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SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EDMONTON'S ELITE 1951-1974: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Social Characteristics of Edmonton's Elite 1951 - 1974: An Exploratory Study, submitted by Patricia Louise Murphy in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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TO

THOMAS CAMPBELL MURPHY and LOUISE ROESSLER MURPHY

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the structure and social characteristics of Edmonton's elite and to compare these findings with those of previous Canadian research. Because some of the methodological problems in studying a local community elite differ from those involved in a national elite, a major goal of the study became that of developing and testing a methodology which could be used to analyse local Canadian community elites. Therefore this study is an exploratory study.

The previous research of Porter (1965), Clement (1975), Newman (1975) and Olsen (1980) all affirm the existence of a Canadian elite who are for the most part middle- or upper-middle class, university educated males of Anglo-Saxon ancestry. It remained an empirical question if this national pattern is true of local community elites and of western elites.

To empirically investigate these issues both a positional and reputational approach were employed. Data were gathered from library references for the period 1951 to 1974. The positional data was limited to an investigation of the corporate and political institutions.

Individuals identified by either the reputational or positional approaches were classified on the basis of four ascribed social characteristics (sex, place of birth, ethnicity and religion) and nine achieved social characteristics (education, career, professional memberships, publications, directorships, political affiliation, club memberships, service club membership and military service).

The findings generally confirm those found at the national level. The pattern of the elite's social characteristics has remained surprisingly stable over a time period highlighted by rapid growth and change in the population. Edmonton's elite is more open to non-Anglo Saxon representation than the

national elite, but generally this is only a matter of degree. Being an educated male of British ancestry with middle- or upper-middle class background remains the typical profile of Edmonton's elite.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This page can be ignored by everyone except those who contributed to it. As an historical sociologist of psycho-political pursuasion (in other eras simply referred to as "philosopher"), I would like to acknowledge and thank those who provided the support, motivation, and encouragement to help these pages manifest concretely.

First, I would like to acknowledge my maternal grandfather, J.W. Roessler. Without his considered opinion that "education in general is a waste" and that "education in particular is especially wasted on women (sic)," my mother would never have felt as strongly as she does about equal opportunity for women and the importance of education. Ironically, it was in part due to the fruits of Grandpa's labours and the commitment of my parents to learning that my sister and I were provided with good educations at superior schools and universities.

I would like to acknowledge and thank my parents for their strength, support and encouragement. My father, the closest person to Socrates I know, provided me with an example of true community leadership, with an understanding of education, and with companionship. I regret that he died too soon to see my graduation. My mother continues to provide encouragement "to be one's own person and to act from one's own convictions" (though at moments I know she has some misgivings about this). She also taught my sister and me to question any sign that says "keep out." Together my parents provided one of the liveliest and heated forums for discussion - our dinner table! These discussions ranged over any topic including religion and politics.

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taught me English - period! No one could achieve such a thankless task better than she. Drs. Jack Curtis and Ralph Lane and Fr. Eugene Schallert, S.J., of the University of San Francisco, made sociology live and education happen. Max Wildiers opened up new worlds of thought, new perspectives on the universe, and gave the gift of his friendship. An undergraduate exposed to these minds must consider herself very fortunate.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic (1965) initiated a series of investigations analyzing Canada's social structure and specifically Canada's elite. The starting point of his research was the assumption that a society could be defined as "open" if members of the elite were representative of the population as a whole.

> If it is assumed that all members of a society have equal chance of entry there would be a randomness in the representation of major social groups at the elite level of society. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that a particular kind of social background, class, ethnic, religious, and the like, is necessary for entrance, then the "preferred" social backgrounds should be over-represented in the elite roles (Porter 1965:127).

Porter's findings raised many questions about the differences between the ideological perceptions of the Canadian social structure and the empirical reality. The popular belief prior to the publication of The Vertical Mosaic was that Canada was an open society based on equal opportunity and founded on a dominant middle class, and that if an elite did exist it represented the variety of interests found in the population as a whole. However, Porter found that an elite did exist and that the Canadian social structure was strongly hierarchical with the elite sharing common traits and social characteristics not represented to the same extent in the society as a whole. These traits can be summarized as male, middle- or upper-middle class, university-trained WASPS (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Access to elite positions was dependent upon possession of these social characteristics. Most of these characteristics are inherited or ascribed, especially Anglo-Saxon heritage.

The studies which followed Porter's (Kelner 1969, Clement 1975, Newman 1975 and Olsen 1980) expanded and confirmed Porter's findings.

This research explores the possibility that the same social structures and pattern of social characteristics found at the national level are present in

Edmonton. The primary focus of this research is to develop a methodology which can identify the social characteristics of a community elite. The research design aims at providing findings which are replicable and comparable, as well as valid and objective.

Edmonton was chosen for the study because no elite research had been conducted in a western-Canadian centre, and Edmonton had experienced the conditions in which upward mobility and openness of the social structure would be theoretically maximized. As a western city, built by immigrants and bolstered by a strong resource-based economy, it would be expected that Edmonton provides more then usual opportunities for upward mobility for its citizens based on achievement rather than inheritance. The impact of large-scale migration and immigration should be reflected in the social structure of the city and in the elite. As Clement remarked:

> The West ... as an immigrant society, did not have a rigid class structure relative to the other parts of Canada when the present elites were growing up in the 1920's and 1930's or even when they were embarking on their careers in the 1940's. An important conclusion which can be drawn from this is that as social structures mature and become more established, the chances of those outside the upper class entering elite positions declines (sic!) (1975:225).

A. THE CONCEPT ELITE AND ELITE THEORISTS:

Much of the contemporary Canadian sociological research centres on the study of elites. The concept "elite" has been a focal point for a large body of research in the area of social organization, social stratification and political sociology. The term "elite" originally connoted "choiceness or excellence." As the concept became increasingly popular among social scientists, it acquired new meanings associated with power, wealth and/or influence.

Major theoreticians in the study of elites are Vilfredo Pareto (1935), Gaetano Mosca (1965), Roberto Michels (1959), C. Wright Mills, (1959) and

Suzanne Keller (1963). Each of these theorists have differed in the definition and explanation of what is meant by elite.

Pareto used two definitions of an elite. The first definition maintained the notions of excellence: "... by elite we mean the small number of individuals who, in each sphere of activity, have succeeded and have arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy (Aron 1970, Vol. 11:179)." Later in his writings Pareto used "elite" to refer to those who held power and political office in society.

Pareto's theory is that society is divided into two groups: the elite and the masses. These divisions are based on psychological factors. These psychological predispositions also are the source of change within the elite itself. For Pareto history is a "grave yard of aristocracies" created by a constant "circulation of elites" alternating leadership between lions and foxes. Those with more conservative predispositions are described as lions and those more radical as foxes.

Mosca developed a theory similar to Pareto's. He labeled the upper stratum "the ruling class": "in all societies...two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled (Mosca 1965:50)." Unlike Pareto, Mosca emphasises cultural and social patterns to determine access to the ruling class. Those in the ruling class maintain their preeminence by appealing to values already existing in society as the basis for their rule. These values used to legitimize power are called "political formulae." The small size of the ruling class as compared with the masses enables the rulers or elite to organize and communicate quickly and thus maintain their preeminence. In industrial society a "second stratum" emerges: "the whole 'new middle class' of civil servants, managers and white-collar workers, scientists and engineers, scholars and intellectuals (Bottomore 1964:11)." This second stratum provides technical

expertise to the ruling class, and a buffer between the ruling class or elite and the masses.

Roberto Michels (1959) studied democratic labour unions in Germany. From his research he concluded that over time all human groups will develop an oligarchy. These oligarchic tendencies are intensified with increased population, increased organization and specialization.

In North America C. Wright Mills carried on the tradition of elite analysis and defined an elite as: "...simply those who have the most of what there is to have, which is generally held to include money, power and prestige - as well as the ways of life to which these lead (1959:9)." Mills implies no claim of excellence or best, no claim that all societies must have an elite, and no claim regarding the relationship of the elite to decision-making:

> The idea of the power elite implies nothing about the process of decision-making as such: it is an attempt to delimit the social areas within which that process, whatever its character, goes on. It is a conception of who is involved in the process (1959:21).

For Mills the contemporary elite has evolved to become defined by positions within institutions. Elites are those who hold power, that power resides in institutions, and elites must therefore maintain control over the institutions to maintain their power. He concluded that in the United States the powerful institutions and their elites, namely the corporate, political and military, were becoming increasingly unified in interest, recruitment and exchange of top personnel. Access to positions in these institutions was often restricted by social background and psychological traits.

Suzanne Keller's study (1963) agrees with Mills' position that contemporary elites are institutionally defined. However she defined elites from the perspective that elites are a response to societal needs and operate for the good of the whole based on a social concensus. They are not a cohesive ruling class but are

specialized agents of the various institutions they represent. The elites thus compete for power, wealth and influence within a society rather than becoming unified. She calls these new industrial elites "the strategic elite."

This research, as most of the previous Canadian research, defines elite according to the Mills definition. It is therefore viewed as a heuristic lable to investigate the phenomenon of stratification at the upper levels of society.

B. METHODOLOGY:

Chapter Three reviews the different approaches that have been used to empirically study elites and community power. The concensus in the literature is that three approaches can be identified: the reputational, the positional, and the decision-making approaches. Empirical research shows that any one approach is insufficient in delineating an elite or community power structure. The purpose of this research is to design a way of gathering data for a local level that can be replicated, that lends itself to comparative research, and that controls for "contamination" of the data by informants talking to or influencing one another.

The data for this study were gathered for the period 1951 to 1974. This period of time includes (a) three national census periods which provide local and national data for comparison, (b) the approximate period over which the national elite studies were conducted, and (c) the two and a half decades of Edmonton's rapid growth as an oil centre. The methodological approaches adopted in this study are the reputational and positional approaches. The data collected was analysed on the basis of 13 social characteristics. Because the approach is exploratory, some of the findings cannot be considered conclusive, but the approach does provide an established base for future research.

C. RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

From reviewing the literature concerning elite theory and the methodology employed in empirically investigating elites and community power, it is possible to isolate a few recurring research questions which may be applicable to Edmonton's elite. The following discussion reviews some of the major questions raised in the literature which are addressed in this study.

Both the national and eastern research indicate that the Canadian west may differ in structure from what were Upper and Lower Canada. Clement (1975) and Newman (1975) both indicate that western communities may have less formalized social structures and therefore the local elites may be more representative of the community. The findings of this research may indicate the differences or similarities that exist between what has been identified as the national elite and that of Edmonton.

The empirical investigation of Edmonton's elite structure should reveal: (1) whether the West has offered more opportunities for the non-W.A.S.P. individual to move up into top positions than the East and the nation as a whole, and (2) whether the relative openness or closedness of the structure has changed over time. (3) Additionally, it is important not only to determine the degree of openness within the social structure, but also the trends of forces which affect access to the elite over time.

A second theme that appears in the Canadian literature is that an elite may show openness during times of rapid change and development, but as the risk factor subsides and the growth becomes stabilized there is a tendency for the original patterns of the pre-growth period to reassert themselves (Clement 1975, Kelner 1969). By using a longitudinal approach which covers the period of

Edmonton's "dynamic decade," it may be possible to confirm or reject that a similar pattern is present in Edmonton.

Porter (1965), Clement (1975) and Newman (1975) have noted the dominance of the corporate institution in Canadian society and the more exclusive pattern of social characteristics describing the corporate elite relative to other Canadian institutions and institutional elites. It remains an empirical question whether the same structure and configuration of social characteristics is evident in Edmonton.

Both Mills (1959) and Keller (1963) asserted that in industrial societies, elites will be institutionally defined. Findings from the previous studies would indicate that this may be so in Edmonton. Since the reputational data as gathered in this study is assumed to include a cross-section of the community's leaders, these data may provide some insight into the debates concerning elites: does the data reflect the institutional structure of the community? Are those represented in the data members of Edmonton's major institutions or do they represent institutions other than those which dominate the community or other than those identified at the national level?

A further set of questions can be raised if a comparison is made between the reputational and positional data. The national studies indicate that while there are variations among the different elites in regard to the pattern of social characteristics, generally the various elites are more similar to one another than they are to the general population. On this basis it may be postulated that the political and corporate elites will exhibit similar social characteristics, and that generally the positional and reputational elites will share a pattern of social characteristics.

The last issue was raised by Kelner's study of the Toronto elite (1969). Her study identified what can be termed the "strategic elite" and the "core elite"

(see Chapter Two). Because individuals in the study of Edmonton's elite may be identified by either a positional or reputational reference, it is logically posited that those elite members identified by more than one source will as a group display a more exclusive pattern of social characteristics than will those identified by only one reference.

D. SUMMARY:

The purpose of this study is to develop and test a methodology which analyses the structure and social characteristics of a community elite. A significant amount of research has been conducted on the Canadian elite which provides a basis of organization for such a study.

A summary of previous Canadian elite studies is provided in Chapter Two and Chapter Three presents some of the previous methodological approaches and concerns encountered in community elite and community power studies. The research design is described in Chapter Four, and a brief history of Edmonton is given in Chapter Five which provides some historical, demographic, economic and cultural information on the city. The findings for the ascribed and achieved social characteristics are detailed in Chapters Six and Seven respectively. A longitudinal analysis of the data from 1951 and 1974 is explained in Chapter Eight. Conclusions are presented in Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER TWO

ELITES IN CANADA:

A CAPITALIST SOCIETY RUN BY A CLUSTER OF INTERLOCKING ELITES

Peter C. Newman has this to say about Canada and Canadian elites in The Canadian Establishment:

> The country is rarely viewed though the prism of its status as one of the world's most successful capitalist states. Yet, that's what we are — a capitalist country run by clusters of interlocking elites (1975:143).

Sixty years earlier, in 1914, Gustavus Myers observed the same phenomenon. In The History of Canadian Wealth, the American journalist noted:

> The rapid concentration of wealth in Canada is no mere fancy. Already, it is estimated, less than fifty men control $4,000,000,000 or more than one-third of Canada's material wealth as expressed in railways, banks, factories, mines, land, and other properties and resources (1972) (1914):xxxi).

This important historical book, published in 1914, was reprinted in 1972. The reappearance of Myer's book reflects the emerging trend toward self-criticism and self-analysis of the Canadian society which began in the mid 1960's.

Up until 1965 little contemporary research had been published in the popular press or in academic fields on Canadian social structure. With the publishing of John Porter's Vertical Mosaic in 1965 and the subsequent "search for a Canadian identity" of the 1970's, more and more research has turned inward toward the study of Canada and the Canadian people. A substantial portion of the sociological research has centered on the study of Canadian elites.

The commonly accepted assumption that as Canada's capitalist system advances, the distribution of wealth and power will become more decentralized creating a large "middle-mass" has become the focus of analysis and criticism. Empirical investigation reveals the opposite trend. Over sixty years ago Myers observed: "This process of centralization is, it is needless to say, still continuing

and has by no means reached culmination (1972) (1914):xxxiii)." Through two world wars, and several depressions and recessions, the debate on this question has not ended.

This chapter will review selected contemporary research which has already been completed on elites in Canada. With the exception of Kelner's work on Toronto, the research has been carried out on the national level. Much of the research is a continuation and expansion of The Vertical Mosaic written by John Porter substantially in the tradition of C. Wright Mills.

A. THE VERTICAL MOSAIC:

In 1965 Porter's Vertical Mosaic shook the dominant belief of many Canadians by attacking the image of Canada as a classless society of equal opportunity:

> One of the most persistent images that Canadians have of their society is that it has no classes. This image becomes translated into the assertion that Canadians are all relatively equal in their possessions, in the amount of money they earn, and in the opportunities which they and their children have to get on in the world. An important element in this image of classlessness is that, with the absence of formal aristocracy and aristocratic institutions, Canada is a society in which equalitarian values have asserted themselves over authoritarian values. Canada, it is thought, shared not only a continent with the United States, but also a democratic ideology which rejects the historical class and power structures of Europe (1965:3).

Despite this dominant belief which Porter claims was supported by three main ideological sources, Christianity, capitalism, and nationalism (1965:212), the social facts point in a different direction. Porter studied the major institutions in Canada including (1) economic, (2) labour, (3) political, (4) bureaucratic, and (5) ideological institutions, and was able to gain some insight into the top rungs of this country's stratification system. From examining each institution and the persons who hold top positions in each of these institutions, Porter concluded that Canada was neither an open society nor pluralistic.

1. The Economic Elite:

The economic elite was defined by Porter as "those who occupy the major decision-making positions in the corporative institutions of Canadian society (1965:264)." These included 985 Canadian residents holding directorships in 170 dominant corporations, banks, insurance companies, and numerous corporations not classed as dominant (Porter, 1965:274). Upon examining the careers of these individuals in these positions, it was found that family connections played major roles in having access to top positions in corporate institutions. The control of corporations by large numbers of stock or share holders had not become a predominant pattern in Canada, and the independent entrepreneur or "self-made-man" was becoming an endangered species.

Most of the economic elite were of British origin. The French Canadians were represented in the elite but were under-represented in relation to its proportion in the total population. There were six Jews, or .78 per cent of the elite as compared with 1.4 per cent of the population.

> The exclusion of minority groups from the main loci of decision-making within the corporate sector of the economy illustrates the differences between power as the basis of stratification and various other bases, such as income and occupation...(Porter 1965:287).

In terms of religion, Anglicans were the most over-represented group among the corporate elite, followed by the Presbyterians who were also over-represented. All other religious groups were under-represented.

> The social function that sect-like religions may have had for entrepreneurial behaviour no longer exists for the elite of the corporate world, and this group tends to adopt Anglicanism as the religion appropriate to their class in the same way as Episcopalianism has become the religion of the corporate elite in the United States (Porter 1965:289).

Middle or upper class origins dominate the background of the economic elite. Much evidence showed that it was becoming increasingly difficult to make it into the corporate inner circles without having upper-middle and middle class

experience. This experience includes private schools, post-secondary education (usually in law, engineering, or finance) and private club affiliation. There seemed to be no particular relationship between elite status and Liberal or Conservative political affiliation. Thus, Porter concluded in relation to the corporate elite that:

> The elite would appear as a complex network of small groupings interlocked by a high degree of cross-membership. Throughout the network runs a thin but none the less perceptible thread of kinship. In addition the private school, the law school, and the engineering faculty provide common exposure to a socialization process which is both instrumental and normative (1965:304).

2. The Labour Elite:

The labour elite are those individuals who are the leaders of trade unions. Their power within Canadian society comes from their ability to bargain for large portions of the labour market. Though this sector of society represents a large portion of the lower and middle classes, Porter's findings revealed that:

> Although the social origins of the labour elite are markedly different from those of other elite groups the data so far reviewed indicate that they did not come from the very bottom of the class system. As measured by the occupational levels of their fathers there were more from the skilled class level than any other. Even though their educational level is low compared to other elites it is not as low as the general population. The British-charter group is over-represented in the leadership, and as measured by religious affiliation lower status Catholic groups are under-represented. Thus as a social force, it may be said that union leadership has risen from the higher levels of the manual work world rather than the more deprived unskilled class which has been built up through non-British immigration and off-farm migration within Canada (Porter 1965:349-50).

3. The Political Elite:

Porter defined the political elite as those who held federal cabinet positions, all provincial premiers in office, all justices of the Supreme Court, presidents of the Exchequer Court, and all provincial chief justices for the period 1940-1960. He concluded that the political elites and political parties in Canada reflected the geographical and regional disparities of the country rather than basic ideological

differences. "Its two major political parties do not focus to the right and the left. In the sense that both are closely linked with corporate enterprise the dominant focus has been to the right (Porter 1965:368)."

Most political elites were Canadian-born, but those who represent the western provinces tended to come originally from the more eastern provinces: "Native westerners have so far played a remarkably small part in federal politics (Ward 1950:128)." In terms of education, 86 per cent had university education and over 64 per cent were trained as lawyers. Many had attended private schools. Ethnically, the British were over-represented. The French composed only 21.7 per cent of the 157 political elites and other ethnic groups only 3.2 per cent. Anglican, United, and Presbyterian church affiliations were over-represented, whereas Catholic affiliation was under-represented (Porter 1965:390).

Unlike the career patterns of most politicians in Europe or the U.S., Canadians generally "...take on, as a public duty, a temporary stint in political office (Porter 1965:406)" rather than follow the usual pattern of the professional politician or lifetime politician.

4. The Bureaucratic Elite:

The bureaucracy or the organization in charge of implementing political decisions has become increasingly powerful in Canada. "The sheer growth of governmental operations over the last half-century has created within civil service and administrative agencies a new and relatively autonomous system of power and decision-making (Porter 1965:418)."

Canada has established its own patterns for recruiting the bureaucratic elite. "In Canada, patronage as the basis of appointment plagued the civil service until well into the present century (Porter 1965:418)." This is aggravated by the

difficulty of attracting and keeping highly qualified persons to perform the duties of the public servant because of competition from business and university sectors.

If, as Porter did, one looks at the senior levels of civil service, it is possible to note that many come from outside the ranks of civil service and spend only a few years in service to the country. Even though...."Ethnic, regional and religious affiliations are not rational qualifications for office (Porter 1965:440)," the French were again under-represented in the bureaucratic ranks. "Other ethnic groups in Canada, with the exception of Jews, are scarcely represented at all in the higher bureaucracy (Porter 1695:442)." Those coming from Ontario are over-represented. None of the other provinces are over-represented.

The bureaucratic elites do differ from the economic elites in regard to religion. Protestant denominations other than the Anglican church make up the largest representation. The Catholics, though still underrepresented, make up a larger proportion of the bureaucratic elite than among the elite of the other institutional sectors.

Members of the bureaucratic elite do not come from the lower socio-economic class of the population. The technical skills required for entrance into a bureaucratic position often eliminate much of the population which has not had the advantage of higher education. Porter concluded that: "Although the Canadian public service does not provide an avenue of upward mobility for the broad basis of the social pyramid, it is not at the same time an exclusive preserve of the upper class (1965:444)."

5. <u>The Ideological Elite</u>:

The ideological elite performs the function of maintaining and enforcing the <u>status quo</u>: "The ideological system must provide the justification for the economic system, the political system, and so forth, and this it does by attempting

to show that the existing arrangements conform with the traditional value system. (Porter 1965:460)." According to Porter, this ideological function is taken on in Canada by the mass media, education and religion.

a) The Mass Media: In Canada, the mass media which includes newspapers, radio, and television is a business activity of the marketplace whose purpose is not only content but profit. "Many of them, particularly in the larger cities, are closely linked with corporate enterprise (Porter 1965:462)." Increasingly, the media are becoming concentrated in the hands of "...families or individuals with two or three (emphasis added) generations of wealth behind them (Porter 1965:463)."

Ownership of the mass media in English-speaking Canada is primarily in the hands of Canadians. Ownership also tends to be handled within families. "Thus inheritance through kinship, rather than upward social mobility, is now the principal means of recruitment to that group which owns the major mass media instruments (Porter 1965:483-84)."

b) The Intellectual Elite: In trying to identify the intellectual elite in Canada, Porter decided to define this group as the membership of the Royal Society of Canada (formed in 1882) which in 1961 had a membership of 543. The members are divided into sections including: (1) English literature and civilization, (2) French literature and civilization, and (3) the sciences.

The intellectual elite in Canada have not traditionally been anti-establishment. As Porter has noted: "Neither Canadian newspapers, churches, nor universities have harboured social critics in any large number, and there are some interesting examples of pressure extended to members of these bodies who have become too critical (1915:494)."

In the sections of English literature and civilization, the University of Toronto dominated in terms of alumni (43 per cent), University of British

Columbia, McGill, and Queens ranked next. History represented the largest academic discipline. Social sciences were under-represented. One-third of the English literature and civilization groups had been born outside Canada, the majority being from the United Kingdom. The implication, then, is that English-speaking humanities and social sciences rely heavily on external recruitment. Porter points out that this has repercussions on the development of Canadian identity. "In the case of the ideological elite external recruitment has a further important sociological implication, and that is the difficulty such an elite may have in articulating for the society a coherent sense of identity (1965:498)."

Most of this elite seemed to have a middle class origin with some of the group having an upper class origin, but there were fewer upper class members than in other elites. Thirty-five of the 85 gave no religious preference, 17 were Anglican, 17 United Church, 4 Presbyterian, 6 Baptist, and 5 Catholic (Porter 1965:501). Four were women, which was the highest proportion of women in any elite, but women were still grossly underrepresented.

Many of this section of the Royal Society had links with the government bureaucracy. Twelve had combined careers between the bureaucracy and the university. However, none had worked with the corporate world. "There appears to be a complete lack of articulation between the clerisy of the higher learning and the political system. None is a member of the Senate of Canada (Porter 1965:502-503)."

If the English literature and civilization group is compared with its French counterpart, only 20 of the 65 French members hold positions in universities which "...may be accounted for by the richer intellectual life outside of the universities in French Canada (Porter 1965:505)." Virtually all members were born in Canada, thus eliminating the dependency upon external recruitment and reinforcing the articulation of the French-Canadian experience.

> Because the elite structure of French Canada is compact, and the rate of mobility in French-Canadian society is low, the intellectuals can speak for and to other French elites. From the point of view of the outsider they appear to be speaking for the whole of the society (Porter 1965:507).

At the undergraduate level, for the science section of the intellectual elite, the University of Toronto dominated, but graduate work was spread over many institutions with many scientists being trained in the U.S. Over one-third of this group were associated with government agencies. Ninety per cent were English speaking and 10 per cent French.

c) The Clerical Elite: The third force in the ideological elite is the clerical elite. Porter analyzed only the higher levels of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches. Religious leaders have power in that religion is so closely linked with other social factors such as ethnicity and social class. "In societies of religious heterogeneity where religions are contesting for people's loyalty, religion becomes much more central to social thought (Porter 1965:511)."

The first striking contrast between Catholic and Anglican leaders was that 52 of the 57 Catholic bishops were born in Canada, whereas only 10 of the 26 Anglican bishops were native to Canada. Thirteen of the remaining 16 were born in England or Ireland. "The Anglican church in Canada sees itself not as a specifically Canadian church but rather as belonging to a wider international Anglican community (Porter 1965:515)." Thirty-three of the 52 Catholic bishops were French. "Thus this elite group was the only one in which the French were over-represented (Porter 1965:516)." The remaining bishops were Irish, Scottish, or English.

6. Summary:

Porter concluded that the top positions in the major Canadian institutions were not equally accessible to the total population. Despite an ideology and

system of values extolling the merits of personal achievement, hard work, and initiative, forces are still at work which give advantage to specific segments of the population based on ascriptive characteristics.

> As we have seen, Canadian elites are not recruited proportionately from all levels of the class system, nor from all religious and ethnic groups. Middle and upper class people of British origin who are university graduates make up a relatively small group from which to draw a ruling class in an expanding society (Porter 1965:521).

B. THE CANADIAN CORPORATE ELITE:

Porter's findings were corroborated by Wallace Clement in his book The Canadian Corporate Elite. Focusing on the corporate elite and including its ties with the mass media, Clement updated and expanded the research completed by Porter in 1965. Clement defines corporation as "...structures organized for particular purposes, their prime objective being the appropriation of surplus for the private intention of the people who control them (1975:23)." Using a positional definition of corporate elite similar to that of Porter's economic elite, Clement subdivides the corporate elite into 5 sectors: (1) finance, including banks, life insurance, sales, finance, and mortgage and trust; (2) trade, retail or wholesale; (3) transportation and utilities, including pipelines and communications; (4) mining, both metal and mineral fuels; (5) manufacturing, representing paper products, food and beverages, petroleum, non-metal minerals, primary metals, transportation equipment machinery, electrical products, and other manufacturing.

After completing his research, Clement found that indeed the concentration of the elite had increased:

> Every indicator shows that the current elite is of higher class origin than twenty years ago. The class structure of Canadian society has tightened in terms of gaining access into the economic elite, becoming much more impermeable for anyone of less than middle class origins (1975:191).

For those persons who appeared in both Porter's 1965 study and Clement's 1975 study, inheritance seems to be the determining factor in continued access to power.

> It also adds weight to the argument that private property in the form of inheritance is a major legal device members of the upper class have for staying in powerful positions, and that they use this to pass privilege on to their offspring (Clement 1975:195).

Banking was one avenue of upward mobility identified by Porter, but by 1975 this means of getting ahead had become all but closed. A college education and even advanced degrees along with upper class background including private school had become the norm. Even the more risky and experimental adventures in the corporate world had become increasingly difficult to break into. "This suggests that expansion of the scope of the economic elite does not mean that new social types are necessarily recruited to fill the positions, but rather the evidence illustrates that they tend to be filled by the same old elite (Clement 1965:197)."

In dealing with the relationship between the corporate elite and the media as a force in the ideological elite, Clement is brought to the conclusion that there is less than a thin line dividing the two:

> The conclusion must be that together the economic and media elite are simply two sides to the same upper class; between them they hold two of the key sources of power - economic and ideological - in Canadian society and form the corporate elite (1975:325).

The connections between corporate interests and the ownership of television, radio, and newspapers are increasingly closed and progressively centralized. Drawing on the information gathered from the Senate Committee Report on the Mass Media (1970), it can be concluded 70 per cent of the media elite are from the upper class (Clement 1975:329), most of the media interests are held by family groups who are also involved in the corporate structure, women are excluded from much participation (Clement 1975:332), ethnic participation is negligible, and Anglicans are again over-represented as are Catholics under-represented (Clement

1975:333). Private schooling, university education, and club life play important roles in maintaining the structure of the elite.

The result is that the information presented in the media upon which the average Canadian is to base his or her opinion has an upper-class bias. Clement concludes:

> (i) the media elite is, in large part, a subset of the economic elite and increasingly becoming more so, (ii) the basis of revenue for dominant media complexes is primarily advertising, thus their profitable survival depends upon their relationship to major advertisers who are also the economic elite, (iii) through appointments and active participation in publication and broadcasting, the media elite are able to act as "gatekeepers" to the management of news (1975:342).

Clement's findings not only substantiate Porter's original investigation, but show that closure and centralization have increased within the elite ranks. Ascriptive characteristics rather than achieved characteristics are increasingly the basis of access to top positions. Far from being a classless society, the Canadian society is becoming controlled by a centralized few who have access to many different functional elite statuses. "These findings indicate that two or more functionally distinct domains established on separate bases of power are not necessarily operationally separate...(Clement 1975:345)."

C. THE CANADIAN ESTABLISHMENT:

If Porter's and Clement's work were not sufficient evidence concerning Canada's vertically ascriptive society, Peter Newman extends the picture in his more journalistic and personal book, The Canadian Establishment. "Recognizing the validity of the concept that power resides in various elites, I have concentrated instead on trying to define and detail their qualitative workings, origins, interconnections, rivalries, styles of operations (Newman 1975:14)."

Together with Porter and Clement, Newman identifies the banking world as the cornerstone of the Canadian capitalist economy. Porter was able to

substantiate that board members of Canada's five largest banks occupied more positions as director on other corporate boards than any other single group. Newman also shows that a bank directorship opens the doors to unlimited contact in the complex web of interlocking corporate directorships. He notes: "Canadian businessmen aspire to bank boards the way politicians sigh for the senate, and once appointed seldom surrender the honour until the mandatory age of 75 (1975:110)."

Newman's work confirms and extends the sociological findings of Porter and Clement. Most men of power and influence come from the middle and upper-middle class. Many attended private schools, especially Upper Canada College. The older generation was not as highly educated as the younger generation of the elite. The University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall are further experiences which serve to intensify the "old boy system." Clubs also continue to play a part in the consolidation of power. Club membership provides both the situation to make and to reaffirm contacts while automatically eliminating those who "haven't made it." The secrecy provided by the inconspicuous doors which divide members and non-members is a distinctive advantage in the power game. However, once in the door an almost ironic camaraderie pervades. A Toronto club-goer was quoted as confiding: "What I like about these places is their essentially egalitarian spirit. There's no distinction whatever made between a man with half a million dollars and another with $50 million (Newman 1975:365)."

Thus family, class, education, private school, and clubs are some of the ascribed means of gaining and maintaining access to power. This does not mean that the loci of power and influence have not changed over time, but the preliminary qualifications to participate in the game have remained stable. Part of the shift in Canada has been an increasing pressure to include the West in the decision-making process:

> At the same time, Canada's economic centre of gravity is shifting from Montreal to Toronto and pushing westward. Power still accrues to the centre, and the central economic authority clearly remains anchored in Toronto, where most of the business establishment lives, deals, and maintains and spreads its roots (Newman 1975:389).

If the social structure of the West and the social characteristics of the western elites differ from their eastern counterpart, this westward movement should have some effect on the composition of the Canadian elite.

D. THE STATE ELITE:

The most recent analysis of the Canadian elite structure was published in 1980. The State Elite by Dennis Olsen uses John Porter's original data as a basis for investigating changes in the government sector of the Canadian society. Olsen terms the complex structure of governmental groups or organizations "the state". "The term state stands for a system of institutions under both federal and provincial jurisdictions. It includes legislatures, courts, the military and police as well as the many administrative departments and agencies of government (1980:1)."

TABLE 1

STUDIES OF CANADIAN INSTITUTIONAL ELITES

Porter, 1965	Clement, 1975	Olsen, 1980
Economic	Corporate Elite	
Labour		
Political		State Elite (Political and Bureaucratic)
Bureaucratic		
Ideological		
Educational		
Media	(Media)	
Clerical		

As Clement restructured Porter's economic elite to include the media elite and called the two the corporate elite, Olsen has restructured Porter's division to include the political and bureaucratic elite which forms the state elite. Porter did not include the military in his analysis; Olsen by definition incorporates it as one branch of the state elite, but does not investigate it. From this it may be concluded that the military does not or is not seen to play a large role in the Canadian power equation.

Before looking at the different branches of the state elite, Olsen looked at the reconstituted institution as a whole. It is his contention that the state elite over the past 20 years has experienced tremendous change. These changes have been primarily of two sorts: (1) increased growth in size, scope, and complexity, and (2) simultaneously increased fragmentation.

The entire public sector of the economy has increased to more than 1/3 of the entire Canadian economy (from 22 per cent in 1950 to 41.5 per cent in 1976). This economic increase is also reflected in the employment figures. By 1974 one out of three persons depended directly or indirectly on the state for employment. This increased share of the economy and employment market has also occurred alongside an increase in complexity within the institution. New programs, more departments and various agencies have been created. Often times these undertakings have ventured into areas traditionally held by the economic sector. "There are, then, a number of areas where the boundaries between the state and the private economy have become obscured (Olsen 1980:8)."

The other change which has had impact on the state elite is fragmentation. The fragmentation has not occurred among the various divisions of the national institution, but rather between the national and provincial levels of the state:

> The most important change in the Canadian state system in recent decades has been the rise of the provinces to new positions of power and the relative decline in the importance of the central government (Olsen 1980:3).

This has created a system of "eleven governments" accorded to Olsen which in turn has produced the need for more structures and groups to coordinate the activities of the eleven state fragments. This fragmentation began after World War II as provincial revenues increased and employees were hired to handle the revenues.

> These changes gave provincial political and bureaucratic elites a much stronger base of power from which to operate, and in the case of the larger or wealthier provinces, elites have been able to challenge the structure of the nation-state itself and effectively veto changes that they do not want (Olsen 1980:11).

The fragmentation has not meant decentralization. It has meant competition among power centres resulting in no over-all national economic plan, in an inability to act as a unified nation, and in competing definitions of rights and responsibilities.

If changes have occured within "the state," what has been the change in the people who hold top positions within this institution, i.e. the state elite? Olsen divides his analysis of the state elite into three parts: the political elite, the judicial elite, and the bureaucratic elite.

1. The Political Elite:

Olsen's definition of the political elite is similar to Porter's. It includes the prime ministers, premiers, and federal and provincial cabinet ministers. For Olsen, the dominant fact which has shaped the political institution and the political elite has been legal structuring of the position of the two charter groups of Canada: the British Canadians and the French Canadians. Although "bilingualism and multiculturalism" have been formally adopted as Canadian policy, the informal operating rule of the political elite is the alliance of the two charter groups.

> In ethnic-political terms, the Canadian state was founded in 1867 on an "alliance" - or an "unequal union" as Stanley Ryerson called it - between the two charter groups, the French and the English. Other ethnic groups, who at the time consisted mainly of the native peoples, were

> relegated to a lower status. Immigrants, who subsequently helped to fill up Canada, came in under a certain order of preference. Those from the British Isles and northwestern Europe were generally favoured over those from eastern and southern Europe, while Asians and Blacks had the lowest ranking. The preference system conferred an "entrance status" that usually determined the new arrival's placement in the occupational world. Thus, as Porter suggests, "a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and social class" developed, and leading members of the two charter ethnic groups were able to appropriate "particular roles and designate other ethnic groups for the less preferred ones (1965:63)." Among the roles that still tend to be appropriated by members of the two charter groups are the elite roles of the state system, a reality that contrasts rather starkly with the imagery of "multiculturalism" and "ethnic equality" (Olsen 1980:22).

The bias has become so accepted that the term "ethnic" has come to be used only in reference to non-charter groups. "Apparently charter-group members are not perceived as having any 'ethnicity' (Olsen 1980:21)."

The empirical findings substantiate the existence of the charter-groups' alliance. Between 1940 and 1960, 75 per cent of the political elite were British Canadians. From 1961 to 1973, Olsen found the percentage had dropped to 68 per cent. However, the proportion of British Canadians to the whole of Canada is 45 per cent. Though the strength of over-representation has decreased by seven per cent, British Canadians are still over-represented and dominate the political elite.

The French Canadians have gained stature in the political elite. From 1940-1960, French Canadians represented 21 per cent of the political elite; from 1961-1973 this had risen three per cent to twenty-four per cent. The French Canadian population is 27 per cent of the entire Canadian population so that while the French Canadians are the second dominant group, they remain slightly under-represented.

The non-charter groups make up 27 per cent of the Canadian population. In Porter's study they represented three per cent of the political elite; but Olsen

found they had grown to eight per cent of the political elite. However, the gain is misleading.

> These other groups increased their representation in the elite by 4 per cent over the previous study, but their share of the population increased by more than 5 per cent between 1951 and 1971, so that their position relative to the population base was actually worse than before (Olsen 1980:23).

This pattern of representation has remained stable over a considerable length of time. Besides the characteristics of ethnicity, other patterns have emerged based on other ascriptive characteristics, namely, education, sex, occupation, wealth, and class origin.

"In general, the more powerful positions within the state elite tend to be held by persons with higher-ranking background characteristics (Olsen 1980:25)." Access to the elite demands correct background characteristics to begin with. Members of the political elite have middle or upper class backgrounds. Most are lawyers. In 1940-60 Porter found 64 per cent of them lawyers; and in 1961-73 Olsen found 53 per cent. Others had some kind of professional background. "None of the federal cabinet ministers came from an occupation that one could call working class (Olsen 1980:27)." Some businessmen enter the political arena but very few from the corporate elite. Many come from a background of some wealth. Very few women make it into politics. Those who do resemble the characteristic pattern in all but their being female rather than male.

There is also a scarcity of career politicians. The trend seems to be that after a brief career in politics, the individual tends to seek upward mobility into the economic elite. Fewer members are moving up the political ladder from municipal and provincial politics to federal politics. All this has the effect of weakening the political institution in that the status relative to the economic institutions is weakened rather than being a competition among equals. The federal politicians are increasingly newcomers and outsiders to the parliamentary

system. This trend is similar to that identified by Mills in the U.S. during the 1950's.

Those who do maintain a long career in politics tend to be those at the top levels especially the prime ministers and premiers. This produces the characteristics of "chieftainship" and, as Olsen notes, takes on the characteristics of a feudal system with kings, barons, and everchanging knights.

In summary, then, Olsen notes that despite changes in the institution itself, the recruitment patterns and characteristics of the political elite have changed very little.

> It is clear, then, that the Canadian political elite changes very slowly and not at all in some respects. The elite is still dominated by male lawyers and businessmen of French- and British-Canadian origins who come from middle- or upper-middle class families. Most spend a relatively short time in politics, and, apart from a few individual "chiefs", few turn it into a regular lifetime career. The continuity of class and ethnic backgrounds suggests that the Canadian state creates, internally, a structured alliance between the two charter ethnic groups and between the middle and upper classes. This being the case, very little effective state power accrues to other ethnic groups or to the working classes (1980:41).

2. The Judicial Elite:

Members of the judicial elite are the top judges of Canada's higher courts including the federal and provincial supreme courts and the chief justices of the federal and district courts. The structure of the judicial system is so complicated that even some members of the legal profession have difficulty explaining its functioning. However, it is agreed that the courts have more than simply judiciary power; their decisions often carry with them the effect of legislative clout:

> Thus the judges have the power to alter the state's relationship to a number of people simultaneously .... The judiciary is really political in a much deeper sense in that the judges collectively provide the main form of justification or legitimation (which Weber called rational-legal) for this type of social order (Olsen 1980:42).

The judicial elite is appointed, not elected. Appointments in the past appear to be reward for political patronage. This situation brings into question the impartiality of the judiciary. An attempt has been made to lessen the appearance of patronage by enlisting the support of the Canadian Bar Association to nominate suitable people for the vacant judiciary positions. For Olsen the combining of the legal profession and the judiciary does not provide impartiality, but simply opens the question of who are the judicial elite to who are the legal profession. "Thus the class and ethnic biases that will ultimately find their expression in the composition of the higher courts have their beginnings in the selection of students for law school (Olsen 1980:44)." Anglo-Saxon lawyers are more likely to secure a position in a medium-size or large law firm. Non-Anglo-Saxon lawyers usually practice in smaller firms or have individual practices according to one Toronto study. Many lawyers come from well-to-do families, and more than half of the lawyers train in corporate law. Under ten per cent of the profession practices criminal law.

The professional biases are reinforced by an informal agreement for [redacted]ointments to the Supreme Court. Of the nine positions, three go to Ontario, three to Quebec, two to the western provinces and one to the Atlantic provinces. Of the forty judges studied, only one (Emmett Hall) had what could be considered a working class background. No women held top positions within the judicial system. "So it would seem that ethnic, class, and sex biases run throughout the whole hierarchy of Canadian courts (Olsen 1980:52)."

For Olsen the middle-upper class bias of the legal profession gives the working-class salaried individual of non-charter group heritage who comes into contact with the court no spokesman or peer to handle his case. Olsen argues that this has led to a dual system of justice - one for the rich and one for the poor.

3. The Bureaucratic Elite:

Many of the norms or codes of the bureaucracy in Canada have been inherited from England:

> One of the most important traditions that came with the British model was the ideal of the public administrator as politically non-partisan. In a sense this was a survival from the pre-industrial era when bureaucrats were servants of the monarch rather than of political parties (Olsen 1980:67).

But there have been changes to the British bureaucratic model in Canada which has produced a unique Canadian bureaucracy. Firstly, Canadian bureaucracy has adapted the U.S. business and managerial model of the bureaucracy: i.e., government as "public business" to its own uses. Secondly, the labor movement in Canada has not been as strong a force in shaping the state institution and specifically the bureaucracy as it has been in England or the States. Thirdly, the merit principal has been the effective standard of recruitment and selection for all but the top levels of the bureaucracy; while fourthly the top levels of the bureaucracy have been filled by co-opted members of other institutions.

Just as an occupation, namely the legal profession, was the touchstone for understanding the judicial elite, education is the touchstone for understanding most of the bureaucratic elite.

> Only 8 percent of the male Canadian labour force had a university degree in 1971, whereas the incidence was 84 per cent among federal cabinet ministers, 80.5% among directors of dominant corporations, and ...92% among federal bureaucrats, who therefore had the highest incidence of university education of the three elite groups. But the gap in education between the elite and the population seemed to be widening (Olsen 1980:71).

The majority of the bureaucratic elite have middle-class origins. There is some evidence that the bureaucracy is used by members of the middle class to achieve upward mobility into the political and perhaps economic elite. As with the political elite, there is a high turnover rate within the top levels of bureaucracy.

At the federal level, the educational background of many bureaucrats is now split between the physical scientists including engineers, and the social scientists. The number of social scientists has doubled in recent years and the majority of these positions are held by economists.

At the provincial level most bureaucrats had training in physical science or engineering. This emphasis seems to be due to the provincial responsibility for natural resource management and because the economies of most provinces are involved in the extraction of natural resources (or as Olsen calls it "the hinterland pattern"). Other provincial bureaucrats have backgrounds in public health, medicine and education.

In Canada, no one educational institution formally or informally holds the mandate to educate bureaucrats. At the federal level a good number came from the University of Toronto or McGill University. If education is the basic criterion for entrance into the meritocratic bureaucracy, does it cancel the effect of the ascribed characteristics found in the political and bureaucratic elite? Or as Olsen puts it:

> Statuses that are ascribed or transmitted to people by virtue of their birth deeply affect their chance of upward mobility and hence of being in the bureaucratic elite. Sex and ethnicity are probably the most important of these statuses, apart from the general class position of one's parents. Because bureaucracy relies so heavily on educational attainment in its recruitment and because internally it follows formal merit procedures, we can in examining the elite's composition simultaneously evaluate the ability of Canadian institutions to overcome the inequity of inherited statuses. Ideally, if education and civil service promotions were truly meritocratic, and if ambition and ability were randomly distributed among sexual and ethnic categories of the population at birth, we would find sex and ethnic statuses occuring in the elite and in the general population in the same proportion (1980:75-6).

In empirical fact only 6 of the 244 bureaucrats studied were women. In the 1940-1960 study there were no women. None of the six were at the top salary levels even though their qualifications were as good if not better than their male

counterparts. In all other characteristics the women followed the same pattern as the men.

The bureaucratic elite exhibited the same pattern as the political elite in relation to ethnicity. The British-Canadians were over-represented, the French-Canadians were slightly under-represented and the other ethnic groups were grossly under-represented. However, the percentages of change were higher in the bureaucratic elite than in the other elites.

The bureaucratic elite came from middle-class backgrounds and therefore from a slightly lower socio-economic status than either the political or judicial elites. The bureaucratic elite is more open than other elites, but as compared with society as a whole the ascriptive statuses of male, charter-group, middle-class, as well as high educational attainment are important prerequisites.

4. The State as an Institution:

Olsen's initial thesis was that the Canadian State Elite has been affected by rapid change. One locus of change was fragmentation of power especially between the provincial and federal levels of power. If the institution had changed, had the patterns of recruitment and status requirements changed for the state elite? The empirical facts are that while a slight shift has occured, the pattern has remained the same:

> In Canada there is a well-established pattern to the social characteristics of those who govern. Most (not all) of the people who occupy the higher state positions are university-educated males from one of the two charter ethnic groups, British or French; they have a middle- to upper-middle-class family background (Olsen 1980:121).

Despite the functional differences within the state elite, i.e., political, judicial and bureaucratic, the dominant pattern remains. Olsen went a step further in questioning to see if other factors united the state elite either across functional divisions or between the two levels of government.

Three other structural factors were identified as uniting the state elite: kinship, club membership and common meetings. Kinship is a factor in the composition of the state elite.

> There are clearly enough kinship ties among the different sub-sections of the state elite to suggest that they have indeed developed some group properties over time and that, in a social sense, they form more than a random collection of individuals with similar class and ethnic backgrounds (Olsen:85).

Membership in exclusive clubs especially the Rideau Club enables the top members of the state elite to interact and socialize informally. And the third factor contributing to the group cohesiveness is the growing number of formal conferences and meetings which are required of all the state elite. Ironically the increased fragmentation of the political power structure in Canada has brought the federal and provincial elites into closer interpersonal contact.

> Despite Canadian distances, federal and provincial cabinet ministers and their top bureaucrats increasingly constitute an interacting group. With the rise of the provinces to a much stronger position within the state, and with the post-war development of rapid forms of transportation and telecommunication, they travel, meet, and talk much more frequently. Increasingly their counterparts in the other governmental centres must be taken into account. A member of the state elite recognizes another in the special or unique sense that the other person is someone who has actual control over a portion of state power in the society and therefore is someone who must be taken into account if plans are to be realized (Olsen 1980:17).

The conflicts are real, "but they are not real in the sense that they can be thought of as something that permanently disrupts relationship between the elites themselves (Olsen 1980:18)." Olsen maintains that while there are internal disagreements, if a crisis occurs from outside the boundaries of the state elite, it will unite. He cites the Winnipeg General Strike and the "October Crisis" as cases in point.

5. Summary: The Structure of the Canadian State Elite:

Though the institution of the Canadian State has been changing rapidly, the social characteristics of this elite as a whole have changed very little. The bureaucratic elite has become more open than others to persons who do not possess the traditional characteristics. It appears that this sector of the state elite has been loosing relative power to the political elite as the political elite has to the economic elite. Rather than developing an ethos of competition or "countervailing forces" the political and corporate institutions are becoming linked more closely by the circulation of personnel: i.e., the middle class uses the bureaucratic elite as a stepping stone to the political elite, and the political as a further stepping stone to the pinnacle of the Canadian power structure—the corporate elite. Olsen quotes Karl Marx in this regard when he states: "The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the foremost minds of a ruled class, the more stable and dangerous becomes its rule (see Olsen 1980:80)."

E. THE ELITE STRUCTURE OF TORONTO:

In 1969, Merrijoy Kelner investigated the local dimension of Porter's Vertical Mosaic. Rather than look at a specific functional elite, Kelner looked at power at the community level. "The primary aim of the study was to explore further Porter's conclusion that elite positions in Canadian society are held almost exclusively by Anglo-Saxons by reference to development in the Toronto community in the last two decades (1970:129)." She postulated that due to increasing technological advancements and industrialization, the dominance of the Anglo-Saxons would be weakened, which would provide non-Anglo-Saxons with access to positions of power and prestige because the bases of power had expanded.

Kelner's investigation revealed that the proportion of non-Anglo-Saxon corporate leaders living in Toronto remained under-represented. Only 20 non-Anglo-

Saxons out of 325 Toronto based directors were represented in the top 100 largest corporations, and only one of these held multiple directorships. None of the major holding companies had non-Anglo-Saxons on their boards. Like the corporate elite of Toronto, the Anglo-Saxons dominated the mass media (Kelner 1970:131-2). The local labour elite had become more receptive to non-Anglo-Saxons, as had the intellectual elite. The top levels of civil service still remained less receptive to non-Anglo-Saxon participation, but the political elite of the community had seen an increase in participation by non-Anglo-Saxons (Kelner 1970:132).

Having completed this comparison, Kelner went on to look at the dimension of prestige in the community and its influence on power. Using a reputational approach, Kelner discovered that a division within the elite can be discerned. By interviewing selected individuals identified by the positional approach, Kelner was able to arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The major avenues of upward mobility for non-Anglo-Saxons occur in areas of "interstitial, innovative fields,... and in those fields which require a high degree of technical specialization (1970:134),"

2. But these avenues are rapidly becoming closed as the risk goes out of the activity (1970;134).

3. A core elite nucleus exists "...whose members combine leadership roles in major institutional spheres with high status... it is this group which has proven almost impervious to non-Anglo-Saxon penetration (1970:136)."

Kelner's findings point out some interesting aspects of elites at the community level. Her distinction between strategic elites and core elites is reminiscent of Mosca's ruling class versus the second stratum. Mosca predicted that with the increase in technology brought on by the industrial revolution, a middle class would appear composed of technicians who would perform the necessary tasks of management-maintenance as dictated by the ruling class. In the Canadian social structure, it is not only a matter of division between those who rule, those who provide technical expertise, and those who work manually, but also that this

division is related to ethnicity. Kelner found that non-Anglo-Saxon participation in the elite of various institutions is never representative. The strategic elite can be seen as comparable to Mosca's second stratum in that these elite provide the technical know-how for the functioning of industrial society, but that in Canada the ascriptive characteristic of ethnicity becomes an important factor for inclusion or exclusion in the strategic elite. The fact that membership in this elite is based on expertise aids non-Anglo-Saxons in attaining some small foothold.

There exists in addition to the strategic elite, the "core-elite" which not only has expertise but is consistently identified as having influence and prestige. Kelner found the "core elite" group was entirely Anglo-Saxon. Also, this group appears to maintain dominance through ascriptive characteristics including not only ethnicity, but family, schooling and club membership. It was these findings that raised the question of whether or not all Canadian communities display such stratification systems and if ethnicity is of the same importance in the ranking system.

F. SUMMARY:

Studies of the Canadian social structure both historical and contemporary indicate that the society is stratified, that the institutional elites are not representative of the community as a whole, and that class background, ethnicity, sex, religion and education are important determinants in gaining access to elite positions. It was empirically confirmed that while there is some variation in the social characteristics of the institutional elites, persons holding top positions in Canadian institutions possess social characteristics similar to one another. Not only do these people resemble each other, but as national representatives of the various institutions, they interact "on the job" and socially. Many attended the same schools, live in the same neighbourhoods or summer residences or belong to the same country clubs, service clubs or professional societies.

A comparison of Clement's and Olsen's studies with Porter's shows that both the corporate and state elites are becoming increasingly centralized and less open—a phenomenon known as "closure." Unlike the military-industrial complex described by Mills (1959) in the United States, where the economic, political and military institutions act as equal partners in the running of society's affairs, Canada has created another hierarchical structure within its elite: that is, the military and labour elites rarely figure in the Canadian power equation at this time. The ideological elite has been co-opted: the media by the corporate elite, the intellectuals by the bureaucratic elite, and the clerical elite have lost status generally. The bureaucratic elite, which is relatively more "meritocratic" than either the political or corporate elite feeds its "best and brightest" to the political elite, and political to the corporate (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

HIERARCHY OF CANADIAN INSTITUTIONAL ELITES

		Corporate Elite Political Elite Bureaucratic Elite		
Media Elite	Intellectual Elite	Clerical Elite	Labour	Military

If this structure truly describes the Canadian elite, it can be assumed that the dominant values of the whole society will tend to be those of the corporate elite. And if, according to Newman, most of the corporate elite do not believe in nationalism but rather a policy of continentalism, it can be assumed the economic-political decisions will be taken in that context.

Olsen pointed to one potential source of social change; i.e., the fragmentation of Canadian political power at the federal and provincial level. Even though

the political elites at the national and provincial level constitute a group as a political elite, there is an increasing split over federal and provincial power. The corporate elite and the international conglomerates are being pulled into this argument in that much of the debate centres on the provincial control of natural resources which is much of the economic base of Canada as a whole. The national politicians seem to be polarizing to a more nationalistic position while the provincial and corporate elites are lining up with the laissez-faire approach.

Another bell-weather for change resulting from increased political fragmentation could come from any trends shown at provincial or local levels of society. Kelner's study of Toronto has shown that the local level is more open to ethnic mobility than any of the national institutional elites. Much of the shift in political and economic power has also been a shift west as well as to the provincial levels.

The shift of political and economic power to the Canadian west may have a strong effect on the constitution of the national elites. Even though the national elites and the local eastern elites exhibit the same profile of social characteristics, namely, male W.A.S.P., western community elites may be more open to all sectors of the community. The city of Edmonton has been a focal point for many of the changes affecting Canada. The growth of the oil industry, the increased strength of the provincial government, and the rise of "western separatism" could bring changes to the Canadian social fabric.

If the local western elites differ significantly from their national or eastern counterparts, the difference may point to potential changes in the constitution of the national elite or may highlight reasons for the traditional split between the East and West.

Historically a western agricultural community built by immigrants and sustained by the extraction of natural resources, Edmonton has been catapulted into the national and international forefront. The discovery of oil after WW II and

the subsequent growth of the petro-chemical business has expanded the corporate sector. This growth in income has enabled the provincial government to claim powers in some cases equal to that of the federal government. The combination of Edmonton's history, expansion, and diversification could provide a basis for more representative participation of the population in the local elite.

The study of a local community can differ from the empirical study of a national elite. Chapter Three explores some of the methodological approaches which were employed in previous studies of community elites.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER AND ELITES

> There is an elusiveness about power that endows it with an almost ghostly quality. It seems to be all around us, yet this is "sensed" with some sixth means of reception rather than with the five ordinary senses. We "know" what it is, yet we encounter endless difficulties in trying to define it. We can "tell" whether one person or group is more powerful than another, yet we cannot measure power. It is as abstract as time yet as real as a firing squad. (Kaufman 1954:205).

As explained in Chapter One, the concept "elite" has been related to excellence, power, influence and wealth. The study of power, influence and wealth, like the study of elites, has not only mystified the theoretician, it has also presented many methodologists with many difficulties. Both the theoretical and methodological problems centre on the definition of the concepts. What is it? How do you measure it?

The strongest debates over methodologies in relation to the study of community power and elites emerged in the early 1950's and continued unrelentingly through the 1960's. These debates not only involved differences within the discipline of sociology, but became most heated between the "stratification position," espoused by some sociologists, and the "pluralist position," as espoused by some political scientists and public adminstrators.

What emerged was that in the study of elites and community power three basic methodologies can be identified: (1) the positional approach, (2) the reputational approach, and (3) the decision-making approach. Two other methods of analysis, (a) the social activity approach and (b) contingency analysis have been developed which can be subsumed under one of the three basic approaches.

Much of the disagreement among the researchers of community power had not so much to do with methods as it did with ideological, theoretical or conceptual differences. The purpose of this chapter is to present the various methodologies,

used in identifying elites and to identify their strengths and weaknesses in the hope of arriving at some understanding of the options one has in the study of elites and community power.

A. THE POSITIONAL APPROACH:

According to Bonjean and Olsen (1964:279) the positional approach was the most widely used approach prior to 1953. The positional approach is complimentary to much of the theorizing regarding modern society in that modern societies are often analyzed in terms of specialized institutions most of which are specialized bureaucracies. One characteristic of a bureaucracy is that it is hierarchical. The top positions in a bureaucracy are therefore assumed to be the positions or roles with the most power, influence or authority. Access to power, influence or authority is therefore not a personal characteristic of an individual but the attribute of a role. Therefore to study elites, power, influence, authority or decision-making, the researcher would simply study persons occupying the top positions in the major institutions. As Bonjean and Olsen state: "It (the positional approach) consists of the use of extensive lists of formal positions or offices to help define leadership (1964:280-281)."

The positional approach can be used at macro or micro levels of investigation. Mills, Keller, and Porter all used the positional approach when investigating national systems of power, influence and decision-making. The same approach can be used for communities of any size, as well as being used to study structures within institutions or organizations.

After compiling lists of formal positions, the researcher can then investigate the sociological characteristics of those in such positions (e.g., sex, age, social background, education, ethnicity, income) to see if any generalizations appear.

The strength and weakness of this approach resides in its basic assumption that those who hold the top positions in key institutions in fact make the important decisions:

> ...that control over important community resources — economic (larger manufacturing firms, banks, or retail stores, as well as wealth that is independent of such organizational bases), political (leadership roles in key ethnically, racially, or religiously based organizations, elected officials, etc.), and social (family social status) or other — is tantamount to leadership (Aiken & Mott 1970:193).

Aiken and Mott (1970) have identified three basic problems with this underlying assumption. First, not all leaders choose to act on their potential power or influence. Secondly, a choice must be made as to which are the most important institutions and thus the important roles in the community. The second problem influences the third. Since each community differs in size, economic base, or general population characteristics, it is difficult to arrive at the validity of the method based on a comparison of community studies. Freeman, et al. (1963) also mention that the assumption on which the positional approach is based would automatically eliminate any person who does not have a formal position in the community from being identified as a leader or as having power.

The strength of this method is that it is relatively simple and straightforward. Once decisions are made as to which are the dominant institutions within a community, it only becomes a problem of identifying the persons as top leaders of those institutions. "What is perhaps most useful in the positional procedure, and at the same time most seductive, is the parsimony of effort necessary for locating leaders and the reliability of the findings (Aiken & Mott 1970:194)."

Some conclusions have been cited in the literature as a result of employing the positional technique. The first is that results of studies will vary according to the criteria used to identify top positions within the community (Aiken & Mott

1970). The size of the community can also affect the results. Bonjean and Olsen note this when they say:

> It has been suggested that the hypothesis (office holders make the key decisions) is usually supported in small communities, and thus in such communities the formal technique of leader identification is the quickest, most effective, and the most reliable method (1964:282).

However, in a paper presented to the Pacific Sociological Association in 1964, Laskin and Phillett did not find a high correlation between formal position and decision-making in four small Canadian communities. But Bonjean's study (1963) of four small American communities confirmed the relationship. The differences in these findings point to a third conclusion that community power structure might also vary from nation to nation, or culture to culture. Therefore findings from the positional approach may vary because of: (1) criteria, (2) size and (3) culture.

The validity of the positional approach rests on its basic assumption: "...the success or failure of this approach to the identification of community decision makers depends upon the degree to which its basic assumption is valid: those holding positions of authority actually make key decisions (Bonjean and Olsen 1964:282)." If the relationship between formal positions and decision-making is recognized as an hypothesis rather than as an a priori assumption, the positional approach can yield important data reflecting the community power structure. On its own this method is incomplete. But in conjunction with another methodology this approach can accomplish quick and reliable results.

1. Social Activity Approach:

Another method which can be subsumed under the positional approach is what has been called "the social activity" approach. Instead of identifying top positions in the major institutional structures within the community, this approach looks at the voluntary associations within a community and attempts to measure those who

are the most active in these agencies or associations. It is assumed that activity in these associations qualifies a person to be a leader or decision-maker within the community.

The social activity method has all the strengths and weaknesses of the positional approach, but applied to the scope of voluntary associations, clubs, or committees. It is a very simple and reliable method to operationalize once the decision has been made concerning what groups to include or exclude. It eliminates any person not belonging to or holding office in any group identified.

This method would tap the less institutional aspects of the community power structure, and would perhaps reflect more accurately some of the status values prevalent within the community. It may not reflect the institutional structures of power within the community.

B. THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH:

Recognition of this approach to the study of community power came with the publication of Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure in 1953. The findings of Hunter's study ignited the controversy between the "structuralists" and the "pluralists." In Community Power Structure: "Hunter, a sociologist, there described Regional City (a pseudonym for Atlanta, Georgia) as a pyramid of power, in which a small and homogeneous group of men worked their will upon the rest of the population (Anton 1963:426)."

However, Hunter was not the first to employ the reputational approach. Earlier studies by Hollingshead, Warner and others had employed various reputational techniques to locate "status" in their community studies (Bonjean and Olsen 1964:282). Early sociometry studies also relied heavily on the reputational approach.

The underlying assumptions of this approach are (1) that society is an organized unit, (2) that this organization implies patterns of behavior or interaction, (3) that members of the society have differential access to power, (4) that this power is unevenly distributed and tends to be established into patterns and (5) that members of the society are aware of these structures. Since the reputational approach assumes that members of any social group have knowledge of that group and knowledge of who is powerful or influential within that group, the role of the researchers is to simply ask members of that group who is the most powerful, who is the most influential, etc.:

> The reputational method of locating community elites is based on the assumption that those having a "reputation" for power are indeed the powerful. Power is measured by the attribution in the eyes of the knowledgeable people rather than by any direct method of its determination (Aiken and Mott 1970:194).

The researcher can develop a variety of methods to gather data. Direct interviews or questionnaires may be employed. A one step procedure may be acceptable; that is, "...a set of informants is asked to provide lists of community leaders (Aiken & Mott 1970:194)." Or a two step procedure can be employed: "...lists of leaders in various categories or community sectors are first compiled and then a panel of judges or experts choose from among the names on these lists (Aiken & Mott 1970:195)." The basic notion of the reputational approach remains that the researcher asks others to inform him or her about the social group under study.

The reputational approach has endured the most ciriticism of all approaches to the study of community power and elites. Under the guise of methodological criticism, many longstanding disciplinary positions and ideologies were dragged out of "academic closets." As Aiken and Mott have noted:

> The most sustained criticism came from a group of political scientists who might be called "Yale pluralists," whose real criticism seems to be directed more at the underlying philosophical assumptions of the reputationalists than the research procedure itself (1970:195).

Robert Dahl (1958) headed the team of the critics aided principally by Polsby (1960), Wolfinger (1960), and Kaufman and Jones (1954). The principal criticisms leveled against the approach are listed in Appendix 1.

It is tempting to ask if the reputational approach has any useful purpose in the light of the large amount of criticism it has generated. A group of sociologists attempted to meet the criticism of "the pluralists" and to refine those parts of the technique which were open to criticism. These included Bonjean (1963), Miller and Dirksen (1965), French and Aiken (1967), and Danzger (1964).

Gamson (1966) ably argues that reputation for power is a resource in itself. Ehrlick backs this position when he states:

> If we can ascertain that the way in which people perceive the power structure of the local political system affected the way in which they behave towards and in that system, then surely we are dealing with very meaningful and very useful considerations (1961:926).

Aiken and Mott (1970:196-7) concluded that the method has validity in that it appears to measure some crucial aspects of the community power structure, but it may not identify a unified elite.

Some of the research of the sociometrists, namely Moreno, have lent validity to the reputational approach. Empirical testing has established what is known as "the socio-dynamic effect." This "effect" may be described as follows:

> It may be anticipated that increasing the chance probability of the chosen by allowing more choices within the same size population and thus lessening the chance probability to remain unchosen will gradually bring the numbers of unchosen to a vanishing point and likewise reduce more and more the number of comparatively little chosen...However, in actuality, this does not take place...The further choices allowed go more frequently to the already chosen and not proportionately more to those who are unchosen or who have few choices. The quantity of isolates and little chosen comes finally to a standstill whereas the volume of choices continues to increase for those at [illegible]er edge of the range (Moreno, et al. 1960:36).

"The socio-dynamic effect" shows that choices of informants are not necessarily random nor ill-informed. Further as the number of informants increases,

definite cutoff or inclusion points can emerge from the study. These findings would seem to counter some of the earlier criticism of the pluralists.

Bonjean further postulates that there are ways of building a research design which would prove the validity of the reputational approach in establishing the existence of an elite rather than assuming the existence of that elite:

> At least two validity checks may be employed to ascertain whether or not the technique has established a power elite.
> First, if most top leaders also select one another as top leaders and, second, if, in fact, they actually indicate that they interact with one another, it seems reasonable to assume that a group has actually been discerned as opposed to a mere aggregate of individuals with similar characteristics (Bonjean 1963:676).

Conclusions relating to the reputational approach must be placed in two categories: (1) those relating to the conceptual or ideological impacts on the methodology and (2) the specific strengths or weaknesses of the methodology in the study of community power or elites.

Anton addressed the first issue. Reviewing the debate which ensued from Hunter's publication, Anton begins by saying:

> What is important is that as a sociologist, Hunter began his researches by relating the study of power to an accepted body of theory. The study of power was legitimized within the framework of a discipline, and the researcher working within that framework was able to proceed on the basis of that discipline's definition of reality, which delimited the data he would accept as reflective of power relations (Anton 1963:432-33).

Given the framework from which Hunter devised his study, the criticisms of the political scientists were a criticism of the framework and not the research:

> It should be emphasized that this rejection of Hunter's sociological work was not based on the nature of the empirical world. Hunter's report was dismissed primarily because what he wrote was inconsistent with the pluralist interpretation of that world. Similarly, the subsequent unanimity among political scientists working on community politics implies that whatever might be the nature of the empirical data, it will be presented within the boundaries of a standard framework (Anton 1963:430).

These positions make it necessary to explicitly postulate that what the structuralists study in community power studies might not be the same as what the pluralists mean by community power. Another alternative, as suggested by Anton, is that the theoretical paradigm produces the difference.

The second area in which conclusions must be drawn relates to the internal utility and validity of the reputational approach. Aiken and Mott's (1970:196) position is that such a conclusion cannot be drawn until comparative studies employing different methods have been conducted and well documented.

D'Antonio and Erickson conducted such research and reported their conclusions in 1962. They studied four communities at two different periods of time using both the reputational and decision-making approaches. These were their conclusions:

1. The reputational technique does seem to measure general community influences when the question is stated to get at this factor in decision-making.
2. The technique seems to be highly reliable...There is considerable evidence for the existence of a perceived community power structure.
3. The attribution of influence may be viewed as one by-product of the process of differential evaluation in a social relationship...It has been concluded that the substitution of the status concept for that of general influence would seem valid.
4. In actual decision-making, only a small group from the total number of influentials ever was actively involved in any particular issue.
5. While, in our judgement, based on our data, it appears that business values still strongly influence community life, this influence does not mean complete control over all community issues.
6. The reputational approach does present some insight into the dynamics of power.

Even Wolfinger in a 1960 article, recanted some of his earlier position:

> It can be argued that the reputational method should be regarded as merely a systematic first step in studying a city's political system rather than a comprehensive technique for discovering the distribution of power..Under this modest construction the researcher would not rely on the method to identify and rank all the decision makers but would use it as a guide to knowledgeable persons who would in turn give him leads to other informants until he had a complete picture of the political system under study (Wolfinger 1960:637).

Simply put, the reputational approach can provide initial information about the community power structure.

In other research conducted to test the strengths and weaknesses of the reputational approach, Bonjean was able to substantiate some of the practicality of Weber's theoretical distinction among class, status and party. As mentioned above in D'Antonio and Erickson's findings, influence may be highly correlated with status. Thus many people identified by the reputational approach would be those perceived to have high status or influence. However, two groups present a problem in maintaining the validity of the reputational approach: (1) those who have power but no status and (2) those who have high status but no power. Bonjean (1963:678) thus suggests: It is necessary to differentiate the basis upon which individuals are assigned leadership positions: class, status or power. This implies that there are three types of community leaders.

Leaders who have high class standing, high status, and are powerful are called VISIBLE leaders. Those who only rank high class and status are SYMBOLIC leaders and those who rank high in either class or status (but not both) and high in power would be considered CONCEALED leaders (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

TYPES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Type	Class	Status	Power
Visible	High	High	High
Symbolic	High	High	Low
Concealed*	Low	Low*	High

*The concealed leader may rank high in either class or status (Bonjean 1963:680).

The reputational approach is most appropriate for locating symbolic and visible leaders. It would be inappropriate to assume that this approach would identify concealed leaders. Like the positional approach, the reputational approach does yield valid information about a community's power structure, but it is unable to provide a total picture of that structure or the people who hold power positions.

1. Contingency Analysis

An approach most recently developed by Domhoff (1970) has been labeled "contingency analysis." This approach has been facilitated by the use of computers and represents a bridge between the positional and reputational methodologies. This approach assumes that those persons included in certain references have attained some excellence in performance or occupy some position of social status or influence. References such as "Who's Who" provide lists of people who are outstanding in accomplishment or hold top positions in society which is also recognized as an accomplishment. Social registers and blue books provide lists of people recognized as having upper class status or standing. By comparing these persons reported in these different types of resources, it is hypothesized that the resulting list of people and their biographical data will indicate what kind of people with what kinds of backgrounds make up a nation's or community's upper class.

> Theoretically, contingency analysis is probably the best method of establishing the social indicators of the upper class. It is a statistical means of determining what is related to what. It is as free from bias as any method is likely to be, and it is relatively simple to use (Domhoff 1970:11).

This approach has the advantage that even a stranger to a community can use this method and gain insight into a community's structure. It can be used at a national level or community level, given that such references are available in that community. This gives the further advantage of yielding results which can be compared.

However, it is also subject to the criticism of the positional approach, i.e. the assumption (1) that those in these positions are the decision-makers or power wielders, (2) that some important institutional aspect of a community is not represented in the source books, (3) that persons not included would be eliminated from the study. This approach would also be subject to some of the criticisms of the reputational approach, that these books report reputations and not actual power wielders.

Domhoff's contingency analysis is an attempt at identifying social indicators of the upper class. It is assumed that membership in the upper class is at least a necessary condition for access to positions of leadership, power, or authority in a society or community.

C. THE DECISION-MAKING APPROACH:

A third approach to the study of community power and elites is the decision-making approach. It has also been called "event analysis" or the "issue approach." This approach was used by Lasswell but reached "notoriety" with Robert Dahl's criticisms of the reputational approach and the publication of Who Governs.

Adherents of this approach assume that power is reflected in the making of decisions; that is, to find out who has power, the researcher must follow the progress of an issue from its inception to its completion, charting who influences whom, when, and who wins:

> This approach makes the implicit assumption that active participation in decision-making is leadership and that all such involvements are equal (Aiken and Mott 1970:197).

The "pluralists" are the main adherents of the decision-making approach. Without explicitly stating it, power for the pluralists is exercised only in the political arena. The study of power is the study of political institutions and decision-making within that institution. Polsby in 1960 articulated some of the

positions of the pluralists: "The first, and perhaps most basic presupposition of the pluralist approach, is that nothing categorical can be assumed about power in any community (476)." This stance implies that there are no stable stratified positions in the community, and that the real question is: Does anyone at all run the community?

Following from the first presupposition, Polsby identifies a second area of dispute:

> The pluralist emphasis on the time-bound nature of coalitions and on the voluntary aspect of political participation leads to a further contrast with stratification theory, since pluralists hold that the "interest groups" and the "public" are the social collectives most relevant to the analysis of political process (Polsby 1960:481).

The framework of analysis, then, is "interest groups" or coalitions which form around issues in the community, not the society as a whole and its various institutions. The organizing concept is "issues" not "roles." Actors are not role-incumbents, but rational decision-makers who are concerned with issues. Anton (1963:330) notes that the pluralists assume: (a) that people are motivated by self-interest, (b) that people are rationally aware of those interests, and (c) that people only take action if those interests are threatened.

> In summary, then, pluralist assumptions concerning power begin with a view of society (or community, or any other social unit) as an aggregation of different individuals motivated by self-interest, predominantly rational (in the sense) that they are conscious of their interests (and active in seeking their fulfilment), and free from any permanent relationships with anyone or any thing else (Anton 1963:447).

Thirdly, Polsby maintains that pluralists are not concerned with the ranking or attributes of an actor but only the <u>leadership roles</u> which are presumed to be diverse and fluid, both within a single issue-area over time and as between areas (1960:482).

> The approach has as its major advantage the possibility of identifying overt power rather than power potential; it also provides a more realistic viewpoint of power relations as process rather than as fixed structures. (Bonjean and Olsen 1964:287).

From these assumptions, the decision-making approach takes form. "The methodology of this approach requires the researcher to select a number of community decisions that are supposedly representative of all community decisions and then to trace the decision-making process - who was involved and what they did (Aiken & Mott 1970:197)." Specifically, Polsby suggests the following steps:

1. First the researcher should pick issue-areas as the focus of his study of community power.
2. Second, he should be able to defend these issue-areas as being very important in the life of the community.
3. Third, he should study actual behavior, either at first hand, or by reconstructing behavior from documents, informants, newspapers and other appropriate sources.
4. ...researchers should study the outcomes of actual decisions within the community (1960:484).

Critics of this method note that while tracing participants in the decision-making process can give valuable information about community power, the circumscribed framework of such a study can eliminate those persons not formally in the political area who may make decisions behind the scenes.

A second criticism of the approach relates to the selection of issues. By what criteria are issues chosen? If only controversial issues are chosen, does this present a true picture of community decision-making? Is the process of deciding controversial issues different from that of the more routine decisions?

Backrack and Baratz note a third weakness of the approach. It overlooks non-decision-making: "i.e., the practice of limiting the actual decision-making to 'safe' issues by manipulating the dominant community values, myths, and political institutions and procedures (1963:632)." Their position is that if the study of power only focuses on issues, a great deal of information is lost. The ability to make options appear as non-issues guarantees that decision-making will not take place within a public forum.

Fourthly, it is very difficult to generalize on the basis of the decision-making approach:

> A variety of complex factors affect decision-making - the social, cultural, economic, and political backgrounds of the individual participants; the values of the decision-making body as an entity in itself; the pressures brought to bear on the decision-makers, individually and collectively, by groups at interest, and so on (Backrach and Baratz 1963:632).

Since issues are local and unique, comparability is difficult. Therefore it is difficult to test the validity of the method.

The structuralists criticize this method because it fails to adequately account for the concept of "community." One begins to see here the basis for the pluralist view of the community is an aggregation of individuals. Anton argues that pluralists actually study power within the community rather than community power.

Again, it is concluded that this approach has strengths but cannot stand on its own:

> Given certain issues, where does the investigator start? ...It appears, then, that the decisional approach should be supplemented to some degree by the reputational approach (Bonjean and Olsen 1964:287).

D. POSITION, REPUTATION, OR DECISION-MAKING?

Social scientists have developed three approaches to the study of community power and elites. These approaches tend to correspond to disciplinary frameworks or paradigms: that is, the structuralists who tend to be sociologists use positional or reputational approaches, while the pluralists who tend to be political scientists often rely on the decision-making approach. These preferences have led to much controversy which initially focused on the methodology of the two camps, but also involved theoretical and ideological differences.

In the time following the initial debates in the 1950's through the 1960's, researchers have attempted to resolve some of the issues. Freeman, et al., (1962)

found that the reputational and positional approaches produced similar results while the decision-making and social participation approaches were more alike:

> Freeman, et al., compared four methods of obtaining data on community power: the reputational, positional, local activity, and participation. They found substantial agreement on leadership (a) when reputational and positional methods were utilized, or (b) when participation and social activity were the criteria. When the four procedures were compared with still another -determining leadership on the basis of organizational participation (i.e., the participation rate of organizations rather than individuals) -again, the same pattern emerged. But the results obtained with either of the first two methods differed considerably from those obtained by either of the latter two (Danzger 1964:709-710).

Blankenship (1964) also conducted a study of community power using reputational and decision-making approaches. His findings concluded:

1. Some (leaders) have a wide reputation for power though there is no evidence that they participated in any of the five decisions except, perhaps, as onlookers. A handful of people were multiple decision participants yet received fewer than three mentions as community leaders (211).

2. The most active individuals in both communities, in terms of multi-participation as a measure of power, tended to be those whose positions were rooted in the politico-governmental structure of the community with inside access to resources and power available at the state and federal level (213).

3. It is significant that in both communities, despite other important differences in leadership and economic and social structure, it was the Mayor and City Attorney who were among the most widely active decision-makers (215).

4. The participation of Top Influentials as a whole in actual decision-making differed substantially in the two communities.

The findings of these researchers and others point to the fact that there is no best methodology.

> Clearly no one approach is sufficient in any study of community power. Any such study must utilize all three techniques. Only a comparative study of a number of communities...can provide a true understanding of the value, validity, and meaning of these techniques (Aiken and Mott 1970:200).

Even with the use of combined methodologies, communities can and may show no similarities in the structure of power, influence, and political participation. The

structure of the community and the influences on that structure must be the focus of comparative research. Anton (1963) has suggested two areas of inquiry which may bring further understanding. The first relates to community itself, the second would describe characteristics influencing that structure. A third line of thought is that the three methodologies measure three different aspects of community power. As noted earlier by Bonjean (1963), different types of leaders can be operating within a community based upon different criteria for holding a leadership position. Bonjean and Olsen underscore this when they state:

> Certainly a combination of methods (any two or all three) appears to be the most satisfactory means for the study of community leadership at our present state of development. Apparently, some consensus exists in regard to this in that most of the more recent investigations have, in fact, used a combination of techniques. In fact, it has been suggested that perhaps the different methods locate different types of leaders (Bonjean 1964:289).

Freeman's study would back Bonjean's position:

> In conclusion, various approaches to the study of community leadership seem to uncover different types of leaders. The study of reputation, position, or organizational participation seem to get at the Institutional Leaders. Studies of participation in decision-making, on the other hand tap the Effectors of community action. And studies of social activity seem to seek out the Activists who gain entry by dint of sheer commitment, time, and energy (Freeman, et al., 1963:798).

Some agreement has been reached that the various approaches each have their own validity and assumptions. Each of the methods potentially identifies a different kind of leader. And a study of community power should involve at least two types of methodologies for increased accuracy and validity. Furthermore, each community may have its own unique structure and only comparative research can provide indicators as to why differences or similarities appear.

E. SUMMARY:

The methodological controversies which arose in the 1950's and 1960's regarding how to study community power and how to determine community elite

had their basis primarily in theoretical rather than methodological assumptions. The result of the debates has been a recognition that the concepts of "power" and "elite" are multi-faceted and therefore can be validly studied from a variety of perspectives.

The major methodological approaches which have become recognized are the positional, reputational and decision-making approaches. Each method makes a set of assumptions about the nature of a community and the nature of the distribution of the elite, wealth, power, and influence within a community. No one approach yields a whole picture of the dynamics of community power or elites; but, when used in conjunction with one another, they can give a more valid description of a community's power structure than when these same methods are used independently.

The aim of the present reaearch is to find a method which can delimit the general social characteristics of those in a community who appear to have power, hold influence or make decisions—those who may be termed "the elite". The designation of social characteristics for the elite as compared with the social characteristics of the community as a whole can help identify some of the factors operative in the community power structure. As discussed in Chapter One, the major distinction among the social characteristics will be between those which can be defined as ascribed and those which are achieved.

Like the research of Porter, Clement, Kelner, and Olsen, which was described in Chapter Two, this study assumes that power in industrial society is for the most part institutionally based. The purpose of this inquiry is not directed toward discovering the individual person who holds power, but to develop a method in which the social characteristics of people in top positions as a group vary from the population as a whole or vary from institution to institution. From this empirical

base it is possible to describe a community's elite—in this case, the City of Edmonton, and to compare it with data gathered at the national level.

It is the opinion of this researcher that by using both positional and reputational approaches, a picture of Edmonton's institutional structure and the social characteristics of the elites in those institutions may be developed.

In reviewing the methodological debate presented in this chapter, other issues arose apart from which method to choose when studying community power. One issue is that techniques used in previous reaearch for gathering data have not lent themselves to comparability or replicability. The second is that many of the techniques assume that the researcher must be thoroughly familiar with the community before undertaking the study. Thirdly, many of the techniques "contaminate" the data before the study is completed.

In attempting to explore the theoretical, methodological, and empirical strengths of elite analysis, the research design would have to experiment with meeting some of the following criteria, namely:

1. The technique of gathering data should be a technique that another researcher could employ and theoretically come up with similar data; that is, the study is REPLICABLE.

2. The technique of gathering data should be a technique that would yield data that could be compared with data collected either at another time period or on another community: the study has COMPARABILITY.

3. The technique should employ information sources which could provide the standard information necessary to describe the community's institutional structure and the characteristics of those who held top positions in the institutions.
   a) The use of such sources would provide greater OBJECTIVITY in the study.
   a) And this would sidestep the possibility of contaminating the data through direct interviewing.

4. In order to insure some VALIDITY, at least two methods would be employed.

It is hoped that these four criteria have been met based on the research design presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE STUDY OF THE EDMONTON ELITE

INTRODUCTION:

The research design is a plan for conducting a study. The design also attempts to identify methodological problems that may be encountered during the course of research. The existence of such problems can weaken the evidence gathered in support of the arguments or conclusions put forth in the study. This is why there has been considerable debate regarding appropriate methodologies in the study of elites and community power.

It is important to state the goal of the research as clearly as possible when considering the research design. The goal sets the parameters of some of the methodological difficulties that might be expected in completing the research. The research design should also present a description of procedures and techniques employed to deal with methodological difficulties including an explanation of how and why these techniques and procedures can be expected to address these difficulties.

Following the above guidelines, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the goal of the research in the context of: (a) difficulties encountered in previous research and (b) difficulties likely to arise in the study of Edmonton's elite. The second section is concerned with the specific techniques and procedures adopted in this study. Section three involves a summary of how the findings will be presented and some of the technical problems that emerged during the study. The final section reviews the adequacy of the research design for accomplishing the goal.

A. GOAL OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS:

The purpose of this study was to empirically investigate the structure and social characteristics of Edmonton's elite and to compare these findings with those of previous Canadian research: namely, Porter 1965, Kelner 1969, Clement 1975 and Olsen 1980. Because some methodological problems in studying a local community elite differ from those involved in studying a national elite, a major goal of the study became that of developing and testing a methodology which could be used to analyse local Canadian community elites. The research design aims at developing a valid approach to collecting data on the elite structure of a large city which would be objective, comparable, and replicable in other communities.

As stated in Chapter Three, three methodological approaches have been used in the study of community elites: (1) positional, (2) reputational, and (3) decision-making. Each approach makes assumptions about the nature of elites and power. It is agreed that no one approach gives a complete picture of a community elite or the community power structure. Used in conjunction with one another, a fuller and more accurate picture of the elite can be obtained.

As a sociological investigation, the concern in this study is not so much with discovering the individual persons who are powerful or the actual decision-makers. Rather the interest is in identifying the social structures, institutional connections, and social characteristics of those in the upper strata as a whole. If the social characteristics and institutional connections of the group which is identified as "elite" differ significantly from the patterns found in the population as a whole, this would provide some indication of the empirical validity of the concept "elite." Furthermore, the pattern of social characteristics would indicate some of the bases upon which elite status is claimed or maintained. Questions pertinent to delineating these patterns are: Are the most prominant characteristics inherited

or achieved? Does the pattern of these characteristics change over time? Are the patterns influenced by changes in the community as a whole? Are the characteristics within the elite similar across institutions?

A study of the structure and social characteristics of Edmonton's elite involves a number of additional problems. Unlike the national studies (Porter 1965, Clement 1975, or Olsen 1980) or the Toronto study (Kelner 1969), there is little previous historical research from which to draw. Since 1975 more historical analysis has appeared, but the type of information necessary for a study such as this one remains uncollected or in the form of random newspaper clippings. This may be because during the period under study, 1951 to 1974, energy was being devoted to economic activity and expansion rather than to documentation. Also, Edmonton and Alberta have only recently become major corporate centres so that little systematic biographical data which are available at the national level are found at the local level.

The lack of available systematic data or even lists of top institutional leaders has influenced the structuring of the research design.

B. DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN: PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES:

Preliminary investigation of resources available for Edmonton from 1951 to 1974 showed that standard information and resources generally available at the national level were not available for Edmonton. The museums, archives and newspapers did not keep systematic files for the 1951 to 1974 period. Lists of persons holding top institutional positions much less biographical information were non-existent. Social histories of the community were rare and very specialized.

The only systematic data available were those biographical references which are published nationally but which include local community members. These

biographical resources fell into two categories: (1) reputational sources which had no institutional basis but were general guides to those reputed to be influential, best in their field, or socially prominant, and (2) institutional sources which listed leading members of a specific institution.

Based on this distinction, it was decided to use some resources as the source for gathering data considered to be "reputational" in nature and to use other resources for gathering "positional" data. In this way data from both the reputational and positional approaches could be compared. The resources are printed periodically making it possible to collect data over time and to make comparisons which might indicate social change. The resulting data base could then be used to compare with results gathered from other cities or from other time periods.

The use of library resources eliminated the problem of informants who might tell one another about the study and bias the responses had an interview approach been taken. The use of biographical resources would also make it possible to replicate the study in other cities since the published resources from which the reputational and positional data were gathered are available for other large Canadian cities.

In part, the validity of this approach might be substantiated by the fact that such resources have been used in previous Canadian studies and in countries other than Canada. The validity may also be substantiated by the fact that in both the reputational and positional resources the selection for inclusion was made presumably by informed persons.

The difficulty with this design is that total dependence on library resources may not yield all the information necessary as some of the persons listed may not choose to divulge information.

The following pages provide more thorough discussions of (1) the sources used to generate the data, (2) the time period on which the study focuses, and (3) the variables to be employed.

1. Sources:

As stated above, two approaches were taken in collecting data on Edmonton: the reputation approach and the positional approach. Non-institutionally based publications were used to compile the reputational data. Institutionally based materials provided the basis for the positional data.

a) Reputational Approach: Chapter Three discussed the reputational approach and described it as a method in which members of a group or community are requested to identify those who rank the highest on or possess the most of a certain characteristic. As Domhoff's (1970) previous research indicated, "social registers" and "who's whos" are publications which may be seen as the elite's guide to themselves. The decision for inclusion is based on the understanding that knowledgeable informants are used to identify people in a community on the basis of a wide variety of criteria, from pedigree to achievement. While many individuals listed in these sources are there because of position or decision-making ability, inclusion is a matter of "reputation" for possessing these characteristics.

Initially six publications were used to gather the reputational information:

The Blue Book

Who's Who

Who's Who in Canada

The Canadian Who's Who

The Social Register, 1961

Who's Who in Alberta, 1968 - 1974

A search of these biographical resources was made to identify all persons who were cited as residing in Edmonton from 1951 to 1974. Most of these sources are standard library resources and list individuals for any community. However, The Social Register published only in 1961 and Who's Who in Alberta published only in 1968 and 1974 were eliminated from the reputational data base because they were not published continually over the period of the study. Including them would have skewed longitudinal comparisons. Also, the amount of information given in The Social Register was minimal.

The final decision was taken to use the following national and international publications as the basis for the reputational data:

International Sources:
- The Blue Book
- Who's Who

National Sources:
- The Canadian Who's Who
- Who's Who in Canada

Acceptance into these references is usually by nomination. Some require an additional fee after nomination. Each publication has unique criteria for inclusion. Who's Who in Canada simply identifies itself as "An illustrated biographical record of some men of the time." The Canadian Who's Who boast that it is "... the only Who's Who in Canada in which no biographical sketch can be paid for." Most names included in Who's Who in Canada are also found in The Canadian Who's Who. Since most of the names which appear in Who's Who in Canada appear also in The Canadian Who's Who, it can be inferred that the Who's Who in Canada is more exclusive. The Blue Book describes itself as listing "persons in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States of America who have achieved distinction in the arts and sciences, business or the professions." The Blue Book and Who's Who are international references.

Since these general descriptions for each reference do not give the actual criteria upon which inclusion in the publication is based, it is difficult to assess the accuracy of the references. There remains the possibility that members of the actual elite have not been included in the reference or that people who are not members of the elite are included. Cross-validation is one way of verifying the accuracy of the references. Most of the people identified in the international references were identified in the national references. And, as mentioned above, most names found in the Who's Who in Canada were also identified along with others in the Canadian Who's Who. The other means of verifying these documents would be to compare the findings of this study with the findings of other studies which would use different methodologies. This would indicate some consistency among references.

All four references used to collect reputational data usually publish annual editions. All editions from 1951 to 1974 for each publication were consulted and this search provided a list of Edmonton residents. Because each source is at least theoretically independent of any other source, individuals may appear in more than one source.

b) Positional Approach: Some publications are available which are "institutional registers." Porter's study (1965) identified five institutions which are most important in Canadian society: (1) the economic or corporate instutution, (2) the political institution, (3) the bureaucratic institution, (4) the labour institution, and (5) the ideological institution. The positional approach in this study of Edmonton elites was limited to the corporate and political institutions.

There are three major reasons for focusing on these two institutions. First, since the corporate and political institutions have been studied subsequent to Porter's original research, by Clement (1975) and Olsen (1980), more is known about these institutions nationally than the other three. Second, the economic and

political institutions appear to be the dominant institutions among the five identified by Porter. Finally, lists for the labour, bureaucratic and ideological institutions at the local level were virtually unavailable for the time period under study.

(1) The Corporate Data: The corporate or economic institution appears to be the dominant Canadian institution (Porter 1965 and Clement 1975). To the extent that the Canadian national economy is primarily based in the corporate entities of the marketplace instead of in the small family business or the entrepreneur, power, influence, and decision-making are exercised within the corporations —— more specifically within the boardrooms of large corporations.

The publication used to collect the positional data for the corporate institution was The Directory of Directors. This is an annual listing of board members and top management of Canada's larger corporations. A list was compiled of all those appearing in the directory who were identified as Edmonton residents. Because the annual listings showed a great degree of overlap, data were collected for the years 1951, 1955, 1961, 1965, 1971 and 1973-4. These time intervals made it possible to compare data with the census taken for each of these years; but as the intervals between the chosen years were not equal, it was not possible to analyse the corporate data with more sophisticated statistical techniques requiring interval data.

At a minimum, the name, company, board position and address for each person included in the directory are given. In some cases, usually after the person has appeared in the publication for more than a year, additional biographical information is provided. However, this is not always the case, indicating that those listed in The Directory have discretionary power over what will or will not be included in their biographics. The cases were coded using the same variables

employed in the reputational data. If the person also appeared in a reputational source, his/her information was added to that gained from The Directory.

(2) The Political Data: The political institution in Canada was established by the British North America Act and incorporates both the British parliamentry system and the unique socio-political realities of Canada. The political institution includes the top legislative and judicial positions. In Edmonton, this means individuals who have been elected to either parliament or the legislative positions or who have been appointed to top judicial positions. Local politicians were excluded from the study because of the lack of accurate longitudinal references which included both lists of politicians and biographies.

The publication used to collect the data for the political institution initially was The Parliamentary Guide. Other provincial and local lists of politicians were used early on in the study such as The Alberta List, but these publications were dropped from the data because of infrequency of publication or scarcity of information provided. These political data do not include the bureaucratic institution, and thus are not as inclusive as Olsen's (1980) "state elite."

c) Overlap and Intersecting Data: By employing both the reputational and positional appraches to gather data, it was hoped that the results of the reputational data could be compared with those of the positional data. The similarities or differences between the social characteristics of the two data sets might provide empirical clues as to the basis of elite status. The results from both approaches could then be compared with the social characteristics of the population as a whole.

Because it was possible for an individual to appear in more than one reference and be identified by either approach, overlaps occurred in the data. This problem first emerged during the analysis of the reputational data.

The first analysis of the reputational data was coded by publication or source, that is, Who's Who, Blue Book, Who's Who in Canada, and The Canadian Who's Who. This method of ordering the data did not indicate whether or not an individual appeared in more than one source. A second try at coding the reputational data was completed by using the name of the individual as the main indicator rather than publication. This solved the problem of identifying people reported in more than one publication, but it created computer programming problems.

Finally, the data were organized alphabetically by individual. Each individual was assigned a code number as each occurred alphabetically and was also identified by each publication in which the individual appeared.

The result was that some individuals were identified in two or more references. The reputational references were collapsed to indicate reputational data and this is referred to collectively as the "reputational source" data.

The positional data were classifed according to "corporate source" and "political source." All the reputational, corporate and political sources were then analysed in two formats. The first analysis describes the data by type of source: that is, by reputational source, corporate source and political source. The second analysis describes the data as it "intersects": that is, analyzed according to the unique and overlapping cases in the data. The resulting divisions are: (1) cases appearing in only reputational data, (2) cases appearing in only the corporate data, (3) cases appearing in only political data, (4) cases appearing in both reputational and corporate data, (5) cases appearing in both reputational and political data, (6) cases appearing in both corporate and political data, and (7) cases appearing in all three data sources.

Information gained from the analysis of the similarities and differences of cases which appear in only one source and those who appear in two or more sources may indicate the representativeness or exclusivity of the characteristics of the

different case categories. This analysis may provide a means of testing Kelner's distinction between "strategic" and "core" elite. The hypothesis would be that, if an individual appears in two or more sources, that individual may possess a wider base of power and authority, especially if the sources were both reputational and positional.

The intersecting data may also be one way of indicating the degree of institutional overlap and thereby indicate the degree to which institutional elites differ in social characteristics as argued by Kellner (1963) or are similar as stated by Mills (1959).

In summary, the overlaps in the data, that is the cases in which individuals are cited in more than one source, become the basis of a second analysis of the data. The intersecting data may provide empirical insight into the concepts "strategic" and "core" elites (Kelner 1969) and into the debate regarding the social characteristics of institutional elites (see Keller 1963 and Mills 1959).

d) The Use of Library Resources: the use of library resources as the basis for the study had strong advantages given the limitations of available local information. The use of library resources means the researcher does not need to know much about the community before beginning the research. Since those who compile the reputational and positional publications use techniques similar to those used by field researchers who rely on interviews with community informants and knowledgeables, similarity of the techniques serves to cross-validate the reference data. In most cases the biographies are supplied by the individuals cited in the publications. And the use of such sources gives the advantage of facilitating comparative research both among cities and across time.

The use of these publications may be open to the same criticisms leveled against more traditional reputational and positional methods (see Chapter Three) of who to include and who to exclude. However, as mentioned earlier, since many of

these publications may be considered "the elite's guide to themselves" and since these publications have years of experience behind them, errors of inclusion and exclusion may be argued to be lessened.

By using both the reputational and positional approaches, the issue of the validity of the sources can be measured. As discussed in Chapter Three, a combination of approaches when studying community elites and community power, provides a better description of the structure and social characteristics of the community elite. This does not mean that different elites (determined by the reputational, corporate, or political approaches) will necessarily be the same people. For the purposes of this study, it means that if the social characteristics of each elite taken separately or as a whole differ significantly from the social characteristics displayed in the total population, the elite are not considered representative of the community. Accordingly, as Porter (1965) indicated, the recruitment of the elite members from the society or community as a whole is not an open process in terms of access and thus access to elite positions may be considered "closed."

This approach to studying community elites can provide an important first step in delineating the structure and social characteristics of the community and identifying the outstanding members of the community. It can provide a skeletal data base from which future research can be expanded. At the most, this use of library resources can provide relatively valid information about the structure and social characteristics of a community elite which is objective, comparable and replicable over time and across communities.

2. The Longitudinal Dimension of the Study:

Many social theorists have analyzed the relationship between elites and social change. They concerned themselves with how change affects elites, how elites affect social change, and how elites change positions across institutions.

An analysis of elite structure and social characateristics over time can determine changes or trends which occur within the elite and in the elite's relation to the community. Chapter Five provides an overview of the history of Edmonton. The purpose of this history is to give the research a perspective on the factors leading to Edmonton's current socio-economic structure. Edmonton's most recent era of growth was initiated in 1947 with the discovery of oil.

Because the library references used to collect the reputational and political data lend themselves to longitudinal analysis, it was decided to collect the data over a specific time period so that change in the elite could be identified. The time period from 1951 to 1974 was chosen for a variety of reasons. First, it includes three census years, 1951, 1961 and 1971, so that comparisons can be made with national and community populations. Second, this period spans the approximate time in which the national studies of Porter (1965), Clement (1975) and Olsen (1980), and Kelner's study of Toronto (1969) were conducted. Third, it coincides with Edmonton's oil boom period and related expansion in all institutional sectors. At such a time of economic and institutional growth, the elite is hypothesized to be the most open to a cross section of the community, especially to those who are characterized as high achievers. At the same time ascriptive characteristics are hypothesized to be less important in determining access to power, influence, decision-making or elite positions. In effect the social characteristics of the upper stratum would become more similar to the population as a whole, and individuals are more able to attain top positions within the community on the basis of achieved characteristics, rather than ascribed characteristics.

Data were collected for all publications for every edition published between 1951 to 1974. The Directory of Directors is an exception here in that it was decided to only collect data for 1951, 1955, 1961, 1965, 1971 and 1974 because of the high degree of repetition from year to year.

3. Variables:

The publications used as the data base for this study include a wide variety of information and differed in the amount and kinds of biographical information given. Some publications simply state the name and address of the person, while others provide a detailed biography. It is also the case that within a publication there are differences in the amount of information given. This indicates that the individual cited has some control over what will or will not be printed. For example, some may not designate ethic origin, religion or spouse. These deletions could be the basis for a future study.

If all the possible information given in these publications were categorized, a possible twenty-three variables can be identified, including:

1. Date of Birth
2. Place of Birth
3. Sex.
4. Parents.
5. Spouse.
6. Children.
7. Educations.
8. Schools Attended.
9. Career.
10. Professional Memberships.
11. Directorships.
12. Political Affiliation.
13. Religious Affiliation.
14. Ethnicity.
15. Club Membership.
16. Service Club Membership.
17. Hobbies.
18. Residence.
19. Summer Residence.
20. Office Address.
21. Military Service.
22. Publications.
23. Directorships.

Though all available information was recorded, only thirteen variables were considered relevant to this study. They are:

1. Sex.
2. Place of Birth.
3. Education.
4. Career.
5. Professional Memberships.
6. Religious Affiliation.
7. Ethnicity.
8. Political Affiliation.
9. Country Club Membership.
10. Service Club Membership.
11. Military Service.
12. Publications.
13. Directorships.

These variables generally cover all of the social characteristics investigated in previous research. They can be further categorized into two sets which are ascribed characteristics and those which are achieved characteristics. The ascribed characteristics are those which are attributed at birth. For this study these include: (1) sex, (2) place of birth, (3) ethnicity and (4) religious affiliation. An important ascribed characteristic, namely class background, was not given in the biographies and would have to be obtained by other means in future research.

The achieved characteristics are those attributed to an individual on the basis of his/her own effort. For this study these include: (1) education, (2) career, (3) professional memberships, (4) service club memberships, (5) country or private club memberships, (6) military service, (7) publications, (8) political affiliation, and (9) directorships.

The distinction between ascribed and achieved characteristics has been related to the openness and closedness of a society. If elite positions in a society are based on inheritance, the social structure is considered "closed." If these positions are based on achievements, the social structure is "open." One of the founding myths or "political formulas" of western democratic society is that individuals should succeed or fail on the basis of individual merit and accomplishment, not on inherited wealth or parents' social position.

When looking at the divisions apparent within a society or community, the disparity between the distribution of ascribed and achieved characteristics among the elite and among the population as a whole indicate whether or not a society is as open in its opportunities as it states in its myths.

In order to operationalize the recording of the social characteristics, a coding system was developed for each variable or social characteristic. In some cases, recognized coding systems could be used like the occupational categories developed by Statistics Canada. In other cases new categories had to be developed or existing systems expanded in order to obtain a meaningful classification system. The following sections discuss the variables used in the study divided into the categories of ascribed and achieved variables.

a) Ascribed Characteristics:

(1) Sex is an ascribed characteristic which has been important in patterning social roles and assigning social position within virtually all societies. Although the acceptance of this social characteristic as the basis for determining social position and function has been vigorously challenged in 20th century western industrial society, the findings of Porter (1965), Clement (1975) and Olsen (1980) indicate that sex remains a major determinant of access to elite positions.

As will be shown in Chapter Five, many women have played central roles in Edmonton's history. Edmonton women have excelled in political, educational, cultural and athletic pursuits. Because of the impressive role women have played in Edmonton's history, it might be expected that women participate in Edmonton's elite circles more than they do in Canada's national elite. However, it would not be expected that women's participation in the elite would be as high as women's respresentation in the total community population which is about 50 per cent.

(2) Place of Birth is another ascribed characteristic. It is significant here because Canada has a multi-cultural population and has experienced population growth from foreign migration. Place of birth or nativity can indicate the degree to which a community sustains its membership by natural increase or by immigration. It can give some indication of the homogeneity of a community when analysed in conjunction with the variable ethnicity.

In coding the variable place of birth, the initial decision was taken to use the list provided by Statistics Canada. However, after reviewing the categories, it became apparent that some countries, important in describing Edmonton's population, were not specifically included in the Statistics Canada classification. These omitted countries were generally non-British or non-Anglo-Saxon. This "bias" is interesting in itself. Therefore, the Statistics Canada classification for place of birth was expanded to include more categories so that distinctions could be tabulated more precisely.

(3) Ethnicity is an ascribed or inherited social characteristic. It has been of substantial interest to contemporary social scientists. The significance of ethnicity is found in its utility as an indicator of cultural background of the population. This is based on the assumption that human behavior varies with the origins of population (McVey 1965:119 and 121)."

In Canadian history, ethnicity has been a crucial component in the organization of the political structure of the nation. The founding peoples have been constitutionally established as English and French. This bilingual political fact has now been extended to legitimize the multi-cultural claims of those people who are neither French nor English, but who wish to maintain their own ethno-cultural heritage within the Canadian context. It was Porter's (1965) investigation of the Canadian social structure which led him to his discovery of the hierarchical structuring of ethnic groups in Canada and the dominance of Anglo-Saxons within

the Canadian elite. This led to Porter describing Canada as a "vertical mosaic." For this study, a question remains: whether this hierarchy of ethnic groups extends down to the community level - especially in a community as ethnically diverse as Edmonton.

To operationalize the variable of ethnicity the categories developed by Statistics Canada were used. However, like "place of birth" the categories did not adequately reflect the ethnic groups present in Edmonton. The classification was extended to include Greek, East Indian, African, Latin and South American and Middle Eastern.

Because Canada retains a patrilineal definition of ethnicity (i.e., ethnicity is determined by the father's ethnic origin), ethnicity of the mother was not considered. Because census data are defined in this way and because this is the only way in which national and metropolitan data have been collected, the patrilineal definition will be used in this research.

Another difficulty in gaining valid information concerning ethnicity is that analysis of last names as an indicator of ethnicity does not always work. Many people have changed their names or had them changed to facilitate functioning in a predominantly English-speaking environment. Because of these problems, each case was coded once, but could be coded in two different ways to assign ethnicity. In some cases, ethnic origin is explicitly stated in the biography of the individual. When this is the situation, the case is coded under the sub-variable "ethnicity known." In other cases, ethnic origin or ancestry was not stated explicitly; but from other biographical information, ethnicity could be established without a doubt. Then the case is coded under the sub-variable "ethnicity inferred." If there were any doubt, no ethnicity was assigned.

(4) Religious Affiliation and ethnicity historically have been interrelated variables, though theoretically they are independent of each other. In this study,

religious affiliation is included among the ascribed characteristics in that it is typically handed down through one's family. In Canada religious affiliation has both social and political significance. In McVey's study of Edmonton's demography (1965), he notes that Canada is one of the few countries which collects information about religious preference. This is because the provision of education is based on religious affiliation in most provinces so that information on religious preference is requested in the census. Thus religion and ethnicity in Canada are not only social characteristics which describe the population, they are political realities built into the British North America Act.

Alberta, in particular, has often been called "Canada's Bible Belt"; and accordingly religion can be hypothesized to be an important social variable operating in the community. Religious affiliation not only indicates a preference in belief, and the belief preferences affect a wide variety of other behaviors which may have an impact on the social structure. In 1961 Edmonton's religious composition differed in degree, if not in kind, from the rest of Canada:

> ...the five leading denominations in the Edmonton Metropolitan Area were United Church of Canada with 31.4 per cent; Roman Catholic with 23.2 per cent; Anglican Church of Canada with 12.3 per cent; Lutheran 8.6 per cent; and Greek Orthodox with 5.1 per cent. The proportions for United Church of Canada, Lutheran and Greek Orthodox are higher in Edmonton Metropolitan Areas than in Canada as a whole. It is interesting to note that the Greek Orthodox denomination comprised only 1.3 per cent of the national population as compared to 5.1 per cent for the Metropolitan Area and 12.9 per cent for Beverly (high proportion Ukrainian ethnic origin) (McVey 1965:178).

The religious affiliation classification developed by Statistics Canada was used as the basis for coding religious preference. No additions were made to the classification as the categories appeared to be inclusive of the various religious groups present in Edmonton.

b) Achieved Characteristics:

(1) Education is one means of improving inherited social status and of achieving upward mobility. In industrial and post-industrial societies, education and training are important factors in gaining access to jobs and in establishing careers. As an individual is not born with an education and must apply some effort to securing it, education is described as an achieved characteristic. On the other hand, success in educational attainment is shown to be correlated with socio-economic status of one's parents (an ascribed characteristic).

Information on educational attainment was gathered in two ways. First general level of educational attainment was determined. The Statistics Canada categories used to describe educational attainment were collapsed to simplify analysis while maintaining the possiblity of comparing the findings with census data. The categories include: (1) no formal education, (2) some elementary, (3) completed elementary, (4) some high school, (5) some high school plus technical, (6) completed high school, (7) completed high school plus technical, (8) some college, (9) completed baccalaureate, (10) baccalaureate plus technical, (11) baccalaureate plus post graduate.

The second kind of information gathered about education relates to university and post graduate degrees. Both the field of study and the place of study were indicated. Previous studies showed that law, business, and engineering were the major educational backgrounds of the national elite. It remains a question whether this pattern is also true in Edmonton. Information on place of education was also gathered, since Porter's (1965) research found that many of the English-speaking national elite were educated outside Canada. The French-speaking elite were overwhelmingly educated in Quebec. Again, the question is whether or not the pattern of the English-speaking national elite is also the pattern in Edmonton.

Some coding problems were encountered in trying to quantify this variable. In the case of "general educational attainment," no provision was made to distiguish between "no formal education" and "no information available regarding education." As with other variables, some information given in the biographies was incomplete or ambiguous so the coder had to exercise discretion in interpreting the data.

The information gathered regarding graduate degrees was coded in two ways. The first was to develop a list of areas of study. This list was developed from several university catalogues. Secondly, a list of all universities indicated in the biographies was developed and arranged geographically by province and country.

(2) Career: Education in many cases is seen as preparation for a job or career. Pareto initially defined "elite" as those who have achieved excellence in an activity or occupation. If this definition were true, the elite would be made up of the best in all occupations. Three different classifications were used to indicate "career": instututional, industrial, and occupational.

The first classification was developed on the basis of Porter's institutional divisions. The positional data by definition would represent two of the five institutions, namely the corporate and the political. The reputational data theoretically would represent individuals from all the institutional divisions: i.e., corporate, political, bureaucratic, labour, and ideological.

Because an individual may have more than one career or profession at any one time or during one's lifetime, up to three careers were allowed to be coded for each person. If there were more than three, the coder was instructed to identify (1) those which were the most dominant in a person's career history and (2) those occupations which were different from the major institutional career. The possibility of coding more than one career was also helpful in the positional data

because an individual might have developed interests outside the institutional sphere for which he was recognized.

The second classification used to code career was an industrial classification. The data were coded according to Statistics Canada's Standard Industrial Classification Manual (1970). As in the institutional classification, up to three careers were indentified for each case. The same three careers identified by institution were coded again by industry. The third classification of career was by occupation. The same procedure was used as was employed with the institutional and industrial lists.

These data should reveal: (1) which careers are most numerous among the upper stratum and if their frequencies vary from the population as a whole and (2) empirical evidence for the competing positions put forward by Keller and Mills in relation to the social characteristics of different institutional elites. Keller (1963) maintains that different institutions and therefore leaders, would display differing social characteristics specific to each institution. Mills (1959), on the other hand, argues that elites are interchangeable at the top levels of institutions and that there is a similarity in social characteristics among the elite which varies radically from the social characteristics of the population as a whole.

(3) Professional Membership: Membership in professional associations is a means by which members of an occupation may gain recognition and influence among their peers. A complete list of professional associations was compiled from the total data base. All associations were listed alphabetically and assigned a code number. Two types of information were gathered. The total number of associations to which an individual belonged was coded. Second, specific associational memberships were coded by title, up to a limit of five memberships.

(4) Service Club Memberships: Participation in service clubs has been used as one indicator of community power through a method known as "the social

activity approach" (see Chapter Three). Many institutional leaders also hold positions in the voluntary sector by participating in service clubs. To quantify this variable a complete list of service clubs was developed from the data, names were arranged alphabetically, and code numbers assigned. Each individual could indicate the total number of service clubs to which he/she belonged. Of that total number, five clubs could be indentified specifically.

(5) Country or Private Club Membership is seen as one way the elite are able to mix socially, to maintain customs and values not generally shared throughout the rest of the population and to pursue a privileged life-style away from public purview. Mills (1959), Porter (1965) and Newman (1975) all devoted significant discussion to the role of the country or private club in the life of the elite. Club membership is included with the achieved social characteristics because membership involves (1) sponsorship and (2) membership fees. In theory anyone is eligible to join; however, in practice, membership often becomes inherited or is open only to those possessing appropriate social characteristics.

Each individual could indicate the total number of country clubs to which he/she belonged. Of that total, four specific clubs could be identified separately. A total of 43 different clubs were identified.

(6) Military Service: In the United States the military is a dominant institution holding a power position equal to that of the corporate and political institutions (Mills 1959). In Canada the military has not gained the same status as that in similar industrialized nations. Olsen places the military within what he called "the State" institution, but he did not consider it important in the analysis of the Candian social structure. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the military has played a more visible role in Edmonton's history than in the nation as a whole.

The military experience has been cited by some as a common socializing mechanism which later carries over into the business or political world. People

without this shared experience are therefore seen to be at a disadvantage in a work-world in which the major decision-makers have had a military background. It is because of the potential links within the elite founded on the military experience that military service is investigated as a social characteristic of the elite.

This variable was coded as a simple "yes" or "no." In this case "no" must necessarily remain ambiguous because failure to indicate military service does not necessarily mean that the individual did not serve in the military.

(7) Publications are another means for an individual to gain esteem and influence in a profession or among the public in addition to professional associations or service clubs. To "become published" also is a form of acknowledgement that an individual excels in a branch of knowledge. This variable was coded as "yes" or "no."

(8) Political Affiliation in Canada has displayed some unique characteristics when compared with the patterns of political affiliation in either the U.S. or Britain. As noted in Porter (1965) and Olsen (1980), the two major Canadian political parties do not provide the typical left-right choice. Both major parties are affiliated with the major corporate interests of Canada. It has therefore been found that at the national level political affiliation cannot be used as an indicator of elite status.

Canadians often support different political parties depending upon whether or not the elections are provincial or federal. The simple indication of party affiliation in the biographies can be misleading . It would be more accurate to distinguish federal and provincial party affiliation.

All parties mentioned in the data were listed and coded. These included: the Liberal Party, the Progressive Conservative Party, Social Credit Party, the New Democratic Party, the C.C.F. and the United Farmers of Alberta.

(9) Directorships: Both Porter and Clement centred most of their discussion of economic and corporate power around memberships on boards of directors. In their view it is in board positions that directors of a company hold power, have influence, make decisions and therefore constitute the corporate elite. Many of the top managerial staff are included among the members of the board and hold shares in the company of employment. So the distinction made between board and management is not at issue in this study.

In the national data as presented by Porter (1965) and Clement (1975), membership on the boards of the top 100 corporations in Canada was used to define the corporate elite. Within this group it was found that those holding positions on boards of the major banking interests were the most powerful and influential.

The data for Edmonton was compiled not only from inclusions in The Directory of Directors. A list of all companies in which persons in both reputational and positional data indicated board membership was compiled. The companies were arranged alphabetically and assigned a code number. Each person could indicate the total number of board memberships to which he/she belonged and then separately name up to five different companies.

Analysis of the four ascribed characteristics and the nine achieved characteristics provided the main substance for the study.

C. DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA:

The number of cases identified by searching the designated library publications and the number of variables analysed in the study led to the decision to use computer analysis of the data. This meant that all sources and variables had to be quantified and coded. Because the methodology is exploratory, it was decided to limit the analysis of the data to simple frequencies and cross-tabulations. Such an analysis would provide a general description of the pattern of social characteristics

within the elite and indicate potential relationships among social characteristics. Frequencies and cross-tabulations would also make it possible to compare the Edmonton findings with both census data results and the findings of previous researchers at the national level.

Because the data were coded for date of appearance in a given publication, it was possible to use cross-tabulations to provide a further description of the data across time. Such a longitudinal study makes it possible to distinguish stable patterns in the social characteristics of the elites and those characteristics which change. If change does occur, it is then possible to look for events or causes which may have precipitated such a change.

Cross-tabulations were also used to distinguish between the social characteristics of those persons included in only a single source and those identified across reputational or positional sources. Even though two methodological approaches were used to gather the data, namely the reputational and the positional, analysis of the data was more meaningful if the corporate and political positional data were treated separately. Therefore, the data were analysed on the basis of three separate sources: (1) reputational, (2) corporate and (3) political. This division makes it possible to determine if a difference exists between the methodological approaches and between institutions by analysing the overall patterns of social characteristics.

Further review of the data indicated that the number of sources in which an individual appeared could be an important factor in the study. If the individuals appearing in more than one source have different social characteristics from those appearing in only one source, some empirical confirmation of Kelner's distinction between "strategic" and "core" elite might be indicated. To achieve this analysis the data were divided into seven mutually exclusive groupings and designated

"Interlocking data" (see section 1-c of above). The pattern of social characteristics for each of these groups could then be compared.

D. TECHNICAL PROBLEMS:

The initial problem a researcher conducting a community study faces is assessing previously conducted research or previously collected data. As indicated above, Edmonton is a young community and therefore lacks a long history. It is a community which has experienced rapid change in recent years and there is an information lag on different aspects of this change. Further, Edmonton is a western community not readily involved in the national limelight until well into the 1970's. Finding a method to study community elites which did not require previous knowledge of the community was another issue faced by the researcher. The feasibility of conducting a reputational study by interview would have been beyond the scope of a single researcher, given the lack of background data.

New problems were encountered in trying to organize the massive amount of data obtained through library sources. The reputational data were gathered first. It was suggested that the data be coded by references. A first attempt at coding used only five variables. It became evident that this first means of organizing the data by reference did not indicate the overlaps in the data; that is, it was impossible to tell who appeared in more that one reference.

The data were coded a second time on the basis of individuals and incorporating additional variables. Each person was identified by last name and initials. This approach solved the problem of determining overlap, but the use of a qualitative identifier (name) and quantitative data presented difficulties in the computer programming.

On the third try, the following decisions were made:

1. The data would be coded by individuals. Individuals would be arranged alphabetically and assigned a code number.
2. If an individual was identified by more than one reference, the reference and year(s) of appearance would be noted.
3. All biographical data for the individual would be accumulated into one biographical profile and checked for accuracy. All variable responses would be coded as a totality without identifying the reference from which the data came.

These decisions made it possible to analyze the data by individual, reference, source intersecting sources, or time. However it did not allow the researcher to analyze the quality and quantity of data provided by each library reference except by inference.

As indicated in the discussion of variables above, some problems arose regarding the coding of variables. The major problem had to do with non-response versus missing data. In the data as now coded, it is not possible to distinguish between information that was never gathered by a reference and information that was left unreported intentionally. A single code is used to incorporate both kinds of information.

E. ADEQUACY OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN:

The goal of this research was to design and test a methodology which would yield data on the structure and social characteristics of Edmonton's elite and to compare these findings with those of previous Canadian elite studies. The adequacy of the design can be determined by how well it meets various research criteria. The following discussion is concerned with two levels of acceptability: (1) the general research criteria and (2) specific criteria relating to particular variables.

1. General Research Criteria:

The general concerns that relate to the adequacy of this research design are those of its validity, objectivity, replicability, and comparability of the techniques employed. Chapter Three presented the discussion of various methodological approaches used in the study of elites and community power and the discussion of the adequacy of each approach. Included in that discussion were the various debates about validity. Stouffer, in his discussion of validity draws a distinction between "reliability" and "validity":

> By reliability is meant: Does the index measure something consistently? By validity is meant: Granted that the index measures something consistently, is it really describing what we think it is describing (Stouffer, 1962:265)?

The techniques and classifications used in this research design aim at providing both reliable and valid data. By using library resources the choice of who to include or exclude from the study is made on the basis of appearance in a specific reference. This ensures consistency across communities and across time. Consistency and reliability are also assured by the use of specific variables which are categorized by standard classifications. The problems encountered in previous research of who to include, of what cut off point to use, or of what issue to follow as the basis for a study are resolved by adopting the use of library resources.

The issue of validity — does it describe what we think it is describing? — remains the crucial point. The only point on which researchers who study "elites" and "community power" have agreed is that a variety of approaches must be used before a clear picture emerges from the data. The discussion in Chapter Three points out that:

1. Different approaches may measure different aspects of community power or types of community elites.

2. Different approaches may measure different phenomena called by the same name. This may occur because of different theoretical orientations.

It was further noted in the review of the methodological literature that both the positional approach and contingency analysis were the best ways to gain knowledge of a community, and that two or more approaches used in a study could provide a means of assessing the validity of the data.

The research design developed for this study incorporates techniques for gathering both positional and reputational data. The validity of the data rests on (a) precedent, (b) parallel procedures, and (c) overlap of the data.

Precedent has been set for the use of library references because various researchers in the area of community power and elite have used these references regardless of methodological approach. This is known as "face" validity. Researchers have differed in how they have used the references: i.e., some like Domhoff (1970) have used the references as the sole criterion for inclusion or exclusion in a study, whereas others like Porter or Kelner have used such references to support, corroborate or enhance findings gathered from interviews.

Validity resting on precedent may also be established in that the elite, upper class, or inner circle also use these references as a guide to knowing who's who and what's what. Though there are always exceptions to the rule, a listing in The Blue Book or Who's Who often opens the doors of country clubs, exclusive service clubs, or boardrooms. The fact that people in positions of power, influence, and status give credence to these documents may provide some validity to their use.

Previous community power studies and elite studies have relied on interviews as a means of collecting data. The procedures used in gathering interview data are parallel to those used by those who compile the library biographical references. Usually "community knowledgeables" would be asked to identify key community

leaders or those recognized as a community's outstanding citizens. The fact that publications such as Who's Who in Canada or The Directory of Directors have trained staff who collect such material nationwide and the fact that these publications depend on accuracy and credibility to sell the product suggests to some degree both the reliability and validity of the information.

Lastly the validity of the data rests on the degree of overlap found in the data. Overlap can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, validity may be inferred from the degree of overlap present in the data given in a single reference over time. Secondly, validity may be inferred from the overlap found across references.

Over time, with more empirical research, the validity of the data generated by this approach can be tested. But without empirical data with which to judge the theoretical and methodological positions taken by social scientists, little progress can be made. For this reason, the current study is considered experimental.

The design for collecting data on Edmonton's elite aimed at collecting objective data. The issue of objectivity, like validity, is a complex one. Fitzgerald and Cox discussed the problem of objectivity in this way:

> The scientist consciously attempts to insure that the conclusions he reaches are based upon observations and investigations rather than his own personal predispositions. While subjective orientations cannot be completely eliminated, the scientist is especially concerned with attempting to become aware of and control them. Objectivity is perhaps more difficult to attain in the social sciences than in the physical sciences because the social scientist interacts with his subject matter — human beings — in a way that physicists and chemists do not. As a result social scientists must be careful to state their biases, insofar as they are conscious of them, and to maintain as objective a stance as possible (1975:7).

As discussed in Chapter Three, each methodological approach makes some assumption about the nature of community power or elites. The reputational approach assumes that community knowledgeables accurately understand the structures of the community. The positional approach assumes that people in top

institutional positions are the ones who hold power and make the decisions. The decision-making approach assumes that the visible members of a community involved in a community issue are the powerful. All three approaches look at a facet of the community power structure and assume that the structures and functions within the community behave in a certain way.

The researcher chose the positional and reputational approaches because of a sociological position that power, status or influence in a community can be and is based across institutions and does not solely reside in the political institution. The concern of the study was to discover the social characteristics of those persons presumed to have access to power, status or influence —— not with discovering who those individuals are.

The use of library resource material may limit some of the subjective influences that confront a single researcher in gathering this kind of data. However, because the selection criteria and exact methods for gathering the data remain unknown, it can be assumed that the short-comings of data would be similar if the data had been collected by interview.

The issues of replicability and comparability are interrelated. Selltiz, et al. (1959:46) discuss replicability in this way:

> To formulate a research problem (in generalized meaningful terms) permits the repetition of studies under different unique conditions. This process of repetition is known as replication of research.

Some of the previous elite studies have been conducted in such a way that there is difficulty in repeating the study in the same community much less in other communities. The research design as developed here makes it possible to conduct similar research based on the same library resources and variables for any North American community at any time.

Although it is possible for a study to be replicable but produce results which are not comparable and vice versa, it is hoped that the techniques employed in this research provide for replicability and will produce data which can be compared. The reputational data for any community identify the institutional strengths or weaknesses within the community, thus eliminating the problem of pre-judging the institutional dominance within the community. The data from both the reputational and positional approaches can then be compared to each other and with other communities since the variables studied are the same.

The strength of the research design is in its objectivity, replicability and comparability. Any controversy that might arise would be about the issue of validity. It is the issue of validity that has plagued all research approaches in the empirical study of elites. The use of this research design would establish an empirical data base from which further questions about validity could be addressed rather than focusing energies on rediscussing theoretical orientations.

2. Criteria for Interpreting Variables:

The criteria for judging the adequacy of the data gathered for thirteen variables rests on two factors: 1) the response rate and 2) comparison of the findings within the elite and in comparison with the community as a whole. The issue of response rate is the more problematic and is a challenge for any researcher.

Clearly the ideal response rate for all variables would be 100 per cent knowledge for all cases within each reference. Because some sources did not provide information on all variables and because individuals chose not to include information which was requested by the reference, the response rates would not be expected to be 100 per cent. One of the purposes of this research was to find out just what kind and amount of information could be gathered from library resources.

Information which can be assumed to be available for any individual based on a response rate under 50 per cent must be considered non-conclusive. For some variables this is not the case in that not all individuals necessarily have access to a social characteristic: e.g., publications or country-club membership. In these cases only comparisons among groupings within the data or future research can establish adequacy.

Further substantiation of the validity of the data can be gained by comparing response rates of the sub-groups within the data and by checking the findings against the community's demographic profile. Therefore, the rates of response and comparisons will be the criteria for assessing the adequacy of the data. The broader issue of the completeness of coverage by individual reference or all references taken as a whole can only be assessed by further research employing alternate approaches and techniques.

F. SUMMARY:

The exploratory research design presented in this study was developed to address some of the problematic issues in the study of community elites. The study of Edmonton's elite was limited to an investigation of the social characteristics of the elite. Both reputational and positional approaches have been incorporated into a research design which depends on library references to develop the data base.

Four reputational references and two positional references were used to identify individual residents of Edmonton from the years 1951 to 1974. Thirteen variables were investigated and these variables were divided into two groups: ascribed and achieved characteristics. Coding was developed to enable the researcher to not only analyse the data by source, but to also look at changes over time and to research over-laps occurring in the data.

As this is exploratory research, only frequencies and cross-tabulations were used in analyzing the data. However, some preliminary analysis has indicated that a data-base of this sort is amenable to analysis by more complex statistics. The design attempted to address the issues of validity, objectivity, replicability and comparability. The findings will show if such a goal can be achieved.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDMONTON'S HISTORY

Studies of the Canadian social structure over the past forty years conclude that Canada is not a classless society, that access to wealth, power and opportunity is not equally available to all the population, and that an identifiable elite does exist. Members of this elite share similar social characteristics in spite of the fact that their positions in society rest on different institutional bases and in spite of the fact that these institutions have changed rapidly and significantly over the past forty years.

A review of the research of Porter, Clement, Newman, Olsen and Kelner makes it clear that what they have described as the Canadian elite is for the most part synomonous with "eastern elite." The West participated rarely in the composition of the Canadian elite. Porter noted that even western politicians tended to originate in eastern Canada. Since 1975, some of the eastern dominance in the corporate and political sectors has been challenged by what Newman described as the westward shift of Canada's economic centre and by what Olsen has referred to as the fragmentation of the state into eleven governments.

To understand future trends in Canada's social, economic, and political destiny, it is important to investigate the history which has led to the existing structure of a society. The history of the West differs in part from the history of eastern Canada. It is an empirical question whether or not the trends, structures, and social characteristics which describe the Canadian experience, accurately apply to the Western experience as well.

This chapter describes some of the factors which have made Edmonton and Alberta what they are today, and the ways in which Edmonton's social structure,

elite and social characteristics of that elite are similar to and differ from that of Canada as a whole.

Edmonton is located 54° N Latitude and 113° W Longitude on the North Saskatchewan River at an altitude of 666 metres or 2184 feet. Resources, transportation, and immigration are key words which describe Edmonton's history and continued growth. Compared with most North American cities, Edmonton has a short history; but compared with surrounding Canadian prairie towns, villages, or cities, Edmonton clains an old heritage dating back to 1795.

Edmonton's population growth has displayed a pattern of booms and busts over the past 200 years. The 700 citizens who resided in Edmonton when it was incorporated as a village in 1892 grew to 8,350 in 1904 when Edmonton became an incorporated city. By 1912 when Edmonton and Strathcona were amalgamated the population had reached 50,000. The population doubled within the next 35 years to reach 159,631 in 1951, and by 1975 the number of residents in Edmonton had tripled within 25 years to over 500,000 residents in the metropolitan area in 1975.

Edmonton's population growth was established, nurtured and secured by the abundance of natural resources surrounding it. The natural resources found in the area have been and are attractive to both national and international markets. These have provided Edmonton with a visibility not necessarily afforded other prairie cities.

Edmonton's relatively short history, its rapid growth, and natural resources which attract a sophisticated technology are all conditions which theoretically might provide for a competitive market, conditions for an open social structure, and for equal opportunity. If Edmonton's social structure has developed in this manner, it would differ from the national social structure.

Edmonton's history can be divided into four periods of growth which were spurred by the successive exploitation of different natural resources. Initially it

was the fur trade (1779-1896), then gold (1870-1904), later the adaptation of agriculture to the northern climate (1904-1946) and finally the discovery of oil and the development of the petro-chemical industry (1947 onward). With the discovery and exploitation of each new resource, Edmonton established itself by providing the services necessary to extract those resources, and the organization necessary to transport the resources to national and international markets. Initially the North Saskatchewan River provided the only means of transportation to and communication with the industrialized centres of the world. Then the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways opened up the West and Edmonton. Later Edmonton pioneers in air transportation along with government-built highways ensured the city's commercial and cultural dominance in the larger region.

The extraction of resources and the development of transportation systems brought immigrants from every part of the world to play their part in developing the prairies. With each successive era a new group of people came to work and establish their lives in the Edmonton region. The fur trade brought primarily the Scottish and French to the area. Together with the native peoples, they worked for a hundred years in the fur industry. The gold strikes brought gold-seekers and Klondikers from eastern Canada and the U.S. Though few in number, their dollars helped sustain Edmonton in a very precarious time.

The arrival of the railways and the Dominion Land Act helped populate the West and brought the first wave of East-Europeans to the prairies. In Edmonton, these pioneers were mostly Ontario settlers of British descent, Ukrainians, Germans, Scandinavians, and French. The oil boom has lured people from all over the world.

This mosaic of people makes up the community of Edmonton. Its history affords a look at the growth of one of the most culturally diverse cities in Canada. Some traditions of each people's homeland have remained, some have fallen away.

From this amalgamation a new "home grown" set of traditions, customs and values has emerged.

As Edmonton is a young city, its history is only now being written. Within the next decade more historians will research and write on Edmonton's past. However, for the purposes of this research, only a few references were available from which to trace Edmonton's development, and this chapter relies heavily on those sources.

A. THE FUR TRADE, 1795-1869:

Before the arrival of the European fur traders, the Edmonton area was occupied by several different linguistic groups of Indians. MacGregor relates that the life-style of the plains Indian had been affected by the distant presence of the European in North America long before personal contact was made.

> Ultimately the existence of the white man in eastern Canada created a pressure which, transmitted from tribe to tribe, began to bear on Alberta's Indians. Long before they had seen a white man this pressure was felt. But for a few decades on the Canadian plains the introduction of some of the white man's goods set the prairie Indians, and particularly the Blackfoot Confederacy, off into a new orbit. For a few vivid decades Blackfoot culture, based upon horses, guns, and unlimited buffalo, rose rapidly to a zenith of the rich, colorful and glamorous life which many regard as the apogee of plains culture (1972:17).

There were other forces which encroached upon the lives of the native peoples. Antagonism between the British and French colonies was intensified because of "the differences of race, religion and commercial competition (Lower 1966:37)." The fur trade was the fuse which ignited a continental race. It is interesting that European fashion could become an impetus for conquering a continent. The beaver hat became the mode of fashion in Europe and the trapping of beaver grew into a continental industry.

Tradition dictates that Anthony Henday, a scout for the Hudson's Bay Company, was the first white man to set foot in the territory now known as Alberta, in 1794. By 1795 the North West Company got a jump on the Hudson's Bay

Company and established the first trading site called "Fort Augustus" in the Edmonton area. The Hudson's Bay Company followed the lead when "the dour Scotsman" William Tomison established Edmonton House within eyesight of Fort Augustus by the fall of that same year. While other companies like the XY Company and the Ogilvie Company competed in the fur trade, it was the Northwesters and the Hudson's Bay which carried on fierce competition for thirty years.

After four unsuccessful starts, Fort Augustus and Edmonton House became permanently located in 1813. Secondary industries developed as a result of the fur trade; e.g. the making and exporting of pemmican. The influence of Fort Augustus and Edmonton House extended as far south as Idaho and Wyoming and north through the Mackenzie River route to the Arctic coast.

Edmonton House became central to a continental fur monopoly. "For years the Fort gave work to numerous clerks, workers, boatmen, French-Canadians, Scots, Orkneymen, natives of the Shetlands and Hebrides and later Norwegians (Suski 1965:11)." In 1813 Rowand convinced Simpson that Edmonton should become the Hudson's Bay Company's hub of trade for the prairies.

The men who made the fur trade possible were mostly Scots, French or "metis." In the spring of 1821, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company amalgamated. Competition now turned to the encroaching U.S. fur traders.

> However, many former employees of the North West Company - French Canadians - and also some employees of the Hudson's Bay Company -Scots and Orkneymen - who, because of the merging of the two companies, lost their permanent jobs, and who were married to native women, settled in the region and began farming. They and their descendants were destined to form the nucleus of the present population of the region (Suski 1965:11).

Descendants of these first traders live in Edmonton today.

The Hudson's Bay Company's guaranteed monopoly over the fur trade had an effect on how the Hudson's Bay Company conducted business with the native population. Alcohol was gradually eliminated from the trading practices at Simpson's insistance. During this era John Rowand, chief factor of Edmonton House, constructed what became known as "Rowand's Folly." After a flood in 1830, Rowand moved Edmonton House to higher ground and constructed a fort complete with glass windows. George Simpson and Paul Kane visited Edmonton House in 1841. It is from their accounts that descriptions of daily routines of the post have been drawn.

In 1854 William Sinclair took over as chief factor of Edmonton House, "and for a few more years the fur trade carried on much as it had in the past (MacGregor 1975:53)." At the same time British and U.S. interests heated up the competition for the West. The British took two actions to ensure possession: (1) a committee of the British House of Commons was formed and (2) the Palliser expedition was launched.

When the Palliser expedition passed through Edmonton House in 1857, they found the trading centre had grown to over 150 people. The Palliser report gave Britain the first reliable description of Rupert's Land. It showed: "that with limitations, the prairies were reasonable well fitted for settlement (MacGregor 1972:79)," and described unlimited acres of arable land. England took three steps based on the reports of the two committees:

1. Canada was granted the right to settle and govern the Red River Colony.
2. Canada was granted the right to found colonies on Vancouver Island.
3. Canada was granted the right to found colonies in British Columbia.

The questions of Rupert's Land and the Hudson's Bay Company charter were not resolved. This indecision was interpreted as an extension of the charter and thus a continuation of the status quo.

Edmonton House could have faded from importance as the colonization effort centered on the west coast, but another natural resource saved Edmonton from oblivion. Gold was discovered in the Cariboo Country and Edmonton was located right on the path to Gold Country. Many miners got no further than Edmonton and decided to stay. Others on their return made similar decisions and became residents of Edmonton. One of these miners, Jim Gibbons, described Edmonton House of 1865 in this way:

> Christie was in charge at Edmonton. There were about twenty-five families about the place. They were French Canadians, half-breeds, and Highland Scotch. William Borwich was blacksmith. William Lenner was also a blacksmith; there were in those days two kinds of Scotch—those who could speak English and those who could not. Jimmie Gullion was the boat builder assisted by his brother, George. Pig Kenny was in charge of the pigs and Malcolm Groat was in charge of the men. There were two clerks in the post—MacAulay and McDonald. Sandy Anderson was the saddler and made the dog harness. John Norris was dog runner. Donald McLeod was in the Company service at the time and I remember that he spoke very little English. Gilbert Anderson was whip sawing lumber for the Company, and William Meavor was getting out logs (MacGregor 1975:67).

Some of these men, or their descendents, subsequently became prominent in Edmonton as it grew. Forces outside Alberta continued to draw Edmonton House into world events. In 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company was sold to the International Finance Company in England. The dwindling profits of the fur trade because of lower demand and higher costs to secure pelts had lessened British investors' enthusiasm. This created uncertainty among those on the prairies and those connected with the fur trade. "Meanwhile, a few had begun discussing a federation of all the British North American colonies (MacGregor 1972:82)."

On July 1, 1867, Canada became an independent country. The confederation of four provinces had been agreed to, and John A. Macdonald became the first prime minister. In 1869 the British government under some pressure from the Canadian government negotiated a settlement with the Hudson's Bay Company in which the company surrendered all charter rights and administrative authority in

respect to Rupert's Land. In return the Hudson's Bay Company received $300,000 and 3000 acres of land: "to be allocated on a systematic basis whenever the prairies should be surveyed (MacGregor 1972:83)."

The end of the fur trade era had come. A century of fur-trading produced Edmonton House, three missions, and ten trading posts. The epidemics had decimated the native population of Alberta to five or six thousand where there had been ten thousand a century before. In Alberta the total white and half-breed population did not exceed two thousand. Of these new-comers, most were French-Canadians or Scotsmen. Their wives were native women or of mixed race. The major industry, fur, and its related industries, pemmican, timber, and boat-building were now threatened. Edmonton now faced a new era.

B. EARLY SETTLEMENT AND THE GOLD RUSH YEARS, 1870-1904:

1. 1870-1879, The Transition:

The fur trade established Edmonton House and The Hudson's Bay Company sustained the post for a century. When the Hudson's Bay Company turned over its land and authority to the government of Canada in 1869, the future of Edmonton was uncertain.

Those first settlement years were marked by a series of threats which could have made the struggling community simply an entry on the pages of a history book. In the spring of 1870 the Blackfoot Indians threatened the Fort. In that summer an epidemic of small-pox devastated the native Indian and Metis population in Alberta. Edmonton rallied and "...caused the organization of the first public board of health in Edmonton (Suski 1965:12)." A quarantine was established by the board which stopped the fur trade for a year and a licence had to be obtained for travel. Because of this action, Edmonton survived the epidemic.

In 1882 the Dominion Land Act sparked an international campaign to settle the West. The government of Canada hoped this new policy would attract enough settlers for Canada and thus cut off the U.S. claim to Rupert's land. By 1875 surveying was underway.

Another decision by the Canadian government which bolstered the West was the decision to build a railway to the coast. This means of transportation would speed up the settlement of the West and create commercial outposts for eastern industry.

The departure of the Hudson's Bay Company had also meant the exodus of formal law and order. The establishment of the Northwest Mounted Police became necessary.

> The first four years of the settlement, from 1870 to 1874, were hard ones for the settlers. The Hudson's Bay Company had withdrawn all participation from the effort to keep order. There was no law and no means of enforcing it and only the coming in 1874 of the Northwest Mounted Police changed the situation. (Suski 1965:12).

The Mounties located 20 miles downstream from Edmonton at what is now called Fort Saskatchewan. The arrival of "the law" and the promise of growth brought a new stability and optimism to the small hamlet.

As Edmonton House had become the service centre for the fur trade, residents of Edmonton maintained this pattern and provided goods and services to settlers and explorers who were to establish the agricultural boom in the West. Men and women like Malcolm Groat, George McDougall, Chief Trader Hardisty, Mrs. George McDougall and Dr. Verey worked to secure Edmonton's survival.

The first steamboat to navigate the North Saskatchewan River, the Northcote, reached Edmonton in July of 1875. It carried Hudson's Bay Company goods. The Hudson's Bay Company had also diversified into lumbering to help offset its dwindling profits.

In 1876 a semi-official post office was established, and by 1878 had become official with Richard Hardisty as postmaster. A trail to Calgary was completed in 1875 and one to Athabasca in 1879. In 1879 the Northcote began a passenger service in addition to the cargo service.

During this time men came to Edmonton who would become dominant forces in Edmonton's development. Dr. Newton came from Toronto and became Edmonton's prominent Anglican Minister. Frank Oliver arrived from Winnipeg and eventually established The Bulletin, Edmonton's first paper. Alex Taylor brought his skills as a telegraph operator. Donald Ross established the first Hotel in 1876, and John A. McDougall returned to Edmonton in 1879.

Many of these newcomers would set the tone for a city which would grow by leaps and bounds, but which would not outgrow its origins until well into the 1950's. The population of Edmonton in 1878 was approximately 148 people including Hudson's Bay Company employees, miners, and "squatters." The areas adjacent to Edmonton became populated with homesteaders. The men and women who stayed on and those who came seeking their fortunes became Edmonton's "Aristocracy of Accomplishment":

> Among these men were John Norris and Ed Cary who operated the store over near the fort, Colin Fraser, Dany Nayes, Jim Gibbons, and many others. These men, together with Richard Hardisty, John Walter, Donald Ross, Frank Oliver, and John A. McDougall, formed the aristocracy of early Edmonton - an aristocracy of accomplishment (MacGregor 1975:90).

2. 1880-1890, The Foundation Laid:

The adult population of Edmonton in 1880 was estimated at 205. Neither treaty Indians nor employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who lived at the Fort were included in this figure. The decade started out auspiciously enough. The promise of the Canadian Pacific Railway routed through Edmonton was enough to set off the first of many real estate booms in Edmonton's history. In 1880 Taylor's

telegraph system was installed in Edmonton. This modern convenience aided the growth of Edmonton's second sign of civilization in the 80's: The Bulletin, Edmonton's first newspaper. The publisher was Frank Oliver, sometimes described as "a man of little book learning (MacGregor 1972:119)."

In 1881 John Walter strung cables up between the area of what is now the 105th Street Bridge and the High Level Bridge thus initiating a ferry business. Donald Ross opened a coal mine on the side of McDougall Hill. The news that the Canadian Pacific Railway was to go through Calgary and not Edmonton depressed the rate of growth but not the community's vitality.

By 1883 the population grew enough to constitute an electoral district. Frank Oliver was sent as Edmonton's representative to the Northwest Council. In addition, the School Bill of 1884 enabled the citizens of Edmonton to transfer the financial burden of the school Matt McCauley had started from the private to the public purse.

In 1885 Johnston Walker arranged for a telephone line to be strung from his store to Alex Taylor's telegraph office. This commercial venture would eventually become Edmonton telephones. Frank Oliver returned to his newspaper when he lost his seat in the Northwest Council to Dr. H. C. Wilson in 1885.

In 1887 the population reached 350. A resident described Edmonton in 1887:

> There were six mercantile establishments whose stocks consisted of every imaginable thing from sides of bacon to ostrich plumes. There was also a butcher shop, a baker's, a blacksmith, a land office, the Edmonton Bulletin printing establishment, a boat building establishment and a carriage making shop, four churches, two schools, four hotels, a post office, telegraph office, grist-mill, saw-mill, and a brickyard. Small settlements of homesteaders at Namas, Belmont, Stony Plain, Clover Bar, and eastward to Beaver Lake gave to the little village its promise of a widening agricultural industy to take the place of the receding fur-trade (MacGregor 1975:106).

In 1889, Oliver, McCauley, and McDougall banded together to form the first board of trade west of Winnipeg. In 1890 Edmonton was incorporated into a town

of 2,168 acres and 700 people. Matt McCauley was elected Edmonton's first mayor. Excitement grew with the approach of the CPR line from Calgary. But again Edmonton was kept from being end-of-rail. The CPR line stopped across the river in South Edmonton. When the Dominion Government attempted to move the land offices from Edmonton to south of the river in 1892, a crisis ensued which might have led to violence but was resolved by letting the main land office remain in Edmonton and establishing a sub-station at end-of-rail. Alex Taylor began operation of Edmonton's first electric lighting plant in 1891. G.A.F. Kirkpatrick, the first representative of the Imperial Bank, arrived in Edmonton the same year.

The ten year period from 1880 to 1890 had not brought much growth in terms of Edmonton's population; but the political, economic, and institutional foundation became more fully elaborated in the hopes that growth was just around the corner.

3. 1890-1904, Gold, Immigrants and Growth:

The period between 1890 and 1904 was a time of rapid growth for the West, and Edmonton was not left behind. Agriculture began to dominate the economic picture as indicated by the annual exhibitions of the Agricultural Society of Edmonton and the intitiation of other agricultural societies across Alberta.

Edmonton's Board of Trade continued and by 1881 the following people were listed as board members: S.S. Taylor, P. Daly, Frank Oliver, E. Ramer, J.A. McDougall, W.J. Walker, Alex Taylor, James McDonald, J. Cameron, Ed Carey, C.F. Strang, J.H. Picard and A.D. Osborne (MacGregor 1975:109).

Newcomers had to prove themselves, even though the "judges" might have only arrived in the area from the East as little as ten years earlier. "One of Alberta's imports was an intense distrust of the East and of easterner's motives (MacGregor 1972:9)." But some groups had more to prove than others; some groups

were more welcome than others. A popular sentiment of the time was that: "...Albertans could do without Jews, Mormons, and Chinese (MacGregor 1975:114)."

But the lure of the West was strong for all. In 1893 Abe Cristall came to Edmonton from Bessarabia and established Edmonton's first Jewish family. The first Mormons in Alberta came to the south of the province in 1886 led by Charles Ora Card. And Chinese families founded some of Edmonton's first laundry establishments. Whether as individuals or groups many newcomers came and stayed in the Edmonton region.

> The arrival and settling of groups is easy to follow. Whether they were Germans who could not abide the dusty soils of the south and pulled out for the Edmonton area, or Mormons, who, looking at the dry soils, decided to add water and stir and stayed to transform the south, or whether they were Scandinavians, Parry Sounders or Ukrainians who headed for the tall timber, they were much easier to keep track of than the individual families who came pouring in. Actually these, mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, who came wandering in laden with little more than cheerful optimism, were far more numerous than the group settlers of other ethnic backgrounds (MacGregor 1972:171).

The influx of people brought with it a demand for new services. The brewing industry was begun. Nine wagons of oil drilling equipment passed through Edmonton headed for Athabasca Landing in 1884. College Avenue School was begun at the instigation of Mayor Matt McCauley. Dr. A.H. Goodwin opened up a dental practice bolstered by a bicycle shop. In the same year a young lawyer A.C. Rutherford set up business in South Edmonton. The development of Red Fife wheat and the milling process to grind it gave the prairies a whole new industry. A gold strike on Bonanza Creek in the Yukon brought more miners through on their way to the Klondike. With affluence came comforts including the Edmonton Golf and Country Club in 1895. Edmontonians could play five holes of golf over what is now the Legislative grounds.

In 1896 John A. McDougall became mayor and Frank Oliver jumped from territorial to federal politics by winning the seat to represent the West in Ottawa. Edmonton and Ottawa met over another issue in 1896:

> For years the town council and the Board of Trade had been urging the Dominion government to build a bridge across the river. Finally, to quote McDougall's memoirs, Ottawa "put up what we considered a bluff and wired us that if we could contribute $25,000 toward the cost of a bridge they would build one. Our population then in those days was only about 1500 and $25,000 in those days was a large sum. But we called the bluff by clubbing together and raising the amount on a joint note through the Imperial Bank and we wired the money to Ottawa the same day their wire was received by us...
>
> When he spoke of "we" he meant himself, Kirkpatrick, Heiminck, Dick Secord, and one or two others. These men put up the money, and in due course the ratepayers endorsed their action and assumed their indebtedness for the Low Level Bridge. In spite of the speed with which Edmontonians acted, the completion of the bridge was still five years away (MacGregor 1975:122-23).

In 1889 South Edmonton became incorporated, and its 1,156 residents adopted the name Strathcona in honor of Lord Strathcona. For a short time Strathcona had a newspaper initially called the Stratholic but later the Alberta Sun. It was published by Bob Edwards. Edwards found he and the Edmonton area didn't agree and left within a few years for Calgary. He is reputed to have left this description of Edmonton: "Edmonton is but a snide place which gives everyone the blues."

Edmonton responded to the call to arms with the outbreak of the South African War. Many residents instructed by Major A.H. Griesbach formed the Second Canadian Mounted Rifles. These men sailed from Halifax to Capetown, and became the first of many Edmontonians to go to foreign wars over the next century.

In 1902 the Low Level Bridge was completed and the two communities of Edmonton and Strathcona were joined. The new Alberta Hotel which had a bath and Edmonton's first elevator was completed in 1903. The Edmonton Journal,

conservative rival to the Bulletin, started publication in the same year. Mr. J.H. Morris brought the first horseless carriage to the town in 1904.

On November 4, 1904, Edmonton's request to incorporate as a city was approved by the Northwest Territories legislature. The boundaries of the town were extended to cover another 2,400 acres, and the population reached 8,350.

In thirty-five years Edmonton had changed from a trading post to a bustling city of eight thousand residents. The government of Canada had been established and Edmonton gained representation in Ottawa. The Hudson's Bay Company transferred land and legal responsibilities to the Canadian government.

Surviving epidemics, Indian uprisings and lawlessness of the whiskey traders, Edmonton had grown into a city with some primary industry and a sizable service sector along with transportation and communication systems.

Agriculture supported by the service needs of the Klondikers replaced the fur trade and secured for Edmonton the role of service centre of the north. Townspeople of many nationalities and backgrounds established Edmonton's schools, churches, political, social and economic structures to meet and sustain the demands placed on a western outpost. Edmontonians looked forward to a new era of stability as commerce and industry developed, and as agriculture came into its own.

C. AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, WAR AND DEPRESSION, 1904-1946:

From 1905 to 1914 Edmonton's growth was unprecedented. But World War I and the Depression delivered set-backs that made it difficult for Edmonton to recuperate until the beginning of World War II.

1. 1905-1914, Edmonton's Second Boom:

The events of the early years of the century, especially the fixing of the Alberta capital in Edmonton, the merging with Strathcona, and the great expectations related to the planned extension of railway systems into the north and opening of country north of Edmonton for new settlers, created a second land boom in the City. This boom and the resulting prosperity caused rapid growth of the population and wealth. However the boom ended in 1914 and the population diminished almost as rapidly as it had increased. The effect of the boom and the resulting recession may be judged by comparing the number of population land bank clearings. While in 1911 the population of Edmonton, including Strathcona, numbered 31,064, in 1914 it reached 72,516 only to fall back in 1917 to 53,000. In 1914 the bank clearings for Edmonton area were $157,300,000—they fell in 1915 to $105,800,000 and recovered only by the year 1918. (Suski 1965:13).

In 1905, the Northwest Territory Assembly requested provincial status. "At the 1905 session, the House of Commons passed the Alberta Act and the Saskatchewan Act, creating two new provinces (MacGregor 1972:87)." On September 1, 1905, Alberta became a Province, George Hedley Bicars Bulyea became Lieutenant Governor, and Edmonton became temporary seat of the government. The choice of Edmonton was not by chance. Frank Oliver had taken on the mantle of power in Laurier's cabinet when Sifton resigned in an historic dispute over education. Oliver wasted no time in continuing to promote Edmonton.

That same fall the Canadian National Railway was completed which linked Edmonton to the East by steel. Six hotels did a brisk trade. Retail establishments included: J. H. Harris & Co. for women's clothes, Elly and Moore for men's clothes, The May Coal Co., McDougall and Secord, Gariepy and Lessard, Mackenzie's book store, McIntosh and Campbell Furniture, Crystal Palace Clothing Emporeum, Hudson's Bay Company and Johnston-Walker.

The old-timers continued working, but took up positions in commerce and service trades rather than the previous labouring positions. The majority of these men were from the British Isles. The "aristocracy of accomplishment" was reaping the rewards of earlier times. Some aspects of life in Edmonton began taking on airs of aristocracy. The split between the haves and have nots was not only a matter of length of stay or money, it was becoming a matter of ethnicity.

> In the better homes down towards town, of course, maids, the daughters of German or Ukrainian immigrants did the housework. Many a chatelain was delighted with these obedient, hard-working servants. To their parents who laboured in the city or were trying to clear up their homesteads, these girl's earnings went a long way to secure the immigrants' success in their new land. At the same time, they learned English and the customs and dress of the city. (MacGregor 1975:144).

The CPR line magnified the influx of homesteaders and immigrants. "In the spring of 1906, according to Charles Sutter, Dominion immigration agent at Edmonton, daily arrivals had averaged between three and five hundred (MacGregor 1972:193)." When the hotel overflowed, other buildings had to be opened to house the newcomers. Many of these people were unfamiliar with farming and with the trials of the North. The winter of 1906 turned out to be extremely bitter, and many immigrants suffered through the winter in inadequate housing.

Each ethnic group seemed to find a niche in the new community. The immigration policy had patterned the flow of immigrant groups in this way, and in most instances the newcomers carried out their intended occupations: Greeks opened restaurants or grocery stores, Chinese competed with grocery stores, laundries and market gardens; Scandinavians farmed or assimilated into the mainstream of the English-speaking city, Germans worked in the meat packing plant, and the Ukrainians farmed or laboured in construction.

> "...Edmonton had indeed become cosmopolitan in the sense that a variety of ethnic groups had come to rejoice in its freedom and partake of its opportunities, if perhaps scarcely so in the sense of ultra-sophistication. Edmonton's population including those people born in Canada or the United States, or coming from the British Isles, was

> about 70% Anglo-Saxon. Some 3% were French-speaking. People from Germany or the Scandinavian countries, many of them after a stay in the States, made up about 8%. Over 15% were of Slavic stock, including some Poles, but mainly those we know now as Ukrainians. The remainder of the population came mainly from Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Greece and Italy, with a sprinkling of Chinese and a few Negroes from the United States. (MacGregor 1975:184).

One thing that kept the various groups united—was the strong mistrust of the East. This helped create strong local institutions. The city administration began a department of public works in addition to employing the Chief of Police and a Chief Medical Officer. In a bold step the city bought Alex Taylor's phone company for $17,000 and Edmonton Telephones became a City Service.

Edmonton continued to dominate provincial politics and to shape the decision-making in its favor. A.C. Rutherford, one of Strathcona's leading Liberal lawyers, was appointed to the position of Provincial Premier. Soon after the provincial electoral boundaries were established by cabinet, the Premier announced the location of Alberta's new University. To Calgary's dismay, it was to be located in Strathcona, just across the river from the temporary parliament building.

In 1906 Alberta Government Telephones was set up to stop the encroaching Bell Telephone Company.

Another institutional sector which became established at this time was the myriad of churches for which the Edmonton region is known today. When immigrants came to this land, they brought their beliefs and customs. Newly arrived immigrants found that:

> Religion was no problem because each of the many shades of Christians set about to care for its own members in its own way at their expense. Even that early Alberta was rapidly on the way to reaching the unique distinction of being home to far more sects and cults than any other province. Before long, dominating many a hilltop and lighting up many a valley, churches, erected by devoted hands added to the charm of the countryside (MacGregor 1972:212).

The population explosion of both Edmonton and Strathcona fed the rapid development of commercial ventures. Several coal mines were opened. Of the two

hundred thriving Edmonton businesses, nearly half were real estate agents. Others turned their efforts to flour mills, lumber mills, or brick yards. Grain elevators appeared to handle the growing agricultural trade. A million dollar packing plant was established to process beef for eastern markets. The plant became the source of Edmonton's first industrial payroll. The gasoline engine was marketed. And Reginald Hunt, a local carpenter, built and flew, his own plane in 1909, marking the second flight in Canda's history. The Incline Railway began its way up McDougall Hill and for a spectacular but short-lived career carried Edmontonians up the steep embankment.

Farmers in the area began to voice common concerns when in 1909 the American Society of Equity and the Teritorial Grain Growers' Association amalgamated to form the United Farmers of Alberta. "Stiffly opposing the policy of protective tariffs, a delegation of Prairie farmers marched into the House of Commons in 1910 and demanded a return to the traditional Liberal policy of reciprocity with the United States, specifically in farm products (Lower 1966:152)." Permanent facilities for the Agricultural Exhibit were started in 1910. This became a visible sign of the links between the farmer and the city.

The land boom contined: "...downtown property on Jasper Avenue near 101 Street was changing hands at $10,000 per front foot... (MacGregor 1975:179)." The largest real estate year on record was 1912 when the population jumped 60% from 31,000 people to 50,000. In that same year the Hudson's Bay Company sold some of its land by public lottery. With the real estate boom came the construction boom. So much construction was initiated around this time that it is estimated that it took the next 35 years to pay off the accumulated debt.

Transportation needs expanded too. John Walter launched a new steamboat, The City of Edmonton, which navigated the North Saskatchewan River to

Lloydminster and back. The Grand Trunk Railway was completed in 1909 and opened the north to more settlement.

Leisure pursuits became evident in this year. "The Edmonton Opera House, the Edmonton Theatre, and the Bijou Theatre provided entertainment to suit every taste (MacGregor 1975:166)." Hockey, golf and baseball dominated the sports scene. The Victoria Municipal Golf Course became the first municipal golf course in Canada when it was opened in 1907.

Edmonton and Strathcona amalgamated in September of 1911, and were further integrated by the completion of the High Level Bridge in 1912. Edmonton again made history in 1911 when Bessie Nichols became the first woman in Canada to sit as a member of the school board. A chapter of the Women's Canadian Club was established in 1912.

In the fall of 1912 the new Legislative Buildings were opened. Federally, the Conservative victory over Laurier's Liberal government in 1911 had local repercussions. Many Edmonton Liberals who had gained positions by political patronage, lost their positions at that time.

By 1913 signs of a depression were in the wind. Edmonton's heated economy began to cool. The economy was not all that was slowing down. The coal deposits which had provided energy to the community were running low. As attention began to turn toward the threat of war in Europe, a group of businessmen kept their eyes on Edmonton's future. They banded together to form the Industrial Association whose purpose was to find a gas field to supply the city with energy. Two English geologists were hired to find an alternative form of fuel—natural gas. In addition to natural gas, the discovery of oil in the Turner valley pointed the way to Edmonton's future.

The boom of 1905 to 1914 established Edmonton as a major Canadian centre. The influx of people generated economic, political and social growth in the area

which provided the pattern for years to come. As the centre for the Provincial Government and the location of the University, Edmonton broadened its economic base as service centre to the north. The beginnings of industry, and the elaboration of transportation and communication systems ensured the City's dominance over the region.

During this decade, Edmonton set records in population growth, real estate transactions, construction, and affluence that would not be reached again until after World War II. The bust came suddenly and with little warning.

2. 1914-1928, Depression to War and Back Again:

On August 4, 1914, World War I broke out in Europe. The ethnic diversity in Edmonton found supporters on both sides of the fence. "By the end of 1914 all Anglo-Saxons, no matter how many generations they had been in Canada, came in to join beside the English, Irish, or Scottish-born who had been the first to enlist (MacGregor 1972:230)." Some remained neutral observers to the war. Generally Swedes, Italians and Americans protected their neutrality. The German immigrants were torn between allegiance to the fatherland or to their new home. "Their newspaper, the Alberta Herald, printed in German in Edmonton, was taking a pro-German stand...(MacGregor 1972:211)."

All the energy that had been thrown into real estate and construction suddenly collapsed. "Once the building booms collapsed draftsmen and labourers moved away—some seeking other employment and others going out to the countryside to farm (MacGregor 1972:234)." The population began to dwindle and the flow of immigrants was halted by the war in Europe . The money supply also began to dry up. Many of the transactions in the boom period had been based on paper transfers with little hard cash as a backup. Eastern investers were starting to look

for a return on their money, especially railway investment. The city found itself foreclosing on many properties in order to meet its capital commitments.

With the men away at war and the women left at home to struggle to keep both home and family, various women's organizations appeared. Prohibition became one of the causes supported by many groups and was voted in in 1916. Separate from the prohibition issue was the fact that women gained growing participation in civic and provincial affairs. The vote was one right demanded, and women of Alberta gained that right in 1916.

> In April 1916 the Alberta legislature, egged on by such stalwart citizens as Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney, Henrietta Muir Edwards, and Mrs. Irene Parlby, who were to go on to greatness, won for women the right to vote in elections. Later that year in Edmonton, Mrs. Emily Murphy, the author, was made a police magistrate (MacGregor 1972:237).

The beginning of the fight for rights of women in Alberta eventually ended in the Privy Council of England in a controversy over whether or not women were also "persons" and therefore eligible to hold public office. These same women won their case on October 16, 1929.

Women gained success in other fields. In 1914 "The Grads" women's basketball team was founded and for the next twenty-five years won championships and awards which brought Edmonton international recognition. Coached by Percy Page, the women's Commercial Graduates' Basketball Club was invited to the World's Fair in Paris.

Some Edmonton men distinguished themselves in the war effort. In 1917 W.A. Griesbach was promoted to brigadier and given command over the first Canadian brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel R.H. Palmer became the new commander of the 49th Battallion of Edmonton. The Americans entered the war in 1917. The men returned home on March 22, 1918. The adjustment to civilian life was difficult. Many men suffered injuries which would disable them for a life-time. Things had

changed at home, and the soldiers were changed, having seen other ways and having been exposed to new ideas. Political, social, economic, and labor changes were in the offing.

In 1918 Joe Clark was elected Mayor, and he became known as a labour mayor as was Andy Davidson who became Mayor of Calgary about that same time. The population had dwindled because of the war, the flu, and the economic crash.

The War had produced some positive side effects that would aid Edmonton in growing out of the slump. Some of the men who went to war distinguished themselves as pilots. These men came back to Edmonton and used their aeronautic skills for peace and profit. Bush pilots opened up the North and helped maintain Edmonton's role as the service centre of the north. By 1926 the airplane business had grown so large that City Council and Mayor Blatchford voted $400 to upgrade the airfield. After the improvements were made Ottawa certified the airstrip as the first "Public Air Harbour." As interest in flying caught on, a club was formed; and the flying business boomed.

Hockey and football were re-organized. In 1923 the Eskimos played Ottawa for the Stanley Cup. Prohibition was repealed in 1923, and in that same year CJCA became Edmonton's first radio station. The movies remained popular, and the musicians who played for the silent films organized themselves into the Edmonton Symphony. Mrs. David Brown with the support of Dr. R.B. Wells and William Johnston established Edmonton's Art Gallery.

3. <u>1928-1946, The Great Depression and World War II</u>:

The ending of World War I brought some initial growth to the area. The air industry brought new markets and new possibilities to the economy. Agriculture got another boost with the development of Marquis wheat in 1909 which furthered

the growth and yield in cash crops. Farmers in the twenties entered into an era of relative affluence.

But again the cycle of prosperity to poverty took over when the stock exchange in New York crashed on October 29, 1929. That crash sent shock waves throughout the North American continent, and the prairie farmers paid a very heavy price. The price per bushel of wheat tumbled from its all-time high of $1.60 in 1929 to the lowest figure recorded in 1932, 38 cents a bushel. As with the real estate market of 1914, the bottom dropped out of the wheat market. Farmers were left holding loans on their capital equipment.

The shift in the economic picture forced some change in the political arena. As unemployment increased so did the social and political unrest. Some joined Tim Buck and his plea for a Communist state. The United Farmers of Alberta, in government for 14 years, were no match for the world economic forces which had plummeted the Alberta wheat-based economy into the lowest rungs of the depression.

It was at this time that William Aberhart came to the limelight in Alberta. In 1935 the Social Credit government was elected to power and remained in full control of the province until 1971, 36 years later. Aberhart came in on a wave of enthusiasm and economic naivete. He had proposed monetary reform and per-capita subsidies to remedy the problems of the economic system. In Edmonton G.R.F. Kirkpatrick, Edmonton's first banker, was able to steer the City Council through some of the more difficult financial waters, and thereby salvage what could be saved during those depression years.

There were some new events which managed to divert peoples' minds from bread lines and unemployment. The Birks building was completed in 1930, and the new Journal Building provided work for 300 men. The Roxy Theatre was opened in 1938 and the Capitol Theatre was renovated to show "talking movies." Eaton's

constructed a new store with modern conveniences and the Bay started additions to its building. During this time the Al Rachid mosque was built on 111 Avenue. This was the first mosque to be built in Canada, and Edmonton gained another cultural and religious landmark.

The social and cultural groups stayed together as best they could. The Edmonton Civic Opera developed from the Women's Civic Musical Club. Mrs. J.B. Carmichael was the motivating force behind the group and she was to give over thirty years to this endeavour. Edmonton also saw the rise of Mrs. Elizabeth Sterling Haynes into Canadian theatrical stardom during these years.

Sports played a strong role in the community. Joe Clarke lent organizers support for a new stadium. "When the stadium was finished Joe Clarke was entirely off the council, but the body, casting around for a name for their thriving property, very fittingly called it Clarke Stadium (MacGregor 1975:251)."

While farming languished, the air industry held its own and even began to expand. Gold and silver were being mined in the north, as were other minerals, and Edmonton pilots were only more than happy to provide paying transportation out of the bush. The combination of mining and pilots worked well for Edmonton. "As the years went by and the northern mines developed, all of Edmonton's pilots began taking a hand at unloading gold and silver ingots at Blanchford Field (MacGregor 1975:255)." The pilots also protected Edmonton's reputation as being in the vanguard of Canadian aviation. Many Edmonton bush pilots won the KcKee Trophy.

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth toured Canada in 1939 and came to Edmonton on June 2. Their arrival gave Edmontonians a welcomed chance to bring out their finery and celebrate. But war clouds were gathering in Europe and just three months later, Hitler gave the order for German bombers to attack Poland. "Two days later Britain was at war, and on Sunday, a week later, Canada declared war on Germany (MacGregor 1975:256)."

As in 1914, Edmonton responded immediately to the declaration of war. Unlike the first World War, Edmonton not only experienced an exodus of young men, it also experienced an influx of young men. Many men from the United States were stationed in Edmonton as part of the air-lift to Alaska. Another invasion came in 1942 when the decision was taken to build the Al-Can Highway. Along with the highway came the decision to build the Canol Pipeline from the Norman Wells Oilfield to a refinery at Whitehorse.

The war construction effort affected all facets of Edmonton's life. The "so-called American invasion" gave rise to the additional problems of finding accommodation for hundreds of U.S. personnel. All available rental office and living space was occupied. The invasion had other effects on U.S.-Canadian relations; many American service men married Edmonton girls.

Edmonton's and the surrounding area's contribution to the war effort was substantial. Besides manpower, three resources were exploited for the cause: metals, coal, and agricultural products.

In 1943 Premier William Aberhart died and it fell to Ernest Manning to lead Alberta during the last years of the war. Both V. E. Day on May 8, 1945, and V. J. Day on August 15, 1945, were greeted with what has been called the City's greatest celebrations.

C. OIL AND PETROCHEMICALS, 1946-1971:

The twenty-five years after World War II brought Edmonton from the obscurity of an agricultural service town to notoriety as the oil capital of Canada. The discovery and development of hydrocarbons re-established Edmonton as the central focus of the region equal to the status of its earlier fur-trade glory:

> ... Edmonton spreads its commercial and cultural influence over the greater part of central Alberta, over Alberta North, part of Saskatchewan and over the central part of the northern territories of Canada. This area of influence (inclusive of barren and under developed

> territories in the North) may be estimated at 630,000 sq. miles = 1,630,000 sq. klm., equal to the combined area of Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain (Suski 1965:7).

While agriculture remained the strong backbone of Edmonton's economy, the oil interests bolstered the hydrocarbon service and support industries. Financial institutions prospered. Wholesale and retail trade expanded to meet the new demands. Transportation industries mushroomed as highways were built, rail capacity increased and the air industry took off. Secondary industries developed to service the growing agriculture and petrochemical industries.

The growth in resource development attracted people on an international scale. Edmonton continued to diversify ethnically, religiously and economically. The job market became more complex, affording a range of career choices. As P.J. Smith (1978) noted, Edmonton was on the brink of becoming a metropolis. The population over the 25 year period went from 226,119 in 1951 to 281,027 in 1961 and reached 438,152 by 1971. These figures only reflect the growth within the city limits. The metropolitan area grew at even a greater rate.

1. 1946-1956: "The Dynamic Decade":

Post World War II Edmonton had not changed significantly since 1914.

> A drive around the city did little to impress a visitor. It is true that Edmonton had many nice homes and many householders and institutions maintained marvellous gardens of which everyone was proud. But the homes themselves were a generation out of style. Out of 28,000 of them, 11,000 had been built before 1920. Hardly any new office buildings or schools freshened the streets. Except for the addition of fluorescent lighting, which had come in during the war years and had done so much to brighten store interiors, the stores were nearly all of the same old 1910 vintage. (MacGregor 1975:270).

Edmonton's population reached 113,116 by 1946. But by 1956 the population within the city limits doubled to 226,000 and the metropolitan area had risen to 254,800 people. During this decade Edmonton and Calgary shared the distinction of being the two fastest growing metropolitan areas in Canada. In 1946 Edmonton was the eighth largest city in Canada. By 1956 it became sixth largest.

The discovery of oil brought on Edmonton's third boom:

> On February 13, 1947 seventeen miles southwest of Edmonton's post office, a black smoke ring belched out of the flare line of Leduc Oil Well No. 1 and floated off into the wintery sky. A smoke signal of amazing portent. A signal that ushered in the province's oil era. Alberta had hit the jackpot and Edmonton scooped up the take (MacGregor 1975:273).

By the fall of 1947 Imperial Oil had brought in 23 wells, and other companies were drilling in the same area. In 1948 the first Woodland well came in just east of town and the Redwater district also proved to be a source of oil. There were 363 producing wells in the Leduc-Woodland field by 1949. These numbers increased to 800 by 1951 and 1278 in 1954. The Redwater district reached its capacity of 925 wells in 1952 (MacGregor 1975:274).

Service industries expanded to meet the needs of the growing petrochemical industry and Edmonton maintained its function as service centre to agriculture. The shift into the industrial based economy seemed to happen overnight.

> While other metro areas attempting to make the change encountered many transition difficulties, in Edmonton's case these were drowned out by a beneficial flow of oil and Edmontonians eventually discovered that they had bridged the gap. In average income it meant an increase from $66 per capita in 1946 to $1539 in 1956 (MacGregor 1975:311).

Eric Hanson, a University of Alberta economist, called these first ten years "the dynamic decade." The Edmonton Journal reported on June 12, 1948, that 4040 homes had been built, 35 new apartments completed, and 20 duplexes constructed since the end of World War II. At that time over 80% of Edmontonians owned their own homes. Another article appearing in May of 1949 in the Journal entitled "Astonishing Edmonton Figures" reported that Edmonton's construction industry exceeded $64,000,000 for the year. Of this amount $28,000,000 was spent on 3,350 housing units.

Other construction added to the growth cycle. Three refineries, started in 1947, were completed in 1950. Both the Inter-Provincial and Imperial Oil pipelines

brought workers and payrolls to Edmonton. The University built a new hospital and library. The Federal government completed a new post office. Many local banks, retail merchants and hotel operators built or added on to existing buildings to provide more space for servicing the growing population. "Edmonton, an oil centre—agricultural centre—aviation centre—indeed faces a great future to play an ever-increasing part in the economy of Canada (The Edmonton Journal 1949)."

Changes were also evident in the civic arena. Mayor Ainley had the city crest changed acknowledging the changed status Edmonton was attaining. The City also hired its first town planner in 1949 to orchestrate the building boom. The election of 1951 brought another first to Edmonton and to Canada. William Hawrelak, the son of Ukrainian pioneers, became mayor of Edmonton.

> In 1951, a relatively young Ukrainian, William Hawrelak became the first of his descent to reach such a high office in any major Canadian city when Edmonton elected him Mayor. The son of pioneer parents, he emerged from a farming background but after moving to the city soon became a successful businessman. As a mayor, he had youth, boundless energy, and a capacity to command-qualities which the city needed sorely during its decade of unprecedented growth (MacGregor 1975:281)."

The Bulletin started by Frank Oliver in 1881 ceased operation in 1951.

During this time, the proposed renovations of the downtown area were turned down by Edmonton voters. Developers switched their interest to the suburbs, and Westmount Shopping Centre became the first shopping centre in Edmonton. And other innovations such as a drive-in movie and television came to Edmonton. The first television station was not the CBC, but a local station CFRN-TV.

The arts and sports grew to keep pace with all the demands brought on by a burgeoning cosmopolitan city. Many theatre groups began forming in rapid succession. The Edmonton Chamber Music Society and Edmonton Ballet Company started at this time. The Opera and Symphony flourished, and in 1951 the old Secord House was purchased to contain the Edmonton Art Gallery collection.

The oil boom had not only enhanced the arts, sports reflected the unheralded prosperity as well.

> Money also attracts football and hockey players, and by 1948 there was lots of it around. That year a hockey team, the Edmonton Flyers, won the Allan Cup and gave Edmonton sports fans such a lift that for a while the city became a rabid hockey centre. The next year saw the Edmonton Eskimos revived. After long, careful and costly preparation, they went east in 1952, seeking the Grey Cup, but were defeated by the Toronto Argonauts 21 to 11. That merely whetted Edmontonians' appetites (MacGregor 1975:285-6).

The "dynamic decade" had brought unprecedented growth. The population more than doubled. A new industrial economic base built on servicing the oil boom was secured. A construction boom transformed the city, changing an image that had been established in 1914. The financial, trade, transportation and communication industries expanded to meet the demands of agriculture and oil. The City government reflected the dynamic changes. All this had been achieved within ten years.

> The best indication of what was happening to Edmonton is illustrated by the building permits issued year by year at the city hall. During the 1912 boom, the permits had totalled $14,477,000. The next high year was at the peak of the booming Twenties, when after a long decline, they rose once more to $5,670,000. In the depths of the Hungry Thirties they had dropped to a low of $428,000 a year, and by 1947, the first post war year, they had soared to $13,183,000. For the year 1956, after a steady climb, they stood at $69,406,000, and during the province's Dynamic Decade had totalled $453,000,000. For comparison, the total of all building permits from 1910 to 1940 was only $79,496,000 (MacGregor 1975:287-8).

3. 1957-1974, Continued Growth:

The patterns established in "the dynamic decade" maintained themselves during the next twenty years. The second decade of oil-related growth was steady and lucrative. The increased pace of life and the affluent economy became common place. Edmontonians set about elaborating what had been set out in the whirlwind of the boom period.

The completion of the Alberta Gas Trunk Line in 1967 augmented the expansion of the oil industry making it possible to ship oil to eastern markets and U.S. western markets. The building industry mirrored the economic climate. The building permits for 1966 reached $135,407,000 and increased to $316,000,000 in 1974. More than 54,677 buildings were constructed between the years 1967 to 1974.

Edmonton maintained its position in the transportation field. The railways and highways continued to link Edmonton to the rest of Canada, and to the surrounding regions. The air industry expanded Edmonton's dominance in the region. Two airports, the International and the Industrial, connected Edmonton with the cities of the world. When by 1974 the population had reached well over 500,000, the per capita income was $4,929, almost four times as much as in 1956.

The diversity of the population increased during this period. In 1951 about 75 per cent of the population was Canadian born, as compared with 85 per cent nationally. These figures changed little in 1961, but by 1971 Edmonton's percentage of Canadian born citizens reached 81 per cent while the national average had slipped slightly to 84.7 per cent. Even though the trend shows an increase in Canadian nationality and nativity, the ethnic diversity of the community had increased.

As reported by MacGregor (1975:184) the population of Edmonton at the turn of the century was approximately 70 per cent Anglo-Saxon. By 1951 this percentage had fallen to 56.8 per cent, yet it was higher than the national average at 47.9 per cent. In 1961 the percentage of Anglo-Saxons in the population had fallen to 46.2 per cent nationally and 43.8 per cent in Edmonton. And in 1971 the two percentages were the same at 44.6 per cent.

As the percentage of Anglo-Saxon population has decreased, other nationalities have increased. The German population has increased from 7.2 per cent of

Edmonton's population in 1951 to 12.4 per cent in 1971. The Ukrainians have become the second largest ethnic group in Edmonton growing from 10.8 per cent of the population in 1951 to 13.1 per cent in 1971. The French, as a founding nation, are substantially underrepresented as compared with national figures; but their proportion has increased. In 1951 they were 5.7 per cent of the population which increased in 1971 to 6.7 per cent. This must be compared with a national percentage of 27.8 per cent in 1971.

The ethnic diversity was also reflected in Edmonton's religious diversity. The population espouses over twenty-five different creeds. Suski (1965:1) described the religious distribution within the population in 1965 as: "the United Church (31 per cent), the Roman Catholic Church (26.2 per cent), the Anglican Church of Canada (12.4 per cent) and the Lutheran Church (8.6 per cent).

Provincially, the Social Credit Party remained in power until 1971, when the Progressive Conservative Party under Peter Loughheed soundly defeated Premier Strom at the polls. Municipal politics experienced a controversial era. Elmer E. Roper held the mayor's chair, but resigned after one term in office. Hawrelak won another term in office, but became disqualified over a charge of conflict of interest.

The occupational structure of Edmonton solidified and exhibited the institutional pattern and economic structure of the community: that is, the seat of government, site of the university and service centre of the oil and agricultural industries. McVey (1965:202) indicates that in 1965, 42 per cent of the occupations in the City of Edmonton related to professional/technical (13.3 per cent), managerial (10.2 per cent) or clerical (18.6 per cent) jobs. The labour sector (4.7 per cent) was one-fourth the size of the clerical sector showing the service base rather than the industrial base of Edmonton's economy.

> The general picture that emerges is one of a comparatively simple urban economy, strongly dominated by a regional service function. Moreover, the real growth of the last inter-censal decade was confined to the service sector (Schaffer 1978:25).

The buoyant economy continued to support the arts. "Religious and political differences may remain but in these fields (the arts) they have been submerged in a tremendous cooperative effort (MacGregor 1975:303)." In 1965 the Citadel opened as Edmonton's first professional theatre. The Downtown Rotary Club undertook the construction of Fort Edmonton Park.

The change in provincial government to the Progressive Conservative Party in 1971 marked the end of an era in Edmonton's history. The emergence of a world wide energy crisis, fluctuation in the international wheat market, and the search for a new Canadian identity culminating in the constitutional debates have all helped to bring Alberta and Edmonton to international attention. In 1974 Edmonton could look back on almost 200 years of history: a history written and sustained by natural resources, a history of pioneers and immigrants, and a history of telescoped change.

E. SUMMARY:

Edmonton's economic, political, and social structures have developed in response to the extraction and use of the area's natural resources. Beginning with the fur trade, sustained by the gold strikes, secured by agriculture, and confirmed by the discovery of oil, Edmonton's growth came as a response to international market demands. The city developed from a fur trading post to an international oil centre in less than two hundred years. The presence of the provincial government and the Univerity of Alberta diversify its economic base.

This study is concerned not so much with Edmonton's geography or economy, as with the people who came to Edmonton because of the opportunities it offered and with the society these pioneers and immigrants established. Most of these

pioneers could be characterized as risk-takers and innovaters. Few enjoyed familiar or inherited wealth and few possessed much education. It is in this context that one may hypothesize that, unlike Canada as a whole, the upper stratum of the community would more fully represent the diversity present within the city.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ASCRIBED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EDMONTON'S ELITE

INTRODUCTION:

Data on Edmonton's elite were collected using both the reputational and the positional approaches as described in Chapter Four. The result was the identification of 863 individuals resident in Edmonton from 1951 to 1974. The reputational data were composed of 405 individuals. The positional data were collected for two institutions: corporate and political. The corporate data consisted of 518 cases, and the political data numbered 49.

The search of the four positional references resulted in the identification of 405 persons who lived in Edmonton from 1951-1974. The reputational resources included Who's Who, The Blue Book, Who's Who in Canada and The Canadian Who's Who. The Blue Book listed 15 individuals, 12 were in Who's Who, 324 in The Canadian Who's Who and 165 in Who's Who in Canada.

The Directory of Directors yielded 518 names to constitute the corporate elite. And the political elite numbered 49 individuals who were identified in The Parliamentary Guide. The total number of individual identified by the positional approach was 561.

Because an individual could appear in more than one reference, the data was analyzed based on the differences and similarities of cases which appear in one source (reputational, corporate or political) and those who appear in two or more sources. This division was referred to as "intersecting data."

The distribution of the intersecting data is presented in Table 4. Only 12 per cent of the cases overlap, indicating little institutional interlocking on the basis of source. The political data shows the highest degree of overlap, followed by

the reputational data. The corporate data appears to be the most exclusive. Four cases were reported.

TABLE 4

INTERSECTING DATA: FREQUENCIES

Category	Number	% of Total	% of Source
Reputational Cases Only	302	35.0%	75%
Corporate Cases Ony	425	49.0%	85%
Political Cases Only	31	4.0%	63%
Reputational/Corporate Cases	87	10.0%	
Political/Reputational	12	1.4%	
Political/Corporate	2	0.2%	
Political/Corporate	4	0.4%	
TOTAL	863	100%	

This chapter presents the data gathered on the basis of ascribed characteristics. For this study the ascribed characteristics include: sex, place of birth, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. The findings are reported on the basis of source and intersecting data.

A. SEX:

Of the 405 individuals identified by the reputational approach, 390 or 96.3 per cent were men and 15 or 3.7 per cent were women. Since women comprise more than half the population of both Canada and Edmonton, it can be concluded that women are significantly underrepresented in Edmonton's reputational elite and men are overwhelmingly overrepresented.

Those women who did appear in the reputational data typically followed two patterns. One group occupied positions traditionally assigned to women: e.g., nurses, household economists, teachers, musicians, and artists. They were

identified as best or outstanding within their chosen career or profession. Another group of women entered the elite by "inheriting" positions from their husbands or fathers. The proportion of women to men for any given year from 1951 to 1974 did not change significantly. This may indicate that despite the upsurge of "women's liberation" and "affirmative action" programs little has affected the representation of women at the top levels of Edmonton's hierarchy from 1951 to 1974.

The findings reported in the corporate data reflect the same patterns as the reputational data, only more so. Of the 518 individuals, 505 or 97.5 per cent were men; 13 or 2.5 percent were women. For the most part, those women identified as corporate leaders held board positions with their fathers or husbands. The percentage of men in the corporate sector is the highest as compared with either the reputational or political data.

The political data reflected the same structure. Of the 49 individuals identified as political elite, 47 or 95.9 per cent were men and 2 or 4.1 per cent were women.

As shown in Table 5, analysis of the intersecting data shows even greater exclusivity based on sex. For those cases unique to the three sources, all reported overrepresentation of men. The political cases were the most representative: 93.5 per cent and 6.5 per cent female. The reputational cases were second: 95.4 per cent and 4.6 per cent, and the corporate cases were the most exclusive: 97.2 per cent and 2.8 per cent. All interlocking cases were more exclusive than any one of the unique source cases. Only one women was represented in the interlocking data: Rep./Cor. -98.99 per cent male and 1.1 per cent female.

Taken as a whole, the data reveal that the elite of Edmonton, like the elite of Canada, is a man's world. The corporate sector is the most exclusive in terms of granting access to women, but all sources show the same pattern of token female representation. The cases which are reported in more than one source show that

TABLE 5

SEX BY TYPE OF ELITE: INTERSECTING DATA

Variable	Corporate		Reputational		Political		Pol Rep		Pol Corp		Rep Corp		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sex:														
Male	413	97.2	288	95.4	29	93.5	12	100	2	100	81	98.9	4	100
Female	12	2.9	14	4.6	2	6.5					1	1.1	-	

Kelner's notion of "core" elite can be substantiated based on sex in that only one woman appears in the combined categories (1.8 per cent) and three combined categories have no women at all.

B. PLACE OF BIRTH:

Among the 405 individuals identified by the reputational data, 385 or 94.8 per cent indicated their place of birth. Some 280 or 71.9 per cent of those giving place of birth indicated that they had been born in Canada. The most significant portions of the Canadian born population were born in Ontario (25 per cent) and Alberta (22 per cent).

Of the 518 corporate cases, information on place of birth was available for only 99, or less than 10 per cent. Among those 99, 81 or 82 per cent were Canadian-born. With such a low response rate, this percentage cannot be generalized to the corporate data as a whole. However, the pattern is generally similar to that for the reputational data, and so one might assume with some confidence that this general trend indicates a valid pattern.

Forty-five (91.8 per cent) of the political elite members indicated birth place. Thirty-eight of the 45 individuals (84.4 per cent) were Canadian-born. Alberta accounted for 38.8 per cent or 19.

Both the positional sources reported higher rates of Canadian-born cases (Corporate 82 per cent and Political 84.4 per cent) than the reputational data (72.9 per cent). Again in the positional data the largest provincial representation was born in Alberta (Corporate 31.3 per cent and Political 38.8 per cent). The largest provincial representation for the reputational data was from Ontario (25 per cent). All three data sources listed Alberta and Ontario in first or second place.

In 1951 native-born Albertans made up 52.9 per cent of the entire Edmonton population. The percentage reached 60 per cent by 1971. The percentages for the cases identified in the reputational, corporate, and political data were 22.1 per cent, 31.3 per cent and 42 per cent, respectively. Therefore, native-born Albertans are underrepresented in the data, especially as relates to the reputational and less so in the political data.

The percentage of Canadian-born individuals identified in the reputational and positional elite in Edmonton is approximately the same as the percentage of Canadian-born individuals in the Edmonton population as a whole. The average figure for the entire Canadian-born population from 1951 to 1971 was 77.3 per cent. The percentage for the reputational, corporate and political data were 72.9 per cent, 81.8 per cent and 84.4 per cent, respectively. As shown in Table 6 only in the reputational data are those born in Canada underrepresented. In the corporate and political sectors the Canadian-born are overrepresented. The percentage of the national Canadian-born population for the same period is 84.8 per cent. One can conclude that Edmonton's population and elites include more foreign-born than the Canadian population as a whole.

TABLE 6

PLACE OF BIRTH BY TYPE OF ELITE

Place	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Edmonton*	Canada*
Canada	72%	82%	84%	77.3%	84.8%
(Alberta)	(22%)	(31.3%)	(38.8%)	(56.2%)	
(Ontario)	(25%)	(22%)	(13%)		
British Isles	15%	10%	4%	7.5%	5.4%
U.S.	7%	6%	2%	2.9%	1.7%
Europe	4%	2%	9%	11.2%	7.2%
Other	2			1.2%	0.9%

*Average for the years 1951, 1961 and 1971.

Considering those people who were not born in Canada, the elite data produced these findings as shown in Table 6. Of the 384 cases in the reputational data for which place of birth is given, 58 (15 per cent) indicated they had been born in the British Isles: 32 in England, 7 in Ireland, 16 in Scotland and 3 "other". Those born in the United States numbered 25 (7 per cent). European-born individuals totalled 17 (4 per cent): Austria 4, Ukraine 3, Germany, Hungary and Russia 2 each, and Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden 1 each. Five people were born in India and one case was identified as "miscellaneous other."

Among the 99 cases in the corporate data for whom indicated birth place information is available, 10 or 10 per cent were born in the British Isles: 8 in England and 2 in Scotland. Six cases gave the U.S. as place of birth. Only 2 European-born corporate leaders were identified: 1 from Austria and 1 from Italy. No other countries were represented.

In the political data, 2 persons were born in the British Isles: 1 from England and 1 from Ireland. The British-born politicians represent 4.4 per cent of those for whom place of birth was known. One person was born in the U.S. Four cases (9 per cent) were European-born: 1 each from France, Hungary, the Netherlands and Poland.

In 1951, 10.3 per cent of Edmonton's population came from the British Isles. This compares with a national figure of 6.5 per cent. By 1971 both percentages had dropped. The percentage of Edmonton's British-born population had been cut to half or 5.3 per cent of the 1951 percentage. The national figure was 4.3 per cent. Taken over a 20 year period from 1951-9171 the average percentage of British-born population was 7.5 per cent for Edmonton and 5.4 per cent for Canada as a whole. The reputational data indicated 14.6 per cent, the corporate data 10 per cent, and the political data 4 per cent were British-born. Only in the political sector are the British-born underrepresented at both levels. The British-born are significantly

overrepresented in the reputational data and slightly overrepresented in the corporate data at both community and national levels.

Those born in the U.S. living in Edmonton in 1951 were 4.1 per cent of the population as compared with 2.0 per cent of the Canadian population. These proportions had decreased to 2.0 per cent and 1.4 per cent respectively in 1971. The average from 1951 to 1971 in Edmonton was 2.9 per cent and in Canada 1.7 per cent. The reputational data identified 6 per cent as U.S. born, the corporate data 9 per cent and the political data 2 per cent. Compared with the average, only the political data is approximately representative of the community and the nation. Both the reputational and corporate elite show overrepresentation, and the dominance is stronger in the corporate elite.

The European-born population of Edmonton was 9.7 per cent of the total in 1951, climbed to 14.1 per cent in 1961 and levelled back to 9.7 in 1971. The comparable national figures were 5.1 per cent, 8.0 per cent and 7.8 per cent. In all cases Edmonton's European-born population exceeds the national average. The average percentage of the European-born elite cases, 4 per cent in the reputational cases, 2 per cent in the corporate cases and 9 per cent in the political cases underrepresent the percentage of the European-born population in Edmonton. Only when compared with the national level is the political elite who are European-born overrepresented. In all other comparisons the Europeans are underrepresented. The corporate elite is the most restricted (2 per cent).

The data gathered from reputational and positional sources indicate that much of Edmonton's elite tends to be Canadian-born. The majority of these people come from Alberta or Ontario. The reputational data is the only source in which the Canadian population is significantly underrepresented, and it is also the source exhibiting the highest percentage of British-born elites. The political elite appears

to be the most representative of the Edmonton and Canadian populations, while the corporate elite are the most restricted to Europeans and "other" groups.

As there is overlap between the sources, a look at the intersecting data for place of birth might develop some better insight into the trends found in the data by source (see Table 7). The intersecting data exaggerates the patterns identified in the data source. For those who appear only in reputational data the percentage of Canadian-born cases drops to 70 per cent and the British Isles increases to 16 per cent. The other percentages remain about the same: U.S. 7 per cent, Europe 5 per cent and other 2 per cent. This would indicate a tendency to value British background more than any of the others including Canada itself.

For those cases which appear only in the [illegible]rporate data, the exclusivity shown in the source data is exaggerated in the o[illegible]te direction. Ninety per cent of the cases are Canadian-born, 80 per cent [illegible]lberta. This indicates a somewhat parochial tendency within the Edmonton corporate elite. Only one person identified in the unique corporate data was not Canadian-born and that person was born in England.

The distribution of the intersecting political data is similar to that found in the source data. It appears that it is the reputational data which identified cases which are neither Canadian nor British. Only Canadians appear in the data identified by both political and corporate sources. Those who appear in all four sources are 75 per cent Canadian and 25 per cent U.S. For more detailed information see Appendix 2.

In summary, the Canadian-born population in Edmonton is well represented in the elite with the exception of the reputational data which overrepresents those born in Britain. The corporate data demonstrates a pattern of Anglo-Saxon, Canadian dominance with little opportunity for European or "other" groups. The political elite underrepresents the British but is representative of all other groups.

TABLE 7

PLACE OF BIRTH: INTERSECTING DATA

Place	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	Edmonton	Canada
Canada	70%	90%	85%	83%	100%	81%	75%	77.3%	84.8%
British Isles	16%	10%	4%	8%	-	11%	-	7.5%	5.4%
U.S.	7%	-	-	-	-	6%	25%	2.9%	1.7%
Europe	5%	-	11%	8%	-	2%	-	11.2%	7.2%
Other	2%							1.2%	0.9%

While the European and other groups are underrepresented in the reputational and corporate data, some are represented in the elite. Thus, even though the elite is not representative of the population, it appears that Edmonton's elite is more open to non-Anglo-Saxons than the national elite as reported by Porter, Clement, or Olsen.

C. ETHNICITY:

As with place of birth, the number of cases which are classified by ethnicity, including both categories of known and inferred, was low. Only 46.7 per cent of the reputational data, 28.8 per cent of the corporate data and 57.1 per cent of the political data could be determined. If those cases which were indicated can be assumed to be representative of the source as a whole, some conclusions may be drawn.

It was possible to positively determine the ethnicity of 145 (35.8 per cent) people within the reputational data. If the Canadian and U.S. responses are eliminated, it is possible to designate 85 (21 per cent) of the cases. The second category of people were those for whom ethnicity could be inferred. This group yielded 135 cases in the reputational data; but 31 were Canadian leaving 104 cases (25.6 per cent) established by inference. Thus it was possible to have 46.7 per cent of the cases designated as to ethnicity, and therefore findings are not as conclusive as would be desired. If the figures gathered from the reputational data can be assumed to be indicative of the reputational data as a whole and these are compared with the ethnic distribution of Edmonton's population, some insights may be gained.

In the reputational data, the number of British who are identified as known was 58 or 68.2 per cent of the identifiable cases. The number of inferred cases is 89 or 85.6 per cent of the cases inferred. Combined the number of British is 147 or

77.8 per cent (see Table 8). In 1951 the British represented 56.8 per cent of the Edmonton population, dropping to 44.6 per cent in 1971. For the combined period 1951-71 the percentage was 48.5 per cent compared with a national percentage of 45.4 per cent for the same period. From this it is concluded that like the findings of Porter, Clement and Olsen on the national level, members of the British ethnic group are overrepresented in the reputational data.

The number of known cases with European heritage identified in the reputational elite is 19 or 22.4 per cent of the known cases; the number of inferred cases was 12 or 11.5 per cent. Combined the number of Europeans identified in the reputational data is 31 or 16.4 per cent. The percentage with European heritage in the Edmonton population in 1971 was 49.3 per cent. European heritage is underrepresented within Edmonton's reputational elite.

The number of people whose ethnicity is neither British nor European and categoried as known in the reputational data was 8 or 9.4 per cent; the number inferred is 3 or 3 per cent. Combined 11 people or 5.8 per cent were identified. The Edmonton statistics for 1971 give 5.6 per cent of the population as coming from ethnic groups who were neither British nor European. It appears that these groups are proportionately represented in the reputational elite.

The corporate data show that 15 people or 71.4 per cent were positively identified as British. Those of inferred British origin numbered 108 or 84.4 per cent. The total number of cases of British origin in the corporate data were 123 or 82.6 per cent (see Table 8). This percentage is higher than that of the reputational data and shows that the British are twice as numerous in the corporate elite as they are within the population as a whole.

The number of corporate elite identified of known European heritage is 4 or 19 per cent, and the number inferred is 20 or 15.6 per cent. Combined the number identified is 24 or 16.1 per cent of the categorized corporate elite. This

percentage is similar to that of the reputational elite and one-third that of the European-heritage present in Edmonton's total population.

Those whose ethnicity was neither British nor European in the corporate data numbered 2 or 9.5 per cent known. No cases were inferred. For the known cases, this group is overrepresented. But when analyzed with both known and inferred cases, the percentage drops to 1.3 per cent indicating underrepresentation. Further research is required to establish more concrete conclusions.

The political data varies from the pattern presented by the reputational and corporate data. The one point of similarity with the other two sources is that the British are overrepresented in comparison with the total population, but not to the degree found in the other two sources. For the known data the number of British was 13 or 52 per cent; the number inferred was 2 or 66.6 per cent. The combined British figure is 15 or 53.5 per cent (see Table 8). This is only a slight overrepresentation as compared with 44.6 per cent of the Edmonton population who were of British ancestry.

TABLE 8

ETHNICITY COMBINED BY TYPE OF ELITE

Ethnicity	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Edmonton 1971
British	77.8%	82.6%	53.5%	44.6%
European	16.4%	16.1%	46.5%	49.3%
Other	5.8%	1.3%	-	5.6%

The people of European heritage represented in the political data was 12 or 48 per cent known and 1 or 33 per cent inferred. Combined the figure is 13 or 46.5 per cent of the data for which ethnicity could be determined. This is only

slightly less than the percentage of the population for Edmonton (49.3 per cent). Within the political elite those with European ancestry are almost proportionately represented.

No other ethnic groups were identified in the political data. Ethnic groups who are neither British nor European had no representation among the political elite.

The ethnic patterns of the intersecting data show the same general tendencies as were shown in the source data (see Table 9). Like "place of birth" the British are overrepresented and the Europeans generally underrepresented. Those of ethnic origin other than British or European are overrepresented. The corporate elite continues to display the most exclusiveness, the reputational data the most diversity, and the political data is the most representative.

Of the three cases identified for all sources for which ethnicity could be determined, all were of British ancestry. In the political cases which only appear in one source, European ancestry outnumbered British ancestry by one. Clearly the political institution is more open to Europeans, but is closed to those in ethnic groups other than British or European. The "other" category of ethnicity is strongest in the reputational data and could point to a strategic elite made of "professionals": academics, lawyers and doctors. This will be analyzed in the discussion of occupation.

Taken as a whole, the Anglo-Saxon dominance in the Edmonton population (44.2 per cent) is overrepresented among its elite (77.0 per cent). The Europeans (47.7 per cent of the total population) are as strongly underrepresented in the elite (19.2 per cent) as the British are overrepresented. The few Austrians and Russians are overrepresented in the elite. All other European groups are underrepresented including the Ukrainians and Germans who represent the second and third largest ethnic groups in Edmonton. (See Appendix 3).

TABLE 9

ETHNICITY COMBINED: INTERSECTING DATA

Ethnicity	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	Total	Edmonton
British Isles	76.4%	80.4%	47.1%	33.3%	-	88.2%	100%	77.0%	44.2%
Europe	16.7%	18.8%	52.9%	33.3%	-	8.8%	-	29.2%	47.7%
Other	6.9%	0.9%	-	-	-	2.9%	-	3.8%	1.4%

The Japanese and Jewish ethnic groups are overrepresented in the data; and if figures for the East Indian community were available, it is probable that this group would be overrepresented as well. As a group, the ethnicities other than British or European are overrepresented. This finding differs significantly from the national level.

Edmonton's elite structure is ethnically more diverse than that of the national elite. The Anglo-Saxon dominance is still present, especially in the corporate sector, but this category is underrepresented in the political sector. The political elite is more representative of the populations of British and European ancestry than either the reputational or corporate, but has no representation from non-British or European ethnic groups. The reputational data seems to identify "strategic elite" which is more ethnically diverse than the other sources while still displaying partiality to British ancestry.

D. RELIGION:

It is possible to determine the religious preference of 76.5 per cent of the reputational cases, 79.6 per cent of the political cases, but only 17 per cent of the corporate data. It appears that information is not regularly given to the Directory of Directors though it is given for some people listed therein.

As shown in Table 10, the reputational data identify religious affiliation for 310 cases (76.5 per cent). Of these 310, 296 (95.5 per cent) are Christian. Protestants accounted for 267 or 86.5 per cent of the total known cases. The largest numerical group was the United Church (99 or 32 per cent). The strength of United Church representation differs from the pattern among national elites but it is characteristic of the national bureaucratic elite. The second largest religious group is the Anglicans at 61 or 20 per cent of the known reputational cases. Presbyterians were a distant third at 25 or 8 per cent, and the Baptist fourth at 14

TABLE 10

RELIGION BY TYPE OF ELITE

Religion	Reputational No.	Reputational %	Corporate No.	Corporate %	Political No.	Political %	Edmonton 1971	Canada 1971
Anglican	61	20.0%	24	27.0%	5	12.8%	10.3%	11.8%
Baptist	14	4.5%	2	2.2%	3	7.7%	3.1%	3.1%
Presbyterian	25	8.0%	6	6.7%	2	5.1%	3.1%	4.1%
United	99	32.0%	32	36.0%	13	33.3%	26.2%	17.5%
Other	68	21.9%	16	18.0%	2	5.1%	13.0%	7.7%
TOTAL Protestant	267	86.4%	80	90.0%	25	64.1%	55.7%	44.2%
Roman Catholic	24	7.7%	7	7.9%	7	17.9%	25.7%	46.3%
Other Catholic	-		-		2	5.1%	3.7%	1.0%
TOTAL Catholic	24	7.7%	7	7.9%	9	23.1%	29.4%	47.3%
TOTAL Orthodox	5	1.6%	-		4	10.3%	4.4%	1.5%
TOTAL Christian	296	95.5%	87	97.8%	38	97.4%	89.5%	93.0%
Jewish	11	3.5%	2	2.2%	1	2.6%	0.5%	1.3%
Other	3	1.0%					10.0%*	5.7%*
TOTAL	310		89		39			
	405		518		49			

* Includes those specifying "no religion."

or 4.5 per cent. The United, Anglican and Presbyterian churches accounted for 60 per cent of all religions reported and for 70 per cent of all Protestant responses even though 11 different Protestant religions were identified in the data.

Catholics accounted for 7.7 per cent (24 cases) of the reputational data and the Orthodox churches for 1.6 per cent (5 cases). The largest non-Christian religion was Judaism at 3.5 per cent (11 cases) of the reputational data. The other non-Christian religions identified in the reputational data were Bahai and Hinduism.

Religious affiliation could be established for only 17 per cent (89 cases) of the corporate data. The rank order of religious preference is similar to that of the reputational data and varies from the findings at the national level. Like the reputational data the largest numerical group is the United Church (32 or 36 per cent). The second largest was Anglican (24 or 27 per cent). Presbyterians and Baptists were represented but at lower percentages than in the reputational data. Protestants totalled 90 per cent of the cases. Catholics were the only non-Protestant Christian group represented at 7.9 per cent. The Jewish religion (2 or 2.2 per cent) was the only non-Christian religion identified in the corporate data. The corporate elite are more Protestant and more concentrated in the United and Anglican churches than in the reputational data.

Of the 49 cases in the political data, religious affiliation is known for 39 cases or 79.6 per cent. All but one is of the Christian faith (98.4 per cent); one person is Jewish. Again the largest numerical group is the United Church at 13 or 34 per cent. Unlike the reputational or corporate data, the next largest group is Catholic at 9 or 23 per cent. The Anglican and Presbyterian churches are not as prominent as in the reputational and corporate data. The Orthodox churches (4 or 10 per cent) are well represented in the political data.

In 1971, the largest religious group in Edmonton was the United Church with 26.2 per cent of the population. This percentage is higher than the national proportion which is given at 17.5 per cent. Even so, in all three sources the number of members of the Edmonton elite are overrepresented in the United Church: they comprise 32 per cent of the reputational elite, 36 per cent of the corporate elite, and 33.3 per cent of the political elite. Numerically the United Church is the established church of Edmonton's elite.

The proportion of Anglicans resident in Edmonton (10.3 per cent) in 1971 was slightly less than the national figure (11.8 per cent). Anglicans are overrepresented in all three sources and in the corporate and reputational data, the representation is twice that of the population. Presbyterians and Baptists are also overrepresented except for Baptists within the corporate data.

Edmonton's Protestant community (55.7 per cent) is larger than that of the nation (44.2 per cent) and in all cases the Protestant elite is overrepresented: reputational data 86.4 per cent, corporate data 90 per cent and political data 64.1 per cent. The corporate elite is the most Protestant and shows the highest percentage of United Church and Anglican participation. The political elite shows the lowest participation in Protestant denominations.

In 1971 the percentage of Catholics in Edmonton was 29.4 per cent which was significantly lower than the national percentage of 47.3 per cent. In both the reputational and the corporate data Catholics represented only 7 per cent. In the political elite Catholics almost equalled the Edmonton figure at 23.1 per cent. The Orthodox population of Edmonton in 1971 was 4.4 per cent higher than the national percentage of 1.5 per cent. The Orthodox church was underrepresented in both the reputational and corporate elite, but overrepresented in the political elite.

The Jewish population of Edmonton (0.5 per cent) was overrepresented in each source. The percentage of the Edmonton Jewish population is about half that

evident at the national level (1.3 per cent), however, in each source it exceeded the national representation: reputational 3.5 per cent, corporate 2.2 per cent, and political 2.6 per cent. Bahai and Hinduism were represented in the reputational data.

The intersecting data elucidates the trends found in the source data (see Table 11 and Appendix 4). Elite members identified in all sources were all Protestants: one Anglican and three United Church. Those identified by the corporate and political sources were also Protestant: 1 Anglican and 1 Presbyterian. The elite identified by both the reputational and corporate data was the second largest Protestant percentage (91.9 per cent). The remaining category identified by two sources, Pol/Rep, displayed the lowest percentage of Protestants for all categories (54.5 per cent). In all categories Protestants were overrepresented.

Catholics were underrepresented in all categories. Again the category of Pol/Rep was the closest to representing the population as a whole. Orthodox Church members were represented only in the reputational and political data and in the category Pol/Rep. Members of the Orthodox religions are overrepresented in both the Political and Pol/Rep categories.

The only category in which Christians as a whole were underrepresented was in the Corporate data where they were only slightly underrepresented. The only non-Christian group represented in the corporate or political data was the Jewish community. All other non-Christian religions were identified only in the reputational data. The corporate data include the highest number of Protestants, the political data are most representative of the non-Christian religions generally, and the reputational data displays the most religious diversity.

TABLE 11

RELIGION: INTERSECTING DATA

RELIGION	REPUTATIONAL	CORPORATE	POLITICAL	POL/REP	POL/CORP	REP/CORP	ALL	EDMONTON	CANADA
Anglican	17.6%	11.1%	15.4%	-	50%	29.7%	-		
Baptist	5.0%	-	3.8%	9.0%	-	1.4%	25%		
Christian Ref.	-	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-		
Evang. Free Ch.	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Lutheran	0.5%	-	-	-	-	2.7%	-		
Mennonite	0.99%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Mormon	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Presbyterian	9.0%	-	3.8%	-	50%	6.8%	-		
Ukrain. Pent.	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Unitarian	1.8%	11.1%	-	9.0%	-	-	75%		
United	30.1%	44.4%	23.0%	36.4%	-	33.8%	-		
Protest. Other	18.9%	-	15.4%	-	-	17.6%	-		
TOTAL PROTEST.	85.1%	66.7%	65.4%	54.5%	100%	91.9%	100%	55.7%	44.2%
Roman Catholic	7.2%	22.2%	19.2%	27.3%	-	6.8%	-		
Ukrainian Cath.	-	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL CATHOLIC	7.2%	22.2%	23.0%	27.3%	-	6.8%			
Greek Orthodox	0.9%	-	3.8%	9.0%	-	-	-		
Russian Orthodox		-	-	7.7%	-	-	-	-	
Ukrainian Orth.	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL ORTHODOX	1.8%	11.5%	9.0%	-	-	-	-		
CHRISTIAN TOTAL	94.1%	88.0%	100%	90.9%	100%	98.6%	100%	89.5%	93.0%
Bahai	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Hindu	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Jewish	4.0%	11.1%	-	9.0%		1.4%	-	0.5%	1.3%
Atheist	0.5%	-	-	-		-	-		
TOTAL KNOWN	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		

E. SUMMARY:

The ascribed characteristics of sex, place of birth, ethnicity and religion are the inherited traits or qualities. The disparity between the distribution of these characteristics among the elite and among the population as a whole indicate the degree of openness or closedness in a society or community. Edmonton's population is more than 50 per cent female, 77.3 per cent Canadian-born, 44.6 per cent Anglo-Saxon, and 55.7 per cent Protestant. The dominant characteristic of the community are W.A.S.P.: white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant. The other large ethnic influence in the community is East-European groups, specifically Ukrainian (13 per cent) and German (12 per cent).

Women are considerably underrepresented among Edmonton's elite. The political institution appears to be most open to accepting women into its top ranks, but the percentage (6.5 per cent) is far from representative. The corporate elite appears to be the most closed to women. Both of these patterns were noted by Porter (1965), Clement (1975), and Olson (1980). However, as compared with the participation of women in the national elite, Edmonton's top positions are more accessible to women than in Canada as a whole.

Edmonton's elite is predominantly Canadian-born. The only group overrepresented is the British who continue to hold an advantage in gaining access to the Edmonton elite. A conversation with a recently-arrived Englishman who had successfully climbed the corporate ladder in only a short time, revealed that Englishmen found western Canada attractive because with hard work one could climb to the top of one's field in no time. This is in contrast to some recent Third World professionals who find that hard work pays off over a long period of time.

Even though Europeans and immigrants from other than the British Isles and Europe are underrepresented among Edmonton's elite, they are represented, unlike the national elite. The intersecting data points to the possibility of a distinction

between a "strategic elite" which is open to immigrant representation, and a "core elite" which remains the realm of the Canadian and British born.

Half of the Edmonton elite born in Canada for all sources was either born in Alberta or in Ontario. The corporate and political elites are strongly Albertans. This may indicate a regionalism similar to that which Porter described in the case of Quebec, and also an isolationism and parochialism within the business and political sectors. The reputational data showed that Ontario-born Canadian elites dominated this sector. The strength of professionals and university professors within the reputational elite may mark the presence of an eastern "brain-drain" to the west. Unlike Porter's concern that many of the national elite especially the English-speaking ideological elite were foreigners, Edmonton's elite is strongly Canadian.

Edmonton's population is strongly British (44.2 per cent). This dominance has been falling, as the population of other ethnic groups has been increasing. The ethnicity of the Edmonton elite shows a pattern similar to "place of birth." The British are overrepresented, especially in the corporate sector, and the Europeans are underrepresented. The political elite is the most representative of the population except for the category "other." The "other" category is overrepresented in the reputational data. The data suggest a tendency toward a "core" elite which is Anglo-Saxon.

The Anglo-Saxon overrepresentation in the Edmonton elite is related to the overrepresentation of Protestants especially the participation of the United and Anglican churches. Unlike the national data which indicate the Anglican Church as the religion of the Canadian elite, the religion of the Edmonton elite across sources is the United Church. The Anglican Church ranks second. Various other religions and sects are also represented in the data. The Edmonton elite may function on a hybrid Canadian-U.S. model in relation to religion; i.e., in some cases membership

in the Anglican or United Churches is the accepted pattern and in other cases membership in various sects has provided the impetus for upward mobility.

Catholics are underrepresented. As in the national data, their participation in an elite is most representative in the political institution. Unlike the national data, Catholics are only slightly underrepresented. The strength of the Orthodox churches in Edmonton's elite is indicative of the strong East-European representation within the elite.

Like the national data the Jewish religion is overrepresented in all sources, though less so in the political elite. Members of the Hindu and Bahai faiths are also represented in Edmonton's elite indicating Edmonton's relative openness as compared with the national elite.

Overall Edmonton is a "W.A.S.P" community whose elite is even more male and "W.A.S.P." The corporate elite displays the highest percentage of male, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant characteristics. The political elite overall is the most representative of the community as a whole and the reputational elite the most diverse.

As compared with the national elite, Edmonton's elite is somewhat more open and representative of the community than the national elite. The patterns are similar but they differ in degree.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ACHIEVED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EDMONTON'S ELITE

One of the founding myths or "political formulas" of western democratic societies is that individuals should succeed or fail on the basis of individual merit and accomplishment, not on the inherited wealth or social position. This chapter describes some of the achieved social characteristics of those identified as Edmonton's elite. The discussion includes education, career, membership in professional associations and on boards of directors, publications, participation in country clubs and service clubs, political affiliation and military service.

A. EDUCATION:

In 1971, it was reported that approximately 8 per cent of the Canadian male population had completed university. It is further noted that Canada has generally followed a policy of "importing" its technicians and professionals, rather than educating the population within Canada to fill careers requiring advanced or specialized education or training. These two facts should be kept in mind, during the following analysis of the educational characteristics of Edmonton's elite.

The reputational data lists the educational attainment of 350 cases or 86.4 per cent of the total cases in the reputational data set. Some 81.5 per cent of those for whom educational data were available earned a university degree. This is ten times the percentage found in the Canadian population. Over 62 per cent of the reputational data completed an education beyond the university level. The importance of a university education as a pre-requisite to elite status, found in studies at the national level, is confirmed in Edmonton's reputational data.

Of the 518 corporate cases, it was possible to determine the educational attainment of 146 or 28.2 per cent. No person in this source reported less than a

high school education. Eighty-two per cent had received a university degree and most (50 per cent) had post-graduate training.

Information on educational attainment in the political elite was available for 39 of the 49 cases (79.6 per cent). Seventy-four per cent of the group for whom data were available earned a university degree, and 43.6 per cent had post-graduate training. The percentage of university graduates is slightly less than Porter identified for the national political elite (79.6 per cent as compared with 86 per cent). Four individuals (10.3 per cent) had no education past the secondary level.

The significance of education becomes more meaningful when the statistics of the Edmonton elite are compared with those of the national and metropolitan education statistics. The categories used by Statistics Canada changed from 1951 to 1961 and again in 1971. Because of the change in establishing categories, the percentages are based on different inclusion criteria for 1951, 1961, 1971. In 1951, those having attained more than Grade 13 were 5.5 per cent of the Canadian population and 8.5 per cent of the Edmonton population. In 1961 these figures dropped to 3.7 per cent and 5.7 per cent, respectively. By 1971 the figures were 9 per cent for Canada and 11.3 per cent for Edmonton.

In all cases the education of Edmonton's elite is significantly higher than that of the community. In all elite cases only two people had less than a high school education: one in the reputational elite and one in the political elite. Only 15 per cent of the cases for which educational data are available had less than a university education; 85 per cent had at least a university education. The elite members identified by all sources and the category "Pol/Corp" all had post-graduate degrees. There is no obvious pattern to educational attainment as presented by the intersecting data (see Table 12 and Appendix 5). The overwhelming conclusion is that people with university degrees are seven and eight times

TABLE 12

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: INTERSECTING DATA

Level of Education	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Cor	Rep/Cor	All	Total
HIGH SCHOOL	8.8%	7.5%	7.6%	20%	-	23.4%	-	7.5%
SOME UNIVERSITY	8.8%	7.6%	23.1%	-	-	11.7%	-	8.1%
UNIVERSITY	13.8%	28.8%	38.5%	20%	-	35.1%	-	17.7%
UNIVERSITY PLUS TECHNICAL	3.1%	10.6%	7.7%	-	-	9.1%	-	4.5%
UNIVERSITY PLUS POST GRADUATE	65.5%	45.5%	23.1%	60%	100%	33.8%	100%	62.1%

more likely to be in the Edmonton elite as in the Edmonton population taken as a whole.

A second way of analyzing education as a social characteristic of Edmonton's elite is to look at the fields of study in which the degree was granted and the geographical location of the granting institution. This information is shown in Tables 13 and 14 (also see Appendicies 6 and 7). The degrees have been divided into doctorates, masters and baccalaureate degrees.

1. Doctorates:

Some 134 individuals in the reputational data indicated the field in which they had obtained a Ph.D. The field which commanded the largest response was science which numbered 37 or 27.6 per cent of the doctorates. Arts came second with 28 or 20.9 per cent while medicine (21 or 15.7 per cent) and law (20 or 14.9 per cent) were third and fourth. These four fields account for 80 per cent of all Ph.D.'s. Agriculture (6), commerce (1), education (13), engineering (5), home economics (1) and physical education (1) were also represented at the doctoral level.

Information on the location of the degree-granting institutions for doctorates was obtained for 137 cases. Seventy-one individuals or 52 per cent received degrees from Canadian institutions. Among those educated in Canada, the largest number came from Ontario (25 per cent); Quebec was second (14 per cent), and Alberta third (13 per cent). Universities in other Canadian provinces accounted for 7 per cent of the doctoral degrees.

Fifty-two doctoral degrees or 38 per cent were obtained in the United States, 10 in Britain, two in Europe and two from other parts of the world.

Among the corporate elite, 20 doctorates were identified. Fifty-five per cent of those were earned by lawyers. Physicians were a distant second accounting

TABLE 13

FIELD OF STUDY BY TYPE OF ELITE

Field of Study	Reputational			Corporate			Political		
	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate
Agriculture	4.5%	2.0%	3.7%	5%	-	-	-	-	-
Arts	20.9%	23.0%	35.2%	-	5.1%	11.5%	12.5%	14.3%	14.3%
Business & Commerce	0.7%	4.7%	8.7%	-	20.5%	20.5%	-	-	23.8%
Education	9.7%	6.8%	5.9%	5%	2.6%	2.6%	12.5%	14.3%	9.5%
Engineering	3.0%	8.1%	14.6%	10%	35.9%	32.1%	-	-	-
Home Economics	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Law	14.9%	25.0%	9.6%	55%	28.2%	12.8%	50.0%	28.6%	28.6%
Library Sciences	-	0.7%	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medicine	15.7%	7.4%	2.7%	25%	2.6%	1.3%	25.0%	-	-
Physical Education	0.7%	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science	27.6%	19.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[illegible]er	1.5%	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 14

PLACE OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY TYPE OF ELITE

Place	Reputational			Corporate			Political		
	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate	Doctorate	Masters	Baccalaureate
Alberta	13.1%	31.7%	41.9%	30.7%	26.3%	60.8%	55.6%	44.4%	75%
Ontario	17.5%	18.5%	24.4%	23.1%	10.5%	11.8%	-	11.1%	10%
Quebec	13.9%	6.6%	3.2%	15.4%	15.8%	2.0%	11.1%	-	5%
Canada, other	7.3%	14.6%	21.7%	7.7%	5.3%	19.6%	11.1%	-	10%
Canada, total	51.8%	71.5%	91.2%	76.9%	57.9%	94.1%	77.8%	55.6%	100%
United States	38.0%	19.9%	4.1%	23.1%	31.6%	2.0%	22.2%	33.3%	-
Britain	7.3%	6.0%	4.1%	-	10.2%	3.9%	-	11.1%	-
Europe	1.5%	1.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	1.5%	1.3%	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-

for 25 per cent. Engineering (2), agriculture (1) and the arts (1) were also represented among those with doctoral degrees.

The location of the granting institutions was obtained for 13 cases. Ten or 77 per cent were educated in Canada: four in Alberta, three in Ontario and two in Quebec. The only other country where a member of the corporate elite earned a doctorate was the U.S.

Eight of the political elite indicated the field of doctoral study. As expected half (4) obtained a Ph.D. in law. Two medical doctors were identified and individuals with doctorates in the arts and education also were members of the political elite. In seven of nine cases where the information is available, the location of the degree granting institution was in Canada of which five were in Alberta. The other degrees earned outside Canada were granted in the U.S.

2. Masters:

The field of education is indicated for 148 cases or 36.5 per cent of the reputational data elite indicating completion of a masters degree. Fully 25 per cent of those with a masters degree obtained it in law. Arts (22.9 per cent) and science (19.6 per cent) disciplines were in second and third ranks. Medicine (7.4 per cent), engineering (8.1 per cent), eduction (6.8 per cent) and business (4.7 per cent) were the other disciplines represented among those reputational elite who earned a masters degree.

Location is given for 151 of the masters degrees earned by the reputational elite. Canadian degrees represent 108 or 71.5 per cent of the total 151. Thirty-two per cent were earned in Alberta, 18.5 per cent in Ontario, and 6.6 per cent in Quebec. The percentage of Canadian degrees at the masters level for the reputational data is 20 per cent higher than at the doctoral level. Approximately

20 per cent of the masters were earned in the U.S., 6 per cent in Britain, and 1 per cent each in Europe and in "other" countries.

The corporate data include 39 elite members whose type of masters degrees could be determined. Engineering was the largest discipline with 14 people or 35.9 per cent. Lawyers were second at 11 or 28.2 per cent, and business third at eight or 20.5 per cent.

Nineteen people identified in the corporate data indicated the location of the institution at which a masters degree was earned. Canada accounted for 58 per cent including: Alberta 26.3 per cent, Ontario 15.7 per cent, and Quebec 10.5 per cent. Compared with the findings at the doctoral level, some ranking tendencies are apparent but with stronger Canadian dominance. Six of the masters degrees (31.6 per cent) were obtained in the U.S. and two (10.5 per cent) from British institutions.

Information on the field in which a masters degree was obtained by members of the political elite is available only in seven cases. Three degrees were in science (42.8 per cent), two in law (28.6 per cent) and one each in arts and in education. Five of the nine degrees (55.6 per cent) for which location was specified were Canadian: four from Alberta (44.4 per cent). Three people had degrees from the U.S. (33 per cent), and one from Britain (11 per cent).

3. Baccalaureate:

The total number of individuals in the reputational data who reported the type of university degree earned was 219 or 54 per cent of the 405 cases reported. The largest proportion (35 per cent) were earned in the arts faculty. Science (18.7 per cent) and engineering (14.6 per cent) were ranked second and third followed by law (9.6 per cent) and business (8.7 per cent).

Over 90 per cent of all undergraduates within the reputational data held Canadian degrees. Ninety-one or 42 per cent were from Alberta, 53 or 25.per cent from Ontario and 14 or 6.5 per cent from B.C. Nineteen (8.7 per cent) degrees were obtained outside Canada: nine in the U.S., nine in Britain and one in Asia.

Information on the field in which a university degree was obtained is available for 78 individuals within the corporate data. Of these the largest category was engineering degrees (32 per cent) followed by business (20.5 per cent) and science (19.2 per cent). Almost all of these degrees were obtained in Canada (94.1 per cent) of which 60.7 per cent were granted in Ontario.

The number of those in the Political data indicating the field in which they obtained a university degree were 21. Law was the largest number (six or 28.6 per cent) followed by business and science, each of whom had five or 23.8 per cent. Arts and agriculture were also represented. All degrees were obtained in Canada and 15 or 75 per cent were from Alberta institutions. (For more complete numerical details see Appendices 6 and 7).

Looking at the data as a whole in relation to educational attainment, some general trends can be observed. The arts and science dominate the reputational data except at the masters level where law dominates. The percentage of increase and decrease is inversely related for arts and sciences: arts has the greatest numbers at the baccalaureate level, science at the doctoral level. Engineering at the undergraduate level is well represented in the reputational elite.

Law, engineering and business are the academic fields most characteristic of the corporate elite. Engineering and business are strongest at the undergraduate level suggesting that post-graduate education might not be as necessary to success in the corporate sector. Law, as noted by Porter and Olsen, is strongly connected to the corporate structure, and Edmonton's elite is not exceptional in this respect.

Many members of the political elite have also had legal training. Doctors and professors are also represented among this group as are individuals with science, commerce and education backgrounds. As noted by Olsen careers in the professions or as independent businessmen provide some of the flexibility to enter into the field of politics.

All sources display the same patterns regarding the location of degree-granting institutions. At the undergraduate level most degrees are obtained from Canadian institutions: 91.2 per cent of the reputational data, 94.1 per cent of the corporate data, and 100 per cent of the political data. For both the political and corporate elite most of the Canadian degrees are from Alberta: 75 per cent and 60.8 per cent respectively. Only among the reputational elite were the majority of undergraduate degrees granted from Ontario.

At the masters level more than half the degrees were granted in Canada: 71.5 per cent among the reputational elite, 57.9 per cent among the corporate elite and 55.6 per cent among the political elite. The shift to outside Canada was primarily to the U.S. and secondarily to Britain. Surprisingly the trend reverses itself at the doctoral level: the reputational data report 51.8 per cent of doctorates were obtained in Canada, the corporate 76.9 per cent and the political 77.8 per cent. This finding is not in keeping with the national findings and warrants further research.

In summary, the Edmonton elite displayed a pattern similar to that of the eastern elite in that law, engineering and business were dominant areas of study. But the Edmonton elite, especially in the reputational data, exhibited strong representation from the arts and sciences. Physicians were represented among both the corporate and political sources. The typical course of study for a member of the Edmonton elite involved an undergraduate degree plus some post graduate

work. The undergraduate degree is most frequently from a Canadian institution and likely one located in Alberta.

The educational pattern is not typical of Edmonton's population in which 8.5 per cent have attained a university education. Nor is it typical of the national English-speaking elite in that Edmonton's elite is quite decidedly Canada- and Alberta-trained.

B. CAREER:

Education in many cases is seen as preparation for a career. As indicated in Chapter Four, three different indicators were used to designate "career." The first was an institutional definition, the second an industrial definition, and the third an occupational definition.

1. Institutional Classification:

Each elite member is classified according to his/her major career. Eighty-one per cent of the reputational data could be classified, 70 per cent of the corporate data and 84 per cent of the political data. Each case could be coded for two additional careers as an individual may hold more than one position at any given time or over a lifetime. This information thus may indicate some of the institutional crossover which occur among the elite.

The majority of the reputational elite members were identified within the ideological and corporate institutions. The presence of the University of Alberta in Edmonton is reflected in the statistics as academics represented more than a third of those designated by institution and were the largest sub-category in the reputational data.

In considering the institutional classification for the corporate elite members, it was decided that though the data collected from the Directory of Directors is by definition inclusive of those in the corporate sector, the corporate elite would

be coded on the same basis as the reputational data. The data revealed some ambiguities as 13 per cent of the first career choices were identified in other than the corporate sector. Some of the divergence can be explained by Crown Corporations and government sponsored business ventures. Some labour arbitration boards were also included in the Directory of Directors. Of the 364 cases, 317 or 87 per cent were within the corporate institution.

As with the other sources, the political data were coded by institution. The political data reflect the dominance of both the political and bureaucratic institutions. Of the 41 cases indicating first career response, 23 (56 per cent) were within the political category and two or 5 per cent in the bureaucratic.

As shown in Table 15, the statistics on first career choice indicated that there was institutional overlap in all sources. The reputational data indicates the strength of institutional sectors in Edmonton: i.e., trade in the corporate institution, provincial politicians and bureaucrats in the state institution, and the university in the ideological institution. Both the first career choice and subsequent responses reveal the same pattern (see Tables 15 and 16). The corporate and political data exhibit the positional emphasis of the respective institutions, but also show participation in other institutional sectors. The members of the political elite are the most likely to participate in other institutional sectors (see Tables 15 and 16). The corporate data exhibits more career stability. Further research into this phenomenon may be warranted.

Analysis of the intersecting data for first career choice reveal other patterns in the data (see Table 17 and Appendix 8). Related to the reputational data, the trade sector of the corporation institution is the strongest economic sector with 12.2 per cent of the total. The dominance of the trade sector is consistent with Edmonton's history as the trade and service centre of the region. Manufacturing and finance are the second and third largest corporate sectors. The

TABLE 15

INSTITUTION: FIRST CAREER CHOICE BY TYPE OF ELITE

Institution	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Total
Corporate	101	317	8	426
Political	30	15	23	68
Bureaucratic	48	16	2	68
Labour	4	2	3	9
Ideological	145	15	5	165
TOTAL Cases Known	328	365	41	736
TOTAL Cases	405	518	49	

TABLE 16

INSTITUTION: ALL CAREER CHOICES BY TYPE OF ELITE

Institution	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Total
Corporate	141	360	10	511
Political	79	27	52	158
Bureaucratic	72	23	5	100
Labour	11	4	4	19
Ideological	206	26	8	240
TOTAL Cases Known	509	440	79	1028
TOTAL Cases	405	518	49	

TABLE 17

INSTITUTION: INTERSECTING DATA FOR FIRST CAREER CHOICE

Institution	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All
Corporate	19.8%	91.1%	19.2%	11.1%	-	73.1%	50%
Political	8.5%	2.7%	57.7%	44.4%	100%	4.5%	50%
Bureaucratic	18.1%	4.5%	7.7%	-	-	4.5%	-
Labour	0.8%	0.3%	7.7%	11.1%	-	1.5%	-
Ideological	58.8%	1.9%	7.7%	33.3%	-	16.4%	-

strength of the industrial sector confirms the development of industry since WW II. The position of the financial sector gives credence to Olsen's argument that Canada is a financial rather than industrial capitalist society. Surprisingly mining, which includes the oil industry, came in fourth. The state institutions are dominated by the provincial level of government. This is obviously a function of geography and perhaps an indicator of the growth of the provincial government (Olsen: 1980) relative to the national government. The absence of municipal politicians and the low representation of the municipal bureaucracy can be seen as an indicator of the lessening power and importance of municipal government.

The reputational data indicate the lack of labour representation among the elite. This reflects the weak role of organized labor in Alberta from 1951 to 1974 as compared with other provinces. It may also reflect more of the "reputation" of labor and the dominant values held in the community regarding labor unions, rather than indicating their actual power or strength. An analysis of the labor institution as a separate institution could provide more insight into the position of labor in the Edmonton elite.

The number of religious leaders (17 or 5.2 per cent) identified in the reputational data reflects the visibility of religious institutions in Edmonton. The media represented 3 per cent of the known reputational data.

As in the reputational data, the trade sector was the largest economic category for the corporate elite, while the manufacturing and financial sectors ranked second and third. Politicians identified in the political data tend to have second careers in the corporate sector especially in trade. The bureaucratic elite was identified for the most part in the reputational data, and therefore did not appear in categories of two or more sources as shown in Table 17. The greatest overlap occurs between the corporate and reputational data. For those identified by all sources, the first career choice is either in business or politics, thereby

confirming the hierarchy hypothesized by Olsen, which is that the Canadian corporate institution ranks highest, the political institution second, and the bureaucratic institution third.

The data as a whole suggest that the most typical occupation for a member of Edmonton's elite is one in the corporate sector. All previous national research has noted the dominance of the corporate sector in Canada, and this seems to be true for Edmonton as well. However, trade is the dominant economic force in Edmonton and demonstrates its function as the trade and service centre to the surrounding region. Manufacturing and finance are the second and third largest economic enterprises.

The ideological institution is second to the corporate sector. It is domianted by the academics and reflects the contribution of the University to Edmonton's elite. The religious and media leaders are also well represented within the ideological elite. The number of people involved in provincial government for both the political and bureaucratic institutions emphasizes the importance of the provincial government in Edmonton's social structure. It is interesting to note that only among the corporate elite does the federal politician dominate.

2. Industrial Classification:

The largest major industrial grouping identified in the reputational data according to Statistics Canada Standard Industrial Classification is that of "Community Business and Personal Service." Of the 503 responses, 204 or 48 per cent were in this category. Within that designation, the largest category is that of education (27.6 per cent) which is dominated by university professors. Public administrators (20.9 per cent) is the second largest grouping and reflects the presence of the provincial government in Edmonton. Together education and public

administration account for 48.5 per cent of the total known industrial response in the reputational data (see Table 18).

The industrial classification reflects the contributions of government and the university as well as Edmonton's role as the service provider to the hinterland region. Many of the responses indicate careers or occupations which are classified as "professions": physicians, lawyers, and accountants. "Services to Business" consist mainly of lawyers and accountants (not secretaries and bookkeepers); and "Health Services" represent physicians (not nurses or orderlies). These professions require post-secondary education and are limited in number relative to the total population.

The historical trends described in Chapter Four are evident from the analysis of the industrial categories for the corporate data. It was possible to classify 366 cases and tabulate 437 responses among the 518 corporate elite members. "Manufacturing" emerged as first with 26 per cent of the total responses. "Transportation, Communication and Utilities" ran a distant second (14 per cent), and "Finance, Insurance and Real Estate" a close third (13 per cent). "Mining," "Services to Business," "Construction," and "Trade" also ranked high. For the first time in the data, the importance of the oil industry is manifest in the response rate of "Mining" and "Utilities." Without government and the university, Edmonton's economic base is dependent on the agricultural and petrochemical industries.

There were 79 different industrial categories identified among the 49 cases in the political data. All cases were represented once in the category "Public Administration and Defense" which composed 63 per cent of the responses. Among the other industrial categories listed were "Services to Business" which included lawyers and accountants. Educators and those involved in trade also appeared as second careers for the political elite.

TABLE 18

INDUSTRY: ALL CAREER CHOICES BY TYPE OF ELITE

Industry	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Total
Agriculture	18		2	20
Forestry	-	1	-	1
Fishing & Trapping	-	-	-	0
Mining	10	39	-	49
Manufacturing	43	115	2	160
Construction	12	34	1	47
Transportation, Communication and Utilities	34	63	1	98
Trade	13	33	4	50
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	28	58	1	87
Community:				
Education	139	9	6	154
Health	18	7	2	27
Religion	12	-	-	12
Amusement & Recreation	6	-	2	8
Services to Business	60	38	7	105
Personal Services	1	4	-	5
Food and Accomodation	1	5	-	6
Misc. Services	3	9	1	13
Public Admin. & Defense	105	22	50	177
TOTAL Response	503	437	79	1019
TOTAL Known Cases	335	366	49	
TOTAL Cases	405	518	49	

The intersecting data reinforce the findings by source (see Table 19 and Appendix 9). The service sector dominates, especially in the reputational data. Manufacturing is the strongest commercial sector. Members of the religious elite show up only in the reputational data. Education dominates the reputational category. The corporate and political elites characteristically emphasize their institutional spheres. The industrial classification highlights the strength of the oil and utility interests in the Edmonton economy.

3. Occupational Classification:

Individual elites were classified more easily according to Statistics Canada's Occupational Codes than either the institutional or industrial classifications, and therefore a higher response rate was obtained. The results given by the occupational classification presented in Table 20 show that the Edmonton elite have careers in only selected occupations. Of a possible 488 occupations listed in the Occupational Code, only 77 (16 per cent) appeared in the data as a whole.

Among the 405 cases in the reputational data, 399 (98.5 per cent) could be classified. There were 587 responses given from the 399 cases. The largest single group is that of "Managerial, Administrative, and Related Occupations": 252 responses or 42.9 per cent of all the reputational responses are included in this category. The second largest group is that of "Social Science and Related Fields": 245 or 42 per cent, are included. This category is comprised of law (10.7 per cent), education (18.6 per cent) and religion at 28 responses or 5 per cent of the reputational responses. "Medicine and Health", composed mostly of medical doctors, was fourth with 20 or 3.4 per cent of the responses. Only 43 responses (7 per cent) were not included within these four categories. "Management/Administration" and "Social Sciences" together account for 85 per cent of the occupations.

TABLE 19

INDUSTRY: INTERSECTING DATA FOR FIRST CAREER CHOICE

Industry	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	TOTAL
Agriculture	4.1%	-	3.7%	9.0%	-	-	-	1.9%
Fishing & Trapping	-	0.4%	-	-	-	-	-	0.2%
Mining	1.2%	10.9%	-	-	-	5.2%	-	5.9%
Manufacturing	6.6%	30.3%	3.7%	-	-	19.5%	-	18.2%
Construction	2.9%	10.2%	3.7%	-	-	5.2%	-	6.3%
Transportation Communication, Utilities	2.5%	13.7%	3.7%	-	-	19.5%	-	9.4%
Trade	2.5%	9.2%	7.4%	-	-	3.9%	33.3%	5.9%
Finance, Insurance Real Estate	2.9%	11.3%	-	9.0%	-	11.7%	-	7.6%
Community Business & Personal Services	59.9%	13.0%	22.2%	45.5%	-	29.9%	-	33.5%
Public Administration	17.6%	1.0%	55.6%	36.4%	100%	5.2%	66.7%	11.3%

TABLE 20

OCCUPATIONS: CAREER CHOICES BY TYPE OF ELITE

Occupation	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Total
Management and Administration	252	413	64	729
Natural Science, Engineering and Math	28	10	2	40
Social Science	245	38	13	296
Health & Medicine	20	7	4	31
Art, Literature, and Performing Arts	16	4	2	22
Sports	1	-	1	2
Clerical	3	1	1	5
Sales	4	5	2	11
Service	4	2	1	7
Farm, Fishing & Forestry	10	1	1	12
Mining	-	1	-	1
Processing	1	3	-	4
Product Fabricating	-	-	-	-
Construction	-	2	-	2
Materials Handling	-	-	-	-
Crafts and Equipment	-	-	-	-
Other	3	1	-	4
TOTAL Responses	587	488	91	1166
TOTAL Known	399	418	49	758
TOTAL Cases	405	518	49	863

The corporate data produced 488 responses from 418 cases. Occupation was not determined for 100 corporate cases. Like the reputational data, the largest occupational category was "Managerial, Administration, and Related Occupations" with 413 responses or 81.5 per cent. This is not unusual, since the criterion for membership in The Directory of Directors was a position on the board of directors of a leading company. The second largest group was "Social Science and Related Fields" with 38 (9.5 per cent) responses. All other categories accounted for 7.3 per cent or 37 responses.

Even though the responses are to some degree an artifact of the data source, the ranking of categories is approximately the same as found in the reputational data. The political data also reflect a similar pattern.

The political data had 91 responses for 49 cases. Sixty-four or 10.3 per cent fell within the "Managerial/Administration" category, "Social Sciences and Related Fields" was second with 13 responses or 14.3 per cent, and all other responses accounted for 15.4 per cent of the response rate.

The intersecting data gives the same picture as the source data for occupation. The government, university and the corporate sector are dominant in the Edmonton elite. The top administrative positions in these institutions are the occupations which show up among the elite (see Table 21 and Appendix 10). Those identified by all three sources are Managers and Administrators of the government or economic institutions. The cases identified by more than one source are not as open to members of the rank-and-file occupations as are those cases only identified by one source. The professionals, lawyers, accountants, doctors, and engineers are well-represented among all three sources.

TABLE 21

OCCUPATIONS: INTERSECTING DATA FOR ALL CAREER CHOICES

Occupation	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	TOTAL
Management & Administration	26.2%	80.9%	67.7%	33.3%	100%	62.8%	100%	61.0%
Science, Engineering & Math	5.4%	0.8%	-	-	-	4.7%	-	3.1%
Social Science	19.0%	2.7%	12.9%	16.7%	-	19.8%	-	11.8%
Clerical	0.7%	0.3%	-	-	-	-	-	0.4%
Sales	-	1.1%	3.2%	8.3%	-	1.2%	-	0.9%
Occupation Service	1.0%	0.3%	-	-	-	-	-	0.5%
Farming, Forestry & Fishing	2.0%	-	3.2%	8.3%	-	-	-	1.1%
Mining	-	0.3%	-	-	-	-	-	0.1%
Processing	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2%
Construction	-	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	0.2%
Other	0.7%	0.3%	-	-	-	4.7%	-	0.9%

4. Careers - Summary:

The three different classifications of career provide different ways of analyzing the elite data. The institutional categories established the dominance of the corporate sector in Edmonton's elite for all sources. Trade, manufacturing and finance provide the cornerstone of Edmonton's economy. The reputational data analyzed by institutional categories demonstrate the strength of the academic and religious elite who are not as well represented in the corporate or political sources. The institutional categories also show the strength of the provincial government at both the political and bureaucratic levels for all sources.

The industrial categories present the service-centre aspect of Edmonton's economy. Manufacturing appears as the second dominant force. It is clear from this classification that the religious and educational functions are recognized by the reputational approach and not the positional approach, whereas the political and corporate elites (positional elites) are well represented among the reputational data. The industrial classification discloses the strength of the petrochemical industry in the categories of "Mining" and "Utilities."

The occupational classification clarifies the issue that though many of the elite work in a variety of fields as demonstrated in the institutional and industrial classifications, most hold the top administrative or managerial positions within these fields. Thus elite is not "excellence" in terms of a performance or achievement criterion; but rather "elite" is a positional definition similar to that maintained by Mills, Keller and later by Porter. It may be argued that the corporate and political data are "positional" by definition and thus they beg the question. The pattern in the reputational data is the same as that in the other two positional data sources. This gives credibility to the stance that in most modern elites, members occupy that position on the basis of an institutional role.

Those who were not administrators or managers as identified for all sources by the occupational categories, were for the most part professionals. This group tended to hold cross-institutional positions and to possess more than one career. The representation of professionals is confirmed at the national level by Porter, Clement and Olsen who identified law, engineering, and finance as typical elite careers.

Finally, analysis of the intersecting data for all three classifications strongly confirms the presence of what Kelner described as the "core elite." According to the institutional data, the group identified by all three data sources held positions only in the corporate and political institutions. This was reaffirmed by the industrial classification. And the occupational classification demonstrated that all cases were top administrators or managers for their institutions. The category Pol/Cor demonstrated a similar exclusiveness. An institutional hierarchy is confirmed by the intersecting data. Those elites identified by more than one source more closely approximate the social characteristics of the national elite than do those only identified in one source.

Career is related to three other achieved variables identified in this study: professional membership, publications, and directorships. These variables are discussed next as they elaborate the findings of the career section.

C. PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

Membership in professional associations is a means by which members of an occupation may gain recognition and influence among their peers. Information was available for 274 of the 405 reputational cases (67.7 per cent). The findings show that membership in anywhere from one to four associations is equally probable (see Table 22). Participation in five or more associations drops off even though one case listed membership in eleven associations.

TABLE 22

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS BY TYPE OF ELITE

No. of Professional Memberships	Reputational	Corporate	Political
1	73	25	11
2	58	17	2
3	47	8	3
4	65	19	6
5	9	2	1
6	10	3	
7	7	1	
8	2	1	
9	1		
10	1		
11	1		
TOTAL KNOWN	274	76	23
TOTAL CASES	405	518	59

The data compiled for the corporate sector listed 76 cases out of 518 (14.7 per cent) who held membership in professional associations. From the low response rate it is evident that this information is not routinely given in The Directory of Directors, but that it is given for a few cases. The data for the 76 cases indicate that memberships in one to four associations was common. This is the same pattern found in the reputational data.

Twenty-three of the 49 political cases reported membership in professional associations. Unlike the reputational or corporate cases most belonged to only one association (487). The conclusion to be drawn from the data is that professional memberships probably play an important role in the reputational and corporate elite, but appear to play a lesser role in the political elite.

In addition to listing the number of professional memberships, up to five professions could be identified for each case: e.g., the Canadian Bar Association. A list of associations and the frequency of membership among the Edmonton elite was compiled. As shown in Table 23, fifteen associations could claim nine or more elite members. Of 712 responses, 32 per cent came from the top 16 associations (5 per cent of the associations listed). Law associations ranked first (1, 2, 5 and 9 in Table 23). Engineers ranked second (3, 4 and 7). Medicine placed third (6 and 8). Science, business, agriculture, education, and accounting were represented. The distribution of membership among professional associations is similar to the pattern displayed by the career variables. Further research in this area would be necessary to determine the role of professional associations in career advancement.

TABLE 23

TOP PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EDMONTON ELITE

1.	Canadian Bar Association	31
2.	Law Society of Alberta	30
3.	Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists and Geophysicists of Alberta	26
4.	Engineering Institute of Canada	23
5.	Edmonton Bar Association	13
6.	Canadian Foundation for the Advancement of Pharmacy	12
7.	American Association for the Advancement of Science	11
	Canadian Institute of Mining and Metalurgy	11
	Chamber of Commerce	11
	Chemistry Institute of Canada	11
8.	Canadian Medical Association	10
9.	Agricultural Institute of Canada	9
	Alberta Bar Association	9
	Edmonton Education Association	9
	Institute of Chartered Accountants of Alberta	9
		225

D. PUBLICATIONS:

Another indicator used in assessing elite careers is the achievement of having one's name in print. Ninety-four individuals (23.5 per cent) of the reputational data had published. In the corporate data, 10 or 2 per cent indicated the completion of a published work. Twelve per cent in the political institution had published. In all 97 or 11 per cent of all cases identified had publications to their credit.

As shown in Table 24, the data shows that 75 per cent of the cases identified by all three sources indicated publications. This is substantially higher than the second ranked group from the reputational data only, at 27 per cent. These reputational cases are for the most part the academics who are so highly represented in the reputational data. Publishing is one of the occupational requirements for this group. The cases identified by both political and reputational sources was third.

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS: INTERSECTING DATA

Publications	Rep.	Corp.	Pol.	Pol.Rep.	Pol.Corp.	Rep.Cor.	All	Total
#	82	-	2	3	-	7	3	97
%	27%	0%	6.5%	25%	0%	8%	75%	

It appears that only those corporate individuals recognized outside the corporate structure tend to put pen to paper. This finding can also be a product of the source itself, The Directory of Directors, in that it doesn't indicate publication. However both the reputational and political sources do give such information. The high percentage response for the category "all" reinforces the likelihood that Kelner's distinction of "strategic" vs. "core" elite is an accurate one.

E. DIRECTORSHIP:

In the national data as presented by both Porter and Clement, it is membership on the boards of the top 100 corporations in Canada which indicates the most important corporate elite, and within this group it is those holding positions on boards of the large banks that are the most influencial.

In all three sources some 555 individuals indicated positions on a corporation board. The reputational data produced 127, the corporate 516 and the political 13. Forty-five per cent of those holding board membership were on two or more boards. As Table 25 shows, the largest number of corporate memberships is represented by the corporate data. This is an artifact of the references, The Directory of Directors, in that board membership is usually a prerequisite for inclusion in the directory. The reputational data shows a lower percentage of corporate board membership, and the political data displays the lowest.

TABLE 25

DIRECTORSHIPS BY TYPES OF ELITE

Number	Reputational	Corporate	Political
1	44	280	8
2	25	96	2
3	5	30	-
4	22	47	-
5	24	41	3
6 or more	7	22	-
Total Known	127 (31.4%)	516 (99.6%)	13 (26.5%)
Total Cases	405	518	49

The intersecting data points out (see Table 26) that for both the reputational and political sources, individuals having board positions are more likely to be

TABLE 26

NUMBER OF DIRECTORSHIPS: INTERSECTING DATA

Number	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	TOTAL
One	19	257	2	3	1	20	2	304
Two	6	78	1	1	-	18	-	104
Three	2	27	-	-	-	3	-	104
Four	3	28	-	-	-	19	-	50
Five	2	18	-	-	1	20	2	43
Six or more	-	15	-	-	-	7	-	22

identified in the two or more sources than solely by the one source. The corporate and reputational data show more interlocking than the political data.

Twenty five companies were identified as having six or more members reported from all three sources. These companies represent 2 per cent of the total number of companies but 18.2 per cent of the overall response rate.

The companies identified were:

Canadian Utilities	24
Northwestern Utilities	19
Northlands Utilities	12
Northwest Industries	11
The Life Insurance Co. of Alberta	10
Canadian Western Natural Gas Co.	9
Edmonton Stock Exchange	9
Imperial Lumber Co.	9
Kaps Transport Ltd.	9
Regent Drilling Co. Ltd.	9
Gainers Ltd.	8
Consolidated Mic Mac Oils Ltd.	7
Edmonton Concrete Block Co. Ltd.	7
Excelsion Refineries Ltd.	7
Inland Cement Co. Ltd.	7
Propane Credit Corporation Ltd.	7
Wardair Canada Ltd.	7
Alberta Power	6
Fleetway Trucking Ltd.	6
Horn & Pitfield Foods Ltd.	6
Northern Transportation Co. Ltd.	6
Pool Construction Co. Ltd.	6
Seaboard Life Insurance Co. Ltd.	6
Western Cartage & Storage Ltd.	6
White Stag of Canada Ltd.	6

The top three companies are utility corporations. Eight of the 25 companies are energy/petrochemical related enterprises. Transportation and construction are the second and third largest sectors, and industry, finance, insurance, and food processing are all represented. About one-third of these companies began as

family enterprises which indicates an entrepreneurial aspect to Edmonton's corporate sector. None of these companies was listed in the top 100 corporations in 1951 nor in 1971.

Checking the lists of top Canadian corporations for 1951 and 1971 against the corporate membership of Edmonton's elite for all sectors reveals that 25 individuals living in Edmonton are represented on Canada's top corporate boards. All are men. Of the 14 for whom birth place is known 10 are Canadian (four from Alberta). Two were born in the U.S. and two in England. Most were professionals. Of the 13 for whom education could be determined, five were engineers, three were lawyers, two had degrees in commerce, and the rest were a chartered account, a doctor, and two journalists. Twelve of the 25 were identified only in The Directory of Directors. One individual was identified in two sources: Positional (The Directory of Directors) and Reputational (The Canadian Who's Who). Eleven individuals were identified in The Directory of Directors and two reputational sources (Who's Who in Canada and the Canadian Who's Who). One individual was identified from The Directory and three reputational references.

One person of the 25 was identified as sitting on more than one top corporate board. He sat on three. One of these corporations is a bank. It would seem that the pattern set by the national elite is maintained by those local elite who participate at the national level.

F. POLITICAL AFFILIATION:

With the exception of the political elite, there was little information indicating political affiliation in the data. As a whole only 175 individuals (20 per cent) indicated political preference out of 863 (see Table 27). The response rate for the reputational data was 34 per cent, the corporate data 8.3 per cent, and the political data 100 per cent.

TABLE 27

POLITICAL AFFILIATION BY TYPE OF ELITE

Party	Reputational		Corporate		Political		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Liberal	64	46.4	19	44.2	13	26.5	96
Progressive Conservative (P.C.)	43	31.1	21	48.8	23	46.9	87
Social Credit	24	17.4	3	7.0	12	24.5	39
New Democratic Party (N.D.P.)	5	3.6	-		-		5
Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.)	1	0.7	-		1	2.1	2
United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.)	1	0.7	-		-		1
TOTAL KNOWN	138	34	43	8.3	49	10	
TOTAL CASES	405		518		49		

In the reputational data 138 individuals indicated a party affiliation. The strength of the Liberals (64 or 46.4 per cent) reflects the Liberal tradition in Edmonton up to 1971 described by MacGregor (1975), as contrasted with Calgary whose residents traditionally voted Progressive Conservative. The P.C. party is second at 43 or 31.3 per cent of the reputational data cases, and Social Credit third with 24 or 17.4 per cent. The reputational data is the only source including reported members of the New Democratic Party (5 or 3.6 per cent). Both the C.C.F. and the U.F.A. each had one member. The data as given in the reference sources do not reveal the level of party membership, i.e., whether participation is at the federal or provincial level or both. This issue can be a topic for further investigation.

There were few responses to indicate political affiliation for the corporate sector. Only 43 individuals (8.3 per cent) gave political preference. Three parties were identified: Liberal at 19 or 44.2 per cent, Progressive Conservative at 21 or 48.8 per cent, and Social Credit at three or 7 per cent. These figures substantiate Porter's position that unlike the United States, political persuasion in Canada among the elite is equally divided among the two major parties as both are pro-corporate in nature.

All cases in the political data declared their party affiliation. The distribution was as follows: Liberal 13 or 26.5 per cent, Progressive Conservative 23 or 46.9 per cent, Social Credit 12 or 24.5 per cent and C.C.F one or 2 per cent.

The intersecting data showed much the same patterns except for the category Rep/Cor in which the P.C. party had a larger representation than the Liberals (see Table 28 and Appendix 11). It is impossible to tell from the data as given how political membership functions at the national and provincial levels. One interpretation would be that Edmonton is a Progressive Conservative stronghold. But this would contradict MacGregor's contention - at least up until

TABLE 28

POLITICAL AFFILIATION: INTERSECTING DATA

Political Party	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Pol/Rep	Pol/Corp	Rep/Corp	All	TOTAL
Liberal	48.3%	50%	16.1%	41.7%	50%	42.2%	50%	31.1%
Progressive Conservative	23.6%	50%	54.8%	33.3%	50%	51.5%	25%	18.3%
Social Credit	20.2%	-	25.8%	25.0%	-	5.1%	25%	18.3%
New Democratic Party	5.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9%
C.C.F.	1.1%	-	3.2%	-	-	-	-	1.1%
U.F.A.	1.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6%

1971. Another interpretation might be that the Social Credit members voted Liberal nationally, and the Liberals tended to vote Social Credit provincially during the period 1951-1971.

G. CLUB MEMBERSHIP:

Country or private club membership is seen as one way the elite are able to mix socially, to maintain customs and values not generally shared throughout the rest of the population, and to pursue a privileged life-style away from the public purview. Each individual identified could indicate the total number of country clubs to which he/she belonged. Of that total number, four clubs could be identified separately. Forty-three clubs were identified from the data as a whole.

As shown in Table 29, 39 (34.3 per cent) of the reputational elite indicated club membership. There is an equal chance of a person belonging to one, two, or three clubs if club membership is indicated. While only 76 or 14.7 per cent of the corporate data claimed club membership, it becomes evident that for those who did reveal this information there is high participation. Forty-two percent of the known cases indicated membership in three clubs. The distribution would indicate the importance of club membership among the corporate elite.

TABLE 29

CLUB MEMBERSHIP BY TYPE OF ELITE

Number	Reputational	Corporate	Political
1	47	22	6
2	49	20	5
3	42	32	4
4	1	2	-
TOTAL KNOWN	137	76	15
TOTAL CASES	405	518	49

The political data shows a pattern similar to that of the reputational data in that there is an equal chance of a person belonging to one, two, or three clubs if club membership is indicated. Also, 30 per cent of the political elite indicated club membership similar to the percentage reported for the reputational elite.

The intersecting data (Table 30) shows that the participation in clubs is highest for those who are identified by two or more sources. In all cases for single source membership the majority only belonged to one club. This is not the case in Table 29 nor is it in the categories for two or more sources. This finding indicates that club membership is related to exclusiveness.

TABLE 30

CLUB MEMBERSHIP : INTERSECTING DATA

Number	Reputation	Corporate	Political	Pol Corp	Pol Rep	Rep Cor	All
1	33	10	4	-	2	12	-
2	31	5	1	-	3	14	1
3	13	2	2	1	-	28	1
4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL KNOWN	77	18	7	1	5	55	2
TOTAL CASES	302	425	31	2	12	87	4

When membership in country clubs was combined for all 43 clubs identified, seven clubs had nine or more members. The most prominent are the Mayfair Golf and Country Club and The Edmonton Club. All of the top seven are local clubs. While these seven include 16 per cent of all clubs identified, they account for 67.5 per cent of all club memberships identified in the data.

TABLE 31

MEMBERSHIP IN COUNTRY AND PRIVATE CLUBS

Mayfair Golf and Country Club	72
Edmonton Club	62
Royal Glenora	45
Edmonton Petroleum Club	39
Highland Golf Club	22
Faculty Club	12
Derrick Golf and Country Club	9

H. SERVICE CLUB MEMBERSHIP

Participation in service clubs has been used as one indicator of community power. Some of the elite list up to four service clubs memberships. More than 200 service clubs were identified.

Forty-eight per cent of the reputational data identified membership in a service club. Of those, 40.8 per cent belonged to one club, 26.5 per cent to two, 19.9 per cent to three and 12.2 per cent to four. One person reported membership in six service clubs (see Table 32).

The corporate data did not list service clubs membership as a matter of course; but 70 cases or 13.5 per cent indicated participation. Persons belonging to one or two clubs each made up 30 per cent of the total and those belonging to three or four each composed 20 per cent.

Thirty cases indicated service clubs membership among the political elite or 61.2 per cent of all political cases. More than a third reported membership in three clubs. The high participation rate in service clubs indicates the importance of participating in this sector as a pattern in political life.

The intersecting data showed the same pattern as reported in the source data of the 208 service clubs, six service clubs accounted for 10 members or more. The

TABLE 32

MEMBERSHIP IN SERVICE CLUBS: BY TYPE OF ELITE

Number	Reputational		Corporate		Political	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	80	40.8	21	30	5	16.7
2	52	26.5	21	30	7	23.3
3	39	19.9	14	20	11	36.7
4	24	12.2	14	20	5	16.7
5						
6	1	0.5			2	4.1
TOTAL KNOWN	196	48.4	70	13.5	30	61.2
TOTAL CASES	405		518		149	

Masonic Lodge is the largest club, followed by the Canadian Legion. Both are exclusively men[illegible]anization (see Table 33).

TABLE 33

MEMBERSHIP IN SERVICE CLUBS

Masonic Lodge	44
Royal Canadian Legion	22
Rotary Club	18
Kiwanis	16
Knights of Columbus	13
Boy Scouts of America	10

I. MILITARY SERVICE:

In the United States, the military is a dominant institution holding power with the corporate and political institutions. In Canada, the military has not gained the same status as that of other industrial powers, and it was not even considered by Porter in his major institutional description. Olsen places the military within the state elite, but he too did not consider it important in the Canadian social structure. As noted in Chapter Four, military activities have played an important role in Edmonton's history from the Boer War to World War II and the building of the Alaskan Highway. The military experience has been cited by some as a common socializing mechanism for men which later carries over into the business and political world: advertising and political "campaigns" are fought in the same strategies and tactics as military campaigns. It is because of the potential links founded on the military experience that military service is investigated as a social characteristic of the elite.

In reviewing the reputational data, 123 persons or 30 percent indicated they had served in the military. Forty-three individuals or 8.3 per cent of the corporate

data and 12 or 25 per cent of the political data indicated military service. In reviewing the membership of military service clubs in the data on "Service Clubs," it would seem that these figures are low and more follow-up is necessary.

J. ACHIEVED CHARACTERISTICS - SUMMARY

The achieved social characteristics identified in this study are: education, career, professional memberships, publications, directorships, political affiliation, club membership, service club membership and military service. The level of education of Edmonton's elite is significantly higher than that of the community or nation as a whole. Ten times as many members of the elite have a university education as of the Edmonton population. Careers in law, engineering and business were prominant in the data. This is the same pattern as described by Porter (1965) at the national level. The majority of people identified by all sources and finished post-graduate work and tended to be trained in Alberta. As the level of educational attainment increased, fewer degrees were obtained within Alberta, but still 50 per cent were obtained in Alberta. This fact differs from that found at the national level.

The careers of the Edmonton elite were analyzed according to three classifications: institutional, industrial and occupational. All three revealed similar patterns in the elites, but emphasized different aspects of the elite composition. The institutional data pointed to the strength of the corporate sector, especially in the area of trade. The government and university were also prominant factors in the institutional analyses. The industrial classification refined the institutional divisions and strongly identified the manufacturing and the petro-chemical industries. The religious elite were found only to be present in the reputational data, and education was a sector related strongly to the reputational approach. The occupational data confirmed that no matter what institution or

industry was represented, most of the elite held top managerial or administration positions.

Professional membership reinforced the dominance of lawyers and engineers along with other professional groups in the elite. Publications are the domain of those identified in more than two sources and the academic institution. The representation on boards of directors for those identified by two or more sources is stronger than that of those identified in only one source. Analysis of those who sit on the boards of the top 100 Canadian corporations also indicates that these individuals not only are identified by the institution as having power, they are also identified in the reputational sources as persons of achievement, influence and power.

Politics and military service seem to have little impact on the elite position. As with the national data, political preference is equally distributed among the major political parties. Country clubs are shown to be of some importance among the corporate elite as service clubs are important among the political elite.

The social characteristics of the elite for education, career, professional membership, directorships and club membership strongly suggest two types of hierarchies. The internal hierarchy within the source demonstrates that those in the category "All" usually have more or are more exclusive than those simply identified by one source. For example, the category "All" has more education than do those only identified by the reputational sources, and tends to follow careers in law, engineering and business.

The second hierarchy appears when comparing sources. The corporate sector displays more exclusive characteristics than either of the other two sources. The political data tends to be more representative of the data as a whole, but excludes the minority populations from membership. The reputational data tends to show a

strong Anglo-Saxon preference but also includes the exceptional achiever, some of whom tend to be from minority groups.

Kelner's hypothesis of a core vs. strategic elite appears to be confirmed. However, the Edmonton elite display more diversity and openness than that found by the national studies (Porter 1965, Clement 1975, Olsen 1980) or in Toronto (Kelner 1969).

Chapter Eight investigates the possible changes which may have occurred from 1951-1974 in the distribution of social characteristics among Edmonton's elite. A look at social characteristics over time may indicate changes in the degree of access to elite status.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EDMONTON'S ELITE

This chapter presents the findings of the reputational and positional sources on a longitudinal basis. The purpose of this type of analysis is to determine any trends or changes which have occurred in the social characteristics of Edmonton's elite. The data was collected for the period 1951 to 1974. This period includes three national census years 1951, 1961, and 1971 so that comparisons could be made with the national and community populations. The years 1951 to 1974 span the approximate time in which the national studies of Porter (1965), Clement (1975), and Olsen (1980) were conducted and it coincides with Edmonton's oil boom and related expansion in all institutional sectors. At such a time of expansion, the elite is hypothesized to be the most open to all segments of the community especially those who are characterized as high achievers. At this time ascriptive characteristics are hypothesized to be less important in determining access to power, influence, decision-making, or elite position.

Surprisingly the longitudinal data did not reveal much change in the distribution of social characteristics within Edmonton's elite. This would indicate a fairly stable social structure within the elite which is neither affected by nor responsive to the rapid social changes taking place in the society as a whole. While percentages do not reveal much change, three identifiable periods are evident in the data which indicate some trends.

The first significant period is that occurring from 1951 to 1955. The total number of elites jumped from 150 in 1951 to 314 in 1955. It would be during this time that the "new" elite established itself within the ranks of Edmonton's existing elite. However the percentage distribution of variables when compared for 1951 and 1955 remains quite similar. This would indicate that while the elite expanded numerically, most of the new members shared similar social characteristics.

The second period which appears in the data is that between 1961 and 1965. It appears that during this time, the elite was slightly more open to individuals who did not meet the W.A.S.P. stereotype. But this temporary openness seems to disappear in what can be identified in the third period between 1971 and 1974.

The period from 1971 to 1974 is characterized by increased specializaion and technological development in the corporate sector and a change in provincial government in the political sector. Generally the social characteristics of the elite at this time become more closed and exclusive. This pattern of closure was identified by Clement (1975) in his study of the national corporate elite (see Chapter Three).

Chapter Six reported that Edmonton's elite, like the Canadian elite, is a man's world. All sources displayed the same pattern of men accounting for over 90 per cent of the elite. The corporate sector was the most closed to women, and the political sector the most open.

Despite the pressures for change demanded by women for fuller and equal positions in society, the percentage of change from 1951 to 1974 for female participation in the elite was only 2.6 per cent. As shown in Table 34, the elite was most closed to women in 1961 (0.6 per cent). This percentage rose in 1965 to 3.2 per cent. However by 1974, the percentage dropped back to 3 per cent. This pattern is similar to that reported by Porter (1965) and Clement (1975).

A look at the data by source shows that the number of women appearing in the reputational sources actually decreases to half the number reported in 1951 by 1974. Women are not represented among the political elite until 1960 and then their representation remains constant. Following the election of 1971, the 1972 edition of Parliamentary Guide shows that two women were in the political elite. But the total number of politicians for that year also increased. This may point to a policy of tokenism within the government sector.

TABLE 34

TIME: SEX

Year	Per Cent Male	Per Cent Female
1951	98.7%	1.3%
1955	98.1%	1.9%
1961	99.4%	0.6%
1971	96.8%	3.2%
1974	97.0%	3.0%

Women emerged stronger in the corporate sector over time than in either the reputational or political data. This is unusual as it was the corporate sector which showed up most resistance to allowing women in the inner circles (see Chapter Six).

Overall, the participation of women in the elite, whether based on reputational data or positional data, has not changed significantly for the period 1951 to 1974, and women remain substantially underrepresented (see Appendix 12).

The pattern presented in Chapter Six regarding the place of birth for the Edmonton elite is accentuated in the longitudinal analysis (see Table 35). British influence decreases slightly over time. European and "other" increase slightly for the same period. And the Canadian and U.S. percentage of the elite remain about the same.

It is interesting that the data do imply the rapid expansion of Edmonton's economy and with it the rapid influx of people necessary to serve the oil industry. In 1951, Edmonton's elite was 78 per cent Canadian-born and the British 13 per cent. By 1955 the Canadian percentage dropped to 71 per cent and the British rose to 19 per cent. Other groups remained constant. These figures indicate that with the numerical doubling of those identified as elite from 1951 to 1955 (98 to 201), most of the increase was due to British influx of expertise to

develop the oil industry. As the Industrial Association had turned to England in 1913 for expertise to find natural gas (see Chapter Four), the data would indicate a similar pattern some forty years later.

TABLE 35

TIME: PLACE OF BIRTH

Year	Canada	British Isles	United States	Europe	Other
1951	78%	13%	6%	2.0%	1.0%
1955	71%	19%	6%	2.5%	0.5%
1961	75%	13%	8%	3.5%	0.5%
1965	79%	12%	6%	2.5%	0.5%
1971	79%	10%	7%	3.5%	0.5%
1974	79%	10%	5%	4.0%	2.0%

After 1955, the British-born individuals decrease among the Edmonton elite, but they remain overrepresented compared with the rest of both the total populations of Edmonton and Canada. The Canadian-born population increased during this period from a low of 71 per cent to a high of 79 per cent from 1965 to 1974. This percentage approximates that of the proportion of the Canadian-born in Edmonton (77 per cent) but is underrepresented if compared with the entire Canadian population (85 per cent) (see Appendix 13).

European-born individuals increased sharply from 1951 to 1955 and then remained about the same. Europeans are underrepresented both nationally and locally even though their percentage of the elite increases over-time. Those represented in the category "Other" show an increase in 1974. It is this group which was excluded from elite membership at the national level. In Edmonton, however, the individuals born in countries other than Canada, the British Isles, and Europe are finding a place in the elite proportional to that of representation in the

community as a whole and higher than that for the nation. Despite this, the positional data show little openness to this group. Most individuals who come from countries labled "other" are reputational elite.

Table 36 shows the findings for ethnicity. The same trends indicated by place of birth are apparent. The number of elite doubles from 1951 to 1955 indicating the rapid growth of the community. The percentage of those indicating British and European ancestry increases in this time period and then settles back down again in 1961.

TABLE 36

TIME: ETHNICITY COMBINED

Year	Canada	British Isles	United States	Europe	Other
1951	30%	59%	1%	9%	1%
1955	25%	64%	1%	18%	2%
1961	28%	59%	1%	11%	1%
1965	29%	58.5%	2%	10%	0.5%
1971	27%	53%	5%	13%	2%
1974	25%	54%	5%	13%	3%

Generally Anglo-Saxon representation within the elite as in the population as a whole has steadily declined. Anglo-Saxons, despite the decline, remain over-represented when compared with both Edmonton and the nation. European membership within the elite is steadily increasing, but remains significantly underrepresented when compared with Edmonton or the nation. Those with ancestors other than Anglo-Saxon or European descent are increasing within the elite, and in some instances are overrepresentative of the proportion in the community as a whole.

Together "place of birth" and "ethnicity" indicate that there is a bias within the elite for individuals who are Anglo-Saxon. While Europeans are members of the elite, their participation is underrepresented. Persons coming from other countries are represented in the elite proportional to their representation in the community which is only 1-3 per cent of the population for this period (see Appendix 14).

The elite's religious preferences varied slightly from 1951 to 1974. Table 37 indicates that in 1951, 90 per cent of the elite were Protestant and 10 per cent Catholic. No other religious groups were represented. In 1955, the percentage of Protestants had risen to 93 per cent, the percentage of Catholics had dropped to 6 per cent, and the Orthodox church gained representation in the elite. This pattern for the elite data as a whole remained substantially the same until 1974. Over time the slightly smaller Protestant representation was picked up by an increase in the participation of Orthodox Church members within the elite.

TABLE 37

TIME: RELIGION

Year	Protestant	Catholic	Orthodox	Other
1951	90%	10%	-	-
1955	93%	6%	1%	-
1961	92%	6.6%	1%	0.4%
1965	92%	6.5%	1.5%	-
1971	91%	7%	2%	-
1974	88%	8%	4%	-

The corporate data indicate only Protestant and Catholic members over time, and after 1955 the pattern changed very little. The reputational data, which was the only source which reported religions other than Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox, indicates that members of the elite who professed other religions were

represented from 1952 to 1963. The data would provide some evidence that, after an initial period of openness within the elite structure corresponding to the initial expansion of the economy, the economy and social structure stabilized and that elite status pattern became more like those before the boom period (see Appendix 15).

The typical elite member in Edmonton was shown in Chapter Seven to have attained post-graduate education. This pattern remains in place over the period 1951 to 1974. Only in 1955 does the percentage of post-graduates within the total elite drop to 50 per cent; but by 1961 it is back up to 56 per cent. The percentage of those with a university education has increased steadily. Yet only in 1971 do individuals without a high school education enter elite ranks. It would seem that while the percentages of university and post-graduate degrees are increased within the elite, the educational background of those with less than a university degree is becoming more varied in the 1970's as compared with the 1950's and 1960's (see Table 38 and Appendix 16).

TABLE 38

TIME: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Year	High School or Less	High School Plus Technical	Some College	University	University Plus Technical	University Plus Graduate
1951	5%	8%	8%	13%	8%	57%
1955	4%	8%	15%	16%	8%	50%
1961	2%	6%	9%	22%	6%	56%
1965	3%	5%	10%	21%	6%	56%
1971	3%	6%	6%	25%	4%	56%
1974	1.5%	4.5%	6%	26%	4%	59%

The fields of study pursued by members of the elite have generally remained stable over the period of investigation (see Table 39). The percentage of professionals has declined slightly. Agriculture and business have increased slightly. Arts, science, engineering, and law remain the most common fields of study for the Edmonton elite (also see Appendix 17).

TABLE 39

TIME: EDUCATION - FIELD OF STUDY

	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
Agriculture	1%	0.1%	3%	3%	2%	3%
Arts	24%	23%	25%	22%	19%	19%
Business & Commerce	7%	10%	8%	8%	11%	12%
Education	4%	6%	7%	7%	4%	7%
Engineering	9%	12%	8%	17%	11%	14%
Home Economics	-	-	0.3%	0.4%	-	-
Law	23%	22%	21%	20%	21%	18%
Library Science	-	-	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Medicine	12%	11%	10%	8%	7%	6%
Physical Education	-	-	0.7%	0.7%	-	0.6%
Science	20%	14%	17%	14%	23%	20%
Other	-	-	-	0.7%	0.7%	0.6%

As shown in Table 40, university education of Edmonton's elite was obtained for the most part in Canada. But during the period 1951 to 1974, more and more Canadians obtained degrees in the British Isles and the U.S. In 1951, 83 per cent of university training was obtained in Canada. By 1974 the percentage had dropped to 70 per cent. Post-graduate education is more likely to be sought outside the country than an undergraduate education (also see Appendix 18).

TABLE 40

TIME: EDUCATION - PLACE

Year	Canada	British Isles	United States	Europe	Other
1951	83%	12%	2%	2%	1%
1955	86%	10%	3%	0.5%	0.5%
1961	80%	15%	4%	1%	0.3%
1965	79%	16%	5%	0.6%	-
1971	74%	19%	7%	-	1%
1974	70%	21%	8%	0.5%	0.5%

Career patterns of Edmonton's elite remained stable over the investigation period, despite the rapid institutional change that occurred in the community over the same time span. The institutional structure (see Table 41), the industrial structure (see Table 42), and the occupational structure (see Table 43), all indicate the stability of the elite structure.

TABLE 41

TIME: INSTITUTION

Year	Corporate	Political	Bureaucratic	Labour	Ideological
1951	46%	19%	9%	-	26%
1955	49%	14%	13%	2%	22%
1961	45%	13%	10%	3%	29%
1965	42%	17%	10%	4%	28%
1971	50%	16%	10%	1%	23%
1974	49%	13.5%	10%	0.5%	27%

Institutionally, the corporate sector dominated, and the university and governmental sectors remained strong. Labour members of the elite grew to

TABLE 42

TIME: INDUSTRY

Industrial Categories	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
Agriculture	0.5%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%
Forestry	0.5%	0.5%	-	-	-	-
Mining & Minerals	4%	7%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Manufacturing	14%	15%	14%	16%	16%	14%
Construction	3%	0.5%	4%	4%	6%	5%
Transportation, Communication & Utilities	11%	8%	10%	12%	10%	11%
Trade	9%	4%	3%	4%	6%	3%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	9%	11%	9%	9%	5%	7%
Education	14%	13%	19%	18%	16%	21%
Health & Welfare	4%	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%
Religion	2%	0.5%	1%	0.5%	-	-
Amusement & Recreation	-	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Services to Business	10%	13%	13%	11%	15%	14%
Personal Services	-	-	-	-	-	0.5%
Accommodation & Food	-	0.5%	0.5%	-	0.5%	0.5%
Miscellaneous Services	1%	0.5%	0.5%	1%	2%	1%
Public Administration & Defence	18%	21%	15%	15%	14%	15%

TABLE 43

TIME: OCCUPATION

Occupation	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
Management & Administration	64%	62%	57%	60%	61%	60%
Natural Science, Engineering & Math	3%	4%	3%	2%	3%	3%
Social Science & Related Fields	24%	25%	32%	29%	27%	28%
Health & Medicine	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Art, Literature & Performing Arts	1%	2%	1%	2%	3%	3%
Sports	-	-	-	-	0.5%	0.5%
Clerical & Related Work	2%	1%	1%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Sales	1%	0.5%	1%	1%	0.5%	0.5%
Service Occupations	-	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Farming, Fishing & Forestry	0.5%	1%	1%	1%	0.5%	0.5%
Mining	-	-	0.5%	-	-	-
Processing	-	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	-	-
Product Fabricating	-	-	-	-	-	-
Construction Trades	0.5%	0.5%	-	-	0.5%	0.5%
Material Handling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Craft & Equipment Handling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	0.5%	0.5%	-	-

4 per cent of the elite in 1964 but was less than 1 per cent by 1974. The industrial classification shows suprisingly little change in the distribution of careers. Education was the only classification to show a steady increase from 14 per cent in 1951 to 21 per cent in 1974. The occupational classification shows the same stability (see Appendicies 19, 20 and 21).

The importance of professional memberships in the career of elite members is shown to be increasingly important over time. As reported in Table 44, 41 per cent of the cases who reported membership in a professional association in 1951 belonged to one association. By 1974, 32 per cent belonged to four associations. The importance of publishing also increased from 1951 to 1974. The number of individuals in the elite who had become published increased from 19 in 1951 to 60 in 1974 (see Table 45).

TABLE 44

TIME: NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Memberships	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
1	41%	31%	27%	23%	27%	24%
2	20%	25%	19%	20%	19%	21%
3	13%	17%	20%	18%	15%	14%
4	17%	18%	23%	29%	27%	32%
5 or more	9%	9%	12%	10%	12%	9%

TABLE 45

TIME: NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS

Year	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
Number	19	34	59	46	50	60

The information gathered on directorships over time is insufficient to draw any conclusions at this time. The majority of elite board members participated in one or two companies, and the percentage of participation on one or two boards remained at 50 per cent of all reported directors for 1951 to 1974 (see Table 46 and Appendix 24).

TABLE 46

TIME: NUMBER OF DIRECTORSHIPS

Number	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
1	45%	44%	31%	33%	41%	43%
2	19%	17%	20%	20%	15%	16%
3	5%	5%	7%	5%	6%	5%
4	15%	13%	20%	16%	16%	15%
5 or more	17%	21%	22%	26%	22%	21%

Political affiliation as a social characteristic of Edmonton's elite did exhibit change from 1951 to 1974 (see Table 47). The Liberals continued to lose ground from 59 per cent in 1951 to 40 per cent in 1971. In 1974 they rallied to 43 per cent. The Progressive Conservatives made gains for each of the Liberal's losses and went from 22 per cent in 1951 to 46 per cent in 1974. The Social Credit Party commanded a steady backing within the elite (20 per cent) until 1974. After the loss to the Provincial Progressive Conservative party in 1971, elite support dropped to 9 per cent for the Social Credit. The N.D.P. has never commanded more than 3 per cent support within the elite. C.C.F. and U.F.A. supporters disappeared by 1971 (see Appendix 25).

TABLE 47

TIME: POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	Liberal	Progressive Conservative	Social Credit	New Democratic Party	CCF	UFA
1951	59%	22%	16%	-	2%	2%
1955	47%	31%	18%	1%	1%	1%
1961	45%	30%	20%	2%	-	2%
1965	41%	36%	20%	1%	-	2%
1971	40%	36%	20%	3%	-	-
1974	43%	46%	9%	2%	-	-

Longitudinal data for both service clubs and country clubs reveal the same stable pattern as reported in most of the other variables. While the numbers have increased reflecting population increases, the percentages have remained the same. Country club membership seems to have hit its zenith in 1964 (see Table 48 and Appendix 26). Service Clubs became most popular in 1961. However between 1971 and 1974 participation had dropped for service clubs (see Table 49 and Appendix 27).

TABLE 48

TIME: NUMBER OF COUNTRY CLUB MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Memberships	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
1	29%	26%	25%	27%	26%	27%
2	44%	38%	35%	26%	34%	33%
3	27%	36%	40%	46%	40%	40%
4	-	-	-	1%	0.8%	-
5 or more	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 49

TIME: NUMBER OF SERVICE CLUB MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Memberships	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
1	31%	30%	36%	34%	48%	26%
2	20%	24%	30%	30%	30%	35%
3	22%	18%	16%	20%	18%	21%
4	27%	28%	18%	16%	14%	17%

Those reporting military service showed a significant increase from 1951 to 1955. From 1955 onward the number of those reporting military experience stayed the same, even though both the community and elite populations increased (see Table 50).

TABLE 50

TIME: MILITARY SERVICE

Date	1951	1955	1961	1965	1971	1974
Number	30	74	88	85	80	77

As a whole, the social characteristics of Edmonton's elite changed very little from 1951 to 1974. There was an initial numerical increased in the elite members identified in the sources from 1951 to 1955 but the social characteristics of the elite remained suprisingly similar.

If any trends can be indicated, one might be the tendency to display a bell-curve pattern: i.e., from 1951 to 1961 the representation of a variable increased, but from 1951 to 1971 these percentages declined again. This demonstrates what

has been called "closure" in the literature. It describes the phenomenon of initial openness in the social population. After the initial growth-period, however, the old patterns re-emerge. Clement found that at the national level access to the corporate elite was more exclusive from 1965 to 1975 than it had been when Porter had studied the national elite from 1948 to 1960. That same trend seems to be apparent in Edmonton's case.

In conclusion, Edmonton's elite structure exhibits the same hierarchical tendencies revealed in the Canadian elite studies. The tendencies do not exist to the same degree in Edmonton as they do at the national level. The initial decade after the discovery of oil did show signs that Edmonton's elite was opening up to include people more representative of the social characteristics of the community as a whole. However the data from 1961 to 1971 show a reversal of that process to a more closed and hierarchical system in terms of social characteristics.

CHAPTER NINE

EDMONTON'S ELITE AND THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER - CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore methodological and empirical issues relating to the social characteristics of Edmonton's Elite. Previous studies of Canada's elite have characterized the national elite as middle- or upper-middle-class, university-educated, W.A.S.P. males. This research sought to discover a methodology which could provide access to the social characteristics of the community elite, and then to compare the similarities and differences between Edmonton's elite and the national elite.

These concluding remarks centre around four aspects to the research. The first topic explores the adequacy of the experimental methodology used in this study. Secondly, the research questions posed in Chapter One are reviewed in the light of the empirical findings on the theory of the elite analysis. Thirdly, the usefullness of elite analysis will be evaluated. And finally there will be a discussion of the implications of this study and its findings on future research.

A. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE METHODOLOGY:

From the outset it was important to clarify that such a study would not identify all of the people or individuals who hold power. Nor would it exclude those people who "appear" to hold power. The purpose was to identify the social characteristics of people who as a group, have access to power, wealth, and influence. This viewpoint is similar to that given by C. Wright Mills (1959).

If the group of people exhibited characteristics similar to those of the population as a whole, it would have to be concluded that the concept elite had no application to the community of Edmonton. If the pattern of characteristics differed from the general population and an identifiable set of characteristics

distinguished this group, the empirical validity of using the concept elite would be affirmed.

The methodological design used in this study incorporated existing library resources as the raw data. Different types of references were defined as either reputational or positional in nature. This made it possible to test two different methodologies through the use of existing data. Because of computer technology, the use of library resources to generate data describing the elite of Edmonton has been successful for generating replicable, comparable, objective and valid findings. Without computers, the volume of information would be too cumbersome to analyze.

In past community elite studies employing any of the methodologies (reputational, positional, or decision-making), criteria for inclusion in the study whether it be who to interview, what institutions were dominant, or what decision would be monitored in the community, involved a specific historical decision of the researcher. Consequently, the ability to replicate any study was questionable, as the framework for the study would be unique both to the period in time and to the researcher. Using different library references to correspond with both the reputational and positional methodologies not only provides the needed multi-faceted approach to community elites, it means that the research can be replicated and the findings checked.

The replicability of this approach also means that findings can be compared either over time or between communities. The references are standard for most North American communities of any size, and some are standard internationally.

The criteria for inclusion in these references are established by the publishers. The reputational sources indicate the reputation for power, influence or wealth and are therefore similar to asking community locals about impressions of inclusion or exclusions in the elite. The positional references self-elect the

positions within an institution considered to be part of the inner circle. Inclusion or exclusion is thus more objective in the sense that criteria are established apart from the study itself and the same criteria are used nation-wide.

The validity of the findings can be questioned in two ways. Firstly, can these references by considered valid indicators of the elite members? Secondly, is the information provided consistent enough to warrant conclusions?

Domhoff's research has verified the appropriateness and validity of the use of reputational references at the national level. Since these references can be considered as "an elites' guide to themselves," this approach differs from interviews only in that these "interviews" are in print. Since much of the information is gathered from the individuals themselves, the responses are more likely to be accurate. The data gathered for the local level, in this case Edmonton, is as valid for larger communities as it is for the national level. This approach also provides comparability with the national findings.

One limitation of this research is that the different library resources do not provide the same amount of information. This non-response can be of two kinds: (1) information on a social characteristic is not provided for any individuals in references, or (2) information is given for some individuals but not provided for others. This can offset the ability to generalize the results. As shown in Table 51, there is a lot of variation in the response rate over thirteen variables.

For some variables it can be said that each case should have a response: i.e., all people can be classified by sex, birthplace, educational attainment, occupation, and ethnicity. Other variables are not necessarily characteristics of everyone, but are usually characteristic of an adult in Canadian society: i.e., religious affiliation and political affiliation. Other variables represent optional choices in which an individual may or may not participate:

i.e., professional membership, country club membership, service club membership, military service, publications, and board memberships.

TABLE 51

RESPONSE RATE BY VARIABLES

Variables	Reputational	Corporate	Political
1. Sex	100%	100%	100%
2. Place of Birth	94.8%	20.0%	91.8%
3. Ethnicity	46.7%	28.8%	5.0%
4. Religion	76.5%	17.0%	79.6%
5. Education	86.4%	28.2%	79.6%
6. Career (Occupation)	98.5%	100%	100%
7. Professional Memberships	67.7%	14.7%	46.9%
8. Publications	63.5%	2.0%	12.0%
9. Directorships	31.3%	99.6%	26.5%
10. Political Affiliation	34.0%	8.3%	100%
11. Club Membership	33.8%	14.1%	30.0%
12. Service Club Membership	48.0%	13.5%	61.2%
13. Military Service	30.0%	8.3%	25.0%

In future research non-response categories should be specified more clearly. Some coding to distinguish between sources not presenting information and the source usually giving the data but not for that individual case should be developed.

While many variables have a low response rate within the corporate data (see Table 51), the patterns of those characteristics for which information was given remained similar to that of the reputational and political data. This approach to studying elites does provide general indicators of the structures and patterns found within the community elite and it provides a basis from which other information may be gathered by additional techniques.

Some technical problems did present themselves in the research. The gathering and coding of the data proved a tedious process. Improvements can be made in the coding procedure to provide more flexibility in the analysis. Inter-

pretation of the data from descriptive form to coded form remains problematic. The only way to check this aspect would be to re-code all the data and compare results.

Missing data as mentioned above is the biggest problem with this approach. Selected studies to complete the data may be undertaken to determine the benefit of using other approaches such as newspapers and interviews to complete the information base.

Looked at as a totality the use of library resources to develop reputational and positional data does increase the comparability, replicability, and objectivity of community elite findings. The validity of the data for some variables may be questioned, but the patterns found for sources with low response rates was similar to that for higher response rates. This would indicate that generalizations can be made with some degree of confidence since the patterns are similar. The time-based data also indicated the stability of the patterns of elite social characteristics.

B. EDMONTON'S ARISTOCRACY OF ACCOMPLISHMENT?

In reviewing the findings which describe Edmonton's elite, it is easy to observe that for the period 1951 to 1974 there are social characteristics exhibited by the elite which set them apart from the rest of the community. This exclusive pattern includes both ascribed and achieved social characteristics. The differences between the characteristics found for those identified in this study and the community as a whole empirically affirms the theoretical significance of the concept "elite."

The Edmonton elite is strongly male. The corporate sector is most exclusively male. The political institution is the most open to female participation but the degree to which women participated in any elite is negligible, when

compared with the number of women in the community as a whole. Edmonton's elite are more likely than the rest of the nation as a whole to be born in a country other than Canada, but the majority of the elite members were Canadian-born. For the most part those born in Canada were more likely to be born in Alberta or Ontario.

Education is an important variable in gaining access to the elite in Edmonton. When all the cases who reported educational attainment are examined, more than 70 per cent had a university degree as compared with less than 10 per cent in the population as a whole. A typically undergraduate education was obtained in arts or sciences and at a Canadian university. Graduate degrees were typically in law or medicine and even at the doctoral level 50 per cent of the degrees were obtained in Canada.

The occupational structure of Edmonton reflects its institutional structure as revealed in the reputational data. The corporate institutions is the largest sector of Edmonton's upper stratum. The service industries which support the primary extraction industries in Edmonton's large hinterland provide the major economic base. The University of Alberta and the provincial government provide the other two major institutional occupational bases. Labor representatives are almost non-existent in the upper stratum. The professional memberships also reflect the occupational structure. The traditional professions of doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants and university professors dominate both the occupational structures and professional associations.

Edmonton's religious structure is noted for its diversity. The elite in Edmonton are most likely members of the United Church rather than the Anglican Church as is the case for the national elite. Anglicans are overrepresented when the Edmonton elite is compared with the community. Catholics are underrepresented in all sources, though they approach the community

representation among the political elite. Non-Christian religions represent less than 5 per cent of the cases.

The ethnic structure of Edmonton's elite is similar to that of the nation in kind but not degree. British and Anglo-Saxon heritage is overrepresented and dominant. However, Austrians, Russians and Jews are also overrepresented European groups. Among the European elite there is representation from both western and eastern Europe. The second and third largest ethnic groups in Edmonton - Ukrainians and Germans - are underrepresented in the elite for all sources.

The data revealed that political affiliation of the upper stratum in Edmonton is dependent upon institutional source. The corporate data reveals a strong national orientation because of the dominance of the two major political parties. Membership in Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties is split 50-50 which was also found in the national data. The reputational and political data may reflect a provincial political orientation. The responses to political affiliation for the political elite showed a larger number of Progressive Conservatives which with hindsight forecast the 1971 take-over of the Progressive Conservatives. The reputational and corporate data reflected the 1951-71 national Liberal dominance and provincial Social Credit dominance.

Country clubs and service clubs seem to be an integral part of the elite life-style in Edmonton as among the national elite. Country clubs tend to be more important to the corporate world while service clubs are strongly supported by the political elite.

Board membership showed clearly the strength of utilities and the petro-chemical industries. Further research into this sector of Edmonton's corporate structure is necessary before conclusions can be drawn.

Generally the corporate data exhibited the most exclusive characteristics in relation to the variables studied. While the reputational and political data alternated rankings on many variables, the political data revealed the most openness to representing the community as a whole. However, while, taken separately as a whole, Edmonton's elite does exhibit social characteristics which distinguish it from that of the Edmonton community as a whole.

The research questions presented in Chapter One are for the most part answered in the findings. Edmonton's elite are more representative of the community and more open to non-Anglo-Saxons than the national elite. Those in the corporate sector and those identified by more than one source displayed social characteristics similar to the national elite and were therefore more exclusive than the elite identified by only one source.

The data indicated a change in the composition of the elite from 1955 to 1965. There was a broader representation of people in the elite during this period than either before the oil boom or after in the 1970's. These findings confirm the positions of both Clement (1975) and Kelner (1969) that there is a tendency for the elite structure to become more exclusive as the social structure stabilizes.

Those persons identified by more than one source did display social characteristics which were more exclusive than those of elites identified in only one source or that of the community as a whole. The four individuals identified in all three sources possessed social characteristics the same as the national elite with the exception of high participation in the United Church.

The corporate data did tend to show a more exclusive pattern of social characteristics than did those identified in the reputational or political sources. However this finding cannot be considered conclusive in that the response rate for most variables within the corporate data was low. There is enough data to indicate that like the national data, the corporate elite tends to be the most W.A.S.P.

The prediction that the social characteristics of the elite would change because of rapid growth along with economic and political change did not prove true. The longitudinal data did not indicate much change over the 1951 to 1974 period. After some swelling in the elite ranks in the late 1950's, the pattern visible in 1951 reestablished itself in the early 1970's.

The reputational data did describe the institutional structure of the city. The economic, state, and educational elites dominated the data. It may be argued that the emphasis placed on university and religious leaders in the reputational data indicates that the reputational approach identifies those who have influence more than those with actual power. The reputational data did show the strength of the trade and service sector within the corporate elite and the strength of provincial state officals within the political (bureaucratic) elite.

As a whole the data gave an insight into the major institutional interests in Edmonton. The positional data emphasized the respective institutional bases. The findings in reputational data corroborated the patterns found in the positional data.

Some differences were perceived between the reputational findings and the positional findings. Generally the reputational data emphasized more traditional aspects of social characteristics: e.g., British ancestry, university professors, and religious leaders. At the same time, the reputational data were the most open to non-Anglo-Saxons and non-Europeans and to women. It might be said that the reputational data incorporated the "extremes" in the data.

The corporate data differed from the political data in its pattern of social characteristics. The political findings showed the political elite the most representative of the community as a whole while the corporate elite was the most exclusive. Even though the political elite was the most representative of the community, the general pattern found among politicians and bureaucrats is the same. Keller's position that elites develop their own values and mores can be

partially affirmed by the data. However, Mills' contention that all elites resemble each other in social background and psychological traits is equally true of Edmonton's elite.

Edmonton's elite is predominantly male, Canadian-born, university-educated, involved in the corporate sector and W.A.S.P. These findings are similar to the national findings: Edmonton's elite is more open to representation by non-W.A.S.P. members than the national elite. This pattern however, may be changing as the social structure solidifies.

C. THE USE OF ELITE ANALYSIS:

The whole discussion of elites centres on the definition of "elite". Its earliest use referred to choiceness or excellence and led to Pareto's first definition of elite which defined that group of people who are the best in a field of endeavor. However, in reviewing the results of the data, it appears that empirically the best in each field may not be recognized for their contributions and achievements, since only a selected number of activities or occupations are recognized. The majority of the people listed in standard documents whose aim is to recognize "excellence in achievement" are for the most part managers, administrators or professionals. These occupations are precisely the smallest occupations numerically as compared with the variety of occupations held in a society as a whole. Of the industrial categories fewer than half were represented in the data. The occupational categories reveal an even heavier concentration of people in selected occupations, especially administration, education and the professions, than do the industrial data. So initially it can be said that in Edmonton certain occupations are more valued than others.

It became apparent that Mills' definition of elite as "those who have the most there is to have" does have empirical validity in Edmonton. The occupations

identified in this study are not only of the same kind, for the most part, but they also are occupations which correspond to the top rungs of the stratification hierarchy; i.e., the heads of corporations, government bureaucracy, elected politicians and university professors. These positions require more formal education than other occupations and generally command the highest salaries or provide access to substantial wealth.

The hierarchy affirms two other theoretical contentions. The first is that power, or wealth or influence often is accompanied by the other two. And secondly, power, wealth, and influence are institutionally derived and sustained in the Edmonton elite structure.

A second empirical finding for the occupational data that emerged was that certain institutions dominate Edmonton's social structure and that those who head these institutions are among the elite. Finance and trade are strong economic sectors of Edmonton's corporate institution. Though the petro-chemical industry has spawned most of the economic growth, Edmonton's most numerous corporations represented in the data are those which service that industry, rather than being directly of that industry itself. The provincial government and the university are the other two major institutions strongly represented in the data.

Thirdly, the data demonstrate that many of those identified by both the reputational and positional approaches occupy careers either serially or simultaneously in different institutionsal spheres. Professionals, especially lawyers and doctors, are also involved in the corporate and governmental sectors. This pattern has been apparent in Edmonton since its beginnings. One explanation has been that in prairie towns, those with expertise or education were called upon to fill positions requiring more than an average education. It can also be queried as to whether or not this pattern will withstand the rapid developments and growth of the city both demographically and economically.

The findings, then, do support the empirical existence of a group of people in Edmonton who share social characteristics atypical of the population as a whole and whose occupations give them access to power, wealth, and prestige. That is not to say that all persons named in the references are the elite; nor that if a person wasn't named, he/she wasn't an elite member. The point is similar to that of Mills that it is possible to define the social arena within which decisions are made, power is exercised, wealth is controlled, and influence maintained.

Theoretically, then, the concept "elite" has empirical value if used within specific historical circumstances and if it is understood to be sustained by a number of value bases. For, just as the concept of "the poor" has been used as a term to delimit a group of people having no power, wealth or influence, "the elite" is that group who have "access to all there is to have" i.e. all that is available. As a heuristic tool the elite approach helps to clarify the ranking system operative in a community and to analyze the characteristics of those people who occupy the top positions in the major institutions.

D. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

This exploratory research has raised as many questions as it has answered and has opened a number of future possibilities. This research covered the span of 1951 to 1974. During this time little Canadian research and even less Alberta or Edmonton data were collected or research conducted. This approach has yielded a valuable data base, but much of the data remains incomplete.

A first task for future research would be to attempt to complete the data. This could take three forms. The first would be to seek out additional references to complete variables for the existing data. The second would be to complete the positional data for the bureaucratic, labour, and ideological elites. And the third would be to initiate a study based on the decision-making approach.

Since 1971, there has been an information explosion in Canadian research which would make follow up research easier. The Financial Post along with new government documents would make it easier to research and analyze positional data especially as they relate to boards of directors.

With this strong data base as a background, systematic interviews and decision-making studies could be conducted to provide comparisons and to gain further insight into community structures and dynamics.

It is also possible to develop data bases for other communities both nationally and internationally. These would provide valuable information on differences and similarities in elite groups in different cities or different societies and might even lead to a reformulation of the Marxian-Weberian debate over ranking and social stratification.

A more in-depth analysis of each of the variables could be conducted: e.g., analyze universities attended, interlocking directorates, etc. In addition analysis of other variables such as place of residence could reveal interesting demographic trends within the community.

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APPENDIX 1

CRITICISMS of the REPUTATIONAL APPROACH

1. The reputational technique measures reputation but not power itself.
2. Informants may not have a real understanding of the dynamics of power; i.e., the opinions of the informants might be wrong.
3. The reputational technique fails to discriminate spheres of power or influence; that is, a person who is powerful in regard to social events may not be powerful in influencing actual decisions.
4. This approach assumes what it sets out to prove: i.e., a hierarchical power structure.
5. This approach does not give enough emphasis to formal political structures within the community.
6. It confuses status with power.
7. It portrays power as a one-way process, with little feedback.
8. This existence of unequal access to power does not prove the existence of an elite.
9. The reputational approach defines power as relational rather than independent of persons and tied to issues.
10. The reputational approach does not ensure that the respondent has the same understanding of the questions being asked.
11. The reputational approach's preoccupation with the economic elite shows the influence of a Marxist bias.
12. The reputational approach suffers the further difficulty of who to include and who to exclude from compiled lists.

APPENDIX 2

PLACE OF BIRTH: INTERSECTING DATA

Place	Reputational		Corporate		Political		Pol./Rep.		Pol./Corp.		Rep./Cor.		All		Ed.	Can.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%	%
Canada	200	70%	9	90%	23	85%	10	83%	2	100%	67	81%	3	75%	77.3%	84.8%
(Alberta)	(58	20%)	(8	80%)	(12	44%)	(5	42%)	(1	50%)	(21	25%)	(1	25%)	56.2%	
(Ontario)	(75	26%)	-	-	(2	7%)	(1	8%)	(1	50%)	(20	24%)	(1	25%)		
British Isles	45	16%	1	10%	1	4%	1	8%	-	-	9	11%	-	-	7.5%	5.4%
(England)	(23	8%)	-	-	-	-	(1	8%)	-	-	(8	10%)	-	-		
(Scotland)	(14	5%)	(1	10%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1	1%)	-	-		
U.S.	19	7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6%	1	25%	2.9%	1.7%
Europe	14	5%	-	-	3	11%	1	8%	-	-	2	2%	-	-	11.2%	7.2%
(France)	-	-	-	-	(1	4%	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Austria)	(3	1%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1	1%)				
(Germany)	(2	0.7%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Hungary)	(1	0.4%)	-	-	-	-	(1	8%)	-	-	-	-				
(Italy)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Netherlands)	(1	0.4%)	-	-	(1	4%)	-	-	-	-	(1	1%)				
(Poland)	-	-	-	-	(1	4%)	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Russia)	(2	0.4%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Sweden)	(1	0.4%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
(Ukraine)	(3	1.0%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Other	6	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			1.2%	0.9%
(India)	(5	1.7%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				

APPENDIX 3

ETHNICITY COMBINED: INTERSECTING DATA

Ethnicity	Reputational No.	%	Corporate No.	$	Political No.	%	Pol./Rep. No.	%	Pol./Corp. No.	%	Rep./Corp. No.	%	All No.	%	Total No.	%	Edmonton No.	1971 %
English	75	52%	75	67.0%	4	23.5%	1	8.3%	-	-	21	61.8%	1	33.3%	177	55.7%		
Irish	4	2.7%	3	2.7%	2	11.8%	2	16.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	3.5%		
Scottish	18	12.5%	8	7.1%	1	5.9%	1	8.3%	-	-	7	20.6%	-	-	35	11.0%		
British, Other	13	9.0%	4	3.6%	1	5.9%	-	-	-	-	2	5.9%	2	66.7%	22	6.9%		
Total B.I.	110	76.4%	90	80.4%	8	47.1%	4	33.3%	-	-	30	88.2%	3	100%	245	77.0%	193,605+	44.2%
France	3	2.0%	-	-	-	-	1	8.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.3%	29,500-	6.7%
Austria	2	1.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6%	2,200+	0.5%
Germany	4	2.7%	11	9.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	8.8%	-	-	18	5.7%	54,405-	12.4%
Hungary	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	3,035-	0.7%
Italy	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	8,735-	2.0%
Greece	1	0.7%	1	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6%	Not Available	
Netherlands	2	1.4%	2	1.8%	1	5.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.6%	14,370-	3.3%
Poland	-	-	-	-	2	11.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6%	15,505-	3.5%
Romania	-	-	-	-	1	5.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	Not Available	
Russia	2	1.4%	2	1.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.3%	2,040+	0.5%
Scandinavia	-	-	3	2.7%	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.9%		
Denmark	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	20,850-	4.8%
Norway	2	1.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6%		
Sweden	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%		
Ukraine	4	2.7%	2	1.8%	3	17.6%	3	25.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	3.8%	58,475-	13.3%
European, Other	-	-	-	-	2	kk,7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6%	Not Available	
Total European	24	16.7%	21	18.8%	9	52.9%	4	33.3%	-	-	3	8.8%	0	-	61	29.2%	209,115-	47.7%
Japanese	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	610+	0.1%
India	3	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.9%	Not Available	
Australia	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	Not Available	
Israel (Jewish)	4	2.7%	1	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.9%	-	-	6	1.9%	2,865+	0.7%
Other	1	0.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3%	720+	0.2%
Total Other	10	6.9%	1	0.9%	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	2.9%	0	-	12	3.8%	10,720+	1.4%
Total Known	144		112		17		8		0		34		3		318		420,060	
Total Cases	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863		438,435	

APPENDIX 4

RELIGION: INTERSECTING DATA

Religion	Reputational No.	%	Corporate No.	%	Political No.	%	Pol./Rep. No.	%	Pol./Corp. No.	%	Rep./Cor. No.	%	All No.	%	Total No.	%	Edmonton %	Canada %
Anglican	39	17.6%	1	11.1%	4	15.4%	-		1	50%	22	29.7%	-		67			
Baptist	11	5.0%	-		1	3.8%	1	9%	-		1	1.4%	1	25%	15			
Christian Ref.	-		-		1	3.8%	-		-		-		-		1			
Evang.Free Ch.	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1			
Lutheran	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		2	2.7%	-		3			
Mennonite	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1			
Mormon	2	0.9%	-		-		-		-		-		-		2			
Presbyterian	20	9.0%	-		1	3.8%	-		1	50%	5	6.8%	-		27			
Ukrain. Pent.	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1			
Unitarian	4	1.8%	1	11.1%	-		1	9%	-		-		-	75%	6			
United	67	30.1%	4	44.4%	6	23.0%	4	36.4%	-		25	33.8%	3		109			
Protest.Other	42	18.9%	-		4	15.4%	-		-		13	17.6%			59			
Total Protestant	189	85.1%	6	66.7%	17	65.4%	6	54.5%	2	100%	68	91.9%	4	100%	292		55.7%	44.2%
Roman Catholic	16	7.2%	2	22.2%	5	19.2%	3	27.3%			5	6.8%	-		31			
Ukranian Catholic	-		-		1	3.8%	-		-		-		-		1			
Total Catholic	16	7.2%	2	22.2%	6	23.0%	3	27.3%	0		5	6.8%	0		32			
Greek Orthodox	2	0.9%	-		1	3.8%	1	9.0%	-		-		-		4			
Russian Orthodox	-		-		2	7.7%	-		-		-		-		2			
Ukranian Orthodox	2	0.9%	-		-		-		-		-		-		2			
Total Orthodox	4	1.8%	3	11.5%	1	9.0%	0		0		0		0		8			
Christian Total	209	94.1%	8	88.0%	26	100%	10	90.9%	2	100%	73	98.6%	4	100%	332		89.5%	93.0%
Bahai	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1			
Hindu	2	0.9%	-		-		-		-		-		-		2			
Jewish	9	4.0%	1	11.1%	-		1	9.0%	-		1	1.4%	-		12		0.5%	1.3%
Atheist	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1			
Total Known	22	100%	9	100%	26	100%	11	100%	2	100%	74	100%	4	100%	348			
Total	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863			

APPENDIX 5

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: INTERSECTING DATA

Level of Education	Reputational		Corporate		Political		Po./Rep.		Pol./Corp.		Rep/Corp.		All		Total	
	No.	$	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Some High School	1	0.4%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1	0.2%
Some-High School Plus Technical	-		-		1	3.8%	-		-		-		-		1	0.2%
High School	9	3.4%	4	6.0%			1	10%	-		1	14.3%	-		15	2.8%
High School Plus Technical	13	5.0%	1	1.5%	1	3.8%	1	10%	-		7	9.1%	-		23	4.3%
Some University	23	8.8%	5	7.6%	6	23.1%	-		-		9	11.7%	-		43	8.1%
University	36	13.8%	19	28.8%	10	38.5%	2	20%	-		27	35.1%	-		94	17.7%
University Plus Technical	8	3.1%	7	10.6%	2	7.7%	-		-		7	9.1%	-		24	4.5%
University Plus Post Graduate	171	65.5%	30	45.5%	6	23.1%	6	60%	1	100%	26	33.8%	2	100%	330	62.1%
Total Known	261	100%	66	100%	26	100%	10	100%	1	100%	77	100%	2	100%	531	100%
Total Cases	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863	

APPENDIX 6

FIELD OF STUDY BY TYPE OF ELITE

	Reputational						Corporate						Political					
	Doctorate		Masters		Baccalaureate		Doctorate		Masters		Baccalaureate		Doctorate		Masters		Baccalaureate	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	6	4.5%	3	20%	8	3.7%	1	5.0%	-		-		-		-		-	
Arts	28	20.9%	34	23.0%	77	35.2%	-		2	5.1%	9	11.5%	1	12.5%	1	14.3%	3	14.3%
Business and Commerce	1	0.7%	7	4.7%	19	8.7%	-		8	20.5%	16	20.5%	-		-		5	23.8%
Education	13	9.7%	10	6.8%	13	5.9%	1	5.0%	1	2.6%	2	2.6%	1	12.5%	1	14.3%	2	9.5%
Engineering	4	3.0%	12	8.1%	32	14.6%	2	10.0%	14	35.9%	25	32.1%	-		-		-	
Home Economics	1	0.7%	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	
Law	20	14.9%	37	25%	21	9.6%	11	55%	11	28.2%	10	12.8%	4	50%	2	28.6%	6	28.6%
Library Science	-		1	0.7%	2	0.9%	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Medicine	21	15.7%	11	7.4%	6	2.7%	5	25%	1	2.6%	1	1.3%	2	25%	-		-	
Physical Education	1	0.7%	1	0.7%	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	
Science	37	27.6%	29	19.6%	41	18.7%	-		2	5.1%	1	1.3%	-		3	42.9%	5	23.8%
Other	2	1.5%	3	2.0%	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	
Total Known	134	100%	148	100%	219	100%	20	100%	39		78	.00%	8	100%	7	100%	21	100%
Total Cases	405		405		405		518		51		5		49		49		49	

APPENDIX 7

PLACE OF EDUCATION BY TYPE OF ELITE

Place	Reputational						Corporate						Political					
	Doctorate		Masters		Baccalaureate		Doctorate		Masters		Baccalaureate		Doctorate		Masters		Barralaureate	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alberta	18	13.1%	48	31.7%	91	41.9%	4	30.7%	5	26.3%	31	60.8%	5	55.6%	4	44.4%	15	75%
Ontario	24	17.5%	28	18.5%	53	24.4%	3	23.1%	2	10.5%	6	11.8%	-		1	11.1%	2	10%
Quebec	19	13.9%	10	6.6%	7	3.2%	2	15.4%	3	15.8%	1	2.0%	1	11.1%	-		1	5%
Canada Other	10	7.3%	22	14.6%	47	21.7%	1	7.7%	1	5.3%	10	19.6%	1	11.1%	-		2	10%
Canada Total	71	51.8%	108	71.5%	198	91.2%	10	76.9%	11	57.9%	48	94.1%	7	77.8%	5	55.6%	20	100%
U.S. Total	51	38.0%	30	19.9%	9	4.1%	3	23.1%	6	31.6%	1	2.0%	2	22.2%	3	33.3%	-	
Britain Total	10	7.3%	9	6.0%	9	4.1%	-		2	10.5%	2	3.9%	-		1	11.1%	-	
Europe Total	2	1.5%	2	1.3%	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	
Other Total	2	1.5%	2	1.3%	1	0.5%	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Total Known	137	100%	151	100%	217	100%	13	100%	19	100%	51	100%	9	100%	9	100%	20	100%
Total Cases	405		405		405		518		518		518		49		49		49	

APPENDIX 8

INSTITUTION: INTERSECTION DATA FOR FIRST CAREER CHOICE

Institution	Reputational		Corporate		Political		Pol./Rep.		Pol./Corp.		Rep./Cor.		All		Total
Corporate	5	2.0%	18	6.2%	-		-		-		3	4.5%	-		26
Finance	5	2.0%	39	13.4%	-		-		-		11	16.4%	-		56
Trade	24	9.7%	95	32.5%	4	15.4%	1	11.1%	-		14	20.9%	1	25%	193
Transportation	-		15	5.1%	-		-		-		3	4.5%	1	25%	18
Mining	3	1.2%	37	12.7%	-		-		-		7	10.4%	-		47
Manufacturing	12	4.8%	62	21.2%	1	3.8%	-		-		11	16.4%	-		86
Total Corporate	49	19.8%	266	91.1%	5	19.2%	1	11.1%	0		49	73.1%	2	50%	372
Political	-		1	0.3%	-		-		-		-		-		1
National	5	2.0%	6	2.1%	-		-		1	50%	1	1.5%	-		13
Provincial	16	6.5%	-		15	57.7%	4	44.4%	1	50%	2	3.0%	2	50%	40
Local	-		1	0.3%	-		-		-		-		-		1
Total Political	21	8.5%	8	2.7%	15	57.7%	4	44.4%	2	100%	3	4.5%	2	50%	55
Beaurecratic	1	0.4%	1	0.3%	-		-		-		-		-		2
National	9	3.6%	3	1.0%	-		-		-		-		-		12
Provincial	32	12.9%	5	1.7%	1	3.8%	-		-		3	4.5%	-		41
Local	3	1.2%	4	1.4%	1	3.8%	-		-		-		-		8
Total Beaurecratic	45	18.1%	13	4.5%	2	7.7%	0		0		3	4.5%	0		63
Labour	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		0
National	1	0.4%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1
Provincial			-		-		-		-		-		-		0
Local	1	0.4%	1	0.3%	2	7.7%	1	11.1%	-		1	1.5%	-		6
Total Labourer	2	0.8%	1	0.3%	2	7.7%	1	11.1%	0		1	1.5%	0		7
Idealogical	1	0.4%	-		-		-		-		-		-		1
Academic	108	59.7%	1	0.3%	1	3.8%	2	22.1%	0		7	10.4%	-		119
Religious	16	6.5%	-		-		1	11.1%	-		-		-		17
Media	6	2.4%	3	1.3%	1	3.8%	-		-		4	6.0%	-		14
Total Ideological	131	52.8%	4	1.4%	2	7.7%	3	33.3%	0		11	16.4%	0		151
Total Known	248		292		26		9		2		67		4		648
Total Cases	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863

APPENDIX 9

INDUSTRY: INTERSECTING DATA FOR FIRST CAREER CHOICE

Industry	Reputational 26/9		Corporate 39-41		Political 53-4		Pol./Rep. 66-7		Pol./Corp. 80		Rep./Corp. 92-3		All 106		Total 118-121	
Agriculture	10	4.1%	-		1		1	9%	-		-		-		12	1.9%
Fishing and Trapping	-		1	0.4%	-		-		-		-		-		1	0.2%
Mining	3	1.3%	31	10.9%	-		-		-		4	5.2%	-		38	5.9%
Manufacturing	16	6.6%	86	30.3%	1	3.7%	-		-		15	19.5%	-		118	18.2%
Construction	7	2.9%	29	10.2%	1	3.7%	-		-		4	5.2%	-		41	6.3%
Trans. Com. Util	6	2.5%	39	13.7%	1	3.7%	-		-		15	19.5%	-		61	9.4%
Trade	6	2.5%	26	9.2%	2	7.4%	-		-		3	3.9%	1	33.3%	38	5.9%
Fin., Ins. & R.E.	7	2.9%	32	11.3%	-		1	9%	-		9	11.7%	-		49	7.6%
Comm. Bus & Pa. Serv.	146	59.9%	37	13.0%	6	22.2%	5	45.5%	-		23	29.9%	-		217	33.5%
Education	(91)		-		(2)		(2)		-		(4)		-		(99)	
Health	(11)		(6)		(1)		(1)		-		(1)				(20)	
Religion	(11)		-		-		-		-		-		-		(11)	
Amus. & Rec.	(1)		-		-		-		-		-		-		(1)	
Serv. to Business	(29)		(16)		2		(2)		-		(18)		-		(67)	
Personal Services	(1)		(4)		-		-		-		-		-		(5)	
Food. & Accom.	(1)		(4)		-		-		-		-		-		(5)	
Misc. Serv.	(1)		(7)		1		-		-		-		-		(9)	
Public Adm. & Def.	43	17.6%	3	1%	15	55.6%	4	36.4%	2	100%	4	5.2%	2	66.7%	73	11.3%
Total Known Cases	244		284		27		11		2		77		3		648	
Total Cases	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863	

OCCUPATIONS: INTERSECTING DATA FOR ALL CAREER CHOICES

Occupation	Reputational		Corporate		Political		Pol./Rep.		Pol./Corp.		Rep./Cor.		All		Total	
Officials & Adm. of Gov.	33	11.2%	5	1.5%	17	54.8%	4	33.3%	2	100%	2	2.3%	2	50%	65	8.6%
Other Managers & Adm.	40	13.6%	279	85.1%	4	12.9%					46	53.5%	2	50%	371	49.2%
Related to Mgmt. & Adm. Administration	4	1.4%	14	4.7	-	-	-	-	-		6	7.0%	-		24	3.2%
Mgmt. Total	77	26.2%	298	90.9%	21	67.7%	4	33.3%	2	100%	54	62.8%	4	100%	460	61.0%
Science, Engineering & Math	16	5.4%	3	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-		4	4.7%	-		23	3.1%
Social Science	56	19%	10	3.0%	4	12.9%	2	16.7%	-		17	19.8%	-		89	11.8%
Religion	15	5.1%	-		-		1	8.3%	0		-		-		16	2.1%
Education	102	34.7%	-		2	6.4%	2	16.7%	-		5	5.8%	-		111	14.7%
Medicine & Health	14	4.8%	6	1.8%	1	3.2%	1	8.3%	-		1	1.2%	-		23	3.1%
Art., Lit & Arts	5	1.7%	1	0.3%	1	3.2%	-		-		-		-		7	0.9%
Clerical	2	0.7%	1	0.3%	-	-	-		-		-		-		3	0.4%
Sales	-		4	1.2%	1	3.2%	1	8.3%	-		1	1.2%	-		7	0.9%
Service Occup.	3	1.0%	1	0.3%	-	-	-		-		-		-		4	0.5%
Farm	6	2.0%	-		1	3.2%	1	8.3%	-		-		-		8	1.1%
Minery	-		1	0.3%	-		-		-		-		-		1	0.1%
	2	0.7%	-		-		-		-		-		-		2	0.2%
Construction	-		2	0.6%	-		-		-		-		-		2	0.2%
Other	2	0.7%	1	0.3%	-		-		-		4	4.7%	-		7	0.9%
Total Known	294		328		31		12		2		86		4		754	
Total	302		425		31		12		2		87		4		863	

APPENDIX 11

POLITICAL AFFILIATION: INTERSECTING DATA

	Political		Corporate		Reputational		Pol./Corp.		Pol./Corp.		Rep./Corp.		PCR		Total	
Liberal	5	16.1%	2	0.5%	43	14.2%	1	50.0%	5	41.7	14	16.1%	2	50.0%	72	8.3%
P.C.	17	54.8%	2	0.5%	21	7.0%	1	50.0%	4	33.3	17	19.5%	1	25.0%	63	7.3%
S.C.	8	25.8%	-		18	6.0%	-		3	25.0	2	2.3%	1	25.0%	32	3.7%
N.D.P.	-		-		5	1.7%	-		0		-		0		5	0.6%
C.C.F.	1	3.2%	-		1	0.3%	-		0		-		0		2	0.2%
U.F.A.	-		-		1	0.3%	-		-		-		-		1	0.1%
Total Known	31	100.0	4	1.0	89	29.5%	2	100%	12	100	33	37.9	4	100%	175	20.5%
Total	31	100.0	425	100%	302	100%	2	100%	12	100%	87	100%	4	100%	863	100%

APPENDIX 12

TIME: SEX

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL			CORPORATE			POLITICAL			TOTAL			TOTAL %		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1951	61	-	61	79	2	81	8	-	8	148	2	150	98.7	1.3	100
1952	190	10	200				10	-	10						
1953	151	10	161				11	-	11						
1954	148	10	158				11	-	11						
1955	146	6	152	152	-	152	10	-	10	308	6	314	98.1	1.9	100
1956	200	8	208				12	-	12						
1957	201	8	209				11	-	11						
1958	206	8	214				11	-	11						
1959	206	7	213				12	-	12						
1960	212	8	220				11	1	12						
1961	199	6	205	153	1	154	9	1	10	361	2	363	99.4	0.6	100
1962	198	6	204				9	1	10						
1963	192	6	198				13	1	14						
1964	175	5	180				13	2	15						
1965	175	5	180	149	5	154	13	1	14	337	11	348	96.8	3.2	100
1966	173	4	177				13	1	14						
1967	166	5	171				12	1	13						
1968	163	5	178				15	1	16						
1969	148	4	152				15	1	16						
1970	158	3	161				16	1	17						
1971	163	4	167	177	7	184	16	1	17	358	12	370	96.8	3.2	100
1972	163	4	167				23	2	25						
1973	152	5	157				16	1	17						
1974	152	5	157	184	5	189	16	1	17	356	11	367	97.0	3.0	100

APPENDIX 13

TIME: PLACE OF BIRTH

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL						CORPORATE						POLITICAL						TOTAL						TOTAL %					
	C	BI	US	E	O	T*	C	BI	US	E	O	T	C	BI	US	E	O	T	C	BI	US	E	O	T	C	BI	US	E	O	T
1951	51	7	5	2	1	66	17	6	1	-	-	24	8	-	-	-	-	8	76	13	6	2	1	98	78	13	6	2	1	100
1952	133	42	14	5	2	196							10	-	-	-	-	10												
1953	104	38	10	4	1	157							10	-	-	-	-	10												
1954	102	38	9	4	1	154							9	1	1	-	-	11												
1955	103	33	8	5	1	150	31	6	2	2	-	41	9	-	1	-	-	10	143	39	11	7	1	201	71	19	6	3.5	0.5	100
1956	147	40	12	7	2	208							9	1	1	1	-	12												
1957	147	40	12	7	2	208							9	-	1	1	-	11												
1958	148	39	13	10	2	212							9	-	1	1	-	11												
1959	148	39	13	10	2	212							9	-	1	1	-	11												
1960	155	38	16	8	2	219							10	-	1	-	-	11												
1961	150	29	16	8	1	204	37	4	4	1	-	46	8	-	1	-	-	9	195	33	21	9	1	259	75	13	8	3.5	0.5	100
1962	150	28	16	8	1	203							8	-	1	-	-	9												
1963	145	27	16	8	1	197							8	-	1	-	-	9												
1964	136	25	12	5	1	179							11	-	1	-	-	12												
1965	136	25	12	5	1	179	40	4	1	1	-	46	11	-	1	-	-	12	187	29	14	6	1	237	79	12	6	2.5	0.5	
1966	136	25	10	4	1	176							11	-	1	-	-	12												
1967	128	25	10	5	2	170							11	-	-	-	-	11												
1968	128	22	10	5	2	167							13	-	-	1	-	14												
1969	117	18	9	5	2	151							13	-	-	1	-	14												
1970	128	15	10	6	1	160							13	-	-	2	-	15												
1971	125	17	12	7	1	162	32	4	4	-	-	40	13	-	-	1	-	14	170	21	16	8	1	216	79	10	7	3.5	0.5	
1972	126	17	12	7	1	163							19	-	1	2	-	22												
1973	116	16	8	7	4	151							11	1	1	2	-	15												
1974	115	17	8	6	4	150	35	2	3	-	-	40	12	1	-	2	-	15	162	20	11	8	4	205	79	10	5	4	2	

* C = Canada
BI = British Isles
US = United States
E = Europe
O = Other
T = Total

APPENDIX 14

TIME: ETHNICITY COMBINED

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL					CORPORATE					POLITICAL					TOTAL NO.						TOTAL %					
	C	BI	US	E	O	C	BI	US	E	O	C	BI	US	E	O	C	BI	US	E	O	T	C	BI	US	E	O	T
1951	22	20	1	2	1	3	31	-	4	-	2	2	-	2	-	27	53	1	8	1	90	30	59	1	9	1	100
1955	31	71	1	7	3	11	39	-	5	1	2	3	1	2	-	44	113	2	14	4	177	25	64	1	18	2	100
1961	42	84	2	12	2	13	36	1	6	-	2	1	-	4	-	57	121	3	22	2	205	28	59	1	11	1	100
1965	42	77	2	8	1	13	35	-	6	-	2	2	1	5	-	57	114	3	19	1	194	29	58.5	2	10	0.5	100
1971	40	62	7	10	2	9	38	2	10	1	3	4	1	6	-	52	104	10	26	3	195	27	53	5	13	2	100
1974	34	58	8	12	5	9	42	2	10	1	6	4	-	3	-	49	104	10	25	6	194	25	54	5	13	3	100

* C - Canadian
BI - British
US - United States
E - European
O - Other

APPENDIX 15

TIME: RELIGION

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL				CORPORATE				POLITICAL				TOTAL NO.					TOTAL %				
	P	C	O	O*	P	C	O	O	P	C	O	O	P	C	O	O	T	P	C	O	O	T
1951	42	6			22	1	-	-	6	1	-	-	70	8	-	-	78	90	10	-	-	100
1952	141	13	2	2					7	2	-	-										
1953	114	8	2	2					8	2	-	-										
1954	112	8	2	2					8	2	-	-										
1955	112	6	1	-	33	4	-	-	7	1	-	-	152	10	1	-	163	93	6	1	-	100
1956	158	11	1	2					8	2	-	-										
1957	114	11	1	2					7	2	-	-										
1958	163	12	1	1					6	3	-	-										
1959	163	12	1	1					6	3	1	-										
1960	168	11	1	1					7	2	2	-										
1961	159	13	1	1	40	2	-	-	5	2	2	-	204	15	3	1	223	92	6.6	1	0.4	100
1962	154	12	1	1					5	2	2	-										
1963	148	12	1	1					5	2	2	-										
1964	137	8	1	-					8	2	2	-										
1965	137	8	1	-	34	3	-	-	8	2	2	-	180	13	3	-	196	92	6.5	1.5	-	100
1966	136	6	1	-					9	1	2	-										
1967	133	6	1	-					8	1	2	-										
1968	130	6	1	-					12	1	2	-										
1969	116	6	1	-					11	2	2	-										
1970	116	7	1	-					11	3	2	-										
1971	112	6	2	-	32	3	-	-	11	3	2	-	155	12	4	-	171	91	7	2	-	100
1972	112	7	2	-					14	5	3	-										
1973	104	5	5	-					9	5	2	-										
1974	105	5	6	-	36	3	-	-	9	5	2	-	150	13	8	-	171	88	8	4	-	100

* P - Protestant
C - Catholic
O - Orthodox
O - Other

APPENDIX 16

TIME: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL						CORPORATE						POLITICAL						TOTAL							TOTAL %					
	5	6	7	8	9	10*	5	6	7	8	9	10	5	6	7	8	9	10	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTAL	5	6	7	8	9	10
1951	3	4	5	5	3	39	1	3	2	6	4	8	-	-	-	2	-	3	4	7	7	11	7	47	83	5%	8%	8%	13%	8%	57%
1952	5	13	14	23	11	108							1	-	-	2	-	3													
1953	3	9	9	23	10	87							1	-	-	2	-	5													
1954	3	9	9	22	10	85							1	-	-	3	-	5													
1955	5	8	14	25	11	73							-	1	-	2	-	5	7	15	30	32	16	99	199	4%	8%	15%	16%	8%	50%
1956	6	11	17	25	11	119	-	2	6	16	5	21	1	1	-	3	-	5													
1957	6	11	17	25	11	119							1	1	-	3	-	5													
1958	5	10	17	31	11	121							1	1	-	3	-	5													
1959	5	10	17	31	11	115							1	-	-	5	-	5													
1960	4	11	19	32	10	125							-	2	-	5	-	4													
1961	3	11	15	30	9	118	1	3	7	23	5	22	-	2	-	3	-	4	4	16	22	56	14	144	256	2%	6%	9%	22%	6%	56%
1962	4	11	14	30	8	118							-	2	-	3	-	4													
1963	4	9	14	30	8	115							-	2	-	3	-	4													
1964	4	7	15	25	7	103							-	2	2	5	-	4													
1965	4	8	15	25	7	103	2	2	6	19	6	22	-	2	2	5	-	4	6	12	23	49	13	129	232	3%	5%	10%	21%	6%	56%
1966	4	9	13	25	7	100							-	2	2	5	-	4													
1967	2	8	14	26	6	95							-	2	2	5	-	3													
1968	2	8	13	24	6	95							-	2	1	6	-	4													
1969	2	7	12	25	5	81							-	2	1	5	-	4													
1970	4	7	8	28	4	90							-	2	1	4	1	4													
1971	4	8	8	28	4	89	2	3	4	21	3	23	-	2	1	4	1	4	6	13	13	53	8	116	209	3%	6%	6%	25%	4%	56%
1972	4	8	8	27	4	90							-	2	3	5	2	9													
1973	1	6	5	25	3	88							-	-	1	4	1	8													
1974	1	6	7	27	2	87	1	3	5	21	5	27	-	-	1	5	1	7	3	9	13	53	8	121	207	1.5%	4.5%	6%	26%	4%	59%

*5 - High School
6 - High School & Tech.
7 - Some College
8 - University
9 - University & Tech.
10 - University & Post Grad.

TABLE 17

TIME: EDUCATION - FIELD OF STUDY

	AGRICULTURE		ARTS		BUSINESS/COMMERCE		EDUCATION		ENGINEERING		HOME ECONOMICS		LAW		LIBRARY SCIENCE		MEDICINE		PHYSICAL EDUCATION		SCIENCE		OTHER		TOTAL	
YEAR	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1951	1	1%	20	24%	6	7%	3	4%	7	9%	-		19	23%	-		10	12%	-		16	20%	-		82	100%
1955	3	1%	51	23%	23	10%	14	6%	26	12%	-		48	22%	-		25	11%	-		30	14%	-		220	100%
1961	10	3%	77	25%	25	8%	21	7%	21	7%	1	.3%	64	21%	1	.3%	31	10%	2	.7%	51	17%	-		304	100%
1965	7	3%	61	22%	22	8%	20	7%	48	17%	1	.3%	56	20%	1	.4%	21	8%	2	.7%	38	14%	2	.7%	279	100%
1971	6	2%	57	19%	34	11%	12	4%	34	11%	-		62	21%	1	.3%	21	7%	-		69	23%	2	.7%	298	100%
1974	9	3%	61	19%	36	12%	22	7%	43	14%	-		57	18%	1	.3%	18	6%	2	.6%	63	20%	2	.6%	314	100%

APPENDIX 18

TIME: EDUCATION - PLACE

YEAR	DOCTORATE					MASTERS					BACCALAUREATE					TOTAL NO.						TOTAL %					
	C	BI	US	E	O*	C	BI	US	E	O	C	BI	US	E	O	C	BI	US	E	O	T	C	BI	US	E	O	T
1951	22	8	1	1	1	18	3	1	1	-	35	-	-	-	-	75	11	2	2	1	91	83%	12%	2%	2%	1%	100%
1955	41	11	1	-	1	43	6	4	1	-	95	3	2	-	-	175	20	7	1	1	204	86%	10%	3%	0.5%	0.5%	100%
1961	60	32	2	1	1	64	10	6	2	-	131	5	4	-	-	255	47	12	3	1	318	80%	15%	4%	1%	0.3%	100%
1965	52	30	2	1	1	56	11	6	1	-	123	5	5	-	-	231	46	13	2	-	292	79%	16%	5%	0.6%	-	100%
1971	38	23	3	-	1	49	22	9	-	1	113	5	6	-	-	200	50	18	-	2	270	74%	19%	7%	-	1%	100%
1974	27	26	8	1	2	48	26	10	1	2	119	6	5	-	-	194	58	23	2	2	275	70%	21%	8%	0.5%	0.5%	100%

* C = Canada
BI = British Isles
US = United States
E = Europe
O = Other

APPENDIX 19

TIME: INSTITUTION

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL					CORPORATE					POLITICAL					TOTAL NO.						TOTAL %					
	C	P	B	L	I*	C	P	B	L	I	C	P	B	L	I	C	P	B	L	I	T	C	P	B	L	I	T
1951	20	16	9	-	35	54	4	6	-	8	2	10	-	-	-	76	30	15	-	43	165	46%	19%	9%	-	26%	100%
1952	59	43	41	2	98						3	12	-	-	-												
1953	46	35	39	2	75						4	14	1	-	-												
1954	46	35	38	2	74						4	14	1	-	-												
1955	61	31	36	8	65	108	6	8	-	12	3	13	1	-	1	172	50	45	8	78	353	49%	14%	13%	2%	22%	100%
1956	74	33	42	11	104						3	14	1	-	2												
1957	75	32	42	11	104						3	13	1	-	1												
1958	80	34	42	11	109						2	12	2	-	1												
1959	80	34	42	11	109						3	13	2	1	-												
1960	80	36	40	11	117						2	13	1	1	2												
1961	75	37	30	10	109	111	8	11	2	11	1	11	1	1	2	197	56	42	13	122	420	45%	13%	10%	3%	29%	100%
1962	72	38	30	10	107						1	11	1	1	2												
1963	70	38	29	10	103						1	11	1	1	2												
1964	71	37	26	9	91						4	14	1	1	2												
1965	72	37	26	9	89	107	11	9	3	12	4	14	1	1	2	153	62	36	13	103	367	42%	17%	10%	4%	28%	100%
1966	65	42	29	9	85						4	14	1	1	3												
1967	60	42	26	5	85						4	13	1	1	3												
1968	58	43	26	5	86						4	17	1	1	3												
1969	52	43	23	2	76						5	17	1	1	4												
1970	56	38	28	2	83						5	18	1	1	4												
1971	64	38	32	2	84	136	10	8	—	11	7	17	1	1	4	207	65	41	3	99	415	50%	16%	10%	1%	23%	100%
1972	62	38	32	2	77						4	26	4		4												
1973	58	30	25	3	91						3	16	1		3												
1974	59	30	25	2	93	133	9	14	—	13	3	15	3		3	195	54	42	2	109	402	49%	13.5%	10%	0.5%	27%	100%

*C - Corporate
P - Political
B - Bureaucratic
L - Labour
I - Ideological

APPENDIX 20

TIME: INDUSTRY

YEAR	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES																																			
	AGRICULTURE		FORESTRY		MINING AND MINERALS		MANUFACTURING		CONSTRUCTION		TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION AND UTILITIES		TRADE		FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE		EDUCATION		HEALTH AND WELFARE		RELIGION		AMUSEMENT AND RECREATION		SERVICES TO BUSINESS		PERSONAL SERVICES		ACCOMMODATION AND FOOD		MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES		PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENSE		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1951	1	0.5	1	0.5	6	4	22	14	5	3	17	11	13	9	13	9	22	14	6	4	3	2	-	-	15	10	-		-	-	2	1	27	18	153	100
1955	6	2	1	0.5	23	7	50	15	5	0.5	27	8	12	4	36	11	46	13	10	3	5	0.5	2	0.5	43	13			2	0.5	4	0.5	70	21	342	100
1961	11	3	-	-	18	4	58	14	19	4	42	10	14	3	40	9	80	19	13	3	5	1	2	0.5	55	13	-		1	0.5	3	0.5	65	15	426	100
1965	12	3	-	-	18	4	63	16	14	4	47	12	14	4	34	9	70	18	9	2	3	0.5	1	0.5	47	11	-		-	-	4	1	59	15	395	100
1971	10	2	-	-	14	4	63	16	22	6	39	10	24	6	18	5	63	16	11	3	-	-	2	0.5	59	15	-		2	0.5	7	2	56	14	390	100
1974	8	2	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	56	14	19	5	43	11	13	3	26	7	82	21	9	2	-	-	1	0.5	55	14	1	0.5	3	0.5	6	1	61	15	400	100

APPENDIX 21

TIME: OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION CATEGORIES

YEAR	MANAGEMENT AND -TRATION #	%	NATURAL SCIENCE, ENGINEERING AND MATH #	%	SOCIAL SCIENCE AND RELATED FIELDS #	%	HEALTH AND MEDICINE #	%	ART, LITERATURE AND PERFORMING ARTS #	%	SPORTS #	%	CLERICAL AND RELATED WORK #	%	SALES #	%	SERVICE OCCUPATIONS #	%
1951	117	64	6	3	44	24	6	3	2	1	–	–	3	2	2	1	–	–
1955	248	62	16	4	98	25	11	3	9	2	–	–	4	1	3	0.5	1	0.5
1961	270	57	13	3	153	32	10	2	7	1	–	–	4	1	4	1	1	0.5
1965	270	60	10	2	129	29	13	3	7	2	–	–	3	0.5	5	1	1	0.5
1971	247	61	11	3	122	27	12	3	14	3	1	0.5	2	0.5	4	0.5	1	0.5
1974	279	607	[illegible]	3	131	28	12	3	14	3	2	0.5	1	0.5	3	0.5	2	0.5

YEAR	FARMING, FISHING AND FORESTRY #	%	MINING #	%	PROCESSING #	%	PRODUCT FABRICATING #	%	CONSTRUCTION TRADES #	%	MATERIALS HANDLING #	%	CRAFT & EQUIPMENT HANDLING #	%	OTHER #	%	TOTAL #	%
1951	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–		–	182
1955	6	1	–	–	2	0.5	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–		–	399
1961	6	1	1	0.5	3	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	473
1965	6	1	–	–	3	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5		488
1971	4	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	446
1974	3	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	462

APPENDIX 22

Year	TIME: NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP																													
	Reputational						Corporate						Political						Total							Total %					
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
1951	12	7	6	5	2	-	7	4	1	4	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	22	11	7	9	3	2	54	41%	20%	13%	17%	6%	3%	100%
1952	43	30	22	25	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1953	33	24	17	21	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1954	33	23	17	21	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955	29	23	18	19	4	6	8	8	3	4	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	40	31	21	23	4	8	127	31%	25%	17%	18%	3%	6%	100%
1956	41	28	25	32	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1957	41	28	25	32	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1958	40	29	25	32	5	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1959	40	29	25	32	5	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	41	28	26	34	5	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	38	26	28	35	4	15	9	8	6	5	-	3	2	-	2	1	-	-	49	34	36	41	4	18	182	27%	19%	20%	23%	2%	10%	100%
1962	37	28	23	39	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1963	36	27	23	38	4	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	27	25	24	41	5	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965	27	25	24	42	5	11	9	10	6	9	-	2	4	-	2	1	-	-	40	35	32	52	5	13	177	23%	20%	18%	29%	3%	7%	100%
1966	27	26	25	41	4	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	27	23	23	40	4	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1968	27	21	23	40	4	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969	25	17	20	38	3	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	27	21	23	40	6	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	35	22	22	35	6	11	8	11	2	9	2	1	4	-	1	3	-	-	47	33	25	47	8	12	172	27%	19%	15%	27%	5%	7%	100%
1972	24	23	22	35	6	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	2	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973	27	23	19	46	3	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1974	27	23	19	46	3	8	10	9	2	3	1	-	2	2	2	3	-	-	39	34	23	52	7	8	163	24%	21%	14%	32%	4%	5%	100%

APPENDIX 23

TIME: PUBLICATIONS				
Year	Number of Publications			
	Reputational	Corporate	Political	Total
1951	15	2	2	19
1952	46	–	2	–
1953	33	–	3	–
1954	32	–	3	–
1955	29	4	3	34
1956	51	–	4	–
1957	51	–	4	–
1958	52	–	4	–
1959	52	–	4	–
1960	53	–	2	–
1961	53	4	2	59
1962	53	–	2	–
1963	50	–	2	–
1964	41	–	3	–
1965	41	2	3	46
1966	41	–	4	–
1967	41	–	3	–
1968	42	–	4	–
1969	38	–	5	–
1970	41	–	4	–
1971	42	3	5	50
1972	42	–	6	–
1973	52	–	4	–
1974	54	3	3	60

APPENDIX 24

TIME: DIRECTORSHIPS

Year	Reputational						Corporate						Political						Total No.							Total %						
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	T	1	2	3	4	5	6+	T
1951	82	2	1	3	4	-	36	17	4	12	8	3	2	-	-	-	2	-	46	19	5	15	14	33	102	45%	19%	5%	15%	14%	3%	100%
1952	14	9	2	9	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1953	8	8	1	8	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1954	8	8	1	8	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955	15	11	1	8	12	3	72	24	10	18	19	7	4	1	-	-	2	-	91	36	11	26	33	10	207	44%	17%	5%	13%	16%	5%	100%
1956	19	11	3	9	18	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1957	19	12	3	9	18	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1958	16	12	1	15	22	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1959	16	12	1	15	22	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960	21	13	2	15	21	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	21	13	2	15	19	5	54	30	13	30	18	7	3	-	-	-	1	-	68	43	15	45	38	12	221	31%	20%	7%	20%	17%	5%	100%
1962	21	15	2	4	19	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1963	19	15	2	14	19	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	18	15	3	15	20	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965	18	16	3	15	20	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966	17	15	2	15	21	5	55	32	10	23	19	14	4	-	-	-	1	-	76	47	12	38	41	19	233	33%	20%	5%	16%	18%	8%	100%
1967	13	10	2	15	22	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1968	14	10	2	17	20	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969	14	9	2	17	17	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	19	8	2	14	18	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	20	7	2	18	22	4	85	31	13	24	18	12	4	1	-	1	2	-	109	39	15	43	42	16	264	41%	15%	6%	16%	16%	6%	100%
1972	19	8	2	7	22	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973	16	13	1	16	18	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1974	16	10	1	16	19	2	93	31	12	22	20	10	2	1	-	-	2	-	111	42	13	38	41	12	257	43%	16%	5%	15%	16%	5%	100%

APPENDIX 25

TIME: POLITICAL AFFILIATION

YEAR	TOTAL							TOTAL %						
	L	PC	SC	NDP	CCF	UFA	T	L	PC	SC	NDP	CCF	UFA	T
1951	29	10	8		1	1	49	59	22	16		2	2	100%
1952														
1953														
1954														
1955	41	27	16	1	1	1	87	47	31	18	1%	1%	1%	100%
1956														
1957														
1958														
1959														
1960														
1961	43	29	19	2		2	95	45	30	20	2%		2%	100%
1962														
1963														
1964														
1965	40	35	20	1		2	98	41	36	20	1%		2%	
1966														
1967														
1968														
1969														
1970														
1971	38	33	19	3			93	40%	36%	20%	3%			100%
1972														
1973														
1974	37	40	8	2			87	43	46%	9	2%			100%

L = Liberal
PC = Progressive Conservative
SC = Social Credit
NDP = N.D.P.
CCF = C.C.F.
UFA - U.F.A.

APPENDIX 26

TIME: COUNTRY CLUB MEMBERSHIP

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL						CORPORATE						POLITICAL						TOTAL							TOTAL %						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
1951	6	14	4				4	4	6				2	-	1				12	18	11				41	29	44	27				100%
1952	21	31	16										3	-	1																	
1953	16	19	15										4	1	1																	
1954	15	19	15										4	1	1																	
1955	11	21	18				9	11	13				3	2	1				23	34	32				89	26	38	36				100%
1956	22	30	23										4	2	1																	
1957	22	31	23										4	1	1																	
1958	22	26	24										4	1	1																	
1959	22	26	24										4	1																		
1960	26	25	16										2	1																		
1961	13	23	27				11	12	14				1	1					25	36	41				102	25	35	40				100%
1962	25	21	31										1	1																		
1963	24	21	31										1	1																		
1964	22	20	35										3	1	1																	
1965	21	20	36				7	9	19	2			3	1	1				31	30	55	2			118	27	26	47				100%
1966	20	21	34										2	1	1																	
1967	19	21	33										2	-	1																	
1968	19	18	33										3	1																		
1969	18	18	29										3	1	1																	
1970	23	19	29										3	1	1																	
1971	22	24	33				5	14	12	1			3	1	1				30	39	46	1			116	26	34	40	0.8			100%
1972	22	24	34										2	3	2																	
1973	18	18	28	1									1	3	1																	
1974	19	19	26	1			6	12	15				2	3					27	34	41				102	27	33	40				100%

APPENDIX 27

TIME: SERVICE CLUB MEMBERSHIP

YEAR	REPUTATIONAL						CORPORATE						POLITICAL						TOTAL							TOTAL %						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	T
1951	11	7	5	7			4	3	3	6			-	-	3				15	10	11	13			49	31	20	22	27			
1952	36	31	18	20									-	-	3	1															
1953	26	26	14	16									2	-	3	1															
1954	26	25	14	16									2	-	3	2															
1955	33	24	16	18			6	9	5	11			2	-	4				41	33	25	40			139	30	24	18	28			100%
1956	46	32	20	24									2	1	5	1															
1957	46	32	20	24									2	-	5	1															
1958	48	34	14	23									2	1	4	1															
1959	48	34	14	23									2	3	3	1															
1960	46	35	17	21									2	2	3																
1961	46	34	19	20			10	13	5	8			1	2	2				57	48	26	28			159	36	30	16	18			100%
1962	47	33	21	22									1	2	2																
1963	45	33	21	21									1	1	2																
1964	37	30	20	19									2	2	4																
1965	38	30	20	20			11	14	6	5			2	2	4				51	46	30	25			152	34	30	20	16			100%
1966	38	33	18	20									2	2	4																
1967	35	31	16	18									2	2	3																
1968	35	29	15	17									2	3	5																
1969	29	27	14	16									2	2	5	2															
1970	36	27	13	15									2	2	5	2	-	1													
1971	38	28	12	12			8	8	5	4			2	1	5	2			48	37	22	18			125	38	30	18	14			100%
1972	38	28	13	12									3	3	5	3	-	1													
1973	26	23	17	11									1	3	3	1	-	1													
1974	27	23	17	10			9	10	3	5			1	3	2	2	-	1	27	36	22	17	-	1	103	26	35	21	17		1	100%

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Social Planner
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Assistant to the Dean of Students
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"Social Profile of Edmonton related to the taxi service at the Edmonton International Airport,"
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"Social Profiles of Swan Hills and Whitecourt in Relation to Proposed Coal Developments".
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"Urban Family Communes: Women's Roles and Child Rearing",
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