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Regional and Provincial Outriders: The Socialization of Political Orientations

by

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Abstract

Territorial cleavages are amongst the most notable in Canadian politics. However, discussions of ‘regional’ differences often leave unclear the distinction between regional and provincial forms of territorial units. Since provinces and regions (one or more provinces) constitute distinct entities in political discourse, this study proposes that an often overlooked, important distinction between the two in terms of patterns of political orientations would follow. Using data collected in the 1993 Canadian National Election study and theories on political socialization, this study argues that regions and provinces are not synonymous; the analysis confirms that there are regionally and provincially differentiated effects on orientations. This thesis concludes that this differentiation is the result of the two territorial units acting as distinct socialization agents which have different, but related, influences on political learning. Together, the patterns of orientations provide a greater understanding of ‘regional’ variations in orientations than could either of the two alone.

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To My Family, Far and Wide

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Chapter One

Introduction

To those familiar with Canadian politics, it is not surprising that the words 'regionalism' and 'politics' are quite often found in the same passage, both explicitly and implicitly. Regionalism has arguably become one of the quintessential images in Canadian politics. Indeed, it is quite revealing that in spite of such popular use of a term whose precise definition remains elusive, a use which might have rendered any other to a cliché, the concept of regionalism maintains an unmistakable home in Canadian political discourse.

To be sure, regionalism's prominence as a force in Canadian politics does not negate other politically relevant cleavages including language, class and ethnicity. Certainly no one variable could provide a sufficient basis from which to achieve total comprehension of something as complex as political life. Still, given the myriad of references to Canadian regionalism by scholars including Richard Simeon and David Elkins (1980), Mildred Schwartz (1974), Wallace Clement (1983), and Roger Gibbins (1980), it is clear that regionalism has an important bearing on the operation of the Canadian political system. Yet, at the same time, regionalism is a concept which has many faces; it is the purpose of this study to delve into the specific aspect of territorial variations in political attitudes as well as the distinction between regions and provinces under the ambiguous designation of "regionalism."

The current analysis draws on two strands of thought in the study of Canadian politics: first, that political attitudes and orientations vary "regionally" (eg: Simeon and Elkins, 1980). and second, that political socialization plays an important role in the perpetuation of these political attitudes (eg: Van Loon and Whittington, 1987). In Canada, discussions on variations in political orientations and behaviours inevitably employ terms such as 'regional political cultures.' However, in the concentration on 'regional' differences in political outlooks, the regional/provincial distinction has often been left

unclear as it has been used to describe both entities. It is argued here that the attitudinal distinction between 'regions' as provinces or as larger territorial bodies is also of importance; furthermore, the key to understanding this difference lies in political socialization processes. Through an empirical analysis of the 1993 Canadian National Election Study (CES) data and using theories on political socialization, this study will evaluate the organizational layers of political attitudes; that is, the distinction between regions and provinces as carriers of "inter-regional" differences in relation to several measures of political attitudes. In particular, it will be argued that 'regional' political attitudes and orientations should be understood in the context of both provinces and regions; for although the terms are often used independently or interchangeably, there is in fact an important distinction between regional and provincial socialization effects on patterns of political orientations. Both regions and provinces are important to understanding territorial variations in political attitudes; and while the patterns are distinct, they are also complementary and provide a fuller understanding of 'regional political cultures.'

Major Perspectives on Attitudinal Variation

Regionalism, while a single word, has boasted an array of meanings and described a wide variety of territorially linked differences from levels of income to electoral behaviour and from policy outputs to political attitudes. In the search for the key factors which account for differences in political attitudes scholars have pointed to several primary sources. Contrasts in factors such as history, demography, economics and physical features (eg: terrain) have all been viewed as giving rise to distinct political viewpoints, and subsequent behaviours, from region to region (Simeon and Elkins 1980:xiii). Still, a consensus on what constitutes the heart of political regionalism, and even what defines a region, is far from unanimous. A brief overview of a few of the different perspectives regarding the origins of 'regional' differences in attitudes will be discussed below.

Certainly the most basic form of 'regionalism' in Canada is that related to simple geography. Variations in geographic features are frequently what people come to think of when considering territorial divisions and, for some, these differences in geography help to explain regional differences in political attitudes and values. Individuals such as Goldwin Smith have depicted the regions of Canada according to similar topographical and physical features, such as the mountainous terrain of British Columbia or the vast Prairie land, and argued that these differences, in turn, have led to and accounted for common regional experiences and cultures (Westfall 1983:3, 4). Although geographic features do not inherently contain political relevance, there is certainly logic to the argument that they may engender their development.

In a country as large as Canada, it is certainly not surprising that, like geographic differences, there are also differences in economic resource bases as one moves from coast to coast. For some scholars, and particularly those in the political economy tradition, economic factors such as variations in resource bases are not inconsequential; rather, these economic factors are seen to lie at the heart of regionalism. Wallace Clement, for example, stresses this material basis of regionalism and looks at the role that uneven economic development and exploitive class relations have had in creating a central-regional relationship in Canada (1983:69). He submits that Canadian regionalism is:

...marked by the fact that the centre of Canadian manufacturing and finance is located in the "Golden Triangle" area. The rest of the country is heavily reliant upon key resources which typically are foreign controlled and mainly destined for external markets...[and that] The economies of these different parts of the country, in turn, produce different class structures and ways of living (1983:70).

For Clement (1983:69), the bases of 'regions,' as well as their subsequent cultural, ideological and political expressions, are products of uneven economic development and class struggles and the key foundation to understanding political life.

Patricia Marchak goes beyond Clement's economic approach to regionalism and proposes that class factors alone do not necessarily give rise to regional societies. Marchak

argues that regionalism is tied to both class factors and the shared experiences of groups such that “the sense of a shared territorial base and the culture that emerges...[is subsequently] captured and articulated by a rising class” (1983:81). Hence, regionalism for Marchak stems not only from class and economic factors, but also from the presence of a regional identity rooted in the shared experiences of a population. Nonetheless, for authors working in the political economy tradition, such as Marchak and Clement, territorially linked differences are argued to originate from economic factors.

Peter McCormick also emphasizes the economic basis of regionalism and maintains that there is a logical progression from different economic and resource bases to different occupational patterns, and subsequently to regional contrasts in political styles and expectations (1991:155). Regional cleavages are emphasized as a result of these contrasting economic interests as economic policies become viewed in terms of a zero-sum game in which one region is perceived as being favoured at the expense of another (McCormick 1991:156). Therefore, as with the other perspectives stressing the importance of economic factors, it is argued that regional variations in economic forces may lead to important contrasts in experiences, realities and perspectives, and accordingly to ‘regional’ cleavages.

Another well known explanation for variations in political attitudes is that of political culture. Political culture has been differentiated from the broader social culture in that it refers specifically to values and attitudes regarding political life. The concept was introduced through the pivotal works of Gabriel Almond (1956) and particularly Almond and Sidney Verba together (1963). There has since emerged a general consensus among scholars that political culture consists of “1. cognitions (knowledge and beliefs about political reality); 2. values (goals to be pursued in politics); and 3. attitudes (positive or negative feelings about political objects)” (Ullman 1979:6). The addition of the concept of political culture was of significance for it opened up the realm of psychological orientations and the possibility of a ‘cultural’ basis to political attitudes and subsequent behaviours.

In contrast to the political economy tradition which views “political culture” only as an intervening variable between economic forces and regionalism, Simeon and Elkins (1979) argued that political culture *itself* is the independent variable which helps explain Canadian regionalism. Drawing on the concept of political culture and applying it to a within nation situation, Simeon and Elkins suggested that the regional differences in political attitudes went beyond simple variations in socio-demographic variables. In fact, these authors concluded that, “there are indeed differences between the provinces which may be called cultural, which are rooted in the matrix of historical and sociological factors unique to each province” (1979:46). For these authors, political culture alone, or more specifically territorial sub-cultures, was seen as a valid basis for explaining regional variations in patterns of political attitudes and subsequent behaviours.

While Simeon and Elkins certainly contributed to the further understanding of attitudinal variation in the Canadian political system, their approach to the establishment of these regional cultures has been considered rather demanding. Ullman suggests (1979:8) that restricting the use of the concept of political culture to only those differences which stem from true cultural variation unnecessarily clouds the reality that socio-economic and demographic factors also contribute to regional political orientations. Consequently, even within the political culture perspective there exist differences in explaining the variations in political attitudes.

It becomes apparent that there is more than one possible explanation regarding the origin of regional differences in political attitudes and behaviours. Yet whatever one considers to be at the heart of political regionalism, it is agreed that there are important contrasts in political attitudes, interests, and behaviours expressed along territorial lines. However, while these perspectives contribute to the broader understanding of political regionalism in Canada, the lack of consistency in the delimitation of the concept of ‘region’ and the wide ranging vantage points on what constitutes the origin of the differences have

meant that the notion of 'regional' differences in political attitudes may signify quite a lot and very little at the same time.

Complexities in Patterns of Political Orientations

Since many forms of regionalism exist, ranging from differences in demographic attributes to behaviours, how one chooses to define the concept not only influences the results one will uncover, but also the conclusions drawn. Moreover, how 'regions' themselves are delineated ranges quite widely and may therefore also result in different conclusions. Consequently, one must define what is meant by regionalism and what defines a region.

In Canada, there has been much attention drawn to, and emphasis placed on, 'regional political cultures,' that is, divergences in attitudes and orientations towards political life.¹ It has been hypothesized by scholars such as Simeon and Elkins that these political sub-cultures are key factors which account for territorial variations in political attitudes and behaviours. The concept of political culture has been defined "as being composed of attitudes, orientations, values, beliefs, emotions, images, and...viewed as a determinant of political action and behaviour" (Pammett and Whittington 1976:2). 'Regional' political cultures, by extension, have been defined "as a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes which residents of a region share and which, to a greater or lesser extent, differentiate them from residents of other regions" (Ullman 1979:7). While these definitions communicate the elements comprising a political culture, they do not clarify, particularly in the latter definition, how different arrangements of 'regional' units, such as provinces and regions, fit into the concept of a "regional culture." The term "regional political culture" has been of major explanatory significance regarding attitudinal variation

¹ "Regional political culture" can be used interchangeably with "political subculture." Both concepts denote regional differences in orientations, attitudes and values.

while at the same time it has been a surprisingly vaguely defined term. The term has been employed to describe territorial variations in political attitudes and orientations, yet there has been a failure to establish clearly whether 'region' refers to provinces or regions or both, as the term has been confusingly equated with these two distinct bodies. It is the purpose of this study to examine more closely the political attitudes component of Canadian political regionalism.

It is conceivable that under the umbrella of "regional political cultures" lie two very distinct but related systems of orientations which have been assumed but not clearly stated. Nevertheless, since provinces are prominent political bodies in the Canadian political system, the focus has largely revolved around this territorial unit, with the larger regional bodies, seemingly by default, relegated to a secondary and/or inconsequential status. This response towards provinces as the major focus in relation to political culture is reasonable given that, as Walter Rosenbaum explains, "[m]any analysts reason that the essential components of political culture, that is, the individual orientations, must ultimately have a powerful influence upon the performance of whole political systems so that these individual attitudes can be related to the political order in which they evolve" (1975:12). Moreover, as both Nelson Wiseman (1990:309) and Richard Simeon (1979:293) point out, provinces have become synonymous with region because provinces are significant political units and therefore conceivably more relevant. However, while these different formulations of 'regions' may vary in their strength of influence in relation to the political system and thus their apparent proximity to constituting a political culture, their relative functions should not be assumed nor overlooked. If both forms of units are implicated or have an apparent involvement in 'regional political culture,' then inquiring into how 'regions' vary becomes as important as determining why they vary. *Why* 'regions' differ attitudinally may be a result of a number of possible dimensions including political cultures, yet *how* different types of 'regional' groupings pattern those similarities and differences may clarify the

slippery concept of 'regional' political cultures and the respective functions of regions and provinces. By comparing the distinct forms of territorial units, similarities and differences in attitudes within each type of unit and between the types of units can be examined.

If one is discussing regional variations in political orientations, one must then also identify what is meant by 'regions.' Discussions on regionalism have employed many different definitions of 'region' from sub-provincial regions to multi-province regions. Simeon and Elkins (1980), for example, defined region in provincial/language terms and examined the differences among the provinces as well as English and French language groups. Mildred Schwartz (1974:5) focused on provinces and stated that "for our purposes, region and province are often synonymous." Gibbins (1980:8) adds that this equation of provinces with regions "is understandable given the importance of provinces as political actors and given the fact that three of the major "regions" of Canada [Ontario, Quebec and B.C.] are also provinces." Yet Schwartz also took to compressing those ten regions further into five regional units as the provinces of those regions were considered to be "sufficiently alike to make it meaningful to speak of each of them as distinct units" (1974:6). From the information gathered, it seems that the more popular definitions of 'region,' that of both provinces and regions (one or more provinces)², must figure into the equation in order to understand territorial or 'regional' political orientations. As different forms of 'regions,' regions and provinces have different, yet important effects on attitudes.

There are important differences between defining regions as groups of provinces and regions as individual provinces. Regions are larger territorial bodies representing particular traits held in common, such as economic bases, settlement patterns and political attitudes, which are set apart from other regions. Similarly, individual provinces have

² In this study, the provinces refer to the ten provinces in Canada and the regions refer to the 'five regions of Canada': the Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, and B.C. Due to the limitations of the primary data set (CES), the North has been excluded from the study.

qualities which distinguish them from other provinces. Yet deeming provinces to be equivalent to region may fail to recognize strong similarities to neighbouring provinces, and regions based on geographic commonalities and proximity may overemphasize the homogeneity of provinces therein. Nonetheless, their continual presence in discourse suggests that both forms play a particular role in Canadian politics. It is predicted that differences in qualities between regions and provinces will also become relevant to the organization of political orientations. Individual provinces and regions each represent types of 'regional' societies and by examining both, significant details may be revealed which enrich the understanding of variations in political attitudes.

The key to understanding the nature of 'regional political cultures' and the distinction between regions and provinces lies in the method by which individuals acquire particular attitudes. Socialization plays an important role in political learning. How an individual sees the political world is often dependent on their sense of belonging to one social group rather than another (Dawson et al. 1977:45). Both provinces and regions are argued to have significant roles in fostering identifications, attitudes and values, yet each also has a distinct effect. In analyzing territorial variation in political attitudes, the first question posed is whether the populations of the territorial units differ substantially in their placement in relation to several indicators of political orientations, and second, whether the pattern of political orientations observed are different at the regional and provincial levels. It is anticipated that there will be an *inter*-regional level pattern of orientations as well as an *intra*-regional pattern of orientations. In particular, each individual province is expected to have the potential for a unique pattern of difference from other provinces on the attitudinal measures, yet there will also be a tendency for these differences to correspond with the respective regional pattern of orientations. Naturally, the degree of attitudinal difference is expected to vary by subject area, but the character of the variation also depends on whether 'regions' are defined as province or region.

The Socialization of Political Orientations

In Canada, political regionalism is often associated with territorial differences in attitudes and behaviours. However, it is important to recognize that political orientations and behaviours are essentially two sides of the same coin; that is, from particular attitudes come particular behaviours. Thus, in order to understand behavioural differences, one might first look at political attitudes and orientations as they are considered to be the basis of political behaviour. Similarly, to understand differences in political attitudes one might examine processes of socialization, for many of the outlooks and attitudes an individual holds stem from information received through group ties. The relationship between political attitudes and political socialization may not only explain the existence of commonalities and diversities in orientations generally, but the distinction between regional and provincial political orientations in particular.

Of course since the causal linkages leading to political attitudes and the resultant behaviours are not an easily identified process, there is some variation in opinion on what constitutes the causal hypothesis. The conceptual framework for analyzing regional political cultures presented by Stephen Ullman (1979:5) described the causal linkages as occurring between several levels. At the first level of the framework are the social and economic attributes of the territorial units; secondly, are the territorially differentiated political socialization processes; at the third level are the political cultures; fourthly and fifthly, simultaneously and respectively, are mass political behaviour and elite political behaviour. Yet the arrows of causality can be argued to go in either direction between any two of the levels. For example, "a 'consociational democracy' theorist might contend that it is the political elites who determine the social and economic attributes of those residing in the Canadian regions; these elites also shape the political socialization processes in the regions and, consequently, mass political behaviour" (Ullman 1979:4). While the direction of causal linkage may be argued to run in many directions, this study focuses on the more

popular hypothesis as set forth by Ullman which asserts that territorially differentiated political socialization leads to particular territorially defined political attitudes and subsequently to mass political behaviour.

Political attitudes and orientations are not ephemeral; political life is reflective of, among other things, the political knowledge and attitudes passed on through socialization. Indeed, it is as result of this process of socialization that political attitudes convey a sense of a consistent and enduring quality and are therefore often described as a 'culture.' Of the major disciplines examining socialization (anthropology, psychology and sociology), political science has tended to use the conception preferred by sociologists but focused specifically on the training of individuals for roles relating to the political system, such as political participation (Pammett and Whittington 1976:5). It is the task of political socialization to 'maintain', 'transform' and 'create' these political cultures in the society; that is, while socialization largely serves to transmit the culture from one generation to next, it can also lead populations to change their views of politics, and, more rarely, bring about a new political community (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:27). Moreover, although it is political socialization specifically which is being examined here, one must recognize that this process has been artificially separated from the larger process of socialization; as Pammett and Whittington (1976:5) explain, "[t]here is... little evidence that, for most people, there is anything special about their political attitudes and, by extension, that there is likely to be anything special about the process by which they acquired them." Similar to the broader societal processes of acquiring particular attitudes and orientations, political orientations may be acquired through a number of direct and indirect as well as intentional and unintentional socialization experiences and a wide variety of agents of socialization.

Political sociology has been "defined very simply as the processes through which an individual acquires his [sic] particular political orientations--his knowledge, feelings and evaluations regarding his political world" (Dawson et al. 1977:33), but the process itself is

quite complex. While direct observations are certainly a source of political learning for children as well as adults, the more common and major source of political learning has generally been thought to occur through agents of socialization (Pammett and Whittington 1976:22). Moreover, not only are agents of socialization critical factors involved in political socialization, but the timing of their introduction is also important. It is for this reason that theories of socialization have strongly emphasised the childhood period of development. Dawson and Prewitt (1969:43) have pointed out that the experiences occurring in the early years of an individual contribute the most to the orientations acquired, particularly basic political values and identities. While the childhood period of the life cycle is perhaps the most crucial, it is not the sole stage in political development. It is generally agreed that the socialization process continues over the course of an individual's lifetime.

An individual's political learning and orientations may be influenced in a number of ways. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969:39) state, "[p]olitical orientations may be acquired as a result of lessons or messages which have explicit political content, or they may be formed by picking up general predispositions which later become directed toward politics." Moreover, as mentioned previously, there are a number of different types of groups in society which are involved in this socialization process. These agents of socialization can be arranged on a continuum from large groups with diffuse and irregular contact to smaller groups with more immediate and regular group contact. This scale has been divided into three major classifications: primary groups, secondary groups and social groupings.

Primary groups are the most immediate of the socializing agents. These groups are characterized by smaller, more intimate, unstructured, and emotional relationships and have a high degree of face-to-face contact (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:105). The family and peer groups are common examples of this type of grouping. Of primary groups, and arguably all groups generally, the family is considered one of the most potent means of influence on political learning due to its strong emotional ties and almost monopolistic access to a child

during the early years (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:108). Although quite autonomous in its socialization role, the family operates within contextual boundaries. The political views the family passes on are drawn from other agents of socialization as well as the political culture and institutions (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:124). Moreover, while the family may be in a position to quite strongly influence political orientations, political training is not recognised as one of its major objectives, nor is it the only agent contributing to political socialization. Consequently, Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt (1969:107) note that the family's influence "varies in accordance with the number and effectiveness of other socializing agencies, as well as the thoroughness with which family units perform the socialization process."

Even though the family may be viewed as the most significant of the primary groups, other small groups, such as peer groups, also represent important primary agents in directing political learning and orientations. Peer groups are understood to play an important role in the political learning process at a later point in time from families and particularly once basic political knowledge and perspectives have been established. Peer relationships at this stage may strengthen or weaken the prior political outlooks held by the individual as the groups may transmit attitudes which are either consistent or discontinuous with that previously indoctrinated (Dawson et al. 1977:184). Still, it is argued that at the primary stage of socialization, much of what is learned is not overtly political, but that which is learned may become transferred into a political context (Dowse and Hughes 1972:183). While primary groups are significantly involved in the political learning of individuals, other types of groups are also involved in the socialization of political attitudes and values.

Secondary groups are similar to, but not the same as, primary groups. As groups get larger, the "relationships begin to assume a more specialized character and may begin to lose the strong affective meaning which is characteristic of primary relationships" (Dowse

and Hughes 1972:57). Relative to primary groups, secondary groups are larger and have more diffuse contact with their members. Moreover, these groups often have the role to “specifically instruct their members concerning political attitudes and behaviour, they punish members to enforce political standards...and train persons for political life” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186). Secondary groups can take many different forms and perform different functions. Some secondary groups are specifically for political purposes, such as political parties or youth groups, others can have non-political purposes but carry political education along with their activities, such as religious groups, and still others may include a less formal undertaking in political socialization, such as country clubs (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:187). It is through identification with a group, whether it be a particular labour union or The Assembly of First Nations, that the group is able to influence political learning. By attaching to a particular group it becomes a political reference point; through a sense of belonging to a group, individuals become aware of that group’s political positions and make political evaluations based on this acquired perspective (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:189). In addition, secondary groups help perpetuate the political values and attitudes related to their particular societal groupings as well as provide frameworks for the development of important primary relationships (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:189, 190).

Although political socialization occurs predominantly through primary and secondary relationships, the final and broadest category of “societal groupings” also influences political learning. This latter category consists of socially significant groups such as class or race, even national, regional and tribal origins. Individuals become part of particular social groupings “because they have certain physical attributes, or hold specific beliefs, or belong to a particular social or occupational stratum” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:181). Societal groupings are different from primary and secondary groups in a number of ways, but the most important difference is the fact that societal groupings lack the more formal structures and processes of influence held by the other groups (Dawson

and Prewitt 1969:182). Yet despite what appears to be a setback in socialization attributes, societal groupings still have a significant influence on political orientations through their roles as political reference points and their ability to structure an individual's relationships and therefore the associations with other agents (Dawson et al. 1977:176).

Whether it be religious denominations or class groups, it is widely recognized that societal groupings tend to be associated with particular political predispositions. Indeed, one of the most significant functions of the societal groupings is to serve as a political reference point. As with secondary groups, individuals come to identify themselves with a particular social grouping and this attachment becomes "part of the basic self-identification of the individual, and part of the self-interpretation through which he or she understands and evaluates the world of politics" (Dawson et al. 1977:176). Therefore, an individual identifying with a middle class group will tend to acquire the political orientations of that group and perceive the political world through that identity; the same is true for territorial groupings. In addition to serving as a reference point, these attachments to social groupings are argued to structure the social contacts of individuals as people of similar kind are more likely to associate with one another, and thereby limit the exposure to various political socialization influences (Dawson et al. 1977:176, 177). Social groupings, like secondary and primary groups in the chain of influence, have important but different functions in political learning. The role of societal groupings, and more specifically the case of regions and provinces, will be discussed in greater detail below.

Regions and Provinces as Agents of Socialization

Just as there are different classifications of groups which represent socializing agents, it seems reasonable to suggest that distinctions occur within the three agent groups as well. In other words, groups within each of the three agent group classifications may be structured in different ways; for example, the family relative to peer groups at the primary level and country clubs versus political parties in terms of secondary groups. While these

are more modest differences within the larger order, they are also important in terms of political learning as these differences may affect the transmission of orientations. Since this within group variation should apply to societal groupings as well, then provinces and regions are each expected to have particular attributes which affect their relative capacities as agents of socialization. In particular, while regions tend to be more representative of the societal grouping characteristics, provinces have additional qualities which resemble those of a secondary group.

Although both are considered to be geographic regions, provinces and regions in fact differ in their attributes. As is characteristic of societal groupings, the larger regional groupings, such as the Prairie region, lack more formal methods of political teaching and indoctrination. It is through a sense of common identity and characteristics, generated by a similarity in qualities such as history, population bases, resource bases, or perhaps even geographic similarities, that these regions become reference points for individuals and thereby influence political orientations. As individuals identify with this larger regional group it becomes part of the identity of the individual as would an identification with a particular social class or ethnic group. Consequently, individuals will filter political matters through their acquired sensitivity "to the group's political norms and make political evaluations according to what is best for the group and what it stands for" (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:189). The regional identity functions as a type of conceptual filter or a coloured lens in perceiving and evaluating politics.

In addition to the relative features of regions mentioned, there is a key mechanism in the perpetuation of political orientation which regions possess and that is a capacity to delineate an individual's exposure to socialization agents. As members identify with a particular grouping, there is a tendency for individuals to live, work and socialize with others of that particular type, thereby limiting the socialization experiences (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:184). This limited exposure has the effect of encouraging and reinforcing an

individual's particular political attitudes as individuals will tend to adopt the views of those with whom they are in contact and share a common identity (Dawson et al. 1977:172). Subsequently, this regional effect on political socialization is reflected in the development of political attitudes. Although regions are important agents of socialization, they are structurally different from provinces. This affects the character of their influence on political orientations.

Provinces also influence political learning through their position as political reference points and their role in structuring socialization influences. As was the case for regions, individuals identifying with provincial groupings come to view the world through the particular interpretation of that group. The provincial identity becomes part of how the individual understands and evaluates the political world and influences the kinds of political outlooks the individual will acquire. Moreover, these attachments serve to structure the types of political learning to which the individual is exposed. In addition to the societal group characteristics, provinces, while not technically secondary groups, do possess formal structures and processes. This combination of properties is instrumental in differentiating the provincial capacity to influence a sense of identity and pattern of political orientations from that of regions.

Provinces influence political learning through their structural characteristics, particularly the additional feature of governmental institutions. From provincially linked socio-economic attributes and history to driver's licences, health care matters and other government related activities, stronger provincial identities and distinct political attitudes and values are stimulated and reinforced among the members. Certainly one of the most significant mechanisms through which the provincially differentiated socialization process is achieved stems from the provincial control over matters regarding education. In addition, Dawson et al. (1977:179) point out that:

The higher the identification and the more cohesive a particular group, the

more likely the group is to serve as an important political reference point. ...[and] the importance of a particular grouping depends upon the relevance of that group for contemporary political issues.

For provinces, the mixture of societal grouping and secondary group characteristics sets them apart from regions. Still, members come to reflect provincial patterns of orientations as they do the regional orientations and that is through the incorporation of differentiated socialization experiences.

These regionally and provincially differentiated socialization processes are expected to be reflected in the development of two distinct patterns of political orientations. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969:190) explain:

The more important the group is for the individual, and the more closely he [sic] is related to it, the more likely the group is to influence his political outlook. The more active the group is in communicating political views, the more the individual regards the group as politically relevant, the more it shapes political orientations.

This difference in the capacity to shape political orientations has further consequences in terms of political orientations and political culture. As eluded to earlier, there is a distinction between political attitudes and political culture; both reflect certain predispositions, but while all cultures represent political attitudes, not all patterns of political attitudes are political cultures. It is social groupings such as class, geographic regions, or religion which hold the potential to pattern a political culture, yet "the pattern of orientation that forms the political culture is determined to a great degree by the rigidity and consistency with which groupings divide a population" (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:185). Therefore, because both provinces and regions are argued to be able to influence political orientations, it is plausible that both provinces and regions may form political cultures, that only one does, or that neither does. However, since only the geographic cleavage is being investigated, it can not be determined for certain whether these territorially linked differences constitute political cultures, although they are widely awarded that title. Nevertheless, the inquiry into the nature of 'regional political cultures' is not to demonstrate that these are indeed cultures,

rather it is to clarify the respective roles of regions and provinces in the moulding of what is at least 'regional' patterns of political orientations.

This study argues that regions and provinces each influence political learning and orientations but that they differ in their effects. Following from the socialization theory presented, two arguments can be made. Firstly, provinces and regions have characteristic differences which are important for the way in which each influences political socialization. Secondly, as a result of these differences, regions and provinces will each produce distinct patterns of political orientations, but that together they bring about a more complete understanding of what is commonly referred to as 'regional political culture.' That is, although provinces and regions have differentiated socialization processes, the provincial pattern of orientations and the overarching regional pattern are distinct, but complementary, phenomena.

Since political culture is seen as encompassing values and orientations Canadians have towards politics and political objects, then a number of different variables may be utilized. In this study, the territorial units will be explored in relation to four measures of politically relevant attitudes. These four political indicators are: attitudes towards political participation, the sense of political alienation, attitudes towards national economic policy and attitudes towards the current social welfare state. While these indicators themselves may seem to reflect possible superficial measures of political culture, the orientations on which they are based are quite enduring. It has been argued that group identifications and attachments have great durability and "such attachments serve to guide later interpretations of and reactions to more concrete political happenings, such as choosing between government leaders or public policies" (Dawson et al. 1977:46). Therefore, these measures are the measures of political culture which will be used in this study.

Chapter Two

Data and Measurements

This study has relied on the data contained in the 1993 Canadian National Election Study (CES).¹ The 1993 CES was composed of five surveys including the pre-referendum, post-referendum, campaign period, post-election and mail-back surveys. The latter three, the 1993 federal 'election surveys,' were used in this study. The campaign-period survey (n=3,775) was conducted from September 10, 1993 to October 24, the post-election (n=3,340) from October 27 to November 21 and the mail-back (n=2,209) from November 25 to March 5, 1994. The surveys were conducted using a rolling cross-section of Canadians eighteen years and older, in private homes with phones and speaking one of the two official languages.

The 1993 study included one or more interviews with 4,871 respondents and was composed of panel and random digit dialling respondents. The panel component began with 2,530 respondents in the pre-referendum survey and attempts were made to further interview these respondents in the post-referendum survey (n=2,223) and in the subsequent election surveys. Panel respondents who were advanced from the post-referendum survey into the election surveys (n=1,434), as well as an added random digit dialling (RDD) component used to select additional respondents commencing with the campaign period (n=2,341), were the basis for the interviews in the election surveys. Since the subsequent post-election and mail-back surveys were both dependent on re-interview rates, the sample size of these survey waves decreased.

Using the questions available in the election surveys, a master list of variables

¹ Data in this thesis are from the 1993 Canadian National Election Study. The principal investigators of the study are Richard Johnston, Andre Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte and Henry Brady. The data were made available by the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. Neither the principal investigators nor the consortium bear any responsibility for analyses or interpretations presented herein.

related to the study of political culture was compiled. This list was reduced to its most essential variables through factor analysis. The factor analysis extracted several factors with eigen values greater than one, the first four of which were of interest. The variables with high correlations to the factor were selected and again correlated to determine their final association within the factor. These variables would form the political indicators.

To gain a more accurate measure of political attitudes, the indicators in this study were based on multiple variables. As Simeon and Elkins explain, “in so far as response error or related matters account for provincial differences, they should be reduced by combining answers to several items often worded in quite different formats, since it is unlikely that misunderstanding would follow the same lines on different types of questions” (1980:35). Moreover, to achieve the best overall measure of a particular attitude, each of the indicators in this study was constructed based on a balance between the number of variables used in the measure and the strength of their correlation to a factor. Four indicators were generated from the data set: attitudes towards national economic policy, political participation, attitudes towards the current social welfare state, and one’s sense of political alienation.²

Dependent Variables

In the construction of the measures of political attitudes, two main problems were addressed: the equalization of the values and number of response categories. The response categories of “don’t know” and “refused” on all the variables were recoded as missing on the grounds that they were unable to be collapsed into another category. Further, their frequencies were quite low, and they did not contribute greatly to the analysis. Finally, all

² Reliability coefficients for each scale were as follows: Attitudes Towards Social Welfare $\alpha=0.46$; Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy $\alpha=0.62$; Sense of Political Alienation $\alpha=0.53$; Attitudes Towards Participation $\alpha=0.53$.

indicators were constructed so that the response distribution was divided as close as possible into five equal percentiles to reflect relative degrees of difference.³

Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State

The social welfare state indicator taps into values and attitudes towards spending cuts to pensions, welfare and health care, as well as groups associated with social welfare state matters. Simeon and Blake (1980:86) discovered that the social policy and labour categories exhibited the lowest level of regional differences amongst their twelve issue areas. This relatively low presence of regional/provincial differences in attitudes towards the social welfare state is expected to have remained present in the 1993 CES data. In the measure of attitudes towards the current social welfare state, the data set contained five variables which best reflected this area:

1. Should welfare spending be cut...?
[a lot, some, not at all, don't know, refused]
2. Should pensions and old age security be cut...?
[a lot, some, not at all, don't know, refused]
3. Should health care be cut...?
[a lot, some, not at all, don't know, refused]
4. How do you feel about people on welfare?
[scale runs from 0 to 100, where 0 means very negative and 100 very positive, don't know, refused]
5. How do you feel about labour unions?
[scale runs from 0 to 100, where 0 means very negative and 100 very positive, don't know, refused]

As the last two variables were ranked along a thermometer scale, the response distribution was first reduced into five categories, ranging from very negative to very positive, and was later again recoded to equalize the number of categories and values with that of the other

³ A graphic illustration of the original distribution and the imposed cut points of each indicator are included in the appendix (Figures A1-A4). In addition, it should be noted that in all cases, except for Figure A1, the scale construction was subsequently recoded to have lower levels of support correspond with low numbers and higher levels of support correspond with high numbers.

variables for the index. The index was combined such that by scoring low, one would be in favour of greater cuts to the various social welfare policy areas and would rate labour unions and people on welfare negatively. High scores would exhibit the opposite.

In the computation of the index, the measure was kept as representative of the attitude as possible by limiting inclusion to a minimum of three out of the five responses to questions. Those individuals who failed to answer at least three questions (eg: those who answered don't know and refused) were recoded as missing, a very small number of respondents (n=15). The final distribution of responses on the indicator was divided as close as possible into five equal categories thereby reflecting relative degrees of difference in attitudes towards the social welfare state. The categories ranged from very much opposed (1) to very much support (5).

Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy

The measure of national economic policy taps into responses towards particular federal government economic decisions including the GST and NAFTA. While these policies are ostensibly directed in the national interest, they inevitably encounter the reality of territorially linked factors. As McCormick (1991:156) points out, "[i]n a country as diverse as Canada, national economic policies impact quite differently upon different parts of the country, and the political reactions both exhibit and reinforce regionalism." This policy indicator is expected to exhibit a striking number of differences in policy attitudes and values across the regions and provinces. The index of attitudes towards national economic policy involved four variables:

1. In 1991, the federal government adopted a new tax on goods and services, the GST. All things considered, are you...
[very much in favour, somewhat in favour, somewhat oppose, or very much opposed, don't know, refused]
2. Has the federal government made Canada's economy....
[better, worse, haven't made much difference, don't know, refused]
3. In 1988, Canada signed a Free Trade agreement with the United States. All

things considered, do you support the agreement or do you oppose it?
[support, oppose, neither, unaware of FTA, don't know, refused]

4. Canada and the United States have reached a new trade agreement which includes Mexico. All things considered, do you support or oppose it?
[support, oppose, neither, unaware of NAFTA, don't know, refused]

The four variables were positively correlated but differed in the number of response categories. The variables were therefore recoded to reflect a similar range of values and categories. In the latter two questions, the "unaware" categories of the FTA and NAFTA were made missing as they did not contribute significantly to the analysis. To score low, one would oppose the GST, FTA and NAFTA and would feel that the federal policies made Canada's economy worse. To score high in terms of attitudes towards national economic policy, the opposite pattern of responses would be exhibited. Similar to the other indices, at least three out of the four responses were necessary to be included in this index (missing=200). The final distribution was divided into five groups ranging from very much opposed to the economic policies (1) to very much support (5).

Sense of Political Alienation

Another important aspect of political life is that of attitudes towards objects such as political actors and institutions. It is possible that there are important variations among the respondents of the territorial units in their sense of estrangement from particular aspects of the political system. Still, there are many facets in a political system to which these attitudes and orientations may be directed. A widely adopted view is that proposed by David Easton who states that there are effectively three levels in a political system: the authorities, the regime, and the political community (1965). The political community represents individuals bound together through identity and a political division of labour, the regime refers to a set of operating procedures regarding the structures and norms in the political system, and finally, the authorities are those who interact with the system on a daily basis and make binding decisions in the system (Easton 1965: 177, 192, 213). The variables used in the

alienation indicator on which the territorial units will be compared are argued to have qualities which tap into feelings individuals have towards the norms and structures of the political system. Kornberg and Clarke (1992:23) explain that the level and consistency of support for the three levels mentioned decreases as one moves from the political community to the authorities. The regime level then should exhibit more variation in opinion than the community level, but less than the authorities. Relative to something like economic policies, the sense of political alienation from the regime level seems less likely to be influenced by territorially linked conditions. Therefore, given the particular nature of the alienation measure, the variation in attitudes is expected to be weaker than what is expected to be found in the other measures.

The sense of political alienation index used questions which tapped into an individual's sense of estrangement from the regime level of the political system. Three variables from the mail-back section were used in the construction of this indicator:

1. I don't think the government cares much what people like me think.
[strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, no opinion]
2. We could probably solve most of our big national problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots.
[strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, no opinion]
3. In a democracy, no political decisions should be made in secret.
[strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, no opinion]

The three components of the index were positively correlated and reflected the same number of values and response categories. The 'no opinion' categories were made missing as they were not of major significance to the analysis. To score low on the sense of political alienation, one would need to feel that the government cares about what the people think, disagree that national problems should be solved through grass roots decisions, and disagree that decisions should not be made in secret. To score high on this index, the reverse scores would be indicated. A minimum of two out of the three questions needed to be answered for inclusion in the measure (missing=34). The final distribution was divided

into five percentiles from a very low sense of alienation (1) to very high (5).

Attitudes Towards Participation

Attitude towards political participation is also an important aspect of political life. The elements of participation run a wide range of activities and go beyond simple voting to include political discussions and running for political office. However, scholars such as William Mishler have argued that political participation is less influenced by region than by characteristics of individuals or sub-groups (1979:58). Indeed, Simeon and Elkins also found regional variation in political involvement to be quite below the anticipated magnitude (1980:46). Still, while individual characteristics are certainly important, the potential impact of regional/provincial influences on political participation should not be overlooked.

In the hierarchy of electoral participation (gladiatorial, transitional and spectator), the higher the level of participation the fewer numbers of individuals who participate and the greater their level of commitment to participation (ie: holding office versus voting) (Van Loon and Whittington 1987:149). The variables in this measure appear to tap the spectator level of participation which is the lowest level.

Participation in electoral politics was measured on a multiple item scale and used the following questions:

1. Over the past week have you discussed politics with other people?
[yes, no, don't know, refused]
2. Did you vote in the last federal election (1988)?
[yes, no, not eligible, don't know, refused]
3. Did you vote in the last provincial election?
[yes, no, not eligible, don't know, refused]
4. Did you vote in the election (1993)?
[yes, no, don't know, refused]
5. How much attention did you pay to the news on T.V. about the election campaign?
[a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, none, don't know, refused]
6. How much attention did you pay to articles in the newspapers about the election

campaign?
[a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, none, don't know, refused]

Respondents of the 'not eligible' categories in the federal and provincial election questions were made missing as they were difficult to combine into the measure and did not contribute greatly to the analysis of political participation. The provincial voting variable was included in this predominantly federal participation index as there was a strong positive correlation to voting in the federal election.⁴ All of the variables were positively correlated in the factor analysis, yet due to differences in the number of response categories, the values assigned required slight recoding to equalize the range. To score low on the indicator, respondents would engage in little to none of the activities of voting, discussion of politics, and paying attention to campaign news. High participants would exhibit the opposite responses. In addition, participants who did not respond to at least three out of the six questions were listed as missing respondents.⁵ Again, the final distribution of the calculated participation index was divided as close as possible into five percentiles ranging in degree of participation from very low (1) to very high (5).

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this study consisted of two of the more popular definitions of 'region.' The first form of 'region' was represented by the ten provinces. The second form of 'region' involved the 'five regions of Canada' perspective which consisted of one or more provinces per region. Included in this latter formulation were: Atlantic Canada (Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island), Ontario, Quebec, Prairies (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba), and British Columbia. The

⁴The correlation was .574 with $p < .01$.

⁵ No respondents answered less than three out of the six questions.

North was not included in this study due to the limitations of the data set.

In the case of B.C., Ontario and Quebec, the distinction between region and province is somewhat problematic. While it is possible to aggregate these units into respective regions, such as the West or Central Canada, this is not a desirable end. It is commonly viewed that the above three provinces are sufficiently distinct, as well as populous, to also constitute distinct regions. Hence, in the case of B.C., Ontario, and Quebec, there is an unfortunate coinciding of the terms region and province; however, this overlap is not anticipated to be an insurmountable obstacle in the analysis of either level.

Control Variables

The third task involved in this study is to determine whether the observed contrasts in political attitudes and orientations are a function of territorial dimensions or a by-product of factors such as age. Thus, several variables broadly accepted as potentially related to political attitudes were included as controls for the observed territorial variation. The control variables included were: gender, age, party identification, income and education. A brief outline of their relationship with political attitudes as well as their operationalizations is discussed below.

Gender

Sex role socialization, inequalities between the genders in social status and privileges, as well as other sex related social-psychological differences, may lead to substantive differences in political orientations between men and women. As Eisenstein suggests, “[t]he ‘gender gap’ in politics--whereby women tend towards a specific voting profile that is different from men’s on important issues, such as the peace question and the question of government spending on public welfare programmes--is explained...as ‘a reflection of and reaction to women’s sexual class position’”(Siims 1988:171). Hence, differences in political orientations can be linked back to relative differences in gender

related socialization. Thus, gender may trump the territorial effect on orientations. Gender was operationalized simply as male and female.

Age

Age related differences may also be reflected in political attitudes. As Barrie Stacey notes, age groups differ in a number of ways including position in the life cycle and having “experienced different historical events: and even widely shared experiences (such as economic depression or a high rate of inflation) may be experienced at different points in the life cycle with varying consequences” (1978:132). Thus, different age cohorts may be exposed to different socialization processes which may further be reflected in differences in political attitudes. These attitudes, in turn, may dampen or exaggerate the territorial effects.

While many operationalizations for age exist, the one chosen for this study was a balance between frequencies in the categories and the necessity of a scale which accounted for potential age related differences in political socialization. Subsequently, the use of the three age categories, 18-25, 26-45 and 45+, was favoured as it reflected an acceptable age range and distribution of frequencies.

Party Identification

Partisanship may also explain attitudinal variation. There are arguably two paths connecting party preference with particular orientations. First, individuals may have certain opinions and adjust their party affiliation to fit accordingly, or second, and the stronger probability, is that individuals will reflect the attitudes related to their party identification (Dowse and Hughes 1972:274). Party identifications are often reference points and thereby socialize the individual into particular political orientations. H.T. Reynolds notes that “[m]ost people have long-standing beliefs about the party and what they stand for. These beliefs which have developed since childhood provide cues for interpreting and responding to political events” (1974:164). As with the other control variables, partisanship may be an intervening factor in the relationship between the territorial unit and political attitudes.

Party identification was restricted to the federal level to allow for greater ease of regional comparison. The identifications included were Progressive Conservatives, Liberals, NDP, and Reform. Bloc Québécois was not included in this study as it is based solely in Quebec. In order to determine whether individuals are more likely to share attitudes in common with individuals of similar partisan identification across the country than with those who live in their territorial unit, the partisan identification needs to have a presence in at least more than one territorial unit. Respondents with no partisan identification were also excluded from the tables as the focus of the control is to determine the impact of identity on political attitudes.

Income and Education

Income and education are closely related measures of social status, and with status may come particular politically relevant qualities. Those with high status are generally well positioned in terms of their ability to maintain wide community contacts, their presence in extensive political stimulation, and their ability to receive information (Dowse and Hughes 1972:293). Factors such as education and socio-economic class have important bearings in terms of the socialization of political attitudes. As Jackson and Jackson (1994:129) explain, these factors may “provide and also deny opportunities and experiences. On these bases individuals may be inclined to take particular stands on issues, orient themselves on such abstract constructs as a left-right continuum, and decide how and even whether they wish to participate in the political process.” Almond and Verba had similar thoughts with regard to education specifically. They found that:

...the differences between those with relatively little education and those who are more highly educated are substantial. In all nations, in almost all the cases, those with no more than primary education and those with some university training differ by at least twenty percentage points, and often by substantially more, in the frequency with which a particular attitude is held (Almond and Verba 1965:318).

Therefore, opportunities and resources associated with income and education may expose individuals to particular environments and influence particular attitudes and orientations.

This, in turn, may also impact the territorial effect on particular political orientations.

The income measurement, based on household income, was divided into a range from low (\$1,000-29,000) to middle (\$30,000-59,000) to high (\$60,000+). The education measure was separated into four groups. The first group consisted of those with no formal schooling through to those having some high school education. The second group consisted of those having completed high school to those having some technology/community college schooling. The third group was composed of those with some university and those who completed technology/community college school education. The final group consisted of those who held a bachelor degree or higher.

Method

The primary relationships in this study were all examined using a one-way analysis of variance to determine whether the between group variance was greater than the within group variance. In other words, within each territorial group there is a particular distribution of scores. It is possible for this distribution to range from very concentrated to very diffuse around the mean value of that group. The one-way procedure determines the degree of variance from the mean score within each unit and then compares the averages between populations; if the variation in averages is substantially greater between groups than within groups, the null hypothesis of equal populations is rejected and group pairs appear as statistically different.

In the auxiliary analyses where one-way analysis was not appropriate, cross tabulations were substituted. The comparisons in the one-way procedure were conducted through the most commonly used method of the Tukey-b test. All findings in this study have a significance of least .01 overall, unless otherwise indicated. All one-way pair relationships were statistically different at the .05 level.

Chapter Three

Data Analysis: Contrasts in Political Orientations

This study argues that regions and provinces both influence political orientations, but with different effects. Regional and provincial differences are investigated to determine their relative function in the organization of political orientations; that is, the distinction between regions and provinces as carriers of 'regional' differences. The relative differences in attitudes among the territorial units are, as noted previously, tested using the one-way analysis of variance procedure. The tables have been constructed such that pairs which are calculated to be statistically different at the $p < .05$ level are marked with an asterisk. The asterisks indicate that the population averages between particular pairs are statistically different. In other words, more variation in attitude occurs between particular pairs of territorial units than among individuals in the same group. In order to avoid confusion and redundancy, the lower portion of the tables have been shaded.

In the analysis of the data, several possible results may emerge which denote particular conclusions. First, as illustrated in Tables 1a and b, it is possible that neither provinces nor regions will exhibit statistically significant differences indicating that, in Canada, no 'regional' political orientations exist. Second, one could find *inter*-regional differences in political attitudes, and yet no *intra*-regional differences, as the corresponding provinces therein all lack statistically significant differences as demonstrated in Tables 2a and b. This pattern would constitute a regionally based pattern of orientations and reject the hypothesis of provincial effects on orientations. Third, as shown in Tables 3a and b, one may find no evidence of inter-regional differences, yet at the provincial level find not only significant intra-regional variation, but in this case, patterns of similarities and differences which seem to occur irrespective of any regional constructs as well. This latter case would not support the hypothesis of regional effects on political orientations, but rather a

Table 1a: Hypothesis One by Region

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic	*				
Quebec	*	*			
Ontario	*	*	*		
Prairie	*	*	*	*	
B.C.	*	*	*	*	*

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 1b: Hypothesis One by Province

	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld	*									
PEI	*	*								
NS	*	*	*							
NB	*	*	*	*						
PQ	*	*	*	*	*					
Ont	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Mn	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Sask	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Alta	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
BC	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 2a: Hypothesis Two by Region

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic		*	*	*	*
Quebec			*	*	*
Ontario				*	*
Prairie					*
B.C.					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 2b: Hypothesis Two by Province

	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld										
PEI										
NS										
NB										
PQ						*				*
Ont										*
Mn										
Sask										
Alta										
BC										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 3a: Hypothesis Three by Region

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic					
Quebec					
Ontario					
Prairie					
B.C.					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 3b: Hypothesis Three by Province

	N f l d	P E I	N S	N B	P Q	O n t	M n	S a s k	A l t a	B C
Nfld			*	*		*			*	*
PEI			*	*	*			*		*
NS				*			*			
NB					*		*	*		*
PQ										
Ont										
Mn								*	*	*
Sask									*	
Alta										*
BC										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

decidedly provincial effect on pattern of political orientations. Finally, as illustrated in Tables 4a and b, one may find inter-regional as well as intra-regional variation. These findings would mark both provinces and regions as important and related influences on patterns of orientations.

This study suggests that if both region and province are important to the nature of political orientations, one would expect to see patterns of variation similar to those exhibited in hypothesis four. One would anticipate finding significant *inter-regional* differences in orientations, as well as *intra-regional* variation. While provinces within a region will vary independently from other provinces, illustrating the provincial effects, the provinces of the region will also exhibit a cohesiveness in mean scores which is further indicative of the observed regional level effects on patterns of orientation. However, the degree of variation exhibited by regions and provinces is not expected to be as consistent as that exhibited in Tables 4a and 4b and is expected to vary depending on the political indicator examined.

The orientations examined include attitudes towards the current social welfare state, attitudes towards national economic policy, sense of political alienation, and attitudes towards participation. The differences exhibited in each indicator, followed by an examination of the effects of the control variables, will be examined below.

Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State

This indicator tapped into an individual's attitudes towards various aspects of the welfare state, from their support or opposition to cuts to the current state of health care, pensions and welfare, to their views on labour unions and people on welfare. The scale ranged from very much opposed (1), and therefore in favour of cuts, to very much supportive (5) of the current state of social welfare. As Table 5a illustrates, the mean score of the Atlantic region (3.76) indicated it was distinctly more supportive of the welfare state in contrast to the other regions (3.22-3.40) which all shared similar attitudes.

Table 4a: Hypothesis Four by Region

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic		*	*	*	*
Quebec			*	*	*
Ontario				*	*
Prairie					*
B.C.					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 4b: Hypothesis Four by Province

	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
PEI			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NS				*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NB					*	*	*	*	*	*
PQ						*	*	*	*	*
Ont							*	*	*	*
Mn								*	*	*
Sask									*	*
Alta										*
BC										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 5a: Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State by Region

	Mean	N	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic	3.76	381		*	*	*	*
Quebec	3.32	863					
Ontario	3.22	840					
Prairie	3.24	833					
B.C.	3.40	411					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 5b: Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State by Province

	Mean	N	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld	4.06	101				*	*	*	*	*	*	*
PEI	3.91	96					*	*	*	*	*	*
NS	3.63	89										
NB	3.41	95										
PQ	3.32	863										
Ont	3.22	840										
Mn	3.37	210										
Sask	3.22	185										
Alta	3.18	438										
BC	3.40	411										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Upon examination of the provincial level data, found in Table 5b, it became clear that the Atlantic variation was driven by Newfoundland (4.06) and PEI (3.91). Indeed, all significantly different pair relationships revolved around these two provinces. With the exception of the Newfoundland and New Brunswick pair, PEI and Newfoundland differed from every province except for those within the region. While two of the four Atlantic provinces demonstrated provincial effects on orientations, the data still supported inter-regional variation. As the data in Table 5b illustrate, the means of all four Atlantic provinces were still more supportive of the current state of welfare when compared with the provinces of the other regions. Consequently, the data showed that, specifically in the case of the Atlantic region, both regions and provinces influenced orientations.

Attitudes towards National Economic Policy

Here the questions asked tapped into whether one strongly opposed (1) or strongly supported (5) federal economic policies including the GST and NAFTA. The regional level of analysis (Table 6a) revealed a significant number of differences. In particular, the Prairies (3.13) and Quebec (3.29) were more supportive of the economic policies than both B.C. (2.87) and Ontario (2.87), and Quebec was also more supportive relative to the Prairies and the Atlantic region (3.03).

In Table 6b one finds pronounced regional and provincial effects on orientations. As expected, Ontario (2.87) and B.C. (2.87) replicated their greater opposition to the policies relative to the province of Quebec (3.29) given that all three were also constructed as regions. Interestingly, none of the individual provinces of the Atlantic and Prairie regions expressed any statistical difference from Quebec; rather, it was a result of their coalescence which produced the inter-regional variation. As Table 6b indicates, the four Atlantic provinces had means ranging from 2.82 to 3.19 which, on the whole, made the region less supportive in relation to Quebec. The same occurred for the Prairie region; while no individual provinces stood out, their combined means set them apart from

Table 6a: Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy by Region

	Mean	N	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic	3.03	385		*			
Quebec	3.29	921			*	*	*
Ontario	2.87	931				*	
Prairie	3.13	881					*
B.C.	2.87	457					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 6b: Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy by Province

	Mean	N	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld	3.19	99										
PEI	2.97	92										
NS	2.82	94										
NB	3.12	100										
PQ	3.29	921						*				*
Ont	2.87	931									*	
Mn	2.99	224										
Sask	3.05	198										
Alta	3.23	459										*
BC	2.87	457										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Quebec. While the Prairie's difference from Quebec was a result of the combined effect of the three provinces, the region's more supportive position in relation to B.C. (2.87) and Ontario (2.87) was led by Alberta (3.23). Again, while Alberta alone exhibited provincial effects, individuals from Manitoba and Saskatchewan were still relatively more supportive of the policies than residents of B.C. and Ontario.

Thus, the two tables regarding attitudes towards national economic policy provided support for both inter-regional and intra-regional variation. There was evidence of provincial effects on orientations, particularly the case involving Alberta for the Prairie region, as well as that of the province/regions of Ontario, B.C., and Quebec. However, there was also evidence of significant regional effects on orientations for both the Atlantic and the Prairies. The provinces of these regions exhibited a cohesiveness in mean scores which separated them from other regions/provinces of Quebec, B.C., and Ontario; all the provinces of the Prairie region had mean scores above Ontario and B.C. and below the mean score of Quebec, and all of the Atlantic provinces held mean scores below that of Quebec. Thus it is concluded that the patterns of orientations in relation to this indicator support the hypothesis of both regional and provincial effects.

Sense of Political Alienation

The purpose of this indicator was to determine if "regions" differed in their sense of alienation from the regime level of the political system. The indicator ranged from a very low (1) to very high (5) sense of alienation. Unlike the previous indicators, this measure offered no statistical differences among the regions. As Table 7a illustrates, the regional means ranged from 3.03 to 3.28, with the total mean standing at 3.18. The provincial level data displayed in Table 7b revealed the same pattern. Provinces ranged from a low of 3.00 in Manitoba to a high of 3.47 in PEI, with no ensuing statistically different pairs. The results of this indicator are quite interesting. The lack of territorial differences on this indicator at both the regional and provincial levels leads one to infer that there may perhaps

Table 7a: Sense of Political Alienation by Region

	Mean	N	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic	3.25	250					
Quebec	3.28	550					
Ontario	3.13	533					
Prairie	3.17	550					
B.C.	3.03	265					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 7b: Sense of Political Alienation by Province

	Mean	N	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld	3.05	74										
PEI	3.47	55										
NS	3.14	63										
NB	3.41	58										
PQ	3.28	550										
Ont	3.13	533										
Mn	3.00	128										
Sask	3.15	130										
Alta	3.25	292										
BC	3.03	265										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

be values and orientations which are shared as part of a national political culture.

Attitudes Towards Participation

This index examined differences in attitudes towards participation and ranged from very low (1) to very high (5) levels of participation.¹ As Table 8a illustrates, the regional effects were quite pronounced. The Atlantic region (2.49) had the lowest levels of participation compared with the regions of Quebec (2.71), the Prairies (2.81) and Ontario (2.96). Ontario was also more participatory than Quebec and B.C. (2.73).

The inter-regional differences observed in Table 8a were highlighted in greater detail at the provincial level illustrated in Table 8b. The inter-regional differences between Ontario (2.96) and Quebec (2.71) continued at the provincial level, though the difference between B.C. (2.73) and Ontario (2.96) disappeared. For the Atlantic and Prairie regions, evidence of both significant inter-regional and intra-regional variation emerged. Upon comparing the regional and provincial tables, it was clear that the Atlantic's regional differences from Ontario and the Prairies were driven by Newfoundland (2.41) and New Brunswick (2.41). However, the Atlantic region as a whole still stood apart as individuals of the provinces tended to be lower participators in comparison with those of Ontario and the Prairie provinces. Indeed, the provinces of the Atlantic region were clustered together at the lowest end of the distribution, with their means ranging from 2.41 to 2.65. The Prairie's difference from the Atlantic region was chiefly propelled by Alberta (2.91) but, as was the case for the Atlantic, there was also evidence of a regional effect. The mean scores of all three Prairie provinces (2.68-2.91) indicated they held relatively higher participatory attitudes than those found in the Atlantic provinces.

In the case of the Atlantic differing from Quebec, none of the individual Atlantic

¹ Following the method used by Simeon and Elkins (1979:16, 31) this indicator, although treated as an attitude, is described in terms of high to low levels of participation behaviour. Since behaviours stem from attitudes, participation behaviours are seen as suggestive of the character of attitudes towards participation.

Table 8a: Attitudes Towards Participation by Region

	Mean	N	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
Atlantic	2.49	384		*	*	*	
Quebec	2.71	866			*		
Ontario	2.96	840					*
Prairie	2.81	836					
B.C.	2.73	414					

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

Table 8b: Attitudes Towards Participation by Province

	Mean	N	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	BC
Nfld	2.41	101						*			*	
PEI	2.65	96										
NS	2.49	91										
NB	2.41	96						*			*	
PQ	2.71	866						*				
Ont	2.96	840										
Mn	2.70	210										
Sask	2.68	185										
Alta	2.91	441										
BC	2.73	414										

Notes: * denotes pairs statistically different at the .050 level.

provinces exhibited statistical differences. Instead, the Atlantic region was less participatory as a result of differences possessed by all the provinces as the four provincial means expressed lower levels of participation relative to Quebec. Thus, for the relationships involving the Atlantic and Prairies, there was evidence of intra-regional variation as well as a consistency to the provinces of the region, supportive of an overarching regional effect.

Consequently, as demonstrated in previous indicators, the measure of participation data provided supporting evidence of both regional and provincial effects on orientations. The inter-regional differences observed at the regional level persisted at the provincial level as well. In some instances, as the case of the Atlantic and the Prairies with Quebec, the regional variation stemmed from the coalescence of the provinces; in other cases, the regional variation was carried chiefly by one or two provinces, although the means of the remaining provinces of the region were consistent in setting the region as a whole apart from the particular regions identified in the regional table.

Summary

Overall, the data showed that there are, indeed, regional and provincial differences in political orientations. As expected, the magnitude and specifics of the variation depended on the particular attitude under investigation. Except for the alienation indicator, there were clear differences in attitudes among territorial groups. The initial regional tables, Tables 5a-8a, introduced a considerable number of inter-regional differences, again with the exception of the alienation measure (Table 7a) which did not generate any regional, nor provincial, variation. Tables 5b-8b provided additional support for the existence of inter-regional differences at the provincial level, as well as evidence of intra-regional variation. This intra-regional variation applies specifically to the Atlantic and the Prairies as Ontario, B.C., and Quebec were constructed as both provinces and regions. One finds that with the Atlantic and Prairies, the observed inter-regional differences also included one or two provinces within the region which were statistically different, although infrequently it was also the

sole result of the provincial coalescence. Hence, in spite of the intra-regional variation, the data in the provincial tables continued to support the observed inter-regional variation. The provinces of a region resembled one another such that their collective means were of the same relative position which set them apart from the provinces of the regions specified in the regional level tables. Thus, the conclusion drawn from the data is one in favour of the existence of both regional and provincial effects on orientations.

Patterns of Political Orientations and the Effects of Controls

In the previous section it was demonstrated that there are 'regional' differences in political attitudes. In particular, it was advanced that there were both regional and provincial effects on these orientations. The purpose of the controlled relationships is to understand the nature of the originally observed relationships through the introduction of additional variables. More specifically, it is to ascertain whether the originally observed differences between regions and provinces persist and perhaps stem from truly cultural variations and historical forces, as suggested by Simeon and Elkins (1980), or whether the differences are a by-product of demographic differences amongst the territorial communities. As will be described below, the results of this data analysis suggest that the above observed attitudinal variations are a result of differences in the proportional distribution of various demographic factors. The control variables employed include gender, age, party identification, income and education.² A brief discussion outlining the relationship between the control variables and the indicators in the national sample has been included in the appropriate sections; the table illustrating the distribution can be found in the appendix (Table A-1).

² As a great number of tables were generated for the controlled relationships, the information from the tables was condensed into a single table for each political indicator which illustrates the means scores of the territorial units by each control variable.

Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State

Gender

One finds that in the national population, women (3.50) are more supportive of the current social welfare state than are men (3.18). Given this relationship, one might ask if the above observed differences stem from gender effects or whether the 'regional' differences remain within each partial table. Reading across Tables 9a and 9b, one finds the mean scores for each of the territorial units upon controlling for male and female respondents alone. The bolded numbers indicate that the particular region or province is involved in at least one statistically different pair relationship. In this case, at the regional level (Table 9a), it was found that the relationship between region and the attitude was replicated for both males and females. The Atlantic region remained more supportive relative to all other regions, with the exception of B.C. for males. Thus, the gender control failed to eliminate regional differences, which persisted for both men and women alone.

The same results were not true at the provincial level (Table 9b). Here gender did make a difference as, for both males and females, the original provincial relationships occurred only under specific conditions. For women, only Newfoundland (4.26) maintained its high level of support for the welfare state and remained statistically different from the same provinces found in the original table, except for New Brunswick. For men, PEI's (3.96) differences remained the same; however Newfoundland (3.83) was only more supportive relative to Alberta (2.94) and Ontario (3.04). Consequently, although provincial effects on attitudes were still observed, the relationship was weakened with the introduction of gender, indicating that gender moderated the attitudinal variation. Moreover, while the regional effect persisted for women in the Atlantic as all four provincial means were above all other provinces, for men, the regional effect was not as clear; New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had mean scores which fell outside of a regional consistency to the attitude. Although regional and provincial effects on orientations were exhibited, it was clear that

Table 9a: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State by Region

		Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.58	3.21	3.04	3.05	3.32
	Female	3.92	3.44	3.42	3.43	3.51
2/Age	18-25	3.91	3.06	3.36	3.66	3.50
	26-45	3.85	3.34	3.20	3.11	3.31
	45+	3.56	3.39	3.22	3.26	3.55
3/Party ID	Liberals	3.86	3.19	3.29	3.43	3.47
	P.C.	3.24	3.16	2.81	2.94	2.82
	NDP	4.55	4.15	4.28	4.13	4.40
	Reform	2.43	----	2.33	2.56	2.38
4/Income	Low	3.84	3.67	3.40	3.46	3.82
	Middle	3.84	3.23	3.15	3.23	3.45
	High	3.51	3.08	3.13	2.84	2.94
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.81	3.40	3.15	3.02	3.26
	H.S., some tech/cc	3.87	3.18	3.23	3.05	3.32
	Complete tech/cc	3.78	3.18	3.11	3.27	3.32
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	3.46	3.59	3.17	3.23	3.27

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Table 9b: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State by Province

		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.83	3.96	3.26	3.07	3.21	3.04	3.22	3.10	2.94	3.32
	Female	4.26	3.83	3.87	3.68	3.44	3.42	3.52	3.35	3.42	3.51
2/Age	18-25	4.31	4.29	3.92	3.36	3.06	3.36	4.07	3.26	3.58	3.50
	26-45	4.09	3.93	3.73	3.56	3.34	3.20	3.28	3.22	3.01	3.31
	45+	3.83	3.81	3.34	3.21	3.39	3.22	3.23	3.20	3.31	3.55
3/Party ID	Liberals	4.16	3.81	4.07	3.29	3.19	3.29	3.55	3.36	3.37	3.47
	P.C.	3.70	3.71	2.67	2.94	3.16	2.81	3.11	2.81	2.91	2.82
	NDP	5.00	5.00	4.69	3.00	4.15	4.28	4.24	4.06	4.08	4.40
	Reform	----	----	1.67	3.00	----	2.33	2.00	3.30	2.58	2.38
4/Income	Low	4.08	4.05	3.85	3.43	3.67	3.40	3.35	3.51	3.49	3.82
	Middle	4.27	3.84	3.68	3.52	3.23	3.15	3.31	3.23	3.19	3.45
	High	3.70	4.18	2.92	3.22	3.08	3.13	3.11	2.82	2.76	2.94
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.97	3.91	3.67	3.67	3.40	3.15	2.94	3.06	3.05	3.26
	H.S., some tech/cc	4.12	4.05	3.65	3.60	3.18	3.23	3.35	3.04	2.94	3.32
	Complete tech/cc	4.44	4.00	3.57	3.36	3.18	3.11	3.42	3.13	3.28	3.32
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	3.60	3.60	3.33	3.30	3.59	3.17	3.41	3.22	3.14	3.27

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

gender had the effect of reducing their impact, particularly with respect to provinces.

Age

The general findings on the relationship between age and attitudes towards social welfare showed no differences in attitudes between the three age groups. Age, however, did impact the relationship between region and the attitude (Table 9a). For the 18-25 year-old group, Quebec (3.06) was less supportive than both the Prairies (3.66) and the Atlantic (3.91) regions. In the case of the 26-45 year-old group, the original inter-regional contrasts were replicated, and in the 45 and over group, the regional differences disappeared. Thus, both region and age appear to have an effect on the attitudes towards social welfare.

At the provincial level, illustrated in Table 9b, the pattern of differences witnessed at the regional level persisted for the three age groups, although with sharper distinctions. In the 18-25 group, only Manitoba (4.07) and Quebec differed (3.06); still the respective provinces of both the Atlantic and the Prairie regions continued to be more supportive of the current state of social welfare than Quebec. In the case of the Atlantic, the results were primarily of regional differences, while the Prairie region exhibited intra-regional variation as well, as a result of Manitoba. In the 26-45 category, one finds that provinces in the Atlantic region persisted in being more supportive compared to provinces of other regions and illustrated both provincial and regional effects: Newfoundland (4.09) was more supportive in contrast to all provinces outside of the region, PEI (3.93) from Alberta and Ontario, and Nova Scotia (3.73) from Alberta. In the final age group, those over 45, no provinces were different. For this latter group, individuals were more likely to share attitudes in common with their age cohorts rather than with their provincial counterparts of different ages. In terms of the impact of age on attitudes towards social welfare, there were provincial differences between the Atlantic provinces and those outside of the region, but overall fewer than were found in the original table. Regional variations in patterns of orientation for the Atlantic were also evident at the provincial level, illustrated in Table 9a,

but were eliminated in the case of individuals in the over 45 age group as were the provincial differences. Since the control variable for age certainly weakened the regional and provincial effects on attitudes towards social welfare, it is concluded that age helps explain the Atlantic's greater support for the welfare state, but not entirely.

Party Identification

The relationship between party identification and attitudes towards social welfare in the national sample exhibited clear distinctions between all pair groups. Those identifying with the NDP (4.27) were most strongly supportive of the current welfare state followed by the Liberal identifiers (3.41). Next in line were Conservatives (2.96) and Reformers (2.47) who were relatively opposed to the current status and, thus, more in favour of cuts.

Given the above relationship, one might expect to see the regional/provincial impacts on attitudes affected by an individual's party identification such that one is more likely to share views with fellow party identifiers than with provincial counterparts who identify with other parties. In short, we might expect party variation to trump regional variation. In fact, party identification does make a difference. When controlling for identification (Table 9a), regional differences between the Atlantic (3.86) and Quebec (3.19), Ontario (3.29), and the Prairies (3.43) persisted but only for those who identified with the Liberals. In all the remaining identification tables, regional differences disappeared. Provincially, similar results occurred (Table 9b). For those identifying with the Liberal party, Newfoundland (4.16) remained more supportive of the social welfare state in opposition to Quebec (3.19), Ontario (3.29) and Alberta (3.37). In addition, the inter-regional differences continued for the Atlantic at the provincial level in relation to Quebec, Ontario and the provinces of the Prairie region, with the exception of New Brunswick in the latter case. However, no differences amongst provinces were observed

for the remaining party identifications.³ Unlike the two previous control measures, party identification had significantly more impact in reducing the number of statistically different pairs relative to the original table. With the somewhat puzzling exception of Liberals in Newfoundland and the Atlantic region generally, inter-regional and intra-regional contrasts in orientations were eliminated. Subsequently, it seems clear that party makes a difference in terms of attitudes held, and that the observed territorial differences were driven, at least partially, by uneven distributions of individuals carrying particular partisan identifications.

It is striking that only Liberals stood out under the party identification control variable; and even more interesting is that this same Liberal anomaly occurs with the other political indicators as well. A possible explanation of this pattern may stem from the distinction between the types of parties. If it is conceded that the Liberals and Conservatives are brokerage or “power” parties, and the NDP and Reform are “based chiefly on principles” (Gibson 1997:A25), an explanation may be found for the impact of party identification. To be sure, Liberals and Conservatives have their respective places on the ideological spectrum, but they are not necessarily well-defined. Reform and NDP, on the other hand, are associated with, or perceived as having, more steadfast principles, such as social democracy for the NDP or fiscal conservatism for the Reform. Consequently, if one identifies with Reform or NDP, one is likely to be subscribing to particular principles; that being the case, attitudes are not as likely to be influenced by where one lives. For Liberals and Conservatives, where one lives is still important in influencing particular attitudes as these are power seeking parties which broker interests to gain power, rather than representing distinct positions for members. These latter parties are “interest aggregators”, rather than “interest articulators” in that they “put together packages of

³ It should be noted that for Reform and NDP the number of cases dipped quite low, particularly for the Atlantic region (repeatedly under 5 cases) although given the regional level results it is doubtful that a larger number of cases would have changed these findings.

positions...[which] seek to maximize the common ground” (Van Loon and Whittington 1987:307). Therefore, identifying with Liberals or Conservatives is not necessarily as good an indicator of an individual’s viewpoint as their place of residence.

Income

Similar to the case of party identification, level of income has an effect on attitudes towards social welfare. In the national population, all three income levels were found to be statistically different from one another: those of high income (3.05) were relatively opposed the current state of welfare and more in favour of cuts, those of middle income (3.30) were more supportive of the current state, and low income individuals (3.61) were most supportive of the current state of social welfare.

One finds that at the regional level (Table 9a), income level makes a greater difference than where one is from. While the middle income group largely replicated the original relationship of the Atlantic differing from all other regions (with the exception now of B.C.), differences within the low income group were reduced to the Atlantic region (3.84) as more supportive than Ontario (3.40); those of high income expressed no inter-regional differences. At the provincial level of analysis (Table 9b), only middle income individuals from Newfoundland persisted in supporting the current state of welfare more so than those from other provinces. Those of low and high income did not differ according to where they lived. There was still evidence of inter-regional differences illustrated by the similarity of the mean scores of the four Atlantic provinces in comparison with Ontario in the low income group, and with Quebec, Ontario and the Prairies in the middle income group. High income individuals continued to share similar attitudes regardless of place of residence. While the regional and provincial effects were not entirely extinguished, their effects were certainly weakened by the impact of level of income, particularly provincial effects. Accordingly, it is concluded that provincial and regional attitudes are also a function of differential distributions of individuals of particular income levels across the

communities.

Education

In the national sample, those with different levels of education did not differ in attitude towards the current social welfare state. However, at the regional level (Table 9a), the Atlantic region remained more supportive than the other regions only in the lowest two education categories. For those with “no formal schooling to some high school education,” the Atlantic (3.81) was still more supportive than the Prairies (3.02) and Ontario (3.15). In the “completed high school to some technology/community college schooling” category, the Atlantic region replicated the differences found in the original table. At the provincial level (Table 9b), however, in each category the differences in orientations disappeared. While the control measure of education eliminated the provincial effects on orientations, the data sustained support for the existence of regional effects for the Atlantic, albeit greatly reduced. Like income, education helps to explain territorial variation, particularly provincial variation, in attitudes towards the current social welfare state.

Summary

In attitudes towards the current social welfare state, the data showed that regional and provincial effects often remained after the control variables were introduced, though the number of relationships was significantly less than was witnessed in the original tables. Still, the direction of differences was unchanged; the Atlantic region remained distinctly more supportive of the existing welfare state, and therefore against cuts, in comparison to all other regions. At the provincial level, the Atlantic region continued to exhibit inter-regional variation and it was evident that the variation continued to be primarily propelled by Newfoundland, and to a lesser extent PEI. Although only PEI and Newfoundland exhibited provincial effects on orientations, the remaining provinces in the region, by and large were of similar direction.

The impact of the control variables suggests that each serves, to varying degree, as

an explanation of the originally observed relationships regionally and provincially. In the case of party identification, income and education, regional effects on attitudes towards social welfare were notably weakened while provincial effects were greatly reduced or eliminated. Subsequently, in terms of this particular indicator, it is concluded that the observed territorial differences were a function of a disproportionate distribution of particular kinds of people.

Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy

Gender

In attitudes towards economic policy, there were statistically significant differences between the genders. Males (3.24) were generally more supportive of policies such as the GST and NAFTA than were women (2.86). When the regional relationship was controlled for gender, region still had an impact on attitudes (Table 10a). For men, the original relationship was replicated with the exception of the missing Quebec and Prairies pair, leaving Quebec and the Prairies as more supportive of the policies compared with B.C. and Ontario, and Quebec also more supportive than the Atlantic region. For women, regional differences also persisted, although somewhat more modified. The pairs of Quebec and the Prairies and Quebec and the Atlantic were missing, as was the Prairie and Ontario pair. However, there was an added pair of the Atlantic (2.99) differing from Ontario (2.62).

The originally observed attitudinal differences also continued at the provincial level (Table 10b). For men, the provincial effects found in the original table were replicated with Quebec (3.45) and Alberta (3.52) more supportive in relation to B.C. (3.05) and Ontario (3.10). Moreover, the Prairie region, although primarily driven by Alberta, stood apart from both B.C. and Ontario. The inter-regional variation also persisted for the Atlantic region; although no provincial effects were exhibited, the region as a whole was still less supportive of the policies than Quebec. For women, Quebec (3.11) remained more supportive in relation to Ontario (2.62) and B.C. (2.66); while Newfoundland (3.34) rather

Table 10a: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy by Region

		Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.07	3.45	3.10	3.35	3.05
	Female	2.99	3.11	2.62	2.90	2.66
2/Age	18-25	3.17	3.46	3.30	3.45	3.13
	26-45	3.12	3.23	2.82	3.24	2.92
	45+	2.85	3.30	2.81	2.87	2.74
3/Party ID	Liberals	2.84	3.21	2.61	2.75	2.86
	P.C.	3.68	3.98	3.77	3.84	3.61
	NDP	2.17	2.82	2.45	2.46	2.44
	Reform	2.71	----	2.61	3.15	2.76
4/Income	Low	2.86	3.19	2.64	2.87	2.69
	Middle	3.05	3.27	2.83	3.11	3.01
	High	3.31	3.52	3.09	3.48	3.02
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.11	2.98	2.78	2.98	2.77
	H.S., some tech/cc	2.80	3.28	2.74	3.15	2.86
	Complete tech/cc	2.73	3.30	2.87	3.17	2.90
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	3.21	3.47	3.21	3.47	2.96

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Table 10b: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy by Province

		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.04	2.94	3.24	3.11	3.45	3.10	3.21	3.11	3.52	3.05
	Female	3.34	3.00	2.54	3.13	3.11	2.62	2.75	2.99	2.94	2.66
2/Age	18-25	3.46	2.71	3.15	3.14	3.46	3.30	3.00	3.77	3.58	3.13
	26-45	3.22	3.21	2.84	3.20	3.23	2.82	3.16	2.97	3.37	2.92
	45+	3.04	2.77	2.65	3.00	3.30	2.81	2.76	2.99	2.86	2.74
3/Party ID	Liberals	3.04	2.76	2.37	3.08	3.21	2.61	2.54	3.00	2.82	2.86
	P.C.	3.80	3.38	3.83	3.63	3.98	3.77	3.76	3.84	3.87	3.61
	NDP	2.40	1.50	2.23	2.00	2.82	2.45	2.47	2.49	2.41	2.44
	Reform	----	----	2.33	3.00	----	2.61	3.33	3.64	3.04	2.76
4/Income	Low	3.05	2.89	2.53	2.91	3.19	2.64	2.55	2.80	3.05	2.69
	Middle	3.07	2.93	2.93	3.42	3.27	2.83	3.20	2.92	3.14	3.01
	High	3.50	2.80	3.23	3.37	3.52	3.09	3.35	3.48	3.53	3.02
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.13	3.19	2.93	3.10	2.98	2.78	2.81	3.03	3.06	2.77
	H.S., some tech/cc	3.14	3.00	2.35	2.76	3.28	2.74	2.96	2.89	3.35	2.86
	Complete tech/cc	2.90	3.14	2.00	2.80	3.30	2.87	3.08	3.10	3.24	2.90
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	3.50	2.83	2.33	3.89	3.47	3.21	3.19	3.25	3.68	2.96

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

than Alberta was more supportive than Ontario. As well although primarily lead by Newfoundland, the Atlantic region remained separate from Ontario, with the exception of Nova Scotia. Although none of the Prairie provinces were statistically different from B.C., the mean scores indicated that each remained more supportive of the policies; this confirmed the regional level difference from B.C. Gender, therefore, while modifying and slightly reducing the overall pair relationships, did not eliminate the regional and provincial effects on attitudes towards national economic policy.

Age

As with gender, the different age groups had statistically different means relative to one another in the national population. Those in the 18-25 group (3.36) were most supportive of the policies while those over 45 (2.94) were most opposed; the 26-45 group (3.07) was situated between the two. Like gender, age also appeared to affect attitudes towards economic policy in the partial tables (Tables 10a and 10b). For the 26-45 group and the over 45 group, regional differences persisted although they were notably lessened. Quebec (3.23) and the Prairies (3.24) remained more supportive in contrast to Ontario (2.82) and B.C. (2.92) for those 26-45, and only Quebec (3.30) remained different from all other regions in the over 45 group. It is interesting to find that regional effects were not present in the 18-25 year old group for it indicates that individuals in this group shared more in common with each other in terms of attitudes towards national economic policy than they did with their regional counterparts. Regionally, there does appear to be a slight generational effect on attitudes towards economic policy.

The impact of age is also pronounced at the provincial level. Again, no differences appeared for the 18-25 group, and the relationships in the 26-45 group were largely replicated with the exception of the missing Quebec and B.C. pair. In the 26-45 group, both Alberta (3.37) and Quebec (3.23) were more supportive of the policies than Ontario (2.82), and Alberta was more supportive than B.C. (2.92). In spite of the fact that only

Alberta differed from B.C. and Ontario, all the provinces of the Prairie region were more supportive of the policies in comparison to B.C. and Ontario. For those over 45, only Quebec (3.30) remained more supportive than both B.C. (2.74) and Ontario (2.81), and now also more supportive than Manitoba (2.76) and Alberta (2.86). The Prairie region as a whole stood apart from Quebec. The Atlantic provinces did not exhibit provincial differences, in relation to Quebec, but their mean scores provided support for the regional effect on orientations. The data showed that the effect of the control variable age was to dampen the regional and provincial effects and, in the case of 18-25 year-olds, eliminate their impact. Consequently, age does seem to moderate the territorial effect on attitudes towards national economic policy.

Party Identification

Holding a particular party identification also seems to be related to an individual's attitude towards economic policy. All party identification pairs differed from one another with the exception of Liberals and Reformers. Those holding NDP identifications (2.44) were most opposed to the policies, Liberals (2.84) and Reformers (2.93) held more moderate positions, while the Conservatives (3.80) were comparatively more supportive. Table 10a shows that, upon controlling the original relationship for party identification, regional differences weakened significantly. Only Liberals in Quebec (3.21) remained more supportive in relation to their counterparts in Ontario (2.61), the Prairies (2.75) and the Atlantic (2.84). For all other identifications, no regional differences persisted, indicating that party identification helps explain the relationship between region and one's attitude towards national economic policy.

In Table 10b one finds the effect of provincial differences under the controlled relationships. Again, of all the party identifications, only Liberals from Quebec (3.21) differed, and that was in comparison with the less supportive provinces of Manitoba (2.54) and Ontario (2.61). However, there was still inter-regional variation for the Atlantic

provinces, while not displaying provincial differences, were, as a region, set apart from Quebec. The provinces of the Prairie region also exhibited regional cohesion as all three provinces were less supportive of the policies relative to Quebec. The findings suggest that although regional and provincial differences were present in the controlled relationships, the original observations were severely weakened as only the Liberal partial table exhibited any semblance of differences. Consequently, it appears that, to a large extent, territorial differences in attitude are a result of differences in the number of people holding particular party identifications.

Income

Attitude towards economic policy also varies depending on one's income level. In the national sample, all income groups were statistically different such that those with low income (2.88) were most opposed to the policies, those with middle income (3.06) held a relatively moderate position, and those of high income (3.29) were somewhat more supportive. Still, while income may influence attitudes in the larger population, the regional effects continued, although abbreviated, for all three income levels (Table 10a). For those of low income, Quebec (3.19) was still more supportive of the policies than Ontario (2.64), B.C. (2.67), and the Prairies (2.87). For middle income individuals alone, only Quebec (3.27) was more supportive than Ontario (2.83), while high income individuals in the Prairies (3.48) and Quebec (3.52) were more supportive than were their counterparts in B.C. (3.02) and Ontario (3.09).

As expected, at the provincial level (Table 10b) the regions/provinces of Quebec, Ontario and B.C., continued their respective inter-regional differences. In particular, Quebec (3.19) remained different from the provinces of Ontario (2.64) and B.C. (2.69) in the low income category, and from Ontario in both middle and high income groups. In the high and middle income categories, however, the B.C. and Quebec difference was lost.

The Quebec and Prairie dissimilarity in the low income category focused largely on

Manitoba (2.55). Although Manitoba led the region's differences, there was still supporting evidence of an inter-regional difference as all three provincial means (2.55-3.05) were well below that of Quebec (3.19). All three Prairie provinces in the high income bracket were also more supportive of the policies relative to B.C. and Ontario, although none of the individual provinces were statistically different. Given this weakened display of differences in the partial table, it is clear that the control measure of income moderated the regional and provincial effects on orientations. It appears that territorial differences are, at least partially, a result of a disproportionate number of people of a particular income levels in the different regional and provincial communities.

Education

In terms of attitudes towards national economic policy, only those with a bachelor degree or greater (3.30) stood statistically apart from the other three education groups in the national population (2.93-3.03). However, in all the partial tables, except for those in the "completed high school to having some technological/community college schooling" category, no regions were statistically different (Table 10a). For those who completed high school, Ontario (2.74) remained more opposed to the policies in contrast to the Prairies (3.15) and Quebec (3.28). The same occurred at the provincial level (Table 10b). Only for those in the "completed high school to having some technology/community college schooling" category did Ontario (2.74) differ from both Quebec (3.28) and Alberta (3.35). Provinces of the Prairie region together did stand more in favour of the policies than Ontario, further supporting the observation of inter-regional difference. However, this weak overall showing of both regional and provincial effects on orientations under the control variable leads to the conclusion that the observed territorial differences may be explained through relative differences in education levels across the populations.

Summary

The results of the partial tables served to clarify the nature of the originally observed

relationships. The data in Tables 10a and 10b displayed support for both inter-regional differences as well as intra-regional variation, although the number of statistically different relationships was less than was found in the original tables. In particular, it was respondents from Quebec and the Prairies who remained persistently more supportive of national economic policy in relation to Ontario and, to a lesser extent, B.C. At the same time, the regional variation was primarily driven by one or two provinces in the region, as in the case of the Prairies; or, as in the case of the Atlantic region, any dissimilarity which did arise under the controlled relationships was restricted to regional differences as no provincial differences emerged. The Prairie region, in addition to intra-regional variation, exhibited differences indicative of regional effects. The control variables clearly had the effect of reducing or eliminating regional and provincial effects on orientations to varying degrees. Thus, the effect of the control variables on the original relationship demonstrated that these variables help explain the observed inter-regional and intra-regional differences.

Sense of Political Alienation

As was discussed earlier (refer to Tables 7a and 7b), no regional or provincial means were statistically different from one another when examining the sense of political alienation indicator. Although no differences occurred in the original table, control variables were still introduced to determine whether statistically significant differences might emerge for particular kinds of people. In other words, perhaps the control variables suppressed relationships in the original table.

In the general population, all control variables, save age, had a relationship with sense of population alienation. Gender differences in means were statistically significant with women (3.30) having a higher sense of alienation than was the case for men (3.07). Individuals identifying with NDP (3.26) and Reform (3.55) held relatively higher levels of alienation and were statistically different from those identifying with the Conservatives alone (2.90), and both the Conservatives and Liberals (3.10) respectively. Income groups

also had statistically different means; those with high income (2.86) had a relatively low sense of alienation, those of middle income (3.18) a more moderate sense, and those of low income (3.52) a higher sense of alienation. Those who were in the “completed high school to some technology/community college schooling” category (3.41) as well as those who had “none to some formal schooling” (3.49) differed from both those with some university (3.13) and those with a degree or greater (2.60), who tended to have a lower relative sense of alienation. As well, individuals with degrees had a lower sense of alienation than those individuals in the “some university, graduated technology/community college” category. However, none of the partial tables succeeded in uncovering any statistically significant regional or provincial differences (see Tables 11a and 11b for a summary of the mean scores).

Summary

Although the sense of alienation measure seems to be related to a number of different variables, place of residence was not among them. None of the control variables introduced had the effect of revealing a possibly suppressed relationship between either regions or provinces and the sense of alienation. The data shows that neither region nor province of residence makes a difference in terms of influencing one’s sense of political alienation in relation to the regime level of the political system.

Attitudes Towards Participation

Gender

In the national sample, it was found that men (2.87) were more likely to participate than women (2.67). When controlling for gender (Table 12a), for men alone no regions were statistically different, while modified regional differences occurred for women. For women, regional effects were exhibited in the table: individuals from Ontario (2.87) remained more participatory in comparison with those in the Atlantic (2.28) and Quebec (2.49), individuals from the Prairies (2.84) were more participatory than those from the

Table 11a: Mean Scores for Sense of Political Alienation by Region

		Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.24	3.11	2.99	3.07	3.01
	Female	3.26	3.48	3.30	3.26	3.06
2/Age	18-25	3.54	3.15	3.02	3.12	3.13
	26-45	3.17	3.33	3.14	3.19	3.02
	45+	3.29	3.25	3.15	3.16	3.02
3/Party ID	Liberals	3.33	3.08	3.10	3.00	2.80
	P.C.	3.04	3.04	2.80	2.89	2.86
	NDP	3.22	3.57	3.07	3.46	3.02
	Reform	3.59	----	3.83	3.58	3.28
4/Income	Low	3.56	3.56	3.45	3.54	3.41
	Middle	3.10	3.23	3.36	3.13	2.85
	High	2.75	3.08	2.75	2.84	2.83
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.60	3.33	3.48	3.47	3.63
	H.S., some tech/cc	3.41	3.71	3.28	3.42	3.34
	Complete tech/cc	3.08	3.32	3.10	3.08	3.10
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	2.56	2.90	2.68	2.44	2.23

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Table 11b: Mean Scores for Sense of Political Alienation by Province

		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	3.16	3.45	3.00	3.35	3.11	2.99	2.96	3.03	3.15	3.01
	Female	2.94	3.50	3.24	3.47	3.48	3.30	3.05	3.27	3.33	3.06
2/Age	18-25	3.57	4.50	3.20	3.30	3.15	3.02	2.84	2.80	3.35	3.13
	26-45	3.06	3.64	2.91	3.25	3.33	3.14	3.08	3.32	3.19	3.02
	45+	2.85	3.15	3.44	3.70	3.25	3.15	3.02	3.08	3.29	3.02
3/Party ID	Liberals	3.30	3.33	3.47	3.27	3.08	3.10	2.84	3.17	3.04	2.80
	P.C.	2.67	3.67	2.67	3.60	3.04	2.80	2.55	2.82	3.05	2.86
	NDP	3.25	5.00	2.80	3.50	3.57	3.07	3.36	3.42	3.65	3.02
	Reform	----	----	4.00	3.00	----	3.83	3.70	3.38	3.60	3.28
4/Income	Low	3.50	3.32	3.65	3.76	3.56	3.45	3.42	3.47	3.62	3.41
	Middle	3.04	3.62	2.85	2.94	3.23	3.36	2.84	2.92	3.36	2.85
	High	2.55	2.78	2.40	3.27	3.08	2.75	2.80	3.05	2.75	2.83
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.35	3.50	3.90	3.87	3.33	3.48	3.29	3.36	3.62	3.63
	H.S., some tech/cc	3.58	2.88	3.08	3.92	3.71	3.28	3.28	3.13	3.62	3.34
	Complete tech/cc	3.00	3.60	2.00	3.56	3.32	3.10	3.08	2.85	3.17	3.10
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	2.62	3.33	1.60	2.83	2.90	2.68	2.63	2.91	2.23	2.23

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Atlantic and now also Quebec, and those from B.C. (2.72) were more participatory than individuals in the Atlantic.

At the provincial level (Table 12b), men continued to share similar attitudes regardless of province of residence. For women, on the other hand, the original relationship became even clearer as more statistically different pairs emerged. The original five pairs of Alberta (2.86) and Ontario (2.87) as more participatory than Newfoundland (2.08) and New Brunswick (2.17), and Ontario more participatory than Quebec (2.49) persisted. New differences included Alberta from Quebec, and Saskatchewan (2.86) from Newfoundland. The Prairie's more participatory position in contrast to B.C. only occurred on the regional level as none of the individual provinces expressed statistical differences. Although the Prairies and the Atlantic regions were carried by Alberta, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland respectively, inter-regional variation was still present as the mean scores illustrate. The partial tables suggest that the originally observed relationships occurred under specific conditions; that is, the impact of region and province on participation held for women, but not for men.

These curious findings on the gender differences in political participation among the regions and provinces prompts thoughts on why this might be. The more well-known explanations argue that women have fewer opportunities to participate due to their home and family responsibilities and/or that women are socialized into politically passive roles (Mishler 1984:184) and these socialization experiences may subsequently differ across the territorial units. Another interesting perspective links gender dissimilarity in participation to education. Van Loon and Whittington (1987:157) explain that, "[i]n underdeveloped areas of a country, where educational levels are low, there are large differences between the sexes. Where educational levels are higher, sexual equality extends to political participation as well as to some other fields." Thus, men are likely to share the same attitudes towards participation across the country, but women are still influenced by factors which vary by

Table 12a: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards Participation by Region

		Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	2.72	2.91	3.04	2.77	2.74
	Female	2.28	2.49	2.87	2.84	2.72
2/Age	18-25	1.96	1.99	2.00	1.94	1.46
	26-45	2.47	2.78	2.89	2.77	2.63
	45+	2.70	2.95	3.33	3.13	3.23
3/Party ID	Liberals	2.57	2.85	3.24	2.97	3.07
	P.C.	2.52	3.07	3.03	2.99	3.09
	NDP	2.91	2.38	3.32	2.85	2.68
	Reform	2.71	---	3.50	3.18	2.90
4/Income	Low	2.22	2.32	2.55	2.59	2.31
	Middle	2.57	2.80	2.90	2.70	2.67
	High	3.14	3.16	3.31	3.12	3.18
5/Education	None-some H.S.	2.14	2.14	2.48	2.45	2.26
	H.S., some tech/cc	2.50	2.52	2.80	2.54	2.54
	Complete tech/cc	2.97	2.72	2.83	2.86	2.86
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	2.82	3.23	3.70	3.25	3.19

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Table 12b: Mean Scores for Attitudes Towards Participation by Province

		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	2.77	2.75	2.63	2.71	2.91	3.04	2.62	2.51	2.96	2.74
	Female	2.08	2.51	2.41	2.17	2.49	2.87	2.78	2.86	2.86	2.72
2/Age	18-25	2.00	2.71	1.92	1.57	1.99	2.00	1.59	2.53	1.92	1.46
	26-45	2.36	2.67	2.35	2.53	2.78	2.89	2.68	2.35	2.95	2.63
	45+	2.75	2.61	2.94	2.58	2.95	3.33	3.11	3.06	3.18	3.23
3/Party ID	Liberals	2.39	2.81	2.62	2.47	2.85	3.24	2.76	3.00	3.10	3.07
	P.C.	2.50	2.47	2.57	2.53	3.07	3.03	2.89	2.66	3.15	3.09
	NDP	3.50	4.50	2.31	3.67	2.38	3.32	2.94	2.91	2.64	2.68
	Reform	----	----	2.67	2.75	----	3.50	2.47	3.30	3.32	2.90
4/Income	Low	2.05	2.38	2.50	1.98	2.32	2.55	2.48	2.43	2.72	2.31
	Middle	2.24	3.00	2.41	2.58	2.80	2.90	2.52	2.79	2.78	2.67
	High	3.11	3.27	3.08	3.28	3.16	3.31	3.13	2.76	3.26	3.18
5/Education	None-some H.S.	2.17	2.09	2.06	2.20	2.14	2.48	2.14	2.81	2.45	2.26
	H.S., some tech/cc	2.65	2.42	2.41	2.53	2.52	2.80	2.40	2.57	2.57	2.54
	Complete tech/cc	2.67	3.86	2.86	2.79	2.72	2.83	2.50	2.87	2.99	2.86
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	2.53	3.80	3.22	2.40	3.23	3.70	2.85	2.56	3.67	3.19

Notes: Dashes indicate that data are unavailable.

Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

region and province.

Age

The means of the different age categories ranged quite widely in terms of attitudes towards participation. All pair relationships were statistically different; the 18-25 year olds (1.93) held particularly low mean levels of participation, those 26-45 (2.74) were more moderately participatory, while those over 45 (3.10) were most participatory. When the regional relationship with participation was controlled for age, regional differences were reduced in all three age groups by varying degrees (Table 12a). Regional effects disappeared in the 18-25 category, while the only pairs statistically different in the 26-45 group were the Atlantic (2.47) from the Prairies (2.77) and Ontario (2.89). In the over 45 group, differences were also reduced. The Atlantic (2.70) was less participatory than the Prairies (3.13), B.C. (3.23) and Ontario (3.33); and Quebec (2.95) from Ontario. Regionally it appears that age cohorts are more likely to share similar views across the country than with their regional counterparts, particularly in the case of 18-25 year-olds.

The age control variable also reduced the number of provincial differences (Table 12b). No differences were exhibited for the 18-25 group; Saskatchewan (2.35) was now less participatory than Ontario (2.89) and Alberta (2.95) in the 26-45 group, and Ontario (3.33) remained more participatory in relation to Quebec (2.95) in the over 45 group. In some specific instances the provincial effects were still visible, but quite weak relative to the original table. The variation of the Atlantic appeared to be restricted to the regional level as no intra-regional variation was exhibited. No provincial differences emerged for the Atlantic region in the 26-45 age group although inter-regional differences were present in relation to Ontario; the inter-regional difference with the Prairie region was lost as the mean scores of the provinces of the Atlantic and Prairie regions overlapped. The regional effects held for the provinces of the Atlantic region in relation to Ontario, the Prairies and B.C. in the over 45 category. Since the age control variable had the effect of reducing both inter-

regional and intra-regional differences, it is concluded that the originally observed differences are, in part, a function of differences in the age distribution amongst the territorial units.

Party Identification

There were no statistical differences in the national population between those who held particular party identifications and attitudes towards participation. In terms of the regional relationship with participation (Table 12a), however, for those who identified as Liberals, only individuals from Ontario (3.24) were still more participatory in comparison with those from the Atlantic (2.57) and Quebec (2.85). Those identifying with other political parties exhibited no regional difference in attitude. At the provincial level (Table 12b), those identifying with the Liberals still displayed differences, and then it was only Ontario (3.24) who was more participatory in contrast to individuals from Newfoundland (2.39). Still, the Atlantic provinces on the whole had mean scores below the more participatory Ontario residents. Oddly, Quebec no longer expressed statistical difference from Ontario. All other party identities exhibited no provincial differences. Party identification had a particularly strong impact in reducing the number of relationships found in the original tables. Except for the weak case of the Liberals, inter-regional and intra-regional variation were erased. Consequently, it is clear that the original observations were a result of proportional differences in the distribution of particular partisan identities across the territorial units.

Income

Individuals of different income levels also exhibited statistically different means in attitudes towards participation. In the national sample, those of low income (2.42) were relatively low participators, middle income individuals (2.76) were more likely to participate, and those of high income (3.20) were most participatory. Upon looking at both the regional and provincial level tables, for all three groups, no statistical differences were

displayed (Tables 12a and 12b). Both regional and provincial effects were eliminated indicating that income helps to explain differences in participation levels found in the original tables; the originally observed inter-regional and intra-regional differences in terms of attitudes towards participation stem from differences in the regional and provincial communities of people of particular income groups.

Education

Education levels are also related to levels of participation. In the national population, all education group pairs differed from one another such that as one's education level increased, so did one's level of participation. Those with "no formal schooling to some high school" (2.31) ranked low in level of participation, those in the "completed high school to some technology/community college schooling" (2.61) category were more participatory, those with "some university" (2.84) even more likely to participate, and those with a degree or greater (3.30) were most participatory. For all education categories, except the most educated group, the regional effects disappeared (Table 12a). For those with a degree or greater, Ontario (3.70) differed from the Atlantic (2.82) and the Prairies (3.25).

The same pattern occurs on the provincial level (Table 12b). No differences among provincial means occurred except for those in the highest educational attainment category. Here the results are more specific and somewhat different from the original table. Ontario (3.70) and Alberta (3.67) were more participatory than Saskatchewan (2.56), a difference which was not in the original table. Despite this intra-regional difference for the Prairie region, all three provincial mean scores (2.56-3.67) were less participatory in relation to Ontario (3.70). As well, Ontario remained more participatory in contrast to Newfoundland (2.53). The Atlantic region did not exhibit as cohesive an inter-regional pattern as the Prairie region. By and large, the provinces of the Atlantic (2.53-3.23) were below the mean score of Ontario, but PEI (3.80) was an anomaly in the regional distinction. With the exception of a few statistically different pair relationships in the highest education category,

education eliminated both regional and provincial effects on orientations. Thus, territorial differences in attitudes towards participation are related to differences in education levels across the provinces and regions.

Summary

As was expected given the original tables, there were both regional and provincial effects on attitudes towards participation found under the control variables. Moreover, the original differences tended to persist, that is, Atlantic Canada and Quebec from the more participatory regions of Ontario and the Prairies; and provincially, Newfoundland and Quebec from Ontario and Alberta in the same relative directions. To be sure, while these differences were the predominant relationships found in the partial tables, the inter-regional and intra-regional differences were clearly dampened by the control variables.

As was seen with previous indicators, territorial differences in attitudes towards participation were moderated by the control variables. Gender specified the conditions under which the original relationship occurred; that is, territorially differentiated attitudes persisted for women, but men shared attitudes regardless of where they live. Age, and particularly party identification, income, and education, also helped to explain the relationship between region and province and attitude towards participation. Consequently, territorial differences in attitudes towards participation seem to be a result of differences in demographic factors.

Conclusion

The findings of this data analysis indicate that, indeed, there are differences in orientations towards politics which can be described along territorial lines. More importantly, it was found that both regions and provinces are appropriate terms for describing how these patterns vary, but they are not the same. As the data showed, the initial regional tables indicated significant inter-regional differences, a finding which was

sustained upon examining the provincial level data. The observed inter-regional differences were not simply the result of an aggregation of provinces linked only by geographic proximity. The provinces of a region, a matter restricted to the Prairie and Atlantic regions as Quebec, B.C. and Ontario were constructed as both regions and provinces, also demonstrated a cohesiveness of mean scores on the various attitudinal measures which reinforced the observed inter-regional differences.

At the same time, the regional construct, which united broadly similar and geographically contiguous provinces, facilitated an overestimation of provincial similarities. In addition to the inter-regional variation there was also significant intra-regional variation. Provinces of a region did not necessarily all share identical patterns of differences and similarities in relation to other provinces. While provinces were observed to have an independent effect on attitudes, there was also a consistency to the differences suggestive of an overarching regional context. Regardless of whether or not the provinces illustrated statistically significant differences, the provincial mean scores indicated that the region as a whole continued to stand apart from the regions profiled in the regional tables. Moreover, it was observed, particularly under the controlled relationships, that the regional level represented what appeared to be the more elementary differences in attitudes; regional differences could emerge without necessarily exhibiting intra-regional variation, but provincial differences did not occur where there were no inter-regional differences as well. Provincial effects on orientations appear to be modifications within a regional outlook, rather than being independent of them.

The measures of attitudes towards the current social welfare state, participation and national economic policy all exhibited distinct differences amongst territorial units. As anticipated, the magnitude and specifics of the differences varied depending on the indicator under examination. Still, given that the scales ranged from 1 to 5, the means tended to be considerably close together; the difference between the high and low end of the mean

scores on an indicator was repeatedly within .5 of one another. Overall, Newfoundland, Alberta, Quebec and B.C. and Ontario were particularly predominant elements in the statistically different pair relationships, as were their corresponding regions, but each indicator expressed unique combinations of polarized relationships. In the measure of attitudes towards the current social welfare state, the Atlantic generally, and Newfoundland and PEI specifically, exhibited higher levels of support relative to all other regions and provinces. In attitudes towards participation, the polar regions were the Atlantic and Quebec, with the respective provinces of Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Quebec, as less participatory relative to the regions/provinces of the Prairies, specifically Alberta, and Ontario. The main pairs which contrasted on the national economic policy indicator were Ontario and B.C. from the more supportive regions/provinces of Quebec and the Prairies, featuring Alberta.

Interestingly, the sense of political alienation measure was conspicuously absent of territorially linked differences. As was discussed in Chapter 2, this measure focused on regime level questions rather than the community or governmental level. Therefore, that no differences emerged on this indicator is an intriguing finding as it signifies that “regions” share similar attitudes towards the norms and basic structure of the political system. While it is plausible that territorial expressions of political alienation may occur on other measures, for this particular measure of the regime level of the political system, the provinces and respective regions shared a similar sense of political alienation. Moreover, while this is only one indicator, the finding puts forth the idea that not all political attitudes are necessarily a source of territorial cleavage. There may exist particular attitudes which are shared under a national pattern of orientations.

The introduction of control variables did not alter the originally observed distinction between regional and provincial patterns of orientations. Both inter-regional and intra-regional variations were supported by the data derived from the controlled relationships.

However, with the introduction of the control variables, the number of relationships observed was often significantly less than was found in the original tables, and commonly reduced to persisting only under very specific conditions or eliminating differences all together. Still, while the control variables had an impact on the original tables, it was not one of reorganizing the basic configuration and direction of the regional and provincial differences. Thus, given the results of the partial tables, there was what appeared to be a complex mixture of regional and provincial effects on orientations and differences in the proportion of people of certain kinds across the territorial units.

As the findings of this data analysis substantiate, there are clear differences in the pattern of political attitudes and orientations between regions and provinces. What is also clear is that, since differences often scarcely remained after control measures were introduced, particularly in the case of party identification, income and education, the distinctive patterns in orientations can be attributed, in part and to varying degrees, to the various control measures. In short, while regions and provinces do genuinely influence orientations, the variations are a function of differences in the proportion of particular kinds of people in the regional and provincial populations.⁴

⁴ Tables summarizing the distribution of the various categories of the control variables over both the regions and provinces has been included in the appendix (Tables A-2 and A-3).

Chapter Four

It is neither an amazing nor unique finding that, in Canada, there are spatially linked variations in political attitudes and orientations. What does emerge as significant is that there is a distinction between regions and provinces as carriers of these orientations. As the empirical analysis in this study indicated, in discussions of “regional” differences in political orientations it must be clarified whether one is referring to regions proper or provinces, for while both are appropriate terms to describe how attitudes vary, they are not equal. The exceptions to this are the cases of Ontario, B.C., and Quebec in which the terms are synonymous. Which term is emphasized will depend upon the intension of the user; that is, whether one is interested in describing general regional level differences in attitudes, or looking more specifically at provincial differences. However, it should also be recognized that regional and provincial patterns of orientations are complementary in that together they offer a more complete understanding of “regional” attitudinal variation than if each were examined exclusively.

With the existence of regional and provincial differences in political attitudes having been established, the focus of attention shifts to what accounts for these inter-regional and intra-regional variations. In contrast to the findings of Simeon and Elkins (1979), this study found that the territorial differences in attitudes were, on the whole, attributable to differences in the proportions of certain kinds of people. Since the regional and provincial differences were significantly weakened under the controlled relationships of socio-economic factors, Simeon and Elkins (1979:46) might draw the conclusion that the attitudinal differences were not truly cultural in nature; that is, they were not the result of historical forces and sociological factors. However, this would not deny that differences in political attitudes exist, simply that they would not constitute regional political cultures. Stephen Ullman, however, notes that the origins of political cultures need not be restricted

to the Simeon and Elkins “independent causality” school and offers the opposing “eclectic causality” school which accepts various sources, such as territorial differences in socio-demographic factors, as possible explanations of the origins of “regional” political cultures (1979:8). Territorial units contain real and important differences in political orientations, and these differences may in fact constitute ‘political cultures,’ although perhaps not achieved through true ‘cultural variation’ as suggested by Simeon and Elkins.

This study found that the territorial variations in political attitudes stemmed largely from the varying proportions of kinds of people populating the units. Indeed, in explaining social phenomena, demographic causal theory states that “a causal force is assumed to be proportional to the number of people of a certain kind” (Stinchcombe 1968:60). While Stinchcombe’s (1968:60) demographic causal theory explains the relationship between proportionality factors and a social phenomenon, it does not explain what determines and perpetuates the number of people of a certain kind. If particular kinds of people are associated with certain kinds of attitudes, then it logically follows that, by perpetuating the number of people of that kind one also perpetuates the attitudes in a territorial unit. Two questions necessarily arise from this assumption: what is the original source(s) producing particular kinds of people and attitudes, and what perpetuates their presence?

The causal framework for ‘regional’ differences in political attitudes discussed in chapter one defines territorial variations in the proportion of social and economic attributes, including ethnic groups and kinds of industry as the first level. These factors, in turn, are hypothesized to engender territorial contrasts in attitudes, interests and goals (Ullman 1979:4). Putting the question on the origin of ‘regional political cultures’ aside for a moment, one must ask what else creates and perpetuates these political attitudes. The answer to this question lies in the second level of the causal framework which examines political socialization processes. Here, as Ullman (1979:5) notes, “scholars have hypothesized that Canadian political socialization leads to the creation of several regional

political cultures (level three).” It is through this framework and the distinction between regions and provinces as agents of socialization that the difference between the two patterns of orientations can be better understood. As both levels of the framework are viewed as significant components leading to territorial differences in political attitudes, each will be discussed in turn, with the major emphasis placed on the socialization aspect.

Territorial Variations in Economic Attributes and Settlement Patterns

In a country as large as Canada it is not surprising to find distinct combinations of economic and social factors as one moves from coast to coast. These features have important consequences in terms of political life as they contribute to the differences in political character. The purpose of this discussion on variations in socio-demographic attributes is not intended to chronicle differences in great detail, nor is it meant to be an exhaustive account of the territorial foundations; rather, the purpose is to provide the reader with a sense of the variations in values, conditions and experiences which contribute to the differences in political attitudes.

The first source of attitudinal variation examined here is that of economic factors. A number of scholars, including Harold Innis and Wallace Clement, have emphasized the political economy approach towards regionalism in Canada. The staples theory forwarded by Innis (1967) looks at the impact of economic activity in the shaping of society. He argues that the economic activities of Canada have been dominated by the British Empire and the United States such that in exchange for manufactured goods, Canada extracted the raw materials which were demanded by these markets (Innis 1967:18, 19). Consequently, these demands, in addition to changes in transportation and technology, led to a series of resource exploitations across the country. First were the fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland, then came the fur trade, which moved progressively into the interior of the country; these activities were followed by the exploitation of B.C.’s gold, lumber and fish

resources, and finally, wheat and minerals were traded as technology allowed (Innis 1967:18). This pattern of resource exploitation and development left in its wake a society whose “[a]griculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance and governmental activities [tended] to become subordinate to the production of the staple” (Innis 1967:18). Clearly the impact of regional differences in economic factors had a significant role in shaping the activities, development and experiences of different parts of the country.

Clement focuses on the uneven economic development which occurred in Canada as the source of both regionalism and the subsequent differences in ideological and political traits (1983:70). Clement also argues that the uneven development began with Canada's initial relationships with France and Britain, and later with the United States, in which Canada was a supplier of raw materials and purchaser of manufactured goods (1983:70). In addition, through events such as the establishment of a new imperial centre by the Canadian capitalists and the impact of the National Policy in 1879, the regional nature of Canada was formed leaving the West and the Atlantic regions to assume a peripheral status in relation to the “Golden Triangle” of central Canada (1983:71, 74). Central Canada's position relative to the rest of Canada was one of a mediator of the raw materials to the world markets as it supported the dominant capitalists as well as “the major financial centres of the nation,...the hub of national transportation networks, and [a]...virtual monopoly over manufacturing, [which extended] its power over the rest of the country through branch operations and exports” (Clement 1983:73). Various areas of the country produced certain raw materials to be transferred to central Canada, and further to centres such as the U.S., and these differences in economies also fostered different lifestyles and class structures in these different parts of Canada (Clement 1983:70). The exploitation of the peripheries by the “Golden Triangle” left the West and the Atlantic regions focused on economic bases of particular resource exploitation and an encumbered ability to diversify.

The political economy approach has had a marked impact on explaining the origins

of regionalism. In particular, scholars of political economy bring to the fore a recognition of the importance of regional differences in economic factors as well as issues such as power relations. In Canada there are regional units that contain similarities in economic attributes which distinguish them from other regions. Examples of such regional economic touchstones include the predominance of the fisheries in the Atlantic region, manufacturing in Ontario and wheat in the Prairies. At the same time, these regional communities experience internal variations in economic characteristics which set intra-regional areas, in this case provinces, apart from one another. These contrasts in turn may create different settings and attitudes across the country which may or may not become politically relevant.

While economic factors are certainly important, they are not the only possible explanation for attitudinal variation. The second source of political attitudes examined here is that of variations in settlement patterns. These roots of political attitudes, specifically ideological components of political culture, have been most notably studied by Louis Hartz, Kenneth McRae, and Gad Horowitz. The Hartz/Horowitz 'fragment theory' explains how the ideological setting in Canada, which is different in character from that of other "new societies" such as the United States, can emerge when these societies have similar U.K. roots (Horowitz, 1966; Hartz, 1964). According to the fragment theory, the ideological settings in the new societies come as a result of the founding settlers bringing with them a particular slice of the ideological development occurring at that time in the European whole. This 'fragment,' having lost the context and stimulation provided by the interaction of the various ideological strands, is left to dominate the new environment (Hartz 1964:3, 24). For McRae (1964), Canada is in fact seen as having two fragments, that of English-Canada liberalism with a 'tory-streak' and the French-Canada feudal fragment. With regard to the English-Canada fragment, Horowitz (1966:150-154) argues that it is a result of the liberal and tory values, the latter of which is absent in the United States' liberal fragment, which produced a legitimate socialist presence and shaped Canada's unique ideological setting.

The significance of the fragment theory is that it recognizes the importance of the founding people, and that where and when people settled have great implications in the shaping of the political character and operation of the country. The fragment theory may be further expanded to include the variations within English-Canada as well, as there are notable micro-variations in the concentration of ethnic and religious groups. As with the national fragments, the composition of a particular spatial unit “may contribute directly to a political culture and a set of political values that are specific to the region and distinct from those of other regions” (McCormick 1991:153). While the French-English difference is the most obvious example of distinct populations in Canada, the English half of that dichotomy is far from homogeneous.

Variations in settlement patterns and economic bases produce unique conditions for social and economic development as one moves across the country. These, in turn, may give rise to different kinds of people in different areas, and, not unexpectedly, may produce differences in attitudes towards political life. A brief outline of these inter-regional and intra-regional variations in settlement patterns and economic bases will be discussed below.

Atlantic

Settlement in the Atlantic region contains elements of Europeans, American Colonists, and Loyalists (Bell 1992:130) as well as predominantly Catholic and Protestant religious affiliations (Dyck 1991:36). This setting has produced a region with a high degree of conservatism and a belief in the logic of tradition (Bellamy 1976:10). In terms of the economic base, the Atlantic region has long been dependent on natural resource exploitation. Although the region has been more diverse in its industries relative to the historically “single-crop” economy of the Prairies, the region consists of a number of similarities which set it apart from other regions. The industries of the Atlantic region range from pulp and paper, various metals, lumber and water power, to the well known fisheries industry (Adamson 1987:218). Together, the settlement pattern, the types of industries and

the seasonality of work have produced particular kinds of people in the region including individuals with low levels of income and education, and with traditional outlooks. However, there are also differences in the make-up of the provinces in the region.

Newfoundland

Newfoundland's inclusion in an 'Atlantic' region has been an area of some debate; yet, while Newfoundland's isolation and delayed joining into confederation may have fostered the slightly different development of this province, it is clear that it shares a number of similarities with the remaining provinces of the region. Newfoundland's original settlers were largely British immigrants, particularly from England and Ireland, who held non-materialist values (Dyck 1991:51; Bellamy 1976:4). The British roots in the province remain strong as the proportion of French and other ethnic groups is exceptionally small (Dyck 1991:51). As with the other Atlantic provinces, the religious affiliations of the province are predominantly Catholic and Protestant, especially the United Church and the Salvation Army (Bellamy 1976:8). Newfoundland society's traits include an emphasis on its British past, conservatism, "rural fundamentalism," as well as the maintenance of the status quo (Bellamy 1976:7-9).

The economic history of Newfoundland has largely focused on the fisheries, particularly cod, and has been structured around the rural outport fishermen and the St. John's fish merchants (Bellamy 1976:4). The province has developed its economic base to include iron ore mining, a pulp and paper segment of forestry, and a manufacturing industry related to these two areas (eg: newsprint production), but the region has remained susceptible to poverty (Dyck 1991:49,50). The province, as with the region generally, has had a history of economic vulnerability and poverty. The declining fisheries base and the hampered economic diversification efforts have contributed to the cycle of economic weakness and dependence on federal supplements characteristic of the province. Thus, it is not unforeseen that Newfoundlanders would, among other attributes, exhibit low levels of

education and income and be more likely to favour the traditional parties, and the government parties, of the Liberals and Conservatives.

The Maritime Provinces

The three remaining provinces of the region have relatively few differences in terms of ethnic and religious composition. All three provinces have strong British roots with scattered Acadian populations (Bellamy 1976:12) and Protestant and Catholic religious affiliations. Notable differences include New Brunswick's strong mix of English and French language and ethnic groups, specifically Acadian, which is also nationally distinct, and Nova Scotia's greater proportion of 'other' ethnic groups, including Germans and Blacks (Dyck 1991:127, 165).

The cultural style which emerged from the particular characteristics of the settlers to the provinces is one based on tradition and experience (Bellamy 1976:10). For the region as a whole, including Newfoundland, rural values, conservatism and the maintenance of the status quo are of great significance (Bellamy 1976:11). These attributes, in part, explain the ideological underpinnings and partisan affiliations of the Maritime region. David Bellamy (1976:13) submits that partisan identifications are not only held for life, but these loyalties are so intense that politics has been described as "secularized religion." While certainly not entirely attributable to the settlement patterns, the attitudes featured in the provinces and region include disaffection, cynicism, traditionalism and conservatism (Bellamy 1976:15).

The complexities of the attitudes and orientations within the provinces also stem from the economic bases of the provinces. Here there are greater differences than were present in the settlement patterns. Each province will therefore be discussed individually.

Prince Edward Island

Many of the economic characteristics which pertain to Newfoundland also apply to P.E.I. Historically, the Island has focused on natural resources such as agriculture,

particularly potatoes, as the cornerstone of its economy, but fisheries, including lobster, and tourism have also been significant (Dyck 1991:96). In terms of the population, as with other Atlantic provinces, much of the work has been seasonal and has not required high levels of education. Moreover, the farmers and fishermen of P.E.I. experience a similar sense of powerlessness as the fishermen in Newfoundland (Dyck 1991:98). High unemployment rates and low levels of income have contributed to the cycle of dependence on federal aid to the province (Dyck 1991:97, 99).

Nova Scotia

As with other coastal provinces, fisheries have been a central part of the Nova Scotia economic base. In addition to the lobster, cod and scallops which are harvested, agricultural products such as beef, poultry, and fruit crops, as well as coal mining have been significant to the economy (Dyck 1991:124). The forestry sector was one of the earliest economic bases. From the days when Nova Scotia was a leading woodship builder and exporter of timber, the forests have been a primary economic resource; however, with the coming of steam and steel and the continuous exploitation of the forests, Nova Scotia has encountered “the minimization of woods employment,...and the loss, for the province, of resource revenues” (McMahon 1987:99). While Nova Scotia has held relatively higher levels of manufacturing in the region, it has largely related to the primary industries (Dyck 1991:125). Consequently, the economic base of the province has been weak and produced high unemployment rates, low per capita incomes, relatively low levels of education, and a dependence on federal assistance (Dyck 1991:126).

New Brunswick

The cornerstone of the New Brunswick economy has traditionally been the forestry industry. The timber trade here was “bolstered by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 [with the U.S.] and increased demand for foodstuffs and other products resulting from the U.S. civil war” (Mellon 1992:83). New Brunswick has expanded its economy to include, most

significantly, potatoes, but also dairy, poultry, and livestock as well as zinc and lead mining (Dyck 1991:162). Like the other Atlantic provinces, New Brunswick has had lower levels of income and education and high unemployment rates.

Summary

In terms of economic underpinnings, it is clear that the Atlantic provinces are not bound together by any one dominant resource. However, there are a number of similarities which distinguish this region from the others. Among the commonalities, as described by Roger Gibbins (1990:104), are “a fragile and often depressed economic base, a coastal environment and, to a degree, an economic reliance on an ocean that is not shared by other Canadians, even those on the West Coast.” The economic weakness of the region, due to the dependence on natural resource exploitation and hindered diversification efforts, has created a society long plagued by conditions of relative poverty and hardships. As Agar Adamson (1987:217) notes, the economic situation in the Atlantic region is one in which poverty “is of the grinding format: continuous, rather than spectacular.” It is not unexpected that, given the combination of a region distinguished by features linked to the economic base, such as a chronically poor standing on various indicators of economic welfare including employment rates, as well as the cultural values brought by the founding settlers, that particular kinds of people and distinct attitudes are found in the region.

Quebec

For most Canadians, the distinct origins of Quebec society are arguably the most easily identifiable of all the regional or provincial societies. The province/region of Quebec has unmistakable French origins, including the greatest concentration of French-speaking individuals in Canada, as well as a minority non-French presence. Up until approximately the 1960s, the French population in Quebec was rural, traditional, and conservative, reflecting its roots in pre-revolutionary France settlers (Galbraith 1976:68). As well, the Catholic Church dominated the cultural and political facets of the French society, which led

to the underdeveloped and backward nature of the society (Galipeau 1992:120). After the 1960s, the Church's grip on the society was succeeded by that of the provincial government which proceeded to modernize francophone society (Quebec's "Quiet Revolution"). From a rural and clerical society, emphasis was placed on education, social services, and upward occupational mobility for francophones, as well as increasing emphasis on language issues (Galipeau 1992:121,123,127).

The kinds of people present in Quebec have also been influenced by the economic base which is similarly split between pre and post 1960. Prior to 1960, Premier Duplessis, as well as others, "urged francophones to turn their backs on the ways of commerce and industry and to avoid the 'contaminating' influence of the city" (Bell 1992:108). While the dominant financial and industrial institutions of the province were controlled by Anglo-Saxon merchants since the flight of the French merchants after the Conquest (Galipeau 1992:119), the French segment, in contrast, remained in a traditional economy. World War Two stimulated Quebec's industrialization and manufacturing, particularly the areas of "textiles, pulp and paper, shoe manufacturing, tanning and dairy products" (Galipeau 1992:116). Today the economy continues to reflect its agricultural roots by producing fruits and vegetables, dairy and maple products, but is also active in the mining of iron ore, gold and asbestos, as well as hydro-electricity and pulp and paper (Dyck 1991:207).

With the changes of the 1960s, the particular socio-economic characteristics of the province have slowly altered as well; however, the economy is still based on labour-intensive industries, seasonal jobs, and influenced by international market fluctuations (Dyck 1991:210). The region/province of Quebec has been characterized by low income levels and educational attainment, and has been a "have-not" province in receipt of federal supplements. However, as Schwartz indicated as early as 1974 (48) and as was found in the empirical analysis conducted in this study, the province is becoming increasingly advantaged in education levels as the low average education is "offset, to some extent, by

the number with university degrees.” Together with the settlement pattern which produced a “distinct” society in values, attitudes and behaviours, the particular economic factors of Quebec have also generated a unique set of socio-economic attributes which may contribute to its particular political orientations.

Ontario

Ontario has retained the cultural legacy of its early British immigrants, but over the years it has evolved into a population diverse in ethnic groups including, among others, large numbers of Chinese, Jews, Portuguese and Ukrainians (Dyck 1991: 296). As with other eastern provinces, the dominant religious affiliations in Ontario are Catholics and Protestants (Dyck 1991:297). The province, while rooted in traditional and conservative attitudes, at the same time has slowly become a mixture of tradition and change and expressed “higher degrees of moral liberalism and tolerance than residents of other provinces” (Gingras 1976:32).

Undoubtedly the privileged position of Ontario in Canada since the time of Confederation has helped determine the kinds of people residing there. This industrial heartland was founded on “small capital and the independent commodity producer—especially in the agricultural sector,” but has become “one dominated by organizations capable of controlling large blocks of capital, both public and private” (Brownsey and Howlett 1992:149). The Ontario economy, which has been the most prosperous of all the regions, is dominated by large manufacturing, commercial and financial enterprises (Brownsey and Howlett 1992:150) and covers all four major resource areas. Product areas include cattle, dairy, vegetables, mining of gold, zinc, and nickel, as well as logging, wood processing, pulp and paper and a host of manufacturing products from automobiles to chemicals (Dyck 1991:294). Ontario has long been, in perception if not in reality, the dominant beneficiary of the Canadian economy. Subsequently, given the prosperous and highly developed features of the economic base, in addition to its highly urbanized

population and relative lack of seasonal economic fluctuations (Schwartz 1974:29), the population of the region has boasted amongst the highest levels of educational attainment and per capita income, and the lowest unemployment rates in Canada (Dyck 1991:294, 295). The economic features, as well as the settlement attributes, have produced particular socio-economic attributes which set Ontario residents apart from those of other regions.

Prairies

Relative to the eastern regions, the Prairies have the highest proportion of residents of non-British and non-French origin (Dyck 1991:306). The settlement consisted of Europeans, such as Ukrainians and Germans, who were exposed to socialist ideas, British immigrants who were a source of the trade union movement, and Americans with agrarian radicalism values (such as nonpartisanship and support for referenda) (Gibbins 1980: 21, 23, 24). In addition to the relatively heterogeneous ethnic population, the Prairies have also been distinguished by religious affiliations; the Prairies have a greater proportion of Lutherans, “other faiths” and sects including Mormon and Evangelical churches, and an under-representation of more mainstream Protestant religions, such as United Church and Anglicans (Gibbins 1980:27). Through a diversity of cultures and experiences, these immigrants would come to have a great impact on the trademark values and attitudes of the region. Part of the reason for this impact stems from the great number of these immigrants and that these “[n]ew immigrants, having missed any familial or substantial personal socialization into the Canadian political system, could not be expected to have well-engrained attachments and loyalties to Canadian political institutions and actors” (Gibbins 1980:22). Hence, the region developed somewhat differently from those in the east.

Settlement patterns have not been the only thing to differentiate the Prairies from other regions. The Prairies have, in the past, been dominated by a single economic resource: wheat. According to Gibbins (1990:119), “the prairie population...was pulled together by the wheat economy, which touched the lives of virtually every prairie resident.

Unlike the Maritime provinces, the prairie provinces shared a common and overriding set of economic interests.” The regional economy, while having diversified since the Second World War, is still susceptible to foreign markets and fluctuations in world prices (Gibbins 1990:124) which preserve, to a certain degree, the ties that bind. Settlement patterns and economic factors have given rise to a regional population of particular attributes; within the region there are also differentiated economic foundations and fortunes, as well as settlement populations, which create intra-regional particularities.

Manitoba

Historically, Manitoba was settled by both British descendants from Ontario and French descendants from Quebec (Bell 1992:130). Later, the province came to include large numbers of Ukrainian, Icelandic, German and Jewish immigrants (Gibbins 1980:18). Religious affiliations including Protestants, Catholics, Mennonites and Lutherans, reflect the different composition of this province relative to those in the east (Dyck 1991:374).

The early industries of subsistence farming, fur and buffalo hunting in Manitoba gave way to agricultural development, particularly wheat, but also staples such as minerals, timber, pulp and paper, and hydro (Netherton 1992: 178, 179). Like its prairie neighbours, wheat remains significant to the economy of Manitoba, but the base has also diversified to include barley, flaxseed, and canola, and the manufacturing of products largely for the farming community (Dyck 1991:370, 372). The mixture of settlers and economic base has produced a particular setting for Manitoba society. The ideas and culture of the settlers share some similarities with the eastern provinces, but also foreshadow differences still to come further in the West. The economic setting leaves the province in a relatively moderate position in terms of per capita income, education levels, and unemployment rates; it is more prosperous than the far East, but not as well off as Ontario.

Saskatchewan

The Saskatchewan population includes elements of both French and British

descendants, but it is also built of groups including those of German, Ukrainian, Native, Scandinavian and Polish descent (Dyck 1991:427). The major religions include Catholics, Protestants, and Mennonites (Dyck 1991:427). This mixture of settlers, combined with an economy focused on wheat, generated a unique composition of people in the province.

For Saskatchewan, wheat has been of particular significance. As Dunn and Laycock (1992:210) note, Saskatchewan has “focused on a single industry longer than any other Canadian jurisdiction.” With the dramatic economic impact of the Depression, the province sought to diversify its economy. Today the economic base continues to focus on wheat, but there is also activity in barley and canola production, and the mining of potash, oil and uranium, as well as limited development in forestry, manufacturing and fisheries (Dyck 1991: 424, 426). However, the effect of Saskatchewan's continued reliance on resource exploitation, particularly wheat, has perpetuated the boom and bust cycle of the economy due to the volatility in the value of the products (Dunn and Laycock 1992:213).

The economic base has affected the per capita earnings, education levels and employment rates in the province as Saskatchewan's past “have-not” status reflects. Still, the province has exhibited a middle ground position in terms of income and education levels relative to the other provinces. The settlement patterns and economic underpinnings have generated particular attributes and set a unique cast of values in the province.

Alberta

Alberta's diverse ethnic composition includes immigrants of British, German and Ukrainian descent in particular, but also Scandinavians, Dutch and French (Dyck 1991:486). The major denominations of religious affiliations include Catholics and Protestants, particularly United Church, Anglicans, Lutherans, and a strong element of fundamentalist groups such as Mormons and Baptists (Dyck 1991:487).

Alberta's economy has also historically been based on agriculture, but it has since developed a significant petroleum industry. Since the end of World War Two, Alberta's

economy has increasingly developed a petroleum based industry, particularly oil and natural gas (Smith 1992:243, 244). To a great extent, the province's wealth stems from these industries, although agriculture, forestry and manufacturing continue to be important components of the economy. These economic factors have undoubtedly helped to make Alberta's income and education levels amongst the highest in the country and its unemployment rate one of the lowest (Dyck 1991:485). Alberta's particular composition of settlers and economic base have contributed to the unique attitudes and values associated with the province.

Summary

The composition and experiences of the Prairie region as a whole and within each province have been different from regions to the East. The Prairie region featured the major ethnic and religious groups present in the East, but immigration also produced its greater diversity and proportion of cultural groups including Germans, Scandinavians, Ukrainians, Dutch, Polish and Russians settlers (Gibbins 1980:19) and wider variety of religions. As well, economic factors, particularly the degree of commonality in terms of industry prior to World War Two, created a relative homogeneity of conditions and experiences in the region which produced a similarity in the kinds of people which resided there. As Gibbins (1980:34) explains, "not only was a majority of the populace engaged in agriculture, but they were largely engaged in the same regionally-distinctive form of agriculture and faced common interests, problems and grievances." Due to the differences in the founding populations and economic base which make-up the Prairie region, it has emerged to be quite distinct relative to other areas of the country. Moreover, intra-regional differences in these foundations produce internal variations in the distribution of socio-economic attributes and values.

British Columbia

B.C.'s settlement pattern mirrors that of the other western provinces. The initial

British settlers would later be joined by large groups of immigrants of non-British and non-French origins. According to Gordon Galbraith, immigrants from the United Kingdom were the first to arrive and set the basic outlines of the province (1976:65), but the British of B.C. were not the same as those who earlier settled the regions east of Manitoba. Like the British who settled the Prairies, the immigrants to B.C. were in contact with the trade union movement; in addition, however, these settlers came from a period of increasing class consciousness, the rise of a Labour party and hierarchical Edwardian imperialism (Galbraith 1976:66, 68, 69). These British settlers were joined by groups from Germany, China, France, Netherlands, and Scandinavia (Dyck 1991:550). Again, the major religious denominations were represented, but differed in proportion relative to the national pattern (Dyck 1991:550). The importation of trade unionism and status-consciousness with the British settlers have had a profound impact on the province; the political environment there has been polarized between the working class and bourgeoisie/middle class status groups, and this has further reflected in dichotomous attitudes such as the distribution of wealth/ social egalitarianism versus individual achievement/economic growth (Galbraith 1976:69).

British Columbia's economic base has also been dependent on natural resource exploitation beginning with a mining industry, particularly ore, but certainly not limited to it. Other enterprises in the economy have included forestry industries, specifically logging, sawmilling, pulp and paper, as well as mining of zinc, lead, copper, coal and fossil fuels (Dyck 1991:547). The economy is also driven by a fishing industry, including enterprises such as fish canneries, and agriculture; although unlike neighbouring provinces, this latter resource has not focused on wheat nor is it particularly strong in relation to B.C.'s other industries (Galbraith 1976: 63, 64; Dyck 1992:549). Stemming from the economic base of the region, B.C. has exhibited high levels of per capita income and educational attainment, yet it also has had high levels of unemployment (Dyck 1991:550).

Summary

Differences in economic and settlement patterns are of no small consequence in shaping territorially distinct attitudes. Differences in religious faiths, cultural backgrounds, and the profound impact of economic factors, shape the socio-economic attributes of the people who live in a particular territorial unit, and consequently contribute to the sorts of attitudes and ideas which are prevalent in the area. The relative composition of cultural and religious groups amongst the territorial units have made unique contributions to their social environments and the ideologies, attitudes and values they feature. Furthermore, while it is clear that no region/province has a monopoly over any of the primary resource areas, it is important to recognize that the predominant industries and products therein may vary considerably across the country. In addition, just as there are variations in the substance of economic bases which set regions apart, there are intra-regional variations in these features which distinguish provinces from one another. These provincial and regional economies also help create the foundation for the unique complexion of political attitudes. In sum, both economic factors and the presence of particular cultures have provided, in part, the soil for the particular socio-economic attributes of the territorial units which may further generate differences in political attitudes and orientations.

The Regional and Provincial Socialization of Political Orientations

As was described above, each geographic unit supports unique combinations of economic factors and settlement patterns which set it apart from neighbouring units. Provinces each have features which set them apart from one another, yet some are also united by an overarching “homogeneity” of characteristics which defines them into a region and further differentiates them from other regions. These features, in turn, may give rise to territorial differences in socio-economic attributes. As the empirical evidence indicated, there are territorial differences in political attitudes and orientations which are associated

with these variations in the proportions of certain kinds of people. The relationship between the distribution of socio-economic features and territorially linked attitudinal predispositions makes sense intuitively; as earlier suggested by the demographic causal theory, if a region is characterized by low levels of income and education, one would not expect to find a high proportion of the population inclined to favour cuts to the current social welfare state, but rather a more positive attitude towards the elements of the welfare state. Variables such as age, income, education and ethnicity reflect particular generational, social class, and other types of status related socialization processes which, in turn, produce differences in the experiences, perspectives and attitudes of individuals (Kornberg and Clarke 1992:22). Therefore, if territorial units vary in these attributes, then it is anticipated that they will also differ in socialization experiences.

While the causal framework presented earlier suggests why territorial units may have different political attitudes, it does not directly explain how regions and provinces come to have different attitudinal patterns. It is clear that certain characteristics are associated with particular attitudes, yet political attitudes also divide along regional and provincial lines. It is hypothesized that residents of these different territorial units come to acquire and perpetuate particular political attitudes which distinguish them from other territorial units as a result of regional and provincial differences in political socialization processes. Regions and provinces are different forms of agents of socialization which, in turn, produce distinct patterns of political orientations

As discussed in chapter one, political socialization is a feature occurring within the more general process of socialization. Political socialization, however, is distinguished in that it refers specifically to the process in which an individual "acquires a complex of beliefs, feelings, and information which help him [sic] comprehend, evaluate, and relate to the political world" (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:17). There are three main categories of agents of socialization which contribute to the social and political learning of the individual

and they are: primary groups, secondary groups, and societal groupings. Although the focus of this investigation is on the role of two societal groupings of regions and provinces in political socialization, the complex nature of political learning may require the incorporation of other relevant socialization agents in the explanation.

Geographic regions, like social class or race, fit under the “societal grouping” category of socialization agents. The characteristics of this group form differ from those of the other categories in that societal groupings do not have close personal ties with their members, as would be the case for families or peer groups, nor are they “in a position to take stands and to educate and/or pressure their identifiers to follow their positions,” as for example a labour union (Dawson et al. 1977:174). Still, geographic regions, as well as other societal groupings, are important influences on political orientations in two ways: first, these groups function as important reference or identification points for individuals, and second, through this identification these groups have the affect of structuring the associations individuals have and, therefore, limit the types of socialization experiences individuals will encounter (Dawson et al. 1977:175). Individuals come to be part of the societal grouping by sharing particular characteristics and identities in common (Dawson et al. 1977:173).

If it is conceded that regions and provinces constitute types of geographic regions, then they are both, in effect, forms of societal groupings and thereby possess the particular features associated with that form of agent. However, as was observed in the empirical data, there is a distinction between the two in terms of their influence on patterns of political orientations. The argument of this study contends that, although regions and provinces are both societal groupings, they are not of identical constructions. The distinction in patterns of orientations come as a result of regions and provinces having differences in characteristics which, in turn, impact the way in which each influences political learning: regions and provinces are not synonymous as agents of socialization.

Both regions and provinces have foundations of common socio-economic attributes and there is a sense of identity among the members with regard to each of these groupings. As individuals form attachments to these respective territorial units, the unit becomes part of the identity of the individual and, thus, a reference point, or conceptual filter, through which the political world is perceived. Yet regional and provincial roles in influencing political learning differ substantially after this point. Regions do not have formal processes with which to influence the political learning of their members, nor do they have the close personal access to individuals as other categories of agents. Provinces, on the other hand, have societal groupings features as well as features which resemble those of a secondary group; thus, provinces, in addition to having the societal grouping characteristics, have more formal processes with which to influence political learning. The distinction between regions and provinces as agents of socialization is fundamental to understanding their differences in patterns of orientations. The relative function of regions and provinces will therefore be discussed in turn.

Regions

While an influential force in shaping political orientations, the regional role is limited to serving as a reference point and the structuring of social relationships, as regions lack anything more formal in process. Despite the seemingly weak capacity of regions in influencing political learning, the empirical data illustrated that, in fact, the role of regions is still of consequence. As this is a discussion on regions, the focus will primarily be on the Prairies and the Atlantic regions; however, B.C., Ontario and Quebec will also be addressed since they too constitute regions, although not in the same sense as the above multi-province regions.

Regions, although commonly defined in terms of provincial delineations, do not possess formal borders as provinces do. The regional demarcation is brought about by an

establishment of characteristics which are common to particular area and comparably different from others, and these differences are often seen to coincide with provincial borders. It would seem that the distribution of these characteristics alone may fashion natural barriers to communication as those of similar socio-economic background and experiences would be more likely to relate and interact with one another than with those outside the regional community. As Schwartz (1974:107) explains, “[a]t the inter-personal level, the existence of boundaries also establishes the identity of a group, setting it apart from others, and increasing the likelihood of interaction among those within its confines.”

While differences in attributes may act as boundaries to socialization experiences, there must also be a shared awareness of this distinction for regions to have an influence on socialization. The sense of regional identity may stem from a number of sources including common historical experiences or a similarity of conditions and attributes which at the same time engender a sense of difference from other groups, for example the western wheat grievances or poverty in the Atlantic region. A regional consciousness may also be imposed such that, due to the labelling of others, a group is ascribed and made aware of a particular identity (Schwartz 1974:323). For example, while residents in Atlantic Canada may not initially perceive themselves as a region, through the assignment of this identity by outside groups, residents may become conscious of this regional identity. Through a regional identity, a frame of reference is acquired by an individual which will serve to filter, and therefore influence, the content of social and political learning. The attitudes an individual expresses towards the various aspects of political life will reflect the regionally differentiated socialization processes.

The establishment of identities usually occurs at a very early age, and attachments to these particular groupings, such as religious or regional groups, influence a child's sense of social classifications of people and the 'appropriate' behaviours associated with the various groups (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:22). Individuals come to view the world

through the filter of their particular identities as the values and expectations they adopt and the evaluations they make are influenced by an individual's sense of belonging to that group and their contacts with others of the same societal grouping (Dawson et al. 1977:176, 177). The connection between identity and this structuring of socialization experiences is a vital key to political learning. As Dawson et al. (1977:177) state,

The individual's position in social groupings determines, in large measure, what types of political learning experiences he or she will have. The tendency of members of common group attachments to live, work, and socialize with each other restricts exposure to diverse socialization influences...Because people in a particular social category tend to make friends, marry and associate with "their own kind," the political and social views they are exposed to tend to be homogeneous, and also to reflect the particular outlooks of the societal groupings to which they are attached.

Regions are akin to other societal groupings in that the social and political outlooks an individual acquires are related to both the group ties, which delimit the socialization experiences, and the relative social position of the group, which determines the particular perspectives indoctrinated. Through a regional identity individuals are not only exposed to different socialization experiences, but unlike other types of groupings, regions have the characteristic advantage of a territorial base which helps keep similar people in contact.

It is clear that the ability of regions to influence political attitudes and values is quite general and limited in that regions lack the formal structures and processes found in other groups. The primary means by which they influence political orientations is through their role as political reference points. As individuals attach to a particular regional grouping they adopt the group's views and values of the social and political worlds, and make evaluations based on that regional perspective. Yet regions also set a framework within which relationships arise; that is, through the establishment of boundaries by way of common characteristics and a common identity, regions structure the associations and, thus, the socialization experiences to which individuals are exposed. The primary and secondary groups contained within the region are, in effect, relied upon to help communicate and perpetuate the characteristics of the region as these groups have closer relationships and are

in a position to be in contact with the individual and influence their social and political learning. Primary and secondary groups are of great importance and their purposes are three-fold:

First, groups serve as important communication channels and as such provide the individual with many of the ideas and information he or she obtains...[Second], [t]hey play a similarly important role in helping to determine the individual's own concept of who he [sic] is and how he fits into the social and political world... Third, groups, both primary and secondary, take positions on issues, articulate those positions to group members and seek to motivate the individual to follow the group position. Individuals take on the positions of the group to which they belong because they like the group members and want to be liked and accepted by the group (Dawson et al. 1977: 181, 182).

Primary and secondary groups have their respective roles in political socialization, yet at the same time, these groups link back to larger societal groupings and are therefore important components which help transmit and perpetuate the political values and attitudes associated with the region. If a region features employment in certain natural resource industries and high levels of income and the associated political outlooks, for example, the primary and secondary groups help to perpetuate these social and political values and expectations through communication and the inclination of children, as well as adults, to imitate and adopt the preferences of those with whom they are in contact (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:74). Hence, since socio-economic features vary appreciably among the regions, and these characteristics are further associated with the socialization of certain political attitudes, the political outlooks passed on are also expected to differ by region.

Political attitudes are influenced by the underlying social and economic positions of the individual as well as an individual's contacts with members of the same group. Primary and secondary groups not only transmit information related to the regional grouping to the individual, but they also link the individual to a network of reinforcing relationships. For example, families, while not necessarily as concerned about teaching the individual about political life as they are with the preparation for things such as occupations and family life, still influence political learning through their relative socio-demographic position and the

fact that the family plays an important role in determining the schools, friends, religious and other groups to which the individual is exposed (Dawson et al. 1977:117, 118). A number of agents are involved in the political socialization process, and attitudes may continue to be acquired, reinforced or challenged through various indirect and direct methods. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969:74) discuss, “[i]n later years, teachers, friends, spouses, and work associates, as well as more public persons and opinion leaders, become sources of political values and attitudes also by imitation.” Since the socialization process is continuous, it is important that the groups the individual is exposed to and influenced by have the effect of reinforcing the group orientation, in this case helping to maintain the distribution of the particular political orientations related to the regional identity.

As stated earlier, regional groupings are able to influence political orientations because individuals come to belong to the group through a common identity and common characteristics. Regional groupings not only have common characteristics, but there is also evidence that individuals in these regions are bound together through a common regional identity. For data illustrating regional consciousness, this study has relied on previous research. Although dated, the surveys conducted support the existence of regional identities. Data collected in 1974 found that P.E.I. and Nova Scotia had high degrees of regional (Atlantic) consciousness, although Newfoundland and New Brunswick had notably lower levels of this same identity (Pammett 1976:88). In the case of the Prairie region there was a slightly higher tendency for residents to exhibit regional consciousness. According to Jon Pammett (1976:90), residents of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta “provided the best-defined regional unit in Canada.” Later surveys indicated similar results for regional identities. In 1979, Perlin and Rawlyk’s survey on whether respondents saw themselves first in terms of national, regional or provincial identities found that 6 percent of the Atlantic respondents identified regionally, and Gibbins’ 1982 survey of western respondents found that 8 percent demonstrated a “western Canadian” consciousness

(Gibbins 1990:137). While the sense of regional identity held by respondents was relatively weak, it is clear that a regional consciousness was present.

One might contend that these findings of weak regional consciousness would also suggest an insufficient basis from which regions would be able to influence attitudes. However, while this identity may be weak, this should not be equated with idleness. Instead, not only are the findings consistent with the capacity of regions to influence the more elementary political orientations in relation to provinces, but there are also examples of attempts to create regional structures based on this consciousness. The Maritime Rights Movement (1919-1927), for example, was concerned over the region's economic and political interests; moreover, it "had helped to foster a regional consciousness and identity that were to persist" (Gibbins 1990:111, 112). Other Atlantic region examples have included the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council (1954), the Atlantic Premiers' Conference and a number of joint authorities in areas such as higher education, land registration, and training and development (Dyck 1991:38, 39). Examples also exist for the Prairie region such as the Prairie Economic Council (1965), which addressed the problems common to the three provinces, and protest parties such as the Confederation of Regions Party and the Reform Party (Gibbins 1980:203; Wiseman 1990:310). Certainly these examples do not reflect the encompassing and enduring mechanisms of a province, nor do they represent truly regional bodies as they are more often a result of joint action than the establishment of an actual regional authority; however, these examples do provide additional evidence of regional consciousness.

Regional groupings are able to influence political learning and orientations as they serve as reference points for individuals through which the social and political worlds are perceived and evaluated, and they structure the social relationships and socialization experiences of individuals which perpetuate the kinds of people and the political attitudes held. Regional differences in socialization, rooted in unique histories to social and

economic attributes, are reflected in regional differences in political orientations. This then leads to the third level of the framework which refers to the regional differences in political attitudes and values. Each region will be examined in turn to illustrate the variations in political attitudes and the underlying differences in socialization processes which set one region apart from another.¹

Atlantic

Of all the regions, Atlantic Canada stood out as *the* most supportive region in terms of attitudes towards the current social welfare state. Although the control variables served to reduce the regional effect by varying degrees, for respondents from the Atlantic region, place of residence was still observed to have a lingering effect on the orientation. To be sure, the attitudes were largely associated with the distribution of partisan identification, income and education levels, but not absolutely. As illustrated in appendix Table A-2, the Atlantic region featured the second highest level of Liberal partisans, and the lowest levels of income and education of all the regions.² Since all three of these variables were also correlated with relatively high degrees of support of the current social welfare state (Table A-1), it is not surprising that the region was also the most supportive of the welfare state.³ However, for individuals of middle income, Liberal identification, and the lower education levels, a slight regional effect was still observed. Thus, there still appeared to be something about living in that region which also influenced this orientation. It is plausible that the

¹ As the controls for age and gender did not significantly impact the original relationships between the territorial units and political attitudes, these control variables will not be included in the regional and provincial discussions below.

² All subsequent mentions of regional distributions of the various categories of the control variables are referrals to the information found in appendix Table A-2.

³ All subsequent mentions of the correlations between the various categories of the control variables and the political attitudes are referrals to the information found in appendix Table A-1.

regional cycle of poverty and dependence on federal supplements has contributed to the persistent regional nature of the attitude for these particular groups. For the Atlantic region, federal benefits are critical for the community. As Bruce Smardon (1995:351) points out,

As a result of the heavy concentration of federal transfer payments in Atlantic Canada, the federal welfare state has become an integral part of the seasonally-based, part-time nature of the Atlantic regional economy and is regarded as a central support mechanism...for persons living in that area. In combination with the large proportion of provincial government revenues in the Atlantic provinces in the form of federal transfer payments...the importance of federal social benefits as a crucial means of underpinning the Atlantic society and economy is greatly magnified.

Overall, however, the region did appear to be influenced by the kinds of people residing there which, in turn, produced an attitude which was different from the other regions.

The effect of education and income on attitudes, while having important effects of their own, should also be taken into account together as there is often a relationship between them, as well as other factors such as occupation. In fact, it has been found that socio-economic status is correlated with political participation such that low status levels are associated with low levels of participation (Van Loon and Whittington 1987:154). Thus, it is not unforeseen that, given the lower level of socio-economic status in the Atlantic region, there was also a relatively lower level of participation. By and large the attitude came as a result of the low levels of income and education in the region, but partisan identification also appeared to have an impact. Although the parties themselves were not statistically different from one another in terms of participation levels, the lower level of participation in the region is likely due to the slight differences in mean scores of the parties in conjunction with the uneven distribution of the identifications.

The Atlantic region's attitude towards national economic policy differed only from the more supportive region of Quebec. One might suspect that the attitude may relate to regional concerns, as federal economic decisions are particularly significant for this "public-sector dependent economy" and policies are critically reviewed for their possible effects on 'social contract' programs such as equalization payments, development subsidies

and social programs (Bickerton 1990:335, 338). Yet this dissimilarity with Quebec could largely be explained by the relative differences between the regions in terms of party identification, income and education levels. In the case of all three variables, the Atlantic region contained a greater proportion of people who were less in favour of the policies. The partisan identification distribution influenced the less supportive attitude in Atlantic Canada, except in relation to Quebec Liberals who were still more supportive of the policies. Liberal partisans ranked third, after Conservatives and Reformers, in terms of support for the policies. Overall, it is clear that the variations in the proportions of kinds of people influenced the political attitudes held in the Atlantic and, in addition, that the kinds of people become significant in different combinations and with different degrees of impact.

Prairies

In terms of the socio-economic attributes examined here, the Prairie region ranked, for the most part, in the middle relative to the other regions. For example, in comparison with the Atlantic region, the Prairies had a greater proportion of respondents with higher levels of income and education. In relation to Ontario, the Prairies had lower numbers of respondents in the higher income and educational attainment levels. The area that the Prairie region stood out on most was its partisan identifications which were strongly Conservative and, although rivalled by B.C., the strength of its NDP and Reform identifiers. This unique combination of particular kinds of people has lead to a distinct pattern of political orientations in the Prairie region.

The Prairie region, relative to the Atlantic Canada, was not as supportive of the elements related to the social welfare state. The Prairie's attitude partially stems from the fact that the region had a population with relatively higher income levels and educational attainment, as well as containing a larger number of Conservative and Reform identifiers. These categories, to varying degree, were less supportive of the current social welfare state and in favour of cuts to it; this combination of variables led to the region's relatively lower

level of support in contrast to those in the Atlantic region.

The more participatory attitude held by the Prairie respondents relative to those in the Atlantic was also as a result of the combination of socio-economic characteristics including higher levels of education and income, and a strong Conservative representation, which were all associated with higher levels of participation. On the whole, the Prairie region ranked second highest, after Ontario, in terms of participation level.

The Prairie region's supportive attitude towards the national economic policies, which ranked second after Quebec, was more a result of the distribution of kinds of people than uniquely attributable to the region in which they lived. The Prairies were more supportive of the policies than B.C. or Ontario and less supportive than Quebec. Overall, the attitude was influenced by party identification, education and income levels. Regional effects were still exhibited under the controlled relationships but were severely weakened. In relation to Quebec, the Prairies had lower levels of educational attainment which corresponded with lower levels of support; yet the Prairies also had higher income levels, associated with higher support levels, which was not the anticipated distribution. The relative distribution of income and education levels also appeared to explain the Prairie's more supportive attitude toward national economic policies in contrast to B.C. and Ontario; however, in the case of these two control variables, their mean scores on the policy indicator and their proportional distributions among the regions seem to suggest that the Prairies should have a lower level of support, not a higher level.

The Prairie region's relatively more supportive attitude towards national economic policies may also have stemmed from its predominantly Conservative identifiers and notable Reform presence. If, as Gibbins (1990:140) submits, "in many and perhaps even most cases, knowing where a person lives provides little indication of his or her policy preferences," then these political attitudes may be connected to one's partisan identification. Since those of Conservative and Reform identifications tended to be the most highly

supportive of the policies, and if there is a tendency for individuals to take on the attitude of the party they support as Dowse and Hughes (1972:274) suggest, then this may explain the Prairies' more supportive outlook. Consequently, if partisan identifications are one of the means through which individuals filter political issues and come to form political opinions, and these identifications vary by region, then it is plausible that there will also be regional variations in attitudes towards national economic policies. Still, regional contrasts in attitudes likely arise from a combination of factors, rather than one factor alone.

Region-Provinces

A discussion of Quebec, Ontario and B.C. as regions becomes, to a certain extent, problematic as in this study, as well as others, they constitute both provinces and regions; therefore one would might conclude that it would be difficult to distinguish between the two identities. Nevertheless, studies have found evidence of regional identities in these areas, although they too were weak. In the cases of Ontario and Quebec it was found that respondents had identified their own province or, more in the case of Ontario, a central region, as their region (Pammett 1976:90). For B.C., respondents were slightly more likely to regard their province as a region but also used terms such as "west coast" to describe their regional identity (Pammett 1976:91). Thus, for residents of Ontario, B.C., and Quebec, there is a sense of regional identity, although this is undoubtedly affected by the regional/provincial overlap. Still, since Ontario, B.C., and Quebec have particular characteristics and attitudes associated with them, as well as evidence of regional identities, each will also be examined in turn as regions.

Ontario

In terms of social and economic attributes, Ontario, not unexpectedly, had the largest proportion of individuals in the high income level and the least in the low income group; moreover, the region had a relatively high level of educational attainment and was predominantly Liberal. Given these and other attributes, Ontario's attitudes towards various

aspects of political life are seemingly predictable. As a region of prosperity, Ontario is relatively more likely to perceive itself as continuously contributing to a welfare state system from which, in comparison to other regions, it infrequently derives benefits.⁴ Thus, while in favour of the welfare state generally, relative to the Atlantic region, Ontario respondents were more likely to favour greater cuts and to view the elements associated with the welfare state more negatively.

Income and education are measures of social status, and this status has been found to have a great influence on political participation as it determines “the social and economic resources available for political investment,...[as well as] citizens’ perspectives of their personal stakes in politics and their ability to influence government decisions” (Mishler 1984:181). Thus, since Ontario respondents tended to have higher levels of education and income, this helps to explain Ontario’s more participatory attitude relative to the Atlantic, B.C. and Quebec regions. Partisan identification also helped to explain Ontario’s more participatory attitude, except in relation to Atlantic and Quebec Liberals.

Ontario’s greater opposition to the national economic policies is somewhat counter-intuitive given the historical priority afforded the region’s economic concerns. Moreover, given the region’s proportion of respondents with high levels of income and educational attainment, Ontario’s disagreement seems mismatched. Yet, upon considering the focus of the economic policies, the attitude remains consistent as, in fact, Ontario’s best interests and prosperity were not the centre of attention. Ontario’s privileged position in economic policies encountered a trend at the federal level which:

...cut transfer payments to Ontario at a time of economic decline and [had] been unable to aid Ontario’s industry in any substantial fashion...[it also] reorganize[d]

⁴ Kornberg and Clarke note that “although varying in specifics, the welfare state system in each country calls for the great majority of adults to contribute continuously to its funding, whereas at any point in time only a minority of persons are direct recipients of its benefits” (1992:8). In terms of equalization payments, etc., Ontario may view itself as a financial contributor who is less likely to benefit from those contributions.

its fiscal position [which] led to policies such as a high Canadian dollar...[which were] inimical to Ontario industry. Moreover, Ontario-led attempts to resist the continental embrace of the United States...have met with opposition in Ottawa (Brownsey and Howlett 1992:149).

Other than the education and income distributions, Ontario's attitude towards the economic policies seems perhaps best explained by the distribution of party identifications. The partisan identification control eliminated all the originally observed differences except in relation to Quebec Liberals. Accordingly, Ontario respondents tended to be predominantly Liberal partisans and the Liberal party was most in opposition to the economic policies after the NDP. Thus, in spite of the inconsistency of the income and education levels, party identification may help explain the low level of support for the policies in Ontario.

Quebec

Quebec's attitudes towards the social welfare state, participation and national economic policies, also relate to the socio-economic attributes associated with the region. Quebec's large number of Liberal partisans, and relatively higher income levels and high levels of educational attainment all combined to give the region its less favourable attitude towards social welfare in comparison with the Atlantic region. Quebec's attitude towards participation comes from similar roots. Relative to Ontario, the respondents from Quebec tended to have low levels of income, and there were fairly high numbers of individuals with "no formal schooling to some high school"; this, in turn, helped to explain Quebec's lower level of political participation. Partisan identification also influenced participation, but for Liberals in Quebec and Ontario, place of residence still made a difference. Quebec's more participatory attitude in contrast to the Atlantic region was also due to the relative differences in the same above mentioned attributes, although held in the reverse direction.

Given the findings for this region thus far, one might expect that Quebec's attitude towards national economic policy would also stem from its relatively well educated and financially well-off population as these groups tended to favour these policies; but this case

is interesting as place of residence for Quebecers continued to influence attitudes to some degree under these control measures, particularly in relation to Ontario. Income levels in Quebec, for example, did not absolutely reduce the originally observed differences; instead, in all three income levels, Quebec still exhibited greater support for the policies than did other regions, albeit reduced often to only one pair relationship. Controlling for educational attainment eliminated all but one statistically different relationship. Party identification also influenced the attitude except for Quebec Liberals. Quebec remained quite supportive of the policies despite the fact that a substantial proportion of the population is Liberal and that the Liberals, relative to Conservatives and Reform, did not favour the policies.⁵

By and large the attitude towards national economic policies was explained by variations in socio-economic attributes, yet the situation of Quebec may also be mildly attributed to the “regional” forces active there. The supportive attitude may arise from the fact that the policies were congruent with the region’s political and economic goals for an “efficient and dynamic” economy and “the creation of a secure *national* corporate sector,” which are a necessary part of the preparatory steps towards an independent Quebec (Galipeau 1992:131). A developed and successful economy in this region, while generally supported for other reasons, would also be a primary goal for Quebec nationalists.

British Columbia

Again, as with the other regions, the less supportive attitude towards the social welfare state held by respondents from B.C. appeared to be at least partially shaped by its higher levels of income and education relative to the Atlantic, as well as B.C.’s distribution of Liberal, Conservative, Reform and NDP partisans. B.C.’s attitude towards participation was less participatory in relation to Ontario and was also attributable to B.C.’s greater

⁵ Although the Bloc Québécois was not included in the regional analysis of partisan identifications, it likely that this partisan identification would have contributed to the difference in opinion held in the Quebec region.

proportion of respondents with low income and educational attainment levels.

In terms of attitudes towards national economic policy, partisan identification, income and education, although varying in their impact, had an apparent effect on B.C.'s attitudinal difference from Quebec and the Prairies. The combination of a region with a lower proportion of middle and low income individuals, and particularly its moderately high educational attainment and a close distribution over Liberal, NDP and Reform identifications, in likely conjunction with other factors, generated B.C.'s relative opposition to the policies.

Summary

It has been argued that there are regionally differentiated socialization processes and that these differences in turn are reflected in regional patterns of political attitudes. Indeed, the empirical data supported the hypothesis that there are attitudes towards politics which set regions apart. However, as was noted earlier, the sense of a regional identity is weak and regions have few mechanisms which enable them to promote regional identities and influence political learning. As Gibbins (1990:137) explains, in terms of a regional sense of identity, there are no governmental structures nor are there "regional flags, holidays, ceremonies, capitals, licence plates, or symbols. It is not surprising, then, that few western Canadians or Atlantic Canadians see themselves *first* in regional terms." This does not negate the fact that regions have an important function in the socialization of political attitudes, rather it acknowledges that, as with other societal groupings, regions are broad categories of identity limited to less concrete forms of influence. Provinces, on the other hand, are composed of slightly different characteristics, including the more formal structures of influence of the secondary type groups, and consequently make a distinction in terms of their impact on political learning. The difference between regional and provincial patterns of political orientations are linked to the contrasts in socialization features associated with each agent.

Provinces

While it is clear that there are regional differences in attitudes towards politics, it was also found that the regions are not monolithic. Provinces within the regions also varied in their patterns of political attitudes, yet these intra-regional variations were found to be consistent with the regional level pattern of orientations. Given the interconnection between the two forms of territorial units this result might seem obvious; nevertheless, as already discussed, it was also possible that a regional unit would distort strong internal provincial dissimilarities by overemphasizing the importance of geographic proximity. This, however, did not appear to be the case. Provinces shared characteristics which defined them together as a region and each also featured modifications within the regional theme. As with regions, common characteristics alone are insufficient for creating a provincial pattern of attitudes; there must also be a common identity present amongst the residents for provinces to influence political learning.

In Canada, there is a notable distinction between regions and provinces in terms of strength of identity in that regional identifications are comparatively very weak to that of the provinces (Gibbins 1990:137). This relative strength of identity is linked to the more crucial distinction between the two as agents of socialization. Scholars have pointed to the “power of provincial *states* to shape the identities and engender the loyalties of provincial residents on an ongoing basis” (Bickerton 1990:330). Accordingly, as Gibbins notes, it is “not coincidental that identifications lacking a corresponding governmental structure are also the weakest” (1990:137). Not only do the additional features of provinces encourage a stronger provincial identity, but the stronger the sense of identity, the more likely that group is to serve as a political reference point (Dawson et al. 1977:179). There is a distinction between regions and provinces in socialization features and it is these features which produce their different patterns of political attitudes.

As discussed previously, if both provinces and regions are considered to be

geographic regions, then it would stand to reason that they also share similar characteristics as agents of socialization. Both would serve as reference points through which the political world is perceived, and both would structure the exposure to socialization experiences of their members. Provinces, however, while sharing these features with regions, have additional characteristics which differentiate the provincial effects on political learning. Provinces are, in effect, “regions plus” as they possess the features of both societal groupings and secondary groups.

Provinces act as a frame of reference for individuals for as individuals identify with a province they also “become sensitive to the group’s political norms and make political evaluations according to what is best for the group and what it stands for” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:189). Yet provinces, like secondary groups, also act in a manner which more immediately influences and regulates the values of their members. Secondary groups have several ways in which they influence orientations:

Some groups engage in direct political education and indoctrination efforts. They articulate norms and information about politics to members and often to non-members. In other cases participation in these groups is a source of indirect political learning...[and they also] provide a framework in which primary relationships develop, and those primary relationships, in turn, influence political outlooks (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:187).

Provinces may not resemble more well known types of secondary groups as labour unions, political parties or other such associations given their relative size, yet they are similar in many respects. Provinces do have means with which to directly engage in the political education of their members and they do provide frameworks for primary, and other secondary, relationships to form. Further, what provinces may lack in immediacy relative to other secondary groups is compensated for by an extensive organizational capacity.

The organizational capacity which provinces hold for moulding and sustaining the political attitudes and orientations of their members is that of governmental institutions, an apparatus which regions lack. This structure is of great significance for, as stated by Alan

Cairns (1977:706):

Federal and provincial governments are not neutral containers, or reflecting mirrors, but aggressive actors steadily extending their tentacles of control, regulation, and manipulation into society--playing, in Deutsch's terminology, a steering role--and thus fostering sets of integrated relationships between themselves and the various socio-economic forces and interests in their jurisdictions...Provincial governments work toward the creation of limited versions of a politically-created provincial society and economy...

Cairns further points out that the arrow of causality between governments and societies may go both ways, and that "[t]o an indeterminate, but undoubtedly significant extent, [societies] are consequences of past government activity, and will be increasingly so in the future" (1977:723). As Cairns suggests, the role of provincial governments in moulding societies can not be overlooked; indeed, it is argued in this study that the provincial function in influencing political orientations is significantly linked to its institutions.

The contribution of provinces to political learning does not negate that of regions. Instead, provinces, with their particular characteristics, may be seen to create finer distinctions on the regional patterns of orientations. As John Wilson (1974:440) explains, "[t]here is always the possibility...that different political systems will have different political cultures, if for no other reason than that different governments may make different rules and regulations even for the same kinds of social and economic conditions." Certainly provinces, like regions, influence political learning through the more general means provided by common characteristics and identities, yet the addition for provinces is that, as Simeon states, "the existence of a set of boundaries and institutions sets in motion a series of political interactions which may themselves lead to the development of a particular sense of community, to the emergence of political differences, and to the development of new loyalties" (1979:296). Provincial institutions and boundaries encourage and reinforce identities and political attitudes through a multitude of avenues, some of which may also serve to restrict the mobility of individuals and thereby perpetuate contacts with those of similar background, both in characteristics and attitudes. These avenues include such things

as driver's licenses and provincial health plans, as well as items which make it more difficult for individuals to transfer such as educational and professional standards and licensing requirements (Jackson and Jackson 1994:115). Hence, while regions contain particular characteristics and attitudes, provincial variations of these characteristics and the addition of governmental structures contribute to the different socialization experiences of the members and thus the development of intra-regional patterns of political orientations.

It is the additional status of provinces as political units, endowed with particular jurisdictions, which puts them in a different category from regions. As Wilson (1974:441) points out, "[t]he fact is that each province has more or less exclusive control of all the areas of governmental jurisdiction (such as education, social welfare, labour law, election law, and the like) which affect in a significant way the economic, social and political life chances of people living within its borders." These features provide provinces with a unique capacity to shape political orientations. Since groups which are closer to members, more active in communicating outlooks and expectations, and more politically relevant are also better able to influence orientations (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:190), provinces, then, would be more likely to influence political learning relative to regions.

As mentioned above, there are a number of ways provinces may influence identities and political values. Of all the direct and indirect means by which attitudes are influenced, from non-political experiences in the province which become projected into political orientations to direct interactions with political structures, provincial control over matters regarding education arguably provides one of *the* key means of this agent for shaping political attitudes. As stated by Dawson and Prewitt (1969:146), it is through schools "that the most comprehensive and deliberate efforts are made by modern and modernizing polities to shape the political outlooks of new citizens." Control over education gives provinces, the governments more specifically, some control over the indoctrination of the particular political perspectives and beliefs of its members. Unlike other methods of

political learning, schools are under a greater degree of centralized control and this allows for “[c]ommon political values and information [to] be disseminated in a fairly uniform way to a large proportion of a nation’s young people” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:179).

Needless to say, this potential has not gone unnoticed. As David Bell states (1992:135), provincial political elites have taken advantage of their jurisdiction over education to “actively encourage the development of provincial political symbols and identity, even at the expense of the national identity.” It is clear that education alone would be an inadequate means to achieve total homogeneity of attitudes in a province, but it certainly provides a very effective tool for the socialization of particular political outlooks and values.

Provincial frames of reference are advanced in the educational process, most notably through the curriculum. The curriculum is a key socialization method and generally contains a mixture of both civic training, such as attitudes towards the democratic process, and political indoctrination (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:148, 149). Through textbooks, classroom activities, and other related aspects of the education program, particular political values are transmitted to the students. In terms of political indoctrination, intentionally or not, these ends are accomplished largely through children receiving various forms of slanted materials in which the “myths and legends from the past, the policies and programs of the present, and the goals and aspirations of the future are taught selectively” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:152). This finding in itself is not new, but if, as studies have indicated, there are indeed “wide variations in the interpretation of history, political events, and the functioning of political institutions” (Van Loon and Whittington 1987:141), and provinces have jurisdiction over education, then the possibility exists for great variation among the provinces in political values and attitudes.⁶ One such example of difference in interpretation

⁶ It was observed in the empirical data that the regions/provinces have varying levels of educational attainment which may lead to some confusion about the relationship between level of education and exposure to slanted materials. While level of education affects the perception of the political world, Dawson and Prewitt (1969:145) note that this “results

may be that on the conditions of confederation. The historical recount on whether Canada was founded under a compact between two founding nations (English and French) or a compact among governments may vary by region, and with it variations in political attitudes regarding concepts such as “distinct society” and the equality of provinces.

In addition to the more formal mechanisms influencing political learning such as education, provinces also create a framework for the development of other secondary and primary relationships which further influence political perspectives. Similar to how regions structure the types of socialization experiences individuals are exposed to, provincial identities also engender an environment in which primary and secondary group ties are formed. However, there is a tendency for provinces to structure relationships and activities to a greater extent than regions because provinces are also political units. Due to the wide range of jurisdictions associated with provinces there is, in effect, a centripetal framework as primary and secondary groups are continuously swept into a provincial context. For example, secondary groups such as the various professional associations, trade unions and other organizations are largely formed along provincial, not regional, lines as a result of the provincial powers. Even political parties, both federal and provincial, which are seen as significant agents of socialization in their own right, have been argued to be influenced by the provincial community. Wilson (1974) states that there are provincially based kinds of two and three party systems (ie: Ontario and Manitoba's system of NDP, Conservatives, and Liberals or, in the past, B.C.'s Social Credit and NDP) and these are a consequence of what he regards as ten independent political systems. Moreover, Wilson suggests that the

not so much from the school as transmitter of values or training ground for political life as from the fact that educated and noneducated view society so differently.”

national party system is an aggregated reflection of these unique provincial systems.⁷ The provincially related socialization characteristics assist in establishing distinct social and political climates which in turn produce differences in socialization experiences within each province, and subsequently political attitudes and orientations.

Provinces exert a great deal of influence on political orientations through their capacities as political units, but provinces also act in a capacity which need not necessarily involve their institutions. Like regions, individuals must still share common characteristics and a common identity for provinces to influence orientations, and provinces also rely on the primary and secondary groups to help perpetuate the political values related to the province. Similar to a Russian nesting doll, the chain of influence on political orientations by the different types of socialization agents proceeds from small to large and vice versa, yet all are inter-related. There are a number of groups in society which are involved in socialization, such as peer groups, youth organizations and political parties, and these groups help to communicate ideas and knowledge to individuals and articulate positions which members adopt as part of belonging to the group (Dawson et al. 1977:181). For example, studies have found that there is a strong tendency for individuals to share similar political attitudes and values to those of their parents, particularly partisan identification, as the family is one of the first and closest reference groups to which the individual is exposed (Dawson and Prewitt 1969: 111). However, primary groups, such as the family, despite their unstructured and intimate characteristics, are not unconnected from the greater society. The family has membership in particular societal groupings and this membership, and the attitudes associated with it, are passed on to the individual. Indeed, an individual's membership in his/her particular nexus of "ethnic, linguistic, religious, and social class, his

⁷ Wilson argues that there is no national party system per se, but "rather a loose association of 10 distinct provincial systems which, because of wholly understandable variations in their patterns of behaviour, are bound to aggregate at any federal election to the peculiar hybrid which Canada appears to be" (1974:449).

[sic] cultural and educational values and achievements, his occupational and economic aspirations, and his exposure to others are determined largely by his family” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:110). The family represents but one important link in the chain of influence on political orientations.

It is primary groups such as the family which link individuals to the larger and more specific groups, from other primary groups to societal groupings. In other words, primary groups “operate not as self-contained systems, but as links which connect the individual with other more inclusive and less concrete social networks” (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:137). There is a large complex network of associations involved in the process of political socialization. Primary and secondary groups serve to transmit the orientations of the societal groups to which they are related and to provide further links in the development of other relationships. In turn, societal groupings such as provinces, with their tendency to draw people of similar kind together, also structure the content of the political values and attitudes passed on as they provide an overarching context for the groups. Provincial patterns of orientations are products of different political socialization processes which perpetuate the kinds of people and the political attitudes linked to the territorial unit.

The original data tables indicated that provinces expressed varying patterns of statistical difference from and similarity to other provinces. Yet all intra-regional provinces also maintained a cohesiveness in mean scores which set them apart as a region from those found to be statistically different in the original regional tables. While the variations in attitudes observed at the provincial level were largely explained through differences in the proportion of certain kinds of people, the impact of the provincial grouping is not unconnected. It is argued that provinces must also act as agents of socialization in order to achieve these intra-regional variations in attitudes. Indeed, not only was each intra-regional province working with slightly different social and economic attributes, but the governmental capacity characteristic of the provincial grouping worked in conjunction to

create the observed provincial contrasts in attitudes. At the same time, this is not to suggest that intra-regional provinces will necessarily express statistically different attitudes for, as Wilson (1974:440) submits, it is possible that, in spite of each province having an independent political system, provinces may have very similar political attitudes. Provinces may or may not exhibit statistical differences in attitudes. These variations in provincial patterns of political orientations will be examined more closely below.

Atlantic Provinces

As Smardon (1995:351) notes, Newfoundland and P.E.I. have been the greatest beneficiaries of the welfare state with federal transfers accounting for significant proportions of personal income. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that, for the provinces of the Atlantic region, Newfoundland and P.E.I., held comparatively more supportive attitudes in relation to the current social welfare state than other provinces. Although Newfoundland's effects weakly persisted under the controlled relationships, the provincial version of the regional trend of largely Liberal partisans and low levels of income and especially education relative to other areas (Table A-3), helped account for Newfoundland and P.E.I.'s more favourable attitudes, inter-provincially and intra-regionally.⁸ Still, all four provinces of the Atlantic region held a relatively greater level of support for the welfare state than other provinces, which was consistent with the regional analysis. P.E.I.'s and Newfoundland's hyper-support of the current social welfare state was largely attributable to the intra-regional variations in socio-economic attributes.

For respondents from the Atlantic provinces, the attitude towards national economic policy appeared to be one which could only be described along regional lines as no intra-regional variation, provincial effects, was exhibited; although none of the provinces exhibited statistically significant differences, all four provincial mean scores continued to be

⁸ All subsequent mentioning of provincial distributions of the various categories of the control variables are referrals to the information found in appendix Table A-3.

less supportive of the policies in relation to Quebec. In attitudes towards participation, the less participatory attitudes of Newfoundland and New Brunswick in comparison to Alberta and Ontario were influenced by the proportion of kinds of people, although slightly less so in the case of Newfoundland. The attitude stemmed essentially from contrasts in the proportional distribution of partisan identifications, income and education levels which, when combined, produced the lower levels of participation for the above two Atlantic provinces. Again, the Atlantic region illustrated regional effects as the provincial mean scores indicated respondents in all four provinces were less participatory than those from Ontario and Alberta (and the Prairie provinces on the whole), although not all statistically different. This intra-regional variation appeared to stem from socio-economic differences among the Atlantic provinces which produced lower levels of participation in Newfoundland and New Brunswick.

The examination into the Atlantic region's intra-regional variation indicated that there were provincial effects on political orientations; yet, while some provinces exhibited statistical differences from other provinces, there remained a cohesion of mean scores which indicated that there was, indeed, a regional basis in the political attitudes examined. This is not to say that the provinces which did not exhibit statistical differences were not involved in the socialization of political orientations, for all provinces do have an effect; rather, the presence of provinces which are statistically different from others illustrates that there may be provincial variations in attitudes in addition to the regional variations.

Quebec

Quebec's attitudes towards the various aspects of politics explored can also be attributed to the proportion of certain kinds of people residing in the province, with some exception. In terms of attitudes towards the current social welfare state, Quebec, like the other provinces outside the Atlantic region, continued to be comparatively less positive. This, in turn, was related to the distribution of partisan identifications, income and

education levels. Relative to the provinces in the Atlantic region, particularly P.E.I. and Newfoundland, Quebec had higher numbers of respondents in high income and educational attainment categories and lower numbers in low income categories. Partisan identification also had the effect of reducing provincial effects, except for Liberals in Newfoundland who remained more supportive than those in Quebec.

Quebec's pattern of orientation towards social welfare can be attributed, to a large extent, to socio-economic factors, but its attitude towards national economic policies was less so. Quebec's unmistakably higher support of the policies had a weak but persistent provincial effect under the control variables. While the attitudes of other provinces towards the policies were largely explained by party identification, income and education, for Quebec these controls had an effect but did not absolutely eliminate its differences. Albeit a weak presence, the indication was of a lingering provincial effect on the attitude under the Liberal partisanship and at least one statistically different pair in all income level categories. Still, the effect of education was essentially to eliminate the provincial difference.

Quebec's attitude towards participation at the provincial level was, on the whole, a result of contrasts in income and education levels, and party identifications. Relative to Ontario, Quebec had differences in its party identification distributions, a greater proportion of low and middle income groups, and low educational attainment, which all contributed to the lower level of participation in the province.

Ontario

In attitudes towards social welfare, Ontario's less supportive attitude was mostly a result of the demographic attributes of the province, particularly party identification, and high levels of education and income. Ontario's less supportive attitude towards economic policies was influenced by the same variable distributions, except in relation to Quebec in a few instances. Otherwise, to varying degree, the combination of socio-economic variables in the province helped to explain Ontario's less supportive attitude towards the policies.

Ontario's greater participation stemmed partially from its greater proportion of people of high income levels and educational attainment, both of which corresponded with higher levels of participation. Ontario's more participatory attitude appeared also to be a consequence of the distribution in partisan identifications.

Prairie Provinces

The provinces of the Prairie region also expressed lower levels of support for the social welfare state in relation to P.E.I. and Newfoundland and this was principally due to variations in partisan identification, income and education levels. Relative to Newfoundland and P.E.I., each of the Prairie provinces had a greater proportion of respondents with high levels of income and education, and a greater proportion of Conservative and Reform identifiers, which combined to give the Prairie provinces their statistically different attitudes. Alberta's more supportive attitude towards national economic policy was also likely a result of its particular combination of more Conservative and Reform identifiers, and less Liberal partisans, as well as its differences in income and education levels both inter-provincially and intra-provincially. Interestingly, while the control variables helped to explain the source of Alberta's attitudinal differences, they also had the effect of revealing provincial differences in attitudes between Quebec and Manitoba in the low income group and Liberal partisans. The mean scores of all three provinces indicated that region as a whole continued to differ from Ontario and B.C., yet only Alberta demonstrated a statistically different provincial political orientation.

In attitudes towards participation, again, party identification, income and education explained Alberta's greater participation in contrast to Newfoundland and New Brunswick; Alberta had more Reform and Conservative identifiers as well as respondents with higher income and education levels. There was evidence of intra-regional variation in participation not only by Alberta from Newfoundland and New Brunswick, but under the controlled relationships a Saskatchewan/Alberta difference was also observed on two occasions. Still,

respondents in all three Prairie provinces continued to be more participatory than those in the four Atlantic provinces. Overall, Alberta was the only intra-regional province to reveal statistically significant differences in participation.

The Prairie region's particular political orientations exhibited both inter-regional and intra-regional variation. By and large, the Prairie's intra-regional variation was the sole result of Alberta. All the Prairie provinces influenced the political attitudes held at the provincial level, yet Alberta exhibited a greater tendency to stand statistically apart from other provinces in terms of political attitudes. At the same time, the mean scores of the intra-regional provinces continued to support a regional level difference from those regions profiled in the original regional tables.

British Columbia

B.C.'s attitudes towards the social welfare state, national economic policy and participation were, to differing degrees, a result of the distribution of party identification, income levels and educational attainment. Relative to Newfoundland and P.E.I., B.C. had a higher number of respondents in the upper income levels, higher education levels, and a wide distribution over all four partisan identifications which resulted in its comparatively lower level of support. B.C.'s greater opposition to national economic policies, again, stemmed in part from its proportional distribution of the above three variables. B.C.'s distribution of Liberals, Conservatives and NDP, in contrast to Alberta's Conservatives and Reformers and Quebec's Liberals, and B.C.'s moderately high level of educational attainment and income, combined to give its less supportive attitude towards the policies relative to Quebec and Alberta. In attitudes towards participation, B.C.'s attitude was not statistically different from other provinces.

Summary

In addition to regional differences in orientations it is clear that there are also provincial effects on political attitudes. The unique pattern of political orientations revealed

at the provincial level is a reflection of the provincially differentiated socialization processes. Among the provinces there were not only variations in the proportions of the kinds of people, but each province also had a capacity to direct and regulate the political learning of their members. Subsequently, these differences in political socialization experiences were revealed in the development of political attitudes along provincial lines. However, these provincial differences did not occur entirely independently; it was found that although provinces exhibited variations in their patterns of statistical differences from other provinces, the differences were still consistent with their respective regional groupings. Thus, while there was indeed intra-regional variation, the provinces illustrated an association of mean scores which supported the hypothesis of an overarching regional effect and orientation.

Sense of Political Alienation Indicator

Regional and provincial differences, or rather the lack thereof, with regard to the sense of political alienation indicator merits special attention. Interestingly, the political alienation indicator failed to produce any statistically significant differences, even under the controlled relationships. This lack of territorial difference in outlooks may be attributed to the type of alienation measure used. As mentioned in chapter two, the measure taps the respondents' sense of estrangement from the regime level of the political system and, thereby, their views on the norms and institutions of the political system. According to Kornberg and Clarke (1992:23), as the measure moves from the community level to regime level and finally to the authorities, the level of political support at these levels will also decrease and become less consistent. Thus, supportive attitudes at the regime level should be lower than those of the community level, but more supportive than the authorities level. If, as Kornberg and Clarke (1992:141) suggest, this is indeed how Canadians organize their supportive feelings, then one might expect that, at the least, Quebec would stand

statistically different given its notorious incongruity with Canadian political society; yet this was not found. Instead, Quebecers appeared to share the same sense of political alienation as residents of other territorial units. The indistinctness of territorial attitudes may indeed mean that, as quoted in Simeon and Elkins (1980:288), “[a]lienation,’ as one citizen told the Task Force on Canadian Unity, ‘is the one thing we all hold in common.’”

The findings on the sense of political alienation measure used in this study are not to suggest that other formulations of political alienation will not exhibit spatial differences. On the contrary, as already noted, there are at least three measures regarding the political system and there may be still other formulations of political alienation which may reveal territorial differences. David Elton and Roger Gibbins (1979:82), for example, have argued that western alienation represents a form of alienation which seeks inclusion into the Canadian political society and stems from grievances in terms of national participation and economic exploitation. Furthermore, Gibbins (1980:167, 168) has argued that western alienation “stand[s] in direct contrast to characteristics commonly associated with more general forms of alienation” for it does not mean alienation from provincial governments as it does from the national government, nor is it associated with the poor and socially marginal as one might expect. However, the findings regarding alienation from the regime level of the political system lead one to consider the possibility that there are perhaps political attitudes shared on a national level; that is, not all attitudes are necessarily divided along “regional” lines. For Jackson and Jackson (1994:74) such a national political culture would involve views at the level of “traditions of personal freedom and civil liberties, respect for the law and co-existence of heterogeneous communities that underlie the political system.” Pan-Canadian and “regional” political orientations may, in fact, co-exist which certainly speaks to the complexity of attitudes towards political life and socialization.

Conclusion

It is widely recognized that there are territorial differences in political attitudes and orientations in Canada; moreover, that these political divisions somehow correspond to regional and/or provincial units. It has been argued here that both forms of territorial units are important in understanding spatially linked differences in political attitudes. Both units are of significance as they constitute different agents of socialization, and therefore have different impacts on political learning. Whether the differences are rooted in variations in socio-economic attributes or true cultural forces, it is argued that there are still regionally and provincially differentiated socialization processes which result in distinct, but related, patterns of political attitudes and orientations.

Regions are able to influence political orientations as there is not only a set of common characteristics which draws people together, but there is also a regional identity. As individuals identify with the regional grouping, they acquire the political views and attitudes associated with that grouping and make evaluations based on that perspective. Subsequently, regions come to serve as important political reference points which filter the way the individual views the world. Furthermore, by way of the regional identity and the various primary and secondary groups individuals belong to, individuals will tend to come in contact with similar kinds of people, and these associations have the effect of transmitting and reinforcing the orientations related to the regional grouping. Like regions, provinces also play an important role in influencing political learning. The distinction in patterns of orientations between the two is a consequence of provinces and regions performing different functions in political socialization. The ways in which provinces influence political learning range from secondary group features of direct political education efforts and political education carried out through non-political activities, to societal grouping functions such as serving as a conceptual filter for understanding the political world. In particular, provinces have the beneficial feature of governmental institutions. In

addition, provinces, as with regions, establish a framework for the development of various primary and secondary groups which serve to perpetuate the characteristics and political orientations related to the provincial grouping. Both regions and provinces are able to influence political learning as they each contain characteristics which set them apart from respective units and the members share a sense of common identity; yet the two forms of territorial units have different effects.

When the relative socialization features of regions and provinces are juxtaposed, it is apparent that the two form different agents of socialization and involve relatively different socialization processes. These differences are not inconsequential. Regions and provinces are not synonymous as agents of socialization and their different influences on political learning are reflected in distinct patterns of political orientations. At the same time, these socialization processes do not appear to occur in total isolation. Regions and provinces, while distinct, seem also to be inter-related. Thus, what is commonly regarded as “regional political cultures” may, in fact, be the harmonious interconnection of regional and provincial patterns of orientations.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

'Regional' differences in political orientations and their sources have been significant areas of investigation to help explain and understand the behaviour of the Canadian political system. In the pursuit of these explanations, however, the distinction between regions and provinces has often seemed to be left unclear or neglected as investigations either used the terms interchangeably or independently. Determining why 'regions' vary is certainly an important component of understanding their impact, but since regions and provinces constitute different conceptualizations in political discourse, it seemed that investigating how 'regions' vary in orientations was equally important. This study argues that since regions and provinces are different types of geographic groupings, there must also be a distinction between the two as carriers of territorial differences in political attitudes and orientations. Moreover, this distinction in terms of patterns of orientations would serve to clarify the context of 'regional' political cultures; that is, how regions and provinces fit into this commonly used term.

The distinction between the regional and provincial patterns of orientations is argued to stem from the observation that the two constitute different agents of socialization. As both are classified as societal groupings, regions and provinces share similarities in their socialization features, yet they have important differences as well. Indeed, the empirical findings confirmed that there were not only different patterns of orientations for the two forms of territorial units, but that these patterns were also complementary rather than contrastive. The two forms together created a better understanding of 'regional' variation in political attitudes than could either of the two alone. A regional explanation alone would obscure provincial differences in attitudes and a solely provincial explanation would overlook the important relative homogeneity of attitudes which exists in a region. Therefore, statements such as the one by Simeon and Elkins (1979:31) which assert that,

while looking only at provinces, “[t]here is some affinity among regional groupings of provinces, but geographical proximity by no means coincides with similar patterns of orientations” are somewhat inaccurate. This statement seems to view regions as the sum of the provinces, such that any intra-regional variation would detract from evidence of a regional political orientation, and therefore neglects to consider the possibility that there might also be an overarching regional pattern of orientations which co-exists with provincial patterns. Certainly provinces may exhibit different patterns of orientations from one another, maybe even differing from other provinces in their region, but there remains a regional affinity to those political orientations. Moreover, a regional pattern may exist where no provincial effects are evident, an important finding which would be forfeited if the regional level of orientations were not also examined. Consequently, ‘regional’ political attitudes can be better understood when both regional and provincial patterns are examined.

Ideas, attitudes and orientations are shaped by a number of factors including social, economic and historical factors and experiences. It is difficult to demonstrate that a particular path of socialization produced a particular result, but given the empirical results it seems that regions and provinces are certainly involved in that process. While the political attitudes examined were not exhaustive, the findings supported the hypothesis of regional and provincial effects on political orientations. The empirical data also illustrated that, on the whole, the attitudinal variation of the territorial units was a function of proportional differences in certain kinds of people. As a region, there were attitudes held in common which set them apart from other regions, yet at the same time, it was also possible that there would be intra-regional variations in attitudes; that is, provincial differences in attitudes which remained consistent with the overarching regional pattern. Although these intra-regional differences may be attributed to the intra-regional variations in the proportions of kinds of people, as they are with the inter-regional differences, the more formal mechanisms and processes characteristic of provinces are argued to have played an

additional role in directing and influencing the orientations. Regions and provinces create and perpetuate different patterns of political orientations through their relative functions as agents of socialization, which perpetuate the kinds of people which reside in their borders and, therefore, the attitudes they hold.

Provinces and regions each have very important functions in the socialization of political orientations. These agents serve as identification points which help individuals to understand the complex world of politics by filtering information through the lens of the identity. By belonging to particular groups, individuals tend to acquire the values and orientations associated with that group, and make evaluations in a manner consistent with the group's outlooks. Identification with particular groups also has the effect of restricting the socialization experiences an individual will have as people of similar identity tend to be drawn together, which delimits the exposure to other perspectives. While both provinces and regions function as identification points, provinces have the added feature of more formal mechanisms, particularly government institutions and control over areas such as education, with which to influence political learning. The differences in political attitudes are a function of regionally and provincially differentiated socialization processes.

The findings on patterns of political orientations prompt the question of what exactly, then, is the relationship between regions and provinces? The findings seem inconclusive but perhaps the closest equivalent example of this situation for an explanation would be that of social class-related socialization processes. Income, education and occupation together make-up the measure of social class, and these, like provinces and regions, are inter-related yet also separate processes. Since the two forms of territorial units do not appear to be competing nor are they unrelated, one might argue that the units act together with the provinces drawing on the regional pattern of orientations but at times adding to it provincial idiosyncrasies. Thus, perhaps provinces and regions are elements of a larger territorially related socialization process. As agents of socialization, both regions

and provinces are important, and holding one identity does not preclude attachment to the other. The relationship between the two may further be described as being similar to an eclipse; the regional body represents the elementary attitudes which may be overshadowed by the brilliance of the provincial unit. Whatever the precise relationship between the two, it is clear that regions and provinces have distinct influences on political orientations. Moreover, that the particular patterns of orientations which is commonly referred to as 'regional' political cultures may more accurately be a product of regions and provinces combined.

While both regions and provinces influence political orientations, this does not necessarily mean that the orientations will also form a political culture. In the discussion of variations in political orientations between regions and provinces, the term 'political culture' was deliberately avoided. As discussed in chapter one, designating a pattern of orientations to be a political culture would depend upon the rigidity and consistency with which a population is divided along the lines of particular societal groupings, whether it be race, class or geographic unit (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:185). Given the scope of this study, in that other divisions were not considered nor was the relative strength of regions and provinces measured, it can only be verified that there are distinct patterns of orientations between the two groupings which may or may not form a political culture. Moreover, since this is not a longitudinal study, the conclusion cannot be drawn that these differences indeed constitute 'cultures.' However, while these differences in orientations cannot be demonstrated to be cultural per se, they are suggestive of a possible political culture in that the attitudes are immersed in seemingly durable socio-demographic regional/provincial milieus and that territorial units are widely perceived as dividing the Canadian population politically. Thus, it is conceivable that both regions and provinces may form political cultures, that only one might, or that neither does.

In comparing regions and provinces by their relative features alone, it seems that if

there were indeed something which could be called a 'regional' political culture it would more likely manifest at the provincial than the regional level. The critical differences lie in the fact that provinces have government institutions and important areas of jurisdiction which regions lack, and there is a greater strength of identity with provinces. Regions do not possess features which help perpetuate and strengthen regional orientations, particularly against the increasingly assertive provincial organization in moulding the society. The concept of province-building is not irrelevant here; with the growth of provincial governments comes ambition and a greater capacity to shape society and this, in relation to the regions' lack of "constitutional, institutional and bureaucratic muscles," (Gibbins 1980:199) has aided the greater division of the population along provincial lines. Through the various aspects of the provincial apparatus, from school systems to political leaders, provinces are more active in communicating views, are more closely related and politically relevant than regions, and are therefore better able to shape political orientations. Accordingly, provinces, with their particular characteristics and stronger identities, are more likely to divide the population than regions and, therefore, be the level on which a political culture may exist.

Since 'regional' political attitudes are said to affect system performance, it is possible that this distinction between regional and provincial patterns of orientations may also modify the perceived impact of regionalism on the political system.¹ It seems that the distinction between the two patterns of orientations alone would do very little to alter the perspectives on the impact of 'regional cultures,' yet it may offer some insight into future effects. If there is indeed a growing 'provincialism' in that provincial governments and units are becoming increasingly significant, then the moderating position of regions may

¹ For a discussion on schools of thought regarding the impact of regional political cultures see Stephen Ullman (1979). "Regional Political Cultures in Canada". In Richard Schultz et al. (Eds.), *The Canadian Political Process* (3rd ed.)(pp. 3-14). Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston of Canada.

decline to a state of insignificance. Currently regions are significant because they represent a set of shared characteristics with which individuals identify; however, it is possible that, since much of the similarity of the regional political perspectives relates to shared socio-demographic features, should these attributes change and/or the historical foundation no longer be relevant or important, so too would the common ties that bind. If the foundation for regional identities and characteristics declines and there is no structural capacity to encourage and reinforce the grouping, such as governments or symbols, then the regions' position as an influence on political attitudes would also be expected to decline. Regional orientations can only be expected to persist so long as there remains a common identity and shared characteristics. Thus, in the face of growing provincial governments, strong provincial identities, and declining regional distinctness, one might anticipate that regional patterns of orientations will also wane. Provinces, on the other hand, would remain significant, if not more so, due to their structural capacity as agents of socialization and their ability to mould their societies. Consequently, territorial divisions may evolve to be ten distinct units instead of five distinct regional units with intra-regional variations. The impact of this on the political system may range from starker contrasts in orientations among a greater number of units to simply greater unit fragmentation but otherwise no significant additional consequences.

Scholars have suggested that this decline of regionalism is already underway, particularly in the Prairies. Gibbins (1980:115) has argued that changes in both the socio-economic character of the region and political change have been in the direction of reducing the distinctiveness of the Prairie region. Moreover, as Gibbins (1980:207, 208, 209) states, with factors such as economic diversification and the increase in the strength and autonomy of provincial governments, it does not appear that a reversal of regional decline is forthcoming; the "provinces cannot be put together into a regional Humpty Dumpty." Consequently, with the decline in regional linkages, the system is left with relations

between and among governments which may or may not lead to greater divisiveness. However, it should be noted that these changes are far from occurring overnight. It has been found that group identifications are very resistant to change, even under extensive pressure, and that political viewpoints passed on through generations may continue even long after the original stimulus is no longer relevant (Dawson and Prewitt 1969: 22, 123).

Certainly one can construe these territorial variations in attitudes and orientations to have very negative impacts on the political system yet, as Jackson and Jackson (1994:107) point out, these sub-cultures are only disruptive if loyalties to these groups are stronger than to the nation. Having regional or provincial, even national, identifications and outlooks are not necessarily mutually exclusive², therefore views that this "regional fragmentation" will come to dismantle this country seem premature if not overstated. As Dawson and Prewitt (1969:185) note, "[s]table democracies seem most likely to develop in non-fragmented cultures in which there is a broad consensus on political fundamentals." The differences in attitudes towards political life, at least the ones examined here, indicated that, in fact, the absolute differences were not great nor were the differences observed reflective of consistent dissimilarity among all the available pairs of provincial or regional units, although some units had stood apart more than others. Moreover, there emerged within the empirical findings an implication of a national pattern of orientations as well; a possible overarching, or Pan-Canadian, value system shared by all citizens.

In explaining political system performance, the effects of mass political orientations are often included as causal variables. The purpose of this study was not to look deep into the actual differences in attitudes which engender conflict and tensions among territorial units, although clearly many do. Rather, the purpose was call to attention the diversity of opinions and values in this country and the complex mixture of agents of socialization

² Gibbins (1990:135) notes that "regional identities form the building blocks of the Canadian identity...[that is, they] are found at the core of the Canadian *national* identity."

which help produce these differences. In particular, although regions and provinces seem very similar, they are not identical; the patterns of orientations while related, are distinct. Indeed, it is possible that there are still other identities and patterns of orientations which cut across regional/provincial lines. Ornstein et al., for example, argue that there are both horizontal (class) cleavages and regional cleavages such that, as attitudes move from the concrete level (eg: governmental institutions) to the abstract level (eg: the use of political power and goals of action), region accounts for less than class (1980:235). It is certainly not outside the realm of possibility that some agents may influence certain types of attitudes concurrently, that some may influence one attitude more than another, or that agents may create discontinuities in the attitudes socialized. It is clear that political socialization and its agents are significant factors in the development of political orientations which in turn are hypothesized to affect the behaviour of the political system.

Like the blind men describing the elephant, there are a number of ways to approach and describe the phenomenon of political orientations. Socialization is a complex process; political attitudes can be about spatially-linked differences in socialization experiences as well as others. This study sought to verify and explain the distinction between regional and provincial patterns of political orientations through empirical data and theories on political socialization. In recognizing the importance of political socialization processes and the distinction between regions and provinces as agents in the transmission of political values, a clearer understanding of 'regional' political cultures specifically, but also political attitudes generally, is gained. Regions and provinces are agents of socialization which, like outriders to a wagon, guide the political learning of their respective members and produce territorially differentiated attitudes and beliefs regarding the political world.

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Figure A-1: Value Distribution for Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State

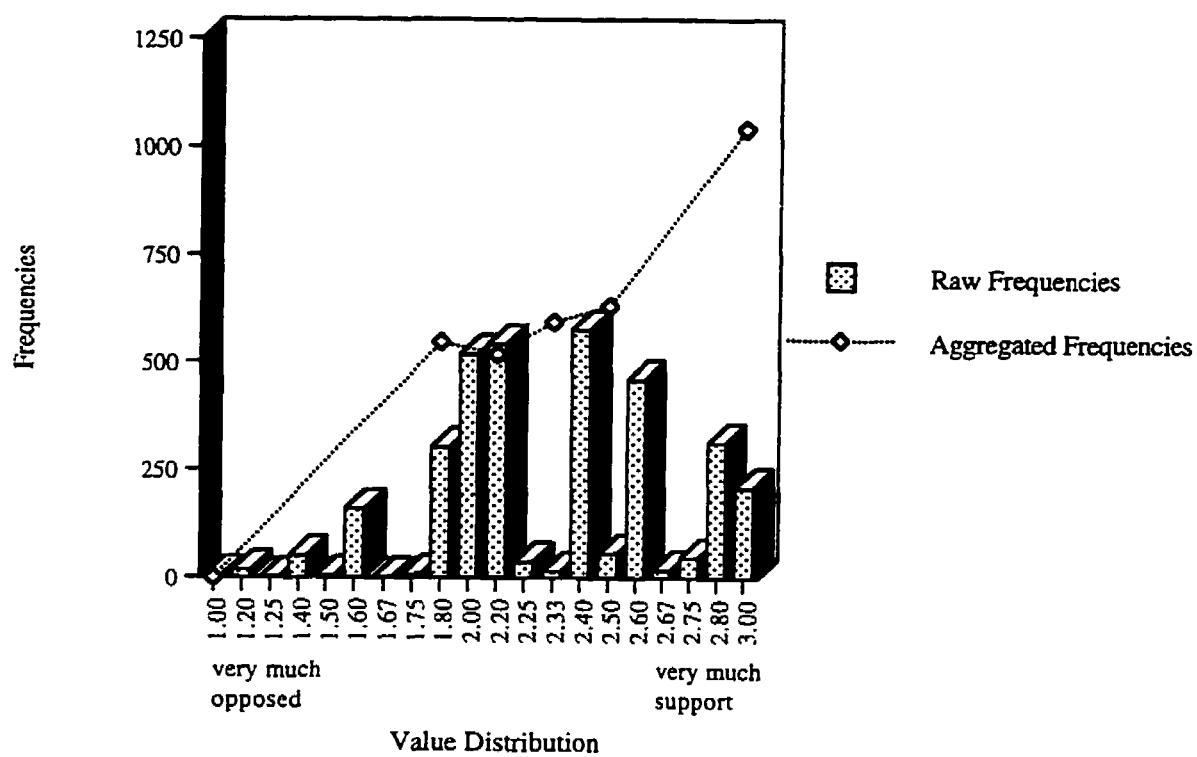


Figure A-2: Value Distribution for Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy

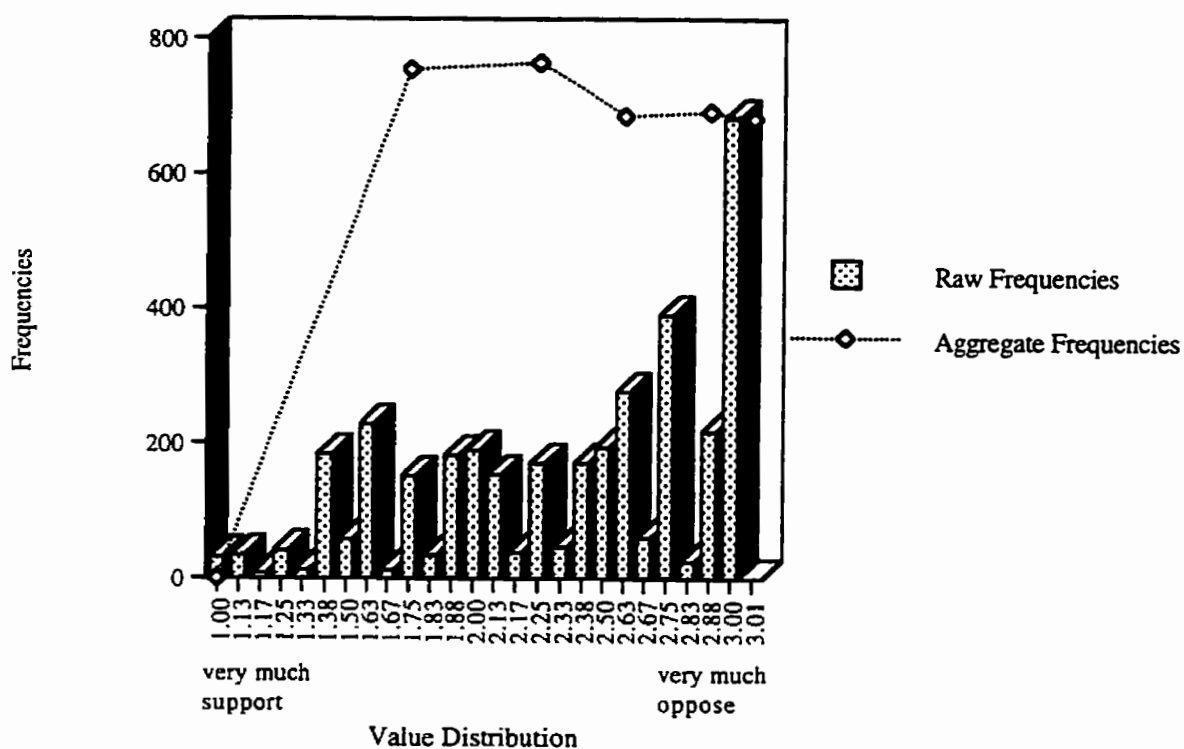


Figure A-3: Value Distribution for Sense of Political Alienation

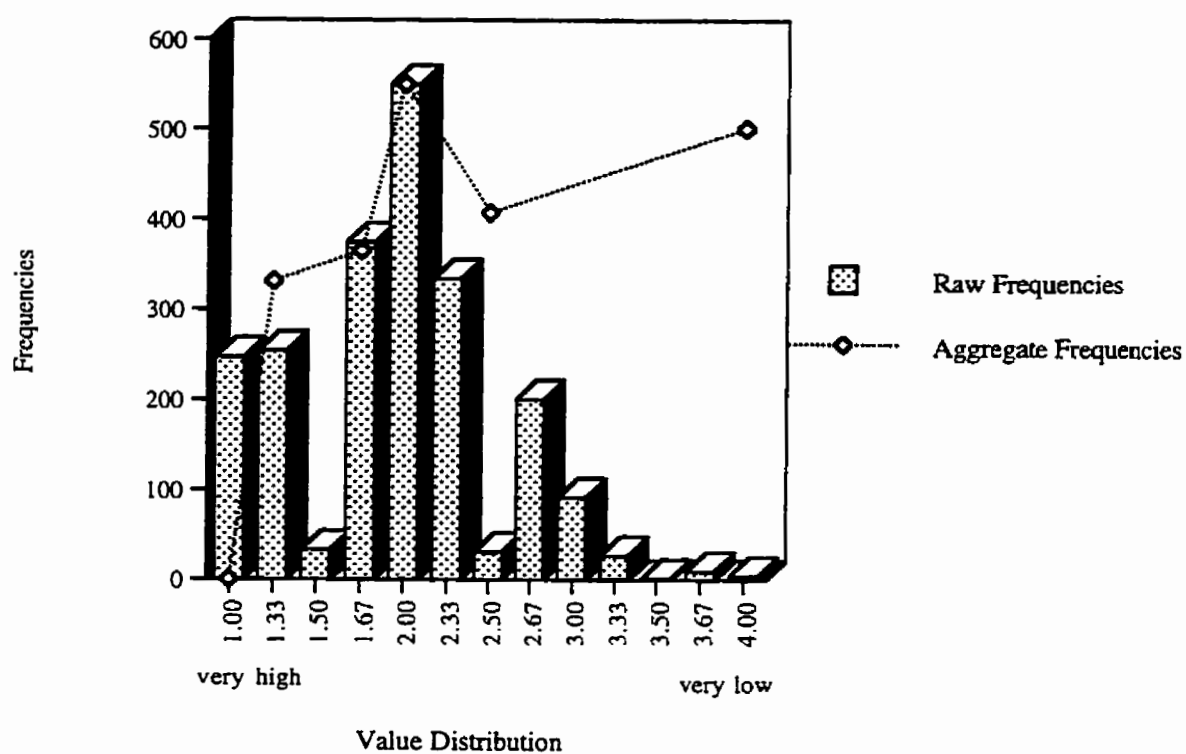


Figure A-4: Value Distribution for Attitudes Towards Participation

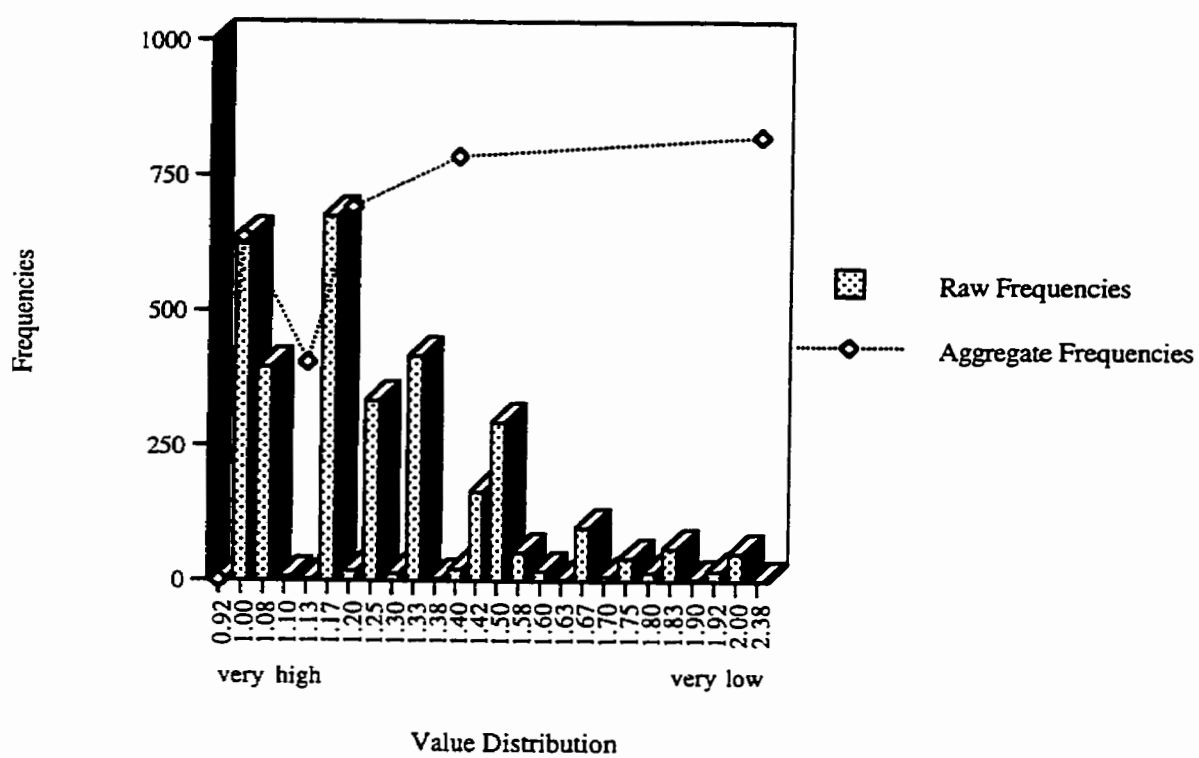


Table A-1: Mean Scores of Control Variables by Political Indicator

		Attitudes Towards the Current Social Welfare State	Attitudes Towards National Economic Policy	Sense of Political Alienation	Attitudes Towards Participation
1/Gender	Male	3.18	3.24	3.07	2.87
	Female	3.50	2.86	3.30	2.67
2/Age	18-25	3.41	3.36	3.16	1.93
	26-45	3.31	3.07	3.19	2.75
	45+	3.35	2.94	3.17	3.10
3/Party ID	Liberals	3.41	2.84	3.10	2.96
	P.C.	2.96	3.80	2.90	2.97
	NDP	4.27	2.44	3.26	2.88
	Reform	2.47	2.93	3.55	3.16
4/Income	Low	3.61	2.88	3.52	2.42
	Middle	3.30	3.06	3.18	2.76
	High	3.05	3.29	2.86	3.20
5/Education	None-some H.S.	3.31	2.93	3.49	2.31
	H.S., some tech/cc	3.24	2.98	3.41	2.61
	Complete tech/cc	3.26	3.03	3.13	2.84
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	3.32	3.30	2.60	3.32

Notes: Bolded numbers indicate involvement in at least one statistically different pair relationship.

Table A-2: Percentage Distribution of Control Variable Categories by Region

		Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	46.2	51.2	52.2	50.5	54.2
	Female	53.8	48.8	47.8	49.5	45.8
2/Age	18-25	12.5	15.8	11.5	12.5	10.4
	26-45	52.8	47.9	50.2	50.4	53.1
	45+	34.8	36.3	38.4	37.1	36.5
3/Party ID*	Liberals	59.8	64.4	51.3	26.8	30.9
	P.C.	29.4	32.2	32.6	40.8	27.5
	NDP	8.4	3.4	9.2	15.9	26.1
	Reform	2.4	---	6.9	16.4	15.5
4/Income*	Low	44.1	35.4	25.7	33.7	33.6
	Middle	37.4	40.1	38.5	38.2	37.0
	High	18.6	24.6	35.7	28.1	29.4
5/Education *	None-some H.S.	41.6	25.7	20.9	24.9	20.6
	H.S., some tech/cc	28.1	32.7	38.0	37.3	37.9
	Complete tech/cc	15.0	21.1	21.6	21.1	23.2
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	15.4	20.5	19.5	16.7	18.3

Notes: * p<.01

Dashes indicate that data is unavailable

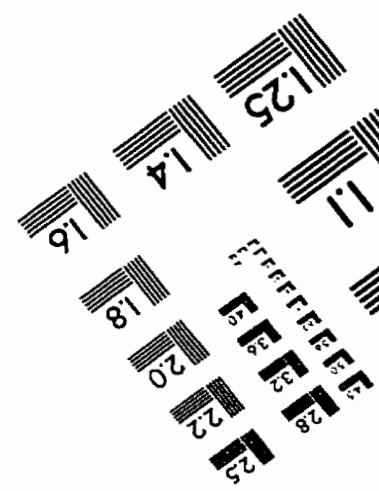
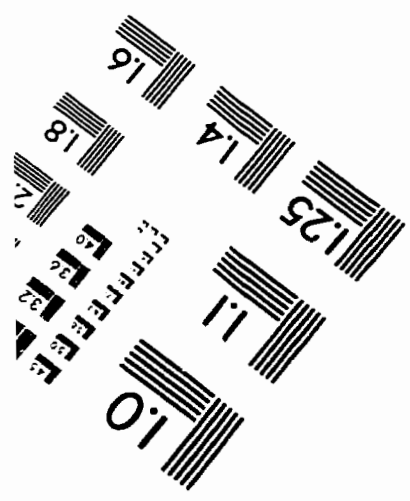
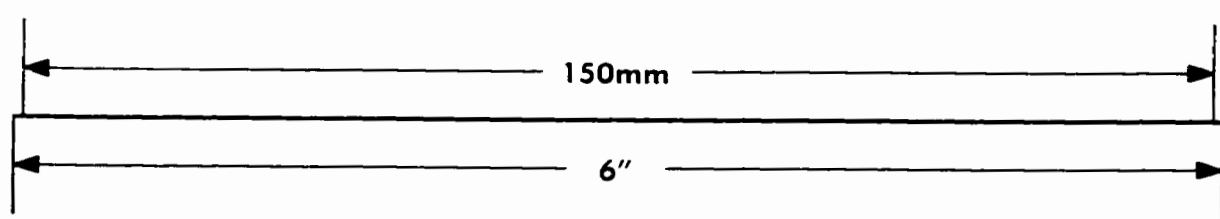
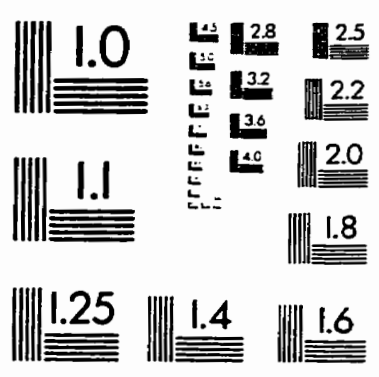
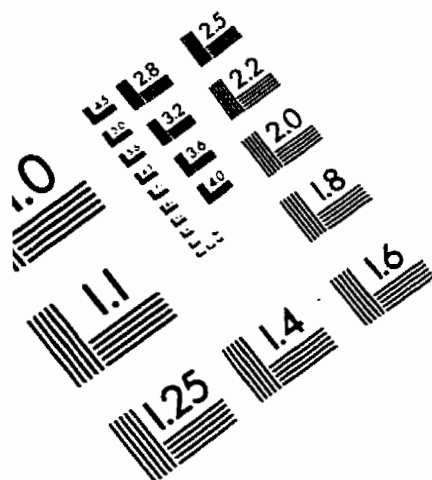
Table A-3: Percentage Distribution of Control Variable Categories by Province

		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	PQ	Ont	Mn	Sask	Alta	B.C.
1/Gender	Male	45.5	58.0	38.8	42.6	51.2	52.2	51.8	50.9	49.7	54.2
	Female	54.5	42.0	61.2	57.4	48.8	47.8	48.2	49.1	50.3	45.8
2/Age*	18-25	13.5	7.0	13.3	15.7	15.8	11.5	14.1	11.0	12.4	10.4
	26-45	60.4	47.0	52.0	50.9	47.9	50.2	45.8	44.3	55.2	53.1
	45+	26.1	46.0	34.7	33.3	36.3	38.4	40.1	44.8	32.4	36.5
3/Party ID*	Liberals	65.4	70.6	43.7	59.1	64.4	51.3	33.3	23.8	24.6	30.9
	P.C.	28.4	26.5	33.8	28.8	32.2	32.6	37.5	38.5	43.5	27.5
	NDP	6.2	2.9	18.3	6.1	3.4	9.2	20.2	28.5	8.5	26.1
	Reform	---	---	4.2	6.1	---	6.9	8.9	9.2	23.3	15.5
4/Income*	Low	40.2	45.2	38.9	52.0	35.4	25.7	32.7	37.3	32.7	33.6
	Middle	33.6	43.0	45.6	28.6	40.1	38.5	44.2	34.7	36.9	37.0
	High	26.2	11.8	15.6	19.4	24.6	35.7	23.1	28.0	30.5	29.4
5/Education*	None-some H.S.	47.5	42.1	31.4	41.8	25.7	20.9	30.3	25.2	22.4	20.6
	H.S., some tech/cc	21.3	35.1	33.3	26.6	32.7	38.0	33.1	38.1	38.8	37.9
	Complete tech/cc	12.5	12.3	15.7	19.0	21.1	21.6	17.9	23.1	21.5	23.2
	Bachelor-Ph.D.	18.8	10.5	19.6	12.7	20.5	19.5	18.6	13.6	17.3	18.3

Notes: * p<.01

Dashes indicate that data is unavailable

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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