

Social Background and Political Experience: Gender Differences Among Ontario Provincial Party Elites, 1982

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Introduction

Contemporary research on the political involvement of women in Canada and the United States has focused on a number of possible explanations for gender differences in elite-level participation.¹ One prominent line of argument, particularly in the American political parties' literature, maintains that women possess relatively few social resources necessary for intensive political involvement. The comparatively limited educational, occupational, and therefore income opportunities available to women are commonly cited as evidence of social resource poverty—which in turn produces gender-based inequalities within the political system. In the words of Kent Jennings and Barbara Farah, “even when women enter the upper echelons, they are at a disadvantage in terms of the social background features most often associated with political success.”²

A second, and closely related explanation of gender differences in political participation, flows from the social and especially familial roles which are traditionally assigned to women. According to this view, conventional household and child-rearing responsibilities may limit the amount of time and energy which women allocate to political activities. Similarly, personal commitments may force women to delay their educational training and occupational development, to the point that those interested in pursuing a political career are disadvantaged by age and family responsibilities, as well as by the limited social resources described above. As Virginia Sapiro notes:

Women tend to begin their political careers at an older age than do men, reserving their public energies for the time after their children become more independent. Female elites are more likely than male elites to be

widowed, divorced, or never to have been married in the first place....Women, it seems, do take family commitments into consideration in their decision regarding political activism. Previous studies suggest they either rearrange their commitments to make them compatible or they give up public ambitions.³

Canadian research conducted during the early and mid- 1970's tended to support both of these arguments regarding the political consequences of social background factors. For example, Janine Brodie's 1976 analysis of survey data from two Ontario provincial party conventions concludes that "women in both parties had a slightly lower socio-economic status than men."⁴ A more recent study of female candidacies by Brodie and Jill Vickers also demonstrates the extent to which women elites were constrained by household and particularly child-rearing responsibilities.⁵ Parallel with these findings, research on urban party activism by Allan Kornberg, Harold Clarke, and associates reports that females generally possess fewer socio-economic resources than males, although women activists may have slightly more partisan family backgrounds than men.⁶

Perhaps the most significant question to emerge from this literature concerns change over time in both the resource and role limitations affecting female participation. Has the development of an organized women's movement in Canada, combined with the increased numbers of women pursuing higher education, professional employment, and delayed childbirth (or voluntary childlessness) contributed to a levelling-off in social background differences?⁷ Or do females remain politically disadvantaged relative to males by older resource and role limitations?²

This article introduces initial results from a 1982 survey of Ontario provincial party elites, in an effort to address the contemporary relationship

between social resources and family roles, on the one hand, and party participation, on the other.⁸ Our discussion considers the overall extent of gender differences in personal and family background variables, as well as the impact of these factors upon political involvement. Furthermore, it offers a number of cross-party perspectives on participation in Ontario provincial politics.

Data Sources

As part of a larger study of participation in the three major provincial parties in Ontario, identical self-administered questionnaires were distributed to male and female delegates to the February 1982 New Democratic (NDP) and Liberal (OLP) leadership conventions, to male and female delegates to the September 1982 general meeting of the Ontario Progressive Conservative (PC) Association, and to female delegates to the June 1982 annual meeting of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association of Women (OPCAW). Overall, approximately 500 questionnaires were returned to the author for inclusion in the data base.⁹

One notable feature of this 1982 dataset is its sampling of rural as well as urban respondents from all three major provincial parties in Ontario, which contrasts with Brodie's (1976) use of a two-party sample drawn over a two-year period, and Kornberg et al.'s (1973, 1979a, 1979b) focus upon urban party elites only.¹⁰ In addition, since the present design employed identical questionnaires in probing delegates' backgrounds and attitudes, we are able to compare the characteristics of mainstream party elites with those of women's association activists in the PC party.

Included in the questionnaires, in addition to standard demographic items, were questions which probed the family background, child-rearing responsibilities, and partisan involvement of respondents. Analysis of these social background and political experience variables forms the focus of the present article. A number

of other questions which addressed delegates' political aspirations as well as their perceptions of the contemporary women's movement and of discrimination within party organizations, will be considered in a future research report.

Overall Background Characteristics

Before turning to the 1982 Ontario data, it is important to note that findings drawn from this type of party delegates study are generally reflective of an elite political milieu. As Sapiro states in her discussion of a recent U.S. convention survey:

Many of the delegates were public or party office-holders; the rest were prime candidates for developing political ambition. Delegates are people who are politically active, experienced, or known enough to be called upon to represent their states at their party's national convention.¹¹

In an Ontario provincial context, we would also suggest that party delegates comprise a fairly distinctive political stratum—both in terms of the extent of political activity engaged in by respondents, and the level of social resources available for conversion into political assets.

Our initial results from the 1982 Ontario study tend to support this general hypothesis. As reported in Table 1, both male and female respondents were experienced convention delegates and riding-level activists, with approximately one-half having attended two or more party meetings in the past, and about two-thirds holding a riding executive position at the time of the survey. However, experience in the provincial party organization and candidacy for public office was somewhat more limited, since less than one-quarter of the respondents reported current involvement at the provincial level, and less than one-half of this figure declared themselves as candidates. Notably, male delegates were substantially more likely than females to

TABLE 1
Political Participation Among
Ontario Provincial Party Delegates,
1982 (percent)*

	Women	Men
1. Attended two or more party conventions previously	52.4	48.1
2. Member, local riding executive	65.7	66.5
3. Presently involved on provincial level of party organization	24.9	21.8
4. Ever nominated as municipal candidate	4.4	13.4
5. Ever nominated as federal or provincial candidate	4.0	10.8
Average (N)	(250)	(231)

*In this and the following tables, cell entries represent percentages of non-missing cases only.

have been nominated for public office: 13.4 vs. 4.4% at the municipal level, and 10.8 vs. 4.0% at the federal or provincial level. These results tend to confirm statements that the higher one goes in political elites, the fewer women are to be found.¹²

In terms of social background characteristics, the educational and financial resources available to Ontario party delegates were also fairly exceptional. While women reported significantly fewer university degrees than did men (28.1 vs. 50.7% with higher education), as well as relatively low annual family incomes (32.6 vs. 18.9% in the under \$20,000 category), it appears that Ontario elites as a group were fairly comfortable in socio-economic terms. For example, approximately one-third of both male and female respondents had 1981 gross family earnings in excess of \$40,000, and more than 85% had completed their secondary educations. Among men in the sample, 78.4% were employed full-time and 5.2% part-time; among women, 46.2% worked full-time and 20.6% part-time outside the home, while 17.4% worked full-time in the home. The

regional, rural-urban, and marital status characteristics of the male and female samples were nearly identical: approximately two-thirds of each group represented a Metropolitan Toronto or Southwestern Ontario Riding, nearly 60% reported their home riding was primarily urban, and roughly two-thirds of both men and women were married. The overall demographic characteristics of the 1982 Ontario sample may therefore be described as affluent, well-educated, and urban, although it should be noted that female delegates were substantially less affluent, less educated, and less likely to be employed for pay than their male colleagues.

Two additional factors which should be highlighted at this point concern the family background and child-rearing responsibilities of party elites. Following older research which suggests that female partisans come from more politicized family milieux than males, our 1982 results also indicate that the immediate families of women delegates were somewhat more involved and politically encouraging than those of men. In the Ontario sample, 21.8% of females reported their families were very involved in politics when they were growing up, compared with 13.3% of males; similarly, 48.5% of the former and only 37.6% of the latter claimed to have received some encouragement to participate in the political process by their parents and immediate family.¹³

On the question of child-rearing responsibilities, the 1982 Ontario results indicate that women's political involvement may be limited by family commitments. Using a four-point measure constructed on the basis of numbers of children and their stages of development, we find in Table 2 that female delegates were slightly less likely than males to have pre-school children, and were also slightly older than male delegates. While the differences obtained are not statistically significant, the direction of both sets of results suggests that female partisans may be excluded from active political participation dur-

ing the years when they have most or all of the responsibility for raising young children. Given that three of the four political meetings surveyed for this study offered no organized child care program, it is probably not surprising that younger women, and especially young mothers, continue to be underrepresented in party elites.

Overall, then, this review of the 1982 aggregate findings would appear to confirm a number of existing generalizations regarding the relatively limited socio-economic resources, and potential role constraints which militate against female political participation. While some results reported here may fuel hopes that increased female involvement on an elite level is imminent—for example, the proportions of women in paid employment and riding executive positions are relatively high, and gender differences in participation except at the point of candidacy are minimal—it seems unlikely that older resource and role constraints had disappeared by 1982.

We shall now turn to the question of inter- and intra-party differences in the backgrounds of male and female elites, and to the implications of these patterns for party participation in Ontario.

Partisanship and the Distribution of Social Resources

While aggregate data from the 1982 Ontario survey have suggested important differences in the resource and role characteristics of male and female delegates, it remains to be seen whether these same types of distinctions hold after party controls are introduced. Are the direction and extent of socio-economic and family role differences constant across parties, or do these factors vary with partisanship? The present section addresses this question, thus providing a basis for our subsequent discussion of the relationship between background variables and political participation in the Ontario sample.

TABLE 2
Descriptive Measures of Age and Child-rearing
Responsibility, Ontario 1982*

	N	Mean	AGE	
			Standard Deviation	Standard Error
Women	244	41.93	12.12	0.78
Men	233	40.79	13.33	0.87
			CHILD-REARING	
Women	252	1.64	0.79	0.05
Men	228	1.71	0.93	0.06

* In neither instance are gender differences statistically significant (difference-of-means test).

One of the only Canadian studies to consider the correlates of female party participation on the provincial level is Brodie's analysis of 1971 Ontario PC and 1973 Ontario Liberal convention data. In this study, Brodie found that PC women were generally older and Liberal women younger than their male counterparts, while compared with each other, Liberal women were better-educated, more likely to be employed outside the home, and more likely to have professional occupations than PC females. However, in response to a series of items concerning family political socialization, Brodie reports that "Liberal women were least likely to have been exposed to parental political stimuli while Conservative women, more than any other group, report an active parental role model. Similarly, more Conservative than Liberal men cite this early influence."¹⁴ Therefore, one of the only studies to consider cross-party differences in a Canadian context offers mixed results; according to Brodie, Liberal women possessed more socio-economic, and PC women more familial resources in the early 1970's.

Evidence from our 1982 study, presented in Tables 3 and following, tends to parallel some of Brodie's findings and to contradict others. Before

turning to these data, however, two points should be noted. First, the 1982 results are based on a three-party, four-sample base, with males and females drawn from the mainstream PC, OLP, and NDP organizations, and females from the PC Women's Association (OPCAW). The inclusion of NDP respondents, rural activists, and OPCAW members therefore complicates comparisons between the present study and previous research by Brodie, Kornberg, et. al., and other writers. Second, the establishment of separate federal and provincial Liberal parties in Ontario during the mid-1970's makes any comparison with Brodie's study even more difficult, since it would appear that the federal-level Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario) has tended to recruit more urban, employed, professional, and feminist women than the relatively rural, probably less feminist, provincial OLP (surveyed for this study).

Some of the differences which would appear to exist between our 1982 and Brodie's 1973 data should therefore be viewed with caution, as they may simply be artifacts of Liberal party reorganization during the intervening years.¹⁵

TABLE 3
Formal Educational Attainment Among
Ontario Provincial Party Delegates, 1982*

	ONDP		OLP		OPCAW	PC	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women	Men
Low	9.2	22.6	26.2	9.8	18.8	5.1	7.4
Medium	51.3	35.5	47.6	34.1	69.8	46.2	35.2
High	39.5	41.9	26.2	56.1	11.5	48.7	57.4
(N)	(76)	(93)	(42)	(82)	(95)	(39)	(54)

* Educational attainment was coded as follows: some high school = low; high school graduate, some post-secondary = medium; university degree = high.

Perhaps the most notable feature of data on socio-economic resources presented in Tables 3 and following is *the extent to which delegates' backgrounds varied by party as well as by gender*. For example, figures on educational attainment in Table 3 indicate that PC and OLP men were particularly well-educated, followed by PC women, NDP men, and NDP women, in that order. Gender differences in formal training were clearly highest among provincial Liberals, where 56.1% of males and only 26.2% of females had obtained university degrees. It is also noteworthy that among New Democratic delegates, men and women reported similar levels of university education, and that substantially more females had completed their secondary schooling. Hence, while approximately 90% of NDP women had received at least a high school diploma, only about three-quarters of NDP men had done so. This finding may be related to the presence of a number of large, predominantly male trade union delegations at the NDP convention.

One additional generalization which may be drawn from Table 3 concerns levels of educational attainment among OPCA W delegates. Compared with PC figures reported in this same table, women's association activists were far less

educated than mainstream female delegates: only 11.5% of the former, versus nearly one-half of the latter, had university degrees. This result, combined with the relatively high mean age and low level of paid employment of OPCA W delegates (see below), suggests that women's association activists were generally poorer in social resource terms than mainstream PC females.

Turning to the question of employment resources, figures in Table 4 also indicate important between-and within-party differences. As might be expected given the education data in Table 3, OLP female and OPCA W delegates were most likely to work full-time in the home, with approximately 21% of both groups classifying themselves as housewives, while PC and NDP women were most likely to work full-time outside the home. In all three party groupings, male delegates were substantially more likely than females to hold full-time paid positions and, once again, gender differences along this dimension were highest in the OLP.

Occupational breakdowns not presented in tabular form generally confirm the view that individual employment resources available to male delegates exceeded those available to females, even after controlling for party. For

TABLE 4
Employment Status Among Ontario
Provincial Party Delegates, 1982

	ONDP		OLP		OPCAW	PC	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women	Men
Work Full-Time	48.1	81.9	26.2	74.7	46.3	64.1	78.2
Work Part-Time	16.9	2.1	28.6	8.4	20.0	20.5	5.5
Housewife	14.3	-	21.4	1.2	21.1	10.3	-
Retired, Laid off,							
Student	20.8	16.0	23.8	15.7	12.6	5.1	16.4
(N)	(77)	(94)	(42)	(83)	(95)	(39)	(55)

TABLE 5
1981 Gross Family Income Among
Ontario Provincial Party Delegates

	ONDP		OLP		OPCAW	PC	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women	Men
\$10-19,999	41.6	22.6	34.2	20.0	30.0	15.6	10.2
\$20-39,999	41.6	51.6	31.6	45.0	33.7	25.0	49.0
\$40,000 +	16.9	25.9	34.2	35.0	36.2	59.4	40.8
(N)	(77)	(93)	(38)	(80)	(80)	(32)	(49)

example, the combined numbers of men employed in such professions as law, business, political work, education, and social work were higher than those for women in all three parties. Once again, gender differences were clearest in the OLP, where male professionals outnumbered females by a ratio of more than 3 to 1.

To summarize our 1982 results thus far, it would appear that social resource poverty, as measured by education and employment items, was highest among OLP female and OPCA W delegates, while these same resource assets were somewhat greater among PC and NDP women. However, in none of the party groupings analyzed here did gender differences in educational attainment or employment status disappear.

Turning to family income data in Table 5, we find that 1981 gross earnings were highest among PC women, PC men, and OPCA W respondents, followed by Liberal men, Liberal women, NDP men, and NDP women, in that order. Notably, families of PC females earned substantially more than those of PC males, while those of women in the other two parties earned somewhat less. In overall terms, this income breakdown seems to parallel party and ideological lines quite closely, with activists in the governing Conservative organization tending to be most affluent, followed by opposition Liberal delegates, and lastly by the socialist and least affluent New Democrats.

TABLE 6
Marital Status of Ontario Provincial Party Delegates

	ONDP		OLP		OPCAW	PC	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women	Men
Married	59.7	70.5	71.4	61.4	67.7	69.2	70.9
Not Married	40.3	29.5	28.6	38.6	32.3	30.8	29.1
(N)	(77)	(95)	(42)	(83)	(96)	(39)	(55)

Among female delegates only, it is notable that the relatively strong educational and employment backgrounds of NDP women in 1982 contrasted quite directly with the limited family earnings of that group. More than 40% of New Democratic females (vs. less than 25% of NDP males) lived in family units with 1981 gross earnings under \$20,000, thus comprising the poorest group within the sample. Quite interestingly, NDP women were also the youngest group surveyed, as reflected by data on mean age in Table 7, and the least likely to be married, as indicated in Table 6.

In terms of family background influences, NDP women were again somewhat disadvantaged relative to other groups. Notably, when asked about child-rearing responsibilities, approximately 28% of New Democratic females reported having pre- or elementary-school age children, compared with less than 10% of women in the OLP, OPCA, and PC samples. This finding suggests that while the low mean age of NDP females could aid political mobility in the future, it is associated in the present with major child-rearing constraints. And, given their limited earnings noted above, few NDP women had the ability to "buy out" of family responsibilities in 1982.

Similarly, on questions of family political encouragement, New Democratic females reported relatively low levels of support. When asked the degree to which they were encouraged to participate in the political process by their par-

ents and immediate family, 17.8% of NDP women replied "to a great extent," compared with 23.3% of OPCA, 26.3% of OLP female, and 28.9% of PC female respondents. However, on a similarly-worded item concerning spousal encouragement, NDP women were most likely to say they were supported "to a large extent" (48.5%), while PC females were least likely to report strong encouragement (17.9%).¹⁶

Our review of the 1982 Ontario data on partisanship and social resources thus presents a mixed and somewhat complicated picture. On the one hand, we have found that compared with male partisans, females in all three major parties had limited educational, occupational, and financial resources, with the partial exception of educational assets in the NDP and family income in the PC party. These general trends are consistent with established arguments regarding the socioeconomic constraints upon female political participation in North America. Additionally, in line with existing research, our data show that women's association activists in the Ontario PC party were substantially older, less educated, and less likely to be employed for pay than mainstream party women. On the other hand, examination of age and family background data suggests a number of trends which are at odds with the conventional wisdom. For example, our results indicate that the relatively youthful, well-educated, and employed group of NDP women also had limited family encouragement, low incomes, and fairly high child-rearing responsi-

TABLE 7
Descriptive Measures of Political
Participation, Age, and Family Encouragement*

	N	POLITICAL PARTICIPATION		
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
NDP Women	77	2.77	1.39	0.16
NDP Men	95	2.93	1.51	0.15
OLP Women	42	3.00	1.23	0.19
OLP Men	83	3.47	1.44	0.16
OPCAW	96	3.61	1.28	0.13
PC Women	39	1.82	0.60	0.10
PC Men	55	1.94	0.59	0.08
			AGE	
NDP Women	76	37.54	11.81	1.35
NDP Men	95	40.25	11.91	1.22
OLP Women	42	41.67	13.89	2.14
OLP Men	83	42.05	14.34	1.57
OPCAW	87	46.52	10.75	1.15
PC Women	39	40.56	10.30	1.65
PC Men	55	39.82	14.14	1.91
			FAMILY ENCOURAGEMENT	
NDP Women	73	2.71	1.11	0.13
NDP Men	87	2.94	1.10	0.12
OLP Women	38	2.71	1.29	0.21
OLP Men	81	2.80	1.17	0.13
OPCAW	86	2.66	1.21	0.13
PC Women	38	2.47	1.25	0.20
PC Men	53	2.60	1.06	0.15

*Political participation was measured using a five-item additive scale (see text). The family encouragement item was worded as follows: "To what extent would you say that you were encouraged to participate in the political process by your parents and immediate family when you were growing up.....to a great extent, to some extent, a little, not at all?"

bilities in 1982—factors that would seem to be inconsistent with elite-level party participation.

It is to the linkage between these background factors and participation that we now turn our attention.

Party Participation and Social Resources in Ontario

Perhaps the most critical question to be raised in response to social background data reported thus far is, “so what?” What difference do socio-economic and family role factors make for female party involvement in Ontario? What types of changes should be introduced in order to increase women’s representation in Ontario party organizations?

Using a five-item additive scale to measure participation in conventions, local riding associations, provincial organizations, and public candidacy, we calculated mean participation scores for each major subgroup in the Ontario sample (See Table 7), and then analyzed the relationship between our participation scores and a series of eight independent variables.¹⁷ Notably, mean scores reported in Table 7 indicate that *gender differences within the three major party organizations were not statistically significant*, even though there was a general pattern whereby male involvement was slightly greater than female. Even more interestingly, participation data show that *OPCAW respondents had the highest level of party involvement of any group surveyed*, while mainstream PC women reported the least participation. Among females sampled, OLP and NDP women had mean scores between these two extremes, although in both cases their averages were significantly less than the OPCA and greater than the PC female scores. This pattern would seem to contradict both the resource approach to female participation, since data reported above suggested PC and NDP women had relatively more personal assets available for political conversion than did either OPCA or

OLP respondents, as well as conventional auxiliary arguments which maintain that women’s association members are relatively inactive partisans.

However, when the correlates of female participation are considered, there appear a number of possible explanations for these findings. First, and probably most important, 1982 data show a systematic positive relationship between family income and party involvement in three of the four subgroups, such that women from high-income families (except in the PC case) were substantially more active as partisans than those from low-income ones. In this manner, the family earnings of OPCA and OLP female respondents may have compensated for their limited educational and occupational experience, thus contributing to relatively high levels of political involvement in both groups.

Second, our analyses also suggest that a number of factors which might have been expected to favour NDP and PC women, thus increasing participation in both samples, had comparatively little effect. These variables include low mean age, strong educational background, a high proportion of unmarried respondents (in the NDP case), and high incomes and limited child-rearing responsibilities (in the PC case). Overall, these factors had little consistent impact upon female participation in either case, meaning that the socially “advantaged” PC and NDP women were not necessarily better-off in political terms.

These results point toward a series of important questions for feminists and others who seek to increase women’s political involvement in Ontario and elsewhere. On one level, there is the issue of numbers: numbers of women involved, and numbers of activities engaged in, which may be considered within theorist Hannah Pitkin’s category of “descriptive representation.”¹⁸ If the data presented here are indicative of the numbers situation at present, then it would seem that

some female partisans require additional financial, and specifically income, resources to compete as political participants. Particularly in the New Democratic case, effective equal pay legislation, elimination of job ghettos, and improved child care programmes could assist in this respect.

Even more significantly, though, we should consider what Pitkin refers to as the issue of substantive representation. Such a focus leads us to question the content and meaning of women's party involvement, and specifically the extent to which collective interests are advanced by party participation. For example, to what degree do political involvement and ambition contribute to support for the women's movement and internal party affirmative action, as well as to awareness of discrimination within political organizations? Additionally, in policy terms, how have party women benefitted, or "acted for" other women in Canadian politics?¹⁹

These urgent issues need to be addressed in future research on Canadian women and party politics.

NOTES

1. For a succinct review of these explanations, see Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), Chap. 1. One important approach not considered in this article links lower female participation to discriminatory attitudes and practices within political organizations. For a consideration of this factor, see M. Janine Brodie, "Pathways to Public Office: Canadian Women in the Post-War Years," (Carleton Univ., Ph.D. Dissertation, 1981), Chaps. 5, 7; and Sylvia B. Bashevkin, "Political Participation, Ambition, and the Development of Feminist Attitudes: Women in the Ontario Party Elites, 1982," forthcoming.
2. M. Kent Jennings and Barbara G. Farah, "Social Roles and Political Resources: An Over-time Study of Men and Women in Party Elites," *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (1981), p. 466.
3. Virginia Sapiro, "Private Costs of Public Commitments or Public Costs of Private Commitments? Family Roles versus Political Ambition," *American Journal of Political Science* 26 (1982), p. 266.
4. M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Men and Women Political Party Activists in Ontario," University of Windsor M.A. Thesis, 1976, p. iv.
5. See M. Janine Brodie, "The Constraints of Private Life: Marriage, Motherhood, and Political Candidacy in Canada," paper presented at Canadian Political Science Association meetings, Halifax, 1981.
6. Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, Mary-Jane Clarke, and Harold D. Clarke, "Participation in Local Party Organizations in the United States and Canada," *American Journal of Political Science* 17 (1973), pp. 23-47; Harold D. Clarke and Allan Kornberg, "Moving Up The Political Escalator: Women Party Officials in the United States and Canada," *Journal of Politics* 41 (1979), pp. 442-76; and Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith, and Harold D. Clarke, *Citizen Politicians-Canada* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1979), Chap. 8.
7. For a discussion of many of these changes, see S.J. Wilson, *Women, the Family, and the Economy* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1982).
8. Data on local riding and provincial-level involvement, as well as candidacies are presented in Sylvia B. Bashevkin, "Women's Participation in the Ontario Political Parties, 1971-1981," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (1982), pp. 44-54.
9. These questionnaires were developed and pre-tested by the author prior to the February leadership conventions, and were distributed to all delegates attending the NDP, OLP, OPCAW, and PC meetings. Overall, about 175 NDP, 130 OLP, and 95 PC delegates completed surveys, yielding a response rate of about 10% in each case. Ninety-six OPCAW delegates returned questionnaires, for a response rate of approximately 50%. This difference in response rates may be attributable in part to the size of, and more carnival-like atmospheres which prevailed at the three mainstream party meetings. Delegates to all 4 meetings were reminded at regular intervals about the questionnaires; these reminders appear to have been most effective in the OPCAW case.
10. While the NDP, OLP, & PC response rates are low by social scientific standards, demographic breakdowns within each sub-group suggest that the samples provide a fairly representative cross-section from each party. For example, NDP and OLP records show that convention delegates were 60 & 40%, and 60.8 and 39.2% male and female respectively, while our own samples were 55.2 and 44.8, and 66.4 and 33.6%, respectively. Also, as might be expected, the OLP sample was the most rural of any group in the survey.
11. See notes 4 and 6, above.
12. Virginia Sapiro, "Private Costs of Public Commitments," p.268.
13. See Robert D. Putnam, *The Comparative Study of Political Elites* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976, pp. 32-33.)
14. It is notable that female respondents generally reported receiving stronger political encouragement than males, both within and outside their families. For example, 33.8% of women and only 14.6% of men stated that their spouses had encouraged them "to a great extent," while 27.4% of the former and 16.0% of the latter said that federal party organizations had been encouraging "to a great extent."
15. M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Men and Women," p. 78.
16. On the federal/provincial split in Ontario, see Joseph Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981), pp. 108-119. Some of its specific implications for Liberal women are considered in Sylvia B. Bashevkin, "Women's Participation....," and "Women and Party Politics: The 1982 Ontario Leadership Conventions," forthcoming.

16. Family background results for men in the sample indicate that young children were most common among NDP males, followed by PC and OLP men. Parental political encouragement was greatest among PC, followed by OLP and NDP males, while spousal encouragement peaked among NDP men, followed by PC and OLP respondents.
17. The eight variables were as follows: employment status, education, marital status, urban-rural residence, family income, child-rearing responsibilities, age, and family politicization.
18. See Hannah Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
19. *Ibid.*