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The Political Party Organization in a Federal Riding -  
A Case-study of Burnaby-Coquitlam



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Chapter I

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with applying a theoretical framework to the study of the local organization of political parties. Euclid warned that there was "no 'royal' road to geometry", and I do not claim to have discovered the 'royal' road to the study of local political parties. I have tried nevertheless to extract a worthy approach from the various alternatives offered by previous writers and to assess the value of the approach chosen in the light of my findings from a study of the federal riding of Burnaby-Coquitlam.

The paucity of theory in politics

' ... the absence of a theoretical orientation to provide the basis for the kind of understanding of their data that students of political life seek' is seen by David Easton<sup>1</sup> to be of primary importance in explaining what he, and many writers, most especially in the last 15 years, regard as the present malaise in Political Science. This paucity of theory is generally applicable to the whole discipline but no section more clearly illustrates this point than the theory of political parties. According to S. Neumann 'Political Parties are the lifeline of modern politics'<sup>2</sup> yet it was only with the publication of M. Duverger's 'Les Parties Politiques'<sup>3</sup> in 1951 that students were presented with a comprehensive body of theoretical

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1 D. Easton: The Political System, New York: Knopf, 1953.

2 S. Neumann (ed.): Modern Political Parties, U. of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 1.

3 M. Duverger: Political Parties trans. by B. & R. North, New York, 1954.

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material. At the time Duverger was writing there was a meagre supply of concepts available for use in comparative analysis, and even now the need for theory which he illustrated and attempted to provide has achieved only partial consummation. It is relevant therefore to note Duverger's caution, 'The aim ... is to break out of the circle and to sketch a preliminary general theory of politics, vague, conjectural, and of necessity approximate, which may serve as a basis and a guide for detailed studies.'<sup>4</sup> This thesis is intended to provide one of the more detailed studies.

It is true, of course, that before 1951 some interest had been shown in the development of theory, especially with regard to the internal conflicts of political parties. Two of the most illuminating writings on political parties appeared at the beginning of this century: M.J. Ostrogorski's "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties"<sup>5</sup> and Robert Michels' 'Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy'.<sup>6</sup> These constitute a welcome diversion from the subsequent outpourings of 'legalistic, formalistic and reformistic'<sup>7</sup> literature, which by confining itself largely to historical accounts of party fortunes and discussions of their ideology, made little contribution to an analysis of the subject.

Duverger's book continues the work of Michels and Ostrogorski but in addition he sensitizes students to a lot of the problems connected with formulating a general theory of

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4 Ibid. p. XIII.

5 2 Vols. London 1902.

6 Eng. trans. 1st ed., London 1915; Collier Books, New York 1962.

7 N. McDonald: The Study of Political Parties, Random House, 1955. n. 3.

political parties. His influence has been considerable in the field of comparative analysis, and is acknowledged by the writers of the most important books on political parties in recent years - those by McKenzie, McDonald, Neumann, Weiner, Leiserson, and Eldersveld.<sup>8</sup>

The application of any theoretical framework to the local party has been even more widely ignored.<sup>9</sup> The last 10 years have seen some progress in systematic analysis in this but field/it has been largely restricted to the United States. The impetus has come moreover, not via Duverger, who concentrates on organizational aspects, but from the growth of behaviouralism in politics.<sup>10</sup> The mushrooming of data-gathering behavioural studies of the local political scene would constitute an embarrassment of riches if it were not for the fact that the lack of any theory renders much of the material quite barren. Only too frequently the data and concepts are just not comparable.

### Theoretical Framework

This thesis is a conscious attempt to apply a theoretical framework at the local level utilizing concepts which lend

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8 R. McKenzie: British Political Parties, New York: 1955, St. Martin's Press, p. 3.

N. McDonald, op. cit.

S. Neumann, op. cit.

M. Weiner: Party Politics in India, Princeton Univ. Press, 1957.

A. Leiserson: Parties and Politics, New York: A. Knopf, 1958.

S. Eldersveld: Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1964.

9 Eldersveld alone of the writers above is concerned with a local study.

10 Behaviouralism is understood here as an emphasis on scientific methodology which gains much of its momentum from the advances made in other social sciences.

themselves to comparative analysis.

It will build on the foundation provided by the three studies of political parties considered particularly important - those of Ostrogorski, Michels and Duverger, supplemented by the fresh emphasis given by behaviouralists. The value of the first two works lies, for me, not so much in their oft-repeated estimation of the contribution that political parties make to democracy but rather in the tools of analysis used in their studies. For the first time there was the necessary recognition that the political party was an organization whose internal structure was of considerable relevance to the study of all organizations. Especially important in this context was the relationship between leaders and supporters with reference to the exact location of power within a body which itself wields so much. We are directed to the major theoretical problems facing modern students of political parties:

- 1) Who holds power in the political party?
- 2) How is this wielded?
- 3) What are the differences between the actual and the formal power structure of the party?<sup>11</sup>

Most writing on Ostrogorski and Michels has been

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<sup>11</sup> F. Englemann: A Critique of Recent Writings on Political Parties, Journal of Politics, Vol. 19, 1957, p. 428, for a clear exposition of this point. See also, D. Butler: The Study of Political Behaviour, London: Hutchinson, 1958, p. 49.

Yet, as Englemann points out, it is not just that Ostrogorski and Michels offered a new analysis but that their "approach was novel also in that it constituted a conscious effort to move from the particular to the general."

sympathetic and uncritical.<sup>12</sup> The attempt to unravel what Michels said had been well made by Cassinelli<sup>13</sup> but follow-up studies have been hamstrung by ignoring this necessary exercise. One trenchant criticism does however proclaim that both Michels and Ostrogorski were so 'heavily committed to normative concerns'<sup>14</sup> in their methodology that their conclusions could have been anticipated. There is much validity in assertions that a more rigorous and testable approach is required. The fault of devoting too much space to impressionistic uncontrolled observation and anecdotes is obvious but it is not overcome by relying solely on survey data, as does Eldersveld and so many other behaviouralists; asking people their impressions about political parties and quantifying the responses hardly constitutes in itself an effective rebuttal of Ostrogorski and Michels.<sup>15</sup>

Duverger's book offers a hope of formulating the necessary systematic generalizations applicable to party behaviour in different countries without disappearing in statistical quicksands and without having an obvious axe to grind. He has attempted to synthesize the whole range of problems concerned

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12 See Duverger *op. cit.* p. 134; McKenzie *op. cit.* p. 5; Engelmann *op. cit.* and S.M. Lipset's introduction to Ostrogorski's, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*.

13 C. W. Cassinelli: *The Law of Oligarchy*, A.P.S.R. No. 3 Sept. 1953, pp. 773-784. J. D. May, 'Democracy, Organization & Michels', A.P.S.R., No. 2, June 1965, pp. 417-429.

14 S.J. Eldersveld: *Political Parties: A Behavioural Analysis*, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1964, p. 14.

15 However these follow-up studies do seem to have pinpointed the variety of power structures that can be expected within an organization. Eldersveld talks of stratararchy. (About as vague as Michels' use of oligarchy.) Lipset's study of the International Typographical Union concludes that much more variation exists 'in the internal organization of associations than the notion of the iron law of oligarchy would imply.' In a similar vein we find McKenzie's comment after studying the two major British parties that, "The law of oligarchy is certainly not an Iron Law". Even so all agree that Ostrogorski and Michels set the tone and pattern for political party research.



with the political party (viewed as an organization) into a theoretical framework which is truly comparative.<sup>16</sup> Theoretical writings since Duverger have failed to supply any further analytical schemes of note. Post-Duverger surveys usually refer to Neumann's concluding article in his book, 'Modern Political Parties',<sup>17</sup> but I feel that Neumann has little to add to existing knowledge. His framework is far broader than that which is followed in this thesis and most of his ideas, such as the splitting of parties into democratic and dictatorial, are of small value to a local study in Canada. In addition the degree of precision in his concepts does not match the earlier work of Duverger. It is especially unfortunate that Neumann's concepts are not followed in the country by country approach in the rest of his book.<sup>18</sup> Neumann further suggested that a definition of a political party is necessary if any comparison is to prove

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16 The promise of Duverger's schema is witnessed by the numbers of studies inspired by his work. The influence should not be exaggerated however. Few have proposed alternative general frameworks but have contented themselves with a single country study. There is of course great value in such works, as that by McKenzie, with its keen analysis of the distribution of power and authority, shows.

A further illustration of Duverger's framework can be found in Chap. VII. Duverger can be faulted because too often classification becomes his goal at the expense of the prime objective which is to develop a logically sound model whose adequacy can be tested by empirical means. Few inferences can be drawn from his framework which help us to represent, explain and predict the actions of the real world phenomena.

17 Neumann, op. cit. pp. 395-421.

18 Neumann's themes for investigation are: 1. Analysis by function; 2. Classification of Parties; 3. Sociology of parties; 4. Party in a pluralistic society; and 5. Definition of a political party.

meaningful. While I think that an agreed plan of the characteristic features is necessary I do not intend to set down definitions author by author.<sup>19</sup> Instead I have extracted a two-fold division, taking Duverger's emphasis on the party as an organization and linking it with the emphasis in recent political research on politics as an activity:

- 1) Party as an Organization; and
- 2) The functions of a political party.

### Party as an Organization

We will start from the view that the political party is a social group or socialformation. A social group may be defined as 'an aggregate of individuals in which 1. Definite relations exist between the individuals comprising it; and 2. Each individual is conscious of the group itself and its symbols. In other words, a social group has at least a rudimentary structure and organization (including rituals, rules, etc.) and a psychological basis in the consciousness of its members'.<sup>20</sup> This writer then proceeds to give examples of such social groups. These include the family and nation as well as the political party. If our discussion is to become more meaningful we must find something more distinctive in the political party.

Where does this distinction between the political party and other social groups lie? Various schemes have been suggested for classifying groups in sociological literature<sup>21</sup>.

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19 See McDonald, op. cit., p. 5 - who does set down various definitions.

20 T.B. Bottomore: Sociology, Unwin, London 1962, p. 92.

21 Ibid. p. 93-94; F. Tönnies: Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, trans. C. Loomis, New York: American Book 1940; E. Durkheim: The Division of Labour in Society, trans. G. Simpson, Free Press 1949; and K. David: Human Society New York: Macmillan 1957

and a set of terms has been developed to distinguish between the different types of relationship that exist between the members of a group. One of the most frequently mentioned in sociological literature is Tönnies' distinction between 'Gesellschaft' and 'Gemeinschaft' which bears great similarity to other classifications which distinguish between primary and secondary relationships. As contrasted with 'Gemeinschaft' (community, primary relationship) we find 'Gesellschaft' (association or secondary relationship) which exhibits opposite characteristics.

Gemeinschaft emphasizes proximity as the basis of the social group. This proximity may be geographical, physiological or spiritual. Examples would include the village, the family and friendship. One can distinguish a 'naturalness' in such a social group since you do not join a community but belong to it automatically.

The Association emphasizes the 'public life' as greater spatial distance and numbers are of greater importance. It is moreover a voluntary social group: one joins it deliberately. Trade unions, and charitable organizations are illustrations.

Duverger adds a third category, which he takes from H. Schmalenbach, to which he gives the name 'Bund' or Order.<sup>22</sup> The Bund 'holds an intermediary position between Community and Association'.<sup>23</sup> It is a deliberate human creation, like the Association, but the complete dedication of members which

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<sup>22</sup> Duverger, op. cit., p. 124. The 'Bund' shows great similarity to Sorokin's 'familistic' relationship.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 126.

characterizes the Bund suggests a much stronger form of allegiance than is the case with the Association.

Is it possible to place the political party in one of these categories? Duverger offers attractive arguments to support a comparison of parties in these terms. The questions which are then necessary to ask about a political party can be categorized around the following problems:

1. Is the party open or closed?
2. What is the basic organizational unit?
3. Degree and duration of activity
4. Leadership
5. Centralization and discipline

On the problem as to whether the party is open or closed we find that it was Michels who first clearly set out the issue when he talked of the 'omnibus tendency' of parties. The party is an 'organization ever greedy for new members' but herein are dangers for to reach higher membership 'not merely does the party sacrifice its political virginity, by entering into promiscuous relationships with the most heterogeneous political elements ... but it exposes itself in addition to the risk of losing its essential character as a party'.<sup>24</sup> One should distinguish therefore between a party which is formally open and actively searches out new members and one which does not go looking for members and therefore in practice is in little danger of losing its virginity. In addition there is strong evidence to suggest that the party is not merely open at the ground floor but rather that it recruits

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<sup>24</sup> Michels, op. cit., p. 341.

personnel for all levels.<sup>25</sup> Not so much an omnibus picking up passengers through one entrance the party now resembles a veritable sponge, where the intake is regulated largely by the organization itself. Whether an organization is open or closed is only one of the problems. We are in addition concerned with an analysis of the basic unit for grouping, the duration and extent of activity and the whole problem of investigating the internal power structure. S. Eldersveld has recently made a detailed excursion into the latter. His book, "Political Parties: A Behavioural Analysis" ranks as the most significant contribution of the behavioural movement in this particular area. His conclusions are numerous but we will note his analysis of the organizational structure of the local political party. He concludes, "that the party is not a neatly pyramided bureaucracy, and elite class, or an oligarchy ... The party is an open clientele-oriented structure, permeable at its base as well as its apex, highly preoccupied with the recruitment of 'deviant' social categories, and willing to provide mobility and access for these categories into the major operational and decisional centers of the structure. The party is also a 'stratarchical' control structure, rather than an elitist command structure. Power is devolved and proliferated to echelon commands, decision making is autonomized at the lower reaches of the structure and deference is not exclusively upward but reciprocal. In addition the party structure must be visualized as a tenuous alliance of socio-economic sub-coalitions ... Finally we see the party, not as a singular body of elitists ..."<sup>26</sup>

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25 J. Porter: The Vertical Mosaic, Univ. of Toronto 1965, pp. 398-403.

26 S.J. Eldersveld, op. cit., pp. 526-527.

This is a brilliant summary of the internal power structure - masterful in that the whole welter of internal relationships have been covered and Eldersveld's research has been very suggestive for my study of these areas. My admiration is not unreserved however. One leaves the book choking on an overdose of tables, many of no significance; the final conclusion is an apparent refutation of Ostrogorski, Michels and Bryce with the disclaimer that the political party can be a potent force in bringing the 'ordinary citizen' into the political arena. Yet in the same breath he admits the weakness of the political parties and ends with a Michels-type flourish espousing the crucial importance of the leader in any organization.

It is a depth study of the internal life of a political party of considerable heuristic worth. What should be avoided are his reliance solely on survey data, his particular functionalist approach, and his general enthusiasm for quantifying which takes him on a wild classificatory orgy, e.g. can one really classify individuals as power salients, power latents, idealists or skeptics and negativists.<sup>27</sup>

#### Functions of the Political Party

The party is a special type of social group in that its central concern is with the attainment of political power. Most writers would seem to agree moreover that the political party lies at the heart of the political process but one should distinguish the political party from various other groups such as trade unions and pressure groups which also perform important

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<sup>27</sup> Eldersveld, op. cit., p. 228-29 - Table 92.

political roles in modern societies. The most efficient means of distinction would seem to arise from an emphasis on the organization and activities engaged in. Schattschneider sums up the political party as 'an organized attempt to get power' and 'only when an organization is in control of the government or is able to create and maintain a widespread expectation that it will take over the government soon does it become a major party or real party'.<sup>28</sup>

Apparent confusion now reigns. An outlet is to be found in Ostrogorski who points out that political parties are bodies deliberately organized to mobilize and express mass opinion in connection with public questions; it is not merely a question of control of government but the means adopted to secure this control.

Let us now turn therefore to a consideration of the various means for securing control which must be sought out in this case study. These activities will be subdivided according to psychological or institutional factors.<sup>29</sup> I do not mean to imply that these are polarized groups but that a distinction may be profitably made although the two categories are complementary.

The first subdivision - psychological - owes much to the current popularity of the behaviouralist movement. It is

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28 E.E. Schattschneider: Party Government, New York 1941, pp. 35-36. In fact it may well be that in abnormal circumstances the usual policy of airing out sectional grievances is superseded by a particularly powerful pressure group exerting widespread control over governmental activities. See W. Ehrmann: Organized Business in France, Princeton 1957.

29 See McDonald, op. cit., pp. 19-26; A. Leiserson: Parties and Pressure Politics, New York: Knopf 1958, esp. Chapter 2.

felt that the individual party member's behaviour is characterized by feelings of co-operation and obedience that 'the party' imparts. By the creation of symbols, slogans, etc., and an ideology the party presents a group position where individuals can identify with an interpretation of what is and at the same time an interpretation of what ought to be. Without attempting to account for the differences in the perception of 'reality' it is apparent that the political party does act as an interpreter of political events for its members. The first person to clearly expound this psychological approach to political life was Graham Wallas.<sup>30</sup> For Wallas two points had to be made clear. Firstly there was the dangerous 'intellectualist' assumption, 'that every human action is the result of an intellectual process, by which a man first thinks of some end which he desires, and then calculates the means by which that end can be attained.'<sup>31</sup> Instead we must realize that the whole of past thinking that had stimulated progress did so by providing means for rationalizing or explaining away our desires. The popular notion that we 'choose' our way of life is quite erroneous in this sense. The individual has had his thinking done for him. This is especially so in the case of political parties which serve to console the 'lost' individual in a mass state. Wallas graphically concludes ... 'something is required simpler and more permanent, something which can be loved and trusted, and which can be recognized at successive elections as being the same thing that was loved and trusted before; and a party is such a thing.'<sup>32</sup> To this end the party once established

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30 G. Wallas: Human Nature in Politics, Univ. of Nebraska Press 1962, 1st pub. 1908.

31 Ibid. p. 21.

32 Ibid. pp. 103-4.



acquires an 'image' through which strong emotions and automatic mental associations can be achieved. An illustration of this process means that the use of the label Liberal or Conservative is not done with the dictionary in mind.

The rise of the behavioural movement in politics has done much to provide material to support Wallas' contention.<sup>33</sup> If this is accepted by the parties themselves then one would expect it to influence greatly the strategy of political education and propaganda. For instance one would not expect to find the parties conducting an intensive conversion programme at election time because on this basis it would be superfluous.

Not only does the party function in relation to the individual in society but it additionally has to perform tasks as part of the institutional framework of the society. The party is not operating in a vacuum but is searching for the most efficient means of establishing itself in control of the government.<sup>34</sup> The roles chosen by the party as the most efficient, and practical in bringing about its firm establishment in power may be divided as follows:-

1. Political Activities:

- a) Education
- b) Policy making
- c) Broker - Mediator
- d) Elections & nominations

Columbia Univ. Press, 1948, p. 83.

33 See P. Lazarsfeld et al: The People's Choice, 2nd ed. New York:/  
34 Neumann regards the party as 'the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions', and similarly Leiserson sees it as the 'major connective linkage between people and government, between separate, formal agencies and officials of government, and between official and non-official (extra-governmental) holders of power'.

## 2. Social Activities:

Starting with the political activities it is usual to refer to the role of the political party in 'educating' people to follow a particular policy line. This can be subdivided into education of party members and of the electorate-at-large.

Implicit in the idea of educating the electorate is the view that policy is initiated within the party and must then be explained to the voters. To be effective education must be a continuous process; how far does the local organization try to accomplish this? It will also be of interest to see how the local party conceives of this process, the means employed, and the intensity and continuity of the activity. This will lead to a comparison of the techniques adopted at election time and between elections to see if the education is indeed considered a serious business, to be carried on throughout the year.

Education of the party members may call for a different approach. It may be broader and more intense than that of the electorate, and no doubt the end to which it is directed will influence the strategy adopted. If the individual member is to make an effective entry into participation in policy making then the party must try and present the problem and the material necessary to reach a decision. Where participation is not emphasized then the individual member is likely to be presented with the answer rather than the problem.

Education is hardly meaningful if it means no more than being presented with the party line as a fait accompli. This leads us to a consideration of policy making within the party. Is there any grass roots participation, and if so, what form does it take and what groups within the party does it work through, e.g. how important is the Party Convention? If there

is not individual membership participation in policy making, where does policy originate, what is the rationale behind this and how is the formal policy making apparatus explained away?

This merges in with the notion of the party as an intermediary organization acting as a broker between the people and government. It is in the essence of democratic theory that the party functions as a barometer in that it reflects in some measure public feeling on issues. This argument breeds a feeling that modern parties cannot afford to stick dogmatically to their platform and disregard the wishes of the electorate but of course neither can the party afford to lightly dismiss the opinion of its close adherents. From another angle I will try to investigate how far the local party attempts to, and is successful in, performing the role of a social melting pot. That is to say, how far does the party draw in people from diverse social backgrounds?

While the party is acting as a broker with regard to the electorate it is of interest to note the subject matter and nature of internal disputes. If, as has been suggested in some studies, the local party does not take an active part in policy making, what is there to sustain member interest at this level?

The nomination of candidates at election time might be an answer. This is a particularly important role. By giving people a party label one tags them with a recognizable image and attachment to certain principles. Some have even seen the nominating function as unique in political parties. Schattschneider forcefully makes the point that, 'A party must make nominations if it is to be regarded as a party at all. By observing the party processes at this point one may hope to discover the

locus of power within the party, for he who has the power to make the nomination owns the party'.<sup>35</sup> How far in fact is the nomination in the hands of the local party, and if so, which people are dominant in this process? The nominating process is bound up with what is commonly regarded as the most important role of the local organization - that of fighting the election. Some would suggest that the role of the party at this level begins and ends with an election.<sup>36</sup> An intensive study is particularly necessary therefore to find out how far similarities exist between the party organization and activities at, and between, elections.

Distinct from these political activities engaged in by the party we also have to note other possible areas to which the local political party is attracted. Foremost among these non-political interests are the social activities, as we noted before the party is a social group and in a study of the local scene one would expect to find an interest in keeping the party members together through various social events. Does this hold true for all parties, and if not, why?

It is activities like these which will be especially sought out in the local organization. Whether they are the only tasks performed will only become clear after the detailed study has been made. A further problem remains. I am not sure if the performance of these tasks can be used as a gauge of the efficiency of the local organization. In this study I will feel justified in talking about efficiency but the yardstick will not

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35 Schattscheider, op. cit., p. 100.

36 See Neumann, op. cit., p. 70.

be the effective functioning of the political system as set out by a political scientist but the ideal for an efficient local unit as set out in the official party literature.

In conclusion I want to emphasize the local nature of this study. How far one may ask is the study of the political party at the local level relevant or applicable to the study of the political party at the national level? How far in fact is one to regard the local party as different in most or all respects to higher levels of the party organization or is the local party an exact miniature of the national organization?

This fits in too with an estimation of the importance of the local officials and organization in relation to the whole. Authorities in America have questioned the importance of grass roots activity suggesting that the 'doorbell ringers' have been superseded by the public relations expert.<sup>37</sup> More recent writings on the local organization seem to have resurrected the belief that this level is a point of importance.<sup>38</sup> This takes one into tremendous methodological puzzles involved in trying to separate the variables. At the moment these problems are insurmountable, consequently I have not attempted to isolate the organizational efficiency of the local unit and calculate its influence on the electorate. It is a useful exercise nonetheless to estimate in what directions the importance of the local party lies.

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37 V. O. Key: Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 4th ed. New York 1958, pp. 375-376.

38 See e.g. D. Katz & S. Eldersveld: The Impact of the Local Party Activity Upon the Electorate, Public Opinion Quarterly Spring 1961.

I have now outlined the framework in which I intend to analyse the local organization of the political parties in the federal riding of Burnaby-Coquitlam. Proceeding through the organization and functions of the local parties I hope to present a meaningful comparative analysis in the chapters which follow.

## Chapter II      Background to the Case-Study

This chapter will be concerned with painting in the general background to the case study. It will consider the various social, economic, geographic, and political circumstances against which the parties are operating. The actual forms of organization developed, the roles performed and type of members involved for example cannot be adequately interpreted unless it is understood that a host of local and national factors such as distribution of population and the distribution and type of party support combined to produce the situation that we find in this riding.

This thesis will investigate those political parties that have consistently contested federal elections in Burnaby-Coquitlam since 1953, when redistribution gave birth to the riding. This study will therefore consider both of the major national parties in Canada i.e. Liberals and Progressive Conservatives,<sup>1</sup> as well as the largest of the minority parties federally i.e. the New Democratic Party and Social Credit.

Although there were extreme difficulties involved at this point it was desirable to separate provincial and federal politics. In this thesis I am concerned with all aspects of the local federal organization. This involves some overlap with the provincial scene since the parties are organized at the lowest level according to provincial boundaries, and party

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I In the subsequent discussion Progressive is dropped. I am supported by the former leader of the B.C. provincial party, D. Fulton, "I call it Conservative, people know what I mean." Canada Month, May 1963. Liberals and Conservatives will be referred to from time to time as the 'old guard' parties - not in a derogatory sense but for abbreviation as in popular usage.

members are involved in both levels. I have nevertheless eliminated those areas which can be considered solely the concern of provincial organizations i.e. provincial policy, elections, etc.

To illustrate the difficulties of comparison between federal and provincial levels one may note that the federal riding of Burnaby-Coquitlam was split into Dewdney and Burnaby. This is not a convenient split for research purposes however since both provincial ridings include areas which are not part of the federal riding and as of July 1966, redistribution provincially split the federal riding into 4. A further complication springs from the tendency in the Burnaby and Coquitlam areas for party fortunes to fluctuate from federal to provincial elections. Any analysis of the behaviour of party members in this matter is hampered by the grouping of members according to provincial political boundaries, even for federal elections. It may well be however that one party, as has been suggested is the case with Social Credit, may have a large percentage of members who are only involved in provincial politics. This of course, would distort our picture of the local party.<sup>2</sup>

An elucidation of the background material to the thesis would not be complete without a review of the methodology adopted and the difficulties involved therein. Four main problems are evident:-

1. Deficiencies in my ability
2. The people chosen
3. Problems in interviewing
4. The time period chosen.

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I for Provincial Voting Patterns.



The object of the case-study was to compare the organization of political parties in a single riding but to discover how the parties were 'actually operating' is no easy task because of a certain reluctance in some cases to divulge information. Fortunately the complete refusals were confined to not disclosing the list, or number of party members, while reluctance to talk on other subjects was minimal. Almost without exception the officers in each party were characterized by their willingness to be interviewed and their refreshing frankness in these discussions which lasted from anything between one and four hours.

The main deficiencies did not rest with the interviewed but with the interviewer - inexperienced in the work and slow to be sensitized to important problems. Since no list of party members was forthcoming the method adopted for obtaining information was to concentrate the interviews firstly on the officials and from them work out to others in the party. All of the important officials in each party were interviewed over a period of several months in late 1965 and 1966 but my contact with rank and file members was confined to those who attended meetings or were otherwise active. The study will therefore be biased to the extent that it ignores all of those people who are fee paying members but whose participation is not conspicuous.

This bias in favour of the active member was not intended at the outset but it quickly became apparent that earlier studies which remarked on the widespread inactivity of party members was being corroborated in my discussions on Burnaby-Coquitlam. A study of those people who do join political parties yet do not actively participate would be of interest to a theory of organizations but here the uninterested and

uninfluential are disregarded except insofar as they influence the operation of the organization by their apathy.

It might of course be contended that a member was in fact influential yet did not hold an official position in the organization, nor was he active in the sphere of attending public meetings etc. Such a case would be unlikely in a small group. Nevertheless an attempt was made to uncover such individuals by asking party members who they regarded as influential in the organization but in no instance was a reply given which did not fit in with a list of past or present party officials.

The gathering of information by interviews of members was supplemented by material from party literature and local newspapers. The now favourite method of sending questionnaires was not followed because it was impossible to acquire a list of members. It is doubtful even so that the type of problems with which I was dealing all lent themselves to YES/NO answers. Most were in fact open ended type questions, for which the questionnaire is an unsatisfactory method of investigation.

In the interviews an attempt was made to structure the questions around the problems outlined for investigation in the Introduction; that is to say I was involved in the organization of the party, the functions performed and the basis from which it was operating. In this sense the personal interview with unrestricted response lent itself to a fuller enquiry - information was detailed, and misunderstandings less likely, though categorization at times proved difficult.

The final comment which should be made refers to the time period chosen for this study. My research commenced in September 1965 and continued for a year. The period may be

untypical in that a federal election in November 1965 and a provincial election in September 1966 most probably kept the organizations in better shape than perhaps would otherwise have been the case. Since September 1965 redistribution has taken place both federally and provincially which makes follow-up studies on this area impossible.

Having purged myself of some of the more obvious sins involved in my study I now feel free to return to the constituency and the background against which the parties are operating in this instance. It will be necessary to indicate the geography, population distribution, social and economic features and the political situation, and provide an initial interpretation of the influence which they have had on the political parties.

Let us start with a picture of the geography of the constituency. We should note that it is a large riding with a population exceeding 105,000. It is an area of considerable variety. In the north there is a large rural area which is practically unpopulated. In 1963 it contained only 574 of the 40,944 registered electors and for the purposes of this study we may ignore this section - as did the parties for none established any sort of political organization in the region.

The rest of the area is comprised of urban and suburban districts with no one centre of population. The different centres of population which may be distinguished are Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam and Maillardville.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Data is taken from the 1961 Census of Canada, Vancouver Bulletin CT-22 Dominion Bureau of Statistics. It is the peculiar distribution of population which I believe helps to explain the decentralization of party organization in this area.

The main area of concentration is Burnaby with approximately 50,000 (in this constituency) followed by Coquitlam, 20,000, Port Coquitlam and Maillardville about 8,000 each and Port Moody with just another 5,000.

A Report which has given careful study to the 1961 census figures<sup>4</sup> applies a Socio-Economic Index to the Lower Mainland area according to 3 criteria:-

1. Income (% of male labour force with wage and salary income \$6000 or more).
2. Occupation (% of male labour force in managerial or professional occupations).
3. Education (% of total population, not attending school, who have attended university).

The Report then proceeds to rank the whole Lower Mainland according to whether it was highest, above average, average, below average or lowest. All of the area dealt with in this study was situated at the average or above average level with the sole exceptions of Maillardville and a small section of North Burnaby. More detailed statistics show that the average income ranged from an average \$3936 in Maillardville to a high of \$5500 in the suburban areas of Coquitlam and Port Moody. This socio-economic classification correlates well with the direction of voting.<sup>5</sup>

This riding included areas with the highest population growth in the Lower Mainland 1956-61,<sup>6</sup> which was evident from the large percentage of young married couples with children, especially

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<sup>4</sup> L. Bell: Metropolitan Vancouver: An Overview for Social Planners, Research Dept. Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area 1965.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix II, and note exception of Maillardville.

<sup>6</sup> Bell, op. cit., p. 19.

noticeable in the Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam areas. The spread of population accounted for 6000 extra names on the Voters List 1963-65.

The population is predominantly British in origin. The only concentration of another ethnic group is the French-Canadian district of Maillardville, which is in addition the only significantly Roman Catholic region in a predominantly Protestant area. This has significance when we note that Maillardville is a lone exception to the rule that areas low on the socio-economic scale vote N.D.P.

Most of the working population is employed as craftsmen, production process workers, etc. and labourers in the oil refineries and mills which are the main industries in the district. The majority of these workers are in unions. With the rise of suburban dwellings in the east of the constituency, in Coquitlam and Port Moody especially, one found a greater concentration of managerial, professional and technical workers. It is these areas too which showed the greatest Liberal support.

I will now move to the political setting in the constituency. Election results since 1953 have been as follows:-

Federal Elections 1953-65

		<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>
1953	P.C.	2,124	11.0
	L.	4,256	22.1
	C.C.F.	7,232	37.6
	S.C.	4,987	25.9
	Other	627	3.3

C.C.F. Majority

Federal Elections 1953-65

		<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>
1957	P.C.	4,494	17.5
	L.	4,778	16.9
	C.C.F.	10,947	38.8
	S.C.	7,552	26.8
			C.C.F. Majority 3,395
1958	P.C.	11,422	38.1
	L.	3,533	11.7
	C.C.F.	12,917	43.1
	S.C.	2,113	7.0
			C.C.F. Majority 1,495
1962	P.C.	5,206	13.8
	L.	9,351	24.5
	N.D.P.	19,050	50.0
	S.C.	4,564	11.7
			N.D.P. Majority 9,699
1962 By-election			
	P.C.	2,574	7.9
	L.	8,065	25.0
	N.D.P.	16,179	50.1
	S.C.	5,228	16.6
	Ind.	145	0.4
			N.D.P. Majority 8,130

Federal Elections 1953-65

		<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>
1963	P.C.	3,990	9.7
	L.	14,148	34.4
	N.D.P.	19,067	46.3
	S.C.	3,917	9.6
			N.D.P. Majority 4,919
1965	P.C.	2,654	6.2
	L.	12,090	28.4
	N.D.P.	22,553	52.9
	S.C.	5,308	12.4
			N.D.P. Majority 10,463

It will be helpful to place the results of elections in Burnaby-Coquitlam in a broader setting by comparing the trend in British Columbia to Canada as a whole in this period.

Provincial Statistics 1953-65

<u>National Trend</u>		(22 seats in all)			
		<u>No. of seats</u>	<u>% Seats</u>	<u>% Votes</u>	
No Change	1953	L.	8	36.4	30.9
		P.C.	3	13.6	14.1
		C.C.F.	7	31.8	26.6
		S.C.	4	18.2	26.1
Increase in Conservative Support	1957	P.C.	7	31.8	32.6
		L.	2	9.1	20.5
		C.C.F.	7	31.8	22.3
		S.C.	6	27.3	24.2
Conservative Landslide	1958	P.C.	18	81.8	49.4
		L.	0	0	16.1
		C.C.F.	4	18.2	24.5
		S.C.	0	0	9.6
Conservative Backslide Liberal gains	1962	P.C.	6	27.3	27.7
		L.	4	18.2	28.5
		N.D.P.	10	45.4	30.0
		S.C.	2	9.1	13.6

Provincial Statistics 1953-65

<u>National Trend</u>		(22 seats in all)			
		<u>No. of seats</u>		<u>% Seats</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
Liberal holds on	1963	L.	7	31.8	31.4
		P.C.	4	18.2	23.0
		N.D.P.	9	40.9	31.6
		S.C.	2	9.1	13.0
Little change	1965	L.	7	31.8	30.0
		P.C.	3	13.6	19.0
		N.D.P.	9	40.9	33.0
		S.C.	3	13.6	17.0

An analysis of the content of the preceding tables points to several areas significant for this study. To start with Burnaby-Coquitlam has sent a C.C.F.-N.D.P. member to the federal parliament ever since the riding was created in 1953. As a C.C.F. district it withstood the Conservative landslide of 1958, and increased its percentage of the popular vote; the creation of the N.D.P. out of the C.C.F. has made the seat even 'safer' as the percentage of the popular vote in the riding has been climbing to a high point of 52.9% in 1965. The C.C.F.-N.D.P. vote has moreover exhibited great stability through these years - apart from a 7% increase in 1962 which established a new plateau of support at around 50%. This stability in the C.C.F.-N.D.P. vote presents a marked contrast to the fortunes of the other parties in Burnaby-Coquitlam and B.C. generally and in the West as a whole. In 1958 for instance the only opposition members from provinces west of the Great Lakes were 4 C.C.F. members from B.C. and one from Saskatchewan.

In contrast to the C.C.F.-N.D.P. vote the other parties' record shows a picture of considerable inconsistency. The Conservative vote in the riding has fluctuated from a low



of 6.2% in 1965 to a high of 38.1% in 1958, at the peak of Conservative support throughout the country. The Liberal vote similarly follows the trend for the whole country; a decline can be seen 1957-58, but support has been steady since 1962. The Social Credit vote in this constituency remains low after the peak of 1957. It is interesting to hypothesize an apparent inverse relationship which the Social Credit vote bears to Conservative support. When it seems that the Conservative star is in the ascendancy the Social Credit vote falls to its lowest point while a weak Conservative hope seems to encourage a transfer of votes to Social Credit. As a force in federal politics the Social Credit Party now appears to be a non-runner - this is in sharp contrast to its continued success in provincial politics.

If we set Burnaby-Coquitlam against the broader background of British Columbia the local strength of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. vote is more evident. In every election since 1953 it has obtained a higher percentage of the popular vote in this riding than the C.C.F.-N.D.P. average for B.C. In the case of the Social Credit and Conservative parties the opposite holds true. Liberal support in the riding has fallen on both sides of the average, although in recent years party support has increased in the area.

These statistics will be of particular interest if one can definitely assert that wide support amongst the electorate is brought on by an efficient party organization. If the equation does hold water then one would expect to find a highly effective N.D.P. organization in the area, but the efficiency will decline as one goes through Liberals to a low point with Conservatives and Social Credit. Similarly one would expect a

much more effective N.D.P. organization in this riding as compared with others where their electoral support is less and party organization can be expected to be weaker.

It is a facile assumption that one can separate one variable such as organizational efficiency from the welter of factors which lead people to vote one way rather than another. This study will attempt to travel part of the distance by noting how far each party lives up to its own organizational aims and investigating whether the correlation between local efficiency and increased support electorally is accepted by party workers. This writer is not impressed by attempts to quantify the influence of grass roots politicians on the party vote because of the considerable methodological problems involved. At present it is difficult to assess the effect of organization for three main reasons:-

1. It is not possible to separate the organization variable from the other factors which possibly influence the voter.
2. When one cannot separate the variables properly one cannot possibly quantify them.
3. The testing of any hypothesis is then impossible.<sup>7</sup>

We have already commented on the influence which particular local circumstances will have on the workings of the parties but it should not be forgotten that the riding has to fit in to a more general pattern. The conclusion from this data would seem to

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<sup>7</sup> The implication in the research done on assessing the importance of organization is that sociological characteristics are unimportant and it largely emphasizes local factors at the expense of higher levels of party work, especially those which work through the mass media. See P. Cutright & P. Rossi: Grass Roots Politicians and the Vote, American Sociological Review XXIII No. 2, April 1958, pp. 171-178, for a contrary view.

be that the political party is a dependent factor insofar as its voting reflects social and constitutional circumstances. Quite obviously Canada shows numerous characteristics of the advanced industrial society, such as wealth, urbanization, education, universal suffrage, etc. Is the normal correlation of certain of these features with affiliation to a certain party tenable in Canada or does this country really exhibit 'pure non-class politics'.<sup>8</sup> No analysis of Canadian Parties can afford to ignore the great diversity in geography and population with its great contrasts in language, religion, ethnic origin, cultural and economic circumstances. Canadian political parties reflect the general concern for a great integration of this veritable 'vertical mosaic'.<sup>9</sup>

The most obvious hurdle to any such integration is the tendency for political activity is centre on the province rather than the nation. Great emphasis is always given to the peculiarity of the Canadian federal structure. It is said that federation in Canada is more of a pact than a union. Tacit acceptance of this is shown in the independence given to the provincial organization of national parties and elsewhere in the inclination on the part of some of electorate to support pure provincial parties even at the federal level. This is in a sharp contrast to the general fidelity with which British political life and institutions were transplanted to Canada. Without constituting a multi-party system Canada has managed to produce 'third parties' which are usually based on one region or province.

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<sup>8</sup> See R. Alford: Party & Society, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, and L. Epstein: A Comparative Study of Canadian Parties, A.P.S.R. 1964.

<sup>9</sup> Porter, op. cit., p. 374.

Such parties have emerged to form provincial governments, as with Social Credit in Alberta and British Columbia, the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, and the Union Nationale in Quebec. In some cases they have sent M.P.'s to the federal parliament but never in large numbers. The explanation appears to lie in the strong discipline of Canadian parties, set in a federal system of government, and in a large, diverse country. Since it is accepted that federal M.P.'s will tow the party line a backlash effect has developed at the provincial level. This has taken the form of a rise of purely provincial parties. Not all minority parties appeal to regional sentiments however. In Burnaby-Coquitlam the M.P. is from the New Democrats, a third party which appeals in theory to class interests rather than regionalism. I will try to discover which of these pulls strongest in practice.

The emphasis on regionalism asserts that Canadian parties are mere coalitions of regional ethnic and economic interest groups, 'constantly bickering and bargaining with one another in search of a leader and a minimal programme on which they can unite ...'<sup>10</sup> It will be of interest to see how far any of these features are in evidence at the local level.

It was stated in the Introduction that the findings of this study were not to be thought typical for all ridings. This chapter must conclude by emphasizing the point. It should be quite obvious the N.D.P. has found a haven in Burnaby-Coquitlam - the case-study which follows no doubt suggests that the local organization in the N.D.P. reaches to heights of excellence while other parties plumb the depths of inconsequence. Only further local studies can place this impression in its correct perspective.

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<sup>10</sup> D.H. Wrong: Parties and Voting in Canada, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. LXXIII No. 3, p. 400.

### Chapter III      Party Organization

This chapter deals with the organization of the political parties at the local level. In the main the analysis will be concerned with the internal organization at the riding level but its relationship to higher levels in the party is also covered. This section pinpoints the weakness of the federal organization at the riding level and its merger with and in most cases reliance on, the provincial organization to keep the party ticking over. And yet to expect success in elections in a mass society without any organization is pure utopian thinking. The successful road to electoral success is prepared by the party machine. Yet the organization of mass parties has been accompanied by serious problems; Ostrogorski, Wallas and Michels have all documented the limitations of mass control of any large-scale organization.

It is nevertheless through the organization of a political party that we come to a better understanding, both of the formal and informal power structure within the party. In addition it offers far better grounds for comparative analysis than the alternatives which have been suggested such as number of parties in the system, ideology or social composition. Each of these will be rejected here. The notion that one can uncover meaningful ideal types for the political party that one could associate with one party, two party and multi-party systems has been of little help in comparative analysis. It assumes a far greater homogeneity within each party system than is the case and is fraught with strong normative connotations that one, two, and multi-party are to be associated with totalitarianism,

democracy and disorder. To say that American and British parties are comparable because a two-party system operates in each country is as ludicrous as saying that Canadian parties are fundamentally different from the U.S.A. and U.K. because in Canada there are 4 parties.

Equally remote is the possibility of finding generally acceptable criteria for classifying parties according to their ideology or doctrine, although this has been a popular method of classification. In practice the transition beyond the two-fold division of doctrinal and non-doctrinal leads to the utmost confusion. The lack of any satisfactory typology using this criteria also applies to the numerous studies which analyse parties according to the social composition of its members. The insights which have been provided by these avenues have been of significance in understanding the political party but by themselves do not provide adequate grounds either for analysis or comparison. Instead a far more comprehensive comparative approach is possible by analysing the party as an organization. The move from ideology to organization offers a move from narrow to broad gauge theory. This does not mean the rejection of ideology and social composition as investigatable areas but rather their incorporation into a larger framework.

The emphasis on organization not only distinguishes the mass political party but also provides a fruitful framework for investigation. The manner in which the party is organized will be extremely difficult to separate at times from the functions which the party is supposed to be performing. The particular organization found in each party can often best be explained in terms of the roles that it is expected to perform and the back-

ground against which it is operating. For example Party A may place great emphasis on organizing in a single group in each constituency but the uneven distribution of population necessitates an alternative form of organization. Party B on the other hand likes to have several units within each constituency but this is not possible because its support is concentrated in one area. Such examples will be further illustrated by reference to the organization of the parties studied here. The units of organization are the national party, the provincial party, the riding or constituency association, the local or club, and the poll.

The discussion will now turn to the units of organization relevant to this study.

### The Poll Organization

We find the poll organization at the bottom of the hierarchy. The number of polls within a riding will vary greatly according to whether the constituency is urban or rural. In Burnaby-Coquitlam, because the voting population is large and fairly scattered, there were 219 polls in 1965 which is more than in the average urban constituency. As the number of polls varies so too does the number of voters within each, especially in rural areas.

The theory of the poll, as found in party literature, anticipates that it is at this level that immediate contact with the voters will be maintained. This is possible because the poll organization is built around the point at which individual votes are cast. In theory the main concern of the poll is with the election campaign (which is dealt with in a separate chapter). In practice the poll organization in Burnaby-Coquitlam was almost

non-existent; in the few instances where it was evident its only concern was the election campaign.

Control of the poll is in the hands of the poll captain who is appointed, or pressured into service by the campaign manager or candidate. As far as the campaign is concerned the poll captain and his helpers can be an important point in the structure. It is their job to conduct a survey of the poll in order to ascertain the political affiliation of its voters. Ideally a second survey should be made to check out previous findings and the people absent during the first survey. The party will then use the survey as a basis for voting day strategy. Those people who have indicated support for the party or an 'open mind' must be persuaded to vote, if they have not done so of their own accord. To this end the poll organization is expected to make things easy for the unwilling voter by providing transportation, baby-sitters, etc. In addition they are supposed to meet the party's need for scrutineers and enumerators. Although the parties in theory provide a scrutineer, in practice most polls are incompletely staffed. The job was most usually filled by students, old age pensioners and housewives who were the only ones with sufficient free time. This was an instance where the ancilliary organizations such as the Youth and Women's organizations were put to good use by their party.

The theoretical organization outlined above is rarely - evident in practice. None of the parties uses the polling unit for continuous party activity and only the N.D.P. emphasizes the poll as a separate unit during the campaign. There are several reasons for this weakness. In the first place party organization at the local level is bound to be irregular and variable. A lot



of polls are quite simply too small to support any formal organization, others have very few members who are oriented towards political activity and the shifting population of a large metropolis such as Vancouver will have much to do with the discontinuity.

The poll organization in the Conservative Party especially and the Social Credit Party only slightly less so are conspicuous by their absence. The Liberal Party does better but has only a minimum organization in less than 10% of the polling districts at election time. The N.D.P. is similarly a non-runner as far as continuous poll organization is concerned although during a campaign it is able to rally support in about 80% of the individual polls. What is the reason for the N.D.P.'s better nurturing of the poll? In part, it is a reflection of widespread support throughout the constituency for the New Democrats but it also reflects the greater emphasis on the individual member and the small unit that forms an important part of the N.D.P. philosophy - inherited from its predecessor the C.C.F. How, it is asked in N.D.P. circles, can you work towards a really democratic society when your own organization is run by a small clique at the top rather than the whole membership? Nevertheless even the N.D.P. is forced to admit that to base such an important function in the party on a unit so small is ludicrous. The emphasis on the importance of the individual member survives but the effective unit of organization is much bigger.

#### The Local or Club

This leads on to the next unit of organization which in the N.D.P. is referred to as the Club and in other parties as the Local. In practice the two are comparable and the different

names of no importance. In the formal structure it occupies a position halfway between the poll and the full constituency association but in practice it is the first unit to which the individual member is drawn.

It is only pertinent at this juncture to note the paucity of material on this unit of organization. The classic on 'The Government of Canada' by Dawson completely ignores this level of party organization. So too does the section on Canada in Neumann's 'Political Parties' and recent books on the politics of Manitoba<sup>1</sup> and Nova Scotia.<sup>2</sup> The only exception found by the above writers is in the case of the N.D.P. club. The well documented material on the club is in most cases presented as an example of the difference in party organization between the 'old guard' and newer parties. While I am of the opinion that lack of mention of the local is in some cases only witness to the lack of interest in an analysis of party organization it would seem that other factors are significant.

The most obvious reason would be that Burnaby-Coquitlam is in fact unique in its concentration on the local, mainly because of the peculiar population distribution. This view is contradicted by various inquiries made to other constituencies in the area and to the provincial organizers. It would seem however that Burnaby-Coquitlam is a half-way house if one considers the whole of British Columbia in that the population is neither so concentrated as to permit one organizational unit nor so widespread that the individual poll assumes special significance. Instead we have the grouping of polls into several locals or clubs.

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1 M.S. Donnelly: The Government of Manitoba (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1963, esp. pp. 67-70).

2 J.M. Beck: The Government of Nova Scotia (Toronto 1957).

Perhaps some further insight can be obtained from the only detailed study made of party organization in Canada - in the province of New Brunswick.<sup>3</sup> Although the local is not mentioned as such a similar unit of organization would appear to be present in the form of the parish organization, which is not recognized in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Generally the total population would appear to correspond to the average number covered by the local i.e. about 6000 but Thorburn dismisses any suggestion that the parish is an important part of the structure in New Brunswick except in purely rural areas.<sup>4</sup>

While I cannot accept this viewpoint that the local is not important it is interesting to make comparisons with other provinces where the names are different but the structure often similar. Despite the lack of evidence from other provinces to support my contention it is a central plank in this thesis that the local constitutes the most crucial link in the constituency structure as far as continuity in organization is concerned. (I shall have more to say about this later on.)

What form then does the local or club take in Burnaby-Coquitlam? Quite simply it is a grouping of polls. These polls are the basic unit for voting and are based on provincial boundaries. In Burnaby-Coquitlam there are 219 polling districts and these are then broken down into 8 or 9 locals according to such criteria as concentration of population and distribution of party support. This is a typical breakdown from the New Democratic organization:-

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3 H.G. Thorburn: Politics in New Brunswick (Toronto 1961) pp. 85-106.

4 H.G. Thorburn: Ibid., p. 86; op. cit. p. 86.

<u>Name of Club</u>	<u>No. of Polling Districts included</u>
Port Coquitlam	28
Port Moody	17
Burquitlam	29
Maillardville	30
Burnaby Heights	31
Brentwood	33
Lochdale	19
Lozelles	8
East Burnaby	24

It can be seen that the local has several advantages over the poll in this area, viz.:

1. The distribution of population is allowed for i.e. urban or rural.
2. The population base is large enough to offset small numbers in each poll as well as a shifting population.
3. The size and distribution of party support is considered. Each local then has a reasonable number of party members which is not necessarily the case if the poll is taken as the basic unit, or if distribution of population is the sole criteria.

In the first case we have already noted the peculiar geographic distribution of population with several centres of concentration. The lack of poll organization can similarly be explained in terms of the inadequate population base which it provides. The local can then be seen in terms of a happy medium. The population must be large enough to provide a formal organization yet not so large as to become unwieldy or impersonal. The idea is to establish a unit where the party member feels that he is really contributing and is of importance in the organization. In Burnaby-Coquitlam the notion is more hypothetical than actual.

Each local is formal in appearance with its own constitution. The members elect their own officers - i.e. President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. These officers together with the Past President and 'such other persons as the Local Association in General Meeting assembled from time to time decide'<sup>5</sup> would constitute the executive of the local. The range of problems that could be dealt with was common to all locals but they were restricted in that the constitution of each local was not permitted to clash with the constitution of the full constituency association.

The local varies not only within but between parties in importance. The Conservative organization can be eliminated at once as the formal organization into locals has fallen into disuse. The Liberal Party in Burnaby-Coquitlam is divided up into 8 locals. They are supposed to meet at monthly intervals throughout the year and provide continuity to the constituency organization. Without the local there would be no basis on which to build an electoral campaign. In fact the locals meet on an average of 3 or 4 times a year and it is the threat of an election which acts as the cohesive factor in keeping the organization together. These local meetings are poorly attended - an average figure would seem to be 10-15 members. The business is generally routine with little political debate. Any exceptions to this general inactivity arise when a campaign is in the offing. Contrast this with the notion of the N.D.P. club and in some

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<sup>5</sup> Burnaby Liberal Association Constitution.

respects the Socred local. The feeling that an election is the only activity of importance to the party is not as evident and helps to explain the greater attention given to well organized locals, engaged in continuous business.

In addition to a concern with the election, it is possible to distinguish three other factors which account for the significance of the local in these parties:

1. In the old parties most of the funds are raised centrally from big contributors. These are then distributed to the ridings. In the N.D.P. and Social Credit party (except in provincial campaigns where it forms the government) most of the money to finance elections and continual party organization must come from the individual associations.
2. Added to the need for the money is the emphasis that the N.D.P. in particular puts on the use of volunteers rather than paid workers in the local organization. In this constituency the Social Credit party acts in a similar way to the old parties and is more content to let the Social Credit image in B.C. speak for itself rather than have members involved in widespread face-to-face conversion drives.
3. The activities engaged in by the local moreover distinguish the parties.<sup>6</sup> In keeping with N.D.P. philosophy that the most important unit in the party is the individual member there is an emphasis on political education and policy making. The N.D.P. club has frequent meetings designed to acquaint members with political problems and to obtain grass roots opinion on issues. As we have noted the typical Liberal meeting is concerned with routine business. There is an emphasis in the Social Credit party on a discussion of doctrine and political problems but little notion that the political education of members is a two-way process. Meetings would be largely devoted to a discussion of party doctrine either in the form of a study-group among members or initiated by a talk from a visiting speaker. Most of these speakers would be notables in the party with especial preference for M.P.'s or M.L.A.'s.

The ideal local in the N.D.P. and Socred party would

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6 See Chapter IV.

meet once a month but not all of these would be devoted to political discussion. It was clearly recognized in both that the emphasis on the club as found in party literature was not always practised. The meetings were not regular and it would seem that meetings took on a social bent in many cases. A social meeting rather than a political discussion was the most effective way of bringing both the husband and wife along to meetings. It was also in the forefront as an efficient method for raising money.

Nevertheless the degree of participation and enthusiasm of party members which was supposed to be the feature of the club appears to be dwindling in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Typical of the slowing down in the movement is the reaction of the N.D.P. club in Maillardville (a good N.D.P. area). Here declining support for the monthly meeting was apparent. This was attributed to the tedious nature of meetings - too often concerning themselves with routine business and too little interested in, or able to influence, the real problems of the day. For a trial period therefore the monthly meetings were being discontinued and the routine organizational business was handed over to the executive, who were to send out regular monthly reports on what had been happening. Meetings of the local would then be called only for some special purpose - either a social function or for a guest speaker. As yet it is too early to assess the effect of these changes in overcoming declining interest in 'local' meetings. It is perhaps symptomatic of a general decline in enthusiasm and optimism in protest movements such as the N.D.P. and Socreds.

Nevertheless the N.D.P. remains closer in Burnaby-Coquitlam to the ideals of the party literature than is the case with other parties. If the N.D.P. is indeed stagnating then words

cannot describe the miserable 'showing of the other parties.

### The Constituency Association

The party organization within the riding reaches a head as the full riding or constituency association. This is the top of the pyramid within the constituency and is responsible for the operation of the riding as a whole. The New Democratic Party goes one step further to emphasize its grass roots nature and officially regards the association as the most important unit in the whole party.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the differences in provincial and federal constituency boundaries it is not possible to simplify the transition from provincial to federal politics by forming a federal association directly out of the locals. As we have seen the local boundary is set by provincial riding boundaries which means that some locals e.g. in West Burnaby, find themselves in 2 different federal ridings. A direct conflict arises in these cases and the local association has to choose to which federal association it will affiliate. The only escape from such confusion would be to form locals for both federal and provincial politics. Such a multiplicity and duplication of organizations would, it is felt, be a far worse alternative.

In every party the Association has a formal structure with its own constitution and officers. These include a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, with all business being conducted by these officers and other members who together

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<sup>7</sup> See "Part of a Team" N.D.P. publication (Toronto 1965) p. 21. See too, Appendix III for an organization chart of the Constituency Association.



comprise the constituency executive. The extra members differ in composition between parties. In addition to the current officers it would include the Past President, candidate, and in the old parties, the President and Secretary of each affiliated local. The Social Credit Party is broadly similar to this structure whereas the N.D.P. executive included one official called the Organizer who took personal responsibility for organizing the campaign, expanding membership and generally ensuring that the machine was ready for action. The N.D.P. was also distinctive in electing 15 members at large to the executive. Although the composition of the constituency executive varied between parties it was anticipated that its role would be similar. The N.D.P. constitution aptly summarizes the goal of the Association:

" ... to organize its electoral district for educational and election purposes and generally, on a continuing basis, to undertake on behalf of the party, the furthering of party work within its particular district."

The sentiment is the same in all parties and yet it is extremely misleading. If the purpose really is to organize 'for election purposes' and 'on a continuing basis' who then has the power to see that the individual locals operate in accordance with this objective? In fact the constituency association is severely restricted. It has no sanctions at its disposal to keep the locals operating on a continuous basis; and while it is true that the party candidate is chosen at a full party meeting in practice the association has little control over the actions of the candidate after this point.

In the Liberal Party the Association makes little attempt to keep a continuous organization going. In the Social

Credit Party there is a corresponding reliance on the local to perform the task. Only in the N.D.P. organization, evident from its appointment of an organizer, is there a continual inter-communication between local and constituency executives but even here persuasion is informal.

The calling of meetings of the local is the concern of the local. The tasks performed by the local depend on the amount of voluntary effort expended by the individual members. The N.D.P. reaps benefits from having 15 members at large on the constituency executive for this more clearly and more widely concentrates the problems of the larger unit in the minds of the ordinary member.

Executive meetings are required to be held 4 times a year in every party but this is poorly adhered to. Presidents are inclined to put off meetings on the grounds that there is nothing to discuss and this is rarely disputed. Leadership is infrequently given, and asked for, in off-election periods.

Contact with the riding association by the individual member is restricted to the annual general meeting and the nomination meeting. Even these attract a sparse attendance. The Conservative Association has not held an annual meeting since 1962 and the nomination meetings take the form of a presentation of the candidate by the President to his 6 or 7 officers. This does not seem too bad for the N.D.P. at its 1966 Annual Meeting could only attract 7% of the total membership, and this is the party which emphasizes the value of membership participation. Nomination meetings are usually more popular than the annual meeting, because of the excitement generated by the calling of an election and the possibility of a contested nomination. Even

so no party has attracted more than 25% of its membership in recent years and little change is expected. In 1966 the Liberals attracted about 20% of its membership to its nomination meeting, and this was regarded as satisfactory.

The apathy of the party members is difficult to explain, although it is characteristic of so many organizations other than the political party. Association meetings do not consist solely of routine business. Although this does constitute a part it is usual to discuss the finances of the group, elect officers and generate some policy discussion to formulate resolutions for party conventions. There may in addition be a pep talk from an M.P. or M.L.A. Otherwise little is generated at association meetings other than a feeling that they are of little consequence to the party. Whatever the reason it does not auger well for the health of a political organization.

### The Provincial Organization

Although this study is concerned with the political parties in a particular constituency the discussion would be incomplete without reference to the provincial organization.

Four main areas are the concern of the provincial association:

1. To maintain a strong organization in all provincial and federal ridings, i.e. information, funds, etc.
2. Engender party enthusiasm
3. Call provincial conventions
4. Act as a link with other provincial and the national organization.

If the provincial organization actively attempts to

accomplish those objectives it will obviously be of relevance to this study. The autonomy and effectiveness of each riding association will depend in large part on the manner in which these points are interpreted by the respective participants.

To start with the importance and amount of work involved at the provincial association level has given rise to a small party bureaucracy of 2 or 3 paid officials. They are responsible to the Provincial Executive for the successful maintenance of a strong organization throughout the province. With the day to day organization of the party in their hands, their activities ensure that they are crucial points in the party machine.

Although all parties emphasize the autonomy of the riding in conducting its own affairs the formal structure is of little help in understanding the exact relationship. In practice the trend is towards a greater centralization of the more important aspects of local party work but specific instances of complete unconcern are numerous. If we break down points 1 and 2 in the classification of the provincial organization's role we can distinguish 7 specific tasks which broadly fall into those two earlier categories. They are:

1. Positive efforts to increase the efficiency of organization
2. Particular assistance at election time
3. Approval of membership
4. Approval of candidates
5. Degree of discipline
6. Distribution of patronage
7. Settlement of intra-party disputes.

The first and most obviously important task performed in the total structure of the party by the provincial association is concerned with the general improvement of organization for the whole province. This job falls to the full-time organizer or his assistant who travel throughout the province finding out at first hand the problems of each constituency. This puts the organizer in a position of great influence because of his wide knowledge of the whole province and his frequent contact with all constituencies. While each riding has its own particular problems the organizer can offer suggestions for improvement and direct all areas to a common standard of organization.

More particular examples of assistance to riding organizations are the provision of speakers and dissemination of party literature - almost all of which comes from party headquarters. While no official provincial organ of party news exists in the old guard parties both the N.D.P. and Social Credit parties put out a monthly journal dealing with provincial and national affairs. These papers are produced by the permanent party officials and largely reflect 'official' opinion. The provincial party also organizes the tours of national celebrities in the province and informs all constituencies of important visitors in their area.

At another level it is the provincial officers at headquarters who arrange the provincial convention by way of agenda, speakers, etc. Again it is at a convenient point for directing the rank and file to particular problems. (The degree to which the provincial party 'manages' the provincial convention is discussed more fully in the next chapter.)

The requirement that all members and candidates must be accepted by the provincial party also places a great power in

the hands of the bureaucrats - but the wielding of this power is extremely rare. It would seem to be more noticeable in the N.D.P. because it is more likely to be used as a vehicle for advancement by extremist groups than any other party. In addition this veto power is a reflection of the greater opportunities provided by the N.D.P. for individuals to influence party policy. Even so the number of candidates refused official approval works out at an average of no more than 2 or 3 an election,<sup>8</sup> while the troubles with ordinary members are not evident or do not concern the party until the actions of a local shows signs of a 'deviant' membership. To take one example we find a most troublesome N.D.P. local in Richmond which had been taken over by Trotskyites. Instead of dismissing the officials from the local the party organizer cultivated an 'orthodox movement' which drove out the dissidents. There can be little doubt however that if this had failed N.D.P. headquarters would have moved in and purged the local by direct action.

The problems over membership and candidates may be due to scarcity - they can, as the above example illustrates, also reflect a concern for discipline from the top. The N.D.P. rules on membership and candidates are perhaps more stringent than other parties but it has had no trouble in recent years. In a well organized constituency such as Burnaby-Coquitlam it does not need nor does it seek much help and it suffers little intervention from above. The experience of the other parties is very similar. The Social Credit Party for example is far

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<sup>8</sup> The numbers of unacceptable candidates would probably be greater if provincial headquarters did not exert its considerable influence at nomination meetings.

more concerned with provincial politics but here too there is little evidence of disputes between headquarters and the local association over membership or candidates.

The Liberal and Conservative Associations in Burnaby-Coquitlam were both described as not alive but very much dead by provincial headquarters. What one might ask was provincial headquarters doing about it? Quite simply very little. What happened then to the Provincial Party's positive efforts to increase the efficiency of its riding organizations? I have already pointed out that the Conservative Association had not called any sort of meeting since 1962. Nevertheless Provincial headquarters ignored the problem until the election was called in 1965 and an ex-President of the constituency was persuaded to call a meeting of interested supporters. Similarly the position of Secretary was vacant. The present Secretary was appointed because of a phone call she made enquiring whether the Conservatives were organized in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Her phone call was enough to get her the position. These examples suggest that provincial headquarters take their functions very lightly.

The distribution of patronage in the federal field would only be made as a result of a recommendation from the provincial party.

The settlement of intra-constituency disputes is the final area of concern to the provincial party. The party officials act as impartial overlords in such cases. An example is provided by the troubles of the Liberal Party in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Although there was never good relations between the President and the Campaign Manager a dispute arose after the 1965 campaign

over the possession of party files. This swept a minor dispute of personalities into party headquarters as a full scale constituency feud. The President had taken back these files before the campaign manager could finish off his post-election correspondence. A complaint was made by the campaign manager which led to a downtown hearing lasting  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days. At the end of this time the President's action was found unreasonable which led him to consider his position untenable and he resigned.

How far does this help us to fit the constituency association into the organizational structure of the party? More insights will be provided by subsequent chapters but all the evidence points to severe restrictions on the effective autonomy of the local organization from the higher echolons of the party organization. The local party would hardly constitute an effective unit if it did not obtain assistance from the provincial party. It is the latter which provides much of the money, literature and general expertise that the amateur in the constituency can hardly be expected to encompass, and certainly cannot do without. Even so the constituency is extremely jealous of aspersions against its efficiency and the only time it will venture to headquarters with any regularity is during the election period. Generally centralization is not excessive but local autonomy at crucial times such as elections is minimal. The trend towards centralization appears to be most evident where apathy in the local sphere has meant a reliance on the more powerful unit, or sink into oblivion.



### Party Membership

For a political party to attain its goals in a modern mass society it must develop a large organization. Organization means party members. Max Weber thought of the political party as a 'voluntary Society' yet how voluntary or open is the party organization in actual practice? We have just seen that apathy at the local level in part characterizes the riding association and explains the dominance of the provincial organization. I will therefore investigate more deeply the whole problem of what is expected of a member of a political party. In particular the general inertia and inactivity of the majority of party members will be documented. I feel that no discussion of party membership will be meaningful unless the total membership is broken down into supporters and activists. It was pointed out in the last chapter that little attention had been devoted in this study to those not active in the affairs of the constituency. This point, there passed over, must now be justified in greater detail. All of this leads finally to an assessment of the decision-making process in the party.

The notion that the political party resembles an accordion owes much to the writings of Ostrogorski and Michels. It was the latter's theory of party recruitment which showed how the party would open its ranks to new members on certain occasions only and on its own terms. It is contended in this thesis that the party acts more like a sponge - sucking in new members at all points. It would seem moreover that the local

party leaders are not the ones operating this sponge.<sup>9</sup> Orthodox writings emphasize that in a democracy the political party has ever open doors for new members. While the doors may not be wide open in Burnaby-Coquitlam they are definitely ajar. The most noticeable fact however is the lack of any organized drive for new members.

If we examine official pronouncements it can be seen that membership of a political party is unrestricted in the sense that it is 'open to every resident of Canada, regardless of race, colour, religion or national origin',<sup>10</sup> apart from the proviso that the member 'undertakes that he will accept and abide by the constitution and principles of the party and who is not a member or supporter of any other political party'.<sup>11</sup> Membership in the N.D.P. must then be approved by provincial headquarters as is the case with Social Credit. Less grandiose in manner is the Liberal Constitution which defines a member as someone 'whose application for membership in this Association has been approved by the Executive Committee of this Association and the Executive of a Local and who has paid his membership fees'.

All parties therefore allow themselves grounds for refusing membership. The criterion for membership rests however not on an active participation in the party's activities but rather on a written avowal of support and payment of dues.

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9 My quarrel with Michels rests therefore on two points. In the first place Michels' notion of cyclical entrance to the party should be modified to show that the cycles correspond to elections. Secondly, Michels largely ignored the fact that members were not merely joining the political party at the bottom of the totem pole.

10 N.D.P. Federal Constitution, p. 1.

11 Ibid.

Although individual membership is the criterion for admission in all parties the N.D.P. also allows for affiliated membership. This covers trade unions, farm groups, co-operatives, etc. which agree to the conditions laid down for individual member entrance. The monetary sacrifice necessary to join a party is minimal. Out of this membership subscription the main share is held in the province. The normal division is for \$1 to go to the federal party and the remainder to be distributed between the local association and the provincial party. The per capita fee for affiliated organizations in the N.D.P. is 5 cents per member per month - 2 cents for the provincial and 3 cents for the federal party. The federal party takes more of the share than in the normal division of fees - perhaps to counteract 'the influence through money' of unions at the provincial level and in part to boost the federal party's finances.

So far we can see that entry into a political party in this area is formal in the sense that the undertaking is written and not verbal but beyond this there are no complicated or onerous initiation procedures to prove one's worth as a party member. This means that entry is restricted to those who are willing to avow loyal support, pay their dues and are approved by the party. Refusal of members however is practically unheard of and the restrictions are not such that the party could be accused of being a tightly knit elite unwilling to be joined by others. Quite simply the restrictions are to be expected of almost any group; and/largely unimportant formalities.

In other respects the party would seem to be less than open. There exists an apparent disinclination in all parties, except perhaps the N.D.P., to actively and continuously search

out new members. The N.D.P. stands out because it appoints an official, called the Organizer, whose sole concern is the organization of canvassing and expansion of membership. These organized drives to increase membership are held at wide intervals. All of the other parties ignore the membership drive in favour of a manpower crisis each election.

The only official membership figures released are those of the N.D.P. but they are not broken down by constituency. Nevertheless these provincial figures provide an interesting illustration of the trend in recent years and the effect of membership drives. The total membership for 1963 was 5,999 while in 1964 this dropped to 4,124. The situation seemed to be desperate and with talk of 'stagnating protest movements' in the air a membership renewal canvass was held in the beginning of 1965. The following figures clearly illustrate these events:

、 Memberships:<sup>12</sup>

Nov. 1962 to April 1963 - 3,226

Nov. 1963 to April 1964 - 2,091

Nov. 1964 to April 1965 - 2,981

A monthly breakdown is even more graphic:

Nov. 1963 - 6,185      Nov. 1964 - 4,854

Dec. 1963 - 6,159      Dec. 1964 - 4,635

Jan. 1964 - 5,970      Jan. 1965 - 4,297

Feb. 1964 - 5,879      Feb. 1965 - 4,555

Mar. 1964 - 5,883      Mar. 1965 - 5,052

Apr. 1964 - 5,882      Apr. 1965 - 5,297

The N.D.P. in B.C. would therefore seem up to April 1965 to be on a membership upswing as the drive was held but the increase

<sup>12</sup> Proceedings, N.D.P. of B.C. 4th Annual Convention, Vancouver May 22-24, 1965.

was no doubt helped by the calling on an election.

The interesting point raised by this obvious unconcern with a mass-based party is that this may be part of an unwritten, or more probably unconscious attempt to keep the social composition of the party at a certain level or merely that larger numbers of party members are not needed. This is not a suggestion that a working class person would be refused membership by, for example, the Conservative Party but by placing little emphasis on the attraction of new members, in practice the Conservative Party does restrict itself to a smaller cross-section of the community, than would perhaps otherwise be the case.<sup>13</sup>

While there is usually a trickle of new members at all times party officials agreed that one period always stood out because of its increased activity. This is election time; conversely lack of success at election time will mean a sharp decline in membership. If anything is going to attract people into the party ranks it is an upswing in political interest created especially by the calling of an election and the prospect of a campaign. Local party officials are not operating the sponge but are themselves inclined to rely on the election to always bring in, and revitalize existing, members.

Analysis of party membership from another direction points to the concept of party member itself. Merely to join a party is not enough - importance and influence come from an active participation in the affairs of the party. It is fruitful therefore to take note of Duverger's distinction between the

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<sup>13</sup> See section on social composition of parties in Chapter IV.

electorate, a supporter and a party militant. To talk of total membership in a political party is grossly misleading unless one introduces such a distinction between supporters and activists. Duverger's illustration of this in the form of concentric circles is worth repeating here despite its obvious oversimplifications. Duverger distinguishes 3 circles. On the outside is the electorate which quite consistently will vote for one party. In the middle is the party member who has made the necessary move and joined the party. His sense of belonging does not go very deep - not much beyond the occasional financial support or odd appearance at the nomination meeting. This is the party supporter.

On the innermost circle we find the real party activists who contribute much of their time, money and energy to the organization of the party at all times. It is moreover from this circle that the decisions come. The problem then concerns the feasibility of applying this analysis to the local party. If it does hold even here then it does much to substantiate notions of oligarchy in the political party at all levels. In other words how separate are the circles or would it be better to talk of a spiral rather than discrete circles?

(i) Electorate

The interest here is to relate the degree of electoral support to the total membership figures. When the first is grossly disproportionate to the second one would expect oligarchic tendencies within the party. The indication is of a domination of the electorate by the party but more important is how far is the party itself governed by a clique.

(ii) Supporters

The supporter is one who has made open his political preference for a certain party by becoming a member. It might be possible to include in this category all those in the electorate who openly avow their continual support for a particular party. There are no doubt people who read party literature and attend the odd public meeting yet do not feel that they can commit themselves to the point where they actually sign a piece of paper. In this thesis however a supporter will be regarded as one who has joined a party. If the majority of supporters did not join the party we could not avoid the conclusion that the political party in Canada was not a mass party but a caucus with no interest in recruiting to its ranks people other than those of exceptional talent or social acceptability. It is quite obvious that the vast majority of party members in this riding would have to be placed in the category of supporter.

(iii) Activists

The activists are the militant members without whom the party could not function. The party activist is someone who regularly attends meetings, takes part in election campaigns and attempts to convert others to the party. It is this group which attracted the bulk of my attention in this study but note that the percentage active in each party in no case exceeds 15% of the total membership, even in the most active group - the New Democrats. It is interesting to conjecture from this study that where such a small percentage is active in party affairs that rule by an oligarchy is more probable.

It is also interesting to note from a study of the membership figures that they provide a rough guide to election results. Authoritative guesses put party membership at the time of the 1965 General Election and presumably a high point for total party membership at:-

N.D.P.	700
Liberal	300
Social Credit	200
Conservative	125

While the figures in fact provide a rough guide to the 1965 result they are otherwise of no use. More detailed analysis is necessary because they fail completely to show which members are interested exclusively in provincial or federal politics, and the discrepancies evident if one correlates provincial results with membership totals make nonsense of the supposed relationship. A further illustration of its worth is provided by a contest held by the N.D.P. provincial organization which offered prizes for the largest increase in votes cast in a constituency in the 1965 election and the largest increase in membership for the year. As it turned out the organization which increased its votes most had an almost stable membership and the constituency which increased its total membership the most could not repeat this feat amongst the electorate.

As an aside at this point it is relevant to note what factors have helped the N.D.P. to establish a larger membership. Firstly this is a strong N.D.P. area, both electorally and in party organization with the plums of success reserved for the victor. Secondly one can note the importance that the N.D.P.



attaches to volunteer work at the grass roots level and for which the party is organized.

The stability of membership is another interesting area for investigation. Here the problem will be broken up into two fields:

1. Voluntary Instability
2. Expulsion.

As there are not any official membership figures any generalizations are extremely tentative. Interviews with party officials however seem to indicate that the turnover in a party with poor electoral support is higher than in a party which receives good electoral support. Reasons are not difficult to find. The President of the Conservative Association related how the active party members were most often newcomers to the district whose interest dwindled noticeably after a fruitless campaign in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Even the President of the Association voted for Social Credit provincially, and the 1965 Conservative candidate was a Social Credit Campaign Manager in the 1966 Provincial Election. Although the newcomers to the district who join the Conservative Party are soon disenchanted by the hopelessness of their cause they do not necessarily leave the party immediately but will often linger on for a few years as supporters.

In contrast to the loss of members because of a fall-off in interest, moves from the district etc. one can distinguish the instances where members are expelled. Admittedly this is a very minor factor in explaining decreasing membership but as a principle it is important. Rather than resort to public expulsion it is always preferable to force objectionable elements

out of the party of their own accord. Instances of expulsion are therefore very rare, and the only recent example occurred in the New Democrats.

The usual procedure in all parties is for the revoking of membership to be a local affair but with the right of appeal to the Provincial Council. The only case worthy of mention was the expulsion of 11 Youth Members by the Executive of the New Democratic Youth in 1962. The expelled members belonged to the League for Socialist Action and the Executive had to set up a Judicial Committee to inquire into a report on the matter. In fact the proscription of the League by the Party did not take place until May 1964 and the committee got into such a 'judicial morass', as the Chairman aptly described it, that the expulsion had not been finalized in 1965. In fact 5 of the persons concerned were readmitted to the party and the appeals of the others were still being heard.

This single case - and the lack of others to investigate, suggests that the purge is not part of the repertoire of any party in this area.

### Decision Making

To sum up this discussion it may well be that although I have used the terms activists and supporters these are mere euphemisms for the harsher, more recognizable notions of elite and masses, with the elite few controlling the affairs of the party. In order to clarify this important point we will finally investigate the decision making process in the local party, in our first attempt to locate the locus of power.

It was pointed out earlier that a central point of investigation in this study is the location of power in the local party. This section acts as a convenient summary of the propositions found in this chapter and as a signpost to some of the problems which will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. All of the evidence again points to the impotence of the local party.

Without going deeply into the tremendous theoretical and practical problems involved in finding a suitable avenue for investigating the locus of power in any organization I accept, with certain reservations, the decision making approach as the most profitable means of analysis. However crude and incomplete this approach may be it does offer an operational tool to help disentangle the formal from the actual locus of power.<sup>14</sup> On the basis of this contention it is now necessary to chart out the main areas which will be covered by this approach to the problem. Dahl sees five grounds which can be regarded as avenues for a comparative analysis of power. These are:<sup>15</sup>

1. What is the basis of the decision making?
2. By what means are decisions implemented?
3. What response is evoked?
4. How many people are affected by the decisions?
5. How much change is produced?

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14 For a discussion of the main problems in decision making see: R. Dahl, op. cit; H. Simon: Some Notes on the observation of power, Journal of Politics, Vol. 15 1953. R. Bachrach & M. Baratz, Decisions & Non-Decisions, APSR 1964, pp. 632-642.

15 See R. Dahl: The Concept of Power, Behavioural Science, 1957.

1. The Basis of Power

All decisions in the local party are made theoretically by the members in that riding either as members or officials of the association. It is the individual members who choose the officials who in turn conduct the business of the party as laid down by the Constitution. In practice one can hardly exert power in the constituency association unless one is an official of the party.

It would also appear true that the constituency is only a minor cog in the party structure for the local officials all too often are unable to exert what little formal power is given to them by the Constitution.

2. Means of employing the power

These are largely structured by the Constitution and there is little possibility that anything extra-constitutional could be accomplished in the sense of overstepping one's powers as an official of the party. This it must be admitted is in part due to the vagueness with which duties are allotted in the local constitutions. Much more likely is that the means for implementing the duties of an official are not fully employed by that official. Inefficiency and inertia rather than authoritarianism would seem to be the problem of the local party. Quite obviously such inertia might act as a breeding ground for strong ruthless leaders but no such person is evident in Burnaby-Coquitlam.

Decisions made in the local party are therefore implemented by the officials because of the authority placed in them. (This does not mean that all the actions of the local party are the result of decisions made by local members or officials.)

### 3. Scope of Power

The response evoked to decisions made is fairly typical of all organizations. The decisions made are accepted as authoritative directives and non-compliance to such official directives is extremely rare.

It is true that failure to respond to officials is widespread but not in the sense of refusing to obey the official command of the party leaders. Non-response is the normal attitude to the pleas for support, energy, time and money. The ordinary member is not expelled for not actively participating in party activities. The political party is after all a 'voluntary society'. If you do not want to be active no one can force you to change your mind by the threat of sanctions. It is a paradox therefore that while the decisions of party officials on routine organizational questions are largely complied with as authoritative commands the vast majority of party activities rely for their implementation on volunteers and others persuaded by party officials. Non-compliance to such persuasion is the norm. It rests with the official to stimulate and channel enthusiasm along the required lines. He cannot order anyone to be active - he must rely instead on such things as the national fortunes of the party and the excitement of the campaign in addition to his own personal influence and powers of persuasion.

### 4. Members affected

An estimation of the people affected by a decision made in the riding is extremely difficult if one includes those directly affected as well as those concerned only indirectly.

Here I will deal only with those members directly influenced.

Most decisions made in the constituency such as during the campaign and those of a routine organizational nature preclude any influence on members other than those in the area. Decisions likely to affect a greater area than the constituency are extremely rare. Even if the local party ran wild and acted contrary to the wishes of the higher echolons of the party it is hard to accept that it would influence greater numbers of people.

5. Amount of change produced

The amount of change produced by decisions in the constituency is minimal. New methods of organization for example may be attempted but this makes the riding no more than a testing ground. If change is to be accomplished in the constituency it invariably has permeated down.

The weakness, inertia and haphazard, informal nature of party organization at the local level should by now be clearly forming in the reader's mind. It is pertinent to turn at this point from a discussion of party organization to an examination of the particular functions which the local party is usually held to perform. Many of the problems dealt with in the present chapter will be brought up again but approached from a different angle. To take one example, decision making can be largely explained by a study of the organizational structure of the party. This view will be supplemented by an analysis of the manner in which the party performs its tasks, such as policy making and the nomination of candidates. Decision making should then come through in a clearer perspective.

#### Chapter 4      The Functions of the Local Party

An analysis of the tasks carried out and the manner in which they are performed will provide a far more complete picture of the local party than if only the organizational aspects are dealt with. This chapter will consider in turn the various roles which the local party is usually held to perform. We will also attempt to throw some light on suggestions that the local party is carrying out the same tasks, but on a much smaller scale, as the national party.

The intention is to make the reader aware of the general inadequacy of the local organization in performing the roles generally designated to it. [On the one hand activity is sparse except during elections with as much time devoted to social gatherings as political meetings, while on the other hand it will be seen that the local party has little independence in its choice of the activities that it is to perform because of its own weakness and the all-pervading influence of the higher echolons of the party organization.]

An enumeration of the functions at the grass roots level forms an impressive array of business. One is expected to keep the party organization in the constituency running smoothly by putting over the party's programme, acting as a broker, nominating people for public office, putting forward proposals for incorporation in the party platform, education, and generally ensuring that a strong election campaign is fought in the constituency. Such a formidable list of tasks would of course tax the resources of the strongest and most active organization.

It is no wonder that with the small numbers involved in

active local party work that the authority hierarchy and degree of activity are constantly shifting over time. Generally however the 'great tolerance for inefficiency and autonomy in task performance' at the local level which Eldersveld found in Detroit is soon apparent in the riding studied here.<sup>1</sup>

I feel that before proceeding any further with this chapter I cannot avoid comment on the strong methodological objections to discussing efficiency and inefficiency in terms such as 'task performance'. Eldersveld, for example, develops a functionalist approach using these terms in which certain activities are regarded as prerequisites for the efficient local group.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is no evidence to support either the criteria or their ranking which Eldersveld uses in his distinction between efficiency and inefficiency. His prerequisites are furthermore rendered questionable for studies in Canada because American parties are performing tasks which Eldersveld regarded as necessary yet which are unknown or unimportant in Canada such as registration drives. The approach adopted here will merely attempt to investigate the activities engaged in by the different local party organizations and compare these against the roles accorded to them in party literature. Above all I will try to ignore the assumption that the number of doorbells rung can be correlated with the increase in electoral support. Instead I

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<sup>1</sup> Eldersveld, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 349. His three critical tasks, in order of importance are: 1. Registration drives; 2. Personalized canvassing; and 3. Election day round-up of votes.



will note the extent and type of activities engaged in by each local party.

I have grouped the numerous local activities into 5 task areas for investigation. These are:

1. Education and Information.
2. Policy Making
3. Broker - Mediator
4. Social Activities
5. Nomination and Elections.

This chapter will not deal with nomination of candidates and election campaigning as I regard these as important and peculiar enough to warrant individual scouting in another chapter. All of the roles considered in this chapter are supposedly carried on at all times, which may provide further justification for placing the election campaign in a separate chapter.

#### 1. Education and Information

This covers two areas:

- 1) Internal i.e. of the party members; and
- 2) External - of the general public.

There is a widespread assumption relevant to this and the following section that it is the party members who are making party policy. According to this assumption education of the party members takes place before the policy is decided. Distinct from this is the education of the general public which lifts the electorate to a proper understanding of party policy.

In the first area the party is supposed to guide members through the intricacies of current problems. The intensity with which the party educates its members would seem to be

connected with the importance of basic principles to the party. The greater in fact the importance of ideology - the greater the need for ideological conformity and perhaps the greater the amount of education engaged in by the party. (Ideology will be further mentioned in Chapter VI.) Our initial problem will be to say exactly which, if any, of the parties studied, is strongly attached to certain principles which it could not compromise.

[Of all the parties in B.C. the N.D.P., as an avowedly 'democratic socialist' group, would seem most committed to a definite set of principles, although even here the rigidity characteristic of most ideological parties is not very apparent. One would expect nevertheless to find a wide gap between the intensity of the educational activities of the N.D.P. as compared to other parties.]

If we start with the Conservative and Liberal Parties we find that there is indeed an almost total disinclination by the party to make its members aware of the Party's stand on various issues.

[One way to explain this is to say that pragmatism has become so strong in the old guard parties that for them to engage in a wide range of educational tasks would be rather ludicrous. Instead the ordinary member is left to follow the party line as explained to him in the mass media - especially the newspapers and television. This is not of course an intensive method of education but I believe that the extent to which both Liberals and Conservatives are kept in touch with the national leadership's decisions is considerable, although no more than for the ordinary voter. Education in depth is not usually attempted by the mass media in the political field; and any

notion that the local parties fill this gap can be dismissed in the case of Burnaby-Coquitlam.

In both parties there is an almost total concern with routine organizational business rather than political discussion. The only exceptions to this rule appear to be the rare visit of a 'notable' to speak - most usually reserved for the period around elections. As we have seen public discussion of issues in the local meeting is not the only means of party education. The newsletter and monthly paper are further exceptions but in practice almost all of the alternatives are ignored. An attempt was made by the B.C. Liberal Party in June 1964 to circulate a short newsletter to party 'notables'. It originated under the threat of an election and has now fallen into abeyance,<sup>3</sup> but we must remember that the Vancouver daily papers, the Province and the Suh, follow a general Conservative and Liberal Party line, so that a wide dissemination of party views is assured.

The Social Credit Party is less fortunate in its relations with the Vancouver newspapers. Regarded as a joke in 1952, Social Credit has since acquired considerable feelings of animosity in the mass media which is tempered at crucial periods, such as provincial elections, by an even greater dislike of the main alternative, the N.D.P.

Various attempts are however made by the party to make members aware of the party programme. Periodic discussions are held in the locals on questions of policy, usually following

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3 Riding members could have obtained the newsletter if their Riding President was willing to undertake the distribution. This was not done in Burnaby-Coquitlam. The editor of the newsletter was to become Federal Campaign Committee Chairman in B.C.

a talk. The content of these discussions would seem to be moving from a former emphasis on orthodox Social Credit monetary doctrine to vague discussions on the problems of free enterprise in B.C. Nevertheless one cannot help but be struck by the impressive manner in which Social Credit members have been educated. The theorems, diagrams and arguments are the same but all are repeated without faltering which indicates an intensive grounding by the party in its doctrine. Various text books and pamphlets are available to explain each point, and discussions in the local can be used to supplement these.

In addition the Social Credit Party distributes its own monthly paper, 'Focus'. This is a national party organ and news coverage is given to Socred activities in the whole of Canada. A typical edition includes material from all the main areas<sup>1</sup> of Social Credit support i.e. Alberta, Quebec, and B.C. together with a coverage of the activities of the national leader, Robert Thompson. The paper would appear to have the dual role of pinpointing party policies and showing the success of the movement to bolster morale.

The N.D.P. position is clearly stated in its handbook for riding executives, 'Part of a Team',<sup>4</sup>

" New Democrats have the reputation for being better informed politically than most of their neighbours. It is the job of the Education Secretary to make sure that this is true",

by preparing a programme of discussion groups etc. organizing

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4 'Part of a Team', Handbook for Riding Executives - Official N.D.P. publication of Ontario of N.D.P.

research, keeping information on relevant publications etc. No other party is so explicit on the desirability of educating party members. It would seem to make a notable break from the C.C.F. position which put little emphasis on this role.<sup>5</sup> Sad to say the N.D.P. would seem, in Burnaby-Coquitlam at least, to show a closer resemblance to the C.C.F. than the N.D.P. ideal, even though it is regarded as one of the most efficient local organizations in B.C.

There is no official on the executive in Burnaby-Coquitlam who alone is responsible for education. Instead the generation of policy discussions rests on the initiative of each club. In practice the degree to which the club involves itself in policy discussion is far from ideal and a typical club in Burnaby-Coquitlam discusses policy at no more than 4 meetings in the year. Yet as has already been noted there is more to education than a mere discussion of issues; without the provision of the necessary information of all aspects of the subject any discussion would be meaningless. It is here that the N.D.P. member would seem to have a definite advantage over other parties. Much of this advantage derives from having the M.P. but not only is T.C. Douglas, M.P. for Burnaby-Coquitlam, he is also National Leader of the Party. To ensure that party members are informed of events at Ottawa, Douglas sends the occasional newsletter to all party members and known supporters in the electorate informing them of the main problems discussed in Ottawa and the N.D.P. position in these areas. In addition Douglas makes a monthly visit to the constituency to ensure that Douglas sees as

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<sup>5</sup> See F.C. Engelmann: Membership Participation in Policy Making in the C.C.F., CJE & PS May 1956, pp. 161-173.

many party members as possible. Douglas also attends the Annual Meeting of the Constituency Association to give a speech and discuss problems.]

[This last point highlights the advantage that the incumbent has in a constituency. He is the M.P. who represents the riding and as such is given far more prominence than his opponents. All the other candidates are faced with the considerable uphill task of making themselves known to the constituency. In 1965 none was nominated until a few weeks prior to the election.]

Not only does the M.P. have to disseminate information but the M.L.A.'s are supposed to be active in this respect as well. Neither of the M.L.A.'s in this district in fact distributes anything although both make periodic appearances at party meetings. The provincial party organization does however publish a monthly paper, 'The Democrat', which covers topics similar to those of its Social Credit counterpart, but has not apparently been appreciated judging from criticism at recent conventions. According to Dawson<sup>6</sup> the 'Democrat' often takes an independent party line but this is not the view of the party members in B.C. In fact the editorial staff are paid officials at provincial headquarters and criticism has centred not only on the paper's wobbly finances but the weak uncontroversial editorial line. Various other material is coming out of provincial headquarters.<sup>7</sup> During 1965 a whole array of literature and organizational material was produced (though not very well distributed).

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6 Dawson, op. cit. pp. 453-543

7 See W. Young: Labour in B.C. in J. Meisel (ed.) Papers on 1962 General Election, (Univ. of Toronto, 1965) for an account of the valuable publicity given to the N.D.P. in several union papers and ancilliary organizations.

It included: Introducing the N.D.P.; N.D.P. Dollars; the Last Straw; Organization Kit; Every Members' Canvass Kit; Amended Constitution; together with many other bulk supplies of Trade Union produced pamphlets; reprints of Hansard, etc.

At the constituency level it is obvious that the full array of allotted educational tasks are not carried out. (Nevertheless the N.D.P. does try far harder than other parties to make sure that its members are well informed.) The example of the N.D.P. clearly illustrates that if education is the task of the party it is not going to be carried out by the constituency but by the provincial party. Literature, policy seminars, etc. all emanate from this point, it at all.

It is difficult to judge exactly why the political parties are so interested in the education of their members. 'A disappointing period' was how the N.D.P. Convention described the activities of its Education Committee 1963-65 but no alternative description is likely for any of the parties until widespread reaction develops against the feeling that the party's policies and activities can or should be explained.

A second facet of the educative task of the political party concerns the way in which it convinces the electorate of the rightness of its policies. I would suggest that the activities of the local organizations are even less in this respect. It is difficult enough to get its members to meetings - the local party therefore hardly even bothers to try to educate the electorate within the constituency. On infrequent occasions there will be a meeting with the public but in the main these are not public meetings but restricted to sympathetic groups such

as Trade Unions or Chambers of Commerce. The only possible exception I can find to the generalization that all parties are dormant in this respect lies in the activities of Mr. Douglas. I am not sure that it is correct to class the M.P. as part of the local organization but Douglas does make a continuous effort to educate his constituents. I have already mentioned his newsletter which reaches about 5,000 people in the riding, and other local activities which together with his exposure on the mass media as national leader put him in an extraordinary position for putting the party viewpoint across to the public.

## 2. Policy Making

I wonder how many present day party officials would agree with Pericles' comment during 'The Funeral Oration' that 'although only a few may originate a policy, we are all free to judge it. We do not look upon discussion as a stumbling block in the way of political action'.

If our analysis is correct and there is very little opportunity for the party membership to consider the problems before they are finally decided upon this has serious implications for any theory of grass roots participation in the policy making of the political party. It will indeed be contended in this section that, from the evidence of Burnaby-Coquitlam, party policy is not the result of discussions emanating from the constituency but is the imposed viewpoint



of higher levels in the party structure.<sup>8</sup>

The N.D.P. alone of the four parties considered here, claims to open its policy making channels to the total membership. The novelty of the N.D.P. lies in the fact that the membership of any other party signifies an open support for the principles of that party whereas the N.D.P. holds that the party membership should have the final say in deciding that party's programme.

The N.D.P. has inherited a tradition of rank and file participation in policy making at conventions.<sup>9</sup> Official C.C.F. literature abounds in the theory of democratic control. Typical is the handbook, 'Make This YOUR Canada'.

" ... democracy like charity begins at home ...  
The C.C.F. believes that democracy can have full meaning only if it pervades every corner of community life. It builds its programme on a profound faith in the capacity for creative achievement by the people."

The official provisions for the participation of members in policy making are clearly spelt out in the B.C. provincial and the N.D.P. federal constitutions. These say that:

" The Provincial Convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Provincial Party. It shall decide the principles, policies and programme of the party and its decisions shall govern the actions of the Provincial Council and the Provincial Executive subject to the Constitution and decisions of the New Democratic Party of Canada."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> A discussion of policy making in the Liberal and Conservative parties is found in MacGregor Dawson, op. cit., pp. 517-519; and of the C.C.F. in F. Engelmann: Membership Participation in the C.C.F., DJ E & P.S. Vol. XXII No. 2 May 1956. No discussion is known of policy making in the Social Credit Party, but the evidence of B.C. points to a close resemblance to the Liberal and Conservative positions. Any discussion of policy making should cover not only the making of the party platform but also the manner in which the elected representatives are bound by the platform but this falls beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>9</sup> S.M. Lipset: Agrarian Socialism, (Berkeley 1950) pp. 37-87.

<sup>10</sup> N.D.P. Provincial Constitution Article IX Section 30.

The Federal Constitution states a similar line for the Federal Convention which 'shall be the supreme governing body of the Party and shall have final authority in all matters of federal policy, programme and constitution.'<sup>11</sup> At all levels, and in all parties, there are provisions for executive bodies to govern between conventions. Simple executives are the rule in constituency associations. In the provincial organization there is both a provincial council and a provincial executive, both of these bodies in B.C. are elected by the provincial convention, although in most other provinces the executive is chosen by the provincial council.

We have already discussed the activities of the local party and noted its infrequent excursions into the fields of political discussion. Here we will briefly see what importance is given to such grass roots activity by the Provincial Convention. An average number of resolutions in recent B.C. N.D.P. Provincial Conventions has been around 200. These spread over everything imaginable and the Convention is asked to decide after a short discussion on the merits of such things as Medicare, Liquor Reform, Red China, Sugar Marketing etc. plus more parochial matters of the Party Constitution, Convention and Organization. The resolutions discussed at the conventions may originate at any level but the usual procedure is to pass on material suggested by the constituency to the provincial convention. Resolutions passed at the provincial convention are often forwarded to the national convention but obvious exceptions exist, because of the high degree of provincial material discussed.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> N.D.P. Federal Constitution Article IV 2.

<sup>12</sup> Not all resolutions are of course discussed at conventions. Of 153 resolutions put down for discussion at the N.D.P. Convention in 1965, 43 were not dealt with.

The possibility that discussion will be too rambling haunts all conventions and the N.D.P. has sought to combat this in recent years. A policy committee is set up after each convention by the incoming executive to prepare a statement to be discussed at the next convention.

This procedure has double advantages in that:

1. It guides the discussion at the convention to the most important aspects of party policy as viewed by the leaders; and
2. It presents coherent resolutions, drawn up by experts.

The danger of course is that this policy statement so guides the convention that in practice any proper rank and file consideration of any issue that it chooses is stifled. It would seem that the Policy Statement as presented to the convention, since it is almost without exception accepted, is going some of the way towards the setting down of a statement of policies by the leadership as party policy, and automatically accepted as such by the party, thus eliminating the importance of the convention in policy making.

Provincial and local officials reject this suggestion. According to the Officers' Report from the 1965 Convention the Policy Statement,

" is the result of a wider grass roots participation in the policy making process than has been the case since the party was founded 4 years ago. Starting with a draft statement of policy prepared by the Provincial Caucus after discussion in a meeting of the full executive, five policy institutes were conducted one weekend. At these institutes delegates from the ridings discussed the draft. The results of their discussions were then handed to the Policy Committee along with other materials from the Caucus and individuals in several ridings for consolidation into the Draft Policy Statement presented at this Convention."

" It would be no exaggeration to say that the policy draft has had wide discussion in the Party and is largely the product of the individual member's views expressed at the Policy Institutes. It is the hope of this executive that such Institutes become a regular feature of all of this party's activities, giving clear indication of the democratic foundations of the New Democratic Party."

If we consider the part played by the members in Burnaby-Coquitlam at the 1966 convention we find that of the 171 resolutions discussed 16 were from this riding. This indicates an above average involvement in policy making. The resolutions covered a wide range of topics from Kindergartens, Oakalla Prison, B.A. Oil, Viet Nam to Automation, and Rules of Order. All of these were fully discussed at local meetings with no signs during the discussions of any interference by local officials. More relevant is that less than 10% of the total membership attend the meetings, although most of those in attendance appear to participate in the debates. It is possible to distinguish 4 factors working against mass participation of the membership in policy making:

1. Lack of time for full discussion.
2. Lack of interest (on part of majority).
3. Size and complexity of the questions to be discussed.
4. Widespread membership participation in a large scale organization is impractical.

It is not hard then to understand the disinclination of the M.L.A.'s or M.P.'s to be bound by convention decisions. Even the election of leader at each convention (unlike the other parties) has become a foregone conclusion, although the possibility for upset is there.

In comparison with this picture of membership participation in the N.D.P. we have that of the other 3 parties. At

first glance these appear to be on the other side of the fence in that they do not place such emphasis on the role of the individual members in policy making. Neither of the older parties makes any mention of the role of the convention in policy making. One notes also that none of the parties publish in such detail the proceedings of the provincial conventions as does the N.D.P. Some significance can perhaps be attached to the prominence which each party gives to records of its conventions. Using this simple criteria Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit Conventions are of miniscule importance to the parties' policy makers.

If one compares the N.D.P. Provincial Convention with that of the other parties one is struck by several differences. In the first place none of the latter conventions lasts more than 2 days whereas the N.D.P. Convention lasts for 3 days. The agenda format is the same - resolutions interspersed with election of officials, speeches, etc. but the number and diversity is not so apparent. Only the most infrequent excursions are made into the wider fields of international affairs, foreign relations, or military policy. There is a similar disinclination to quibble over party organization, constitution or convention. There is in fact a far greater concentration on provincial issues, although still not as many as the N.D.P. considers. Instead of the very specific and perhaps embarrassing resolutions of the N.D.P. one finds an inclination to discuss issues in general terms, even where potentially contentious social issues are being considered.

The problem of initiating serious and comprehensive debate has bothered all parties. An interesting approach has been developed in the last 2 years by the Liberal Party. Instead of the superficial debate characteristic of most conventions they have tested small informal study groups called workshops which are meant to investigate some of the problems in detail beforehand.

There were 3 of these workshops in the 1966 Liberal Convention. They dealt with Urban and Municipal Affairs; Human Resources and Social Welfare; and Party Administration. These were held simultaneously and lasted for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours. Any interested delegate could attend and the results of their discussions were forwarded to the convention floor for consideration. These study groups are expected to provide a profitable avenue for eliminating the uninformed debate and substituting a meaningful exchange of opinions. Liberal Party leaders believe that they have been quite successful in this aim. There is little suggestion however that there has been an increase in membership participation in policy making. This is really membership education not policy making.

To prepare people for the Workshops working papers are distributed consisting of extracts from speeches by M.L.A.'s. These are intended to guide and provoke discussion. Not only were the working papers dominated by the M.L.A.'s in this manner but in addition the discussions were led by M.L.A.'s and party officials and a tendency developed whereby they controlled the whole operation.

The Conservative and Social Credit conventions have in recent years been very quiet affairs. The Conservative

Convention discussed a policy statement presented to it by the executive. This document outlined the problem which was then followed by a statement of Conservative policy. Questions discussed in 1966 included National Unity, education, integrity in public life, national development, agriculture, urban development, consumer credit rates, tax incentives, trade and social justice. The debates took the form of an airing of views rather than a belief that these would be incorporated in party policy. In addition to the discussion of official policy there were resolutions from the floor. The most lively and interesting according to the Party Organizer was a resolution concerned with the role that women should play in the Conservative Organization.

The format of Socred Conventions is essentially the same as that of other parties. The resolutions are however extremely specific and almost entirely concerned with provincial affairs. The number of resolutions discussed, around 75, is similar to the Liberals and Conservatives, and when compared with the N.D.P. is a rough indication of the relative importance attached to the convention by party workers. A list of some of the 'unusual' topics forwarded to the 1962 convention included: amalgamation with Alberta; Social Credit M.L.A.'s or the Presidents of the local Social Credit Leagues to approve all applications for government jobs; and the fluid milk market should be reserved for bona fide farmers; the Press Gallery in Victoria should be abolished; all government news should be released in an M.L.A.'s government business report to be circulated each month.

Not surprisingly there is ample evidence to show that the Social Credit government takes no notice of the convention. In 1962 two of the resolutions complained specifically that the Cabinet never did anything about the convention's recommendations. Certainly the Social Credit Convention is not a policy making organ but far more a grand rally of the party faithful. A stirring finale is provided by a speech from the Premier. There are some indications that the highly developed pragmatism of the Social Credit government largely eliminates the possibility that it would allow itself to be dictated to by convention. Social Credit is not alone in ignoring the policy making side of conventions to emphasize instead the massive display of confidence, especially relevant now that that party forms the government.

The conclusion for meaningful membership, participation is dismal. The present role of conventions is one of little power in the field of policy making. The official role given to the N.D.P. convention is greater than that of the other parties in policy making and yet even here participation is reduced to a charade when such little account is taken of convention decisions. This would mean that the N.D.P. is different only in that it engages in a far longer pretense.<sup>13</sup> Even where the N.D.P. platform is highly specific in its proposals the official party leaders will use their own judgment as to how much, if any, should be enacted. When pressed N.D.P. leaders will admit that Convention resolutions are for guidance only notwithstanding the 'management' which has already taken place.

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13 It will be interesting to compare the present position with the situation when, and if, the N.D.P. attains power, in B.C. or at the federal level.



There is moreover an increasing emphasis in all parties on a distribution of official pamphlets and manifestos from the party leader, not necessarily ratified by the Convention and yet regarded as party policy. One Conservative pamphlet talks of basic principles of Conservatism which can be distinguished from policies 'applied from time to time to meet changing social, economic and political conditions in the development of Canada'. Another illustration comes from a former leading Conservative in B.C., Miss Flora MacDonald, who, in a discussion of the lack of membership participation in policy making, complains that many people are slow to enter into policy making when asked to do so. Significantly the avenue is not theirs by right nor is there any indication that their suggestions will be accepted.

Instead of performing as a policy making body the convention has become a meeting place for the elected representatives and the rank and file. Increasingly Canadian conventions become more like their American counterparts by assuming the role of a rally but without the wide publicity glare for outside observers. Conventions are not meant to make policy but to allow party leaders to gauge grass roots feeling and to act as a display ground for party strength.

It would seem that party leaders are strongly enamoured by the use of conventions as a sounding out ground of opinion on contentious social issues. The problem of capital punishment, sale of contraceptives, abortion and divorce can be aired quite well at the convention without anyone thinking that it will be accepted by the party, even if passed.

As far as being a display of party strength this is most obviously true where the party has control of the government. The Social Credit Convention is therefore characterized by a feeling that a pat on the back is not out of place. A grasp of the reins of power also inhibits policy discussion because the government does not want to be embarrassed by awkward resolutions which demand an open and full statement of views and implementation. A provincial convention is par excellence an opportunity to parade the Party Leader and the elected representatives to the party faithful and I cannot help feeling that the after dinner speech by the Party Leader is the most eagerly anticipated event on the whole convention agenda - greater even than the discussions of resolutions.

### 3. Broker - Mediator

The political party must work within the circumstances in which it finds itself. In preparing its programme the party must consider reactions amongst both the party members and the electorate if its bid for power is ever to be realised. No party would expect to find a winning platform unless it offered advantages to several of the most important groups in the electorate.

A worthwhile study of this activity would necessarily take the investigator far beyond the local political organization. It is apparent that the local party has very little influence on the formulation of policy by the national party. It is not to be expected therefore that significant group conflict will be manifested at the local level. Some may dispute this; I will therefore attempt to justify my contention.

It could be argued that conciliation and conflict of various groups takes place at every level. To take an obvious example from the Social Credit Party, which is able to attract people from all sections of the community - businessmen, unskilled workers, preachers, lawyers and the self-employed, how could such a party survive if there was no harmonization of the various interests? The answer lies not in a refutation of the notion of mediation but in the belief that little, if any, of such conciliation is necessary at the local level. In part this is explained by the general inactivity of the local party, except at campaign time, which immediately restricts the possible areas of contention.

Conflict is not of course eliminated, but the diversity of interests does not surprisingly manifest itself so much in a conflict over policy proposals but rather as a clash of personalities. The discussions on policy matters do prepare members for the problems that they will face on the larger arena but disputes are most intense when the efficiency of the local unit is considered. It is interesting to note that I could find no significant ideological undertones to these personal clashes.

The story is usually of one man who becomes entrenched in power as the Local Riding President and who gathers around him trusted supporters. An influx of new blood upsets the balance. The newcomers become especially impatient with the leadership where the party is not winning elections, for which there is at least a glimmer of success and dissension between personalities soon festers as an open sore sapping the strength and efficiency of the association. This would seem to have

occurred in the Conservative Party 1958-63, N.D.P. 1962-63 and to be evident at the present time in the Liberal and Social Credit Parties.

In the Liberal Party lack of success in elections, and a poor organization, coupled with no vigorous leadership (according to critics) led to a rift within the Party. Opposition to the 'establishment' came from new, young members to the constituency such as MacAfee, who brought in Hayes, became his campaign manager in '65 and has since been elected to an official position in a local. As was noted earlier, Bethel, the President, has since resigned his position following a dispute with MacAfee and it will be interesting to note if any other changes are forthcoming in the leadership. There was no indication that the clash was tainted with ideological differences of opinion but instead the efficiency of the organization was in dispute.

In spite of the difficulties involved in acquiring information on the ideology and social background of party members I will present what little I was able to obtain, because of its relevance to any notion of the party as a broker. A discussion of party ideology usually starts with a reference to the distinction made by various writers between interests and opinions.<sup>14</sup> The rationale behind this distinction is that modern political parties are not the mouthpiece for a certain class interest but instead, through time, have acquired

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14 See e.g. R.M. MacIver: The Web of Government (New York: MacMillan Co. 1947) p. 210.

a broader base of support. This is said to have come about partly from a breakdown in class barriers and partly from a diminution in the domination of political life by the old political elites. According to this view the expression of class interests in politics has been superceded by the expressions of opinions - this latter phenomena to be associated with the modern mass political party. These parties have been forced into a compromise position, away from a rigid class connection to one where several groups in society can be accomodated. What has become a classic reference to Canadian parties remarks on the 2 dominant parties in federal politics, Liberals and Conservatives, that they are, 'great, nation-wide, easy-going, omnibus vehicles whose occupants often have difficulty in recognizing their fellow passengers or in understanding why the driver of the bus let them in'.<sup>15</sup>

This study will test the validity of this claim to a great ideological diversity in the local party. General conclusions are extremely difficult to come up with but it would seem that the ideas on party policies are quite similar and that the differences between parties are not considerable in every case and nor is the basis for these differences always a class one.<sup>16</sup>

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15 G.V. Ferguson: Parties of Protest, A.A.A.S.S. 1947.

16 As was noted in Chapter III the homogeneity of ideology in the local party may well be an artificial derivation of the avoidance of policy discussion.

There would not seem to be much doubt that even if the political parties in fact represent the power interests of a single class that the appeal of all mass parties is directed to more than one class interest. A case in point is the move of the N.D.P. away from the militant plans to be found in the 1933 C.C.F. Regina Manifesto for the removal of the cancer called capitalism to the current thinking of the N.D.P. provincial leader, " ... Would taking over B.C. Telephone or the pipelines help provide employment ... We know it wouldn't."<sup>17</sup> Evidence to support the general contention also comes from Premier Bennett. He recently informed a group of investment dealers that Social Credit is conservative in its financial policies, liberal in its thinking and displays socialist tendencies through public ownership in certain fields.<sup>18</sup>

Porter contends in 'The Vertical Mosaic' that both major federal parties are in favour of the status quo. Instead of a polarization of political forces to the left and right 'the dialogue is between unity and discord'.<sup>19</sup> Porter feels that the major political parties are expressing a general feeling of the need for national unity which has stultified all attempts to divide politics into a progressive-conservative type as has happened in such countries as the U.S.A. and Great Britain. While there are obvious drawbacks in accepting or rejecting this viewpoint on the basis of one constituency I do have misgivings about the application of

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17 R.M. Strachan, speaking at 1963 Provincial Convention.

18 The Telegram, Toronto September 1, 1966.

19 Porter, op. cit., p. 369.

this theory to Burnaby-Coquitlam.<sup>20</sup> It would seem that in this area the left-right polarization has not been 'deflected into disputes over regionalism and national unity'.<sup>21</sup> There is a clear indication that the N.D.P. is regarded as the party of the left with the others occupying positions to its right. Disputes over regional problems are present but do not appear as a significant factor and are not exploited by the N.D.P. For Burnaby-Coquitlam class polarization and national unity are not incompatible in the political arena. Apart from the N.D.P. the national unity - regionalism line was presented by all parties in the federal sphere. The 1965 programme of the Liberal Party was emphatic on the need for a majority government with adequate representation of B.C. interests in such a government. They also chose to play down specific issues.<sup>22</sup> The Conservative Party was similarly avoiding class conflicts in its national campaign - although locally the party made direct overtures to the working class vote.

Social Credit followed a strong regional line, yet the resentment vote which it appears to attract at the provincial level does not appear to follow it in such droves in federal politics. Yet perhaps this is its very weakness - a protest movement is acceptable at the provincial level but regional protest in national politics must be sidetracked into a national party. One cannot expect a fair share of the federal plums unless one votes for a federal party. Typical

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20 See too: M. Robin, 'The Social Basis of Party Politics in B.C.', Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXXII No. 4, Winter 1966, pp. 675-691.

21 Porter, op. cit., p. 369.

22 Conversation with Liberal Party Campaign Chairman.

of the Social Credit thinking on the raw deal that B.C. gets from Ottawa are the remarks of Attorney-General Bonner, 'We should put more people into Parliament who are prepared to discuss B.C. in Ottawa, even from a non-partisan point of view'.<sup>23</sup> This provokes a reaction from the Liberals and Conservatives on how well the province has been, and will be, treated by their parties. This regional bickering is in sharp contrast to the approach laid down in the New Democrat platform. Almost without exception the battle is fought on contentious social and political issues - medicare, old age pensions, employment etc. The time given to local or regional matters is insignificant. National unity is not ignored but follows only as an indirect conclusion from its policies which appeal mostly to underprivileged groups throughout the country.

It could be argued that a vote for the N.D.P. is itself a protest against domination by Eastern parties. Yet if this is so how does one explain away the failure of the N.D.P. to direct its appeal to regional problems and in addition the stability of the C.C.F.-N.D.P. vote even when the rest of the country is flocking in another direction as in 1958 does not suggest a temporary regional protest movement? Meisel concludes in similar fashion that most 'N.D.P. votes are not cast as a consequence of a momentary decision by the voter about the current appeal of a given party, but as a result of his commitment to a seriously held view about the nature of society and government'.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Vancouver Sun, October 9, 1965.

<sup>24</sup> J. Meisel: The June 1962 Election: Break up of our Party System?, Queen's Quarterly LXIX, No. 3, Autumn 1962, p. 343. See too: W. Young: B.C.'s Labour Party, in J. Meisel: Papers on the 1962 Election, Toronto, 1965.



It is interesting to investigate whether the apparent class appeal of the N.D.P. as opposed to the 'classless' appeal of the other parties is reflected in the type of support it obtains from the electorate. This would require a detailed voting study which unfortunately has never been done in B.C. I have nevertheless pursued this line of inquiry and obtained a general impression by studying the voting statistics of each poll to see the percentage vote cast for each candidate in the 1965 election. The overwhelming extent of the N.D.P. victory is immediately apparent. Out of 215 polls in Burnaby-Coquitlam 194 (90%) were won by Douglas, 16 by the Liberals and 5 were shared between the two parties. More detailed figures show that:

1. N.D.P. won more than 50% of vote in 144 polls (67% of total). These were:

Of these 4 out of 6 were rural

From Port Moody - Total 13 polls - N.D.P. won 7 (54%)

Port Coquitlam - Total 20 polls - N.D.P. won 16 (80%)

Coquitlam - Total 65 polls - N.D.P. won 32 (49%)

Burnaby - Total 121 polls - N.D.P. won 85 (70%)

2. N.D.P. won more than 60% in 44 polls (20% of total).

Rural 1 out of 6

Port Moody 4 out of 13

Port Coquitlam 7 out of 20

Coquitlam 4 out of 65

Burnaby 28 out of 121

3. N.D.P. won more than 67.5% of vote in 7 polls

Poll 3 - 71.4%; Poll 14 - 68.3%; Poll 24 - 69.2%;

Poll 43 - 70.0%;

Poll 137 - 70%; Poll 171 - 69.6%; Poll 178 - 71.8%.

4. N.D.P. won less than 37.5% of vote in 11 polls  
2 rural; 1 Port Moody; 0 Port Coquitlam; 6 Coquitlam and  
2 Burnaby.
5. Liberals won more than 45% in 8 polls  
1 in Port Moody; 7 in Coquitlam.
6. Liberals won less than 20% of vote in 37 polls.

Rural 1 out of 6

Port Moody 3 out of 13

Port Coquitlam 5 out of 20

Coquitlam 3 out of 65

Burnaby 25 out of 121.

These statistics quite clearly indicate the wide appeal of the New Democrats. The party won an absolute majority in 67% of the polls and even in those areas not taken by the N.D.P. it obtained more than 30% of the total vote, in every case.

Nevertheless its greatest support was quite clearly evident in the more urban, industrialized sections with a lower middle and working class population, as was the case in most of Burnaby and Port Coquitlam. Those areas populated by people higher on the socio-economic index were relatively weak in their support of the N.D.P. The richest areas in Port Moody both went Liberal; and Coquitlam, which if Maillardville is excluded, constitutes the middle class, professional and businessman area par excellence in the riding showed the strongest support for the Liberals. Seven out of the eight polls in which the Liberals won more than 45% of the vote were from Coquitlam as were more than half of the polls in which the N.D.P. got less than 37.5% of the vote.

The most obvious exception to the suggested correlation of socio-economic level and propensity to vote N.D.P. was found in Maillardville - the poorest, working class section of the riding. Instead of delivering the most solid N.D.P. vote, 2 out of 7 polls went to the Liberals, and all polls showed a far higher vote than the average for the whole constituency. The reason for this deviant pattern must be attributable to the inherited tradition of this, the only French-Canadian community in B.C. Whether they do so for the same reasons or not, French-Canadians whether in Quebec or B.C. show a readiness to support the Liberal Party at the federal level.

This leaves the level of explanation on a rather general plane and to investigate these ideas more closely a study was made of 7 polls - those chosen were the 3 polls with the highest N.D.P. vote and 4 polls won by the Liberals, two of which were those won by the party in Maillardville. I admit at once that methodologically my techniques have serious drawbacks. In trying to make correlations between the social status position of the poll and the votes it casts for each party I took an occupational class scale as worked out by Blishen.<sup>25</sup> While Blishen's scale may be accepted the correlations provide only a rough guide in that I know only how the total poll voted and not which way individuals voted or

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25 B. Blishen: The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale in B. Blishen et al (eds.) Canadian Society, Macmillan 1961, pp. 449-458. The scale is compiled by ranking, and grouping occupations, according to combined standard scores for years of income and schooling, by sex.

whether they voted at all.

I hope that by taking several polls some of the distortions will have been brought more clearly into focus and that my findings, tentative as they are, will suggest further avenues for more intensive research.

The statistics for the 7 polls chosen are as follows:

<u>District &amp; Poll No.</u>	<u>% Turnout</u>	<u>% Vote for N.D.P.</u>	<u>% Vote for Lib.</u>	<u>Social Position</u>	<u>(from Blischen)</u>
Port Moody 8	79.5	34.0	53.9	57.0	Class 2
Coquitlam 43	67.0	70.0	10.0	49.2	Class 5
Coquitlam 49	83.0	40.0	49.2	54.3	Class 3
Maillardville 92	76.2	35.2	46.4	49.9	Class 5
Maillardville 98	71.7	31.9	46.5	48.4	Class 5
Burnaby 137	72.8	70.0	21.2	49.0	Class 5
Burnaby 178	60.3	71.8	17.6	49.4	Class 5

If we exclude Maillardville, a Class 5 area, it can be seen that the figures quite neatly fit the hypothesis which holds that the class cleavages evident in B.C. will be reflected in the type of support attracted by each political party. The highest Liberal vote was obtained in a Class 2 poll, and another poll with a Liberal majority, though smaller, was a Class 3 poll. This can be contrasted with the strongholds of the N.D.P. In each of the polls studied here 70% or more of the vote was obtained and in every case the poll constituted a Class 5 area, significantly lower than the Liberal areas. In Maillardville, the two polls investigated were both Class 5 districts, which should indicate a strong N.D.P. majority. In fact both polls went to the Liberals, with only slightly less support than the Liberals reached in a Class 2 or 3 district. The N.D.P. vote is correspondingly weaker and on a par with the percentage that would be expected in a Class 2 or 3 poll. As was said before

this can be attributed to a cluster ethnic vote which in this case overrides class voting.

Further research would seem necessary therefore in several fields:

1. A more detailed breakdown of class voting, for example
  - (a) white collar, blue collar ✓
  - (b) union, non-union.
2. The influence of the ethnic variable.
3. Who votes Conservative and Social Credit.

We have already noted that the notion of the party as 'open' is misleading to the extent that there is a wide-spread disinclination to go out looking for new members. It is quite feasible that there will be what amounts to a 'natural' selection within each party to include only people ✓ of a similar social background. Alternatively we might find a lack of homogeneity in the local party. We could have representatives from a certain social background holding office in each of the parties while only the mass corresponded to the stereotype for each party.

Unfortunately not all of these avenues could be fully explored because of the refusal of the local parties, ✓ with the sole exception of the Conservative Party to allow me a list of current members. Although no detailed statistics exist for this riding several interesting suggestions for future research arise from a comparison of the federal officials. They are:-

1. There is a slightly greater preponderance of managerial and professional people in official positions in

the Liberal and Conservative parties than in the N.D.P. and Social Credit parties.

2. The social composition of the Liberal and Conservative parties shows a greater homogeneity than is the case with Social Credit and the N.D.P.

3. There is an interesting situation whereby people holding positions in the federal organization are generally of a higher social standing than those with provincial political units. Whether this is due to the lower prestige of provincial politics should be investigated but seems plausible.

4. Essentially local politics is a middle class preoccupation. A few lawyers are involved but normally the upper, as well as the working, class refuse to bother themselves in this sort of activity.

5. Statistics from the Conservative Party suggest that in this party at least, the officials are not representative of the whole membership. Lawyers, managerial and other high income persons predominate in official positions while the rank and file is dominated by the middle class, their wives and their retired counterparts - 30% in all. The ranks included as well however, factory workers, a barber, fishermen and clerks.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Social\_Convenor

After dismissing as unimportant certain of the roles usually associated with a political party at the local level I

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<sup>26</sup> If we use Blishen's scale the average social point position for the whole party is 58.3; the average for Conservative officials is 67.2.

found other activities normally ignored but very evident in this study. I am referring to the weight that the local association gives to keeping its members together not solely by political matters but in addition through social gatherings. We have seen how even in the best organized party in Burnaby-Coquitlam, the N.D.P., social and political activities alternate. In the worst organized party a non-election meeting if called is only likely to be concerned with a social event.

How does one explain this?

I can see three main reasons for the emphasis on social activities, in an essentially political group.

1. In the first place if some emphasis is given to the social side of the group it goes some way to making the party something more closely tied in with the individual's life. Politics is not the only interest even of the activists. Diversion must be provided for them by whist drives, bridge games, dances, etc. This is especially important where either only the husband or the wife is a party member and a suitable means must be found for attracting both member and mate.

2. Secondly, it is a useful and relatively unobtrusive, and therefore less objectionable, way of bringing in money and bolstering the generally weak financial situation of local parties. This is especially important for the N.D.P. which relies heavily on individual contributions to run the riding organization.

3. Finally, where people join a political party and yet do not engage in any political activity the only way

to maintain some semblance of group feeling may be through social activities. This line in particular pervades the Conservative Party. By joining this group a person can be fairly sure of meeting people with a similar socio-economic and political outlook at a whist drive or bridge game. I do not mean to suggest that the party has become one mad long game of bridge but in some instances - as with the Conservatives - the three or four bridge games may be the only time at which contact is made with fellows of the same political outlook.

I feel that if we stop now to weigh up our findings there can be no avoidance of an uncomplimentary conclusion on the extent and intensity of the local party activities. Part of this no doubt is attributable to the comparison with an ideal which has never been attained at the local level. Another part must be due to the frequency with which studies of local parties have ignored the organization and activities in between elections in preference for the more concentrated and interesting study of the parties at election time. This period in the life of the political party is the subject of the next chapter.



Chapter V      Election Activities in  
                 Burnaby-Coquitlam

(Studies of the local political organization are usually confined to the period of the election campaign, largely in the belief that the election constitutes the only important local activity as far as the party is concerned. This thesis set out with the objective of investigating the organization throughout the year in order to give a more rounded picture of local political life. In the last chapter I was concerned with what are normally regarded as off-election activities. I now intend to illustrate the election activities of the local group and will include in this process both the nomination of candidates and the actual campaigning.

The conclusion of this chapter is that the election is the climax towards which all party activities are directly or indirectly leading. The election can be expected to produce an upswing in member activity rates but even at this time the proportion actively involved remains small. It will be seen as well that at this crucial time the inadequacies of the local organization plus the desire for efficiency and uniformity accentuate any dependence on the provincial organization.

In the Introduction to this thesis we pinpointed the features which distinguish the political party from any other social group with political goals, such as pressure groups. It was noted that the role of nomination for public office was a special mark of the political party, and if Schattschneider is to be believed unless nominations are made the body cannot be

regarded as a political party at all. This section will cover both the formal procedures involved in nomination and the actual process at work. My justification for regarding the nomination process as important rests on four points:

1. It is the political party which decides on the alternative policies around which the campaign is fought. By taking a particular stand the political party puts its representatives in the position where they can be easily associated with certain views. The nomination process decides who shall be the official representative of these views while for his part by taking on the party label the candidate can be recognized by the public. The nomination can then be seen as an initiation ceremony without which contesting an election is a hopeless fight.

2. It is the making of nominations which is a crucial factor in distinguishing the political party from other groups interested in influencing government policy.

3. One can imagine the confusion that would reign if the party did not put any or more than one official candidate in the field. It is especially important in Canada for a party to emphasize its national character by placing candidates in all areas.

4. Where districts vote consistently for one party the nomination process assumes special importance in that it is tantamount to election and leads us to a location of the locus of power within the party.

Before going into a party by party study of nominations it should be noted that the formal machinery bears remarkable similarities between parties. It is a well known

fact however that varying methods of choosing candidates are employed across the country.<sup>1</sup> The procedure followed in Burnaby-Coquitlam is for each Constituency Association to call a special nominating meeting at which the choosing of a candidate is the main business.<sup>2</sup> Without exception the nomination of candidates was not made until after the election had been called. This left very little time for the candidate to make himself known and emphasizes the importance of the party label. Douglas, as the sitting member and national leader is an obvious exception because he was the incumbent and his re-nomination must be regarded as a foregone conclusion.

Those entitled to attend the nomination meeting are all party members from that constituency who have been in the party for a certain length of time - usually 30 days. If only one name is proposed then that candidate is chosen by acclamation. Otherwise, where more than one person is in contention, a vote is taken and the person with the most votes is declared elected. Once chosen by the constituency the candidate is finally approved by the provincial party.

So much for the formal procedure, how about any informal arrangements? Investigation shows that these are of great significance in the choice of candidates. It was pointed out that the candidates are chosen by members of the constituency in the nominating convention. In practice this

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1 See J. Meisel: The Canadian General Election of 1957 (Univ. of Toronto 1962), Chapter 6.

2 Where the Constituency Association does not nominate anyone the Provincial Party may do so.

procedure would appear, from the 1967 nominations at least, to be a rubber stamp for the candidate chosen by party officials. If we take each nomination in turn this should be quickly evident.

The N.D.P. Convention was extraordinary in that the ousting of Douglas would have been 'unthinkable'. It is pertinent therefore to consider instead the circumstances which brought him to this riding. Erhart Regier had held the seat for the N.D.P. in the 1962 General Election while at the same time Douglas, already elected National Leader of the N.D.P., was being defeated in Regina. Some way had to be found to get Douglas into parliament, Burnaby-Coquitlam was an obvious N.D.P. stronghold, but apparently off his own back Regier decided to step down in favour of Douglas.

It is apparent in this case that the local association had no say in Regier's resignation which had the specific intent of bringing Douglas to the riding. No doubt the predicament did not disturb them. Having the national leader in the constituency gives the riding great prestige, puts it in the limelight and means that the party pays greater attention to the fortunes of the N.D.P. in Burnaby-Coquitlam than ever before. Since Douglas' candidature in Burnaby-Coquitlam was a fait accompli for the local association it is impossible to say how much influence the local officials of the N.D.P. have in the nomination process. This example suggests very little which is important because this is a strong N.D.P. area, but the circumstances of 1963 were highly unusual.

The Liberal candidate, Dick Hayes, a young Vancouver lawyer, was chosen by acclamation at the Liberal nominating

meeting. His candidature clearly illustrates the behind-the-scenes activity which constitutes a key factor in winning the nomination. The Liberal contender can count on fairly good electoral support but poor organizational support. The possibility of defeating the N.D.P. is remote but a contest against Douglas is potentially lucrative if victory or a strong showing is achieved. Generally the likelihood of defeat seems to have kept outstanding Liberals away.

Douglas' first General Election in 1963 was an obvious exception however. If ever a giant killer was to succeed this was surely the time. There was no candidate in the Liberal camp but out of the blue via provincial headquarters came Tom Kent, adviser to Pearson, and a top party worker. It was an obvious attempt to outdo the N.D.P. and the local association gladly fell in line. Such enthusiasm for the constituency had been unknown before the arrival of Douglas. Kent did not choose to stay around after his defeat for the next election but grand plans were mooted in the hope of attracting another 'big name' with plenty of his own money. Talk of importing T.V. personality-journalist-cum-evangelist Charles Templeton from the East was rife but came to nothing.

As the election obviously drew near the Liberals looked in other, less grandiose, directions. If Burnaby-Coquitlam was to be taken why not 'out N.D.P. Douglas by choosing someone recognisable as a Burnaby person'. The mantle then fell on Lloyd Wallin, Treasurer of the Association, but more important a top official in the Teamsters' Union - and an obvious bait for the working man's vote. Unfortunately for the Liberals Wallin procrastinated until a few days before

the election when he finally decided that his job might become uncomfortable if he stood as a Liberal.

The Liberal Executive was then faced with a dilemma - no candidate and only a few days to go before the nomination meeting. Frantic calls to provincial headquarters were not much help but then ~~Roger MacAfee~~, a new member to the district came forward with an unknown Liberal from downtown, Dick Hayes. Enthusiasm was not exactly overwhelming but Hayes' law firm was sympathetic and with no other candidates forthcoming, the President had to accept Hayes, who was chosen by acclamation.

The Social Credit candidate is facing even more of a lost cause than the Liberal. As a result the nomination is not keenly sought after. Candidates are invariably chosen by the party executive from members within the constituency and accepted at the nomination meeting by acclamation. R.J. Gamache, candidate in 1962 and 1963 was an official in the constituency, then as now. J. Kennedy, the candidate in 1965, and a local official, offered his services to the party and was accepted by the President as the best choice, although Kennedy admitted that his only reason for running was to keep his name in the spotlight with the party and the electorate in anticipation of running in the next provincial election (which he did). There is little doubt however that his candidature was the work of the local executive and not that of the nomination meeting.

A similar defeat faces the Conservative in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Possible candidates, both young lawyers, were approached by the President of the association after the

election had been called. One was found unacceptable, and the other asked for a suspension of the nomination meeting to think it over but the President refused and he dropped out. Just when things were getting desperate the President received an offer to stand from Mike Allen. Even the President admitted that Allen was not a strong candidate and highly unlikely to win the nomination elsewhere. This raises the question of how Allen came to offer himself to Burnaby-Coquitlam. Enquiries in provincial headquarters show that Allen was a friend of the provincial organizer, who rated him far higher than the riding president. I do not feel that there is much doubt that Allen was put in touch with this riding by the provincial organizer. Having found a candidate at last the President took his candidate to a nomination meeting which amounted to a handful of people mainly from the executive. Here the candidate was 'officially' chosen.

- The final conclusions that can be gleaned from the above examples are outlined below. In the first place the examples given illustrate the great influence that informal practice exerts in a successful nomination. The ordinary party member does not go to the nominating meeting in large numbers. Part of this lack of enthusiasm can be explained by the fact that the candidate who in fact wins the nomination is recognized as such before the nomination meeting. It is true that nominations can wait until the last minute but in Burnaby-Coquitlam, at least in recent years, a contested nomination is a rarity and cases of 'official' candidates being defeated unknown. If the nomination meeting is a mere formality this means that those responsible for choosing the

'official candidate' have great power. It would appear to rest in most cases on the initiative taken by the President of the Local Association, perhaps after consultation with his executive. Where the candidate stands little chance the President can become a veritable 'Princemaker' but where the constituency is 'safe' provincial headquarters are much more interested and help both direct good candidates to such areas and influence such areas to the acceptance of these candidates.

In parties which cannot attract good candidates to the riding the President is expected to produce a candidate. In the N.D.P. in this area however the President would seem to have little power to impose his choice either on the local or provincial party. Burnaby-Coquitlam is too good to be left to the whims of a local constituency president. The influence of the President is more apparent in the other parties - whether this is a party difference or constituency solution is debateable, but even in the Liberal Party, which is usually a strong runner, the President is the key figure in the selection.

This brings me to my third proposition. If the nomination meeting is incidental to the choice of candidate what purpose does it perform? Our answer can be divided into two parts. On the one hand the convention offers an opportunity for all interested members to feel that they are doing something important. Even where they act as a rubber stamp they have done something and it is important too that they meet the candidate especially where he is unknown in the district, as happened with the Liberal and Conservative parties. On the other hand it is evident that the choosing



of a candidate for the election shows that the party is fully prepared for the campaign. As we have seen the party organization is extremely threadbare in most cases and the clarion call from the nomination meeting to do battle is essential both to boost morale and to show others that you are still alive. The major part of the nominating convention is in fact taken up by pep speeches from the candidate, Association President and a guest speaker.

While it is true that the nomination process is vital to the political party nationally - because it is a matter of considerable prestige to have candidates running in all constituencies - the aura does not seem to have rubbed off to the same extent at the constituency level. Not all of the blame lies with the constituency however. The method of nomination is extremely haphazard in Canada - politics at least still seems a place for the amateur. The most obvious areas of inefficiency admitted to by party leaders are:

1. Lack of grooming of candidates; and
2. No central list of candidates.

The constant references by party spokesmen to the shortage of suitable candidates make little sense when none of the parties conducts candidate preparation course, as for example does the Labour Party in Britain. Parties in Canada instead stick to the Conservative notion that candidates will always emerge at the right time and that preparation is an unnecessary task. The grooming of a candidate once officially chosen is correspondingly weak. In very few cases is the candidate chosen long enough before an election to enable him

to get to know and nurse the riding. Instead all of this must be done in the glare of the campaign.

The other aspect of candidate selection which would appear to be weak is the absence of any central list of candidates. No candidate or riding association can make known its intentions, and this gives great weight to the work of provincial headquarters.

Once having chosen the candidate one has the basic requirement for fighting an election; having performed this task it is now necessary for the party to mobilize the maximum amount of support from the electorate for the chosen candidate.

#### The 1965 Election in Burnaby-Coquitlam

[ The timing of this election had been anticipated for some time by all of the parties. Preparations were well under way in 1964 in all parties directed by national headquarters. The provincial parties then began their plans a few months later. It is usual for major committees to be set up with responsibility for strategy and planning together with auxiliary sub-committees dealing with literature, T.V. and radio, itineraries, finance, and public relations which can quickly swing into action and continue through until election day.

[ The constituency organizations themselves are invariably unprepared. Consequently the weeks of the campaign constitute the most hectic, soul searching period in its life. ]<sup>3</sup>

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3 Not many worthwhile studies have been made on party organization in Canada at election time - the most notable exceptions are the works of J. Meisel: The Canadian General Election of 1957, op. cit., and: Papers on the 1962 Election, op. cit.

This is the tale of those frantic days.

### Campaign Organization

In the constituency studied only one party, the N.D.P., was able to maintain a viable organization during the off-election period. It will be seen that this is also reflected in the broader and more intensive election campaign of the N.D.P. as compared with the other parties. Electoral success for the latter must be in spite of the weak constituency organization. If the Conservatives, Liberals or Socialists are to wage an effective campaign in Burnaby-Coquitlam it can only be done with a combination of an excellent candidate and plenty of money or by being caught up in a national wave of support for the party.

Paradoxically as it may seem the relationship between the local officials and the campaign organization may be very thin. Association officials usually stand apart from direct involvement in the election campaign except where they are nominated to the campaign organization, for example as the candidate or campaign manager. The actual campaign is not the responsibility of the Riding Association. On the contrary the campaign organization is a special task force which cannot be officially constituted until after the candidate is chosen. This is because the officials responsible for the campaign - the campaign manager and the fiscal agent - are both chosen by the candidate. Strange to relate even the most important local political activity of fighting campaigns can be conducted independent of the local Association.

The extent of the activities carried out by the candidate and campaign manager will of course vary greatly. In a

typical campaign one would expect the campaign manager to take the bulk of the problems of organization away from the candidate. The candidate however remains at the top of the campaign organization. This position may of course correspond more to that of a figurehead than active ruler. This would seem to be true of the N.D.P. and Conservative campaigns but for very different reasons. Douglas, as the National Leader of the party was not able to be in the riding for much of the campaign and it was usual for him to spend only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days over the weekend in the district. In his absence, his executive assistant from Ottawa, Maynard Woollard, conducted the campaign. This involved not only the usual organizational duties but he was also called upon to stand in for Douglas at public meetings and distribute press releases on behalf of Douglas - who remained unaware of what he had 'said' until he looked at the newspapers.

The reason for my questioning whether the Conservative candidate ran his own campaign rests on his unfamiliarity with the riding and his inexperience as a candidate. This put him in sharp contrast to his campaign manager who was President of the Riding Association and who had acted as campaign manager in 5 previous elections. It is not difficult to understand why Allen had very little to say in the management of the campaign.

In addition to the campaign manager, a fiscal agent must be appointed by the candidate and together these three figures constitute the official organization of any campaign. The campaign manager is responsible for the organization of the campaign and it is his job to take as much of this work

off the candidate. He will also be engaged in consultations with the candidate to formulate the overall strategy in the constituency and will direct the whole gamut of party workers, canvassers, scrutineers, etc.

The campaign managers during the 1965 Election were as follows:-

N.D.P. B. Hill - The Organizer in the Constituency Association, a former campaign manager employed part-time by Douglas as his liason officer in the constituency.

Liberals R. MacAfee - A law student, and friend of Hayes from U.B.C. He was responsible for bringing Hayes to the constituency. Like Hayes he was inexperienced and a newcomer to the riding.

Social Credit Mr. & Mrs. Miles - They split the duties on a regional basis. Mr. Miles was President of the Provincial riding, and had fought in elections before.

Conservatives F. Crawley - The President of the Riding Association; an experienced campaign manager and a former municipal councillor.

The roles played by the campaign managers varied considerably. The N.D.P. campaign was organized not by the campaign manager, but by Woollard after consultation with the campaign committee which included Hill. In the Social Credit camp the candidate said that he was in complete charge of what little campaign there was. Contrast this with the Conservatives where the Campaign Manager seemed to organize everything and one is left with the Liberals who alone practice the expected distribution of responsibilities.

The fiscal agent is required by law. It is his job to keep a record of the expenses incurred during the campaign, although he does not say how much money should be spent. He is legally bound to issue a financial statement to the Returning

Officer after the campaign is over which sets down all of the money paid out and received in connection with the campaign. It is a well-known fact that such statements are invariably 'misleading' in that numerous means can be found for getting round a full statement. Apart from his accounting duties the fiscal agent does not appear to get involved in the campaign.

In addition to the people mentioned local figures with particular experience or contacts are consulted by the candidate. The N.D.P. organization went one step further by establishing a formal committee for this purpose. This consists of the candidate, his executive assistant, campaign manager, and zone managers. Common practice in the other parties is for various notables in the constituency and party to be asked for advice. With some it is only an act of courtesy but in other cases it can prove useful as when the Liberals brought in an official from the local Teamsters Union. Association Presidents do not seem to rank too high in this respect. The Social Credit candidate only saw his President twice during the campaign - once when the President came to complain that too much money was being spent. Open antagonism developed in the Liberal Party because of a similar lack of consultation. It would seem far more likely for the campaign manager to seek advice and assistance from the experts downtown.

The decentralization of the campaign organization depends on the extent of party support in the riding. Both the N.D.P. and Socreds chose to run their campaign through two offices but in only the N.D.P. did the organizational network spread out systematically from this point to the zone managers, responsible for certain clubs, and below them to the poll workers. As we have seen every party neglects this unit during

the off-election period but attempts are made to use them as an organizational base at election time. The ideal situation is to have a captain in each poll who will look after this unit with a couple of helpers while in practice all parties found it impossible to live up to this, although the N.D.P. organized approximately 80% of the polls after a fashion at election time.

### Campaign Progress

Once the candidate has been chosen the campaign represents a gradual progression towards election day. This may be viewed as consisting of several distinct stages.

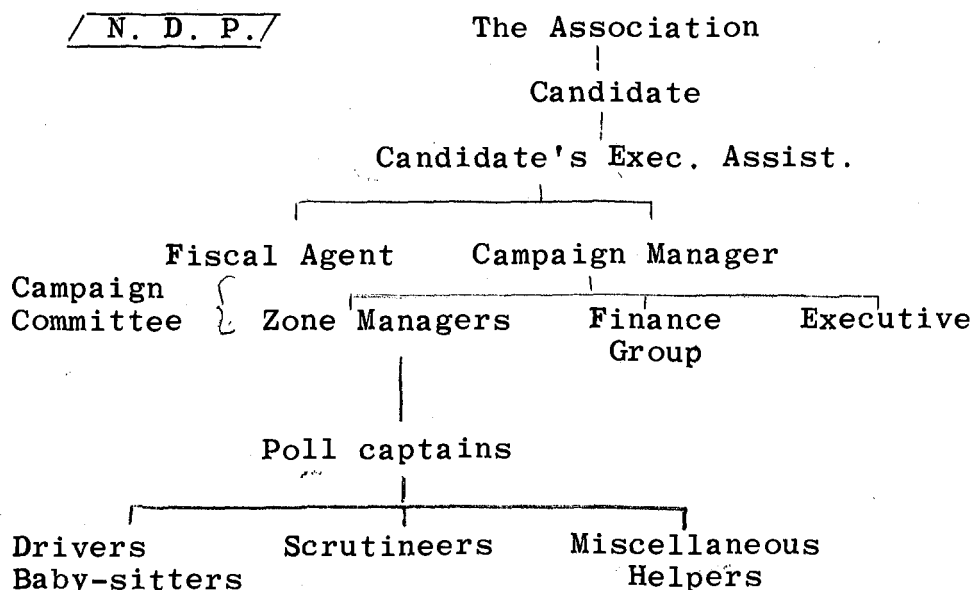
To start with, there are the preparatory stages concerned with the enumeration. The task here is to prepare the Voters' List. 'Officially the two enumerators required by statute in each urban subdivision are, of course, appointed by the Deputy Returning Officer. But one of the enumerators is always the nominee of the candidate who won the previous election and the other of the runner-up'.<sup>4</sup> In fact in the majority of instances the D.R.O. was forced to go searching for enumerators outside of these party lists.

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4 Meisel, op. cit., p. 86. There is no keen competition among the rank and file members for the job of enumerator although it might be considered lucrative by an outsider. Payment for enumeration is a basic \$25 plus 10¢ for each name. This usually brings the amount up to \$45-60. Each party compiles a list of members and friends willing to act as enumerators - which means the N.D.P. and Liberals have to find over 200 names. In 1965 the D.R.O. informed me that about 60% of the people on these party lists dropped out, which meant that she had to look for people herself. In the vast majority of cases the job of enumeration went not as a reward to the year-round party activist (who could not spare time off work) but to housewives and retired people.

On completion of the enumeration it then becomes the job of the party workers to canvass every eligible voter in the riding and ascertain who will, or who might, vote for the party. In the main volunteer workers carry out this task although each party admits that it pays a few part-time people. Evidence to support any propositions is restricted by the coyness of the parties when dealing with financial matters.<sup>5</sup>

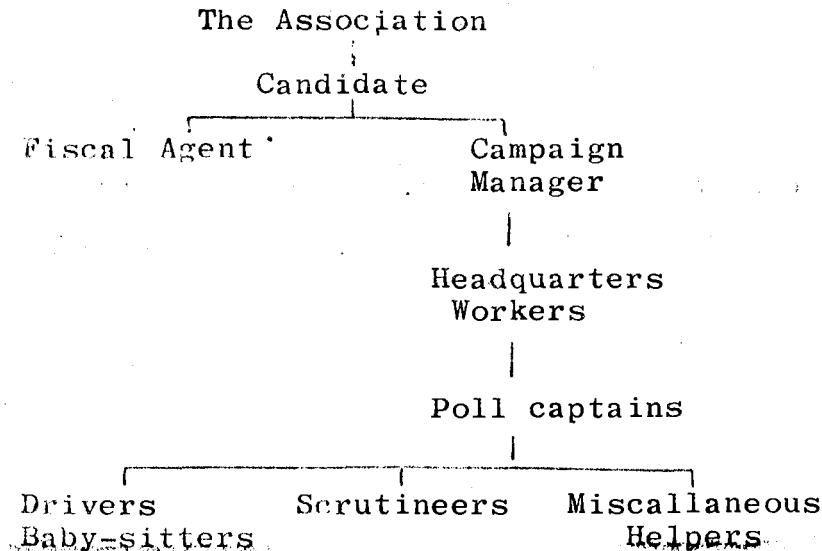
The final stage is polling day when the largest possible task force has to be mustered. On this day final calls for support must be made, car drivers, baby-sitters, scrutineers, etc. must be provided, all of which necessitates special election day help in the shape of students, housewives and old age pensioners. Estimates of the number of helpers at this time varies between 20 people in the Conservative Party to over 700 people in the N.D.P. campaign. A chart of the N.D.P. and Liberal campaigns will serve to illustrate the actual practice:



<sup>5</sup> Partly out of pride and partly because it is illegal under The Election Act.



/Liberal/



Campaign Techniques

We have seen how the parties are organized to fight a campaign. It now is appropriate to consider the methods employed to win votes. Various election studies conclude that the direction of voting is not changed significantly by the campaign although a strong campaign may make it more likely that an already committed person will vote for your party, as opposed to not voting at all.<sup>6</sup> Whether this is true or not local officials do seem to believe it. There is little attempt, nor indeed time, for the local party to convert people during a campaign. If this is to be accomplished at all it is far more likely in the calm between elections.

To illustrate this point when the party does its canvassing of the electorate it divides people into definite supporters, possible supporters and others. On election day priority is given to ensuring that definite supporters vote, followed by the possible supporters. No others are contacted nor will any more than nominal attempts be made to convert these people. The notion of the elector being swayed from one party to the other

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6 See Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee: Voting (Chicago 1954) p. 15.

by rational argument is a romantic illusion as far as the political parties are concerned.

The local party is almost solely concerned with attracting the friendly vote. The analysis of campaign techniques which follows will illustrate this and also the degree to which the Association relies on outside assistance or direction in the campaign. The evidence points strongly to the conclusion that national and provincial trends strongly influence the choice of issues but that the methods utilized to put the party's views across rest with the campaign organization in the constituency.

If we commence with the issues raised by the candidates during the campaign it is quickly evident that these have little relevance to purely local problems or even provincial issues. If these issues are raised it is usually indicative of the campaign of a non-runner such as Social Credit or the Conservatives. It is true that one will find reference by the N.D.P. to the benefits that Douglas has brought to the constituency or the Liberals will reply to Social Credit charges that the federal government has short changed the constituency and B.C. generally. These issues are definitely on the darker side of the moon however, with far greater prominence given to such problems as old age pensions, medicare, majority government, etc. This strong inclination to follow national rather than local issues creates a trend towards a discussion of the same problems in all constituencies. Issues are in fact rarely manufactured by the local party but are presented to them by the national party.

Other factors too are working against any local divergencies. For example, most of the literature used during the campaign comes from national headquarters. The Liberal and N.D.P. campaigns were classics in this sense and only the Social Credit campaign has two centres of influence, the national and provincial parties being distinct rather than on different rungs in the party hierarchy.

As the object of party operations at campaign time is to get out the friendly vote there are several methods by which the candidate and his policies are sold to the public which may be included into a general category of public relations activities. The N.D.P. candidate quite dominated the campaign in this respect. Douglas is an experienced politician and compelling speaker who far outshone his rivals. It is commonly suggested in the constituency that people who would not otherwise vote for the N.D.P. would vote for Douglas and his campaign gave great prominence to the fact that Tommy Douglas, National Leader of the N.D.P., was indeed standing in Burnaby-Coquitlam.

This fact affected the campaign techniques adopted by the other parties. It is political suicide for example to start a personal attack against such a respected figure. The Liberals, as front runners in the campaign with the N.D.P., tried to ignore Douglas as best they could and project instead Hayes as the young, innocent, all-Canadian boy. It is difficult to describe what either Kennedy or Allen did since little time or effort went into their campaigns and they were not able to impress themselves on the electorate as the voting shows.

The most direct method for meeting people is quite simply to go out and meet them. Personal canvassing by the candidate is as direct as one can be and is generally regarded as the most effective. In fact Douglas did not canvass very often; but he was no different from both Kennedy and Allen. Kennedy admitted to meeting no more than 150 people in this way. In complete contrast was the approach adopted by Hayes. As a newcomer, Hayes had to make himself known and seemed highly successful in this respect; yet whenever Douglas went out he had more impact because he was a national figure. In the course of the campaign it is estimated that Hayes visited about two-thirds of the homes in the riding. In addition he used to spend time during the day talking to people on the streets, and in the shopping centres, while several evenings were spent making the rounds of the beer parlours.

Another way of contacting the people is through meetings. These may be public and addressed by just one candidate or by all of the candidates; alternatively they may be restricted to a specific group. The most popular of such meetings because of the greater publicity and numbers attracted is the All-Candidates Meeting. It was necessary if the candidate was to perform well that he be a good public speaker experienced in answering questions on any topic. The impression that such meetings left was generally of the gulf that existed between Douglas and the other candidates. The pressure on Hayes as a front runner was particularly acute and he showed up badly when asked questions of local interest.

One innovation in the Burnaby-Coquitlam area was for these All-Candidates Meetings to be sponsored by churches in

the riding. Again Douglas, as a former Baptist minister, was in his element and able to outshine his rivals. The interest of the church in stimulating political discussion was a welcome indication of their interest in public affairs but vague mutterings could be detected that the only reason for their interest was that Douglas' assistant had a brother in the riding who just happened to be a minister.

The large rally was dispensed with, both for the whole electorate and the party faithful. The only rally to be attempted in the constituency was a final motorcade by the N.D.P. and Liberal parties. If a rally is going to be held, the effort involved must have some pay-off in publicity and consequently the only ones attended by people from the riding were those in Vancouver, to which people would come from most of the province.

The converse of the large rally - the small informal chat, usually took the form of open house parties thrown for the candidate in important areas in the riding. It was felt that Douglas for example had a better chance of selling himself in the wealthier parts of the riding in such an informal atmosphere. The candidate's wife usually played an important part in such tea and biscuit meetings, often as a pinch hitter.

The various meetings attended by the candidate are primarily to sell the candidate rather than his policy. This latter problem is more usually the concern of party advertising and official literature. Quite obviously the presentation will vary according to the position and particular circumstances of the candidate. For example it will vary according to whether the candidate is the incumbent, whether he is in the government

party or a minority party. The Liberal candidate therefore concentrated on getting across the record of the Liberal government, the need for a majority government and figures to show that the influx of population into the district since the last election was quite sufficient to manufacture 'the biggest upset in Canada'. The N.D.P. emphasized the failure of the government to do things for underprivileged groups such as the old age pensioners plus the fact that Douglas was getting things done for the constituency. Kennedy largely followed the typical Socred campaign in the province which directed the attack against the old guard parties as ineffective in caring the B.C. and against the N.D.P. because it was 'socialist'. On the positive side there was a fond glance at Socred achievements in the province.

Allen's campaign attempted to resurrect the Diefenbaker legend but his talk of 'a working man for working people' shows the strong influence of local conditions rather than typical Conservative principles. His 4 point campaign consisted of:

1. Raising the personal income tax exemptions for all working people to help the low wage earners.
2. Waterfront developments in Port Moody, Burnaby and Coquitlam.
3. Building a Pacific Trade Centre in Burnaby.
4. Any legislation that will benefit Burnaby and Coquitlam, and the working people no matter which party it is proposed by.

Surely one of the most unusual Conservative platforms in the whole of Canada!

In order to get across the policies of the federal party literature is circulated through national headquarters.

The Liberal Party is a good example. It distributed a small booklet entitled '35 Ways Your Liberal Government Has Made History Since April 1963', and various pamphlets such as 'The Liberal Direction' and 'I Speak to You of Canada'. None of these mentioned anything other than national issues. To counterbalance this, two pamphlets were issued which left spaces blank for an insertion of the candidate's picture and a brief life history. These latter pamphlets would be distributed throughout the riding while the former had a far more restricted exposure - most likely just to party members or interested people.

Surprisingly little literature is generated by the campaign in the riding. Apart from the occasional press release, the only worthwhile local contribution was a broadsheet put out by Woollard for the N.D.P. entitled, 'Truth, Half-Truths and Untruths' which attacked an official Liberal pamphlet put out by Hayes.

The only other official literature distribution during the campaign is the party sign. As was noted before great energy is devoted to getting across the necessary association of the candidate with his party e.g. that Allen was indeed the Conservative candidate. Party affiliation does not of course appear on the ballot form. It is here that simple party signs are so useful. Usually no more than the name of the candidate and his party, and perhaps his picture, these signs are distributed as widely as possible throughout the constituency on telegraph poles, trees, etc., and more preferably in private homes.

The use of newspapers was sparse. The most popular

newspapers in the district are the Vancouver dailies. Individual constituency advertising in these papers was channeled through provincial headquarters, and usually all of the party's Lower Mainland candidates were included in the same advertisement.

The local weekly papers were used by all of the parties. It was usual for adverts in these journals to push a local theme in keeping with the character of the paper. For instance the Liberal advertisement commented that it was quite possible for the Liberal candidate to be victorious when one considered that the number of people who did not vote last time and the number of new inhabitants in the riding far exceeded the size of the N.D.P. majority in 1963.

More exotic forms of advertising were absent in this constituency until the Liberal Party suddenly found itself with some extra money. The Liberals then went into radio commercials but found that the only time available was at 1:00 a.m. Douglas of course made frequent appearances on the T.V. but in his role as national leader and not as a contestant in Burnaby-Coquitlam. Not to be outdone the Liberal Party tried one final fling with its last advertisement which was carried by airplane.

The problems peculiar to the riding do not seem to have received much special treatment. Some attempts were made to attract certain groups however. There was a quite obvious slant towards the 'working people' by the Conservative candidate in the hope that he could attract significant support in the district away from the N.D.P., particularly the large percentage of non-union workers. The most interesting and



thorough adaptations were made in the N.D.P. campaign. For example french-speaking supporters were used in Maillardville, B.C.'s French-Canadian enclave. There had been some slight loss of support in 1962 and 1963 which caused enough concern to bring the N.D.P. leader in Quebec to speak there. Overtures were also made, in this Roman Catholic district, to local church leaders. The N.D.P. further attempted to make a direct appeal to several other of the more important groups in the constituency. People were set in categories such as old age pensioners and steel workers, etc., and then sent out specially composed letters to these groups.

In conclusion it can be seen that the techniques adapted to persuade and advertise the candidate and his policies are particularly tailored to the strong points of that party's campaign. Nonetheless all techniques are working towards a common target; that is to get as many friendly people out to vote for your candidate. This involves getting the candidate out meeting the people, getting the party policies across and ensuring the correct association of Candidate A with Party A.

It seems clear that the general election campaign as waged in the constituency is only partly the campaign of that constituency - as far as candidates, issues, literature and money are concerned. The strong influence permeating down from decisions made at higher levels in the party is all pervading in these areas. In the internal organization of the campaign there is comparative freedom - within the limits of insufficient

money and helpers.

There can be little doubt of a correlation between the intensity of campaigning and the degree of electoral support that can be expected. This is no more than a rough guide however. The difference in the number of electoral activities engaged in by the N.D.P. and Socreds is not reflected by their respective votes. The whole problem needs far more intensive investigation but it would seem far more likely that the possibility of success causes more party members to join on the activity bandwagon rather than increased activity bringing in more votes.

The intensity of the activity and its more specialized nature are obvious differences that the campaign exhibits in comparison with the more routine business between elections. The immediate problem is the questionable health of a body which attempts to substitute a mad fling once every 4 years or so for continuous exercise.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

This chapter marks the end of my particular road in the study of the local political party organization. It merely remains for me to summarize my findings on the political parties in the federal riding of Burnaby-Coquitlam and to indicate various proposals for further studies of the local unit.

In the Introduction to this thesis I was concerned with showing the great debt that current theoretical writings on political parties owe to writers such as Ostrogorski, Michels and Duverger. These suggested many of the problems which I have dealt with in this study of the local scene. Although the framework with which I have worked has consequently inherited much from past writings on political parties I have found it necessary to branch out tentatively along lines of my own because of the unsatisfactory nature, and scarcity, of material on local parties.

Duverger's schema was picked out earlier as being of particular value to this study because of his choice of the basic organizational unit as the criterion for classifying political parties. The suggestion that Duverger makes is that each unit's attitude towards centralization, duration of activity, number of members etc. can in fact be broadly gauged from the manner in which it is organized at its base. It remains unclear however whether this is a causal connection or just a correlation. There is also a failure to set out the extent to which differences can be expected and accommodated within this framework.

This will be made clearer if we illustrate Duverger's framework in diagram form<sup>1</sup> which entails an initial acceptance of his three-fold classification of party structure into cadre, mass and devotee parties. From these, propositions of coincidence, rather than causal connection, follow:

Party Organization

Type of party	Cadre	Mass	Devotee
Basic elements	Caucus	Branch	Cell: Militia
Basis of grouping	Large territorial area	Electoral district	Occupation area
No. of members	Small	Large	Very small: Small
Centralization	Weak	Strong	Strong: Strong
Discipline	Weak	Weak	Strong: Strong
Leadership	Oligarchic	Oligarchic	Authoritarian
Membership:			
Direct or indirect	Direct	Both	Both
Open or closed	Restricted	Open	Restricted
Duration of activity	Seasonal	All year	All year
Articulation	Weak	Strong	Very strong
Ideology	Conservative	Everything	Extreme Left : Extreme Right
Social Composition	Notables	Masses	Working Class : Middle Class

Since all of the parties studied in this thesis were of the same Mass-branch organizational type one would not have expected significant differences between the parties according to

1 This has been attempted before by A.B. Wildavsky: A Methodological Critique of Duverger's 'Political Parties' reprinted in D. Apter, H. Eckstein (eds.) Comparative Politics, Free Press 1963.

the above chart. This points to a major weakness in the schema for considerable confusion can only follow if there is a failure to distinguish between the same party in different constituencies.

In particular Duverger ignores the influence that social, political and economic factors will have in each riding with respect to the way in which these mould the party to perform only certain activities. Let us take an example. Quite obviously, since the strength of each factor will vary between constituencies all of the conclusions arrived at in this study are only applicable to the riding studied. One could not expect that an urban riding would be organized in the same way as a rural area or that a weak N.D.P. riding would be organized to the same extent as a strong N.D.P. area. Each constituency is in some sense unique and this will affect both the organization and the functions of the local group. Burnaby-Coquitlam is distinct in several respects - such as the distribution of population, and the presence of a national leader as a candidate.

The picture of a political party as it is in Burnaby-Coquitlam does not necessarily mirror the same party in another riding. It may well be that there is an ideal towards which all constituency parties subscribe but this study set out to discover the actual practice not the ideal. To take an obvious example from this study - the Conservative Party in Burnaby-Coquitlam was described as dead, even by Conservative Party officials. I do not want the reader to conclude that the organization of politics at the local level is disregarded by Conservatives everywhere. There is evidence from the attitude of the Conservative Provincial Party to its counterpart in the riding studied that in fact one can expect any Conservative

organization to be less interested in continuous local political activity than is the case with its most important rivals. But one would need to study other constituencies, particularly those which elect a Conservative M.P., before one could feel confident in making generalizations about the Conservative Party and its approach to politics at the local levels. A further possibility is that one might more meaningfully compare parties in terms of strength or weakness because parties strong in a particular area are very similar to a different party in one of its strong areas. It might be possible to assume a far greater correspondence between the N.D.P. organization in a strong N.D.P. area and the Liberal organization in a strong Liberal riding rather than between the N.D.P. organization in strong and weak ridings. This would refute the popular conception of certain parties such as the N.D.P. being always characterized by greater activity.

What does emerge most clearly from this study is that the local political party is an extremely complex human group in which organization, activities and strategy constitute a continuous compromise to local conditions.

These findings will now be summarized.

The basic organizational unit for the political parties in Burnaby-Coquitlam was in all cases found to be the local or club, both of which correspond to the branch in the above typology. There is no question of the parties being organized on an occupational basis at their workplace. The smallest unit for organization purposes is the polling district, which is an electoral area, but in practice the work of the party at this level has become redundant in favour of the local

or club which is a grouping of several polls. The basis for the amalgamation varies but of prime importance in this riding are geographic considerations together with the distribution of party support within the total population distribution. There is no indication that locals are formed from similar socio-economic areas which has been noted in other studies and which would constitute a possible source of internal friction.<sup>2</sup> The locals are joined together for federal purposes according to federal riding boundaries although the locals themselves are organized with reference to provincial boundaries. This causes some conflict of interest. The federal riding association minimizes the possible rivalry by concentrating its energies on the federal election and leaves the locals to maintain by themselves an organization for fighting provincial and federal elections.

The reasons for the concentration in this riding on the larger unit rather than the poll are:

1. The geographic distribution of population in the riding.
2. The turn-over in population.
3. The need for a base which will be large enough to support a continuous organization rather than an informal seasonal group.

An ideal size for a local was seen to be approximately 125 members. The great variation in the total number of members in each party is counterbalanced by great differences in the number of locals within the riding.

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2 L. Zakuta: A Protest Movement Becalmed, Univ. of Toronto Press, p. 50.

All units are supposed to operate on a year round basis but this is not followed in practice. The quarterly riding association executive meetings are only kept going by the N.D.P. and if there is no election most parties will only meet once per year - at the Annual General Meeting but there are exceptions here even since the Conservative Association has not had an Annual General Meeting in the last 3 years.

The locals are not required by the constitutions of the parties to meet at any set interval but it is commonly accepted that they should meet on a monthly basis as far as possible. In fact the strongest clubs in the N.D.P. can manage no more than about 9 meetings per year and in some relatively strong areas such as Port Moody have lapsed completely. It would seem quite obvious that it is the threat of elections which keeps the local organization in existence. There have been seven elections - 3 provincial and 4 federal - since 1960 in this riding which indicates the extent of election activity engaged in recently and one must surely conclude that if the parties are not organized now then there is little possibility of stirring them from their slumbers in the future.

The election function dominates the local party. Complete stagnation of local activity is accepted by the provincial party providing the party wakes up in time to make an appearance at election time. It indicates that the autonomy of the riding association vis-a-vis its own internal organization is accepted over long periods. Of course the resources of most local parties are limited and they must rely on the provincial party for financial assistance and expertise (advice and materials). It would seem that N.D.P. headquarters are more likely to 'make suggestions' to the local organization but I am unsure whether



this is due to general N.D.P. practice or the fact that provincial headquarters in all parties take a far keener interest in the affairs of constituencies which they hold or where they can present a strong challenge to the incumbent. I suspect that the latter is the prime reason and that the degree to which the party comes under the provincial organization's wing is not related to party label but bears a direct relationship to the degree of support that is expected from the electorate for the party candidate in that area.

As far as the internal organization of the riding association is concerned one is struck by the looseness with which the constituent units are bound together - both vertically and horizontally.

The Riding Association though concerning itself with the federal election has no means, apart from informal persuasion, to see that the locals keep the political machine running throughout the year. The N.D.P. co-opts at least one member from each club onto the riding executive in the hope that this will provide a common concern about inactivity but even in this, the best organized party, clubs will become dormant until a new election reignites the flame. Not only do Riding Presidents remain inactive if the organization breaks up between elections but they also display a surprising lack of knowledge of the exact extent of activity among locals within their riding. While no directives can be issued from the top there is a corresponding lack of horizontal communication between locals in the same constituency.

The discipline that can be imposed by the provincial party on the riding organization is extremely weak both with

regards to ideology and organization. If any ranking is to be done it would seem that ideological correctness ranks higher in importance than organizational efficiency for the provincial party and vice-versa for the riding organization. In the main however there is little chance for the individual in the local party to arouse the attention of the provincial party. The only cause for disciplinary measures from above would be if the whole riding organization was taken over by dissident elements but such cases are extremely rare. The general inactivity of local organizations would seem to drive out most potential malcontents in despair.

Membership of the party is either direct, or affiliated through being a member of a sympathetic organization. It is open to all who formally avow support. In practice the numbers and social range of members is greatly restricted by the widespread practice of not seeking out new members. No party in this riding organizes formal membership drives between campaigns. Most Conservative members had their first introduction to the local party through downtown headquarters. There was no other way to find it. The N.D.P. and Liberals seemed to rely on the pre-election canvass as the most profitable means of increasing membership figures and securing volunteer workers. This again seems to emphasize the ephemeral nature of the local organization, and its concentration on fighting campaigns.

The local party acts then as a sponge drawing in members at election time. It is apparent, however, that members are attracted in at all levels in the organization. This is especially noticeable at election time when the party goes out searching for local notables to stand as candidates for the party.

The political activity of most members is low. Few instances have been noted of locals attracting to their monthly meetings more than 20% of the total membership, while the riding activities, annual meeting, nomination meeting, etc. attract even less. Even the election campaign, which is the most important period in the life of the riding rarely engages more than 10% of the membership as active participants over a sustained period. Only election day presents a different picture. The N.D.P. estimates that it will have several people organizing each poll in addition to headquarters helpers which means that about 600 people are assisting the N.D.P. on this one day. Fairly obviously not all of these are party members. The Youth organizations are extremely active, as are wives of members and various other sympathizers attracted to a winning cause. Election day activity for the other parties is extremely meagre in comparison. The Liberals as the next most powerful party can muster about 200 people only.

The range of activities engaged in by the association covers both the political and the social sphere. All parties operate behind a screen which proclaims that they are performing policy making, educational and brokerage functions. Investigation shows these protestations to be largely a facade. The N.D.P. makes a strong effort to educate its rank and file on policy issues and tries to impress them that membership participation in policy making is important but the indications are that the elected representatives do not pay much notice to convention policy even now in the relative luxury of opposition.

It is quite obvious to me that the most important function of the local association is concerned with providing

an organization to fight elections. Ideally this would entail a continuous organizational activity which could engage itself as well in non-election activities such as education and policy making which ultimately have electoral consequences. It is little wonder that the N.D.P., which provides the most continuous organization, is correspondingly most active in these off-election jobs.

The organization of the election includes the nomination of candidates which also rests, theoretically at least, with the riding association. The possibility that a locally nurtured (not necessarily a resident) candidate will secure the nomination would seem to vary inversely with the possibility of success. Pressure is applied by the provincial party in directing their best candidates to those ridings which seem to offer most chance of success. In weak ridings which usually have difficulty in attracting even unsuitable candidates the President of the association usually has to take on the role of Prince-maker.

In addition to these political activities the party also interests itself in social events in order to maintain a broader and deeper relationship among the members of the group. The social activities, which are also a useful means of raising money, frequently amount to 50% of the official contacts between members. In the Conservative Party these social events are practically the only means for meeting other party members.

The ideological commitment of most activists in the local party offers interesting grounds for comparison. Although this subject needs more intensive investigation there were signs that the stronger the party was in Burnaby-Coquitlam the more

likely the activist was to be more liberal or radical than the official party position. If we take the resolutions sent in to recent conventions it is apparent that N.D.P. resolutions exhibit markedly radical stands on for example Viet Nam. The Conservative Party on the other hand, as the weakest unit in the riding, tended to be composed of people with a big 'C' - those who were still in open defiance against the Canadian flag, who showed the greatest distrust of French-Canadians, etc. The Socred Party too was full of old guard doctrinaire Social Crediters rather than the new pragmatic socred animal.

Suggestions that the local party attracts people who are notables in the riding in the economic and social fields were found to have little substance. The single instance where an attempt is made to draw dignitaries into the political field is done at election time when sounding-out trips are made by provincial leaders and officials.

As far as the motivation of party activists is concerned the possibilities for living 'off' politics are so limited in both size and content that I feel that the conclusion must be that the primary concern of party activists is living 'for' politics. In some way the sense of importance derived from membership of a group of like-minded people striving for certain ideals and policies. This sense of importance is not manifested in active participation by the majority of party members. The fact that the most visible task of the party - election campaigning - produces the greatest activity, indicates that the thrill is especially important for most members.

The political party is, as Weber has said before, a voluntary society. Membership of the political party has at its

base a common feeling of expectations and these may be political, economic, social and psychological. It may be that a party is so solidly in the hands of one class that it can be regarded as a community, but this study did not find any party that one could regard as being the organ of a single class. This is not to say that the political parties were found to be representative in their social composition of the whole riding. The evidence of the local officials points to a certain congruence in social composition between parties with a strong suggestion that local political activity is to be associated with the middle class. There was little indication in any party of a strong communal relationship among the members which would give some semblance of a political movement rather than a political party. Although the party structure gives the appearance of an organization geared for mass participation I find increasing difficulty in justifying this conclusion especially where one considers those parties least successful in their electoral appeal.

Few things come through so strongly in this study as the suggestion that it is necessary to examine the traditional notions of the local party organization. In particular one must get away from the official party literature whose pronouncements make a mockery of actual practice. It is noticeable for example in the organization and function of the local groups that the autonomy, extent and intensity of activities are a pale imitation of the ideal even in the most successful party. Rather than take a pathetic straw man from official party literature to set up and pull down I will repeat the statement on the organization of Canadian political parties to be found in Neumann's book.

" In this hierarchy it is anticipated that the poll organization will maintain immediate contact with the voters, the constituency organization select the candidates, the provincial association provide the leadership ... " 3

If this analysis were accepted it would refute practically all of the conclusions reached in this thesis. The study of Burnaby-Coquitlam shows the absence of a poll organization and the falsity of thinking that the whole association chooses their candidate. Although the provincial party strongly influences the riding association because of its greater resources I would not agree that this amounts to leadership from the provincial party. The analysis has been tried but found wanting on all three counts, and will be discarded.

It was shown earlier that there are differences in the make-up of the same party in different constituencies but there are wide differences between parties in the same riding. To take one example, a party which finds itself continually in a minority position at election time or small in membership will be fundamentally different from a successful party both in the amount of work, and in the type of role which it performs. This study suggests that a party with poor electoral support and a small membership will be extremely lax in the performance of the tasks ascribed to it. If we consider efficiency in organization first, we can see in the Conservative Party a prime example of an organization which is seriously deficient in this respect. Only a handful of its few party members are even semi-active, and it has little hope of winning an election in this area in

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3 Neumann, op. cit., p. 70

the foreseeable future. Consequently any thoughts of capturing political power in the riding can be dismissed because of the obvious futility of the fight. No one likes to make a habit of fighting lost causes, and for a political party which is in the wilderness both federally and provincially all activity is effectively circumscribed.

Those few who do remain in a weak party are worthy of study in themselves, yet when despondency is widespread, surely the whole notion of the political party as a group struggling for power is lost. The Conservative, Social Credit and Liberal organizations federally are in the main just going through the motions. The only activity in which they are involved apart from elections, is mostly routine - in marked contrast to the N.D.P. which engages in a far wider spectrum of activities.

The function of the minor party then becomes not the capture of power nor even the pursuance of off-election activities such as policy making or education. In its place the minor political party at the riding level becomes like the treasured family tea service - to be brought out when special visitors call, but otherwise ignored and allowed to lay dormant. Bearing in mind what has just been said it is appropriate to conclude this thesis with some propositions concerning the importance of the local party organization, both with regards to the higher echelons of the party and for the individual members. The proliferation in local party studies which has been evident in recent years in the U.S. have generally concluded that there are definite grounds for



believing that an efficient local unit<sup>4</sup> will be influential in increasing party support above what would otherwise have been expected.<sup>5</sup> Although this may seem a trite statement I conclude from this study that such studies are inaccurate and have greatly exaggerated the importance of local party activities. This more than anything helps to explain the inactivity at the local level; whatever they do is of little importance in deciding people's votes.

Despite the methodological difficulties involved in assessing the degree of importance of local factors we can feel less inhibited in suggesting areas in which the importance of the local association for the party lies. They are:

1. Base for election campaign; and
2. General Party strategy.

There is no doubt in my mind that the local organization is primarily looked upon as a base from which to conduct the election campaign and that the election ranks as the most important event on the party's calendar. The riding association provides a ready unit, of known adherents, which will constitute the core of the election machine. It seems reasonable to suppose that the possibility of a close fight will highlight local party activities.<sup>6</sup> In Burnaby-Coquitlam however the dominance of the

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4 The main problem concerns the criteria to be used in distinguishing an efficient unit.

5 See D. Katz and S. Eldersveld: The Impact of Local Party Activity on the Electorate, Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1961.

6 The presence of the National Leader of the N.D.P. will no doubt have a great influence in extending the activities of the New Democrats and probably moves the Liberals to greater efforts.

N.D.P. might mean that the other parties have been discouraged from extensive local activity. Even with the N.D.P. it is more a case of retaining a strong position than engaging in an all-out effort to increase its electoral majority still further.

This suggests the second factor to pinpoint the full importance of the local unit. The preoccupation in Canada with regional diversity has heightened the feeling in political parties that they should be widely organized in all provinces and in as many ridings as possible. This of course makes good sense in any country but is perhaps more obvious in Canada. It makes good sense too for people will be more inclined to enter a political party if opportunities for advancement exist. If there were no Conservative Party candidate in Burnaby-Coquitlam there would be a strong tendency among likely supporters to look to another party, particularly since Canadian politics has been characterized by an apparent 'deliberate avoidance of ideological issues by the national parties'.<sup>7</sup> The local organization has the further function important in all groups - to provide an opportunity for people of similar political leanings to join together and reinforce their beliefs.

The final proposition with regard to the local political organization is suggested from the above. The political party in Canada will ignore the local unit and leave it to fend for itself except at election time. This points to a wide difference in function between the national and the local units. The main activities such as policy making, broker-mediator, education are only carried on in meaningful terms by the highest levels of the party organization. Election activities however cannot be

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7 J. McLeod: Party Structure and Party Reform in the Prospect of Change: Proposals for Canada's Future, (ed.) A. Rotstein (Toronto, McGraw Hill) 1965.

carried on without a wide network of party workers in the electoral units and it is for this reason in the main that the local party organization exists. Once the campaign is over the local group can be used as a scapegoat for failure but more generally is allowed to return to its more usual obscurity out of view and out of mind of the party leaders.

# Appendix I

## Provincial Election Results 1960-66

### 1960

	<u>S.C.</u>	<u>C.C.F.</u>	<u>L.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>Com.</u>
Burnaby	13,469 13,394	17,659 17,522	7,601 7,111	1,069 1,075	409
Dewdney	10,713	12,637	4,512	803	233

### 1963

	<u>S.C.</u>	<u>N.D.P.</u>	<u>L.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>
Burnaby	14,070 14,650	14,409 14,750	5,472 5,641	2,263 2,343
Dewdney	10,506	11,625	4,051	1,532

### 1966

	<u>S.C.</u>	<u>N.D.P.</u>	<u>L.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>
Burnaby-Edmonds	4,487	5,643	1,392	-
Burnaby-North	4,991	6,927	1,914	-
Burnaby-Willingdon	5,563	6,112	2,028	-
Coquitlam	5,921	9,456	1,650	-

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# Appendix LI

## % of Votes Received by Polls 1965

<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
Alvin Silver Valley	1	8.7	63.8	20.3	7.2
Buntzen	2	10.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
Belcarra	3	3.6	71.4	10.7	7.1
Ioco	4	21.4	35.7	25.7	7.1
Anmore	5	6.2	53.4	25.3	14.4
Port Moody	6	11.3	66.6	12.1	10.9
"	7	4.1	51.6	20.8	22.6
"	8	4.1	34.0	53.9	7.9
"	9	4.9	39.5	43.8	9.3
"	10	8.0	42.8	41.1	8.0
"	11	2.5	49.2	38.1	10.2
"	12	10.3	54.7	31.6	3.4
"	13	6.5	48.4	34.6	10.6
"	14	4.8	68.3	18.8	8.1
"	15	16.4	48.2	33.9	9.5
"	16	5.7	61.1	16.1	17.1
"	17	7.0	63.4	18.8	10.8
"	18	7.8	61.6	20.1	10.5
"	19	7.8	51.4	35.0	5.8
Port Coquitlam	20	6.0	66.2	16.9	10.9
"	21	8.1	56.6	23.7	11.6
"	22	2.3	56.6	28.9	12.2
"	23	6.0	62.4	23.5	8.3
"	24	4.1	69.2	17.4	9.2
"	25	5.1	64.1	17.2	13.6
"	26	5.1	52.5	33.5	8.9
"	27	5.6	59.7	20.0	8.7
"	28	4.7	48.8	27.9	18.6
"	29	7.1	60.6	20.2	12.1
"	30	4.1	58.0	16.6	21.2
"	31	8.3	59.1	21.3	11.3
"	32	9.5	45.2	27.1	18.1
"	33	3.5	61.2	23.6	11.6
"	34	8.2	56.7	26.4	10.1
"	35	5.9	48.7	33.6	11.8
"	36	6.4	46.8	39.5	7.3
"	37	2.0	64.9	19.6	13.5
"	38	5.1	64.0	21.3	9.6
"	39	11.6	52.7	23.3	12.3
Coquitlam	40	4.7	56.7	25.6	13.0
"	41	5.9	62.7	22.1	9.3
"	42	7.7	48.1	31.9	12.3
"	43	6.4	70.0	10.0	13.6
"	44	6.9	49.2	36.7	7.3
"	45	2.7	42.7	46.0	8.7
"	46	9.6	35.4	42.1	12.6

% of Votes Received by Polls 1965 Cont.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
Coquitlam	47	7.7	35.2	44.6	12.4
"	48	3.2	45.9	37.3	13.5
"	49	3.3	40.0	49.2	7.5
"	50	4.0	39.0	46.3	10.5
"	51	5.6	54.0	27.4	13.0
"	52	7.0	51.6	27.9	13.5
"	53	3.0	60.0	21.5	15.5
"	54	6.7	50.0	38.6	4.5
"	55	6.9	47.1	31.8	14.0
"	56	6.1	54.7	28.3	10.8
"	57	5.1	52.8	36.4	5.7
"	58	7.6	50.9	30.4	11.2
"	59	6.4	53.8	28.1	11.6
"	60	5.6	57.1	27.0	10.2
"	61	4.9	56.2	24.6	14.3
"	62	6.1	41.0	36.4	16.4
"	63	3.6	48.5	35.1	12.9
"	64	3.2	55.8	27.0	14.0
"	65	1.6	60.0	32.0	6.4
"	66	4.9	35.1	45.4	14.6
"	67	6.1	50.0	29.4	14.5
"	68	5.9	51.6	25.2	17.2
"	69	1.1	58.5	29.3	11.2
"	70	7.3	51.4	23.9	17.4
"	71	4.7	59.0	19.4	16.6
"	72	5.1	50.9	32.6	11.4
"	73	7.9	49.2	27.7	15.1
"	74	5.1	50.7	30.5	13.6
"	75	7.6	44.1	38.5	9.8
"	76	10.1	38.9	38.9	13.0
"	77	6.8	52.4	26.2	14.7
"	78	3.5	53.2	28.6	14.9
"	79	3.9	47.5	38.7	9.9
"	80	7.2	51.1	29.5	12.2
"	81	5.9	49.5	28.7	16.0
"	82	4.3	60.5	21.6	13.5
"	83	2.6	55.2	24.0	18.2
"	84	4.0	44.1	39.5	12.4
"	85	2.9	36.2	45.3	15.6
"	86	10.9	45.0	31.3	13.0
"	87	3.5	47.8	31.8	16.1
"	88	5.1	42.1	30.8	22.1
"	89	8.4	41.6	43.2	6.8
Maillardville	90	7.6	51.7	29.1	11.6
"	91	2.3	54.9	28.9	13.9
"	92	6.2	35.2	46.4	11.9
"	93	1.5	38.1	36.7	23.9
"	94	1.1	47.0	36.5	14.9
"	95	3.6	47.0	32.5	16.9
"	96	6.1	48.0	34.7	11.2
"	97	9.2	49.3	23.2	17.8
"	98	2.3	31.9	46.5	19.2

% of Votes Received by Polls 1965 Cont.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
Maillardville	99	7.0	41.8	28.2	22.8
Coquitlam	100	6.7	52.9	31.9	8.6
"	101	4.0	56.5	25.5	14.0
"	102	4.7	58.8	27.0	12.1
"	103	3.9	49.5	33.5	13.1
"	104	10.0	58.6	21.4	10.0
Burnaby	105	8.2	54.8	28.3	8.3
"	106	5.9	43.8	35.9	14.4
"	107	5.6	47.7	37.9	8.9
"	108	6.2	37.7	36.4	19.8
"	109	4.4	52.2	27.3	16.1
"	110	13.0	35.1	44.3	8.8
"	111	5.2	41.4	41.4	12.0
"	112	5.5	55.5	25.3	13.6
"	113	8.2	43.8	35.6	12.3
"	114	6.2	48.1	26.2	19.5
"	115	3.7	65.3	20.9	10.0
"	116	6.0	59.1	19.1	15.8
"	117	8.3	52.8	22.8	16.1
"	118	7.3	56.3	19.3	17.2
"	119	11.0	52.3	23.8	12.8
"	120	18.3	54.7	15.8	17.4
"	121	11.2	52.9	19.4	16.5
"	122	3.5	59.8	20.6	16.1
"	123	10.0	59.8	13.1	17.0
"	124	8.8	49.3	29.8	12.2
"	125	4.4	58.7	22.7	14.2
"	126	10.9	55.8	23.8	9.5
"	127	11.4	52.1	21.3	14.2
"	128	9.0	54.3	22.9	13.8
"	129	7.0	56.3	27.7	9.0
"	130	13.5	47.8	23.5	14.0
"	131	4.9	57.3	20.5	17.3
"	132	10.9	53.7	20.6	14.9
"	133	4.5	53.0	31.4	11.0
"	134	8.2	40.7	41.2	9.9
"	135	5.7	52.3	26.7	15.3
"	136	2.2	60.6	21.1	16.1
"	137	4.7	70.0	21.2	4.1
"	138	2.9	60.5	27.3	9.3
"	139	6.2	56.7	23.2	14.0
"	140	5.0	61.0	28.3	5.7
"	141	6.5	59.8	18.9	14.8
"	142	7.7	53.1	26.6	12.6
"	143	9.0	50.7	29.1	11.2
"	144	9.5	41.9	34.8	13.8
"	145	3.6	56.7	29.4	10.2
"	146	7.4	53.3	29.6	9.6
"	147	1.8	54.2	32.5	11.4
"	148	5.8	46.3	35.1	12.4
"	149	4.7	62.4	24.1	8.2

% of Votes Received by Polls 1965 Cont.

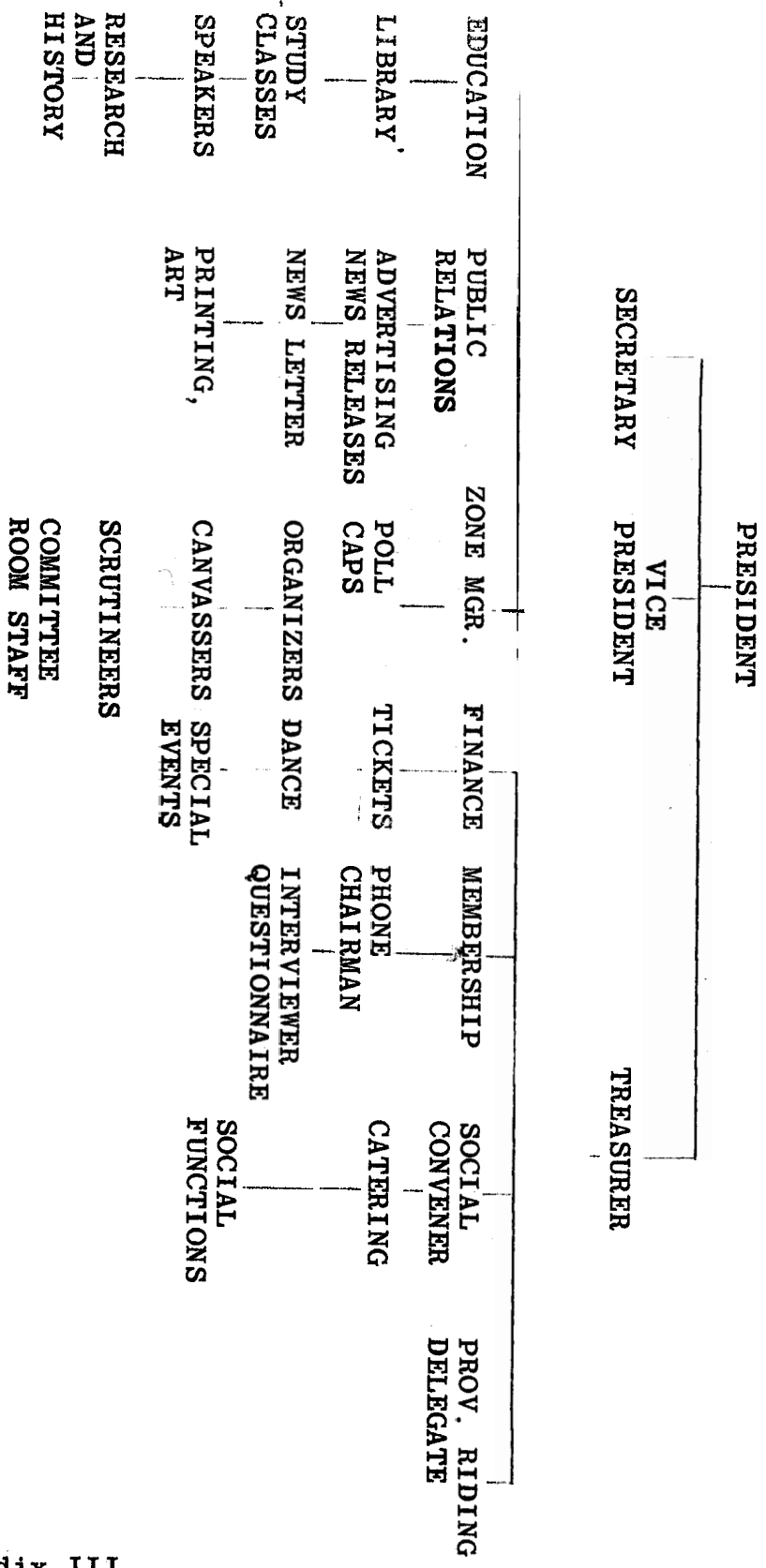
<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
Burnaby	150	5.8	47.8	31.2	15.2
"	151	3.0	61.5	25.1	9.9
"	152	10.8	57.2	24.2	7.7
"	153	6.2	61.7	25.9	6.2
"	154	2.9	52.0	41.6	19.0
"	155	5.0	44.7	32.7	17.6
"	156	5.1	43.7	40.9	10.2
"	157	5.6	48.5	30.6	15.3
"	158	4.1	53.8	29.4	12.7
"	159	5.5	56.1	20.1	18.3
"	160	3.9	53.4	28.1	14.6
"	161	4.6	54.0	29.9	11.5
"	162	11.7	48.4	30.9	9.0
"	163	3.5	61.8	25.4	9.2
"	164	4.7	52.8	27.1	15.4
"	165	7.7	56.3	25.1	10.9
"	166	5.1	64.6	18.4	12.0
"	167	3.6	58.1	28.1	10.2
"	168	6.3	51.9	29.3	12.0
"	169	5.3	65.3	13.3	16.0
"	170	4.0	60.9	24.1	10.9
"	171	1.9	69.6	18.8	8.7
"	172	1.8	60.7	26.2	11.3
"	173	4.7	66.1	20.8	8.3
"	174	3.9	65.3	15.6	15.6
"	175	7.9	58.5	23.1	10.0
"	176	2.8	55.7	21.7	10.2
"	177	10.1	55.9	21.8	12.3
"	178	1.5	71.8	17.6	9.2
"	179	10.2	58.0	17.6	14.2
"	180	6.0	66.0	18.8	8.2
"	181	3.3	57.8	22.7	15.1
"	182	8.5	53.0	23.8	14.6
"	183	5.9	39.5	43.8	10.8
"	184	10.5	47.6	29.3	12.6
"	185	6.5	61.8	20.6	11.2
"	186	6.7	62.9	17.0	13.4
"	187	13.6	53.8	24.3	8.3
"	188	14.4	58.2	13.4	13.9
"	189	11.5	46.0	28.0	14.5
"	190	9.5	45.8	24.6	20.1
"	191	10.3	64.9	14.3	11.0
"	192	8.0	59.1	27.3	5.8
"	193	8.4	42.7	32.8	16.0
"	194	9.0	60.8	18.7	11.4
"	195	7.4	62.5	17.6	14.0
"	196	7.7	58.9	19.3	14.0
"	197	4.5	64.2	14.2	17.0
"	198	6.6	59.9	14.8	18.7
"	199	7.2	61.8	15.8	15.2
"	200	4.8	55.9	22.6	16.7



% of Votes Received by Polls 1965 Cont.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
Burnaby	201	5.2	59.1	21.2	14.5
"	202	5.0	51.4	22.3	21.2
"	203	8.8	64.8	18.7	8.9
"	204	5.7	66.8	20.2	7.2
"	205	5.4	65.1	19.4	10.2
"	206	2.9	48.5	39.7	8.8
"	207	6.7	51.7	31.7	10.0
"	208	2.5	60.1	32.8	4.5
"	209	5.4	59.5	30.3	4.9
"	210	7.3	46.1	38.2	8.5
"	211	10.6	38.5	37.0	13.9
"	212	6.6	36.5	43.1	13.7
"	213	2.8	48.3	42.8	6.1
"	214	5.1	56.3	34.5	4.1
"	215	6.0	55.7	29.0	9.4
"	216	6.1	48.2	25.0	20.7
"	217	1.2	67.3	17.9	13.6
"	218	5.1	56.3	19.6	19.0
"	219	8.1	60.6	22.5	8.8

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Appendix III.

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