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PARTY IMAGE CONSISTENCY -

1974, 1979

by

GREG VICKERS

A thesis
presented to Carleton University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
M.A.
in
Political Science

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ABSTRACT

Data from the 1974-1979-1980 Canadian National Election and Quebec Referendum Panel Study are used to test two hypotheses concerning Canadian federal party images. The party images are coded into seven broad image aspects: leader/leadership, policies, ideology, times/performance, area/group, style, and general images.

The first hypothesis states that the party images of the electorate and of individual citizens are consistent over time. That is, the proportion of images which can be coded into each aspect stays the same from election to election. The second hypothesis takes the opposing view that the aggregate and individual level images are not consistent over time.

Consistency is found at the broadest aggregate level. However, further analysis shows that this varies by party and to a lesser extent by image aspect. Individual level analysis finds that two-thirds of the 1974-79 panel respondents were not consistent in the proportion of their images coded under each image aspect. Further, those respondents who had consistent party images are not more consistent on other variables. Thus, the second hypothesis is best supported by the data.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with party images and political behaviour in Canada. Two hypotheses will be offered concerning the degree of consistency to be found in the voters' images. The first hypothesis states that voters do not concentrate their images on the same aspect of the parties' images from one election to the next whereas the second hypothesis states that they do concentrate on the same aspects over time. These party image aspects include leadership, policies, ideology, and other basic characteristics of parties found in their images. The hypotheses as well as the image aspects will be described in more detail later in the thesis. There are, however, more fundamental issues which must be dealt with first. These include why one should be interested in studying parties in relation to political behaviour in Canada and more specifically why party images are relevant to this pursuit.

Anthony Downs describes a person as rational if the individual...

moves toward his goals in a way which, to the best of his knowledge, uses the least possible input of scarce resources per unit of valued output.¹

¹ Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p.5.

Downs was referring to voters who must use their personal resources to gather information to be used in making a vote choice. The amount of information the voters can use is limited. This is because the human mind is capable of using only a certain amount of data at one time. The assimilation and evaluation of the information requires time which isn't always available. Therefore, according to Downs, the voters must use their own "principles of selection". in order to determine which information to use in making the vote choice..

Every voter needs a certain minimum amount of information to be able to vote, such as the date of the election. Beyond that, it is up to the individual citizens to decide how much information they require. Downs states that the voters weigh the cost of attaining the information against the importance to them of the election outcome. The voters choose information that is relevant to the vote choice and comprehensive enough to be able to make that decision. Some information is easier to attain, such as that broadcast on the national news. It would, for example, probably take more time and effort in order to be able to attend an all candidates meeting. The costs incurred in getting and using data can be minimized by letting others select and gather it, analyze it, and even evaluate it. Watching television news takes some time, but the information has been pre-packaged so as to lower the other costs.

Ultimately though, the voters must compare the costs they do incur to the expected benefits. Generally, a single vote makes very little difference to an electoral outcome. Therefore, the benefit of voting for the "right" party is minimal. Downs states, "In general, it is irrational to be politically well-informed because the low returns from data simply do not justify their cost in time and other scarce resources."²

Party images are related to this quest to minimize costs. One way for the voters to cut costs is to concentrate their energies on political objects that, under one banner, will include the various factors used in making the vote choice. Wallas wrote...

to each citizen, living as he does in the infinite stream of things, only a few of his fellow-citizens could exist as separate objects of political thought or feeling, even if each one of them held only one opinion on one subject without change during his life. Something is required simpler and more permanent, something which can be loved and trusted, and which can be recognized at successive elections as being the same thing that was loved and trusted before; and a party is such a thing.³

The salience of the political party in a representative democracy is evident. The parliamentary system which has developed in Canada makes the parties which operate within it even more important. Independent candidates are seldom elected. A presidential system, such as in the Unit-

² Ibid., p. 259.

³ Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics (New York: F.S. Crafts and Co., 1921), pp. 103-4.

4

ed States, allows the individual candidates to be more independent of their parties but even there they are tied to their parties to one degree or another. In Canada, it is the parties which more people cite as being more important to their vote choice than either party leaders or local candidates.⁴ Therefore, knowing more about the images which the voters hold of the political parties is crucial if we want to understand more about Canadian political behaviour. More specifically, this thesis will examine party images at the aggregate and individual levels in order to help clarify whether political behaviour in Canada can be considered to be long or short-term in nature. Clarke, Jenson, Leduc, and Panmatt concluded that,

A majority of Canadians are flexible in their partisanship, either because they support different parties in federal and provincial politics, because they have changed their allegiance in the past, or because they are only weakly attracted to any of the parties.⁵ Further, people evaluate the parties in ways which are easily susceptible to change and party images are dominated by references to current policies or leaders, or by the parties' recent performance in government, opposition, or the campaign itself. Reasons given for changing partisanship are consistently related to issues, policies, or leaders.⁵

The picture painted of Canadian politics by Clarke et al. is largely one of short-term forces affecting short-term behaviour. The findings contained here as to the consistency the voters exhibit in their party images over time

⁴ see Clarke, Jenson, Leduc, and Panmatt. Political Choice in Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979, ch. 11.

⁵ Ibid, p. 391.

will help to support or contradict their conclusions. A finding of consistency in the criteria voters use to evaluate the parties, would indicate underlying long-term forces in Canadian political behaviour even if the voting act itself is only short-term in nature. A finding of inconsistency would give added credence to the notion that the potential for change is always present in Canadian politics. A party, a leader, or a policy in favour at one time could be out of favour quickly given a certain set of short-term factors.

1.1 IMAGES

"Image" is probably one of the most overused words in the English language today. One need only observe the mass media for a short time to confirm the accuracy of this statement. The improvement and cultivation of images is an undertaking of large proportions if the amount of media coverage devoted to this subject can be taken as any indication.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary includes eight definitions for the entry "image":⁶

1. A reproduction of a person or thing.
2. A thing actually or seemingly reproducing another.

⁶ Philip Babcock Gove, editor in chief,
Webster's Third New International Dictionary
(Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam, 1976), p.
1128.

3. An exact likeness.
4. A tangible or visible representation.
5. A mental picture.
6. A markedly vivid, effective, or graphic representation or description.
7. Something concrete or abstract introduced (as in poem or speech) to represent something else, which it strikingly resembles or suggests.
8. A person who is strikingly like another person.

The meanings overlap and leave a great deal of room for interpretation. This helps explain why image is a term which is used with impunity. Its use in politics is widespread. Politicians are often said to be having an "image problem". Commentators describe the images of politicians and their parties with great confidence in their ability to sum up the way people feel en masse towards their elected representatives. Image is a common term in the study of literature and psychology as well as being part of the "lingo" and buzz word vocabulary of advertisers and public relations specialists.

The "father" of party image analysis was Graham Wallas. His classic work, Human Nature in Politics contains the following passage,

When a party has once come into existence its fortunes depend upon facts of human nature of which deliberate thought is only one. It is primarily a name, which, like other names, calls up when it is heard or seen an "image" that shades imperceptibly into the voluntary realization of its meaning. As in other cases, emotional reactions can be set up

by the name and its automatic mental associations. It is the business of the party managers to secure that these automatic associations shall be shared by as large a number as possible, and shall call up as many and as strong emotions as possible.⁷

Dan Nimmo has written a great deal about public opinion and perceptions. He describes an image as...

a subjective representation of something previously perceived. It is an interpreted sensation or, in other words, a meaningful impression, appearance, semblance, or similar mental representation of our perceptions.⁸

Nimmo's terminology is close to that of the dictionary but limits an image to individual perceptions which may or may not be accurate in terms of objective reality. P.N. Furbank's Reflections on the Word "Image" deals primarily with the use of images in literature. However, in an appendix, he discusses what he calls "public" images. Furbank argues that "reputation" and "image" are often confused. He makes a distinction by saying a public image can be implanted in the mind directly while a reputation can be changed only through behaving in a certain way and then waiting for an addition to be made to the pre-existing reputation. A reputation is complex while images flow only in one direction, from the object being perceived to the individual perceiving that object. His conception of image is of something without great substance. He states, "a 'public image' must always be a poor and thin affair, something

⁷ Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, p. 104.

⁸ Dan D. Nimmo, Popular Images of Politics (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 5-6.

without the dense texture of reality."⁹

V.O. Key described party images largely in terms of policy.

People tend to have a broad image of parties. They see a party as generally dedicated to the interests of a particular set of groups within society, or as committed to a broad range of policy objectives. Their shorthand image of a party may encompass a bundle of particular policies about which information and opinions may be sparse; yet their commitment to a party may give them leverage on that range of issues to the extent that the party machinery is animated by both good faith and competence as it translates into detailed actions its mandate to govern.¹⁰

Key includes some form of partisanship or party identification when discussing party images. In Key's view, long-term commitment to a party gives the voters a place to organize their short-term images of the parties.

English researchers R.S. Milne and H.C. Mackenzie exclude short-term opinions by definition when they describe party images. Their view is different than Key's in that there is no distinction made over whether a voter identifies with a particular party or not. In their work, Marginal Seat (1959), they state that short-term policies have potential for becoming party images but that they must be strongly associated with one party and then become entrenched in a more permanent manner. This means that the party would have to take a consistent policy stand over a fairly long period

⁹ P.N. Furbank, Reflections on the Word "Image" (London: Secker and Warburg, 1970), p. 142.

¹⁰ V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 433.

of time. The authors point out that once the image is created, it may stay with the party even though the party changes its policy or the exact nature of the issues change. This view of party images as something more than short-term opinions may reflect the more long-term nature of British politics, where the parties are more clearly associated with specific classes and ideologies than in North America.

A rare example of a book-length work on party images is Party Image and Electoral Behavior by Richard J. Trilling. He describes American party images in the following manner.

A party image quite simply is a mental picture an individual has about a political party... as we trace these likes and dislikes for the parties over time, we shall discover the long-term and short-term components in the political agenda of Americans. This agenda is not necessarily what parties, politicians, elected officials, political observers, or political events define it to be. Rather, the likes and dislikes Americans articulate about their political parties reveal the imprint that past and present issues, events, and candidates have left in their perceptions of political parties.¹¹

Trilling attempts to simplify the definition of a party image but it is difficult to measure a "mental picture". The definition of just what constitutes a party image must be made more operational. There is nothing "wrong" with the definitions cited up to this point if the discussion were to remain strictly theoretical but a more practical description of a party image is needed here. Such a de-

¹¹ Richard J. Trilling, Party Image and Electoral Behavior (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1976), pp. 2-4.

definition is provided by Nimmo. He states: "Party images consist of what people believe about each of the major political parties, like and dislike about them, and what they expect the parties to do..."¹²

The name of a party evokes certain thoughts and opinions about the organization which it symbolizes. These likes and/or dislikes help the voters to compare the parties and decide for which to vote. Party images are nothing more and nothing less than judgements by citizens about the merits of the political organizations which vie for their support. Voters minimize costs by making the parties the objects of evaluation in the vote decision process. Their party images sum up still further the relevant information needed to make the vote choice.

1.2 HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses to be tested in this thesis relate to the degree of consistency shown by voters in the way they perceive the Canadian federal political parties. Survey research data will be employed in order to determine which of the two general hypotheses is best supported. Party images will be divided into the various aspects of the parties which can be most readily identified and distinguished from one another. These include such aspects as their leadership, policies,

¹² Dan D. Nimmo, Political Communication and Public Opinion in America (Santa Monica, California: Goodyear, 1978), p. 379.

and ideology. Voters will be placed on indices according to which image aspects they concentrate upon at two time points (1974 and 1979).

The first hypothesis states that there is very little consistency to be found in the way voters evaluate the parties over time. The amount of emphasis placed on the various party image aspects changes from one election to the next. One campaign, for example, might see much more attention being paid to the party leaders than another campaign at a different time. In the case of the 1974/1979 campaigns, two of the major parties changed leaders in the period between elections. Policies, or at least the amount of publicity about them, can change dramatically from one election to the next. Wage and price controls were a highly visible policy alternative in 1974 whereas this was seldom discussed in 1979. Two examples of policies which made headlines only in 1979 were the Conservatives' proposals to move the embassy in Israel and the idea of income tax deductions based on mortgage payments. The results of the 1974 and 1979 elections were very different in that the Liberals lost their majority and became the official opposition to the first Conservative government in over fifteen years.

Voters who are sensitive to short-term factors would not be expected to show any long-term consistency in the aspects of the parties' images which they cite when responding to interviewers' questions. They will evaluate the

parties based on their personal concerns or the popular interest of the day. Their images will be influenced by what the parties and press choose to concentrate upon rather than a more long-term conception of which party aspect is most relevant to them.

The second hypothesis takes the view that the voters are consistent in the image aspects they use to evaluate the political parties. It is true that the emphasis in any one campaign can shift toward leadership or any other party aspect. However, no campaign will concentrate on any image aspect to the exclusion of all others. It would be extremely simplistic to sum up an election campaign by saying it was about certain policies or the personality of a leader. This would ignore the myriad of other features which are found in political campaigns. For example, the voter who is concerned about how the parties relate to different regions or groups in Canada will be able to find ample material in any election campaign upon which to base evaluations of the parties.

Why would voters choose to concentrate on one image aspect from election to election? The political party has already been described as an entity which can make more sense out of a confusing election campaign by summing up the alternatives under one banner. An election campaign can still be baffling to voters, however, because each party is promoting itself and trying to discredit its opponents at

the same time. Add to this the coverage of the news media and the views of friends and family, and a voter can be "swamped" by conflicting information on each of the image aspects. Concentrating on one image aspect is a way of making some sense of this information so that the parties can be evaluated and the vote choice made. This is not to say that each voter uses only one image aspect to the exclusion of all others, but simply that they concentrate most of their energies on one to minimize costs. The parties' appeals to the electorate include leadership, policy, and other types of content. Therefore, their images will probably be multi-faceted. The choice of which aspect to concentrate upon will be largely subjective for each voter. It will be based on which image aspect the voters feel is most relevant to their vote choice. Voters who believe that the best way to compare the parties is on the basis of their leadership will concentrate on that aspect of their images. The political process does not cease between elections nor do the appeals which the parties make for support among the citizenry. Therefore, the voters can continue to concentrate on the same image aspect in the inter-election period. The need to evaluate the parties would just become more pressing in an election campaign.

The next section will examine some of the relevant literature on Canadian political parties to find out if it contains any indication or suggestion as to what the data

used in this thesis is likely to show in relation to the two hypotheses described above.

1.3 CANADIAN PARTY IMAGES

Wallas wrote that voters react to the names of parties as symbols of the larger political entity. The hearing or reading of the particular party name is a cue to the citizen which evokes the images. The Canadian political parties also have logos which have been designed to evoke certain images in those people who see them. The Liberal Party uses the maple leaf as an integral part of its visual symbol while the Conservatives' logo incorporates the basic design of the flag. The NDP uses the Peace Tower. It would be difficult to find three more patriotic symbols.

J.A. Laponce writes that three party names have dominated Canadian political history. The names Liberal, Conservative, and Progressive appear again and again, either alone or in combinations. An existing party may change its name; it may want to stop a decline in its support or increase a stagnant level of support. The creation of the NDP fits that description. Declining support was a major factor in the decision to form a "New Party" which would try to appeal to a broader group of voters than the CCF. Desmond Morton states; "It was not simply the Regina Manifesto which tied the CCF to the Thirties; it was the name, the faces, the utterances, the ever-present righteousness - the entire

image of the party."¹³

The Conservatives became The "Progressive Conservatives" after John Bracken became party leader in 1942. The idea of changing the name had come from Bracken who felt the party's name should reflect its newly adopted policies at that time. He also thought it would be easier for his own Manitoba followers to support the party.¹⁴

One of the problems with the change was the translation into French. According to Laponce, the words appear more contradictory and difficult to say than their English equivalents. Most commentators use the initials P.C. or stay with Conservative or Tory. In Quebec the old "bleu" is still a common name. The name Liberal has been successful in both languages in that it is simple, easy to say, and perfectly bilingual. The main reason that it has stayed around so long is a function of the success of the party which uses it. The old adage about sticking with something that works seems to apply well here. Laponce states, "...a measure of linguistic success is also a measure of political success."¹⁵

¹³ Desmond Morton, Social Democracy in Canada (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977), p.20.

¹⁴ see John Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 190-194.

¹⁵ J.A. Laponce, "Canadian Party Labels: An Essay in Semantics and Anthropology," Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (June 1969): 154.

The names of the two major parties have remained largely unchanged which would tend to provide stability for voters who wish to build long-term images of the parties. However, the "substance" of the images which the party names and logos evoke has not necessarily been constant. Beck and Dooley identify three types of images which have been dominant in Canada. These are:

1. Party of economic expansion.
2. Party of national unity.
3. Party with a great leader.¹⁶

These images can be identified all the way back to Macdonald's Conservatives who billed themselves as "nation builders". The Liberals under Laurier took over this image, summed up with the phrase, "The twentieth century belongs to Canada". Mackenzie King's Liberals became the party of national prosperity and competence. The Diefenbaker Conservatives revived the nation-building image in 1957.

According to Beck and Dooley, the conditions required for successfully taking on the nation-building/ economic expansion image must be "right" (ie. the economy must be in good shape) but a party must be concerned with national unity at all times. One way to accomplish this is to not offend anyone. King was an expert at this, aided by the mistakes of his opponents. The Liberals' next leader, Louis St. Laurent, extolled the virtues of national unity while

¹⁶ J.M. Beck and D.J. Dooley, "Party Images in Canada," Queens Quarterly 67 (Autumn 1960); 433.

making few promises. The Conservatives have made various attempts over the years to be more associated with national unity but have seldom been successful. Diefenbaker's ability to attract MP's from various ethnic groups and the appointments he made of minority group representatives proved popular in the West but eventually backfired in Quebec where the concept of "un-hyphenated" Canadians did not play well.

Macdonald and Laurier both dominated the images of their respective parties. According to Beck and Dooley, Mackenzie-King tried to be the "average Canadian" but seemed aloof despite being perceived as the "right man for the job". St. Laurent had a father-like image, being known to some as "Uncle Louis" but he eventually became a hinderance to his party when his leadership became an important issue. Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservatives were almost one and the same during his time as leader as the party's fortunes followed his own personal popularity fluctuations.

Beck and Dooley term their extremely broad descriptions of the parties as "party images". The lack of evidence which accompanies their work is unavoidable due to the lack of survey data available for most of the period they were discussing. Their suggestion of leadership and two very broad issues as images which have been dominant in Canada does suggest, however, that a certain consistency exists in the image concerns of the electorate. Their observation that the images have not been associated with one

party over time also suggests that the actual images of the electorate are not necessarily long-term.

Harold Scarrow compares the images of the Liberals and Conservatives. He delves into the debate over whether the two major parties are actually distinguishable or not. The traditional view was that the Conservatives were the party of big business. They were identified with tariff protection which aided the manufacturing and financial communities. Scarrow points out that the Liberals have received donations from these interests at a similar rate to the Conservatives. The general public might not be aware of this and as a result, "...the question of which party is backed by the business community is one which is more appropriately posed to the 'inside dopest' than to the average voter."¹⁷

According to Scarrow, the content of party images in Canada is unstable. More people do cite the Conservatives as being for big business but the difference is far less than in the United States and it tends to fluctuate as shown in public opinion polls. Scarrow concludes that the most popular party is the one that is perceived as best able to handle various problems such as unemployment at a given point in time, or in other words, best takes advantage of short-term forces.

¹⁷ Harold A. Scarrow, "Distinguishing Between Political Parties - The Case of Canada," Midwest Journal of Political Science 9 (February 1965): 71.

John Meisel described the images of the parties in the early 1960's in his article, "Recent Changes in Canadian Parties". The Liberals stress the dualism of Canada while not forgetting that Canada is a pluralistic society. They are sympathetic to the U.S. and collective security arrangements. The Grits manage to support large scale social welfare programmes such as pensions and medicare while also remaining responsive to corporations. They have a reputation for heavy usage of patronage appointments. The focus of the party is on the federal level and more particularly on the Cabinet. Unity is strong within the federal party but relations between the federal wing and the provincial parties are not always good. Support for the party is concentrated in French Canada and large urban areas while the West has not been kind to the Liberals. Arrogance is often associated with the party.

The Liberals have become an administrative party, i.e. a party which thinks it is uniquely suited to run the country and a party furthermore, which seeks power not so much because of the spoils of office but because many of its leaders believe that they genuinely have a special gift for running public affairs.¹⁸

The Conservatives were dominated at the time of Meisel's writing by John Diefenbaker and this is reflected in his article. The party rejected dualism and preferred to treat the French population like all other ethnic groups.

¹⁸ John Meisel, "Recent Changes in Canadian Parties," in Party Politics in Canada 2nd edition, ed. Hugh G. Thorneburn (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 48-9.

Unhyphenated Canadianism meant a stress on the British heritage and tradition. A strong central government was promoted and the Conservatives were generally more nationalistic than the Liberals in relations with the United States. The provincial parties had more power than in the Liberal Party but the federal party was more disunited. Meisel stressed the division over the leadership of the party going on at the time as being of crucial importance. Support for the party is the opposite of the Liberals with their strength being in the West and rural areas and traditionally weak in French Canada.

Meisel cited both long and short-term characteristics in the images of the Conservatives and Liberals. The NDP has been around for a relatively shorter period of time. The changing of the CCF to the NDP has already been discussed very briefly. During the period of organizing the NDP, it was known simply as the "New Party". It fought and won a by-election in 1960 under that banner in Peterborough, an area where the CCF had shown little success. W.D. Young attributed the victory to the new positive image the party projected against the stale old images of the other two parties. He felt the negative image of the CCF had been replaced by a less radical and doctrinaire style. The party supported job creation, economic planning, orderly growth, and a more progressive tax system with the government playing an important role in the economy but not to the extent

that the CCF had promoted from the time of its entry on the political scene. The "New Party" gave the voters what they wanted. Young wrote,

The success or failure of the image in its appeal to the electorate will depend upon what the electorate desires in a party image, and in this sense the image of the party must depend to a great extent upon the assessment by the party of the feeling of the times.¹⁹

Young's conclusion provides ammunition for each of the hypotheses discussed earlier. On the one hand he states that the established parties had 'old images' whereas he also points out that the New Party attracted a great number of votes with a fresh image.

The works cited to this point are mostly descriptive in nature and based on subjective observations by the authors. This does not allow any strong conclusions to be reached about the images actually held by the electorate. The 1965 and 1968 Canadian National Election Studies provided researchers with an opportunity to "measure" the images which Canadian voters had of their political parties.²⁰

The Liberals were found to have the best image overall and showed the most improvement from 1965 to 1968. Their image was one of a young, powerful, exciting, and modern party compared to their opponents. The Conservatives

¹⁹ W.D. Young, "The Peterborough Election: The Success of a Party Image." The Dalhousie Review 40 (Winter 1960-61): 516.

²⁰ see John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), ch. 2.

were rated consistently lower than the Liberals but did relatively better on certain aspects of their image. On the positive side were images of working hard, honesty, youth, and competence. The more negative side of their image included perceptions of weakness, disunity, dullness, and being out of date. The NDP also fell well below the Liberals but did relatively better on such image aspects as their youth, hard work, modernity, and honesty. The more negative aspects of its image were a perceived weakness, incompetence, disunity, and general "badness". Meisel's work does not relate directly to the question of whether or not the individuals in the electorate are consistent because he only had two cross-sections of respondents to study and not panel data. His findings lend support to both of the hypotheses included in this thesis, however. Meisel found that the images of the Liberals and NDP changed dramatically from 1965 to 1968 which suggests general volatility in the electorate. On the other hand, he also found that what people desired in an "ideal party" did not change much over time. In summary, Meisel's data suggest that there is a long-term view of what parties should be like but that the images of parties in the real world are subject to change.

A review of the literature concerning Canadian party images does not shed much light on the question of whether or not voters are consistent in the way they perceive the parties. The literature is speculative at best

due to the lack of data on the subject. The conclusions which are reached offer some support for each hypothesis, but not enough to be able to predict which might be the most accurate.

1.4 THE MEASUREMENT OF PARTY IMAGES

The Canadian party image literature contains several ways of collecting the images. Much of the literature is based on subjective descriptions of the general images of the parties. The historical nature of the images allow for little else. The arrival of public opinion polls on the scene allowed Scarrow to back up his arguments with some limited data concerning which parties were more closely associated with big business. The first time that data from questions specifically designed to record party images were used in Canada was by Meisel. He used the "semantic differential" technique in his studies of the Canadian federal elections of 1965 and 1968. Respondents were provided with pairs of words and asked to place the political parties on scales with the word pairs at the extremes. Meisel was able to measure changes in the images of the parties from the earlier election on such scales as "powerful-weak", "exciting-dull", and "competent-incompetent". One disadvantage with this method is the fact that the researchers must provide the word pairs. They must use words which the electorate finds relevant for describing the parties. An advantage

with this method is that analyzing the data is facilitated because the images are already highly structured on the seven point scales. The image of an "ideal" party can also be determined.

English researchers Milne and Mackenzie (1958) asked voters what the parties "stood for". Butler and Stokes used three techniques. They used semantic differential scales as well as thermometer scores. The latter method asks the respondents how "warmly" they feel towards the parties on a scale of zero to one hundred.

The last method used by Butler and Stokes was to ask the respondents what they liked and disliked about the parties. This technique was used by the University of Michigan from as early as 1952. The questions are open-ended which makes for some difficult coding but this has the great advantage of letting the respondents say what comes into their minds rather than having the agenda set for them by the researcher. Butler and Stokes state the following:

The advantages of such an approach was that it allowed a representative group of electors to choose the concepts they spontaneously associated with the parties, favourably or unfavourably; the answers that were volunteered give above all an indication of the relative salience of various properties of the party images. But they also reveal a good deal about how the electorate valued these properties and about the extent to which it distinguished the parties in terms of them.²¹

²¹ David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Press, 1974), p. 34.

Giving the respondent full control can also be a disadvantage according to Nimmo and Savage.

(The technique)...places a premium on people's ability to articulate their feelings. Those unable to do so may still have perceptions of the candidates (or parties) but simply be less facile than the articulates. Thus, in considering such findings, we should keep in mind that they probably represent only the images of a self-selected sample of articulates rather than a cross-section of all voting-age adults.²²

It is also possible that a majority of the missing data found in the image variables in various studies is simply a result of the respondents genuinely having no image of the party or parties in question rather than being unable to articulate their opinions. Philip E. Converse wrote that...

large portions of an electorate do not have meaningful beliefs, even on issues that have formed the basis for intense political controversy among elites for substantial periods of time.²³

The questions used to collect the images which are being used in this thesis are of the open-ended type. They are as follows, with "NAME" being the Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats in succession.

Now I would like to ask you what you personally think are the good and bad points about political parties at the federal level in Canada. Is there anything in particular that you like about the federal NAME Party?

²² Dan Nimmo and Robert L. Savage, Candidates and Their Images (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear, 1976), pp. 28-9.

²³ Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," Ideology and Discontent ed. David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p.245.

Anything else?

Is there anything in particular that you dislike about the federal NAME Party?

Anything else?

The preceding questions come from the codebook for The 1974-1979-1980 Canadian National Elections and Quebec Referendum Panel Study.²⁴ The 1974/1979 panel component of that study is used in writing this thesis. It provides a unique opportunity to examine the consistency of Canadian party images over time. Extensive personal interviews were conducted with a national sample of 2562 respondents after the July 8, 1974 federal election. A total of 1295 of the original respondents were re-interviewed after the election of May 22, 1979. The weighted panel has an N of 1355.

Data from questions other than those quoted above were not used as party images for several reasons. The study included thermometer scores but these do not give any indication of why the respondents choose a particular level of "warmness" to a party. Specific policy questions were not used because they limit the concept of party images to issue concerns and direct the responses. Semantic differentials

²⁴ Data for this thesis were made available by Dr. Jon Pammett at Carleton University and later by The University of Windsor's Computer Centre. The data were originally collected by Harold Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc, and Jon Pammett. Neither The University of Windsor nor the original collectors of the data bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretation presented here.

also limit the range of possible responses.

The like/dislike questions allow the respondent to freely choose the aspects of the parties which concern them the most. One cannot use the data from these questions to objectively associate the parties with certain policies or attributes such as described in some of the Canadian party image literature but that is not of concern here. The subjective perceptions of the voters are more relevant to the study of political behaviour.

The image questions are divided into positive (like) and negative (dislike) sections. Dividing the image questions into positive and negative responses is natural because the voters receive both negative and positive information about the parties. Hughes wrote,

Each party seeks to project at least two images, one of itself and one of its principal rival, and to tie each to particulars which provide verisimilitude. Each emphasizes the threat which its opponents present as strongly as, if not more than, the benefits which it has brought itself and will bring again.²⁵

The only other question in the panel study which comes close to tapping these open-ended perceptions is one which asks the respondents to summarize the reasons for their vote choice. However, this type of "real reason for vote" question puts pressure on the respondents to supply an all-encompassing and "logical" reason for voting a particular way when they may not have done this before voting. The

²⁵ Colin A. Hughes, Images and Issues. (Canberra: Australian National University, 1969), p. 25.

questions used in this thesis ask for likes and dislikes for each of the parties - not a direct explanation for, or justification of, the respondents' political behaviour.

Coding of the images was carried out at the University of Windsor. This author participated in that process in the case of the 1979 interviews and is satisfied that the coding was carried out consistently and accurately. Reliability checks were conducted which support this claim. Up to two images were coded per respondent for each federal party (Liberal, Conservative, NDP, and Social Credit) in the like and dislike sections of the image questions. The Social Credit Party is not included in the thesis because only Quebec respondents were queried concerning it in 1979. This means that each panel respondent has a potential of twenty-four images which will be used in this thesis - twelve per year and four per party in each year.

The response rate to the image questions would tend to support the notion that some voters simply do not have images rather than the suggestion by Nimmo and Savage) that they are unable to articulate images which they actually do possess. In 1974, 86% of the respondents had at least one response in the six initial opportunities which were provided to articulate an image. The corresponding figure for 1979 is 84% while only 5.6% of the respondents were unable to offer any images at all over the two waves of the survey. Table 1 reveals that response rates vary widely by

party and region suggesting that it is party weakness in a region that affects response rates at least to some extent. Election results show that the NDP is very weak east of Ontario while the Conservatives do poorly in Quebec. These facts are consistent with the image patterns of those two parties. The Liberals are electorally weak in the Prairies and British Columbia but the great majority of respondents are still able to provide at least one image of that party. This is probably due to the Liberals' high profile in both 1974 and 1979 as the incumbent government.²⁶

A more positive way to describe the response rate is in terms of the mean number of images per respondent. The mean was 3.6 for both 1974 and 1979. Table 2 shows the means by region. The response rate varies by region but does not change greatly from 1974 to 1979 within the regions. The one exception is the Prairies where the mean number of images per respondent increased .6 from 1974 to 1979.

²⁶ Clarke et al. (1979) found that the parties which formed the provincial governments in 1974 were more likely to have a greater number of images than their provincial rivals. p. 181.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH NO IMAGES IN 1974 AND
1979
BY PARTY AND REGION

	LIBERAL	CONSERVATIVE	NDP
ATLANTIC	15.5	25.8	50.4
QUEBEC	7.0	29.1	46.3
ONTARIO	10.7	15.9	22.0
PRAIRIES	9.8	14.8	25.6
BR. COL.	14.7	18.3	10.1
<hr/>			
CANADA	10.4	20.6	30.8

TABLE 2
 MEAN NUMBER OF IMAGES PER RESPONDENT BY REGION
 (1974, 1979)

	1974	1979
ATLANTIC	2.8	2.6
QUEBEC	2.9	2.9
ONTARIO	4.0	3.9
PRAIRIES	3.6	4.2
BR. COL.	4.4	4.5
<hr/>		
CANADA	3.6	3.6

1.5 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has described the relevance of party images to the study of Canadian political behaviour, and has provided an operative definition for the images. Two hypotheses have been offered as to the degree of consistency voters show in the party aspects they describe in their images. The first states that citizens are not consistent and tend to skip from one aspect to another whereas the second states that voters consistently concentrate on one aspect of the parties.

The available literature is too limited to provide any clear answer to the question of which hypothesis is more accurate. The 1974/79 panel study should be able to provide a better indication of the answer to this question. The task of determining which hypothesis best describes the Canadian electorate begins in the next chapter.

Chapter II

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

2.1 THE IMAGE ASPECTS

The hypotheses to be tested in this thesis concern the degree of party image consistency expected to be found among Canadian voters. The hypotheses relate to consistency in the party image aspects which the voters use over time. Aspects are broad characteristics of parties into which the more detailed individual images can be placed.

The party image literature reveals that a number of researchers have grouped party images according to what they believe certain images have in common. The key is to find aspects which reflect the basic concerns of the voters when they evaluate the parties. Trilling (1976) used the following classifications:

1. People
2. Party as managers of government
3. Philosophy of the party
4. Domestic policies
5. Foreign policies
6. Groups in society who benefit or lose
7. Vague responses

Butler and Stokes (1974) had similar groupings but called them "themes". Stokes (1970) differentiated between the candidates as people and the issues associated with particular candidates. Nye et al. (1979) used the same kinds of aspects as were used by Campbell et al. (1965) in an attempt to trace changes over time. They used separate aspects for "explicitly" and "implicitly" ideological responses but also included the group, policy and performance classifications, although not differentiating between foreign and domestic policies. Images which refer to the personalities of the leaders instead of a policy which is associated with them were categorized as "non-political".

Clarke et al. divided the 1974 Canadian party images into six aspects.²⁷ They were as follows:

1. Policy/Issue
2. Style/Performance
3. Leadership/Leader
4. General
5. Area/Group
6. Ideology

The grouping of images used for this thesis is similar to Clarke et al. with the major exception of keeping the style and performance aspects separate. This is because the respondents can evaluate the performances of the parties without reference to their style. The respondents who de-

²⁷ see Clarke et al. Political Choice in Canada, pp. 194-201.

scribe the performances of the parties might be thinking in terms of specific actions by the parties. The codes which are included in each aspect can be found in Appendix A. The general thrust of each aspect used in this thesis is described below.

1. Leadership - Includes all references to the present or past party leaders, other individuals such as cabinet ministers or local candidates, and "leadership" in general. An image which mentions an individual in conjunction with a policy or some other element (which might also fit into another aspect) is placed under leadership. This is done in the interests of coding consistency. The respondents are linking a leader with a policy or other matter. They were asked for their likes and dislikes of the parties in this instance. Leader images had been solicited earlier in the interview schedule. The voluntary citing of leadership by the respondents suggests they perceive the party in terms of its individual personalities before its "collective" one.
2. Policies - References to specific policies; more broad references such as "social policies"; and "policies" in general.
3. Ideology - Images using "the vocabulary" usually associated with ideological parties as well as references to the general philosophies of the parties in-

cluding their view of the proper role of free enterprise versus government involvement in the economy. References to Crown Corporations are placed under the policy aspect because many of those images refer to specific cases and do not necessarily reflect a more general philosophy towards the proper role of government.

4. Times/Performance - References to the state of the economy or the "times" in general; the way the parties have conducted themselves in Parliament; the electoral strength or weakness of the parties; and responses which state the government party has been in power too long or that it is "time for a change".
5. Area/Group - References to the parties being "for" or "against" certain geographic areas, classes, or various other societal groupings; parties being controlled by such groupings; and references to electoral failures of the parties in specific regions or provinces.
6. Style - References to the manner in which the parties conduct themselves rather than what they actually accomplish. This can include the amount of effort they put in; their honesty; their internal unity; and the manner in which they campaign - rather than the substance.

7. General - Non-specific references which do not fit in any other aspect but which express a certain degree of like or dislike for a party.²⁸

The best way to illustrate the placing of the images into the above aspects is with concrete examples. The following are the actual images of respondents in the 1974/1979 panel. The letter "L" stands for "like" while "D" corresponds with "dislike". "Lib", "PC", and "NDP" stand for Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats respectively. The aspect which each image is placed under according to the above guidelines is given in parentheses. The non-responses such as "no comment" and "don't know" are not given here and are classified as missing data. An Ontario respondent had these images:

1974

L-Lib They are fairly conservative. (Ideology)

D-Lib They are allowing unions too much power. They are controlling government. (Area/Group)

L-PC Would like to see their wage freeze. (Policy)
Their farm policy sounded better. (Policy)

D-PC They are not united. (Style)

²⁸ Little emphasis will be placed on the general aspect because of its nature. Many of the images coded in it are extremely vague to the point of being close to missing data. The aspect serves to collect the images which are so general or vague that they do not fit in any other aspect.

Have leadership problems. (Leadership)

D-NDP Too much union. (Area/Group)

1979

L-Lib The only thing I liked about them is they are the most conservative party. (Ideology)

D-Lib Only that Mr. Trudeau got a little sarcastic at times.
(Leadership)

L-PC The cutback in the civil service. (Policy)
The fact that they are going to try and keep as much of the free market as possible. (Ideology)

D-PC Their mortgage exemption is a little biased. It discriminates against the people who don't have a mortgage. They are helping to pay for the other guy who has a mortgage. (Policy)

L-NDP They make a pretty good opposition. (Times/Performance)
They have some pretty good workers in the party.
(Leadership)

D-NDP I don't like their policies. (Policy)
They are too much union oriented. (Area/Group)

The images quoted above and those used in the rest of the thesis are examples of the exact words used by respondents rather than the coded responses in Appendix A which

lose some of the "flavour" of the original images. The respondents do not necessarily use the vocabulary that a political scientist might use when describing the parties but are able to enunciate their feelings about the parties in their own way. A British Columbia respondent provided these images:

1974

L-Lib They are extremely aware of the French fact and the bilingualism question. They tend to motivate French Canadians more than the Conservatives. (Area/Group)

D-Lib I think they tend to get a little arrogant. (Style,

L-PC I think they are more in tune with administrating, able to do a more effective job. (Times/Performance)
The average Conservative tends to be professional, involved, and able. (Leadership)

D-PC They have completely alienated Quebec. They have not got their hands dirty in provincial politics for 30 years - depended on Duplessis. They are more bigoted of the French fact. (Area/Group)
They tend to be in disarray more than the Liberals.

(Style,

L-NDP Of all the parties from the ideal point of view they adhere (try to) to Christian principles - keeping the unfortunate. (Ideology,

D-NDP To achieve their aims they end up darn near destroying

personal initiative. The end result is what you see in B.C. today. In trying to be fair to the unfortunate, the schemers and lazy pick up the windfall. (Ideology)
I think they figure the pie is a lot bigger than it really is. They seem economically impractical and unknowing.

(Policy)

1979

L-Lib They have a good cross-section of support - ethnic groups, labour, management. (Area/Group)
More aware of the national unity question. (Policy)

D-Lib More expedient than the other parties. (Style)
Big spenders. (Policy)

L-PC More aware of what it takes to manage a country.
(Times/Performance)

More open party - they air dirty laundry. (Style)

D-PC They don't have any French Canadian support. (Area/Group)

L-NDP Their leader and some of their candidates - good calibre people. (Leadership)
They're quite clear on where they stand on things - have a well thought-out platform. (Policy)

D-NDP Their political philosophy towards economics - want to nationalize industry. (Ideology)

The respondent quoted above was able to provide positive and negative images for each of the parties in both years. There were only eight such citizens in the 1974/1979 panel. Some respondents talked at length while others gave short crisp answers to the party image questions such as these from an Alberta resident.²⁹

1974

L-Lib Like their decisive action in setting policies; like their foreign policy particularly. (Policy)

D-Lib Their discrimination of the West. (Area/Group)

L-PC Their consideration of the West. (Area/Group)

D-PC Weak leadership. (Leadership)

1979

L-Lib Seem sincere. (Style)

D-Lib Lack of consideration for West. (Area/Group)

L-PC Concern for the economy. (Policy)

D-PC Weak leadership. (Leadership)

L-NDP Serve purpose as opposition. (Times/Performance)

D-NDP Too socialistic. (Ideology)

²⁹ The possibility exists that some interviewers may have written down the respondents' answers verbatim while others may only have summarized the images. Short of tape recording interviews, there is no practical way in which this can be controlled.

2.2 AGGREGATE IMAGES

The total number of images possible over the two waves of the panel is 32,472 but the number of images enunciated is much less. The response rates described earlier show that there are a substantial number of instances where the respondent did not have an image of a party or had only a negative or positive response - not both. Only 24% of the respondents provided six or more images in 1974. The 1979 figure was 25.6%. The interesting fact about the percentage of responses classified as images (as opposed to missing data) is the similarity from 1974 to 1979. In 1974, 29.8% (N=4830) of the opportunities to enunciate images were used while the figure for 1979 is 30.2% (N=4903).³⁰

Figure 1 compares the percentage of images found in each aspect for the two years. The percentages are notable in that they do not change greatly from 1974 to 1979. They indicate that, on an aggregate basis, the panel of respondents used the party image aspects in approximately the same proportions in both years.³¹

³⁰ The percentages for first mentions alone were 44.4% in 1974 and 43.8% in 1979.

³¹ The aggregate percentages used in this chapter include multiple responses and are derived from the total number of images enunciated by the respondents rather than the potential number of images which could have been coded if all respondents had provided the maximum number of images for each part of the image questions.

Figure 1
PERCENTAGE OF IMAGES BY ASPECT AND YEAR

The same image can be positive or negative depending on the viewpoint of the respondent. Some voters see the democratic socialism of the NDP as something which they like about the party while others dislike the same characteristic. It would be difficult to find a citizen who favours dishonesty in a political party, but most other policies and characteristics require a subjective judgement as to their desirability on the part of the voter. The same voter might have both positive and negative images of a party based on the same characteristic. An Ontario respondent observed that his 1979 images of the Liberal Party might be seen as inconsistent by some people.

L-Lib Has a very good cross-section of English and French-Canadians and of people from all parts of Canada.

D-Lib Too many French-Canadians at the top and too Quebec oriented (which may "sound" contradictory).

For some respondents, it comes down to a question of degree. The 1979 NDP images of a Saskatchewan respondent serve as an illustration.

L-NDP Like Ed Broadbent and cause rather straight forward.

Promotes socialism and small bit is good for country.

D-NDP The fact that they are too socialistic.

Table 3 shows the percentages of positive and negative images for each year and overall. The figures are similar, with the party images being divided almost 50/50 in each year and in total.

TABLE 3
DIRECTION OF IMAGES BY YEAR (%)

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	N
1974	48.7%	51.3%	4830
1979	50.6	49.4	4903
TOTAL	49.6	50.4	9733

Some respondents' images were predominantly positive or negative. The 1979 images of a Quebec respondent were all positive.

L-Lib Il a fait son possible.

L-PC Je suis sûr qu'il va réussir au parlement.

L-NDP J'ai confiance qu'il règle beaucoup de problèmes.

The 1979 images of an Alberta respondent were all negative.

D-Lib Bilingualism and biculturalism concept.

D-PC Not getting accomplished quickly enough.

D-NDP Socialism.

Table 4 shows the percentage of positive and negative images by year and aspect. The percentages are similar within years (positive versus negative images) and across time. The exception is the ideology aspect in which negative images are clearly more frequent in each year. The policy aspect also shows some fluctuation - particularly if one compares the 1974 positive and 1979 negative percentages.

The image questions asked the likes and dislikes of the respondents towards each party in succession. Table 5 shows the percentage of all images which were enunciated in response to the image questions asked concerning each of the parties for 1974 and 1979. The percentages do not change greatly from one election to the next, although the proportion of images which are directed at the Liberals declines slightly compared to the other parties.

Figure 1 showed that the percentages of images which are classified within the image aspects were similar in both 1974 and 1979. This suggests that a certain degree of stability is present in the aggregate totals. Figure 2

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMAGES BY YEAR AND ASPECT

	1974		1979	
	POSITIVE (N=2351)	NEGATIVE (N=2479)	POSITIVE (N=2481)	NEGATIVE (N=2422)
LEADERSHIP	17.5	17.4	19.8	15.0
POLICY	37.4	34.1	34.0	29.1
IDEOLOGY	3.1	7.3	1.9	7.7
TIMES/PERF.	10.6	10.0	11.5	11.6
AREA/GROUP	10.9	11.7	9.9	12.0
STYLE	15.2	16.7	16.2	19.5
GENERAL	5.6	2.8	6.5	4.8

The columns may not equal 100% due to rounding.

shows the proportional breakdown of image aspects for each of the three parties. The Liberals have the largest percentage in the policy aspect. The Conservatives have more of their overall image taken up by leadership and style than the other two parties whereas the NDP image is proportionately greater in the ideology, times/performance and area/group image aspects. The Liberals' image is not dominated by leadership considerations as might have been speculated in light of the prominence of Pierre Trudeau in the past fifteen years. Rather, it is matters of policy which in-

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF PARTY DIRECTED IMAGES BY YEAR

	1974 (N=4830)	1979 (N=4903)
LIBERAL	45.3%	40.4%
CONSERVATIVE	29.2	31.6
NDP	25.5	28.0

	100%	100%

spired the most Liberal images. Policy images are the most numerous for the Conservatives as well, but to a lesser extent than for the Liberals; leadership and style concerns are more important to their image than that of the Grits. The NDP overall image differs from the two older parties in that it contains a more balanced distribution of image aspects. None of the substantive aspects fall below twelve percent of the NDP image. Ideology images carry far greater weight in the NDP image than they do for the Liberal and Conservative images.

Several of the figures and tables in this section show a high degree of aggregate stability. Most notable is Figure 1 which shows that the percentage of images in each

Figure 2
OVERALL IMAGES OF THE PARTIES 1974-79

NDP

aspect is similar from 1974 to 1979. That would encourage supporters of the hypothesis which expects to find consistency at the individual level. On the other hand, Figure 2 shows that the proportion of each party's overall image taken up by each of the image aspects is not the same.

Figure 3 contains three bar graphs showing the percentage of each party's overall image made up of the different party aspects in each year. The percentages, in terms of the degree of stability they represent, are similar from 1974 to 1979, but with some notable exceptions.

The Liberals show increases in the percentage of their overall image which is made up of leadership and style images in 1979 and a decrease in the proportion of policy images. The Conservatives' proportion of leadership images decreases whereas their proportion of style images increases. The NDP percentages change only slightly with the greatest change being in the policy aspect.

These results indicate that a certain amount of stability is present in the overall make-up of the parties' images from 1974 to 1979, particularly with regard to the NDP. The exceptions are important, however, because they involve the parties with the most images and the most prominent image aspects.

Figure 3 IMAGE ASPECT BY PARTY AND YEAR

2.3 CONTEXT OF THE IMAGES

This section considers the images of the Canadian political parties in more depth by examining the more precise content of the images as to whether the content is short or long-term. The importance of such an exercise was summed up by Campbell et al. who stated the following:

measuring perceptions and evaluations of the elements of politics is a first charge on our energies in the explanation of the voting act. Indeed, it would be difficult to overstate the importance of the perceptions formed by a mass electorate for the decisions it must periodically render.³²

Campbell et al. discussed the images of the Democrats and Republicans using data collected over several years. They linked major events such as the depression with the changing images of the parties. The Korean War was another event which had an impact on the aggregate images of the parties, but the authors found that not all events which seem to get great publicity affect the party images. The 1952 images hardly mention Communism even though Sen. McCarthy's efforts were well known. Campbell et al. state "... a great public commotion about an issue does not necessarily make it a matter of central importance to the electorate."³³

³² Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 142.

³³ Campbell et al. The American Voter, p. 51.

The exact content of the Canadian party images could be expected to be short-term for several reasons. One is the competitive nature of the democratic political process which encourages the parties to try to improve their standing with the electorate at any opportunity. This can mean changing policies, leaders, House of Commons tactics and other aspects of their "images". The interviews were conducted as part of an election study and thus were completed soon after the campaigns in which the parties stressed the positive aspects of their current programmes and personnel. The questions themselves ask for "particular" likes and dislikes - not general attitudes as with the semantic differential scales or the feeling thermometers mentioned earlier. The interview schedules concentrate on the elections which immediately preceded them. Respondents were asked about current leaders, election issues, and other highly contemporary political matters before the image questions were posed. There was a five year delay between elections and interviews. Issues and the policies designed to deal with them were not static. For example, wage and price controls was a highly publicized policy option in 1974 but not in the next election. The controversial proposal to move the embassy in Israel was not made until the 1979 election campaign. Two of the three major parties changed their leaders between elections. The results of the elections were very different in that the Liberals went from having a

majority government to being the official opposition to the Conservatives who had not been victorious for some time.

There are also a number of factors which could help to create more stable images in the 1974/79 period. There were few events of great importance on the Canadian political scene other than the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976. The Liberals continued to be the most popular party in terms of percentage of vote and their leader had held that function since 1968. The NDP continued to be the "third party" and its ideological stance also remained constant. The following subsections describe the party images with some specificity and attempt to detect changes in the images from 1974 to 1979.

2.3.1 The Liberals

Table 6 is an extension of Figure 2 for the Liberal Party only. Figure 2 showed the total number of images under each aspect. Table 6 breaks this down further by the positive or negative direction of the images.

The Liberals' image is dominated by policy images in 1974 and to a lesser extent in 1979. The policy mentioned the most on the positive side in 1974 concerns pensions (17.5% of the 1974 positive Liberal policy images). Foreign policy (11.2%) and family allowances (7.4%) are other prominent policy images. On the negative side, the Liberals' stand on inflation clearly leads the way (20.7%).

TABLE 6
LIBERAL IMAGES BY YEAR, DIRECTION AND ASPECT

	1974		1979	
	POSITIVE (N=789)	NEGATIVE (N=755)	POSITIVE (N=697)	NEGATIVE (N=724)
LEADERSHIP	18.4%	9.6%	20.8%	16.6%
POLICY	36.2	44.2	29.1	30.3
IDEOLOGY	3.2	1.8	1.8	1.3
TIMES/PERP.	12.2	8.7	4.9	10.3
AREA/GROUP	5.4	14.7	4.9	10.3
STYLE	17.5	17.5	11.9	19.4
GENERAL	7.2	3.4	17.2	10.0

Other prominent negative images concern taxation (9.0%), bilingualism and biculturalism (8.1%), "giveaway programmes" (7.5%), and government spending levels (6.6%).

The policy aspect changes somewhat in 1979. The Liberals' stand on Canadian unity, which they emphasized in the election campaign, is the most frequently mentioned positive policy (21.2%). Pension policies are again prominent however (14.3%) along with family allowances (8.9%). The negative images in 1979 are similar to the ones in 1974 except that the order is changed. Extravagance in government

spending is the most mentioned image (15.5%) followed by bilingualism and biculturalism (6.4%). Other prominent images concerned wage and price controls (5.5%), employment policy (5.0%), and taxation (4.1%).

Pierre Trudeau dominates the leadership aspect for the Liberals, both positively and negatively in both years. Leadership is the second highest positive aspect in both 1974 and 1979 although the gap between positives and negatives narrows in the latter election year. The other individuals in the Liberal hierarchy receive scant attention. The positive images of Trudeau are most often general in nature or concern the Liberal leader's ability to govern. Most of the negative images are also general but his perceived arrogance accounts for over 16% of the negative leadership mentions in each year.

The times/performance images favour the Liberals slightly in each year. The positive images are clearly dominated by the perceptions of their ability to govern (over 65% in each year) but the negative images are not so concentrated or consistent over time. The negative images of 1974 concentrate on the failure of the Liberals to keep promises (51.5%), and high prices (18.2%). The failure to keep promises declines to 10.3% in 1979 whereas the feeling the Liberals had been in power too long accounted for 28.7% of the responses and a perceived inability to govern had 12.6%.

The relatively low total percentage of responses under the area/group aspect in Figure 2 was somewhat surprising given its regional strengths and weaknesses, but the more detailed percentages of Table 6 show that the Liberals' overall image suffers in this aspect. On the positive side in both years are images of being "for" the ordinary or working Canadian while the regional strength of the party is evident in the 1979 positive images of pro French-Canadian (20.6%) and pro Quebec (11.8%). Another prominent response appearing in 1979 is "for the elderly" (11.8%). The negative area/group images are quite consistent from 1974 to 1979. The party is seen as being for Quebec and the East and against the West by many of the respondents whose responses are in this aspect. Being for big business is another image which is prominent in both years (over 10% in each).

The style aspect does not seem to help or hurt the Grits in 1974 but clearly harms their overall image in 1979. The perception they are active or effective leads the way in both years but does decline in 1979. The image of internal unity is mentioned by over 8% of the respondents who have a positive Liberal style image in each year whereas the image of being aware of people's needs drops from prominence in 1979 after being mentioned by 9.4% in 1974.

The negative style images give a better picture of the decline in the overall Liberal image. The Liberals were

perceived as inactive or ineffective by 25.8% of the respondents who gave a negative Liberal image under the style aspect in 1974. Other prominent images were: moves slowly (12.9%), complacency and arrogance (9.9%), lack of firmness of beliefs (8.3%), and being unaware of people's needs (7.6%). Similar images appear in 1979 but in different proportions. Complacency and arrogance dominate (17.7%), with insincerity and dishonesty following at 12.8%. Other prominent style images include being inactive or ineffective (9.9%) and disunited (9.2%).

2.3.2 The Conservatives

Table 7 is set up in the same manner as Table 6. The percentages of Conservative images under each aspect are less consistent than for the Liberals. Policy responses are not as prominent in the overall image of the Tories compared to the Grits. In fact, on the negative side, leadership images have a greater percentage of the Conservative total than policies in 1974 and almost as large in 1979. Leadership is probably more important to the negative image of the Conservatives than it is a positive factor in the Liberal image.

The Conservatives' stand on inflation dominates their policy images in 1974. 39.7% of their positive policy images in that year concern policies against inflation, although two thirds of these images are general in nature and do not mention wage and price controls. Policies in gener-

TABLE 7
CONSERVATIVE IMAGES BY YEAR, DIRECTION AND ASPECT

	1974		1979	
	POSITIVE (N=497)	NEGATIVE (N=606)	POSITIVE (N=573)	NEGATIVE (N=549)
LEADERSHIP	19.8%	33.3%	12.7%	23.2%
POLICY	32.1	25.5	22.4	24.3
IDEOLOGY	3.4	3.7	2.8	1.4
TIMES/PERF.	9.9	9.1	7.2	12.4
AREA/GROUP	10.0	7.5	4.6	9.7
STYLE	15.9	18.8	23.9	22.0
GENERAL	8.9	2.1	16.4	6.9

al(23.1%), and general economic policies(5.6%), are also worthy of note. The more specific anti-inflation policy of wage and price controls which the PC's stressed in 1974 is prominent in their negative policy image. The percentage of negative policy images citing some form of wage and/or price control policy is 40%. The more general anti-inflation and economic policy images account for another 13%.

The 1979 policy images are not nearly as concentrated on one theme. Their stand on inflation drops down to 4.8% of the positively directed policy images in 1979 with

other economic policies becoming more prominent. . These include: fiscal responsibility (12.4%), the mortgage deductability scheme (10.2%), civil service cutbacks (7.5%), and general economic policy (7.0%). The mortgage deductability scheme appears on the negative side in 1979 as well (4.5%), but two policies which are not prominent positively are the most important in the negative part of their 1979 image. These policies are the proposal to move the Canadian Embassy in Israel (23.3%), and the idea of selling Petro-Canada (16.5%). The Conservative anti-inflation policies do not generate the large number of negative images which hurt their overall image in 1974. In both years the PC's positive policy image percentage was larger than the negative side. Each year, however, they promoted specific policies which prompted little in the way of a positive impact on their image and were prominent on the negative side.

The weakest part of the Conservatives' image in each year was their leadership even though Robert Stanfield stepped down and was succeeded by a new party leader, Joe Clark, in 1976. The difference between positive and negative was greatest in 1974. The three highest positive leadership images contrast with the those of the Liberals which were clearly dominated by Trudeau. Robert Stanfield (19.4%), comes second to references to local candidates (20.4%) while positive images of the previous leader, John Diefenbaker (17.4%) are third. Stanfield's honesty (13.3%), and ability

to govern (8.2%) are the most numerous specific positive images of the Conservative leader. Stanfield is the subject of the negative images rather than local candidates or other leaders. General references (34.2%) and his personality (30.7%) are most prominent.

John Diefenbaker leads the 1979 positive leadership images even though he had not been leader of the Tories since 1967 (16.4%). Joe Clark-general responses follow (11.0%) along with Clark-specific uncoded images (9.6%). One other individual's name is prominent in the 1979 positive leadership image. Flora Macdonald was mentioned by 9.6% of the respondents who had positive leadership images of the Conservatives. The same pattern as with the 1974 negative leadership images occurs in 1979 except that now Joe Clark is the subject of the images. General references to Clark lead the way at 43.2% followed by references to his not being a strong leader (18.4%); other specific mentions (12.0%); and his inexperience (10.4%).

The positive times/performance images of the PC's are dominated by references to being a good opposition in 1974 (51.0%) and a feeling it was time for a change in 1979 (43.9%). The negative images refer to the PC's failure to keep promises (23.6%) and ineffectiveness in opposition (14.6%) in 1974. The 1979 negative times/performance images are dominated by a perception that they did not keep their promises (66.2%). This last percentage probably reflects

the lag between election day and when the interviews were conducted. The Conservatives had been in office for a short time when the image questions were posed so their performance as the government may have prompted some of the negative images.

The Conservatives' image is not as influenced by area/group responses as that of the Liberals. It is interesting to note the shift from an edge for the positive images in 1974 to the negative in 1979. The positive images refer to geographical areas while the negative refer to groups for the most part. The Conservatives are seen as pro West in both 1974 and 1979 on the positive side whereas their negative area/group image is dominated by the perception the PC's are for big business (47.8% and 28.3% for 1974 and 1979 respectively). Other negative images in 1979 include, pro English Canadian; pro upper class; and the lack of Quebec representation (all at 13.2%).

The style aspect of images is an interesting one for the Conservatives. It shows the opposite overall pattern as the area/group aspect in that positives overtake negatives in 1979. The most popular images in 1974 on the positive side are their honesty (20.3%) and activity or effectiveness (15.2%). The negative images are more concentrated with 29.8% of the responses referring to internal disunity in 1974. The honesty image goes down to 6.6% in 1979 but other positive images take its place. These include a

general feeling to "give them a chance" (24.8%), and the perception of youthfulness or new blood (21.9%). The negative images in 1979 include inactivity or ineffectiveness (25.6%) and disunity (14.1%).

2.3.3 The New Democrats

Table 8 shows the percentages of NDP images by aspect, direction, and year. There are some interesting features such as the large difference between positive and negative leadership images in 1979 and ideology responses in both years.

TABLE 8
NDP IMAGES BY YEAR, DIRECTION AND ASPECT

	1974		1979	
	POSITIVE (N=442)	NEGATIVE (N=524)	POSITIVE (N=540)	NEGATIVE (N=480)
LEADERSHIP	15.9%	10.3%	26.7%	4.4%
POLICY	32.4	23.8	21.1	21.7
IDEOLOGY	3.5	21.6	1.8	25.8
TIMES/PERP.	12.8	14.4	12.4	8.7
AREA/GROUP	23.0	10.8	18.5	15.2
STYLE	10.4	14.2	11.2	10.6
GENERAL	1.9	4.8	8.2	13.5

The table shows that the NDP receives only a small percentage of positive ideology images like the other parties, but this changes on the negative side. The positive images refer to their general philosophy, moral stance, and socialism but the negative images concentrate on socialism. In 1974, the percentage of images concerned with socialism was 53.1% whereas the figure in 1979 was 66.9%. The other negative image which was prominent in both years was communism (15.0% in 1974 and 12.1% in 1979).

The times/performance aspect is yet another one which is quite consistent for the NDP even though the percentage of positive images overtook the negatives in 1979. The majority of the positive images in both 1974 and 1979 concern the effectiveness of the NDP in opposition (52.6% and 65.7% respectively). The negative images in 1974 include the perceived misuse of the balance of power (31.6%); their failure to keep promises (25.0%); and the small size of the party (13.2%). The 1979 negative times/performance images concentrate on this latter point. The prominent images include the small party size (31.0%); their inability to win (21.4%); their failure to keep promises (19.1%); and inability to govern (16.7%).

The NDP benefits from the area/group images in both years, but less so in 1979. Geographic areas are not as prominent in the image of the NDP as they are with the other two parties. This aspect of images is more consistent

in content than most of the others discussed up to this point. The vast majority of positive images in each year refer to the NDP as being for the ordinary or working Canadian (over 75% each year) and being for organized labour, trade unions, and workers on the negative side (over 80% each year).

The style images are not quite as consistent, but do show some stability. The NDP's positive 1974 style image includes being active or effective (28.3%) and progressive (21.7%). The negative images from the same year include being inactive or ineffective (18.9%) and being too forceful or pushy (10.8%). The positive responses of 1979 again show the image of being active or effective (19.7%), along with their firmness of beliefs (16.4%). The general style comes under attack in 1979 (23.5%) along with an image of being unrealistic (11.8%).

The subsections on each party have compared the specific images given under each aspect in 1974 and 1979. One other way to determine the degree of stability present in the aggregate images is to summarize the most often enunciated images regardless of aspect. This is done below with the emphasis placed upon comparing images of the same direction (positive or negative).

1974

1979

LIBERALS - Positive

Ability to govern
 Trudeau (general,
 Pension policy
 Policies (general)
 Active, effective
 Foreign policy

Ability to govern
 Trudeau (general)
 Canadian unity policy
 Pension policy
 Policies (general,

LIBERALS - Negative

Stand on inflation
 Failure to keep promises
 Inactive, ineffective
 Taxation
 Bilingualism/biculturalism
 "Giveaway" programmes

Trudeau (general)
 Extravagance in govt. spending
 In power too long
 Complacency, arrogance
 Trudeau (arrogant)

CONSERVATIVES - Positive

Stand on inflation
 Policies (general)
 Effective opposition
 Local candidate

Give them a chance
 Youthful, new blood
 Policies (general)
 Fiscal responsibility

1974

1979

CONSERVATIVES - Negative

Stanfield (general,
 Stanfield (personality)
 Wage and price controls
 Disunited
 Policies (general,
 For big business

Clark (general,
 Failure to keep promises
 Jerusalem embassy policy
 Inactive, ineffective
 Clark (not strong leader)
 Selling Petrocan

NDP - Positive

For working man, labour
 Lewis (general,
 Policies (general)
 Effective opposition
 For ordinary man

Broadbent (general)
 For working man, labour
 Effective opposition
 Policies (general,

NDP - Negative

Policies (general,
 Socialism
 Lewis (general)
 Misused balance of power
 For trade unions

Socialism
 Policies (general,
 Influenced by unions, labour
 Nationalization
 For trade unions

The Liberal positive images are highly stable, however the most used negative images in 1979 do not match those of 1974. Other than the party leaders in the negative, the prominent Conservative images change from 1974 to 1979. In contrast, the NDP images are highly stable during this same period.

It appears that the NDP does provide a stabilizing force to the party images as speculated earlier, but the images of the two stronger parties are less stable in nature. This is particularly true of the Conservative Party in the 1974/79 period, but it might be speculated that a leadership change in the Liberal Party might have proven just as destabilizing because of the more pragmatic, less ideological nature of the party.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, party images were placed in certain aspects for the purposes of analysis. The proportion of images found in the aspects was found to be stable from 1974 to 1979 until they were examined by party. The parties had different proportions of their totals taken up by the various aspects and this also varied by year and direction of the images in certain cases. A brief look at the specific images for each party showed certain images to be stable while others changed in importance from 1974 to 1979. The images of the NDP were found to be most stable within the

aspects and when summarized overall. In general, it can be stated that the aggregate party images show stability on a general basis but appear to be less stable when broken down by party - particularly the Conservative Party.

The kind of analysis presented in this chapter is thus useful when considering the aggregate images of the parties. One can state that a certain party's overall image has changed and suggest how the content of that image is different at certain points in time. However, one can not reach conclusions about the images held by individuals within the electorate. Smith pointed out that authors who make this leap from aggregate data to individual level interpretations are committing "ecological fallacy".³⁴ The sum of the data may be stable, but not the individuals who combine to make up that total.

The next chapter will examine the party images at the individual respondent level of analysis to better determine whether the political behaviour of individual Canadians in relation to party images is consistent (long-term) or inconsistent (short-term).

³⁴ see Eric R.A.N. Smith, "The Levels of Conceptualization: False Measures of Ideological Sophistication". American Political Science Review 73 (September 1980).

Chapter III

RESPONDENT CONSISTENCY

This chapter moves from the aggregate to the individual level of analysis. The panel component of the 1974/79 Canadian National Election Study provides a unique opportunity to consider the party images of Canadians over time and avoid the possibility of ecological fallacy. One way to test the hypotheses described in the first chapter is to determine whether the respondents were more likely to use a particular image aspect in 1979 if they used that aspect in 1974. For example, a respondent who used the leadership image aspect in 1974 and is more likely to use the leadership aspect in 1979 might be considered consistent. A Pearson correlation matrix was constructed to determine if this type of individual consistency was present.³⁵

The interpretation of table 9 is not clear cut. One can reach different conclusions depending on the hypothesis expected to be best supported by the data. A researcher looking for consistency in the panel can point to the fact that there is a clear pattern which supports the notion of party aspect consistency. The highest correla-

³⁵ The respondents' images were counted for each aspect in 1974 and correlated with counts for 1979. Those respondents who did not provide at least one image in each year were eliminated from the matrix (Table 9).

TABLE 9
PEARSON CORRELATION MATRIX

	1979						
	LEADER	POLICY	IDEOL.	TIMES	AR/GR	STYLE	GENER.
LEADER	.206*	.069	.084*	.001	-.001	.066	-.008
POLICY	-.020	.208*	.149*	.023	.123*	.072	-.051
1 IDEOL.	.016	.089*	.280*	-.009	.055	.068	.026
9							
7 TIMES	.029	-.031	-.054	.137*	-.024	-.003	.015
4							
AR/GR	.008	.097*	-.027	.044	.253*	.030	-.033
STYLE	.041	.013	.069	.067	.008	.150*	-.056
GENER.	-.053	-.076*	-.025	-.019	-.027	-.041	.076*

N=1010 for each correlation

* Significant at .01 level.

tions are found on the diagonal. It can be stated that respondents are more likely to use an image aspect in 1979 if they used that aspect in 1974. Of the correlations on the diagonal, the highest are associated with image aspects whose content can be expected to be the most stable (ideology and area/group) whereas the smallest correlations are associated with the aspects which can be expected to be least stable (style and times/performance). The correlations which are significant at the .01 level also tend to support the consistency hypothesis. There are forty-nine correla-

tions included in the table of which only thirteen are significant. Of these thirteen, seven are associated with like image aspects for 1974 and 1979. Of the six that remain, one is actually a negative correlation.

A researcher expecting to find inconsistency in the table would also be successful. The correlations between like image aspects such as leadership in both 1974 and 1979 are not extremely high. The highest is .280 for ideology which falls well short of perfection. The correlation between policy images in 1974 and ideology images in 1979 is higher than that between times/performance in both years and almost as high as that between style images in each year. Therefore, a great deal of inconsistency is also found in the correlation matrix.

Table 9 reveals a certain degree of consistency, but how much would be required to say the respondents are consistent is purely a subjective decision. The table does tell us that if a respondent used a particular image aspect in 1974 the individual will be more likely to use that same image aspect in 1979. However, respondents can use more than one aspect in each year and the table can not identify the image aspect which the respondent uses the most in each year.

3.1 RESPONDENTS AS IMAGE TYPES

In order to determine whether the respondents are consistent in their most used image category in each year, they must be classified as to their "image type". For the purposes of this thesis, a respondent becomes a certain image type on the basis of which image aspect they most often use.³⁶

Campbell et al. (1960) divided the respondents to American election studies into different "levels of conceptualization". The levels included:

1. Any suggestion of ideology.
2. Issue comment or fairly concrete or short-term interest.
3. Mentions of the goodness or badness of the times.
4. Evaluate political objects in non-issue terms.

The images of the respondents were tested to determine if the ideological content required for them to be placed at the first level was present. Those respondents remaining were tested at the next level and so on until all respondents were classified. Nie et al. (1979) repeated the conceptualization scale for later data to try and measure change over time. They divided the respondents into seven levels ranging from "ideologues" to "apolitical" citizens.

³⁶ Minno and Savage (1976) use the term "image type" in a different way than is utilized in this thesis. They describe image types as respondents who share the same image of a candidate.

The levels of conceptualization have been severely criticized by Smith (1980) who stated that the scales are probably not even valid from the beginning of a campaign to the end because they depend on the rhetoric of the campaign rather than long-term "conceptualization" on the part of the respondents.

The 1974/1979 Canadian panel respondents will be classified as "Image Types" in this thesis but not in a scale which states one respondent is more "sophisticated" or knowledgeable than other respondents who are different types. Placing a respondent on such a scale based on party images alone is difficult to justify because the images are limited in what they can tell us. A respondent who says "the leader" as a party image can have detailed reasons for having a positive or negative opinion of the party's leader or have no such reasons. The images of the respondents cannot be classified as being more or less sophisticated than other images because one cannot confidently describe the process by which the respondents arrived at their opinions. The images were recorded by dozens of interviewers and then put into coded responses. Placing the respondents on a scale on the basis of such data is fraught with problems and would not provide great confidence in the results. It must be acknowledged that the images of respondents in the 1974/79 Canadian election study may also reflect the rhetoric of the campaigns to which they are associated, but this

is the best data available. By placing the respondents on indices, some of the problems of the scales used by researchers in the United States can be lessened. Ideological sophistication is not the concern here, merely the party image aspect which the respondent uses the most.

The method by which respondents were classified as image types is as follows. Each respondent's images in each aspect were counted to determine which image aspect the respondent used most often. In the case of ties, the provincial party images of the respondents were consulted for the appropriate year. If only two aspects were tied after this step and one of them was the general one, the respondent was classified as the other type due to the residual nature of the general aspect.

Some respondents were not classified in one or both of the years because they did not provide at least one image. The percentage of respondents in this category was 13.7% in 1974 and 17.2% in 1979. The percentage of respondents who had images but could not be classified due to ties remaining after the provincial images were counted was 9.2% in 1974 and 8.1% in 1979. Figure 4 shows the percentage of respondents classified as the various image types in 1974 and 1979 after the unclassifiable voters have been removed.

There are two observations which can be made about Figure 4. The first is the similarity of the percentage of respondents classified as particular types and the per-

Figure 4
IMAGE TYPES 1974, 1979

tage of aggregated images which concerned the same image aspects in each year (see Figure 1). The second observation is that the percentage of respondents classified as various types does not change greatly from 1974 to 1979 other than a drop in the number of policy types.

The observations above could lead into the trap of ecological fallacy again if one were limited to cross-sectional data. This is where the panel of respondents is the most useful. Figure 5 is a summation of the crosstabulation of image type in 1974 with image type in 1979. The first pie chart shows the percentage of respondents who were consistent; inconsistent; had missing data; and those that were not able to be categorized due to ties. The percentage of respondents who can be considered consistent is only 18.6% whereas the percentage of respondents who are inconsistent is 40.9%. The second pie chart on the same page includes only those respondents who were classified as image types in both years. The percentage of these respondents who are consistent is less than one third. Therefore, the hypothesis which states that the party images of voters are not consistent is best supported by the evidence up to this point because the majority of respondents were found to be inconsistent in the party image aspect they used most in 1974 and 1979.

Table 10 shows the percentage of consistent respondents who were classified under each type for the two

Figure 5
IMAGE TYPE CONSISTENCY 1974-1979

ALL RESPONDENTS

CODEABLE RESPONDENTS

years. It is readily apparent that most of the consistent respondents used the policy aspect most in each year. No other group of respondents comprises even 12% of the consistent. The N's included on the table show exactly how few consistent respondents are associated with most image aspects.

TABLE 10
CONSISTENT RESPONDENTS BY ASPECT

	N	%
LEADERSHIP	30	11.9
POLICY	163	64.9
IDEOLOGY	3	1.2
TIMES/PERF.	10	4.0
AREA/GROUP	14	5.6
STYLE	29	11.6
GENERAL	2	.8

3.2 CONSISTENT VERSUS INCONSISTENT RESPONDENTS

The previous section included findings which show that consistent respondents comprise almost one third of the respondents who were classified as image types in both years. The consistent respondents are in the minority, but they should

not be ignored. They are a sizeable minority which could mute the effects of short-term factors in Canadian politics on public opinion and on election results. If their vote choice is consistent, for example, the change in the support for each party at election time would be restricted. A campaign which stresses an image aspect other than their own will not affect the way in which they evaluate the parties. It would therefore be inaccurate to state that all Canadians are swayed by the amount of emphasis placed on an image aspect by the media or by the parties themselves. Statements such as "the election was based on leadership" are too simplistic when one knows that a minority of voters are not likely to base their perceptions of the parties on leadership considerations.

This section will compare the respondents classified as consistent image types with those respondents classified as inconsistent to determine if they are genuinely different kinds of voters. The best way to illustrate the idea of consistent vs. inconsistent respondents is to give examples of the actual images enunciated by respondents in 1974 and 1979. Some of the most interesting images were articulated by respondents who concentrated on the leadership image aspect in each year. The following images were enunciated by a respondent from Nova Scotia.

1974

D-Lib: I dislike unemployment.

I think welfare is abused.

L-PC I like Mr. Stanfield. He makes good underwear.

D-PC I did not completely agree with Mr. Diefenbaker or Mr. Camp.

D-NDP I have no use for him at all.

I do not think we need splinter parties.

1979

L-Lib Some of the men were good.

D-Lib A few of them could have performed better.

L-PC A few of the members were good.

D-PC A few of their candidates. John Crosby - didn't like him - does not live up to his promises - made personal negative remarks to other members. I hope he will be able to take the pressure now.

L-NDP Stanley Knowles - good statesman. Broadbent - basic honest man.

D-NDP Father Hogan - Priests should stay in Church. Union radicals in party. Social workers - what do they know about running government?

The respondent quoted above had party images which were predominantly directed at individuals within the parties in both years. The exact content of the images is not the same

over time, but this could not be expected in the case of leadership responses. Some consistent respondents did provide images which were stable over time, however. The following images were provided by a Nova Scotia resident with a definite area of interest.

1974

L-Lib Like the way they are building roads.

D-Lib Will not keep up to date with things.

1979

L-Lib Doing good jobs on roads. Main roads.

D-Lib Not a good job on back roads.

L-PC Hoping they would do more work on the roads.

The final example of a consistent respondent used the area/group party image aspect in each year. This Ontario respondent provides only images which are classified under that aspect. The one image enunciated in 1979 is enough under the guidelines described earlier to qualify the respondent as an "area/group image type" in that year.

1974

D-Lib They just seem to be for business people.

Seem to be for industry.

D-PC Think they are for business people too.

L-NDP They seem to be for the average working person.

1974

L-NDP work for average working class people.

Table 10 showed that the majority of consistent respondents used the policy aspect the most in both election years. This is not surprising when one considers the fact that more images overall were related to policies than any other aspect. What is surprising, however, is that the percentage of such respondents in relation to the total of consistent respondents approaches the two thirds mark. This suggests that being a consistent respondent may be at least partially a function of the number of images which are enunciated. Table 11 shows the mean number of images provided by inconsistent respondents versus consistent. The consistent respondents are then broken down by type.

The table shows that the mean number of images provided by the consistent respondents is only slightly greater than that for the inconsistent. This indicates that being a consistent respondent is not purely a function of the number of images which are enunciated. The question of whether being a certain type of consistent respondent is associated with providing a certain number of images is dealt with in the second part of the table. It shows that

TABLE 11

MEAN NUMBER OF IMAGES ENUNCIATED (1974/79 TOTAL)

INCONSISTENTS	9.5
CONSISTENTS	8.8
-LEADERSHIP	8.4
-POLICY	9.6
-IDEOLOGY	7.7
-TIMES/PERF.	10.0
-AREA/GROUP	10.0
-STYLE	10.2
-GENERAL	6.4

there is some variation in the means among the types. The greatest number of images provided were clearly of the policy aspect, but policy type consistent respondents do not provide more images than three other types. Fewer images were enunciated by respondents whose prominent aspect was leadership and ideology. This is not surprising because of the nature of these aspects. There are a great number of policies for each party upon which the respondents can comment, but there is only one dominant leader for each party. An ideological image can cover a wide area because of the often general nature of an ideology or philosophy.

Consistent respondents use the same party image aspect more than any other in 1974 and 1979. Inconsistent respondents switch from 1974 to 1979. Therefore, one could expect that consistent respondents were more stable in the responses they gave on variables other than just the party images. If consistency in party image aspect usage is a sign of long-term political behaviour, these citizens should also exhibit this same kind of stability when answering questions which were included on both the 1974 and 1979 interview schedules.

To determine whether the consistent respondents are more stable on other variables than their inconsistent fellow citizens a number of crosstabulations were performed. Variables were selected which were common to both years. Most of these are directly related to political behaviour. The 1974 variable was crosstabulated with its 1979 equivalent while controlling for whether respondents were consistent or inconsistent.

The first variable concerned interest in the specific federal election with which the interview was associated. The variable divided the responses into two categories - high and low 'interest'.³⁷

³⁷ The variables in this section have been recoded where necessary with the aim of including relatively even distributions of responses. For example, the "interest in election" variable originally included four codes. The number of answers at the extremes (very interested/not interested, was very small. Therefore, codes were combined to achieve the better distribution. Recoding was carried out in exactly the same manner for the same vari-

The method by which respondents were found to be stable or unstable on the "interest in election" variable and the others to follow was quite simple. Respondents who gave the same response in each year were classified as stable. The number of stable respondents for each code (in this case two codes) was summed for the consistent and inconsistent respondents. This allows the percentage of consistent respondents who were stable on the particular variable to be compared with the percentage of inconsistent respondents who were stable. Table 12 illustrates this procedure.

The percentages in the diagonals are summed to arrive at what percentage of consistent respondents give the same response in both 1974 and 1979. This is repeated for the respondents who were classified as inconsistent. The percentages in this case show that a majority of each kind of respondents are stable, but that consistent respondents are not more likely than inconsistent respondents to have given the same answer in both years when they were asked how interested they were in the respective elections. In fact, a greater percentage of inconsistent respondents were stable than consistent respondents (73.5% and 68.4% respectively).

ables in each year. There is no difference between the variable in 1974 and 1979. Both the consistent and inconsistent respondents have the same chance of being stable on the question of how interested they were in the elections and on all of the other variables in this section.

TABLE 12

DETERMINING THE PERCENTAGE OF STABLE RESPONDENTS

CONSISTENT RESPONDENTS (N=249)

INTEREST IN 1979 ELECTION

		HIGH	LOW
INTEREST IN 1974 ELECTION	HIGH	27.7%	13.7%
	LOW	17.9	40.7

INCONSISTENT RESPONDENTS (N=556)

INTEREST IN 1979 ELECTION

		HIGH	LOW
INTEREST IN 1974 ELECTION	HIGH	26.2%	8.8%
	LOW	17.6	47.3

Several other variables were crosstabulated in the same way as interest in the election. Table 13 summarizes the findings. There would appear to be no discernable pattern to the percentages as the vast majority of them show there is no obvious difference between the consistent and inconsistent respondents. The variables which are the most directly related to political behaviour provide a good illustration of the overall results of the crosstabulations.

It was stated earlier that finding out which of the hypotheses concerning the amount of image aspect consistency in the electorate would add to our understanding of the nature of political behaviour in Canada. The fact that a majority of the respondents to the election studies were found to be inconsistent tends to support those people who see Canadian political behaviour as a short-term phenomenon. The over 30% of respondents who were classified as consistent vis-a-vis party image aspect would be expected to view politics in the long-term, however, and provide an important exception to the short-term view of Canadian politics. The direct political variables would probably be the best ones to use in finding out if the consistent respondents do indeed view Canadian politics in the long-term.

Respondents were asked if they usually thought of themselves as a Liberal, Conservative or New Democrat. Over 80% of each group of respondents keep a stable party identification and consistent respondents are only slightly more likely to do so. The percentage of each group's respondents who maintain the same level of intensity about their partisanship is much less. Here, the difference between stable respondents goes in the expected direction as well but is greater than for party identification.

It would appear that up to this point the expected differences between consistent and inconsistent respondents are holding true for the variables most closely related to

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TABLE 13

% OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE STABLE (CONSISTENTS VS
INCONSISTENTS)

VARIABLE	CONSISTENTS	INCONSISTENTS
INTEREST IN ELECTION	68.4%	73.5%
INTEREST IN POLITICS	62.2	57.0
MOST IMP LEVEL OF GOVT	62.2	67.0
MATERIAL SATISFACTION	67.9	67.3
GOVT IMPACT ON MAT SAT	48.6	40.1
LIFE SATISFACTION	62.1	69.0
GOVT IMPACT ON LIFE SAT	48.8	46.2
POLITICS COMPLICATED	56.8	50.3
FEDERAL PARTY IDENT	85.6	82.7
FED PARTY ID - INTENSITY	59.3	51.0
FEDERAL VOTE	74.6	79.2
IMPT FACTOR IN VOTE	55.5	57.3
CERTAINTY OF VOTE	71.4	69.1
PARTY IN GOVT MAKES DIFF	47.2	47.1

political behaviour. The differences have not been large, but they have been in the expected direction. Therefore, there would be no reason to expect the variable which records the fundamental act of political behaviour to be any

different. This is not the case. A greater percentage of the inconsistent respondents do not change their vote than do the consistent respondents. This finding suggests that consistency in the use of party image aspects and stability in vote are not associated.

If one were looking for a more general kind of stability over a greater length of time, this result could be taken as less than conclusive because the 1974/79 election study panel provides only one chance to test stability. It might be argued that the 1979 election was a deviant case and that an examination of further voting behaviour would reveal greater stability among the consistent group of respondents. The party identification variables support this idea to a certain extent, but even there, the consistent respondents could hardly be described as far more stable than the inconsistent ones.

The findings described above along with the results summarized in Table thirteen do not support the idea that the respondents classified as consistent with regard to party image aspect are any different than the rest of the citizens interviewed after the elections of 1974 and 1979. They are not more stable than the other respondents on variables other than party image.

Another set of variables which can be examined to help confirm or refute this conclusion involved asking the respondents how "warmly" they felt towards various entities.

The results of crosstabulating these variables for the two years are presented in Table 14. The original questions asked the respondents to use a scale which ranged from one to one hundred. The responses have been recoded into three categories for the purpose of this analysis: negative (one to 49), neutral (50), and positive (51 to 100).

TABLE 14		
THERMOMETER SCORE STABILITY (CONSISTENTS VS. INCONSISTENTS)		
THERMOMETER	CONSISTENTS	INCONSISTENTS
CANADA	88.0%	85.6%
GOVT OF CANADA	45.5	43.4
TRUDEAU	68.7	66.5
LIBERAL PARTY	63.9	62.0
PC PARTY	55.0	54.5
NDP	54.0	57.6

Consistent respondents are more stable on these variables except in the case of the NDP. The differences are not great, however, between the consistent and inconsistent respondents. Therefore, on this set of variables, the expected differences have not been found and the consistent

image types have not been confirmed as being a distinct group in the electorate.

Region is a variable of some importance in Canada. The suggestion can be made that, perhaps, consistent respondents are more likely to be found in certain geographic areas of the country. Table 15 shows that, in fact, there are no great differences by region. The percentage of consistent image types ranges from 35% in the Atlantic provinces to 26% in the prairies.

TABLE 15
CONSISTENTS VERSUS INCONSISTENTS BY REGION

CONSISTENTS VS INCONSISTENTS
BY REGION

	CONSISTENTS	INCONSISTENTS
ATLANTIC	35.4%	64.6%
QUEBEC	31.3	68.7
ONTARIO	31.6	68.4
PRAIRIES	26.2	73.8
BR. COL.	32.1	67.9

A final variable which can be hypothesized as being associated with being a consistent or inconsistent image

type is age. Older respondents might be more likely to be consistent types because they have observed politics for a longer period of time and would have had a greater opportunity to assess which aspects of the parties are most relevant for them.

Table 16 shows the crosstabulation of age and the consistency variable. Once again, there is little to distinguish the consistent and inconsistent respondents. Respondents 50 to 59 years of age were slightly more likely to be consistent types, but there is no pattern of younger citizens being less likely to be consistent than older voters. A look at the average age of the consistent versus inconsistent image types shows no difference as both have a mean age of 49.

TABLE 16
CONSISTENTS VERSUS INCONSISTENTS BY AGE

	CONSISTENTS	INCONSISTENTS
22-29	29.4%	70.6%
30-39	26.2	73.8
40-49	30.7	69.3
50-59	38.8	61.2
60-69	27.8	72.2
70 PLUS	30.1	69.9

Consistent image types are a minority in the electorate. The brief analysis conducted here shows that there is little to distinguish them from inconsistent respondents. This raises the question of whether the consistent types were interviewed during the one time they were consistent and that it does not represent a longer pattern. Thus, their images might be able to be considered relatively short-term in nature.

A number of the 1974/79 panel respondents were re-interviewed in 1980. Some caveats must be mentioned before looking at the data for that year, however. Approximately 800 respondents were members of the 1974-79-80 panel. Also, the party image questions were asked of only a half sample in 1980. In addition to this, the survey was conducted by phone whereas the two earlier interviews were completed in person.

Table 17 shows the percentage of image types for each aspect in 1980. Only 269 of the respondents could be categorized. As in the other waves, there are more policy types, but here it is less pronounced as leadership and style types have higher percentages than in the other years. There are no ideology types in 1980.

If one isolates those respondents who were codeable in 1980 and examines their degree of consistency in the past, one finds that just under 25 percent of them were consistent image types from 1974 to 1979. Of this total, just

TABLE 17
IMAGE TYPES - 1980

	N	%
LEADERSHIP	(27)	22.4
POLICY	(40)	33.1
IDEOLOGY	-	-
TIMES/PERP.	(5)	4.3
AREA/GROUP	(14)	11.6
STYLE	(31)	25.2
GENERAL	(4)	3.4

Percentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

over 61 percent remained consistent into 1980. Due to the small N's, the percentage above can not be considered as anything more than suggestive, but they are interesting.

Taking the 1974-79-80 panel, one finds that 19 percent of the codeable respondents were the same image type in each year. A further possibility, however, is that some respondents were consistent in two, but not all three years. The following summarizes the level of consistency to be found throughout the 1974-79-80 panel (those respondents who were codeable as image types in all three waves).

N=121

28.3% not consistent in any two time periods.

16.2% were same image type in 1974 and 1979, but not in 1980.

16.0% were same image type in 1974 and 1980, but not in 1979.

20.4% were same image type in 1979 and 1980, but not in 1974.

19.1% were same image type at all three points in time.

The percentages listed above show that over 70% of the eligible panel respondents were classified as being the same image type in at least two of three points in time. This lends some support to the hypothesis which expects to find consistency in the electorate. However, the limited data available do not allow conclusions to be reached with respect to the 1980 percentages.

The following section summarizes the findings contained in this and the previous chapters from the standpoint of which hypothesis described in the first chapter has been best supported by the data.

3.3 WHICH HYPOTHESIS IS MOST ACCURATE?

The two hypotheses described at the beginning of the thesis concern the degree of consistency to be found in the Canadian electorate vis-a-vis party images. A review of the relevant literature provides little in the way of support for one hypothesis or the other. This is due, at least in part,

to the lack of survey data and the necessary reliance on subjective observations by the people who studied Canadian party images up until very recently.

The 1974-1979-1980 Canadian National Elections and Quebec Referendum Panel Study provides the first good opportunity to examine Canadian party images over time. For the purposes of this thesis, the party images of the 1974-1979 survey panel were divided into seven broad image aspects: leader/ leadership, policies, ideology, times/performance, area/group, style, and general.

In aggregate, the image aspects appear in approximately the same proportions in each year (see Figure 1). This indicates that a certain degree of stability is present in the use of the party image aspects by the electorate as a whole. The division of the images by direction also results in stability being shown (see Table 3). Combining direction and aspect reveals that stability is present with the exception of the ideology aspect which has more negatively directed images. This does not take away from the general pattern of over time stability however, because negative ideological images dominate positive ones in both years.

The party image questions being used for this thesis asked about each party in succession. The percentage of images directed at each party changed slightly from 1974 to 1979, although the total number of images remained stable. The change in the number of images recorded for each party

may be a result of the changing electoral fortunes or the amount of publicity received in one year versus another. This would suggest a certain degree of instability is present in the proportion of images which are directed at each party, but it does not indicate anything about the subject of the images. In order to do that, the proportion of each party's image total (overall image) made up of each of the aspects was summarized in Figure 2. The fact that the Liberal and Conservative images are somewhat similar (at least in these terms) would indicate inter-party stability, but the image of the NDP differs from the other two, particularly the proportion of images in the ideology aspect. The breakdown of the proportions by year (see Figure 3) reveals instability within each party's overall image (particularly for the Conservatives and Liberals). At the same time, stability is also present (particularly for the NDP). Therefore, finding stability or instability in the aggregate images appears to depend on which aspect and which party is being examined.

The examination of the content of each party's images also produces mixed results. Certain images could not be expected to be found in the 1974 images because the issues did not arise until the 1979 election campaign (example, the proposal to move the Canadian embassy in Israel, or the leaders changed. The Conservatives' image was found to be the least stable. The negative side of the Liberal image

was also largely unstable from 1974 to 1979. On the other hand, the positive Liberal image and the image of the NDP in general were both found to be highly stable from one campaign to the next.

On an aggregate basis then, the images of the electorate were found to be highly stable at the broadest level. Exceptions begin to appear as the focus of the analysis narrows. The overall image of the NDP was found to be quite different from its electoral rivals. It, however, was found to be the most stable over time. The Conservatives' image was revealed to be the most unstable over time, and it might be argued that their image would have been the most likely to change in that time period because more changes had taken place within the party itself than had taken place in the other two.

What can be concluded about the nature of the images enunciated on an aggregate basis? A cursory glance at the image aspects alone indicates a high degree of stability and points to a conclusion that aggregate images are long-term in nature. A more in-depth examination of the images begins to challenge that conclusion as more and more exceptions are revealed. Dividing the images by party provides the most impressive evidence that aggregate party images are short-term in nature. Whether the party images held by the electorate as a whole are short or long-term in nature would appear to depend on the nature of the parties themselves.

The image of the more ideologically based NDP changed least from 1974 to 1979 whereas the image of the more "pragmatic" Conservatives changed most - as did their personnel, policies, and electoral fortunes.

The evidence for the degree of consistency present at the individual level was then examined. A correlation matrix (see Table 9) provided support for both of the hypotheses. Respondents are more likely to use an image aspect in 1979 if they used that same aspect in 1974, but the correlations are not extremely high. In order to determine if respondents used the same image aspect the most in each year, their images were counted and the respondents classified as to their "image type". The proportion of image types associated with specific aspects is similar in 1974 and 1979 (see Figure 4). However, the cross-tabulation of image type in 1974 by image type in 1979 results in a different finding (see Figure 5). Less than one third of the respondents who could be identified as image types in both years were found to be consistent in their type.

The finding that less than one third of the respondents were consistent in their most used image aspect from 1974 to 1979 clearly indicates that the hypothesis expecting to find inconsistency is closest to being "correct". The majority of the respondents were inconsistent from one election to the next and thus, their political perceptions (at least as related to party image aspects) were short-term

in nature. On the other hand, a sizeable minority was found to be consistent.

The consistent and inconsistent respondents were compared on the basis of whether the former group was more consistent on variables other than party image. The results of that analysis show that, for the most part, consistent image types are not any more likely than other respondents to be more consistent on other variables. Therefore, there is no support for the idea that consistent respondents are "different" from the rest of the people who participated in the panel survey.

On the basis of the evidence examined, it must be concluded that party images are generally short-term in nature. The stability present at the aggregate level indicates that certain image aspects are more "popular" than others among the electorate as a whole, but the individual level data suggest that individual voters are not consistent and that their images are not stable. The specific content of the images could not be expected to be the same from one election to the next due to the dynamic nature of the parties and their personnel. This was found to be the case, with the exception of the NDP which had fewer people commenting on it and had more of an ideological thrust to its overall image than its two more popular rivals.

The finding that image aspects are not concentrated upon in a consistent manner by individual voters over

time shows that Canadians are not locked into evaluating the parties solely on the basis of their leaders, policies, or any other specific aspect of their images. There are some voters who do appear to concentrate on one image aspect over time, but they are in the minority, and whether this is a conscious, thought-out decision is questionable.

There are a number of possible reasons for the inconsistency of the panel respondents. First, voters might not consider themselves to be "inconsistent" at all. They could be evaluating the parties on the basis of what is most important to them at a particular time. A dearth of good leaders might lead some voters to concentrate their perceptual energies on the present leaders of the parties. The next election might see the same voter satisfied with the leaders of the parties, but not with the parties' policies. Thus, the voters would not be "inconsistent", but rather they would be "flexible" in what party image aspect is most pertinent to their vote decision in a given election.

Second, the voters may be so uninterested in politics or so apathetic that any answer will suffice when they are asked for their party images. There may be no pattern to their images because they have no coherent thoughts about the parties or politics in general. Also, if there is no reward seen for being "correct" about which party is best, there is no inducement to form a consistent set of thoughts about the political process or the players in that process.

Finally, the findings presented here may be limited in what they can tell us. Interviewers had to repeat what the respondents were saying; coders had to put the verbatim answers into a set of categories; and these codes had to be divided into the much broader party image aspects. Add to this the gap of five years between elections and the limitation of only being able to look at two points in time, with any degree of confidence, and one can question the data upon which the findings are based.

The latter point is a valid one, but should not prevent conclusions from being reached on the basis of the best available data. The finding of inconsistency among a majority of the respondents in the party image aspect which they used the most is clear-cut. This should dispel some concerns about the limitations of the data. The fact that concerns can and should be raised merely indicates that further study is necessary in order to confirm these results and support the finding that Canadian party images are short-term in nature or to use data which may be available in the future to show that more consistency can be found in party images over time than the present evidence indicates. For the moment, however, the examination of party images in 1974 and 1979 adds support to those people who see Canadian political behaviour as short-term in nature.

The implications of the analysis presented here are related to that notion of short-term versus long-term

political behaviour in Canada, but the implications are not direct because perceptions and images are not forms of behaviour. However, as was stated at the beginning of this thesis, parties are basic components of Canadian politics because of the parliamentary system which is in place and more people cite the parties as being most important to their vote choice rather than leaders and local candidates.

The two dominant Canadian political parties have long histories. However, these relatively stable political entities were found to have relatively unstable images. Indeed, their images were found to have changed in a five year time span. This, coupled with the finding that the majority of the people are not consistent even in the use of very broad image aspects, is important to the understanding of Canadian politics. If the party images of Canadians are short-term in nature, the potential for changing the attitudes of the citizenry is substantial. The finding that people switch party image aspects from election to election means that the political agenda can be more easily altered. The media, or a party wishing to influence it, can take heart in knowing that the potential exists for convincing the public that the media's area of concentration is the aspect or criterion upon which the parties should be judged and images formed.

In essence, the findings suggest that the content and thrust of party images are dynamic. This, combined with

the findings of Clarke et al. that the composition of the electorate changes substantially at each election, that there is a substantial amount of vote switching, and that a majority of Canadians are flexible in their partisanship, can only lend support to those observers who see Canadian politics as constantly changing and short-term in nature.³⁸

The veneer of dominance by one political party hides changes in the attitudes of individual voters. The forces which combine in any one election to elect a particular party can change quickly, particularly when the images of the parties are flexible. Therefore, the implication of short-term images lies in the potential for instability in Canadian electoral politics and the changeable political mood of Canadians between elections.

³⁸ see Clarke et al., Political Choice in Canada (Chapter 12).

Appendix A

CODES INCLUDED IN THE IMAGE ASPECTS

1974

Leadership

- 001. General leader reference for all parties
- 002. Trudeau - cultural, intellectual
- 003. Trudeau - courageous
- 004. Trudeau - arrogant
- 005. Trudeau - reference to personal life style (wealth, travel etc.)
- 007. Trudeau - ability to govern
- 008. Trudeau - inability to govern
- 009. Trudeau - composition of government
- 010. Trudeau - policy (other than inflation)
- 011. Trudeau and inflation
- 015. Reference to Pearson
- 020. Stanfield - honest
- 021. Stanfield - personality or instrumental reference (negative)
- 022. Stanfield - not fluent in French
- 023. Stanfield - unable to communicate
- 025. Stanfield - policy (other than inflation)
- 026. Stanfield - inflation policy
- 027. Stanfield - ability to govern
- 028. Stanfield - unable to lead country, govern
- 030. Positive reference to Diefenbaker
- 031. Negative reference to Diefenbaker
- 032. Reference to P.C. policies under Diefenbaker, eq. Avro Arrow
- 033. Displacement of Diefenbaker
- 040. Lewis - lacks polish, finesse
- 041. Lewis - lacks dynamism
- 042. Lewis - a fighter, good campaigner
- 043. Lewis - economic policies (eg. corporate welfare bums)
- 045. Lewis - policy (other than inflation)
- 046. Lewis - inflation policy
- 047. Lewis - lacks constructive ideas about policy
- 048. Lewis - dishonest, untrustworthy
- 066. Whelan and farmers
- 075. Dalton Camp (running party)
- 076. Flora Macdonald
- 077. Composition of party (individual M.P.'s - not leaders)
- 080. Leadership - cabinet ministers
- 081. Leadership is aware
- 083. Leader or leadership is strong
- 084. Leader or leadership is weak
- 085. Local or regional ties to leader (favourite son)
- 086. Local candidate

- 089. Candidate as "underdog"
- 090. Reference to constituency service
- 091. Positive reference to backbench M.P.'s
- 092. Positive reference to party members (not M.P.'s)
- 093. Negative reference to party members (not M.P.'s)
- 095. Recruitment of candidates
- 706. Reference to poor leader campaign
- 764. Dominated by leader
- 765. Won't support leader, undermines leader

Policies

- 125. Campaign platform (general)
- 126. Policy or policies not named
- 127. Policies - known, understandable
- 128. Policies - unknown or confusing
- 129. Policies - practical
- 130. Policies - impractical, unworkable, naive
- 132. Increase minimum wage
- 133. Monetary policy
- 135. Budget
- 136. Economic policy (not specific)
- 137. Unemployment insurance
- 138. Nationalization of industry or business
- 141. Approve heavier taxation of corporations
- 142. Disapprove heavier taxation of corporations
- 144. Tax incentives for corporations hurt ordinary man
- 145. General reference to taxation
- 146. General reference to stand on inflation
- 147. Positive reference to wage and price controls
- 148. Negative reference to wage and price controls
- 149. Positive reference to wage control - no reference to price control
- 150. Negative reference to wage control - no reference to price control
- 151. Positive reference to price control - no reference to wage control
- 152. Negative reference to price control - no reference to wage control
- 153. Positive reference to redistribution of funds across country, province
- 154. Negative reference to redistribution of funds across country, province
- 165. Promotes high prices
- 166. Promotes high wages
- 167. Positive reference to family allowance
- 168. Negative reference to family allowance
- 169. Health policy (medical insurance)
- 170. Guaranteed annual income
- 171. Pension policy or policy vis-a-vis elderly
- 173. Farm policy (including farm policies in west or prairies - feed grain, cattle, etc.)
- 175. Labour policy (handling of strikes)

176. Fishing policy
178. Food Prices Review Board, Beryl Plumptre
179. Housing policy
180. Transportation policy
181. Resource policies
182. Reference to oil or energy policy
183. Oil royalties and taxation
184. Stance on oil policy vis-a-vis federal government
186. Social welfare policies
187. Negative attitude toward "giveaway" programmes (U.I.C., welfare, etc.)
188. Take people off welfare. Make them work
189. General social policies
190. Reference to employment, employment policy
193. Stance vis-a-vis federalism
194. Stand on separatism
195. Not separatist enough
196. Too separatist
197. Handling of F.L.Q. crisis
198. Stance vis-a-vis Quebec's place in Confederation
199. Sovereignty reference - Canadian independence
200. Positive reference to symbolic outputs
201. Negative reference to symbolic outputs
202. Policies good for country
203. Promotes Canadian unity
204. Divides country
205. Policies bad for country
211. Urban politics
212. Immigration policy
213. Stand on capital punishment
214. Policy vis-a-vis Indians
215. Policies toward youth
216. Abortion
219. Pro-women's rights
220. Anti-women's rights
221. Language policy
222. Bilingualism and biculturalism
223. Bill 22
224. Foreign trade - including selling produce abroad, wheat etc.
225. Foreign policy (not named)
233. James Bay project
238. Freight rates
241. Crown corporations
245. Mining policy
250. Positive reference to foreign investment
251. Negative reference to foreign investment
252. Foreign ownership
254. Failure to attract industry.
261. Patronage (general)
262. Too much patronage
265. Jobs (work) available when party in power
266. Jobs not available when party in power
276. Roadbuilding
284. Education policy

- 285. School tax
- 286. School building, construction
- 288. Aid to separate schools (handling of,
- 298. Land policy (general)
- 305. Liquor laws
- 311. Environmental programmes (general)
- 312. Positive reference to environmental programmes
- 314. Recreation, parks, etc.
- 315. Tourism
- 319. Low interest loans to municipalities
- 322. Law and justice
- 324. Offshore rights
- 329. 18 year old majority
- 546. Fiscal responsibility
- 547. Extravagance in government spending
- 548. Extravagance (specific programmes)
- 709. Likes campaign promises and wants to see implementation

Ideology

- 100. Conservatism
- 101. Liberalism
- 102. Socialism
- 103. Communism
- 105. Right wing (fascism)
- 106. Centre
- 107. Left wing
- 108. Too socialist, (reference to Waifle)
- 109. Not socialist enough
- 110. Too radical, extreme
- 111. Philosophy, ideology (not named)
- 112. Dogmatism, too rigid in beliefs or ideology
- 116. Idealism, moral principles
- 117. Unscrupulous, lack of ideals
- 118. Individual rights, freedom
- 119. Injection of moral standards into policy
- 139. Promotes free enterprise
- 140. Too much interference with private enterprise (reference to individual initiative)

Times/Performance

- 134. Economic strength, prosperity
- 156. Nature of the times, things are good
- 157. Nature of the times, things are bad
- 158. Economic times good (when they are in)
- 159. Economic times bad (when they are in)
- 161. Prices too high
- 162. Prices too low
- 164. Wages too low
- 501. Ability to govern, doing good job, experience, showed ability to govern in past

- 502. Inability to govern, doing bad job, etc.
- 550. General pro references to administration
- 551. General con references to administration
- 553. Specific con references to administration
- 554. Bureaucratic proliferation (eg. empire-building)
- 555. Positive parliamentary performance
- 556. Negative parliamentary performance
- 557. Effective opposition, keeps others "on toes"
- 558. Ineffective opposition
- 559. Coalition government or opposition
- 703. Keeps campaign promises
- 704. Fails to keep campaign promises
- 712. Ability to win
- 713. Inability to win
- 714. Can form a majority government
- 715. Can't form a majority government
- 722. Reference to large party size (has manpower, has resources)
- 723. References to small party size
- 730. Time for a change
- 731. Been in power too long
- 734. Used balance of power effectively
- 735. Misused balance of power, caused election
- 750. A minority party, disrupts the party system
- 751. Splits the opposition vote, references to third parties disrupting the electoral system
- 755. Support of Liberal Party
- 756. Opposition to Liberal Party
- 758. Liked other party better
- 759. Beneficial, a good party
- 760. Harmful, a bad party
- 762. Approve of handling of Jones case
- 763. Disapprove of handling of Jones case

Area/Group

- 326. For the province (no other reference)
- 330. Pro French-Canadian
- 331. Anti French-Canadian
- 332. Pro English-Canadian
- 334. Treats all ethnic groups without bias
- 335. Treats all ethnic groups with bias, bigoted
- 336. Not enough attention paid to minorities
- 338. Treatment of minority groups
- 345. Pro upper class
- 347. Pro middle class
- 348. Anti middle class
- 349. Pro lower class
- 350. Anti lower class
- 351. For my class, my kind of people
- 352. Against my class, my kind of people
- 353. For ordinary man, all the people
- 354. Against ordinary man, all the people
- 355. For working man, labour

- 356. Against working man, labour
- 357. For poor people
- 358. Against poor people
- 359. For farmers
- 360. Against farmers
- 361. For big business, moneyed interests
- 362. Against big business, moneyed interests
- 364. For trade unions
- 365. Against trade unions
- 366. Controlled by trade unions, labour
- 367. For Indians
- 368. Against Indians
- 375. Pro youth
- 376. Anti youth
- 377. For elderly
- 378. Against elderly
- 379. Disproportionate representation, poor allocation of seats
- 380. Party controlled by civil servants
- 381. Unaware of needs of west
- 390. Pro Maritimes
- 391. Anti Maritimes
- 392. Pro Quebec
- 393. Anti Quebec
- 394. Pro Ontario
- 398. Pro British Columbia
- 400. Pro East
- 402. Pro West
- 403. Anti West
- 405. Controlled by Quebec
- 406. Controlled by Ontario and Quebec
- 407. Umpire reference, treats all provinces equally
- 408. Reference to local benefits
- 409. Pro economic benefits for own region or province
- 410. Anti economic benefits for own region or province
- 411. For have-not parts of Canada
- 412. Against have-not parts of Canada
- 413. For have parts of Canada
- 415. Region or locality neglected
- 416. In favour of small communities
- 417. Against small communities
- 418. Pro American
- 419. Anti American
- 720. Reference to national party
- 721. Not a national party

Style

- 500. General image, style, approach
- 503. Unrealistic
- 505. A good team, a better team
- 506. Works together, united, organized
- 507. Disunited, disorganized
- 508. Youthful

- 509. Old
- 510. Active, effective, solves problems or issues, does or tries to do things, makes decisions, works hard
- 511. Inactive, ineffective, doesn't solve problems, can't do anything, can't make decisions, doesn't work hard, inexperienced
- 512. Moves quickly (fast)
- 513. Moves slowly
- 514. Modern, up-to-date
- 515. Old fashioned, out of date, traditional
- 516. Powerful
- 517. Weak
- 518. Forward looking, progressive, tries to change things in a positive way, innovative
- 519. Not progressive (e.g. status quo), not innovative
- 520. Firmness of beliefs, convictions, etc.
- 521. Lack of firmness of beliefs, convictions, etc.
- 522. Sincere, honest, fair
- 523. Insincere, lack of seriousness, dishonest, unfair, corrupt, scandalous
- 524. Competent, business-like, efficient
- 525. Incompetent, inefficient
- 526. Too forceful, too pushy
- 527. Not forceful enough
- 528. Cooperative with other parties
- 529. Not cooperative with other parties, too critical, muckraking
- 530. Aware of peoples' needs, does things for people
- 531. Unaware of peoples' needs
- 532. Follows peoples' wishes, involvement with "grass roots"
- 533. Ignores "grass roots"
- 534. Failure to communicate with people, regions
- 535. Practical, "down to earth"
- 537. Party makes some mistakes
- 538. Secrecy in government
- 539. Authoritarian (as opposed to democratic style)
- 540. Overly bureaucratic
- 541. Complacency, arrogance, glory-seeking, vain, self-centered
- 542. Sanctimonious, moral superiority
- 543. Troublemakers, troublesome
- 544. Stable government
- 549. Extravagance vis-a-vis life styles (e.g. travel too much), personal indulgences, "salaries"
- 701. Reference to good media campaign
- 702. Reference to poor media campaign
- 707. Approve of campaign attacks on Liberals
- 708. Disapprove of campaign attacks on Liberals
- 710. Campaign style
- 711. Reference to Mrs. Trudeau's role in the campaign
- 733. Power hungry

General

- 700. General reference to party as a whole (approve - disapprove, identifies with party, family tradition)

- 900. Everything
- 901. A great deal, a lot of things
- 903. Some things
- 904. Pretty good, alright, okay
- 905. Not so good, not much, bad
- 910. General positive attitude with reference to party

1979

Leadership

- 001. General leader reference for all parties
- 002. Trudeau - Cultural, intellectual
- 003. Trudeau - courageous
- 004. Trudeau - arrogant, sarcastic
- 005. Trudeau - Reference to personal life style (wealth, travelling, family problems, etc.)
- 006. Trudeau - Conduct of foreign relations, good international profile etc.
- 007. Trudeau - Ability to govern, past performance
- 008. Trudeau - Inability to govern
- 009. Trudeau - Composition of government
- 010. Trudeau - Policy
- 011. Trudeau - National unity
- 014. Trudeau - Other specific mention
- 020. Clark - Honest, sincere, nice guy
- 021. Clark - General positive, good leader, able, etc.
- 022. Clark - Not a strong leader, indecisive, wishy-washy
- 023. Clark - People's interest at heart, trying to do something, Good for Canada
- 025. Clark - Inexperienced, too young, untried
- 026. Clark - Policy
- 027. Clark - Composition of government
- 029. Clark - Other specific reference
- 031. Broadbent - honest, nice guy, sincere
- 032. Broadbent - good ideas, like his policies, etc.
- 033. Broadbent - good speaker, forceful, dynamic
- 034. Broadbent - statesman, respected, able
- 035. Broadbent - ties with labour, workers, average person (positive)
- 036. Broadbent - ties with labour, workers, average person (negative)
- 038. Broadbent - other specific reference
- 051. Diefenbaker - all references
- 052. Pearson - all references
- 053. Stanfield - all references
- 055. David Lewis - all references
- 056. All other past leader mentions
- 060. Trudeau - performance in debates
- 061. Clark - performance in debates
- 062. Broadbent - performance in debates
- 063. Performance in debates - general (no specific leader mentioned)
- 064. Otto Lang
- 065. John Turner
- 066. Eugene Whelan

- 067. Jean Chretien
- 068. Jack Horner
- 069. Other cabinet ministers
- 070. Composition of cabinet
- 076. Flora Macdonald
- 080. Other prominent figures (parliament)
- 083. Leader or leadership is strong
- 084. Leader or leadership is weak
- 085. Local or regional ties to leader (favourite son)
- 086. Local candidate
- 087. Candidates (general)
- 089. Candidate as "underdog"
- 090. Reference to constituency service
- 091. Positive reference to backbench M.P.'s
- 092. Positive reference to party members, people in general
- 093. Negative reference to party members, people in general
- 095. Recruitment of candidates
- 706. Reference to poor leader campaign
- 764. Dominated by leader
- 765. Won't support leader, undermines leader

Policies

- 120. Policies good for country
- 122. Policies bad for country
- 125. Campaign platform (general)
- 126. Policy or policies not named, good ideas
- 127. Policies - known, understandable
- 128. Policies - unknown or confusing
- 129. Policies - practical
- 130. Policies - impractical, unworkable, naive
- 131. Child tax rebate
- 132. Increase minimum wage
- 133. Monetary policy
- 135. Budget, fiscal policy
- 136. Economic policy (not specific)
- 137. Unemployment insurance
- 138. Nationalization of industry or business
- 141. Approve heavier taxation of corporations
- 142. Disapprove heavier taxation of corporations
- 143. Business regulation, business policy
- 144. Tax incentives for corporations hurt ordinary guy
- 145. General reference to taxation
- 146. General reference to stand on inflation
- 147. Positive reference to wage and price controls
- 148. Negative reference to wage and price controls
- 149. Cut backs (civil service, budget etc.)
- 150. Mortgage deductibility
- 153. Positive reference to redistribution of funds across country, province
- 154. Negative reference to redistribution of funds across country, province
- 165. Promotes high prices

166. Promotes high wages
167. Positive reference to family allowance
168. Negative reference to family allowance
169. Health policy (medical insurance,
170. Guaranteed annual income, incomes policy
171. Pension policy, policy vis-a-vis the elderly
172. Drugs, marijuana, drug policy
173. Farm policy (including farm policies in west or prairies - feed grain, cattle)
175. Labour policy (handling of strikes,
176. Fishing policy
179. Housing policy
180. Transportation policy
181. Resource policies
182. Reference to oil or energy policy
183. Oil royalties and taxation
184. Stance on oil policy vis-a-vis the federal government
185. Selling Petrocan, Petrocan policy
186. Social welfare policies
187. Negative attitude toward "giveaway programs". (U.I.C., welfare, L.I.P. etc.)
188. Take people off welfare rolls, make people work
189. General social policies
190. Reference to employment, employment policy
191. Pro strong central government, centralization
192. Decentralization, pro provincial rights
193. Stance vis-a-vis federalism
194. Stance on separatism
195. Not separatist enough
196. Too separatist
197. Handling of P.L.Q. crisis
198. Stance vis-a-vis Quebec's place in Confederation
199. Sovereignty reference, Canadian independence
200. Positive reference to symbols (flag, monarchy, etc.)
201. Negative reference to symbols (flag, monarchy, etc.)
203. Policy on Canadian unity, cares about all of Canada
204. Divides country
208. Constitutional reform, repatriation of BNA Act, constitution policy
211. Urban policies
212. Immigration policy (also refugee policy, boat people, etc.)
213. Stand on capital punishment
214. Policy vis-a-vis Indians, land claims, etc.
215. Policies toward youth
216. Abortion
219. Pro women's rights
220. Anti women's rights
221. Language policy
222. Biculturalism and bilingualism
223. Foreign aid
224. Foreign trade (including selling produce abroad, wheat etc., autopact, trade agreements)
225. Foreign policy (not named)
227. Jerusalem Embassy policy

- 238. Freight rates
- 241. Policy on Crown Corporations (general)
- 245. Mining policy
- 250. Positive reference to foreign investment
- 251. Negative reference to foreign investment
- 252. Foreign ownership
- 253. Attracts industry
- 254. Failure to attract industry
- 261. Patronage (general)
- 262. Too much patronage
- 265. Jobs (work) available when party in power
- 266. Jobs not available when party in power
- 267. Environmental programs (general)
- 268. Positive reference to environmental programs
- 269. Recreation, parks, etc.
- 272. Law and justice
- 274. Offshore rights
- 276. Roadbuilding (general)
- 278. Sales tax policies
- 279. 18 year old majority
- 284. Education policy, schools
- 285. Metric system
- 286. Unification of armed forces, armed forces generally
- 287. Pro civil liberties, civil rights
- 288. Gun control
- 289. Home improvement grants
- 290. Arts policy
- 291. Nuclear power
- 292. Divorce laws, reform etc.
- 295. Federal lottery, Loto Canada
- 296. Weakness of defence policies (NATO, alliances etc.)
- 297. Heritage trust fund
- 298. Land policy (general)
- 546. Fiscal responsibility
- 547. Extravagance in government spending, programs too expensive
- 548. Extravagance (specific programs)
- 709. Likes campaign promises and wants to see implementation

Ideology

- 139. Promotes free enterprise
- 140. Too much interference with private enterprise (reference to individual initiative)
- 600. Conservatism
- 601. Liberalism
- 602. Socialism
- 603. Communism
- 605. Right wing
- 606. Centre
- 607. Left wing
- 608. Too socialist
- 609. Not socialist enough
- 610. Too radical, extreme

- 611. Philosophy, ideology not named
- 612. Dogmatism, too rigid in beliefs or ideology
- 616. Idealism, moral principles
- 617. Unscrupulous, lack of ideals, opportunism
- 618. Individual rights, freedom
- 619. Injection of moral standards into policy
- 620. Pro free enterprise, reference to economic planning, role of government
- 621. Anti free enterprise, etc.

Times/Performance

- 134. Economic strength, prosperity
- 156. Nature of the times, things are good
- 157. Nature of the times, things are bad
- 158. Economic times good (when they are in)
- 159. Economic times bad (when they are in)
- 161. Prices too high, cost of living
- 162. Prices too low
- 164. Wages too low
- 501. Ability to govern, doing good job, experience, showed ability to govern in the past
- 502. Inability to govern, doing a poor job, poor past performance, etc.
- 550. General pro references to administration
- 551. General con references to administration
- 553. Specific con references to administration
- 554. Bureaucratic proliferation (eg. empire building)
- 555. Positive parliamentary performance
- 556. Negative parliamentary performance
- 557. Effective opposition, keeps others "on toes"
- 558. Ineffective opposition
- 565. Top men left party, too much shifting of personnel
- 566. Waited too long to call parliament
- 567. Put up a good fight, trying hard, doing the best they can
- 569. Getting stronger, party on the rise
- 570. Getting weaker, party on the decline
- 575. Ability to handle federal-provincial relations
- 703. Keeps campaign promises
- 704. Fails to keep campaign promises
- 712. Ability to win
- 713. Inability to win
- 714. Can form a majority government
- 715. Can't form a majority government
- 722. Reference to large party size (has manpower, resources)
- 723. Reference to small party size (lacks manpower, resources)
- 725. Could have done more, tried harder
- 730. Time for a change
- 731. Been in power too long
- 750. A minority party. It disrupts the party system
- 751. Splits opposition votes, reference to third parties disrupting the electoral system

Area/Group

- 330. Pro French-Canadian
- 331. Anti French-Canadian
- 332. Pro English-Canadian
- 334. Treats all ethnic groups without bias
- 335. Treats all ethnic groups with bias, bigoted
- 336. Not enough attention paid to minorities
- 338. Treatment of minority groups
- 345. Pro upper class, wealthy, rich, etc.
- 347. Pro middle class
- 348. Anti middle class
- 349. Pro lower class
- 350. Anti lower class
- 351. For my class, my kind of people
- 352. Against my class, my kind of people
- 353. For ordinary man, all the people
- 354. Against ordinary man, all the people
- 355. For working-man, labour
- 356. Against working-man, labour
- 357. For poor people
- 358. Against poor people
- 359. For farmers, fishermen
- 360. Against farmers, fishermen
- 361. For big business, moneyed interests
- 362. Against big business, moneyed interests
- 363. Influenced by big business
- 364. For trade unions
- 365. Against trade unions
- 366. Influenced by trade unions, labour
- 367. For Indians
- 368. Against Indians
- 369. For Roman Catholics
- 370. For Protestants
- 371. For small business
- 372. Pro women
- 373. Anti women
- 374. Against small business
- 375. Pro youth
- 376. Anti youth
- 377. For elderly
- 378. Against elderly
- 379. Disproportionate representation, poor allocation of seats
- 380. Party influenced by civil servants
- 381. Unaware of needs of West
- 383. Good for civil servants, government employees
- 390. Pro Maritimes
- 391. Anti Maritimes
- 392. Pro Quebec, aware of Quebec's needs
- 393. Anti Quebec, unaware of Quebec's needs
- 394. Pro Ontario
- 398. Pro British Columbia
- 400. Pro East, aware of needs of East
- 402. Pro West, aware of needs of West

- 403. Anti West, unaware of needs of West
- 404. Neglects Ontario
- 405. Influenced by Quebec
- 406. Influenced by Ontario and Quebec
- 407. Treats all provinces equally
- 408. Reference to local benefits
- 409. Pro economic benefits for own region or province
- 410. Anti economic benefits for own region or province
- 411. For have-not parts of Canada
- 412. Against have-not parts of Canada
- 413. For have parts of Canada
- 415. Region or locality neglected
- 416. In favour of small communities
- 417. Against small communities
- 418. Pro American
- 419. Anti American
- 717. Lack of Western representation, weak in West
- 718. Lack of Quebec representation, weak in Quebec
- 720. Reference to national party
- 721. Not a national party

Style

- 500. General image, style, approach
- 503. Party unrealistic
- 505. A good team, a better team
- 506. Works together, united, organized
- 507. Disunited, disorganized
- 508. Youthful, new blood, fresh ideas, etc.
- 509. Old
- 510. Active, effective, solves problems or issues, does or tries to do things, makes decisions, works hard
- 511. Inactive, ineffective, doesn't solve problems, can't do anything, does nothing, can't make decisions, doesn't work hard, inexperienced
- 512. Moves quickly, fast, impulsively, etc.
- 513. Moves slowly, deliberately, carefully, etc.
- 514. Modern, up-to-date
- 515. Out of date, traditional, old fashioned
- 516. Powerful
- 517. Weak
- 518. Forward looking, progressive, tries to change things in a positive way, innovative, open minded
- 519. Not progressive (eg. status quo), not innovative
- 520. Firmness of beliefs, convictions, etc.
- 521. Lack of firmness of beliefs, convictions, etc.
- 522. Sincere, honest, fair
- 523. Insincere, lack of seriousness, dishonest, unfair, corrupt, scandalous
- 524. Competent, business-like, efficient, good managers
- 525. Incompetent, inefficient
- 526. Too forceful, too pushy
- 527. Not forceful enough

- 528. Cooperative with other parties
- 529. Not cooperative with other parties, too critical, muckraking
- 530. Aware of peoples' needs, does things for people, helps people
- 531. Unaware of peoples' needs
- 532. Follows peoples' wishes, involvement with "grass roots"
- 533. Ignores "grass roots"
- 534. Failure to communicate with people, regions
- 535. Practical, down to earth, etc.
- 536. Democratic, open, responsive
- 537. Party makes some mistakes
- 538. Secrecy in government
- 539. Authoritarian (as opposed to democratic style)
- 540. Overly bureaucratic
- 541. Complacency, arrogance, glory-seeking, vain, self centered
- 542. Sanctimonious, moral superiority
- 543. Troublemakers
- 544. Stable government
- 549. Extravagance vis-a-vis life styles (e.g. travel too much), ,
personal indulgences, "salaries"
- 560. Television in Parliament
- 571. Good international profile, image
- 701. Reference to good media campaign
- 702. Reference to poor media campaign
- 707. Approve of campaign attacks on Liberals
- 708. Disapprove of campaign attacks on Liberals
- 710. Campaign style
- 733. Power hungry
- 752. Party financing (way party is financed, disclosure)

General

- 700. General response to party as a whole (approve-disapprove,
identifies with party)
- 757. Best alternative, lesser of two evils
- 759. Beneficial, a good party
- 760. Harmful, a bad party
- 900. Everything
- 901. A great deal, a lot of things
- 903. Some things
- 904. Pretty good, alright, okay
- 905. Not much, not so good, bad
- 910. General positive attitude with reference to party weakness

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