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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE AND THE FIFTEENTH ALBERTA LEGISLATURE:
A STUDY IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERSHIP

by



FREDERICK GEORGE HULMES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE AND THE FIFTEENTH ALBERTA LEGISLATURE: A STUDY IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERSHIP, submitted by Frederick George Hulmes in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date .. June 10, 1970

DEDICATION

To James Arthur Armstrong (1855-1928), one of the early and unsung settlers of the District of Assiniboia, North West Territories.

ABSTRACT

This is primarily a study of the social and political backgrounds of just under 100 elected and non-elected officials of the government of the province of Alberta who held office as at January 1, 1967. The groups whose backgrounds were examined in detail were the provincial cabinet at the time (16 members), the ordinary members of the legislature (47 members), the deputy ministers (a group of 17), and a group composed of chairmen of boards and commissions and the heads of crown corporations (numbering 18).

In 94% of the cases the data on the Alberta elected and non-elected was drawn from personal interviews conducted by the writer which each averaged about two and one-half hours in length. Much of this data has been rendered in tables of the writer's design.

The study has been divided into four parts, with only the fourth dealing with other than the Alberta elected and non-elected. Part I is the introduction; Part II deals with the elected officials, with a chapter on the cabinet ministers and one on the ordinary members of the legislature; Part III deals with the non-elected officials, with a chapter on the deputy ministers and one on the board chairmen, etc.; Part IV sets out the conclusions and in the process introduces comparative data dealing with federal parliamentarians and senior federal bureaucrats.

The greatest part of the work is a careful statement of the findings with respect to the social background of the Alberta officials and the background to their entry into political and governmental positions. The

major elements of social background that conventionally form part of studies of this type have been examined: ethnic origin, birthplace, type of community in which raised, father's occupation, religious background, education, etc. Adult background of organizational activity and association and occupation was determined. The principal factors leading to standing for the legislature and for the seeking of appointed office and the background of political activity before doing so have been sought out. Family background was examined as an indicator of social origins and also for an indication of the extent to which the groups emerged from politically active homes. Also examined was the extent to which the children of these officials became, or are likely to become, politically and governmentally involved. Some attempt in the concluding chapter was made to synthesize this material on a fairly general level, to make some comparison with the general population profile of the province of Alberta, and to compare the Alberta elected and non-elected officials with federal parliamentarians and the federal senior bureaucrats.

This study, then, may be seen as giving, in part, some indication of the segments of society from which a particular group of elected and non-elected officials of a province were drawn and recruited, some indication of the extent to which they emerged from a common background and pattern of activity, some indication of the areas and interests in society of which they may be representative, and some indication of the channels to elected and non-elected office. In addition, it gives some indication, but only some, of the degree of difference and similarity in these respects between a particular group of provincial office holders and office holders at the national level.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgement ought to be made of the assistance rendered by a number of individuals and one institution. Perhaps the greatest debt is owed to the Hon. Ernest C. Manning, P.C., C.C., LL.D., long-time premier of Alberta. Had he not endorsed this study, and asked that elected and non-elected officials of the province of Alberta extend their cooperation to the writer, it is unlikely that it could ever have been effectively undertaken. The assistance of Harry C. Leinweber, M.L.A., who was helpful directly and indirectly in persuading certain M.L.A.s to be interviewed, is also acknowledged. The President of the Social Credit League, Mr. Orvis Kennedy, was of some assistance through putting certain League materials at the writer's disposal. A very considerable debt indeed is owed to Dr. R.E. Baird, the principal supervisor of this study. It was he who obtained the endorsement of Premier Manning (as he then was). He was always available for consultation when this was physically possible. Perhaps his greatest contribution, however, lay in the understanding and encouragement extended to the writer as that benighted fellow went through the agonies, in part progressive and in part simultaneous, of data analysis and of writing. During the later stages this encouragement was extended by mail for during part of 1969/70 Dr. Baird was on sabbatical leave and much of the direct supervision was assumed by Dr. G.R. Davy. The writer's indebtedness to Dr. Davy goes back further than he cares to admit, to undergraduate days at The University of Alberta and to a time when the staff of the Department of Political Science (then part of the Department

of Political Economy) numbered no more than three. Dr. Davy, along with providing some valuable criticism, was instrumental in pushing the writer to bring to completion what seemed like a never-ending task. Mrs. M. Brooks was of very great assistance at the research stage. She typed the questionnaire, a mountain of letters to the elected and non-elected when interviews were being sought and their times arranged, and took telephone messages of countless number. The dissertation in its final form was typed by Miss Erica Repsch. She cheerfully worked day and night and weekends to meet the writer's deadline. The typing was by no means a straight-forward task, particularly because of the large number of tables and the problem of their placement within the text. She did altogether a splendid job. Finally, acknowledgement is gratefully made of the financial assistance extended by the Canada Council. That assistance allowed the writer to spend the academic year 1967/68 in full-time data collection.

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PART I. INTRODUCTION

**Chapter
I. INTRODUCTION**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Study

This is primarily a study of the social and political backgrounds of just under 100 individuals who held elected and non-elected office in the government of the province of Alberta at a particular point in time, January 1, 1967. The actual groups whose backgrounds are examined in detail are the provincial cabinet of that time (16 members), the ordinary members of the legislature (47 members), the deputy ministers (a group of 17),¹ and a group composed of the chairmen of those Alberta boards and commissions which were established outside the normal departmental structure or which performed judicial or quasi-judicial functions, and the heads of the provincial crown corporations (collectively some 18 individuals henceforth referred to as the board chairmen).² It was originally intended also to examine the backgrounds of members of the Supreme Court of Alberta (a group of 16), making a study of the backgrounds of officials of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government of the province of Alberta, but the judicial aspect of the study had to be abandoned after data had been collected on only one-half of the bench because of lack of cooperation from the justices (see Appendix 1 to this chapter). The title selected for the work, "The Senior Executive and the Fifteenth Alberta Legislature: A Study in the Social and Political Background of Membership," then, seems reasonably to reflect the nature of the study that was ultimately completed.

Before saying something more specifically about the nature of the study, the writer would like to say that his interest in undertaking it was not something that developed suddenly. Rather it gradually emerged from an early interest in political biography and autobiography (which may be a somewhat unusual point of origin), or, to put it another way, from a long-standing interest in the backgrounds of political and governmental figures. This initial interest, however, though the writer is Canadian-born, was largely centered on the British political system. An interest in Canadian government and politics did not develop until the writer was a graduate student; a particular interest in Alberta government did not develop until the end of his graduate student days.³ In the process of turning from the British political system to the Canadian, the writer discovered certain social background studies by Matthews and Guttsman⁴ and became intrigued by what could be revealed by an examination of the backgrounds of groups of individuals in a political system, at least those centered about particular political institutions, and by an approach that was, to a degree, more sociological than historical (though the writer makes no claim to being, and has no intention of becoming, a sociologist). A little later, when becoming immersed in the study of Alberta government and politics, the writer became interested in the work of John Porter, particularly his The Vertical Mosaic, and found Porter's consideration of what he saw as constituting the Canadian political and bureaucratic elites of particular interest.⁵ The work of these three suggested to the writer an approach and type of study that would combine his long standing interest in political backgrounds with his interest in Alberta politics.

The study that was ultimately undertaken, however, is not a direct replication of the work of any of the above, though the work of Porter was particularly suggestive, and some of his findings have been directly utilized.

Returning to the nature of the study, this is, as is essentially the case with the work of Matthews, Guttsman, and Porter, a study of official office holders, in this case of officials of the executive and legislative branches of the government of the province of Alberta holding office at a particular point in time. It is not then necessarily a study of "the influential" in the governmental process.⁶ Nor is it, because it is primarily a study of those holding office at a fixed point, one that is productive of much by way of longitudinal data, and in this it differs from the work of Matthews and Guttsman but not so much from that of Porter. Since the Opposition in the legislature was so small, five out of some 63 members, it is to a considerable degree a study of a particular Social Credit government and legislature, a government headed by Ernest C. Manning.⁷

In some instances the office holders herein considered have been grouped for purposes of comparison into the broad categories of the elected and the non-elected, but in the main they have been considered as constituting four discrete groups: the cabinet, the ordinary members of the legislature (in fact further subdivided into government back-benchers and Opposition members for parts of the study), the deputies, and the board chairmen. To consider the cabinet separately from the other legislators seemed reasonable because of the differences in

function between the two groups; to separate the non-elected into two, the deputies and the board chairmen, seemed reasonable in part because of the possibility that the routes to these two broad categories of appointed office might have differed.

The greatest part of this work is a careful statement of the findings of the research into the social background of these officials and of the background of their entry into political and governmental position. Some of the principal features examined will be noted directly, but it should also be mentioned that there are a number of subsidiary matters or themes, all of interest to the political scientist, that have been given consideration. These will not be spelled out in this introduction but will become obvious to the reader in subsequent chapters.

The major elements of social background that conventionally form part of studies of this type have been examined: ethnic origin, birth-place, type of community in which raised, father's occupation, religious background, education, etc. These may be seen as the principal factors of early socialization and as also being indicative of social origins. This examination has largely centered on formal measures with no direct use being made of behavioural techniques to determine values held or political attitudes, though this is not to say that in some instances values and attitudes have not been inferred from the formal measures.⁸ The adult background of organizational activity and association and of occupation has been determined. The principal factors leading to standing for the legislature and for the seeking of appointed office and the

background of political activity before doing so have been sought out. The family background was examined, first as an indicator of social origins, and secondly for an indication of the extent to which the groups emerged from politically active homes. Also examined was the extent to which the children of these officials became, or are likely to become, politically and governmentally involved.

The above constitute most of the principal matters on which detailed information was sought. In the concluding chapter some attempt has been made to synthesize this material on a fairly general level, to view the groups comparatively between themselves, and to compare them, where possible, with the general population profile of the province of Alberta. At this point, and only at this point, an attempt has been made also to compare the Alberta elected and non-elected officials with federal parliamentarians and the federal senior bureaucracy. Much of this concluding treatment has been modeled on the work of Professor Porter, whose data have been utilized, and some use was also made of the findings of Norman Ward and Allan Kornberg⁹ with respect to the federal legislators.

This study, then, may be seen as giving, in part, some indication of the segments of society from which a particular group of elected and non-elected officials of a province were drawn and recruited, some indication of the extent to which they emerged from a common background, milieu, and pattern of activity, some indication of the areas and interests in society of which they may be representative, and some indication of the channels to elected and non-elected office. In

addition, it may also be seen as giving some indication of the degree of difference and similarity in these respects between a particular group of provincial office holders and office holders at the national level.

It might also be added that, since the legislators who have been examined in detail constitute, for the most part, a group of Social Crediters, this study casts some light on the extent to which Social Crediters fit the frequent characterization of them as being relatively uneducated fundamentalists drawn from the lower end of the class structure and largely from farm, teaching, and small business occupational backgrounds.

Finally it might be said that, since there are so few studies of the Canadian political system, the collection and analysis of the data in this one may in itself constitute a useful contribution to the study of that system. This study might be seen as one of those necessary preliminary efforts on which others might build. It is sincerely hoped that the data so painstakingly assembled may lead others to formulate new hypotheses with respect to the Alberta and Canadian political systems, and that it may be particularly useful and suggestive to those concerned with political socialization and the study of political attitudes.

The Format

This study has been divided into four parts, with only the fourth dealing with other than the Alberta elected and non-elected. Part I

is the introduction; Part II deals with the elected officials, with a chapter on the cabinet ministers and one on the ordinary members of the legislature; Part III deals with the non-elected officials, with a chapter on the deputy ministers and one on the board chairmen; and Part IV introduces the federal comparative data and sets out the conclusions. The questionnaire that was employed in all interviews is included as a lengthy appendix and there are appendices to the various chapters.

Parts II and III contain the detailed information on the social and political backgrounds of the Alberta elected and the non-elected. Considerable thought was given to how the material ought to be organized in each chapter in these parts. It was decided that each chapter ought to follow as far as possible the same pattern of organization so as to facilitate the drawing of comparisons between the various groups. It seemed that an organization that would best fit the purposes of this study, be the most useful to those who might ultimately use the detailed data, and likely be the most fruitful for the generation of new hypotheses, was one that divided each chapter into three parts. The first part would deal with the family background and upbringing of the subject (the principal factors of early socialization) and the second with adult activity. A brief third part would deal with the political and governmental activity of the next generation, with the children of the subjects studied. And so it was arranged.

Each of the two major parts of each chapter in Parts II and III was sub-divided into sections dealing with the major factors of social

background (e.g. the part on family background and upbringing contains sections on ethnic origin, birthplace, education, etc.). The data on each of the principal factors was rendered in tabular form. These tables are of the writer's own design and some are fairly complex and require close attention. The tables are joined by text which is partly a summary of the highlights of the tabular material, partly interpretative comment, and partly elaboration on that material. Every attempt was made to have the text and tables flow easily together but there are clearly instances where this has not been achieved.

In Part II, Chapter III (which deals with the members of the legislature), to a degree a running comparison was attempted between the data produced in the previous chapter on the ministers and those on the Social Credit backbench members and the members of the Opposition. This treatment was generally abandoned in Part III (the non-elected) because it would have been altogether too cumbersome to treat four groups in Chapter IV and five groups in Chapter V on this running comparative basis.

The research revealed a number of totally unexpected items, many anecdotal (in the social science sense of that term) in nature, which it was felt ought to be recorded. They have largely been incorporated in footnotes.¹⁰

The Sources of Information

In 94% of the cases the data on the Alberta elected and non-elected were drawn from personal interviews, and in one case (1%) from a

questionnaire that contained exactly the same questions as those asked in interview. Expressed in another way, the interview provided the source of information on 92% of the elected and for all but one of the non-elected (a questionnaire covering the exception). For the remaining 5% of the cases a variety of sources of information was used but the data so collected are much less complete than those obtained through the interview.

Something ought to be said in general terms about the questionnaire employed for all interviews. It is not a direct replication of any known to the writer but rather one of his own design (which is not to say that other studies were not examined in the course of its construction). It was designed so that it could be administered by an interviewer or completed by the subject privately. It was pre-tested on a small group of graduate students in the Department of Political Science of The University of Alberta. Few items had to be changed; the principal finding of the pre-testing being an appreciation of the approximate time that an individual interview was likely to take. In structure the questionnaire was broken into two principal parts, the first dealing with the major items of social background (place of birth, education, religion, etc.) and the second dealing with organizational, political and governmental activity. The principal parts were systematically broken into sub-sections dealing with the principal factors being examined. Where data were required on family members (parents, spouse, children) questions seeking them followed directly the questions on the subject's background (e.g. questions on the subject's education

were followed by those on the education of the parents, etc.). In some instances questions were asked of a nature that would serve to confirm or refute the answer to an earlier question.

The reliability of the answers obtained through interview probably varies with the nature of the questions themselves, as we have attempted to indicate at appropriate points in this study. The most reliable would likely be those that are essentially factual in nature and dealing with basically demographic sorts of questions of which the subject would have clear and direct knowledge and also the awareness that the questions could be checked out by the interviewer (though in actuality this would be an extremely time-consuming process). For example, one could verify the level of education of an individual; one could determine his military record, etc. Perhaps the least reliable, or among the least reliable, would be the answers regarding the political and governmental activity of relations of a variety of degrees, partly because there might be considerable variation in the extent to which individuals are aware of the activities of their kin.¹¹ In some matters, however, reliable or not, there is probably no other practical source of information than the subject himself, particularly on such questions as the nature of the home in which he was raised, when he first became interested in following political events, the factors that led him first to stand for the legislature, etc., all of which are questions that were examined.

As to the use of the interview and self-completed questionnaire, it would normally be maintained that these are relatively economical

ways in which to collect data of the nature required for a study of this sort. In terms of completeness of response, however, the interview would seem to be considerably superior to the self-completed questionnaire, particularly where a good deal of data is being sought, as was true in this study. As will be seen from the Appendix to this study, the questionnaire runs to many pages and there would likely be the simple human tendency to put it aside for later attention if sent out with a request to fill it out. In the completion of the questionnaire some questions might be brushed aside hurriedly, others misinterpreted, etc. In the face-to-face situation of the interview a question demands a response, vague replies can be explored, and misinterpretation of questions avoided, or corrected. (In addition, though not anticipated when the questionnaire was being designed, in the actual interview situation some questions brought forth comments that were not directly relevant to the questions posed but which gave some further insight into social and political background).

The sources of information on the other 5%, one minister and four Social Credit backbenchers (all from rural constituencies), were more various, and produced significantly less complete and satisfactory data. Information on the uninterviewed cabinet minister is more complete than that on the backbenchers for some of the background data was supplied by a member of staff of The University of Alberta who knew the minister personally. There was no similar source of information for the rural members. For all 5%, however, the principal sources of information were The Canadian Parliamentary Guide¹² (none of the uninterviewed appeared

in any of the other standard Canadian biographical dictionaries), the files of the Alberta Social Credit League,¹³ and, but to only a limited extent, the files of The Edmonton Journal.

As noted earlier, the comparative material on the federal elected and non-elected was very largely drawn from Porter, Ward, and Kornberg. It is much less comprehensive than that on the Alberta elected and non-elected. Its nature is outlined in Chapter VI below.

The Interviews

Something should be said about the interviews themselves, particularly about the difficulties involved in arranging them, the writer's experience perhaps being instructive for others. The greatest problems were presented by the Social Credit backbench members of the legislature. The experience with the other groups was somewhat different, as will be indicated in due course.

To avoid travelling to the far corners of the province of Alberta, it was the writer's intention to use the fourth session of the Fifteenth Legislature, which was expected to run the normal two and one-half to three months, as an opportunity to interview 33 of the rural members (non-cabinet) of the 63 seat house while they were in Edmonton with the Edmonton and Calgary members, some members who lived within relatively short distances of Edmonton and Calgary, the cabinet ministers, and the non-elected to be seen later. All 33 (29 Social Credit, 4 Opposition) were written to at the start of the session, an interview being requested, and the nature of the study outlined. Response was forthcoming within

a reasonable period from three of the four Opposition members but from only three of the Social Crediters (10%), one of which was a rejection.¹⁴ On February 16, 1967, a letter was sent to Premier Manning setting out the nature of the study, reminding him that it was one that he had endorsed in principle in December of 1966,¹⁵ and asking if he would raise the matter in caucus.¹⁶ The Premier did so and indicated that it had his support. In addition it is understood that the hometown M.L.A. of the writer (the writer was born and raised in a small Alberta city) attested in caucus to the good character of the writer (the writer went to public school with the M.L.A.'s son). Without this support, particularly from the Premier, it is doubtful that this study could ever have been made. Certainly thereafter the response became more favourable.¹⁷ Yet it was still difficult to get a number of members to agree to be interviewed, in some cases requiring a number of letters and telephone calls, and it was not until late April of 1968, after the better part of two legislative sessions, that it was possible to complete interviews with 92% of the legislature, 58 of 63 members (cabinet, and backbench Social Credit, and Opposition).¹⁸

As to the other groups, not nearly the same difficulties were encountered in securing agreement for interviews. All the same, certain ministers had to be written to twice (while one, who was never interviewed, was written to repeatedly), as was the case with some of the deputies and one of the chairmen.¹⁹

Agreement was one problem, actually scheduling the interviews was another. The interviews were to average some two and one-half hours

in length, which is a considerable time block to work into any busy schedule. One result was that in the case of 27% of the ministers and 6% of the deputies the interviews were split into two sittings, though this represents a relatively small proportion of the total interviews. The backbench Social Credit members from outside Edmonton and Calgary presented a special problem. As noted, for the most part they were in Edmonton for only a limited number of months each year. It was apparently clearly understood by all Social Crediters (cabinet and backbench alike) that they were expected to be in their places in the legislature when it was sitting. Members had to attend committee meetings in the morning (such as there were), be present in the legislature in the afternoons, and increasingly as the session progressed, in the evenings. The early days of each session also involve a number of social evenings and the evening is also the favourite time for interest groups to fete the members.²⁰ These factors, then, posed considerable scheduling problems, especially when combined with the fact that the writer could not manage more than one interview per day (a point that will be expanded on below). The normal time for interviews with the rural backbench members became the evening, with most beginning around seven, while interviews during regular working hours were the rule with members of the political executive and non-elected officials.

Of the total interviews, some 86% were conducted in Edmonton, 11% in Calgary (where the writer spent, in total, some six weeks), and 3% in other centers. All individuals were interviewed privately, but not in the same type of setting. While all but one of the ministers were

interviewed in their offices (one was interviewed at home), as was true of all but one of the deputies (one was interviewed at home), and all of the chairmen, the places of interview of the non-cabinet members of the legislature were more varied. Of these, some 47% were interviewed in Edmonton hotels, 16% came to the writer's office at The University of Alberta, 12% were interviewed somewhere in the legislative building, 12% in their business offices, 5% at their homes and 5% at the home of a relation of the writer in Calgary, and one member was interviewed in hospital.²¹

In all cases of those interviewed, each subject, whether an elected or an appointed official, was asked exactly the same questions and in exactly the same sequence. Each was first assured that his name would not be used in any way and that he would in no wise be identifiable when the study was written up. The questions were read to the person being interviewed with the interviewer recording the answers on the questionnaire.²² As mentioned earlier, the actual interviews came to average two and one-half hours in length. All were conducted by the same person (the writer) and, while in one sense this was a considerable waste of resources,²³ it did have the advantage that each person interviewed was confronted with the same interviewer, had to react to the same personality. Also the same perspective and thoroughness in the interviewing was maintained throughout. It was not possible to manage more than one interview per day. Interviews were found to be emotionally exhausting, but this was not the principal reason. It was found that it took on the average twice as long as the interview itself for the writer to go

over the interview, completing entries from his hieroglyphics, noting questions that required further clarification, and recording his impressions and those comments that members had volunteered (some in amiable conversation following the formal interview).²⁴ To have done more than one interview per day would likely have led to the confusing of the background of one subject with that of another. The writing up of the interviews resulted in the writer, in 24% of the cases, seeking clarification by letter of certain questions. While some replies were some time coming in, usually with a note of apology, all subjects did reply except one (an Opposition member).

While the difficulties in securing agreement to the interviews and arranging them, particularly with the Social Credit backbenchers, would have suggested that they might have been less than cooperative when they came to be interviewed, in fact, in the interview situation, good response was received from all groups.²⁵ Indeed, as one progresses in the reading of this study, it should become evident that some individuals were very cooperative.

There is one qualification to the above and it relates to the non-elected officials and questions of a "strictly political" nature. Yet it is a qualification of an unusual nature, for more cooperation was received from the non-elected in this area than was anticipated. The writer expected from his own experience as a sometime federal civil servant that virtually all of the non-elected would decline to answer questions regarding voting preference and political activity. While their answers probably ought to be viewed with some reservation, it was

a most welcome surprise to find the extent to which the non-elected were prepared to answer the "strictly political" questions, and some of the answers provided were most interesting as will become evident to the reader later. Among the deputy ministers it was found that only some 18% seemed to display reluctance to answer the "political" questions, but none of these refused to answer questions outright; rather they placed themselves in the position of indicating that they were independent voters and had engaged in no political activity except for one who indicated regular support for a particular political party at the provincial level. The board chairmen behaved in much the same way, except that two (12%) refused (politely) to answer questions regarding their voting behaviour and activity but did reply to questions regarding family background of such activity.²⁶

The Analysis of the Data

As with the collection of the data on the Alberta elected and non-elected, all the analysis and evaluation of them, with one qualification to be noted shortly, was done by the writer. Again this probably represents a waste of resources.²⁷ Yet there is one principal advantage: to the extent that one individual is capable of consistency, the same measures were applied throughout and the same perspective brought to the analysis.

Before the analysis of the data was undertaken the tables into which much of it was to be converted had to be designed; this involved a good deal of time and thought. As to the analysis itself, no use was made of a computer. Rather the procedure was to work through each factor

of background, systematically sifting the replies in each interview, and, through the use of spread sheets of various sorts of the author's design, to convert the data to tabular form and record those items in the interviews that seemed to warrant comment. Information on the un-interviewed Alberta legislators, where it was available, had also to be incorporated. Each of the groups was analyzed in turn, though not in the order in which they appear in this study.

A problem in the analysis was created by one of the virtues of the approach employed: the fact that the same person who did the analysis also conducted the interviews. The analyst sometimes became distracted by the recollection of the circumstances of the actual interview (it being unreasonable to say that some of the interviews were not more memorable than others) and in the marginal notes that he had made of some of the interesting comments that had been forthcoming but which had no direct bearing on the factor of background under analysis at the particular time. To that extent, then, the analysis can be said to lack methodological rigour, though it is not felt that this in any significant way interferes with the reliability of the study. The writer cannot help observing, however, that until one has attempted it, he has no conception of the difficulties involved in converting human beings to some sort of statistical form that does not distort reality.

Mention was made above of a qualification. After the analyst had sorted out the material on organizational membership and activity, a list of organizations was submitted to three members of staff of The University of Alberta who were knowledgeable about the qualifications

for membership in them for an assessment of the "degree/s of their exclusiveness." This was the only outside assistance either sought or obtained.

Some Definitions and Measures Employed

Referring here only to the material on the Alberta elected and non-elected and its analysis, it should be said that, for the most part, there is no real need to set out any lengthy definition of terms or statement regarding measures employed. The definitions are conventional and generally understood by those involved in the discipline and the measures generally self-evident either from the tables themselves or from a reading of the tables with reference to the appropriate section of the questionnaire.²⁸ There are, however, a few definitions and measures that ought to receive some attention.

For those not familiar with the Alberta educational system, it should be pointed out that a state education (as opposed to a private) may be received in either Protestant or Catholic schools for the state may support both. The terms "public" and "separate" schools are employed, both referring to segments of the state educational system. The public schools are those of the majority faith (be it Protestant or Catholic) of the particular community and the separate schools those of the minority. Not all communities, however, have both public and separate schools (the urban centers usually do; the rural communities tend not to have).²⁹ Public and separate schools are subject to the same provincial curriculum direction. Both receive support through public taxation but where both types of schools exist the individual

pays direct educational taxes to support only one of the two.

No measures have been employed to determine the extent to which fundamentalist thought may have been part of the upbringing of the elected or non-elected aside from the formal one of church or religious affiliation. Unfortunately no satisfactory source was found that classified the various churches as to the degree to which they were fundamentalist in their orientation, though anyone generally familiar with Canadian society will likely have an impression of where the principal churches would fit on a continuum between fundamentalism and free thought. There is, however, a satisfactory classification of religious sects and cults as to whether they are fundamentalist or not in the work of W.E. Mann and his classification has been used with respect to them.³⁰

As noted earlier in this chapter, whether an organization can be considered restricted to an elite membership has been determined by certain academics at The University of Alberta judged to be knowledgeable regarding organizational admission requirements.

Reference will be found to "more than average interest in following political events at some level." Where this appears, what is meant is that the individual had interest in the activities of government at the local level or the provincial or the federal; no attempt was made to weight the various levels or to assign a cumulative weighting where more than average interest was shown in more than one.

Insofar as party identification is concerned, evidence of two sorts

has been accepted as establishing such identification: either membership in a political party or regular voting support of a particular party.

Reference to having "engaged in some political activity" refers to any activity associated with political party (with one exception to be noted directly) or a local voters' association, or to the seeking of elected position (including the nomination) on school board, town or city council (or their rural equivalents), or to the standing for the provincial legislature or the federal parliament. Equivalent activity in countries other than Canada has also been included. It is to be pointed out, however, that the joining of a political party (or a local voters' association) has not in itself been taken as constituting political activity -- some additional activity with respect to political party (or voters' association) was required in order to qualify. In the same way that political activity includes the standing for school board so "standing for local government office" has been taken as including the seeking of office as a school trustee.

Where information was sought regarding interest in following political events at some level, voting behaviour, and political and governmental activity on the part of parents, spouse, children, and other relations, this has relied on the knowledge of the interviewed and is subject to the limitation, obviously, of the degree of knowledge that the interviewed had in each case. In most instances the reliability of the information would seem directly tied to the degree of kinship. It would seem, as well, that instances of the more overt activity,

particularly the successful seeking of elected office, are more likely to be known, and hence the information more reliable, than the information advanced regarding such matters as interest and voting behaviour.

The tables that deal with the principal factors that led the subject to stand for election to the legislature and/or to seek non-elected governmental office are based on the assessment of the answers to a number of questions. These represent an attempt at synthesis of the answer to the direct question as to what led the individual to seek the particular office with the answer to a question regarding events that may have been important in determining the sorts of things that the individual had done in life and one concerning persons that may have been influential upon him. The categorization of the answers to these open-ended questions was most difficult and is not considered to be particularly satisfactory.

There is a further note that should be added regarding the tables. The percentages shown in some of them do not total exactly 100% because of the usual problem of rounding. It is recognized that it is customary to include a footnote to each table where the percentages do not total 100% indicating why they do not. Because of the length and complexity of some of the tables, and the difficulty of working into reasonable space what were clearly much more substantive footnotes, it was decided to omit the usual disclaimer regarding percentages from those tables where the failure to total 100% was due to rounding alone. It is hoped that the reader will accept this general statement as covering the matter satisfactorily.

FOOTNOTES

¹The deputy minister category includes a few who did not bear the title of deputy minister but who did hold, in a functional sense, equivalent position.

²For a list of the actual boards, commissions, and corporations, and for something of the process of their selection, see Chapter V below.

³It may be of interest to those concerned with the development of Canadian identity and consciousness that the writer's basic orientation until his early twenties was toward Britain. He did not discover what it meant to be a Canadian until he spent a year studying in England, which experience turned him into a staunch Canadian nationalist. As for many, however, being a Canadian is something that is deeply felt but something to which it is difficult to give verbal expression.

⁴Donald R. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision Makers (New York: Random House, 1954) and W.L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1963).

⁵John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), particularly Chapters XIII and XIV.

⁶If one used the criterion of influence in the provincial governmental process as the primary basis of selection, one would, of course, be confronted with the considerable problem of identifying the influential. As there are few studies that would identify those who have participated in policy decisions in any particular area, the reputational approach would likely have to be employed. While it would be reasonable to suppose that a considerable number of the individuals whose backgrounds are examined in this study would be included, all experience would indicate that others, some not holding official position, or not necessarily senior position, would be included as well. The writer's general observation of the Alberta political scene would indicate, for example, that the son of Premier Manning, who held no official position in the government, and a graduate student in the Department of Sociology of The University of Alberta, who held an advisory position, have wielded considerable influence with the premier of the province.

⁷Social Credit first formed the government of the province of Alberta in 1935. It was still in office when this study was undertaken. During the entire period from 1935, the province knew only two premiers: William Aberhart, premier from 1935 until his death in 1943, and

Ernest C. Manning. In late 1968, Manning retired as premier after holding that office for a quarter of a century. This study, then, might also be viewed as being, in part, one of the last Manning administration.

⁸Largely formal measures may suggest the existence of particular values and attitudes. For example, one of the findings of this study was that a high proportion of the Alberta Social Credit legislators, both cabinet and backbench, were to a significant degree raised in rural or small town environments and the products of the educational systems of Western Canada. This would suggest that they would likely have brought a certain perspective to bear on issues of governmental policy with what might be termed "rural and small town values" being significantly present. It might be worthwhile for some scholar to test this against the values and attitudes that these individuals in fact hold today and also to compare these with the values that seem reflected in the policy outputs of the government with which they have been associated.

⁹Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior: A Study of the 25th Parliament (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

¹⁰At least one reader of this study in its draft form found the footnotes to be much more interesting than the text.

¹¹It must be admitted that it has not been unknown for political figures to distort their backgrounds. One of the more interesting cases historically is that of Benjamin Disraeli. He manufactured a distinguished background, in terms of lineage, for his father's side of the family. Ironically, but unknown to Disraeli, through the mother he was the descendant of a more distinguished family than that claimed through the father. See Robert Blake, Disraeli (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp. 3-7.

¹²Information obtained from The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, or other biographical dictionaries; while much less extensive than that obtained through interview, is no more reliable than that obtained from that source for all is supplied by the subject himself.

¹³Acknowledgement of the assistance of the League can only be of a mixed nature. While there is no question that certain useful information was obtained from League files, the President of the League was not particularly cooperative. Among other things, he failed to reply to two letters seeking information (as will become more evident with further reading of this introduction, many Social Crediters seem reluctant to reply to correspondence).

¹⁴One M.L.A. indicated that a number of his colleagues simply tore up the writer's letter. Part of the reason for this may have been the reputation that the Department of Political Science of The University of Alberta had established as being anti-Social Credit. Though in the years just prior to the undertaking of this study better relations had been established with the government, this likely had not filtered down to the backbench members.

¹⁵This study, along with a number of others, was discussed with the Premier, and approval in principle obtained for it, by Dr. R.E. Baird, one of the supervisors of this dissertation.

¹⁶See Appendix I-2 to this chapter for a copy of the Premier's reply (reproduced with permission).

¹⁷Experience with the Fifteenth Legislature would suggest the importance of securing the support of principal leadership figures if studies are to be conducted of legislators that involve their cooperation. This would also seem to have been the experience of Kornberg in his study of the Twenty-Fifth Parliament of Canada. See Kornberg, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁸Of the Social Credit backbench members, some 48% were written to more than once. Two (5%), who were never interviewed, were written to five times over a considerable period of time, and no response was ever received. Of the Opposition, two of the five members were written to more than once, with one some four times before an interview was arranged. Unfortunately the writer did not maintain a telephone diary, but many of the interviews were finally agreed to by telephone and arrangements made for them.

It might be noted that one of the approaches adopted by the writer, using a seating plan of the legislature, was to refer the un-interviewed member to someone who sat near him who had already been seen. Also, where it became known that an un-interviewed member was a friend of one or more of the already interviewed, the un-interviewed was referred to the interviewed. The writer's home town M.L.A. also spoke to some members on the writer's behalf.

¹⁹Twenty four percent of the ministers were written to more than once as was a like percentage of the deputies, but only 6% of the board chairmen. As to the un-interviewed minister, he first agreed to be interviewed (by telephone, through his secretary) but subsequently had a change of heart. After repeated letters the interview questions were sent to him in questionnaire form. By telephone, through his secretary, he agreed to complete the questionnaire, which he never did. The minister, who was written to some six times, never replied directly to any correspondence. In addition, Dr. Baird wrote to the minister twice on behalf of the author; neither letter was acknowledged. (As noted earlier, we were successful in obtaining some background information on the minister through various sources).

²⁰ Among the groups that were mentioned to the writer as doing so were The Alberta Teachers' Association, The Farmers' Union of Alberta, and The Alberta Fish and Game Association.

²¹ Part of the explanation for the variety is that Social Credit backbenchers are not provided with offices (though the members of the Opposition were, and in the legislative building, which was a matter of complaint among some of the Social Credit members). A high proportion of the rural members were therefore interviewed in their hotels. (It may be of interest that the three Liberal members of the legislature occupied interconnecting accommodation in an Edmonton hotel so that they might, without difficulty, informally caucus). Edmonton and Calgary members were in large measure interviewed at their places of business or at home.

²² After the first four interviews with M.L.A.s some minor revisions were made to the questionnaire. The only one of some consequence was to rephrase the questions dealing with organizational activity since they seemed to be being misinterpreted. The questions in their new form were re-asked by telephone of those already interviewed.

²³ Apparently it is now the fashion for those writing dissertations to employ interviewers rather than to do the interviewing themselves. In the case of survey studies involving hundreds of subjects, of course, there would seem to be no alternative.

²⁴ No use was made of a tape recorder by the interviewer, and this is one of the reasons why the interviews had to be written up immediately. It is also the writer's view that the knowledge that your words are being recorded verbatim is inhibiting -- more inhibiting than the approach adopted.

²⁵ One of the reasons for this may be the reserved, in no way intimidating, personality of the writer. The fact, too, that he is a native Albertan, a product of the Alberta educational system, and generally familiar with the Alberta situation, may have made it easier for him to establish rapport with those being interviewed than might have been the case for some other interviewer. In a certain number of cases among the rural Social Credit members it was found that the writer could establish some connection with the particular constituency, particularly through his mother's family, which, as well as being large, and tracing itself back to 1885 in territorial Alberta, is also well distributed geographically in the province. In fact, the writer could establish some connection with just under 20% of the seats held by Social Credit rural backbenchers.

²⁶ One of these, in amiable conversation, however, was to suggest

that he might have engaged in some limited activity for one of the traditional political parties in Alberta prior to the rise of Social Credit.

²⁷It now seems to be the practice for those writing dissertations to use assistants to sort out at least some of their data. Where the study is of the type where the computer is employed, assistants are used for "coding", etc. In one sense, however, the writer did not feel that it was open to him to use assistants for he had entered into commitments to all the interviewed to the effect that the answers that they supplied were confidential. While one might have used assistants to sort out some of the more mechanical aspects of this study, and clearly many of the matters considered are by no means "sensitive" in their nature, it is rather difficult to see how this could have been done without the assistants examining the individual files and perhaps exploring beyond those sections that they ought strictly to be analyzing.

²⁸For example, a reading of the tables dealing with the type of community in which the subject was raised would indicate that communities have, inter alia, been classified as predominantly British, predominantly non-British, or mixed in their ethnic composition. Reference to the appropriate section of the questionnaire would reveal that the subject was first asked whether the community in which he was raised was predominantly British, non-British, or mixed in its ethnic composition, which evaluation would be confirmed or otherwise by a subsequent question asking the subject to identify the principal ethnic groups that were present in the particular community.

²⁹For the conditions for the establishment of a separate school district, be it Protestant or Catholic, see "The School Act," c. 297, s. 9, 10, 12., Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1955. For something of the background to the establishment and development of the Alberta separate school system, see John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Alberta Teachers' Association, 1967), pp. 320-329.

³⁰See W.E. Mann, Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), particularly p. 30.

APPENDIX I-1

A Note on the Judges

The Supreme Court of Alberta is composed of two divisions, the Appellate and the Trial, each with a chief justice, with the chief justice of the Appellate Division being styled the Chief Justice of Alberta. The Appellate Division is composed of seven justices and the Trial of nine. Viewed functionally, it would appear that it is the Appellate Division that exercises the more important functions normally associated with a supreme court. Unfortunately it was from the Appellate Division that we received very little cooperation, and this is a principal reason why the study of the judges had to be abandoned.

Of the sixteen judges composing the court interviews were obtained with 50%, but seven of the eight were from the lower division. Though the only judge of the Appellate Division who was interviewed volunteered to speak to the Chief Justice of Alberta in support of the study, the support of the Chief Justice was never forthcoming, and is probably a factor explaining the lack of positive judicial response. In all of this it is possible that the concept of an independent judiciary was operative and there may be among some of the justices an ethic that indicates that judges ought not to give interviews. It is the writer's impression that studies of Canadian judicial behaviour, if they involve the cooperation of the judges themselves, will be rather difficult to accomplish.

APPENDIX I-2



OFFICE OF THE PREMIER

Edmonton.

March 3rd, 1967.

Mr. F. G. Hulmes,
Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
The University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Dear Professor Hulmes:

I am sorry that pressure of many duties has prevented an earlier reply to your letter of February 16th.

I have spoken to our members of the legislature at one of their caucuses with respect to the program which you are conducting and have recommended to them that they extend the fullest possible co-operation. Everyone seemed to be in complete agreement with this and I hope that from here on you will obtain the co-operation you desire.

With every success in the study you propose to carry out,

Very sincerely yours,

Law. Manning
Premier.

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CHAPTER II

THE MINISTERS

In this chapter we will deal with the social background of the members of the Alberta cabinet who held office at January 1, 1967. This is a body of 16 members, 15 male and one female, 14 with, and two without, portfolio (henceforth collectively referred to as "the ministers"). All but one minister agreed to be interviewed, and, except in that case, the information set out below is drawn from these interviews.¹ Information on the uninterviewed member was obtained from a variety of sources but is, of course, less complete.²

Family Background and Upbringing

Ethnic Origin

Traced through the father in each case (see Table II-1), the ministers are drawn, in ethnic terms, from two principal groups: British (56%) and Scandinavian (38%).³ While there was considerable variation in the length of time that the families of British extraction had been in Canada, including one of United Empire Loyalist stock, none of the ministers of European extraction, though all North American born and raised, was more than first generation Canadian. For some seven (44%) of the ministers it seems reasonable to speak to some degree of non-British cultural roots for all of those of European extraction had at least one parent who was educated in Europe, all knew the language of their ancestors (at least in childhood), and four (57% of the group) referred to foreign language publications being received in the home when they were growing up.

TABLE II-1
ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION CANADIAN^a

Ethnic Origin	Generation Canadian												Total	
	Born outside Canada	Born outside Canada but largely Canadian raised ^b		Generation										
		No.	%	No.	%	1		2		3		4		
						No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		%
British	..	..	1	6	1	6	3	19	1	6	3	19	9	56
Scandinavian	1	6	..	..	5	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	38
Ukrainian	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	1	6	1	6	7	44	3	19	1	6	3	19	16	100

^aBased on the ethnic origin of the first male ancestor to come to North America.

^b"Raised" defined as having spent the majority of years between birth and age 18 in Canada.

TABLE II-2
BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where Raised ^a											
	Canada		United States		Britain		Europe		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Canada	6	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	38
U.S.A.	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	2	13
Britain	..	..	..	..	2	13	..	..	2	13
Europe	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	38	6	38
Total	7 ^b	44	1	6	2	13	6	38	6	100		

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the father spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bThree (19%) were raised in Ontario, 2 (13%) in the Maritimes, and 2 (13%) in the West.

Occupation of the Father

The occupation of the father is another indicator of background, and the occupations are set out in Table II-3. All occupations noted, those when the subject was dependent on the father, were pursued in North America.

A very high proportion, some 75%, were drawn from the farming sector and 87% of the fathers had less than a secondary school education (with six or 38% being European educated). While there was some range within the farms in terms of size and prosperity, at least eight (67%) began as homestead operations. It is to be noted that two (13%) had some labour background: one father was a coal miner in England and subsequently, while farming in Canada, supplemented the farm income by coal mining in Alberta; the father of another minister had also to supplement the family income by work in Alberta mines.⁴ At least half of the ministers, judging by their descriptions of the homes in which they were raised, came from quite modest circumstances.

Birthplace and Community Where Raised

As noted in Table II-2, seven (44%) of the fathers were Canadian raised with two (13%) being raised in the Canadian West. All of the ministers, however, save one (and he came to Canada at age 8 from Britain) were raised in North America, with 94% entirely or substantially raised in the Canadian West and 13 or 81% in Alberta (see Table II-4).

As would be expected from the occupations of the fathers, 75% of the ministers were substantially raised in a rural or a rurally dependent

TABLE II-3

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF THE FATHER DURING SUBJECT'S DEPENDENCY

Occupation	Education: Highest Grade Attended														
	Some Elementary		Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary		Some University		University		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Business: Proprietor (saw- mill owner) Proprietor (small business)	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Farmer	4	25	6 ^a	38	1	6	1 ^b	6	..	..	..	..	..	12	75
Telegrapher	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Housepainter/miner	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	5	31	9	56	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	16	100

^aIn two cases, where father was educated in Norway, level of education was not specifically known, but was judged by the son in each case to be no more than elementary school.

^bAlso had two to three years in an agriculture college in Norway.

Note:

Six (38%) of the fathers were European educated; the rest were educated in an Anglo-American system. None had private school education.

TABLE II-4
BIRTHPLACE OF SUBJECT AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where Subject Raised ^a													
	Maritimes		Quebec		Ontario		West		Alberta		U.S.A.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Maritimes	1	6	..	..	1	6
Quebec
Ontario
West (other than Alberta)	2	13	..	..	..	..	2	13
Alberta	11	69	..	..	11	69
U.S.A.	1 ^b	6	1	6
Britain	1	6	..	..	1	6
Total	2	13	13	81	1	6	16	100

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bCame to Canada at age 13.

TABLE II-5

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AND WHERE

Type of Community	Where ^a					
	Canada		United States		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural	9	56	..	..	9	56
Village/town ^b	1	6	..	..	1	6
City	2	13	..	..	2	13
Large city ^c	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some combination of above						
Rural/village/town	1	6	1	6	2	13
Rural/city	1	6	..	..	1	6
Village/town/city	1	6	..	..	1	6
Total	15	94	1	6	16	100

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is that of the same period.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

TABLE II-6

TYPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY OR SMALL URBAN COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED
(where no consciousness of neighbourhood existed)

Type of Community	Where ^a					
	Canada		United States		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	6	38	..	..	6	38
Largely non-British	4	25	1	6	5	31
Mixed	3	19	..	..	3	19
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	12	75	1	6	13	81
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	1	6	..	..	1	6

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

TABLE II-7

TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH RAISED

(urban areas where a consciousness of neighbourhood did exist)

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a					
	Canada		United States		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	1	6	..	..	1	6
Largely non-British.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	..	..	..	..	..	..
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	..	..	..	..	..	..
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	1	6	..	..	1	6
<u>By Class^b</u>						
Upper Middle	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle	1	6	..	..	1	6
Working	..	..	..	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/Incomplete information	1 ^c	6	..	..	1	6

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bBased on the subject's evaluation, confirmed as far as possible by the subject's recollection of the occupations of his neighbours.

^cThe uninterviewed minister is known to have been raised in Edmonton but no specific information is available on the nature of the neighbourhood. However, since the father was a small businessman, the neighbourhood would likely fall in the middle class category or below.

town environment. At the very least it could be argued that these would have been exposed to rural or small town values during their formative years. Only two (13%) were for the most part city raised (Edmonton and Calgary); none were raised in large cities (see Table II-5).

Tables II-6 and II-7 give some further indication of the type of neighbourhoods in which the ministers grew up.

At least 13 (81%) were raised in predominantly Protestant communities or neighbourhoods.⁵ Interestingly though not obvious from the tables, there is some correspondence between the ethnic origin of the subject and the ethnic composition of the community, particularly in the case of those of Scandinavian extraction. There, in all but one case, the communities in which they were substantially raised were predominantly Scandinavian. It might reasonably be argued that in these cases the community might serve to reinforce the non-British nature of the home.

Religion

Fourteen (88%) of the ministers were raised as Protestants, one (6%) as a Roman Catholic, and one (6%) as a Ukrainian Catholic. The actual denominations are set out in Table II-8. Of these denominations, four, to which three ministers (19%) belonged, are classified by Mann as fundamentalist sects (Church of Christ, Church of the Nazarene, Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant, Salvation Army).⁶ The Baptist church would have been inclined toward fundamentalism, as may some of the other denominations, particularly the Methodist. If we accept the Anglican, Presbyterian and United Churches (though not the United Church

TABLE II-8

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	No.	%
Baptist	1	6
Church of Christ/Church of Nazarene	1 ^a	6
Lutheran	5	31
Methodist	2 ^b	12
Roman Catholic	1	6
Salvation Army	1	6
Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant	1	6
Ukrainian Catholic	1	6
United Church of Canada	3 ^c	19

^aAttended both during youth, but not concurrently.

^bBoth ministers reached adulthood before the formation of the United Church of Canada (1925).

^cOne minister was 14 at church union; another 15. Previous to that they were Presbyterian and Methodist respectively.

on its initial formation) as the status churches in Canada, then few belonged to status churches (a maximum of 19%).

Based on the subject's evaluation of the importance of religion to the parents, all of those interviewed came from homes where at least one of the parents attached more than average importance to religion with 81% having at least one parent who was quite religious.⁸ While none came from the homes of the established clergy, two ministers (12%) had fathers who at some point engaged in lay preaching (one Wesleyan Methodist; one Lutheran).

TABLE II-9
 IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO PARENTS
 (subject's evaluation)^a

Importance	One Parent		Both Parents		Uninterviewed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Non-religious	..	..	..	..	..	..
Below average	..	..	..	..	..	..
Average	..	..	..	..	..	..
More than average	1	6	1	6	..	..
Quite religious	8	50	5	31	..	..
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	..	..	..	..	1	6

^a Where there is a difference in religious appreciation by the parents, the parent with the highest appreciation is taken as being representative of the family.

All of the ministers interviewed (94% of the total), had at least some acquaintance with organized religion while growing up with 81% (87% of those interviewed) claiming regular church attendance. In addition, the two cases of irregular attendance (see Table II-10) seem not to have been by choice but a product of church accessibility (both came from homes where both parents were described as quite religious).

It would seem then, that a high proportion of the ministers were raised in a strong religious background, that there are cases in which fundamentalist thought would form a significant part of that early background, though our measures are not sufficient to estimate its extent with any precision. The well known association of the Premier with

TABLE II-10
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	No.	%
Attendance		
Non-attendance	..	..
Irregular attendance	2	13
Regular attendance ^a	13	81
Some church organizational activity	12	75
Other activity ^b	1	6
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	6

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

William Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute (which he entered at age 19, and where he became Secretary and associated with radio evangelism by his final year of study) is unique within the group. It should be pointed out, however, that one other minister, a member of a fundamentalist sect, had, through his brothers and sisters, strong indirect association with another Alberta fundamentalist Bible college, the Prairie Bible Institute in Three Hills, Alberta. Eight of his brothers and sisters graduated from that college.⁹

Education

Forty-four per cent of the ministers received no more than a secondary education, 50% if one minister who went to technical school (a two year course in motor mechanics) following a grade 10 education is included. There was a range in educational level from three ministers

TABLE II-11
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Level	No.	%
Elementary	3	19
Grades 9-11	2 ^a	13
Grades 12-13	2 ^b	13
Some university	1	6
University degree	3	19
Some postgraduate study	..	..
Higher degree/s	1	6
Technical school	1 ^c	6
Religious college (non-degree)	1 ^d	6
Normal school or teacher training	3 ^e	19
Other	..	..

^aGrade 11 in both cases.

^bThe un interviewed minister has been placed in this category on the basis of information from an informed source.

^cFollowing a grade 10 education.

^dThe admission requirement was grade 8.

^eIn addition, two ministers attended normal school before taking university degrees.

Note:

Four ministers (two with grade 8; two with normal school education) took correspondence or night school courses, most frequently in business.

(19%) with grade eight to three with a university degree (see Table II-11). This represents some improvement over the educational level of the parent generation (see Table II-3) where none of the fathers, with one possible exception, received any university level education.

Of the ministers who took some form of institutional education other than public and secondary school (nine of the ministers or 56%), only the Premier, as already mentioned, attended Bible college. A high proportion, 67%, did work in Education.¹⁰ Of those taking university degrees, two did so in Education and one in Medicine.

As to the type of schools attended, all attended state schools and all but two (13%) attended Protestant schools. Eighty-eight per cent received a significant part of their education in rural or small town schools, with 25% attending only rural schools.¹¹ Fifteen (94%) received all, or virtually all, of their education in Western Canada with 13 or 81% receiving virtually all their public and secondary education in Alberta. They would not, however, have completed public and secondary education during the same time period (two or 13% did so prior to, or during, WW I; five or 31% in the 1920's; eight or 50% during the depression; and one following WW II) and the type of education provided in public institutions would have changed somewhat during the total period involved.¹²

As to the university or other non-secondary institutions attended, the only university was the provincial one: the University of Alberta in Edmonton or its Calgary branch.¹³ Those taking normal school education did so in Alberta normal schools (Calgary, Camrose, Edmonton) and the

TABLE II-12
 TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND WHERE

Type	Where educated ^a					
	Canada		United States		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
State	15	94	1	6	16	100
Private (some or all)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural	4	25	..	..	4	25
Village/town ^b	5	31	..	..	5	31
City	2	13	..	..	2	13
Large city ^c	..	..	..	..	..	..
Combination of rural and village/town	3	19	1	6	4	25
Combination of rural and city	1	6	..	..	1	6
Combination of village/ town and city	1	6	..	..	1	6
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..
Protestant	13	81	1	6	14	88
Catholic	2	13	..	..	2	13
Combination of Protestant and Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..

^aMajority of school years.

^bCommunities with a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

Bible college, as already mentioned, was the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute.¹⁴ All institutions attended, other than public and secondary schools, were in Alberta. Indeed, when the total educational experience of each minister is considered, 75% are found to have received all of their education in Alberta, 81% virtually all, and only one can be said not to have taken a significant part of his education in that province.

If one looks only to those with higher education for evidence of academic distinction, and measures distinction in terms of prizes and awards received and academic standing, then none of the ministers can, in that sense, be described as having a distinguished background.¹⁵ None attended what might be termed a "prestigious" educational institution.

As to the financing of that education not provided by the state, involving nine or 56% of the ministers, one third financed it entirely by themselves and another third partly by themselves. Of those with university degrees (three or 19%), two financed them entirely by themselves.

An examination of the holding of elected office in organizations in school and other educational institutions for evidence of early development of political skills may only be meaningful to a degree, but the numbers holding office are, none the less, set out in Table II-13.

Of those attending secondary school, and on whom we have information, some five or 42% held some elected office; of those attending university or other institutions, some four or 44% held office.

TABLE II-13

ELECTED OFFICE IN ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOL,
UNIVERSITY, AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS^a

Office	Type of Institution								
	Secondary School			University		Other		Incomplete Information	
	No.	% ^b	% ^c	No.	% ^b	No.	% ^b	No.	% ^b
Held elected office in one organization	3	19	20	..	..	2	13	..	..
Held elected office in two organizations	2	13	13	..	..	2	13	..	..
Held elected office in three or more organizations	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^d	6
Total	5	31	33	..	..	4	25	1	6

^aThe period examined is that when the subject would normally be in these institutions given regular progression through grade.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers.

^cPercentage of those interviewed or on whom information is available.

^dMinister did not go beyond secondary school.

Looking to those offices ranging over the entire student body, all office holders at the secondary school level held students' union positions with four of the five being presidents. None of the schools, however, were of the city or large city type. As to the other educational institutions, all of those holding office were on normal school students' union executives, one being president (Camrose). All of those holding office at this level also did so at the secondary school level.

It should be noted that none held office in fraternities nor in student political parties.

Political and Governmental Activity of Parents

Based on the ministers' evaluation of their parents' interest, some 12 or 80% of the interviewed ministers were raised in homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in following political events, 10 (67%) had at least one parent who was either a member of a political party or identified with a political party, and in eight cases (53%) at least one parent engaged in some political activity while the minister was living at home (see Tables II-14 and II-15). It should be pointed out, however, that none of the parent generation held elected political office above the municipal level though one parent ran for the Alberta legislature as a Conservative; none held party office above the constituency level. There were no reports of parents being active in the Social Credit party, though this is not to say that they may not have become Social Credit supporters. All parental political activity was in Alberta except in two cases: one in British Columbia and one in Britain.¹⁷

Looking to earlier generations for further evidence of political family background, it was found that three ministers (19%) had a grandparent who was politically involved, though in two cases this was not in Canada, indeed not in the Anglo-American political system.¹⁸ In an additional case, though no activity was reported in the grandparent generation, family political activity could be traced back to the Confederation era in Canada.¹⁹ In all four cases there was also some political activity in the parent generation, so we can speak of two families with more than one generation of political activity in Canada (13%) and an additional two with some background from Norway. Other relations (uncles/aunts), contemporaries of the parents, engaged in some political activity in Norway, Britain, and Alberta (the

only elected office being in Norway).²⁰ This involved three families, two of which we have already identified as being more than one generation politically involved; the other family has also already been identified as having activity in the parent generation.

TABLE II-14

PARENTAL INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS--PARENTAL
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Interest and Activity	One Parent			Both			Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
More than average interest in following political events	6	38	40	6	38	40	12	75	80
Some political activity	7	44	47	1	6	7	8	50	53
Some party activity	5	31	33	1	6	7	6	38	40
Party office	1	6	7	1	6	7	2	13	13
Elected political office	3	19	20	1	6	7	4	25	27
Party office and elected political office	1	6	7	1	6	7	2	13	13
Non-elected governmental service									
Some governmental	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Career or substantial term	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers

^bPercentage of interviewed ministers

If we assume that some political activity by the parents would tend to make political activity appear legitimate to the children, then it could be argued that eight or half of the ministers might have brought some favourable disposition toward political activity from the home, reinforced in five of these cases by earlier family political activity or activity of direct contemporary relatives of the parents. Yet it must also be recalled

that none of the parent generation did, in fact, hold any distinguished political office, and only one sought office above the municipal level.

Turning to the matter of party identification, 10 (67%) of those interviewed) came from homes where one parent was a member of, or identified with, a political party, with one home having parents who identified with different political parties. It might normally be expected, given no radical change in socio-economic circumstances from generation to generation,

TABLE II-15

PARTIES OF MEMBERSHIP OR IDENTIFICATION

Party	One Parent			Both			Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Conservative	3	19	20	1	6	7	4	25	27
Liberal	1	6	7	1	6	7	2	13	13
Social Credit	1 ^c	6	7	..	..	..	1	6	7
United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.)	1 ^d	6	7	1 ^e	6	7	2	13	13
Split identification ^f	..	..	..	1 ^g	6	7	1	6	7
Total	6	38	40	4	25	27	10	63	67

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of interviewed ministers.

^cParent was a member of the U.F.A. until minister was 18.

^dU.F.A. did not disappear as a party until minister reached adulthood; parent then switched to Social Credit allegiance.

^eEstablished no new allegiance on the disappearance of U.F.A.

^fWhere one parent identified with one party and the other parent with another party.

^gOne parent identified with the Liberal party; the other with U.F.A. The U.F.A. did not disappear as a party until the minister reached adulthood; parent then switched to Social Credit allegiance.

that the children would tend to follow the identification of the parents. However, as can be seen in Table II-15, few of the ministers were ultimately to identify with the party of the home. It should further be noted that of those ministers under 21 in 1935 and interviewed (six of the seven) only one came from a family where a parent was committed to the Social Credit party.²¹

Finally there is the matter of the family background of non-elected governmental service, a matter that can be dismissed quite quickly. With the possible exception of one of the families of Norwegian extraction already mentioned above, none of the families had any real background of such service.²²

Adult Activity

Having considered those factors thought significant in the upbringing of the ministers, suggesting something of the formative influences upon them, we now turn to the examination of certain selected areas of adult activity and experience.

Marital Status: the Wife/Husband

Fourteen or 88% of the ministers married and had families. What influence this may have had on them (or prolonged bachelorhood on the two others) it is impossible to determine, but to the extent that the spouse would bring significantly different elements of background of the marriage, this could be considered as modifying the background of the ministers. All, however, that meaningfully can be done here is to

TABLE II-16

AREAS WHERE THE BACKGROUND OF THE WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED
SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THAT OF THE MINISTER

Areas of Difference	No.	%
Ethnic origin ^a	6	43
Religion	3	21
Catholic/Protestant difference.....1		
Significantly different Protestant denomination ^b.....2		
Education	9 ^c	64
Level of education ^d.....8		
Type of education ^e.....4		
Father's occupation ^f	6	43
Where raised	3 ^c	21
Country.....1		
Community ^g.....3		

^aBased on the first male ancestor to come to North America. However, where the husband and wife technically differed in origin as measured through the male line, being of differing non-British ethnic origin, but where they were raised in English speaking homes and the families had been three generations or more in North America, the ethnic difference was not taken as being significant. Similarly, if one of the partners was of British ethnic origin and the other non-British, but the non-British partner was raised in an English speaking home and the family had been three generations or more in North America, the difference in ethnic origin was not taken as being significant.

^bMeans difference between an established church and a sect or minor denomination.

^cAdjusted to eliminate double counting (wife/husband differing on more than one aspect within the broad category).

^dMeans difference between levels (elementary, secondary, university) and not within levels.

^eMeans state vs. private education; Catholic vs. Protestant.

^fDifference measured in terms of categories of occupation, e.g. professional vs. farm.

^gMeans farm/small town vs. city.

set out the major areas where there seem to be significant differences (see Table II-16). The political background of the wife/husband will be considered separately later.

It might be said that the British cultural background of some of the cabinet ministers was strengthened through marriage for four ministers of Scandinavian extraction (67% of the total Scandinavians) married wives of British ethnic origin. On the other hand, two ministers of British extraction married wives of European descent (one German, one Swedish), with one of them being raised in a non-English speaking home. In all cases of ethnic difference the wife, however, had been raised in western Canada. In one case the wife of a Catholic minister had only been converted to Catholicism from a fundamentalist Baptist background (the minister may have been a significant factor in this conversion) shortly before marriage and two fundamentalist raised ministers married members of established Protestant churches, one minister subsequently becoming a member of the wife's church (Anglican). In four cases (29%) the education of the wife exceeded that of the husband, in two of these the wife having a university education (all western provincial universities) with the minister a secondary, and in the other two the wife had a secondary education (or substantially so) with the minister an elementary. Two of the wives brought at least some private school education to the marriage²³ while one minister had a Bible college education while the wife had not. It seems doubtful that any of the ministers acquired upward social mobility through the wife.²⁴ In two cases (14%) wives brought some city background to essentially farm/small town raised husbands. The wives, where employed before and/or after marriage, followed the usual female occupations.²⁵

TABLE II-17

NUMBER OF MEASURES ON WHICH WIFE/HUSBAND
DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE MINISTER

Measures	No.	%
None	1	7
One	6	43
Two	1	7
Three or more	6	43

Military Service

Military service may inter alia, have an affect on personality, bring out leadership characteristics, and confer some political advantages. None of these can we effectively measure, but we can indicate the background of such service as existed, the principal features of which are summarized in Table II-18 (all service was in W.W. II).

TABLE II-18

MILITARY SERVICE

Service	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Total number having military service	4	25	100
N.C.O. on discharge	..	..	..
Commission on discharge	4 ^c	25	100
Overseas service (including U.K. only)	4	25	100
Gallantry awards/other recognition	1 ^d	6	25
Recognition of civilian services related to the war effort	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of the number of ministers having military service.

^cThree Captains; One Lieutenant Colonel (army equivalents).

^dD.F.C.

If we equate rank and gallantry awards with distinction, then one minister can be described as having so served, being a Wing Commander (Lt. Col.) and winner of the D.F.C. Of those who did not see military service in World War II, and within the normal age bracket of eligibility (nine or 56% of the ministers),²⁶ a high proportion could be said to have been in essential occupations: 33% were teachers; 33% were farmers; two or 22% were provincial cabinet ministers.²⁷ No minister indicated any conscientious objection to the wars in which he might have served.²⁸

Adult Religious Activity

In six cases (38%) ministers changed their church affiliation during adulthood but in two cases this was more a formal than a real change.²⁹ Of those raised in fundamentalist sects, one moved to the Anglican church, one now has no formal church affiliation but attends various churches, and one moved from one fundamentalist sect to another. On the other hand, one minister, raised as a Methodist, joined a fundamentalist sect. In the formal sense the fundamentalist sect representation was reduced from 19% to 13% while membership in status churches increased from 19% to 38% (see Table II-19).³⁰

Insofar as church activity is concerned, a high proportion of the ministers continued regular church attendance in adulthood though there was some decline in the organizational aspect. That the attendance figures shown in Table II-20 should be the same for the period of youth and today is, however, coincidental. While most ministers continued the pattern established in youth, all did not; the increase in activity of one tends to offset the decline in activity of another. Of the interviewed ministers

TABLE II-19
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	..	..	1	6
Baptist	1	6	1	6
Church of Christ/Church of the Nazarene	1	6	..	..
Evangelical Free Church of America	..	..	1	6
Lutheran	5	31	4	25
Methodist	2	13	..	..
Pentecostal	..	..	1	6
Presbyterian	..	..	1	6
Protestant	..	..	1 ^a	6
Roman Catholic	1	6	1	6
Salvation Army	1	6	..	..
Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant	1	6	..	..
Ukrainian Catholic	1	6	1	6
United Church of Canada	3	19	4	25

^a Minister is not a member of any church but attends various ones.

only one had a consistent pattern of irregular attendance and no organizational activity during adulthood.³¹

The religious activity of the Premier stands out from that of all the other ministers. Only he engaged in radio evangelism, and had done so continuously (save for a brief break in the 1940's) since the 1930's. At the time of the interviews, his Sunday morning broadcasts were still being carried by some thirty stations. For the most part, the activity of the other interviewed ministers might be termed "conventional", though one minister, as a member of the United Church of Canada, did engage in a certain amount of lay preaching during the period 1930-35. It might also be noted that another minister, a member of a fundamentalist sect, for many

years conducted a Bible study class for adults. He was also a member of the "national" committee that directed his sect's missionary activities.

TABLE II-20
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	Youth			Today (1967)		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Attendance						
Non-attendance	..	..	..	..	..	..
Irregular attendance	2	13	13	2	13	13
Regular attendance ^c	13	81	87	13	81	87
Some church organizational activity	12	75	80	10	63	67
Other activity ^d	1	6	7	1	6	7
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	6	..	1	6	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of interviewed ministers.

^c"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^dLay preaching, etc.

Occupational Background

The principal occupations pursued by the ministers prior to election to the Alberta legislature are set out in Table II-21.

While 75% of the ministers were farm raised, only 19% engaged in farming as their principal occupation as adults prior to election, though, as will be seen, some others were to farm at some point as adults. Small business activities (13%), farming (19%), and teaching (38%) account for the principal occupations of 70% of the ministers prior to election. An examination of the total adult occupational experience of the ministers

TABLE II-21

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE

Occupation	Level of Education												Total					
	Elementary		9-11		12-13		Some University		University Degree		Normal School			Technical School		Religious College		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
Business Proprietor (small business)	1 ^a	6	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	13
Salesman	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Professional/Semi-professional	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Doctor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^b	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Teacher/Principal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	38
Farmer	1	6	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	3	19
Lay religious worker/preacher	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Radio broadcaster	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Blue Collar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Supervisory	1 ^c	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	3	19	2	13	2	13	1	6	3	19	3	19	1	6	1	6	16	100

^aPrior to becoming a small businessman, farmed for a period exceeding 10 years.

^bOne minister at one point engaged in small business for a period of 5 years.

^cWas also a trade union official.

prior to election, additional to that of the principal occupation, however, indicates that slightly higher percentages than above indicated had some significant experience, extending over a period of years, in the small business and farming areas prior to election. The revised figures would show 19% with some significant small business background and 24% with farm. It should also be noted that three ministers (19%), two of whom were teachers, had some direct or indirect association with labour prior to election, one through working for a time in his teens in Alberta mines and through the parent, one through a parent and brothers, but only one through principal occupation and trade union activity.

There was some change in occupation in two cases (13%) while the ministers were backbenchers. One minister, who had been a teacher, became a small businessman; another minister, who had been a radio broadcaster, became a business executive. It might be noted that while on the backbenches one minister followed no occupation other than that of an M.L.A., one retired a year after election, and another retired approximately 10 years after election. As ministers, 10 (63%) engaged in no activity other than being a minister of the crown, one was concurrently a business executive for a number of years,³² while five (33%) maintained farms either rented out or under farm managers (three had been farmers prior to election while two, the Premier and one minister who had been a teacher, acquired farms as ministers; all came from farm homes). Two other ministers dabled in farm operations while one of these was also involved in real estate operations for a time. The Premier, as already noted, continued his radio evangelism.³³

Organizational Activity

Looking at organizations distinct from those associated with religious institutions,³⁴ it was found that 81% of the ministers engaged in some organizational activity prior to election to the legislature and that 11 (73%) of those on whom we have detailed information held some elected organizational office prior to election.

TABLE II-22

NUMBER ENGAGING IN SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND
HOLDING ELECTED ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE

Activity	Before Election			Total Organizational Activity		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Engaged in some organizational activity	13 ^c	81	..	16 ^c	100	..
Held elected organizational office	11	69	73	14	88	93
One organization	..	..	..	1	6	7
Two organizations	2	13	13	2	13	13
Three organizations	4	25	27	5	31	33
Four or more organizations	5	31	33	6	38	40
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	6	..	1	6	..

^aPercentage of the total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of the number of ministers interviewed or about whom there is information.

^cThe interviewed minister is known to have been a member of at least two organizations, but information regarding degree of activity and office holding is not available.

Of those on whom we have detailed information, five (33%) held office beyond the local level (46% of known office holders) while all of the office holders held elected office in at least two organizations prior to election. What is more noteworthy, at least at first glance, is that four ministers (25%) held no elected organizational office prior to election and that three (19%) reported no organizational activity prior to election. Closer examination, however, indicates that special circumstances may have obtained in these cases; certainly in each case there is the common feature of early election.³⁵

Insofar as total organizational activity is concerned, Table II-22 ought not to be interpreted as meaning that there was a general increase in such activity following election. Indeed in at least 10 cases (63%) we can speak of a positive decline. In two cases, while there was an increase in the number of organizations of membership, including the acquisition of office beyond the local level, this would not seem to constitute an increase in the total level of activity. The three (19%) who engaged in no organizational activity prior to election did join some organizations, two being elected to local office, but in two of these cases, viewed in terms of total period of legislative service, this new activity was brief. Only one minister (involved with only one organization prior to election) became much more active following election (he was first elected at age 23).

The organizations with which the ministers have been at some time to some degree involved might be placed in the following categories:³⁶

TABLE II-23

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTED OFFICE

Type	Membership			Elected Office		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Business	7	44	47	3	19	20
Fraternal	7	44	44	3	19	20
Community service	6	38	40	5	31	33
Professional	6	38	40	4	25	27
Agricultural	5	31	33	4	25	27
Social/Recreational	5	31	33	3	19	20
Veterans/Military	4	25	27	2	13	13
Service Clubs	4	25	25	1	6	7
Cultural	3	19	20	2	13	13
Cooperative	2	13	13	2	13	13
Religious (non-church affiliated)	2	13	13	1	6	7
Education	1	6	7	1	6	7
Union	1	6	7	1	6	7
Miscellaneous	3	19	20	3	19	20

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of number of ministers interviewed or about whom there is information.

As to the nature of these organizations, it might first be generally observed that they are of the non-exclusive type in the sense of being restricted to elite membership.³⁷ For the most part they would be of the type associated with a middle class background, though some would be less than middle class.³⁸ Some of the organizations would normally require a certain sort of occupation, a few a religious test (Protestant, Catholic), etc., as qualification for membership.

Looking at what would seem to be the most significant features of the various categories (generally in the order set out in Table II-23), it is to be noted that almost half of the interviewed ministers at some time belonged to the Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade, though in one case the membership was brief. Three (19%) continued membership while in the cabinet though none held office (at no time in career did any hold office beyond the local level). Service club membership, which often is coincidental with Chamber of Commerce membership, was claimed by 25% of the cabinet, but none held office beyond the local level, two only retaining membership while in the cabinet. In contrast to these normally business and professional oriented organizations, one minister was very active in the trade union movement in Edmonton prior to election, having helped to organize the local of the United Packing House Workers of America (and apparently not without considerable opposition).

Forty-four per cent of the ministers belonged to fraternal organizations at some time. The principal lodge was the Masonic in which 31% have been members, though in one case membership was never more than nominal. On the other hand, two (13% of the cabinet) held office beyond the local level, though none while in the cabinet. Four continued membership while ministers. In contrast, or counter balance, two ministers (13%) belonged to the Knights of Columbus.

Community service organizations were, for the most part, of the home and school, boy scout, etc., type, with one minister being very active in youth organizations throughout career.

Aside from the member of the cabinet who is a medical doctor, all professional association membership was in the Alberta Teachers' Association to which 31% of the cabinet at one time belonged, two having been active beyond the local level, one having been a provincial vice-president while an M.L.A. (and who ran unsuccessfully for president while an M.L.A.). In contrast, one minister had been a very active school trustee, deeply interested in educational opportunity for rural children, and a provincial vice-president of the Alberta School Trustees Association during part of the time he was an M.L.A.³⁹

Two ministers were very active in a number of farm based organizations (rural electrification, community pasture associations, etc.). However, the principal farm organization to which ministers belonged (including the two above mentioned) was the Farmers Union of Alberta (25% of the cabinet). This is an interesting association for certain members of that organization, including members of its provincial executive, have been, and are, active in the C.C.F./N.D.P., though the organization itself has no official political position. However, the association of one minister was, though active, only brief and before election. Two who held office at the local level indicated that they purposely dropped membership on election, though one minister joined as an M.L.A.⁴⁰

Membership in purely social and recreational clubs was very largely in towns and villages in Alberta. These clubs tended to be of the local sports type (curling, baseball, hockey, athletic). Few belonged to Edmonton social clubs (see appendix to this chapter), though there was membership in other types of Edmonton organizations.⁴¹ It is noteworthy

that, so far as is known, none belonged to any clubs of elite membership and that few belonged to Edmonton social clubs, though, as will be noted later, all but one of the ministers is a full-time resident of Edmonton or the immediate area.

Political Activity

(a) the ministers

The ministers indicated that their first interest in following political events at some level, as distinct from participation, developed at the periods indicated in Table II-24.

TABLE II-24

FIRST INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL
EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT

When	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Always interested	6	38	40
Secondary school or age equivalent	1	6	7
Higher or post-secondary school or age equivalent	1	6	7
As an adult	7	44	47
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	6	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers interviewed or on whom there is information.

At least half of the ministers, or perhaps it ought to be phrased, only half, developed more than average interest in following political events at some level by the age of their majority (seven of the eight came from homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in political events). Only one minister indicated a youthful ambition to

TABLE II-25
NATURE OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Nature of Activity	Age																	
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Incomplete Information		Total			
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Party activity (including youth organization)	1	6	3	19	3	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Standing for local government office	..	..	1	6	1	6	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Standing for provincial legislature	..	..	1	6	2	13	2	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Standing for federal parliament	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Uninterviewed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
incomplete information	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	5	31	6	38	2	13	1	6	7	..	..	1	6	..	16
																		100
																		100

^aThe first percentage figure in each column indicates the percentage of the total number of ministers; the second percentage is expressed in terms of the total number of ministers interviewed or about whom there is information.

TABLE II-26
YEAR OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Year of Activity	Age																	
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Incomplete Information		Total			
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Prior to 1930	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1930-1935	1	6	2	13	13	3	19	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1936-1939	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1940-1943	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1944-1947	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1948-1951	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1952-1954	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1955-1958	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	7	2	13	13	1	6	7	..	..	..
1959-1962	..	..	1	6	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1963-1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/ incomplete informa- tion	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	5	31	33	6	38	40	2	13	13	1	6	7	..	..	..
															1	6	..	
															16	100	100	

^aThe first percentage figure in each column indicates the percentage of the total number of ministers; the second percentage is expressed in terms of the total number of ministers interviewed or about whom there is information.

become an M.L.A., or to seek any elected office for that matter, and none indicated any youthful ambition to emulate a known political figure.⁴²

Though only half of the ministers early developed interest in following political events, 75% (80% of those interviewed) engaged in some political activity by the time they were 35. In four of these cases of activity under 35 there was no family background of political activity. For some 44% of the ministers (47% of those interviewed) the first political activity was in 1935 or earlier but in only one of these cases, the Premier, was the first political activity for the Social Credit movement.

As to the background of each minister's total political activity prior to election to the Alberta house (all of which activity was in Alberta), it is summarized in Table II-27.

TABLE II-27

POLITICAL ACTIVITY PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE

Activity	No.	%
Substantially none ^a	5 ^b	31
Party activity only	4 ^c	25
Elected political office only	2 ^d	13
Party and elected political office	4 ^e	25
Other	1	6

^aWhere there is virtually no political activity prior to obtaining party nomination for the legislature.

^bThree held party office

^cMunicipal office only

^dThree held municipal office; one was an M.P.; two held party office.

^eOne minister was first elected as a non-partisan armed forces representative to the Alberta legislature in 1944 but had engaged in limited political activity in 1935.

There would seem to have been no particular pattern of progression from municipal office to provincial, this being true in only 31% of the cases. In a few cases one might speak of a downward progression, perhaps regression is the right word, for one minister entered the provincial house after being defeated as an M.P. and another ran unsuccessfully for the federal house before standing for the provincial legislature. Perhaps the most striking feature is the number who engaged in no real political activity prior to standing for the legislature. Even if one excludes those first elected in 1935 (that election perhaps constituting an unique event) who had no previous political involvement, the figure still represents at least 25% of the ministers.

It might be appropriate at this point to indicate that 38% of the ministers at some time engaged in at least some political activity for a party other than Social Credit. All of the parties of sometime activity are indicated in Table II-28.

TABLE II-28
PARTIES OF SOMETIME ACTIVITY

Party	Party of First Activity		Party of Final or Present Activity	
	No.	%	No.	%
Conservative	2	13	..	..
C.C.F./N.D.P.	..	..	..	..
Liberal	2	13	..	..
Social Credit	10	63	16	100
U.F.A.	2	13	..	..
Other	..	..	..	..

In half of these cases this other association ceased with the rise of Social Credit in 1934/35, but in three cases (19% of the cabinet) the ministers were able to resist the Aberhart charisma (at least for a time) for they were involved in electoral activity in 1935 for other than Social Credit and did not become associated with the Social Credit party until 1937, 1939, and 1948 respectively.⁴³ It is further to be noted that in all cases of non-Social Credit activity the ministers were following the political identification of the home and in four of the six cases one parent had engaged in some political activity.

As to the principal factors leading to the ministers first standing for the legislature, they are summarized in Table II-29.

TABLE II-29

PRINCIPAL FACTORS LEADING TO STANDING FOR THE LEGISLATURE

Factors	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Early ambition	1	6	7
The Depression, William Aberhart, and persuaded to stand	3	19	20
Progression from community activity, including municipal office, and persuaded to stand	4	25	27
Concern with, and activity in, a certain policy area and persuaded to stand	3	19	20
Persuaded to stand	2	13	13
Progression from constituency presidency or other party office and persuaded to stand	1	6	7
Unique	1 ^c	6	7
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	6	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers interviewed or on whom there is information.

^cFirst elected as armed forces representative in 1944.

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These answers probably ought to be treated with some reservation.⁴⁴ Virtually all the ministers indicated a desire to be of service. A very high proportion indicated, since they had to be persuaded to stand, a lack of political ambition, with only two actively seeking the nomination. However, it ought to be pointed out that of those who indicated that they had to be persuaded to run (13 of the 15 interviewed), seven or 54% indicated no party activity, or virtually no party activity, prior to standing for the legislature.

Only three of the members of the cabinet entered the legislature during the Aberhart years (two in 1935, one in 1940) with the remainder belonging to the Manning period. As already noted, 44% were first elected under age 35, with the range in age at election being between 23 and 57, and the average age being 36 (see Table II-30). As we have seen a high proportion are native Albertans or came to Alberta relatively early in life (ironically the member who came latest to Alberta was the Premier), and in almost 70% of the cases were either "native sons" or long term residents of the constituency in which they were first elected.⁴⁵ All but two have represented the same constituency (or the successor constituency following a redistribution) during their period in the legislature.⁴⁶

All of the members of the cabinet were appointed by Premier Manning, though one was associated with the Aberhart administration in a non-cabinet capacity but not as an uncritical supporter.⁴⁷ Omitting the Premier, who joined the first Social Credit cabinet immediately on its formation, all served a period of apprenticeship in the legislature before appointment to the cabinet, the range in service being from three to 14 years, with the

TABLE II-30
AGE WHEN CAME TO ALBERTA AND AGE AT ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE

Age When Came to Alberta	Age at Election to the Legislature											
	19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Albertan by birth	1	6	3	19	5	31	1	6	1	6	11	69
Under 7 years	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
7-19	..	..	2	13	1	6	1	6	..	..	4	25
20-29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30-39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	3	38	6	38	2	12	1	6	16	100

TABLE II-31

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CONSTITUENCY OR GENERAL AREA PRIOR TO ELECTION AND YEAR OF FIRST ELECTION

Length of Residence	Year of First Election														Total				
	1935/39		1940/43		1944/47		1948/51		1952/54		1955/58		1959/62			1963/67			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%		
Under 5 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 to 10 years	2	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	13	1	6	..	..	..	..	5	31	
10 to 15 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 to 20 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	1	6
Since youth	..	..	1	6	2	13	1	6	2	13	2	13	2	13	2	13	..	10	63
Total	2	13	1	6	2	13	1	6	4	25	3	19	3	19	3	19	..	16	100

TABLE II-32

YEARS OF LEGISLATIVE SERVICE AND AGE AT APPOINTMENT TO THE CABINET

Years in Legislature	Age at Appointment											
	19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Under 5 years	2	13	2	13	1	6	5	31
5 to 10	1	6	1	6	4	25	..	..	6	38
10 to 15	2	13	2	13	..	..	4	25
15+
Total	2	13	5	31	8	50	1	6	16	100

TABLE II-33

YEAR OF ELECTION TO THE LEGISLATURE AND YEAR OF APPOINTMENT TO THE CABINET

Year of Election	Year of Appointment to the Cabinet												Total							
	1935/39		1940/43		1944/47		1948/51		1952/54		1955/58		1959/62		1963/67		Total	No.	%	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
1935-1939	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	13	..	..
1940-1943	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..
1944-1947	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	2	13	..	..
1948-1951	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..
1952-1954	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	19	..	..	..	..	4	25	1	6
1955-1958	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	2	13	1	6
1959-1962	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	13	..	..	4	25	2	13
1963-1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	1	6	..	..	1	6	2	13	4	25	3	19	4	25	16	100	4	25

average being over six. There seems, however, to have been no pattern of holding office within the legislature itself before appointment to the cabinet, though two (13%) were party whip at one time and one of these deputy speaker.⁴⁸ Excluding the Premier (who was appointed to the cabinet at age 26), the range in age at appointment was from 29 to 60, with the average age being 44. (See Tables II-32 and II-33).

(b) brothers and sisters

Of the ministers on whom we have information, 53% were raised in homes in which one or more of the parents engaged in some political activity. It is of interest to look at the extent to which other members of the family, brothers and sisters, assuming that they were raised in the same general environment, also became politically involved. Considered on the basis of family units,⁴⁹ Table II-34 summarizes the gross position.⁵⁰

TABLE II-34

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
One or more brothers and/or sisters engaged in some political activity	7	47	50
One or more brothers and/or sisters held elected political office	4	27	29
Unknown	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	7	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers having brothers and sisters.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers having brothers and sisters on whom information was obtained.

As to the nature of the activity, none of those holding elected office did so above the municipal level though in two of the families of office holders (50%) a member either stood for election to the federal house or sought the nomination to do so (in one of these families two members ran unsuccessfully for parliament). All activity was in Alberta except in one case, and that was in Saskatchewan. All party activity reported was for Social Credit except in one case, and that was for the Liberal party (the Saskatchewan instance). It might be noted that in three of the families (43% of the families that engaged in some political activity) there was some political activity in the parent generation. It is not possible to measure with our data the extent to which the activity of the minister may have influenced other family members to become politically involved.

(c) the wife/husband

We earlier identified certain general areas where the background of the spouse differed significantly from that of the minister though we were unable to determine to what extent the different background of the spouse may have, in fact, modified the background of the minister. At this point we single out an element not earlier considered: the political background of the spouse. It would be interesting to know to what extent the spouse may have influenced the minister to become politically involved and to know to what extent the spouse brought a background of political interest to the marriage and was politically active independently of the minister. Unfortunately we have not been able to answer these questions with any precision.

It might be argued that the potential number of spouses that might have influenced their marriage partners to become politically involved was six or

43% for it was this number that brought more than average interest in following political events at some level of government to the marriage (see Table II-35). In only one of these cases, however, did the minister mention the spouse as a factor in his becoming politically involved.⁵¹ In this case the wife had engaged in some limited political activity before marriage and her family was seen as a factor in the minister standing for the legislature. Another wife in this group engaged in some limited political activity on her own before marriage, but was not mentioned as a factor in her husband's involvement. Of the remaining four cases of more than average interest, none of the wives engaged in any political activity prior to marriage and in two of these cases the minister was already involved politically before marriage with one of these ministers already being in the legislature. It might be noted that in two of the cases of interest but where there was no activity the wife had some association with the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute and the Aberhart family, though the ministers did not see this as a factor in their becoming involved with Social Credit (one of these ministers was mentioned above as already being in the legislature at the time of marriage).⁵² In one case, which probably ought to be viewed as unique, and where the spouse did not bring more than average interest to the marriage, the spouse may have indirectly been a factor in the minister entering politics.⁵³

Three of the wives (21%) came from families where the father had engaged in some political activity and each of these wives brought more than average interest in events to the marriage. In all cases the father was involved with a political party and held elected office, with one being an M.P. The activity was in Manitoba, Saskatchewan,⁵⁴ and Alberta respectively. Only one father, however, was a Social Crediter (the M.P.). Two of the wives from these

politically active families engaged in some limited political activity on their own before marriage, one for the Liberals and the other for Social Credit, and are the wives mentioned in the previous paragraph. It was the influence of the family of the Social Credit M.P. that was seen as a factor in one minister standing for the legislature.

The level of interest in political events and the extent of the political activity of the spouse changed in a number of instances following marriage. The gross change is outlined in Table II-35.

TABLE II-35

SPOUSE'S INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME
LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY

Political Interest and Activity	Before Marriage		After Marriage		Number of Individuals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events at some level	6	43	10	71	10	71
Some party activity	2	14	13	93	13	93
Party office	..	..	5 ^a	36	5	36
Some elected political office	..	..	..	..	..	..
Party activity and elected office	.. ^b	..	..^c	..	..	..
Some non-elected governmental office	3	21	1	7	3	21

^aProvince wide office in three cases, but in two instances these seem to have been largely honorary positions.

^bService did not exceed three years in any case.

^cService did not exceed two years.

The increase indicated in Table II-35 in the number of wives showing more than average interest in following political events after marriage appears in virtually all cases to have been a product of the political

involvement of the husband. Similarly, in all cases except the two cited, the political activity of the wife appears to have been a product of the activity of the husband, and that activity might be described as being to a large degree that of playing the role of the wife of an M.L.A. and/or minister of the crown.

Despite the foregoing, it is not possible to determine with any precision the extent to which the spouse may have been a factor in the minister becoming politically involved, but it would seem reasonable to conclude that in over half the cases both interest and activity on the part of the spouse are largely a product of the political involvement of the minister.

Non-elected Governmental Service

(a) the ministers

None of the ministers came from civil service families (measured in terms of the occupation of the father) and only one of the ministers was a full-time non-elected government employee at some point.⁵⁵ This minister, a native Albertan, entered federal government employment at the officer level in Alberta at age 27 following wartime service. Entry seems to have been a product of circumstances at the time rather than any early ambition to be a civil servant, though a search for security may have been a factor. Service was for a period of over three years.⁵⁶

(b) brothers and sisters

While none of the ministers came from civil service families, some of these families did produce non-elected governmental servants as indicated in Table II-36.

TABLE II-36

NON-ELECTED GOVERNMENT SERVICE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Service	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
One or more brothers and/or sisters held non-elected government office	4	27	29
Career or substantial term ^c	3	20	21
Non-career	1 ^d	7	7
Unknown	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	1	7	..

^aPercentage of total number of ministers having brothers and sisters.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers having brothers and sisters on whom information was obtained.

^c"Substantial term" means 10 years or more.

^dEntered a permanent Alberta civil service position in 1966 after many years in another occupation.

In terms of individuals, 40% were in the employ of the federal government and 60% of the Alberta provincial government or its agencies. In terms of families, one produced federal and provincial employees, one federal, and two provincial only. None of the brothers and sisters held less than a supervisory level position, most were at the professional or executive level, though only one was a senior official with the provincial government, but not of deputy minister rank.⁵⁷

It might be noted that in the case of two families (14%) there was some background of both political activity and non-elected governmental service on the part of brothers and sisters. In neither of these families was their political or non-elected governmental activity in the parent generation.

(c) the wife/husband

None of the spouses of the ministers came from civil service families. Two were Alberta provincial civil servants, but for under two years, and one was an Alberta municipal employee for no more than three years. Though one minister, as noted, was a federal civil servant at one point, and his wife is one of those mentioned above as having been a provincial civil servant, the wife does not seem to have been a factor in the minister seeking non-elected governmental employment. He was already in federal employ when he married.

The Next Generation

Looking at the political and governmental activity of the children of the ministers, it might be expected that the children, given the activity of the parent generation, would tend to view political action favourably and to become politically involved, and this would seem, to a degree, to be the case. Confining ourselves to looking at family units, and to those families having children over 18 years of age,⁵⁸ Table II-37, summarizes the activity.

The ministers reported in all cases at least one member of the family with more than average interest in following political events.⁵⁹ Ninety per cent of the families had a member who belonged, or had belonged, to a political party (includes youth organization), while in 60% of the families one member had engaged in some political activity. In all cases but one the activity was primarily of a party nature and all party activity was for Social Credit. In five of the six families so involved at least part

TABLE II-37
 POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN
 (over 18 years of age)
 BY FAMILY

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number of families with children over 18 years of age	10	71	100
Families with children over 18 where one or more engaged in some political activity	6 ^c	43	60
Families with children over 18 where one or more held non-elected governmental office			
Short term	1	7	10
Substantial term or career	..	..	..

^aPercentage is of total number of families.

^bPercentage is of total number of families with children over 18.

^cIf the joining of political party but with no subsequent activity is considered as political activity, then the figure would be 9.

of the activity was independent of the father.⁶⁰ All activity was in Alberta. In one family only (10%) did a member seek elected office (the federal parliament, unsuccessfully).⁶¹ In four other families (40%), however, the ministers thought that there was a possibility that at least one of the children would seek elected office.⁶²

As to non-elected governmental service, only one family has had a member in full time governmental employ (province of Alberta). In one other family a member was judged to be seriously considering entering federal government service as a career on completion of university.

FOOTNOTES

¹For comments regarding the interviews, and the limitations of the technique, see Chapter I above.

²Background information on the un-interviewed minister was obtained from The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1958, ed. by Pierre G. Normandin (Ottawa: P.O. Box 513, 1958), files of the Alberta Social Credit League, and a member of the academic staff of the University of Alberta who knew the minister personally. It is to be noted that a search of the standard Canadian biographical dictionaries produced no information.

³Similar examination of the mother's side of the family produced no evidence of significant difference in ethnic origin between the father and mother except that one of the ministers of British extraction is Scandinavian on the mother's side. The minister, however, was raised in an English speaking home.

⁴Three brothers of this minister were Alberta coal miners at the time of the interviews.

⁵One of these communities might be said to be a special case being almost entirely settled by members of the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant church.

⁶See W.E. Mann, Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 30.

⁷Of the actual Baptist and Methodist cases, three can clearly be described as fundamentalist. The Baptist was the Premier whose fundamentalism is well known; the father of one of the Methodist ministers was at times a Wesleyan Methodist lay preacher, and the minister described himself as having been raised as a fundamentalist; another of the Methodists, in early adulthood, joined a fundamentalist sect (Pentacostal).

⁸Interestingly, in all but one case where there was a difference in religious appreciation between the father and mother, the mother was the more religious of the two.

⁹Four of them became fundamentalist ministers or missionaries and one married a fundamentalist missionary.

¹⁰Two took B.Ed. degrees; one completed three years toward a B.Ed.; three did not go beyond normal school, though some did take some additional courses.

11 Six or 38% actually attended one room rural schools, usually for grades 1 through 8; two or 13% attended two room rural schools.

12 For an indication of the state of education in Alberta during the entire period, see John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1967). For the sub-periods during which most of the ministers were educated, see chs. 1 to 7; 11 to 14.

13 For something of the nature of the University of Alberta during its first fifty years, see John Macdonald, The History of the University of Alberta, 1908-1958 (Toronto: W.J. Gage for the University of Alberta, 1958).

14 For a description of the founding of this college, and of its early nature, see John A. Irving, The Social Credit Movement in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 32-37.

15 It should be pointed out that there were not a great many awards available and that, of those ministers who went beyond normal school, only 50% took their higher education entirely, or almost entirely, through full-time study. Two ministers did report high standing at normal and the Premier was a prize pupil and first graduate of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute.

16 There are a number of problems here. Among them are the variation in the size and nature of the institutions and the degree to which they were, in fact, organized. Some ministers, and others, commented on the lack of organizations when they were in school, etc., the situation being considerably different from the contemporary one.

17 It is of interest that the father reported to have been politically involved in Britain, a coal miner and the son of a coal miner, is said to have been active in trade union organization while at the same time involved in Conservative party organization. The father's sister, on the other hand, was active in Labour party organization at the municipal level (London County Council).

18 One grandparent was involved in U.F.A. organization in Alberta and prior to that in the Democratic party in the United States; one was a member of the Norwegian parliament (this family seems to have been considerably involved in public service in Norway for an uncle was also reported as being a member of parliament and another as a career military officer); and another engaged in some political activity in Norway.

19 A great grandfather was a Liberal member of the Confederation parliament while another member of the family provided an interesting counterbalance, having taken part in Fenian raids.

20 There were some instances of cousins being reported but we have confined ourselves to contemporaries of the parent generation.

21 The range in age of the seven ministers was from 16 to 21 with one exception; one minister was not born until 1937.

Amusingly, one minister, 19 in 1935, reported that his parents "couldn't stand" William Aberhart, the founder of the Social Credit movement in Alberta.

22 One grandparent was reported as having been a prison guard in Canada.

23 In only one of these cases does the private school seem to have been one of any real degree of exclusiveness (located in Winnipeg).

24 One minister from a skilled worker background (father's occupation) did marry the daughter of a professional man and one farm raised minister married into a much more prosperous farm family. The wife mentioned above as having some private school education in Winnipeg came from this latter family.

25 Clerical/secretarial (43%); teaching (21%); dietician/home economist (14%); nursing (7%). In the case of the female cabinet minister, the husband was a barber.

26 Of the 12 ministers without service, one was female, one was 18 in 1918 and 39 in 1939; and one was 2 years old in 1939.

27 It should be noted that two of those having military service were at the same time members of the Alberta legislature. One was an M.L.A. on enlistment; the other, the war hero, was elected as a non-partisan armed forces representative (the legislature of 1944 contained armed forces representatives from each of the three services).

28 Of those who did not see military service, some were directly affected by the war in the sense of family sacrifice. Forty-four per cent of the ministers who did not see service but who were in the normal age bracket of eligibility reported a brother who was either killed in action or who died on military service. Of the total number of ministers, some 31% lost a brother during W.W.I or W.W. II, and some 19% had brothers who were decorated for valour.

29 One minister moved from one fundamentalist sect to another very similar one; another followed the natural progression from the Methodist Church to the United Church of Canada with church union.

³⁰The increase in status church membership, however, does not seem to reflect any deliberate attempt by the ministers involved to bring about a change in their social position. One minister changed automatically from the Methodist Church to the United Church with church union; one Lutheran joined the Presbyterian Church, it being the only Protestant church operating in the rural area to which he had moved; one minister, raised as a fundamentalist, joined his wife's church, the Anglican.

³¹Refreshingly, this same minister indicated that he and his wife enjoyed going to "restricted adult" movies (this is a category employed by the Alberta Board of Censors; viewers of movies so classified must be 18 years of age or over). He was not raised as a fundamentalist.

³²This minister continued as a business executive after appointment as a minister without portfolio. Some years later, on receiving a portfolio, he resigned his business position.

³³It might also be noted that one minister, the sometime radio broadcaster, was, as a child, in vaudeville in the United States for five years, and that another minister, while in the cabinet, organized a vaudeville troupe (in which more than one cabinet minister performed) to raise funds for needy children. (The placement of this footnote is in no way intended to equate the Premier's radio evangelism with a vaudeville performance, though some of his detractors might hold this view).

³⁴The Knights of Columbus has been classified as a fraternal organization. It might, however, have been considered as a church organization.

³⁵The ministers were elected at the following ages: 23, 26, 28, and 30. Two were elected in 1935 (at ages 26 and 30), one being the Premier who was very active in the religious sphere. Another of the ministers was first elected in 1944 (age 28) as a non-partisan armed forces representative.

³⁶Any categorization requires certain arbitrary decisions on the part of the person making it. In order that the reader may judge the writer's, the actual organizations are listed by category in Appendix II-1 to this chapter.

³⁷The actual organizations of membership were evaluated by certain individuals judged to be knowledgeable about the Alberta social structure and the normal qualifications for admission to the various organizations to which the ministers belong or have belonged.

³⁸For example, and as will be seen, some ministers belonged to baseball, hockey, etc., clubs in small towns and one minister was active in a packing house union.

³⁹One minister constitutes an unusual case, having been a member of a local school board and a member of the A.T.A. (though not simultaneously).

⁴⁰This minister indicated that he did not like the organization but had joined for political reasons for he had some strong supporters in its ranks in his rural constituency.

⁴¹The types of organizations in Edmonton to which ministers have at some time belonged are as follows: business (1), fraternal (3), community service (4), veterans (2), service clubs (2), religious, non-church affiliated (2), union (1), miscellaneous (4).

⁴²Significantly or otherwise, the minister who indicated that he had early political ambitions had a bust of John F. Kennedy on his desk at the time of the interview.

⁴³Two were involved with the Liberal party and one with the United Farmers of Alberta. One mentioned turning out 100% of a rural poll for the Liberal candidate in the 1935 federal election (which followed the provincial election of that year), though the candidate lost. It is also of interest that in two of these cases the most important factor in the conversion to Social Credit, though not necessarily in standing for the legislature, while monetary reform was mentioned, was the progressive policy of the Social Credit government in the field of education. One of these ministers indicated that at first he did not understand the monetary reform ideas of Social Credit but went on to say that he came to do so.

⁴⁴It is difficult to judge the extent to which each minister may have put forward answers that he thought "ought" to be given as opposed to those reflecting the actual situation. In addition, there is the further factor of some degree of distortion that will undoubtedly have been introduced by the writer, indeed any writer, in attempting categorization. The categorization follows from the examination of certain questions. These inquired as to what events may have been important in determining what the minister had done in life, what individuals may have been influential on him, and what led him to stand for the legislature.

⁴⁵This figure might be raised to 75%. One minister, though only nine years resident in the constituency at the time of election, had long time association with the area through his mother's family.

⁴⁶It might be noted that while 31% of the ministers represent Edmonton constituencies 94% are residents of Edmonton (not unreasonably if it is considered that being a cabinet minister is a full-time occupation). Of the eleven who represent non-Edmonton constituencies, some five also maintain some form of property in their home constituencies. In at least two cases it was reported that lack of residence in the home constituency has been used against these particular ministers in election campaigns.

47 This minister was a member of the "insurgency" of 1937 which demanded of the Aberhart government that Social Credit measures be introduced, and was a member, later chairman, of the Social Credit Board which was one of the products of that "insurgency". For background to the "insurgency" and the relationship of the Board to the government and the legislature, see C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 170-77.

48 It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the limited number of cabinet ministers under examination as to the factors that may be involved in cabinet selection. There is not enough data to say that certain portfolios are normally associated with a certain occupational background, or extended to the representatives of certain interests, or that there is a definite pattern of geographic distribution of portfolios. It might be noted, however, that in this particular cabinet the health portfolio was held by a doctor and the education portfolio by a teacher. On the other hand, the post of attorney general was held by a non-lawyer though there were two lawyers in the legislature from the government party. It is this writer's impression (not based on the interviews) that the member of the cabinet of Ukrainian ethnic origin was appointed to represent Ukrainians. There appeared to be geographic distribution of portfolios among the non-urban ridings but at the same time, in this particular cabinet, Edmonton was overrepresented, Calgary underrepresented, and the three other principal cities (Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and Red Deer) were not represented at all. (Edmonton had 16% of the seats in the legislature while 31% of the cabinet came from Edmonton constituencies; Calgary had 14% of the legislature but only 6% of the cabinet). All things being equal (which they never are), there would have been little to impede making appointments fully on a geographic basis for of a house of 63 members only five were in the Opposition, and their seats were not concentrated in a particular area of the province (one Opposition member was from Calgary and the rest from well distributed non-urban ridings).

49 Twelve of the ministers (75%) had at least one brother and sister while four had brothers only. None was an only child. However, one minister had been considered as an only child because his only brother was killed in his early twenties in W.W. II.

50 In dealing with the behaviour of brothers and sisters there is always the problem of members of a family losing track of each other. However, the ministers generally indicated that they would likely know if brothers and sisters had been politically active, particularly if they sought office, though not in all instances how they would vote.

51 Ministers were asked whether there were any individuals that they saw as being influential in determining the sorts of things that they had done in their lifetimes.

52 One of the wives, who became the wife of the Premier, was pianist to Mr. Aberhart. The other, who attended the Calgary Prophetic Institute church, came from a family that was very close to the Aberhart family.

53 The only female member of the cabinet had to raise three small children on her own. Though she came from a home where the father "lived politics 24 hours a day," had she not been forced to become the family breadwinner she would not likely have ventured outside the role of housewife.

54 This father was reported as being a strong friend and supporter of the late James G. "Jimmy" Gardiner, one time Liberal premier of Saskatchewan and long term federal minister of Agriculture.

55 One other minister reported part-time employment. This was for nine years previous to election to the Alberta legislature during the summers (the minister was a teacher) and with an Alberta government agency. It may be entirely coincidental that the minister was at the same time a member of the Social Credit party, active to some degree in organization, and a member through marriage of a very active Social Credit family.

56 Tables have been devised to record what is thought to be significant information regarding non-elected governmental service (see particularly Chapter IV on the deputy ministers) but since only one minister had full-time non-elected service a brief verbal description seems adequate.

57 No attempt was made to determine the extent to which family members might owe provincial governmental positions to the ministers. It might be noted, however, that the senior provincial official joined government service long before his brother entered politics, and before Social Credit came to power in the province. This was not the case in the other instances of provincial employment.

It is not within the scope of this study to explore the relationships through the brothers and sisters with other areas in the community. It might be noted, however, that an examination of the occupations of the brothers and sisters (and their husbands) of the ministers suggests little relationship to business, labour, etc., elites.

58 This involved some 10 families. Assuming that only those children over 18 years of age constitute the family, then one was all female (10%), two all male (20%), and seven (70%) contained both sexes. The range in age of the children was from 19 to 40 with 90% of the families having at least one member over 25. Sixty per cent of the families had at least one member who had completed or was attending university (contrasting with the parent generation where 30% were university graduates).

It should be noted that in only one family was the minister not politically active during at least part of the period when the children were growing up. In that case there was political activity in the grandparent generation.

59 The information regarding the political activity of the children is based on the knowledge of the minister in each case. It seems reasonable

to assume that in most cases the fathers would have heard if their children were politically active. However their judgement about the level of political interest of their children would likely have to be treated with more reservation.

⁶⁰By this is meant that there was some political activity other than being involved in the political campaigns of the father.

⁶¹It might be noted that the only child who, at the time of the interviews, had sought elected office was the son of the Premier. The son was very active politically. He had been a leader of the Social Credit party at university, leader of the party in model parliament, active in the provincial party, had stood for the federal house, and is reported to have been influential in his father's government.

⁶²The ministers were specifically asked whether there was any indication that any of their children might be contemplating political activity or government careers.

APPENDIX II-1

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Business Junior Chamber, Senior Chamber of Commerce--- 6 Edmonton(1) ^c Board of Trade--- 1	1	44
Fraternal Masons--- 5 Edmonton(1) Knights of Columbus--- 2 Edmonton and Calgary(1) Elks--- 1 Knights of Pythias--- 1 Independent Order of Foresters--- 1	7	44
Community Service Home and School Associations--- 2 Boy Scouts--- 2 Community League, Edmonton--- 1 Camp Gordon Society--- 1 Advisory Council Senior Citizens Recreation Centre, Edmonton--- 1 St. Mary's Home Advisory Board, Edmonton--- 1 Canadian Red Cross--- 1	6	38

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Professional	6	38
Education 5		
Alberta Teachers' Association--- 5		
Medicine 1		
Alberta Medical Association--- 1		
College of Physicians and Surgeons--- 1		
College of General Practice--- 1		
Agricultural	5	31
Farmers' Union of Alberta--- 4		
United Farmers of Alberta--- 2		
Community pasture, agricultural improvement, reclamation, water conservation associations--- 1		
Rural electrification association--- 2		
Social/Recreational	5	31
Local baseball, hockey, athletic clubs and associations--- 4		
Local curling clubs--- 2		
Local golf club--- 1		
Local fish and game association--- 1		
Local drama club--- 1		
Edmonton Garrison Officers' Mess--- 1		
Veterans/Military	4	25
Royal Canadian Legion--- 3		
Calgary(1) ^c		
Militia--- 2		
Edmonton(1), Edmonton and local(1)		
Naval Officers' Association--- 1		
Artillery Association--- 1		
Royal Rhodes Ex-Cadets Club (honorary)--- 1		
Service Clubs	4	25
Lions--- 2		
Optomist International, Edmonton--- 1		
Rotary, Edmonton--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Cultural	3	19
Edmonton Art Gallery--- ^c 1		
Canadian Club, Edmonton--- 2		
Local Drama Club--- 1		
Cooperative	2	13
Local mutual telephone company--- 2		
Local cooperative association--- 1		
Local credit union--- 1		
Religious (non-church affiliated)	2	13
Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Edmonton--- 1		
Gideon International, Edmonton--- 1		
International Christian Businessmen's Committee, Edmonton--- 1		
Education	1	6
Alberta School Trustees' Association--- 1		
Union	1	6
United Packing House Workers of America, Edmonton--- 1		
Edmonton Labour Council--- 1		
Miscellaneous	3	19
Alberta Hot Rod Association, Edmonton--- 1		
Canadian Diabetic Association, Edmonton--- 1		
Canadian Council on Alcoholism--- 1		
Business and Professional Women's Club, Edmonton--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

CHAPTER III

THE MEMBERS

This chapter is concerned with the social and political background of the non-cabinet members of the Fifteenth Legislature of the province of Alberta, composition as at January 1, 1967. This involves some 47 members, all but one being male. Forty-two of these (90%) belonged to the government party, Social Credit. As to the Opposition of five, three were Liberals, one belonged to the New Democratic Party, and one was styled a "Coalition" member.¹ Interviews were obtained with 43 of the 47 members or 92%. All of the non-interviewed members were Social Crediters. Put another way, interviews were obtained with 90% of the Social Credit backbenchers and with all of the Opposition members. Certain information has been obtained on the un-interviewed members but is clearly less complete.²

Consideration of the background of the members will follow the same format as in the previous chapter but with each table being produced twice: the first will deal with the government members and the second with the Opposition. While the Opposition is so small that it is likely that no meaningful comparisons can be drawn between it and the government members, such a breakdown may facilitate the drawing of comparisons between the cabinet and its own backbenchers.³

Family Background and UpbringingEthnic origin

Traced through the father (see Table III-1), 27 or 64% of the Social Credit members are of British ethnic origin, with some range in the number of generations resident in Canada, with at least three (7%) claiming descent from United Empire Loyalists, and one from a family that settled in the Maritimes prior to the American Revolution. However, if the ethnic origin of the mother is considered, the ethnic background of this group becomes a little more complicated. In five cases (18% of the group) the mother was non-British (1 German Swiss, 1 Swedish, 1 French-Canadian, 1 Volga German, 1 Dutch, with the latter two being foreign born)⁴ and knew the language of her ancestors, though the language of the home of the M.L.A. was English in each case and no reference was made to foreign language publications being received.⁵

Traced through the father, some 15 or 36% of the Social Credit members were non-British, though all but one was raised in North America (the exception being raised in Italy). However, additional to the Italian, there were nine cases where the language of the home was either exclusively or to a considerable degree non-English,⁶ and in seven of these cases the father was European raised.⁷ In five of these cases foreign language publications were received in the home. In the case of 24% of the Social Credit members, then, it may be possible to speak positively of non-British cultural roots. This is a somewhat lower figure than in the case of the ministers where seven (47%) came from a non-British cultural background, though in six of the seven cases a fairly similar one, Scandinavian.

TABLE III-1
 ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION CANADIAN--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS^a

Ethnic Origin	Generation Canadian													Total																						
	Born outside Canada	Born outside Canada but largely Canadian raised ^b		Generation											Incomplete Information																					
		No.	%	1		2		3		4		No.	%		No.	%																				
				No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%																									
Austrian/Czech.							
British	4	10	4	10	..	2	..	5	1	4	2	..	6	..	14	..	3 ^c	7	..	1	..	27	64	1	2						
French	1	2					
French-Canadian				
German			
Italian	1 ^e	2		
Scandinavian	1 ^e	2	
Ukrainian	1	2
Total	6	14	6	14	11	26	2	5	5	12	8	19	4	10	42	100																				

^aBased on the ethnic origin of the first male ancestor to come to North America.

^b"Raised" defined as having spent the majority of years between birth and age 18 in Canada.

^cAll are at least first generation Canadian; all were born in the Canadian West.

^dMember is at least first generation Canadian, being born and raised in Alberta.

^eBorn and raised in the United States.

TABLE III-2
 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER AND WHERE RAISED--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Birthplace	Where Raised ^a											
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Europe		Incomplete Information		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada	16	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	38
U.S.A.	..	..	6	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	14
Britain	..	..	..	..	7	17	..	..	..	..	7	17
Europe	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	21	..	..	9	21
Incomplete Information	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	10	4	10
Total	16 ^b	38	6	14	7	17	9	21	4	10	42	100

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the father spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bTen were raised in Ontario (24%), 2 (5%) in Quebec, 2 (5%) in the West, and 2 (5%) in the Maritimes.

TABLE III-3
 ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION CANADIAN--OPPOSITION MEMBERS^a

Ethnic Origin	Generation Canadian												Total		
	Born outside Canada		Born outside Canada but largely Canadian raised ^b		Generation										
					1		2		3		4				
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
British	2	40	1	20	..	..	..	..	3	60	
French-Canadian	1	20	1	20
Italian	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
Total	1	20	2	40	1	20	..	..	..	1	20	5	100

^aBased on the ethnic origin of the first male ancestor to come to North America.

^b"Raised" defined as having spent the majority of years between birth and age 18 in Canada.

TABLE III-4
 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER AND WHERE RAISED--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Birthplace	Where Raised ^a									
	Canada		United States		Britain		Europe		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada	2	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	40
Britain	1	20	..	..	1	20	..	..	2	40
Europe	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20	1	20
Total	3 ^b	60	..	..	1	20	1	20	5	100

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the father spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bTwo were raised in Ontario (40%); one in the West.

The two principal non-British groups from which the members are drawn are German (five cases) and Ukrainian (five cases). However these seem to reflect differing degrees of assimilation, using language of the home as the index of measurement. In the case of the Ukrainians, the language of the home was non-English in all cases. However, in the case of the Germans, the language was non-English in only two of the five cases, with in all the cases of English speaking homes the mother being of British ethnic origin, and in one case the family claiming descent from Loyalist stock.⁸ With respect to the other groups, each of which had one representative, the language of the home was non-English in the case of the Italian, French, and French-Canadian, while English was the language of the Austrian/Czech and the Scandinavian.

Insofar as the Opposition is concerned (see Tables III-3 and III-4), three of the five (60%) were of British ethnic origin. Though one of these had a Dutch born and raised mother, the language of the home was English. In the cases of those of non-British ethnic origin (1 French-Canadian, 1 Italian), only in the case of Italian were positive non-British cultural roots found.⁹

Occupation of the Father

The occupations of the fathers of the Social Credit members, occupation being another indicator of background, are set out in Table III-5. In all but three cases (9%),¹⁰ the occupations were pursued, during the period of the M.L.A.'s dependency on the father, in North America.

The single largest group was drawn from the farming sector, representing at least 23 or 55% of the fathers, though the figure might, perhaps, be

TABLE III-5

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF THE FATHER (when subject dependent on him)--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Occupation	Education: Highest Grade Attended																	
	None		Some Elementary		Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary		Some University		University		Incomplete information		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmer	2	5	10	24	7 ^a	17	3 ^b	7	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	23 ^c	55
Weekly newspaper owner and editor	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Professional/semi-Druggist/businessman
Business Proprietor (small business)	1	2	1 ^d	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Industry (steel/mining)
Supervisory Skilled/semi-Tailor	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Driller (oil)	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Steam Engineer	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Unskilled/blue collar	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Coal miner	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^e	2
Streetcar motor-man	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Teamster/drayman	1 ^f	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Manual worker	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Incomplete information	2	5
Total	2	5	14	33	13	31	4	10	4	10	1	2	..	..	4	10	42	100

TABLE III-5 continued

^aOne father was raised in Norway with the level of education not specifically known but was judged to have no more than an elementary school education. One father had three years in an agricultural college following grade 8 (Ontario).

^bOne also had teacher training following grade 10 or 11 (Ontario).

^cWhile farming was the primary occupation, three also engaged in other activities at the same time: one was a grain buyer; one engaged in real estate and insurance activities; and one was a small contractor.

^dWas to become an Alberta civil servant when the M.L.A. was 16.

^eIn addition, four fathers had been coal miners at some stage, though not during the main period when the M.L.A.s were dependent on them (2 were miners in England; 2 in the Canadian West). The principal occupations when the M.L.A.s were dependent on them were farming in 3 cases and manual employment in one.

^fOne father was raised in Denmark with level of education not specifically known but judged not to be very extensive (he was the orphaned son of a carpenter).

^gIn these cases where we have incomplete information, all of the sons were born in small towns in Western Canada and attended small town schools. It may be reasonable, therefore, to assume that the fathers engaged in farming or small business and did not have a high level of education.

Note:

Nine of the fathers (21%) were European educated, none having more than an elementary school education. Three fathers (7%) are known to have received some form of private school education (all non-elite schools), one in England (secondary), one in Ontario (an Anglican secondary school for the sons of clergymen), and one attended a Quebec classical college to approximately the grade 12 level. The only known university attended was The University of Alberta where the father was a gold medalist in pharmacy.

TABLE III-6

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF THE FATHER (when subject dependent on him)--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Occupation	Education: Highest Grade Attended																	
	None		Some Elementary		Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary		Some University		University		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Professional/semi-Druggist/businessman	1	20	1	20
Business
Electrical contractor	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shoemaker/small business	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Industry/mining Mill foreman	1 ^a	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Farmer	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	2	40	1	20	1	20	1	20	..	..	..	..	1	20	5	100

^aBecame a small businessman when the member was substantially raised.

Note:

One father was educated in Europe. None received a private school education. The university attended was Toronto where the father was a gold medalist in Pharmacy.

60%.¹¹ (It will be recalled that 75% of the cabinet came from farm homes). For the 55%, there was some range in the size of the farms and their prosperity, all of which were in North America, but none were of a truly large scale, with approximately half beginning as homestead operations. As can be seen in Table III-5, at least 10 of the fathers (24% of the total; 26% of those on whom we have detailed information), were employees of some type with only two holding supervisory positions. While the exact number is open to interpretation, at least five (12%) would probably properly be placed in the working class category if one was attempting a class analysis.¹² It is further to be observed that at least 69% of the fathers had less than a secondary school education (76% of those on whom we have detailed information), and nine (21%) were European educated.¹³

The occupational and educational background of the fathers of the Opposition members is set out in Table III-6 which is generally self-explanatory. It might, however, be observed that the mill foreman shown in the table was the father of the N.D.P. member.

Birthplace and Community Where Raised

Some 21% of the fathers of the Social Credit members were European raised, with the rest being raised somewhere within the Anglo-American community, with at least 16 or 38% being raised in Canada.¹⁴ In the case of the sons, the Social Credit members, however, only one was European raised (Italy), 93% were substantially raised in North America, 86% in Canada, and 74% in Alberta. (See Table III-7).

Table III-8 indicates something of the type of communities in which the members grew up. The Italian raised M.L.A. grew up in a small rural

TABLE III-7

BIRTHPLACE OF SUBJECT AND WHERE RAISED--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Birthplace	Where Subject Raised ^a																		
	Maritimes		Quebec		Canada Ontario		West		Alberta		U.S.A.		Britain		Europe		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Canada	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maritimes
Quebec
Ontario	2	5	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West (other than Alberta)	2	5	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alberta	19	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U.S.A.	3	7	2 ^b	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Britain	2	5	1 ^c	2	2	5	..	..	..	..	..
Europe	2 ^d	5	..	..	..	..	1 ^e	2	..	..	..
Total	1	2	..	..	2	5	2	5	31	74	3	7	2	5	1	2	42	100	

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bCame to Canada at ages 12 and 14 respectively.

^cCame to Canada at age 16.

^dOne Ukraine; 1 Russia

^eItaly

TABLE III-8

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AND WHERE--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type of Community	Where ^a									
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Europe		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural	18	43	2	5	..	..	..	..	20	48
Village/town ^b	6	14	..	..	1	2	..	..	7	17
City	3	7	1 ^c	2	..	..	..	..	4	10
Large city ^d	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	2	5
Some combination of above										
Rural/village/town	5 ^e	12	..	..	..	..	1	2	6	14
Rural/city	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Village/town/city	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Total	36	86	3	7	2	5	1	2	42	100

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is that of the same period.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCame to an Alberta farm at age 16; previously raised in a number of steel communities in the United States.

^dCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

^eThe four un interviewed M.L.A.s have been placed in this category since they were born in Western Canada and attended rural or small town schools.

town. As to the rest of the Social Credit members, some 35 or 83% received a significant part of their upbringing in a rural or small town environment (81% in North America; 76% in a rural or rurally dependent North American town environment).¹⁵ A high proportion, then, would seem likely to have absorbed rural or small town values. Only two (5%) were raised in large cities (Toronto; Sheffield, England).

Tables III-9 and III-10 give some further indication of the nature of the communities and neighbourhoods in which the M.L.A.s were raised.

It is to be observed, though not obvious from the tables, that there is some correspondence between the members' ethnic origin and the ethnic composition of the community in which raised. In the case of those of non-British ethnic origin (traced through the father), and on whom we have detailed information, some 71% were raised in predominantly non-British communities. Where the language of the home was non-English, or significantly so (24% of the members), in 90% of the cases the community was predominantly non-British. This may serve to confirm that a significant number of the Social Credit members have non-British cultural roots. Of those of British ethnic origin (again traced through the father), and on whom we have detailed information, 67% were raised in predominantly British communities or neighbourhoods, 29% in mixed, but only one in a community where there was not a significant British population.

At least nine (21%) were raised in communities that might be said to have special religious features, all but one in Alberta (the exception was in Ontario). Two were raised in Mormon communities, another in a community that was largely peopled by supporters of the Evangelical Free Church of

TABLE III-9

TYPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY OR SMALL URBAN (where no consciousness of neighbourhood) IN WHICH RAISED--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type of Community	Where ^a									
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Europe		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>										
Largely British	12	29	1	2	1	2	..	..	14	33
Largely non-British	9	21	1	2	..	..	1	2	11	26
Mixed	7	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	17
<u>Religiously</u>										
Largely Protestant	16	38	2	5	1	2	..	..	19	45
Largely Catholic	4	10	..	..	..	..	1	2	5	12
Mixed	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	10
Mormon	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Greek Orthodox	2 ^b	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Incomplete Information	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bOf the 5 members of Ukrainian ethnic origin, 2 were raised in predominantly Greek Orthodox communities while 2 were raised in Greek Catholic/Ukrainian Catholic communities. The remaining member was raised in a predominantly non-British community, but where the Ukrainians did not represent a large group, and which religiously was of a mixed Catholic/Protestant nature.

TABLE III-10

TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH RAISED (urban areas where consciousness of neighbourhood)--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a							
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>								
Largely British	3	7	..	..	1	2	4	10
Largely non-British	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2
Mixed	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	2
<u>Religiously</u>								
Largely Protestant	4	10	..	..	..	..	4	10
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	..	..	1	2	1	2	2	5
<u>By Class^b</u>								
Upper middle	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle	1	2	1	2	..	..	2	5
Lower middle	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2
Working	2	5	..	..	1	2	3	7

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bBased on the subject's evaluation, confirmed as far as possible by the subject's recollection of the occupations of his neighbours.

America, another where the Church of the Nazarene was described as being very strong, and another (the Ontario case) where the principal religious denominations were Mennonite, Dunkard, Quaker, Methodist, and Lutheran. All but one of the Ukrainians were raised in communities that were either Greek Orthodox or Greek or Ukrainian Catholic, or some combination of these.¹⁶

Of those raised in communities where there was consciousness of neighbourhood, the neighbourhoods seem to correspond to the nature of the occupation of the father, with three of the six being raised in working class areas.

As to the Opposition members, information regarding birthplace and type of community is set out in Tables III-11, III-12, III-13, and III-14.

In the case of the fathers, three or 60% were Canadian raised; in the case of the members, all were raised in Canada, with four of the five being substantially raised in Western Canada though one was Italian born. Four of the five would likely have absorbed something of small town values, being substantially raised in small Canadian towns, though only two were agriculturally dependent.¹⁷ One was raised in a middle class district in Calgary. It might be pointed out that the N.D.P. member was raised to age 16 in a number of mining communities, substantially in the West, but also partly in Ontario. All of those of British ethnic origin were substantially raised in predominantly British communities, the French-Canadian in an ethnically mixed, with only the Italian member being raised in a predominantly non-British area.

TABLE III-11

BIRTHPLACE OF SUBJECT AND WHERE RAISED--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Birthplace	Where Subject Raised ^a											
	Maritimes		Quebec		Canada Ontario		West		Alberta		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Maritimes
Quebec
Ontario	1	20	..	..	..	..	1	20
West (other than Alberta)	1	20	..	..	1	20
Alberta	2	40	2	40
Europe	1	20	1 ^b	20
Total	1	20	1	20	3	60	5	100

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bItaly

TABLE III-12

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AND WHERE--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type of Community	Where ^a	
	Canada	
	No.	%
Rural	..	..
Village/town ^b	3	60
City	1	20
Large city ^c	..	..
Some combination of above		
Rural/village/town	1	20
Rural/city	..	..
Village/town/city	..	..
Total	5	100

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is that of the same period.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

TABLE III-13

TYPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY OR SMALL URBAN (where no consciousness
of neighbourhood) IN WHICH RAISED--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a	
	Canada	
	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>		
Largely British	2	40
Largely non-British	1	20
Mixed	1	20
<u>Religiously</u>		
Largely Protestant	2	40
Largely Catholic	1	20
Mixed	1	20

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

TABLE III-14

TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH RAISED (urban areas where
consciousness of neighbourhood)--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a	
	Canada	
	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>		
Largely British	1	20
Largely non-British	..	..
Mixed	..	..
<u>Religiously</u>		
Largely Protestant	1	20
Largely Catholic	..	..
Mixed	..	..
<u>By Class^b</u>		
Upper Middle	..	..
Middle	1	20
Lower Middle	..	..
Working	..	..

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bBased on the subject's evaluation, confirmed as far as possible by the subject's recollection of the occupations of his neighbours.

Religion

At least 26 Social Credit members (62%), perhaps 28 or 67%,¹⁸ were raised as Protestants, with six (14%) being Catholics, one partly Catholic raised, three (7%) raised in the Orthodox faith, and two, perhaps three, raised as Mormons. This is in contrast to the ministers where 88% were Protestant raised. The actual denominations of the members are shown in Table III-15.

As can be seen from Table III-15, the religious affiliations during youth were rather mixed, and cannot be described as being overwhelmingly fundamentalist, though a significant proportion may have been raised in fundamentalist inclined churches. Of the denominations, two (Evangelical Free Church of America; Church of Christ), to which 5% of the members belonged (though not until their teens), are described by Mann as fundamentalist sects.¹⁹ The Baptist church would likely have been inclined toward fundamentalism. If this is added to the sects, fundamentalist affiliation would represent approximately 19% of the members. (The corresponding figure for the cabinet would be 24%). If we were to generously assume, which may not be a reasonable assumption, that the sects, the Baptists, and the Methodists were fundamentalist inclined, this would represent approximately 36% of the total. (The corresponding figure for the cabinet would be 42%). Insofar as status churches are concerned, if we accept the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church as being such (though perhaps not the United Church at its initial formation), then approximately 26% so belonged. (The corresponding figure for the cabinet would be 12%, perhaps 19%).²⁰

TABLE III-15

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Denomination	No.	%
Anglican	4	10
Baptist	6	14
Greek Orthodox	3	7
Lutheran	1	2
Methodist	7 ^a	17
Mormon	2 ^b	5
Presbyterian/Evangelical Free Church of America	1 ^c	2
Protestant	1 ^d	2
Roman Catholic	5	12
Roman Catholic/Church of Christ	1 ^e	2
United Church of Canada	6 ^f	14
Ukrainian Catholic	1	2
None	1 ^g	2
Incomplete information	3 ^h	7

^a Five were entirely raised before the formation of the United Church of Canada; two became members of the United Church with church union (1925) at age 18.

^b Figure may be 3 or 7% (see footnote h below).

^c Joined Evangelical Free Church in teens while attending bible college.

^d Attended rural non-denominational Protestant church services so no formal affiliation; parents were Presbyterian.

^e Joined Church of Christ in early teens.

^f Two members were 11 at church union; another was 12. Two were Presbyterian and one Methodist before union. One member joined the United Church at age 12 from the Anglican Church. The total number of United Church members may be 8 or 19% (see footnote h below).

^g Attended no church during youth.

^h The three members today (1967) are United Church in two cases and Mormon in one. Since the United Church members are Scots by ethnic origin, it may be reasonable to assume a Presbyterian/United Church background; they would have been 10 and 12 respectively at church union. The Mormon would likely have been raised as such.

Some indication of the extent to which the members came from religious homes can be seen in Table III-16.

TABLE III-16
IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO PARENTS
(subject's evaluation)^a--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Importance	One Parent		Both Parents		Incomplete Information	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Non-religious	..	..	2	5	..	..
Below average	..	..	1	2	..	..
Average	1	2	3	7	..	..
More than average	7	17	3	7	..	..
Quite religious	8	19	13	31	..	..
Incomplete Information	..	..	..	..	4	10

^aWhere there is a difference in religious appreciation by the parents, the parent with the highest appreciation is taken as being representative of the family.

Based on the subject's evaluation of the importance of religion to the parents, some 74% came from homes where at least one parent attached more than average importance to religion (82% of those interviewed), with at least 50% (55% of those interviewed) having at least one parent who was quite religious.²¹ This is in contrast to the ministers where the corresponding figures would be 94% (100% of those interviewed) and 81% (87% of those interviewed).

The religious activity of three of the fathers (7%) might be noted. One father came from a home that had association with the established clergy, his father having been an Anglican minister. The father, himself,

was an active lay Anglican leader at the local level who also did some preaching. One father was described as having been active in the temperance movement in the United States, as having been converted from Lutheranism to Methodism by a prominent American evangelist, and as having engaged in some lay preaching in Alberta. Another father was a deacon in the Baptist church.

It might also be noted that three (7%) of the members came from split Catholic/Protestant homes, two of the members being raised as Catholics, though one of these, from a home where real religious conflict seems to have existed, became Protestant as an adult while at the same time having little to do with organized religion. It might also be noted that of the seven members (17%) wholly or partly raised as Catholics, one was to become Protestant in his teens and three during adulthood.

All but one of the members interviewed had some association with organized religion while growing up but only 25 (60%; 66% of those interviewed) claimed regular church attendance (contrast with 87% of the interviewed ministers). However it should be pointed out that of those claiming irregular attendance, some 29% (32% of those interviewed), 75% were raised in rural areas where it was difficult to get to church or where there was no church of the member's denomination with 50% coming from homes where at least one parent attached more than average importance to religion.

In the case of the ministers it was pointed out that the Premier's association in youth with the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute and William Aberhart was unique to the group though one other minister, also a fundamentalist, had strong indirect association with the Prairie Bible

TABLE III-17
CHURCH ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	No.	%
Attendance		
Non-attendance	1	2
Irregular attendance	12	29
Regular attendance ^a	25	60
Some church organizational activity	21	50
Other activity ^b	3	7
Incomplete information	4	10

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

Institute in Three Hills. In the case of the members, some four (10%) attended Bible colleges, one in Toronto and New York, three in Alberta, with one of the latter attending the Prophetic Bible Institute under Aberhart, having been attracted to the Institute by the Aberhart radio broadcasts (he was the son of the Baptist deacon), and one attended the Prairie Bible Institute.²²

The youthful religious background of the Opposition members is set out in Tables III-18, III-19, and III-20.

TABLE III-18

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Denomination	No.	%
Roman Catholic	3 ^a	60
Roman Catholic/United Church of Canada	1 ^b	20
United Church of Canada	1	20

^aOne member came from a split Catholic/Protestant home, became Catholic at age 8.

^bMember came from split Catholic/Protestant home, became Protestant in early teens, but all religious affiliation was largely nominal.

TABLE III-19

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO PARENTS

(subject's evaluation)^a--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Importance	One Parent		Both Parents	
	No.	%	No.	%
Non-religious	1	20
Below average
Average
More than average
Quite religious	1	20	3	60

^aWhere there is a difference in religious appreciation by the parents, the parent with the highest appreciation is taken as being representative of the family.

TABLE III-20.

CHURCH ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	No.	%
Attendance		
Non-attendance	1	20
Irregular attendance	..	..
Regular attendance ^a	4	80
Some church organizational activity	2	40
Other activity ^b	..	..

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

As can be seen from these tables, none of the Opposition members was raised in a fundamentalist church and only one in a status church. Perhaps the most striking feature is that some 60% were substantially raised as Roman Catholics (though one was a split Protestant/Catholic home), in situations where at least one parent was quite religious.²³ Only one Opposition member came from a non-religious home (split Protestant/Catholic, with the member being nominally Roman Catholic until the early teens and then nominally United Church) and did not attend church. All of the others came from homes where at least one parent was quite religious and where the member, himself, attended church regularly.

Education

In terms of formal education, excluding apprenticeship, some 31% of the Social Credit members received no more than a grade nine education while 26% took university degrees (see Table III-21). This, it might be noted, represents a significant increase in educational level over that of the parent generation (see Table III-5). It is also to be observed, insofar as university education is concerned, that a higher proportion of members took degrees than did the cabinet (19%).

In the case of the members taking some form of institutional education other than public and secondary school or business college training, 23 or 55% of the members, the principal areas of specialization were Education in 13 or 57% of the cases (of whom seven took no more than a normal school education or its equivalent), Bible college training in four cases (17%), and Law in two (9%). Of those taking university degrees, 11 or 26% of the members, again Education was dominant, representing 55% of the group, followed by Law in two cases (18%), with one representative each of Pharmacy, Engineering, and Dentistry.²⁴ In addition, one member took chiropractic training. While there was greater variation in specialization in the case of the members, in the case of both the members and the ministers, Education was the predominant background.

As to the type of elementary and secondary schools attended (see Table III-22), all but two (5%) went to state schools. None of those attending private schools went to elite institutions.²⁵ All but three (7%) attended Protestant schools, though seven (17%) were wholly or partly raised as Catholics.²⁶ Thirty-three (79%) received a significant part of

TABLE III-21.
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Level	No.	%
Some Elementary	1 ^a	2
Elementary	6	14
Grades 9-11	8 ^b	19
Grades 12-13	2	5
Some university	1 ^c	2
University degree	11	26
Some postgraduate study	..	..
Higher degree/s	3 ^d	7
Technical school	..	..
Religious college (non-degree)	4 ^e	10
Normal school or teacher training	6 ^f	14
Chiropractic training (degree)	1	2
Other	2 ^g	5

^aGrade 6.

^bFour grade 9, two grade 10, two grade 11.

^cOne year in Faculty of Education; might be placed in teacher training category.

^dExcludes law.

^eAdmission requirement in all cases was grade 8. Two of the members claimed grade 8, one grade 9, and one grade 12.

^fFour of those taking degrees also attended normal school.

^gOne took a certificate in mining following grade 8; the other became a journeyman printer following grade 9.

Note:

Four members, following grade 8, 9, 10, and 11 respectively, took some form of business college training, full-time in two cases.

TABLE III-22

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND WHERE--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type	Where educated ^a									
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Europe		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
State	34	81	3	7	2	5	1	2	40	95
Private (some or all)	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Rural	9	21	2	2	..	..	..	..	11	26
Village/town ^b	15	36	..	..	1	2	1	2	17	40
City	3	7	1	2	..	..	..	..	4	10
Large city ^c	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	2	5
Combination of rural and village/town	6	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	14
Combination of rural and city	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Combination of village/ town and city	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Protestant	34	81	3	7	2	5	..	..	39	93
Catholic	2	5	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	7
Combination of Protestant and Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

^aMajority of school years.

^bCommunities with a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

their education in rural or small town schools, with 26% attending only rural schools.²⁷ All but one of the members received his elementary and secondary schooling somewhere within the Anglo-American community, 86% in Canada, 79% in the West, and 74% substantially in Alberta. They did not, however, complete this education during the same time period (nine or 21% did so prior to, or during W.W. I; 15 or 36% in the 1920s; 12 or 29% during the depression; five or 12% during W.W. II; and one or 2% following W.W. II), and the type of education provided would have changed somewhat over the total period involved.

As to the universities attended, all but one of the eleven taking degrees, including the higher degrees, did so from the University of Alberta in Edmonton, though some received part of their university credit through the then Calgary branch.²⁸ The exception is only nominally an exception since he received most of his higher education in these same institutions though his degree was taken in Education at Bradley University in Peoria, Illinois.²⁹ It should be pointed out that five (45%) of those taking degrees, all doing so in Education, pursued the greater part of their studies through summer sessions and would not have experienced university in the usual sense.

As to the other institutions attended, those taking normal school education did so in Alberta normal schools (Calgary, Camrose, Edmonton). The Bible colleges, three in Alberta and two in the East, were: Alberta Bible College, Calgary; Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills; Prophetic Bible Institute, Calgary; Toronto Bible College; National Bible College, New York.³⁰ The first three were attended by one member each while one

member attended the latter two. The only other institution attended was the Palmer College of Chiropractic in Davenport, Iowa.

It is to be observed that none of the members attended prestige educational institutions, and that, when all levels of education are considered, some 74% of the members received all, or substantially all, of their education in Alberta institutions. Stated another way, none of those educated in the elementary and secondary school system of the province went outside Alberta for further education, with the minor exception already indicated.

As a footnote to this discussion of the nature of the educational institutions attended, it might be recalled that one member was taught by William Aberhart at the Prophetic Bible Institute. It seems worthy of mention that two other members were also taught by him but in their cases at Crescent Heights High School.

Insofar as academic distinction is concerned, looking only to those with higher education for evidence of it, it was found that none were award recipients though at least three (27% of those taking degrees but only 7% of the Social Credit members) might be described as superior students.³¹

As to the financing of that education not provided by the state, aside from private secondary schools, involving 23 or 55% of the members, some 60% financed it entirely, or very substantially, by themselves. Of those taking university degrees, some 70% financed their studies entirely, or very substantially, by themselves.

As we have noted before, an examination of the holding of elected office in organizations in school and other educational institutions for evidence of early development of political skills may not be particularly meaningful.³² All the same, and for what it is worth, the number holding office are set out in Table III-23.

TABLE III-23

ELECTED OFFICE IN ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY, AND OTHER
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS^a

Office	Type of Institution									
	Secondary School			University		Other		Incomplete Information		
	No.	% ^b	% ^c	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Held elected office in one organization	7	17	17	2	5	5	12	..	..
Held elected office in two organizations	4	10	10	2	5	..	..	..	..
Held elected office in three or more organizations	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^d	2
Total	12	29	30	4	10	5	12	1	2	

^aThe period examined is that when the subject would normally be in these institutions given regular progression through grade.

^bPercentage of total number of members.

^cPercentage of those interviewed or on whom information was obtained.

^dOf the four uninterviewed members, two did not go beyond elementary school. With respect to the other two, information was obtained on the office holding of one.

Of those attending secondary school, and on whom we have information (all but one), some 12 or 40% held some elected office at that level; of those with complete secondary education, the same individuals, but now representing 60%, held office. Some nine or 40% of those attending university or other institutions held elected office in those institutions.³³ All but one of those holding office at the non-secondary level first held office at the secondary.

Looking to those offices ranging over the entire student body, four (33%) of the known office holders at the secondary school level held students' union office, with three being presidents. None of the schools, however, was of the city or large city type. As to the other levels, all of those holding office ranging over the entire student body did so at normal school, three or 33% being on normal school student executives, two being presidents, one at Calgary and one at Camrose³⁴ (all three of those on normal school executives had also been on high school executives, two being presidents). It might be noted that there is some parallel with the ministers in that the only offices held by them at the non-secondary level that ranged over the entire student body were in normal schools and that each of them also had previously held high school students' union positions.

As to the early political activity in the conventional sense within the context of these institutions, some two of the university graduates (5% of the members; 18% of the graduates) held office in a university political party (Social Credit) and were involved in model parliament. These were not the same individuals as those holding students' union office.

It might further be observed that none held office in fraternities.³⁵

Turning to the Opposition members, the level of their education is set out in Table III-24. This level is generally higher than that of either the Social Credit members or of the cabinet.

TABLE III-24

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Level	No.	%
Elementary	..	..
Grades 9-11	1 ^a	20
Grades 12-13	1	20
Some university	..	..
University degree	3	60
Some postgraduate study	..	..
Higher degree/s ^b	..	..
Technical school	..	..
Religious college (non-degree)	..	..
Normal school or teacher training	..	..
Other	..	..

^aGrade 10 followed by full-time business college training.

^bExcludes law

In terms of university specialization, two graduated in Law and one in Pharmacy; none had any background in Education or attended Bible college.

As to the type of elementary and secondary schools attended (see Table III-25), all attended state schools for most of their public schooling, though one attended an Edmonton Jesuit college for two years. None received a private school education in the elite sense. It is to be noted that of the three raised as Roman Catholics, two received part of their education

TABLE III-25.

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND WHERE--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type	Where educated ^a	
	Canada	
	No.	%
State	4	80
Private (some or all)	1	20
Rural	..	..
Village/town ^b	2	40
City	1	20
Large city ^c	..	..
Combination of rural and village/town	..	..
Combination of rural and city	..	..
Combination of village/town and city	2	40
Other	..	..
Protestant	2	40
Catholic	1	20
Combination of Protestant and Catholic	2	40

^aMajority of school years.

^bCommunities with a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

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in state Protestant schools, elementary in one case and secondary in the other. It will be recalled that only one of these members was exclusively city raised and this is reflected in the type of schools attended. Eighty per cent received a significant part of their education in town schools, with in two cases (40%) these schools appearing to differ little from the typical one room rural school. All received their elementary and secondary schooling in Canada, with 60% doing so entirely in Alberta, while two received none of their education in that province. One completed public and secondary schooling prior to W.W. I, one during the depression, two during W.W. II, and one following W.W. II.

The universities attended were all in Western Canada, Alberta in two cases and Saskatchewan in one; both are non-elite schools. None of those educated in the primary and secondary schools of Alberta went outside the province for higher education. None of the university graduates achieved any academic distinction either in terms of awards or standing. All higher education was continuously pursued and none financed it wholly or substantially by himself though all claim to have made some contribution in this respect.

The general record of elected organizational office holding by the Opposition members is as set out in Table III-26.

Of those attending secondary school, the entire group, some 40% held office; of those attending university, three of the five, all held some elected office in a university organization. Both of the members holding high school office were on students' union executives, one being a president. These same two members held office at the university level, but none of the

TABLE III-26.

ELECTED OFFICE IN ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY, AND OTHER
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS--OPPOSITION MEMBERS^a

Office	Type of Institution					
	Secondary School		University		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Held elected office in one organization	1	20	3	60	..	..
Held elected office in two organizations	1	20	..	..	..	..
Held elected office in three or more organizations	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	2	40	3	60	..	..

^aThe period examined is that when the subject would normally be in these institutions given regular progression through grade.

university graduates held office at university extending over the entire student body. Only one of the members was early involved with a political party, being a member of a youth group and in model parliament. None held office in fraternities.

Political and Governmental Activity of Parents

Based on the evaluation of the level of parental interest and activity by the Social Credit members, at least 27 or 71% of those interviewed (perhaps 76%)³⁶ were raised in homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in following political events, 68% had at least one parent who was either a member of a political party or identified with a

political party in the Anglo-American community (if we confine ourselves to Canadian parties the figure is 63%), and in at least 22 cases (58%) at least one parent engaged in some political activity while the member was living at home. See Tables III-27 and III-28.

TABLE III-27
PARENTAL INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS--PARENTAL POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Interest and Activity	One Parent			Both			Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
More than average interest in following political events	18	43	47	9	21	24	27 ^c	64	71
Some political activity	20	48	53	2	5	5	22 ^d	52	58
Some party activity	12	29	32	2	5	5	14	33	37
Party office	7	17	18	..	..	..	7	17	18
Elected political office	15	36	39	..	..	..	15	36	39
Party office and elected political office	5	12	13	..	..	..	5	12	13
Non-elected governmental service	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some governmental Career or substantial term	1	2	3	..	..	..	1 ^e	2	3

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of interviewed members.

^cThis figure ought, perhaps, to be 29 (69%; 76%), for in two cases, though the member indicated that the parents had no more than average interest, in each case one parent held elected political office and was a regular supporter of a political party.

^dIn addition, one parent was to engage in party activity when the member was 30.

^eThough one parent engaged in small business activity until the member was 16, at that point he was appointed to Alberta government service and subsequently became a member of an Alberta government board.

As to the nature of the known political activity, it should be noted that in only one case (3% of those interviewed) did a parent hold elected office above the municipal level or party office above the constituency.³⁷ The exception, however, was a considerable one, being an early activist in the Social Credit movement, elected to the Alberta legislature while the member was at home, and subsequently becoming a cabinet minister. It might also be noted that, even when the above-mentioned is included, in only three cases (8% of those interviewed) was a parent involved in activity for the Social Credit party (as distinct from voting support) while the member was growing up.³⁸

All known political activity was within the Anglo-American community; in Alberta in all but three cases (one parent was involved in the United States, one in P.E.I., and one in Ontario).³⁹

Looking to earlier generations and other relations contemporary to the parents for further evidence of political family background, it was found that in three cases (8% of those interviewed) a grandparent engaged in some political activity, in Canada in two cases and in England in one. In each of these cases a parent also engaged in some activity. In three instances (7% of the members; 8% of the interviewed), then, there were three generations of continuous political involvement, though none of it was distinguished.⁴⁰ In three other cases members claimed relationship to figures of some note, one to Edmund Burke, one to both the brother of Sir Walter Raleigh and to Thomas Jefferson, and one to Benjamin Franklin. In only one of these cases was their mention of political activity by a parent or intervening generations. It could be argued that this extends

the number of families with some political involvement by two. Other relations (uncles/aunts), contemporaries of the parents, in three instances engaged in some political activity in the United States, England, and Alberta respectively. These involved more than ordinary activity in two cases.⁴¹ In only one of these cases was their activity by a parent. In sum, at least 23 members came from a family where a parent at some time engaged in some political activity (22 while the member was growing up). When other relations are taken into account, the number of families with some prior political involvement might be extended to 27 (64% of the members; 71% of those interviewed).⁴²

In light of the above, and put another way, it might be argued that in the cases of 58%, perhaps 60%, of the interviewed members, political activity might have acquired some legitimacy through the activity of a parent, reinforced in five cases (23%) by activity of other relations of more or less distinction. In an additional four cases, where there was no activity in the parent generation, legitimacy might have been conferred by the activity of other relations.

Turning to the matter of party identification, 24 members (63% of those interviewed) came from homes where at least one parent was a member of, or identified, with a Canadian political party, in seven cases (18%) with the Social Credit party (see Table III-28).

A high proportion of the members, were, as adults, to abandon the position of the home. Referring only to Canadian parties, in the case of nine members (38% of the cases of identification), however, the member would have found it impossible to continue the position of the home for

TABLE III-28
PARTIES OF MEMBERSHIP OR IDENTIFICATION--PARENTS
OF SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Party	One Parent			Both			Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Canada									
Conservative	.. ^d	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3
Conservative/U.F.A. ^c	2 ^d	5	5	..	..	..	2	5	5
Liberal	5	12	13	2	5	5	7	17	18
Social Credit	5	12	13	2	5	5	7	17	18
United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.)	5	12	13	2	5	5	7 ^e	17	18
Sub-total	17	40	45	7	17	18	24	57	63
United States									
Republican	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	5	5
Total	18	43	47	8	19	21	26	62	68

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of interviewed members.

^cConservative allegiance federally; U.F.A. provincially.

^dIn one case the parent changed allegiance to Social Credit in 1935; in the other the parent established no new provincial allegiance on the disappearance of the U.F.A.

^eU.F.A. did not disappear as a party until the members reached adulthood. In all cases the parents are reported to have switched allegiance to Social Credit.

the party of provincial identification, the U.F.A., was to disappear from the political scene. Still, where there was choice, in the case of identification with the traditional parties, the position of some seven members (33% of the cases of identification), all abandoned the position of the home.

It might further be noted that of those members 21 or under in 1935 and interviewed (12 of the 14), some seven or 58% came from homes where at least one parent was committed to the Social Credit party.⁴³ Of the remaining five, four came from homes of no commitment. This is in contrast to the ministers where, of those 21 or under in 1935, in the cases of those interviewed (six of the seven), only one came from a home committed to Social Credit.

It might also be noted that in two cases a parent identified with one party federally (Conservative) and another provincially (U.F.A.). In both cases the Conservative identification seems to have followed from strong support for R.B. Bennett.

As to the family background of non-elected governmental service, in only one known case did a parent become a long term government employee, and only after the member was largely raised.⁴⁴ In five other cases fathers engaged in part-time government employment, in rural areas in four cases and in a small town in one, in Alberta in four cases and in P.E.I. in one. In four of these cases the father was involved in some political activity and in three of the cases some of the government employment was likely a bi-product of this activity.⁴⁵ No other non-elected service on the part of relations of the parent generation or earlier was reported.

We turn once more to the Opposition members. Some three or 60% of these members came from a home where at least one parent had more than average interest in political events and in each of these three cases a parent held elected political office (though none was above the municipal

level) and engaged in party activity (though no offices were held above the constituency level).⁴⁶ All activity was in Canada, but in only one case in Alberta.⁴⁷

TABLE III-29

PARENTAL INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS--PARENTAL
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Interest and Activity	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events	2	40	1	20	3	60
Some political activity	2	40	1	20	3	60
Some party activity	2	40	1	20	3	60
Party office	1	20	..	..	1	20
Elected political office	2	40	1	20	3	60
Party office and elected political office	1	20	..	..	1	20
Non-elected governmental service	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some governmental Career or substantial term	..	..	..	..	..	..

An examination of the political activity of earlier generations and of relations contemporary to the parents does not extend the number of families with some prior political involvement beyond the three above identified. However, two of the three families were found to represent at least a third generation of political activity, with grandparent activity in Ontario in one case and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in another. In the latter case an aunt and uncle were also involved, and, though few distinguished elected offices were held, this family does seem to have been very active politically.⁴⁸

Insofar as party identification is concerned, only those coming from the politically active homes were raised in an atmosphere where one or more of the parents identified with political party. Table III-30 sets out the parties of identification.

TABLE III-30
PARTIES OF MEMBERSHIP OR IDENTIFICATION--PARENTS OF
OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Party	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C.C.F.	..	..	1	20	1	20
Conservative	1	20	..	..	1	20
Liberal	..	..	1	20	1	20
Total	1	20	2	40	3	60

In two of the three cases the member maintained the party identification of the home. In one case the member, raised in a Conservative home, claims to have become candidate oriented, though he has only voted for representatives of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

None of the Opposition members came from families with any background of career government service.

Adult Activity

Having considered those factors thought to be significant in the upbringing of the members, suggesting something of the formative influences upon them, we now turn to an examination of certain selected areas of adult activity and experience.

Marital status: the Wife/Husband

Of the 42 Social Credit members, some 38 or 92% married and 92% of these had families. Of the group of Social Credit members on whom we have detailed information (38) some 35, or again 92%, married and 91% of these had families. It is to the spouse in this latter group that we now direct our attention.⁴⁹

It would be helpful if we could determine the extent to which the spouse, where significantly different elements of background were brought to the marriage, brought modification, in effect, to the background of the member. Our measures, however, are not sufficient to make any reliable statements in this respect, though certain conclusions may suggest themselves to the reader. About all that realistically can be done is to set out what appear to be the major areas of difference in background between the member and the spouse (see Tables III-31 and III-32). The political background of the spouse will be considered in a separate section later.

Insofar as ethnic origin is concerned, there would appear to be significant difference in 11 cases (31%). The considerably mixed ethnic background of the members seems to have been further complicated through marriage, and, on balance, the British cultural background does not appear

TABLE III-31

AREAS WHERE THE BACKGROUND OF THE WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY
FROM THAT OF THE MEMBER—SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Areas of Difference	No.	% ^a
Ethnic origin ^b	11	31
Religion	11	31
Catholic/Protestant difference.....4		
Catholic/Orthodox difference.....1		
Orthodox/Protestant difference.....2		
Mormon/Protestant difference.....1		
Significantly different Protestant denomination ^c.....3		
Education	19 ^d	54
Level of education ^e.....16		
Type of education ^f.....5		
Father's occupation ^g	18	51
Where raised	12	34
Country.....5		
Community ^h.....11		

^a Percentages are of the married members on whom detailed information was obtained (of the 38 married members, information was obtained on 35).

^b Based on the first male ancestor to come to North America. However, where the husband and wife technically differed in origin as measured through the male line, being of differing non-British ethnic origin, but where they were raised in English speaking homes and the families had been three generations or more in North America, the ethnic difference was not taken as being significant. Similarly, if one of the partners was of British ethnic origin and the other non-British, but the non-British partner was raised in an English speaking home and the family had been three generations or more in North America, the difference in ethnic origin was not taken as being significant.

^c Means difference between an established church and a sect or minor denomination.

^d Adjusted to eliminate double counting (wife/husband differing on more than one aspect within the broad category).

^e Means difference between levels (elementary, secondary, university) and not within levels.

^f Means state vs. private education; Catholic vs. Protestant.

^g Differences measured in terms of categories of occupation, e.g. professional vs. farm.

^h Means farm/small town vs. city.

to have been strengthened. In the case of seven members of British ethnic origin traced through the father (four British on both sides; three with mothers of European extraction), all from English speaking homes, the members took wives of European descent. In all of these cases the language of the home in which the wife was raised was non-English (four Scandinavian, one German, one Ukrainian, one Flemish), though all were raised in Alberta. It might also be noted that the member of Austrian/Czech descent, a third generation Canadian, took a wife of German ethnic origin who was raised in a German speaking home. On the other hand, three of the non-British members, from non-English speaking homes, married wives of British extraction.⁵⁰

In eleven cases (31%) the wife brought a significantly different religious background, measured in terms of church affiliation only, to the marriage. In the case of three Catholic members, two married Protestants and one a Greek Orthodox. In the case of three Protestants, two married Catholics and one a Greek Orthodox. One Greek Orthodox married a Protestant. One Mormon married a Protestant. Within Protestantism, two from established churches married members of minor denominations (Christian Science, Church of Christ). In addition, one member with no affiliation married a member of the Mennonite Conference. In only three cases, however, were the members to change to the religious affiliation of the wife (one Protestant to Catholic, one Catholic to Protestant, and one Anglican to Christian Science).⁵¹

In 16 cases (46%) there was difference in the level of education, but in only four cases (11%) did the education of the wife exceed that of the member. In these four instances the wife had complete secondary education.

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(two also having normal school training) to an education ranging from grade 6 to grade 9 for the member. There were only five cases (14%) of significant difference in the type of education received. There were, however, no instances of the wife attending an elite type educational institution and none where the wife brought any private schooling to a marriage where the member had no private school background.⁵² It might be noted that the wife of one of the Bible college graduates did not attend Bible college (she was Baptist raised, however), and that while two of the married members were at some point taught by William Aberhart none of the wives were (though one just missed that experience, entering Crescent Heights High School in 1935).

In some 18 cases (51%) the wife came from a family of different occupational background (viewed in terms of categories of occupation) but in 83% of these cases the difference was between a farm and a non-farm occupation. On balance, there would appear to be few cases of upward mobility through the wife.⁵³

Insofar as difference in country where substantially raised is concerned, of which there are five cases (14%), there is perhaps only one of considerable contrast: the Italian raised member marrying an American raised wife. In the other four cases, though husband and wife were substantially raised in different countries, all were within the Anglo-American area. In four of these cases of difference in country where raised there was also difference in the type of community. In all, there were 11 cases (32%) where the type of community differed significantly, with in six cases (17%) the wife bringing some city background to essentially farm/small town raised members.⁵⁴

It is to be observed that, for the most part, the wife, where employed, followed what are usually considered to be female type occupations, though some of these occupations, in at least 17% of the cases, would probably not normally be associated with high socio-economic status (these included those of domestic, laundry worker, and waitress).⁵⁵ In the case of the female member, her husband was a livestock dealer.

TABLE III-32
NUMBER OF MEASURES ON WHICH WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED FROM
THE MEMBER—SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Measures	No.	%
None	2	6
One	13	37
Two	8	23
Three or more	12	34

As to the Opposition members, it would appear that the British cultural background was not significantly strengthened through marriage, for there were no instances of non-British members marrying wives of British descent.⁵⁶ In terms of religion, two with Catholic background took wives who were members of principal Protestant denominations. Only one of these wives converted to Catholicism, and then only after 20 years of marriage.⁵⁷ In each case where there was a difference in the level of education (60% of the members), the member's exceeded that of the wife. As to type of education, two (40%) of the members, as might be expected from the religious differences, attended Catholic schools for at least part of their education while the wives did not. While in three instances

TABLE III-33

AREAS WHERE THE BACKGROUND OF THE WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY
FROM THAT OF THE MEMBER--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Areas of Difference	No.	%
Ethnic origin ^a	1	20
Religion	2	40
Catholic/Protestant difference.....2		
Significantly different Protestant denomination ^b.....0		
Education	3 ^c	60
Level of education ^d.....3		
Type of education ^e.....2		
Father's occupation ^f	3	60
Where raised	3 ^c	60
Country.....1		
Community ^g.....3		

^aBased on the first male ancestor to come to North America. However, where the husband and wife technically differed in origin as measured through the male line, being of differing non-British ethnic origin, but where they were raised in English speaking homes and the families had been three generations or more in North America, the ethnic difference was not taken as being significant. Similarly, if one of the partners was of British ethnic origin and the other non-British, but the non-British partner was raised in an English speaking home and the family had been three generations or more in North America, the difference in ethnic origin was not taken as being significant.

^bMeans difference between an established church and a sect or minor denomination.

^cAdjusted to eliminate double counting (wife/husband differing on more than one aspect within the broad category).

^dMeans difference between levels (elementary, secondary, university) and not within levels.

^eMeans state vs. private education; Catholic vs. Protestant.

^fDifferences measured in terms of categories of occupation, e.g. professional vs. farm.

^gMeans farm/small town vs. city.

(60%) there was difference in the type of occupation pursued by the father, it seems doubtful, with one possible exception, that there was upward mobility through the wife.⁵⁸ While all the members were substantially raised in North America, the wife of one received a significant part of her upbringing in Wales. In one instance the wife introduced a small town upbringing to an urban raised husband while in another case the reverse obtained. It might be noted that the N.D.P. member, substantially raised in mining communities, took a wife whose background was largely small town Saskatchewan. The wives pursued the usual type of female occupations.⁵⁹

TABLE III-34

NUMBER OF MEASURES ON WHICH WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED FROM
THE MEMBER--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Measures	No.	%
None	..	..
One	2	40
Two	1	20
Three or more	2	40

Military Service

The general background of military service by Social Credit members is summarized in Table III-35.⁶⁰

If we equate rank and gallantry awards with distinction, then none of the Social Credit members so served. Of those who did not see military service, and within the normal age bracket of eligibility, 25 or 60%,⁶¹ some could be said to have engaged in essential services: 28% were farmers, 12%

TABLE III-35
MILITARY SERVICE--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Service	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Total number having military service	10	24	100
N.C.O. on discharge	4	10	40
Commission on discharge	5 ^c	12	50
Overseas service (including U.K. only)	7	17	70
Gallantry awards/other recognition	..	..	..
Recognition of civilian services related to the war effort	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of number of members having military service.

^cThree lieutenants; 2 captains (army equivalents).

were teachers, and one member was frozen in the R.C.M.P. In addition, one member was an M.P., and then M.L.A., one an M.L.A., and two were fundamentalist preachers. No members received any recognition for civilian services related to the war and none of those interviewed indicated any conscientious objection to the wars in which they might have served.⁶²

The military service of the Opposition members is set out in Table III-36.

One member (m.i.d.) achieved some minor distinction having taken part in an air mission that shot up the car of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel. Of those that did not see military service, and within the normal age bracket of eligibility (two or 40%),⁶³ one was engaged in an essential occupation (frozen in his position as a telegrapher during W.W. I). None

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TABLE III-36

MILITARY SERVICE--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Service	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Total number having military service	2	40	100
N.C.O. on discharge	..	..	..
Commission on discharge	1 ^c	20	50
Overseas service (including U.K. only)	1	20	50
Gallantry awards/other recognition	1 ^d	20	50
Recognition of civilian services related to the war effort	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of number of members having military service.

^cCaptain (army equivalent).

^dm.i.d.

indicated any conscientious objection to any of the wars in which they might have served.

Unfortunately, be it government or Opposition members, we are not able to judge what political advantages military service may have conferred nor what effect such service may have had on personality, development of leadership skills, etc.

Adult Religious Activity

In 15 cases (36% of the members; 40% of those on whom we have detailed information), Social Credit members changed their religious denomination or church affiliation during adulthood,⁶⁴ though in seven cases this was more a formal than a real change.⁶⁵ Insofar as the cases of deliberate change are concerned, in four instances there was a movement between

TABLE III-37

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Denomination	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	4	10	3	7
Baptist	6	14	8	19
Christian Science	..	..	1	2
Greek Orthodox	3	7	3	7
Lutheran	1	2	..	..
Methodist	7	17	..	..
Mormon	2 ^a	5	3	7
Presbyterian/Evangelical Free Church of America	1	2	..	..
Evangelical Free Church of America	..	..	1 ^b	2
Protestant	1	2	1 ^b	2
Roman Catholic	5	12	3	7
Roman Catholic/Church of Christ	1	2	..	..
Church of Christ	..	..	1	2
United Church of Canada	6 ^c	14	16	38
Ukrainian Catholic	1	2	1	2
None	1	2	1	2
Incomplete information	3 ^d	7	..	..

^aFigure may be 3 (7%). See footnote d.

^bMember classified himself as Protestant but attends no church.

^cFigure may be 8 (19%). See footnote d.

^dThe three members today are United Church in two cases and Mormon in one. Since the United Church members are of British (Scots) ethnic origin, it may be reasonable to assume a Presbyterian/United Church background during youth; they would have been 10 and 12 respectively at church union. The Mormon would likely have been raised as such.

Catholicism and Protestantism: three Catholics embraced Protestantism, one of them becoming Baptist, and one Protestant became Roman Catholic.⁶⁶ There were four instances of shifts within Protestantism, with, it could be argued, three moving to lower status churches and one to a higher, with two of the four joining the Baptist church and one leaving it.⁶⁷ Overall, for those on which we have detailed information, fundamentalist sect representation remained unchanged, there was a slight movement into the Baptist church, away from the Catholic, and status church membership significantly increased, but in only three of the 10 cases of movement into a status church was it other than the automatic one from the Methodist into the United Church with church union.⁶⁸ (See Table III-37).

Insofar as church activity is concerned, there was some decline with adulthood (see Table III-38).⁶⁹ In particular, where only one of the interviewed members was a non-attender during youth, with adulthood, generally early adulthood, some five (12% of the members; 13% of the interviewed) became non-attenders. For at least 12% of the members, then, church membership either did not exist or was purely nominal. It is also perhaps surprising, given the frequent characterization of the Social Credit party as having a strong religious element, that by the time of the interviews, at least 36% of the members (40% of the interviewed) should not claim regular church attendance. (Contrast with the ministers where all of the interviewed, i.e., all but one minister, claimed some church attendance and only 13% irregular). On the other hand, while church membership was no more than nominal for at least 12%, the activity of another five or 12% seems worthy of comment, perhaps fitting the sometime fundamentalist characterization of the party. Some two members (5%) became

fundamentalist preachers, one following somewhat the same pattern as the Premier, being a radio evangelist out of Calgary. He also was for some time actively associated with the Youth for Christ movement, and, early in career, was a missionary in French Equatorial Africa. It will be recalled that two others attended Bible college though neither became fundamentalist preachers as adults. One became employed by the Prairie Bible Institute in a lay capacity and was on the Board of Directors of the Institute for some years; the other, though strongly active locally in the Baptist church, engaged in only "conventional" activity. One other member, originally Methodist, subsequently United Church, engaged in extensive lay preaching in a rural area.

TABLE III-38

CHURCH ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	Youth			Today (1967)		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Attendance						
Non-attendance	1	2	3	5	12	13
Irregular attendance	12	29	32	10 ^d	24	26
Regular attendance ^c	25	60	66	23 ^d	55	60
Some church organizational activity	21	50	55	22 ^d	52	58
Other activity ^e	3	7	8	3 ^d	7	8
Incomplete information	4	10	..	4	10	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of interviewed members.

^c"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^dFigure includes the activities of two fundamentalist preachers.

^eLay preaching, etc.

The religious denominations and activity of Opposition members are summarized in Tables III-39 and III-40. In only one case did a member change his church affiliation, moving from a nominal member of the United Church (Roman Catholic/United Church in youth) to a nominal member of the Unitarian Church. Generally, insofar as activity is concerned, the pattern of youth was maintained, the level of activity being more akin to that of the ministers than to that of the Social Credit members, though all was of a "conventional" nature. Unlike the Social Crediters, however, as noted in discussing youthful activity, the predominate denomination was Roman Catholic, though it will be recalled that two of the Catholic members took Protestant wives.

TABLE III-39

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Denomination	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Roman Catholic	3	60	3	60
Roman Catholic/United Church of Canada	1	20	..	..
Unitarian	..	..	1	20
United Church of Canada...	1	20	1	20

TABLE III-40

CHURCH ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Attendance				
Non-attendance	1	20	1	20
Irregular attendance	..	..	..	..
Regular attendance ^a	4	80	4	80
Some church organizational activity	2	40	3	60
Other activity ^b	..	..	..	..

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

Occupational Background

The principal occupations pursued by the Social Credit members prior to election are set out in Table III-41. Eighty-nine per cent of these would seem to fall into the following main categories: business, generally small business (29%); farm, or closely related occupations (24%); and professional or semi-professional (36%).⁷⁰ Few of the members, however, no more than 7%, followed the traditional professional occupations, with the largest single group in the professional/semi-professional category being teachers (they represented 21% of the members or from 53% to 60% of the professional/semi-professional category, depending on the definition of that category). Eighty-two per cent of the ministers were drawn from the same categories, though the percentage distribution among categories was somewhat different, and a higher percentage, 38%, were drawn from the

TABLE III-41

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Occupation	Level of Education														Total					
	Some Elementary		Elementary		9-11		12-13		Some University		University Degree		Normal School			Religious College		Other		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
Farmer	4	10	2 ^a	5	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	8	19
Rancher	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Livestock dealer	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Business
Proprietor	.. ^c	..	..^d	..	2 ^b	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Proprietor (small business)	1 ^c	2	2	5	3 ^f	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1 ^e	2	..	..	8	19
Salesman	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Purchaser/Bible college	1	2
Professional/Semi-	1	2
Dentist/Professor	1	2
Lawyer	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Engineer	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Druggist/businessman	1	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Teacher/Principal	2	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Chiropractor	1 ^g	2	14	..	2	5	..	..	..	9	21
Weekly newspaper editor/ Publisher	1 ^h	1	2
Preacher (fundamentalist)	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2
Housewife ⁱ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Special case	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Total	1	2	7	17	9	21	2	5	1	2	11	26	6	14	4	10	1	2	42	100

TABLE III-41 continued

- ^aOne was never other than a tenant farmer.
- ^bOne, an hotel/radio station owner, was a constable in the R.C.M.P. for 14 years.
- ^cWorked in lumber and railway camps for 8 years.
- ^dOne, a hardware dealer, was a miner and prospector for 18 years (from age 14).
- ^eWas a small farmer for 12 years.
- ^fWas a small farmer for 21 years.
- ^gWas a small farmer for 11 years.
- ^hWas a bank employee for 10 years and a Treasury Branch manager for 7.
- ⁱWas, in the following order, a chef, construction worker, M.P. (defeated after one term), and a provincial highway inspector. The last position was held at the time of election.

teaching profession, with only one (6%) following one of the traditional professions.⁷¹

While Table III-41 represents the principal occupations and educational attainment of the members, and suggests something of the position in society from which the members were drawn at time of election, some members did include in their backgrounds other occupational experience, not in all instances indicated in the Table, that might be noted. It will be recalled that 23, perhaps 25, of the members (55% to 60%) were farm raised, though, as noted above, only 10 (24%) pursued farming, or a closely related occupation, as the principal occupation prior to election. An additional five (12%), however, had farming experience as adults of significant duration (some three were full-time farmers for periods exceeding 10 years and an additional two engaged in farming as a secondary occupation). While some nine (21%) engaged in teaching as the principal occupation, an additional four (10%) taught for periods up to five years early in career. It also seems worthy of note, though not fully indicated in Table III-41, that at least five (12%) had some direct occupational association with labour, though not labour unions.⁷² This is of particular interest in light of the sometime characterization of the Social Credit party as being unsympathetic to labour. As will be commented on later,⁷³ three (7%) held non-elected governmental office for periods ranging from four to 14 years with an additional member (classified as a teacher above) being a school superintendent and technically a provincial government employee. In this group of sometime governmental employees is the fascinating, though unique case, of the member who for some 10 years was an employee of one of Canada's principal chartered banks but who was converted in 1934/35, while in the bank, to Social Credit.

At least eight members (17%) changed their occupation following election, though this might be judged to represent significant change in only five cases (13%). The druggist/businessman returned to university and became a lawyer/businessman; three teachers left the profession, one to become a farmer, two to enter business, with one of these, as will be noted directly, also to become a cabinet minister; but perhaps the greatest change was the move of the sometime chef/construction worker/M.P./highway inspector to a business executive position.

In addition, and perhaps surprisingly, four of the members (10%) became cabinet ministers and then retired to sit as ordinary backbenchers.⁷⁴ Two left the cabinet during the life of the legislature under examination, but two did so during the previous legislature and were re-elected as ordinary members. Three devoted their full time, as cabinet ministers, to their offices but one engaged in business activities that may have appeared to constitute a conflict of interest with his governmental responsibilities and to have been a reason for his retirement to the backbenches. Age would likely have been a significant factor in the retirement of the others.⁷⁵ Prior to entry into the cabinet one had been President of The Alberta Social Credit League and one had been Deputy Speaker.

It might also be noted that, in addition to the sometime President of the League, one other member held significant party position at some point while in the legislature, being Secretary to The Alberta Social Credit League. Two members were to hold positions, as members, with the Social Credit Board: the above mentioned Secretary to the League became Secretary to the Board and another member became Assistant Secretary.⁷⁶

TABLE III-42

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Occupation	Level of Education												Total							
	Some Elementary		Elementary		9-11		12-13		Some University		University Degree		Normal School		Religious College		Other			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Business Proprietor (small business)	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
Professional/Semi-Lawyer	2	40
Druggist/businessman	1	20
Station agent ^a	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
Total	1	20	1	20	..	..	3	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	100

^aRetired just prior to election.

The principal occupations of the Opposition members are set out in Table III-42, which is generally self-explanatory.

It is to be noted, in contrast to the Social Credit members, that none of the Opposition members pursued teaching or farming as adults (though one came from a farm home). Business activity, however, is represented in 40% of the cases prior to election and in 60% of the cases following election. The N.D.P. member had some association with labour, though not as a principal occupation (his father had been a mill foreman and the member worked in Ontario mines for one year in young adulthood). One of the lawyers, following election, was to engage in business activity of some scale; this represents the only occupational change.

Organizational Activity

A high proportion, some 93%, of the Social Credit members engaged in some organizational activity prior to election to the legislature (see Table III-43). Of those on whom we have detailed information, some 28 or 74% held elected office prior to election in at least one organization, 10 (27%) in three or more, and eight (21%) held office beyond the local level.⁷⁷

If one equates level of activity with the holding of office, then, of those for whom we have detailed information, there would seem to be some contrast between the level of activity of the members prior to election and that of the ministers. While a smaller proportion of the ministers belonged to organizations prior to election (81% vs. 93%), and the percentage holding organizational office was almost the same,⁷⁸ some 60% of the ministers

TABLE III-43

NUMBER ENGAGING IN SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND HOLDING ELECTED
ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	Before Election			Total Organizational Activity	
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a
Engaged in some organizational activity	39 ^c	93	..	42 ^c	100
Held elected organizational office	28	67	74	31	74
One organization	10	24	26	4 ^d	10
Two organizations	8	19	21	11 ^d	26
Three organizations	4	10	11	8 ^d	19
Four or more organizations	6	14	16	11 ^d	26
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	4 ^e	10	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of interviewed members.

^cIncludes four uninterviewed members, all of whom are known to have belonged to at least one organization prior to election.

^dIncludes one uninterviewed member.

^eOf the uninterviewed members, three are known to have held elected organizational office at some point (in two, three, and four or more organizations respectively). It is not, however, clear in all instances whether these offices were acquired before or after election.

held office in three or more organizations and 33% beyond the local level.

Insofar as total organizational activity is concerned, Table III-43 ought not to be interpreted as meaning that there was a general increase in activity following election. Some who had engaged in no organizational activity prior to election were to do so, others to acquire office, but others were to decrease activity. In fact, of those on whom we have detailed information, as a group the percentage that held organizational office fell from 74%

to 58%. However the number that held office beyond the local level did not significantly change, though the same individuals were not necessarily involved (eight or 21% held office beyond the local level at some point prior to election; seven or 18% following election).

The organizations with which the members were at some time and to some degree associated are categorized in Table III-44.⁷⁹

TABLE III-44

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTED OFFICE--

SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type	Membership		Elected Office	
	No.	%	No.	%
Business	24 ^a	57	14 ^a	33
Fraternal	22 ^a	52	13 ^a	31
Service Club	15 ^b	36	10 ^b	24
Professional	15 ^b	36	9 ^b	21
Agricultural	14 ^b	33	6 ^b	14
Social/Recreational	13	31	2	5
Community Service	13 ^b	31	9 ^b	21
Veterans/Military	8 ^b	19	5 ^b	12
Cooperative	7 ^b	17	7 ^b	17
Cultural	3	7	1	2
Ethnic	3	7	3	7
Municipal	1	2	1	2
Religious (non-church affiliated)	1	2	1	2
Miscellaneous	2	5	1	2

^aIncludes two uninterviewed members.

^bIncludes one uninterviewed member.

The principal features of the main categories of membership will be examined below, but it might first generally be observed that none of the organizations seem to be of the type restricted to elite membership,⁸⁰ and

they would seem to be of the sort that one would expect to be associated with no more than middle class business, professional, and farm backgrounds.

At least 20 or 48% of the members at some time belonged to the Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade, with an additional member being an honorary one. Of these, four are known to have joined while in the legislature. Some 12 (29%) are known to have held elected office in the Chamber or Board though none above the local level. Of those on whom we have detailed information, however, only three held office while in the legislature.

Service club membership, which often is coincidental with Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade membership, is known for 15 or 36%. The membership of two, however, ceased long before election, eight belonged on election, and five joined while in the legislature. Some nine (21%) are known to have held office at some point, six while in the legislature, with three, as M.L.A.s, going on to office above the local level, one to province wide office.

The above organizations would normally be considered to be business and professionally oriented. It is of interest that no compensating labour union membership was reported though it will be recalled that some of the members pursued for a time, though never as a principal occupation, occupations that would fall in the labour category, and that some had a degree of labour association through the father. This lack of labour union membership, however, could be as a result of the lack of such organizations rather than deliberate avoidance. None the less, of the totality of Social Credit M.L.A.s on whom we have detailed information, both cabinet and back-bench, only one, a minister without portfolio, claimed trade union membership.

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At least one third of the Social Credit M.L.A.s at some point were associated with agricultural organizations, all of these belonging to either the United Farmers of Alberta (seven members) or the Farmers Union of Alberta (12 members) or to both (five members). U.F.A., of course, effectively disappeared after 1935 but three members (7%) had held local office in it, two describing themselves as having been very active. On the other hand, the membership of one was only brief and early in his career. Twelve (29%) are known to have been members of the Farmers Union of Alberta. The membership of four had ceased before election, six were members on election, and two joined while in the legislature. Six (14%) are known to have held office, though none above the local level, four while members of the legislature. This association with the Farmers Union is an interesting one, particularly office holding, given the socialistic tendencies of some of its principal leadership figures (a point that was commented on earlier in dealing with the ministers), and some members did seem somewhat uneasy about it.⁸²

At least 22 or 52% belonged at some point to fraternal organizations, with 13 or 31% known to have held office, three above the local level, with one of these being Grand Master for the dominion of the Elks Lodge (prior to election). The principal lodges of membership were the Masons (10 or 24% of the members), Odd Fellows (eight or 19%), and Elks (nine or 21%), with some six belonging to more than one of these. Membership while in the legislature, however, was less than this, for the Odd Fellows and Elks had only six members each while the number belonging to the Masons remained at ten. It should be pointed out that this represents a somewhat different balance in lodge membership than that prevailing in the case of

the cabinet. Of the 22 backbenchers who were lodge members, only 10 were Masons; of the seven cabinet ministers who were lodge members, some five were Masons at some point, though the membership of one was described as having never been more than nominal. While only one of the 22 M.L.A.s belonged to the Knights of Columbus, some two members of the cabinet were, a much higher proportion of the total membership. In addition, it might be noted that one backbencher belonged to the Shriners, perhaps the most elitist of the lodges, while none of the ministers did so.⁸³

Some 15 or 36% were members of professional organizations at some point. Of these, 11 or 26% of the M.L.A.s belonged to teachers' associations, 10 or 24% to the Alberta Teachers' Association. (It will be recalled that 31% of the cabinet ministers were at one time members of the A.T.A.). In two cases, however, this membership was only for a few years early in career, the members leaving teaching for other occupations.⁸⁴ Seven (17%) held elected office in the A.T.A. at some point, five above the local level, though none held province wide office. Some eight (19% of the M.L.A.s) belonged to the organization during at least part of the time they were in the legislature with two holding elected office, both at the district level. As to the other five members who belonged to professional organizations (in the areas of Law, Dentistry, and Chiropractic), one, the chiropractor, was dominion president of his association while in the legislature. It is also of interest that the dentist, while in the legislature, was a member of the Alberta Dental Association's legislative committee.

As to membership in purely social and recreational clubs, to which at least 13 or 31% belonged, two-thirds of these were in the towns and villages

of Alberta. Though 10 or 24% represented Edmonton or Calgary constituencies, and one a suburban Edmonton, all of whom were interviewed in detail, none, as was true of the cabinet, seem to have been members of elite social clubs in the principal cities.⁸⁵

Not a great deal of comment seems necessary about the other categories of organizational membership except to note the following. Community service activity, involving at least 31%, was largely of the home and school, boy scout, etc., type. At least 19% of the members belonged to the Royal Canadian Legion, with one of these holding province wide office, and an additional two holding honorary memberships. It is to be observed, however, that only three (7%) of the M.L.A.s are known to have belonged to ethnic organizations, two Ukrainian and one French Canadian. This is particularly interesting inasmuch as 24% of the members were raised in non-English, or substantially non-English, speaking homes.⁸⁶ It is also to be recalled that none of the ministers claimed membership in ethnic type organizations.

It might also be noted that the only female backbench M.L.A., very active in organizations throughout career, holding a number of province wide offices, was particularly active in the Womens' Institute (she was a very alert 75 at the time of interview) which was basic to social organization in many communities in early Alberta. Another member, before election, was President of the Alberta Union of Municipalities. Some four (10%) of the members were associated with the governing, while in the legislature, of certain educational institutions in the province: one with Mount Royal Junior College, Calgary; one with The Alberta Bible College, Calgary; one

with The Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills; and one with St. John's Institute, Edmonton.⁸⁷

As to the Opposition members, all engaged in some organizational activity prior to election (see Tables III-45 and III-46). Though one held no office, some four or 80% held elected office in three or more organizations; no office, however, was above the local level. As a group, they appear to have been more active than the Social Crediters. Organizational activity⁸, as judged mainly in terms of office holding, generally declined following election.

TABLE III-45

NUMBER ENGAGING IN SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND HOLDING ELECTED ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	Before Election		Total Organizational Activity	
	No.	%	No.	%
Engaged in some organizational activity	5	100	5	100
Held elected organizational office	4	80	4	80
One organization	..	..	..	..
Two organizations	..	..	..	..
Three organizations	3	60	3	60
Four or more organizations	1	20	1	20

The organizations with which the Opposition members were at some time associated are categorized in Table III-46.

TABLE III-46.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTED OFFICE--
 OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type	Membership		Elected Office	
	No.	%	No.	%
Service Clubs	5	100	3	60
Business	4	80	3	60
Community Service	4	80	2	40
Fraternal	3	60	2	40
Professional	2	40	..	..
Social/Recreational	2	40	2	40
Veterans/Military	1	20	1	20

Eighty per cent were members of the Chamber of Commerce (including the N.D.P. member) before and after election, though of the three office holders only one held office following election. All belonged to service clubs at some point, with four retaining membership after election though, again, only one of the three office holders held office following election. These same four members were involved in other community service type organizations. Three or 60% were members of fraternal organizations, two of the Knights of Columbus, one of the Masons, and, interestingly, one of the members of the Knights of Columbus and the single Mason were also both members of the Elks Lodge. The two lawyers claimed the necessary membership in the bar associations. None of the Opposition M.L.A.s claimed membership in social clubs of the elite type.⁸⁸

Insofar as the types of organizations to which the Social Credit and Opposition members belonged, there are both similarities and differences.

Both groups strongly represented what would normally be considered to be business and professional oriented organizations. There was little membership in ethnic organizations among the Social Crediters and none among the Opposition.⁸⁹ None, in either group, belonged to elite social clubs nor to trade unions (the N.D.P. member was a lawyer). The most striking differences are that none of the Opposition members belonged to farm or cooperative organizations, nor to teachers' organizations, and in the differing proportions that belonged to certain fraternal organizations where in the case of the Opposition the lodge most strongly represented was the Knights of Columbus.

Political Activity

(a) Social Credit members

The Social Credit members indicated that their first interest in following political events at some level of government, as distinct from participation, developed at the following periods in their lives:

TABLE III-47

FIRST INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

When	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Always interested	7	17	18
Secondary school or age equivalent	9	21	24
Higher or post-secondary school or age equivalent	3	7	8
As an adult	19	45	50
Incomplete information	4	10	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of total number of members interviewed or on whom there is information.

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At least 45% (50% of those interviewed) developed interest in following events at some level by the age of their majority (79% of these came from homes where a parent had more than average interest). None, however, indicated any youthful ambition to become an M.L.A. nor to emulate a known political figure. (It is of interest that while 18% of the interviewed members indicated that they were always interested in following political events the corresponding figure for the ministers was 40%. However, insofar as development of interest by the age of majority is concerned, the overall figure for the two groups is almost the same: 50% for the members; 53% for the ministers).

Insofar as first political activity is concerned (see Tables III-48 and III-49), some 22 members (52% of the members; 58% of those interviewed) engaged in their first activity by age 35 (contrast with the ministers where the corresponding figures are 75% of the ministers, 80% of the interviewed ministers). In 61% of the cases there was some family background of activity. For some 21 (50% of the members; 55% of the interviewed) the first political activity was in 1935 or earlier with in slightly over half of these cases (52%) the first activity being for the Social Credit movement (the corresponding figures for the ministers are 44% and 47%, with only one, the Premier, representing 14% of the total, having his first activity for the Social Credit movement).⁹⁰

As to the background of total political activity prior to election to the Alberta legislature (all known activity being in Alberta), it is summarized in Table III-50.

TABLE III-48
NATURE OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Nature of Activity	Age																			
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Incomplete Information		Total					
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
Party activity (including youth organization) Standing for local government office	1	2	3	5	12	13	8	19	21	6	14	16	..	..	..	..	20	48	53
Standing for provincial legislature	..	..	..	2	5	5	4	10	11	3	7	8	..	..	..	..	9	21	24
Standing for federal parliament	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	5	3	7	8	..	..	..	..	5	12	13
Other	.. ^b	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	3	7	8
Incomplete information	1	2	3
Total	2	5	5	7	17	18	13	31	34	12	29	32	4	10	11	..	4	10	100	

^aThe first percentage figure in each column indicates the percentage of the total number of members; the second percentage is expressed in terms of the total number of members interviewed or about whom there is information.

^bEngaged in anti-communist activities in an Ukrainian-Canadian community; became active in the Social Credit party at age 23.

TABLE III-49
 YEAR OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Year of Activity	Age																		Total		
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Incomplete Information		Total						
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%					
Prior to 1930	1	2	3	1	2	3	5	12	13	2	5	5	..	..	..	..	9	21	24
1930-1935	..	..	..	4	10	11	5	12	13	2	5	5	..	..	..	..	12	29	32
1936-1939	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1940-1943	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1944-1947	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
1948-1951	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
1952-1954	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	3	7	8	1	2	3	..	..	5	12
1955-1958	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
1959-1962	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	7
1963-1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Incomplete information	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
Total	2	5	5	7	17	18	13	31	34	12	29	32	4	10	11	..	..	42	100

^aThe first percentage figure in each column indicates the percentage of the total number of members; the second percentage is expressed in terms of the total number of members interviewed or about whom there is information.

TABLE III-50 :
 POLITICAL ACTIVITY PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE—
 SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Substantially none ^c	5 ^d	12	13
Party activity only	13 ^d	31	34
Elected political office only	1 ^e	2	3
Party activity and elected political office	18 ^f	43	47
Other	1 ^g	2	3
Incomplete information	4 ^h	10	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of the number of members on whom there is information.

^cWhere there is virtually no political activity prior to obtaining party nomination for the legislature.

^dEleven held party office, two province wide office.

^eMunicipal office only.

^fFourteen held party office, province wide office in 1 case; 16 held municipal office and 2 were M.P.s.

^gThis member, with no previous background of political activity, stood unsuccessfully for M.P. in the elections of 1962 and 1963. Later in 1963, at age 53, he was elected to the Alberta legislature.

^hOne is known to have held municipal office prior to becoming an M.L.A.

It is to be observed that, of those interviewed, a high proportion engaged in some political activity prior to election to the legislature. This is in contrast to the ministers where a significant proportion, 31%, perhaps 37%, engaged in virtually no political activity prior to election. If one excludes those first elected in 1935, and who engaged in no prior

activity, that election perhaps being unique, the total number of ministers with virtually no prior political activity was 25%. A similar exclusion insofar as the members are concerned would indicate that three, perhaps four (if one includes the member shown as "other" in Table III-50), or 8% to 11% of the interviewed, engaged in no prior political activity.

At least 20 members (48%) held some other elected political office prior to becoming an M.L.A.⁹¹ There seems to have been some progression from municipal office for in 18 instances (43%) municipal office was held at some point prior to election to the legislature. In two cases (5%) there was a movement from federal to provincial elected office: two members, first elected in 1935 to the federal parliament, were to become M.L.A.s following defeat as M.P.s. It is to be noted that two others first ran unsuccessfully for M.P., both in the postwar period. Some 10%, then, are known to have first entered the federal arena and then shifted to the provincial.⁹²

It is also to be noted that at least 25 members (60% of the members; 66% of the interviewed) held party office of some description prior to election. However only three held province wide office, two in the youth organization of the Social Credit party. As noted earlier, one member was President of the League.

With respect to the background of party activity for other than Social Credit, only three of those interviewed (8%) made any such claim or admission, the parties being indicated in Table III-51.⁹³ All three switched to Social Credit with the rise of the movement in 1934/35. One of these, who engaged in activity for the U.F.A., subsequently became a Social Credit cabinet

minister (though not until 1962). Again this is in contrast to the ministers where some 38% indicated activity for some party other than Social Credit at some point.⁹⁴

TABLE III-51

PARTIES OF SOMETIME ACTIVITY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Party	Party of First Activity			Party of Final or Present Activity	
	No.	% ^a	% ^b	No.	% ^a
Conservative	..	..	..	..	..
C.C.F./N.D.P.	..	..	..	..	..
Liberal	1	2	3	..	..
Social Credit	35	83	92	42	100
U.F.A.	2	5	5	..	..
Other	..	..	..	..	..
Incomplete information	4	10	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of the number of members on whom there is information.

There is one further case that seems worthy of mention because of its uniqueness. One member, though claiming no activity for that party, indicated that he had contributed to the C.C.F. on more than one occasion before election, and almost joined that party. He came from a Social Credit home and explained his almost direct C.C.F. involvement as arising from his association with friends who were active in the Farmers Union of Alberta.

As to the principal factors leading to the members first standing for the legislature, they are summarized in Table III-52, and, for the most part, are self-explanatory.

TABLE III-52
 PRINCIPAL FACTORS LEADING TO STANDING FOR THE LEGISLATURE--
 SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Factors	No.	% ^a	% ^b
The depression and William Aberhart, including three instances of being persuaded to stand	7 ^c	17	18
Progression from constituency presidency or other party position, including eight instances of being persuaded	13 ^d	31	34
Progression from community activity and persuaded to stand	3	7	8
Concern for interest of constituency or province requiring action to displace the sitting Social Credit member, or former member, including three instances of being persuaded	5	12	13
Concern with particular policy area and persuaded	2	5	5
Persuaded to stand (being thereby convinced that they had something to offer the community, etc.)	5 ^d	12	13
Unique	2	5	5
No real explanation given	1	2	3
Uninterviewed/incomplete information	4	10	..

^aPercentage of total number of members.

^bPercentage of total number of interviewed members.

^cOnly three of these were elected to the legislature in 1935; two were first elected as M.P.s in 1935 and subsequently defeated.

^dIncludes one member who first stood unsuccessfully for M.P.

The answers, however, ought probably to be treated with some reservation.⁹⁵ Nearly all of the members, as with the ministers, indicated a desire to be of service. A considerable proportion of the members, 63% of the interviewed or 24 cases, indicated that they had to be persuaded to stand.⁹⁶ This "ethic" of the "reluctant politician", however, does not

appear to be nearly as marked as in the case of the ministers where some 87% indicated that they had to be persuaded to stand. It is also to be noted that while standing for the legislature was an outgrowth of party position in the case of close to a third of the members this was mentioned as a factor in the case of only one minister. Totally unique to the members as a group are the instances, at least five or 12%, of concern to deny re-nomination to a Social Credit member or former member with whom considerable dissatisfaction had developed.⁹⁷

Five (12%) of the members first entered the legislature during the Aberhart years (three in 1935; two in 1940), with the remainder belonging to the Manning period. The range in age at election was from 28 to 58, with the average age being 46. Only 10% were first elected under age 35. (This is in contrast to the ministers where the average age on election was 36, with 44% being first elected under age 35). As already noted, a high proportion, 74%, were either born or substantially raised in Alberta, with 90% being Alberta residents by age 19. A high proportion (see Table III-54) were long term residents of the constituencies to which they were first elected,⁹⁸ and all but two (5%) represented the same constituency (or the successor constituency following a redistribution) during their period in the legislature.⁹⁹

(b) brothers and sisters

Of the Social Credit members on whom we have information, some 58%, as already noted, came from homes in which one or more of the parents engaged in some political activity while the member was growing up. It is also of interest to determine the extent to which other members of family, brothers

TABLE III-53

AGE WHEN CAME TO ALBERTA AND AGE AT ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE---

SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Age When Came to Alberta	Age at Election to the Legislature										Total	
	19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Albertan by birth	3	7	4	10	11	26	1	2	19	45
Under 7 years	1	2	4	10	5	12	2	5	12	29
7-19	2	5	4	10	1	2	7 ^a	17
20-29
30-39	3	7	1	2	4	10
40-49
50+
Total	4	10	10	24	23	55	5	12	42	100

^aOne was 12; the rest 15 and over.

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TABLE III-54

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CONSTITUENCY OR GENERAL AREA PRIOR TO ELECTION AND YEAR OF FIRST ELECTION---

SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Length of Residence	Year of First Election														Total			
	1935/39		1940/43		1944/47		1948/51		1952/54		1955/58		1959/62		1963/67		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 5 years	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
5 to 10 years	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	..	..	1	2	1	2	5	12
10 to 15 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	3	7	2	5	6	14
16 to 20 years	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	1	2	4	10
20+	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	10	..	..	5	12
Since youth	1	2	2	5	1	2	..	..	4	10	1	2	5	12	6	14	20	48
Total	3	7	2	5	3	7	1	2	7	17	1	2	15	36	10	24	42	100

Note: In the four cases of un interviewed members, three were born within the boundaries of the constituencies that they now represent; the other is known to have taken up residence within his present constituency, coming from a neighbouring province, immediately following W.W. II. He was first elected in 1959.

and sisters of the members, raised, for the most part in the same general environment, became politically involved.¹⁰⁰ In this regard it was found that, of the interviewed members, there was political activity by brothers and/or sisters in at least 63% of the families (the corresponding figure for the ministers is 50%). In 67% of these cases a parent had engaged in some political activity (the corresponding figure for the ministers is 43%).

TABLE III-55

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY--
SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
One or more brothers and/or sisters engaged in some political activity	24	63	65
One or more brothers and/or sisters held elected political office	6	16	16
Unknown	1	3	..

^aPercentage of interviewed members having brothers and sisters.

^bPercentage of interviewed members having brothers and sisters on whom information was obtained.

As to the nature of the activity, in only six families (16%) was elected political office held and in only one family did a member hold elected office above the municipal level though the exception was one of some note (he was a Social Credit cabinet minister in Alberta). All elected offices were held in Alberta. All political activity, however, was not in that province. Indeed in four families (11% of those on which we have information; 17% of the families of activity by other than the member) there was activity outside

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Canada (in the U.S.A. in three cases and in England in one).¹⁰¹ In another family, a member engaged in activity in British Columbia for Social Credit. Interestingly, in the case of five families (14% of those on which we have information; 21% of the families of activity by other than the member) a member engaged in activity in Alberta for other than the Social Credit party at a time when Social Credit was active on the political scene (in one case for the U.F.A., and later for the C.C.F.; one for the N.D.P.; and in three cases for the Liberals).¹⁰² Regretably it is not possible to measure the degree of embarrassment this may have caused to the respective M.L.A.s.

Unfortunately our measures are not sufficient to indicate to what extent this activity by other members of family is in fact and in part a product of the environment of the home. It is possible that the activity of the M.L.A. could have influenced other members of family to become politically involved, though it would seem unlikely in the nine families mentioned above where activity was outside Canada and for other than the Social Credit party. Amongst a range of possibilities explaining behaviour is that political activity by other members of family is a product of marriage. In this respect it might be noted that in three families the only other member politically involved, aside from the parent and M.L.A., was a sister (8% of the families on which we have information; 13% of the families of known activity by other than a member). In all three instances the sister's husband was also politically active. The activity of the sister, then, might be a product of that of the husband, yet it might not, and in all these cases a parent had engaged in some political activity. In two of these cases activity was in the United States;

in one case activity was in Alberta for the Liberal party (in this case a parent was involved with Social Credit).

There is always the possibility that brothers and sisters may have influenced the member to become politically involved, though none of the members mentioned brothers and sisters as being directly influential in determining the sorts of things that they had done in their lives.¹⁰³

It is to be observed, however, that in at least four cases a brother and/or sister held elected office before the M.L.A., and in one of these cases a brother was likely an indirect factor in the M.L.A.s' election.¹⁰⁴

(c) the wife/husband

As before, it is of interest to try to determine the extent to which the spouse may have influenced the member to become politically involved, came from a politically active family, brought more than average interest in following events to the marriage, and engaged in some political activity prior to marriage independently of the member.¹⁰⁵

None of the interviewed members indicated that the spouse was directly a factor in his/her becoming politically involved. In one case, however, the wife was indirectly such for a member of her family, a brother, was reported as helping to persuade the member to stand in 1935 for the Social Credit party. In any event, it would seem clear that in the case of 11 members (31% of the interviewed) the spouse would not have been a factor for in these cases the members had engaged in some political activity before marriage (one, indeed, was a member of the legislature at time of marriage). In an additional two cases first political activity occurred in the first year of marriage. It would also seem that, of the interviewed,

the potential group that might have influenced the member to become politically involved would have been less than one third for this is the proportion that brought more than average interest in political events to the marriage (see Table III-56).

It was reported that in only four instances or 11% did the spouse come from a home where a parent had engaged in some political activity (the corresponding figure for the ministers is 21%). In none of these cases did the parent hold distinguished office, party or elected, none being above the local level.¹⁰⁶ Parental activity was in Alberta in two cases (for Social Credit), in New Brunswick in one (Liberal), and in the United States in one (Democrat). In only two of these cases, however, was the spouse reported as bringing more than average interest in political events to the marriage. In one of these cases of more than average interest the spouse engaged in party activity before marriage and for Social Credit (the member, however, was already in the legislature at time of marriage). This was the only reported case of political activity by a spouse before marriage.

Insofar as interest in political events and political activity by the spouse before and after marriage is concerned, this is summarized in Table III-56. There was a significant increase in the number showing more than average interests in events after marriage and this would seem to follow in many cases from the political activity of the member; the member influencing the spouse rather than the reverse. It would also seem reasonable to conclude that this was the case in many instances of increased political activity as well.¹⁰⁷

TABLE III-56

SPOUSE'S INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY--

SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Political Interest and Activity	Before Marriage		After Marriage		Number of Individuals	
	No.	% ^a	No.	% ^a	No.	% ^a
More than average interest in following political events at some level of govern- ment	11	31	27	77	27	77
Some party activity	1	3	33	94	33	94
Party office	..	..	14 ^b	40	14	40
Some elected political office	..	..	1 ^c	3	1	3
Party activity and elected office	..	..	1	3	1	3
Some non-elected governmental office	1 ^d	3	1 ^e	3	2	5

^aPercentages are of the number of married members that were interviewed: 35 of the 38.

^bProvince wide office in 3 cases; area office in 2.

^cMunicipal office; in addition one wife ran unsuccessfully for M.L.A.

^dDid not exceed one year.

^eDid not exceed two years.

Political activity: Opposition Members

(a) Opposition members

The Opposition members indicated that they first developed interest in following political events at some level at the following points in their lives:

TABLE III-57
 FIRST INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF
 GOVERNMENT--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

When	No.	%
Always interested	2	40
Secondary school or age equivalent	..	..
Higher or post-secondary school or age equivalent	1	20
As an adult	2	40

Some three or 60%, then, developed interest by the time of reaching their majority (two of these came from homes where a parent had strong interest and also engaged in some political activity). One of these may have had some early ambition to become an M.L.A., though there is some conflict in the evidence.

As to first political activity (see Tables III-58 and III-59), the three who early developed interest in events engaged in some political activity by age 25 and all of the Opposition members engaged in some activity by age 36, though, as will be noted, one did not stand for the provincial legislature until age 67 and after retirement. (Contrast with the interviewed Social Credit members where 58% engaged in their first activity by age 35).

All engaged in some political activity prior to election to the legislature (13% of the interviewed Social Crediters did not), though 60% engaged

TABLE III-58
 NATURE OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Nature of Activity	Age										Total			
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Party activity (including youth organization)	1	20	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	40
Standing for local government office	..	..	1	20	..	..	2	40	..	..	..	..	3	60
Standing for provincial government office	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Standing for federal parliament	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	20	2	40	..	..	2	40	..	..	..	..	5	100

TABLE III-59
 YEAR OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Year of Activity	Age												Total	
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Prior to 1930	1	20	..	..	..	..	1	20
1930-1935	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
1936-1939
1940-1943
1944-1947	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
1948-1951	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
1952-1954
1955-1958
1959-1962	1	20	..	..	..	..	1	20
1963-1967
Total	1	20	2	40	..	..	2	40	..	..	..	..	5	100

in virtually no party activity, and one at no time assumed a party label (contrast with the Social Credit members where a little over 80% of the interviewed engaged in some party activity prior to election). For the Opposition, in 60% of the cases the prior activity was largely confined to the holding of municipal office, with all of the Opposition holding municipal office at some point prior to election (43% of the Social Crediters held municipal office). One member stood for the federal house but only after being twice defeated in attempts to secure election as an M.L.A. (For the background of total political activity, see Tables III-60 and III-61).

TABLE III-60

POLITICAL ACTIVITY PRIOR TO ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE—
OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	No.	%
Substantially none	..	..
Party activity only	..	..
Elected political office only	3 ^a	60
Party activity and elected political office	2 ^b	40
Other	..	..

^aMunicipal office only.

^bOne held party office (regional, within Alberta); both held municipal office only.

TABLE III-61
PARTIES OF SOMETIME ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Party	Party of First Activity		Party of Final or Present Activity	
	No.	%	No.	%
Conservative	..	..	..	..
C.C.F./N.D.P.	1	20	1	20
Liberal	3	60	3	60
Social Credit	..	..	..	..
U.F.A.	..	..	..	..
Other	1 ^a	20	1 ^a	20

^aEngaged in no party activity prior to election. Was nominated jointly by the Liberals and Conservatives, assumed no party label, and styled himself a "coalition" member.

The principal factors leading to standing for the provincial legislature are set out in Table III-62.

TABLE III-62
PRINCIPAL FACTORS LEADING TO STANDING FOR THE LEGISLATURE--
OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Factors	No.	%
Progression from community activity, including municipal office, and concern for interests of the district, including two cases of being persuaded to stand	3	60
Concern for the state of provincial government, and persuaded to stand	1	20
Unique	1	20

TABLE III-63
AGE WHEN CAME TO ALBERTA AND AGE AT ELECTION TO THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Age When Came to Alberta	Age at Election to the Legislature													
	19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Albertan by birth	2	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	40
Under 7 years	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
7-19	1 ^a	20	1	20
20-29	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20
30-39
40-49
50+
Total	1	20	3	60	..	..	..	..	1	20	5	100

^aAge 17.

TABLE III-64
 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CONSTITUENCY OR GENERAL AREA PRIOR TO ELECTION
 AND YEAR OF FIRST ELECTION--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Length of Residence	Year of First Election														Total					
	1935/39		1940/43		1944/47		1948/51		1952/54		1955/58		1959/62		1963/67		No.	%		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Under 5 years		
5 to 10 years		
10 to 15 years	1	20	1	20	1	20	
15 to 20 years	
20+	1	20	..	..	..	..	1	20	..	
Since youth	1	20	..	2	40	3	60	3	60	
Total	2	40	3	60	5	100	5	100

As noted in the other cases, these answers ought probably to be treated with some reservation. Only two claimed to have, on their own initiative, actively sought the party nomination. Sixty per cent, approximately the same percentage as the Social Credit members, then, would, in part, cast themselves as "reluctant politicians".¹⁰⁸ It might be noted that, of the two who actively sought the nomination, one had, in part, a unique reason for doing so: he claimed that his father, a druggist/businessman, and active politically at the local level, had been discriminated against by the Social Credit government, particularly in the early Aberhart period.

Though two of the Opposition members engaged in some political activity by 1935 (in neither case for a political party), none was elected to the legislature in the Aberhart period, indeed none of the Opposition members was first elected until 1955 (contrast with the Social Credit members where 12% were elected in the Aberhart years and 38% prior to 1955). The range in age at election to the legislature was from 34 to 67 with the average age being 44 (if the member elected at age 67 is excluded, the average age is 37). (The average age for the Social Crediters was 46). All but one spent his entire life in, or was a long term resident of, the constituency for which he was elected. (See Tables III-63 and III-64).

(b) brothers and sisters

Some 60% of the Opposition members came from homes where a parent engaged in some political activity. Two families (40%) also produced activity by brothers and/or sisters in addition to that of the member, but in only one of these cases was their political activity in the parent generation. Activity in one case was by sisters and in the other by brothers.¹⁰⁹

TABLE III-65

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY--

OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	Families	
	No.	%
One or more brothers and/or sisters engaged in some political activity	2	40
One or more brothers and/or sisters held elected political office	1	20

As to the nature of the activity, no elected office was held above the municipal level, all activity was in Alberta, and in all cases for the same party as the member.

In no case was a brother or sister mentioned as a factor in the member becoming politically involved. It is not clear to what extent, if any, activity by the M.L.A. may have prompted activity on the part of other members of the family.

(c) the wife

None of the Opposition members mentioned the wife as a factor leading to their political involvement. In two instances (40%) the wife, however, brought more than average interest in political events to the marriage. In one case the member had already engaged in some political activity, but in the other the member had not, and there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the wife's family may have been a factor of some significance in producing the member's first political activity.¹¹⁰

Some three of the wives (60%) came from homes where the father had engaged in some political activity, but only two of these wives brought more than average interest in events to the marriage. The parental activity in all cases was in Alberta, for the Liberal party in one instance and for the Conservatives in two. None of the fathers held distinguished office. Two combined party activity with municipal office. One, however, who engaged in party activity only, was reported as being a close friend of R.B. Bennett. It is interesting that, though two of the wives came from homes of Conservative party activity, neither of their husbands should be standard bearers for that party.

The interest and activity of the wives before and after marriage is summarized in Table III-66 below. While none engaged in any political

TABLE III-66

SPOUSE'S INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Political Interest and Activity	Before Marriage		After Marriage		Number of Individuals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events at some level of government	2	40	3	60	3	60
Some party activity	..	..	5 ^a	100	5	100
Party office	..	..	..^b	..	..	..
Some elected political office	..	..	1 ^b	20	1	20
Some non-elected governmental office	1 ^c	20	..	..	1	20

^aOne is a special case in that the activity is not for one of the usual political parties in Alberta but for her husband's "coalition" organization.

^bMunicipal level office (both husband and wife held municipal level office at the same time).

^cNine years.

activity before marriage, all did following marriage. In all but one case, however, the actual activity seems to have been largely that of playing the role expected of the wife of an M.L.A.¹¹¹

Non-elected Governmental Service

(a) Social Credit members

It will be recalled that, of the members on whom we have detailed information, none was substantially raised in a civil service home or came from a family with a tradition of non-elected governmental service. It was noted, however, that the father of one member did become a long term provincial government employee (Alberta) when the member was 16, but none of the members of that family were to become career or substantial term government employees. Five members had fathers who held part-time non-elected governmental positions. One of these homes, which combined some political activity and part-time non-elected service, produced an M.L.A. who engaged in full-time non-elected service for a period of some length.

Only four members (10% of the total number of Social Credit members; 11% of the interviewed) are known to have held non-elected full-time governmental positions, one for the federal government and three for the province of Alberta.¹¹² (It will be recalled that one minister was a federal government employee for something over three years). One, on completion of schooling, became an R.C.M.P. constable for 14 years. Three became employees of the province for periods ranging from four to 11 years. In the first case, entry into the R.C.M.P. seems to have followed from a combination of early ambition and the depression; in two cases government employment seems

to have followed from political activity for the Social Credit party; in the last there was progression from teaching to a school superintendency (i.e. to employment by the provincial Department of Education).¹¹³ An additional three (7%; 8%) held part-time governmental positions, two for the province of Alberta and one for an Alberta municipality, at some time prior to election. In one case this employment may have been a product of political involvement for the Social Credit party.¹¹⁴ None of the members held what might be termed senior non-elected governmental positions.

(b) brothers and sisters

Some of the brothers and sisters of the Social Credit members were to become career or substantial term government employees, this being true in the case of four families. (These are not the same families as those

TABLE III-67

NON-ELECTED GOVERNMENT SERVICE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY--
SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Service	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
One or more brothers and/or sisters held non-elected government office	6	16	16
Career or substantial term ^c	4	11	11
Non-career	2	5	5
Unknown	1	3	..

^aPercentage of interviewed members having brothers and sisters.

^bPercentage of interviewed members having brothers and sisters on whom information was obtained.

^c"Substantial term" means 10 years or more.

where an M.L.A. held full-time non-elected office). Of the 37 homes on which we have detailed information, then, some four or 11%, none headed by a father who was a government careerist; produced career or substantial term government employees.

Of these families of careerist or substantial term employees, employment in one family was by the province of Alberta and by the federal government in the other three. All but one family member held but minor position; the exception holding a responsible scientific position with the federal Department of Agriculture.¹¹⁵

(c) the spouse

None of the wives of the members on whom we have detailed information, nor the husband of the one female member, came from civil service homes. Two wives did hold full-time non-elected positions for brief periods, service not exceeding two years in either case. One was for the federal government and one for the province of Alberta. In neither case did the husband, the member, hold non-elected position.

Non-elected Governmental Service: Opposition Members

Opposition members, their brothers and sisters, and the wife

As mentioned earlier, none of the Opposition members came from homes of career government servants. None of the members were to hold non-elected governmental office nor were any of their brothers and sisters.¹¹⁶ None of the wives came from civil service families, though one held a clerical position with a federal government department in Alberta for some years prior to marriage. This experience, however, seems hardly to have been used to encourage the member to seek non-elected governmental office nor

to become politically involved, and the wife today is not enthusiastic about her husband's political activity.

The Next Generation

We now turn to the record of political and governmental activity of the children of the Social Credit members. Here it would perhaps be expected, given the activity of the father, that a fair proportion of the children would become politically involved. Indeed, as with the ministers, this would seem to be the case, as what follows should bear out. Confining ourselves, as before, to the examination of family units, and to those families having children over 18 years of age, the activity is summarized in Table III-68.¹¹⁷

The members reported in 23 cases (79%) at least one member of the family with more than average interest in political events.¹¹⁸ Seventy-nine per cent of the families had a child who belonged, or had belonged, to political party (includes youth organization), in all instances but one to the Social Credit party (the exception was an only son who belonged to the Young Liberals at the University of Calgary). Some 16 families (55%) had a member who engaged in some political activity,¹¹⁹ all of which was in Alberta, with in 11 of these families at least part of the activity being independent of the father.¹²⁰ While none of the children had, at the time of the interviews, stood for elected political office, in the case of eight families (28%) the member thought that there was the possibility of at least one of the children doing so in the future.¹²¹

It might be observed that, though the percentage of families of members

TABLE III-68

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN (over 18 years of age)
BY FAMILY--SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number of families with children over 18 years of age on which information was obtained	29	91	100
Families with children over 18 on which information was obtained where one or more children engaged in some political activity	16 ^c	50	55
Families with children over 18 on which information was obtained where one or more children held non-elected governmental office			
Short term	2	6	7
Substantial term or career	2	6	7

^aPercentage is of total number of families on which information was obtained.

^bPercentage if of total number of families with children over 18 on which information was obtained.

^cIf the joining of political party, but with no subsequent activity, is considered as political activity, then the figure would be 23.

where a child engaged in some political activity is not far different from that of the ministers (55% and 60% respectively), in terms of interest, party membership, activity independent of the father, and anticipated activity, the figures are somewhat higher for the ministers' families.¹²²

As to non-elected governmental service, in the case of four families (14%) a child was reported as being, or having been, in governmental employ. Of these families only two have so far produced career employees

(7% of the total number of families), though in a third, a son, who entered government service in 1967, may become such.¹²³ All employment was by the province of Alberta or its agencies.¹²⁴ Only one family combined political activity by some children and the holding of non-elected governmental office by others. Some 19 families (66% of those on which we have information) have, therefore, so far produced political or governmental activity by some of their members.¹²⁵

As to the Opposition, there are three families with children over 18 years of age, and the activity, by family, is summarized in Table III-69.¹²⁶

TABLE III-69

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN (over 18)

BY FAMILY--OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number of families with children over 18 years of age	3	60	100
Families with children over 18 where one or more engaged in some political activity	2	40	67
Families with children over 18 where one or more held non-elected governmental office			
Short term	1	20	33
Substantial term or career	..	..	..

^aPercentage is of the total number of families.

^bPercentage is of the total number of families with children over 18.

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At least one member of each of the three families was reported as having more than average interest in political events. While in only one family was their party membership (the same party as that of the father), in two of the three a child engaged in some political activity, in one family part of it being independent of the father. While none of the children at the time of the interviews had stood for elected political office, it was judged likely that in one family, the one where there had been some activity independently of the father, a member would do so in the future. Only one family, that of no political activity by the children, had a member who had engaged in non-elected governmental service (a federal government agency for two years),¹²⁷ and there was no indication that any of the families would produce career governmental employees.

FOOTNOTES

¹In effect, this means that the member was the joint nominee of the Liberal and Conservative parties in his constituency.

²The principal source has been The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1966, ed. by Pierre G. Normandin (Ottawa: P.O. Box 513, 1966). In addition, some information was obtained from the files of The Alberta Social Credit League and from newspaper files, particularly those of The Edmonton Journal. None of the un-interviewed members was referred to in the standard Canadian biographical dictionaries.

³The Opposition members are considered as a group; not broken down by party. While such a breakdown might be desirable, to have made it, with there being only one N.D.P. member and one Coalition, would have violated the writer's general undertaking that individuals, as such, would not be identifiable. Having said this, in a few instances, where it did seem particularly significant, this undertaking has been somewhat stretched and the N.D.P. member has been identified in the text, but only where it was felt that the member would not take objection.

⁴In an additional four cases the mother was of Pennsylvania Dutch descent and came from a family that had been in North America for generations.

⁵In the case of the three un-interviewed M.L.A.s of British ethnic origin, since, in each case, the parents were British on both sides, it has been assumed that the language of the home was English.

⁶Though one of the members of German ethnic origin was not interviewed, the family is known to have come from the United States and the mother is of British ethnic origin. It was therefore assumed that the language of the home would be English.

⁷Eight fathers, excluding the Italian, were European raised. In one case, however, the father, Danish born and raised, insisted on the language of his North American home being English. Two non-English language homes had North American raised parents, parents of French-Canadian and French-American descent respectively.

⁸Four of the non-British members had mothers whose ethnic origin was British (three of the Germans; one Scandinavian).

⁹One member was born in Italy though largely Canadian raised. The language of the home, however, was Italian and Italian publications were received. As to the member of French-Canadian descent, the French language had been lost, and, when the mother's family was considered, the ethnic background was found to be quite complex, involving Irish, Swedish, and Welsh elements.

10 One M.L.A. was raised in Italy, two in England.

11 Of the four fathers on whom we do not have detailed information, the sons, the M.L.A.s, were born in small towns in Western Canada and attended small town schools. It may be reasonable to assume that the fathers pursued either farming or small business careers and were not highly educated. This may partly be confirmed by the fact that two of the sons became farmers, one a transport operator, and one a teacher/businessman. If we assume that the two farmers came from farm homes, the percentage drawn from the farming sector would be 60%.

12 There is an interesting parallel between the ministers and the members that perhaps ought to be mentioned: some two (13%) of the fathers of the ministers were coal miners at some time in life and at least five (12%) of the members had fathers that engaged in mining at some time.

13 Of the fathers on whom we do not have detailed information, two were of British ethnic origin, one British/American and one German/American. It seems reasonable to assume that they were not European educated.

14 It will be recalled that we do not have information on the birth-place of four of the fathers. They are known, however, to be of British ethnic origin in two cases, British/American in one and German/American in one. If we were to assume that all were raised in Canada, which would likely be an unreasonable assumption, the maximum number of Canadian raised fathers would be 20 or 48%. It does seem reasonable to assume that all were raised somewhere within the Anglo-American community.

15 Three were raised in towns that were dependent on oil, gas, or coal industries; two in Canada, one in Britain.

16 In addition, one M.L.A. was to see, at approximately age 15, the establishment of the Prairie Bible Institute in his community (1921).

17 Though the father of one member was a farmer, the farm directly abutted a small town, and so the member was substantially small town raised.

18 Of the three members on whom we do not have information as to their religious denomination during youth, two are members of the United Church today (1967) and of Scots ethnic origin. It may be reasonable to assume that they were raised as Protestants. The other is today a member of the Mormon church.

19 See W.E. Mann, Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 30.

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²⁰The above calculations assume that the three members about whom we do not have detailed information were raised Presbyterian/United Church in two cases and Mormon in one.

²¹It might be noted that in all but one case where there was a difference in religious appreciation between the parents, the mother was the more religious of the two.

²²The member who attended the Prairie Bible Institute had two of his three brothers also so attend and was to send his wife and a number of his children as well. One of the brothers became a missionary and the other engaged in lay work for the Institute. Two of the members who attended Bible college were to become fundamentalist preachers, one of them to become a radio evangelist. (See subsequent sections on education and adult occupation).

²³It might be noted that the sister of one of the Catholic members became a nun.

²⁴The degrees taken were (highest degree only indicated): 3 B.Ed., 1 B.S. (Ed.), 1 M.Ed., 1 M.A., 2 LL.B., 1 B.Sc. (Eng.), 1 B.Sc (Pharm.), 1 D.D.S.

²⁵One was a Ukrainian residential school and the other a United Church residential school; both were in Edmonton. They were attended for secondary education only.

²⁶Four were raised in rural areas where only state Protestant schools were available.

²⁷Some 19 or 45% received a significant part of their education in North American one or two room rural schools, usually for grades 1 to 8.

It should be pointed out that, on the face of it, there may appear to be conflict between Table III-8 which indicates the type of community in which the members were raised and the type of school attended shown in Table III-22 (48% were raised in rural communities; 26% attended rural schools exclusively). These can be reconciled, however, for some members, while raised on farms, attended small town schools or some combination of rural and town and city schools.

²⁸The Calgary branch was not elevated to full degree granting status until 1966.

²⁹The degree was taken in 1948. Bradley hardly appears to be an elite institution. For a description of the university as it is today, see Otis A. Singletary, American Universities and Colleges (10th ed.; Washington: American Council on Education, 1968), pp. 383-385.

³⁰For something of the nature of Alberta Bible colleges, indeed Bible colleges on the Prairies, see Mann; op. cit., pp. 82-91.

³¹It should be pointed out again that members frequently mentioned that there were few awards available during the periods when they were being formally educated. It should also be recalled that of those taking university degrees only 55% pursued their studies on a full-time basis.

³²See Chapter II, footnote 16 above.

³³Forty-five per cent of those attending university held office; 35% of those who did not go beyond normal school held office; 25% of those attending Bible college held office.

³⁴Two of these subsequently took university degrees but did not hold students' union position at university; neither pursued their university studies on a full-time basis.

³⁵The member who took chiropractic training, which was completed at age 34, did hold office in a chiropractic fraternity, but this has not been interpreted as meaning fraternity membership in the usual sense.

³⁶The number of homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in following political events ought, perhaps, to be 29 or 76%. In two cases the member indicated that the parents had no more than average interest yet in each case one parent held elected political office and was a regular supporter of a political party.

³⁷The writer cannot omit mentioning one matter referred to by a member when discussing the political activity of the father. It is an interesting implicit comment on the early politics of Alberta that the father, a drayman, was reported as having to contribute a certain amount each month to the local Liberal party organizer in order to hold employment on a provincial government construction project. Needless to say, this was prior to 1921.

³⁸An additional three parents became involved with Social Credit party organization after the members were raised (the members were 23, 29, and 30 respectively at the time). In two cases the parent/s had been involved previously in party activity for the U.F.A.

³⁹It might be noted that two members mentioned fathers who were involved with the trade union movement in Britain (one also with co-operatives) before coming to Canada, though not active in a political party there. Both were coal miners in Britain but not in Canada. One father did not become politically involved in Canada though he did become a Social Credit supporter while his wife became quite active in Social Credit party organization at the constituency level in Alberta. The other father became active in the

trade union movement in Toronto, and in trying to get labour candidates elected to municipal office there. After the member left home, the father became a member of the C.C.F. party. The member indicated that his father's total conversation seemed to revolve around union activity.

⁴⁰All grandparent activity was of a party organizational nature.

⁴¹In one family an uncle was state senator and majority leader, another a United States federal judge; both were Republicans. In the other family, an uncle was Lord Mayor of Newcastle. It might be noted that in the third case the uncle was actively associated with a prominent Alberta Conservative family, the Micheners, one member of which was to become the third Canadian born Governor-General of Canada. The uncle stood unsuccessfully for the federal house as a Conservative.

⁴²There were some instances of cousins being reported, but it was earlier decided that relations of this degree would not be considered as relevant to the discussion. However two instances do seem worthy of mention. Two of the members of Ukrainian descent (in both cases there was political activity in the parent generation) had cousins with backgrounds of interesting political involvement. In one case the member had three cousins who were members of the Canadian communist party in Alberta, one being a party organizer; in the other case the member had a cousin who ran federally for the C.C.F. in Alberta. It might further be observed that interviews with those members of Ukrainian descent raised in Ukrainian Canadian communities (four of the five members) indicated that there seemed to be real Communist/anti-communist splits within the communities and indeed within families.

⁴³The range in age of the 14 members was from 8 to 20 with one exception; one member was only born in 1935:

⁴⁴The father, after a background of small business activity, was appointed to an Alberta government position in 1935 when the member was 16, and, during World War II, became a member of an Alberta board. The member indicated, however, that the father had never been politically involved with the Social Credit party.

⁴⁵Their principal occupations were farmers in four cases and farmer/businessman in one. The types of position were: postmaster; tax assessor and road foreman; secretary/treasurer of local improvement district; secretary/treasurer of school board; police magistrate; justice of the peace. Some held more than one of these simultaneously.

⁴⁶It is of interest that one member mentioned that his father, continuously active in the Conservative party in Ontario at the local level, on more than one occasion drove Sir John A. MacDonald about when he visited the father's area (the member was born in 1888).

47 The other areas of activity were Ontario in one case and Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario in the other.

48 One grandparent was a friend of a number of the founding members of the C.C.F., a delegate to national C.C.F. conventions, and a member of the Saskatchewan provincial executive of that party. An aunt took part in the march on Regina and her husband was a C.C.F. member of the Manitoba legislature.

49 Three members married twice (in each case the first wife died). Only the wife at the time of the member's first political activity has been considered in what follows. All percentages are of the group on which we have detailed information.

50 These wives are of some interest. One was born in Havana, Cuba, though raised in Alberta, and claims relationship to Nelson of Trafalgar (if so, the family had fallen on sorry times: her father pursued a working class occupation). One claims descent from New Brunswick Loyalists. Perhaps the most interesting case is that of the Ukrainian, raised on an Alberta homestead, who married the daughter of a Newfoundland fisherman of British extraction, her family going back some generations in that province.

51 This does not, however, represent the total number of cases where members, as adults, changed their religious affiliation or denomination. See the section below that deals with adult religious activity.

52 There is a possible exception to this: the wife of one member attended, on scholarship, the Toronto Conservatory of Music, which might be considered to be an elite type institution. Her education prior to this had been in a rural Alberta school and in Calgary. The member attended rural Alberta schools and graduated in Law from the University of Alberta.

53 One son of a labourer married the daughter of a substantial farmer/rancher; two sons of farmers married into much more prosperous farm families.

54 Discussion of the type of community in which the spouse was raised revealed the following unique case of family wandering. The wife of one member, born in the Ukraine, and substantially raised on a homestead in Northern Alberta, reached Alberta by a rather indirect route. The family first headed for Mexico, but, on arrival, finding it in a state of revolution, then decided to strike northward to Alberta.

55 The occupations pursued were: none 8 (23%) (these were nearly all farmer's daughters); teaching 6 (17%); steno/clerical 6 (17%); domestic 4 (10%); nursing 2 (6%); store clerk (6%); social worker 1 (3%); manager of small business 1 (3%); lady's companion 1 (3%); laundry worker 1 (3%); waitress 1 (3%).

56 Indeed in one instance one might speak of non-British cultural roots being reinforced. The member of Italian descent, and language of the home, married a wife of French/French-Canadian extraction where the language of the home in which she was raised was non-English.

57 The member, earlier noted as being nominally Catholic until the teens, and then nominally United Church, married a member of the United Church.

58 The father-in-law of one member, a substantial farmer, is reported to have left an estate valued in excess of \$300,000. The member's father was an electrical contractor with some 20 employees.

59 These occupations were: steno/clerical 3 (60%); lab. technician 1 (20%); none 1 (20%).

60 In two cases service was in W.W. I; in the rest in W.W. II. All service was in Canadian forces except in one case. One member was in the U.S. Marines for one year in W.W. I (no overseas service).

61 Of the 32 members without service, one was female, one came as an Italian immigrant to Canada at age 17 in 1915, one was over 40, and four were under age 18.

62 Of those who did not see military service, some were directly affected by the war in terms of family sacrifice. Of the members who did not see military service, but where the member was in the normal age bracket eligible for service, and on whom we have detailed information (88%), some 9% reported a brother killed in action. Of the total number of members about whom we have information concerning family war service (90%), some 13% lost a brother. Note: Though it was possible to obtain information on the war service of un-interviewed members, this was not true of the families of these members.

63 Of the three members without service, one was 8 years old in 1939.

64 The actual figure may well be 36% since it may be reasonable to assume that the three members on whom we lack detailed information did not change their church affiliation with adulthood. See footnote d to Table III-37.

65 All seven Methodist raised members followed the natural progression into the United Church of Canada with church union in 1925.

66 Of the Catholics, one joined the Anglican church, one the United, and one the Baptist. One United Church member became Roman Catholic.

67 Two left the Anglican church, one to become Christian Science and the other Baptist. The single Lutheran joined the Baptist church. On the other hand, one Baptist joined the higher status United Church.

68 If we assume that two of the members on whom we lack detailed information but who are United Church members today were members of the United Church during youth, status church representation would have changed from 29% (12 members) to 45% (19 members).

69 There was a decline in adulthood over youth in eight cases and an increase in four, but within the adult period for these twelve the pattern remained fairly constant. In five other cases there was some fluctuation in activity within the adult period, but in four instances there was a return to the pattern of youth later in life.

70 Two members were fundamentalist preachers and one a weekly newspaper editor/publisher. If these are included in the professional/semi-professional category, it would represent 43% of the members.

71 The corresponding figures for the ministers are: business 19%; farm 19%; professional/semi-professional 44%, with 86% of the professional/semi-professional category being teachers.

72 One member was a miner and prospector for 18 years, starting at age 14 in England and ending in the Canadian North (he also turned his hand to writing, including a history of Alberta that had been used in Alberta schools); one worked in lumber and railway camps for eight years; one was a construction worker for four years; one was a mill worker in the United States for two years; and one worked for part of a year for a number of years in Alberta mines in order to supplement farm income. In only one of these cases had the father pursued a labour type occupation.

It will be recalled that one minister, a minister without portfolio, had direct association with labour both through principal occupation and trade union activity, a point that will be returned to briefly in the next section. Another minister, in his teens, worked in Alberta mines.

73 See the section below dealing with non-elected governmental service. In two instances non-elected service seems to have been the product of activity for the Social Credit party.

74 They were, respectively, Minister of Public Works, Minister of Public Welfare, Provincial Treasurer, and minister without portfolio.

75 The three ranged in age from 73 to 79 as at January 1, 1967. At the time of leaving the cabinet they were 68, 74, and 75 respectively.

It may be of interest that a person now holding a political appointment in a cabinet office commented to the writer that it had not

been the practice of Premier Manning to use patronage appointments as a reward for cabinet service or as a device in cabinet restructuring. Perhaps this is a factor in former cabinet ministers remaining as members of the legislature.

⁷⁶For something of the background to the Social Credit Board, and its relationship to the legislature and the government, see C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 172-77; 211-12.

⁷⁷Some information was obtained on the organizational activity of the un-interviewed members but is incomplete in some respects. It does indicate that all four belonged to at least one organization and that three held elected organizational office. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine in all instances at what point in their career the organizations were joined or offices acquired, though it is clear that all engaged in some organizational activity prior to election.

⁷⁸In the case of the ministers, some four or 25% held no elected organizational office prior to election, and it was suggested that this may, in part, have been because of the early age (under 30) at which they entered the legislature. This would not appear, however, to be as likely an explanation for the members who held no office. Of those on whom we have detailed information, and who held no organizational office prior to election, some 10 members, only one was elected under 30, though four were elected by age 36. The actual ages of election were: 29, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 46, 53, 58, and 60. Of these, however, two were first elected to the federal house in 1935 at ages 30 and 36 respectively and entered the provincial legislature at ages 39 and 60.

⁷⁹Any categorization requires certain arbitrary decisions to be made. In order that the reader may make his own evaluation, the actual organizations of membership are listed by category in an appendix to this chapter.

⁸⁰The actual organizations of membership were evaluated by certain individuals judged to be knowledgeable concerning the Alberta social structure and the normal qualifications for admission to the various organizations to which the members at some time belonged.

⁸¹The principal occupations of the un-interviewed, one cabinet minister and four members, do not suggest that trade union association was likely for them (it will be recalled that two were small businessmen, two were farmers, and one was a teacher/principal) and none of the other information available on them indicated trade union membership.

The minister without portfolio, the only female member of the cabinet, had, as mentioned earlier, strong association with Edmonton labour organizations. Significantly or otherwise, the minister engaged in no party activity prior to election, was approached to stand, and considered herself to be a spokesman for both labour and women in the cabinet.

82 More than one member seemed somewhat embarrassed to mention the association with the Farmers Union. One M.L.A. stressed that his membership was only nominal, one that he had special reasons for joining, and one mentioned that, though he had continued membership, and held office in the organization while in the legislature, he had withdrawn from office because of the policies being adopted by that organization. (For a further interesting case relating to U.F.A. membership, see the next section).

83 "The Shrine" is, of course, a part of the Masonic Order, and the lone member has been included in the number belonging to the Masons. He was, of course, at one point an "ordinary Mason".

84 It is of interest that both subsequently became members of local school boards. Two members, then, like one member of the cabinet, had been both members of the A.T.A. and members of school boards, though not, of course, members of both simultaneously.

It might also be noted that the A.T.A. does not seem to forget, for whatever reasons, former teachers who are members of the legislature. One member mentioned to the writer that the A.T.A. made a point of entertaining all former teachers during each session of the legislature.

85 This is not to say that they did not belong to other categories of organization in these cities (e.g., service clubs, fraternal organizations, etc). See Appendix I to this chapter. One member might be said to have belonged to some superior clubs, though hardly elite: he belonged to the Edmonton Garrison Officers' Mess and to the Faculty Club of The University of Alberta.

86 It may be, of course, that some of the other organizations to which the members belonged, depending on the community, may have been largely composed of individuals drawn from a particular ethnic group.

87 The first is a United Church college, the next two are fundamentalist institutions, and the last essentially a residence for Ukrainian students in Edmonton. A further member was associated in an advisory capacity with The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, Edmonton.

88 Only one member represented an Edmonton or Calgary constituency, the centres where the principal elite social clubs are located in the province.

89 It was pointed out earlier that one Opposition member, Italian, would presumably have had strong non-British cultural roots. He was a permanent resident, however, of a small community where there were few Italians.

90 Of the four members on whom we lack complete information, one was 12 in 1935, while the other three were 20, 22, and 29 respectively. Activity in 1934/35 for the Social Credit movement would have been possible for these

latter three but certainly seems unlikely in one case. One did not come to Alberta until he was in his early thirties, following W.W. II., and from the neighbouring province of Saskatchewan. None of the three was elected to the Alberta legislature until age 46.

⁹¹Information on the holding of elected political office by the un-interviewed is believed to be reasonably complete but not on the total range of political activity.

⁹²In addition, it might be pointed out that one M.L.A., on defeat, attempted to shift to the federal house, was unsuccessful, and subsequently was re-elected as an M.L.A.

⁹³It seems worthy of note that seven members (18% of the interviewed) volunteered information that they thought politics to be a nasty business prior to the rise of Social Credit. Among these, two commented on the record of corrupt practices in early Alberta politics, one on the general dishonesty of politicians, and one referred to an early incident that coloured his view of politicians. In this last case, the member indicated that he had been taken to a political meeting as a boy in eastern Canada by his father at which he witnessed a person literally having his skull split in the heat of political argument.

⁹⁴It is possible that the number of backbench members who engaged in political activity for a party other than Social Credit is understated. For example, seven M.L.A.s indicated that there were members at one time of the U.F.A., though in one case the association was only brief. Three of these were office holders at the local level. Only two members indicated that they engaged in political activity for the U.F.A.

⁹⁵It is difficult to judge the extent to which members gave answers that they thought "ought" to be given as opposed to those reflecting the actual situation. There is also the factor of some degree of distortion of the answers advanced that is a part of any attempt at categorization. On balance, then, it would seem best to treat the findings outlined in Table III-52 with some reservation.

This is not to say that many members did not appear to speak frankly. The writer cannot omit mentioning one who was particularly so (appropriately or not he appears in the unique category in Table III-52). The member went so far as to indicate that he was an "opportunist". He was offered the Social Credit nomination and accepted it, but he indicated that he would have accepted the nomination of any political party that had a chance of electoral success.

⁹⁶Surprisingly one member indicated that he was, in part, persuaded to stand for Social Credit by a gentleman who was later to become the leader of the Liberal party in Alberta. The member maintained that the future Liberal leader was at that time a Social Crediter. This is not the same Liberal leader as the one in the legislature under examination.

⁹⁷Of this group of five who were displaced, four were sitting members: one was an old line "Douglasite", another was described as "getting pretty red", and two as having lost touch with their constituencies. In the fifth case, the constituency had been lost to Social Credit in the previous election and it was felt that this loss had been largely a product of the then member's inactivity. As to the members who did the displacing, two claimed to have acted on their own initiative (against the "Douglasite" and one of those who had lost touch). In the other cases the members indicated that they were persuaded to stand to correct the situations. Unfortunately it is not possible to say to what extent direct or indirect influence may have been exerted by the central organization of the party or by the government in these cases.

⁹⁸Three members became permanent non-residents of the constituencies they represented; all originally represented rural ridings but became Edmonton residents. Two held province wide party position and one of these two became a cabinet minister. In addition, two others were non-residents of their rural constituencies while members of the cabinet.

⁹⁹These two members, after electoral defeat as an M.L.A., were eventually to be re-elected but in different constituencies from those originally held. In both cases the original constituency was rural; the final constituency urban (1 Edmonton, 1 Calgary).

It is of interest that a total of four (10%) of the members were defeated at some point and subsequently re-elected. Another member at one point lost the party nomination but subsequently resecured it and won re-election. Three of the defeated lost their seats in the election of 1955 which saw Social Credit strength considerably reduced (at dissolution in 1955 Social Credit held 51 seats in a 61 seat house; after the election Social Credit strength dropped to 37, again in a 61 seat house). In addition, two members first stood unsuccessfully for election in 1955. Only one member first entered the house in that year.

¹⁰⁰None of the members interviewed was an only child. Thirty-four (89%) had at least one brother and sister, three (8%) had brothers only, and one (3%) sisters only.

In dealing with the behaviour of brothers and sisters, as noted previously, there is always the problem of members of family losing touch with each other. However the members generally felt that they would know if brothers and sisters had been politically active, particularly if they had sought political office. In one case, however, the member indicated that he had lost touch with other members of the family.

¹⁰¹In two cases for the Republicans, one for the Democrats, and one for the British Conservative party.

¹⁰²One of these families is particularly interesting in that, though the mother was an active Social Crediter from 1934/35, one brother became involved with the C.C.F./N.D.P. (and trade unions), another brother is a Liberal, and a brother-in-law is a former president of the Young Progressive Conservatives in Alberta.

Insofar as brothers-in-law are concerned, two others, involving two different families, are of some interest. One is reported as having been asked to stand against Senator Wayne Morse in Oregon; another is reported as being a very good friend of Charles Templeton, the sometime evangelist, candidate for the Ontario Liberal leadership, and now figure of some importance in the Canadian communications field.

103 It will be recalled that members were asked whether there were any individuals that they saw as being influential in determining the sorts of things that they had done in their lives.

104 In the case of indirect influence, a brother, a Social Credit cabinet minister, was killed in an automobile accident. The member was subsequently elected to the legislature for the same constituency as the brother. (This member has been included in the "unique" category in Table III-52 that categorizes the principal factors leading to the member standing for the legislature).

In at least one case a brother was not successful in attempting to influence the member. The brother, active for the U.F.A. and then the C.C.F., attempted to persuade the member to stand for the C.C.F.; the member instead stood and was elected for Social Credit.

105 The number of members who married, as noted earlier, is 38 out of 42. Of the members who were interviewed and on whom we have detailed information, 38, some 35 were married. All the figures used hereafter deal with the group of 35. It should be noted that three members were married twice (in all three cases the first wife died). Only the wife at the time of the member's first political activity has been considered in what follows.

106 A brother in one of these families, however, was to become a Liberal member of the federal house from Ontario (though New Brunswick raised) which may be indicative of the degree of political interest of that particular home.

107 This is not to say that some wives did not enter into the political process with vigour as the following examples may serve to illustrate: one ran in her own right for the provincial legislature; one held local elected office; two were their husbands' campaign managers; two lectured province wide on the virtues of Social Credit; and one helped to organize a new constituency. It is noteworthy that in only three of these cases was the wife reported as bringing more than average interest in events to the marriage and only one came from a family that had been politically involved. On the other hand, in four cases (11%), the member, in outlining the political interest and activity of the wife, volunteered the information that the wife's attitude toward political activity was essentially negative. In one case the wife tried to persuade the member not to stand, another attempted to get the member to withdraw from politics, one member referred to election campaigns as making his wife physically ill, and another indicated that his wife reluctantly did only what was minimally necessary to play the role of the wife of an M.L.A.

108 In two cases members were persuaded to stand in the election of 1955, an election which, as already noted, saw a sizeable reduction in Social Credit representation in the legislature. In one of these cases the persuasive power of the leader of one of the Opposition parties was mentioned as a significant factor.

109 None of the members was an only child. Two had at least one brother and sister, two had sisters only, and one a brother only.

110 The member came from a political family and had no early interest in political events. The wife, however, as noted, brought strong interest to the marriage, and her father held office at the local level (school board, councillor, mayor) and was very active at the local level in the Liberal party. The member's political activity was, and is, in the same area as that of the father-in-law.

111 One, who brought more than average interest to a marriage where the member had already been politically involved, seems to have had considerable political enthusiasm, holding municipal office, following marriage, in her own right. On the other hand, another wife was reported as being not in the least enthusiastic about her husband's political involvement and as keeping her activity to the minimum required to play the role of the wife of an M.L.A.

112 Tables have been devised to record what is thought to be significant information regarding non-elected governmental service (see particularly Chapter IV on the deputy ministers) but since so few members were full-time non-elected officials a brief verbal description seems adequate.

113 Of the two members where political activity seems to have been involved in their becoming provincial government employees, one was appointed a provincial highway inspector by the Aberhart government following defeat as a Social Credit M.P. The Highways position was held until the member was elected to the provincial house in the following provincial election. In the other case, the member, involved with the Social Credit party from the beginnings of the party, after briefly being business manager of a Social Credit party paper, was appointed manager of a Treasury Branch (he had, however, as was noted earlier, banking experience, having been an employee of one of the principal chartered banks in small centres, largely in Alberta, for some 10 years). Again this was in the Aberhart period.

114 The member was organizationally active for the Social Credit party while holding what was essentially summer employment for a number of years with a provincial government agency. This was during the Manning period.

11-122

115 It is of interest that the exception holds a Ph.D. in Agriculture and was the brother of the Alberta Social Credit cabinet minister earlier referred to as having been killed in an automobile accident.

It might also be noted that no attempt was made to determine the extent to which family members might owe provincial government employment to the influence of the member. It might be observed, however, that in one case of long-term employment by the province (minor position with the Department of Highways), and two non-career, both with provincial government agencies, also minor positions, all were assumed following the election of the member.

As commented earlier, it is not within the scope of this study to explore the relationships through the brothers and sisters with other areas in the community. An examination of the occupations of the brothers and sisters (and their husbands) of the members, however, suggests little relationship to other elites. There is, though, an interesting exception; one member claimed a brother who is a senior official of one of the chartered banks.

116 To be strictly accurate, one member was employed by a federal government department in Alberta for a few months following university graduation. His entry seems to have been the product of circumstances at the time, and he indicated that he soon decided that there was no future in non-elected governmental service. He then returned to university to take a degree in Law.

As with the Social Credit members, no rigorous attempt was made to determine the extent to which Opposition members, through the brothers and sisters, might have connection with non-governmental elites. One family is, however, of some interest in that two members are senior business executives while a brother-in-law is an official of an international trade union (this is not the family of the N.D.P. member).

117 There are 32 families known to have at least one member over 18 years of age and information was obtained on 29 of these families. The discussion that follows deals only with the group of 29 and all percentages are expressed in terms of that group.

As to the nature of the 29 families, and assuming that only those children over 18 years of age constitute the family, then seven (24%) were all female, six (20%) all male, and 16 (56%) contained both sexes. The range in age of the children was from 19 to 52 with 19 (66%) of the families having at least one member over age 25, some 24 (83%) having at least one member over age 21. Sixty-nine per cent of the families had at least one member who had completed, or was attending, university (contrasting with the parent generation where only 17% of the fathers were university graduates).

It should further be noted that in only one family was the member not politically involved during at least part of the period when at least some of the children considered as constituting the family were growing up.

The information regarding the political activity of the children is based on the knowledge of the member in each case. It seems reasonable to assume that in most cases fathers would have heard if their children were

politically active. However their judgement about the level of political interest would likely have to be treated with more reservation.

118 This figure may be understated and could be 26 or 90%. In two cases, though the member reported the children to have no more than average interest, in each case at least one child was a member of political party. In another case, again where no more than average interest was reported, a child had allowed his name to stand for the party nomination.

119 If membership in political party, but with no other party activity, is taken as meaning political activity, then members of some 23 families (79%) so engaged.

120 What is meant here essentially is that a member of the family engaged in some political activity other than participation in the electoral campaigns of the father.

121 The members were specifically asked whether they saw any indication that any of their children might be contemplating standing for political office or non-elected governmental careers.

122 The ministers reported in all cases at least one member of family with more than average interest, 90% of the families with a party member, 10% where a child had sought elected office, and an additional 40% where the seeking of office was anticipated. In five of the six cases of activity in ministers' families at least part of it was independent of the father. The ministers' families, however, in more cases contained a child over 25 (90% vs. 66%) and in only 10% of the families were the children all female (as opposed to 24% for the members).

123 If one includes service in the armed forces as governmental service, then the number of families with some governmental service would be five, and the number that have so far produced career employees would be four (14%). In addition, it might be noted that in two further families a son-in-law is in the employ of the provincial government or one of its agencies.

124 Only one of the children has so far held senior position, and that in the personnel field with an Alberta government board. He entered government service in 1945 as a clerk and the father (a member of the legislature since 1935) claimed that he had nothing to do with the son's advancement.

125 In addition, though hardly significant, it may be of interest that the daughter of one member was for four years the private secretary to the now (1967) leader of the provincial Progressive Conservative party in Alberta. This was while her father was a member but before the P.C. leader became leader of the party, though he was politically active and came from a distinguished Conservative family.

126 As to the nature of the families, one was all female while the other two (67%) contained members of both sexes. The range in age of the children was from 19 to 41, with two families having at least one member over age 25. In all of the families a member had either completed or was attending university (contrasting with the parent generation where two of the three fathers did not attend university). In the case of each of the families the father engaged in some political activity while at least some of the children were growing up.

127 It may be of interest that the employment was by the Canadian External Aid Office in Tanzania.

APPENDIX III-1

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP -- SOCIAL CREDIT MEMBERS

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Business	24	57
Junior Chamber, Senior Chamber of Commerce--- 15		
Calgary(1), Medicine Hat(1), Red Deer(1) ^c		
Board of Trade--- 5		
North Hill Businessman's Association, Calgary--- 2		
Calgary Real Estate Board--- 1		
Calgary South Businessman's Association--- 1		
Note: In addition, one M.L.A. was an honorary member of two local Chambers		
Fraternal	22	52
Masons--- 10		
Edmonton(2), Calgary and local(1)		
Elks--- 9		
Lethbridge(1)		
Odd Fellows--- 8		
Shriners, Edmonton--- 1		
Knights of Columbus--- 1		
Service Clubs	15	36
Lions International--- 6		
Medicine Hat(1)		
Kiwanis--- 3		
Calgary(2)		
Optomist International--- 3		
Edmonton(2)		
Rotary--- 2		
Cosmopolitan Club, Edmonton--- 1		
Toastmasters International, Calgary--- 1		
Professional	15	36
Education 11		
Alberta Teachers' Association--- 10		
Alberta Teachers' Alliance--- 2		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage is of total number of Social Credit members.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Professional (continued)	15	36
Law	2	
Alberta Bar Society--- 2		
Canadian Bar Association--- 2		
Edmonton Bar Association--- 1		
Calgary Bar Association--- 1		
Denistry	1	
Edmonton and District Dental Society--- 1		
Alberta Dental Association--- 1		
American Academy of Dental Practice Administrators--- 1		
Chiropractic	1	
Alberta Chiropractic Association--- 1		
Canadian Chiropractic Association--- 1		
Agricultural	14	33
Farmers' Union of Alberta--- 12		
United Farmers of Alberta--- 7		
Alberta Wheat Pool--- 2		
Local agricultural society--- 1		
Social/Recreational	13	31
Local curling club--- 5		
Local fish and game association--- 4		
Calgary Flying Club--- 1		
Edmonton Flying Club--- 1		
Garrison Officer's Mess, Edmonton ^c --- 1		
Faculty Club, U. of Alberta, Edmonton--- 1		
Chinook Club, Lethbridge--- 1		
Local golf club--- 1		
Local ski club--- 1		
Local athletic association--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage is of total number of Social Credit members.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Community Service	13	31
Home and School Association--- 7		
Calgary(1) ^c		
Boy Scouts--- 3		
Medicine Hat(1)		
John Howard Society--- 2		
Edmonton(1), Lethbridge(1)		
Local library association--- 2		
Canadian Cancer Society--- 1		
Canadian Red Cross Society--- 1		
Navy League of Canada, Edmonton--- 1		
Royal Canadian Army Cadets--- 1		
Women's Institute--- 1		
Messacordia Hospital Advisory Board, Edmonton--- 1		
Oakhill Foundation, Edmonton and Bon Accord--- 1		
Pine Lake Christian Camp Board--- 1		
Local community association--- 1		
Veterans/Military	8	19
Royal Canadian Legion--- 6		
Edmonton(1)		
Army and Navy Veterans Association--- 1		
Canadian Artillery Association--- 1		
Militia, Edmonton--- 1		
R.C.A.F. Reserve, Calgary--- 1		
Note: In addition, two M.L.A.s were honorary members of the Legion		
Cooperative	7	17
Local credit union--- 3		
Local mutual telephone company--- 2		
Local cooperative creamery--- 1		
Local cooperative seed growers association--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers.

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	% ^b
Cultural	3	7
Alberta Historical Society, Edmonton ^c --- 1		
U.N. Association, Edmonton--- 1		
Sir Winston Churchill Society, Calgary--- 1		
Local drama society--- 1		
Ethnic	3	7
Alberta French Association--- 1		
Catholic Ukrainian Committee--- 1		
Ukrainian Catholic National Club, Edmonton--- 1		
Ukrainian Reliance--- 1		
Municipal	1	2
Alberta Union of Municipalities--- 1		
Religious (non-church affiliated)	1	2
Gideons International, Edmonton--- 1		
Miscellaneous	2	5
Canadian Alcoholism Foundation--- 1		
Canadian Mental Health Association--- 1		
Community Planning Association of Canada--- 1		
Consumers Association of Canada--- 1		
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Calgary--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPercentage of total number of ministers

^cPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

APPENDIX III-2

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP -- OPPOSITION MEMBERS

Type	No. ^a	%
Service Clubs	5	100
Lions International--- 2		
Rotary--- 2		
Calgary(1) ^b		
Kiwanis--- 1		
Calgary Booster Club--- 1		
Business	4	80
Chamber of Commerce--- 4		
Calgary(1)		
Community Service	4	80
Alberta Association for Retarded Children--- 1		
Community League, Calgary--- 1		
Local community centre board--- 1		
John Howard Society--- 1		
Navy League of Canada--- 1		
Fraternal	3	60
Knights of Columbus--- 2		
Calgary(1)		
Elks--- 2		
Masons--- 1		
Professional	2	40
Alberta Bar Association--- 2		
Canadian Bar Association--- 2		
Calgary Bar Association--- 1		
Social/Recreational	2	40
Local hockey and baseball clubs--- 2		
Veterans/Military	1	20
Royal Canadian Legion--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

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CHAPTER IV

THE DEPUTY MINISTERS

This chapter is concerned with the social background of those persons designated as deputy ministers or holding the equivalent of deputy minister rank in the government of the province of Alberta as of January 1, 1967.¹ These constitute a group of 17, all of whom agreed to be interviewed by the writer. The information set out below is drawn from these interviews.

In the previous chapter a running comparison was attempted between the ministers, the Social Credit backbenchers, and the Opposition members. This comparative treatment, as already mentioned in the Introduction, Chapter I, will not be continued in this chapter nor in the following one (the board chairmen) for a detailed comparison between so many groups is much too difficult to manage effectively. A comparison on a fairly broad level between the various groups, however, is undertaken in the Conclusion, Chapter VI.

Family Background and Upbringing

Ethnic Origin

Traced through the father, (see Table IV-1), the deputies as a group are overwhelmingly British (94%) in ethnic origin and in the one case of German (Pennsylvania Dutch) extraction the family was for many generations resident in North America.² In all cases the language of the home was English. In only one case (6%) was the deputy not for the most part raised

TABLE IV-1

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION CANADIAN^a

Ethnic Origin	Generation Canadian												Total		
	Born outside Canada		Born outside Canada but largely Canadian raised ^b		Generation										
	No.	%	No.	%	1		2		3		4				
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
British	1	6	2	12	7	41	..	..	3	18	3	18	16	94
German (Pennsylvania Dutch)	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	1	6	2	12	8	47	..	..	3	18	3	18	17	100

^aBased on the ethnic origin of the first male ancestor to come to North America.

^b"Raised" defined as having spent the majority of years between birth and age 18 in Canada.

TABLE IV-2
BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where Raised ^a											
	Canada		United States		Britain		Europe		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Canada	6	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	35
U.S.A.	..	..	3	18	..	..	..	..	3	18
Britain	2	12	..	..	6	35	..	..	8	47
Total	8 ^b	47	3	18	6	35	..	..	17	100

^a"Where raised" defined as that country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bSix (35%) were raised in Ontario, 1 (6%) in the Maritimes, and 1 (6%) in the West.

in Canada (he was raised in Britain) though some 10 (60%) were no more than first generation Canadian. As will be confirmed by what follows, the cultural roots were found to be essentially British or North American.

Occupation of the Father

An examination of the occupation of the father is another indicator of background and the occupations are set out in Table IV-3. All occupations noted, those when the deputy was dependent on the father, were, with one exception, pursued in North America.

The fathers' occupations might be grouped into farm (35%), business (24%), professional and semi-professional (18%), and governmental employee (12%) categories. Two cases (12%) might be considered to be unique and within three of these groups there was considerable range.

From Table IV-3, the range within the professional and semi-professional category is obvious; within the business category there is a range from a Toronto bank executive with membership in the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and with a wife who attended the elite Bishop Strachan private school to two cases of small town businessmen; and within the farm category from a substantial southern Alberta landowner to three cases of at least original homestead operations. As to the unique cases, one father was from the Scottish squirarchy, private school and Edinburgh university educated, and with a very substantial ranching operation in south-central Alberta; the other was a Liverpool ship captain from a family of sea-
farers.³

TABLE IV-3

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF THE FATHER DURING SUBJECT'S DEPENDENCY

Occupation	Education: Highest Grade Attended													
	Some Elementary		Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary		Some University		University		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, semi-professional	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Architect	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clergyman	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teacher/principal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Master mariner	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Provincial civil servant	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minor supervisory Policeman ^a	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Business	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Executive	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Proprietor	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Proprietor (small business)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rancher	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Farmer	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	18	3	18	..	..	7	41	1	6	3	18	17	100

^a Alberta Provincial Police.

Note:

The universities attended were Edinburgh, McGill, and the Ontario Agricultural College; one father had trades training (plumber) though engaged in business; the clergymen has been placed in the "some university" category on the basis of an elementary school education followed by training as a Methodist minister at Alberta College in Edmonton, a non-degree granting institution; one Father had musical training at a college in Wales; the father's of two deputies died when the deputies were quite young, but the father's occupation probably reasonably reflects the social position of the family; two fathers had some private school education in Britain.

Birthplace and Community Where Raised

As noted in Table IV-2, eight (47%) of the fathers were Canadian raised with only one being raised in the Canadian West. However, of the deputies, the next generation, 16 (94%) were raised in Canada and a very high proportion, 14 or 82%, were raised in Alberta (see Table IV-4).

As indicated in Table IV-3, six (35%) of the deputies came from homes that engaged in farming. However, examination of the type of community in which the deputies were raised indicates that some 10 (59%) were at least partly raised in a rural environment or a rurally dependent town environment and would likely have been at least exposed to rural or small town values during their formative years.⁴ Only two (12%) were raised in large cities (Toronto, Liverpool). (See Table IV-5).

Tables IV-6 and IV-7 give some further indication of the nature of the communities and neighbourhoods in which the deputies were raised. As can be seen, in 14 cases (82%) the communities/neighbourhoods were predominantly British in ethnic composition.⁵ Only one deputy was raised in a community where there was not a significant "British element." Within the urban areas the type of neighbourhood tended to correspond closely to what would be expected given the nature of the father's occupation. Only one deputy was raised in an urban working class district and this was not in a large city.

TABLE IV-4

BIRTHPLACE OF SUBJECT AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where raised ^a															
	Maritimes		Quebec		Canada Ontario		West		Alberta		U.S.A.		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada
Maritimes
Quebec
Ontario	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
West (other than Alberta)	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alberta	9	53	..	..	..	..	..	..
U.S.A.	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Britain	1	6	..	..	1	6	..	..
Africa	1 ^b	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	2	12	..	..	14	82	..	..	1	6	17	100

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bOne deputy was born in Johannesburg, South Africa, where his British parents were temporarily resident, but raised in Canada.

TABLE IV-5
TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AND WHERE

Type of Community	Where ^a					
	Canada		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural	3	18	..	..	3	18
Village/town ^b	4	24	..	..	4	24
City	4	24	..	..	4	24
Large city ^c	1	6	1	6	2	12
Some combination of above						
Rural/village/town	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rural/city	3	18	..	..	3	18
Village/town/city	1	6	..	..	1	6
Total	16	94	1	6	17	100

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is that of the same period.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

TABLE IV-6

TYPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY OR SMALL URBAN COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED
(where no consciousness of neighbourhood existed)

Type of Community	Where ^a					
	Canada		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	7	41	..	..	7	41
Largely non-British	1	6	..	..	1	6
Mixed	2	12	..	..	2	12
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	9	53	..	..	9	53
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mormon	1	6	..	..	1	6

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

TABLE IV-7

TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH RAISED

(urban areas where a consciousness of neighbourhood did exist)

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a					
	Canada		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	5	29	..	..	5	29
Largely non-British	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	1	6	1	6	2	12
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	4	24	1	6	5	29
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	2	12	..	..	2	12
<u>By Class^b</u>						
Upper Middle	3	18	..	..	3	18
Middle	2	12	1	6	3	18
Working	1	6	..	..	1	6

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bBased on the subject's evaluation, confirmed as far as possible by the subject's recollection of the occupations of his neighbours.

Religion

Fourteen (82%) of the deputies were raised as Protestants; two (12%) as Catholics; one (6%) as a Mormon; none belonged to the Jewish faith. The actual denominations in which they were raised are shown in Table IV-8.

TABLE IV-8
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	No.	%
Anglican	4	24
Mormon	1	6
Presbyterian	2 ^a	12
Roman Catholic	2	12
United Church of Canada	8 ^b	47

^aOne deputy attended the Presbyterian church during youth though came of Baptist parents.

^bChurch union (1925) took place when the deputies involved were aged 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

Of those shown as being members of the United Church, four came from Presbyterian families and four from Methodist, church union taking place at some point during youth.⁶ It is of interest that none of the deputies was raised as a fundamentalist Baptist, given the supposed association of the Social Credit government with fundamentalism, though one deputy, raised in the Presbyterian church, had parents who were raised as Baptists in Wales.

Based on the subject's evaluation of the importance of religion to the parents, 11 or 65% came from homes where at least one parent attached

more than average importance to religion and in eight cases (47%) both parents were judged to be quite religious, (See Table IV-9).

TABLE IV-9
IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO PARENTS
(subject's evaluation)^a

Importance	One Parent		Both Parents	
	No.	%	No.	%
Non-religious	..	..	1	6
Below average	..	..	1	6
Average	2	12	2	12
More than average	1	6	..	..
Quite religious	2	12	8	47

^aWhere there is a difference in religious appreciation by the parents, the parent with the highest appreciation is taken as representative of the family.

As noted earlier, one deputy was the son of a Methodist, subsequently United Church, minister. In addition, the father of one had been a Mormon missionary in the South Seas, and two had grandparents who were clergymen (one Anglican; one Methodist).

As to the deputies themselves, all had at least some exposure to organized religion when growing up, and a high proportion, 15 or 88%, claimed regular church or sunday school attendance. (See Table IV-10). However, whatever this may say about the religious ideas with which the deputies came into contact, as will be seen later (Table IV-20), this degree of church activity was not to be maintained in adulthood for only seven (41%) claimed regular church attendance by the time of the interviews.

TABLE IV-10
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	No.	%
Attendance		
Non-attendance	..	..
Irregular attendance	2	12
Regular attendance ^a	15	88
Some church organizational activity	9	53
Other activity ^b	..	..

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

Education

None of the deputies received less than the equivalent of a grade eleven education while 10 (59%) went on to take university degrees. (See Table IV-11). This is in contrast to the parent generation, where only three (18%) of the fathers were university educated.

Of those without a university education, four (57%) took some form of additional courses through correspondence or night school. Of those with university education, four (40%) received doctorates (M.D., D.V.M., D.Ed., Ph.D.). No particular pattern in the degrees taken was found except that they tended to be of a specialized type, perhaps readily marketable degrees.⁷ The gentlemanly ideal, as reflected in the B.A. as the only degree taken, was not represented.

As to the type or types of schools attended (see Table IV-12), only one deputy received a private school education (secondary level only).

TABLE IV-11
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Level	No.	%
Elementary	..	..
Grades 9-11	2	12
Grades 12-13	5	29
Some university	..	..
University degree	10	59
Some postgraduate study	1	6
Higher degree/s	5 ^a	29
Technical school	..	..
Religious college (non-degree)	..	..
Normal school or teacher training ^b	..	..
Other	..	..

^aExcludes Law.

^bOne deputy has a B.Ed., another a D.Ed., and two with university degrees did teach at one time attending normal school before taking degrees in other than Education.

TABLE IV-12
 TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND WHERE

Type	Where educated ^a					
	Britain		Canada		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
State	1	6	15	88	16	94
Private (some or all)	..	..	1	6	1	6
Rural	..	..	..	..	..	..
Village/town ^b	..	..	4	24	4	24
City	..	..	4	24	4	24
Large city ^c	1	6	1	6	2	12
Combination of rural and village/town	..	..	2	12	2	12
Combination of rural and city	..	..	4	24	4	24
Combination of village/ town and city	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other	..	..	1	6	1	6
Protestant	1	6	14	82	15	88
Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Combination of Protestant and Catholic	..	..	2	12	2	12
Total	1	6	16	94	17	100

^aMajority of school years.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

This was in a school of some exclusiveness on Vancouver Island. Fourteen (88%) received their public and high school education in state Protestant schools while even the two deputies raised as Catholics received their public school education in them.⁸ As would be expected from what we have seen earlier regarding the communities in which the deputies were raised, though none received his entire education in rural schools, some 10 (59%) received at least a significant part of their education in rural or small town schools.⁹ Thirteen (76%) received all their public and high school education in Alberta, while even the deputy who attended private school received his public school education in rural Alberta. It is of interest that two deputies (12%) attended Crescent Heights High School in Calgary while William Aberhart was principal, one being taught mathematics by him (though neither was appointed to deputy minister rank during Mr. Aberhart's life time).

Of the 10 (59%) who took university degrees, eight (80%) received their undergraduate degrees (or equivalent) from the University of Alberta; of the six who undertook some graduate study, two (33%) took all of it at Alberta. Some 11 (65%) of the deputies, then, received all of their formal education in Alberta institutions. The other universities attended are shown in Table IV-13.

Looking only at those with higher education for evidence of academic distinction, none received the prestige awards of their time (i.e., The Rhodes, IODE, or Massey fellowships) or, as noted, studied at the great British or American universities (contrast with the Ottawa higher civil service). However, six (60% of those taking university degrees) might be

TABLE IV-13
UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED

Institution	Degree taken or level of study							
	Bachelor		Masters		Doctorate		Other graduate study	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alberta	8	80	3	30	1	10	..	..
Colorado (Boulder)	..	..	..	..	1	10	..	..
Colorado State	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10
Minnesota	..	..	..	..	1	10	..	..
Ontario Veterinary College	1	10	..	..	1	10	..	..
Toronto	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..

^aPercentages are of those attending university.

considered to have been superior students with three (30%) being prize or fellowship winners.¹⁰

As to the financing of their higher education, three (30% of these with higher education) did so entirely by their own efforts and another three (30%) financed at least part of it themselves.

Looking to the holding of elected office in school and university organizations for evidence of some early development of political skills may not be particularly meaningful.¹¹ However, the numbers holding such elected office are indicated in Table IV-14. Two (12%) held office at the high school level; some 50% of those attending university held some office.

TABLE IV-14

ELECTED OFFICE IN ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOL,
UNIVERSITY, AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS^a

Office	Type of Institution			
	Secondary School		University	
	No.	%	No.	%
Held elected office in one organization	1	6	3	18
Held elected office in two organizations	1	6	1	6
Held elected office in three or more organizations	..	..	1	6
Total	2	12	5 ^b	29

^aThe period examined is that when the subject would normally be in these institutions given regular progression through grade.

^bOne deputy held office at both high school and university.

Looking to offices that ranged over the entire student body, the two deputies (12%) who held office at high school were both vice-presidents of their students' union, the one at Crescent Heights High School in Calgary under Mr. Aberhart and the other in a small Alberta high school at the same time that a future Alberta Social Credit cabinet minister was students' union president. At the university level, one deputy was president of the students' union (Ontario Veterinary College).

Of the other offices held at the university level, it is of interest that two held office in fraternities (Delta Kappa Epsilon; Phi Delta Theta)--no other deputies belonged to fraternities. None held office in student political parties.

Political and Governmental Activity of Parents

Based on the deputies evaluation of their parents' interest,¹² some 12 (70%)¹³ were raised in homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in following political events, 11 (65%) had at least one parent who was a member of a political party or a strong party identifier, and in seven cases (41%) at least one parent engaged in some political activity.¹⁴ (See Tables IV-15 and IV-16). None, however, held elected political office above the municipal level though one mother held provincial and national office in a political party (Liberal) and the father of another was asked to stand for election to the Ontario legislature (also Liberal). None engaged in activity for the Social Credit party. The jurisdictions in which they were principally active were: Ontario in one case, Alberta in five cases, and Britain in one case.

TABLE IV-15

PARENTAL INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS--PARENTAL
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Interest and Activity	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events	8	47	4	24	12	70
Some political activity	6	35	1	6	7	41
Some party activity	5	29	1	6	6	35
Party office	1	6	1	6	2	12
Elected political office	2	12	1	6	3	18
Party office and elected political office	..	..	1	6	1	6
Non-elected governmental service	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some governmental	..	..	..	..	..	..
Career or substantial term	2	16	..	..	2	16

Looking to earlier generations and relations contemporary to the parents for further evidence of political family background, it was found that three deputies (18%) reported maternal grandfathers who were politically active.¹⁵ In two of these cases a member of the parent generation also engaged in some political activity so we can speak of two families (12%) as having two generations of some degree of known political activism. Other relations, uncles, contemporaries of the parents,¹⁶ were also reported as having engaged in some political activity (in Ontario, Scotland, and the United States) but none held elected office above the municipal level. This involved four families, three of these being the same families as those where a parent or parents had engaged in some political activity.

It might be expected from the above, then, that in seven cases (41%) political activity might appear to the deputies to have acquired a degree of legitimacy because of the activity of the parents, and to have been reinforced in five of these cases (71%) by activity of other relations. The number of cases where activity might have acquired legitimacy might be extended to nine or 53% if we include those instances where other relations engaged in political activity but the parent/s did not.

Turning to the matter of party identification, 11 (65%) of the deputies came from homes where at least one parent, while the deputy was growing up, was either a member of a political party or strongly identified with a political party in the Anglo-American political system and in four cases (24%) both parents strongly identified. There were no instances reported of conflict in identification within the family. In terms of identification

with Canadian political parties, the figure is 10 or 59%. The parties are shown in Table IV-16. It should be noted that of the deputies under 21 in 1935, seven or 41%, only one came from a family where a parent identified with the Social Credit party.¹⁷

TABLE IV-16
PARTIES OF MEMBERSHIP OR IDENTIFICATION

Party	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada						
Conservative	1	6	1	6	2	12
Liberal	2	12	3	18	5	29
Social Credit	1 ^a	6	..	..	1	6
United Farmers of Alberta	2 ^b	12	..	..	2	12
Subtotal	6	35	4	24	10	59
Britain						
Labour	1	6	..	..	1	6
Total	7	42	4	24	11	65

^aParent switched allegiance from U.F.A. to Social Credit when deputy was 14.

^bU.F.A. did not disappear as a party until the deputies reached adulthood; one parent then became a Liberal, the other a Social Crediter.

Note:

No instances of split family identification were reported.

With respect to family background of non-elected governmental service (see Tables IV-3 and IV-15), two deputies (12%) could be termed second generation public servants, having been raised in homes where the father was a relatively minor Alberta public servant. In two other families an uncle was reported as having been a government servant (in Ontario in one

case and in Alberta in the other). The one uncle held but minor station but the other was an Alberta deputy minister, and this deputy is reported as having been a significant factor in the present deputy's decision to enter governmental service. It would seem, then, that in three cases (18%) there was some rather direct background of non-elected governmental service, though the total number of families with some background of non-elected service would appear to be four or 24%.¹⁸ Two of the families combined some background of political and non-elected governmental activity.

Adult Activity

Having considered the origins, if you will, of the deputies, suggesting something of the formative influence upon them, we turn now to an examination of certain selected areas of adult activity and experience.

Marital status: the wife

All deputies married and all became family men. What influence this may have had on them it is impossible to determine but to the extent that the wife brought significantly different elements of background to the marriage this could be considered as modifying the background of the deputies. The best that can be done here is to set out the major areas where significant differences seem evident (see Table IV-17).

We earlier noted that the deputies were overwhelmingly British in ethnic origin. In six cases (35%) they took wives of differing ethnic background, five wives being of European extraction (2 German, 2 Scandinavian, 1 Russian) and one of French-Canadian. In two instances the wife knew the language of her ancestors (1 Russian, 1 French-Canadian), though in all

TABLE IV-17

AREAS WHERE THE BACKGROUND OF THE WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED
SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THAT OF THE DEPUTY

Areas of Difference	No.	%
Ethnic origin ^a	6	35
Religion	2	12
Catholic/Protestant difference.....2		
Significantly different Protestant denomination ^b.....0		
Education	10	59
Level of formal education ^c.....5		
Type of education ^d.....5		
Father's occupation ^e	9 _f	53
Where raised	6 _f	35
Country.....1		
Community.....7		

^aBased on the first male ancestor to come to North America. However, where the husband and wife technically differed in origin as measured through the male line, being of differing non-British ethnic origin, but where they were raised in English speaking homes and the families had been three generations or more in North America, the ethnic difference was not taken as being significant. Similarly, if one of the partners was of British ethnic origin and the other non-British, but the non-British partner was raised in an English speaking home and the family had been three generations or more in North America, the difference in ethnic origin was not taken as being significant.

^bMeans difference between an established church and a sect or minor denomination.

^cMeans difference between levels (elementary, secondary, university) and not within levels.

^dMeans state vs. private education; Catholic vs. Protestant.

^eDifference measured in terms of categories of occupation, e.g. professional vs. farm.

^fAdjusted to eliminate double counting.

instances the wives were raised in North America, and all but one in Canada. In one case a Catholic deputy took a Protestant wife and in another case the reverse obtained. With respect to education, in no case did the level of education of the wife exceed that of the husband. In two cases (12%) the wife brought a private school education to the marriage (in one case the wife attended the elite Bishop Strachan school in Toronto). Based upon the occupation of the wife's father, there is little evidence to suggest that any of the deputies acquired upward social mobility through the wife.¹⁹ In only one case was the wife raised in a different country than her husband (the United States vs. Canada). In two cases the wife came from a farm background while the deputy was urban raised while in five cases (29%) the wife brought an urban background, in one case a large city background, to deputies who were substantially farm or small town raised. The wives, where employed before and/or after marriage, followed the usual female occupations.²⁰

TABLE IV-18

NUMBER OF MEASURES ON WHICH WIFE/HUSBAND
DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE DEPUTY

Measures	No.	%
None	1	6
One	7	41
Two	3	18
Three or more	6	35

Military Service

Some six (35%) of the deputies saw military service, all in World War II, the principal features of which are summarized in Table IV-19.²¹

TABLE IV-19
MILITARY SERVICE

Service	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number having military service	6	35	100
Rank on discharge			
Private	1	6	17
N.C.O.	1	6	17
Commission	4	24	66
Overseas service (including U.K. only)	3	18	50
Gallantry awards/other recognition	..	..	..
Recognition of civilian services related to the war effort	..	..	..

^aPercentage of total member of deputies.

^bPercentage of the number of deputies having military service.

If rank (the highest rank was Captain, using army terminology) and honours (none other than the normal service medals were received) are to be considered as marks of distinction, then none of the deputies saw distinguished service. Unfortunately we are in no position to measure the impact that war may have had on the personalities involved.²² Of those who did not see military service, 18% were engaged in war related activities²³ and 82% were in the employ of the province of Alberta or its agencies. None indicated any conscientious objection to the war.

Adult Religious Activity

There was some change in both church affiliation and the degree of church activity of the deputies during adulthood. As will be seen in Tables IV-20 and IV-21, one deputy (6%) changed his religious affiliation and two (12%) ceased to have formal association with any church. The deputy who changed his affiliation moved from the Presbyterian to the Catholic church.²⁴ There was no movement into what we earlier referred to as "status" churches.

TABLE IV-20
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	4	24	3	18
Mormon	1	6	1	6
Presbyterian	2	12	1	6
Roman Catholic	2	12	3	18
United Church of Canada	8	47	7	41
None	..	..	2	12

In addition, however, questions relating to church activity (the results of which are summarized in Table IV-21) indicate that, besides the two (12%) who dropped all church affiliation, the affiliation of three (18%) became purely nominal. Some five or 29%, then, either rejected organized religion as adults or by 1967 engaged in no church activity.²⁵ By 1967, in contrast to the pattern during youth, only seven or 41% attended church regularly.²⁶ Among the 41%, however, were three who, in terms of organizational activity, might be described as "strong

church laymen."²⁷ All church activity was of a "conventional" type; none of the deputies having engaged in lay preaching, etc.

TABLE IV-21
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Attendance				
Non-attendance	..	..	5	29
Irregular attendance	2	12	5	29
Regular attendance ^a	15	88	7	41
Some church organizational activity	9	53	5	29
Other activity ^b	..	..	..	..

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

Organizational Activity

All but one of the deputies engaged in some organizational activity at some point during adulthood and, as will be seen in Table IV-22, 15 (88%) at some time held elected office in at least one organization.

TABLE IV-22
NUMBER ENGAGING IN SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND
HOLDING ELECTED ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE

Activity	No.	%
Engaged in some organizational activity	16	94
Held elected organizational office	15	88
One organization	6	35
Two organizations	3	18
Three organizations	3	18
Four or more organizations	3	18

The types of organizations are indicated in Table IV-23, the principal ones being social/recreational, professional, and community service.²⁸

TABLE IV-23

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTED OFFICE

Type	Membership		Elected Office	
	No.	%	No.	%
Social/recreational	10	59	2	12
Professional	10	59	8	48
Community Service	9	53	7	42
Service Clubs	4	24	3	18
Union (civil service)	3	18	1	6
Cultural	3	18	1	6
Fraternal	2	12	1	6
Business	1	6	..	..
Miscellaneous	1	6	1	6

Some 59% of the deputies belonged to social/recreational organizations. These, with one exception, were Edmonton clubs, the bulk of which were joined after the deputies reached deputy rank (there was an increase in membership from three to nine).²⁹ As to the nature of these clubs,³⁰ nearly all can be considered to be of the middle class business and professional type but at least one (The Mayfair Golf and Country Club) in which two deputies (12%) claimed membership (both became members before becoming deputy ministers), is an exclusive club within Edmonton society.³¹ It is to be noted that the cabinet ministers, though all but one were year round residents of Edmonton, did not belong to the same social organizations as the deputies. There seems to have been no club on the provincial scene comparable to the Rideau Club in Ottawa where cabinet ministers, senior

civil servants, diplomats, prominent journalists, etc., mutually exchange pleasantries, nor to the Five-Lakes Fishing Club of the senior federal bureaucrat.³²

As to the other two principal categories of organizational membership, 59% of the deputies were at some time members of professional organizations and 53% of community service organizations. The professional organizations covered a considerable range of areas of professional activity. The only area where there was some concentration of membership was in agricultural associations: three deputies or 18% claimed membership in them. Approximately half of the deputies held office at some point in professional organizations and 24% were very active holding office beyond the local level (one was instrumental in the formation of the College of General Practice before entering government service). The community service activity was very largely of the boy scout, community league, home and school association type, and the period of association generally corresponded with the growing up of the family.

With respect to the other categories of association, service club membership was claimed by four or 24%. In two cases membership was brief and early in career. Only two were quite active, but only one while a deputy. One of these latter two was also involved with the Junior Chamber of Commerce, but not while in government service. Civil service union membership, claimed by three or 18%, was largely nominal except in one case (he was involved with the professional association).

It is to be observed that, though three or 18% belonged to professional agricultural associations, none belonged to farm or cooperative organizations.

Though 35% were veterans, none belonged to the Royal Canadian Legion. Only one deputy had been a member of the Alberta Teachers' Association and that was early in career. Only one deputy was active in a fraternal organization, the Knights of Columbus, but not while holding deputy rank. None of the deputies were members of ethnic organizations nor had been members of trade unions.

In the case of the elected officials we tried to determine how active they had been in organizations prior to their election. For the most part there is no comparable bench-mark for the deputies except for the two (12%) who, as will be noted below, engaged in some political activity before entry into government service. In the one case the deputy was very active in a service club and in professional activity (elected office, promotion of new activities beyond the local level); for the other there was no similar activity. Both were professional men in an Alberta urban centre.

Political activity

(a) the deputies

The deputies indicated that their first interest in following political events at some level of government as opposed to participation, developed at the following periods in their lives:³³

TABLE IV-24

FIRST INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT

When	No.	%
As long as can remember	5	29
Secondary school or age equivalent	6	35
Higher or post-secondary school or age equivalent	1	6
Adulthood	5	29

None, however, indicated an early ambition to enter political life nor to follow in the footsteps of any well known political or governmental figure, though, as will be seen, some political activity in a few cases did emerge with adulthood.

Two deputies (12%) engaged in some political activity prior to entry into government service.³⁴ In the one case the deputy seems to have become involved through association with others, not coming from a family with a background of political activity, but in the other the deputy represents a third generation of political involvement. While neither held students' union position in school or university, both held elected office in university organizations. Both engaged in party activity but neither sought elected political office. One was, however, approached to stand for the provincial legislature. Neither was involved with the Social Credit party. All activity was in Alberta.³⁵ The nature of the activity is summarized in the usual tables (see Tables IV-25, IV-26, IV-27, and IV-28).

TABLE IV-25

POLITICAL ACTIVITY PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Activity	No.	%
None	15	88
Some political activity	2	12
Some party activity	2	12
Party office	1	6
Elected political office	..	..
Party office and elected political office	..	..
Other	..	..

TABLE IV-26
NATURE OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Nature of Activity	Age									
	Under 19	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total			
	No. % ^a	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %			
Party activity (including youth organization)	2 100	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	2 100		
Standing for local government office			
Standing for provincial government office			
Standing for federal government office			
Other			
Total	2 100	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	2 100		

^aPercentages are of the group that engaged in some political activity.

TABLE IV-27
YEAR OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Year of Activity	Age													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Prior to 1930
1930-1935	1	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50
1936-1939
1940-1943
1944-1947
1948-1951
1952-1954	1	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50
1955-1958
1959-1962
1963-1967
Total	2	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	100

^aPercentages are of the group that engaged in some political activity.

TABLE IV-28.
PARTIES OF SOMETIME ACTIVITY

Party	Party of First Activity		Party of Final or Present Activity	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%
Conservative
C.C.F./N.D.P.
Liberal	2	100	2	100
Social Credit
U.F.A.
Other

^aPercentages are of the group that engaged in political activity.

At first glance it may seem surprising, given the family backgrounds of interest and political participation (see Table IV-15) that only 12% of the deputies should have engaged in political activity. It is not so surprising, however, when it is considered that 82% of the deputies entered government service under the age of 35 (see Table IV-34), which would generally preclude overt political activity in the sense of seeking office, etc. Further, when the political activity of brothers and sisters is considered (see Table IV-31) it will be seen that the total number of families that engaged in some political activity is more like 35%.

Turning to the matter of the deputies voting patterns, their stated positions are summarized in Tables IV-29 and IV-30. Perhaps the most interesting feature in these findings is the difference in voting pattern federally and provincially in 11 (65%) of the cases. That only one deputy should vote Social Credit regularly federally as opposed to 10 (59%) more often than not provincially may reflect an identification of the deputies

TABLE IV-29

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour	Federally		Provincially	
	No.	%	No.	%
Independent	9	53	6	35
Votes one party more often than not	3	18	2	12
Regularly votes one party	5	29	8	47
Declined to answer	..	..	..	..
Special case	..	..	1	6

Note:

Of the three deputies who showed some reluctance to discuss their political behaviour two indicated that they were independent voters federally and provincially while the other claimed to be independent federally but a regular supporter of one party provincially.

TABLE IV-30

PARTIES VOTED FOR WHERE VOTED ONE PARTY MORE OFTEN THAN NOT

Party	Federally		Provincially	
	No.	%	No.	%
Conservative	2	12	..	..
Liberal	5	29	..	..
C.C.F./N.D.P.	..	..	..	..
Social Credit	1	6	10	59
Independent	9	53	6	35
Special case	..	..	1	6
Undisclosed	..	..	..	..

with the policies of the provincial government which many have served, in one capacity or another, for so long (see Table IV-37 outlining length of service). This is perhaps supported by the finding that six of the 10 (60%), all of whom entered provincial government service after 1935, did not vote

Social Credit on entry into government service. On the other hand, three (30%) indicated voting Social Credit since 1935, and one mentioned the influence of the Aberhart broadcasts.³⁶

(b) brothers and sisters

At this point it would seem appropriate to consider the extent to which brothers and sisters of the deputies, considered on the basis of family units, assuming that the members of each unit were raised in the same general environment, engaged in political activity.³⁷ Table IV-31 summarizes the results.³⁸

TABLE IV-31

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Activity	Families	
	No.	%
Only child	..	..
One or more brothers and/or sisters engaged in some political activity	4	24
One or more brothers and/or sisters held elected political office	1	6
Unknown	..	..

Cast in terms of families, this means that members of four families additional to those of the two deputies already mentioned, engaged in some political activity; in total 35% of the families involved. None of the individuals held elected office above the municipal level; all but one were active in Canada (Alberta and Ontario);³⁹ none were said to be Social Crediters.⁴⁰

(c) the wife

In looking at the political activity of the wives of elected officials it was attempted to determine to what extent the politicians had married wives with a strong interest in following political affairs at some level, to determine to what extent wives had engaged in political activity on their own, and to determine to what extent political interest and activity developed during marriage out of their husband's involvement. In the case of the wives of permanent government officials, while an increase in the level of interest might be expected, the husband's position would likely preclude actual political activity, particularly since 82% of the husbands entered government service under age 35.

Three of the wives (18%) came from families where one of the parents engaged in some political activity. None of the parents held elected office above the municipal level though two were very active in a political party at the constituency level and one of these was an unsuccessful candidate for office at all three levels.⁴¹ Two engaged in their activity in Alberta and one in Saskatchewan. None were active for the Social Credit party.⁴² One parent was a career municipal government employee in Alberta.

As will be seen in the Table IV-32, a considerable proportion of the wives had more than average interest in following political events at some level prior to marriage and the total with such interest remained quite constant over time. Two wives (12%) engaged in political activity and these were the wives of the deputies noted earlier as having been politically involved. The one, the daughter of the unsuccessful candidate, was active in her own right before marriage. Interestingly this was for the Conservative

party though her future husband had been involved with the Liberal party. His activity had ceased, and he was in provincial government employ, at the time of marriage. In the other case, the wife's activity, though not interest, came after marriage. It was for the same party as her husband and seems to have been partly a result of her husband's involvement.⁴³ Neither of her parents had been politically active. There is little evidence to suggest, then, that the wife was a factor leading either of the two deputies to become politically involved.

TABLE IV-32

SPOUSE'S INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY

Political Interest and Activity	Before Marriage		After Marriage		Number of Individuals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events at some level	10	59	11	65	11	65
Some party activity	1	6	1	6	2	12
Party office	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some elected political office	..	..	..	..	..	..
Party activity and elected office	..	..	..	..	..	..
Some non-elected governmental office	2	12	2	12	3	18

Non-elected Governmental Service

(a) the deputies

As already noted, 82% of the deputies were either Alberta born or raised, are native sons. The range of age on entry into Alberta governmental service (either department or agency) was from 17 to 47, with the average age being 29, and with 94% entering at age 35 or under. Three (18%) entered prior to the election of Social Credit in 1935; the rest (82%) have known only a Social Credit government as employer while in Alberta service (35% entered under the premiership of William Aberhart; 47% under Premier Manning). See Tables IV-33 and IV-34.

The occupations pursued by the deputies prior to entry into Alberta government service are indicated in Table IV-35.

Perhaps the most significant feature of occupational background (ignoring military and essential war service) is that almost half (eight or 47%) of the deputies effectively knew only government employment at some level or jurisdiction in their careers. The findings with respect to principal occupation, however, cannot be taken to represent the total experience of the deputies. One ought, for example, to include, among other things, the experience of the formative years. There, particularly, an agricultural background was more extensively represented. (It will be recalled that 35% came from farm homes).⁴⁴ It should be pointed out that, in addition to the deputy whose principal occupation was that of a teacher before entry, some two deputies (both of whom knew little other than government employment) did teach school for a period of at least one year very early in career, for a total of 18% with some direct

TABLE IV-33

AGE WHEN CAME TO ALBERTA AND AGE AT ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Age When Came to Alberta	Age at Entry Into Alberta Government Service ^a													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55 ⁺		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Albertan by birth	1	6	1	6	6	35	1	6	1	6	..	..	10	59
Under 7	..	..	2	12	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	4	24
7-18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19-24	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
25-34	..	..	..	..	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12
35-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55 ⁺
Total	1	6	3	18	10	59	2 ^b	12	1	6	..	..	17	100

^a"Age at entry" means age at entry into the employ of any Alberta provincial government agency.

^bBoth deputies were 35 on entry.

TABLE IV-34
YEAR AND AGE AT ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Year of Entry	Age at Entry Into Alberta Government Service ^a													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55 ⁺		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Prior to 1930	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12
1930-35	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
1936-40	3	18	1	6	..	..	..	..	4	24
1941-45	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	2	12
1946-50	1	6	5	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	35
1951-55	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
1956-60
1961-65	1	6	..	..	1	6
1966 ⁺
Total	1	6	3	18	10	59	2 ^b	12	1	6	..	..	17	100

^a"Age at entry" means age at entry into the employ of any Alberta provincial government agency.

^bBoth deputies were 35 on entry.

TABLE IV-35

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Occupation	Level of Education																	
	Elementary		9-11		12-13		Some University		University Degree		Normal School		Technical School		Religious College		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	6	1	6	..	..	3	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	29
Government service ^a	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12
Professional/executive	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Officer
Business
Clerk/bookkeeper	2	12	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	18
Supervisory	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Professional/Semi-Professional
Teacher
Lawyer	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^b	6
Doctor	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Farmer	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Other/various	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	2	12	5	29	..	..	10	59	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	100

^a"Government service" means employment by another level of government or jurisdiction. Two deputies were federal employees; one the employee of another provincial government.

^bThree others had some teaching experience at some level, all in the 1930's. Two taught school briefly before proceeding to higher education. One taught at The University of Alberta while at the same time being a provincial government employee.

association with teaching. Some two deputies (12%) had some brief direct association with labour, both having been labourers for from one to two years during the depression. None, however, would fit into the category of having been small businessmen.⁴⁵

As to the principal factors leading to entry into government service, they are summarized in Table IV-36.⁴⁶

TABLE IV-36
PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Reasons	No.	%
Unplanned, circumstances at time led to apply	5	29
The Depression	4 ^a	24
Persuaded/influenced by elected or non-elected official	3	18
Opportunity to use education/training/challenge/service	2	12
Security/financial betterment	2	12
Unclassified	1	6

^aOne deputy was unemployed for from 6 to 7 years during the depression; another, a qualified engineer, spent part of 2 years shovelling coal.

Note:

There were important subsidiary reasons stated: challenge/service in 3 cases (18%), health in 2 cases (12%), persuasion in 2 cases (12%), security in 1 case (6%).

It would seem that none of the deputies planned early in life to become government servants nor specifically to prepare themselves for such service, this though four (24%), perhaps five, came from families that had some background of non-elected government service. A high

proportion entered government service as a result of a particular combination of circumstances at a particular point in life. In part there is a parallel in some cases with some of the elected officials in that the depression and the persuasive force of others brought some into government service (though not, in the case of the deputies, the charisma of Mr. Aberhart).⁴⁷

As to the careers of the deputies, the range in age at appointment to deputy rank was between 35 and 59 with the average age being 46. This followed Alberta government service ranging from 4 to 28 years with the average being 19 years. Thirteen or 76% did not reach deputy rank until after at least 15 years service. This, and other factors, would indicate that a very high proportion were career civil servants on appointment to deputy rank.

TABLE IV-37

YEARS OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE ON APPOINTMENT AS DEPUTY HEAD AND AGE

Years of Service	Age							
	35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None (direct appointment)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 or under	1	6	1	6	..	..	2	12
6-10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11-15	1	6	1	6	..	..	2	12
16-20	2	12	1	6	..	..	3	18
20+	3	18	3	18	4	24	10	59
Total	7	41	6	35	4	24	17	100

Before proceeding to explore this latter point a little further, it might also be observed that the deputies do not seem to have served in many departments. Technically the number of departments and agencies of service is as follows:

TABLE IV-38

NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS/AGENCIES IN WHICH SERVED

Service	No.	%
One department/agency	7	41
Two departments/agencies	8	47
Three departments/agencies	2	12

However, if the above is corrected to exclude service in another department/agency where it constitutes less than 10% of total service, and to count as service in one department changes which followed from the splitting or reconstruction of an existing department, Table IV-38 would appear as follows:

TABLE IV-39

NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS/AGENCIES IN WHICH SERVED (redefined)

Service	No.	%
One department/agency	12	71
Two departments/agencies	5	29
Three departments/agencies	..	..

There is little evidence to suggest, then, that there was any central planning of careers of promising officials, attempts to give them a breadth of experience, or that service in a particular office or position was part of the

process to deputy rank.

While no attempt was made pointedly to determine whether the deputies were political appointees, the evidence available regarding their careers would suggest that most have not been.⁴⁸ A high proportion, at the time of the interviews, were fairly recent appointees (see Table IV-40).

TABLE IV-40
YEAR OF APPOINTMENT AS DEPUTY HEAD

Year	No.	%
1946-50	1	6
1951-55	2	12
1956-60	4	24
1961-66	5	29
1966+	5	29

Eighty two per cent were appointed by the Manning government since 1958 and over half (53%) since 1965. It might reasonably be argued that a government long in office, no longer really talking in the monetary reform terms of the 1930's,⁴⁹ often characterized as essentially conservative, chose to appoint as deputies individuals competent in the various departmental areas rather than individuals marked for "strictly political" services.

(b) brothers and sisters

We have seen that in 12% of the cases the deputies came from families where the father was a non-elected governmental employee of minor station (though we suggested that 18% to 24% of the families had some direct background of non-elected service), and that none of the deputies specifically

planned on a non-elected career. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that a considerable number of the brothers and sisters of the deputies also became non-elected governmental employees.

TABLE IV-41

NON-ELECTED GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Service	Families	
	No.	%
Only child	..	..
One or more brothers and/or sisters held non-elected governmental office		
Career or substantial term ^a	9 ^b	54
Non-career	3 ^b	18
Unknown	..	..

^aSubstantial term means 10 years or more.

^bLongest service was 4 years.

Of those who became career or substantial term employees, four (44%) were employed by the federal government or its agencies, one (11%) by an Alberta government agency, and the remainder (four or 44%) were municipal officials or employees (one in England; the rest in Alberta). While, at the time of the interviews, some held professional or executive level appointments, only one held a senior executive level appointment. The senior level appointment was held by a brother in an Alberta government agency.⁵⁰

(c) the wife

None of the deputies mentioned the wife as a factor in seeking government employment. One was the daughter of a career local government employee

(fire department) and a government employee herself. Three other wives saw some non-elected governmental service but their husbands were already in government employ at the time of marriage.

The Next Generation

We turn now to the political and governmental activity of the children and where it might be expected, in light of the careers of the fathers, that some trend toward government service on the part of the children might be evident. Confining ourselves, as before, to family units,⁵¹ and to those families having children over 18 years of age, Table IV-42 summarizes the activity.⁵²

TABLE IV-42
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN
(over 18)
BY FAMILY

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number of families with children over 18	10	59	100
Families with children over 18 where one or more engaged in some political activity	..	..	..
Families with children over 18 where one or more held non-elected governmental office			
Short-term	2	12	20
Substantial term or career	..	..	..

^aPercentage is of total number of families.

^bPercentage is of total number of families with children over 18.

Political activity, then, appears to have declined from generation to generation (40% in the grandparent generation having engaged in some activity,

20% of the deputies, none of the children). Whether political activity might develop in the future is a matter for speculation; the children at time of writing were under 35, and circumstances could produce some. However, in the fathers' judgement little is expected to develop.⁵³ Only one son was thought likely to engage in some political activity in the future. In two other cases, two other families (20%), one member was judged to have more than average interest in political events, but there was no indication that political activity was being contemplated.⁵⁴ In none of the families of possible activity or interest did the deputy engage in any political activity. However, in the case of possible activity there was some family political activity in the grandparent generation. As to the two families where a member was reported to have more than average interest, in the one family there was some political activity in the grandparent generation and in the other some political activity in the great grandparent generation.

As to non-elected governmental service, as noted, two families (20%) had a member who was in government employ for a certain period (one federally; one provincially; service did not exceed two years). Perhaps surprisingly, however, no family members were judged as planning a career of non-elected service.

FOOTNOTES

¹The individuals involved were: the deputy ministers of Agriculture, Education, Health, Highways, Industry and Development, Labour, Lands and Forests, Mines and Minerals, Municipal Affairs, Public Welfare, Public Works, and Youth, and also the Clerk of the Executive Council, the Deputy Attorney General, the Deputy Provincial Secretary, the Deputy Provincial Treasurer, and the Public Service Commissioner. The Public Service Commissioner was included in the deputy minister category rather than that of the chairmen of boards, commissions, etc., because, on balance, the office seemed more akin to that of a permanent head of a regular department than to the head of an independent or quasi-independent commission. The case, however, is not overwhelming and it could have been included in the other category.

²If the mother's side of the family is similarly examined, there is not the same "ethnic purity". Two mothers (12%) were of German (Pennsylvania Dutch) extraction, one of Dutch (6%), and one mother was Swedish born though American raised (6%). Only in this last case was the language of the home in which the mother was raised non-English. Her own children, however, were to be raised in an English speaking home.

³It is of interest that the deputy from the seafaring family referred to a grandparent as having been shot on the sands of Dakar and to slavers as being part of the family background. It might also be noted that another deputy came from a family of ship's captains on the mother's side.

Though it is only of anecdotal interest, one deputy reported that his father took part in a gold rush in South Africa. As will be noted in Chapter V, the father of a board chairman took part in the Klondike gold rush.

⁴The deputy whose father was a south/central Alberta rancher has been excluded because the ranch was described as essentially "baronial" in style, and the deputy received his secondary education in a private school on Vancouver Island. However he did receive his public school education in a one room rural school so a case might be made for his inclusion as well.

⁵It should be noted, however, that one of the Protestant communities, located in Alberta, was unique for approximately half of the population was Mennonite.

⁶Those from Presbyterian families were 3, 10, 13 and 14 years of age respectively at church union; those from Methodist families were 5, 11, 12 and 15.

⁷The degrees taken (highest degree only indicated) were: 1 B.Sc. (Eng.), 1 M.Sc. (Eng.), 1 B.Comm., 1 B.Ed., 1 L.L.B., 1 B.Sc. (Ag), 1 D.V.M., 1 D.Ed., 1 M.D., 1 Ph.D. (Ag. Econ.).

⁸In the one case, physical disability led to attending the closest school which was state Protestant; in the other, the area contained no separate schools.

⁹Some six (35%) attended the typical one room North American school.

¹⁰One was a gold medalist in Veterinary Medicine; one a first class standing graduate and prize winner in History, subsequently earning a D.Ed.; one Engineering graduate taught for two years at The University of Alberta; the Ph.D. (Ag. Econ.) was a fellowship holder at Alberta and Minnesota; and two were just below first class standing in Engineering and Agriculture respectively.

¹¹Reservations in this regard were expressed earlier. See Chapter II, footnote 16.

¹²As noted earlier, though three (18%) of the deputies seemed to display some reluctance to talk about their own political interest, the same did not seem to obtain with respect to discussing the interest and activity of parents or other relations.

¹³This figure might be raised to 13 (76%) if the case is added of one deputy, whose parents had no more than average interest, but whose maternal grandfather was politically active. The deputy claims that the grandparent had considerable influence on him.

¹⁴The most interesting instance of political activity was the following: one deputy reported that his father, an activist for the British Liberal party, once boosted David Lloyd George out a window in order that the great Welshman might escape a hostile audience. Unfortunately this cannot be documented. It might also be noted that the parents of another deputy, both active in the Liberal party in Alberta, knew and were raised in the same area of Ontario as William Lyon Mackenzie King and seem never to have forgotten the experience. They were also reported as playing a role in the dispensation of party patronage (federal) in their area.

¹⁵One was a Liberal M.P. from Ontario, one an active Conservative party worker reported instrumental in helping to elect the first Premier Roblin of Manitoba, and one was a prominent Methodist clergyman, active in the C.C.F., and friend of Woodsworth and Coldwell. Though it is thought best not to identify the clergyman, it might be noted that he does receive brief mention in Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet In Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

¹⁶There were some instances of cousins being reported but we have confined ourselves to contemporaries of the parent generation. One, however, might be noted. He was, at the time of writing, a federal M.P. (Liberal) and a parliamentary secretary.

17 The range in age of these deputies was from 12 to 20 in 1935.

18 This figure might be raised to five (29%) for one deputy referred to his father's family as having a British tradition of public service in the army, church, and local government. Members of his mother's family served in India in the days of Empire. None of his relations, however, were strictly speaking civil servants.

In an additional two families the mother was a part-time governmental employee while the deputy was growing up. Both mothers held the position of secretary-treasurer of a rural school district.

19 The elite private school background of the one wife might suggest that she might have come from a higher social class position than her husband. The deputy, however, though without a private school education, was the son of a Toronto bank executive.

20 Teaching (12%); clerical/secretarial (54%); nursing (6%); dietician/home economist (12%); domestic (6%); none (12%).

21 All of the deputies would have been in the age bracket in 1939 eligible for military service though one was disabled and clearly ineligible on that ground. It is of interest that of those who did not see military service, eight (73% of those without service) volunteered an explanation indicating that they had either been rejected or frozen in their occupations.

22 Though hardly an indication of the impact of war on personality, one deputy, Ontario raised and educated, served with a southern Alberta regiment, and this may have been one factor among many in his decision to consider moving to Western Canada.

23 One was with Connaught Laboratories, Toronto; the other in explosives manufacture.

24 The deputy married a Roman Catholic.

25 Three had nothing, or virtually nothing, to do with organized religion as adults. Two, according to their comments during the interviews, seriously struggled with religious questions before rejecting organized religion.

26 This does not reflect the total pattern of activity during adulthood in all cases. Some 35% were at some point more active in the church than Table IV-21 indicates.

27 One of these was on the governing body of St. Stephen's College, the United Church theological college in Alberta. Another was on the national governing body of his church.

28 See Appendix IV-1 to this chapter for a listing of the actual organizations included in each category or type.

29 It would be unwise to attribute this increase in membership entirely, if at all, to a change in status bringing admission. One of the organizations joined by three of the deputies did not exist when they first reached deputy rank.

30 The organizations to which the deputies belong/ed were appraised as to the type of person normally admitted to membership by a panel thought knowledgeable as to the Edmonton social structure. The above assessment is based upon its evaluation.

31 One other deputy at one time belonged to an exclusive club. In his youth and early adulthood, through the family, he was a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in Toronto.

32 For something of the role of these two Ottawa clubs, see Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," Macleans, August 22, 1964, p. 33.

While there was no equivalent of the Five-Lakes Fishing Club, it should be recalled that the group of deputy ministers is relatively small, and the writer was given to understand that they seem to know each other well through day-to-day administration and through meeting formally from time to time.

33 It was expected that civil servants would be reluctant to talk about their political interest and activity. In fact, surprisingly, only three (18%) seemed to display such reluctance and even these did not refuse to answer questions outright but rather placed themselves in the position of indicating that they engaged in no political activity and were independent voters except for one who indicated regular support for a particular party at the provincial level. Whether such, in fact, is the pattern of their behaviour, we have no way of verifying. While what is recorded regarding the deputies political activity, etc., must be regarded with some caution and reservation, the deputies, as a group, and on balance, did seem prepared to supply a good deal of information as what follows will illustrate.

34 In addition, it might be noted that one deputy indicated that at one point prior to entry into government service he had very keen interest in politics though he was active for no party and stood for no office. He, however, lost one job (non-governmental) because of his political views. He came from a family of political activity in the grandparent generation.

³⁵It might be noted that one deputy seems to have been able to resist the Aberhart charisma for he was involved with the Liberal party in the momentous election of 1935. The other deputy did not engage in his first political activity until 1948.

³⁶It is an interesting comment on the provincial government and the deputies, given the disputes between the provincial government and the Liberal administration at Ottawa, particularly over Medicare which was a "hot issue" at the time of the interviews, that 29% of the deputies were prepared to indicate that they voted Liberal federally more often than not. It is also interesting that the provincial government was prepared to appoint to deputy minister rank two who were sometime active Liberals.

³⁷Each of the deputies had at least one brother, and all but one had at least one sister.

³⁸In dealing with the behaviour of brothers and sisters, there is always the problem of members of a family losing track of each other. However, the deputies generally thought that they would know if brothers and sisters had been politically active, particularly if their brothers and sisters had sought office. The same did not apply, however, with respect to the voting behaviour of brothers and sisters.

³⁹The non-Canadian activity involved the sister of a deputy who was at one time active in the Labour party in Britain and was offered that party's nomination for the Commons. It is also of interest that a brother was actively involved with British trade unions.

⁴⁰This ought not to be interpreted as meaning that brothers and sisters of the deputies may not be regular Social Credit supporters; some deputies indicated that their brothers and sisters were.

⁴¹It is of interest that he stood twice for the federal house from Alberta for the Conservative party.

⁴²This is not to say that none of the wives of any of the deputies did not come from Social Credit families. Four families (24%) were reported with at least one parent who was known to be a Social Credit supporter.

⁴³Interestingly this wife's activity is reported to have continued to some degree even after her husband was a deputy. In the other case, the deputy, who was already, as noted, in Alberta government employ at the time of marriage, indicated that he made a point to see that his wife's political activity ceased.

44 The deputy whose principal occupation is shown as that of a farmer before entry into government service did not come from a farm home.

45 It may be of interest that the three deputies (18%) who were clerk/bookkeepers prior to entry into Alberta government service had been in the employ of chartered banks, trust companies, or brokerage houses, or some combination of these.

46 It is difficult to categorize the reasons why individuals might choose to enter government service. What has been done is to attempt to select the principal reason in each case though there may have been a number of subsidiary reasons involved; inevitably some distortion does result.

47 Two (12%) mentioned the same deputy minister as being important in getting them to consider government service.

48 In one case the evidence suggests that the appointment was political. However it would seem to have followed from the deputy's association with the minister and not to have been the result of activity for the Social Credit party. It should be pointed out that the deputy had high formal qualifications (university graduation, etc.) and some prior involvement with some of the principal groups with which the department would have to deal. Interestingly, the deputy was also one of the sometime active Liberals and had, according to his testimony, been approached, prior to his entry into government service, to stand for the legislature against the minister who was later to be responsible for his appointment to deputy rank. In another case, a deputy's initial appointment to government service may have been political, though again not the result of party activity but rather of association with the minister (not the same minister as the one referred to above). His appointment to deputy rank, however, was not until after many years of government service and does not appear to have been political. He, too, had high formal qualifications for office. In another case, the deputy, appointed at age 35, made it a point to explain that his was not a political appointment, that he was in government service, available, qualified (university), at the right time when a new operation was being set up.

49 In light of Social Credit's difficulties with the chartered banks in the 1930's, the writer was somewhat amused to find on the wall in the outer office of one of the senior deputy ministers the calendar of one of the leading federally incorporated banks and not of the province's "own bank," the Treasury Branch.

50 Though not within the scope of this study, it would be interesting to explore the relationships through brothers and sisters with other areas in the community. It was found, for example, in looking at the occupations of brothers and sisters (and their husbands) that the brothers include a

brother active in Edmonton trade unions, one who had been active in British trade unions, a publisher of an Alberta newspaper (city of 25,000), a university professor, the president of a prominent engineering firm, a senior executive of a Canadian (in name) oil company, and a brother-in-law who is president of an American oil company operative in Alberta and who is also an active Republican in the United States.

⁵¹This involved some 10 families. Assuming that only those children over 18 years of age constitute the family, then four (40%) of the families were all female, four (40%) all male, and 20% contained both sexes. The range in age of the children was from 19 to 35 with seven (70%) of the families having at least one member over 25. Seventy per cent of the families had at least one member who had completed university or was attending university (a slight increase from the parent generation where 60% of the fathers were university educated).

⁵²As noted previously, the information regarding the political activity of the children is based on the knowledge of the deputy in each case. It seems not unreasonable to assume that in most cases fathers would have heard if their children were politically active. However their judgement about the level of political interest of the children would have to be treated with more reservation.

⁵³The deputies were specifically asked whether there was any indication that any of their children might be contemplating political activity or governmental careers.

⁵⁴In all cases of activity and more than average interest the subjects were male. Expressed in terms of families with at least one male member, the percentage of interested families increases from 30% to 50%.

APPENDIX IV-1

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP

Type	No. ^a	%
Social/Recreational	10	59
Royal Glenora, Edmonton ^b — 5		
Mayfair Golf and Country Club, Edmonton— 2		
Windemere Golf and Country Club, Edmonton— 2		
Granite Curling Club, Edmonton— 1		
Edmonton Country Club— 1		
University of Alberta Faculty Club— 1		
Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto— 1		
Professional	10	59
Agricultural 3		
Agricultural Institute of Canada— 3		
Agricultural Institute of Alberta— 1		
Alberta Veterinary Medicine Assoc.— 1		
Canadian Veterinary Medicine Assoc.— 1		
American Veterinary Medicine Assoc.— 1		
Canadian Society of Rural Extention— 1		
Education 1		
Alberta Teachers' Association— 1		
Engineering 1		
Alberta Association of Professional Engineers— 1		
Engineering Institute of Canada— 1		
Law 1		
Alberta Law Society— 1		
Canadian Bar Association— 1		
Edmonton Bar Association— 1		
Medical 1		
Alberta Medical Assoc.— 1		
Canadian Public Health Assoc.— 1		
College of General Practice— 1		
Municipal Finance 1		
Assessors Association of U.S. and Canada— 1		
Municipal Finance Officers Assoc. of U.S. and Canada— 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

Type	No. ^a	%
Professional (continued)	10	59
Personnel 1		
Edmonton Personnel Officers Assoc.--- 1		
Public Personnel Assoc.--- 1		
Scientific 1		
Chemical Institute of Canada--- 1		
Community Service	9	53
Community Leagues, Edmonton ^b --- 7		
Home and School Assoc., Edmonton--- 3		
Scouts, Edmonton--- 2		
Central Volunteer Bureau, Edmonton--- 1		
Community Chest, Edmonton--- 1		
Service Clubs	4	24
Kiwans--- 3		
Edmonton(1)		
Kinsmen/K-Forty, Edmonton--- 1		
Union (civil service)	3	18
Civil Service Assoc. of Alberta--- 3		
Cultural	3	18
Canadian Club, Edmonton--- 3		
Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Edmonton--- 1		
Fraternal	2	12
Knights of Columbus, Edmonton--- 1		
Delta Kappa Epsilon--- 1		
Pi Delta Theta--- 1		
Business	1	6
Junior Chamber of Commerce, Edmonton--- 1		
Miscellaneous	1	6
University of Alberta Alumni Assoc.--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise significant. Where no place is indicated, place would be a town or village in Alberta.

CHAPTER V

THE BOARD CHAIRMEN

This chapter is devoted to the social background of the heads of boards, commissions, and public corporations of the province of Alberta holding office at January 1, 1967 (hereafter referred to as "the board chairmen") and involves some 18 individuals.¹ Information on the 18 was in all but one case drawn from personal interviews; in one case a questionnaire was used.

Family Background and Upbringing

Ethnic Origin

Traced through the father in each case, the chairmen are overwhelmingly (89%) of British ethnic origin (see Table V-1) with some 63% of these being no more than first generation Canadian.² While one chairman was of French Huguenot extraction, the family was at least fourth generation Canadian and the language of the home was English. In only one case was a significantly non Anglo-Saxon cultural background found, and that was Ukrainian.

Occupation of the Father

The occupation and education of the father when each chairman was growing up, and in a position of dependency upon the father, are further indicators of background. These factors are summarized in Table V-3. In all but one case the occupations were for the most part pursued in North America. All of the fathers were educated somewhere in the Anglo-American community with the exception of one who had no formal education and was raised in continental Europe.

TABLE V-1

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION CANADIAN^a

Ethnic Origin	Generation Canadian											Total		
	Born outside Canada		Born outside Canada but largely Canadian ^b raised		Generation									
	No.	%	No.	%	1		2		3		4		No.	%
British	2	11	2	11	7	39	3	17	2	11	..	..	16	89
French	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6
Ukrainian	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	2	11	2	11	8	44	3	17	2	11	1	6	18	100

^aBased on the ethnic origin of the first male ancestor to come to North America.

^b"Raised" defined as having spent the majority of years between birth and age 18 in Canada.

TABLE V-2
BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where Raised ^a											
	Canada		United States		Britain		Europe		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Canada	6	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	33
U.S.A.	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Britain	..	..	..	..	10	56	..	..	10	56
Europe	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6
Total	6 ^b	33	1	6	10	56	1	6	18	100		

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the father spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bTwo (11%) were raised in Ontario, one (6%) in Quebec, one (6%) in the Maritimes, and two (11%) in the West.

TABLE V-3

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION OF THE FATHER (when subject dependent on him)

Occupation	Education: Highest Grade Attended																		
	None		Some Elementary		Elementary		Some Secondary		Secondary		Some University		University		Unknown		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Federal civil servant: Officer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Municipal employee: Executive	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Business: Executive	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Officer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Supervisory	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Proprietor (small business)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Skilled manual Blacksmith	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Farmer	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	..	..	9	50	1	6	3	17	1	6	2	11	1	6	18	100	

^aSubsequently a business executive, president of an Alberta utility company, and holding substantial proprietary interest.

^bOne subsequently becomes chairman of an Alberta government board.

^cChairman indicated that he did not know the level of his father's education, but that the father was a qualified jeweller.

^dOne father had at one time been in the British customs service and also an appointed government employee in North Dakota.

Note:

The universities attended were Edinburgh, Cardiff, and London; two fathers had some private school education in Britain (non-elite schools); in one case the father died when the chairman was 12, in another when the chairman was 3, but farming reflects the background in which these chairmen were substantially raised.

The occupations might be grouped into the following principal categories: business (44%), farm (33%), and government employee (17%).³ Within the business category there was some range, but only in one case was there executive position or substantial proprietary interest (one father was a railway superintendent). While there was some range in the size of farm operations, none were really large farmers or ranchers, and at least half began as homestead operations. Perhaps two cases stand out as unique, and also as representing a considerable range in social position. One chairman was the son of an Ukrainian immigrant homesteader while the father of another, shown in Table V-3 as a municipal governmental employee at the executive level, came from a wealthy Welsh brewing family, though the church affiliation and education were non-elite.⁴

Birthplace and Community Where Raised

While 33% of the fathers were raised in Canada, 11% in the West, with one being raised in Alberta (see Table V-2), in the case of the chairmen 89% were substantially raised in Canada, 83% in the West, and eleven or 61% in Alberta (see Table V-4).

As indicated in Table V-5, at least eight (44%)⁴ of the chairmen were raised in a North American rural or rurally dependent town environment and exposed, we might reasonably assume, to rural or small town values.⁵ Over half (56%) were city raised, though in two cases the cities were only approximately 10,000 in population and in one case only was the city a large one (Vancouver). In one case a city upbringing was combined with a private school education (secondary) on Vancouver Island, while in another a rural upbringing was combined with some education in institutions run by members of the Greek Orthodox faith, one of them in Edmonton.

TABLE V-4

BIRTHPLACE OF SUBJECT AND WHERE RAISED

Birthplace	Where raised ^a																
	Maritimes		Quebec		Canada Ontario		West		Alberta		U.S.A.		Britain		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Canada	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maritimes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Quebec	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West (other than Alberta)	..	..	..	..	1	6	2	11	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alberta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U.S.A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 ^b	6	..	..	..	..	..
Britain	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6	..	..	1	6	3	17	..
Total	1	6	..	..	..	..	4	22	11	61	1	6	1	6	18	100	..

^a"Where raised" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18.

^bCame to Canada at age 13.

TABLE V-5

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED AND WHERE

Type of Community	Where ^a							
	Canada		U.S.A.		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rural	4	22	1	6	..	..	5	28
Village/town ^b	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
City	7	39	..	..	1	6	8	44
Large city ^c	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Some combination of above								
Rural/village/town	2	11	..	..	..	..	2	11
Rural/city	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Village/town/city	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Special case	1 ^d	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Total	16	89	1	6	1	6	18	100

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is that of the same period.

^bCommunities having a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities having a population exceeding 100,000.

^dCombines city background with private school education (secondary) on Vancouver Island.

TABLE V-6

TYPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY OR SMALL URBAN COMMUNITY IN WHICH RAISED
(where no consciousness of neighbourhood existed)

Type of Community	Where ^a					
	Canada		U.S.A.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	4	22	1	6	5	28
Largely non-British	1	6	..	..	1	6
Mixed	2	11	..	..	2	11
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	6	33	1	6	7	39
Largely Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	1	6	..	..	1	6

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

TABLE V-7

TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WHICH RAISED
(urban areas where a consciousness of neighbourhood did exist)

Type of Neighbourhood	Where ^a					
	Canada		Britain		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Ethnically</u>						
Largely British	9	50	1	6	10	56
Largely non-British	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mixed	..	..	..	..	..	..
<u>Religiously</u>						
Largely Protestant	8	44	1	6	9	50
Largely Catholic	1	6	..	..	1	6
Mixed	..	..	..	..	..	..
<u>By Class</u> ^b						
Upper Middle	2	11	..	..	2	11
Middle	7	39	1	6	8	44
Working	..	..	..	..	..	..

^a"Where" defined as the country or geographic area where the subject spent the majority of years between birth and age 18. The type of community is more narrowly defined within that period to that most representative of the period involved.

^bBased on the subject's evaluation, confirmed as far as possible by the subject's recollection of the occupations of his neighbours.

Tables V-6 and V-7 give some further indication of the nature of the community and neighbourhoods in which the chairmen grew up. At least 89% of the chairmen were raised in predominantly Protestant communities or neighbourhoods, with 83% of these being predominantly British in ethnic composition, the rural areas or small towns tending to be the more ethnically mixed. None of those raised in urban areas described themselves as coming from working class districts, though there was some range in the nature of the middle class districts described, as one might expect from the nature of the occupation of the father. Only one chairman referred to the family as always living in the best residential areas, though this would also seem true in the case of the chairman who was the son of a railway superintendent.

Religion

All but one of the chairmen were raised as Protestants (the exception was raised in the Greek Orthodox faith). The actual denominations are set out in Table V-8.

TABLE V-8
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	No.	%
Anglican	3	17
Christian Science	1	6
Greek Orthodox	1	6
Methodist	1 ^a	6
Presbyterian	5 ^b	28
United Church of Canada	7 ^c	39

^aAttended Methodist church because it was the only one in the area; father was Presbyterian and mother was Anglican.

^bOne chairman, having a Baptist mother, also attended the Baptist church.

^cOne chairman was 8, another 13, and another 16 at church union (1925); previous to that they were Presbyterian in two cases and Anglican in one.

None of the chairmen belonged to fundamentalist sects, though one was raised in what Mann would describe as a cult (Christian Science).⁶ It is not possible to determine the extent to which fundamentalist thought may have been part of the upbringing of the chairmen, though it could have formed part of the upbringing of those who attended the Methodist and Baptist churches,⁷ and perhaps the United Church in the early days following union. In today's terms, some 83% would have been raised in status churches (Anglican, Presbyterian, United), though the United Church may not have been so viewed in the early days following union.

Based on the subject's evaluation of the importance of religion to the parents, some 10 (56%) were raised in homes where at least one parent attached more than average importance to religion with 33% having at least one parent who was quite religious.⁸

TABLE V-9

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO PARENTS

(subject's evaluation)^a

Importance	One Parent		Both Parents	
	No.	%	No.	%
Non-religious	..	..	2	11
Below average	..	..	2	11
Average	3	17	1	6
More than average	2	11	2	11
Quite religious	5	28	1	6

^aWhere there is a difference in religious appreciation by the parents, the parent with the highest appreciation is taken as representative of the family.

None of the chairmen came from homes where a parent was a member of the professional clergy or engaged in lay preaching, though in one case a maternal grandparent was a Baptist minister. There is one unique case: one mother was a very active local leader in Christian Science.

Ninety-four per cent of the chairmen had some exposure to organized religion in youth but only 67% claimed regular church or Sunday school attendance.⁹ (It might be noted here, and as will be seen later, that only half of the chairmen claim regular church attendance today--1967).

TABLE V-10
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	No.	%
Attendance	1	6
Non-attendance	4	22
Irregular attendance	12	67
Regular attendance ^a	6	33
Some church organizational activity	6	33
Other activity ^b	1 ^c	6
Special case		

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

^cOne chairman was required to attend church services (Anglican) while a student at a private military school (secondary level). He had no church association before this nor has he had since.

With reference to Table V-10, it should be noted that in the one case of non-attendance, and the two of irregular, the chairmen had to go a considerable distance to church, and that this was a factor in their attendance pattern; all three coming from homes where at least one parent attached more

than average importance to religion. On the other hand, in four cases of regular attendance the parents attached no more than average importance to religion.

Education

With one exception, none of the chairmen received less than a grade 11 education, while nine or 50% took a university degree (see Table V-11). This is in contrast to the parent generation where 50% of the fathers had less than a secondary education and 11% were university graduates (see Table V-3).

Of those without a university education, three (38%) took some form of additional courses, while an additional two (25%) acquired a technical or professional qualification.¹⁰ Insofar as those with a university education are concerned, the tendency was to take specialized degrees,¹¹ with no particular specialization being dominant. Two of the graduates (22%) took doctorates (one in Engineering; one in Education).

As to the type of schools attended (see Table V-12), all received part of their education in state Protestant schools within the Anglo-American community with 89% receiving nearly all of their public schooling in such institutions. While only one received all of his education in a rural school, eight or 44%, as would be expected from the type of communities in which they were raised, received a significant part of their education in schools of the rural or small town type.¹² While two received some private school education, only one attended anything like an exclusive institution (secondary level only).¹³ Eighty-three per cent received all, or substantially all, of their public schooling in the Canadian West with

TABLE V-11
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Level	No.	%
Elementary	1	6
Grades 9-11	2 ^a	11
Grades 12-13	3	17
Some university	1 ^b	6
University degree	9	50
Some postgraduate study	..	..
Higher degrees	3 ^c	17
Technical school	1 ^d	6
Religious college (non-degree)	..	..
Normal school or teacher training	.. ^e	..
Other	1 ^f	6

^aGrade 11 in both cases.

^bOne year in Arts.

^cExcludes Law.

^dFollowing a grade 12 education.

^eTwo who took degrees attended normal school.

^fOne chairman took a C.A. following grade 11.

Note:

Three chairmen with grade 11 or 12 education took some form of additional courses.

TABLE V-12 .

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND WHERE

Type	Where educated ^a							
	Canada		Britain		U.S.A.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
State	14	78	1	6	1	6	16	89
Private (some or all)	2	11	..	..	..	..	2	11
Rural	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Village/town ^b	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6
City	7	39	1	6	..	..	8	44
Large city ^c	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Combination of rural and village/town	4	22	..	..	..	..	4	22
Combination of rural and city	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
Combination of village/ town and city	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other	2	11	..	..	..	..	2	11
Protestant	16 ^d	89	1	6	1	6	18	100
Catholic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

^aMajority of school years.

^bCommunities with a population of up to 10,000.

^cCommunities with a population exceeding 100,000.

^dOne chairman attended Ukrainian Orthodox colleges for part of his high school.

11 (61%) doing so in Alberta. The chairmen, however, did not complete their public schooling during the same time period (two or 11% did so during W.W. I; nine or 50% during the 1920's; four or 22% during the depression; and three or 17% during W.W. II) and the type of education provided would have changed somewhat during the total period involved as well as taking place, to a degree, within different jurisdictions.

As to the university or other non-secondary institutions attended, two chairmen (11%), both of whom subsequently took university degrees, attended the Edmonton Normal School. One chairman attended the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology in Calgary; another attended the Olds School of Agriculture before proceeding to university. Of the nine (50%) who took university degrees, some five (56%) received their undergraduate degrees from The University of Alberta in Edmonton;¹⁴ of those taking graduate degrees, two of the three took some, though not all, of their graduate study at Alberta. (For a catalogue of all the universities attended, see Table V-13). In total, then some nine (50%) of the chairmen received all, or virtually all, of their formal education in Alberta institutions while an additional three (17%) received a significant part of it in Alberta. Some four or 22% received virtually all of their formal education outside of Alberta.

Insofar as academic distinction is concerned, and again looking only at those with higher education for evidence of such distinction, four (44%) could be considered as having been superior students¹⁵ with two of these being fellowship winners. None, however, won the prestige awards of the period or studied at the great British universities, though those who took

TABLE V-13
UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED

Institution	Degree taken or level of study									
	Some University		Bachelor		Masters		Doctorate		Other graduate study	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alberta	1	10	5	50	2	20	..	..	..	..
British Columbia	3	30	1	10	..	..	..	..
Dalhousie	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	1	10	..	..
Stanford	1	10	..	..

^aPercentages in all cases are of those who attended university.

doctorates did so at what would likely be considered to be good American universities.

As to the financing of that education not provided by the state (other than elementary and secondary school), two (22%) financed it entirely by their own efforts and six (67%) partly by themselves. Of those with university education, one (11%) financed it entirely by himself.¹⁶

As to the holding of elected office in organizations in school and other educational institutions, Table V-14 summarizes this activity.¹⁷ It is to be noted that of those attending secondary school, six or 35% held some elected office; of those attending university or other institutions, some five or 46% held some elected office.¹⁸

Looking at those offices ranging over the entire student body, 67% of those holding office at the secondary school level held students' union

TABLE V-14

ELECTED OFFICE IN ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOL,
UNIVERSITY, AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS^a

Office	Type of Institution			
	Secondary School		University	
	No.	%	No.	%
Held elected office in one organization	4	22	..	..
Held elected office in two organizations	2	11	5	28
Held elected office in three or more organizations	..	..	..	..
Total	6	33	5	28

^aThe period examined is that when the subject would normally be in these institutions given regular progression through grade.

positions, but only one was a president. None of the schools were of the city or large city type. As to office in organizations in other educational institutions, meaning universities in all but one case, none held students' union positions. Of the five holding office at university, only two or 40% did so at both levels.

It should be noted that three (67% of university office holders) held office in fraternities (two in Delta Kappa Epsilon and one in Sigma Chi) and while none reported holding office in campus political parties one was very active in Tuxis parliament.¹⁹

Political and Governmental Activity of Parents

Based on the chairmen's evaluation of their parents' interest, some 14 or 78% were raised in homes where at least one parent had more than average

interest in following political events at some level, 12 or 67% had at least one parent who was either a member of a political party or identified with a political party in the Anglo-American system (if consideration is confined to Canadian parties the figure is 10 or 56%), and in seven cases (39%) at least one parent, while the chairman was living at home, engaged in some political activity though in one case this was only brief. None of the parent generation, however, held elected office above the municipal level though one was reported as having been urged to run for the North Dakota legislature; none held party office above the constituency level. None engaged in activity for the Social Credit party. In all but one case the political activity was in the Canadian West, while in four cases (22% of the parent generation, 57% of those engaging in some political activity) the activity was in Alberta.

TABLE V-15

PARENTAL INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS--PARENTAL
POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Interest and Activity	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events at some level	11	61	3	17	14	78
Some political activity	7	39	..	..	7	39
Some party activity	2	11	..	..	2	11
Party office	2	11	..	..	2	11
Elected political office	6	33	..	..	6	33
Party office and elected political office	1	6	..	..	1	6
Non-elected governmental service						
Some governmental	1	6	..	..	1	6
Career or substantial term	3	17	..	..	3 ^a	17

^aIn addition, one parent became chairman of an Alberta board when the son was 19.

Insofar as a tradition of political activity is concerned, none of the chairmen reported political activity to their knowledge in the grand-parent generation or earlier. However, there were other relations, uncles, contemporaries of the parents, who engaged in some political activity. In two cases this activity was in Alberta and in one case in England. None held elected office above the municipal level or party office above the constituency though one ran unsuccessfully as a Conservative for the Alberta legislature.²⁰ Through the uncles, three families are involved, two of which were not otherwise identified as having engaged in some political activity. It could be argued, then, that in six cases (33%), perhaps seven, political activity might have acquired some legitimacy for the chairmen through the activity of a parent. If the activity of other relatives (uncles) is included the number of families with some degree of political involvement is extended to eight (44%), perhaps nine, and the range of instances in which political activity might be considered legitimate perhaps thereby also extended, assuming that activity confers some degree of legitimacy.²¹

Turning to the matter of party identification, 12 (67%) of the chairmen came from homes where at least one parent, while the chairman was growing up, was either a member of political party or identified with a political party in the Anglo-American political system with in four cases (22%) both parents so identifying. The parties are shown in Table V-16. It should further be noted that of the chairmen under 21 in 1935, seven or 39%, none came from families where a parent identified with the Social Credit party.²²

With respect to the family background of non-elected governmental service, as indicated in Tables V-3 and V-15, three chairmen (17%) were raised in homes where the father was a governmental employee (two of the

TABLE V-16

PARTIES OF MEMBERSHIP OR IDENTIFICATION

Party	One Parent		Both		Families	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada						
Conservative	5	28	1	6	6	33
Liberal	1	6	..	..	1 ^a	6
United Farmers of Alberta	1	6	2	11	3 ^a	17
Subtotal	7	39	3	17	10	56
Britain						
Labour	..	..	1	6	1	6
U.S.A.						
Republican	1	6	..	..	1	6
Total	8	44	4	22	12	67

^aIn two cases U.F.A. did not disappear as a party until the chairmen reached adulthood; in one case the chairman was 12 in 1935. In two cases the parent/s formed no new allegiance on the demise of U.F.A.; in one case they reverted to the traditional family allegiance: Conservative. In the case of the chairmen who was 12, the family did not acquire a new party identification.

Note:

No instances of split family identification were reported.

federal government in Alberta and one of the municipality in Saskatchewan and Alberta). The one case, the equivalent of a city commissioner, is, however, a special one in that the father subsequently became an Alberta business executive with substantial proprietary interest, the son following the father into the firm. On the other hand, another father became chairman of an Alberta board when the son was 19, the occupation prior to this, aside from military service, being non-governmental. In one other case, though the principal occupation of the father was non-governmental while the

chairman was growing up, the grandfather was a police superintendent in England and the father had been a government employee in England and in North Dakota. In this case alone did the family combine political and non-elected governmental service. In the case of five families (28%), then, there was some background of non-elected governmental service. In addition, in the case of two families where there was some political activity, but no non-governmental, the father held a very minor judicial position, being a justice of the peace.²³

Adult Activity

We turn now from a consideration of those factors thought significant in the upbringing of the chairmen to an examination, as we have done with the other groups, of certain selected areas of adult activity and experience.

Marital Status: the wife

All the chairmen married and had families. To the extent that the wife brought significantly different elements of background to the marriage this could be considered as modifying the background of the chairmen. Our measures are such, however, that we cannot estimate such modification, if it took place, with any precision. As before, the best that can be done is to set out the major areas where there seem to be significant differences (see Tables V-17 and V-18).²⁴ The political background of the wife will be considered separately.

The following seem to be some of the more interesting features. While the overall Anglo-Saxon background of the group does not seem to have been significantly altered by marriage, two chairmen married wives of European

TABLE V-17

AREAS WHERE THE BACKGROUND OF THE WIFE/HUSBAND DIFFERED
SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THAT OF THE CHAIRMAN

Areas of Difference	No.	%
Ethnic origin ^a	2	11
Religion	2	11
Catholic/Protestant difference.....1		
Significantly different Protestant denomination ^b.....1		
Education	10 ^c	56
Level of education ^d.....9		
Type of education ^e.....2		
Father's occupation ^f	10	56
Where raised	7 ^c	39
Country.....3		
Community ^g.....5		

^aBased on the first male ancestor to come to North America. However, where the husband and wife technically differed in origin as measured through the male line, being of differing non-British ethnic origin, but where they were raised in English speaking homes and the families had been three generations or more in North America, the ethnic difference was not taken as being significant. Similarly, if one of the partners was of British ethnic origin and the other non-British, but the non-British partner was raised in an English speaking home and the family had been three generations or more in North America, the difference in ethnic origin was not taken as being significant.

^bMeans difference between an established church and a sect or minor denomination or between a sect and a cult.

^cAdjusted to eliminate double counting (wife/husband differing on more than one aspect within the broad category).

^dMeans difference between levels (elementary, secondary, university) and not within levels.

^eMeans state vs. private education; Catholic vs. Protestant.

^fDifference measured in terms of categories of occupation, e.g. professional vs. farm.

^gMeans farm/small town vs. city.

ethnic origin (one Austrian/German; one Danish). In both cases the language of the homes in which these wives were raised was non-English, though both were raised in Western Canada. There are few marked cases of religious difference.²⁵ Insofar as difference in level of educational attainment is concerned, in all but one case the husband's formal education exceeded that of the wife. No wives brought a private school education to the marriage where the husband did not have a private school education. Viewed in terms of parental occupation, there is little evidence to suggest that many chairmen would have acquired upward social mobility through the wife.²⁶ Two chairmen, substantially raised in the United States and the United Kingdom respectively, married wives raised in Western Canada while a Canadian raised chairman married an American. Four wives brought a city background (though only one that of a large city) to farm or small town raised husbands (it will be recalled that eight or 44% of the chairmen were raised in a rural or rurally dependent town environment) while one wife introduced a rural background to a city raised chairman. The wives, where employed before and/or after marriage, followed the usual female occupations.²⁷

TABLE V-18

NUMBER OF MEASURES ON WHICH WIFE/HUSBAND
DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Measures	No.	%
None	2	11
One	6	33
Two	5	28
Three or more	5	28

Military Service

The highlights of the chairmen's military service are set out in Table V-19.

TABLE V-19
MILITARY SERVICE

Service	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number having military service	8	44	100
N.C.O. on discharge	4	22	50
Commission on discharge	2 ^c	11	25
Overseas service (including U.K. only)	7	39	88
Gallantry awards/other recognition	2 ^d	11	25
Recognition of civilian services related to the war	1 ^e	6	..

^aPercentage of total number of chairmen..

^bPercentage of the number of chairmen having military service.

^cOne captain; 1 Lt. Col. (army equivalents).

^dOne M.B.E.; 1 m.i.d.

^eM.B.E.

None could be considered to have been military heroes in the usual understanding of that term, though one chairman (Lt. Colonel and M.B.E.) achieved a certain degree of distinction. All of the chairmen fell within the normal age bracket of eligibility for military service. Of the 10 (56%) who did not see service, one received some recognition for civilian activities related to the war (he was employed in a civilian executive capacity in the training of pilots and received the M.B.E.). Of the other nine, some seven (77%) might be said to have engaged to some degree in essential services: four (44%) were in civil service positions (one federal;

three provincial), one was engaged in farming, one was a university professor, and one a utility company executive. No chairman indicated any conscientious objection to any of the wars in which he might have served.²⁸

Adult Religious Activity

Adulthood brought change in both church affiliation and activity (see Tables V-20 and V-21). Some six or 33% changed their church affiliation though in four cases the change was more nominal than real being the natural progression from the Presbyterian to the United Church with church union. One moved from the United to the Anglican church. The only marked status change would seem to be that of the Greek Orthodox chairman who joined the United Church. It is to be noted that of those who still claimed church affiliation at the time of the interviews, all did so in what would likely be considered to be status churches.²⁹ In addition to those who changed their church affiliation, four (22%), in their late teens or early adulthood, rejected organized religion altogether.

TABLE V-20

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Denomination	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	3	17	4	22
Christian Science	1	6	..	..
Greek Orthodox	1	6	..	..
Methodist	1	6	..	..
Presbyterian	5	28	..	..
United Church of Canada	7	39	10	56
None	..	..	4	22

The degree of rejection or non-association with organized religion, however, was found to be more extensive than Table V-20 suggests. Questions relating to church activity (see Table V-21 for a summary of the results) indicate that, besides the four (22%) who ceased to have any formal church affiliation, the affiliation of an additional four became purely nominal, and in three cases this was the pattern throughout adulthood.³⁰ Some eight or 44%, then, either rejected organized religion or, by the time of the interviews, engaged in no church activity while 50% attended church regularly.³¹ As to the nature of church activity, none engaged at any time in activity of other than the conventional type, there being no indication of any lay preaching, etc.³²

TABLE V-21
CHURCH ACTIVITY

Activity	Youth		Today (1967)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Attendance				
Non-attendance	1	6	8	44
Irregular attendance	4	22	1	6
Regular attendance ^a	12	67	9	50
Some church organizational activity	6	33	7	39
Other activity ^b	..	..	..	..
Special case	1	6	..	..

^a"Regular attendance" defined as a pattern of attendance during the winter months of at least two Sundays per month.

^bLay preaching, etc.

Organizational Activity

All of the chairmen engaged in some organizational activity as adults, with, as will be seen in Table V-22, 89% holding elected office in at least one organization at some point.

TABLE V-22

NUMBER ENGAGING IN SOME ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND
HOLDING ELECTED ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE

Activity	No.	%
Engaged in some organizational activity	18	100
Held elected organizational office	16	89
One organization	3	17
Two organizations	5	28
Three organizations	3	17
Four or more organizations	5	28

The types of organizations are set out in Table V-23, the principal categories being professional, community service, social/recreational, and service club, with over 50% of the chairmen at some time belonging to these categories of organization.³³

As to the nature of these organizations, generally they are of the type normally associated with middle class background though there are some, particularly in the area of social clubs, that are of an elite type.³⁴

The social clubs to which the chairmen belonged, aside from the cases of two chairmen, both of whom, early in their careers, were teachers in small Alberta communities, were situated in Edmonton and Calgary. Of these clubs, some six, half in Calgary and half in Edmonton, might be considered

TABLE V-23

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTED OFFICE

Type	Membership		Elected Office	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	13	72	8	44
Community Service	12	67	10	56
Social/Recreational	12	67	4	22
Service Club	9	50	5	28
Fraternal	7	39	2	11
Cultural	5	28	4	22
Veterans/Military	3	17	2	11
Business	3	17	2	11
Union (Civil Service)	2	11	..	..
Education	2	11	2	11
Agricultural	1	6	1	6
Religious (non-church affiliated)	1	6	1	6
Miscellaneous	7	39	5	28

to be in the elite category.³⁵ Five chairmen (28%) belonged to these, one chairman (who in many respects has an unique background)³⁶ belonged to four (two in Edmonton, two in Calgary) and another to two (both in Edmonton). In two cases membership predated appointment as board chairman (both chairmen were appointed from outside government service); the others joined following appointment (one was appointed from outside government service).

It is to be noted that a higher proportion of chairmen belonged to elite clubs than did the deputies (12%)³⁷ and to be recalled that none of the ministers claimed membership in elite clubs at all. Indeed none of the ministers, as already noted, claimed membership in Edmonton clubs of the type that we have designated as "social", though there were a number of such clubs to which the chairmen and the deputies belonged

(compare the appendices to Chapter IV and to this chapter).³⁸ It will also be recalled that there seems to be, or have been, no club on the Edmonton scene comparable to the Rideau in Ottawa where members of the political and permanent governmental elites mingle.

As to the other principal categories of organizational membership, the following would seem to be the most significant features (the organizations will be considered generally in the order set out in Table V-23).

Insofar as professional organizations are concerned, to which 72% of the chairmen belonged at some time, no particular type predominated. Of those holding elected office in these organizations (44% of the chairmen; 63% of those belonging to professional organizations), four (22% of the chairmen; 50% of those holding office), were very active, having held office beyond the local level, with two holding national office. Three held office while chairmen, two beyond the local level, one being the national president of an association.

Community service activity was largely of the local type (Community League, Community Chest, Boy Scouts, etc.), with three (17%) of the chairmen holding office beyond the local level, in two cases in the Boy Scouts. The period of active association tended, in most cases, to correspond to the period when the chairmen's families were growing up. However association with the Community Chest (three chairmen) was while the chairmen held that rank and may have been associated with their position.

Half of the chairmen belonged to service clubs at some time. In four cases (22% of the chairmen) membership was before entry into government

service, and, though two were office holders, this was in small centres, brief, and early in career. Five (28% of the chairmen) were members while in government service (four joining before entry). Three of these held elected office, one before entry into government service (and appointment as chairman), one before and after appointment as chairman, and one while chairman. All offices were at the local level only.

Membership in service clubs and in the Chamber of Commerce is often coincident, but in this case only two chairmen were members of both. One additional chairman, for a total of three or 17%, was a member of the Chamber. Two were members before entry into government service only, one holding local office. The remaining chairman, already singled out as exceptional (see reference to social organizations above), was active before and after appointment as chairman, as chairman was an international director of the Chamber, at the time of the interviews was a director of at least one other business association, and a director of certain international companies (no conflict of interest between this and his board chairmanship seemed evident).

With respect to membership in fraternal organizations (39% of the chairmen), three were members of university fraternities but not active in them as adults. The only lodge represented was the Masonic to which four (22%) of the chairmen belonged. Three joined before entry into government service; the other while a civil servant. Membership of two was largely nominal, while the other two held local office before and after appointment as chairmen.

As to the remaining categories of organization, it might be observed

that none of the chairmen played an active role in veteran's organizations (though 44% were veterans). Two (11% of the chairmen), however, had been militia officers. Union membership was only in The Civil Service Association of Alberta and that only nominal (two of the chairmen). Only one chairman was involved with a farm organization (The Farmers Union of Alberta), though he was very active in it at the local level before appointment to a board.³⁹

Though not strictly a matter of organizational membership or activity, it might be noted that two chairmen, while chairmen, were associated with the governing of The University of Alberta.⁴⁰ One is a former Chairman of the Board of Governors and the other, at time of writing, a member of that board.⁴¹ The present member was also associated with the Canadian Universities Service Overseas and with the Canadian Scholarship Trust Foundation.

In the case of elected officials we made some attempt to determine how active they had been in organizations before election to the legislature. However, with the chairmen, as with the deputies, none of whom was ever a member of the legislature, there is no similar bench-mark. However, as will be seen in a later section of this chapter, some six chairmen, perhaps seven,⁴² did engage in some political activity as adults and before entry into government service. It might be observed of the six that, at the time of their activity (all of which was either party, or holding municipal office, or both), all belonged to at least one organization, though in one case such membership was only nominal, with all but one holding some elected organizational office, but in only one case beyond the

local level. As to the types of organization, the principal ones were service club/business (67%), professional (50%), and social/recreational (50%).

Political Activity

(a) the Chairmen

The chairmen indicated that their first interest in following political events at some level, as distinct from participation, developed at the following periods in their lives:⁴³

TABLE V-24

FIRST INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL
EVENTS AT SOME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT

When	No.	%
As long as can remember	4	22
Secondary school or age equivalent	3	17
Higher or post-secondary school or age equivalent	4	22
Adulthood	7	39

Some 61% of the chairmen developed their first interest in following political events by, or during, early adulthood (9 of the 11 came from homes where at least one parent had more than average interest in political events).⁴⁴ None of the chairmen, however, indicated any youthful ambition to seek elected office nor to follow in the footsteps of any great political or governmental figure. As will be seen, however, some were to engage in political activity as adults. This activity is summarized in the usual tables. (See Tables V-25, V-26, V-27, V-28).

TABLE V-25

POLITICAL ACTIVITY PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Activity	No.	%
None	11	61
Some political activity	6	33
Some party activity	4	22
Party office	2	11
Elected political office	2 ^a	11
Party office and elected political office	.. ^b	..
Other	1	6
Declined to answer	1 ^c	6

^aMunicipal office only.

^bRan unsuccessfully for mayor.

^cThis chairman, who said that he would not answer questions regarding political activity, may have engaged in some limited political activity for one of the "old line" parties.

At least six chairmen (33%), engaged in some political activity prior to joining government service in some capacity.⁴⁵ First activity in all cases was under age 35. Half came from homes where a parent had engaged in some political activity; all from homes where there was more than average interest in politics. Half held elected office in high school or university organizations, but not in school or university party organizations.⁴⁶ At the time of their activity, one was in newspaper advertising, one a teacher, one a farmer, one a lawyer, and two were business employees. In two cases the chairmen, both of whom stood for municipal office only, seem to have been persuaded to stand, though both had strong interest in events. In two cases the chairmen seem to have become involved through the parent or through family connections. In one case involvement seems to have developed out of other organizational activity and the first involvement of one chairman was never really explained.

TABLE V-26
NATURE OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Nature of Activity	Age													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Party activity (including youth organization)	1	16	2	33	1	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	67
Standing for local government office	..	..	..	..	2	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	33
Standing for provincial government office	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Standing for federal government office	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	16	2	33	3	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100

^aPercentages are of the group that engaged in some political activity.

Note:

One chairman, who would not answer questions regarding political activity, may have engaged in some limited party activity in his early thirties.

TABLE V-27

YEAR OF FIRST POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND AGE AT THE TIME OF SUCH ACTIVITY

Year of Activity	Age													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Prior to 1930	1	16	1	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	33
1930-1935	1	16	2	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	50
1936-1939
1940-1943
1944-1947
1948-1951
1952-1954
1955-1958	1	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	16
1959-1962
1963-1967
Total	1	16	2	33	3	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100

^aPercentages are of the group that engaged in some political activity.

Note:

In addition, one chairman, who would not discuss his "politics", may have engaged in some limited party activity in his early thirties in the early 1930's.

As to the nature of the activity, none of the chairmen was active above the local constituency level and no chairman stood for elected office above the municipal level (two of the three who sought municipal office engaged in no party activity). Except in one case, all activity was in Alberta (the exception was in Saskatchewan). All who engaged in party activity, all of which was in Alberta, first did so prior to 1935. None became converts to Social Credit in 1935 or reported activity for the Social Credit party at any time. Indeed, three of the four were involved to some degree in 1935 against Social Credit, one engaging in activity for the Liberal party and two for the Conservative.⁴⁷ (In only one of these cases was the chairman following the political identification of the home). Interestingly, however, three of the four who engaged in some political party activity now claim to vote Social Credit more often than not provincially, though not federally.

TABLE V-28

PARTIES OF SOMETIME ACTIVITY

Party	Party of First Activity		Party of Final or Present Activity	
	No.	% ^a	No.	%
Conservative	2	50	1	25
C.C.F./N.D.P.	..	..	..	..
Liberal	1	25	2 ^b	50
Social Credit	..	..	..	..
U.F.A.	1	25	1	25
Other	..	..	..	..

^a Percentages are of the group that engaged in some party activity.

^b One chairman, originally a member of the Conservative party, was to switch to the Liberal party.

Looking more specifically at the voting pattern of the chairmen, Tables V-29 and V-30 summarize their stated positions.

TABLE V-29

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour	Federally		Provincially	
	No.	%	No.	%
Independent	6	33	5	28
Votes one party more often than not	3	17	4	22
Regularly votes one party	7	39	7	39
Declined to answer	2	11	2	11

TABLE V-30

PARTIES VOTED FOR WHERE VOTED ONE PARTY MORE OFTEN THAN NOT

Party	Federally		Provincially	
	No.	%	No.	%
Conservative	5	28	1	6
Liberal	4	22	1	6
C.C.F./N.D.P.	1	6	1	6
Social Credit	..	..	8	44
Independent	6	33	5	28
Undisclosed	2	11	2	11

Note:

Two chairmen at one time supported the United Farmers of Alberta provincially (and one of them the Progressives federally). With the demise of the U.F.A., one cast essentially an anti-Social Credit vote during the Aberhart period; the other indicated that he was candidate oriented for a time. Both now claim to vote Social Credit provincially.

As in the case of the deputy ministers, a most interesting feature of this behaviour is the difference in voting patterns federally and provincially.

In the case of the deputies some 65% followed a different pattern while 10 or 56% of the chairmen (63% of those who responded) did so. In both cases there was little support for Social Credit federally but a considerable number indicated that they voted Social Credit more often than not provincially (59% of the deputies; 44% of the chairmen; 50% of the chairmen who responded). As with the deputies, a significant number of the chairmen who now claim to vote Social Credit more often than not did not do so on first appointment to government service or, if in government service prior to 1935, in 1935. Only two claimed to have always voted Social Credit provincially and one began to vote Social Credit not long before appointment to a board.

(b) brothers and sisters

As already noted, 39% of the chairmen were raised in homes where one or more of the parents engaged in some political activity. It is of interest to see to what extent other members of the family, brothers and sisters, raised in the same general environment, also become politically involved. Considered on the basis of family units,⁴⁸ Table V-31 summarizes the findings.⁴⁹

TABLE V-31

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Activity	Families	
	No.	% ^a
Only child	1	..
One or more brothers and/or sisters engaged in some political activity	3	18
One or more brothers and/or sisters held elected political office	3	18
Unknown	..	..

^aPercentage of total number of chairmen having brothers and/or sisters.

In all instances where brothers and/or sisters were politically involved (all activity was, in fact, by brothers) a chairman had been also. The number of families that produced some political activity remains, therefore, at six (perhaps seven). In all three families a parent had also engaged in some political activity.

As to the nature of the activity, none of those engaging in party activity did so above the constituency level and none who held elected office did so above the municipal level. In the case of two families, however, a brother had been approached to stand for the Alberta legislature; in one case for the Liberals and in another both for the U.F.A. and for Social Credit (though he was reported as never having been a member of the Social Credit party nor involved in it). All activity was in Alberta and none was for the Social Credit party.⁵⁰

(c) the wife

As we have done with the other groups under examination, we must now consider the extent to which the wife may have influenced the chairman to become politically involved and to what extent the wife may have brought a political background to the marriage.

None of the chairmen who engaged in political activity indicated that the wife was a factor in this involvement.⁵¹ This may, in part, be confirmed by the reports that in all cases but one where the chairmen had been politically involved the first political activity was before marriage. In the other case, though the wife's father was reported as being a strong C.C.F. supporter in Saskatchewan, the wife was reported as having no real interest in politics before marriage.⁵² Of the six chairmen who engaged in some

political activity, only two had wives that brought more than average interest in political events to the marriage.

Two (11%) of the wives came from homes where a parent had engaged in some political activity (in both cases the husband engaged in some political activity as well). Parental activity in both cases was in Alberta and for one of the "old line" parties; all activity was of a party nature at the constituency level.⁵³ Only one of these wives was to engage in any activity herself (this was following marriage) and to bring more than average interest in political events to the marriage.⁵⁴ One other wife, for a total of two (11%), was to engage in some political activity and that was following marriage and seems to have been a product of the husband's involvement. All activity was of a party nature and in Alberta.

The interest and activity of the wives is summarized in Table V-32.

TABLE V-32

SPOUSE'S INTEREST IN FOLLOWING POLITICAL EVENTS AT SOME
LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY

Political Interest and Activity	Before Marriage		After Marriage		Number of Individuals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than average interest in following political events at some level	4	22	8	44	8	44
Some party activity	2	11	2	11
Party office
Some elected political office
Party activity and elected office
Some non-elected governmental office

Non-elected Governmental Service

(a) the chairmen

As already noted, some 61% of the chairmen were either Alberta born or raised, native sons, with an additional three (17%) coming to Alberta between the ages of 13 and 17. Viewing the chairmen as a group, the chairmen entered Alberta government service (either department or agency) between the ages of 18 and 57, with the average age being 35, and with 44% entering under that age. This is in contrast to the deputies where the average age was 29 and where 94% entered Alberta service under age 35. As will be seen below, however, the chairmen break down into two groups, those appointed to board membership or chairmanship from outside government service (six or 33% of the chairmen)⁵⁵ and those that had some prior non-elected governmental experience (67%). Viewed in this way the age range is somewhat different. The range of age of entry for the former group was from 41 to 57 with the average age being 48; for the latter group the range was from 18 to 45 with the average being 30. Three chairmen (17%) entered government service prior to the election of Social Credit in 1935 while 83% entered under a Social Credit administration (25% under the premiership of William Aberhart; 75% under Premier Manning).

The principal occupations pursued by the chairmen prior to entry into government service are indicated in Table V-35.

In the case of the deputies it was found that the most striking feature of occupational background was that some 47% had known only government employment at some level of jurisdiction in their careers (ignoring military or essential war service). In the case of the chairmen the corresponding

TABLE V-33
AGE WHEN CAME TO ALBERTA AND AGE AT ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Age When Came to Alberta	Age at Entry Into Alberta Government Service ^a													
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Albertan by birth	1	6	1	6	4	22	1	6	2	11	..	..	9	50
Under 7	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	2	11
7-18	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	1	6	..	1	3	17
19-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	6	..	..	2	11
25-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
35-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	1	6
45-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	6	2	11	5	28	4	22	5	28	1	6	18	100

^a"Age at entry" means age at entry into the employ of any Alberta provincial governmental agency.

TABLE V-34

YEAR AND AGE AT ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Year of Entry	Age at Entry Into Alberta Government Service ^a														
	Under 19		19-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Prior to 1930	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
1930-35	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
1936-40	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
1941-45	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
1946-50	6	2	11	..	..	2	11	..	..	..	5	28
1951-55	2	11	..	..	..	2	11
1956-60	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
1961-65	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	3	17
1966+
Total	1	6	2	11	5	28	4	22	5	28	1	6	1	18	100

^a"Age at entry" means age at entry into the employ of any Alberta provincial governmental agency.

TABLE V-35

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO ALBERTA GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Occupation	Level of Education																	
	Elementary		9-11		12-13		Some University		University Degree		Normal School		Technical School		Religious College		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1 ^a	6	..	..	1	6	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	17
Government service ^b	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Professional/executive
Business	2 ^c	11	.. ^d	6	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
Clerk/bookkeeper	2	11
Executive	2	11
Proprietor (small business)	1	6
Professional	1 ^e	6	..	..	..
Teacher	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
Lawyer	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
Professor/Dean	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
Newspaperman	1	6
Public relations/advertising
Executive	.. ^h	6	..	..	1 ^g	6	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11
Farmer	1	6
Total	1	6	3	17	3	17	1	6	9	50	..	..	1	6	..	..	18	100

TABLE V-35 (continued)

-
- ^aGrade 11.
- ^b"Government service" means employment by another level of government or jurisdiction.
- ^cGrade 11 in both cases; one chairman also received a C.A.
- ^dOne chairman also had substantial proprietary interest.
- ^eChairman was also a cowboy for 7 years and a salesman for 9.
- ^fAnother chairman, a teacher on entry into government service, was to become Principal of the Calgary Normal School and then to return to government service.
- ^gChairman was also a professional entertainer in Britain for approximately 4 years.
- ^hGrade 8.

figure is considerably less, being only 22%. Of the chairmen who have known essentially only government service as career, only one came from a civil service family. Of those appointed directly to boards (six or 33%), all but one (a farmer) came from the professional category or some form of executive employment. While farm and labour backgrounds seem largely unrepresented, it might be recalled that some six (33%) came from farm homes. Of these six some three had some association with agriculture as adults.⁵⁶ None had any direct association with labour, though one came from a home where the father was a blacksmith/wheelwright.

As to the principal reasons leading to entry into government service, they are summarized in Table V-36.⁵⁷

TABLE V-36
PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Reasons	No.	%
Unplanned, circumstances at time led to apply for, or accept, government position	7	39
The depression	3 ^a	17
Security/financial betterment	3	17
Persuaded/influenced by elected or non-elected official	2	11
Opportunity to use education/training	2	11
Unique	1	6

^aTwo chairmen were unemployed, or substantially unemployed, for 4 years during the depression.

Note:

There were important subsidiary reasons stated: financial betterment in 3 cases (17%), opportunity to use education/training in 2 cases (11%), and persuasion in 1 case (6%).

Though 44% of the chairmen entered government service under 35, and three or 17% (though one of these is a special case) came from homes where a parent was in government employ when the chairmen were growing up,⁵⁸ none indicated any early ambition to enter government service as a career. In this there is a striking parallel with the deputy heads as there seems to be in the reasons advanced for entering government service generally. In both groups a high proportion entered government service as a result of a particular combination of circumstances at a particular point in life. The influence of the depression and the persuasive force of others is a factor common to a proportion of both the elected and non-elected officials. None of the non-elected officials, however, mentioned William Aberhart but one chairman did mention that Premier Manning had persuaded him to accept a position. It has been pointed out that the chairmen break down into two groups. There is no marked difference between the sorts of reasons advanced for entry into government service between the two except that the depression does not seem to have been an overt factor in the case of those appointed directly to boards.

As to the careers of the chairmen, the range in age at appointment as chairman, taken as a group, was from 38 to 57 with the average age being 47. The range in years of service prior to appointment was from 0 to 33 with the average being over 11. Some four (22%) were appointed from outside government service to chairman rank with over half being appointed with less than ten years of government service. This is in contrast to the deputies where 76% were not appointed to deputy rank until at least 15 years in government with the average being 19 years and with none being appointed directly to deputy rank. If the chairmen are broken down into the two groups, those of direct appointment, and those with some prior service (on boards or in

department, etc.), in the latter case 43% were not appointed until at least 15 years service. The average age, however, was 47 for both groups. All were appointed by Premier Manning with 50% being appointed since 1962. (See Tables V-37 and V-38).

TABLE V-37

YEARS OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE ON APPOINTMENT AS CHAIRMAN AND AGE

Years of Service	Age							
	35-44		45-54		55+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None (direct appointment)	1	6	2	11	1	6	4	22
5 or under	2	11	2	11	..	..	4	22
6-10	1	6	1	6	..	..	2	11
11-15	2	11	..	..	..	..	2	11
16-20	1	6	1	6	..	..	2	11
20+	..	..	3	17	1	6	4	22
Total	7	39	9	50	2	11	18	100

TABLE V-38

YEAR OF APPOINTMENT AS CHAIRMAN

Year	No.	%
1946-50	3	17
1951-55	1	6
1956-60	3	17
1961-65	9	50
1965+	2	11

Insofar as the type of governmental service before appointment as chairman is concerned, Table V-39 summarizes the situation.

TABLE V-39

TYPE OF GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE PRIOR TO APPOINTMENT AS CHAIRMAN

Type	No.	%
None (direct appointment)	4	22
Board/agency only ^a	4	22
Department only ^b	5	28
Department and board/agency ^c	4 ^d	22
Special case	1 ^d	6

^aServed as board members before appointed chairmen, two first being board employees.

^bAppointed from a regular department directly to chairmanship.

^cProgressed from department to board member to chairman.

^dWas Executive Secretary to the Premier prior to appointment as board chairman.

Nine (50%) of the chairmen first entered government service in a regular department with an additional two (11%) entering as employees of a board/agency (and subsequently progressing to board positions). Some six or 33% were appointed to boards, as already mentioned, from outside government service, four of these directly as chairmen with the other two progressing from member to chairman. One, as a special case, first entered as Executive Secretary to the Premier. Of those appointed from outside government service (six or 33%), it might be noted that five had had some form of prior association with the type of activity over which the board had authority and/or with organizations concerned with that activity.⁵⁹

As with the deputies, no attempt was pointedly made to determine whether the chairmen were political appointees in the sense of having been involved with the Social Credit party or identified with that party. An

examination of the careers of the chairman and of their answers to questions regarding political interest and activity suggests, however, that most have not been.⁶⁰

(b) brothers and sisters

We have seen that three chairmen (17%) were raised in homes where a parent was a governmental employee, with a total of five families (28%) having some background of non-elected governmental service, but we have also noted that in only two cases (11%) was a parent a governmental employee in the normal sense when the chairmen were growing up. The number of chairman that came from a non-governmental background would perhaps then seem surprising if we had not found much the same situation in the case of the deputies. Some of the brothers and sisters of the chairmen, involving 24% of the families, also became governmental employees. Of these only one came from one of the families that had some governmental background, and that not through the parent.

TABLE V-40

NON-ELECTED GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS BY FAMILY

Service	Families	
	No.	% ^a
Only child	1	..
One or more brothers and/or sisters held non-elected governmental office		
Career or substantial term ^b	4	24
Non-career	..	..
Unknown	..	..

^aPercentage is of the number of families where there were brothers and sisters.

^b"Substantial term" means 10 years or more.

Of the brothers and sisters, with one exception (one brother was in the United States army or United States government employment throughout career), all entered government service fairly late. None progressed beyond relatively minor position. Employment was by an Alberta municipality (one case),⁶¹ the provincial government (one case), and the federal government (one case).⁶²

(c) the wife

None of the chairmen mentioned the wife as a factor in their entry into government service. None of the wives were from non-elected governmental families and none were, themselves, governmental employees.

The Next Generation

We turn now to the political and governmental activity of the children. Confining ourselves, as before, to family units,⁶³ Table V-41 summarizes the activity.⁶⁴

TABLE V-41

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN (over 18) BY FAMILY

Activity	Families		
	No.	% ^a	% ^b
Number of families with children over 18	14	78	100
Families with children over 18 where one or more engaged in some political activity	2	11	14
Families with children over 18 where one or more held non-elected governmental office	3	17	21
Short-term	2	11	14
Substantial term or career	1	6	7

^aPercentage of total number of families.

^bPercentage of total number of families with children over 18.

In two families (14%) a daughter engaged in some political activity, party activity in both cases. Activity was in Alberta in the one case and in Alaska in the other. In the first case it was for the Social Credit party. Also in the first case the father had engaged in no political activity in the sense of party or seeking office but had been Executive Secretary to the Premier; in the other case the father had at one time engaged in political activity for the Conservative party in Alberta (however the daughter seems to have become involved because of her husband and active only to the extent necessary to play the role expected of a politician's wife).⁶⁵

Political activity, then, seems to have declined from that of the parent generation (where 43% engaged in some activity and 29% in some party activity) to 14%. Whether further activity will develop among the children is a matter for speculation.⁶⁶ Generally, however, the chairmen expected that little would. Only in the case of one further family was a member (son) thought likely to engage in some political activity. In three other families (21%) at least one member was reported with more than average interest in political events (two of the families had interested daughters; one had interested sons and daughters) but there was no mention of likely political activity. In the case of possible activity the father had engaged in party activity; in the cases of interest one father only had engaged in political activity (municipal only).

As to non-elected governmental service, three families (21%) had a member who was in government employ at some point. In two families a daughter was briefly in government service (did not exceed two years) before

marriage, one for the Alberta government. In another family a son was/is in career military service (commissioned from the ranks). In all cases the father had been substantially a career government employee. No further children were judged as likely to become career government servants.

FOOTNOTES

¹This chapter does not examine the background of the head of every agency of the provincial government bearing the title "board", etc. It is concerned with those set up outside the normal departmental structure or performing a regulatory or quasi-judicial function. The initial list of boards, etc., was drawn from Alberta, Legislative Assembly, The Report of the Special Committee on Boards and Tribunals to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (Edmonton: Office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, 1966), passim, and Alberta, Executive Council, Inventory: Services for the Individual and the Community (4 vols.; Edmonton: Executive Council Office, 1967), passim. This list was revised following examination of the statutory powers of the agencies and discussion of the nature of some of the agencies with deputy ministers. Further examination revealed that some of the agencies (e.g. Board of Industrial Relations, Provincial Planning Board, Alberta Resources Railway) were headed by a minister or deputy minister and they were struck from the list. The final list of agencies is as follows: Alberta Assessment Appeal Board, Alberta Commercial Corporation, Alberta Crop Insurance Corporation, Alberta Government Telephones, Alberta Liquor Control Board, Alberta Power Commission, Alberta Racing Commission, Alberta Securities Commission, Board of Arbitration (Right of Entry Arbitration Act), Board of Censors, Child Welfare Commission, Communal Property Control Board, Highway Traffic Board, Local Authorities Board, Oil and Gas Conservation Board, Public Utilities Board, Treasury Branch, Universities Commission, and The Workmen's Compensation Board. For a brief statement of the principal function/s of each of these agencies, see Appendix V-1 to this chapter.

²Similar examination of the mother's side of the family produced no evidence of significant difference in ethnic origin between the father and mother except that in one case where the father was of British origin the mother was of Swiss extraction. The mother was, however, a second generation Canadian and the chairman was raised in an English speaking home.

³These were the proportions while the chairmen were growing up. However, when two chairmen were in their late teens or early twenties their fathers made a major change in occupation that should be noted. One father moved from a municipal employee position at the executive level to become president of an Alberta utility company. The other father, initially a business employee at the supervisory level, after wartime service during which he reached the rank of Lt. Colonel, became the chairman of an Alberta board.

⁴The father who was a municipal government executive was Methodist in religion and did not attend an exclusive British private school or university. It was he who became the president of an Alberta utility company and he also held substantial proprietary interest in it. The mother came from a family of British shipping line owners.

It is also of interest that, in another case, also a government employee, the father came from a Scottish distilling family. However, the father's parents died young, and though the father inherited some money, this was subsequently lost and of no benefit to his children.

In still another case, the father, falling occupationally within the business category, was reported as having made a good deal of money in the Klondike gold rush, which was subsequently lost and of no benefit to the chairman.

⁵One chairman has written an account of his early life on a homestead north of Edmonton. See J.G. MacGregor, North-West of 16 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1958). Mr. MacGregor is an amateur Western Canadian historian of some note.

⁶Christian Science is not to be confused with fundamentalism. To quote Mann, in referring to Alberta's cults, in which he includes Christian Science:

"The cults attacked, directly or indirectly, all conventional and dogmatic religion, that is, both orthodox and fundamentalist Christianity. Those which referred to the Bible ridiculed the literal interpretations of fundamentalist groups and treated Scriptural statements allegorically or mystically. Christian Science explicitly denied the traditional Christian doctrine of sin and matter."

See W.E. Mann, Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 38.

⁷While only one chairman attended the Baptist church (concurrently with the Presbyterian--his official denomination being Presbyterian), his maternal grandfather having been a Baptist minister, two other chairmen had a parent who had been raised in the Baptist church though the chairmen themselves were not raised as Baptists.

⁸In all but one case, where there was a difference in religious appreciation between the father and the mother, the mother was the more religious of the two.

⁹The percentage might be raised to 72% if one chairman who attended compulsory church services as part of a private military school education (secondary level only) is included.

¹⁰One took a technical school diploma (two year course) in automotive engineering; the other became a chartered accountant.

¹¹The degrees taken (highest degree only indicated) were: 1 B.A., 1 B. Comm., 2 L.L.B., 1 B.Sc. (Ag.), 1 B.Sc. (Eng.), 1 M.S.W., 1 D.Sc. (Eng.), 1 Ph.D. (Education).

¹²Six or 33% attended the typical one room North American rural school. It is also of interest that two chairmen took from two to three years of high school either through home study or correspondence following a one room school education.

¹³One attended two Ukrainian Orthodox colleges for part of his high school; the other attended an Anglican military school on Vancouver Island.

¹⁴One took all but the equivalent of first year through extra-mural study.

¹⁵Of the four, one graduated with first class standing in Agriculture, another in Social Work, and the two taking doctorates were fellowship-winners. It might also be noted that the graduate who took his degree (B.A.) almost entirely through extra-mural study had been a prize winner in public school and might have joined the ranks of superior students had his study been of the full-time type.

¹⁶It might be noted that the chairman with some university education (one year in Arts at The University of Alberta) had to withdraw from university because of the death of his father early in the depression.

¹⁷Reservations were earlier expressed about the meaningfulness of this sort of information. See Chapter II, footnote 16.

¹⁸Some 11 chairmen attended some post-secondary institutions but two of these for only one year of full-time study. If they are excluded, the percentage holding elected office is 63%.

¹⁹He held the following positions: speaker, cabinet minister, premier.

²⁰There is an interesting case where one parent was a member of the U.F.A. while the chairman was growing up, an uncle was mayor of Edmonton on more than one occasion and stood unsuccessfully for the Alberta legislature as a Conservative, and the chairman became related through marriage to a Social Credit cabinet minister. The parent, after the chairman was grown, and after the demise of the U.F.A., reverted to the traditional family political allegiance--Conservative.

²¹There were instances of cousins being reported but we have confined ourselves to contemporaries of the parent generation. However one case is of particular interest for one cousin (female) was reported as being a Labourite and sometime secretary to Ernest Bevin when he was a member of the British cabinet. She was of a family already identified as having engaged in some political activity through an uncle, not the parent.

²²The range in age of these chairmen was from 12 to 21 in 1935.

²³Though hardly governmental service, two chairmen reported grandparents who were employees on British estates: one a steward and another a chief forester. This is of interest in that in the one case the estate was that of a sometime Governor General of Canada.

²⁴Two chairmen married twice: one case involved divorce; the other death of the first wife. In what follows only the first wife has been considered since in both cases the chairman's career was already established by the time of the second marriage.

²⁵It is of interest that one chairman, who had rejected religion before marriage (and still does), took a wife who belonged in her youth to a number of evangelical churches, and who briefly flirted with the Mormon religion.

²⁶In most cases it would seem that the chairmen married into families of lower or parallel socio-economic status. However, one chairman, whose father was of officer rank in the federal civil service in Edmonton, married a wife whose father headed a substantial firm of chartered accountants.

²⁷Clerical/secretarial (44%), nursing (6%), dietician/home economist (6%), librarian (6%), laboratory technician (6%).

²⁸One chairman's father had been a conscientious objector and imprisoned for it in Britain in World War I; the chairman himself saw military service.

²⁹It might be noted that the chairman who was Christian Science and the one who was Methodist early rejected religion; the Greek Orthodox chairman, as already noted, joined the United Church.

³⁰In one case there was church activity until approximately five years prior to the interview. The chairman indicated that organized religion no longer held any importance for him.

³¹The level of activity today does not in all cases reflect the pattern throughout adulthood. In three cases (17%) that activity increased after age 35 to 40, while in two cases (11%), one of which has been noted above, there has been a decline in recent years.

³²It may be of interest that one chairman, who early rejected organized religion, indicated that he had an interest in hypnotism (dating from his late teens) that had replaced his interest in religion.

³³See Appendix V-2 to this chapter for a listing of the actual organizations included in each category or type.

34 The organizations to which the chairmen belong/ed were appraised as to the type of person normally admitted to membership by a panel thought knowledgeable about the Alberta social structure and the usual qualifications for admission to the various organizations.

35 Calgary Petroleum; Calgary Polo; Ranchman's Club, Calgary; Mayfair Golf and Country Club, Edmonton; Edmonton Petroleum; Edmonton Club.

36 This chairman has a social background rather distinct from the others. He came from a Welsh brewing family, has substantial proprietary interest in Alberta utilities, and also claims to have played polo with Edward, now Duke of Windsor, and with General Eisenhower. He claimed membership in the Edmonton Petroleum Club, the Edmonton Club, the Ranchman's Club in Calgary and in the Calgary Polo.

37 Two deputies belonged to the Mayfair Golf and Country Club as did two of the board chairmen.

38 There is, however, overlap in some other organizational areas, for some ministers, deputies, and chairmen belong/ed to similar community service, service club, cultural, etc., organizations.

39 This, as will be noted below, was a significant factor in his appointment to a board. It will also be noted that another chairman was an employee of a farm organization (Alberta Wheat Pool) before appointment.

40 There are three provincial universities in the province: The University of Alberta at Edmonton, The University of Calgary, and The University of Lethbridge, each with its own board of governors. The background of the chairmen of these boards has not been examined. The background of the chairman of The Universities Commission (the commission being responsible for the dispensation of provincial funds among the three universities), however, has been.

41 It might also be noted that the deputy minister of Education is a member of the board of the Universities Commission and that the chairman of the Universities Commission is a former deputy minister of Education. Another board chairman is a former university dean (Alberta).

It might also be recalled that relations between The University of Alberta and the Social Credit government have not always been harmonious, particularly in the Aberhart period. Chalmers, for example, refers to the Senate of the university rejecting the proposal that Mr. Aberhart be given an honorary LL.D. The rejection was to lead to legislation restricting the powers of the Senate though Mr. Aberhart was never to receive the degree (Premier Manning received an LL.D. from Alberta in 1948). See John W. Chalmers, Teachers of the Foothills Province (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for The Alberta Teachers' Association, 1968), p. 171.

⁴²In the case of one chairman, who, for the most part, was not prepared to discuss his background of political activity, there was some suggestion in his remarks that he may have engaged in some limited political activity.

⁴³It was initially expected that non-elected governmental officials would be reluctant to talk about their political interest and activity. In fact, the chairmen behaved in this respect in much the same way as the deputy ministers (see Chapter IV above). In the case of the deputies, three displayed some reluctance to talk about their political behaviour but did answer in some fashion all the questions put to them. In the case of the chairmen, two went further and refused (politely) to answer some questions regarding activity and voting behaviour but did answer questions regarding family background of activity, etc. One of these chairmen indicated that he had never engaged in any political activity and would not discuss his voting behaviour arguing that this was a matter of secret ballot. The other chairman, while initially indicating that he had "no politics" and was not prepared to discuss his actual political behaviour, did, in amiable conversation following the formal interview, suggest that many years ago he may have engaged in some limited activity for one of the traditional political parties in Alberta. In sum, it would seem fair to observe that, while what is recorded regarding the political activity, etc., of the chairmen must be regarded with some caution and reservation, the chairmen, as a group, and on balance, did seem prepared to supply a good deal of information as what follows will illustrate.

⁴⁴It does not, however, seem safe to assume that more than average interest in political events in the home caused early political interest to develop among the children in all cases. Two of the chairmen, coming from homes where at least one parent had more than average interest, indicated that their own interest in political events developed at U.B.C. following W.W. II, at a time when that campus had many politically interested veterans as students. Neither of these chairmen was, however, to engage in any partisan political activity though both indicated attending all sorts of political meetings on campus as students and one mentioned being well acquainted with a number of students who are now, or have been, active political figures in British Columbia.

⁴⁵This figure might be increased to seven or 39% if the one chairman who was not prepared to discuss his "politics" but who, as noted above, did suggest that he may have engaged in some limited party activity is taken into consideration. This would have been as a lawyer in Alberta in the early 1930's.

It is further to be noted that two chairmen, though reporting no political activity prior to entry into government service, were to hold positions usually considered to be political appointments before they were appointed to Board chairmanships. One, a newspaperman (amongst other things, a legislative reporter), first entered government service as Executive Secretary to the Premier of Alberta, a position he was to hold for 12 to 13 years before being appointed a board chairman. The other, who entered the B.C. civil service as a career employee following university graduation,

was to become executive assistant to a B.C. Social Credit cabinet minister. There, however, seem to be unique circumstances to explain this appointment, and the chairman in question was subsequently to enter the Alberta civil service through competitive examination.

⁴⁶ One chairman, who later stood successfully for municipal office, was active in the Older Boys Parliament in Alberta. He also mentioned being sympathetic to the U.F.A. in his undergraduate days and to having gone to the home of a sometime leader of the C.C.F. party in the Alberta legislature for socialist pamphlets.

⁴⁷ The activity of one chairman was at the federal level only where he engaged in limited party activity for the Conservatives; provincially he supported the U.F.A. but was not active. On the disappearance of the U.F.A. he cast an essentially "anti-Social Credit" vote during the Aberhart period.

Certain other interesting references to early Social Credit were made by chairmen when answering questions concerning their own, parental, or family political interest and activity. One chairman, at one time active for the Liberal party, then a member of a law firm, referred to his colleagues and himself as being horrified at the development of Social Credit in 1934/35. Another chairman, though never politically involved, when referring to his voting behaviour, indicated that it had been impossible for him to vote for William Aberhart, though he had no reservations about Premier Manning. Still another, not politically involved, referred to his father and father-in-law having in common their opposition to Mr. Aberhart and "funny money", a subject on which they could talk for hours.

⁴⁸ One chairman was an only child. As to the rest, two had sisters only, two brothers only, and 13 had at least one brother and sister.

⁴⁹ In dealing with the behaviour of brothers and sisters there is always the problem of members of a family losing track of each other. However, the chairmen were generally of the view that they would know if any of their brothers and/or sisters had been politically active. In only one case did a chairman indicate that he had completely lost touch with one of his two brothers (the brother moved to the United States years ago).

⁵⁰ One chairman reported being related through marriage to an Alberta cabinet minister (a brother married a sister of a minister). The chairman was, however, appointed to a board long before the minister actually joined the cabinet, and following nomination by a farm organization. In another case, a chairman was found to be related through marriage to a sometime prominent Calgary Conservative family (a brother married the daughter of a Conservative M.P.). In a further case, a sister was reported as having married a member, or sometime near member, of the British Communist party. In all cases the chairmen had engaged in some political activity as well.

⁵¹ Chairmen were asked whether there were any individuals that they saw as being influential in determining the sorts of things that they had done in their lifetimes.

52 In the case of the chairman who suggested that he may have engaged in some activity, the wife was reported as having always had considerable interest in political events.

53 It might be noted that the sister-in-law of one of the chairmen married into a prominent Saskatchewan Conservative family (it included a recent Conservative government leader in the Senate, the son of whom is an active Saskatchewan Conservative politician, and a son-in-law of whom is an active B.C. politician). The children of this chairman would, then, have an uncle, cousin, etc., who were known to be very politically active. The wife herself had no more than average interest, though the chairman had more than average interest in political events and was once a municipal councillor.

54 To be strictly accurate, one chairman was married twice. Both wives had more than average interest; both had a parent who engaged in some political activity in Alberta, one for the Conservatives and one for the Liberals. The first wife only engaged in some political activity.

55 It is to be noted that all of the chairmen who claimed to have engaged in some party activity (none of which was for Social Credit) came from this group.

56 One was a farmer until appointed directly to a board at age 48, another was a cowboy in Southern Alberta for seven years early in career, and another, after graduation in Agriculture, was employed in a public relations capacity by a farm organization.

57 It is difficult to categorize the reasons why individuals might choose to enter government service. What has been done is to attempt to select the principal reasons involved; inevitably some distortion does result.

58 One chairman, persuaded to enter government service at age 30, indicated that his father's experience in federal government service had had a negative effect on him. This chairman, prior to his own entry, saw government service as being essentially a thankless occupation with few financial rewards. Another, who entered Alberta government service a few years after his father was appointed chairman of an Alberta government board (the father was in a non-governmental occupation while the son was growing up), indicated that his father's position had proved to be more of a liability, on balance, than an asset.

59 One had been an employee of an organization (farm) directly concerned with the activity of the board, one was the nominee of a farm organization, one had been general manager of a utility company and appointed head of a board concerned with such companies, one (a university dean) had expert knowledge of the type of activity to be controlled, and one had headed the private organization that had regulated the activity which subsequently came under public control.

60 It will be recalled, however, that one chairman was appointed as a board chairman after service as Executive Secretary to the Premier. This chairman claimed no party activity nor identification as a Social Crediter before appointment as secretary. The appointment to board position, however, ought, probably, to be considered as a political one. Another chairman, who started as a careerist in the British Columbia civil service, entered Alberta service after having been an executive assistant to a B.C. Social Credit cabinet minister. His appointment to that post seems to have been a product of unique circumstances. Whether having held this position conferred an advantage on him in his subsequent appointment to an Alberta board is a matter for speculation. Another chairman is related through marriage to an Alberta cabinet minister but his appointment to a board followed nomination by an Alberta farm organization, and the minister was not a member of cabinet at the time of the appointment.

61 This brother engaged in political activity at the municipal and constituency level, including party activity for the Liberals, prior to appointment to municipal office.

62 Though not within the scope of this study to investigate in any rigorous way the relationship through the family with other areas in the community, the occupations of brothers and sisters (and their husbands) has been noted. Little relationship to non-governmental elites seems evident. It might be noted, however, that two chairmen had brothers on the staff of the University of Alberta (one a head of department), one brother was manager of a substantial manufacturing plant in British Columbia, another had a brother who was a partner in a substantial Calgary brokerage firm, and three had brothers or brothers-in-law who were officials in chartered banks or trust companies, but none at the senior executive level.

63 This involves some 14 families. Assuming that only those children over 18 years of age constitute the family, then eight (56%) of the families were all female, one (7%) all male, and five (36%) contained both sexes. The range in age of the children was from 19 to 38 with nine (64%) of the families having at least one member over age 25. Fifty-seven per cent of the families had at least one member who had completed university or was attending university (an increase from the parent generation where 43% of the fathers were university educated).

64 As discussed in Chapter I above, the information regarding the political activity of the children is based on the knowledge of the chairman in each case. It seems not unreasonable to assume that in most cases the fathers would have heard if their children were, or had been, politically active. However their judgment about the level of political interest of the children would likely have to be treated with some reservation.

65 The husband, now in private law practice, was at one point Assistant Attorney General for Alaska.

66 Chairmen were specifically asked whether there was any indication that any of their children might be contemplating political activity and/or governmental careers.

PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS OF THE BOARDS, COMMISSIONS, AND CORPORATIONS

Alberta Assessment Appeal Board

The board hears appeals from local government authorities and from individuals regarding property assessments. For the principal statutory powers of the board, see "The Assessment Appeal Board Act," 1957, particularly sections 13 and 14.

Alberta Commercial Corporation

The corporation was created to encourage trade and industry in Alberta and to develop markets for Alberta products. Its principal activity has been in the area of the provision of financial assistance, particularly loans, to already established producers and manufacturers for the expansion of their activities and to new manufacturers, etc., being encouraged to locate in the province. It has authority, however, to grant assistance of various kinds, and may itself act as a trading and marketing agency, and may engage in manufacturing. See "The Alberta Commercial Services Act," 1964, particularly section 8.

Alberta Crop Insurance Corporation

The corporation engages in the business of the provision of all risk crop insurance. See "The Alberta Crop Insurance Act," 1964, particularly section 5.

Alberta Government Telephones

The corporation engages in the business of providing telephone services within the province. With the exception of the telephone system owned and operated by the City of Edmonton, and cooperatively owned

rural systems (styled mutual telephone systems), the corporation provides all telephone services in the province.

Alberta Liquor Control Board

The board regulates the sale of liquor in the province, licenses premises for the sale of liquor by the glass, and engages, as a monopoly, in the retail and wholesale sale of liquor by the bottle, including the maintenance of a system of government owned liquor stores. See "The Liquor Control Act," 1958, particularly section 10.

Alberta Power Commission

The commission authorizes the operation of public utilities in the electric heat, light, and power field, and it approves the construction and extension of facilities related thereto. It also conducts studies and investigations into Alberta power facilities and needs, and may itself engage in the manufacture, distribution, and sale of electric power. See "The Power Commission Act," 1944, as amended, particularly sections 6, 7, and 9.

Alberta Racing Commission

The commission regulates horse racing and race tracks. See "The Alberta Racing Commission Act," 1962, particularly section 9.

Alberta Securities Commission

The commission regulates and controls the issue, distribution, and sale of securities, including the regulation and control of Alberta stock exchanges. See "The Securities Act," 1947, as amended, particularly section 139.

Board of Arbitration (Right of Entry Arbitration Act)

The board has authority, where mineral rights or the right to work minerals (e.g., coal, gas) are owned by one party but the surface rights are not held by him, to order the taking of the surface of the land, or its use, for the removal of the minerals, necessary roadways, the running of pipelines. etc., and to fix the compensation to be paid. See "The Right of Entry Arbitration Act," 1952, particularly sections 12-15 inclusive; 18-20 inclusive.

Board of Censors

The board regulates the exhibition of films and may censor or prohibit the exhibition of any film. See "The Amusements Act," 1942, as amended, particularly section 22.

Child Welfare Commission

The commission has authority to prescribe the standards and methods of work to be adopted by child welfare workers, and to prescribe the standards for personnel, buildings, and equipment in child caring institutions that are required to be licensed. It also acts as an appeal agency against decisions of officials of the Department of Public Welfare. See "The Child Welfare Act," 1966, particularly sections 3 and 4.

Communal Property Control Board

The board, in effect, approves the sale and lease of land to Hutterite colonies in the province. See "The Communal Property Act," 1947, as amended, particularly section 13.

Highway Traffic Board

The board regulates and licenses public service vehicles (commercial transport) operating on the highways of the province and such vehicles, in so far as they fall within provincial jurisdiction, that operate interprovincially. Besides licensing to operate, the board's functions include regulation of the weight, speed, routes, etc., of such vehicles. See "The Public Service Vehicles Act," 1942, as amended, particularly sections 7, 9, 14, 16, 21, 26, 54, and 64.

Local Authorities Board

The board approves all debenture borrowing by cities, towns, villages, counties, municipal districts, and school authorities in respect of public works, local improvements, etc. It may supervise the expenditure of borrowed funds and also alter the terms of indebtedness of local authorities. It also approves the annexation of land to cities. See "The Local Authorities Board Act," 1961, particularly sections 27, 70, 79, 120, and 125.

Oil and Gas Conservation Board

The board engages generally in the regulation of the production of oil and gas in the province (which includes the authorization of all drilling and the regulation of production in relation to the market), the regulation of the transportation and disposition of oil and gas, and the assessment of oil and gas properties. See "The Oil and Gas Conservation Act," 1957, particularly parts III, IV, V, and VII, and within these particularly sections 18, 36, 53, and 59.

Public Utilities Board

The board is responsible for exercising general supervision over public utilities (e.g., water, gas, electricity, telephones). It fixes rates and tolls and regulates standards of service. For whatever reason/s, it also, in part, regulates milk marketing. (It is to be noted that the responsibilities of the Alberta Power Commission referred to above do not include the setting of power rates; that falls under the Public Utilities Board.) For the board's statutory powers, see "The Public Utilities Board Act," 1960, as amended, particularly sections 71, 73, 77, 79, 81, and 91.

Treasury Branch

The Treasury Branch engages, under provincial legislation, in the provision of banking services within the province of the same type as those provided by federally chartered banks. While the law is carefully phrased to refer to the Treasury Branch and its offices as "branches of the Treasury Department," the Treasury Branch is in function, if not in name, a bank. See "The Treasury Branch Act," 1942, as amended, particularly sections 3, 5, 6, and 8.

Universities Commission

The commission acts as an intermediary between the provincial universities and the provincial government particularly in financial matters, advises the government on the financial needs of the universities, and distributes the funds provided by the provincial government among the universities. See "The Universities Act," 1966, particularly section 68.

The Workmen's Compensation Board

The board determines the compensation to be paid to individuals injured during the course of employment. See "The Workmen's Compensation Act," 1948, as amended, particularly section 10.

APPENDIX V-2

ORGANIZATIONS OF SOMETIME MEMBERSHIP

Type	No. ^a	%
Professional	13	72
Education	2	
Alberta Teachers' Alliance--- 2		
Engineering	2	
Engineering Institute of Canada--- 2		
Alberta Association of Professional Engineers--- 1		
American Institute of Chemical Engineers--- 1		
Law	2	
Alberta Law Society--- 2		
Canadian Bar Association--- 2		
Public Administration	2	
Institute of Public Administration of Canada--- 2		
Accounting	1	
Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants--- 1		
Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants--- 1		
Agricultural	1	
Agricultural Institute of Canada--- 1		
Municipal Finance	1	
Alberta Assessors Association--- 1		
Assessors Association of the U.S. and Canada--- 1		
Public Relations	1	
Canadian Public Relations Society--- 1		
Scientific	1	
Chemical Institute of Canada--- 1		
Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy--- 1		
Social Work	1	
Canadian Association of Social Workers--- 1		
Community Service	12	67
Community League, Edmonton ^b --- 7		
Community Chest--- 3		
Edmonton(2), Calgary(1)		
Home and School Association--- 2		
Calgary(1)		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise to be significant.

Type	No. ^a	%
Community Service (continued)	11	67
Boy Scouts--- 2		
Edmonton(1), Creston and Victoria(1) ^b		
Y.M.C.A., Calgary --- 1		
St. John Ambulance Society, Edmonton--- 1		
Air Cadet League of Canada, Edmonton--- 1		
Canadian University Service Overseas, Edmonton--- 1		
Social/Recreational	12	67
Mayfair Golf and Country Club, Edmonton--- 2		
Royal Glenora, Edmonton--- 2		
Edmonton Petroleum Club--- 2		
Edmonton Club--- 2		
Calgary Winter Club--- 1		
Windemere Golf and Country Club, Edmonton--- 1		
Edmonton Country Club--- 1		
Edmonton Press Club--- 1		
Highlands Golf Club, Edmonton--- 1		
Renfrew Club, Calgary ^c --- 1		
Calgary Petroleum Club--- 1		
300 Wing, Edmonton--- 1		
Granite Curling Club, Edmonton--- 1		
North Hill Curling Club, Calgary--- 1		
Calgary Polo--- 1		
Calgary Flying Club--- 1		
Edmonton Flying Club--- 1		
Ranchman's Club, Calgary--- 1		
Curling clubs, local--- 1		
Athletic associations, local--- 1		
Service Clubs	9	50
Rotary--- 3		
Edmonton(2), Edmonton and Calgary(1)		
Kinsmen--- 2		
Calgary and Edmonton(1)		
Kiwanis--- 2		
Edmonton(1)		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason deemed otherwise to be significant.

^cThe Renfrew Club was the predecessor of the Calgary Petroleum Club.

Type	No. ^a	%
Service Clubs (continued)	9	50
Lions International--- 1		
Moose Jaw, Calgary, Edmonton(1) ^b		
Cosmopolitan Club, Edmonton --- 1		
Fraternal	7	39
Masons--- 4		
Edmonton(3), Edmonton and local(1)		
Delta Kappa Epsilon--- 1		
Sigma Chi--- 1		
Phi Kappa Epsilon--- 1		
Cultural	5	28
Canadian Club, Edmonton--- 3		
Edmonton Symphony Society--- 1		
Sir Winston Churchill Society, Edmonton--- 1		
Alberta Historical Society--- 1		
Alberta Archeological Society--- 1		
Business	3	17
Junior Chamber, Senior Chamber of Commerce--- 3		
Edmonton(2), Calgary and Edmonton(1)		
Alberta and North West Chamber of Mines and Resources--- 1		
Canadian Petroleum Association--- 1		
Canadian Gas Association--- 1		
Veterans/Military	3	17
Militia, Edmonton--- 2		
Royal Canadian Legion, Edmonton--- 1		
Union (civil service)	2	11
Civil Service Association of Alberta, Edmonton--- 2		
Education	2	11
Edmonton Education Society--- 1		
Canadian Scholarship Trust Foundation, Edmonton--- 1		

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason otherwise deemed to be significant.

Type	No. ^a	%
Agricultural Farmers' Union of Alberta--- 1	1	6
Religious (non-church affiliated) Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Edmonton ^b --- 1	1	6
Miscellaneous Telephone Pioneers of America, Edmonton--- 1 Hypnosis Society of Alberta, Edmonton--- 1 Northern Alberta Sports Car Club, Edmonton--- 1 Alberta Radio League, Edmonton--- 1 University of Alberta Alumni Association, Edmonton--- 1 Edmonton Antique Gun Club--- 1 Royal Canadian Flying Clubs Association, Edmonton--- 1	7	39

^aAll figures in this column have been adjusted to avoid double counting.

^bPlace of membership is only indicated where it is in one of Alberta's cities or for some reason otherwise deemed to be significant.

PART IV. CONCLUSION

Chapter
VI. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt will be made to draw some comparison, on a fairly general level, between the groups that were earlier examined in some detail, focusing first on the social background and then on career pattern of political and governmental activity. (Little comparison, however, will be drawn with the Opposition because of the smallness of that group). In addition, some comparison will be made, where it seems appropriate, but more particularly limited by available data, with the general population profile of the province of Alberta as of 1961,¹ and with the backgrounds of the senior executive and legislators of the federal government. Information on the elected and non-elected federal governmental officials is drawn largely from the work of John Porter, Norman Ward, and to a much lesser extent Allan Kornberg.² This data, however, as already suggested, is not particularly extensive, and no far-ranging comparisons are really possible.

A word is appropriate about the groups treated by Porter, Ward and Kornberg. Porter, in chapters XIII and XIV of his The Vertical Mosaic deals respectively with what he has selected as the political elite and the bureaucratic elite. His political elite includes federal cabinet ministers, provincial premiers, justices of the Supreme Court of Canada, presidents of the Exchequer Court, and provincial chief justices. The period examined for his entire political elite is from 1940 to 1960,

though he incorporates some data on cabinet ministers that goes back to 1867. For our purposes only those findings, where they can be segregated, dealing with the cabinet ministers are relevant. His principal source of information on the cabinet ministers was The Canadian Parliamentary Guide.³ He does not really deal with the ordinary member of Parliament. Porter's bureaucratic elite is not as easily defined. It was composed of 243 senior officials of federal government departments, agencies, and crown corporations whom he divided into three levels: deputy minister; associate/assistant deputy minister; director. In addition, he had a separate category of crown corporation executives. However the categories adopted by Porter are not strictly comparable to ours. His deputy minister category includes some board chairmen that we would probably have treated in a separate category (for example, he includes the Board of Transport Commissioners and the Air Transport Board), and our study did not reach down to the associate and assistant deputy minister nor director levels. The most reasonable approach, though the data are not strictly comparable, is to compare the data on Porter's deputy minister category (his category 1, composed of 40 people) with our combined deputy minister and board chairman categories, at least insofar as social characteristics are concerned. Porter's detailed information on backgrounds and careers of members of his deputy minister category, a group holding office in 1953, was largely drawn from biographical dictionaries, newspaper files, and magazine articles.⁴ It is possible that some change in this group may have taken place in the ensuing 14 years, particularly with the new emphasis in Ottawa on French-Canadian representation and

bilingualism.

Ward deals with members of parliament, cabinet and non-cabinet, principally in Chapter VII of his The Canadian House of Commons: Representation. He treats a few of the social characteristics with which we have been concerned and provides a certain amount of information on the background of political activity of members. Unfortunately, though the period examined is extensive, 1867 to 1945, his work contains no information on members over the past 22 years, a period during which considerable change may have taken place. His principal source of information, as with Porter's cabinet ministers, was The Canadian Parliamentary Guide.

Kornberg, in his Canadian Legislative Behavior, deals, inter alia, with certain aspects of the backgrounds of members of the Twenty-Fifth Parliament, though by far and away the greater part of the work is concerned with behavioural questions that we have not considered. His information is derived from interviews with a selected sample of the membership of the House (he nowhere indicates the basis for his sample selection) which he statistically expands to include the membership of the entire House.⁵ He claims to have chosen a sample of 171 members, obtained interviews with 166, of which 165 were used in his analysis (obtaining interviews with 96% is, in this writer's view and experience, an astonishingly high figure if 171 is indeed the total group that he sought). It might be pointed out that the parliament examined is that of the second Diefenbaker minority, the life of which, from opening to dissolution, was from September 27, 1962 to February 6, 1963. Some

may question how representative this was of Canadian legislators at the federal level but it has the advantage of representing a group that was elected at much the same time as the provincial legislature that we have examined (the legislature was elected on June 17, 1963 and began its first session on February 13, 1964).

Ethnic origin

Let us now turn to the matter of ethnic origin. Here, traced through the father, considerable difference between the origins of the elected and the non-elected was found. The cabinet was some 56% British, the Social Credit backbenchers 64%, and the Opposition 60%. Of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, some 64% were British, and if all elected officials are considered collectively 62% were British. This is in contrast to the deputies and board chairmen who were overwhelmingly British, 94% and 89% respectively. Compared with the ethnic origins of the general population of the province, the British, with 45%, were overrepresented in all groups.⁶

It is fashionable today to dwell on the question of French representation and participation in Canadian political institutions, indeed in Canadian life generally. It ought then to be pointed out that in Alberta slightly over 6% of the population is French by ethnic origin, of these the mother tongue of 50% is English, not French, and only 6% of those of French origin speak French only (of the total population of the province only 0.41% speak French only with 4.27% being bilingual).⁷ Though not a large part of the population, the French were represented in both the legislature and among senior non-elected officials, though not in the

cabinet. Some 4% of the Social Credit backbenchers were of French extraction (though only one of the two considered himself to be French Canadian), one (20%) of the Opposition members, and 3% of the non-elected officials (the single official involved did not consider himself to be French Canadian either). Six percent of all ordinary M.L.A.s were of French origin; 5% of all elected officials were of French origin. However, in the case of the Opposition member, and the Board chairman, French had been effectively lost as a language, and the cultural roots were essentially English (in this respect perhaps not unrepresentative of many of the French in the province).

What would be more meaningful in Alberta is to be concerned with the extent to which the elected and non-elected were drawn from other ethnic groups, what might loosely be termed "non-British/non-French immigrant stock," who constituted 49% of the Alberta population in 1961. Here it was found that the non-British/non-French, as a group, were considerably underrepresented among the elected officials, having 33% of the total, and negligibly represented among the non-elected with 6%. Within the non-British/non-French category the principal groups are German, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian, representing respectively some 14%, 8%, and 7% of the 1961 Alberta population. It was found that the cabinet grossly overrepresented the Scandinavians (six of the seven non-British were Scandinavian), the Germans not at all, with the single Ukrainian roughly matching the percentage of Ukrainian extraction in the province. Of the Social Credit backbenchers, the Germans roughly matched the provincial position with 12%, the Ukrainians were overrepresented

with 12%, and the Scandinavians underrepresented at 2%, but, as will be noted, slightly overrepresented when all elected officials were considered. The Opposition represented none of these groups (but it did represent the French and Italian). Of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 11% were German, 11% Ukrainian, and 2% Scandinavian. When all the elected are considered, it was found that some 8% were German, 10% Ukrainian, and 11% Scandinavian. Among the total elected, then, though the non-British/non-French, as a group, were underrepresented, the principal groups within this category did supply a significant proportion of the legislators, the Ukrainians and Scandinavians, indeed, being somewhat overrepresented. This was not the case among the non-elected, however, where one deputy (3% of the non-elected) was of German extraction and one board chairman (3%) of Ukrainian. Among other things, this would seem to suggest that, though the British have established a favoured position in both the elected and appointed areas, the elected career has provided greater opportunity for the non-British than the appointed.⁸

What may be more important from the point of view of the policy outputs of government than strict ethnic origin is the cultural background of the individuals involved in the decision-making process. An aspect of this is the extent to which the elected and non-elected had, in a more positive sense than ethnic origin, non-British cultural roots. Defining non-British cultural roots as the language of the home in which raised being non-English or substantially so, some 47% of the cabinet, at least 24% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and one of the Opposition members had such roots. Some 23% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature

had such roots; some 29% of all elected officials. In the case of the non-elected, and not surprisingly given the ethnic origins, all but one were raised in a home where the language was English. From this it might be argued that the legislators, of whom a significant proportion represent non-British cultural backgrounds, might bring a different perspective to the problems of government than might the senior bureaucracy.⁹

It is to be noted that insofar as the province as a whole is concerned, 72% of the Alberta population claim English as the mother tongue and 28% a language other than English.¹⁰ While the proportion of the elected, then, with non-British roots was very close to that of the general population of the province, the cabinet was badly out of proportion, though in six of the seven cases of cabinet ministers with such roots the background would have been Scandinavian, representing a culture which, in many respects, is probably similar to the British.

If one compares the Alberta findings with the national, it is to be noted that Porter's cabinet ministers were drawn almost exclusively from the "two founding peoples". More specifically, 70% of the cabinet ministers were of British origin, 26% of French, and 4.5% came from other groups.¹¹ With 44% of the total population of Canada being of British origin, 30% of French, and 26% drawn from other groups, only the French were represented in rough proportion to their strength in the country as a whole. While the conventional wisdom concerning federal cabinet construction has repeatedly stressed the representational nature of that body,¹² this does not seem to have been seen as including the

necessity to any real degree to give representation to Canadians of continental European origin, though there is the well known case of Mr. Diefenbaker, himself of German/Scottish descent, appointing Mr. Starr, a Ukrainian, to the cabinet.¹³ We have not enough longitudinal data to make any real statements about the representational nature of the Alberta cabinet, but it would seem clear that the one under examination was not constructed to represent either the ethnic composition of the province or of the legislature, aside, perhaps, from giving representation to the Ukrainians.¹⁴

As to the ethnic composition of the House of Commons, we have only the data drawn from Kornberg on the 1962 House. In this instance the British were somewhat overrepresented (51% of the M.P.s vs. 43.8% of the population), the proportion of the French roughly approximated the national figure (34% of the M.P.s vs. 30.4% of the population), with those of other ethnic origins being somewhat underrepresented (16% of the M.P.s vs. 25.8% of the population).¹⁵ It is perhaps surprising but the Alberta legislature overrepresented the British to a greater degree than Kornberg's parliament and to a greater extent underrepresented those of other origins. It might also be observed that neither the provincial cabinet nor certain federal cabinets have been, it would seem, in ethnic terms, representative of their respective legislatures.

As to the bureaucratic elite, in both Ottawa and the province the British were grossly overrepresented. The only other group with significant representation at the deputy minister level federally was the French with 12.5%.¹⁶ It will be recalled that this percentage is based

on 1953 data. There may be some reason to believe that there has been some strengthening of French Canadian representation in the higher echelons of the federal service since that time, particularly with the Pearson and Trudeau administrations, and the new bilingualism and biculturalism policies.¹⁷ There would appear to be no such policies in Alberta.

Birthplace

To what extent have our groups been drawn from native-born Canadians? In this respect it was found that 88% of the ministers were Canadian born, 69% of the Social Credit members, and four of the five Opposition members. Of the non-cabinet members of the legislature some 70% were born in Canada; of the total elected some 75%. Of the non-elected, some 77% of the deputies and 78% of the board chairmen were Canadian born. The only foreign born, in the sense of being born in Europe, were among the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers and one Opposition member; collectively they represented 6% of the elected group. In Alberta as a whole in 1961 some 78% were Canadian born and 11% were born in Europe.¹⁸ The elected, as a group, then fitted fairly closely the picture of the province as a whole, though the cabinet was significantly more composed of native Canadians than any of the other groups, and certainly significantly more so than its own legislature.

It might be interjected at this point that the family roots of our groups do not go back very far in Canada, for, if one goes back only one generation, and examines the birthplace of the father, it was found

that only 38% of the ministers had a father who was born in Canada, probably no more than 43% of the Social Credit backbenchers (it will be recalled that we lack complete information on four of them), 40% of the Opposition, 35% of the deputies and 33% of the board chairmen. This is not a surprising finding or observation, given the recentness of the settlement of the Canadian West.

To what extent were the elected and non-elected native Albertans? Here it was found that 69% of the cabinet were born in Alberta, 45% of the Social Credit members, and two of the five Opposition members. Some 45% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, some 51% of all the elected were Alberta born. Of the non-elected, 53% of the deputies were born in Alberta and 61% of the Board chairmen. In Alberta as a whole in 1961 some 59% were native Albertans. Again the cabinet stands out from the other groups with the Social Credit backbenchers falling significantly below the general population position.

It may not, however, be particularly wise to draw any great conclusions from the above information. What may be more meaningful is the question where the members of the groups were raised. This might better answer the question to what extent they came out of the Alberta or Western Canadian milieu and to what extent the province had produced its own leadership by 1967. First, however, it might be observed that an overwhelming percentage in each group was Canadian raised: 94% of the ministers; 86% of the Social Credit backbenchers; all of the Opposition members; 94% of the deputy ministers; and 89% of the board chairmen. Of all the individuals considered, only one, a Social Credit backbencher,

was raised in Europe. As to the numbers that were raised in Alberta, it was found that 81% of the ministers were so raised, 74% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 60% of the Opposition, 72% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 75% of the total elected, 82% of the deputies, but only 61% of the board chairmen. In terms of those raised in Western Canada, it was found that 94% of the cabinet was raised in the West, 79% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 80% of the Opposition, 79% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 84% of all the elected, 82% of the deputies, and 83% of the board chairmen, placing the latter in much the same position as the deputies. The two broad groups, then, the elected and the non-elected, were both drawn in over 80% of the cases from Western Canadians, and it would seem reasonable to conclude that, by 1967, the province was significantly producing its own leadership, though it is interesting to recall that the most significant figure on the provincial scene, the Premier, was Saskatchewan born and raised. It is to be noted that the most "Albertan and Western Canadian" of the groups was the cabinet, and that the proportion of deputy ministers raised in Alberta was almost identical to the proportion of cabinet ministers that were Alberta raised.

Of the federal cabinet ministers holding office in the period 1940-1960, Porter found that 92% were Canadian born, and of the foreign born (anyone born outside of Canada he places in the category of "Foreign born") none was born in Europe.¹⁹ Relying, it would seem, on the data produced by Ward for the period 1867-1945, he found that more cabinet ministers were native born than members of the House of Commons (by 1941,

the last census year used by Ward, 85.4% of the House was Canadian born as compared with 82.5% of the population). He concluded that "while the Canadian House of Commons tends to favour the native-born, to be native-born is more important for entrance to the political elite."²⁰ While one might question this conclusion in terms of causality, a somewhat similar picture was found in Alberta where 88% of the cabinet was Canadian born, none of the 12% foreign born (in Porter's sense) was born in Europe, and the percentage of native born in the cabinet exceeded that in the legislature as a whole (75% of the legislature was Canadian born; 78% of the population of the province).

Using the measure of place of birth, Porter found, on examining the careers of his entire political elite of 157, that in all regions except the West the leaders had to a very high degree been born in the region in which they based their careers.²¹ If one were to apply this same standard, that of place of birth, to the provincial political elite, meaning here the Alberta cabinet, 31% of which was non-Alberta born, one might conclude, with brilliant insight, that a significant proportion of Alberta leadership was drawn from without the province. However, if one looks at the percentage, as we did earlier, who were raised in Alberta, 81%, and in the West, 94%, it would seem difficult to conclude other than that the leadership had arisen to a very high degree locally.

Ward found a very high percentage of the members of the House to be native born. From 1911 the percentage of native born exceeded that of the general population, though the trend from 1911 through 1941 was one bringing the proportion of the House that was native born more in line with that proportion of the general population that was native born.²²

Kornberg's 1962 sample data, however, indicate that the native born have retained a favoured position. He found that 93% of the legislators were Canadian born vs. 84% of the total population.²³ This figure is slightly higher than that of Porter's 1940-1960 cabinet ministers, and may throw some doubt on Porter's conclusions. Ward found the foreign born to have been underrepresented (not in the early parliaments but certainly following 1911), though by 1941 a rough balance was being achieved. Those of the foreign born from other than Britain and the United States, however, were underrepresented throughout.²⁴ Kornberg does not break down his foreign born, but as a group in 1962 they were considerably underrepresented with 7% of the M.P.s vs. 16% of the population.²⁵ In the Alberta legislature no favoured position was indicated for the native born for the percentage of Canadian born matched the position for the province quite closely (75% of the members vs. 78% of the population). The European born, were, however, underrepresented (6% of the elected vs. 11% of the population).

Ward's findings suggest that in all regions except the West the M.P.s were not only native born but born in the particular region itself. It seems worth quoting Ward extensively on this point:

The provinces east of Ontario have since 1867 been represented almost entirely by native sons. . . . it is now a genuine rarity for a Quebec or Maritime seat to be held by an "outsider."
 Although Canada puts no constitutional limitations on where a member may sit, in actual fact this makes little difference; for all Canada east of Manitoba an overwhelming number of members are not merely residents but natives of the province that elects them.

. . . it can be said that across Canada the preference undoubtedly is given now to native Canadians, with the single

exception of the third parties in the West, which draw an unusual proportion of their strength from immigrants. . . . native Canadians have dominated the House of Commons since the turn of the century for all the provinces east of Manitoba. Immigrants have thus been consistently underrepresented for the nation as a whole, and markedly so in the case of those from countries other than the United States and Great Britain. Native Canadians provide a clear majority of members for the western provinces (except for British Columbia) but they are Canadians born east of the province they represent; native Westerners have so far played a remarkably small part in federal politics. This trend is clearly declining, so that all of Canada may be expected in time to return members born in the provinces they represent. ²⁶

The findings of Kornberg would seem, in part, to confirm this trend, for he found that 21% of the members of his House were born in Western Canada while 26.5% of the Canadian population is resident in the West. ²⁷

If one were to apply the same measure as Ward, that of place of birth, to the Alberta legislature, one might conclude that in Alberta there was no favouring of native Albertans for only 51% of the elected were Alberta born, with 75% born in Canada, as compared with 59% of the population being Alberta born and 78% born in Canada. However we found that 75% of our legislators were raised in Alberta, and it might be argued that they may have been perceived by the electorate as being "native Albertans", and we also found that it was usual for the elected to have had some long association with the local area from which returned.

Porter provides little information on the birthplace of members of the central government's bureaucratic elite, except to indicate that 90% were born in Canada and the regions from which they were drawn. ²⁸ While he does not give the birthplace of the other 10%, it would seem

reasonable to assume, given the ethnic origins of the elite, that few, if any, would be European born. The percentage of Canadian born is higher than that for the Alberta deputies and board chairmen where 77% and 78% were Canadian born though 94% and 89% Canadian raised.

Community

To what extent were the elected and non-elected drawn from rural or small town environments? To what extent might they then have absorbed rural or small town values? Here, once more, it was found that there was some contrast between the elected and the non-elected, the elected being significantly more "rural and small town" than the non-elected, though the deputies were closer to the elected than were the board chairmen. Few in any of the groups were raised in the atmosphere of the large city (defined as communities exceeding 100,000 in population). Unfortunately there is no data that will permit comparison with the federally elected and non-elected and no meaningful way to compare our findings with the general population of the province.

It was found that 88% of the cabinet received a significant part of their upbringing in a rural area or small town (75% in a rural area or rurally dependent town), and that this was true for a very similar proportion of the Social Credit backbenchers, 83% (76% in a rural area or rurally dependent town), and for 80% of the Opposition (40% rurally dependent). For the total elected, then, some 85% were significantly rural or small town raised. In the case of the non-elected, the figures are considerably lower, with the deputies falling somewhere between the extremes of the cabinet and the board chairmen, some 59% of the deputies

receiving an important part of their upbringing in a rural area or small town (all rurally dependent) as did 44% of the chairmen. Collectively, then, some 51% of the non-elected were significantly rural or small town raised as compared with 85% of the elected. As to the proportions that were substantially raised in cities exceeding 10,000 in population, this was found to be the case for only 15% of the ministers, 14% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and one of the Opposition members (20%), for a total of 15% among the elected. Among the non-elected, some 36% of the deputies and 56% of the chairmen would have been substantially raised in such cities, for a collective figure among the non-elected of 46%. (It ought to be pointed out, however, that in the case of two of the chairmen, some 11%, the cities did not greatly exceed 10,000 in population, and they are somewhat borderline cases). Few in any of the groups were substantially raised in large cities. It was found that among the elected the only cases of large city upbringing were among the Social Credit backbenchers, representing 5% of that group, for a total of only 3% of all elected. Among the non-elected, 12% of the deputies were substantially raised in large cities as was one or 6% of the chairmen, for a total among the non-elected of 9%. It will be recalled that some of the elected and non-elected were drawn from homes where the father pursued a manual type occupation, the largest number of cases being among the Social Credit backbenchers (where the fathers of 13% of the interviewed were unskilled). It was found, however, that only two individuals, both Social Credit backbenchers, representing 5% of all Social Credit backbenchers and 3% of all elected, were substantially raised in the working class areas of large cities.

In light of the above, it would be interesting, among other things, to investigate the effect that these backgrounds, so largely rural or small town among the elected, may have had in dealing with the problems of government, particularly in a province that is becoming increasingly urban (in 1961 some 51% of the Alberta population resided in cities exceeding 10,000 in population and 45% lived in cities exceeding 100,000, which is to say in Edmonton and Calgary).²⁹ However it would be unrealistic to assume that many factors may not have intervened to modify the early experience of our groups (e.g. higher education, experience of war, occupation, spiritual experience), though it might be reasonable to expect that there may have been greater change in some than in others. It may be, for example, that the group least affected might be the backbench members of the legislature where 67% of the Social Credit backbenchers represent non-urban constituencies, as do four of the five (80%) Opposition members, and would be Edmonton residents for only a few months each year. Perhaps the group most affected would be the deputies, nearly all of whom were career government employees (with an average of just under 20 years of government service on appointment to deputy rank) and, for the most part, long term residents of Edmonton, with the cabinet ministers likely falling somewhere between.

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Class origins

An attempt has been made, though not one of great sophistication, to determine the levels of society from which our legislators and senior officials were drawn. As far as possible, the sort of analysis employed by Porter has been used as a guide (where Porter's basis can be determined).

Our analysis, however, as with Porter's, is not without its subjective elements. In addition, it ought to be pointed out that one of the many problems encountered in attempting this class analysis was that of what class designation/s was/were to be applied to those with a farm background. This problem was not really resolved, but rather "farm" was set up as a separate category. This presents a difficulty in making comparison with Porter's findings on the political and bureaucratic elites at the federal level where he does not use a separate farm category though he does so in analyzing the labour elite. On the other hand, this is not as serious a problem as we have implied for the actual data produced by Porter, particularly on the cabinet, is not very extensive. However, in light of these reservations, the reader may wish to make his own class analysis on the basis particularly of the information provided in earlier chapters on the principal occupation and education of the father.

Some contrast was found between the origins of the cabinet and its own backbenchers and considerable contrast was found between these and the deputies and board chairmen. The deputies and chairmen, however, showed some fair degree of similarity in terms of class origins, though those of the deputies may be somewhat higher than those of the chairmen. Unfortunately there is no really meaningful way to compare these findings with the origins of the Alberta population, and the information on the federal cabinet, the M.P.s, and, though to a much lesser degree, the senior bureaucracy, leaves a good deal to be desired.

It might first be observed that none of the individuals interviewed

seems to have belonged to elite families in the sense in which Porter uses that term.³⁰ A word or two of explanation of what Porter means by "elite" seems in order at this point. To Porter, elite origins would be attributed to individuals who had family members in the parental generation or earlier who belonged to certain functionally defined elite groups. Membership in these groups (as was true in a few instances) might also be established through the spouse, where marriage took place early enough to have had some bearing on the career of the husband. His elite groups were the political, bureaucratic, economic, and labour, all within the Canadian political system, not outside of it. We have earlier in this chapter indicated the composition of Porter's political and bureaucratic elites. As to the other two elite groups, his economic elite would be composed of those who were directors of some 170 dominant Canadian corporations, the banks, the insurance companies, and some otherwise significant corporations, and the labour elite would essentially be composed of those holding senior union elected and non-elected positions.³¹

The cabinet was very largely drawn from the farm category, 75% of its members having farm fathers, with 6% coming from the manual (unskilled) category, and 19% from the middle class (67% of these from the lower middle class, representing 12% of the entire cabinet).³² The elite, upper, and upper middle classes do not seem to have been represented. Similarly the backbench Social Credit members do not appear to have been drawn from the upper levels of the social scale. Of those on whom we have detailed information, 21% would appear to have been drawn from the middle class (63% of these from the lower middle class, representing

13% of all interviewed Social Credit backbenchers or 12% of all Social Credit backbenchers), some 18% from the manual category (60% of these being unskilled, representing 13% of the interviewed or 12% of all Social Credit backbenchers), and 60% from the farm. It might be observed that in the case of both the cabinet ministers (with one possible exception) and the Social Credit backbenchers none came from really large scale farms and that two thirds of the farm-raised cabinet ministers came from farms that began as homestead operations (representing one half of the cabinet ministers) as did approximately half of the known farm-raised Social Credit backbenchers (representing approximately one-third of the total). It might be noted that one of the Opposition members came from a farm home with the remaining four from the middle class, two of these from the lower middle class. Of the total elected, then, none would seem to have come from the upper levels of society, and, of those on whom we have detailed information, some 61% were drawn from farm backgrounds, 25% from middle class (15% from the lower middle class), and 14% from manual occupations (10% from the ranks of the unskilled).³³

There is some contrast between the origins of the elected and the non-elected, with the non-elected covering a greater range, including a few that might be placed in the upper class category or close to it, but none in the elite.

While the single largest category from which the cabinet and the members were drawn was the farm, with a significant proportion of the Social Credit backbenchers being drawn from the manual category, only some 35% of the deputies and 33% of the chairmen came from farm homes.

Of these, in only one case was the farm a really substantial one, and, in common with the elected, though the proportion is significantly less, 18% of the deputies and 17% of the chairmen came from homes that began as homestead operations. Only one of the non-elected came from a home of a skilled manual worker. A very similar proportion of the deputies and the chairmen were drawn from the middle class, 59% and 56% respectively, though the deputies would appear to come from somewhat higher levels within that category. Some 24% of the deputies came from the lower middle class while this was true of 33% of the chairmen. Put another way, some 41% of the deputies and 28% of the chairmen were from the ranks of the middle middle class or above. It seems possible to ascribe upper class origins to 6% of the deputies and 6% of the chairmen, and it may be that these figures ought to be 12% and 11%.³⁴ In sum, the social class origins of the non-elected seem to have been considerably different from those of the elected, the non-elected collectively being drawn 34% from the farm category, 3% from the manual (unskilled), 57% from the middle class (29% from the lower middle class), and 6% from the upper (perhaps 11%).

Included in the above analysis has been an evaluation of the information on the family of the mother. There seems little reason to believe that the mother's family would raise the social class origins of any significant number of the elected or non-elected. In so far as the spouse is concerned, though it was found that there were differences on a number of our measures between husband and wife (e.g. ethnic origin, education), there would appear to be no instances where the elected or non-elected would have established elite or upper class position through marriage,

though there would seem to be some instances, though few, where the spouse probably came from a higher class position as judged by the occupation of the father.³⁵

Information on the social class origins of the federal cabinet is quite incomplete. Porter does not deal with the cabinet separately from his total political elite, and for that total elite he was able to obtain data on the parental occupation in only 60% of the cases. He concludes, however, that the majority of the political leaders were drawn from the middle class.³⁶ In part this would follow from the general association of higher education with middle class (or higher) status (as will be commented on later, some 86% of the cabinet ministers in the period 1940-60 were university graduates). With his incomplete data, Porter concludes that for the Canadian born of his total elite some 16% were from elite families, another 8% had upper class origins, so that about 24% came from the upper strata of Canadian society.³⁷ This, then, is in considerable contrast to the Alberta cabinet and Alberta legislators where none would fit the upper level categories.

There is virtually no information available on the origins of the members of parliament. However, as will be examined below, Kornberg found some 72% of his sample to be university educated, from which one might conclude that a high proportion had at least middle class origins. The only detailed information that Kornberg supplies is to the effect that 16% of his 1962 sample of M.P.s had fathers who were professionals.³⁸ If one uses educational level as a rough indicator of middle or higher class status, and Kornberg's legislature can be judged to be representative,

then it may be reasonable to conclude that the origins of the federal cabinet were higher than those of the federal legislature, and the origins of the federal legislators considerably higher than those of the provincial.

As to the federal deputy minister category, here there is more complete information (information was unavailable on only one father). Some 15.8% of the Canadian born were found to have elite family connections, virtually the same figure as that for the federal political elite. If those of upper class origins are added, the total for the deputy minister category drawn from the upper strata of Canadian society was 31.6%, which is somewhat higher than that for the federal cabinet ministers. Porter concluded that the proportion drawn from the middle or higher classes was an overwhelming 92.1%.³⁹

Religion

Perhaps in the earlier chapters more attention was focused on religious background than is usual in studies of this type, mainly because of the popular conception that there is a strong association between Social Credit in Alberta and religion, particularly that of the more evangelical or fundamentalist sort.⁴⁰ This attention, however, does seem to have been rather worthwhile, some of the findings suggesting that religion is not as significant as one might have thought, and showing some contrast between the ministers and the backbenchers and certainly between the ministers and the non-elected.

One interesting question is the extent to which the elected and non-elected were raised in religious homes and had early association with

organized religion. Here it was found that there was some difference in the extent to which members of the various groups indicated that they were raised in religious homes. Some 87% of the interviewed ministers, 82% of the interviewed Social Credit backbenchers, and 80% of the Opposition, indicated that they were raised in homes where at least one parent attached more than average importance to religion, while in contrast this was true only for 65% of the deputies and 56% of the board chairmen. A significantly higher proportion, then, of the elected (both government and Opposition) were raised in religious homes than was true of the non-elected. Yet the regular association of these individuals with organized religion in youth did not correspond to the home background. Eighty seven per cent of the interviewed ministers; 66% only of the interviewed backbench Social Crediters, 80% of the Opposition, 88% of the deputies and 67% of the chairmen claimed regular church or Sunday school attendance in youth.⁴¹ The parallel between the ministers and the deputies insofar as youthful association with organized religion is concerned is to be noted, but, as we have seen, was not maintained in adulthood; the significant difference in church attendance between the ministers and the backbenchers was certainly not expected, a difference that was maintained in adulthood, and it was certainly surprising to find that the Social Credit backbenchers should record the lowest percentage of any of the groups with respect to regular church attendance. However, either through the parent/s, or through regular church attendance, a high proportion of all groups except the board chairmen would, it can reasonably be argued, have had some considerable positive exposure to religious influence or organized religion while growing up.

Turning from youth to adulthood, one might have expected, particularly among the elected, regular association with organized religion. It was therefore somewhat surprising to find the percentage, particularly among the Social Credit backbenchers, that, at least at the time of the interviews, had little regular church association. While 87% of the interviewed ministers claimed regular church attendance, this was true of only 60% of the interviewed Social Credit backbenchers (in contrast four of the five Opposition members claimed regular attendance), and only 41% of the deputies and 50% of the chairmen. While all of the interviewed ministers maintained at least some association with organized religion, some 13% of the interviewed Social Credit backbenchers did not attend church at all, as was true for one of the Opposition members, and 29% of the deputies and 44% of the board chairmen. There was, then, considerable contrast between the cabinet and its own backbenchers, but particularly between the cabinet and the non-elected, and it would certainly seem that little by way of religious test had been applied in the selection of the non-elected in the sense of their being "strong churchmen". Indeed this would hardly seem, on the face of it, to have been an important factor for many legislators in securing the party nomination.

In terms of type of religious activity, few at any point followed the model of either Premier Aberhart or Premier Manning so far as public evangelistic activity is concerned. There was probably only one M.L.A. among the Social Credit backbenchers who constituted a fair parallel, with an additional member being a fundamentalist preacher, and a further three (7%) having either attended fundamentalist Bible colleges or engaged in

extensive lay preaching. No such activity was reported among the non-elected or the Opposition.

As we have commented before, it has frequently been maintained that Social Credit has drawn strong support from those religious groups of a more evangelical or fundamentalist sort. The numbers of our officials that were raised to some significant degree as Baptists or in fundamentalist sects is therefore worthy of observation, and here it was found, once more, that there was some contrast between the elected and the non-elected, and in the case of the elected particularly the proportion is probably smaller than one might have expected. Among the cabinet, the Premier was the only member who was Baptist raised, with a further 19% being raised in fundamentalist sects, for a total of 25%. Among the Social Credit backbenchers, some 14% were raised as Baptists and an additional 5% partly in fundamentalist sects (though during an important period in life and the fundamentalist association was maintained in adulthood), for a total of 19%.⁴² In contrast, none of the non-elected was formally either Baptist or a fundamentalist sect adherent, though in one case a deputy (representing 6% of the deputies) had parents who were Baptist raised and in another case a Board chairman (representing 6% of the chairmen), though formally Presbyterian, attended both Presbyterian and Baptist churches in youth. None of the Opposition had any Baptist or fundamentalist association. In total, then, some 19% of the elected belonged to the Baptist church or fundamentalist sects in youth (21% of all Social Crediters; none of the Opposition), while none of the non-elected did so, though some 6% of the non-elected would have had

some association with these groups.

If one were to add Methodism, or the influence of "chapel", to the above, it was found the 13% of the cabinet were Methodist raised, while an additional minister was partly so before church union in 1925, for a total of 19%. In the case of the Social Credit backbenchers, 17% were Methodist raised, with an additional member partly so before church union, for 19%. Among the non-elected, while none were wholly raised as Methodists, some 24% came from Methodist families, church union occurring sometime before they reached age 15, and one or 6% of the Board chairmen was Methodist raised. If one combines the Baptists, fundamentalist sect adherents, and Methodists into a single category, some 44% of the cabinet, 38% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 30% of the deputies, but only 12% of the Board chairmen and one of the Opposition, would fall into this groupings. In total, then, some 37% of the elected would fall into this category (40% of the Social Crediters; none of the Opposition), and 20% of the non-elected.

To shift theme somewhat, as with the other principal factors under examination, an attempt has been made at comparison, though not a particularly satisfactory one, with the Alberta population profile and the Porter data. The only measure that we have in making this comparison is the formal one of church affiliation. Using the formal affiliation of our Alberta elected and non-elected at time of election or during most of career, it was found that there was some contrast between the elected and non-elected and that both principal groups were to some degree unrepresentative of the province, though the non-elected perhaps more so

than the elected, and that there was some contrast with the federal elected and non-elected officials.

Membership in what Porter would term "the British charter group religions," the Anglican, United, and Presbyterian churches, varied among the groups. Collectively the elected were slightly below the Alberta population position, with 41% claiming membership in these churches as against 47% for the province as a whole,⁴³ while the non-elected were significantly above, with 65% of the deputies and 78% of the chairmen claiming "charter group" religious affiliation. Insofar as our groups are concerned, this is not surprising given the differences in ethnic origin between the elected and the non-elected, and some degree of difference in social class origins.⁴⁴

Of these principal "British charter group" churches, the one that Porter identifies most with elite membership, the Anglican, was represented in approximately the same proportion among the cabinet (6%)⁴⁵ and the Social Credit members (7%), though not among the Opposition, while the general population of the province was 12% Anglican. The non-elected on the other hand, overrepresented the Anglicans for 18% of the deputies and 22% of the chairmen claimed membership in the Anglican church. The United Church of Canada, often referred to as the church of the great Canadian middle class, was, perhaps unexpectedly, slightly overrepresented among the elected and more significantly overrepresented among the non-elected (it will be recalled that a number of these United Church members would have been raised in the Methodist church or have had Methodist parents). However, there was some contrast between the cabinet

and its backbenchers. The cabinet was 25% drawn from the United Church, the backbenchers 38%, the Opposition 20%, for a total of 33% of all elected belonging to the United Church as against an Alberta population figure of 31%. Amongst the cabinet, the Lutherans (following the Scandinavian ethnic background) claimed an equal place with the United, with 25% each, while there were no Lutherans at all among the ordinary members of the legislature. As to the non-elected, some 41% of the deputies were members of the United Church as were 56% of the chairmen, for a collective figure of 49%.

The Baptist and fundamentalist sect adherents were found to be overrepresented among the elected. The Premier among the cabinet, as noted, was the only Baptist, though an additional 13% claimed fundamentalist sect affiliation, for a total of Baptists and fundamentalist of 19%. While one might have expected the cabinet to be more strongly representative of these groups than the backbenchers, the reverse, in fact, obtained, where 19% of the Social Credit backbenchers were Baptist and 4% belonged to sects, for a total of 23%. This considerably exceeded the Alberta population position where only 3% are Baptists and 6% belong to fundamentalist sects, for a total of 9%. Of the total elected, some 14% were Baptists and 6% belonged to fundamentalist sects, while none of the Opposition belonged to either group. Neither Baptists nor fundamentalists were represented among the non-elected (though, as we have noted, in two cases there was some youthful Baptist background or influence).

Roman Catholics were significantly underrepresented among the Social Crediters, and the board chairmen, but not among the Opposition, and,

though underrepresented, not nearly so significantly among the deputies. Six per cent of the cabinet was Roman Catholic (an additional minister, representing 6%, was Ukrainian Catholic), as were 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers (an additional member, representing 2%, was Ukrainian Catholic), and three of the five Opposition members, for a total of 11% of the elected, as opposed to 22% of the population of the province.⁴⁶ Among the deputy ministers, 18% were Roman Catholic (two were Irish Catholics), while there were no Catholics among the Board chairmen. The Jews, with under one-half of 1% of the population of Alberta, were unrepresented in all groups (Jews, in 1961, totaled only 6,045 in a population of 1,331,944).⁴⁷

There is not a great deal of information available concerning religion and the federally elected and non-elected. The information on the cabinet ministers indicates an overrepresentation of the "British charter group religions", some 52% of the ministers falling into this category as opposed to a general population position in 1951 of 41%.⁴⁸ Porter found 17% of the cabinet to be Anglican as opposed to 15% of the population; 24% to be United Church vs. 20.5% of the population; 11% to be Presbyterian vs. 6% of the population. This, then, is in contrast to the Alberta cabinet where the "charter group religions" were underrepresented. A significant percentage of the federal cabinet ministers were drawn from Roman Catholics, though they were underrepresented in general population terms, 33% of the ministers being Roman Catholic vs. 43% of the general 1951 population. The federal cabinet, then, much less significantly underrepresented the Roman Catholics than did the

Alberta cabinet. Of the federal cabinet ministers, the "charter group" and the Roman Catholics represented 85% of the membership. Interestingly, the Baptists made up 9% of the federal cabinet ministers, considerably overrepresenting the Baptists in the general population where they stood at 4%. No Jews were reported among the federal or provincial cabinet ministers. The conventional wisdom regarding federal cabinet construction has indicated that religion has been a factor given consideration though it is difficult to say whether Porter's data confirms or denies this.⁴⁹

The only findings that we have with respect to the federal parliament, drawn from Kornberg, are not particularly illuminating. He found, however, that in terms of the major divisions, i.e., Protestantism vs. Catholicism, the legislature closely approximated the general population breakdown. He found 49% of the House to be Protestant vs. 46% of the population; 45% to be Catholic vs. 46% of the population; 2% to be Jewish vs. 1% of the population; and 4% to be in the "other" category as opposed to 7% of the population.⁵⁰ In this there was considerable contrast with the Alberta legislature where the Catholics were significantly underrepresented with 11% of the elected vs. 22% of the population, and where only 7% of the Social Crediters were Roman Catholic, though three of the five Opposition members were Catholic.

Data on the religious background of the Ottawa senior bureaucracy are also incomplete. Porter could only establish religious affiliation for 65% of a total bureaucratic elite of 202, and provides no separate information on the deputy minister category. For the combined deputy minister and associate/assistant deputy categories, with incomplete

information, Porter's data indicates that 26% belonged to the United Church, 19% to the Anglican, and 26% to the Roman Catholic as opposed to the 1951 population position of 20.5%, 15%, and 43%.⁵¹ It is to be observed that the proportion of federal cabinet ministers and senior members of the bureaucracy drawn from the two principal "charter group" religions, the Anglican and the United Church, did not differ very much, but the cabinet gave somewhat more strength to the Roman Catholics (33% of the cabinet ministers vs. 26% of the two senior bureaucratic categories vs. a population that was 43% Catholic). It may be that, in part, the greater Catholic representation in the cabinet reflects its larger French-Canadian component. This incomplete data suggest that the senior bureaucracy was less representative of the general population than either the cabinet or the legislature, as was also the case with the provincial non-elected.

Education

While all groups examined represented a level of education higher than that of the population of Alberta as a whole, there was some contrast between them, with the level of education of the elected being significantly lower than that of the non-elected, and there being some difference in the nature of the education of the elected and the non-elected.

More specifically, only a very small percentage of the population of Alberta who have completed their schooling are university graduates, a little over 3% according to the 1961 census, while close to 40% have no more than an elementary school education.⁵² In comparison, it was found that 19% of the cabinet, 26% of the Social Credit backbenchers,

three of the five (60%) Opposition members, 30% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 27% of all the elected, were university graduates. Surprisingly, perhaps, the cabinet represented a lower level of formal education, as judged by degrees held, than its own backbenchers or of the Opposition. The deputies and board chairmen represented a significantly more highly educated group, for it was found that 59% of the deputies and 50% of the chairmen were university graduates, collectively 54%, or just twice the percentage of the elected. Among the elected only one cabinet minister (6%), an M.D., held a higher degree,⁵³ and three (7%) of the Social Credit backbenchers, representing 6% of all elected, held a higher degree. In contrast, 29% of the deputies held a higher degree, as did 17% of the chairmen, for a total among the non-elected of 25%. The level of education of the non-elected is seen to be even higher when it is considered that 19% of the cabinet had no more than an elementary school education, and that this was the case for 15% of the Social Credit backbenchers, for a total of 15% of all elected, while only one of the non-elected, a board chairman, representing 3%, had no more than an elementary school education.⁵⁴ Overall, though the level of education of the elected cannot be said to be high, it is considerably higher than that of the province as a whole, and clearly, if one was drawing the legislature largely from Albertans with university degrees the choice would be restricted to a very small minority. It might be added that it is likely that the individual legislators and non-elected officials are significantly more highly educated in relation to their own particular generations than they are in relation to the general Alberta population in 1961.

All but one of all the individuals with whom we have been concerned (a Social Credit backbencher) received his education somewhere in the Anglo-American community. In all groups, as one would expect from the data regarding birthplace and community, a high proportion received a substantial part of their education in the Canadian West and to that extent share a common background. Ignoring for the moment higher education, up to that level, it was found that 94% of the cabinet received the most substantial part of their education in the West, and that this was true also for 79% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 80% of the Opposition, 79% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 83% of all elected, 82% of the deputies and 83% of the chairmen. Not the same proportions, however, are products of the Alberta educational system, though, interestingly, the proportion of the cabinet ministers and deputies educated in Alberta is virtually the same. It was found that 81% of the cabinet, 74% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 60% of the Opposition, 72% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, 75% of the elected, 82% of the deputies, and 61% of the board chairmen were entirely or substantially schooled in Alberta. Few, with all that it may imply with respect to social position and perhaps equalitarian values, received any private school education. Only three of the elected (5%) received some private school education, two Social Credit backbenchers and one of the Opposition members, but none attended schools of an elite type. Three (9%) of the non-elected received some private school education, two of these, one deputy and one board chairman, attending schools of some exclusiveness, patterned on British private schools (presumably with both their virtues and vices) on

Vancouver Island.⁵⁵ While a very high proportion of all groups, then, are products of state schools (and not of Upper or Lower Canada College or Trinity), there was some difference between the elected and non-elected in terms of type, again largely coincident with the type of community in which raised. More specifically, the elected were much more substantially educated in rural or town schools than the non-elected, the cabinet more so than any other group. Some 88% of the cabinet received a significant part of their education in rural or town schools, as did 79% of the Social Credit backbenchers, 80% of the Opposition, 79% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, or, in total, 81% of the elected. In some contrast, this was true for 59% of the deputies and only 44% of the chairmen. It might be argued, then, that the quality of education at this level of the non-elected might also be superior to that of the elected. It might also be argued that the cabinet was the least well educated of the groups under examination, the greatest product of the educational system of Western Canada, and contained the highest proportion of members with a rural or small town type education, with all that may imply with respect to "worldly perspective."

Looking only at the university graduates, and applying the usual standards of measurement of academic distinction (particularly scholarships and fellowships permitting travel to the great academic institutions in Britain or the United States), it was found that there were no truly distinguished among the elected or the non-elected. However, there were among the two groups some of superior accomplishment, though

much more so among the non-elected than among the elected. Only some 7% of the elected (none of the cabinet) might be described as superior students, while the number among the non-elected would appear to be 35% of the deputies and 22% of the chairmen. While none of the elected were such, some 18% of the deputies were prize or fellowship winners as were 11% of the chairmen. Among the non-elected, too, were three, one deputy and two board chairmen, who had taught at some point in institutions of higher learning in the province. Of these, one had been a dean of Engineering and another Principal of the Calgary Normal School.

While none of the cabinet, and virtually none of the M.L.A.s, attended other than Western provincial universities, the experience among the non-elected was more varied, including undergraduate study for 9% in Eastern Canada (they were all Eastern Canadians) at (one case each) Dalhousie, Toronto, and the Ontario Agricultural College (now the University of Guelph) and graduate study, in all but one case in the United States, at the Ontario Agricultural College, the University of Colorado (Boulder), Colorado State, Minnesota, Michigan, and Stanford. Some 14%, then, took some higher education in the United States, but not, however, at what at the time would have been considered particularly prestigious American universities.

It might be noted that Bible college background belonged only to the elected, to the Premier and 10% of his backbenchers, for some 8% of the elected. On the other hand, the experience of having been taught by William Aberhart, the founder of Social Credit in Alberta, either at the Institute or Crescent Heights High School, belonged to a

small proportion of both the elected and the non-elected. The Premier, of course, was taught by Aberhart, as were 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers (though none of the Opposition), and 12% of the deputy ministers. Aberhart, then, had taught 6% of the elected and 6% of the non-elected. Another interesting feature that cuts across the elected and non-elected is graduation from one of the Alberta normal schools. Including those who subsequently went on to take university degrees, some 31% of the cabinet, 24% of the Social Credit members, some 24% of all elected, 12% of the deputies and 11% of the board chairmen, attended normal school in Alberta.⁵⁶ Having mentioned the common feature of the normal schools, it might also be noted that in terms of university specialization the largest proportion of the ministers and Social Credit backbenchers taking degrees (though none of the Opposition) did so in Education (two of the three ministers; six of the 11 backbenchers), while only three of the non-elected did so (two of 10 deputies taking degrees; one of nine chairmen).⁵⁷

Turning to the federal scene, it is to be observed that there is very considerable contrast between the provincial elected and the federal elected, and also, though to some lesser degree, between the non-elected at the two levels.

Porter found that the federal cabinet, in terms of formal education, certainly constituted an elite group, and that since Confederation the cabinet had always represented an educational level well above that of the general population. For the period 1940-60, he found that some 86% of the cabinet ministers were university graduates, the percentages

being almost the same for the Liberals (88%) and for the Conservative administration that followed (84%).⁵⁸ Though Porter provides little information on the type and quality of education received, it is well known to those who have observed the federal scene with some attention that a number of cabinet ministers had distinguished educational backgrounds (though perhaps more so among the Liberals than the Conservatives). An examination by this writer of the higher educational backgrounds of the members of the St. Laurent administration as at January 1, 1956, and the Diefenbaker administration as at January 1, 1959, would seem to support this. While the information is not complete, it was found that 30% of the Liberals had at some point taught in Canadian universities, including one who had been president of a provincial university. Four or 20% had studied at Oxford or Cambridge, two of these also studying in the United States, one at Harvard and one at Princeton. An additional two (10%) studied at American prestige institutions, Chicago and M.I.T. Among the Liberal ministers were at least three (15%) who had won prestige awards (at least one Rhodes scholar, one IODE, and one Massey Foundation). Among the Conservatives, one had been president of two Canadian universities (he was not a career politician and died after only a relatively brief period in the cabinet), 17% had studied at Oxford or Cambridge, one (4%) at Harvard, and at least three (13%) had been Rhodes scholars.⁵⁹ Porter found that 31% of the federal cabinet ministers had attended private schools (it will be recalled that this was true of none of the provincial cabinet). However it may be that a disproportionate number of those attending private schools were French Canadians who studied at classical colleges.⁶⁰ The contrast with the Alberta cabinet, then, is quite

striking, and, at least in this instance, would seem to bear out Porter's contention that "the closer to 'the people' in terms of government political leaders are, the more likely they are to be representative of the social composition of the population."⁶¹

Ward does not examine the educational background of the House, but Kornberg found that 72% of his 1962 sample were university graduates.⁶² This would suggest that the federal cabinet, in educational terms, has been a more distinguished body than the legislature (it seems reasonable to assume, for example, that in this particular instance, based on Porter's findings, that the cabinet of Kornberg's parliament would have been in the neighbourhood of 84% university educated). It will be recalled, in contrast, that the Alberta cabinet contained a smaller proportion of university graduates than the legislature, and though both exceeded the general population position, they could hardly be considered anything like the elite group represented by the federal parliamentarians.

As to the federal non-elected, they, like the federal cabinet, constituted an elite group, and a more distinguished group than the provincial non-elected. The federal non-elected, however, would seem much closer in terms of level of education to the federal cabinet than the provincial non-elected to the provincial cabinet.

Collectively the provincial non-elected were drawn in 54% of the cases from university graduates. Porter's deputy minister level was to a much higher degree drawn from the university trained. He found that

87.5% were university graduates, 55% had higher degrees,⁶³ and that some 30% had attended private schools.⁶⁴ Some 22.5% had taught at some point at the university level.⁶⁵ While Porter does not outline in any detail the sorts of academic background in terms of fellowship winners, type of institutions attended, etc., it is well known that among the non-elected at the deputy level were individuals who had studied at the great universities in the United States and Britain, including some who had been Rhodes scholars. While it may be that the group examined by Porter (recall that his detailed information is that of 1953) represented the most distinguished aggregation of higher public servants that Canada has ever seen, that those in the deputy minister category are still a very distinguished group seems without question. This is in part illustrated by an article by Peter Newman, probably the most reliable of Canadian journalists so far as factual information is concerned (if not necessarily the interpretation of those same facts), in dealing with what he considered to be the Ottawa "establishment" as it was in 1964. Of his "establishment", some 11 would fit into Porter's deputy minister category in terms of positions held at that time. Of these, four were former Rhodes scholars (one of whom also studied at Harvard), one had studied at Harvard, one at Cambridge and Harvard, and three at The London School of Economics. Of the 11, six had either a Ph.D. or had taught at the university level or both.⁶⁶

Occupational background

From what occupational groups were the Alberta elected and non-elected drawn? Of what principal groups or interests, as judged by

their occupational background, might they be representative? Perhaps not surprisingly, given the findings with respect to social origins, education, and so on, some contrast was found between the Alberta elected and non-elected. Neither group was truly representative of the occupational background of the Alberta populace, and there is, as will become evident shortly, some contrast between the Alberta elected and non-elected and the federally elected and non-elected.

Looking firstly only at the principal occupations pursued prior to election, it was found that the Alberta cabinet ministers and the Social Credit backbenchers were to a considerable degree drawn from the same main occupational categories, though in differing proportions, and in fair measure meet the frequent characterization of Social Creditors as coming from the ranks of teaching, farming, and small business. In the case of the cabinet some 70% were drawn from the teaching, farming, and small business categories: 38% from teaching, 19% from farming, and 13% from small business (with a total of 19% from the business sector). In the case of the Social Credit backbenchers, from 60% to 64% came from these same categories,⁶⁷ though they were drawn much less heavily from teaching (though, as will be noted shortly, the contrast is not as great when total, and not just principal, occupational background is considered) and somewhat more from small business than was the case with the cabinet. Nineteen per cent of the Social Credit backbenchers came from teaching, 17% from farming, and from 19% to 24% from small business sector). In contrast, none of the Opposition members came from teaching or farming, though one, perhaps

two, came from small business.⁶⁸ Of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, then, some 19% were teachers, 17% farmers, and from 19% to 26% small businessmen (some 26% to 32% came from the business sector). Of all the elected, from 60% to 63% were drawn from these three categories, 24% from teaching, 18% from the farm, and from 18% to 21% from small business (24% to 29% from the business sector).

A comparison of the above figures with the Alberta population profile indicates that teachers were grossly overrepresented for teachers composed only 3% of the Alberta 1961 labour force.⁶⁹ Farmers and farm workers totalled 21% of the labour force, indicating, perhaps unexpectedly, this sector to be slightly underrepresented. However, the elected overrepresented farm owners for 19% of the cabinet were such as were 17% of the Social Credit backbenchers (none of the Opposition) while only 13% of the Alberta work force were farmers in the proprietary sense. Unfortunately there is no readily available figure on the proportion of the Alberta work force that engaged in small business activity. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the elected were occupationally unrepresentative of the population of the province, though, as will become evident shortly, in socio-economic terms, they would seem closer to the population of the province than the federally elected are, or were, to the general occupational profile of Canada as a whole.

Some contrast was found between the Alberta elected and the non-elected in so far as principal occupation is concerned. Almost half of the deputies (47%) and close to a quarter (22%) of the chairmen knew virtually no employment other than non-elected governmental service.

Of the remainder, few were drawn from teaching, farming, or small business as the principal occupation pursued prior to entry into government service. Of all the deputies, only 6% had been teachers, 6% farmers, and none had been small businessmen (24%, however, had experience in the business sector); of the chairmen, 11% had been teachers, 6% farmers (with an additional chairmen having been an official of a farm organization), and 6% small businessmen (though 28% came from the business sector). Of the non-elected as a group, then, only 9% had been teachers, 6% farmers, and 3% small businessmen (while 26% came from the business sector).

Very few of the Social Crediters came from the traditional professions (Law, Medicine, or the clergy of the principal churches), this being the case for only 6% of the cabinet and 2% of the backbenchers (if one were to include university teaching and Engineering in the traditional category the figure would be 7% of the backbenchers). Only one of the Social Crediters was a lawyer prior to election; of the total Alberta elected, only three or 5% were lawyers prior to election. This is in considerable contrast, as will become clearer in due course, to the federal parliamentarians (though not, we will subsequently suggest, to federal Social Crediters) where Law has consistently been strongly represented. Even the figure of 5%, however, overrepresented the lawyers in Alberta, that group constituting only 0.2% of the 1961 Alberta labour force. Interestingly, though it is probably of no particular significance, the number of lawyers equaled the number of fundamentalist preachers.⁷⁰

Having said that few of the Social Crediters were drawn from the traditional professions, a higher proportion than might have been

anticipated was found to fall within the professional and technical category as defined in the 1961 census.⁷¹ Half of the cabinet fell within this category, as was the case for 43% of the Social Credit backbenchers, three of the five Opposition members, 45% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, and 46% of the total elected. In this the elected were quite unrepresentative of the Alberta population where only 9.5% fell within that category in 1961.

It is to be observed that, though significant proportions of both the Alberta elected and non-elected would be placed in the census category of professional and technical, among the non-elected the professional and technical occupations would probably be considered to be of more socially prestigious type; certainly the formal qualifications, as we have seen earlier in dealing with education, were higher (one, for example, is placing in the same category the professional agriculturalist, the Ph.D. in Education, and the professional social worker, all occupations that were represented among the non-elected, and the chiropractor and the Bible college trained fundamentalist preacher, occupations that were represented among the elected). As with the elected, few of the non-elected were lawyers, this being the case for one deputy (6%) and two of the chairmen (11%), for a total of 9% of the non-elected.

Moving from consideration of principal occupation to a more total view of occupational background, and to a more total view of interest representation, it was found that some of the elected had some significant occupational experience in addition to that indicated by the principal occupation. This, however, except in one principal area to be mentioned

directly, though another will also be noted, tended not to introduce new categories of occupational background into the total group of elected but rather indicates that some experience particularly of teaching and farming was more widely shared than an examination of principal occupation alone would indicate. For example, four or 10% of the Social Credit backbenchers additional to those who pursued teaching as a principal occupation are known to have taught school at some point in career. An additional five or 12% had farming experience as adults prior to election with a further member becoming a farmer following election. As well, 12% of the cabinet ministers acquired farms as cabinet ministers. It will also be recalled that a considerable proportion of the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers were raised in farm homes. This more total view, and when combined with our findings with respect to organizational association which will be explored in a subsequent section, suggests that the Social Credit legislators in particular might tend to be representative of, and sympathetic to, education, farming, and small business. This further suggests that an interesting study might be made of the policy outputs of the particular government that we have examined in order to determine whether, in fact, this had been the case.

It has been noted that the backgrounds of teaching, farming, and small business were not as strongly represented among the non-elected as they were among the elected. An examination of other occupational background of the non-elected, however, while not fundamentally altering the position, does indicate that some of the non-elected had experience in the teaching area and some had some agricultural, if not direct

farming, association. While only 9% of the non-elected had been teachers in the principal occupational sense (6% of the deputies; 11% of the chairmen), an additional 12% of the deputies, though none of the chairmen, had taught school. While none of the non-elected in addition to the 6% who had been farmers had adult farming experience, some 11% of the chairmen, though none of the deputies, had some occupational association with agriculture. Some 18% of the deputies, all government careerists, had association with agriculture in the areas of their university specialization.

An element of background experience that was not shown to exist to any degree among the elected on the basis of the examination of principal occupation was that of some association with labour. It was found that only one of the elected, a cabinet minister without portfolio, had pursued a labour type occupation as the principal one prior to election (representing 2% of the total elected), and was the only person among the elected with trade union association in the usual understanding of that term. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that some of the elected would have some direct knowledge of the problems of labour through having at some point engaged in a manual type occupation for a period of one year or more. This was true for one member of the cabinet additional to the minister without portfolio already mentioned, for five or 12% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and for one of the Opposition. Some 12% of the cabinet, 13% of the non-cabinet members of the legislature, or a total of 13% of the elected, then, had engaged in a labour type occupation for periods ranging from one to 18 years. In addition, some

members came from homes where a parent had at some point engaged in a manual type occupation.⁷² This direct and indirect labour association, is greater than might have been anticipated in light of the accusations that have been made that Social Credit is, or has been, unsympathetic to labour. Again this suggests the usefulness of an examination of the policy outputs of the Social Credit government that we have examined.

Labour was not found to be strongly represented among the non-elected. None of the non-elected engaged in a manual type occupation as the principal one prior to entry into government service nor had trade union association. However, two deputies (12%) had some association with labour in the sense of having engaged in manual type employment at some point prior to becoming a government employee, though again there was no trade union association. Among the chairman, however, there was no similar activity though one came from a home where the father followed a manual type occupation.⁷³

The other element of occupational background experience not indicated by viewing principal occupation only was non-elected government service by M.L.A.s prior to election. It was found that 6% of the cabinet, 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers, none of the Opposition, for a total of 6% of the elected, had been employees of some level of government for periods ranging from three to 15 years. (This matter will be returned to in a subsequent section).

Having a little earlier mentioned labour, one ought also to mention "big business". It was found that none of the elected or non-elected

came from its ranks in the sense of having held important executive position or large proprietary interest prior to election or appointment in any of what Porter would classify as Canada's dominant corporations.⁷⁴ However, two of the board chairmen, or 6% of the non-elected, came from significant corporate positions within the Alberta context, one of whom also held significant proprietary interest. It might be argued that these two, at least, might be "big business" oriented. Both belonged at some point to social clubs of the Alberta economic elite and the latter chairmen (who has in many respects a unique background) was a director of certain international companies, an international director of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of at least one social club of the Canadian economic elite.⁷⁵

While none of the Alberta elected and non-elected were directly drawn in the strict occupational sense from "big business", there is considerable similarity in the proportions of the elected and non-elected that came from the business sector (24% to 29% among the elected; 26% among the non-elected). The nature of this business background, however, differed between the principal groups. The elected, heavily drawn from small business activities, for the most part held some degree of proprietary interest, were self-employed. The non-elected, on the other hand, tended to be employees. The deputies all held relatively minor positions, entering government service relatively early while in some contrast, two of the five chairmen who came from the business sector, both direct appointees to chairmanships, and appointed relatively late in career, and to whom we referred by a short while ago, came from senior

executive positions in Alberta corporations, one of whom also held significant proprietary interest. It might be noted, however, though the number is quite small, that at least two of the elected, (3%), acquired executive positions following election in corporations operative in Alberta, though these were not senior positions in any of Canada's dominant corporations. This involved one cabinet minister (while a minister without portfolio; not while heading a department) and one Social Credit backbencher.⁷⁶

Before turning to the federal elected and non-elected, two further observations seem in order. Firstly, few of the elected seem to have had any distinguished occupational background prior to election.⁷⁷ On the other hand, some of the board chairmen, particularly among those appointed directly to chairmanships from outside government service, within the context of the province of Alberta, seem to have had backgrounds of some distinction. We have repeatedly mentioned that two held significant corporate positions. Another had been Dean of Engineering at The University of Alberta, and another, though not prior to initial entry into government service, did hold the position of Principal of the Calgary Normal School at one point in career.⁷⁸ Secondly, it might also be observed that the elected, in contrast to the non-elected, were drawn, in occupational terms, largely from the ranks of the self-employed, or from occupations from which one could fairly readily obtain leave or resume career without serious difficulty.⁷⁹

As to the occupational background of the federal cabinet, and referring here only to the principal occupation pursued, Porter found that, for

those holding office in the period, 1940-60, a strikingly high proportion, some 60%, were drawn from the legal profession (for the period from 1867 to 1940 some 48% were lawyers and of the prime ministers from 1867 to 1967 some 64% were lawyers).⁸⁰ Lawyers constituted nearly all of the professional category in the traditional sense (slightly over 2% of the ministers were medical doctors). The next largest category came from the ranks of business with some 18%, though Porter does not indicate from what levels within the business sector the ministers came. It would seem doubtful, however, given the findings regarding other factors of background, that many would have been small businessmen. Approximately 6% had been farmers, 6% were drawn from the armed forces or the public service, and 4.5% had been teachers. Of the entire group of 88 cabinet ministers only one, or slightly over 1% of the total, had been a skilled tradesman. Only one minister had had some trade union association.⁸¹ The federal cabinet, then has been grossly unrepresentative in an occupational sense of the general population, considerably overrepresenting the professional/managerial category and underrepresenting those engaged in manual occupations. In 1961, for example, using rounded figures, under 0.2% of the labour force aged 15 years and over were lawyers, 18% fell within the professional/managerial/proprietary category, and 35% followed manual type occupations. Ten per cent were farmers or farm workers.⁸² The cabinet, as will become clearer directly, was also unrepresentative of the House of Commons. Considerable contrast is also evident between the federal cabinet and the particular provincial cabinet that we have examined. As we have seen, 76% of the provincial cabinet was drawn from the teaching, farming, and business categories while these same categories

represented only 28.5% of the federal cabinet ministers. Our particular provincial cabinet was drawn from much "humbler" occupations, was perhaps "closer to the people", than the federal cabinet ministers. Restating the obvious, and as also indicated by our examination of other factors of background, the provincial cabinet was much less an "elite group" than federal cabinets have been.

As to the occupational background of the House, Porter does not deal with the matter in any real way, Ward does so but his data is not strictly comparable with ours, and Kornberg looks at occupational background in only the broadest of terms. Detailed comparisons are not, therefore, really possible, but there are certain features that do emerge from an examination of their findings.

Though not as strikingly as in the case of the federal cabinet, Law stands out as the single most important occupational source for the House of Commons, and has been quite consistently so over time. In this respect Ward found that, for the period 1867-1945, Law usually represented approximately one-third of the membership of the House,⁸³ and, according to Kornberg, this was still the situation in 1962.⁸⁴

Kornberg also produced the interesting finding, following an examination of the background of the candidates of all parties in the eight federal elections during the period 1945-65, that the "old line" parties have relied much more heavily on lawyers than have the "third parties". He found that 32% of the Liberal candidates, 26% of the Conservative, but only 5% of the CCF/NDP and 2% of the Social Crediters

were lawyers. Of the candidates who were successful in being elected during the same period, he found that 40% of the Liberals, 29% of the Conservatives, 7% of the CCF/NDP, and 4% of the Social Crediters were lawyers.⁸⁵ Recalling that few of our provincial Social Credit legislators came from the legal profession, Kornberg's findings suggest that there has been no significant difference in the degree to which the Alberta provincial Social Credit party and the national Social Credit party have drawn upon the legal profession.

While Law maintained a quite constant position over time as a source of federal members, Ward found some variation in the period 1867 to 1945, in the degree to which other occupations were represented. For example, agricultural representation increased from under 6% in 1867 to 20% in 1945 and the percentage of members drawn from teaching increased from under 3% to just under 7%. On the other hand journalism and publishing declined from approximately 8% to half of that percentage by 1945. Throughout, however, the members were drawn in large measure from the professional/managerial and proprietary interests in the community.⁸⁶ It is also to be noted that in the early parliaments (1867 to 1896) there was no representation of what Ward would term "labour"; by 1945 this group had some representation but it amounted to only between 2% and 3% of the House.⁸⁷

Viewed more from the perspective of interest representation than from that of specific occupation, Ward compared the parliament of 1930 with the census data for 1931 (which he regrouped in making his analysis).⁸⁸ This comparison at least illustrates how unrepresentative a parliament

can be, or has been. He found close to half of the House to come from Law and Medicine and Dentistry (33.1% from Law; 14.7% from Medicine and Dentistry) whereas these professions represented only 0.6% of the population; agriculture was underrepresented with 20% of the House vs. 28.8% of the population; and labour was grossly underrepresented with 2.4% of the House while 21.5% of the population fell within what Ward considered to be the labour category. Ward's categories of finance and insurance, manufacturing, and merchants accounted for 34.7% of the House while these represented only 4.8% of the population. Professional, proprietary, and business interests were, therefore, considerably overrepresented.⁸⁹

Kornberg's data is not very extensive but indicate that the federal House by 1962 continued to be heavily drawn from at least middle class occupations.⁹⁰ He found 76% of his sample to be from the professions or business (51% professional; 25% proprietors/managers). Unfortunately, aside from one-third of the House coming from Law, he does not indicate the nature of the professional background. It will be recalled, however, that 72% of his sample were university or college graduates which suggests that the members were drawn from the more prestigious professions. He found 12% of the M.P.s to be farm owners and 12% to come from low status occupations (by which he meant blue and white collar workers such as labourers, truck drivers, plumbers, clerks, typists, salesmen, and so forth).⁹¹ The House, then, grossly overrepresented the professional/proprietary/managerial category for this constituted but 18% of the 1961 labour force. Interestingly, however, it would seem that agriculture was overrepresented for only 10.2% of the labour force fell within the

agricultural sector in 1961. It is also to be observed that Kornberg's figure refers to farm owners whereas the 10.2% would include farm workers within it. Though Kornberg places no interpretation on this agricultural finding it would seem that his movement of agriculture to a position of overrepresentation was not the product of an increase in the number of members drawn from the farming area but rather of a decrease in the relative importance of agriculture as an employer in the community at large.⁹² Because of the lack of comparability between Ward's and Kornberg's figures, it is not possible to say whether the proportion of members drawn from "low status" occupations had significantly changed. It seems clear, however, that Kornberg's "low status" category is not equivalent to Ward's "labour" category. Even if it was, however, manual workers would still be grossly underrepresented.

Little of the above data makes detailed comparison with the Alberta legislature, where teaching, farming, and small business provided principal sources for the membership, really possible. What data there is, however, suggest that the federal legislature did not rely heavily on teaching or small business. It is clear that farm owners were somewhat overrepresented in both the Alberta legislature and, by 1962, in the federal House. The earlier findings with respect to level of education, etc., combined with the above, suggest that the federal parliamentarians were generally drawn from higher socio-economic position than the Alberta legislators. Kornberg's findings with respect to Law as a source of candidates, however, suggest that there may be significant occupational differences between the elected members from the "old line" federal parties and those from the "third parties". Neither group of

elected, federal or provincial, however, as judged by principal occupation, was significantly drawn from the ranks of manual workers.

The data provided by Porter on the occupational background of his deputy minister category is not very extensive, and it must be emphasized that what there is deals principally with a group that held office in 1953. He did find, however, that only 20% of that group had spent their entire careers in government service (contrast with our Alberta deputy ministers where the figure seems much higher) and that only one-half had spent one-half of their working lives in it.⁹³ Clearly, then, a high proportion had some significant occupational experience prior to entry into federal government service, and it is known that during certain periods some of the more prominent members of the senior bureaucracy were drawn from the universities (particularly during the late 1930's and World War II) and from business (particularly in the case of activities associated with C.D. Howe). Unfortunately we cannot be very specific about the proportions drawn from these sources for the only hard data provided by Porter for his deputy minister category is to the effect that 22.5% taught at the university level at some point.⁹⁴ Certain of Porter's findings with respect to his total bureaucratic elite are, however, suggestive of other sources (it will be recalled that Porter's total elite involves 202 officials of whom 40 are in the deputy category). He found that 39% of the total elite were appointed to their first position in federal government service from outside at at least the relatively senior level of the equivalent of assistant director. Of this group of 79 individuals, 22% had been active politically (the figure is 26% if four who oscillated between bureaucratic and political

roles are included), 23% came from business, 18% from the armed forces, 8% from some other level of government service (largely provincial), 6% from law firms, and 9% are referred to as having had some other special qualifications.⁹⁵ This evidence, though limited, suggests some contrast with the Alberta non-elected. Little political activity or armed forces background, for example, was found, or suggested, among the Alberta non-elected. The earlier findings, particularly with respect to education, suggest the federal non-elected to be a more distinguished group, though both the Alberta and the federal non-elected would seem occupational unrepresentative of their respective communities.

Organizational association

We turn now to the matter of organizational association. Our focus here is only on certain aspects of that activity, principally viewing it from the perspective of interest representation and type of organization of association. This examination would seem to confirm our earlier suggestion that the Social Credit legislators were to a considerable degree representative of small business, farm, and teaching interests; certainly insofar as types of organization of association are concerned, the Social Credit elected were more involved with organizations in the business, farm, and teaching areas than were the non-elected. It is also to be observed, though the matter is not directly explored below, that the non-elected tended to be more associated with purely social clubs (though not fraternal organizations), community service activity of the boy scout, community league, etc., type, and professional organizations than was the case with the elected. More of the chairmen were members

of these categories of organization than was the case with the deputies. Unfortunately there is virtually no comparative data available on the federal parliamentarians or the federal bureaucrats.

Forty-seven percent of the ministers, at least 57% of the Social Credit backbenchers, four of the five Opposition members, 56% of the total elected, but only 6% of the deputies and 17% of the chairmen had belonged to what we have categorized as business organizations. In all instances except among the Social Credit backbenchers (where there was some membership in local small businessmen's associations) this meant membership in the Chamber of Commerce or the Board of Trade. (Among the Social Credit backbenchers, Board and Chamber membership amounted to 48%, almost the same percentage as among the cabinet ministers, while an additional M.L.A. was an honorary member). This membership in the Chamber or Board of Trade might suggest a "big business" and "free enterprise" orientation. While accepting the "free enterprise" aspect, an examination of the communities in which this membership was held suggests another interpretation may be valid. It might reasonably be argued that in the case of the elected Chamber or Board membership is more likely to reflect an orientation toward smaller scale business and/or concern for the economic interest of communities that were in many instances agriculturally dependent. Among the elected, only a small percentage belonged to the Chamber or Board in principal urban areas (in Alberta these would be Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and Red Deer). Thirty-eight per cent of the ministers, 40% of the Social Credit backbenchers, three of the Opposition members,

for a total of 41% of the elected, belonged to the Chamber or Board in smaller communities. Among the non-elected, on the other hand, all membership was in larger urban areas, Edmonton or Calgary in all cases.

If one is correct in assuming that membership in service clubs carries with it much the same orientation as membership in the Chamber or Board, then perhaps, the contrast between the elected and non-elected is not as great as suggested above. It was found that 25% of the cabinet, at least 36% of the Social Credit backbenchers, all of the Opposition, for a total of 38% of the elected, belonged at some point to service clubs. Among the non-elected, 24% of the deputies (though for 12% the association was brief and early in career) and 50% of the chairmen (though for only 28% while in government service) had at some point belonged to service clubs. Membership in service clubs that were situated in the larger urban areas was claimed by 13% of the ministers, 17% of the Social Credit backbenchers, one of the Opposition, 12% of the deputies and 39% of the chairmen; membership in service clubs situated in smaller communities was claimed by 13% of the ministers, 19% of the Social Credit backbenchers, four of Opposition, 12% of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen. This writer is unable to suggest any explanation as to why the percentage of Board chairmen that had belonged to service clubs should be much higher than that for any other group.

Membership in farm organizations was really only found among the Social Creditors. Some 31% of the ministers, at least 33% of the Social Credit backbenchers, but none of the Opposition members, for a total of 30% of the elected, had so belonged. In contrast, only one of the

non-elected (3%), a board chairman, had belonged to a farm organization (some 18% of the deputies and 6% of the chairman, however, were members of professional organizations associated with agriculture). The principal organization of sometime membership was The Farmers Union of Alberta, claimed by 25% of the cabinet, 29% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and the single board chairman. Some 19% of the ministers, 14% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and the board chairman had held elected office in the F.U.A. at some point. This agricultural organizational membership might serve to confirm, in part, our earlier suggestion regarding an agricultural orientation of a significant proportion of the Social Creditors. The association with the F.U.A. is particularly interesting because that organization, while officially politically non-aligned, has had some left thinking individuals as prominent members of its executive. Whether this is a reason why only one minister retained membership in the organization while in the cabinet is difficult to say. The percentage of Social Credit backbenchers who were members of the organization while in the legislature was 19% (two joined while M.L.A.'s; four had ceased membership before election), and some of these backbenchers did suggest that they were unhappy with the organization. On the other hand, the single board chairman was likely appointed to his chairmanship because he was a nominee of The Farmers Union.

A much higher proportion of the elected, though again only among the Social Creditors, belonged to professional teaching organizations than was the case among the non-elected. Some 31% of the ministers, 26% of the Social Credit backbenchers, none of the Opposition, for a

total of 25% of the elected so belonged. Among the non-elected, membership was claimed by only 6% of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen. The principal organization was The Alberta Teachers' Association in which 31% of the cabinet, 24% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and one of the non-elected (a deputy) had been members. While it is true that since 1936 in order to teach in the public schools (as opposed to private) of the province of Alberta membership in the A.T.A. has been required by law,⁹⁶ it still seems reasonable to suggest that a considerable number of the Social Crediters had some real interest in this organization. It was found, for example, that 25% of the ministers and 17% of the Social Credit backbenchers, or 18% of the elected, had held elected office at some point in the A.T.A. None of the non-elected had held such office.

We earlier noted the almost total lack of trade union association among the elected and the non-elected though we did suggest that some direct knowledge of the problems of the manually employed might be greater than an examination of major occupational background and trade union association alone would indicate. It might be noted that among the non-elected there was some civil service union membership (18% of the deputies; 11% of the chairmen) but these unions would fall within the "white collar" category. Of the five individuals who claimed such membership, the association of only one was more than nominal.

Turning now from those organizations associated with business, agriculture, teaching, and labour, there are a few other categories of organization that ought to receive some comment.

While approximately one-quarter of the elected were veterans (25% of the cabinet, 24% of the Social Credit backbenchers, two of the Opposition), and 35% of the deputies and 44% of the chairmen were veterans, the proportion of the elected that belonged to veterans/military organizations or associations was much higher than was the case for the non-elected. Some 21% of the elected belonged to such organizations, while none of the deputies and only 17% of the chairmen did. Not expectedly the principal veterans/military organization in which membership was claimed was the Royal Canadian Legion. Some 16% of the elected belonged to it (with an additional 3% being honorary members) but only one of the non-elected (3%) was a Legion member. More specifically, 19% of the cabinet had belonged to the Legion, as had 14% of the Social Credit backbenchers (with an additional 5% being honorary members), one Opposition member, and one board chairman (6%). This may suggest that Legion association may have been seen as having political advantages.

Insofar as membership in ethnic type organizations is concerned, little would have been expected among the non-elected in light of their overwhelmingly British origins, and none was reported. However, among the elected, where there were significant numbers of non-British origin, and non-British cultural roots (as defined by language of the home in which raised), surprisingly little association with ethnic type organizations was found. There was no such association among the cabinet ministers on whom we have detailed information and none among the Opposition. There was some for only 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers; for only 5% of all the elected. Such ethnic organizations as were represented were Ukrainian (involving two members) and French Canadian (involving

one member). It may be, however, that some organizations not normally thought of as being of an ethnic type, given the ethnic mix of the community that they served, may have been largely composed of representatives of a particular ethnic group, especially in the non-urban constituencies.

Membership in lodges was significantly greater among the elected than among the non-elected. Forty-four percent of the ministers, 52% of the Social Credit backbenchers, three of the five Opposition members, for a total of 51% of the elected were lodge members at some point. In the case of the non-elected, 6% of the deputies and 22% of the chairmen had so belonged. The principal lodge of membership was the Masonic. Thirty-one percent of the ministers, 24% of the Social Credit backbenchers, one of the Opposition, none of the deputies and 22% of the chairmen had belonged to it. (If one excludes those who were no more than nominal members the figures would be 25% of the ministers, 24% of the Social Credit backbenchers, one of the Opposition, none of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen). Aside from the Knights of Columbus, the only lodge represented among the ministers and the non-elected was the Masons. In the case of the Social Credit backbenchers, however, the Odd Fellows and the Elks (there was multiple lodge membership in some cases) also received significant representation. In "counter-balance" to the Masons it was found that membership in the Knights of Columbus was claimed by 13% of the cabinet, but only 2% of the Social Credit backbenchers. Two of the Opposition members belonged, making a total of 8% among the elected. Among the non-elected, 6% of the deputies and none of the chairmen had

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been members of the Knights of Columbus. Our evidence is not such as to indicate whether those who belonged to the Masons saw it as an "anti-catholic" organization or primarily as a social organization. It is to be noted that none of the elected or non-elected claimed membership at any time in the Orange Lodge.⁹⁷

Insofar as membership in professional organizations is concerned, the proportion so belonging among the non-elected (59% of the deputies; 72% of the chairmen) was considerably higher than among the elected (38% of the ministers; 36% of the Social Credit backbenchers, two of the Opposition). Among the Social Credit elected, the very largest proportion, as we have seen, belonged to teaching organizations (the two Opposition members who belonged to professional organizations were lawyers) while among the non-elected there was considerable variety in the professional backgrounds represented.

Rather strikingly, membership in elite social clubs was found only among the non-elected. While we have not categorized it as elite club membership, membership in university fraternities was also only found among the non-elected. More specifically, 12% of the deputies and 17% of the chairmen had belonged to fraternities (the only fraternity common to both groups of the non-elected was Delta Kappa Epsilon, claimed by one deputy and one chairman). A total of 23% of the non-elected had belonged to elite clubs, though in one case (a deputy) this was only in youth and through the family (though it was the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in Toronto). A higher proportion of the chairmen (28%) belonged to such clubs than did the deputies (18%). The only club common to the chairmen and the deputies

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was the Mayfair Golf and Country Club to which two of each group (12% of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen) belonged, and which is one of the clubs of the Edmonton economic elite. One of the chairmen, whose background is in many ways unique,⁹⁸ belonged to the Ranchman's Club in Calgary which is mentioned by Porter as being one of the clubs of the Canadian economic elite.⁹⁹ Another chairman was a member of the Calgary Petroleum Club which probably has somewhat similar associations, and another had been a member of the club of which the Calgary Petroleum was the successor. It is to be observed that those deputies who belonged to elite clubs had joined them before they were appointed to deputy rank. In the case of the chairmen, three of the five who belonged to elite clubs joined following appointment. It is also to be observed that there was virtually no overlap in membership in purely social clubs between the elected and the non-elected,¹⁰⁰ and that there was no club in Edmonton comparable to the Rideau in Ottawa where members of the federal political and bureaucratic elites, and to a degree the economic elite, mingle. What impact, if any, the social mingling, though limited, of the Alberta bureaucratic elite and the Alberta economic elite might have on governmental policy is an interesting question but one on which we can make no meaningful comment. No club was found for Alberta senior bureaucrats that was similar to the Five Lakes Fishing Club of the federal bureaucratic elite.

Elected career background

We have seen that there was some difference between the social origins of the Alberta elected and the non-elected. Was there significant difference in the degree to which they emerged from homes where there was some background of political activity? What were the routes in terms of political activity to the legislature and the cabinet? These, with some consideration being given in passing to whether the cabinet ministers, who some might consider to perform the most significant leadership roles (though others might find such a proposition at least debatable), stood out from the other groups, will be the principal matters considered in this the penultimate substantive section of this lengthy concluding chapter. For much of this section, aside for the most part from the matter of home background, discussion will be limited to the elected for, though some of the non-elected did engage in political activity, none of the non-elected stood for office above the local level. Throughout, where dealing with the Alberta elected, percentages will be expressed in terms of those upon whom we have detailed information and not the absolute number of Alberta elected.¹⁰¹ On the matter of routes to legislative office some federal comparative data will be introduced (there is really no comparable data on home background).

Among other things, the home in which raised may be significant in fostering interest in political matters and in giving to political activity an aspect of legitimacy. It was therefore unexpected to find that there should not be a great deal to distinguish the various groups in terms of home background of parental interest in political events. It was found that 80% of the cabinet, at least 71% but likely 76% of the Social Credit backbenchers, from 74% to 77% of the Social Crediters, three of the five

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Opposition members, collectively 72% to 76% of the elected, and 70% to 76% of the deputies and 78% of the chairmen, collectively from 74% to 77% of the non-elected, came from homes where at least one parent showed more than average interest in political events at some level of government.

Some distinction, though not altogether of the sort that one might have anticipated, did emerge on the measures of family background of actual political activity. Here it was found that a greater proportion of the elected than the non-elected were the product of homes where there was some political activity by a parent though the cabinet was not found to stand out in this respect among the elected. More specifically, some 53% of the cabinet, 58% of the Social Credit backbenchers, three of the Opposition members, for a collective figure of 57% of the elected, came from homes where a parent or parents had engaged in some political activity while our subjects were living at home. In the case of the non-elected, some 41% of the deputies and 39% of the chairmen, collectively 40% of the non-elected, came from homes where a parent had engaged in some political activity. However an examination of total family background of political activity, that is to say, extending consideration to include background of political activity by relations contemporary of the parent or earlier, while maintaining to a considerable degree the distinction between the elected and the non-elected as viewed collectively, saw the Social Credit backbenchers emerge as the strongest group and the ministers and the deputies move into similar position. The number of families on this measure with some background of political activity remained the same in the case of the ministers at 53% (though the background in some cases may have been reinforced by the activity of other relations), in the case of the Social Credit backbenchers it was

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increased to between 63% and 68%, for a figure among the Social Crediters of between 60% and 64%, while the figure for the Opposition remained at three families, producing a figure for all the elected of from 60% to 64%. Among the non-elected, the figure for the deputies became 53%, the same as for the ministers, and in the case of the chairmen between 44% and 50%. Collectively the figure for the non-elected became between 49% and 51%, a somewhat lower figure than for the elected. Few, however, in any of the groups came from homes where there had been political activity in both the parent and grandparent generations in the Canadian political system. It was found that only in the case of 7% of the ministers, 5% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and two of the Opposition members, for a figure of 9% among the elected, had there been political activity by both a parent and a grandparent, making for three generations of political activity. In the case of the non-elected, only among the deputies, though the figure for them was slightly higher than for any of the groups, was there activity by both a parent and grandparent in the Canadian political system. The figure for them was found to be 12% representing 6% of all the non-elected.

It is to be observed that though the background of interest and activity in the homes of our two non-elected groups does not seem to have differed greatly, though it may have been somewhat stronger in the case of the deputies, that only some 12% of the deputies were to engaged in some political activity while from 33% to 39% of the chairmen did.¹⁰² It was found, however, that political activity emerged from the homes of the non-elected to a greater degree than indicated by examining the career backgrounds of the deputies and the chairmen alone. If brothers and sisters of the non-elected are taken into consideration, then the number of homes in which the non-elected

were raised whose products engaged in some political activity was found to be 35% in the case of the deputies and, though some of the brothers and sisters of the chairmen did become politically involved, the number of families in the case of the chairmen remained at between 33% and 39%.¹⁰³

As an extension of this discussion of family background, it might be noted that in some instances the elected and non-elected married into families where there was some background of political activity and here the cabinet stood out somewhat from its backbenchers, though not from the Opposition or the deputies. Some 19% of the ministers, 11% of the Social Credit backbenchers, three of the Opposition members, for a total of 19% of the elected, married into families where a parent of the spouse had engaged in some political activity. In the case of the non-elected this was the case for 18% of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen, for a collective figure of 14%. In a few instances this seems to have had a bearing on the careers of the elected, influencing some to stand for the legislature. At a minimum this would seem to have been so for one minister, one backbench Social Crediter, and likely one Opposition member, collectively some 5% of the elected.¹⁰⁴

It is to be observed that few in any group came from family backgrounds of political distinction in the Canadian political system measuring distinction in terms of political offices held in the parent generation or earlier.¹⁰⁵ Most activity was at the local level in political party or local government. None of the parents in any of the groups, as mentioned previously, belonged to what Porter would define as the Canadian political elite. In only one case, that of a backbench Social Credit member, representing 2% of the total elected, was there membership in what we might term

the Alberta political elite (he was the son of an early Alberta Social Credit cabinet minister).¹⁰⁶

While one would have liked to have been able to find in all of the above a neat ranking with a larger proportion of the ministers coming from homes where there was some background of political interest and activity, followed by the backbenchers, with the non-elected coming somewhere below them, such would not fit the evidence. The cabinet did not emerge overall as the strongest group but rather seems to have fallen behind its own backbenchers on some measures while on at least one the deputies seem to have equalled the ministers, though not on the primary one of actual political activity in the home in which raised.

Turning from the matter of home background of political interest and activity to actual activity on the part of the elected and non-elected, we earlier questioned how meaningful it was to consider office holding in secondary and post secondary school organizations as part of the route to elected office or in the development of leadership skills for, among other things, levels of education significantly vary, as do the nature of the schools and the degree to which they are organized. Yet an examination of the background of activity insofar as student government is concerned did reveal some interesting differences between the groups with the cabinet ministers now standing out from the others.

Insofar as high school students' union office holding is concerned, it was found that 33% of the cabinet ministers were members of high school students' union executives, as was the case for 10% of the Social Credit backbenchers and two of the Opposition members, for a total of 16% of the

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Social Crediters and collectively 18% of the elected. Collectively the percentage among the non-elected was very similar, 17%, but the proportion was higher for the chairmen, 22%, than for the deputies, 12%. Not only did a much higher proportion of the cabinet ministers hold students' union executive office but a higher proportion of the ministers were presidents of their students' unions than was the case for any other group. Some 27% of the ministers were presidents, as were 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers and one of the Opposition members, for a total of 13% of the Social Crediters and 13% of the total elected. In this respect the total for the elected was found to be significantly higher than for the non-elected where only a chairman, representing 3% of the non-elected, was a president.

As to office holding at the post-secondary level, again the cabinet ministers stood out from the other groups, but this was not in university students' unions. The only person among the elected or non-elected that held students' union position at university (and even this might not be considered to be a university in the usual sense) was a deputy who was president of his union at the Ontario Veterinary College. Rather, the arena of office holding was the Alberta normal school, students' unions in Alberta normal schools. Here 25% of the cabinet ministers held office, as did 7% of the Social Credit backbenchers but none of the Opposition, for a total of 12% among the Social Crediters and 11% among the legislators as a whole. However, of those holding such office, only one cabinet minister (6%) and two of the Social Credit backbenchers (5%) were presidents. It is to be noted that in all instances of normal school office holding the same individuals had been on their high school students' unions and all but one had been presidents.

While there was some student government activity, particularly among the cabinet ministers, it seems worthy of observation that few of the elected or non-elected were active in student political parties. None of the cabinet ministers were. Among the elected there was activity by only two of the backbench Social Crediters and one of the Opposition members, representing 5% of the elected. There was no activity, with one possible exception (a board chairman), among the non-elected.

Unfortunately at this point, as we turn to the matter of organizational activity prior to election to the legislature, to be followed by discussion of party activity prior to election and other elected governmental office holding prior to election, and as we earlier indicated that we would have to do, we must effectively discontinue consideration of the non-elected.¹⁰⁷

Another measure by which leadership figures might be distinguished within a community is through organizational activity and this could be part of the route to elected governmental office. In this regard it was found that 81% of the cabinet, 93% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and all of the Opposition members, collectively 90% of the Social Crediters and 90% of the total elected, had engaged in some organizational activity prior to election. The percentages that held elected organizational office were found to be much the same for all groups with 73% of the ministers, 74% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and four or 80% of the Opposition members, having held office in at least one organization. Collectively 74% of the elected had held elected organizational office prior to entry into the legislature.

While it was found that the cabinet ministers were the most active

among the groups insofar as student government is concerned, this would not, at first glance, seem to be the case with respect to organizational activity. However, if one measures degree of activity, and uses as one's measure the number of elected organizational offices held, then the cabinet ministers stand out from the Social Credit backbenchers though not from the Opposition. Some 60% of the cabinet held office in three or more organizations (33% of the ministers holding office beyond the local level) whereas in the case of the Social Credit backbenchers the figure was 27% (21% of the backbenchers holding office beyond the local level). In the case of the Opposition, some four held office in three or more organizations (with one holding office beyond the local level). In total, 36% of the Social Crediters held office in three or more organizations; collectively 40% of the elected did so.

Viewing background of activity more conventionally, that is defining pre-legislative political experience as party activity and/or the holding of elected public political office, it might have been expected, partly in light of what we have seen with respect to student government and organizational activity, that the cabinet ministers would have been the most politically active group prior to election. In one sense this might be said to have been the case in that 80% of the cabinet engaged in some political activity by age 35 and 44% were elected to the legislature by that age whereas in the case of the Social Credit backbenchers just under 60% engaged in some political activity by age 35 and only 10% were elected by that age. In the case of the Opposition, all had engaged in some political activity by age 36 but one only was elected by age 35. However in another sense the cabinet ministers were less politically active before election

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to the legislature than was true of the Social Credit backbenchers or the Opposition members for a much higher proportion of the ministers went directly into the legislature without engaging in party activity or holding elected office, without, if you like, serving a political apprenticeship. Thirty-one per cent of the cabinet had engaged in virtually no political activity in the conventional definition prior to election (perhaps 37%)¹⁰⁸ whereas the corresponding figure for the Social Credit backbenchers was 13%. Even if we exclude those first elected in 1935, that election perhaps constituting an unique event, the figure still remains significantly higher for the cabinet than for any of the groups, being 25% for the cabinet (perhaps 31%) and from 8% to 11% of the Social Credit backbenchers.¹⁰⁹ As to the Opposition, all engaged in some political activity prior to election. If one combines the various groups, however, the figure for the total elected who engaged in virtually no political activity prior to election amounts to only 17%.

Examining the matter of political activity prior to election in more detail, and looking first at political party, here there was found to be considerable contrast between the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers. Half of the cabinet had engaged in some party activity prior to election with 31% having held some party office. The activity among the Social Credit backbenchers was found to have been much higher, and seems to have been for them a more significant avenue to the legislature, for 82% had engaged in some party activity and 66% had held party office. It will also be recalled that analysis of the factors leading to standing for the legislature indicated that a significantly higher proportion of the Social Credit backbenchers than of the cabinet ministers mentioned that progression

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from party office was important in their decision to stand. This was the case for 7% of the cabinet and 34% of the Social Credit backbenchers. In addition, only among the Social Credit backbenchers was province wide party office held, this being the case for 8%. In the case of the Opposition members, two of the five engaged in some party activity with one of these holding office (regional). Of all the elected, 71% had engaged in party activity prior to election and 53% had held party office.¹¹⁰

While in terms of total background of party activity prior to election there was found to be considerable contrast between the cabinet and its backbenchers, it is to be noted that party activity constituted the initial political experience, or introduction into political activity, for much the same proportion of both groups. It was found that 47% of the cabinet and 53% of the backbenchers first engaged in party activity. In the case of the Opposition, the first activity for two of the five was for party. It might also be noted that in the case of the Social Credit backbenchers, some 82% of whom engaged in party activity prior to election, but for whom the first political activity was for party in only 53% of the cases, for a not insignificant proportion party activity followed the holding of elected office, in nearly all instances at the local level. Party activity constituted the sole prior political experience of 25% of the cabinet, 34% of the Social Credit backbenchers, but for none of the Opposition.

Insofar as the holding of other elected political office prior to election to the legislature is concerned, again there was found to be contrast between the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers, though not as significantly so as in the case of party activity. Some 38% of the cabinet had

held other elected political office (five of the six at the local level; the exception had been an M.P.) while 51% of the Social Credit backbenchers had held other elected office (18 of the 20 at the local level; two had been M.P.s). All of the Opposition members had held other elected political office; all at the local level. Collectively some 52% of the elected had experience in some other elected political office before election to the legislature.

It is to be noted that the seeking of elected political office at the local level provided the introduction to political activity for much the same proportion of the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers, this being the case for 20% of the cabinet and 24% of the backbenchers. It was also the introduction to political activity for three of the five Opposition members. However, as we have just seen, party provided the introduction to political activity for a much higher proportion of the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers, though not for the Opposition, than did the seeking of local government office. The holding of local office, with no party activity, accounted for the total prior political experience of 13% of the ministers but only 3% of the Social Credit backbenchers and for three of the Opposition members.

Our federal comparative data, which we will not introduce, are not particularly satisfactory, for the findings of Kornberg and Ward that are relevant deal with the parliamentarians as a whole rather than differentiating between the cabinet and ordinary M.P.s. Porter does provide some data on the cabinet, to which we will refer fairly shortly and extensively in dealing with routes into the federal cabinet, but he gives no real information on local office holding and party activity by former ministers.

Kornberg points to party activity as a significant avenue to the federal House.¹¹¹ He found that 73% of his 1962 sample had held political party office.¹¹² This is a considerably higher proportion than was found to be the case among the Alberta elected, where, as we have noted, collectively 53% had held party office. This might suggest, we might insightfully observe, that while party activity was important at both levels it was of greater importance federally, at least insofar as the 1962 House and our particular legislature are concerned.

Ward examines the record of pre-parliamentary elected office holding of federal M.P.s for the period 1867 to 1945 inclusive. (It is to be emphasized that he does not consider party activity). Essentially the offices that he considers are those at the local government level and former membership in provincial legislatures. (His definition of what constitutes office holding at the local level is not made clear but it would seem likely that it does not include the elected office of school trustee).¹¹³ He found that in the total period 1867-1945 approximately one-third of the M.P.s had held local office as the only elected office held prior to entering the federal House.¹¹⁴ An examination of his figures for the 20 year period from 1925 indicates that an average of 31% (with a range from 29% to 37%) of the M.P.s had held only local office. He found, however, considerable variation between provinces, from P.E.I. which has virtually no local government institutions to Ontario where 50% of the members proceeded from local government office. Unfortunately he gives no figures for the West. An examination of our group of Alberta elected from the same perspective, i.e. those instances where the only elected office held prior to entry into the Alberta legislature was at the local level, indicates that

31% of the cabinet, 46% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and all of the Opposition, had held local office only, for a collective figure among the Alberta elected of 47%. (Our figures include school board office but this is not likely to distort the findings very much). Overall, then, measured this way, a higher proportion of our particular Alberta elected proceeded from local office without other intervening elected office to the legislature than was true of federal parliamentarians to the federal House. However the actual number of federally elected who had held local office is higher than stated above (though Ward does not indicate how much higher) for some of those who were M.L.A.s (or had been) on election to parliament would have held local office at some point.

As to other elected office holding, having first been an M.L.A., or the transfer from the provincial to the federal arena, seems to have accounted for a not insignificant proportion of the federally elected. For the period 1925-1945 Ward found that an average of 15% (with a range from 9% to 23%) had first been an M.L.A. (during the same period an average of 5% had been provincial cabinet ministers). It might be noted that in the case of our Alberta elected there was some movement from the federal arena to the provincial, though the percentage was not high. One cabinet minister (6%) was a defeated M.P. as was the case for two of the Social Credit backbenchers (5%), while none of the Opposition members had been in the federal House. Collectively 5% of the Alberta elected had been M.P.s.¹¹⁵

Ward's figures for the 1925-1945 period would indicate that from 45% to 61% with an average of 54% of the federal parliamentarians had held no

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elected office at either the local level or in the provincial legislatures. Kornberg's study of the 1962 parliament produced the identical figure of 54% as having held no elected political office prior to election.¹¹⁶ (He may include school board office in his findings but the position is not altogether clear).¹¹⁷ The overall figure for the Alberta elected was found to be not far different for 48% had held no prior elected office, but there was found to be considerable difference among the groups with 62% of the cabinet having held no prior office, 49% of the Social Credit backbenchers having held no prior office, but with all of the Opposition having held some office.

Finally it might be pointed out that Kornberg found that only 18% of the 1962 federal House had not held either elected political office or party office.¹¹⁸ The collective figure for the Alberta elected was found to be 25%. The difference between the two groups would seem largely accounted for by the higher incidence of party office holding among the federal elected.

Before directing attention to the matter of entry into the cabinet, brief focus might be centred on some of the factors leading the Alberta elected to stand for the legislature, though we again advance the caution that the statements from which these factors have been distilled ought probably properly to be viewed with some reservation. To begin with, it might be observed that few M.L.A.s remained in the legislature who, like the Premier (whose case is well known) were activated to stand for office above the local level by a combination of factors involving William Aberhart and the economic conditions of the 1930s. This was the case for very

similar proportions of the cabinet and the Social Credit backbenchers, 20% of the former and 18% of the latter.¹¹⁹ That there should be relatively few among the Social Credit elected to claim Aberhart, etc., as a principal factor/s is probably not an unexpected finding given that it is now over three decades since the rise of the Social Credit movement. A rather striking difference between the groups, at least insofar as the Social Credit backbenchers and the other groups is concerned, was the extent to which party was mentioned as a factor. In the case of the cabinet, and a matter to which we referred but a short while ago, only 7% mentioned that progression from party office was important in their decision to stand for the legislature while this was mentioned by 34% of the Social Credit backbenchers but none of the Opposition members. However a feature that seems to have cut across all groups, or at least was a factor that was significantly claimed by members of all groups (though it may not have been the only one, indeed in many instances was part of a complex of factors) was that they had to be persuaded to stand. This claim was made by a much higher proportion of the cabinet, 87%, than for any other group, but still by 63% of the Social Credit backbenchers and three of the Opposition, or collectively for just under 70% of the elected. Of all the elected only one, a cabinet minister, representing 2%, clearly indicated that he had early ambition to become an M.L.A., though in the case of one of the Opposition members there is a strong suggestion that he also had such early ambition. Whether the element of persuasion was in fact present in anything like the number of cases claimed it is impossible to determine. Whether it was or was not, however, that it was claimed would suggest that there may well be a wide-spread appreciation of an "ethic" that one might term that of the

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"reluctant politician," that political office is not something that one voluntarily seeks.¹²⁰

Turning now to the matter of entry into the cabinet, it would appear that none of the Alberta cabinet ministers entered by what might be termed direct cooption. By this we mean that none were, on the face of the evidence, brought from outside the legislature, appointed to the cabinet, and found a legislative seat. The time period between election to the legislature and appointment to the cabinet does not suggest that any were persuaded to stand for the legislature with the expectation of immediate appointment to the cabinet, and none of the ministers mentioned any such expectation as a factor in their decision to stand for the legislature. Rather it would seem, with the exception of the Premier who entered the first Aberhart government immediately on its formation in 1935, that all served some period of apprenticeship in the legislature. Only two (13%) were appointed to the cabinet during their first term and neither was appointed with less than three years legislative experience. Only 38% were appointed with under five years legislative experience. Half were appointed at some point during their second term.

It is not possible to say what factors may have influenced the Premier in selecting his cabinet (all ministers were first appointed to cabinet rank by the same man, E.C. Manning),¹²¹ but there would seem to be no pattern of legislative and/or executive office holding as a route to the cabinet. The only position that can be singled out is that of party whip which was held by two of the ministers (13%) prior to appointment (one of these ministers also had held the post of deputy speaker and also the chairmanship of the Social Credit Board at one point prior to appointment

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to the cabinet).¹²² None seem to have distinguished themselves as committee chairmen (indeed the Alberta legislature, with its relatively small size, seems to have made little use of committees aside from committee of the whole). None were parliamentary secretaries, there being no such position in the Alberta governmental structure, and none were appointed from senior positions in the bureaucracy.¹²³ In addition, none seem to have held important official party position.¹²⁴ In some of this, as will become evident in the fairly lengthy chronicle that is to follow, there is some contrast with federal cabinets.

Insofar as federal cabinet ministers and the routes to cabinet office are concerned, a significant proportion, and dating from the time of Laurier, entered the cabinet through cooption or sat on the backbenches for but brief periods before appointment to the cabinet, though the Liberals relied more on cooption and the Conservatives more on appointing members who had but brief experience. For this, as just noted, there is no parallel with our particular Alberta cabinet.

More specifically, for the period 1896 to 1940, and converting the findings of Porter from absolute figures to percentages, some 20% of the federal ministers were appointed from outside the House, a further 11% went into cabinet immediately (or almost immediately) following first election, and a total of 57% of the new cabinet ministers had experience in the House of less than five years.¹²⁵ In the case of the Liberals, some 34% of the new appointments entered the cabinet either directly or with less than six months in the House; the figure for the Conservatives was 27%.¹²⁶ For the period that Porter examined in detail, 1940 to 1960,

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the figures are not broken down in a comparable way, but some 40% of the ministers entered the cabinet during their first term and a total of 59% entered with under five years in the House.¹²⁷ There was, however, some contrast between the Liberal governments of the 1940-60 period (King and St. Laurent) and the Conservative government (Diefenbaker) that followed them. In the case of the Tories, only 23% entered the cabinet during their first term and of the seven cabinet ministers involved some four were from Quebec where previous Conservative representation had not been very strong. Overall, however, it would seem that a high proportion of federal cabinet ministers did not serve any long apprenticeship in the House before appointment to the cabinet, though some had been provincial politicians with prior provincial legislative experience.

Provincial politics seem to have been a significant source for those appointed to the cabinet with little or no federal House experience, though more so in the case of the Liberals than for the Conservatives. This appointment from the provincial arena would seem to have reflected the desire to provide for provincial representation. It is interesting that included in the appointees from the provincial sphere were a number of former premiers; that there should be a movement from one political elite to another, or within segments of the political elite in Porter's definition. In the period 1896 to 1940 the Liberals appointed some 10 former premiers and the Conservatives three (the Liberals were in office for approximately 28 years; the Conservatives, including the Union government, for approximately 15 years).¹²⁸ In the period 1940 to 1960, some five premiers were appointed, one by the Conservatives.¹²⁹ Ten cabinet ministers (11% of all cabinet appointments) were appointed directly, or almost directly, to the cabinet during the 1940-60

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period from provincial politics. Five of these 10, as noted, had been premiers, and the other five had been either provincial cabinet ministers or Opposition leaders. Eight of the 10 were Liberals. It might further be noted that 20% of the cabinet ministers appointed in the 1940-60 period, including the above mentioned, had been members of provincial legislatures.

A route for some into the federal cabinet seems to have been from outside politics (in the conventional definition) altogether. In the 1940-60 period some nine (10%) of the ministers appointed were drawn from outside occupations, all but one of these being Liberal appointees.¹³⁰ Among these were two future prime ministers, St. Laurent and Pearson. While no detailed breakdown is available of the walks of life from which the entire nine came, it is clear that King, the prime minister during the first eight years of the twenty year period, and about whom we have unique information because of his diaries, deliberately went outside the House in an attempt to give representation to French Canada, find suitably qualified ministers, and to give representation to certain interests.¹³¹

Another route, or sub-category of the "drawn from outside politics altogether" category, seems to have been from the federal bureaucracy, for some of the ministers appointed during the 1940-60 period came from the federal bureaucratic elite. Unfortunately details are not available on the exact number of federal cabinet ministers who entered by this route, though it is the writer's impression that the number is not large (there were at least two who entered the cabinet directly from deputy minister or equivalent positions: Pearson, appointed by King, and Pickersgill, appointed by St. Laurent). Small in number or not, that there should be a mingling of bureaucratic and political roles is significant, and certainly

a considerable departure from the British tradition of their formal separation. It is also to be observed that this movement from the senior bureaucracy seems only to have taken place in the case of Liberal governments. Whether this is a continuing route may, however, be open to question.¹³²

Finally it is to be noted that a route into the federal cabinet, and for which there is no Alberta equivalent, now seems to be through the position of parliamentary secretary (established as a salaried position in 1943; until 1960 the office bore the title of parliamentary assistant). Porter found that of those cabinet ministers appointed between 1943 and 1957, excluding ministers appointed from the Senate, some 13 had been parliamentary secretaries and 15 had not; of the cabinet ministers appointed by Mr. Diefenbaker between 1957 and 1960, other than those appointed to the first cabinet and with a similar Senate exclusion, four had been parliamentary secretaries and six had not.¹³³

Non-elected governmental career background

In this final substantive section we will essentially consider only two matters: the extent to which the elected and non-elected came from families with some background of non-elected governmental service, an area where some degree of contrast was found, and something of the routes to high non-elected office. It is only with respect to routes to office that we have some federal comparative data, and that is far from being satisfactory, though it does suggest some contrast between the Alberta non-elected and the federal non-elected.

None of the elected on whom we have detailed information was largely raised in a home where the father was a career or substantial term government

employee during the subject's dependency, though one Social Credit backbencher (3% of the backbenchers on whom we have detailed information, representing only 2% of the total elected) had a father who became a long-term Alberta provincial employee when the member was 16. Even when one looks to relations of the father's generation or earlier for family background of career or substantial term non-elected service, the picture does not significantly change. Among the elected, only in the case of a minister was some such background found, and that was from Norway.

In the case of the non-elected, some 12% of the deputies during their dependency had fathers who were permanent government employees as was true for 11% of the chairmen, with the father of an additional chairman, for a total of 17%, entering government service as a board chairman when our subject was 19. Including this latter case, from 24% to 29% of the deputies and 28% of the chairmen had some family background through the father or relations of the father's generation or earlier of non-elected service.

It is to be observed that, of those on whom we have detailed information, none of the parents or other relations belonged to what Porter would term the Canadian bureaucratic elite. In no instance was there career employment by both a parent and a grandparent in the Canadian political system. However, in a very limited number of cases, some claim to family membership, or near membership, in the parent generation in what we might term the Alberta bureaucratic elite might be established. This would appear to be the case for 2% of the elected and 6% of the non-elected. In the case of one Social Credit backbencher (whose father is referred to above as entering government service when the backbencher was 16), some years following

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the M.L.A.'s period of dependency, the father became a member of an Alberta board. The case of one board chairman has just been referred to above and one deputy had an uncle who was an Alberta deputy minister.

While there appears to have been virtually no family background of non-elected career service among the elected, some career or substantial term government employees did emerge from the homes in which the elected were raised. Of the elected who had brothers and sisters, and on whom we have information, it was found that 21% of the ministers and 11% of the Social Credit backbenchers (but none of the Opposition) had brothers and/or sisters who became career or substantial term government employees (it is always possible, of course, that in some instances the entry of a brother or sister into long-term government employment may have been a product of the political activity of the elected). As to other members of family (brothers and/or sisters) of the non-elected who became permanent or long-term government employees, the proportion was found to be very much higher in the case of the deputies than for any group, while that for the chairmen was not greatly different from that of the ministers. Among the deputies the figure was 54%; among the chairmen 24%.

While there is clearly some difference in terms of family background of non-elected service between the elected and non-elected, in only one instance did any of the non-elected refer to a relation as being directly important in the decision to enter non-elected governmental service (the uncle who was a deputy minister).¹³⁴ None mentioned a tradition of government service as being directly important.¹³⁵ It might be argued that a few of the non-elected might have been favourably disposed toward entry into

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permanent office because of family background, yet if this was a significant factor one would be inclined to expect it also to be operative in the case of the children of our non-elected. It is to this writer (as a former bureaucrat himself) one of the more interesting findings of this study that among the children of our non-elected, particularly those of the deputies (so many of deputies being government careerists), no tradition of non-elected service seems to have established itself or be establishing itself. In this regard it was found that in none of the families of the deputies with children over 18 were any children who were, or were expected to become, career government employees, while the figure among the chairmen's families was only 7%. Perhaps surprisingly, though the figures are not high for that group either, those for the elected slightly exceeded those for the non-elected. There the number of families with children over 18 who had members who were, or were expected to become, career governmental employees, amounted to 10% among the ministers, from 7% to 11% among the Social Credit backbenchers, and nil among the Opposition.¹³⁶

It would seem that few of the deputies or chairmen consciously entered non-elected governmental service because of any family tradition of such service. Their responses to the question dealing with the principal factors leading them to enter government service indicated that none had any youthful ambition to become government careerists. The actual factors identified as being important in explaining entry seem to have been rather mixed. It might be noted, however, that the single largest category, identified in the case of 29% of the deputies and 39% of the chairmen, would indicate that entry was the product of circumstances at a particular time, and that in the case of approximately one-third of the deputies and the chairmen alike the

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depression or a search for security were important factors.

It will be recalled that we found that a few of the elected held full-time non-elected governmental positions for periods of some length (ranging from three to 14 years). This was the case for one minister (6%) and four Social Credit backbenchers (11% of those on whom we have detailed information) though one of these, a school superintendent, might only technically be considered to have been a non-elected governmental employee (an officer of the Department of Education). Among this group was the only instance of any of the Alberta elected or non-elected who indicated a youthful ambition to obtain non-elected office and even this was not a position in the normal civil service sense. (He, a backbencher, indicated an early ambition to become an R.C.M.P. officer, and became one, serving for 14 years). An interesting feature of background among this group was that in two cases of the backbenchers their governmental positions (neither of which was at a senior level) seem to have followed from activity for the Social Credit party (one was a defeated Social Credit M.P.); both appointments were made during the Aberhart period. In the case of the minister, in common with some of the non-elected, considerations of security were mentioned as being of some importance in the decision to enter government employment.

The matter that we have just raised of political activity leading to non-elected governmental employment is an interesting one. It might have been expected, since we are dealing with a provincial civil service (the writer, at least, having the impression that appointments as a reward for overt political activity are more common at the provincial level than at the federal), that some of the deputies and chairmen would have received

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their positions as a result of activity for the Social Credit party. What evidence we have (and we earlier indicated its limitations), however, does not suggest that this would have been the case in many instances. Certainly none of the deputies or chairmen appear to have been former Social Credit M.L.A.s or M.P.s, or defeated Social Credit candidates for provincial or federal office. Indeed, and unexpectedly, some of the deputies and chairmen, all appointed to deputy rank by the Manning government, indicated that they had engaged in political activity for parties other than Social Credit at one point or other prior to entry into government service (12% of the deputies; at least 22% of the chairmen).¹³⁷

While what evidence we have suggests that few of the non-elected reached their ultimate positions as a result of overt activity for the Social Credit party, it would seem that there was some difference in the routes to the deputy and chairmanship positions. Generally it would seem that deputy minister positions went to government careerists or long-term employees; that the departmental bureaucracy significantly produced its own leadership. It was found that close to half of the deputies had known (if one excludes war service and essential war service) substantially no occupation other than government service. Some 76% of the deputies had been in Alberta government service for at least 15 years before appointment to deputy rank and 59% had service exceeding 20 years. None was appointed from outside government service directly to deputy minister position (though one had only four years service and another only five). It may be that this appointment of career or long-term employees may have followed from a government long in office, in its latter years often characterized as being essentially conservative, becoming largely concerned with problems of

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administration or gradual rather than radical change.¹³⁸ This may have led it to appoint technical experts. Another possibility (the two are not mutually exclusive) may be that the deputies, though not active Social Crediters in a partisan political sense, may have come, through long association with one government, to identify with the policies of that government and have been seen as being "supporters."¹³⁹

In the case of the chairmen the picture was found to be somewhat different. Under one-quarter of the chairmen had known only substantially government service, 33% were appointed with at least 15 years service, and 22% had service exceeding 20 years. This difference is partly accounted for by the fact that under one-quarter of the chairmen were appointed to their positions directly from outside government and, if we include those who were first appointed as a board member from outside, and subsequently appointed chairman, the outside appointments would represent one-third of the total. Generally these outside appointments seem to have gone to individuals with expert knowledge in the area coming under the board's jurisdiction, or who had some direct association with the area of activity, or with a group or organization significantly concerned with that area. It may be that outside appointments, though this is purely speculation, were made to the boards and commissions in part to give the appearance of independence to those bodies and to satisfy the principal group or groups associated with the area of activity.

As to those who were appointed from within, were there any positions that were held at some point that might be considered to have been "strategic" in the rise to deputy or chairmanship positions? The answer would seem to be in the negative. In the case of the deputies, the route seems to

have been largely through service in the department ultimately headed. No significant pattern was found of deputies having served on a cabinet secretariat, or with a central control agency, or on a minister's staff, or having early distinguished themselves as secretary to a royal commission, etc. There seems little evidence to suggest that there was any systematic central mechanism by which promising officials were singled out and groomed for later higher office. Similarly, in the case of the chairmen appointed from within, no pattern of such office holding was found, though in two instances (11%) the chairmen were first secretaries to the boards to which they were later appointed as members and ultimately as chairmen.¹⁴⁰ It might also be noted that half of the chairmen first entered government service in a regular department of government and subsequently either joined the staff of a board/agency or were appointed to a board.

Direct comparison between the career background of the Alberta non-elected and the federal senior bureaucracy is not without its difficulties. As we have noted previously, Porter does not break down his deputy category into deputies proper and board and commission chairmen, and his corporation personnel are, for the most part, looked at separately, and that infrequently. A certain general picture, however, does emerge, but not one that allows us to say with any precision what differences there may have been in the routes to the position of deputy head of a regular department as opposed to the other positions.

Having said this, it would seem, as we suggested earlier in dealing with occupational background, that a significant proportion of those in Porter's total deputy category were not long-term government employees

at the time of appointment to deputy rank. Prior to 1953, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the leadership to the federal bureaucracy was to some considerable degree recruited from without. This certainly was the observation of John Deutsch, a sometime prominent federal bureaucrat and distinguished Canadian public servant. In 1957, he wrote:

I think that it is apparent that over the years the service has not produced its own leaders in adequate numbers. I know there are many exceptions which prove this rule. But far too often the personnel required for senior positions is not found within the service and is obtained from outside.¹⁴¹

Certainly some of the important and influential deputies of the past (e.g. O.D. Skelton in External Affairs and W.C. Clark in Finance) were drawn from the universities. In the time of C.D. Howe, i.e. until 1957, many of the crown corporation heads were drawn from the business community.¹⁴² Porter found, as earlier noted, that only approximately one-half of his deputy category had spent more than half of their working lives in the public service and only 20% all of their working lives. Of the total bureaucratic elite, approximately 39% had entered from outside federal government service at at least the relatively senior position of assistant director.¹⁴³ Porter's follow-up findings with respect to new appointments to the deputy minister category for the period 1953-1960, however, are interpreted by him as indicating that the bureaucracy is significantly moving toward recruiting its leadership from within.¹⁴⁴ Of the 32 new appointments during this period he found that only three or 9% were made from outside the service. Yet his data might be interpreted as suggesting that senior appointments were still significantly going to non-career federal public servants. If one includes those appointees who were brought into the federal service from outside to the position held immediately prior to

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reaching deputy rank, the number of non-federal career personnel would be increased by seven to 31%. If one includes the chairmen of the three new boards that were created during this period,¹⁴⁵ all of whose chairmen were appointed from outside, the percentage would be 37%.

Returning to those in the deputy category as of 1953, it was found that among the non-careerists, or non-long term employees, were certainly some who had been politically active for the party in power at the time of their appointment. Of those at the deputy and assistant deputy minister level, some 17% had been politically active, the numbers being about evenly divided among the departments and the board and commissions.¹⁴⁶ Active politics, then, would seem to have been a route to senior bureaucratic position federally and one which, on the basis of our incomplete evidence, does not seem to have been a significant one in the case of our particular group of Alberta non-elected. Whether the appointments made federally in the 1953-1960 period included a similar number of "the politically active" is not clear.

While we found little evidence to suggest that appointment to certain "strategic" positions was important in the career patterns of our Alberta senior bureaucrats, Porter suggests a somewhat different situation federally, at least insofar as the careers of his 1953 group is concerned. He states:

Although a fair proportion of the higher bureaucracy was drawn from outside its own ranks, for the insiders (either the career man or the near-career man), there was one mechanism in the promotional system which greatly improved his chances of getting to the top, and that was to have served, for a period, close to influential persons, or as the saying goes, "next to policy."¹⁴⁷

Among the positions identified as falling in this category were: secretary

to a minister; executive assistant to a deputy minister, secretary to a board, commission, or tribunal; a position in the Privy Council Office (or the Wartime Prices and Trades Board). Of those at the deputy and assistant deputy levels who were career or near career civil servants, 43.8% had held such positions.¹⁴⁸

Final concluding comment

And so this study at last draws to an end. It looked at a very early stage, as was indicated in the introductory remarks in Chapter I, as though it would have to be abandoned because of lack of support from the legislators (as it was we had, with regret, to abandon the originally planned judicial aspect). At one stage it was thought that once the data had been obtained through the interviews that the largest part of the task had been completed; in fact the analysis of that data took longer than the securing of it. What began as an outline on paper in centennial year was not completed until the elapse of an embarrassingly long time. It is hoped that what has emerged may be of some value, particularly, though by no means exclusively, in what it may have to say directly or by inference about the social origins, socialization, representativeness, and recruitment of the membership of a particular legislature and the formal leadership (as positionally defined) of the executive branch of the government associated therewith. It is also hoped that the data, which took such a considerable time to collect and even longer to reduce to some sort of meaningful and intelligible form, will provide some useful basic material for others, particularly in the area of provincial government and politics which has been so little investigated in this country, and will suggest further hypotheses and avenues to be explored, and in this regard in this concluding

chapter a few matters that might be further pursued have been suggested.

Throughout this study great care has been taken to be as objective as possible and also not to draw rash or sweeping inferences from the data. But now, with a burst of revolutionary spirit and zeal, the writer would like to close with a brief impressionistic statement and it refers only to the Alberta Social Crediters. They have not emerged from this study, with a few exceptions, as being particularly distinguished as measured in terms of formal education and occupational accomplishment and the various other formal measures that are customarily applied. There are likely a few scoundrels among them and likely a few who come as close to virtue as do any in public life. This writer would likely not share the attitudes of many of them and likely differ with many on issues of public policy and he certainly does not share their party allegiance. Yet in interviewing so many an impression was left with the writer, an impression that, by their own lights, many were genuinely attempting to represent the best interests of their constituents and their province. Further, and this is not intended as a patronizing statement, many conveyed the impression of being "basically good human beings."

FOOTNOTES

¹The year 1961 is used because this is the year, at the time of writing, of the last full federal census.

²John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior: A Study of the 25th Parliament (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

³For Porter's selection of his political elite, and discussion of his sources, see Porter, op. cit., pp. 386, 604-08.

⁴For Porter's selection of his bureaucratic elite, etc., see ibid., pp. 433, 608-13.

⁵For the only specific references to the Kornberg sample that this writer could find, none of which indicates the basis of selection, see Kornberg, op. cit., pp. 2, 151-52. It might be pointed out that it was not clear to this writer at first whether Kornberg was treating only the ordinary M.P. or whether he included in his sample members of the political executive. A careful reading of his interview schedule, ibid., pp. 153-161, however, indicates that members of the political executive were included for in a few places there are instructions on how to treat certain questions should the person being interviewed be a cabinet minister or other member of the political executive.

⁶For the ethnic origins of the Alberta population as of 1961, see Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1.2-5, Table 35. All subsequent figures dealing with ethnic origin of the Alberta population are drawn from this table.

⁷Figures on the French in Alberta, based on 1961 census figures, are derived from Tables 3 to 6 inclusive of A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965), pp. 196-200.

⁸Unfortunately we do not know to what extent the non-British have in fact aspired to appointed positions. If they have, and if they tend, as seems likely, to fall toward the lower end of the class structure, it could be that a factor restricting entry into, and career within, the governmental bureaucracy has been level of education.

⁹Certain factors, of course, might serve to reinforce, others to mitigate, the early influence of the home. For example, it was found

that those members raised in non-English speaking homes tended also to come from communities that were predominantly non-British which would tend to reinforce the non-British background. On the other hand, the taking of a spouse of different cultural background might tend to bring modification. In this respect it will be recalled that in the case of the ministers the British cultural background may have been strengthened through four of the Scandinavians taking wives of British extraction. In some other cases, however, something of a non-British background may have been introduced for seven backbench Social Credit members of British origins took wives that came from non-English speaking homes as did three of the deputies and two of the chairmen.

¹⁰For most useful tables dealing with ethnic origin and mother tongue, based on 1961 census figures, and from which these figures are derived, see A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, op. cit., Tables 1-2, pp. 192-95.

¹¹Porter, op. cit., p. 389.

¹²For example, see R. MacGregor Dawson, revised by Norman Ward; The Government of Canada (4th ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 193-200.

¹³It may be that Mr. Diefenbaker, with his unique background, was more sensitive than most prime ministers to the "multi-racial" nature of the Canadian community. For a contemporary journalist's interpretation of the Diefenbaker attitude, see Peter C. Newman, Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), pp. 187-88.

It might be observed that it would be unrealistic to expect the cabinet to be fully representative of those of European extraction let alone the various groups within that category (if, indeed, such was thought desirable). From the incomplete data referred to below regarding birthplace and ethnic origin of the federal parliamentarians it would seem that the non-British/non-French are underrepresented in the House. Full representation would, then, involve going outside it (by no means, of course, unprecedented in federal cabinet construction). One would probably run into conflict with other factors, particularly the long standing practice of giving representation to the various provinces (non-British/non-French candidates for cabinet position would likely be drawn from the West or the large urban areas), and the demands that individuals of British/French background already established in the system might have. However, if Kornberg's parliament of 1962 is in any way representative (16% of his sample were neither British nor French) there would seem to be some room for according stronger representation to other groups if a prime minister was determined to do so.

¹⁴This statement with respect to Ukrainian representation is based upon the writer's observation of the Alberta political scene and not on information derived from the interviews.

¹⁵Kornberg, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁶Porter, op. cit., p. 441

¹⁷Cloutier, an Assistant Secretary to the Treasury Board in Ottawa, writing in 1968, indicates: "Of the 650 or so most senior officials of the federal public service, only about 100, or 15 per cent, have French as their mother tongue. This represents a considerable increase over the situation which prevailed four or five years ago -- the absolute numbers have doubled and the percentage has grown from 12 to 15 -- but that is still not adequate representation." See Sylvain Cloutier, "Senior Public Service Officials in a Bicultural Society," Canadian Public Administration, Winter 1968, Vol. XI, Number 4, p. 405. It would seem that, in the past, there has been some difficulty in attracting French Canadians to the federal service. For a discussion of traditional French Canadian values and their effect on the recruitment, retention, and advancement of French Canadians, see D. Kwanvick, "French Canadians and the Civil Service of Canada," Canadian Public Administration, Spring 1968, Vol. XI, Number 1, pp. 97-112. For something of recent efforts to develop bilingualism and biculturalism among federal governmental officials, and presumably a more favourable climate for French Canadians, see G.A. Blackburn, "A Bilingual and Bicultural Public Service," Canadian Public Administration, Spring 1969, Vol. XII, Number 1, pp. 36-44.

¹⁸All figures on the birthplaces of the Alberta population are drawn from Canada, D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1.2-7, Table 49.

¹⁹Porter, op. cit., p. 386.

²⁰Ibid., p. 387.

²¹Ibid.

²²In 1911, 92.4% of the House was native born; 78% of the population. By 1941 some 85.5% of the House was native born vs. 82.5% of the population. See Ward, op. cit., p. 125.

²³Kornberg, op. cit., p. 47.

²⁴In 1911 some 0.8% of the M.P.s were born in other than Canada, Britain, or the United States vs. 6.6% of the population. In 1941 some 2% of the House was so born vs. 6.5% of the population. See Ward, op. cit., p. 125.

²⁵Kornberg, op. cit., p. 47.

²⁶Ward, op. cit., p. 128.

²⁷Kornberg, op. cit., pp. 45, 47.

²⁸Porter, op. cit., p. 442. It might be noted that Porter found that the Prairies with 18.2% of the total population of Canada (1951 census) provided roughly that proportion of the bureaucratic elite with 16.8%.

²⁹See Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1.2-5, Table 36.

³⁰One M.L.A. would have approached membership in the political elite, being the son of an Alberta Social Credit cabinet minister.

³¹For something of the selection of the economic and labour elites, see Porter, op. cit., pp. 274, 597-98.

Porter's definition of elite membership is essentially tied to family or kinship and the holding of formal organizational position, and we have applied these same standards. However it will be recalled that some of our families would have ties of friendship and association (in some cases through the family of the spouse) with members of elite groups, principally political, but it seems most doubtful that any of these had any bearing on the careers of the individuals interviewed or changed their social position. It might also be recalled that a few of the wives had parents or other family members who were associated with leadership figures of the "old-line" political parties. It might further be recalled that a few individuals, or their wives, claimed relationship to figures of the past who certainly occupied elite positions (political) in the British and American political systems, but they were remote in time and there was no membership in generations close to those of the parent in Canadian elites (these ancestors could, however, have been significant in the sense of motivating the behavior of some of the individuals with whom we have been concerned).

³²As a guide in this analysis, the writer has followed, as already mentioned, what he could interpret of the Porter scheme of classification, the basis for Porter's classification in most instances being set out by him in explanatory footnotes. To Porter, an individual might claim upper class origins in the Canadian political system if there were in the parental generation judges of the higher courts of the province, directors and executives of large but not dominant corporations, owners of substantial businesses, distinguished members of the bar, etc. Occupations that would fall in the middle and upper middle class categories (the two not being specifically differentiated) would include major executives, owners of medium businesses, professionals, and officers of the armed forces. Occupations that would fall in the lower middle class category would include clerks or retail salesmen, salesmen, foremen, minor executives, owners of small business, etc. The manual category would include unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers and farm workers. See ibid., pp. 345, 445.

³³If certain assumptions that were made earlier about the four members of the legislature on whom we lack complete information are valid, the figures for the total elected would be: farm 60%; middle class 27% (18% from the lower middle class); and manual 13% (10% unskilled).

³⁴Placed in the upper class category were the son of the wealthy rancher who was a member of a distinguished Scottish family and the son of the president of an Alberta utility company who was a member of a Welsh brewing family. A case might be made for inclusion in the upper class category of the son of the Toronto bank executive and for the son of the railway superintendent. These latter two were placed in the upper middle class in our analysis.

³⁵We have suggested that this may have been the case among a few of the non-elected: two of the ministers, three of the Social Credit backbenchers, and one of the Opposition members.

³⁶Porter, op. cit., p. 395.

³⁷Ibid., p. 393.

³⁸Kornberg, op. cit., p. 44.

³⁹All figures on the class origins of the deputy minister category are drawn from Porter, op. cit., p. 445.

⁴⁰In large part this impression probably stems from the evangelical activity of the first two Social Credit premiers of Alberta, Aberhart and Manning. As this conclusion is being written, the province of Alberta has a new premier, for in late 1968 Ernest Manning, premier for 25 years and M.L.A. for 33, retired and was succeeded by Harry Strom, a member of the Alberta cabinet. It is interesting that fundamentalism should provide a link between all three Social Credit premiers (they differed on many other measures like ethnic origin, type of education, etc.) for the new premier is a strong member of a fundamentalist sect, though he never engaged in the public evangelical activity of his predecessors. It is interesting, too, that, to those who payed close attention to the "rites of succession", Strom appeared to be the choice of Manning (it is this writer's impression that Strom was the most strongly fundamentalist of the members of the Manning government), though Manning gave no official public endorsement to any candidate. (The succession, in fact, was not outwardly determined by the "laying on of hands" but through an elaborate convention to select the new leader of the Social Credit party and hence the new premier. Should the reader be interested in the convention, he is referred to The Edmonton Journal, December 4-7, 1968, there being as yet no published scholarly analysis of it. It might be noted that delegates were selected by each provincial

constituency association, 25 each from 65 constituencies, and, as a result of significant rural overrepresentation in the legislature, was rurally dominated. Four of the five candidates for the leadership were Alberta cabinet ministers, all of whom are included in this study).

⁴¹The difference between the attitude of the parents and youth attendance is partly explained by parents feeling that their children "ought" to go to church/sunday school as part of a "proper upbringing" even though the parents themselves may not have been particularly religious and partly (e.g. among Social Credit backbenchers) by church accessibility.

⁴²It will be recalled that we lack detailed information on the early religious experience of three Social Credit backbenchers. One of these is Mormon today; two are members of the United Church. It has been assumed that they were not raised as Baptists or in fundamentalist sects. The United Church members are of British (Scots) ethnic origin and it has been assumed of Presbyterian background. Church union took place when they were 10 and 12 years of age respectively.

⁴³All percentages for religious affiliation of the population of the province are based on Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1.2-6, Table 42.

⁴⁴It is normally maintained that change in social class position may bring movement from lower to higher status churches. It may, therefore, be of interest to note the extent to which there appeared to be deliberate movement into the "British charter group religions" by our group members as adults. While the number of cases of change in church affiliation (including the dropping of all church affiliation) is significant among all groups, involving 38% among the cabinet, 36% among the Social Credit backbenchers, 20% among the Opposition, 24% among the deputies, and 33% among the chairmen, the number of instances of deliberate movement into the "charter group" religions was not. While there was a considerable increase in "charter group" membership, in most instances this was the result of the automatic movement from the Methodist or Presbyterian churches (there were no Congregationalists) into the United Church with church union in 1925. If one excludes these cases, 12% of the cabinet moved into the "charter group" (but none while cabinet ministers), among the Social Credit members the number moving in was balanced by the number moving out, among the deputies there was a net reduction of 12%, and among the chairmen a movement in by only one (6%). Insofar as the Anglican Church is concerned, one minister joined; among the Social Credit backbenchers one joined while two left (interestingly one to become Christian Science and one Baptist); one deputy left the Anglican church and one United Church chairman moved into the Anglican church.

⁴⁵It will be recalled that the minister was raised in fundamentalist sects and joined his wife's church.

⁴⁶It might be noted that 3% of the elected were Ukrainian Catholics (all were Social Crediters) and that the proportion of the Alberta population that was Ukrainian Catholic was also 3%.

⁴⁷It will be recalled that more of the elected were at least nominally Roman Catholic in youth than is represented by the figures set out in the above paragraph, there being some movement away from Catholicism as adults. While there was no change so far as the cabinet ministers are concerned, some five or 12% of the Social Credit backbenchers were officially Roman Catholic in youth with an additional member (2%) being partly Roman Catholic raised (he switched to a fundamentalist sect in his teens). Three Social Credit backbenchers left the Catholic church as adults while one joined it. One of the Opposition members was nominally Roman Catholic until his teens. There was no change among the chairmen, none at any time being Catholic, but one deputy minister joined the Roman Catholic church as an adult.

⁴⁸All percentages on the religious composition of the cabinet are drawn from Porter, op. cit., p. 389.

It is to be noted that Porter is inconsistent in his use of figures concerning the percentage of the 1951 population claiming United Church affiliation and uses an inaccurate figure for the percentage claiming Presbyterian church affiliation. In one instance he refers to 20.5% of the population being United Church in another to 17.6%. The figure ought to be 20.5%. Twice he refers to Presbyterians constituting 8.6% of the population; the figure in 1951 was actually 5.6%. See ibid., pp. 390, 443, and Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. 2, Table 7.

⁴⁹For example, see Dawson and Ward, op. cit., pp. 197-98.

⁵⁰Kornberg, op. cit., p. 46.

⁵¹Porter, op. cit., p. 443.

⁵²Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 7.1-10, Table XIII. These percentages are of the population over 15 years of age not attending school. All subsequent figures dealing with the level of education of the Alberta population are drawn from this table.

⁵³Law is not included as representing a higher degree. If it was, the figures would be: cabinet 6% (unchanged); Social Credit backbenchers 12%; Opposition 40% (2 of the 5); all elected 13%; deputies 35%; chairmen 29%; all non-elected 31%.

⁵⁴If one includes in the figure of those with only elementary school education those who went from elementary school to Bible college or some form of technical training, the percentage is considerable higher: 25%

of the cabinet; 24% of the Social Credit members; 22% of all the elected; while the percentage for the non-elected remains at 3%.

⁵⁵The deputy and board chairman came from families that we earlier placed in the upper class category.

⁵⁶It might be noted that one senior official commented to the writer that there were only two principal ways of leaving the farm or small town in Alberta for those of his generation without means while at the same time achieving some upward social mobility (he was a gentleman in his late fifties): to go to normal school or into one of the chartered banks (the latter, in many ways, being the more difficult).

The role of the normal school in the production of Alberta political leadership might be an interesting one for detailed examination, though it would seem doubtful if one could ever claim for it the significance of the public school and Oxbridge in the British political system.

⁵⁷In the case of the non-elected, in two instances formal study in Education followed the taking of degrees in Arts.

⁵⁸Porter, op. cit., p. 388.

⁵⁹The information regarding the record of higher education was drawn from the following source: Public Archives of Canada, The Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968). This is a useful volume, similar to The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, but collecting under one set of covers brief biographical sketches of all parliamentarians that held office at some point during Canada's first one hundred years. It, like The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, however, does not contain complete information on all members.

⁶⁰Porter does not explain who among his cabinet ministers attended private schools nor outline their type. However, in referring to the total political elite, he indicates that 29% attended private schools and that 28 of the 44 were French who attended classical colleges. Porter, op. cit., p. 388.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Kornberg, op. cit., p. 45.

⁶³Porter, op. cit., p. 433.

⁶⁴Ibid., fn. 57, p. 445.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 434.

⁶⁶ See Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," Maclean's, August 22, 1964, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷ We earlier placed the two druggist/businessmen in the professional/semi-professional category. If they are included in the small business category, it would be increased from 19% to 24%, and increase the overall percentage in the three categories from 60% to 64%.

⁶⁸ One Opposition member was a druggist/businessman. As with the two Social Crediters, a case could be made for placing him in the small business category.

⁶⁹ All figures on the occupational background of the Alberta labour force are drawn from Canada, D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 3.1-3, Table 6. The 1961 census breaks the Alberta population down into the following occupational categories: managerial 8.5%; professional and technical 9.5%; clerical 11%; sales 6.5%; service and recreation 12%; transport and communication 6%; farmers and farm workers 21%; logging and related 0.5%; fishermen, trappers, and hunters 0.2%; mining, quarrymen and related 1%; craftsmen, production process and related 17%; labourers 4%; not stated 2%. Note: Labourers means "unskilled" but excludes those in farming, fishing, logging and mining. It also excludes longshoremen, freight handlers, sectionmen, and trainmen.

⁷⁰ Porter makes the interesting comment that there is considerable similarity between the skills of the lawyer and those of the evangelical preacher. See Porter, op. cit., p. 393.

⁷¹ The census category is very broad and includes the following: engineers; physical scientists; biologists and agricultural professionals; teachers; health professionals (including chiropractors and osteopaths); law professionals; religious professionals (including "religious workers"); artists, writers, and musicians; and "other professionals" which category includes, among others, interior decorators and window dressers.

⁷² It is different to know how far to extend the argument with respect to labour association. However, it may also be relevant to recall the parental occupational background. This may indicate that an even larger proportion of the elected may have had knowledge of the problems of labour than indicated by the occupational background of the elected themselves. It was found that, in the case of the ministers, one (6%) had a father who engaged in an unskilled manual occupation as the principal occupation during the minister's dependency. In an additional case (6%), a minister's father supplemented farm income by work in Alberta mines. In both cases (12%) the fathers had been miners in Britain and engaged in mining as a secondary occupation during the respective minister's dependency. In one of these cases the minister was to have some manual type occupational experience as an adult. (The minister who engaged in a manual occupation as the principal one came from a farm home).

Of the Social Credit backbenchers, at least five (12%) had fathers whose principal occupation when the member was dependent was of the unskilled type. An additional 5% of the backbenchers had fathers whose occupations would fall within the manual category but where they possessed some degree of skill. Of the five unskilled fathers, one was a miner. An additional three (7%) of the fathers were reported as having engaged in unskilled manual type occupations for some time though not during the members' dependency. In total, either as principal occupation during the members' dependency, or as a substantial term occupation, some 12% of the Social Credit backbenchers had fathers who had been miners. Of those cases where the father had some manual type occupational background, in only one instance did the backbencher himself engage in a manual type occupation for a period of any duration.

Though organizational association of the father was not examined, there is some indication that some of those who engaged in manual occupations also had some trade union association. One minister (who himself engaged in a manual type occupation but not as the principal one) volunteered the information that his father had been active in trade unions in Britain. Similarly, 5% of the Social Credit backbenchers indicated that their fathers had been active in trade unions, one in Britain and one in Britain and Canada. In neither of these cases did the backbencher have experience in a manual type occupation.

It might also be recalled, though organizational association of brothers and sisters of the ministers and members was not examined, that one Social Credit backbencher (2% of that group) indicated that he had a brother who was active in trade unions. Among the Opposition, one member (not the NDP member) indicated that he had a brother who was an official of an international trade union.

⁷³ There was some contrast, as we have seen, between the occupational backgrounds of the fathers of the elected and the non-elected. None of the deputies had fathers who engaged in manual occupations during the period when they were dependent on their fathers; only one chairman had a father who engaged in a manual type occupation.

It might be noted that two deputies (12%), volunteered the information that they had brothers who were active in trade unions, one in Britain and one in Edmonton. No similar activity was reported among the families of the chairmen.

⁷⁴ For what Porter considers to be Canada's dominant corporations, see Porter, op. cit., Table 11, pp. 581-88.

⁷⁵ It might also be recalled that in the case of an additional two of the non-elected the father held corporate position of some importance. The father of one of the deputies (6%) was a Toronto bank executive and the father of one of the chairmen (6%) was a railway superintendent. In the case of the elected, none of the fathers on whom we have detailed information (and likely none at all) held significant corporate positions in Canada's dominant corporations or important Alberta corporations.

⁷⁶It is interesting, and not without its irony, that, within a matter of a few months of his retirement as premier, E.C. Manning acquired directorships in a number of "big business" enterprises. Among these were the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, The Steel Company of Canada Limited, The Manufacturers Life Insurance Company, and Canadian Pacific Airways, and became a member of what Porter would style the "economic elite". For notice of these appointments see The Edmonton Journal, March 3, 1969; March 28, 1969; and April 2, 1969. It may also be of interest that later in 1969, Mr. Manning received the highest award in the Canadian "honours system" when he was named a Companion of the Order of Canada. See The Edmonton Journal, December 19, 1969. Some might interpret these developments as meaning that Mr. Manning had finally been fully absorbed into "the establishment".

It might also be noted that a very small proportion of the brothers of the elected, though only among the Social Credit backbenchers and the Opposition, acquired business positions of some importance. One Social Credit backbencher (2% of the Social Credit backbenchers) had a brother who became a senior official of one of Canada's chartered banks. One of the Opposition members had two brothers who acquired senior business executive positions in important though not dominant corporations.

As well, some of the brothers of the non-elected were to acquire business positions of some importance. This was the case for 12% of the deputies and 11% of the chairmen. Of the deputies, one had a brother who became the president of a prominent engineering firm and one a brother who became a senior executive of a Canadian (in name) oil company listed by Porter as one of Canada's dominant corporations. In addition, one deputy had a brother-in-law who became president of an American oil company operating in Alberta. (It is difficult to say whether any importance should be attached to this indirect oil company association among the deputies). It may be that a few of the deputies, through the brothers, may have acquired some economic elite or near economic elite connections. Of the chairmen, two (one of whom has been referred to as having a unique background) had brothers who held business positions of some significance, though not senior executive positions in dominant corporations.

⁷⁷Some might consider a Social Credit backbencher who was a professor of Dentistry at The University of Alberta to have a somewhat distinguished background, but others not. He would represent 2% of the total elected. Some might consider the background of the Premier as distinguished; others might prefer to categorize it as unique. We also noted that one minister acquired some distinction on another measure: he was something of a war hero, having won the D.F.C. (An Opposition member received a m.i.d. for taking part in an air mission that strafed the car of Field Marshal Rommel).

⁷⁸We also noted that one chairman had been Chairman of the Board of Governors of The University of Alberta. This post, which he held for sixteen years, was, however, assumed two years following appointment as a full-time board chairman.

⁷⁹An interesting question which we have not examined is whether the part-time nature of the job of being an M.L.A. has any impact on the sorts of occupational areas from which M.L.A.s are drawn. While not attempting to answer that question, it is to be pointed out that being an M.L.A. in Alberta certainly has not been a full-time occupation. Though legislative sessions appear to be lengthening, sessions, up to the time of the interviews, did not exceed two and one half to three months, and usually began in the latter part of January. Nor were M.L.A.s paid on a scale of a full-time occupation. At the beginning of the Fifteenth Legislature, M.L.A.s received \$3,600 plus an \$1,800 expense allowance (tax free) plus \$15 per day (tax free) for each day during the session when the member was necessarily absent from his ordinary place of residence. Members of the cabinet received \$12,500 in addition to the sessional indemnity, and the Premier \$16,000 in addition to the sessional indemnity. The Leader of the Opposition received a sessional indemnity of \$7,600 plus a \$3,800 expense allowance and the \$15 per day. For the salaries prevailing at the start of the Fifteenth Legislature, see The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1965, ed. by Pierre G. Normandin (Ottawa: P.O. Box 513, 1965), pp. 469-70.

⁸⁰All figures on the occupational background of the federal cabinet ministers are drawn from Porter, op. cit., pp. 391-92. The figure on the number of prime ministers who were lawyers is from Kornberg. See Kornberg, op. cit., p. 43.

⁸¹Porter, op. cit., p. 395.

⁸²All figures on the Canadian Labour force are drawn from Canada. D.B.S., Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 3.1-3, Table 6, and Department of Labour, Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931 to 1961 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963), Table 1.

It is to be observed that in the period 1941 to 1961 there was some change in the occupational breakdown of the Canadian population. In 1941 some 12% of the labour force was in the professional/managerial/proprietary category, 33% in the manual, and 26% in the agricultural; in 1961 the figures, by category, were 18%, 35%, and 10% respectively.

⁸³Ward, op. cit., p. 133.

⁸⁴Kornberg, op. cit., p. 43.

For something of the reasons why lawyers may be so heavily drawn to politics, see ibid., and Porter, op. cit., pp. 391-92. Among the interesting ideas advanced are the following: lawyers, in part, act as a substitute for the leisured classes of older communities; the skills of the lawyer fit well into a political career; and a period in politics may advance the career of the lawyer while it may work to the disadvantage of the members of some other occupational categories.

⁸⁵Kornberg, op. cit., p. 44.

⁸⁶This conclusion follows from Ward's findings though his data is so categorized and arranged that one cannot assign a specific percentage to a professional/managerial/proprietary category. It is difficult to draw specific comparisons with Ward's data for his analysis of the various parliaments is based on a combination of occupation and main economic interest that involves a system of double counting and his basis for categorization is not made clear. See Ward, op. cit., p. 131. For his discussion of his findings, see ibid., pp. 131-135. For his tabular breakdown of the various parliaments for the period 1867 to 1945, see ibid., p. 132. The percentages that have been used above with respect to the members drawn from agriculture, teaching, and journalism have been calculated by the writer from Ward's data.

⁸⁷Unfortunately it is not clear which occupations Ward has placed within his labour category.

⁸⁸For his findings, see ibid., Table X, p. 135. It is to be pointed out that Ward employs a system in which each interest that an individual member might have is counted. A single member might, then, for example, be counted three times.

⁸⁹Ward, however, would not argue that a member could not reasonably represent those occupational interests of which he, the member, had no direct experience.

⁹⁰For Kornberg's data, see Kornberg, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

⁹¹Unfortunately he does not break down his "low status" category into its various components; he does not indicate what proportion of the House were labourers, etc.

⁹²Some significant change had taken place in the occupational profile of the Canadian labour force in the period 1931 to 1961 (it will be recalled that Ward draws comparisons with regrouped 1931 census figures). In 1931 some 28.8% of the labour force was in agriculture whereas by 1961 the percentage had declined to 10.2%. Professional/managerial/proprietary occupations changed from 11.7% in 1931 to 17.9% in 1961. The total in manual occupations, however, changed little, representing 33.8% in 1931 and 34.9% in 1961. See Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931 to 1961, op. cit., Table 1.

⁹³Porter, op. cit., p. 436.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 434. Porter also makes interesting reference to a university like atmosphere prevailing in many of the conference rooms of the senior bureaucracy and to the high value attached to intellectual attainment by that bureaucracy. Ibid., p. 435.

⁹⁵The percentage figures are rounded and calculated from Porter's absolute figures. For Porter's figures, see ibid., pp. 437-38. While Porter does not indicate the proportion of the deputy category that was appointed from outside, he does indicate that the largest proportion of outside appointments were to the crown corporations (44.8%). See ibid., p. 437.

⁹⁶See Alberta, "The Teaching Profession Act," R.S.A., 1955, c. 331, especially s. 5.

It will have been noted that we identified 38% of the ministers as having pursued teaching as the principal occupation prior to election but found that only 31% had been members of a professional teaching association. If membership in the A.T.A. was compulsory after 1936, how are these figures to be reconciled? The explanation is quite straight forward. There was one minister who was first elected in 1935 and appointed to the cabinet in 1943. In the period 1935-43 he did not teach; indeed he did not follow any full-time, or substantially full-time, occupation.

The single Social Credit backbencher among those who belonged to professional educational organizations who did not belong to the A.T.A. belonged to its predecessor organization, The Alberta Teachers' Alliance. This was also true of the board chairmen.

⁹⁷It is the writer's impression that the Orange Lodge, aside perhaps from territorial days, has not been very active in Alberta. This impression is partly based on information derived from the papers of the writer's maternal grandfather who held "high office" in the Orange Order in Alberta at one time and not on any published empirical study. It is also to be noted, if one is correct in assuming that membership in the Orange Order would largely be confined to those of Northern Irish Protestant background, that the potential group from which members would be drawn would only be approximately 6% of the elected and non-elected.

⁹⁸He, as noted earlier, was a director of certain international companies, belonged to a number of elite clubs, and claims to have played polo with the now Duke of Windsor and with General Eisenhower.

⁹⁹Porter, op. cit., p. 305.

¹⁰⁰One Social Credit backbench member belonged to The Faculty Club of The University of Alberta as did one deputy.

101 In no instance does this mean less than 15 of 16 ministers, 38 of 42 Social Credit backbench members, and all of the Opposition members.

102 It is possible, given the reluctance of a few of the non-elected to discuss political activity, though primarily their own rather than family, that the number who engaged in some political activity is understated.

103 The number of instances where brothers and sisters engaged in political activity was found to be considerably higher among the elected than among the non-elected with the most active group being the brothers and sisters of the Social Credit backbenchers. It was found that 50% of the ministers, 65% of the Social Credit backbenchers, and two of the Opposition members, had brothers and/or sisters who engaged in some political activity. We have suggested that in the case of some of the sisters their political activity might have been a product of their marriages, of the political activity of the husband.

104 One Social Credit minister married into a family where the wife's father was a Social Credit M.P. and he was encouraged by that family to enter politics; the brother of the wife of one M.L.A. persuaded the M.L.A. to stand for Social Credit in 1935; and there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that one Opposition member, who came from an apolitical family and himself had no early interest in political matters, was influenced to become politically involved by the wife's family (her father was very politically active at the local level).

105 Unexpectedly, a few of the elected claimed descent from distinguished figures in the British and American political systems. This was the case for 8% of the Social Credit backbenchers, representing 5% of the elected. One claimed relationship to Edmund Burke, one to both the brother of Sir Walter Raleigh and to Thomas Jefferson, and one to Benjamin Franklin. To what extent these members were "pulling a Disraeli" is difficult to say. In addition, the wife of one of the Social Credit backbench members claimed relationship to Nelson of Trafalgar.

106 Though none of the elected or non-elected came from homes of the Canadian political elite it is of interest that in a few instances there had been family association either through friendship or activity with members of, or sometime members of, that elite. One deputy reported parents who had been on friendly terms since childhood with William Lyon Mackenzie King. In the case of another deputy a grandparent was reported as having been actively associated at the party level with the first Premier Roblin of Manitoba. Two ministers and one member of the Opposition took wives who through their families had similar sorts of associations. The parents of the wife of one minister were reported as being strong friends of the Aberharts. The wife of one minister had a father who was reported as being a personal friend of James G. Gardiner and the wife of an Opposition member is said to have had a father who

was a personal friend of Richard Bedford Bennett. In addition, though these would not be members of the Canadian political elite in Porter's definition, one member of the Opposition and one deputy had in common a situation where a grandparent had been on terms of friendship and shared activity with some of the founding figures of the C.C.F.

¹⁰⁷The reader will likely recall that we did examine organizational activity of the non-elected and we have discussed it in terms of interest representation. However none of the non-elected stood for the legislature and there is no readily identifiable landmark in their careers that might provide a parallel for comparative purposes with standing for legislative office. Why we cannot compare the other aspects should be obvious.

¹⁰⁸One minister was first elected to the legislature as a non-partisan armed forces representative in 1944. He had engaged in limited political activity in 1935. He is not included in the 31% figure.

¹⁰⁹Part of the explanation for this lack of prior political activity on the part of the cabinet ministers that might suggest itself is that some of them were persuaded to stand for the legislature with the expectation of immediate entry into the cabinet. In fact, a point to which we will return fairly shortly, this does not seem to have been the case.

¹¹⁰Of the non-elected who engaged in some political activity prior to entry into government service (two deputies and six, perhaps seven, chairmen), both of the deputies and four of the six chairmen engaged in party activity exclusively. One deputy held party office as did two of the chairmen. The other two chairmen held local government office only. In addition, one chairman, who would not discuss his political activity, did suggest by some of his remarks that he may have engaged in some party activity.

¹¹¹Kornberg, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹³As noted earlier, Ward relies on The Canadian Parliamentary Guide for much of his data. The Guide tends not to include information on school board office holding.

¹¹⁴This figure is drawn, as are subsequent citations of Ward's data, from Ward, op. cit., pp. 121-124, particularly Table V, p. 122.

¹¹⁵In addition one cabinet minister had first stood for the federal House, as had two of the Social Credit backbenchers, but none of the

VI-
 Opposition members (one did try to enter the federal House after unsuccessful attempts to enter the provincial). Some 10% of the Alberta elected on whom we have detailed information first attempted to win federal rather than provincial legislative office. Unfortunately we have no data on what proportion of the federally elected may have unsuccessfully attempted to enter a provincial legislature before election to the federal House.

¹¹⁶Kornberg, op. cit., p. 48.

¹¹⁷Kornberg's data on office holding would seem derived from question 5a of his questionnaire which reads in part: "Had you ever held a public office before going into federal politics?" See ibid., p. 153. This might be interpreted as including school board office.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹⁹It is an interesting finding of our study that one Opposition member was in a different sense in part motivated to stand for the legislature by these same factors. He indicated that his father, who was very active politically at the local level (party and elected office) but not for Social Credit, was discriminated against by the Aberhart administration.

What was a more fascinating finding was that among both the elected and the non-elected were some who not only did not immediately succumb to the Aberhart charisma but who engaged in party activity for other than Social Credit in 1935 (though none were themselves at that stage seeking entry into the legislature). This was the case for three members of the cabinet (19%), one of whom did not become a convert to Social Credit until after the death of Aberhart, one of the deputies (6%), and three of the chairmen (17%).

¹²⁰Perhaps this means that one ought not to seek "personal aggrandizement"; perhaps that "politics" is viewed as being somehow "nasty and corrupt" and an arena that one does not voluntarily seek to enter. These are interpretations that might be worthy of further investigation.

¹²¹We did suggest that there may have been some consideration for geographic distribution, though Edmonton was overrepresented, Calgary underrepresented, and the other urban centres not represented at all. One minister may have been appointed to represent woman and labour (certainly she saw herself as such) and one minister may have been appointed to represent Ukrainians. We also suggested that a considerable proportion of the ministers, on the basis of their occupational and home backgrounds, may have been representative of education, farming, and to a lesser extent small business interests (this may not, however, have been why they were selected for the cabinet).

122 One former minister, sitting as a backbencher at the time of the interviews, had also been deputy speaker at one point before entry into the cabinet. Perhaps, then, the deputy speakership ought to be singled out as well.

123 We noted above that one minister had been party whip, deputy speaker, and later chairman of the Social Credit Board before entry into the cabinet. This latter position, though falling within the executive branch of government, would not be considered to be a bureaucratic position in the usual sense, and the minister was an M.L.A. at the time.

124 It might be noted that one former minister, sitting as a backbencher, was president of the Social Credit League and an M.L.A. when he entered the cabinet.

125 Porter, op. cit., p. 413.

126 Ibid., p. 414.

127 For Porter's principal findings regarding cabinet ministers appointed to office during the 1940-60 period, see ibid., pp. 399-403.

128 For a breakdown of the appointees to the cabinet during the 1896-1940 period who were either appointed directly or with under six months in the House, see ibid., pp. 413-14.

129 For the data on those appointed from provincial politics, see ibid., p. 399.

130 Ibid., p. 400.

131 For a description of, and comment on, some of these appointments, see ibid., pp. 407-11.

132 Subsequent to the period examined by Porter, Lester Pearson, the sometime member of the bureaucratic elite, was to become prime minister (1963). He, who had been appointed by King (who himself had once been a deputy minister), was to appoint to his cabinet a number of former bureaucrats. In the period during which he was prime minister (1963-68), he appointed for the first time at least two ministers who at one point in career had held deputy rank (Sharp, Drury), re-appointed one former deputy who had entered the St. Laurent cabinet (Pickersgill), and appointed at least two ministers who had at one point, though relatively briefly, held senior bureaucratic position (Favreau, Lamontagne). In the Trudeau government that followed, two of these (Sharp and Drury) were re-appointed to cabinet rank (Pickersgill had gone to a government board; Favreau had

died; Lamontagne had gone to the Senate). At the time of writing, no further former bureaucrats seem to have been appointed. As far as the writer can determine, however, none of these Pearson or Trudeau appointees were drawn directly from the bureaucracy at the point at which they joined the Pearson and Trudeau governments. It is difficult to say whether this means that the direct drawing of cabinet ministers from the bureaucracy is now largely a thing of the past, though it is a possible interpretation.

¹³³ See ibid., p. 403. See also Denis Stairs, "Parliamentary Secretaries--Onward to the Cabinet," Politics: Canada, ed. by Paul Fox (2nd ed.; Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Ltd., 1966), especially pp. 216-17.

¹³⁴ It will be recalled that we examined the background of the spouse as a possible factor in decisions to enter non-elected governmental service. With the exception of the wife of one deputy, none of the wives came from homes where the father had a non-elected governmental background and, though some of the wives had been civil servants, the wife does not seem to have been a factor determining entry into non-elected employment.

¹³⁵ One deputy did indicate that he came from a family with a British tradition of public service though this did not involve the holding of civil service positions in the strict sense. However, this was not identified as being a principal reason for entering government service.

¹³⁶ Viewed as the number of families that have so far produced children who have held non-elected government positions for short terms and/or were seen as being career employees or where career employment was anticipated, the picture was found to be as follows: ministers 20% (includes 10% anticipated); Social Credit backbenchers 14% (includes 2% anticipated); Opposition, one of three families; deputies 20%; chairmen 21%.

While one might have expected the homes of high ranking officials to produce significantly more by way of government employees than in the case of the non-elected, this has clearly not been the case so far. This is in considerable contrast to the picture insofar as political activity emerging amongst the children of the politically active is concerned. Here the relationship seems more in accord with what one might have anticipated: political activity emerging from the homes of the politically active to a greater degree than from the homes of the non-active. It was found that of the elected and non-elected with children over 18, in the case of 60% of the families of the ministers, 55% of the Social Credit backbenchers, two of the three Opposition families, but none of the deputies, and 14% of the chairmen, at least one son or daughter had engaged in some political activity. In only one case, however, that of the Premier, had a child sought legislative office, though this was anticipated in the case of an additional 40% of the ministers, 28% of the Social Credit backbenchers, one of the Opposition members, 10% of the deputies, and 7% of the chairmen.

137 Of the deputies, two were involved with the Liberal party; of the chairmen, one was involved with the Liberals, one with the Conservatives, one with the Liberals and the Conservatives (not simultaneously), and one with the U.F.A. In addition, a further chairman may have been involved with either the Liberal party or the Conservative party.

138 Eighty-two per cent of the deputies were appointed in the ten year period preceding the interviews and 53% since 1965.

139 In this regard the findings with respect to voting behaviour (though the question of the reliability of these findings must always be raised) might be recalled. In terms of provincial voting, some 35% indicated that they were independent voters while 59% indicated that they regularly or more often than not voted Social Credit. A considerable proportion of those who indicated that they now voted Social Credit, some 60% of them, did not claim to have done so on first entry into government service. In terms of federal voting, only one deputy indicated that he voted Social Credit regularly or more often than otherwise. In the case of the chairmen the picture was found to be somewhat different, though there were also considerable similarities. There three or 17% indicated that they either regularly or more often than otherwise voted provincially for parties other than Social Credit (one Liberal, one Conservative, and one C.C.F./N.D.P.). Twenty-eight per cent claimed to be independent voters and 44% (50% of the respondents) to vote Social Credit either regularly or more often than not. Of those voting Social Credit, some 63% did not do so on first entry into government service. None claimed to vote Social Credit federally.

140 One chairman (6%) had held a "strategic" position, having been executive secretary to the Premier prior to direct appointment to a board chairmanship. Another board chairman had held a "strategic" position in another jurisdiction. He entered B.C. government service as a careerist and subsequently became a member of the staff of a B.C. Social Credit cabinet minister. His appointment to that position seems to have been the product of unique circumstances and not of partisan activity for Social Credit. He entered Alberta service in a regular government department by competitive examination; later he became a board chairman.

141 J. J. Deutsch, "Some Thoughts on the Public Service," Canadian Public Administration, ed. by J. E. Hodgetts and D. C. Corbett (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1960), p. 299. Deutsch, in this article, outlined some of the problems with respect to personnel policy that he thought, in part, accounted for this situation, including the rigid system of job classification, the lack of central personnel planning, promotion being geared to the average, etc. See especially ibid., pp. 300-301. Significant change has taken place in personnel policy since Deutsch wrote. There has been a new Civil Service Act (1961), the relationship between the Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission (now styled the Public Service Commission) with respect to personnel

policy has changed, the classification scheme has become much less rigid, the position of the department regarding personnel development has become more flexible and measures of career planning have been introduced. In addition, new policies have been instituted with respect to the development of bilingualism. What impact these changes in law and policy may have had on leadership recruitment, however, is not clear. For something of these more recent developments, see R. H. Dowdall, "Personnel Administration in the Federal Public Service," Public Administration in Canada: Selected Readings, ed. by A. M. Willms and W.D.K. Kernaghan (Toronto: Methuen, 1968), especially pp. 368-388.

142 Porter comments on some of these appointments to the departments and corporations and on the role played in the decision-making process by certain members of the senior bureaucracy including Skelton and Clark. See Porter, op. cit., pp. 425-432.

143 For something of the overall career patterns, see ibid., pp. 436-440.

144 For Porter's findings, and his comments upon them, see ibid., pp. 454-456.

145 These were: The Board of Broadcast Governors, The National Parole Board, and the National Energy Board.

146 Ibid., p. 438.

147 Ibid., p. 440.

148 Ibid.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX VI-1

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

(name of individual not to be used)

[The only difference between the questionnaire reproduced below and that employed in the interviews is that the spaces left for filling in the answers have been eliminated.]

Part I

1. Age and date of birth
2. Marital status
 - (a) single, married, divorced, divorced and re-married, widower, widow, etc.
 - (b) if ever married, in what year were you first married?
3. Your family

If you have children, what is their age and sex?
4. Your birthplace, type of community where raised, etc.
 - (a) Where were you born?
 - (b) Where were you raised?
 - (1) If raised in a town or city, what was its size?
 - (2) What was the level of its prosperity?
 - poor
 - moderately prosperous
 - prosperous
 - other (explain)
 - (3) On what did it depend for its prosperity? (industry, farming, etc.?)
 - (4) If raised on the farm, what was the nature of the district?
 - sub-marginal
 - marginal
 - reasonably prosperous
 - prosperous
 - (5) What was the ethnic or national composition of the town, city, or district? Predominately British? Predominately non-British? Mixed?
 - (6) What ethnic groups were represented and which were the principal ones?

(7) How would you describe the religious composition of the town, city, or district? Predominately Protestant? Predominately Catholic? Mixed?

(8) What religious groups were represented in the town, city, or district?

(9) What were the principal religious groups?

(c) In what places have you lived for periods of one year or more?

Place	Period

Did these places differ very much from the place(s) where you were raised? If so, explain.

(d) Where do you now permanently reside?

5. Ethnic or National origin

(a) What is your ethnic or national origin?

(b) If other than first generation Canadian, what generation are you?

(c) What languages were spoken in the home in which you were raised?

(d) What languages do you now speak with some fluency?

6. Ethnic origin, birthplace, etc., of your wife (or husband)

(a) What is your wife's ethnic or national origin?

(b) If other than first generation Canadian, what generation is she?

(c) What languages were spoken in the home in which she was raised?

(d) What languages can she speak now with some fluency?

(e) Where was your wife born?

(f) Where was she raised?

(g) Would you say that the place where your wife was raised was much like yours?

If different, where did it differ? (refer to the earlier questions regarding size, ethnic composition, prosperity, etc. of the community in which you were raised)

7. Birthplace, residence, etc. of your parents

(a) Where were your parents born?

Mother

Father

- (b) What languages did they speak with some fluency when you were living at home?
 Mother
 Father
- (c) Where were your parents raised?
 Mother
 Father
- (d) Were the circumstances/way of life of your parents when they were growing up similar to your own?
 If not, wherein did they differ from yours?
- (e) In what places did your parents live for periods of one year or more?
- | <u>Place</u> | <u>Period</u> |
|--------------|---------------|
|--------------|---------------|

8. Birthplace, residence, etc., of your wife's parents (or husband's)

- (a) Where were your wife's parents born?
 Mother
 Father
- (b) Where were your wife's parents raised?
 Mother
 Father
- (c) What languages would have been spoken by your wife's parents?

9. Your home when growing up

- (a) When growing up, did you live in a house or an apartment?
- (b) If in a house, did your parents own their own home, or were they buying it?
- (c) If renting, did they rent by choice or because they had no alternative?
- (d) When growing up, what size house or apartment did you live in? (number of rooms, etc.)
- (e) How would you describe its furnishings?
 modest
 of average quality
 better than average
 substantial
- (f) When growing up, if living in a town or city, how would you describe the section of town (neighbourhood) in which you were raised?

With reference to the section of town (neighbourhood) in which you lived,

- V-1-4
- (1) What was the level of prosperity?
 - poor
 - moderately prosperous
 - prosperous
 - other (specify)
 - (2) Would you describe it as being working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, upper class?
 - (3) What did most of your neighbours do for a living?
 - (4) What was the ethnic or national composition of the neighbourhood? Predominately British? Predominately non-British? Mixed?
 - (5) What ethnic groups were represented and which were the principal ones?
 - (6) How would you describe the religious composition of the neighbourhood? Predominately Protestant? Predominately Catholic? Mixed?
 - (7) What religious groups were represented?
 - (8) What were the principal religious groups?
 - (g) If raised on the farm, how would you classify it?
 - Sub-marginal
 - Marginal
 - Reasonably prosperous
 - Prosperous
 - (h) How large a farm was it and of what type?
 - (i) Did it begin as a homestead?
 - (j) What magazines and newspapers were received regularly in your home when you were growing up?

<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Magazines</u>
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 - (k) Were any of the above foreign language publications? Which?
 - (l) What newspapers and magazines did you read regularly?

<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Magazines</u>
-------------------	------------------
 - (m) Were any of the above foreign language publications? Which?
 - (n) Would you say that books were part of your home while you were growing up?
 - (o) How many books might there have been in the home?
 - (p) Whether books were part of your home or not, did you have any favorite books? and if so, what were they?
 - (q) While at home, how much time, on the average, would you spend listening to radio?
 - (r) What were your favorite programs?

10. Your wife's home when growing up

- (a) In your understanding, was the home in which your wife was raised much like your own?
- (b) If it differed, in what respects do you understand it differed?

11. Religion

- (a) What is your religion?
 Protestant
 Catholic
 Jewish
 Other (specify)
 Have none
- (b) What is your religious denomination (Anglican, Baptist, United, etc.)?
- (c) Have you ever changed your religion?
 If so, when?
 If so, why?
- (d) Have you ever changed your religious denomination?
 If so, when?
 If so, why?
- (e) How active are you in the church?
 Attendance:
 do not attend
 attend irregularly
 attend regularly (2 or more Sundays per month during winter)
 In what church organizations are you active? (choir, men's club, etc.)
 What offices do you hold in the church? How long have you held them?
- (f) As an adult, have you always been as active in the church as you are now?
 more active
 less active
 about the same
 If degree of church activity (attendance, organization, etc.) has changed, explain.
 As an adult, what offices have you held previously in the church, approx. when, and for how long?
- (g) As an adult, have you engaged in any church activity not covered by the above?
 If so, of what nature and when?

- (h) When you were living with your parents, how regularly did you attend church?
 did not attend
 attended irregularly
 attended regularly

When you were living with your parents, how active were you in church organizations?

- inactive
 of average activity
 more than average
 very active
- (i) When living at home, did you engage in any other religious activity not included in the above?
 If so, of what nature?

12. Your wife's religion

- (a) What is your wife's religion?
 (b) What is her religious denomination?
 (c) Has she ever changed her religion or religious denomination?
 (d) If so, why and when?
 (e) How active is she in church?

Attendance:

- does not attend
 attends irregularly
 attends regularly

Is this the general pattern of church attendance during marriage?

If different, explain?

In what church organizations is she, or has she been, active?

What church offices does she, or has she, held and approx. when and for how long?

13. Parents' religion

- (a) What was the religion of your parents when you lived at home?
 Mother
 Father
- (b) What was the religious denomination of your parents when you lived at home?
 Mother
 Father

- (c) When you lived at home, how religious do you consider your parents to have been?

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
non-religious		
moderately religious		
average		
more than average		
quite religious		

- (d) When you lived at home, how would you describe your parents church attendance?

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
did not attend		
attended irregularly		
attended regularly		

- (e) When you lived at home, how active do you judge your parents to have been in church organizations?

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
inactive		
of average activity		
more than average		
very active		

- (f) Did your parents engage in any other religious activity not covered by the above?

If so, what was its nature?

14. Brothers and sisters

- (a) How many brothers and sisters do you have and what are their ages?

15. Your education

- (a) What is the level of your formal education?

some primary (grade)
 primary
 some secondary (grade)
 secondary complete
 some university*
 university complete*
 trade school*
 agricultural college*
 technical institute*
 normal school
 religious (non-degree granting) college or institute*
 apprenticeship (specify)*
 other (specify)

*Please indicate type and length of course

- (b) What degrees, diplomas, certificates, do you hold?

- (c) In what year, and at what age, did you reach the highest level in your formal education?
- (d) What elected offices did you hold in school, college, university, etc., organizations?
- (e) How active were you in extra-curricular activities?
 inactive
 not very active
 average
 more than average
 very active
- (f) How would you describe yourself as a student?
 poor
 below average
 average
 above average
 excellent
- (g) Did you receive any academic honours? If so, specify.
- (h) How was your education financed (if other than primary and secondary education at public expense)?
 family
 family and own efforts (approximate proportions)
 own efforts
 scholarships
 family and own efforts and scholarships (approx. proportions)
 own efforts and scholarships (approx. proportions)
 DVA or other outside body

If none of the above categories fits your situation, please give a brief description of how education was financed.

- (i) What educational institutions did you attend? where? during what years? How would you describe them (number of rooms, teachers, total enrolment, etc.)?
 Were these state institutions? private? denominational?

16. Your wife's education

- (a) What is the level of formal education of your wife? (question 15 categories)
- (b) Did she receive any academic honours? If so, specify.
- (c) How was your wife's education financed? (question 15 categories)
- (d) What educational institutions did she attend and where?
 How would you describe them (number of rooms, teachers, total enrolment, etc.)?
 Were these state institutions? private? demoninational?

17. The education of your brothers and sisters

- (a) What was the level of formal education of your brothers and sisters? (use question 15 categories)

Individual

Education

- (b) Did any of your brothers and sisters hold elected offices in school, university, etc., organizations? If so, indicate which brother/sister and the office(s) held. (evaluate individually)

Individual

Offices

- (c) Did they receive any academic honours? If so, please indicate who and the honour(s).

Individual

Honours

- (d) What educational institutions did they attend that were different from yours? In what ways did they differ?

18. The education of your parents

- (a) What was the level of formal education of your parents? (use question 15 categories)

Mother

Father

- (b) Did they receive any academic honours? If so, please specify (if possible).

Mother

Father

- (c) How was their education financed? (use question 15 categories)

Mother

Father

- (d) What educational institutions did they attend and where?

How would you describe them, etc.?

Were they state institutions? private? denominational?

Mother

Father

19. The education of your children

- (a) What is the level of formal education of your children? (use question 15 categories)

Individual

Education

- (b) Did any of your children hold elected offices in school, university, etc., organizations? If so, indicate who and office(s) held.

Individual

Offices

- (c) Have they received any academic honours? If so, specify.

Individual

Honours

- (d) How was their education financed (if other than primary and secondary education at public expense; use question 15 categories)?

Individual

Method

- (e) What educational institutions have they attended and where?
How would you describe them, etc.?
Were they state institutions? private? denominational?
- (f) What languages were spoken in the home when your children were going up?
- (g) What languages do your children speak with some fluency? (by individual)

Individual

Languages

20. War service

- (a) Did you serve in the armed forces during war? If so, which war and for how long?
- (b) In the service of which country?
- (c) Did you see overseas service? If so, in which theatres of war?
- (d) What branch of the service (army, etc.)?
- (e) In the fighting arms or the services?
- (f) What rank did you hold on entry? on discharge?
- (g) Were you wounded?
- (h) What decorations, if any, did you receive?
- (i) If decorated, please indicate for what?
- (j) Did you have any conscientious objection to any of the wars in which you might have served?

21. Civilian service during war

- (a) If not in the armed services during war, and of age, what was your occupation?
- (b) Outside of your occupation, were you active in any civilian activities related to the war? (e.g., bond drives, red cross, etc.) If so, specify.
- (c) Was your civilian service (major occupation or voluntary activity) recognized by any government? If so, please specify.

22. War service of parents

- (a) Did either of your parents serve in the armed forces? Who?

- (b) If so,
 which war?
 in the service of which country?
 for how long?
 which branch of the armed forces?
 in the fighting arms or the services?
 rank?
 wounded?
 decorations?

23. War service of wife (see question 22)

24. War service of brothers and sisters (see question 22)

25. Your occupation

- (a) What is your present occupation or occupations? (If farming or business, please indicate the nature of it, degree of ownership, and changes in scale of operations over time. If an employee, please indicate the position held and by whom employed, or the category of employer.)
- (b) How long have you engaged in this occupation or occupations?
- (c) Do you have any substantial income other than that from your occupation or occupations?
- (d) What other occupations have you followed? when and for how long?

Occupation*

When

*If farming or business, please indicate the nature of it (including degree of ownership, scale of operation, etc.). If an employee, please indicate the positions that you have held and by whom employed, or the category of employer.

26. Your wife's occupation

- (a) What was your wife's occupation before marriage?
- (b) What have been her occupations since marriage? When was she engaged in them?

27. Your parents' occupations

- (a) What was the occupation or occupations of your father while you were dependent on him? (if farming or business, etc. indicate nature of it, degree of ownership, and changes in scale of operations over time)
- (b) What was the occupation or occupations of your mother during the same period?

28. The occupations of your wife's parents

(a) While your wife was growing up, what was the principal occupation or occupations of her father? (if farming or business, indicate scale, etc.)

(b) What was her mother's occupation during the same period?

29. Occupations of your brothers

What are the principal occupations of your brothers and sisters (by individual) and of your sister's husbands? (if farming or business, indicate scale, etc.)

Individual

Occupation

30. Occupations of your children

What are the occupations of your children? (if farming or business, indicate scale, etc.) (by individual)

Individual

Occupation

31. Occupations of grandparents

What was the principal occupation of your paternal and maternal grandfather?

32. Membership in organizations, groups, and associations

A. (a) To what organizations, groups, and associations do you belong, or have belonged, while holding your present office? (specify groups and period of membership; please use table below)

(b) How regularly do you attend meetings of these organizations, etc.? (consider individually on table below)

1. seldom
2. more often than not
3. usually

(c) In relation to the work of committees, etc., of each organization, would you describe yourself (using table below) as being:

1. not very active
2. of average activity
3. more than average in activity
4. very active

(d) What executive positions, if any, have you held in these organizations? and during what period? (use table below)

Organization Period Meetings Committees Positions

- B. (a) To what organizations, groups, and associations did you belong between the time of leaving home and holding present position? (specify groups and period of membership; use table below)
- (b) How regularly did you attend meetings of these organizations, etc.? (consider individually on table below)
1. seldom
 2. more often than not
 3. usually
- (c) In relation to the work of committees, etc., of each organization, would you describe yourself (using table below) as being:
1. not very active
 2. of average activity
 3. more than average in activity
 4. very active
- (d) What executive positions, if any, have you held in these organizations? and during what period? (use table below)

Organization	Period	Meetings	Committees	Positions
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- C. To what organizations, groups, and associations did you belong while living at home? How active were you in them, etc.? (apply previous questions)

Organization	Period	Meetings	Committees	Positions
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33. Your wife's membership in organizations, groups, and associations

- (a) To what organizations, groups, and associations does your wife belong, or has belonged? How active is she, or has she been, in them? What executive positions does she, or has she, held? (use table below)

Organization	Period	Meetings	Committees	Positions
--------------	--------	----------	------------	-----------

Part II

34. Something of the background to life and career decisions

- (a) Are there any public events that you consider to have been important in determining the sorts of things that you have done in your life? If so, please indicate what they were and why they were important.
- (b) Are there any notable (or great) men either historically or contemporary that have served as examples to you in your life? If so, who? Served as an example in what respects?

- (c) Are there, on reflection, any individuals that you consider to have been important in your reaching your decisions about the sorts of things that you would do in life? If so, who? Important how and with respect to what?
- (d) Would you explain the background to your choice of occupation.
- (e) Would you explain why you decided to stand for the legislature (if applicable).
- (f) Would you explain why you decided to enter government (non-elected) service (if applicable).

35. Your interest in political events and government and politics and activity

- (a) What would you describe as the level of your interest in following political events in the following areas?

National Provincial Local

little
average
more than average
strong

- (b) If you consider yourself to be interested in the following political events, or have been at some point, when did this interest first become evident?

National Provincial Local

interested as long
as can remember
secondary school
during higher or
other education
as an adult (what
age?)

Did any particular issue, event, person, etc., lead to your initial interest in any of these categories? and if so, specify.

- (c) If once interested in the following political events, and this interest has declined, indicate when and why.

international
national
provincial
local

- (d) How regularly do you vote?

Federally Provincially Locally

never
sometimes
usually

- (e) If there has been significant change in the regularity with which you vote at the various levels over time, indicate when this change took place and why.

- (f) What was your first political activity, if any (aside from voting) and at what age?
 What brought you to decide to engage in your first political activity?
- (g) What is your present political affiliation (party membership)?
 federally
 provincially
- (h) When, and at what age, did you join these parties?
- (i) If not now affiliated with a political party, have you ever been? If so, what party? When?
 federally
 provincially
- (j) If not now affiliated with a political party, but you have been at some stage, when and why did you drop such affiliation?
 federally
 provincially
- (k) Have you ever changed your party affiliation? If so, when and why?
 federally
 provincially
- (l) Do you belong to, or have you belonged to, a local voters' association? If so, what association and when and where?
- (m) How would you classify yourself as a voter?
Federally Provincially
1. an independent voter
 2. tending, more often than not, to support the same political party
 3. a regular supporter of a particular party
- (n) If you answered "yes" to 2 or 3, which party(ies)?
- (o) Have you ever changed the party that you regularly support?
 federally
 provincially
- (p) If you have changed the party you regularly support, when did you change and why?
 federally
 provincially
- (q) If you belong to a particular party, how active would you classify yourself as being in the local party organization?
Federally Provincially
1. inactive
 2. help to some degree at election time
 3. very active at election time
 4. continuously active
 5. other (specify)

- (r) Has this level of activity been the same over time, or has it varied by time period since joining the party?
- (s) If activity has varied, indicate when it was significantly different and why.
 federally
 provincially
- (t) If not now, but at some time you were a member of a political party, how active were you? What was the nature of the activity? When were you active?
- (u) What political party offices have you held. Approx. when? What constituency? What party?

	Office	When	Constituency	Party
federally				
provincially				
- (v) Of those political party offices which you held, which were appointed and which elective? (indicate on list above)
- (w) Have you ever run unsuccessfully for political party office? If so, what office? When? What constituency (if applicable)? What party?

	Office	When	Constituency	Party
federally				
provincially				
- (x) What elected political offices have you held? When? What constituency? Party?

	Office	When	Const. or Municipality	Party or Voters' Association
federally				
provincially				
municipally				
- (y) Have you ever run unsuccessfully for political office? If so, what office? When? Constituency? Party?

	Office	When	Const. or Municipality	Party or Voters' Association
federally				
provincially				
municipally				
- (z) If a member of the legislature, or you have been, what offices did you hold within that body (e.g. committees, whip, speaker, etc.) and when?

Office	Term
- (z¹) Have you ever held any non-elective government offices (civil service, boards, judicial)? If so, what office? What government? For how long? Why did you leave (if applicable)?

Office	Government	Term	Why Left?

36. Your wife's (or husband's) interest in political events and government and politics and activity

- (a) How would you describe the level of your wife's interest in following political events in the following areas?

National Provincial Local

little
average
more than
average
strong

- (b) While you have been married, has this interest (if any) always been as strong as it is now? If not, when was it significantly different? If different, why?

- (c) How strong would your wife's interest in political events in the various categories have been at the time of marriage?

National Provincial Local

little
average
more than
average
strong

- (d) How regularly does your wife vote?

Federally Provincially Locally

never
sometimes
usually

- (e) Has there been any significant change in the regularity of voting at the various levels over time? and if so, when and why?

- (f) Is your wife affiliated with a political party? If so, which party and when did she join it?

federally
provincially

- (g) If not now affiliated, has she been? If so, what party and when?

federally
provincially

- (h) Has your wife ever changed her party affiliation? If so, what was it changed from, when and why?

federally
provincially

- (i) Does she now belong, or has she belonged, to a local voters' association? If so, what association and when?

- (j) How would you classify your wife as a voter?

Federally Provincially

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support the same party
3. a regular supporter of a particular party

- (k) If answered "yes" to 2 or 3, which party(ies)?
 federally
 provincially
- (l) Has she ever changed the party that she regularly supports?
 federally
 provincially
- (m) If so, what was the change? When and why?
 federally
 provincially
- (n) If your wife belongs to a particular party, how active would you classify her as being in the local party organization?

	<u>Federally</u>	<u>Provincially</u>
--	------------------	---------------------

 inactive
 helps to some degree at election times
 very active at election times
 continuously active
 other (specify)
- (o) If activity has varied, indicate when it was significantly different and why.
 federally
 provincially
- (p) If your wife has belonged to a political party but is not now a member, how active was she in party organization, what was the nature of the activity, and when?
- (q) What political party offices has your wife held and approx. when? Const.? Party?

	<u>Office</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>
--	---------------	-------------	---------------	--------------

 federally
 provincially
- (r) Which were appointed and which elective? (indicate above)
- (s) Has your wife ever run unsuccessfully for political party office? If so, what office? When? What const.? What party?

	<u>Office</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>
--	---------------	-------------	---------------	--------------

 federally
 provincially
- (t) What elected political offices has your wife held? When? Const.? Party?

	<u>Office</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>
--	---------------	-------------	---------------	--------------

 federally
 provincially
 municipally
- (u) Has your wife ever run unsuccessfully for political office (including the nomination)? What office? When? Const.? Party?

	<u>Office</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>
--	---------------	-------------	---------------	--------------

 federally
 provincially
 municipally

(v) Has your wife ever held non-elective government offices (civil service, boards, judicial)? If so, what office? What government? When? For how long? Why did she leave (if applicable)?

Office	Government	Term	Why Left?
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37. Your parents' interest in political events and government and politics and activity

(a) When you were living at home, how would you describe the level of interest of your parents in following political events in the following areas?

	<u>National</u>	<u>Provincial</u>	<u>Local</u>
<u>Father</u>			
little			
average			
more than average			
strong			
<u>Mother</u>			
little			
average			
more than average			
strong			

(b) How regularly did they vote?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
<u>Federally</u>		
never		
sometimes		
usually		
<u>Provincially</u>		
never		
sometimes		
usually		
<u>Municipally</u>		
never		
sometimes		
usually		

(c) When you were living at home, did your parents belong to a particular political party? If so, what party?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
federally		
provincially		

(d) While you were living at home, did your parents ever change their party affiliation? If so, what was the change?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
federally		
provincially		

(e) If they changed their party affiliation, why (if known)?

(f) When you were living at home, how would you classify your parents as voters at the federal level?

Father Mother

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular political party
3. a regular supporter of a particular political party

(g) If answered "yes" to 2 or 3, which party(ies)?

(h) If this party support changed, how did it change? Why?

(i) When living at home, how would you classify your parents as voters at the provincial level?

Father Mother

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular political party
3. a regular supporter of a particular political party

(j) If answered "yes" to 2 or 3, which party(ies)?

(k) If this party support changed, how did it change? Why?

(l) If your parents belonged to a political party, how active were they in party organization?

Father Mother

Federal

inactive

helped to some degree at election times

very active at election times

continuously active

other (specify)

Provincial

inactive

helped to some degree at election times

very active at election times

continuously active

other (specify)

(m) Did your parents hold, or attempt to win, political party offices? What office? Constituency? Party? When?

Office Constituency Party When

federally

provincially

- (n) Did your parents hold, or attempt to win (including the nomination) any political offices? If so, what offices? Constituencies? Parties? When?

Office	Const. or Mun.	Party or Voters' Assoc.	When
--------	-------------------	----------------------------	------

federally
provincially
municipally

- (o) Did your parents hold any non-elective government offices (civil service, boards, judiciary)? If so what offices? What governments? etc.

Office	Government	Term
--------	------------	------

38. Your brothers' and sisters' governmental and political interest and activity

- (a) How would you describe the level of interest of your brothers and sisters in political events? (by individual)

Individual

little
average
more than average
strong

- (b) Do they belong to political parties? If so, which parties (by individual)?

Individual

federally
provincially

- (c) How would you characterize them as voters at the federal level (by individual)?

Individual

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular party
3. a regular supporter of a particular party

- (d) If 2 or 3, which parties (by individual)?

- (e) How would you characterize them as voters at the provincial level (by individual)?

Individual

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular party
3. a regular supporter of a particular party

- (f) If 2 or 3, which parties (by individual)?

- (g) How active are your brothers and sisters in party organization (by individual)?

IndividualFederal

inactive

helped to some degree at election times

very active at election times

continuously active

other (specify)

Provincial

inactive

helped to some degree at election times

very active at election times

continuously active

other (specify)

- (h) Have any of your brothers and sisters held political party office? If so, what office? Const.? Party? When? (by individual)

Individual Office Const. Party When

federally

provincially

- (i) Have any of your brothers and sisters attempted to obtain party office? If so, what offices? Const.? Party? When? (by individual)

Individual Office Const. Party When

federally

provincially

- (j) Have any of your brothers and sisters held elected political office? If so, which offices? Const.? Mun.? Party? When? (by individual)

Individual Office Const. Party or When
or Mun. Voters' Assoc.

federally

provincially

municipally

- (k) Have any of your brothers and sisters run unsuccessfully for political office? What office? What constituency? What party? When? (by individual; include seeking the nomination)

Individual Office Const. Party or When
or Mun. Voters' Assoc.

federally

provincially

municipally

- (l) Have any of your brothers and sisters held non-elective government offices (civil service, boards, judiciary)? If so, what offices? Government? Term? Why did they leave (if applicable)? (by individual)

Individual Office Government Term Why Left?

39. Your children's governmental and political interest and activity

- (a) How would you describe the level of your children's interest in political events (by individual)?

Individual

little
average
more than average
strong

- (b) Do they belong to political parties? If so, which parties (by individual)?

Individual

federally
provincially

- (c) How would you characterize them as voters at the federal level (by individual)?

Individual

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular party
3. a regular supporter of a particular party

- (d) If 2 or 3, which parties (by individual)?

- (e) How would you characterize them as voters at the provincial level (by individual)?

Individual

1. an independent voter
2. tending, more often than not, to support a particular party
3. a regular supporter of a particular party

- (f) If 2 or 3, which parties (by individual)?

- (g) How active are your children in party organization (by individual)?

Individual

Federally

inactive
help to some degree at election times
very active at election times
continuously active
other (specify)

Provincially

inactive
help to some degree at election times
very active at election times
continuously active
other (specify)

- (h) Have any of your children held political party offices? If so, what offices? Const.? Party? When? (by individual)

	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>When</u>
federally					
provincially					

- (i) Of these offices, which were elective and which appointive? (indicate above)

- (j) Have any of your children attempted unsuccessfully to win political party offices? If so, what offices? Const.? Party? When? (by individual)

	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>When</u>
federally					
provincially					

- (k) Have any of your children held elected political office? If so, what offices? Const.? Party? When?

	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party or</u>	<u>When</u>
				<u>or Mun. Voters'</u>	
				<u>Assoc.</u>	
federally					
provincially					
municipally					

- (l) Have any of your children run unsuccessfully for political office (including seeking nomination)? If so, what office? Const.? Party? When? (by individual)

	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Const.</u>	<u>Party or</u>	<u>When</u>
				<u>or Voters'</u>	
				<u>Mun. Assoc.</u>	
federally					
provincially					
municipally					

- (m) In your judgement, is it likely that any of your children will become politically involved? If so, who? What sort of political activity would you expect?

- (n) Do, or have, any of your children held non-elected government office (civil service, boards, judiciary)? If so, specify (by individual)

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Government</u>	<u>Term</u>	<u>Why Left?</u>
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- (o) In your judgement, is it likely that any of your children will seek to become non-elected government employees? If so, who? What sort of employment would you expect them to seek?

40. Other Relations

- (a) Were any of your grandparents, aunts, uncles, in-laws, etc., to your knowledge, active in political parties? If so, who (level of relationship) and where?

- (b) What party or parties? (if they changed parties, please so indicate)
- (c) Did any of them hold political party offices? If so, who (level of relationship). What offices? What party? Approx. when? Where?
- (d) Did any of them hold elected political office? If so, who (level of relationship)? What office? What party? Approx. when? Where?
- (e) Did any of your relations of any degree engage in any political activity not covered by the above? If so, who? What was the nature of the activity? When and where?
- (f) Did any of them hold non-elective government positions. (civil service, boards, judiciary)?

<u>Individual</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Government</u>
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