other group of voters discussed

thus far, that their effects are significant for explaining Liberal and Conservative voting. In each case, these variables account for 8 per cent of the explained variance. In each case, similar to its unique effects, the joint effects of party identification are quite small. For example, party identification, when coupled with perceptions of leaders, issues, and both leaders and issues, explicates only 1 per cent, 2 per cent, and 4 per cent of the variance in Liberal voting, whereas the joint effects of leaders and issues are responsible for 6 per cent. For people who switched their preference and voted NDP in 1974, however, leaders and issues explain less variance than do the other combinations of variables involving party identification. In total, these joint and the unique effects for the Liberal, Conservative, and NDP subgroups of switchers comprise 37 per cent, 45 per cent, and 33 per cent of the variance. These percentages are the lowest for any three subgroups of the eight groups of voters.

Among respondents who can be labelled as "transients," that is, they voted in the 1974 election but did not vote in 1972 or mentioned that they do not always vote in federal elections, party identification uniquely explained the largest percentage of variance in direction of the vote. Indeed, 10 per cent of the variance in Liberal voting is attributable to partisanship, whereas 5 per cent, 2 per cent, and a less statistically significant 10 per cent are due to evaluations of the leaders, perception of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue, and the socioeconomic-demographic factors respectively. For Conservative voters, party identification accounts for 18 per cent of the variance. Second to it in magnitude are the social background variables, and party leaders contributed only an insignificant 1 per cent to the explained variance. The largest percentage difference

between partisanship ~~and any~~ other electoral force obtains for NDP voters, and it involves fully 29 per cent of the explained variance that is attributable to partisanship as opposed to 1 per cent that is due to the leaders or to the socioeconomic-demographic factors. As with the other groups of voters already discussed, with exception of the non-identifiers and the switchers, the joint effects of party identification explain a considerable amount of the variance. This finding occurs especially for those transient voters who chose the NDP in 1974. For this subgroup, party identification, when merged with leaders, issues, and leaders and issues accounts for 17 per cent, 16 per cent, and 21 per cent respectively, or nearly three-fifths, of the explained variance. The comparable proportion of both Liberal and Conservative electors is one-half. In contrast, leaders and issues jointly do not explain any variance in Liberal or NDP voting, and only 3 per cent in the propensity to have selected the Conservative Party. When all percentages for the transient group are aggregated by subgroup, the totals of explained variance for Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting are 68 per cent, 71 per cent, and fully 94 per cent, respectively.

With respect to the last group of voters to be examined, that is, the new voters, the pattern of effects tends to resemble that for voters with stable or unstable party identification and a high level of political interest. This pattern is such that the electoral impact of party identification does not overshadow greatly the effects of other forces. For example, it explains 6 per cent of the variance in Liberal voting among new voters, while affect for leaders, evaluation of the party as being closed to the respondent on a most important issue, and socioeconomic-demographic variables account for 5 per cent, 3 per cent, and an insignificant 3 per cent, respectively. The relevant figures for

Conservative voters are 9 per cent as opposed to 5 per cent, 0 per cent, and 5 per cent. The third of these four figures is particularly interesting given that it indicates that concerns about issues did not exert any influence on the decisions of some new voters to select the Conservative Party. For NDP voters, however, issues were important and they account for a larger percentage of explained variance than do partisanship or the other forces. Yet, party identification is not ineffectual for explaining the electoral preferences of new voters, as evidenced from an inspection of the joint effects that it bears with leaders and/or issues. These effects amount to slightly over one-half, one-third, and two-fifths of the explained variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting respectively. Contrariwise, the relative shared impact of leaders and issues is quite small, with only 6 per cent, 1 per cent, and nothing of the explained variance for the three respective subgroups being attributable to them. In total, all of the forces act to explain 67 per cent, 55 per cent, and 58 per cent of the variance in Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting among those persons who were newly eligible to vote in 1974.

Overall, then, the data arrayed in Table 4.4 yield several major findings. One is that the effects of long- and short-term forces on the decision to vote for a particular party are mixed. This mix occurs according to which group of the electorate houses a respondent, with the groups being differentiated by stability of party identification and level of political interest, or by past voting behaviour. Two examples of this mix can be cited. The first is that party identification explains uniquely the largest proportions of variance for stable party identifiers who profess to have low or moderate or high degrees of political interest and voted NDP in 1974 (24 per cent of 66 per cent of the

variance for the former and 28 per cent of 74 per cent of the variance for the latter), as well as for unstable partisans who express a low or moderate level of interest and selected the NDP (21 of 57 per cent). Conversely, it is assumed not to account uniquely for any variance for nonidentifiers, and it actually does not explain variance in voting for switchers who elected the Liberal or Conservative Party (but not the NDP) in 1974. At the same time, party identification will account jointly for any variance for nonidentifiers, and it is responsible for the smallest proportion of joint variance for switchers who voted Liberal (7 of 37 per cent) or Conservative (5 of 45 per cent). The shared effects involving partisanship, however, are largest for stable party identifiers with a high level of political interest and who chose the Liberal Party (44 of 76 per cent) and for transient voters who elected the NDP (54 of 94 per cent). The second example concerns the electoral impact of affect for party leaders. It explains singly the biggest percentages of variance for all three subgroups of nonidentifiers and for switchers who voted Conservative in 1974 (9 of 45 per cent). It uniquely produces the smallest proportions of variance for transient respondents who casted their ballots for the Conservatives (1 of 71 per cent) or the NDP (1 of 94 per cent). With respect to the joint effects of party leaders, they are smallest for new voters who elected the NDP (2 of 32 per cent) and largest for Liberal voters who claimed to have a stable party identification and high degree of political interest or who were first eligible to vote in 1974 (38 of 76 per cent and 36 of 67 per cent, respectively).

Another major finding to emerge from Table 4.4 is that, although some of the differences are not large, the effects of party identification, as a long-term electoral force, and of feelings about party leaders, as a short-term electoral force, tend to be greater and lesser,

respectively, for stable party identifiers who are uninterested or only moderately interested in politics than for unstable partisans who expressed a keen political interest. Illustrative of this finding are the data that party identification is responsible uniquely for 14.3 per cent of the explained variance for stable partisans with low interest who voted Liberal (10 of 70 per cent), as opposed to 13.8 per cent for unstable partisans who were very interested in politics and voted Liberal (9 of 65 per cent). The figures for their counterparts who voted Conservative or NDP are 23.9 per cent (16 of 67 per cent) versus 12.5 per cent (7 of 56 per cent) and 36.4 per cent (24 of 66 per cent) versus 29.3 per cent (17 of 58 per cent), respectively. With regard to the unique effects of feelings about party leaders, they account for 7.1 per cent of the explained variance for stable identifiers who had low or moderate political interest and voted Liberal (5 of 70 per cent), and 6.2 per cent for unstable identifiers who were very interested in politics and selected the same party (4 of 65 per cent). The relevant percentages for these two contrasting groups of the electorate who chose the Conservative Party or the NDP are 3.0 (2 of 67 per cent) as opposed to 5.4 (3 of 56 per cent) and 3.0 (2 of 66 per cent) as opposed to 3.4 (2 of 58 per cent). This finding is consistent with the hypothesis on relationships involving stability of party identification, level of political interest, and the effects of partisanship and party leaders that was advanced initially in Chapter 1 and repeated briefly at the beginning of this chapter.

A third principal finding issues from a comparison of the effects of party identification between the three voting subgroups for each of the eight major groups of the electorate. The finding is that, regardless of which group they are located in with exception of the new voting group, respondents who chose the NDP in 1974 tended to be more

susceptible to the electoral influence of party identification than were Liberal or Conservative voters. This finding is exemplified by the data that party identification uniquely captures 36.4 per cent as opposed to 14.3 per cent and 23.9 per cent of the explained variance in voting choice for stable identifiers with low or moderate political interest and who voted NDP (24 of 66 per cent), Liberal (10 of 70 per cent), and Conservative (16 of 67 per cent) respectively; 29.3 per cent versus 13.8 per cent and 12.5 per cent for unstable partisans who were very politically interested and selected the NDP (17 of 58 per cent), the Liberal Party (9 of 65 per cent), and the Conservative Party (7 of 56 per cent); and 15.2 per cent for switchers who voted NDP in 1974 (5 of 33 per cent) as compared with no variance explained for members of this group who preferred the Liberal or the Conservative Party. The magnitudes of the effects of party identification on NDP voters can be ranked. These effects are greatest for very politically interested, stable partisans, followed by unstable identifiers with low or moderate interest, stable partisans who expressed low or moderate interest, transient voters, unstable identifiers with a high interest level, and switchers, and they are least for new voters and nonexistent for nonidentifiers.

The last but equally important finding arises from an inspection of the total percentages of explained variance. This inspection indicates that the ability of the independent variables of party identification, affect for party leaders, perceptions of the party as being closest to the respondent on a most important issue, and socioeconomic-demographic characteristics to predict electoral choice meets with lesser or greater success. The variables are least successful for nonidentifiers who voted NDP (total explained variance = 32 per cent), and for switchers who selected the NDP (33 per cent) or the Liberal Party (37 per cent).

Contrariwise, they are most successful for stable party identifiers who have a sharp interest in politics and voted Conservative (73 per cent), NDP (74 per cent), or Liberal (76 per cent), and especially for transient voters who casted their ballots for the NDP in 1974 (94 per cent). The significance of this finding is that it suggests that our knowledge of the determinants of voting behaviour for different groups of the electorate is incomplete. It particularly is so for members of those groups for which party identification is not a major electoral force, such as nonidentifiers and switch voters.

Summary

Chapter 4 begins with a brief reiteration of some concerns and hypotheses that were advanced initially and in greater detail in Chapter 1. These concerns and hypotheses involve the impact of affect for party leaders, relative to the influences of other forces, on voting behaviour. These effects are analyzed using data from the 1974 Canadian National Election Study, which yield several sets of findings. One set is associated with Table 4.1 which reports distributions of the vote by socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, several of which are conceptualized as a long-term force in more detailed analyses. The findings are that distributions for the variables of region, religion, and ethnicity are consistent with patterns demonstrated by previous research, notably that larger numbers of Quebec residents, Catholics, and other or French-Canadian ethnic groups voted Liberal while Conservative voting was concentrated more among Prairie inhabitants, persons of major Protestant religions, and English-Canadians than anyone else, and that these three variables, as well as community size, provide a better picture of differential voting behaviour than do three social class measures,

age, and sex.

The second, third, and fourth sets of findings entail relationships between other long- and short-term forces and voting. The second set involves answers to two questions, the frequencies of which are not reported in tabular form. In response to the first question, party leaders were cited as having been most important in framing the voting decision more frequently than were local candidates but less often than were the parties. In reply to the second question, which was intended to capture the "real reasons" that informed an individual's electoral choice, mentions of party leaders and leadership and local candidates are fewer than those for the first question while the percentage of people referring to parties is the same, and a number of respondents expressed issue concerns. The third and fourth sets reflect attempts to analyze more sophisticatedly the associations between long- and short-term forces and voting. The former is connected with Table 4.2 which reveals that persons who reported relatively high levels of affect for a particular leader tended to vote more frequently for that leader's party than did respondents who felt less favourably about him. The latter set refers to Table 4.3 which shows correlations between direction of the vote and party identification, perceptions of the party as being closest to a respondent on a most important issue, and affect for the party leader, both alone and with controls for the first two variables, as well as for feelings about other leaders. The findings are that relationships between voting and the three independent variables are consistent with expectations forwarded in Chapter 1; that the strongest relationship with voting involves party identification, followed by issue perceptions and the weakest association occurs with affect for a party leader; and that the magnitude of the association between affect for a leader and voting declines

when the other independent variables, especially party identification, are introduced as controls.

The fifth and final set of findings derives from the data displayed in Table 4.4, and it comprises an effort to test whether or not the electoral influences of feelings about leaders and other factors differ between groups of voters, with the eight groups being distinguished by stability of party identification and level of political interest, or by past voting behaviour. In the set there are four findings.¹⁰ One is that the effects of long- and short-term forces on the decision to vote for a particular party are mixed according to which group a respondent is located in. Another finding is that the effects of party identification and feelings about party leaders tend to be larger and smaller for stable party identifiers who are uninterested or moderately interested in politics than for very interested, unstable partisans. The next finding is that, regardless of which group they belong to with exception of the new voting group, respondents who selected the NDP in 1974 tended to be more receptive to the impact of party identification than were Liberal or Conservative voters. The fourth finding is that the ability of the independent variables to explain electoral choice varies, being least successful for nonidentifiers who voted NDP and most successful for transient voters who chose the NDP in 1974. This finding suggests that our knowledge of the forces affecting electoral choice is deficient particularly for those groups for which partisanship is not a principal determinant. The state of this knowledge, including the extent to which party leaders can exert some influence over the electoral decision-making process, is discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

FOOTNOTES

¹ See Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943), p. 269; Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), ch. 6; Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), ch. 1; Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-5; Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), ch. 1; Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie and Jae-On Kim, Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); and William Mishler, Political Participation in Canada: Prospects for Democratic Citizenship (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), ch. 1.

² Research on the determinants of voting behaviour is voluminous. Some good examples of this research in the United States are reported in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944); Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954); Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck, eds., American Voting Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, eds., Elections and The Political Order (New York: John Wiley, 1966); Gerald M. Pomper, Voters' Choice: Varieties of American Electoral Behavior (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975); Warren E. Miller and Teresa E. Levitin, Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate (Cambridge: Winthrop, 1976); and Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, first edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). For research on voting behaviour in Canada, see John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, second enlarged edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975); and Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).

³ According to Clarke et al., the electorate may be divided into three groups, that is, the permanent electorate, the transient electorate, and new voters. The permanent electorate includes approximately 75 per cent of all voters, and they are people who always or usually vote in federal elections and did so in 1972 and 1974. See Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 307-308.

⁴ Regional variations in Canadian voting behaviour have been studied by Alan Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921-1965," Canadian Journal of Political Science 1 (March 1968): 55-80; Donald E. Blake, "The Measurement of Regionalism in Canadian Voting Patterns," Canadian Journal of Political Science 5 (March 1972): 55-81; Richard Simeon and David J. Elkins, "Regional Political Cultures in Canada," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (September 1974): 397-

437; and Mildred A. Schwartz, Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), pp. 148-157. On the impact of religion and ethnicity on Canadian electoral behaviour, see Robert R. Alford, Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), ch. 8; Grace M. Anderson, "Voting Behaviour and the Ethnic-Religious Variable," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32 (February 1966): 27-37; Lynn McDonald, "Religion and Voting: A Study of the 1968 Canadian Federal Election in Ontario," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 6 (August 1969): 129-144; Jean Laponce, "Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of Survey and Census Data," in Quantitative Ecological Analyses in the Social Sciences, eds. Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969), pp. 187-216; William P. Irvine, "Explaining the Religious Basis of the Canadian Partisan Identity: Success on the Third Try," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7 (September 1974): 560-563; Mildred A. Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," in Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook, ed. Richard Rose (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 574-583; Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, ch. 6; Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process, second edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 58-64; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, ch. 4.

⁵The question reads:

In deciding how you would vote in the July election, which was the most important to you: the party leaders, the candidates here in this constituency, or the parties taken as a whole? Which would you say was the next most important? Which would you say is least important?

[If party leader or candidate mentioned as most important] When you say that party leader or candidate was the most important to you, are you thinking of his personal qualities, or his stand on certain issues?

[If party mentioned as most important] When you say that party was the most important to you, are you thinking of the party's general approach to government or its position on certain issues?

See Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 333-335, 418-419.

⁶The question reads:

We have asked you a lot of questions about reasons why you might have decided how to vote. Sometimes, however, in asking all these questions, researchers can lose track of what was really important to people. So, could you take a moment to think over all the reasons why you decided to vote the way you did, and just briefly tell me the things that were most important to you?

See Clarke et al., pp. 324, 420.

⁷Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, p. 303. See also Fred N. Kerlinger and Elazar J. Pedhazur, Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 297-305; and Jae-On Kim and Frank J. Kohout, "Special Topics in General Linear Models," in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, second edition, eds. Norman H. Nie et al. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), pp. 389-392.

⁸There were seven orders of entry into the analysis of commonalities for the four sets of variables, that is, socioeconomic-demographic characteristics (Catholic, no religion, other religion, French, other ethnicity, objective social class, residency in the Maritimes, Quebec, the Prairies, or British Columbia) direction and intensity of party identification, feelings about Trudeau, Stanfield, and Lewis, and perceptions of a party being closest on a most important issue, for each of the Liberal, Conservative, and NDP voting groups. The orders were: 1) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, party identification, feelings about leaders, and issue perceptions; 2) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, party identification, issue perceptions, and feelings about leaders; 3) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, feelings about leaders, issue perceptions, and party identification; 4) party identification, feelings about leaders, issue perceptions, and socioeconomic-demographic characteristics; 5) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, feelings about leaders, party identification, and issue perceptions; 6) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, party identification, and issue perceptions; 6) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, party identification, feelings about leaders, and issue perceptions; and 7) socioeconomic-demographic characteristics, issue perceptions, party identification, and feelings about leaders.

⁹This typology is similar to that developed by Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc, and Pammett. See Lawrence LeDuc, Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, and Jon Pammett, "Partisanship, Political Interest, and Electoral Campaigns in Canada," paper presented at the Twelfth Congress of the International Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, August 16-21, 1976; and Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, ch. 10.

¹⁰See Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 343-348.

Chapter 5

THE RESEARCH ANSWER: THE ELECTORAL EFFECTS OF IMAGES OF PARTY LEADERS

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to present a conclusion that is informed by the preceding four chapters. In doing so, it advances a summary of findings from each chapter and a discussion of the state of research on electoral behaviour. This discussion is designed to impel the reader to think of some directions that future research might follow—research that would approach a better understanding of the real reasons underlying a person's decision to vote for a particular party, and research that is guided by sensitivity to why the attainment of such information is important.

Summary of Findings

The goal of my thesis is to provide an answer to the research questions concerning whether or not and the extent to which party leaders, as principal actors in Canadian politics and society, create affective feelings and evaluations, that is, images of themselves which determine the electoral choices of voters. To achieve this goal, four chapters of information have been reported. Chapter 1 is entitled "The Research Question; The Electoral Effects of Images of Party Leaders." It reviewed existing literature on the electoral impact of images of party leaders, which have been conceptualized as a short-term force and which occupy a major position in a controversy

over which forces exert the greatest effects on voting.¹ The chapter also examined the conduct of electoral campaigns in 1968 and 1974; advanced three sets of expectations regarding the distributions of images of party leaders, their relationship with party identification, and their effect on direction of voting; presented the data, measures and methods that were used to test the expectations; and introduced briefly topics of the three analytical chapters and this concluding chapters.

Chapter 2 is labelled "Images of Party Leaders." It is the first analytical chapter, testing a set of expectations on distributions and sources of two components of images of party leaders. These components are affective and evaluative. With respect to the former, it was anticipated that a large number of voters, especially those who were residents of Quebec or young, would have felt more warmly about Pierre Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, than about Robert Stanfield, leader of the Conservative Party. With respect to the latter, which may be studied in terms of frequency, direction, and content, it was proposed that many voters should have been able to express some image(s) of a party leader, particularly of Trudeau and Stanfield; that references to Trudeau should be more frequently positive than negative, while those for Stanfield would reveal the opposite pattern; that very politically-interested people might articulate larger numbers of positive and negative images than would their less interested counterparts; and that adjectives describing Stanfield's personality, style, and policies would be negative in tone, whereas words characterizing Trudeau and other leaders more often would be positive. These expectations were supported by the data, and it especially was

intriguing to find that feelings about leaders declined in magnitude between 1968 and 1974, and that the personalities and styles of leaders were mentioned more frequently than were their positions on issues.²

Chapter 3 is called "Images of Party Leaders and Party Identification," and it reflects an attempt to further the investigation by employing the concept of party identification.³ In this chapter, analysis is directed by the expectation that partisanship will operate as a powerful perceptual screen among people whose loyalty is intense, stable, or consistent between the federal and provincial levels of government.⁴ That is, high levels of affect for and positive images of their own leader as well as negative perceptions of other leaders should obtain among these three groups. Conversely, for individuals whose partisan attachments were weak, unstable, or inconsistent, the filtering function should be soft and, thus, orientations toward their own leader and other leaders might be less positive and less negative, respectively, than would be perceptions of strong, stable or consistent identifiers. Upon turning to findings on the affective component of images of party leaders, it appeared that Liberals, Conservatives, New Democrats, and Social Crediters averaged more favourable than unfavourable perceptions of Trudeau, Stanfield, Tommy Douglas and David Lewis as leaders of the NDP in 1968 and 1974, and Real Caouette as leader of the Social Credit Party, respectively. Moreover, intense, stable, and/or inconsistent partisans tended to report more positive and negative images of own and other leaders than did their weaker, unstable, and/or inconsistent counterparts. Finally, people's images of party leaders can facilitate adoption and maintenance or erosion of a partisan label.

Chapter 4 is the last analytical chapter which addresses the ultimate concern of this thesis--an assessment of the impact of images of party leaders on direction of the vote. It was expected that their electoral effects would be weakest while those of party identification should be strongest among stable partisans who manifested a low level of political interest.⁵ The impact of images and partisanship, however, should be stronger and weaker, respectively, among respondents exhibiting unstable identifications and high degrees of interest. For persons who switched their votes, that is, they cast ballots for one party in 1972 and another party in 1974, it was anticipated that the influence of images on voting would exceed in magnitude that of party identification, while the converse tendency should occur for people who stated that they do not always vote in federal elections ("transients") or who first became eligible to vote in 1974 ("new voters"), since their failure to have been implicated in the electoral process suggests that a partisan attachment is the only foundation which an electoral decision could be made. These expectations are bolstered by an analysis of commonalities performed on the data. In addition to this general finding that the effects of long-term and short-term forces on direction of the vote are mixed according to which group of the electorate houses a respondent, it is evident that individuals who selected the NDP in 1974 tended to be more receptive to the impact of party identification than were Liberal or Conservative voters. Overall, the ability of these independent variables to explain electoral choice differs, being least successful for non-identifiers who voted NDP and most successful for transient voters who chose the NDP in 1974, as revealed by an inspection of the total

explained variances. The analysis of commonalities follows several simpler presentations of data which demonstrate that: 1) party leaders were cited as having been most important in determining the voting decision more frequently than were local candidates but less often than were the parties; 2) that persons who reported relatively high levels of affect for a particular leader tended to vote more frequently for that leader's party than did respondents who felt less favourably about him; and 3) that the largest relationship with voting involved party identification, followed by perceptions of a party being closest on a most important issue, which declined even further when the other independent variables, notably party identification, were introduced as controls. The significance of the context in which these findings occur is discussed in the remaining section of this thesis.

The State of Research on Electoral Behaviour

A principal finding that emerges from my thesis is that an answer to the research questions of whether or not and the extent to which images of party leaders, as one type of short-term force among a variety of both short- and long-term determinants, can influence an individual's electoral choice is neither simple nor concrete. Indeed, it is conditional, that is, dependent upon such other determinants as social background characteristics, attachment to a political party, level of political interest, concerns about social issues, and voting record. Accruing from this finding are three observations which may be characterized respectively as theoretical, conceptual, and methodological.

The first observation is theoretical, and it raises the question of "so what?" that must be faced by any piece of research. This question subsumes such considerations as whether or not the research furnishes any

new and/or significant information about the reasons that underlie a person's decision to vote for a particular political party, whether or not these reasons provide grounds for concern, and whether or not studies of electoral behaviour continue to contribute significantly to the pursuit of knowledge about political phenomena or have lost sight of which phenomena are important. These are weighty considerations which tap the state of a political man's electoral health, but on which only brief comments may be given here. One comment is that the research of which this thesis is a part does inform us that a variety of factors, most notably party identification and to a much lesser extent images of party leaders, bear on electoral decision-making, and that the extent of their influences depends on their type of partisan affiliation, level of political interest, and voting record. In turn, this information may lead to conjectures or explanations about support for the political system, political socialization processes, types of party systems, and the outcomes of past and future elections. One example is the election scheduled for February 18, 1980 and which featured concerns over an austere economic budget introduced by a short-lived Conservative government, the status of Quebec in Confederation, and the abilities of leadership of Joe Clark, as a young, inexperienced, party organizer from Alberta who was prime minister for only a few months, and Pierre Trudeau, as an older, much more intelligent, professional politician from Quebec who had been prime minister for eleven years and had announced a desire to retire from political life. These concerns, when coupled with similarities between the two major parties in their stands on issues, suggest that voters would have had little basis upon which to make an informed decision and, hence, the importance of party identification as a determinant of electoral choice would have increased.⁶

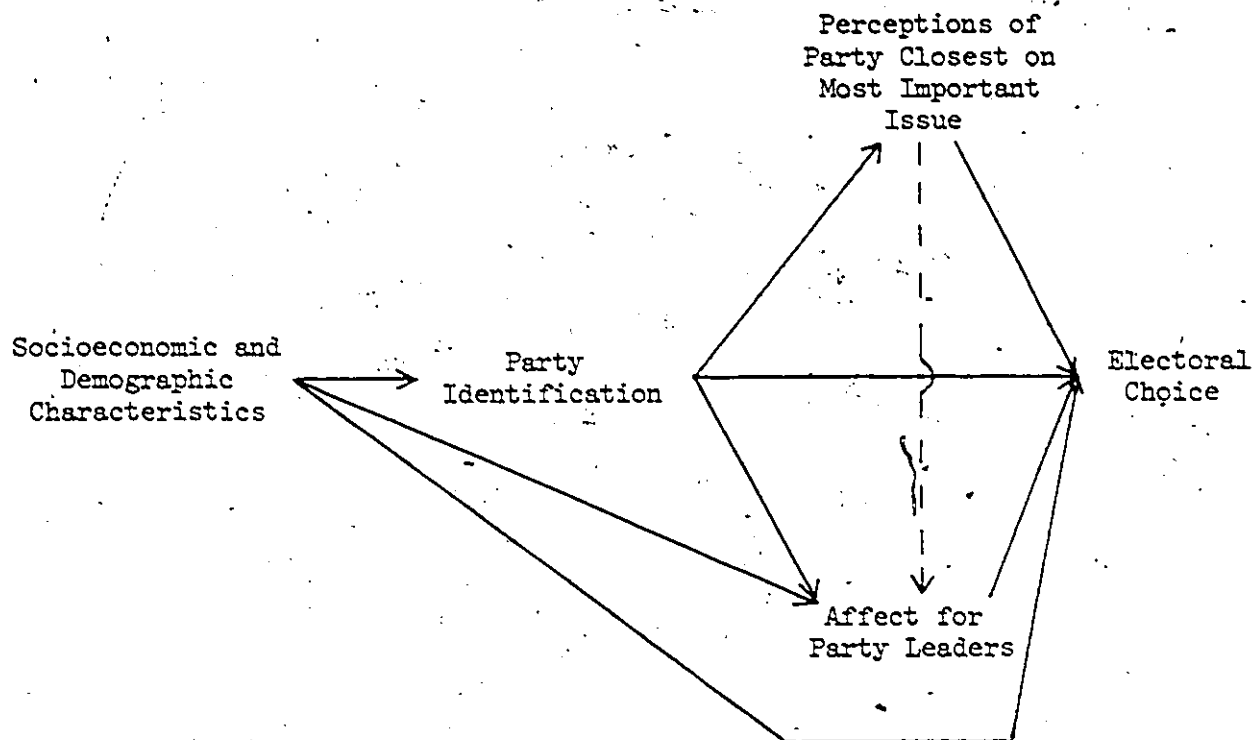
Another comment is that it is disturbing to discover that affective feelings about political parties and their leaders tend to influence electoral choice more than do evaluations of issues. This discovery is disturbing because it reflects a lack of political education and a corresponding failure of generating an informed, participant, concerned citizenry in a liberal, democratic state.⁷ The remaining comment is that concepts and methodology used in research on electoral behaviour were hailed once as the major contributions of behaviouralism to the discipline of political science and to the study of politics.⁸ Now, however, it appears that the creative spark behind these contributions has been allowed to die and has been replaced by meaningless debates over trivial matters. Stemming from this comment is a plea for the greater exercise of imagination in the development of concepts and typologies as well as the use of methodologies and analytical techniques.

The second and third observations, then, are conceptual and methodological. The former involves the classic, four-variable, diamond-shaped, causal model of voting behaviour that was developed by social scientists at the University of Michigan⁹ and has provided the basis for much of electoral research, including a variant of this model which is used in this thesis, is reflected in the analysis of commonalities presented in Chapter 4, and is illustrated in Figure 5.1. Both models, however, require greater efforts at studying political reality and adapting their fruits to the designing of models by incorporating empirically-relevant or theoretically-interesting variables. As an example, it may be rewarding to divide the variables of party identification and images of party leaders into their affective and evaluative components and then to assess the impact of one component on levels of another component, such

as do affective feelings about a political party influence feelings about the party's leader, and vice-versa?¹⁰ Related to the second observation is the third one which is that political scientists who study electoral behaviour must be bolder and more rigorous in their construction of models. In particular, attempts are needed to construct models with two-way or more flows of causation,¹¹ to estimate these models without violating the assumptions of path analysis,¹² and to employ appropriate analytical techniques such as two-stage least squares¹³ or confirmatory factor analysis.

This thesis, at least in some small measure, has tried to move towards the realization of objectives lying within these three observations. This, perhaps, is its most original and meaningful contribution to the study of electoral behaviour generally and to the investigation of the relative effects of images of party leaders on electoral choice in Canada in particular.

Figure 5.1. Recursive Model of Electoral Choice with
Incomplete Structural Equations, 1974



FOOTNOTES

¹The controversy over determinants of electoral choice has occurred for the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. Although much of the pertinent material is cited in Chapter 1, the gist of the controversy emerges in Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter, enlarged edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain, second edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974); Ivor Crewe, Bo Sarlvik, and James Alt, "Partisan Dealignment in Britain, 1964-1974," British Journal of Political Science 7 (April 1977): 129-190; and Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).

²This finding is consistent with that reported by Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 238-239.

³As stated in Chapter 1, the concept of party identification was defined by Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, and developed by Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. See Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 88-89; and Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley, 1960), chs. 4, 6, 7.

⁴On the consistency of party identification between different levels of government, see M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government," American Journal of Sociology 72 (July 1966): 86-101; Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, pp. 138-145; and Jerry Perkins and Randall Guynes, "Federalism and Partisanship," Publius 9 (Summer 1979): 57-73.

⁵This typology is similar to that developed by Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada, ch. 10.

⁶This phenomenon has been observed among the American electorate and reported by Arthur H. Miller, "Partisanship Reinstated? A Comparison of the 1972 and 1976 U.S. Presidential Elections," British Journal of Political Science 8 (April 1978): 129-152.

⁷The idea that a normally apathetic public must be educated into supporting the political system has been advanced by Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943); and Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), ch. 14. Studies of civic education were conducted during the 1920s and 1930s. See, for example, Charles E. Merriam, The Making of Citizens (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); and Howard E. Wilson, Education for Citizenship (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938). This type of study has been replaced largely by the "value-neutral" approach of political socialization. This approach is reported in David O. Sears, "Political Socialization," in Handbook of Political Science, Vol. 2, eds. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 93-153.

⁸ See, for example, Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest," in Behavioralism in Political Science, ed. Heinz Eulau (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1969), pp. 80-84; and Peter H. Merkl, "'Behavioristic' Tendencies in American Political Science," in Behavioralism in Political Science, ed. Eulau, pp. 149-151.

⁹ This model is illustrated by Miller, "Partisanship Reinstated?" p. 151.

¹⁰ This idea was forwarded by Professor Kai Hildebrandt of the Department of Political Science, University of Windsor.

¹¹ For examples of these types of models, see Gregory B. Markus and Philip E. Converse, "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice," American Political Science Review 73 (December 1979): 1055-1070; and Benjamin I. Page and Calvin C. Jones, "Reciprocal Effects of Policy Preferences, Party Loyalties and the Vote," American Political Science Review 73 (December 1979): 1071-1089.

¹² For discussions of path analysis, see Duane F. Alwin and Robert M. Hauser, "The Decomposition of Effects in Path Analysis," American Sociological Review 40 (February 1975): 37-47; Herbert B. Asher, Causal Modeling (Beverly Hills: Sage University Papers in Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences 3, no. 07-003, 1976); Karl G. Jöreskog, "Structural Equation Models in the Social Sciences: Specification, Estimation and Testing," in Advances in Factor Analysis and Structural Equation Models, ed. Jay Magidson (Cambridge: Abt Books, 1979), pp. 105-127; and Ross M. Stolzenberg, "The Measurement and Decomposition of Causal Effects in Nonlinear and Non-additive Models," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, September 1979.

¹³ For discussions of the technique of two-stage least squares, see Otis Dudley Duncan, Introduction to Structural Equation Models (New York: Academic Press, 1975), chs. 6, 7; and Eric A. Hanushek and John E. Jackson, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists (New York: Academic Press, 1977), ch. 9.

Appendix. Specific Content of Images of Party Leaders, 1968-74
(percentages of respondents)

Positive Images of Trudeau

1968	first mention	1974	first mention
youth	12.1	intelligent	9.9
honest, direct	8.5	honest, direct	5.6
nice personality, nice person	6.6	nice personality, nice person	5.5
good speaker, speaking ability	5.3	good speaker, speaking ability	5.1
intelligent	4.8	strong leader, leadership ability	4.8
refusal to make promises	3.6	works hard, doing a good job	3.1
modern, progressive	3.1	good family man, has settled down	2.3
general ideas, policies	2.7	energetic, dynamic	2.3
courage	2.4	outspoken, blunt	2.1
other personal characteristics	2.0	ability in international affairs	1.5
stand on Canadian unity	1.7		
knowledge, education	1.6		
warmth, understanding, interest in people	1.6		

Negative Images of Trudeau

1968	first mention	1974	first mention
kissing women	7.3	arrogant	6.9
appearance, mannerisms	4.4	excessive travelling	3.1
swinger, playboy	3.7	does not attend to business	2.6
lack of dignity, seriousness	3.2	general manner, attitude	2.1
general personality	2.7	done nothing about inflation	1.9
campaign style	1.9	appearance, mannerisms	1.6
dishonest, indirect	1.6	does not care about people	1.5
		general personality	1.5
		avoids positions on issues	1.5

Appendix (continued)

Positive Images of Stanfield

<u>1968</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
honest, direct	16.9	honest, direct	15.4
nice personality, nice person	5.2	good man	3.1
quiet, easy mannerisms	3.3	nice personality, nice person	2.7
experience	2.8	intelligent	2.5
good speaker, speaking ability	2.8	tried hard to learn French	1.7
reliable, responsible	2.6	works hard, doing a good job	1.5
intelligent	2.3		
dignity, seriousness	2.1		

Negative Images of Stanfield

<u>1968</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
poor speaker, speaking inability	9.8	poor speaker, speaking inability	8.2
not energetic, not dynamic	4.8	poor leader, leadership inability	5.4
does not rouse interest	3.8	speaks French poorly	3.8
general personality	3.1	dull, boring, not colourful	2.9
poor leader, leadership inability	2.6	not energetic, not dynamic	2.9
too old	2.5	too old	2.7
speaks French poorly	2.3	lacks personality	2.3
not modern, not progressive	2.2	policy of controls on wages and prices	1.7
		too critical, makes personal attacks	1.7
		general manner, attitude	1.5

Positive Images of Douglas/Lewis

<u>1968</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
good speaker, speaking ability	14.3	good speaker, speaking ability	6.0
honest, direct	8.3	honest, direct	5.8

Appendix (continued)

nice personality, nice person.	4.3	nice personality, nice person	2.9
energetic, dynamic	3.1	intelligent	2.2
general ideas, policies	2.5	works hard, doing a good job	2.0
favours the working man	2.1	good man	1.6
not overly aggressive	1.6		
warm, understanding, interest in people	1.6		
intelligent			

Negative Images of Douglas/Lewis

<u>1968</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
general ideas, policies, NDP philosophy	6.5	general ideas, policies, NDP philosophy	4.2
NDP party	5.0	NDP party	2.6
makes too many promises	2.4	forced election, brought down govt.	2.1
inability to win	1.5		

Positive Images of Caouette

<u>1968*</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
Good speaker, speaking ability	7.8	good speaker; speaking ability	6.7
honest, direct	3.8	honest, direct	4.0
energetic, dynamic	2.3	works hard, doing a good job	1.7
General ideas, policies	1.8	outspoken, blunt	1.5

Negative Images of Caouette

<u>1968*</u>	<u>first mention</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>first mention</u>
General ideas, policies, Social Credit philosophy	5.8	general ideas, policies	4.5
too talkative	3.9	Social Credit party	1.7

Appendix (continued)

too sympathetic to French
unrealistic

2.7
1.5

*Caouette was included in the 1968 analysis but the questions about images were asked of Quebec respondents only.

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