

VOTING CHOICES IN AN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

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B.A., University of Alberta, 1960

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of

Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

May, 1969

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Date May 30, 1969

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ABSTRACT

This work presents an analysis of federal election voting choices in an industrial community. The voting choices were reported by a sample of gainfully employed residents of the community. A segment of the sample, those in unionized jobs in the industrial enterprises of the major employer, is submitted to quantitative analysis.

A discussion of the significance of interest group formation and operation provides us with a theoretical basis. As industrial workers are less economically secure, are clustered into a relatively undifferentiated range of jobs, and are more isolated from the broad middle class, they will be more prone to form economic and political interest groups. One aspect of such formation is a high level of support for a worker-oriented and socialistic political party.

The member of parliament for the constituency was the candidate of a party that appears to be both socialistic and worker oriented, the New Democratic Party (or NDP). Voting choices in favor of this candidate are understood in terms of our theory. They are studied by dividing our respondents by social characteristics. These social characteristics are of three kinds: general vital characteristics, (age, length of community residence, and place of birth), off-work characteristics (religious group membership and participation), and work-defined characteristics, (type of enterprise, union, and skill level).

The general social characteristics are assumed to indicate access to community worker political culture. Off-work characteristics are important because they might supply individuals with social identities which override such a culture. At-work characteristics may provide issues that are quickly transformed into social identities influencing voting, given rationality, local worker culture, and the lack of overriding identities.

When general and work-defined characteristics are used to study voting choices, a well defined pattern is found. High rates of NDP support are associated with general vital characteristics that indicate higher access to community and regional political culture, and work-related characteristics that indicate "typical industrial workers" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When the characteristics are studied in combination, complex patterns are found.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Jean-Louis de Lannoy, for supervising and guiding the work of this thesis and the study of political sociology in general, and to Mike Kew who provided much helpful critical commentary. I also wish to thank Roy Turner for providing some insights into the importance of intensive ethnographic study. Lastly I wish to thank Martin Meissner for the initial suggestion of the topic and for providing me with access to the data from his study of "Work, Leisure, and Social Participation".

INTRODUCTION

This study is the examination of various social characteristics and the accompanying patterns of voting choice reported for a sample of the gainfully employed residents of a community dominated by a single industrial complex. It is an analysis of survey-research data. The writer has two sets of interests which are basic to this work. The first of these is a curiosity about worker social life, and the formation and operation of worker interest groups. This includes the emergence and operation of labor unions and worker-oriented political parties. The interest has led to the reading of a number of studies, both of industrial communities and of at-work industrial worker life. The second interest is in the analysis of survey research materials -- restricted and categorized responses to standardized questions -- as a basis for accounting for the voting choices of one particular community's gainfully employed population. The survey research material of interest is very wide-ranging, and the focus in this work is on "general" characteristics, such as sex, age, place of birth; "off-work" ones, such as religious group membership and participation; and "work-defined" ("at-work") characteristics such as skill level.

This paper faces a particular problem: the materials necessary to link the first set of interests to the second set are incomplete. As a consequence, there is a modification of the interest in first, producing from data on social positions and participation a solid definition of community, and then relating the individuals in the survey sample to such structures. While rather complex theoretical ideas about industrial community social structures are presented, these are simplified and reduced in the process of making them into features that can be related to our data. The argument, and the material discussed, would have been different if a smaller community had been studied more intensively, if more information about job characteristics had been made available by the major employer, or if certain additional data had been available in the survey findings.

Before turning to the overall theory, we wish to present a small amount of information on the community, and on our interests in it.

The community in question is rather isolated and consequently constitutes a distinct population. It was begun about a century ago as a logging camp, and has seen expansion which over the last decades included the appearance and growth of sawmills, a plywood mill, a pulp and paper mill,

and a great increase in the service sector of the local labor force. The last includes doctors, teachers, hospital staff, radio station staff, and employees of a large department store, to serve the growing local and regional population; the employees of large engineering enterprises to serve increasing local and regional industry and the ships that call at the port; and other service enterprises and occupations. The community grew on industry which, until recently, was characterized by a heavy concentration of manual labor jobs. The forest products enterprises listed above, from logging to pulp and paper mill, are now all part of one large business corporation. Just under half of the community's gainfully employed are in the employ of this firm. For these reasons we refer to the community as an industrial community. It is now also a regional service center, of course.

An interesting feature of the community is that, at the time of the research, the two legislators sitting for the constituencies containing the community were members of the New Democratic Party (NDP) -- a party on the left of the Canadian political spectrum. Both these men have had careers as local, elected, salaried officials of a labor union, and both have their homes in the community. In our community, then, a large proportion of the gainfully employed work in a major industrial complex, and labor-union officials in a "socialistic" party are successful at the polls.

A major question is, "who votes for these people?" Is our community one in which membership in labor unions is a strong basis for accounting for voting choices? Do work force positions of various kinds account for local voting choices? Or do the other social characteristics need to be taken into account? While it would be our preference to build models of the community and of the local work force based on solid empirical data, including ethnographic data and job descriptions, and then investigate voting choices in terms of a model of local social structure including this material, the work undertaken provides a feasible alternative. One assumption made here is that through some mechanism, the social characteristics that provide strong accounts of voting choices are converted into social identities, that is, material the voters frequently use to identify themselves and their interests. This assumption is not one that can be supported by empirical data, due to a lack of such attitude indicators from the questionnaire, but

1. See discussion below and material in Appendix "C".

it is logically necessary.

For a discussion of weaknesses in the ways in which sociological and psychological characteristics have been linked to voting choices in a number of studies, see the discussion by Walter Berns (1962:40) who asserts that in many cases, the missing and unstudied link is opinion, which "mediates between sub-political sociological and psychological conditions and political consequences."

We have noted the lack of two kinds of material. The first is of intensive observation of local social life, the second is of attitude and opinion data from the individual respondent. As a consequence, our study is neither a social structural nor a social psychological one, but is the study of social characteristics and voting choices. The importance of social characteristics in voting studies has been argued by Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee (1954:25) as follows:

...the better educated are supposed to know more about politics, and they have been trained to take part in civic activity. In the same way, politics is "a man's game"; women have been eligible for participation for only a generation and are thus newcomers to the political scene. The wealthy are alert to political effects upon their interests, and the older people have been around longer, have developed more involvement in political affairs, and have fewer of the romantic distractions that youth finds more attractive. It is the older, well-educated, well-off man who has most political interest in the community."

We will examine the rate of NDP support shown by sample members belonging to different unions. Where there is a low level of NDP support by a union membership, we assume some divergence between the interests of the members, the policy of the union, or both, and the local NDP program and organization.

The following work is aimed at shedding light on the above and similar possibilities.

A final section not only assesses the work done in the body of this paper, but also makes some suggestions for further, more intensive, study.

CHAPTER I

THEORY OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

As a groundwork for examining voting choices, we will look at some ideas of social structure and social classes. A major writer in this field is Karl Marx, and there are two fragments of his voluminous writings most relevant to our study. First, some important points are contained in the first two sentences of "The Communist Manifesto". Marx and Engels (1968:79) wrote in 1848:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

The first of these sentences seems to be an assertion about a universal social state: there is, everywhere and always, tension between social classes. The second sentence develops the authors' interest into an interest in a universal process of social change, of class conflict and its outcomes. In identifying all members of the various superordinate classes equally as the "oppressors" and all members of the various subordinate classes equally as the "oppressed", the authors add a universal moral element to class conflicts. In this form, we are prevented from making distinctions within an "oppressor" class, and between "oppressor" classes, and similarly for "oppressed" classes. The sentence also prevents us from seeing any social issue, structural feature, or moral issue of any period other than class conflict as being of major importance. If one accepts the correctness of these two opening sentences, one must assume that any period or epoch of history will show conflict between a superordinate class and a subordinate one. One must also accept that the particular period of history will, of necessity, end in one of the two ways specified. At this level of abstraction, only two kinds of periods of history are allowed.

We are left with serious doubts. One really has no way of knowing, just from the authors' assertion, whether all societies have had, or must have, one of the two endings claimed. Further, while Marx and Engels implicitly assert the overwhelming primacy of social classes as features of what we would call "social structures", they do not supply any basis for checking the accuracy of this view.

A further serious doubt is generated by the universal assigning of combined moral and structural elements. We do not know whether all of each "superordinate" class are equally "oppressors", or whether all of each "subordinate" class are equally "oppressed". We also don't know whether all historical periods are free of agents in the historical process not clearly belonging to one of these classes. There may be, in fact, major classes in some periods that are neither clearly oppressors nor oppressed, and still figure importantly in history.

This brings us to the next passage from Marx that we wish to scrutinize, a passage which deals much more concretely with the social world. This is a part of a careful analysis of the details of a short period of social history, and is quite unlike the Communist Manifesto -- a political document with political goals.

This second writing is a paragraph from "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", an analysis of political events, parties, and figures in France from 1848 to 1851. It is heavily loaded with sarcasm and invective, but it is also a close analysis of the details of the period. Near the end of this work, Marx (1948:148, 149) turns his scrutiny to the French peasants:

Insofar as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them into hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class. Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national union, and no political organization among them, they do not form a class.

While this statement is very compact, these two sentences seem to contain a very full listing of the criteria for a class that Marx found useful in analyzing the sequence of social events studied. It is amazing that Dahrendorf (1959:9-18) in attempting to develop Marx's Theory of Class refers to only one half of the above quotation. It seems that in the first sentence, Marx specifies the criteria for a class as a category, as a distinct slice of people in a "society", in this case a nation. The individuals assigned to the slice have living conditions distinct from, and in some way opposed to, those of other slices. The second sentence states the criteria for a class as a distinct category of individuals, aware of

their common interests, and organized to pursue these interests. These criteria are not met in the case of the French peasants. Perhaps it is a result of his not talking about the working class, his favored agents of social change, that Marx was able to deal with the peasants more clearly and less polemically in the above quotation than in most of his writing on class. His work here is much closer to an analytically-usable form than most of the sections quoted by Dahrendorf.

Marx first presents the specifications of a class as an economic category, second of a class as an active interest group. What we will be studying is the strength of various explanations of NDP voting in our community. These include the degree to which members of worker economic categories (being "industrial workers"), and of economic interest groups (being in unions), make voting choices that overlap with an active "interest group" class, and a class orientation to politics, at least potentially.

Using this quotation from Marx, and assuming that, locally, nationally, or at any other level, workers, and particularly industrial workers, may be a distinct group of some sort, we can generate the following features of distinctness of a subordinate worker class. The list appears generally to be a progressive one: that is, no feature can appear without all the preceding features on the list. There is, however, one weakness that will be discussed below.

- (1) "Millions (or hundreds, or thousands) of families (or individuals) live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life...from other classes." What is here specified is that there are modes of life that are each peculiar to a particular social class, and that these modes of life are determined largely by the economic conditions of existence (perhaps seen as the allocation of economic and political power). Here "classes" constitute exclusive categories of people with exclusive life styles.
- (2) The next point is the implied one that social relations within a class differ from those across class lines, and class identities thus become manifest in social relations. These social relations plus the "exclusive category" nature of social classes together produce the distinct class culture that Marx claims.

- (3) The same millions, hundreds, or thousands, not only have a common culture, but they also have common interests exclusive to the "exclusive category" classes. Further, these interests put the members of the exclusive classes in hostile contrast to the other classes.
- (4) There develops more than "merely a local interconnection" among the members of what we call "exclusive categories". As well as the common culture and distinct class relations at the local level (claimed in numbers (2) and (3) above) some form of political organization emerges, and a class interest group begins to form, presumably initially at the local level.
- (5) Simultaneously with, or subsequent to, this local political organization, a national political organization emerges, to promote the interests of the class.

The last two points contain the weakness mentioned above, a weakness that seems inherent in Marx's approach. Throughout the above developmental sequence, it seems that simultaneous local and national developments were necessary. But such a simultaneous development would only seem possible given not only the "national union" and "political organization" but also a uniform development of the "national economy", and the lack of any serious conflicts of interests between members of the same "class". Such a prospect seems much more possible in the case of a single-occupation class (peasants) than it would be with a multi-occupation class such as "industrial workers".

Overlapping with this matter is another problem, that of the lack of allowance for differentiated development within a particular local class. The sequence listed is a developmental one, and for Marx to be correct, each developing unit must have some degree of homogeneity. For there to be a class, the individuals must be at or near the same "level of development" or "point of development". Marx seems to be ruling out or ignoring not only the possibility of heterogeneity among the local working classes of a nation, but also the possibility of different levels of development within a working class. By assuming uniformity within a class Marx is discounting many variations. He does not lead us to ask: - "Are the interests and perceptions of the analyst the same as those of the population under study? And

how do these features vary among that population itself?"

With some effort, one would be able to develop a research technique to deal with each of the five points extracted from Marx, and then study any particular subordinate class -- industrial workers, peasants, or members of an ethnic group -- at the community, national or any other level.

Looked at in general, Marx's discussion deals with the issue, "how does a subordinate economic category become a political class; how does a group of individuals sharing the same or similar economic positions in a society become an economic and political interest group, pursuing its goals at least partly in the political arena?" Our interest in the voting choices made by the industrial workers in our community is partly an interest in the frequency of union members making voting choices in favor of union officials running as candidates for a party leaning strongly toward socialism.²

Marx saw the behaviour of the peasants as both a failure to develop and assert a social morality, which Weber would call ideal interests, and a failure to develop a political interest group. We regard voting choices that favor the NDP as generally being either the assertion of a morality, or the expression of interests in the political arena, or both, except when they are personal preferences for a candidate. There is, then, a clear overlap between Marx's concepts of the behaviour among members of a subordinate class, and our interest in worker support for the NDP. However, social reform in western democracies over the intervening century, which has allowed the further separation of issues of social morality from the political expression of interests, has made the matter more complex than it was in Marx's time, or at least than Marx made it seem. A propos of this matter, Lipset (1963:45) has stated:

Economic development, producing increased income, greater economic security, and widespread higher education, largely determines the form of the "class struggle" by permitting those in the lower strata to develop longer time perspectives and more complex and gradualist views of politics. A belief in secular reformist gradualism can be the ideology of only a relatively well-to-do lower class.

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2. The reader can gain some grasp of the character of the NDP by consulting "The Regina Manifesto" and the "Winnipeg Declaration", policy documents of its antecedent, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which appear in Appendix C. See also Zakuta (1964:129).

However, Lipset seems to have missed the essential point. As the lower class is more well-to-do, its life may be less distinct; economic conditions do not isolate it in society, so no distinct social relations or distinct culture, preconditions of class political organization, are produced.

We now turn to another work concerned with worker interest group behaviour and worker social structure. This is an article by Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike", published in 1954. It contains concepts of types of industries, their work forces, and the communities in which the work forces live.

The initial interest of the authors is in "...man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts...", Kerr and Siegel (1954:189). Such phenomena are related, obviously but somewhat unclearly, to the formation and operation of worker groups, as are the voting choices we are studying.

The authors initially examine data from a number of industrialized countries, for different time periods, and are able to isolate certain industries consistently showing high rates of man-days lost through strikes and lockouts. (ibid.:189). Other industries consistently show low rates, and still others are consistently in the medium rank.

The authors next present "hypotheses", largely about social and psychological features of the work forces in the high rate and low rate types of industries. While the authors show no inclination to use their "hypotheses", nonetheless in developing them they supply some interesting ideas about worker social life.

The main features of the authors' first hypothesis are social-organizational arguments in the form of forcefully-put generalizations not adequately supported by empirical data. Hypothesis 1, "The Location of the Worker in Society" (ibid.:191) contains the following graphic picture:

The miners, the sailors, the longshoremen, the loggers, and to a much lesser extent, the textile workers form isolated masses, almost a "race apart". They live in their own separate communities: the coal patch, the ship, the waterfront district, the logging camp, the textile town. These communities have their own codes, myths, heroes, and social standards. There are few neutrals in them to mediate the conflicts and dilute the mass. ...all the members of each of these groups have the same grievances... And here is a case where the

totality of common grievances, after they have been verbally shared, may be greater than the sum of the individual parts. The employees form a largely homogeneous, undifferentiated mass -- they all do about the same work and have about the same experiences."

Kerr and Siegel go on to state that it is hard to get out of the masses that constitute the labor in these industries, and that as a consequence, protest is likely to take the form of mass walkouts. Further, the work forces in these industries are weakly linked to the "public" and to their employers. The communities are supposed to lack "the myriad of Voluntary associations with mixed memberships..." (ibid.:192) that are supposedly common in other communities, and the employer "...throws out few lines to these workers..." (ibid.:192). Moreover, "He is usually an absentee owner who 'cuts out and gets out' in the logging business or exhausts a mine and moves on or hires longshoremen on a casual basis or gets his views of personnel relations from the law on mutiny." (ibid.:192). This passage seems to exceed that of Marx in its mixing of moral evaluations and social descriptions.

Kerr and Siegel go on to claim that, as a consequence of these structural features, in communities of such workers "The union becomes a kind of working-class party or even government for these employees...Union meetings are more adequately attended and union affairs more vigorously discussed..." (ibid.:193), again supplying no supporting material. They then assert that "...personal and ideological factionalism and rival unionism are more likely. Strife within and between unions is a sign that the union is important." (ibid.:193). Further characteristics of high strike rate work forces, and opposite characteristics covering low strike rate work forces, are also presented.

Kerr and Siegel move on to present arguments about personality and job requirements (ibid.:195). These form ⁹³Hypothesis 2, "The Character of the Job and the Worker." They argue: "If the job is physically difficult and unpleasant, unskilled or semi-skilled, casual or seasonal, and fosters an independent spirit, (as in the logger in the woods), it will draw tough, inconstant, combative, and virile workers, and they will be inclined to strike." Their argument is not meant to be purely one of selection, however, for they have just used the phrase "... determines, by selection and conditioning..." in presenting this hypothesis. Just what connection between

selection and conditioning they are arguing is left fuzzy. Is each man selected by these criteria or socialized to them? Is the total work force made up chiefly of men both selected and socialized? Are most men selected and the rest socialized?

In any case, for reasons that they present, Kerr and Siegel prefer their hypothesis 1 over their hypothesis 2.

The article by Kerr and Siegel is useful because it allows for important differences in the social life of industrial worker groups other than the developmental and evolutionary ones presented by Marx. They allow for differentiation between industries and between communities, but they untidily lump work force and community features, a method that is full of problems. However, the authors do suggest that a specific form of worker corporate behaviour will tend to be acted out, and man days lost through strikes and work stoppages as work forces meet the following conditions:

- (1) there is a homogeneous or undifferentiated mass of workers;
- (2) these workers are an isolated (from general public and employer) workforce;
- (3) the industry selects tough, inconstant, combative and virile workers.

We are examining the gainfully employed industrial workers in a single community. The industrial workers are found in three different types of industrial enterprises, with the work force in the earliest type of industrial enterprise conforming most closely to the three high strike rate criteria listed above, the work force in the latest conforming least.

Kerr and Siegel present a statement about the union forming a working class party in the isolated communities of high-strike rate industries, but this is so brief as to have no clear meaning. They may be suggesting that, in such areas, the union constitutes a political party pursuing goals, and that it is different from European socialist parties and the British labour party. But we do not know whether a union-working class party is for them a field for factional fights, or a faction within a larger national party, or just a local anti-management group.

Given the fact of local NDP successes, in order to use Kerr and Siegel's work, we would have to modify their ideas. While all unions may be, in some way "...a kind of working class party...", we would argue that a community centred around a high strike rate industry may, but need not, have a worker-oriented political party. The possibility of the union constituting a

"working class party" is irrelevant. Further, for an industrial and service city with an industrial past, like ours, it is possible for a community-oriented and worker-oriented socialistic party to become established, for the more middle-class immigrants to assimilate the established political views of the industrial workers. The opposite possibility also exists, for the immigrant low strike rate industrial workers and middle class to modify established political attitudes toward the more moderate, "ubiquitous middle class", pattern. Further, each group could manifest its unique pattern of attitudes and behaviour. Various combinations of these three possibilities can also occur.

It is necessary for us to note that, in our community, with its pair of elected legislators with peculiar qualities -- they are elected and salaried union officials -- the NDP is locally both a "worker" party, that is a party particularly accessible to active members of labor unions, and a socialistic party, that is, a party leaning heavily toward British, European and International social democracy. A "worker party" could be conservative, "small-l liberal", or radical. A socialistic party is one with some ideological commitments. We have no way of knowing, from the research material available, what the NDP is in the eyes of any particular voter.³

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3. For a discussion of the connections between various kinds of labor unionism and political behaviour, see Porter, John, The Vertical Mosaic, especially pages 314-318, "Social Movement and Market Unionism". To Porter, the former is more radical, the latter more conservative. Porter notes that the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its Canadian satellite, the Canadian Congress of Labor, were industrial unionist, and contained some socialistic and communistic ideological elements, tending more to radicalism, and social movement unionism. Their period of growth according to Porter was 1933 to 1940. Porter claims that labor radicalism was centered in Western Canada in the early part of the century, and that it was accompanied by a western agrarian radicalism. He further notes that in the West these manifested both a general denunciation of eastern financial interests, and a repudiation of eastern conservative craft unionism. Further points of importance noted by Porter are that the conservative TLC and the more progressive CCL were merged in 1956 into the Canadian Labor Congress, and that the NDP was formed in 1961 through the joint efforts of the C.C.F. and the Canadian Labor Congress. He states that "Finally organized labor was to have a political party to call its own." (p.317).

Returning to Kerr and Siegel, we note that, as with Marx, they are ascribing some qualities to work forces that are either the properties of individuals or of social positions occupied by individuals. However, we would have to measure the positions to find out if a work force is undifferentiated. The work force of any industrial enterprise might contain some jobs that demand tough, inconstant, combative, and virile workers, while others demand much more tractable workers.

Because of the lack of information made available by the company for the various positions in their work force, it is not possible to describe the distribution of job characteristics in the various enterprises. We cannot, for instance, do a thorough check on the impression we have that the logging work force has the attributes that Kerr and Siegel claim for loggers and other high strike rate industries.

There are, however, some descriptions of industrial work forces that seem to parallel closely the loggers and the pulp and papermill workers. These are the descriptions by Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter (1956:Ch.2) of coal miners, and by Blauner (1967:Ch. 6 and 7) of industrial chemical plant workers.

The basis on which the selection of these parallels is made is somewhat idiosyncratic. The writer has a relative who spent fifteen years as a hardrock miner, and a subsequent fifteen years with the same firm as a supervisor in an industrial chemical plant. Partly through conversations with this relative, but chiefly through reading and discussing industrial sociology, the writer feels that there are some general similarities between a number of "primary industry" jobs, particularly those involving the direct mechanical exploitation of nature. These jobs include logging, hardrock and coal mining, and some jobs in pockets of industrialized agriculture and fishing. They are similar when certain specific features are present; for instance, as neither management nor the worker is able to control the natural environment, the work milieu for these jobs, the lack of control often results in there being a number of uncertainties about the labor required for, and the productivity resulting from, a given day's work. This may lead to periodic and, in some cases, daily bargaining between management and workers.⁴

4. Cases of this bargaining are reported by Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter (1956:38). They note that about 1/2 of the underground

If there is this broad category of similar jobs in primary industry, it is because there are major similar features in the worklife of the miners mining coal, those mining ore, and the loggers falling trees. As mentioned, these men work in a natural milieu, and there are a large number of unpredictable elements, both in the natural materials that are the direct objects of their work, and other features of the work setting.

In combination, these require large numbers of decisions by the worker, who is responsible to and for himself for his work and conduct, much more than factory workers are.⁵ Also, both miners and loggers expend large amounts of physical energy in an ordinary day's work, and many of them may "work hard and play hard", to use a working men's expression, emerging as Kerr and Siegel's "tough, incontinent, combative and virile" workers.

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4. (cont'd) mine workers in Britain are "contract workers", i.e. they are engaged on piecework". After describing the various types of contract workers, they note (ibid.:1956) the consequence of this piece-work pay on labor-supervisor relations, stating:

"Colliers are normally paid on a piece-work basis, reckoned on agreed price-lists. This price-list is based on an assumption of normal working conditions, and for every circumstance which is abnormal the collier fights for concessions in his wages. All contract-workers work on similar principles..."

For further discussion on bargaining see the authors' note throughout that the bulk of the coalminers work in small teams, that the strong bonds often built up within these are a basis for worker solidarity with resultant effects on worker-supervisor relations. Supporting material has been supplied in casual conversation with my informant-relative. He said, "If you put a man at work underground, you can't have someone watching him to make sure he is working, so the simplest thing to do is put him on contract" (so many dollars for so many tons or cubic feet of rock mined). He went on to say, "If a miner doesn't think he can make double his basic daily rate, he is apt to feel that it will be a wasted day, and then he will be telling the foreman that he has a bad back that day. This is a good excuse, because even the doctor cannot question it."

5. See, for instance, the contrast between the miners and the board-plant workers, throughout Gouldner (1964).

Kerr and Siegel's assertion about homogeneity in high strike rate industries is undermined by gross differences in pay and work demands in many of these industries. Some of these differences are between the more able and the less able contract workers, others are between the contract workers and the hourly personnel. The differences are illustrated by the contrast between contract workers and day wage men, Dennis et al (1956:52) and of the importance of pay in prestige rating. (ibid.; 65).⁶ It would seem that, rather than arguing and attempting to support homogeneity as a mechanism producing a workforce with a particular pattern of strikes or political behaviour, the important condition would be a noticeable mass of skilled workers with many more opportunities to move up into the skilled occupational rank than opportunities to move above it. In support of this suggestion, we would refer the reader to the coal miners in "Coal is our Life", and to the fishermen in "The Fishermen" by Jeremy Turnstall. The fishermen are organized into very different work units from the coal miners. Each boat has a large concentration of semi-skilled men and, above these semi-skilled workers, a small number of occupants of highly-differentiated jobs. There are no full-time supervisors on a fishing boat, all supervisory work being done by worker-supervisors, individuals who both organize the work of others and operate the fishing equipment themselves. The skipper, the first and second mates, and the first engineer, are paid by formulas which separate them widely. Further, the demands of each of these jobs is quite distinct.

Turnstall reports that the fishermen support their union very poorly. There may be a causal connection between the organization of worker groups and the degree of loyalty to, and support of, the union.

In spite of our dissatisfaction with arguments about homogeneity presented by Kerr and Siegel, homogeneity is still a term that enables us to make somewhat crude but important differentiations between our community's work forces. There would be the smallest number of work force positions in the logging operations, there would be an intermediate number in the sawmills and plywood mill, and in the pulp and paper mill one would find the largest number of different work force positions.

6. On page 49 the authors note two men on contract earning two pounds five shillings each per shift; on pages 68 and 69 they specify the underground day wage was 24 shillings 11 pence; the surface day wage was 21 shillings 3 pence.

Further, as will be seen, worker groups in the pulp and paper mill are in many cases differentiated in a ranked hierarchy, ("chief operator, second operator, third operator, fourth operator...") with each man responsible to any member above him, and responsible for any member below him. They are not so ordered in the other enterprises.

A work force divided into a number of different arrays of ranked and hierarchical industrial worker positions, in a plant containing departments that are grossly dissimilar, constitutes the most extreme kind of heterogeneous work force, and this is what is found in the pulp and paper mill in our community. Generally the pulp and paper mill work force seemed at the opposite extreme from the logging operations in terms of Kerr and Siegel's work force characteristics, to the interviewer who had toured the various enterprises. The pulp and paper mill work force seemed not only clearly the most heterogeneous, but it was also less isolated from the public at large and more isolated within itself into pockets, and consisted of hierarchically organized work teams. Finally, the work force requirements, while diffuse, often seemed to be for workers who were even-tempered, and accepting of routine.

As we fitted the loggers to a type, so can we fit the pulp and paper mill workers. This mill seems to conform to the "continuous flow" type, along with oil refineries and industrial chemical plants. The type has been discussed by Blauner, who has studied some of its workers, and is also used by Woodward (1962:11). While the primary industry, logging, requires men to do hard work in a natural setting and accepts a lower level of formal education than most skilled workers, the pulp and paper mill requires men willing to serve as control instruments, working at a boring job, often with a responsibility for expensive machinery and valuable output. At the time of study, consideration for such jobs required a high level of formal education.

It must be borne in mind that we are incapable of making any statements about the character of the different work forces from solid and extensive material, and that we are making rough characterizations of these workforces from gross differences.

If forced to characterize the sawmill and plywood mill workforces, we would state that they seem to have some of the characteristics of the machine-minding jobs of the textile mills, and of the assembly-line jobs of the automobile assembly-line workers, as reported in Blauner (1967;Ch. 4 and 5).

While we would be able to produce and test hypotheses if we had the descriptive material on workforces, the material that we have can only be used to produce mild expectations, useful in orienting ourselves to a descriptive study. Our study is stimulated by earlier concepts of the character of industrial work forces, and these are not necessarily applicable to our community.

Class, Mass, and Worker Interest Group

From Marx, or from Kerr and Siegel, one would assume some level of both distinctiveness and uniformity with a local "working class" in a community such as ours. It is just as plausible to see workers in mid twentieth century North America as parts of mass society, differentiated to a greater or lesser degree from the average of the "mass". Such a mass society is presumably marked by mass-market consumer goods, mass communications, and to a lesser degree networks of social ties predominantly within the mass. (Members of the elite and of the "lumpenproletariat" or its near equivalent would be distinct from such a mass.) If the mass society view holds, members of the labor elite with good paying jobs and few dependents might frequently be found buying the kinds of cars bought by the "upper class" in small cities and by members of the professions in the rest of the country.

If one assumes that North America is most satisfactorily dealt with in terms of "mass society" or "mass culture", one would include much of the industrial work force in this mass, perhaps excluding those who move from welfare to industry to welfare, and similar marginals.

For the present work, we assume neither "class" nor "mass". Instead, we start with the fact of industrial workers who belong to worker interest groups, particularly labor unions. These unions are formal organizations with dues, membership lists, "legal personalities" and so on. They answer to their memberships to some degree, and they negotiate and contract various working conditions for these memberships. However, the ordinary

member can conduct his life year in and year out with little interest in, or awareness of, the union, unless there is a strike or near-strike. The question of interest to us is, to what degree do various kinds of the community's gainfully employed, primarily members of various unions, vote in favor of candidates of a socialistic party -- candidates with identities within the community as labor union salaried officials.

We are studying voting choices as a way of shedding light on these ideas from Marx and from Kerr and Siegel for a number of reasons. First, it is not expedient for a sociologist to propose that societies are either "type A" or "type B", either bourgeois or proletarian, in Marxian terms, and then attempt to fit a particular society, nation, or community into one of these two categories. Second, voting is an activity common to a large proportion of our respondents, and their voting choices are, in a "formally democratic"⁷ society, a most standardized item of behaviour. It is true that we cannot empirically ascribe a meaning to all the voting choices, but from the rates of NDP support, we can make comparisons between social aggregates, such as the young and the old, or between members of different formal organizations. It is also clear that by comparing differences in the rate of NDP support, we can see which social characteristics appear influential in the voting choices of those studied and which do not.

The main unresolved issue that comes from studying only the material at hand is that our explanations lack precision and completeness. We do not have adequate indicators of social participation before or at election time, of attitudes to political parties and programs, or specific candidates. We also do not know how people saw each of the local candidates in the election period, nor how this is connected to their views of the party in question, or the union to which they then belonged.

Of course, we must not ignore another logical possibility, that neither work force position nor other social characteristics will provide us with a strong basis for accounting for the voting choices. A view that some social characteristics, particularly "social reference affiliations", are generally not a determinant of the voting choices of Canadians is expressed as follows by Regenstreif (1965:24): "The personality orientations of Canadian parties is a functional ingredient of a political system in

7. By "formally democratic" is meant a society in which there is a general equality at the polls, whether or not there are gross differences in political influence and other aspects of political power.

which social reference affiliations are weak mediators of political loyalties." We should note, however, that the elections that we are examining lack powerful effective "charismatic" figures like St. Laurent, Diefenbaker and Trudeau. Diefenbaker was active in the Federal election in question, but he was no longer a powerful figure.

We have, moreover, a working class-oriented community -- that is, one that grew up on industry and its requirements for industrial labor, and one in which labor unions of the more radical type have been active. As a consequence, it would be extremely unlikely for us to find that "social reference affiliations" and particularly union membership, are "weak mediators of political loyalties" in a community that elects labor union officials to parliament and provincial legislature.

It is quite possible that Regenstreif's statement is not applicable to the election in question, since it had weak political figures, nor to the community in question, with an apparent high level of connections between social reference affiliations and voting choices.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY AND ITS SETTING

The major source of information used for this work is a body of questionnaire responses, including answers to questions about recent voting choices, from a sample of the community's gainfully employed. The sample material is from a study of "Work, Leisure, and Social Participation", the major tool of which was a 30 page questionnaire developed by Dr. Martin Meissner of University of British Columbia, the director of the research project. Since the material has been punched up on Hollerith cards it has been used extensively by Dr. Meissner and his students.

We have, in our sample, only residents who were gainfully employed, and the focus of interest was the connections between work and other aspects of social life. Voting choices will be looked at in this study as a dependent variable, and other aspects of social life will be regarded as independent or intervening variables -- as antecedent conditions which may help account for voting choices in some way.

The data that we are analysing in this work comes from a study only partly concerned with voting. We make some references to other studies, to illustrate the relevance to voting of the social characteristics studied. The rational connections between variables found in other studies are used cautiously as are our own after-the-fact explanations.

We should note that the casting of a vote for an MP or an MLA is itself an infrequent, solitary act, of only a few minutes' duration. Individual, isolated, standardized, and (practically speaking) simultaneous choices in the voting booth produce a cumulative (and sometimes surprising) effect. Because of the secrecy and simultaneousness of the vote (the polls close before results are released) none of the voters can adjust their voting choices to the results of the voting choices of others. This differentiates the electors from the MP's and MLA's, whose votes in the legislative chambers are not secret, and who are

involved in making and vocalizing a large number of political choices through a term of office. Further, the electors' voting choices are quite unlike most of the rest of their social behaviour. If one wishes to suggest that most social behaviour takes place within a "social structure", the marking of ballots would then have to be seen as behaviour deliberately set physically apart from the social structure. It takes place outside of the network of social ties, the pattern of rights and obligations, and the occupancy of social roles of the people concerned. This is not, of course, to say that voting choices cannot serve as indicators of predispositions for subsequent social choices.

A number of arguments for predictors of voting choices are available, but it would be very hard work to advance a plausible argument about a single "cause" for voting choices. Voting choices can reasonably be regarded as outcomes of various kinds of influences. This is the basis for our examination of voting choices and a variety of preconditions.

The Community

The "community", or concentration of population, is a relatively isolated one, consisting at the time of the interviews of some 20,000 people. To reach it, one turns off a major highway with its ribbon of settlements, cities, and towns, and travels some thirty miles along a lesser highway, mostly through an unpopulated area. If one continues along this lesser highway past our community, the highway becomes a gravel road, and it is some forty miles before other small settlements are encountered. The road soon ends altogether. For further discussion of the area, see pages 5 and 6 of "Technical Characteristics of the Data" in Appendix A.

In his previous work on the community, Meissner has assigned the community the name of "Millport". Two of its major visible features are the ocean going vessels in its port, and its mills -- a giant paper mill, two sawmills, and a plywood mill, arrayed along the waterfront.

The "community" consists of the residents of an incorporated area, and a further population scattered in ribbons and pockets within a ten mile radius of the urban center. Census tables show the total population of the urban incorporated area as slightly over fifteen thousand in 1961. The four surrounding census areas, approximately covering the rest of the "community", show a further population of some four thousand two hundred. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics.)

Scrutiny of a provincial government map, dated 1966, shows an urban population of 18,550 and some 6,200 others in the rest of the area in question.

Because of the form of presentation of census data, detailed census information is only available for part of our population. Since this part cannot be claimed to be representative, we can make no statements about the proportion of the community's work force by type of work, religion, or age group. The material presented in "Technical Characteristics", comparing Millport to Bigcity, in fact only treats half of the population of the Millport community. We do not have equivalent information about the other half.

The community is in a geographic region dominated by mountains presently or formerly covered with trees, and long-denuded valleys turned to farms and residential areas. Writing of this geographical region many years ago, Darryll Forde (1964:71) stated:

This damp and mild climate makes possible the most luxuriant forest growth in North America. Tall, straight-trunked evergreens such as spruce, hemlock and cedar often over two hundred and fifty feet high, clothe the mountains for several thousand feet and reach right down to the shore.

Fish, and to a lesser degree the forests, allowed for the growth in this region of pre-Columbian population materially the richest north of Yucatan. If the forests were not now exploited, our community would only exist as a fishing and Indian center, and it would be much, much smaller.

We have referred to the "community". Why have we used quotation marks around the term? What does the term "community" mean? Community is one of those words used variously in the social sciences. Let us develop a sound but extreme definition, and then see how closely our population matches this. The extreme definition that we start from is that, for a physically-circumscribed population to be a "community" two criteria must be met: it must be exclusive, and it must be inclusive. By exclusive we mean that it must be both physically and socially distinct, so that a circumscribing line can be drawn, across which line the interaction is notably less intense than is the interaction within. Secondly, "inclusive" is intended to indicate that, for the bulk of its members, the "community" must be inescapable, and these members must be inescapable from one another.

It must have some of the quality of the goldfish bowl; very few of the community's members can be allowed the privilege of anonymity. Moreover, community membership must dominate subcommunities, strata, and factions, for a community to meet this extreme definition.

"Rural-Urban" were the distinctions of community used by Regenstreif (1965:14, 33, 37, 38, 94-95) in studying voter choices. Moving from one of these categories to the other, important differences appear, including differences in the variety of the mass media, the social issues at stake, and the distribution of the gainfully employed among an array of occupations. One of the major differences, however, is a difference in the network of social ties and the connection of these to employment. The population that we are studying does not constitute a "rural community", neither is it a metropolitan population. Tonnies' writing on *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* has been translated as "Community" and "Association", and "community" is often used to indicate a population in which primary group social relations predominate. On the other hand, Floyd Hunter has entitled his study of a large city of half a million, "Community Power Structure".

Some discussion of "communities" is provided by Frankenberg (1966) in his comparative study. He argues that, for the bulk of the working-class residents of a particular Welsh village he had studied earlier in Village on the Border, social participation in various community activities was obligatory, with an unavoidable involvement in factions. This contrasts sharply with the aloofness and paucity of community-wide social activities that Manning Nash (1967) reported for a Latin American community. In the community he studied, which he named Cantel, Nash (1967:98) seems to note the first of three major aspects of what we might call "social personality" that is, personality as a manifestation of style of social relationships -- placidity, gossip and secretiveness. The characteristic of placidity is indicated in his statements: "in normal social interaction such as a chance meeting on the street, in public gatherings while sober, when anyone not of the household may observe them, Cantalenses are reserved and undemonstrative" and "this absence of emotional demonstrativeness is a quality which permeates all public or visible social relations". The second feature is indicated by Nash's (1967:100) statement: "Cantalenses are continually preoccupied with scandal and gossip. A neighbor's good or at least neutral opinion is sought after and highly valued". These two attributes, hand in hand with two more statements (ibid.:101) indicate

the secretiveness we have mentioned. "Cantalenses are not open and frank in conversing with each other, but neither are they devious or cunning". "No one but a parent or sibling can be trusted with a confidence". Together, these three attributes add up to a rather highly inhibited pattern of community social interaction. Nonetheless, there is a "community" within which this interaction takes place, and which is inescapable for the bulk of its residents; just as inescapable, if not more so, than the Welsh community studied by Frankenberg. In each case, the community's structure manifested social relationships marked by what Frankenberg calls "redundancy". The idea he denotes by this term is a rather basic one: the bulk of the community members relate to one another in a number of ways, and whenever they encounter one another, they take these manifold relations into account. For instance, a store-keeper and a farmer-customer would not have a simple buyer-seller relationship. In discussing another piece of work, Frankenberg (1966:52) writes:

"Even a business transaction is a social event," says Rees (page 96). Perhaps he should have said a business transaction especially is a social event, for the courtesies and apparent irrelevancies surrounding exchange in a society based on reciprocity provide an instance of what I will later describe as social redundancy, without which it would be a different sort of society.

In comparing Nash's community with the one discussed by Frankenberg, it seems that the differences might be called those of style of social interaction, (which we called "social personality"). The communities are similar in terms of our other criteria; they are inescapable for their residents, and they are somewhat like goldfish bowls. Most community members must take account of each other as totalities, in each community. However, we would point out that the differences are also those between a population whose members can develop a normal pattern of being "tough, inconstant, combative and virile", to repeat Kerr and Siegel's phrase, and a population that cannot. This difference points up the necessity of intensive study of a community social structure for a complete study of the connections between social structures, social characteristics, attitudes, and voting choices.

The existence of communities with such characteristics is obviously dependent on low levels of physical mobility into and out of the areas in

question. Our community not only has a history of rapid growth (rates of growth for part of the urban area are discussed by Meissner in Appendix A), it also has a rather high level of emigration. Of the 462 attempted interviews with the gainfully employed, twenty-eight (or 6 per cent) had left the community in the five to seven months between directory census and interviewing. Further material on mobility can be found below, in discussion of length of community residence.

The concept of community presented above is a rather narrow one, but it does provide a basis for grasping some important characteristics of our isolated population which we have been calling a "community". First, of course, it is physically and socially distinct. Further, in some ways it meets the criteria we have specified for being "exclusive"; in spite of a high level of immigration and emigration, and a lot of moving around in cars on weekends and days off, it would appear to be a "community" for a notable number of its residents. Also the population is quite highly oriented to regional, provincial, and national identities, possibly more than to community ones. As for being inclusive, the community is not this. Managers, technicians and supervisors are probably most frequently bound to the company first, by career interests and life style among other things. They are subject to transfer to other enterprises, and for many the aspiration is ultimately to head office. They are much less oriented to the community than we would expect of managers of an industrial firm with a single physical community setting containing all its enterprises and offices. This possibility is enhanced by a lack of any apparent company interest in the community. The firm appears to have sponsored no community projects or facilities, unlike many other industrial corporations. Money the firm spends on "worthy causes" is directed to "Bigcity". The company seems tied to the community only through taxes and the presence of "community members" at its "enterprises". As to the inclusiveness affecting the unionized company personnel, the single ones may often orient themselves to places where there are more girls, that they can impress with their cars. A worker can be just as aloof from local ties as a manager.

After reading Middletown and especially the Lynd's (1956:272) discussion of patterns of friendship and elaborating from other reading and personal observation, one is led to suggest that managers and those above the "industrial worker" jobs may be obligated by the demands of the firm, as well as the nature of their work, to establish and sustain sizeable numbers of friendly casual ties. Further, "people" are more often work-objects for those in this category than for industrial workers, and the former may in some cases be aided in, remunerated, or compensated for, this "people work". For instance, one mill contains a "foreman's club",⁸ with free banquets once every three months.

The union member has no such obligations, and may have fewer such opportunities, because of the pressure of his work. In addition, having lower income, less security and commitment, less training in the "bon-hommie" accompanying some middle class formal organizations like Lions and Rotary Clubs, he may have even more possibility of aloofness and anonymity within the community.

In short, on the basis of interviewing experience within the community, we assert that there is no "working class" as an integrated, distinct group, nor is there a "working class" of a distinct and exclusive social stratum. There may be a body of workers in the company work force that are somewhat differentiated from the rest of the gainfully employed in the community, but they are differentiated mainly by the unions they belong to or by the contracts they are covered by, and little, if at all, by any class homogeneous life style or class exclusive network of social ties.

Of course, this observation implies recognition of the fact that the community life of our population is the life of members of a population of 20,000. No one can know, or know of, most of the other residents, as he might in a community of 100 or perhaps in one of 2,000. This leads to the next point.

While the possibility of anonymity within one's strata can be seen as a condition preventing the workers from constituting a "class",⁸ the

8. Much as Marx (1948:148) said of the peasants' individuation, "In this way, the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes."

anonymity between social strata, made possible by large "community" size, has an opposite effect. The more that managers and supervisors, and those hierarchically above the unionized work force, are isolated from the unionized work force by the large size of their respective groups and the total community population, the less their attitudes and views are likely to become integrated into something that might be called community opinion, and the less likelihood there is of the members of the unionized work force being constrained by this opinion. A bloc of union members in a setting such as ours can more easily develop a complex, durable, (perhaps rational) set of ideas and understandings favorable to union members' interests, and critical of management and ownership.

While we have found that our community does not fit the narrow and rigorous definition we have suggested as an extreme one, we have also shed some light on just what our population is like. Any future reference to our population as a community accepts the characteristics of our population as just stated.

The Industry

The population studied is in an area dominated by forests, and the cause of its presence is the exploitation of these forests. Fishing is much less important as a source of gainful employment. The community has a single major employer, a forest products firm. This firm operates two sawmills, a plywood mill, and a pulp and paper mill, all located along the waterfront of the incorporated area. It also has two logging operations in the immediate hinterland. Almost all workers in each of these operations are "members of the community" for our purposes. Exceptions include the occasional commuter living fifteen or twenty miles from the community. One major feature differentiating the gainfully employed community members is the loggers' time-consuming daily trips to and from work, which allow them less time in the "community" than the other gainfully employed usually have. The firm also has other logging operations in the vicinity. The workers in these operations do not ordinarily live in the community, so they are not "community members". Logs are transported from these other operations to help feed the mills in the community.

Locally, the company is a result of mergers and absorption of smaller, "private enterprise" operations, into the present, overwhelming, "corporate enterprise" with head offices in "Bigcity". The company also follows major technological changes, the concentration of capital in progressively more massive plant, and the increase in manufacturing that accompanies the increasing utilization of former "waste". The capital intensive plant typically involves higher and higher investment per employee, and per dollar of sales. Furthermore, the capital intensiveness is not confined to the gigantic pulp and paper mill (the most recent of the mills), it extends to the work of the logger. In the 1950's the gasoline-powered chainsaw was introduced, and the work of falling and bucking trees, formerly dominated by human muscle power, became a matter of the application of inanimate, capital intensive, power, along with most of the previous human judgement skills. While rail transport from the community to the western Canadian market is comparatively expensive, ocean transport to other world markets is comparatively cheap and the firm offers its local products on the world market.

The firm has no local purchaser for the bulk of its output, nor has it a local competing producer. Most of the men that want to live in the community and work in the forest industry have only one choice of employer. Most of the other gainfully employed can be seen as working under the shadow of, or in jobs subsidiary to the operation of, the main industrial firm. The only exceptions seem to be an Indian reservation and a fishing industry, which overlap somewhat, and an Indian residential school.

Logging is, of course, the primary, extractive step in the company's industrial production. Its typical workers, like most workers in primary industry, are not found in factories, but rather in a "natural" setting, working both "in" nature and "on" nature. By contrast, the typical workers in the firm's other local enterprises are "factory workers", and while at their workplaces confront socially-produced technology, relatively isolated from the forces and materials of nature.

There are gross differences in the major features of the "typical jobs" for each of the types of operation, and a large part of our analysis separates the major industrial employer's workforce by "type of enterprise".

The Enterprises

There are six "enterprises" or "operations" of the firm in the community and its adjacent area. Each of them is physically and administratively distinct. They are:

- > two logging operations, whose employees work a number miles from the urban center;
- two sawmills;
- a plywood mill;
- a pulp and paper mill.

As already mentioned, all the enterprises in the second, third, and fourth groups are located along the waterfront in the urban area. The firm itself is organized administratively into five large divisions, and the "enterprises" are included within three of these. The divisions are:

- (a) Logging Division - concerned with operations listed in the first category above;
- (b) Wood Products Division - concerned with the manufacture of "wood products". Locally this means the output of the sawmills and the plywood mill, listed in the ~~second~~ and third categories;
- (c) Pulp and Paper Division - includes the operation of the various pulp and paper mills of the firm.

The firm must also be seen as running an "integrated" operation, in which "business efficiency" is used not only to divide the firm administratively, but also to link the different parts physically where this meets the firm's overall interests. Some logs go to the pulp and paper mill. Others go to the wood products mills, and their waste goes to the pulp and paper mill. One of the sawmills has no steam plant, and uses steam from another mill.

Each of the six enterprises has a heterogeneous work force -- a tendency most marked in the pulp and paper mill. We assume that each of the paired operations (in the first two numbered categories above) has a technology, an allocation of work, and an administration closely parallel to that of its partner, and that the plywood mill is similar to the sawmills in these ways. We also assume that, generally speaking, most jobs in one of these operations have an equivalent job in its partner.

Most industrial jobs are unpleasant⁹ in some way; the workplace is too fast, the work is monotonous, the workplace is uncomfortably cold, hot, dusty, dirty, wet or noisy. An impressionistic evaluation of the relative unpleasantness of the different operations would put the logging operations at the most unpleasant end of the scale, except in good weather. The two sawmills, with high levels of noise, dust, dirt and water would be next. The plywood mill, with a lot of dust around an otherwise reasonably pleasant atmosphere would be somewhat better. And the pulp and paper mill, or at least its central part, where everything is clean and painted, and the noise level is moderate, would be the least unpleasant.

A strong indicator of "unpleasantness" is the incidence of industrial accidents, including those leading to death. Throughout the industrialized world, it appears, the working conditions involving workers confronting a natural environment with advanced technological tools show the higher accident rates: mining, fishing, logging, agriculture, etc. Where the environment is totally controlled by technology, as in a factory, business and government rationality are, in mid-twentieth century, more easily applied to protect the worker and the work process from industrial accidents. By comparison, the worker in the natural setting is more frequently in a situation where personal judgment and awareness are basic devices he must ordinarily use to protect himself from environmental hazards in the face of other work demands. Trees fall less often on sawmill workers than they do on loggers, partly because they fall more where the loggers work. Generally speaking, we would claim that the dangerous and unpleasant jobs are most often logging division jobs, least often pulp and paper mill jobs.

Within a single firm, there may be noticeable differences between operations that might be assumed to be similar by the casual observer. Theodore Purcell (1960) has noted several differences between three different packing plants, all owned by the same company, and all in the U.S. midwest. Some of the differences he notes include or produce differences in the work and life of the workers, for instance, differences in job security.

9. Our claim that the jobs are unpleasant does not mean that we have overlooked the attractions of the virile jobs. Many of these involve hard physical labor, the challenge and variety of working in a natural setting, and the worker-controlled pacing of skilled jobs without the necessity of craftsman training. These jobs may provide their incumbents with strong, positive, self-images, and they may be attractive, especially to the young men in such com-

A check with a company official has led to the information that personnel are circulated within each division if they are in non-union jobs, but that seniority lists, exclusive to each enterprise, rule this out for unionized positions. Thus workers with seniority don't usually transfer from one enterprise to another. While we have no knowledge of whether one mill or logging operation is seen as a "better" place to work than its parallel enterprise, we can nonetheless assume that the range of jobs overlaps more within a pair of enterprises than it does between enterprises of different types. This sort of assumption eliminates the problem of comparing all jobs between grouped enterprises; each enterprise has a heterogeneous work force, and each group of enterprises has, perhaps, a more heterogeneous work force.

The outstanding concern that the differences between enterprises might produce is over the possible lack of typical voting choice patterns within groups of enterprises. Preliminary investigation of our data indicated that there is no problem here; within a group of enterprises of the same "type" the same voting pattern tends to prevail for the workers in our sample (Appendix E).

We will be able to compare the sample's voting patterns between types of operations and within these types. We will not know positively from such comparisons why voting patterns are similar or different, but we will know whether they are similar or different. There is the possibility that, in the case of small samples, the sample for a type may be more representative of the work forces of that type than are the samples of the individual enterprises comprising it. We have no way of investigating the representativeness of the samples. We choose to treat types of enterprise rather than individual enterprises, partly for the above reasons, partly for reasons of convenience.

Before we use this division of workforces by "types of enterprise", however, we will be using other, more gross divisions. Our main focus of interest is in what we call, somewhat imprecisely, the "industrial worker" work force. This bloc is actually the unionized workers, largely production and maintenance men, but includes "service" workers like clerks

9. (cont'd) munities. Nonetheless, we regard the jobs as involving unpleasant working conditions, and often subjectively so for the individual with a blocked future who has worked at one of them for fifteen years or more.

and technicians, working for the major industrial employer in the industrial enterprises. A somewhat arbitrary line results, which would separate unionized clerical workers not attached administratively to one of the "enterprises" from those that are so attached. Inspection of preliminary tables shows that there are no voting "union, company" employees that are not part of the "enterprises". For our purposes "industrial workers" are only, and all of, the unionized company work force in the local enterprises.

Apart from this industrial work force of union-company-enterprise personnel, there are three other categories of gainfully employed in the sample. The first of these is the "union-non company" group; longshoremen, construction laborers, barbers, schoolteachers, and so on. The second category is the "non union-company" group: foremen, supervisors, managers, engineers, and so on. The third group is the "non union-non company" group, which probably includes the bulk of the self-employed, all managers and supervisors outside the major industrial firm, and unorganized parts of the clerical, sales and "service" work forces.

These three categories are each quite heterogeneous, comprise small numbers of workers, and hardly any further statements can be made to define them or differentiate between them. Apart from an examination of the differences in their rate of NDP support¹⁰ they will not be studied.

Concerning the union-company work force, we should note that, just as administrative acts have created strong but somewhat artificial social positions, or statuses, in various parts of the world (for instance, the Canadian government decides by bureaucratic criteria whether an individual is an "Indian status person", and thus assigns him all sorts of special and artificial legal and administrative qualities), so owner-management consent to the existence, legitimacy, and jurisdiction of labor unions has created the clear, occasionally very strong, and somewhat artificial positions of "union members", in the operations of the major employer. These positions are inescapable for the employee of the major employer who does not wish to leave his employment and has not been raised to a

10. See Appendix B Table 3.

non union job. One is either a union man or a non union man as a result of a union-management social arrangement beyond the control of the individual. This arrangement results in the inclusion within the union category of those who do not particularly like the union they belong to, and perhaps some who actively hate their union. A similar arbitrariness may have produced some individuals in the union-non company group who have accepted lower management jobs, who do them adequately, but who prefer the protection of a union and resent being denied this protection.

The main interest in the union-company-enterprise work force provides us with one bloc of a large number of workers employed by a single firm. These workers are covered by one of two joint contracts, each of which covers large blocs of workers and employers.

The Unions

There is one union, of the CIO sort, covering the bulk of the unionized workers in the company work force. This union is the International Woodworkers of America, which grew partly out of such radical labor movements as the One Big Union and the International Workers of the World, but more out of the formation and growth of industrial unions in the 1930's. It contracts for all of the organized workers in four out of the six company enterprises, for the bulk of the organized workers in the fifth, and for none of the workers in the Pulp and Paper mill. The bodies of workers it covers are characteristically unskilled and semi-skilled, in terms of any formal training in a trade or craft, and these workers were, before the successes of this union, in the more insecure and unstable section of the industrial work force.

The steam plant of one of the sawmills contains workers who are not covered by the IWA, but by the Operating Engineers union, which we will call a quasi-craft industrial union. For the steam plant workers covered by this union, physical labor is not a characteristic job demand. Instead, attentiveness, the ability to do a "responsible" job, and technical expertise, including the passing of government examinations for some positions, are major job requirements.

The pulpmill workers are covered by other unions. A "mixed" union, which negotiates both craft and industrial contracts, contracts for a small number of pulp and paper mill craft employees. This is the IBEW, the Electrical Workers' union.

Between the election and the survey, another union was certified and negotiated for a small number of workers. Since membership in it was not in effect at the time of the election, its members must be ignored, but little is lost in any case. Two industrial unions cover the bulk of the unionized work force in the pulp and paper mill. The first is concerned with men directly operating paper making machinery, the United Papermakers and Paperworkers union which is called here the Papermakers union, while the second covers a much larger number of men throughout the rest of the plant, the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' union, called here the Pulp, Sulphite union.

The three major unions have had different histories in the province at large, in the more immediate area containing the community, and in the community itself. The IWA has had a history of socialistic, communistic and "business union", or to use Porter's phrase, "market unionism", factions, factional fights and policy switches. A rough idea of the complexity of this history can be gained by looking at Phillips' (1967: 131-134, 141-143) report on this history. The IWA has also had a history of ups and downs in organizing and holding logging camps and mills in the area. It has, however, been in a quite secure position as certified agent for the company workers in the community and district, for at least the last 15 years, while its activities in the area cover a span of some 30 years. (Source: telephone conversation with a union official, spring 1969).

The Pulp, Sulphite union has from the start of the pulp mill, been the agent for the work force it covers. It signed up workers and was certified, when the pulpmill started operating in the early 1950's. This pattern was repeated by the Papermakers union when the first paper machine went into operation in the mid 1950's. In each case, the master contract in effect for the industry applied to the work force of the part of the mill in question. At interview time, then, these unions had had about 12 years and 10 years respectively, of successful activity in the community.

The Electrical Workers union covered workers in a small section of a sawmill before the pulp mill was built. This section was closed down when the pulp mill was opened, and the Electrical Workers union have since contracted only for the workers in their trade in the pulp and paper mill. They have been active in the community for a noticeably longer

period than the Pulp, Sulphite union.

The Operating Engineers are regarded by the IWA as a "bad" union; they raided the IWA in the middle of the last decade (Phillips, 1967:152). As a consequence, they are not acceptable as members of the Canadian Labor Congress, the British Columbia Federation of Labor, or the regional federation of labor. They therefore are in a position of dubious legitimacy on the local scene.

There are two main joint contracts between management and labor covering the bulk of the company work force in the community. Each is a master contract, covering a number of employers and a number of plants in a large geographical area. The one negotiated by the IWA with an employers' association covers the bulk of all unionized workers in logging, sawmill, and plywood mill plants in a region, a major part of the province. The two main pulp and paper mill unions together negotiate, with another employers' association, a master contract covering workers in a number of plants throughout the province. These two master contracts, the negotiation of new master contracts, and the character of the firm (both locally and "at the top") are the dominant features in the work lives and work climate of the bulk of the community's gainfully employed. The company's unionized personnel in the other two smaller unions are covered by contracts almost identical to the master agreements mentioned above, negotiated after the larger unions sign an agreement. The employees of the firm working above the unionized jobs must have their conditions of work and pay set with some reference to the union contracts, if we assume rationality on the part of higher management. Many of the same standards for evaluating jobs would be applied by management to non union jobs, although bargaining strength of unions, an "irrational" element in bargaining, would obviously be absent. Community residents in work paralleling that done in industry have their working conditions and pay set in a labor market dominated by the two master contracts. Those that have jobs not paralleled in industry may still have their attitudes and standards vis-a-vis pay, a day's work, unions and so on, and the attitudes and standards of their employers, affected by the conditions and negotiating of the two master contracts.

An effect of the integration of all the company's operations in the community and two master contracts, is that the negotiation of one master agreement is in terms of matters of importance to one organization and membership, but the workers in the plants covered by the other master agreement are affected by any strike that may ensue. The bargaining of the pulp and paper master agreement may affect the jobs of the loggers and sawmill workers, and vice versa. The structuring of power may thus allow for the development of hostility of the IWA membership toward the pulp and paper mill unions, and of hostility of the pulp and paper mill union memberships toward the IWA.

For the bulk of the workers in the major firm, union membership has not been voluntary for some years. As a result of earlier collective bargaining agreements, membership is obligatory for those covered by joint contracts. For these people it is a condition of employment that they belong to the union negotiating the conditions of work for their jobs. By contrast, the supervisory, managerial, administrative and similar personnel, are generally forbidden union membership, although membership in non-contracting professional associations is allowed. There may be a grey area in which those recently promoted to supervisory positions still retain some union status and have some union protection. Such conditions, of course, affect our expectations of union members' voting choices. If the unions were in a relatively insecure position vis-a-vis management, one might expect quite a high level of support generally from union members, and of union-connected political candidates. But since one can become employed, join the union, and work as a union member for years, without the union having any visible effect upon one's life, other than the deduction of fees and the supplying of a membership card, we cannot have the same expectation of general worker interest in, and high loyalty to, their unions. Since union membership and fee-paying is positively sanctioned by management -- presumably the enemies of the unions -- there is a lower level of worker interest necessary for the union to survive than there would be if the union had to gain acceptance from workers on its own. Unions in such situations may have a large proportion of generally apathetic members, rather than a large proportion of militant ones. The possibility of apathy is furthered in our community by working

conditions being relatively good, and the wages being high by comparison with both industry elsewhere in North America and non-industrial work.

To the worker who is not disposed to crediting the unions with this situation or evaluating it as a favorable one, the unions need not be a beneficial feature of his social milieu. Quite possibly, before membership and dues-payment were condoned and assisted by management, the worker might more often be faced with the choice of being positively-disposed toward the union or leaving for a work situation which allowed him freedom. If this is so, the enterprises established earlier, and the long-term resident workers, would show notably higher preferences for the union officials who are NDP candidates -- although such a finding might also be a result of other preconditions.

We should note that the personnel of the major employer may have a high rate of upward mobility out of the unionized workforce and into foremen and supervisor jobs. Because of the variation in the intensity of past loyalties and in the security and the pleasantness of these jobs, it is difficult to have any strong expectation of the degree of NDP support among such non union company personnel. Further, the category of these non union company personnel includes supervisory ex-union members, technical and managerial staff, whose heterogeneity of background makes them a group that cannot be anticipated or easily studied.

The other problematic element in developing an expectation of NDP support among non union company personnel is the degree to which the company is regarded as an entity that should be somewhat further controlled in certain ways by a government, particularly an NDP government. That is, to what degree do supervisors and managers' interests overlap with the company's interests, and to what degree are these divergent, allowing the supervisor or manager to vote NDP?

Community Political Representation

As noted above, at the time of the study, both the MP and the MLA sitting from the constituencies including our population were members of the New Democratic Party. They were also both residents of the community, the largest concentration of population within the constituencies. This party is the successor to the CCF, a socialist party which developed in the depression. In addition to a change in name, in the recent past, the party has manifested a recent drift "to the right" or at least from the left, much like that of the British labor party and the German social

democrat party. The major feature in this drift is the partial repudiation of an early, radical, set of policies, and the substitution of a milder set. In 1933 The First National Convention adopted the statement, "We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production are owned, controlled and operated by the people." (Regina Manifesto, see Appendix C.). In 1956 these sentiments were modified to a statement that our political democracy "...will attain its full meaning only when our people have a voice in the management of their economic affairs and effective control over the means by which they live" (Winnipeg Declaration, see Appendix C). While the party is not clearly and unequivocally "radical" in terms of its policies or in the public image it presents (a recent book on it is entitled "A Protest Movement Becalmed"), it seems relatively left of center. Perhaps it can be called "socialistic" now that it is not clearly "socialist".

The two elected NDP legislators had had careers in the local labor union movement and both of them have served as salaried officials of the IWA, the largest union active in the area. The characteristic pattern for such men is from unpaid union work while gainfully employed in a unionized job, to a paid, elected, position as a union official, at the same time generating some sort of a base of community and party support by community participation, before moving the third step to Parliament or Legislature.

Because of the electoral successes of these men, we might suggest that the unionized workers in the community and constituency frequently vote as though there is some considerable overlap between their on-the-job interests and their general interests as community residents, taxpayers, citizens, and voters. Some other possibilities would be that the workers vote for the men that they know, and they know union officials better than the candidates of other parties, and, the most important interests or the most pressing interests at election time are interests that deal with the company, or the union, or both. We are tempted to regard NDP voting choices as manifesting support for a party of an ideological character. For our community, this is more plausible than seeing voting choices as customary or habitual, as idiosyncratic, as a result of charismatic

influence, or as a manifestation of support for an individual candidate.¹¹ However, we have no evidence showing directly why our voters choose the candidate or party that they do; so we must restrict ourselves to finding the frequencies with which different types of voters choose various candidates and parties, and avoid unsupported explanations.

The possibility of representing the Liberal party as a "center" party, and the Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties as both "right-wing" parties, albeit different from one another, is somewhat irrelevant to the main treatment of the empirical data from our community.¹² However, this is also dealt with in the treatment of voting consistency in Appendix B.

The Sample

As already mentioned, the data we are examining comes from 308 completed interviews of gainfully-employed community residents. The original interest, before the sample was drawn, was chiefly in the personnel of a major industry. This led to a large "company" sample and a smaller, non-company, "general", or "other", sample. By manipulation, the company and non-company samples can be used as representative of the total gainfully employed in the community.¹³ Since the "other" sample is representative of a much broader range of occupations than the "company" sample, and is also smaller, it is not particularly useful by itself. However, it could be very useful in providing, in combination with the "company" sample, a population representative of the total community workforce.

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11. A high rate of immigration would suggest that customary voting is a weak explanation. Voting consistency, examined in Appendix B, and the position of the candidates in an anti-elite bureaucracy, together weaken arguments for idiosyncratic, charismatic, and individual candidate support as explanations of voting behaviour in our community.
 12. Peter Newman (1963:182) has argued, for instance, that the Progressive Conservative party under Diefenbaker attempted to move to the left of the Liberals.
 13. For a fuller discussion of this matter, see Appendix A.

We can now refer to Appendix A and present the following summary:

TABLE 1.
GAINFULLY EMPLOYED COMMUNITY MEMBERS, BY EMPLOYER

	<u>Company</u>	<u>Non-company</u>	<u>Total</u>
Listed in Directory as Working	3687	4523	8210
Drawn in Sample (attempts)	347	115	--
Interviews Completed	239	69	308
Weighting Factor Applied	1	4	--
Number After Weighting	239	276	515

This table is not clearly self-explanatory. The "weighting" procedure can be accounted for by the following additional computed figures:

"company" directory community gainfully employed - 45 per cent;
of sample after "weighting factor applied" - 46.4 per cent.

From these computations we can see that there is a very small difference between the proportions of the company and non-company members in the community and in the directory work forces (the first and last lines of the table).

The sixty-nine non-company "interviews completed" did not all start in this category. While 239 of the completed interviews were with people both listed in the directory as "company" and so employed, and 58 were with people both listed and employed in the "non-company" category, 11 interviews were with individuals who had left the company's employ, to become non-company by the time of the interview. This constitutes a movement of between 4 and 5 per cent (11 of the 250 completed interviews that resulted from the "company" sample), away from the company to the non-company work force in the five to seven months between directory census and time of interview. This is surely the predominant pattern of mobility between these two "work forces": into the community, to work for the major industrial employer, and subsequently for a percentage of these people, to other employment -- in some cases their own businesses. From these findings, we presume a much lower rate of movement from "other" to "company" work force.

It is of note that, of the 347 names drawn by random sample techniques to produce the company sample, 250 resulted in completed interviews. On the other hand, of the 115 drawn to produce the non-company sample, 58 were completed. While the first sample was 72 per cent "fruitful", the second

was only 50 per cent or so. The data available in Table 2 of Appendix A, showing the reasons for incompleting interviews, is clearly of less use than it would be had such data also been presented for "company" and "non-company" samples separately.

We are fortunate that it is the non-company sample that has the higher incomplete rate, since it will be examined much less fully.

The union-company work force is our major interest. While we could not find the total number of union-company personnel in the directory, we could compare the number of company personnel in the directory with the number of randomly-selected company personnel with whom interviews were completed.

There were 3687 of these individuals in the directory, and they yielded 239 completed interviews. Interviews were thus completed with $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the directory's company work force.

It is partly because of the difficulty of abstracting community social structure from the material gained from this $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent that the study of social structure as presented in industrial ethnographies (such as Nash (1967) and Dennis et al (1956)), cannot be effectively covered in this work. For fuller discussion of this matter, see Chapter 6.

As noted in Appendix A, in this particular study those who had moved outside of the community were not replaced in the selected sample, nor were those who had become temporarily or permanently unemployed. This technique has likely had favorable effects for the analysis of networks of social ties in the community, since those with less than five months' residence (and presumably a low level of social involvement) were not considered, but it is unfortunate for the analyst of voting behaviour. As a result of non-replacement we are forced also to exclude those who were not living in the community at the time of the Federal election, since the number of voters in this group is too small for separate analysis. We have no way of detecting difference in voting patterns of "transients" (i.e. short-term community residents), and middle and long-term residents. If there is or was an atypically high or low incidence of support for the NDP among the transient work force, we will not be able to find it from the present data. Of those that show at least "two years residence" some may have

been new to the community at voting time, but they have remained in the community two years at the time of interview, and they were no longer transients. As a result we are dealing only with people who had become relatively stable community members by survey time.

The losses to our sample that are a result of this somewhat unusual technique of non-replacement are presented in Appendix A.

The incompletes consisted of 69 refusals, 16 inaccessible, and 69 no longer qualified (i.e. not in sample), for a total of 154 failed attempts.

The 69 not in sample which we term no longer qualified, constitute 45 per cent of the incompletes, and 15 per cent of the originally drawn 462 names.

Any person not gainfully employed at the time of the directory census could have been excluded from the directory pool. This census was done in the winter, the time of highest unemployment. It is quite possible that some of those showing a tendency to "casual" work would be eliminated from our sample by having no employment or occupation listed in the directory.

Voting, Stated Voting Choices, and Accounting for Voting

Our voting choice information consists of reported choices favoring the candidates of the four major parties who ran in the constituency in the 1963 Federal election. In this work, we are only concerned with the number of NDP voters and their proportion of the total voters, in connection with various social characteristics, except in Appendix B.

There are a number of responses other than reported choices in favor of the major parties' candidates. These include various kinds of ineligibility as a local voter, and categories in which the respondent did not vote, could not remember how he voted, and voted for a candidate other than those of the four major parties. These responses are only noted in Appendix B, although they are largely irrelevant to our work.

We regard a vote in favor of the NDP as a choice for the party, its program, its candidate, or any combination of these three elements. The party is a bearer of an ideology -- it is much more an ideology based party than any of the other three parties.¹⁴ While we do not know why any individual voted for the NDP candidate, we do regard a voting choice for the NDP as in fact favoring a party whose platform advocates restraints by government on the powerful in the business world, "social justice" and

14. See Appendix C for the ideological documents of the CCF, precursor of the NDP.

advancing the interests of "typical workers" against those of "typical managers and owners". We do not regard an NDP vote as necessarily a vote for the "proletariat" and against the "bourgeoisie", or as any inevitable manifestation of class consciousness.

For our purposes there is no point in dividing the votes for the other major parties into Liberal, Progressive Conservative, and Social Credit votes. We regard all these as generally "right" or "center" votes, that is, votes for parties not of an ideology based, socialistic, worker-oriented, reform type. The community contains many whose occupational position is not that of worker or of union member, but who vote for the NDP for other reasons. It also contains some whose employment status is that of unionized worker, but who have other identities, commitments, loyalties, or influences leading them to vote other than NDP. Some of these people no doubt have conflicting or ambiguous social identities. An example of this sort of person is given by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1948:xii) after they introduce the term "cross pressures". They state: "These various affiliations will make conflicting claims on some individuals; an upper-class Catholic, for example...".

The authors later produce an implicit definition of "cross pressures". Lazarsfeld et al (1948:53) state:

By cross pressures we mean the conflicts and inconsistencies among the factors which influence vote decision. Some of these factors in the environment of the voter may influence him toward the Republicans while others may operate in favor of the Democrats. In other words, cross-pressures upon the voter drive him in opposite directions.

Rather than assuming the direct action of a social characteristic on the voter, as the above authors seem to do, we would prefer an intensive study of local social life, a resultant concept of social structure, and hypotheses about links between social structure and social characteristics. We would also research social psychological mechanisms linking social characteristics to voting choices. The present work is a much more restricted examination, and we cannot produce, in any sense, explanations of voting choices from the data available for this study.

There may be some members of the industrial workforce who wish to have dual controls on their legislators; they can influence them at either the union meeting or the political meeting -- at the union ballot box as well as at the legislative ballot box. Presumably, again, there are those who

want their union officials to do one job well and stay away from other jobs. One respondent complained of the MLA "moonlighting": drawing a salary from the union and another from his legislative post.

While we may suggest logical reasons connecting social attributes to voting choices, we cannot claim to have shown the connection. As a consequence, we are producing only an accounting for NDP support, rather than an explanation of it, when we show that individuals with an attribute or combination of attributes support the NDP highly.

To underscore the above discussion, we will point out that we don't even know whether a voter reporting an NDP voting preference liked the NDP or the NDP candidate he stated having chosen.

We have been using the broad indicator of the existence of elected NDP candidates in much of our preceding argument. We must emphasize that the population that we refer to as the community is not the whole constituency, in either the federal election or provincial election case. There are other communities, including logging camps, in the constituencies.

Categories of Respondents and Voting Choices Used in This Study

In accord with the work reported in Appendix B, all of the respondents are allocated either to the category of used respondents or they are excluded, depending on whether or not they meet a number of criteria. These criteria are:

First, an individual must have shown at least two years' residence in the district at interview time for him to have been a local voter, and thus for his vote to be of interest to us.

Second, an individual must have shown at least two years at his place of employment at interview time for us to be able to make any suppositions about connection between his work force status and his voting choices of two years before.

Third, all the females in the sample were excluded. The women are quite differently distributed in union-non union, and company-non company categories than are the men. There were a negligible number of women in the union-company category, so their exclusion was more than compensated for by the elimination of a problematic variable.

Fourth, we know for the company workforce that the person who was a

union member at interview time and had been at his place of employment for two years was almost surely a union member at election time, we have no knowledge of the union status at election time of the non-union company category individuals. For this and other reasons, chiefly the small number of individuals in question, these non union company personnel were excluded from our study. As mentioned, the two non company groups are very heterogeneous categories of individuals, and they constitute small numbers of respondents. As a consequence, they were also excluded.

Fifth, if a person reported that he had voted elsewhere, he was excluded from our consideration. This provided an additional check on excluding the individual who was beyond our interest for reasons expressed in the first point above.

Sixth, those who met the criteria listed thus far, but who did not show a voting choice for candidate of one of the four major parties were allocated to a category entitled "not local voter". This was in fact a category of those who did not choose, or state the choice of, the local candidates of one of the four major parties, a somewhat broader group than the shorter title suggests.

What we are then left with is those who have been two years or more in the district, two years or more at their place of employment, were males, union members at the time of the study, worked for the major industrial employer at the time of the study, and reported a voting choice for one of the four local party candidates at the federal election.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL AND OFF-WORK SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND VOTING CHOICES

In this Chapter, two types of social characteristics will be examined in connection with voting choices. The first type includes what we call general social characteristics: age, length of community residence, and place of birth. The second consists of "off-work" social characteristics: church membership and church attendance.

A major general social characteristic that could have been used, but was not, is education. This warrants comment. Education is of potential importance because it influences access to information, because it is a major feature of many concepts of social stratification, and because it directly affects the kinds of jobs to which individuals have had access at various times in the local work force. We are, however, studying an isolated community based on a primary industry, we are only studying the unionized work force, and the importance of education for access to any job might well have changed through time. The fact that the community contains many immigrants introduces the further problem of educational incomparability; a specific number of years of education in one nation may accompany a different stratum level than it does in another, and these same years' education in two foreign countries may have still further differences for immigrants into the community studied.

There is, in short, no satisfactory way of looking at education as a social characteristic of itself, in studying the industrial workers in our community, and the kinds of connections that would be necessary between education and the other social characteristics studied are far beyond the scope of the present study. The writer recalls three respondents who illustrate the unclear connections between skill level and education in our community. One was an East Indian who had completed, after high school, a four-year engineering diploma course in India, and who was working as a truck mechanic apprentice, a second was a European born carpenter who had served an apprenticeship after eight years of formal education in Europe, and the third was a Canadian who had only eight years of formal education, and who, at interview time, was working

as the most highly-paid production worker on the paper machines, a job that in future would ordinarily be accessible only to those with completed high school.

To have substituted education for any of the general characteristics already stated as studied would have intruded a characteristic that seems to affect voting choices less directly for one that seems more directly linked to voting.

Federal Voting Choices and Respondents' Ages

There has been some discussion in the literature of different party programs appealing to voters in different age groups. There is also the fact that voters of different age groups may have had quite different emotionally-loaded experiences of public affairs. There may be, in our community, some pattern of "generational voting" (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, McPhee, 1954:301; Regenstreif, 1965:85-86).

On the point of party programs and personal interests, we can note that the old would generally be more concerned about retirement. The picture on this matter is obscure; Diefenbaker accused the Liberals, in the 1957 campaign of being niggardly about old age pensions (Alford, 1964: 280). The New Democrats have always favored old-age pensions as a part of their socialistic policies, and the Liberals have, from time to time, introduced various old age legislation. The old, however, are those that may have felt social consequences of the depression, while the young had much less chance to experience this social disruption.

For whatever reason, age of itself may be an important precondition for voting patterns, or it may be important when combined with other social characteristics. Tables were run showing voting choices by age groupings. The initial coding of the interview schedule had been in terms of five year age groups (20-24...60-64), and two residual categories, under 20 and over 65. The voting choices for the union-company work force broken down into these categories appear in Appendix D.

Examination of this table, and of the swings in NDP support above and below the 50 per cent mark, showed that there was a general preference for the NDP among the categories whose members had come of age by the end of the depression (that is, who were 45 or older at interview time, and therefore 19 or older in 1939), while, by contrast, the age categories of those that only became candidates for the work force after World War II

began do not show a clear pattern.¹⁵

The voters in the union-company work force were divided as nearly as possible into generation groupings conforming to the findings about consistency of NDP support, and at the same time as nearly as possible into two groups of equal size. The dividing line was drawn between the 44 year olds and the 45 year olds. The table in Appendix D shows that this produces two "generations".

While the voting industrial workers as a whole support the NDP in 55 per cent of their votes, the younger generational grouping shows only 50 per cent NDP support (32 of 64 votes) and the older generation shows 61 per cent NDP support (33 of 54 votes). These findings show enough difference, (11 per centage points) for us to initially maintain that there is some generational voting among this population.

For a presentation of the age-group data, see Table 2 below.

Federal Voting Choices and Length of Community Residence

We have suggested that at present the total union-company work force might constitute much less of a working class party than it did in the past. This change would follow the building and expansion of the pulp and paper mill, and the development of the service sector, presumably containing a high proportion of the "ubiquitous middle class" that Kerr and Siegel suggest. This presents us with two problems about political socialization: first, that there is some kind of political socialization process going on at present, and second, that there was a different political socialization process going on in the past. If we leaned heavily on Kerr and Siegel, we would want to develop a technique for investigating past commitments to their claimed "working class party" and also current commitments toward the same kind of party. Because Kerr and Siegel's concepts are so undeveloped, and our data relating to them rather meager, we instead suppose, rather simply, that, as an industrial worker has spent more time in the community, the more he will have been socialized to support the NDP, if it acts as a channel for asserting interests that are both those of workers in general and those perceived by the individual respondent.

15. Actually, the picture was not this clear; the 40 to 44, and 45 to 49, age groups each show 50 per cent of their votes for the NDP. In further work, these two age groups might be collapsed into a single middle-aged category.

The history of the community's industry shows more than one prolonged strike in the period preceding the study, and some of these have been brought about by unions other than the IWA. It is therefore assumed that there has been no watershed in the labor history of the area; no long period of "labor conflict" followed by a long period of "labor peace" (using these terms broadly) with a resulting change in perceptions of the importance of unions.

Tables similar to those produced for the preceding section were developed to study this matter. Respondents were grouped by the number of years they had declared they had spent in the "area", which might be slightly larger in the eyes of the respondents than the community. The workers showing less than two years had been previously excluded. The remainder were broken down into categories of increasing size, the assumption being that the longer the respondent was in the community, the less exact would be his statement of length of residence, and also the less important a given unit of time would be -- the difference between two and four years residence in the area would be more important than the difference between twelve and fourteen years.

The table which resulted from the relating of voting choice to these categories, and the categories themselves, can be found in Appendix D. This shows a general preference for the "other" parties by those in the various groups with between two and fourteen years residence, and a preference for the NDP by those categories of people showing fifteen and more years of residence. While those with less than fifteen years residence, as a whole, only supported the NDP in 45 per cent (25 of 56) of their voting choices, those with fifteen years residence and over supported the NDP in 65 per cent (40 of 62) of their voting choices. Again, we have divided the population in question as nearly as possible into two equal groups, and the division this time coincides with a clear difference in the rate of NDP support. The ten to fourteen year residents supported the NDP in 44 per cent of their voting choices, the adjacent fifteen to nineteen year residents supported the NDP in 58 per cent of their choices.

From the above material, we can state that at this point there appears to be both a generational voting pattern, and a length of community residence voting pattern. We can now investigate the effect of these two features in conjunction.

TABLE 2

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY AGE AND BY LENGTH OF COMMUNITY RESIDENCE^(a)

Length of Residence		Under 45 yrs. "young"	45 yrs. and over "old"	Total
Under 15 yrs. "newcomers"	NDP vote	39% (15)	56% (10)	45% (25)
	Total Vote	(38)	(18)	(56)
15 yrs. and over "oldtimers"	NDP vote	65% (17)	64% (23)	65% (40)
	Total Vote	(26)	(36)	(62)
Total	NDP Vote	50% (32)	61% (33)	55% (65)
	Total Vote	(64)	(54)	(118)

(a) Age and length of residence are those at time of interview.

Federal Voting Choices, Age, and Length of Community Residence

The above table presents the data on both the age or generation divisions reported in the text above, and the under 15 year residents ("newcomers") and 15 and more year residents ("oldtimers"). By examining the marginal totals and percentages, the pattern for each of these features can be seen in isolation; by examining the body of the table, connections between the features can be investigated.

The columnar and row patterns have already been discussed. Looking at the totals for each of the four major blocs, there are two large groups -- of "young newcomers" (38/118 or 32 per cent) and of "old oldtimers" (36/118 or 30 per cent), a middle-sized group, "young oldtimers" (26/118 or 22 per cent) and a small group of "old newcomers" (18/118 or 15 per cent). It must be remembered that this distribution is of voting union-company work force members, and is not necessarily the same as that of the whole union-company work force or the total community male gainfully employed.

Looking again at the totals in the right hand margin, long community residence seems to be a strong influence, there being a twenty percentage point difference between rates of NDP support of the newcomers and the

oldtimers. Looking at the columnar totals, generational voting is a weaker influence, there being only eleven percentage points discrepancy between the under 45 group and the 45 and older group.

Looking at the voting choice patterns of the different major categories, a combination of being in the under 45 category and the less than 15 years residence group results in a body of individuals with a rate of NDP support of 39 per cent, while the other three categories of voters are much higher in their rate of NDP support and are clustered closely together, between 56 per cent NDP support and 65 per cent NDP support. These young newcomers are 17 percentage points below the next lowest group.

Examining the columns, that is, holding age constant, we find that the newcomer-oldtimer distinction is important for both age groups; 39 per cent versus 65 per cent for the young categories, 56 per cent versus 64 per cent for the old categories. Examining the rows, we find that age is important for the newcomer row, 39 per cent versus 56 per cent NDP support, but that it is unimportant for the oldtimer row, where the young and the old show virtually the same rate of NDP support, 65 per cent and 64 per cent.

At this point we would be inclined to claim that long residence, producing community socialization or its equivalent, is a very strong force in generating high and consistent NDP support among the union-company, "industrial worker" group. Generational voting, on the other hand, is an important influence on the voting of the newcomers only.

We will have to relate these differences to other characteristics before finally accepting this finding.

Federal Voting Choices and Place of Birth

We have uncovered the importance of length of community residence as an influence on voting choices, and suggested community political socialization as the mechanism we would use to account for this. Other parallel explanations would be presented and researched in a fuller study.

We now wish to examine the possibility of the respondent's initial culture affecting his voting choice. We here regard the individual's initial culture as not only a culture with political views, and hence with consequences for the individual's future political views, but also as a culture enabling or handicapping the respondent in his social participation in our community, inclining him toward or away from the NDP and its local candidates.

It should be stressed that the community is made up overwhelmingly of immigrants and internal migrants, those who have immigrated into Canada and those who have migrated within Canada.

An argument about the importance of place of birth on work satisfaction and militancy has been presented by Theodore Purcell in his discussion of colored workers in midwest United States packing plants. We assume that pro-NDP voting and militancy are more or less parallel features of worker social life, that may be accounted for in similar ways. Purcell (1960:51) states:

Since Negroes from the South have tended in the past to have less education than northern Negroes, and since they have problems of adjustment to northern life, the fact that nearly three-fourths of the National Stockyards Negro workers are southern-born is important. These Negroes are more satisfied with work at Swift than the Kansas City Negroes. They are less aggressive and militant in seeking their advancement. This difference in percentage of southern-born is surely one explanation.

In a full study, we would have to investigate the possibilities of intensive social ties, mutual aid patterns, acting out of "homeland" (or regional) culture patterns, and ethnic organizations, as bases for immigrant evaluations of the local social order possibly influencing voting choices.

We assume in the present study that "place of birth" as reported by the respondent indicates the initial culture of the overwhelming bulk of the sample. In those cases where the family of the respondent migrated during his formative years, the political culture from which they came would be carried with them, socializing the respondent to this initial culture to some degree. "Place of birth" is used here as a rough indicator which indicates a background against which a bloc of respondents will have to manipulate their local social and political experiences in making voting decisions.

In the initial coding of the interview, "place of birth" was coded into nine different categories, some not really satisfactory for our purposes, however useful they may be in other analyses. For our work, these categories are reduced to five. The following list shows not only the five categories we use, but the way in which these have been produced from the original nine.

1. British Columbia (originally coded as either the area, or a broader region, of the province, or elsewhere in the province).
2. The Prairie Provinces.
3. Eastern Canada (originally, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes).
4. The United States and Great Britain.
5. "Other" (overwhelmingly European, Chinese and East Indian).

Some of these categories are problematic. The eastern Canada category contains too few voters for analysis. The United States and Great Britain category contains a country with non-class parties and one with strong class parties. The "other" category is a residual one and contains countries with the widest variety of political, intellectual, and interest-group histories.

We now wish to suggest some mechanisms that link initial culture to community culture. These are only suggestions, not subject to examination because of lack of data.

1. Birth in British Columbia was used as a single category. While there may be regional differences in support for various parties through time, it nonetheless constitutes a single political unit. British Columbia grew on industrial labor in large-scale extractive enterprises, and it has shown a strong and consistent support for the CCF and the NDP over a long period of time. Regenstreif (1965:134) shows that, from 1949 to 1963, the CCF and NDP gained at their lowest point in 1957, 22.3 per cent of the popular vote in B.C. By comparison, the NDP gained only 18.2 per cent of the popular vote in Saskatchewan at its low point there in 1963.
2. The largest bloc of the migrants and immigrants come from the Prairie Provinces. Porter (1967:145) notes that, from 1941 to 1956, Saskatchewan lost slightly under 250,000 residents, while British Columbia gained over 250,000. Porter (ibid.:145) also quotes a source noting a sizeable Saskatchewan off-farm migration. It is not suggested here that the overwhelming bulk of migration from the prairies was from Saskatchewan; we have no way of knowing without a time-consuming and not

necessarily helpful recoding. Nonetheless, we assume that many migrants came from farms as ex-servicemen, as failed or sold-out farmers, or as farmers' sons. Such people may have been socialized to positively value economic individualism, and also to positively value strong egalitarian local groups, such as farmers' co-ops and community associations (Bennett, 1967:441f.). While we have no clear way of predicting whether the economic individualism of farmers will be converted into a legitimation of large-scale corporations or not, we are aware that the combined economic individualism and egalitarianism of farmers were directed against large-scale and particularly eastern business enterprises. We have no way of knowing whether ex-farmers and farmers' sons will convert their experience of farmer egalitarian social organizations into a positive evaluation of labor unions and of labor union officials running for positions as MP and MLA.

3. By contrast, a large bloc of the community's voters have been born in the area of the world covered by the "other" label. The person with experience of the community cannot avoid the impression that these individuals are overwhelmingly from various parts of Europe (Norway, Holland, Germany, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia) and China and the Punjab in India. Not only were these the nations from which respondents came, but they were also the nations whose ethnic-organizations owned visible buildings.¹⁶
4. Both the eastern Canada-born bloc and the United States-Great Britain-born bloc were too small for useful analysis. Moreover, being a mixture of two types of party systems, the effects could tend to cancel out.
5. Migrants into industrial communities, especially if they are not fully socialized into the patterns of western Canadian forest products communities, may find it more attractive to fall into a local social enclave that provides them with low access to the network of social ties, patterns of social relations, shared understandings, customary interpretations

16. While in the larger cities of the province, one encounters or hears of the occasional Filipino, Fijians, Africans, and many Australians and

of the local political situation and so on, which go with the unionized, industrial worker, political culture. The phrase "local social enclave" is intended not only to specify any particular ethnic group with a strong culture and demanding social ties, but also any similar group, such as the congregations of fundamentalist-evangelical, "personal morality", churches and sects.

In spite of a lack of firm data to support the above possibilities, we can now reasonably investigate place of birth and its consequences for voting choices. In the research material available, the distinctions that have been made in the preceding discussion are partly obscured; individuals from urban middle-class backgrounds are mixed with those from working class and farming backgrounds, individuals from countries with strong socialist parties, such as Norway, are mixed with individuals who left right-wing and fascist backgrounds, such as Poland of before 1945, and those that fled Communism, such as from China to Hong Kong to Canada. Further, there are always exceptional cases; the writer remembers interviewing a French-Canadian who had been born in New Hampshire of Canadian born parents around the turn of the century. He had moved to eastern Canada in the 1920's, farmed in Saskatchewan in the 1930's and spent the twenty years before the interview in the community.

Nonetheless, place of birth and voting choices are connected, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 3.

FEDERAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICES, BY RESPONDENT'S PLACE OF BIRTH

Place of Birth	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	Number Voting For 4 Major Parties
British Columbia	63%	17	27
Prairies	65%	26	40
Eastern Canada	14%	1	8
United States-Great Britain	58%	7	12
Other ("Europe & Asia")	45%	14	31
Total	55%	65	118

16. (cont'd) New Zealanders, encounters with none of these were recalled from the study.

Looking at the rates of NDP support, they are highest for the two Western Canadian categories, the area with a long history of protest parties, while the "other" category shows a much lower rate of NDP support than either of these Western Canadian categories.

The eastern Canada born, a very small group, support the NDP poorly. This may or may not be because of their possession of some other low NDP support attribute, but the number is so small that this possibility is not worth pursuing. The United States-Great Britain category is not studied because of its mixed nature, allowing us no clear suggestions, and its very small size.

The two groups born in Western Canada show a clear disposition to favor the NDP. Of the three larger categories, these are the people most strongly socialized to regional and community politics. The other large category, labelled "other" in the table, contains predominantly people from the non-English speaking world, with less familiarity with parliamentary institutions, and less exposure to the whole complex of western Canadian political protest movements.

Again, this finding should eventually be compared with others in a more complex study of the relationship between the variables.

Federal Voting Choices and Religious Group Membership and Participation

Religious denomination membership has been used with some success as a social characteristic important in examining voting choices. In a study of an eastern Canadian city, John Meisel (1967:150) found very strong support for the Liberal party among Roman Catholic respondents, 39 percentage points higher than the nearest Protestant denomination. Regenstreif (1965:93), in analysing Gallup Poll material from 1963, found that nationally, the vote intentions of the "non-French groups" were 21 percentage points more inclined toward the Liberals in the case of the Roman Catholics than were the vote intentions of the Protestants or Jews. The latter two each showed intentions to vote Liberal in 32 per cent of their choices, the former showed this intention in 53 per cent of their choices.

From Regenstreif's table we would suppose that there would be some preference on the part of Roman Catholic labor union members for the Liberal candidate. This supposition is supported by the fact that the Catholic church, almost all around the world, has been anti-communist, and somewhat anti-socialist. Throughout western Europe, for instance, there

are established progressive Catholic groups that seem to parallel Canada's Liberal party much more than they parallel the NDP. We thus anticipated a low level of support by Catholics for the NDP, as a result of a high level of support for the Liberals.

In addition, the history of the CCF and NDP shows a strong influence by United Church clergy. Personal contact with United Church clergy has shown a very high frequency of interest in "social morality", a concern with the ordering of society, and a predisposition toward socialism. United Church clergy were instrumental in the founding of the CCF, and most outstanding was J. S. Woodsworth, whose convictions took him out of the Methodist ministry¹⁷ and into the leadership of the CCF.

A further indication of United Church predisposition to the CCF in its formative years is reported by Zakuta (1964:35-36). He writes:

Among the Canadians most deeply stirred by these events [the depression and the threat of war] were two groups which soon became the nuclei of the CCF. The larger, centred on the prairies, was led by men along prominent in the farmers' movements, particularly the co-operatives and the organizations of political protest.

The second, and ultimately dominant, group consisted of a set of young men and women, concentrated in a few large eastern cities, who entered the CCF within its first five years and, at least in Ontario, rapidly took over its control. This group was predominantly Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and middle class. Most were recent university graduates and had first come into contact with socialism and the CCF as students. Many were the children of ministers, chiefly of the United Church.

In the west, however, many Protestant clergymen themselves were among the CCF's most influential leaders.

We have, then, reasons for supposing that the United Church respondents might be inclined to favor the NDP strongly, that their Roman Catholic parallels might tend to disfavor it. There are two other features that should be noted, however. As Porter (1967:289) states, "But as Woodsworth's biographer, Professor McNaught, points out both the wealthy Sifton and the socialist Woodsworth were products of Methodism". We have no way of knowing whether the local United Churches

17. The Methodists were one of the churches that amalgamated into the United Church.

legitimate wealth or whether they challenge it and legitimate socialism, thus the picture is unclear. Further, Porter (ibid.:349) in discussing the "labor elite" states, "The largest Protestant denomination was the United Church with 27 per cent of the elite compared to 20.5 per cent of the general population". However, we have no way of knowing from our data what the relationships are between United Church union members being studied and the labor union official elected to Parliament, so we can have really no clear set of expectations about United Church membership and NDP voting.

Before presenting material on religious group membership and voting choices, we must note the special circumstances in which such membership was described, reported, and coded for this study.

Probably because of his interest in social participation, Meissner set up rigorous criteria to establish religious group membership. Only those that could specify a local church or religious group are shown as having a religious group membership. Using this coding for the total union-company category, 54 per cent of the individuals (96 of a total of 180) were not religious group members at interview time, and all but two of the rest were members of their religious group both at interview time and two years previously (at election time). By using these extreme criteria, we get an indication of a degree of religious affiliation that is different from Canadian census data. This latter data is produced from the other extreme position of being unwilling to allow one a status of "no religion".

In preliminary work, it appeared that only two denominations contained numbers of voters adequate for analytical treatment, the Roman Catholic and the United Churches. In preliminary tables of the original 308 respondents, the third largest denomination, the Anglicans, contained only three NDP and four other major party voters, numbers too small to be analysable. As a consequence, all the religious groups other than the two largest were grouped into an "other" residual category. Some of these "other" church members belong to ethnic churches, such as Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, Sikh, and Ukrainian Orthodox, while others belong to sects, including a number that might be regarded as religious-antiseccular protest movements or personal ethnic churches, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and various fundamentalist churches.

The findings on religious group membership and voting choices are shown in the table below. Only those showing two years or more church membership are included in the last three categories; the two recent church members mentioned above were apparently not local voters for major party candidates, and so had been previously excluded.

TABLE 4
VOTING CHOICES BY RELIGIOUS GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Religious Group	Percentage		Number	
	Voting	NDP	Voting	NDP
				Number Voting for 4 Major Parties
None	60%		41	68
Roman Catholic	53%		9	17
United Church	59%		10	17
Other Groups	31%		5	16
Total	55%		65	118

From this table we see that the very large bloc coded as "no religious group" prefers the NDP 5 per cent more often than does the total population in the table. The small United Church group prefers it an insignificant number of percentage points more often, the small group of Catholics prefer it an insignificant number of percentage points less often than the total and the small group of "other" religious group members clearly much less frequently chooses the NDP. From the first column we would be tempted to find slight support for Kerr and Siegel (1954:192) where they say that small industrial communities with high strike rate industries lack the network of ties linking workers to the ubiquitous middle class. While we cannot embrace their statement that "The force of public opinion must seem rather weak to the logger in the camp...who never sees the public...", the more secularized and possibly the most class-isolated workers who lack any tie to a church are slightly stronger in their support of the NDP than the church members as a whole, 48 per cent of whom support the NDP. But since many of those who didn't vote NDP are in the "other" churches, it may be the case that membership in many of the churches in this "other" category inclines people to view of the political process that is either anti-secular, anti-materialist, or unconcerned with the socialist view of "social justice".

The numbers in the above table, and the fact that only the residual category diverges strongly from the other three categories in rate of NDP support, make it impossible to make any but the most tentative interpretations of the table.

Beyond the material presented above, there is one other aspect of church membership that should be investigated. If we recall the argument about "cross pressures" above, we might be led to feel that perhaps the frequent-attending Catholics tend to vote away from the NDP, and that the frequent-attending United Church members tend to support the NDP strongly. This would assume that for the frequent attenders religious group membership is a stronger social identity, therefore a more important part of any cross-pressures process than is membership for their infrequently-attending coreligionists.

In preliminary work, non-attender, low-attender and medium and high attender categories were set up. Due to the small numbers, the categories were reduced to two: non- and low-attenders, and medium- and high-attenders. The first group includes those who reported that they had attended from zero to nine services of their church in the last six months, the second includes those that reported ten or more attendances over this time period, an average of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ services a month.

The following table shows the frequency of NDP support for the different levels of attenders, of the denominational categories presented in the previous table.

TABLE 5

VOTING CHOICES BY RELIGIOUS GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND LEVEL OF ATTENDANCE

Religious Group	Level of Attendance	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	Number Voting For 4 Major Parties
None	---	60%	41	68
Roman Catholic	Nil-low	40%(a)	2	5
	Med-high	58%	7	12
United Church	Nil-low	53%	8	15
	Med-high	100% (a)	2	2
Other	Nil-low	17%	1	6
	Med-high	40%	4	10

(a) Number of respondents too small for meaningful use of percentages.

One conspicuous feature of this table is that Catholics and "other" groups contain a predominance of higher attenders, and that the United Church contains a predominance of lower attenders. The only columns showing a noticeable discrepancy from the findings of the previous table are the two "other" category groups. The lower attenders support the NDP quite poorly, while the medium and high attenders support the NDP closer to the rate of the sample as a whole.

The interpretations of this table are made on weaker numbers than the previous table, and are not to be regarded as strong findings. However, neither the high-attending Catholics nor the high-attending residual "other" religious groups show any tendency to support the NDP less strongly than the total for these blocs found in the previous table. As a consequence, for the population that is included in the above table, we can say that there does not appear to be any cross pressure, leading high-attending Catholics and high-attending "other" religious group members to support the NDP less than the members of these groups spending less time attending their religious group's services, and under less pressure.

The data, in fact, indicate for those in these two categories, the opposite possibility, and suggest that perhaps the low attenders more often get their clues on voting preferences from the mass media or the "ubiquitous middle class". For the medium and high attenders, the industrial workers' standards and the union officials' and the NDP legislators' standards are more frequently accepted.

Connections Between Independent Variables Studied Thus Far

We have already produced one table in which two social characteristics were combined, and we thus found additional meaningful differences; the young newcomers were much below all the other categories of age and length of residence in their tendency to support the NDP.

We have since examined two independent variables, and we wish now to introduce a table that lets us show the connections between these and their cumulative influence on voting choices. We ask the question: are the members of some category of places of birth highly concentrated in some church category, thus providing an overlapping basis for accounting for a rate of NDP support?

TABLE 6

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES BY BOTH CHURCH AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Church		P l a c e o f B i r t h (a)			Total By Church
		British Columbia	Prairies	"other" "Europe & Asia"	
No Church	NDP	58% (11)	77% (13)	60% (12)	64% (36)
	Total	(19)	(17)	(20)	(56)
Roman Catholic	NDP	-- (--)	78% (17)	20% (1)(b)	57% (8)
	Total	-- (---)	(9)	(5)	(14)
United Church	NDP	80% (4)(b)	44% (4)	(1)	60% (9)
	Total	(5)	(9)	(1)	(15)
Other	NDP	(2)(b)	(2)(b)	(0)(b)	31% (4)
	Total	(3)	(5)	(5)	(13)
Total By Place Of Birth	NDP	63% (17)	65% (26)	45% (14)	58% (57)
	Total	(27)	(40)	(31)	(98)

(a) Eastern Canada and Great Britain-United States born excluded.

(b) Numbers too small for meaningful conversion into percentages.

We should first note the exclusion from the table of the twenty voters born in eastern Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, of whom only 8 were NDP voters. We have consequently raised the overall rate of NDP support from 55 per cent to 58 per cent. While we must note that we are working with a slightly smaller population than previously, with slightly different characteristics, throughout the scrutiny of this table we are generally uninterested in the voters that we have lost.

The table was examined for blocs of voters that are both large enough for us to make inferences from, and that show atypical voting patterns. These large blocs of voters are compared both with the rate of NDP support for the church group in which they are found, and the place of birth category in which they appear.

The "no church" category shows three large blocs, the British Columbia born have a rate of NDP support that is 5 points below the total B.C. category and 6 points below the "no church" column, not particularly meaningful divergences, especially as the bloc conforms to the total for the table. The next group, the prairies born, show high NDP support -- noticeably above the total "no church" and total prairie groups. This could be a manifestation of familiarity with western Canadian politics and radicalism, "uprootedness", the unwillingness to accept either the "social morality" churches (Roman Catholic and United Church, with a tendency to support the NDP) or the other churches including personal morality ones, or any combination of these features. The third group in this row is the "other" born, chiefly Europeans, East Indians, and Chinese. They constitute somewhat of an anomalous case, since their columnar rate of NDP support is low, while their row rate of NDP support is high. In fact, they choose the NDP in 60 per cent of their voting choices, about as frequently as total population in the table, and about the same as the total "no church" row.

We would be inclined to state that the "other" column, the Europe and Asia born, when they have accepted or established no tie to a church, accept the general voting pattern of the industrial workers in the community.

We can now move on to the Roman Catholic row. We find that there are no British Columbia born Roman Catholics in the table, and that the rest of the Roman Catholics are predominantly born on the prairies (9 of a total of 14). These prairie born Roman Catholics support the NDP quite strongly, about the same rate as the prairie born "no church membership" group directly above them in the table, which tends to cast doubt on the interpretations suggested above for this group's support for the NDP. The number of respondents is small, however, in the case of the prairie born Roman Catholics. Looking at the last category in the row, the "other" born Catholics, of a total of five, only one voted for the NDP. For the Roman Catholics, then, place of birth appears to be an overwhelming condition influencing voting choices, there being a 58 percentage point spread between the rate of support of the "other" born and the prairie born. Again, we must note the small number of prairie born, and the even smaller number of "other" born, Catholics being examined.

The third row we examine is the United Church row. First, we will note that all but one of the United Church members in the table are western Canada born. While the eastern Canadian, and Great Britain and United States born, blocs of industrial workers have been left out of this table, it appears quite obvious that in our community the United Church is a church of the English-speaking world, having no appeal for thirty of the thirty-one "other" Europe and Asia born in our sample. When we compare the two western Canada born categories of United Church members, we get a surprise. While the British Columbia born United Church members in four choices out of five favor the NDP, the prairies born favor the NDP in only four of their nine reported voting choices. While the numbers here are quite small (in fact, the blocs are the same size as the Roman Catholic blocs compared above) there is nonetheless a considerable spread. The whole argument that we suggested about the prairies born "no church" group and their reasons for supporting the NDP so strongly, is further undermined by this finding for the prairies born United Church members.

If we were to make tentative explanations of the difference between the rate of NDP support by these two United Church blocs, we would suggest that the British Columbia born might have been exposed, much more than the prairie born United Church members, to legitimations of labor unions and of the participation of labor union officials in the political arena. The small number of voters in this category makes it impossible to do further investigation or make strong claims for our findings.

One might suppose from this finding that for any particular voting industrial worker, United Church participation may provide support for either a "radical" or a "respectable" (conservative) orientation toward politics. In further work, it would be necessary to have larger numbers and some attitude indicators, in order to investigate this matter fully.

The final row is a residual category of individuals belonging to other churches and religious groups, including the Anglicans and the Jehovah's Witnesses. Only the "other" born group contains a noteworthy number of individuals with a distinct pattern of voting. This group of five individuals all vote for candidates other than the NDP one. While the "other" born column as a whole shows a weak repudiation of the NDP, and the "other" born "no church" group shows some preference for the NDP candidate, membership in one of the lesser churches and birth outside the

Anglo Saxon world combine to produce an absolute repudiation of the NDP candidate by these voters. While the number in this category is small, it does support the general pattern that we had uncovered from previous independent examination of the two variables. While it consists of the members of two residual categories, the category does affirm that either "other" church membership or "other" place of birth are associated with non-support of the NDP and that a combination of these two characteristics is associated with strong rejection of that party.

There are some major findings available from this table. First, place of birth seems to be a strong influence on the voting of both the "no church" and Roman Catholic, while church membership seems to influence the voting of the "other" born column. Second the prairies born Roman Catholics and the prairies born United Church members, the first strongly supporting the NDP candidate, the second mildly repudiating him, show that the connections between church and place of birth are not the simple ones that we might have expected from the previous, one-at-a-time, investigation of these social characteristics.

Because of the small numbers of respondents in the bulk of the religious group categories, and because the "other" religious group is more ambiguous than the "other" place of birth category, it is not profitable in the present work to investigate further the connections between religious group membership, other social characteristics, and voting choices.

Our interests are directed to the distinctions between young and old, and newcomers and oldtimers, as well as place of birth. We present below a table much like the previous one, but in which the church categories are eliminated and these three distinctions compared. The 93 industrial workers reporting voting choices that appeared in the previous table are again used. Three independent variables are thus used, instead of only two.

TABLE 7
FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES BY AGE,
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AREA, AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Age	Length of Residence in Area		Place of Birth (a)			
			British Columbia	Prairie Provinces	"other"	Total
Under 45 Years	Less than 15 years	NDP	67% (4)	57% (8)	19% (3)	42% (15)
		Total	(6)	(14)	(16)	(36)
	15 years or over	NDP	58% (7)	82% (9)	33% (1)	65% (17)
		Total	(12)	(11)	(3)	(26)
45 and over years	less than 15 years	NDP	100% (1)	57% (4)	100% (4)	75% (9)
		Total	(1)	(7)	(4)	(12)
	15 years or over	NDP	63% (5)	63% (5)	75% (6)	66% (16)
		Total	(8)	(8)	(8)	(24)
Total	NDP		63% (17)	65% (26)	45% (14)	58% (57)
	Total		(27)	(40)	(31)	(98)

(a) Eastern Canada and Great Britain-United States born excluded.

First, we examine the table for large blocs of voters, and for distinctive voting patterns. There are only four categories containing large blocs of voters. These are the young newcomers born on the prairies, the young newcomers born in Europe and Asia, the Young Oldtimers born in B.C. and the young oldtimers born on the prairies. The first and third groups show a slight favoring of the NDP, one person more than half in each case, as close as possible to the overall rate of NDP support. The young newcomers born in Europe and Asia, however, show only three of their total of 16 voting choices in favor of the NDP, resulting in very low NDP support.

The other notable and sizable group differing from the table's overall average is the group of 11 young oldtimers who were born on the prairies, and who show 9 of their voting choices in favor of the NDP. While they represent about as intense a favoring of the NDP as the other groups' repudiation of it, they differ less from the total for the table, and they are a much smaller proportion of the NDP support than the other group was of the other parties' support, only 9 of the total of 57 pro-NDP votes in the table.

The only other notable group in the table is a small group of old newcomers born "other" (in Europe and Asia). This group of four individuals all voted for the NDP, and they are partly of interest because they are in direct opposition to the parallel group of young newcomers in their voting preferences. There is the possibility that these people were part of a much earlier wave of immigration to Canada, in spite of their newcomer status in the community. In any case, their numbers are far too small for further analysis.

Summary of Findings on General and Off-Work Social Characteristics, and Voting Choices

Up to this point, our investigations have produced the following points:

1. The under 45 year old group generally supports the NDP noticeably less than the 45 and older age group. A spread of 11 percentage points between these two groups was found, so there appears to be some "generation voting" among the sample members.
2. The voters with less than 15 years residence in the district, newcomers, support the NDP much less than those with 15 or more years residence in the district. A spread of 20 percentage points was found, suggesting a "political socialization" or similar process.
3. When young-old and newcomer-oldtimer distinctions are combined to form a fourfold table, it appears that the young newcomers are distinct from the rest. They vote NDP in 39 per cent of their voting choices, 17 per cent less than the next nearest group. The other three groups are concentrated in a 10 percentage point spread. It was found that something like a community socialization process is stronger than generational differences, but that either community socialization or membership in the older generational category produces clear NDP support. Since the old oldtimers are not separated strongly from the groups with only one pro-NDP influence working on them (either long residence or older age group status) we can say that the influences appear to be alternative and not cumulative influences toward NDP support.

4. Place of birth categories that were used¹⁸ showed no clear distinction between the two western Canadian categories, both around two thirds of their voting choices being in favour of the NDP. The residual category of "other" (which contained overwhelmingly Europeans, East Indians, and Chinese) showed a slight preference for the other parties' candidates -- 45 per cent of their votes favored the NDP, nearly a 20 point difference.
5. The "no church membership" category -- about half of the total sample -- supported the NDP slightly more than any of the other church membership categories. It was, however, insignificantly higher than the United Church group, and negligibly higher than the Roman Catholic group. Those in the residual category of "other churches and religious groups" show a clear preference for the other parties; less than one third of their reported voting choices are in favor of the NDP candidate.
6. When the church member groups were divided into lower attenders and higher attenders no clear trend emerged. The higher attending Catholics and members of the "other" churches preferred the NDP somewhat more than the total Catholic and total "other" church populations, which ruled out the possibility of the higher attenders in these categories being subjected to cross-pressures, consequently preferring the NDP somewhat less often than the lower attenders. In our community, being a good (high attending) Catholic and voting for the NDP are apparently not incompatible.
7. A table was produced with place of birth and church membership categories used as independent variables or preconditions, and NDP support as the outcome. It was found that place of birth is an overriding condition among Catholic voters. The prairies born Catholics support the NDP strongly, the Europe and Asia born "other" Catholics support the other parties about as strongly. The United Church, B.C. born, support the NDP strongly, while their prairies born confreres show a mild preference for the

18. Eastern Canada contained too few individuals, the United States and Great Britain were a mixture of class-party and non-class-party political systems.

other major party candidates. Religion seems to be an overriding influence, differentiating the "Europe and Asia" born from the other community members in religious groups, while the "no church membership" bloc of the "other" born vote for the NDP at about the same rate as the "no church" row as a whole.

8. When previous divisions of young-old, and newcomer-oldtimer, were used in combination with the "place of birth" categories, it was found that the two earlier major findings of groups showing low support for the NDP overlapped rather highly. There was a large bloc of young newcomers with somewhat low NDP preferences in the "other" born category, a major category showing a rather low rate of NDP preference. This large bloc showed a very low rate of voting choices in favor of the NDP. There was another smaller bloc of young oldtimers, from a group showing slightly above average NDP preference, born on the prairies -- a category again showing slightly higher than average NDP support. This bloc showed a noticeably above average frequency of their voting choice in favor of the NDP. A very small bloc, of old newcomers born in Europe and Asia, voted exclusively for the NDP, in complete opposition to the pattern of the young newcomers from the same birthplace category.

Nothing else exceptional appeared in the table.

The set of findings in (8) above shows us a complex of three social characteristics which produced two blocs of voters with extreme voting patterns. However, the bulk of the NDP support was made up by consistent and moderate preferences for the NDP by voters throughout the body of the table.

Because the only Church membership category that diverged strongly from the total worker pattern was a residual category, and because of the small numbers in all the church membership groups, there appeared to be little gain to be had out of further study of church membership as an important variable in this study and for this population.

CHAPTER IV

WORK-DEFINED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND VOTING CHOICES

In the last chapter we examined a number of "general" social characteristics of the respondents -- properties that attach to the individual whether on or off work, some specifically "off work" characteristics concerned with use of leisure time, in general the worker's off-work social relations much more than his at work social relations. We now wish to look at some social characteristics that are primarily work-defined attributes of the individuals in question. While they affect who the individual is, to himself and to others, they are attributes given to him by his position in the work force.

There are some work-defined characteristics we will not be able to treat in the present work, although they have a considerable interest. The first of these is income. No information on either hourly or annual earnings was obtained in the interview. The second is time at workplace. Since life history information on type of community lived in, type of industry worked in, type of union belonged to, and times for each of these, is very incomplete, we cannot study the previous work-derived influences predisposing an individual to or away from the NDP. Individuals do not come to their place of employment with equal work backgrounds, and it would be unsound to attempt to study the effect of time at workplace on these unequal backgrounds. The third point arises from a suggestion by Meissner that skilled maintenance workers often constitute the backbone of industrial unions, partly because they have mobility within the plant and can thus develop personal influence, partly because they are blocked in their upward mobility much more than higher level production workers, and perhaps also because their training as craftsmen enables them to handle the responsibilities of union office better than production workers. This suggests that there might be a difference in the rate of NDP support between production workers, maintenance workers, and a residual category of "service" (clerical, warehouse, technical) workers. However, since it would not be possible to code all the workers studied for position in these divisions at election time, the idea is only a prospect for future study.

There are three work-defined social characteristics that we will study. Following our interest in Kerr and Siegel, we wish to examine the voting patterns of workers in the different types of enterprises. An initial threefold division is made: logging operation respondents, saw and plywood mill respondents, and pulp and paper mill respondents. In preliminary tables it was found that all of the union-company voters who were male and showed at least two years at their place of employment and in the district, were in the "enterprises"; that is, of the 118 voters that we have been considering, none reported themselves as administratively outside of the "industry". The second division we wish to make of the work force is by the union to which the industrial workers belong. The third work-defined social characteristic that we wish to examine is the skill level of the respondent.

As before, we will study these social characteristics not only singly, but in combination. Following this examination of work-derived social characteristics, we will attempt to assess their connections with the general social characteristics examined in the previous chapter.

Federal Voting Choice and Enterprise Type

We can now begin by looking at the voting choices of the unionized company work force in the three types of enterprises.

TABLE 8

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICE, BY ENTERPRISE TYPE

	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	Number Voting For 4 Major Parties
Logging Operations	69%	89	13
Saw and Plywood Mills	56%	40	71
Pulp and Paper Mills	47%	16	34
Total	55%	65	118

The table indicates a steady and consistent swing away from the NDP as we move from the loggers, the most "isolated, homogeneous mass" in Kerr and Siegel's terms, through the saw and plywood mill workers and then on to those employed in the pulp and paper mill. Even acknowledging the small numbers found in the first column, the differences are a clear

indicator of the importance of enterprise type, or one of its accompanying features, in accounting for the industrial work force's voting patterns.

Federal Voting Choice and Union Membership

We have noted that different types of enterprises have different unions contracting for their workers. We will now look at membership in specific unions as a precondition to voting. There are three major unions distinguishable, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers (Pulp, Sulphite), and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers (Papermakers). In addition, the Operating Engineers in the sawmill steam plant, and the Electrical Workers in the pulp mill are grouped into an "other", residual category because of their small numbers.

TABLE 9

FEDERAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICE, BY UNION

Union	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	Number Voting For 4 Major Parties
IWA	62%	50	81
Pulp, Sulphite	50%	13	26
Papermakers	33%	2	6
Other	0%	0	5
Total	55%	65	118

Inspection of this table shows a marked decline in support for NDP as we move from the IWA membership to the Pulp, Sulphite, through the Papermakers, and on to the "other" category.

It should be noted that in the above table we have collapsed some of the categories from the previous table, and subdivided others. Naturally, the IWA members in this table show a degree of NDP support between that of the logging enterprises and the saw and plywood mills in the previous table, since they are a combination of these categories (less a very small number of steam-plant workers allocated to the "other" category). Pulp and paper mill workers appear in all columns except the IWA one. In order to clarify these overlapping divisions, we must move on to a further treatment.

Federal Voting Choices by Enterprise Type and Union

The overlap mentioned above indicates that we should distinguish four major blocs and one residual category in the work force. The bulk of our discussion will use this set of divisions. The categories are:

1. IWA members in logging enterprises;
2. IWA members in the saw and plywood mills;
3. Pulp, Sulphite workers in the pulp and paper mill;
4. Papermakers on the paper machines in the pulp and paper mill;
5. the members of the Operating Engineers, in the sawmill steam plant, and the members of the Electrical Workers' union in the pulp mill, a residual category. These are the unions that are thought of as "quasi-craft industrial unions"; one is a union of production workers whose work involves little physical labor, the other is a union covering the skilled maintenance workers in one craft in the paper mill.

The bulk of the pulp and paper mill work force has thus been divided into two blocs, appearing in categories 3 and 4 above. The Papermakers work in a part of the plant farthest from the loggers in their work characteristics, being much like the Chemical Plant Workers described by Blauner (1967: Ch. 6 and 7).

These categories enable us to compare work forces in two types of enterprises covered by the same union, the loggers and the saw and plywood mill workers. We can also make comparisons between two work forces within the pulp and paper mill covered by different unions. Finally, we can make comparisons between four different types of work force, that is, the loggers, the saw and plywood mill workers, the bulk of the pulp and paper mill work force, and the paper machine workers. This latter set of comparisons is one of major interest. The members of the "other" category are included, but they are of little interest.

The following table reveals the reported voting choices for the workers in each of the five categories listed above.

TABLE 10

FEDERAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICE, BY UNION AND ENTERPRISE TYPE

Union	Enterprise Type	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	Number Voting For 4 Major Parties
IWA	Logging	69%	9	13
IWA	Saw and plywood mill	60%	40	67
Pulp, Sulphite	Pulp and paper mill	50%	13	26
Paper- makers	Pulp and paper mill	33%	2	6
Other	Various	0%	0	5
Total		55%	64	117

One voter was dropped from our sample of 118 by developing these categories. Inspection of our data showed that this was a person who claimed IWA membership, who worked at the pulpmill, and who voted NDP. Since the IWA cannot bargain for him in the pulpmill, he is disregarded.

The table shows that the consistent trends of the previous two tables are continued. NDP support declines as we move from workers belonging to the IWA, to pulp and paper mill workers belonging to the Pulp, Sulphite union, to Papermakers in the pulp and paper mill, and on to two "quasi-craft industrial unions".

The above set of union and enterprise type categories seems to make all of the kinds of distinctions that we have wished to make between both enterprises and unions, and as a consequence they will be used in the above form from this point on.

Federal Voting Choice and Skill Level

All members of the sample were assigned by Meissner to one of five skill levels, numbered and defined as follows:

1. professional, proprietary, managerial (does not include foreman);
2. technical, clerical, sales;
3. skilled: foreman, craftsman, process operator, major machine operator (does not include truckdriver);
4. semi-skilled: craftsmen apprentices, lower level process operators;

5. unskilled.

We have already presented an argument that skill level may be a major influence on class and interest perceptions, and that workers of different levels of skill may be differentially involved in their unions. In our community, there may be significant differences in voting choices accompanying differences of skill level, and these differences may work uniformly throughout the community, or differently in combination with some other variable.

As a first step in studying the relationship between skill level and voting, we will examine a simple table of voting choices and skill level.¹⁹

TABLE 11

FEDERAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICE, BY SKILL LEVEL

Skill Level	Percentage Voting NDP	Number Voting NDP	For 4 Major Parties
2 - Technical	0%	0	2
3 - Skilled	63%	33	52
4 - Semi-skilled	52%	14	27
5 - Unskilled	49%	18	37
Total	55%	65	118

This table shows a clear difference in rate of NDP preference between the skilled and unskilled. We do not know, however, whether the skill level itself is an influence on voting, or whether other social features influence the ways in which skill level manifests political views. It has been argued throughout that the pulp mill contains fewer unskilled workers doing physical labor, but that the saw and plywood mills contained, traditionally at least, large blocs of such people, and that the logging operations contain many men doing work which demands hard physical labor. We now combine the union and enterprise type divisions with the skill divisions, and look at voting choices against all three variables.

19. We have been able to bypass the differences in social characteristics between voting time and election time repeatedly, above. Those with less than two years' residence were excluded from study, for instance. However, there is no way that we can cope with changes in skill level between election time and interview time. Perhaps some respondents that were unskilled at election time were skilled at interview time. As a consequence, all treatment of skill levels must be seen as having a weakness not found in the case of the other social characteristics.

TABLE 12

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY UNION AND ENTERPRISE TYPE, AND SKILL LEVEL

Union %/Enterprise Type / Vote		Technical /Clerical	Skilled	Sémi- Skilled	Un- Skilled	Total
IWA - Logging	NDP		57% (4)	(3)	(2)	69% (9)
	Total		(7)	(4)	(12)	(13)
IWA - Saw and Plywood Mills	NDP		73% (16)	60% (9)	50% (15)	60% (40)
	Total		(22)	(15)	(30)	(67)
Pulp, Sulphite, - Pulpmill	NDP		65% (11)	(2)	(10)	50% (13)
	Total	(1)	(17)	(5)	(3)	(26)
Papermakers - Pulp and Paper Mill	NDP		(1)	(0)	(1)	33% (2)
	Total		(2)	(2)	(2)	(6)
Other	NDP		(0)	(0)	(0)	0% (0)
	Total	(1)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(5)
Total	NDP		63% (32)	52% (14)	49% (18)	55% (64)
	Total	(2)	(51)	(27)	(37)	(117)

We can look at this table row by row, ignoring all the small totals, for instance the two "skill level two" individuals in the left hand column. We first notice that over half the logging employees are skilled, that the number in each of the cells is small, and that the semi- and unskilled together, while a smaller number of workers, provide the NDP with more votes than the skilled. The trend from left to right among the loggers is a reversal of the trend in the previous table, where skill alone was looked at. For the loggers, NDP support increases as skill decreases. We must note that these observations are based on very small numbers.

The second group, IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, constitutes over half (67/117) of the total voting workers in the table. In this group, as one moves from the skilled to the semi-skilled, there is a clear drop in the rate of NDP support, and as one moves from the semi-skilled to the unskilled, there is a further clear drop. For this large section of the work force, skill level seems to be an important feature affecting voting choice. Not only is the trend of the previous table continued, it is magnified. Both skilled and semi-skilled in this row show higher rates of NDP support than the skilled and semi-skilled in the total row. Among Pulp, Sulphite union members in the pulp mill, there is a predominance of skilled workers, and these show about the same rate of NDP support as the total skilled. They show however, a much higher rate of NDP support than the total for their row, 65 per cent versus 50 per cent. The other two very small groups, semi- and unskilled, vote away from the NDP. These two groups combined show only two of their eight votes (or 25 per cent) going to the NDP.

At this point we are tempted to say that the unskilled and semi-skilled IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, and the Pulp, Sulphite union members in the pulp and paper mill, perceive support of the NDP as less important than do their skilled opposite numbers, the reverse of the pattern for the loggers. The mechanism producing this difference can be studied later, when other social characteristics are introduced.

Other cells in the table contain such small numbers that it is of no profit to try to interpret them. The general trends of the previous tables tell all that can usefully be said of them; those in the Papermakers union and in the two quasi-craft industrial unions choose to support the NDP candidate very infrequently.

Looking back to our totals, clearly the saw and plywood mill workers in the IWA, who showed the clearest trend stated above, also form the only row with large enough numbers for us to make reasonably firm observations. The only other cell that constitutes any significant part of the workforce is that containing the skilled Pulp, Sulphite members in the pulp and paper mill. We can make no general statement about the connections between skill, type of enterprise, and union membership from this table, but we have shed some doubt on the generality of the findings for the previous tables. The kind of patterns that are suggested are, first, that skilled workers with membership in a major union, working in a factory-type setting (sawmills, plymill, pulp and paper mill) are more strongly inclined to support the NDP than are parallel semi-skilled or unskilled workers, and second, that as one moves from factory work to natural-setting work (loggers) the semi- and unskilled workers in major unions swing from supporting the NDP less frequently than the skilled workers, to supporting it more frequently than the skilled workers. For further examination of this matter, see the final chapter of this work.

Concerning the members of the lesser unions, it might be that there are conflicts between the smaller and the larger unions (see above, page 35) or it might also be that the larger the union, the higher the rate of intra-membership communications. More of IWA members' talk is with other IWA members than is Electrical Workers' talk with other Electrical Workers, with influence on the formation of political opinion. Lastly, it might be that the members of the smaller unions, because their work is "quasi-craft" are more conservative, in keeping with the traditional conservatism of the American Federation of Labor craft unions.

Summary

We have found that the union to which the workers belong, the enterprise type in which they work, and the level of skill, all have a bearing on voting. Our major findings are as follows.

1. We looked at the different types of enterprises, and found that as we moved from earliest to latest, from hard physical labor in an outdoor setting to physical labor in a factory to work in a continuous-process industry, the rate of NDP support dropped.

2. The largest union, which covers the workers in the oldest types of enterprise, shows the strongest rate of NDP support. This of course might be a result of the legislators both having been elected, paid officials of this union, but on the other hand, the rate of NDP support of the members of this union might have led these men, rather than the officials of other unions, into politics. In any case, we have a number of explanations of why the members of this union vote for the NDP and we cannot choose clearly among them.
3. We combined Union and enterprise type, and found that the resultant division of the work force produced a smoother, more continuous, set of intervals, although these were somewhat weakened by the small number of individuals in the categories at the extremes. As one moved from logging to wood products mill to paper mill, and from IWA to smaller unions, NDP support dropped. It appeared that union and enterprise type were features that could best be treated in combination, and this was the way they were used in further work.
4. The connection between skill level and voting choices was examined. There was a quite clear connection between skill level and NDP support. (high skill, high rate of NDP support) in the case of the IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, a less clear but similar connection in the case of the Pulp, Sulphite members in the pulp and paper mill, and a reverse but weak connection in the case of the IWA members in the logging enterprises. There were no findings for smaller unions (all of the "labor elite" type, "quasi-craft industrial unions"), there being far too small numbers in the separate categories for any interpretation of the effect of skill. However, since skill is itself the basis for differentiating these unions from the others, there is really little need for interest in skill as coded.

CHAPTER V

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, WORK-DEFINED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND VOTING CHOICES

We have uncovered voting patterns of voters with certain general social characteristics, alone and in combination, and other voting patterns for voters with certain at-work social characteristics. Up to this point, there has been no suggestion that some of these general social characteristics may be peculiar to voters with particular work-defined social characteristics, but this suggestion will now be made and pursued. This means that we will want to know for instance whether there is an excessive proportion of the young newcomers in the "quasi-craft industrial unions", whether the young newcomers that are born in western Canada are concentrated disproportionately in enterprise type a, b, or c, and so on. Two sets of tables were run, in which each voter studied was allocated to one of twenty categories for the first table, or one of fifteen for the second. In addition to the category total, each of these categories showed NDP voting choices as well as the total. In the case of the first of these tables, four different independent variables were incorporated, in the second, three independent variables. The first table relates union and enterprise type to young-old and newcomer-oldtimer categories, while the second examines union and enterprise type and place of birth.

Rather than present these tables in their full complexity, we wish to introduce the first one, which deals with the largest number of variables, by extracing some of the totals from the subdivisions, and combining them in terms of only three independent variables at a time. Voting choices will be left out of the discussion for the present, and union and enterprise type will be looked at, first vis-a-vis the young-old division, and second vis-a-vis the newcomer-oldtimer categories.

TABLE 13

UNION AND ENTERPRISE TYPE GROUPS BY YOUNG-OLD CATEGORIES
AND BY NEWCOMER-OLDTIMER CATEGORIES

Union / Enterprise Type	<u>Young-Old and Newcomer-Oldtimer</u>				Total
	Young Under 45	Old 45 and over	Newcomer Less than 15 Yrs. in dist.	Oldtimer 15 or more Yrs. in dist.	
IWA - Logging	38% (5)	62% (8)	23% (3)	76% (10)	(13)
IWA - Saw and Plywood Mills	63% (42)	37% (25)	43% (29)	57% (38)	(67)
Pulp, Sulphite - Pulpmill	38% (10)	62% (16)	69% (18)	31% (8)	(26)
Papermakers - Pulpmill	83% (5) (a)	17% (1) (a)	67% (4) (a)	33% (2) (a)	(16)
Other	(2) (a)	(3) (a)	(2) (a)	(3) (a)	(5)
Total	55% (64)	45% (53)	48% (56)	52% (61)	(117)

(a) Numbers too small for meaningful percentages.

We can see, when looking at the percentage distributions in this table, some dramatic features. In our original findings on the young-old and the newcomer-oldtimer divisions, the latter of each pair of attributes accompanied a higher degree of NDP support. The table is arranged with the categories highest in NDP support at the top and the right.

Looking at the table row by row, we see first that the loggers are both more frequently older and oldtimers, so there appears to be some overlap between the above-average rate of logger support for the NDP, the above-average rate of the above-45 years of age support for the NDP, and the above-average rate of oldtimer support for the NDP. The two next groups, saw and plywood mill workers in the IWA, and Pulp, Sulphite members in the pulp mill, each show one high NDP support and one low NDP support attribute. The first contains many young and many oldtimers, the second many old and many newcomers. The fourth group is the very small number from the paper machine work force, members of the Papermakers union in the pulp and paper mill. They show a predominance of young and of newcomers, both attributes accompanying lower rates of NDP support, and again there is overlap between all three characteristics tending away from the NDP. The final group, the members of the two smallest unions, contains too few people for investigation, but it doesn't conform to the Papermakers' pattern.

We can now move on to the full table on voting choices, which shows union and enterprise type status, and age and length of residence categories, as independent variables, as well as voting choices.

TABLE 14
FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY UNION, ENTERPRISE TYPE
AGE, AND LENGTH OF COMMUNITY RESIDENCE

Union / Enterprise / Vote		Young Newcomers	Young Oldtimers	Old Newcomers	Old Oldtimers	Total
IWA - Logging	NDP	(2) (a)	(2) (a)	(0) (a)	71% (5)	69% (9)
	Total	(2)	(3)	(1)	(7)	(13)
IWA - Saw and Plywood Mills	NDP	39% (9)	69% (13)	(4) (a)	74% (14)	60% (40)
	Total	(23)	(19)	(6)	(19)	(67)
Pulp, Sulphite - Pulpmill	NDP	38% (3)	(1) (a)	60% (6)	(3) (a)	50% (13)
	Total	(8)	(2)	(10)	(6)	(26)
Papermakers - Pulpmill	NDP	(1) (a)	(1) (a)	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	33% (2)
	Total	(4)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(6)
Others, (IBEW, Op.Eng.)	NDP	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	0% (0)
	Total	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(5)
Total	NDP	39% (15)	65% (17)	55% (10)	63% (22)	55% (64)
	Total	(38)	(26)	(18)	(35)	(117)

(a) Numbers too small for meaningful percentages.

Looking first at those in logging, we find these people provide a consistent support for the NDP. The members of this category are concentrated in the old-oldtimer category (7 of the total of 13, over half). From this row, we might suggest that the logger work force may contain a body of NDP supporters strongly socializing newcomers to support the NDP. This would partly be possible because of the long trip to work in the company bus, (or "crummy"), and partly because of small work groups in the logging work force, both mechanisms making the oldtimers and their attitudes relatively inescapable for the newcomers.

Turning to the row of saw and plywood mill workers, we find a large bloc of workers (67 of the table's total of 117), spread out over the four categories, with about 1/3 in the young newcomer group, over 1/4 in each of the oldtimer groups, and very few in the old newcomer group. Here, the young newcomers support the NDP very poorly (39 per cent, the same rate as the total column of young newcomers). They differ notably from the rate of support for the row total, which is higher than the table average (60 per cent). Both the size of the young newcomer group, which could lead to their overwhelming any groupings of workers by sheer numbers, and the organization of the work force, for instance lunch and coffee break groups may consist of selected groups of peers and friends, and not of a whole, small, work team, may make young newcomers less socializable. Moreover, from table 7 above we know that the column contains a sizeable bloc of young newcomers that are born chiefly in Europe and Asia and who support the NDP weakly: the bloc of 16 casts three votes for the NDP and therefore thirteen votes for other parties. There may be some overlap between this connection between place of birth and young newcomer support for the other parties, and the rather high proportion of the young newcomers in the saw and plywood mills frequently supporting the other parties.

Continuing to look at the saw and plywood mill work force, we see that the other three categories support the NDP rather strongly, together casting 31 votes for the NDP and 13 votes for the other parties (70 per cent NDP support) in each case exceeding the rate of NDP support for the columnar total. It would appear that the earlier finding is upheld, and that either long community residence or being in the older generation predisposes an individual to vote NDP. However, meeting either or both of the old and oldtimer conditions and being in the saw and plywood mill IWA

work force predisposes one even further to vote NDP. We must not overlook the possibility of historical change in the saw and plywood mill work forces. It may be, for instance, that this type of enterprise now provides work for people who can be uninterested in the NDP, but that in the past, because of less job security, the workers in this type of enterprise were drawn into an interest in the NDP which still continues.

The Pulp, Sulphite union members, in the third row of the table, are chiefly young newcomers supporting the NDP weakly, at about the same rate as the total young newcomer group, and old newcomers, supporting the NDP at slightly higher than the total old newcomer rate. They are not a notable row.

The fourth row in the table, that of Papermakers union members in the pulp and paper mill, shows only that most of these individuals are young newcomers and that most of this small number do not vote for the NDP (only one NDP vote out of four of their voting choices). Further, these young newcomers produce the bulk of the non-NDP support found in the row.

There is little point in attempting further analysis of the table, given the small numbers in the rest of the cells. None of the IBEW or Operating Engineer votes were for the NDP candidates.

Now we can look at union and enterprise type and their relation to place of birth, a social characteristic previously studied, as well as the connection of each of these to voting.

TABLE 15

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY UNION, ENTERPRISE TYPE, AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Union / Enterprise / Vote		British Columbia	Prairies	"Other" (chiefly Europe and Asia	Total
IWA - Logging	NDP	(3) (a)	(3) (a)	(3) (a)	69% (9)
	Total	(4)	(6)	(3)	(13)
IWA - Saw and Plywood Mills	NDP	73% (8)	73% (19)	36% (8)	59% (35)
	Total	(11)	(26)	(22)	(59)
Pulp, Sulphite - Pulpmill	NDP	67% (6)	67% (2) (a)	60% (3) (a)	65% (11)
	Total	(9)	(3)	(5)	(17)
Papermakers	NDP	(0) (a)	(2) (a)	(0)	40% (2) (a)
	Total	(1)	(4)	(0)	(5)
Other - (IBEW, Op.Eng.)	NDP	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	(0) (a)	(0) (a)
	Total	(2)	(1)	(1)	(4)
Total	NDP	63% (17)	65% (26)	45% (14)	58% (57)
	Total	(27)	(40)	(31)	(98)

(a) Numbers too small for meaningful percentages.

When we look at the rows and their rate of NDP support, and compare these with both the total for the row and the total for the column, wherever the number of voters in a cell is adequate, some interesting findings result. First, however, we note from previous work that there are 28 per cent of the total in the B.C. born category, 41 per cent in the prairies born category and 32 per cent in the Europe and Asia born category. The first two columns favor the NDP, voting choices of the third do not.

Looking at the IWA Loggers, first we find that there are small numbers in each of the totals for the row, second that the pattern of NDP support does not conform to that of the bottom (total) row in the table, the Europe and Asia born choosing the NDP candidate in all of their choices. However, the row contains small numbers. Moving on to the saw and plywood mill worker IWA member row, with 59 individuals, the general pattern for places of birth in the bottom total row tends to be repeated but in a more extreme pattern. The Europe and Asia born support the NDP in only 36 per cent of their voting choices, instead of 45 per cent, as the total row, the other two western Canadian categories support the NDP in 73 per cent of their voting choices, higher than their rates of NDP support in the total row. The distribution of the sawmill work force by place of birth does not correspond to that of the total population, fewer of them being B.C. born.

The third row, members of the Pulp, Sulphite union, shows a general pattern of high NDP support, irrespective of place of birth. There is a place of birth pattern widely divergent from the total. It should be noted that in the previous table, the Pulp, Sulphite group made 13 of their 26 choices, 50 per cent, in favor of the NDP, and that with the reduction of the population in question to 98 individuals, they made 11 of their 17 choices, or 65 per cent in favour of the NDP.

The last two rows of the table again contain such small numbers that they cannot be interpreted.

We will now examine a small part of a further table, in which skill level is added to the union work force divisions and the age and length of community residence divisions. Looking back to table 12 it is quickly visible that three skill levels of saw and plywood workers, and the skilled in the Pulp, Sulphite union, contain adequate numbers for further study. We add the young-old, and newcomer-oldtimer divisions and study the relations between these general variables and all the three at-work

variables, union, enterprise type, and skill level, on these four blocs of voters. The first three groups are of some considerable interest, because they show a decreasing support for the NDP. The fourth group has a higher rate of NDP support than the total work force in table 14 or 15.

TABLE 16

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY UNION, ENTERPRISE TYPE,
SKILL LEVEL, AGE, AND TIME IN DISTRICT, FOR MAJOR WORK FORCE BLOCS

Union / Enterprise / Vote / Skill Level		Young New- Comers	Young Old- Timers	Old New- Comers	Old Old- Timers	Total
<hr/> IWA - Saw and Plywood Mill						
Skilled	NDP	3	7	0	6	73% (16)
	Total	6	9	0	7	(22)
Semi-Skilled	NDP	2	3	1	3	60% (9)
	Total	4	6	1	4	(15)
Unskilled	NDP	4	3	3	5	50% (15)
	Total	13	4	5	8	(30)
Total	NDP	43% (9)	69% (13)	(a) 4	74% (14)	60% (40)
	Total	(23)	(19)	6	(19)	(67)
<hr/> Pulp, Sulphite - Pulpmill						
Skilled	NDP	3	1	4	3	65% (11)
	Total	5	2	6	4	(17)

(a) Numbers too small for meaningful percentages.

When this table is examined, the following patterns emerge:

1. Among the saw and plywood mill workers, the skilled row contains predominantly oldtimers (9 young oldtimers and 7 old oldtimers) who support the NDP strongly, in 13 of their 16 voting choices. The small number of skilled young newcomers split their votes equally between the NDP and the other major parties. The row shows a total of 73 per cent of its votes for the NDP.
2. The semi-skilled row of saw and plywood mill workers, with its total of 15 voters, shows no sizeable blocs of voters, and no clear and strong preferences for the NDP or away from it.

3. The unskilled row of saw and plywood mill workers show nearly half of their members (13 of 30) in the young newcomer category. Very few of the voting choices of these 13 are in favor of the NDP; in fact, only 4, or 31 per cent. The smaller blocs of voters in the row tend to prefer the NDP slightly, in 11 of their 17 voting choices, about 2 of every 3.
4. We will look, lastly, at the skilled workers in the Pulp, Sulphite union who work in the pulp mill. The numbers in this section of the table are all rather small, and there is a general mild preference for the NDP.

In looking at the sawmill section of the table column by column, the weak support by the young newcomers is all accounted for by the unskilled. While the unskilled cast only 4 of their 13 votes for the NDP, of the total of 10 skilled and semi-skilled voters in this column, 5 of them voted for the NDP. Similarly, if the skilled are subtracted from the young oldtimers and old oldtimers columns, NDP support rates of 60 per cent (6 of 10 votes) and 66 per cent (8 of 12 votes) replace the columnar rates of 69 per cent and 74 per cent. Apart from the three extreme groups, the general pattern for the table is one of modest favoring of the NDP.

The most extreme patterns of NDP support and NDP non-support found so far were those found in table 7, Chapter III, in the combined study of young-old, newcomer-oldtimer, and place of birth categories. It there appeared that there was one bloc of 16 individuals who were young newcomers, born in "Europe and Asia", who cast only 3 of their votes for the NDP, therefore 13 of their votes for the other parties. There was another bloc of 11 individuals who were young oldtimers born on the prairies, and who cast most of their votes (9 of the 11) for the NDP.

It is impractical to attempt to introduce further variables in developing table 16. Instead, we observe that there have been general slight preferences for the NDP candidates up to this point, with a number of exceptions as noted. The most outstanding exceptions are the ones just reported from table 7. We will now take the two extreme blocs from this table and distribute them over a table by union, enterprise type, and skill level categories. In this manner, we will be able to uncover any overlapping of the work-defined characteristics with the general characteristics. For instance, we know that unskilled and semi-skilled members of the logging work force belonging to the IWA are high in their rate of NDP support, and

there is some possibility of there being a high concentration of young oldtimers born on the prairies, who also show a very high rate of NDP support, in this category. On the other hand, it is also possible that the young-oldtimers born on the prairies will be distributed in no particularly patterned way, and alternately that they will be distributed in a way patterned only in relation to one or two of the three at-work characteristics.

To examine this matter, the categories used in the table for the study of union, enterprise type, and skill, were slightly modified. First, since the technical and clerical skill category contains only two respondents, it is of little further concern. Second, the Papermakers union row of the table only contains six individuals, and the "other" union category only contains five individuals. Since the categories are both very low in their rate of NDP support, and since the jobs in these categories are most like Blauner's chemical industry workers, "responsible" labor, doing control-instrument, low level of physical labor, work, little will be lost by collapsing them.

The following major categories are used, each divided into skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled categories of workers.

1. IWA, logging.
2. IWA, saw and plywood mills.
3. Pulp, Sulphite, pulp and paper mill.
4. Papermakers and Electrical Workers in the pulp and paper mill, and Operating Engineers in the sawmill steam plant.

In this section, a problem somewhat different from previous scrutiny and our general question will be examined. In our introduction, it was stated that our general interest was in the question, "Who votes for these people?" (the NDP candidates). We wish to investigate one bloc of individuals who support the NDP very strongly, and another bloc who support the NDP very weakly. As a consequence, we are not only interested in votes for the NDP in the following table, but also in votes for the other major party candidates.

TABLE 17

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY UNION, ENTERPRISE TYPE,^(a)
 AND SKILL LEVEL -- SELECTED BLOCS OF VOTERS

		IWA, Sawmills, etc.			Pulp, Sulphite, Pulpmill			Other			Total
		Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Unskilled	
Young Newcomers Europe and Asia born	NDP	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Other	1	1	9	0	0	1	1	0	0	13
	Total	2	2	9	1	0	1	1	0	0	16
Young Oldtimers Prairies born	NDP	4	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
	Other	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Total	4	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	11

(a) The blocs are found in table 7, page 66. All voters in these two blocs are included in this table. None of them were in logging operations.

Examining this table, we find that the overwhelming bulk of both those voting for the NDP candidates and those voting for the other candidates are found in the IWA, saw and plywood mills category. This trend might have been expected, since in the tables showing the distribution of the workers by union and enterprise type, this category contains 67 of the total of 117 respondents, or 57 per cent of the table's total. When the young newcomers, Europe and Asia born, are looked at the bulk of them (13 of the total of 16, or 81 per cent) are found in the IWA, saw and plywood mill category. When the young oldtimers, prairies born, bloc is looked at, they are even more strongly concentrated (10 of the total of 11, or 91 per cent) in the wood products mills. The two blocs showing the most divergent voting patterns are located overwhelmingly in one broad bloc of the work force, the bloc providing mild NDP support. The Paper-makers union and the "other" unions, constituting 11 voters, and giving the NDP only two votes, does not overlap with the low NDP support bloc of young newcomers, Europe and Asia born. In this case, it appears that the Papermakers, Operating Engineers, and Electrical Workers unions contain members of the "labor elite" who tend toward political conservatism. There is only one "other" (Europe and Asia) born worker in the "other" unions.

The overwhelming finding of this table is that there are 9 unskilled workers in the saw and plywood mills who are young newcomers, Europe and Asia born, and who all voted for the other major party candidates. We seem to have found a combination of six characteristics that differentiate a notable bloc of voters, none of them preferring the NDP. By disregarding place of employment, a single Pulp, Sulphite member voting against the NDP is added, producing ten out of ten voters with four attributes in common manifesting the anti-NDP pattern.

The other major finding of the table is that, of the total of 11 young oldtimers born on the prairies, with their high NDP support rate, all but one of them is a saw and plywood mill worker. In the second section, eight of the nine individuals supporting the NDP have in common five of the attributes studied. They are opposed by two voters with the same five attributes choosing other parties. The finding is not as dramatic as the complete repudiation of the NDP by the 9 unskilled sample members in the upper section of the table.

Place of employment findings from previous tables do not overlap with the findings from Table 7. Both the group strongly supporting the NDP and the group strongly repudiating it are found in the saw and plywood mills, and belong to the same union. They also are not differentiated clearly by skill level. From this we suggest that there may be features of organization of work groups and of at-work leisure groups that allow the workers in these large plants to have such divergent patterns of voting choices.

Looking at Philpott's work on the Longshoremen we find a very extreme set of circumstances. Worker rationality is allowed wide scope in manipulating the labour market, and a very peculiar set of social relationships provide the base for the use of this worker rationality. First, the men spend time in a union hiring hall, interacting with each other in a more or less egalitarian way. Philpott (1965:29) states:

Most of the time in the hall is spent playing cards or talking. There is a great deal of camaraderie, laughing, joking and physical horseplay. The informal groups tend to consist of men at the same level in the market hierarchy. However, there is considerable interaction between groups and between individuals at different levels as well. Apparently much of the socialization of longshoring behavior, norms and expectations takes place at the hall. In the groups, experienced longshoremen can sometimes be heard describing the merits or drawbacks of particular jobs to new men.

For our purpose, it is quite unfortunate that there was no question asked that enabled us to find the degree of socialization on the job, or of the effects of such socialization.²⁰

While from Philpott's description, longshoremen apparently interact in the hiring hall as longshoremen and not as church members or members of ethnic or other groups, we have no access to firm and consistent information on the interaction during work, or during work breaks, for the industrial workers in Millport. None of the questions was made specific enough for us to identify socialization within a workforce and separate it clearly from the sustaining of social ties from other social milieux. Chinese may have lunch with Chinese, Jehovah's Witnesses may have coffee with other Jehovah's Witnesses. We do not even know whether the people that the individual talks to during his work, his lunch and coffee breaks, are

20. See Appendix F.

fellow union members. Questions number 30 and 39 on the questionnaire, which are included in Appendix F, do not allow us the necessary distinctions.

Summary

From the study of tables 14, 15, 16, and 17 we found that the respondents with the general characteristics studies were not distributed within the different types of enterprise in the same pattern as they were distributed throughout the whole sample. Our major findings can be summarized in the following way:

1. We first examined union and enterprise type, and age and length of residence characteristics, with accompanying patterns of voting choices. One large body of workers, the IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, were not much different in their rate of NDP support from the table's total population. When they were divided by age and length of residence categories, strong differences in rate of NDP support appeared, conforming generally to the pattern for the table population as a whole, low support by young newcomers. General social characteristics were important in accounting for their voting, while union and enterprise type were not. The findings for the Pulp, Sulphite members in the pulp and paper mill were similar, but not so strong. The small number of Papermakers in the same mill were predominantly young newcomers and showed low NDP support. The logging enterprise personnel showed high NDP support and were overwhelmingly not young newcomers. In these cases there was an overlapping of general and work-defined characteristics with the same pattern of NDP support. Neither of these two categories had enough members outside the blocs with overlapping characteristics to allow study of the effect of the combination of a high-NDP support characteristic and a low-NDP support characteristic.
2. We then examined union and enterprise type, and place of birth, with the voting patterns accompanying these divisions. The voting choices of the sample members in the saw and plywood mills conformed to the pattern of voting choices for the different categories of birthplace, of the total

population under study. Those born outside the Anglo-American world had a lower frequency of NDP support than the two blocs of western Canada-born. However, neither the small number of IWA members in the logging enterprises nor the Pulp, Sulphite union members in the pulp and paper mill conformed to this pattern, the former appearing to have their voting choices unaffected by birthplace, the latter showing consistent and moderate support for the NDP regardless of place of birth. The respondents in the Papermakers' union, a low NDP support group, were all from the Anglo-American world, a group generally showing high NDP support. In this case, the work-defined characteristics allowed us to account for their voting choices, while our previous general findings about place of birth were contradicted.

3. We then added a further workforce variable, skill level, to those examined in number 1 above, and studied the larger blocs of voters. All the IWA members in the saw and plywood mills were studied, and it was found that the skilled ones strongly favored the NDP. As very few of them were young newcomers, there was an overlap of high NDP support characteristics. The semi-skilled ones consisted of small numbers of voerts, not clearly differentiated by rates of NDP support, when differentiated by age and length of residence, the young newcomers being clearly lower in NDP support than those who were not young newcomers. A final bloc studied was that of skilled workers belonging to the Pulp, Sulphite union who worked in the pulp and paper mill. Division by age and length of residence categories was not marked by any clear differences in rate of NDP preferences.
4. Finally, two blocs with extreme voting patterns were studied. The first, of young newcomers born in Europe and Asia manifested a combination of low NDP support general attributes, and was very low in its level of NDP support. The second, young oldtimers born on the prairies, did not show low NDP support general characteristics and was very

high in its level of NDP support. The question was: Were these voters concentrated in workforces with low and high NDP support respectively? When they were allocated to union, enterprise type, and skill level categories, they were found to be quite alike in terms of the first two characteristics, being predominantly IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, and not distinguished clearly by the third characteristic, skill level. From these voting patterns, it did not appear that any of the work-defined attributes were important preconditions in the voting choices of these two blocs of voters, while the general social characteristics did seem to be important preconditions, allowing us to account for their voting choices.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND ASSESSMENT

Orientations

The present study was an attempt to answer the question: What kinds of industrial workers in a small industrial community in Western Canada would give their support to a party with a socialistic orientation? This question was raised in consideration of two kinds of general conceptions about industrial workers as an interest group. The first one derives from Karl Marx's views on the formation of subordinate interest groups. A part of his work suggested for us the question: "How do those in a subordinate category within a society, be they peasants or industrial workers, form social groups of members sharing consciousness of economic and political interests, and actively pursuing these interests in some integrated way?" By subordinate we mean those who are in conditions of general economic dependence and who, for that reason, are deprived of political influence. Given the fact that Marx's approach was evolutionary, it would be more useful for historical comparisons than for the analysis of survey material such as that used in the present work.

The second general conception is from Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel's view of the operation of worker interest groups. The authors raised the question: "On what bases can community worker populations become integrated into interest groups?" The authors' answers to this question led us to study both differences within and differences between the industrial workforces in our community.

We adapted Kerr and Siegel's ideas to the study of voting. It was not possible to check these adaptations directly, for a variety of reasons.

1. There were deficiencies in the data; for instance, the two-year time lapse between federal election and interview time resulted in the fact that some of the characteristics at interview time were not exactly those that applied to the respondents at election time.
2. There was also some ambiguity in Kerr and Siegel's interpretations. They argued that in industries characterised

by high rates of strikes, and communities of workers in such industries, the union becomes "... a kind of working class party ..." but this statement was followed by an ambiguous elaboration of what they meant by working class party. Kerr and Siegel asserted that the workers in industries with high strike rates constituted isolated masses. By the time of the election our community contained a number of different industries, some of which possessed some high strike rate characteristics, while others possessed medium or low strike rate characteristics. Further, from unsystematic observation, we know of considerable mobility between the types of enterprise, which of course makes it much less possible to claim isolation for the workforce of any type of enterprise.

For our community, the argument about isolated masses appeared to be inapplicable. To study our multi-industry town we formulated the question: "What kinds of workers support a worker-oriented socialistic party strongly, moderately, or weakly?"

From other writers' empirical and theoretical work, as well as Kerr and Siegel's writing, a number of social characteristics were selected, related to major structural and cultural features of our community, and used to shed light on this question.

Because we had a multi-industry community, we could examine both work-defined characteristics and also characteristics that were features of the life of the industrial worker population as a whole. By relating various social characteristics to one another and to voting choices, their relative usefulness in accounting for voting choices was studied.

In this work, percentage contrasts have been used, except where numbers appeared too small for legitimate use of such contrasts. We were looking for clear differences in rates of NDP support, and the percentage contrasts were adequate for this work, although they had to be used with caution. Strong differences in the rate of NDP support did appear in many of our tables.

Tests of statistical significance have not been presented. In preliminary and other work, computer produced chi square tests were invariably invalid. This machine evaluation indicated that too many cells contained insufficient numbers. Tests of significance can be

computed from the data presented, by the person with other interests in our data. Cells of small numbers can be eliminated when they are less relevant, or other tests of significance can be used.

Assumptions

To bridge gulfs between the questions that we wished to shed light on, and the data available, assumptions were made, and specified when they were made. What are the kinds of assumptions that we have used?

First, there were assumptions derived from theoretical literature. Kerr and Siegel suggested that loggers and other high strike rate industry workers would be "tough, inconstant, combative and virile". This was assumed to be a characterisation applicable to the body of logging enterprise workforce members that we studied. Other assumptions are applications of findings from other studies. We assumed that our logging enterprise personnel would parallel the British miners (Dennis et al: 1956) and that the paper machine workers would be much like the industrial chemical workers (Blauner: 1967). A third kind of assumption resulted from unsystematic and impressionistic observations within the community. For instance, it was partly on this basis that we assumed that education had a less-immediate effect on voting than other characteristics, which we chose to study. A further type of assumption was a result of bridging of interests. Marx's and Kerr and Siegel's ideas were applied by assuming that NDP voting choices in our community were related to, although not necessarily identical with, the operation of groups that these authors had conceptualized.

There was also a consistent use of certain ideas about connections between social characteristics and voting choices. We can more sharply define these by noting some kinds of approaches to voting choice studies used by social scientists. We lean somewhat on Berns (1962) in developing this list. The approaches assume the importance of:

1. Unconscious and irrational motivations, used by the psycho-analytically-oriented.
2. Attitudes, and similar motivations, that are not necessarily either unconscious or irrational, and are not directly linked to social characteristics.

3. Social network preconditions, including positions and participation in group social life. If for instance Catholics vote Liberal frequently, and many Liberal candidates are Catholic, the kind and quality of social relations between Catholic candidates and voters would be a part of an explanation of high Liberal support among Catholics.
4. Political culture, the sharing of understandings that allow candidates and voters to orient themselves to one another. Such a political culture would precede, accompany, or follow the social network.

Both Marx's and Kerr and Siegel's work depended on arguments of the last three kinds . . . While these authors do not introduce the arguments to explain voting, their orientations overlap with those used in this work. A fifth type of orientation would assume the direct and exclusive action of rationality on the perception of interests and the application of perceived interests to voting choices. Needless to say, this orientation was not used.

Because of the kind of material available, we could assume and investigate the effects of voting on a general community industrial worker culture, and also a culture within each type of enterprise. These were assumed to be potentially strong and important influences on the voting choices of those with different social characteristics. We thus bypassed lacks of information in the individual's job histories, and the history and organization of the local labor force and its unions.

Material Studied

A brief description of the community was presented. This included describing its industrial history and its present complex of industrial enterprises, its large service workforce, and the different unions covering the industrial workers. The data collected were also discussed.

Some social characteristics were held constant. We were only interested in unionized personnel in the industrial workforce, that is in one of the industrial enterprises of the very large major employer. We were also only interested in those that had lived in the community

at the time of the previous federal election, and who had worked at the same place at election time and interview time. Only men were examined, thus eliminating a variable that was, as discussed, very problematic, with negligible loss of respondents otherwise studied. Finally, only those that showed local voting choices in favor of the candidates of one of the four major parties were studied.

While 308 interviews had been completed, only 118 of these met the above limiting criteria and were usable for the present work.

Expected Findings

From our adaptation of Kerr and Siegel, we expected those industrial workers who had most exposure to local working class social life, and especially the earlier social life in the community, to be highest in NDP support, given the absence of any "cross pressures", or characteristics mobilized into social identities inclining the worker away from the NDP candidate. There was an unclearness in this expectation. Those who had been exposed to earlier local social life had been involved in the community's culture when the array of jobs was more restricted. Logging and sawmills were then the major industries. Kerr and Siegel's characterization of a "high strike rate industrial community" might have applied to our community at that time. However, newcomers would also be less well-oriented to community social life than oldtimers. We thus have two overlapping explanations for higher NDP support by oldtimers.

From the literature we studied, we expected certain types of individuals to be low in NDP support. These included the young, the newcomers, the Roman Catholics, and those born outside the Anglo-American world. They also included those who were in workforces like Kerr and Siegel's low strike rate workforces: Heterogeneous, economically more secure, more clearly upwardly mobile, and generally more middle class. The pulpmill, and particularly the newest part of it where the Papermakers' union (United Papermakers and Paperworkers) members worked, seemed to meet many of Kerr and Siegel's low strike rate requirements most closely. The work there was also more frequently "control instrument" work, like the industrial chemical workers treated by Blauner.

There were some additional characteristics about which we did not

have a clear expectation. While we studied skill level, we could not assume that the skilled were either more or less frequently blocked in their mobility than the unskilled, either throughout the sample or in the workforce of any particular enterprise type.

We did not have firm data on the relationship between the NDP as an organization, and the organization and members of the various unions, apart from the obvious fact of the NDP elected officials both coming from the largest union. Thus our only expectations about union memberships supporting the NDP candidates were, first, that IWA (International Woodworkers of America) members as a bloc and the M.P. had had more access to one another, and second, that the unions covered workforces that differed in terms of Kerr and Siegel's strike rate criteria.

Findings

Each social characteristic was looked at alone as it was introduced, and characteristics were then studied in combination. First general social characteristics and then off-work ones were presented and studied. This resulted in a body of basic material of the patterns of NDP support for the sample members studied.

The off-work characteristics had shown no results that could profitably be pursued. Work-defined characteristics were then studied, enabling us to investigate these characteristics as important pre-conditions of NDP support. Finally, work-defined characteristics and general social characteristics were studied in combination.

When the characteristics were looked at singly, blocs of voters with various attributes were found lower in NDP support.

Low support accompanied the following general characteristics:

- The younger group, when a young-old division was made.
- The oldtimers, when a division was made, by length of community residence, into newcomers and oldtimers.
- The voters born outside the Anglo-American world, in a residual category of "other" place of birth, when a division was made by place of birth and three categories, the above mentioned and two western Canada categories, were used.

When a division was made by off-work social characteristics, it was found that the bloc with no church membership, and the bloc with United

Church members and Roman Catholics, all supported the NDP moderately, while the residual category of "others", including Anglicans, Sikhs, and Jehovah's Witnesses, showed a lower level of NDP support. When each of these groups was studied by its level of church attendance, the higher-attending Catholics did not show a lower level of NDP support, nor did the higher-attending members of the "other" churches.

When combinations of social characteristics and accompanying voting patterns were studied, the picture became much more complex.

Low NDP support was found on the part of:

- those that were young newcomers.
- those in the "other" place of birth category, who were also Catholics, and those in the prairies-born category who were United Church. (Small numbers of respondents were involved in these cases).
- those that were young newcomers born outside the Anglo-American world.

Work defined characteristics were next studied, and low rates of NDP support were found among:

- those in the pulp and paper mill.
- those in the Papermakers' union.
- the unskilled and semi-skilled were lower than the skilled, but not low in NDP support in any absolute sense.

When work defined characteristics were studied in combination, somewhat more complex patterns emerged. Low NDP support was found on the part of:

- the Papermakers' union members in the pulp and paper mill.
- The unskilled workers in the saw and plywood mills who belonged to the IWA, and the semi- and unskilled workers in the pulp and paper mill belonging to the Pulp, Sulphite union.

The final study of combined characteristics, both general and work-defined ones, showed low NDP support among:

- young newcomers who were IWA members in the saw and plywood mills.
- young newcomers who were Pulp, Sulphite (International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers) members in the pulpmill.

- those born outside the Anglo-American world who were IWA members in the saw and plywood mills.
- The Papermakers, who were all western Canada born, were nonetheless low NDP supporters.
- young newcomers who were IWA members in the saw and plywood mills, and who were unskilled.
- young newcomers who were IWA members working in the saw and plywood mills and generally unskilled, who were born outside the Anglo-American world.

While most characteristics and combinations of characteristics were found with moderate NDP support, a number of them accompanied high NDP support. These included:

- Catholics born on the prairies, and United Church members born in British Columbia, (small numbers in each case).
- the logging enterprise employees, who belonged to the IWA.
- The semi-and unskilled IWA members in the logging enterprises.
- the bloc of young oldtimers who were born on the prairies, and who were later found to be predominantly IWA members working in the saw and plywood mills, at various skill levels.

Interpretations

What did these findings mean? Assumptions were used in interpreting these findings. The findings from the tables were understood as showing some support for the following interpretations:

- Young newcomers were regarded as less frequently socialized to the predominant local worker social structure, culture, and accompanying attitudes, than those who were not young newcomers.
- The Europe and Asia born were seen as less often socialized to these features of worker life than those born in western Canada.
- The Europe and Asia born who were also young newcomers appeared to contain proportionately fewer that were socialized to local worker social life than either the Europe and Asia born or the young newcomers.
- The logging enterprise workers seemed to generally conform to Kerr and Siegel's high strike rate type of workforce, as modified for the study of voting behaviour. They were high in

NDP support, a pattern that we assumed would accompany the preconditions set out by Kerr and Siegel for high strike rates. The Papermakers' union members working in the pulp-mill on the paper machines were low in NDP support, and had social characteristics parallelling those of a low strike rate workforce.

- The Papermakers were overwhelmingly western-Canada born, and did not favor the NDP in their voting choices. In their case, the high strike rate characteristic of place of birth was apparently of much less importance than low strike rate workforce characteristics as indicators of influences on voting. They appeared to have the political conservatism of a "craft" union.
- While skill level and its effects could not be studied for the population as a whole, partly because it had different effects on different workforces, it seemed that in the sawmills there was restricted mobility, and that within this workforce, the mobility pattern, the community socialization process, and the general character of the workforce, (distribution into skill levels, preponderance of oldtimers,) all worked together to produce a skilled bloc that was stronger in their NDP support than the semi- and unskilled.

A further interpretation is somewhat more complex. While it appeared that the loggers and the papermakers voting patterns conformed to our expectations from the adaptation of Kerr and Siegel, there was one other major difference in voting choice that did not clearly follow from this adaptation. The study of the three general characteristics had shown two blocs with extreme and opposed voting patterns. The first bloc was of young newcomers born in Europe and Asia, who supported the NDP weakly, the second was of young oldtimers born on the prairies, who were extremely high in their support for the NDP. They differed from the other groups who were western Canada born and not young newcomers, and who supported the NDP moderately. When these two extreme blocs were studied in terms of their work-defined characteristics, no clear differences appeared. They were overwhelmingly members of the IWA, working in the saw and plywood mills, and they were not clearly differentiated by skill level. In the case of these two groups,

it appeared that either different workplace social relations and culture affected two blocs of workers within these enterprises, or that — the community's general worker socio- culture that we have been assuming worked intensively on one group and very weakly on the other.

A final lesser finding seemed to falsify an expectation developed from the literature. Other writers have reported strong Catholic support for Liberal candidates. We had expected that Catholic industrial workers would support the Liberals more, and the NDP less, than the "no church" voters under study, and possibly less than the parallel United Church members. We further supposed that, as a result of cross pressures, the high-attending Catholics would be stronger in their Liberal support than the Catholics as a whole. The small number of Catholics did not support the NDP clearly less frequently than the similar number of United Church members, nor than the large bloc of voters with no church membership that were studied.

When the medium and high-attending Catholics, who constituted the larger part of the Catholics being studied, were examined, their rate of NDP support increased slightly, contrary to our expectations. These findings showed that, for our sample members at least, the Catholic industrial workers were no more frequently under cross pressure, pressure to vote against the NDP candidate, than the other groups of industrial workers studied. The same finding applied to the higher-attending Catholics.

Assessment

The data that we have been analysing have various weaknesses, which include the following:

- There is a time lapse between election and survey which has a number of consequences, including forgetfulness, and the consequences of immigration, emigration, and workforce mobility. The transient population was excluded from our study because of this, and the respondent's skill level at interview time was not necessarily the same at election time.
- The lack of co-operation by the company prevented any thorough investigation of work settings and the social life within these settings, as well as of records, for instance of the respondents' work history.
- Some social characteristics that were of interest following

Kerr and Siegel, have no indicators; others have only weak indicators, available on the completed questionnaires. There is, for instance, no information on the respondent's income, and weak information on his skill level.

- Some characteristics have rich questionnaire responses that are available from the Hollerith cards only in a limited form. For instance, "place of birth" was coded and appeared as nine categories, one being Great Britain and the United States, another covering the rest of the world beyond Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. We could not study the British separate from the U.S. born, nor the Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Asiatics separately.

Besides these weaknesses, there are other problems. One of these is that fact that we are analysing 118 reported voting choices from among the gainfully employed in a community of 20,000. We not only lack the investigation of social participation in work settings, mentioned above, but we also lack any intensive study of the day-to-day off-work social life of the community of 20,000 or any of its smaller sections. From the material available, we cannot get a grasp of community social life of the kind reported by Nash and Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, (discussed for instance on pg. 24 above).

A further set of problems results from specific gaps in the data. We do not have histories of the individuals' union membership, nor complete histories of their industrial-work and other work life. We do not have material on individual job demands, such that we could scale jobs by features that would accompany a "tough, inconstant, combative and virile" workforce.

Since we do not know the texture of community life from interview information, we cannot produce a firm description of either community social structure or culture, which we like to test by the use of survey-research data. We also do not have any way of connecting community social structure and culture to voting choices by means of empirical data. This is also because of the above mentioned weaknesses.

The major result of our work has been the finding of notable differences in the rate of NDP support by the different workforces in the industrial complex within our community, and also differences within these workforces when divided by general social characteristics.

We have found that those who were in the oldest industry, logging, were also in the largest union, with the longest local history, and the workforce that required heavy labor from more of its employees, that involved most economic insecurity, that was least heterogeneous, and was most isolated from the middle class (less-educated, lost community-life time through a long trip to work) supported the NDP highly. The newest workforce, (the men on the paper machines,) doing "control-instrument" work, which was economically secure and provided general upward mobility within a heterogeneous workforce, supported the NDP poorly.

Second, when two blocs with divergent general characteristics and extreme and opposite voting patterns were studied by workforce characteristics, they appeared overwhelmingly in the same enterprise type.

While the first of these findings supports the application of Kerr and Siegel's concepts of workforces to the study of voting choices favoring a worker-oriented socialistic party in our community, the second suggests that, for the medium strike rate industry in our community, their ideas were either inapplicable to the study of voting, or their hypotheses are incorrect interpretations of worker social life.

The general conceptions from Marx and from Kerr and Siegel concerning the formation and operation of worker interest groups need careful elaboration and further testing. Our study has made a contribution to the possibilities for such testing. It has opened new avenues for approaching problems of community social organization as related to industrial worker groups.

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APPENDIX A

Technical Characteristics of the Data

(As supplied by Martin Meissner)

The sampling source consisted of the city directory. This directory had just been published, the enumeration having taken place in December and January 1964-65, about five months before final interviewing began. In the directory we identified every presently working adult, and numbered separately (1) all persons who, according to directory information, were employed by the Company, and (2) those persons working elsewhere. By use of a book of random digits we drew a sample from each of these two series of numbers, in such a way that for every three Company employees one other name was selected. Unless the two samples are kept separate, and proportions in each are compared the responses of the undersampled part of the population will be weighted such that the distribution corresponds to that found in the sampling universe. Table 1 describes the sampling and weighting in quantitative detail. We oversampled Company employees because we were especially interested in the nature and consequences of work experience in large production organizations with a variety of technical processes and levels of technology. Oversampling of Company employees meant that the large majority of the people we attempted to interview were men, manual workers, paid an hourly wage. We interviewed very few women and self-employed, and none of the young, the old, or housewives.

In no sample survey, or even the census or the enumeration for a directory, are all the people ever reached from whom one hopes to obtain information. There was nothing we could do about errors in the enumeration of the directory from which we started. Even then, in the comparatively short span of 5½ months from the directory enumeration to our sample interviews, people moved, changed employment, died, were committed to institutions, and entered or left the labor force. In addition, some people exercised their right to refuse an interview. For the 462 addresses we used for the final interviews, we completed interviews with 308, or two-thirds of the sample. The distribution of reasons for the loss is shown in Table 2. A few suggestions should be made here, however.

Most interview surveys deal with samples from the general adult population containing a large proportion of housewives, and larger proportions of white-collar workers and the better educated. These categories contain more people who are accessible and ready to be interviewed. In addition, our Company sample contained many people on shift work and thus harder to reach. The proportion of people who left the sample population was not replaced, as it were, by those who entered it, because the latter were not included in the initial listing. This leaves out those who moved into the community or into the labor force during the time between directory enumeration and interviewing, and thus reduced the proportion of the young and mobile in comparison to what it actually is in the population.

Two other characteristics of the sampling procedures were important for subsequent work. The main sample was set up such that we could stop whenever time ran out without being bound to a specific number of names. As long as we kept the sequence of random selection each name had an equal chance of being used. We also drew a sample of forty-eight names for a pretest in Millport of the last-to-final interview schedule.

Table 1

Sampling and Weighting

	<u>Company</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Listed in directory as working	3,687	4,523	8,210
Ratio of "Company"/"Other" in directory	.815	1.	
Drawn in sample	347	115	462
Ratio of "Company"/"Other" in sample	3	1	
Per cent of populations sampled	9.4	2.5	
Interviews completed	239	69	308
Weighting factor applied	1	4	
Number after weighting	239	276	515
Ratio of "Company"/"Other" after weighting	.865	1.	
Difference between "Company"/"Other" ratios in directory and in weighted interviews	.5		
Per cent of sampling population interviewed			
- unweighted	6.5	1.5	3.8
- weighted	6.5	6.1	6.3

Table 2

Interview Response

Interview completed		308	67%
Refusals			
a) refused by a relative	10		
b) plain refusal ("not interested")	17		
c) no time, too busy	19		
d) too busy, building house	6		
e) distrustful, hostile, concerned with privacy	17	69	15
Inaccessible			
a) does not speak English	5		
b) not at home (average of over 6 attempts each)	11	16	3
Not in sample			
a) dead	5		
b) moved	28 (6%)		
c) no such person or address	5		
d) works out of town (away for long period)	9		
e) not working			
- on compensation	3		
- sick	6		
- retired, disabled	3		
- out of work, changing jobs	4		
- women who stopped working	4		
- on extended holiday	<u>2</u>	22 (5%)	<u>69</u> <u>15</u>
		462	100%

Altogether the final interviews were preceded by five series of pretesting, analysis, review, and revision, and in the process the research crew acquired the necessary skills and familiarity with the research problems.

In the months of May and June, 1965, five research assistants worked in the community as interviewers. They had undergone extensive training in the field and in formal instruction. Prior to the final interviewing a great deal of time was spent in a carefully designed pretest in the community, in the evaluation of pretest results, and in the development of the final interview schedule.

The last pretest was designed to determine the most effective method of approaching respondents. The pretest interviews were systematically distributed over the two samples and the interviewers. For each of these conditions the method of approach was varied in four ways: (1) phoning for an appointment and then going to the respondent's home; (2) going directly to the respondent's home; (3) sending a letter, phoning, and going to the home; and (4) sending an introductory letter and going to the respondent's home. As only the refusal rate was to be evaluated, names for people who had left the sampling population were systematically replaced. An evaluation of results had to be made before all pretest interviews were completed. This evaluation revealed that Method 4 (sending letter and going to respondent's home) resulted in the least number of refusals and Method 2 (phoning, without letter) in the largest. We decided then to use Method 4 for all of the final interviews and immediately proceeded to prepare letters and envelopes for regular mailing a few days before the planned interview dates. Table 3 shows the disposition of all pretest interviews. At the beginning of final interviewing, refusals declined rapidly as interviewers still learned, and was held at around 13% for most of the interviewing period. It rose again during the mopping-up at the end.

Code manuals were prepared for several parts of the individual interviews and for the interviews with representatives of organizations. In the coding operations a procedure was used similar to that of the preparations for interviewing: repeatedly testing, reviewing and redesigning before beginning the regular coding. Just as each interview record was carefully checked after the interview, we checked the quality of the coding. Each coding sequence required trial runs of sub-sample of responses, sometimes the actual writing out of answers, and a revision of the code manual.

A subsample of interview schedules was coded again by five coders, including the two original coders. We carefully compared the two code sheets for each interview question-by-question, and recorded differences. All of the questions which produced more than small amounts of apparently accidental error were completely reviewed, the code manual revised again and all of these questions recoded for all interviews. Taking as a base the twenty-five checked interviews times the ninety-seven questions coded in the first round, we had initially a coding error of 4½%. Recoding at this and the card cleaning stage will have reduced that rate to below two per cent. One particular error in a sequence of questions resulting from a misunderstanding on the part of one interviewer was corrected by actually re-interviewing these respondents. A further sequence of reconciling inconsistencies took place with the data on punched cards.

Table 3

Pretest, and Experiment in Methods of Approach

Experiment. Counting Only 'Completed' and 'Refused':

Inter-viewer	Outcome	Methods of Approach				Total	Per Cent Refused
		1 Telephone	2 Direct	3 Letter & Phone	4 Letter		
1	Completed	0	2	3	2	7	46
	Refused	<u>3</u> 3	<u>1</u> 3	<u>0</u> 3	<u>2</u> 4	<u>6</u> 13	
2	Completed	2	1	2	2	7	30
	Refused	<u>2</u> 4	<u>0</u> 1	<u>1</u> 3	<u>0</u> 2	<u>3</u> 10	
3	Completed	2	2	2	3	9	25
	Refused	<u>1</u> 3	<u>1</u> 3	<u>1</u> 3	<u>0</u> 3	<u>3</u> 12	
Total	Completed	4	5	7	7	23	34
	Refused	<u>6</u> 10	<u>2</u> 7	<u>2</u> 9	<u>2</u> 9	<u>12</u> 35	
Per Cent Refused		60	29	22	22	34	

All Pretest and Training Interviews:

					Per Cent	Per Cent
Pretest: Completed	4	5	7	7	23	55
Refused	6	2	2	2	12	28½
Unavailable	0	4	1	2	7	16½
	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>100</u>
Per Cent Refused	60	18	20	18		

Interviewer 4 Training Interviews

Completed	2	
Refused	3	
Unavailable	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>

Total Pretest Sample

Comparison of Pretest with Final Outcomes:

	Per Cent			Per Cent		
	<u>Completed & Refused</u>			<u>Completed, Refused & Unavailable</u>		
	Pretest		Final	Pretest		Final
	<u>All</u>	<u>Letter</u>	<u>(Letter)</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Letter</u>	<u>(Letter)</u>
Completed	66	78	82	55	64	67
Refused	34	22	18	28½	18	15
Not in Sample				16½	18	18
or Inaccessible						
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Records for a time budget of activities for one working day (the last before the interview) were obtained from nearly all the respondents actually interviewed. Of our 308 respondents we have no adequate Time Record for seven, and for two the quality of the record is somewhat questionable. The loss of detail from reliance on memory would apply to our data. We have no data on the number of entries, but rather the number of items of activity on which respondents spent time. For the 301 records, the distribution by number of activities is as follows:

Number of items of activity	Number of respondents	Per cent
5	1	-
7	3	1
8	4	1
9	9	3
10	18	6
11	25	8
12	41	13
13	40	13
14	54	18
15	37	12
16	28	9
17	21	7
18	11	4
19	4	1
20	4	1
22	1	-

The average (mean, median, and mode) is 14 activity items, ranging from a minimum of 5 to a maximum of 22.

Voluntary Organizations in the Community

What "organizations" may be seen to have in common are at least: explicit purpose(s) to which its activities are directed; a set of formal positions; a number of rules that regulate the conduct of its affairs; and criteria for membership and performance. "Organizations" would thus include, in this community, probably hundreds of businesses, a number of offices of the government at different levels, and other places where people do their work. In these cases, "membership" is maintained by meeting certain quite clear performance criteria. You continue to be an employee in one of these organizations, for instance, by regularly attending to your work. From these work organizations, other organizations are distinguished as "voluntary" by the fact that specific performance, such as regular attendance, is not a condition of maintaining membership. The status of being a member is in these cases commonly obtained and kept by meeting certain minimal conditions other than regular performance, such as paying membership dues or sometimes only the sharing of a common orientation.

Even though you may become a member of a labor union or a professional association often only on condition of doing certain kindsof work, there are commonly no specific performance demands. On the other hand, sports teams require performance, but entry is not a matter of necessity as it usually is for participation in a work organization. Sports teams generally are often weak organizations by having little of a structure of formal positions.

As we searched directories, local newspapers, interview responses and talked to knowledgeable people, the number of voluntary organizations in the community grew larger and larger. Since our sample interviews were concerned only with presently working adults, and since working women were few in number in the samples and would not likely have much time and inclination for women's organizations mostly attended by housewives, we excluded from our enumeration all organizations directed primarily to the interests of persons not in the labor force (particularly organizations of women, youth, and the aged).

The remaining organizations still constitute a bewildering variety of aims, activities, and organizational form, and range from such large organizations as an industrial union or a major church, with an elaborate structure of subgroups and of positions ordered in a hierarchy, and themselves part of much larger organizations, to such feeble groupings as a card playing club or a sports team. Our listing includes some 203 organizations, as shown in Table 4. Some of these will have gone out of existence and others will have sprung up. While we were gathering our data, for instance, one or two churches seemed to give up operations, and two labor union locals merged. The number of sports teams is not clear and probably quite unstable. Two of the larger work organizations have several sports groups and it is difficult to determine how many exactly there are. A number of local groups, particularly in the unions, are small parts of larger organizations having their offices elsewhere. We have included only those with at least one formal position in the community (such as a job steward who heads a union sublocal) or with formal representation on a local superordinate organization (such as the labor council).

If we take approximately 8,000 persons as the possible constituents of about 200 voluntary organizations, there would be one organization for every forty persons.

Intensive interviews were conducted with representatives of community organizations. Of some 220 community organizations we had listed, interviews were obtained from fifty-five. Most of these interviews were recorded on tape, and 49 were coded and punched on cards. By and large, the selection of organizations for interviews was governed by their size as determined by the number of respondents reporting membership. We decided to exclude certain classes of organizations from those to be interviewed. Among these were organizations of women, adolescents, children, and the aged, and semi-contractual groups such as volunteer firemen, taxpayers, and parent-teacher associations. We attempted some reasonably even distribution over the four main categories: service and fraternal organizations, sports groups, churches, and labor unions. Organised groups concerned with arts and crafts would have been of interest. Although fairly large in number they are small in membership and were thus also excluded.

Table 4

Voluntary Organizations in the Community¹

Occupational ²		
Labor Union	21	
Professional	2	
Businessmen's	2	
Industrial	<u>4</u>	29
³		
Religious		
Christian Church	26	
Religious group not part of church	<u>4</u>	30
Political Party		5
Fraternal and Service		23
Ethnic		12
Recreation		
Team Sport	17	
Sportsmen's	35	
Arts and Crafts	14	
Table Game	<u>4</u>	70
Public Benefit		
Safety	9	
Health	<u>8</u>	17
Cooperative		7
Superordinate ⁴		7
Ad Hoc ⁴		<u>3</u>
Total		203

¹Not included in this listing are organizations exclusive to women and organizations primarily directed to the interests of youth and old age. Also not included are semi-public, semi-political groups as recreation commissions, local improvement and rate payers associations.

²There are in addition 7 labor unions, 7 professional associations, and 6 trade associations for which memberships were disclosed in interviews; but these are organizations without apparent local office or positions.

³Associations which are subsidiary to local church organizations are not counted.

⁴Superordinate organizations are organizations of organizations, at least in the sense that persons attending meetings and occupying office do so as representatives of other organizations. Ad hoc groups direct their efforts to specific, temporary projects.

The reason why we conducted these interviews, and why we selected them as we did, are as follows. We obtained extensive information from our individual respondents on their participation in community organizations. In order to make that information more meaningful we required data on the characteristics of these organizations. After classifying each organization we will assign these characteristics to each of the individual respondents who are members of that organization. We can thus match the qualities and behaviors of individuals with the properties of the organizations to which they belong.

Some Characteristics of the Community

Millport consists of several communal entities with different forms of incorporation. It is located on a seawater inlet, surrounded by mountains, in the midst of forests abundant with the large trees of the Pacific-Coast region of Canada. On coming into town from over the mountains one cannot overlook some of the most obvious qualities of this community. The smoke from the large smokestacks and the smell of pulp production immediately advertise the presence of industry. Nearly all of the town's waterfront is covered by a series of mills. On the water there are large amounts of logs which are constantly being fed into the mills. One does not have to stay long to discover that large ocean-going freighters move steadily through the harbor. On the other side of town huge log trucks can be seen and heard every few minutes. They come down logging roads that cut across the mountains everywhere. What one finds here is a large and integrated operation that drives large chunks of forest through a heavily mechanized process and spews out bulky and neatly packaged products, loaded directly into the ships which take them to other parts of the world. There are rolls of newsprint with the fascinating names of faraway newspapers stamped on them; carefully wrapped stacks of plywood; bundles of lumber with painted ends.

The history of this place has been industrial from the beginning of European settlement. About a century ago, waterfront land was brought from the Indians for a hundred dollars worth of blankets and biscuits, and a sawmill started producing spars for sailing vessels with machinery brought in via Cape Horn. During one year as many as sixty ships came into the harbor, and in one period of three years some thirty-five million feet of timber were exported. The mill closed after a few years when business declined at the time of the Civil War and it was felt that there was lack of handy timber. Later some land was cleared for farming, and for a short period sluice boxes were operated in search of gold. Some seventy years ago, a pulp mill was set up, using imported rags as raw material, and closed down two years later.

Modern times began for the community some fifty-five years ago, with city incorporation, the arrival of the railroad, and the establishment of a sawmill. Fifteen years later another sawmill was built, and, after another twenty years, a plywood mill, followed shortly by a kraft mill. Since then a series of changes in the corporate organization of the industry has eventually resulted in the establishment of an integrated production operation owned by a single firm. The last mill of another company closed down a few years ago.

The shipping records of exports from the harbor display both the growth of output and the beginning of new classes of product. A recent twenty-year period begins with shipping of a little over a hundred thousand tons of lumber, timber and pulpwood, and ends with close to six hundred thousand tons, now also including plywood, woodpulp, newsprint, and paperboard. The first appearance of shipping figures for a new product is a sign of the start of a new industrial operation, during the twenty-year period in the 3rd, 6th, 12th, and 15th year.

In the four Census decades from 1921 the population increased about ten times, but the rate of increase has been declining, from a doubling of the population in each of the first two decades, to a $3/4$ increase in the third, and under $1/2$ in the last. The population is now about twenty thousand. About one-fourth of the population are immigrants.* The proportion of immigrants among our sample respondents is thirty-five percent. The sex ratio (number of males per hundred females) is 110, compared with 99 in Bigcity, suggesting perhaps a larger proportion of young unmarried workers.

The impression created on coming to Millport, that this is an industrial town, is confirmed by data on the characteristics of the labor force. Forty-five per cent of the working adults counted in the directory are employees of the Company, by far the largest single employer. The next largest employer would probably account for no more than three per cent of the labor force. A comparison of the labor force in Millport and Bigcity, by occupation and by industry, reveals some sharp differences.

Per cent of Labor Force by Industry:	Millport	Bigcity
Primary industries (agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining)	8%	2%
Manufacturing and construction	47	24
All services and trade	42	71
Per cent of Labor Force by Occupation:		
White-collar and service workers (managerial, professional, clerical, sales, service, transportation, communication)	43	69
Farming, logging, fishing, mining	6	2
Production workers and laborers	49	26

In the larger region Millport is one of the very few distinctly industrial communities. In the particular comparison with the central city of the major metropolitan area, the proportion of people working in manufacturing industries, and the proportion of production workers, are both about twice as large in Millport as in Bigcity.

* The Census of Canada reports in different places and categories for three areas of this community, depending on their size. The result is that there is no uniform information on the whole community except for population size and sex distribution. Some comparisons are made between Millport and "Bigcity", the central city of the largest metropolitan area in the region, without specifically indicating that the source information is in many cases partial. The last Census year on which this account relies was 1961.

The average income of wage earners in Millport is some five hundred dollars higher than in Bigcity. This is only in part accounted for by the fact that about thirty-five per cent of the wage earners in Bigcity are women (who earn much less than men) and only about twenty per cent in Millport. For men alone the difference is still some four hundred dollars. The income distribution coincides with visual impressions that Millport has comparatively less individual poverty or wealth. Even when looking beyond the extreme ends, incomes in Millport appear more concentrated in the middle categories. Among the income-tax payers, close to one half are in the \$4,000-6,000 income group in Millport, and only one third in Bigcity.

Taxpayers' incomes:	Millport	Bigcity
Under \$2,000	18%	12%
\$2,000 - 3,999	21	34
\$4,000 - 5,999	48	33
\$6,000 - 9,999	20	17
\$10,000 and over	2	5

Only a very limited set of figures is available for relative changes in employment and production. In a recent four-year period, logging and milling employment in the community declined on the average by about six per cent every year, while log production rose annually by an average nine per cent. These data should be regarded with caution since employment changes were not shown for plywood and pulp and paper for which there was probably some increase from plant expansion. Even then, the picture of rising production with declining employment is not likely to change radically. It would indicate continuing heavy mechanization in the industry.

About seventy-five per cent of the "paid employees" (judging by the distribution in our samples) in this community are members of labor unions, compared to about forty-three per cent throughout the province. In the period from 1952-1963 there were five provincial and five federal elections. ~~In four of the provincial and four of the federal elections, the candidate of the C.C.F. or N.D.P. was voted into office.~~

We can now combine a number of elements of the preceding description. We observe here a working population with widely shared and comparatively similar work experiences; highly unionized; predominantly in an industry engaged in mass production in heavily mechanized operations; with a fairly homogeneous income distribution; a comparatively smaller proportion of women in the labor force; containing a sizeable segment of immigrants; and living in a community somewhat isolated from the greater variety of experiences and social contacts possible in a larger urban area.

APPENDIX B

VOTING CONSISTENCY IN FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICES

It has already been noted that a very high level of voting consistency was found during scrutiny of preliminary tables. Overwhelmingly, people voted for the same party in both elections, when it ran a candidate in both elections.

A table was produced to study the voting consistency of the community. While women voters were included, those that had not lived in the community for two years, and those that had not been working at their place of employment for two years, were excluded, as their voting choices cannot be used in the examination of the complex of social characteristics undertaken here.

Respondents were allocated to one of five categories for the federal election and to one of four categories for the provincial election. The discrepancy in the number of categories is the result of the absence of a Liberal candidate in the provincial election. While this absence has caused certain problems, it has also allowed us to do one interesting bit of additional analysis, which is presented below. Because of the absence of a provincial Liberal candidate, the federal Liberal candidate choices are presented in the last line of the body of the table, thus they are available for separate treatment. The votes for the candidate of each major party constitutes a category labelled with the name of the party: New Democratic Party (NDP), Progressive Conservative (PC), Social Credit (SC), or Liberal (L).

There are also two categories of those who do not report a voting choice in favor of the candidates of the major parties. The first of these categories contains those that we call "clearly locally ineligible". These are those who were not citizens, or were too young, or reported having voted elsewhere. The second of these categories is a residual category, and contains those who would not say whom they voted for, those who could not remember whom they voted for, those who voted for local candidates other than those of the major parties, and those who did not vote. This residual category consists of those that show "no stated major party local vote, but not clearly ineligible."

TABLE 1
VOTING CONSISTENCY OF THE SAMPLE LOCAL FEDERAL VOTE,
BY LOCAL PROVINCIAL VOTE (a)

	<u>P r o v i n c i a l V o t e</u>					Total
	NDF	P.C.	S.C.	Clearly Locally (eligible)	No local major Party Vote (not clearly ineligible)	
Federal Vote						
NDP	77	1	3	-	7	88
P.C.	3	8	6	-	1	18
S.C.	2	2	22	-	2	28
Clearly locally ineligible	2	-	-	17	2	28
No major party local vote, not clearly ineligible	9	-	3	-	48	60
Liberal	12	5	12	-	8	37
Total	105	16	47	17	68	253

(a) Males and females, two years or more in district, two years or more at place of employment.

Examination of this table shows us the following voting consistencies and inconsistencies.

- 77 respondents reported choosing NDP candidates in both elections
- 8 respondents reported choosing P.C. candidates in both elections
- 22 respondents reported choosing S.C. candidates in both elections
- 107 respondents then reported choosing the same party in both elections
- 8 more respondents chose P.C. in one election, S.C. in the other
(these might be regarded as "right-wing" voting switches)
- 9 respondents reported choosing the NDP in one election and either the P.C. or S.C. candidate in the other election
____ (we regard these as "left-right" voting switches)
- 124 respondents reported making voting choices for one of these three parties in each of the two elections.

Only 7 per cent (9) of these voters made left-right voting switches, and 86 per cent (107) respondents) voted consistently for the same party. The remaining 6 per cent (7) show left-right, but not party, consistency, (due to rounding, this constitutes a total of only 99%).

Looking at those that made a choice for the Liberal candidate when there was one available in the federal election, (a total of 37 voters), we find that their choices in the provincial election were as follows:

- 12 voted NDP in the other election,
- 5 voted P.C. in the other election,
- 12 voted S.C. in the other election, and
- 8 did not vote in the other election.

Of these voters, then, about 1/3 chose the NDP candidate, under 1/2 chose the two "right" candidates, and 1/5 chose not to vote at all. Whether we regard these individuals as committed Liberals being polarized, or as those slightly left and slightly right of center being given, in the federal election, the choice to choose a center party candidate, it seems quite sound to say that in the eyes of the local electors, the Liberal party as it manifests itself locally is a "center" party of some sort.

Voting Choices and Sample Composition by Sex and Work Force Divisions

In studying connections between voting choices and position in the work force, it is important to consider the possible effects of sex on political attitudes and behaviour. Sex has been found to be an important difference within a particular population regarding degree and kind of political interest (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960:483-493; and Regenstreif, 1965:95, 96). The whole matter of the evaluation of the influence of sex on voting is complex, and we would have to go into it deeply enough to provide the reader with some account of our treatment of this social characteristic, were it not for one fact readily available from subsequent tables.

Our community grew up from a logging camp to a logging, sawmill and pulp mill town and its industry has always been overwhelmingly male. Women are only found in a few small areas of the actual production and maintenance industrial work force -- when the interviewers toured the enterprises women were only seen in production work in the plywood mill, and in clerical positions elsewhere in the company work force. The sex and the youth-adult, composition of the work force seems the opposite of that portrayed by Liston Pope in his study of a North Carolina textile town. Pope noted the existence of "mill daddies": (Pope, 1965:65) :

It is the peculiar function of "mill daddies" to carry lunches to their children at work in the mills, and this constitutes almost their only responsibility,

It appeared that there were far too few women in the union-company work force for us to risk the inclusion of another variable. As a consequence, the women in the union-company group were dropped from our consideration. This left us with two less NDP supporters, and one less non-voter, but it allows the reader to assume that all the heterogeneity we are studying is heterogeneity among men.

Before leaving the women, and the voters outside of the union-company category, we wish to take a brief look at voting choices by the individuals two years in the district and two years at their place of employment.

First, what are the reported voting choices of the men and women who meet these last two requirements?

TABLE 2

FEDERAL ELECTION VOTING CHOICES BY SEX

(All community gainfully employed with two years
in district and two years at workplace)

<u>Voting Choice</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Local NDP candidate	82 (52%)	6 (43%)	88 (51%)
Other 3 local major party candidates	<u>75 (48%)</u>	<u>8 (57%)</u>	<u>83 (49%)</u>
Total voting choices	157 (100%)	14 (100%)	171 (100%)
No local major party voting choice stated	<u>74</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>82</u>
Total	231	22	253

From this table, it appears that the men have a slight preference for the NDP, while the women have a slight preference for the other three major party candidates. The number of women is, however, very small. Before accepting the above interpretation, we will look at the distribution of men and women in different categories of the workforce.

TABLE 3

LOCUS IN THE WORK FORCE, BY SEX
UNION (U) VERSUS NON-UNION (NU) JOBS AND
COMPANY (CO) VERSUS NOT-COMPANY (NCO) EMPLOYER

(Two years in district and two years at workplace)

	<u>UCO</u>	<u>UNCO</u>	<u>NUCO</u>	<u>NUNCO</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	180	14	21	16	231
Females	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>22</u>
Total	183	21	22	27	253

It can be seen immediately that, while about three-fourths of the males in the sample are union-company personnel, a negligible number and a very small

proportion of the females fall into this category. While about 1/8 of the males interviewed fall (nearly equally) into the two "not company" categories, about 3/4 of the females fall into these two categories, half of the total into the non-union non-company cell and 1/4 of the total into the union not-company. The non-union, company cell contains a lone female, while about a tenth of the men fall into the parallel category.

Clearly, location within these cells could account for the very slight pro-NDP tendency among the men and the tendency away from the NDP on the part of the women, if in fact the different cells show different levels of support for the NDP.

TABLE 4
LOCUS IN THE WORK FORCE AND VOTING CHOICES,
BY SEX -- VOTERS ONLY
(Two years in district and two years at workplace)

	UCO	UNCO	NUCO	NUCO	TOTAL
<u>Men</u>					
Local NDP candidate	65 (55%)	8 (73%)	6 (38%)	3 (25%)	82 (52%)
Total Male Voters	118	11	16	12	157
<u>Women</u>					
Local NDP candidate	2	2	-	2	6
Total Female Voters	2	4	-	8	14
Total Men and Women	120	15	16	20	171

Examination of the males in this table shows that the preference for the NDP is strongest in the two unionized columns of the work force, that it is weakest in the non-union, non-company column, and that it is less weak but still weak in the non-union, company column. When we look at the females, we find that the numbers are extremely small, except in the case of the non-union non-company column, where they support the NDP very weakly (25 per cent, the same as the parallel males).

It is quite clear from this table that it may be the differences between rate of NDP preference within the four sectors of the work force that account for the difference between women and men in their rate of NDP support found in Table 2.

Sample Voting Patterns

It is also quite clear from table 3 that there are important differences between the unionized and non unionized sections of the company work force for the men only, in their rate of support for the local NDP candidate (55 per cent versus 38 per cent NDP support) and even more strong differences between the small parallel sections of the non-company work force (73 per cent versus 25 per cent NDP support). Thus in both cases union membership makes a notable difference. While there is a difference between the rate of NDP support between the first two columns, union members employed with the company and union members employed elsewhere (55 per cent versus 73 per cent, an 18 percentage point spread) and a slightly smaller spread between the two non-union categories (38 per cent versus 25 per cent, a 13 percentage point spread), these differences are slighter than the differences between the unionized non-unionized pairs. The main additional feature of the table is the sizeableness and political moderation of the male union-company work force (which consists of two-thirds of the voters studied) which only shows a slight preference (55 per cent) for the NDP, the most moderate set of preferences of all of the male categories. At this stage, we can seriously doubt the existence among the company workforce of a strong "working class party".

Looking back at our findings in the above tables, and recalling our earlier comments, it becomes obvious that, while the union-company work force is heterogeneous in a number of ways that we can specify, the other three work force categories are much more heterogeneous in their composition. As well as being small in numbers, they are heterogeneous in ways that we cannot specify, or in ways that are not comparable to the dimensions of heterogeneity that will be found useful in studying the union-company work force. If our two non-company groups are representative of the two parallel work forces in the community, union status appears to be a very strong influence of itself, or a mediator of some other influences, on voting choices.

It appears, from these observations, that it would be quite inexpedient to attempt to deal with the three categories of gainfully-employed males that are not in the "union-company" category. As a consequence, from this point on we will be only considering the union-company males that have met all the other criteria that we have been specifying.

APPENDIX C

Policy Documents of the C.C.F.,

1935 and 1956.

Regina Manifesto

(Programme of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, adopted at First National Convention held at Regina, Sask., July, 1933)

THE C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction, and that whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The C.C.F. aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor and socialist organizations, financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

1.—PLANNING

The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

The first step in this direction will be the setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The C.C.F. will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

2.—SOCIALIZATION OF FINANCE

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step in the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system thus established must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desired purposes as determined by the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies, which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings and which, under their present competitive organization, charge needlessly high premiums for the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

3.—SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning, and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources

must be developed by the same methods. Such a programme means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operated on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition of the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractices are particularly prominent must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control we do not propose any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war, human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it, conscription of wealth would be more justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a C.C.F. government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a deadweight burden of unremunerative debt which represents claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government today. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

4.—AGRICULTURE.

Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance, ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, depends upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the staple commodities at satisfactory prices or equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture today is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: (1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade;

(2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general; (8) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations who absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true, for example, of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry, and milling.)

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this fall being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this, the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose therefore:

(1) The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of employment as laid down elsewhere and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign policies.

(2) Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada the position of the farmer may be much improved by:

(a) The extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and

(b) The extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

Both of the foregoing to have suitable state encouragement and assistance.

(3) The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization, and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

(4) The substitution for the present system of foreign trade, of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

5.—EXTERNAL TRADE

The regulation in accordance with the National plan of external trade through import and export boards.

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards, and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation and marketing of farm products, and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

6.—CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS

The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co-operative institutions.

In agriculture, as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive a larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly

in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provision of adequate credit facilities.

7.—LABOR CODE

A National Labor Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progressive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to everyone who is willing to work. A labor code must be developed which will include state regulation of wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex; measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through employment insurance; social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age; limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and profession; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labor code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labor legislation under the B.N.A. Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the B.N.A. Act be amended to make such a national labor code possible.

8.—SOCIALIZED HEALTH SERVICES

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science the maintenance of a health population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services today. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

9.—B.N.A. ACT

The amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

We propose that the necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed today is the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power—which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolution of the Fathers of Confederation should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, but has failed even in this function, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interests, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

10.—EXTERNAL RELATIONS

A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. We propose, therefore, to do everything in our power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. We would extend our diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centres of world interest. But we believe that genuine international co-operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries, and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present conditions of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

11.—TAXATION AND PUBLIC FINANCE

A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry; the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.

In the type of economy that we envisage, the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential during

the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means of providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased Social Services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes, the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenue, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equitable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable effect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The C.C.F. proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Board and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all Public Works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit, as suggested, based upon the National Wealth of Canada.

12.—FREEDOM

Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government, must be wiped off the statute book and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, to find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic, political and religious liberty for all.

13.—SOCIAL JUSTICE

The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our

present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. The new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behaviour. For this reason its planning and control cannot be left in the hands of those steeped in the outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of a new social order.

14.—AN EMERGENCY PROGRAMME

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a programme of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused, creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and forces upon the Dominion government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief, at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power, a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching programme of public expenditure on housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.



1956

***Winnipeg Declaration of Principles
of the***

**CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION
(PARTI SOCIAL DEMOCRATIQUE DU CANADA)**

The aim of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is the establishment in Canada by democratic means of a co-operative commonwealth in which the supplying of human needs and enrichment of human life shall be the primary purpose of our society. Private profit and corporate power must be subordinated to social planning designed to achieve equality of opportunity and the highest possible living standards for all Canadians.

This is, and always has been, the aim of the CCF. The Regina Manifesto, proclaimed by the founders of the movement in 1933, has had a profound influence on Canada's social system. Many of the improvements it recommended have been wrung out of unwilling governments by the growing strength of our movement and the growing political maturity of the Canadian people. Canada is a better place than it was a generation ago, not least because of the cry for justice sounded in the Regina Manifesto and the devoted efforts of CCF members and supporters since that time.

Canada Still Ridden by Inequalities

In spite of great economic expansion, large sections of our people do not benefit adequately from the increased wealth produced. Greater wealth and economic power continue to be concentrated in the hands of a relatively few private corporations. The gap between those at the bottom and those at the top of the economic scale has widened.

Thousands still live in want and insecurity. Slums and inadequate housing condemn many Canadian families to a cheerless life. Older citizens exist on pensions far too low for health and dignity. Many too young to qualify for pensions are rejected by industry as too old for employment, and face the future without hope. Many in serious ill-health cannot afford the hospital and medical care they need. Educational institutions have been starved for funds and, even in days of prosperity, only a small proportion of young men and women who could benefit from technical and higher education can afford it.

In short, Canada is still characterized by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity and by the domination of one group over another. The growing concentration of corporate wealth has resulted in a virtual economic dictatorship by a privileged few. This threatens our political democracy which will attain its full meaning only when our people have a voice in the management of their economic affairs and effective control over the means by which they live.

The Folly of Wasted Resources

Furthermore, even during a time of high employment, Canada's productive capacity is not fully utilized. Its use is governed by the dictates of private economic power and by considerations of private profit. Similarly, the scramble for profit has wasted and despoiled our rich resources of soil, water, forest and minerals.

This lack of social planning results in a waste of our human as well as our natural resources. Our human resources are wasted through social and economic conditions which stunt human growth, through unemployment and through our failure to provide adequate education.

The Challenge of New Horizons

The CCF believes that Canada needs a program for the wise development and conservation of its natural resources. Our industry can and should be so operated as to enable our people to use fully their talents and skills. Such an economy will yield the maximum opportunities for individual development and the maximum of goods and services for the satisfaction of human needs at home and abroad.

Unprecedented scientific and technological advances have brought us to the threshold of a second industrial revolution. Opportunities for enriching the standard of life in Canada and elsewhere are greater than ever. However, unless careful study is given to the many problems which will arise and unless there is intelligent planning to meet them, the evils of the past will be multiplied in the future. The technological changes will produce even greater concentrations of wealth and power and will cause widespread distress through unemployment and the displacement of populations.

The challenge facing Canadians today is whether future development will continue to perpetuate the inequalities of the past or whether it will be based on principles of social justice.

Capitalism Basically Immoral

Economic expansion accompanied by widespread suffering and injustice is not desirable social progress. A society motivated by the drive for private gain and special privilege is basically immoral.

The CCF reaffirms its belief that our society must have a moral purpose and must build a new relationship among men—a relationship based on mutual respect and on equality of opportunity. In such a society everyone will have a sense of worth and belonging, and will be enabled to develop his capacities to the full.

Social Planning for a Just Society

Such a society cannot be built without the application of social planning. Investment of available funds must be channelled into socially desirable projects; financial and credit resources must be used to help maintain full employment and to control inflation and deflation.

In the co-operative commonwealth there will be an important role for public, private and co-operative enterprise working together in the people's interest.

The CCF has always recognized public ownership as the most effective means of breaking the stranglehold of private monopolies on the life of the nation and of facilitating the social planning necessary for economic security and advance. The CCF will, therefore, extend public ownership wherever it is necessary for the achievement of these objectives.

At the same time, the CCF also recognizes that in many fields there will be need for private enterprise which can make a useful contribution to the development of our economy. The co-operative commonwealth will, therefore, provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly-owned industry.

The CCF will protect and make more widespread the ownership of family farms by those who till them, of homes by those who live in them, and of all personal possessions necessary for the well-being of the Canadian people.

In many fields the best means of ensuring justice to producers and consumers is the co-operative form of ownership. In such fields, every assistance will be given to form co-operatives and credit unions and to strengthen those already in existence.

Building a Living Democracy

The CCF welcomes the growth of labour unions, farm and other organizations of the people. Through them, and through associations for the promotion of art and culture, the fabric of a living democracy is being created in Canada. These organizations must have the fullest opportunity for further growth and participation in building our nation's future.

In the present world struggle for men's minds and loyalties, democratic nations have a greater responsibility than ever to erase every obstacle to freedom and every vestige of racial, religious or political discrimination. Legislation alone cannot do this, but effective legislation is a necessary safeguard for basic rights and a sound foundation for further social and educational progress.

Therefore, the CCF proposes the enactment of a Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and of expression, the right of lawful assembly, association and organization, equal treatment before the law, freedom to worship according to one's own conscience and the enjoyment of all rights without distinction of race, sex, religion or language.

Basis for Peace

The solution of the problems facing Canada depends, in large part, on removing the international dangers which threaten the future of all mankind. Therefore no task is more urgent than that of building peace and of forging international policies which will banish from the earth the oppressive fear of nuclear destruction. Only if there is a determined will to peace and if every part of the world is free from the fear of aggression and domination, can progress be made toward a lasting settlement of outstanding differences.

Throughout the years the CCF has maintained that there has been too much reliance on defence expenditures to meet the threat of communist expansion. One of the urgent needs for building a peaceful world and for extending the influence and power of democracy is generous support of international agencies to provide assistance to under-developed countries on a vast scale.

The hungry, oppressed and underprivileged of the world must know democracy not as a smug slogan but as a dynamic way of life which sees the world as one whole, and which recognizes the right of every nation to independence and of every people to the highest available standard of living.

Support of UN

The CCF reaffirms full support for the United Nations and its development into an effective organization of international co-operation and government. The world must achieve a large measure of international disarmament without delay and evolve a system of effective international control and inspection to enable the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The CCF believes in full international co-operation which alone can bring lasting peace. The practices of imperialism, whether of the old style or the new totalitarian brand, must disappear. The CCF strives for a world society based on the rule of law and on freedom, on the right to independence of all peoples, on greater equality among nations and on genuine universal brotherhood.

Confidence in Canada

The CCF has confidence in Canada and its people who have come from many lands in search of freedom, security and opportunity. It is proud of our country's origins in the British and French traditions which have produced our present parliamentary and judicial systems.

The CCF believes in Canada's federal system. Properly applied in a spirit of national unity, it can safeguard our national well-being and at the same time protect the traditions and constitutional rights of the provinces. Within the framework of the federal system the CCF will equalize opportunities for the citizens of every province in Canada. True national unity will be achieved only when every person from the Atlantic to the Pacific is able to enjoy an adequate standard of living.

Socialism on the March

In less than a generation since the CCF was formed, democratic socialism has achieved a place in the world which its founders could hardly have envisaged. Many labour and socialist parties have administered or participated in the governments of their countries. As one of these democratic socialist parties, the CCF recognizes that the great issue of our time is whether mankind shall move toward totalitarian oppression or toward a wider democracy within nations and among nations.

The CCF will not rest content until every person in this land and in all other lands is able to enjoy equality and freedom, a sense of human dignity, and an opportunity to live a rich and meaningful life as a citizen of a free and peaceful world. This is the Co-operative Commonwealth which the CCF invites the people of Canada to build with imagination and pride.

APPENDIX D
FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY AGE

Age	Percentage NDP votes	Number NDP Votes	Total Votes
20-25	33%	1	3
25-29	42%	5	12
30-34	61%	11	18
35-39	47%	8	17
40-44	50%	7	14
45-49	50%	7	14
50-54	57%	8	14
55-59	83%	10	12
60-64	60%	6	10
65 and over	50%	2	4
Total	55%	65	118

FEDERAL VOTING CHOICES, BY LENGTH OF COMMUNITY RESIDENCE

Length of Residence	Percentage NDP votes	Number NDP Votes	Total Votes
2 - 3 (in years)	0%	0	1
4 - 6	50%	2	4
7 - 9	46%	12	26
10 - 14	44%	11	25
15 - 19	58%	18	31
20 - 29	62%	15	24
30 plus	100%	7	7
Total	55%	65	118

APPENDIX E

FEDERAL VOTE BY INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE (a)

	NDP Votes	Other Major Party Votes	Total
Plywood mill	12	10	22
Sawmill A	10	9	19
Sawmill S	21	17	38
Pulp & Papermill	22	25	47
Logging S	6	2	8
Logging F	3	3	6
Other Company	2	0	2
Total Company	<u>76</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>142</u>

(a) This table was produced during preliminary work, and does not conform in content to the tables in the body of the study.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ASKED AND USED OR
CONSIDERED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|----|---------------|----|----------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1. | Sample No. | 2. | Directory No. | 3. | Respondent's
Serial No. | 4. | Respondent's
Sex |
| | 1 Co. | | | | | | 1 Male |
| | 2 General | | | | | | 2 Female |
11. Final disposition
- 1 Completed
 - 2 Incomplete (parts missing:)
 - 3 Refused (by whom? reason:)
 - 4 Not working
 - 5 Moved, no new address found (moved to:)
 - 6 No such person or address (re-checked where:)
 - 7 Currently out of town (where, for how long:)
 - 8 Could not be reached
 - 9 Other (died, sick, etc. What:)
19. Where do you work? (PROBE FOR EMPLOYER, DEPARTMENT, LOCATION. FIND OUT WHAT PRODUCTS ARE MADE OR WHAT SERVICES ARE PRODUCED)
- Employer
- Department
- Location of work place
- Products or services (sample 2 only)
20. For how long have you been working there? (IF EMPLOYED, THIS MEANS FOR THIS EMPLOYER AND DEPARTMENT)
21. Could you tell me what you actually do at your work?
22. What are your responsibilities?
30. While you are actually doing your work, do you get to talk to other people, besides the ones you work with? (IF YES:) Who are they? (Customers, clients, suppliers, drivers, people from other departments or other work organizations).
- 1 No
 - 2 Yes (Who:)
39. How many people can you talk to while you are working?
40. What do you talk about? Do you only talk about work, or only about other things, or both? (IF BOTH:) What do you talk about most? (MARK BY *)

41.-42. Where do you take your coffee breaks? Who with? (IF NOT ALONE:)
Do you always have your breaks together with the same people? What
do you talk about? How about lunch?

58. Are you a member of a trade union, professional association, or a
trade association?

1 Yes 2 No 9 DK, NA

(IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 70)

59. What is the name of the organization? (IF SEVERAL, RECORD ALL)

60. Are you a paying member?

1 Yes 2 No 3 Other 8 DNA 9 DK, NA

61. For how long have you been a member?

70. Are you a member of a church or other religious group?

1 Yes 2 No 9 DK, NA

71. What is the name of the church (group) you belong to? (GET EXACT
NAME. IF NOT CLEAR, ASK FOR ADDRESS.)

73. For how long have you been a member?

77. Did you attend any services, or any other activities of your church
(group) in the last six months; that is, between November and now?
(IF YES:) How many did you attend? (IF NONE RECORD 00) (IF SOME:)
Does that include any midweek activities?
Meetings:

81. Many people are unable to vote in elections because of illness or for
other reasons. Can you remember whether or not you voted in the last
federal election in April of 1963?

(IF VOTED:) Was that here in the constituency?

- 1 Voted in
- 2 Voted elsewhere (Where:)
- 3 Can't remember if voted
- 4 Did not vote
- 5 Was too young (not qualified)
- 6 Was not citizen (not qualified)
- 7 Was not registered
- 9 DK, NA

(SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION IF NOT VOTED OR CAN'T REMEMBER)

(IF VOTED INHAND LIST OF FEDERAL CANDIDATES TO RESPONDENT)

82. Can you remember which party and candidate you voted for?

- 1 Social Credit 2 Progressive Conservative
- 3 Liberal 4 NDP 6 Other (What:)
- 7 Can't remember which 8 DNA (Did not vote)
- 9 DK, NA

83. The last provincial election in B.C. was in September 1963. Can you remember whether or not you voted in that election? (IF NOTED:) was that in the constituency?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Voted in constituency | 2 Voted elsewhere (where:) |
| 3 Can't remember if noted | 4 Did <u>not</u> vote |
| 5 Was too young (not qualified) | 6 Was not citizen (not qualified) |
| 7 Was not registered | 9 DK, NA |

(SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION IF NOT VOTED OR CAN'T REMEMBER)

(IF VOTED IN CONSTITUENCY, HAND LIST OF PROVINCIAL CANDIDATES TO RESPONDENT)

84. Can you remember which party and candidate you voted for?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| 1 Progressive Conservative | 2 Social Credit | 3 NDP |
| 6 Other (What:) | 7 Can't remember which | |
| 8 DNA (Did not vote) | 9 DK, NA | |

108. For how long have you lived in the area?

111. How do you usually go to work?

- | | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1 Walk | 2 Drive | 3 Pool | 4 Crummy |
| 5 Public Bus | 6 Other: | 9 DK, NA | |

Now, finally, I would like to put down your age, schooling, and birth place.

113. Would you mind telling me in what year you were born?

114. What was the last grade you finished in school?

115. Where were you born? (IF ON VANCOUVER ISLAND, SPECIFIC PLACE. IF CANADA OR USA, RECORD PROVINCE OR STATE. IF ELSEWHERE, RECORD COUNTRY).